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As the U.S. continues to integrate throughout the world, most Midwesterners aren't sold on the benefits of globalization, believing it has caused unfair competition and job loss for the region. In addition, most view China as more of an economic threat than an opportunity, and support a crackdown on illegal immigration including Arizona-type laws that are currently being challenged in the courts.

# Midwest Attitudes Toward Globalization

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## Preface

In spite of the continued march towards globalization, many citizens from America's Heartland remained unconvinced of the benefits of the global economy and view it as harmful to the American Midwest. Residents of eight Midwestern states also believe trade with other countries has led to job loss in the Midwest, see China as a threat to jobs and economic security in the Midwest, support stricter laws against illegal immigration and support Arizona-style laws that crack down on illegal immigration.

These are the key findings of a poll conducted by the Midwest Initiative at Monmouth College of live calls to 500 registered voters in eight Midwestern states: Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Michigan, Minnesota, Missouri, Ohio and Wisconsin. The random sample poll was conducted from March 23-24 and has a margin of error of +/- 4.4% at a 95% confidence level. These states represent the battleground of the 2012 presidential election and the results of the poll find conflicting views in both parties toward issues of globalization, trade and immigration.

## State of the Economy

Midwesterners are more pessimistic about the direction of the country than Americans as a whole. According to the latest average of national polls developed by RealClearPolitics.com, 28% of Americans believe the nation is on the right track and 63% see it headed in the wrong direction. In the Monmouth College poll, 20% of Midwesterners feel the nation is headed in the right direction and 69% feel it is headed in the wrong direction. Some of the difference in outlook can be explained by partisan affiliation: only 4% of strong Republicans feel the nation is on track while 36% of strong Democrats feel the nation is headed in the right direction. Still, 56% of strong Democrats see the nation as headed in the wrong direction, a clear warning signal for President Obama and Democrats as they head into the 2012 election cycle.

Midwesterners similarly feel that their region is headed in the wrong direction with 66% viewing it as off-track and 23% seeing it headed in the right direction. Some of the pessimistic views of Midwesterners can be attributed to economic

conditions, especially stubbornly high unemployment rates. Direction questions generally track

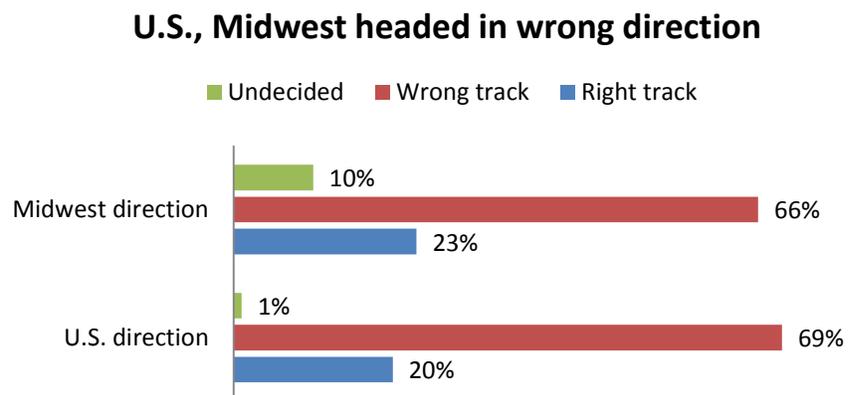


Figure 1. U.S. and Midwest Direction

with economic conditions: the better the economy, the optimistic people are likely to be about the overall direction of the nation or region. Four of the states, Illinois, Indiana, Michigan and Missouri suffer from unemployment rates at or above the national average. Michigan has the fifth highest unemployment rate in the nation at 10.4% while Iowa has the sixth lowest at 6.1%.

Further evidence of the impact of joblessness on the Midwest is seen in the poll finding that unemployment is rated the most important economic issue by 37% of respondents, far greater than those who rate the federal budget deficit (12%), gas prices and energy cost (12%) or health care costs (9%) highest.

Midwesterners don't see much relief in sight in the near future. Nearly one-third of poll respondents (32%) said the economy hasn't bottomed out yet in the Midwest and conditions are getting worse. Just 22% of respondents believe the Midwest economy is getting better and 44% said conditions are staying about the same. The fact that these numbers aren't better 3 ½ years after the recession began can account for some of the public's mood regarding the direction of the nation and region. Five of the six states with the greatest drop in unemployment rates over the past year are from the Midwest (Michigan, Illinois, Indiana, Wisconsin and Ohio). While economic conditions may be improving slightly by the numbers, residents of the Midwest still feel they aren't seeing the impact.

The most recent national polling on the state of the economy found Americans more optimistic on the national economy. In a March, 2011 survey by American Research Group, Inc., 27% of Americans felt the economy was getting better, 42% felt it was getting worse, and 28% said it was staying the same.

Not all is doom and gloom.

Most Midwesterners indicate a high level of satisfaction living in the Midwest. On a scale of 1 to 10, with 10 being extremely satisfied, 70% of poll respondents said they rate living in the Midwest at least a 7. More than one-fourth of respondents (26%) rated living in the Midwest a 10 and just 3% rated it a 1. The mean average of all respondents is a 7.4.

Midwesterners are also sunny about longer term economic prospects. Most respondents (55%) said they see the Midwest economy getting better in the next five years while 18% said it will get worse. Even a plurality of those who see the Midwest currently headed in the wrong direction think it will get better in five years (46%/24%).

In response to an open-ended question on what they think the future holds for the Midwest, 37% gave positive outlooks, 22% were negative and remainder were either undecided or neutral.

## Globalization

While the trend towards increased trade, communications and travel among the countries of the world continues and enjoys support among America's government and business leaders, Americans have grown increasingly skeptical about the benefits of globalization. Washington Post-ABC News polls have tracked public opinion on globalization since 2001 and shown a steady decline in the number of people who view it as positive. In its most recent poll in January 2011, 36% of Americans view globalization as a good thing which is down from 60% who viewed it similarly in 2001 and 42% in 2003.

Midwesterners show a greater level of skepticism towards globalization according to the Monmouth College poll. When asked how the Midwest economy has fared as a result of globalization, poll respondents said by a margin of more than three to one it had lost more from globalization than said it had gained (20% gained and 64% lost).

This could partly explain some of the feelings of Midwesterners about the direction of the region. Among those who see the Midwest as heading in the wrong direction, 72% feel the Midwest has lost as a result of globalization. Even a plurality of those who see the Midwest headed in the right direction feel the region has lost from globalization (35% gained/46% lost).

Younger Midwesterners were slightly more likely to view globalization positively than other age groups, possibly due to their earlier exposure in life to global travel and communications. But the results in other demographic groups tracked the overall results in their view that the Midwest has lost as a result of globalization.

Some differences were found in educational and income characteristics. Respondents with at least four year college degrees were slightly more likely to see globalization as benefitting the Midwest than those with lesser levels of educational attainment (17% gained/65% lost v 24% gained/58% lost). This finding could reflect the demands for greater skill and educational levels required by businesses to meet the competitive

demands of the global economy. Also, those with incomes of at least \$75,000 are more likely to see the benefits of globalization for the Midwest but still 60% of them feel the Midwest has lost from globalization (16% gained/67% lost v 34% gained/60% lost). In spite of

### Has Midwest Gained or Lost in Globalized Economy?

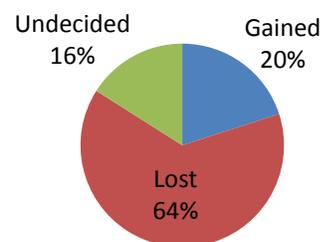


Figure 2. Impact of Globalization on the Midwest Economy

these small differences, a majority of all subgroups in the poll said the Midwest had been harmed by globalization.

The Monmouth College poll also found similarities among partisan views about globalization. The Washington Post-ABC News polls found Republican support for globalization slipping during the 2000s, declining from 57% support in 2001 to 27% in 2011. Among all those who identified themselves as Republicans, 22% feel globalization has been good for the Midwest compared with 18% of Democrats. However, among those who identified themselves as strong Republicans, just 16% felt that globalization was good for the Midwest, less than the 22% of strong Democrats with similar feelings.

### Globalization and Jobs

Why has opinion shifted so much during the past 10 years against globalization? One factor that seems to be strongly affecting public opinion is the impact of globalization on jobs. When asked whether globalization is good because it opened up new markets for American products and resulted in more jobs or bad because it subjected American companies and employees to unfair competition and cheap labor, Midwesterners by a nearly 3 to 1 margin chose the latter category (22% good/66% bad).

Midwesterners are slightly more likely to see globalization as having a negative impact on jobs than Americans as a whole, according to national trends reported in Wall Street Journal/NBC news polling. The question was asked in June, 1997, and 42% of respondents said globalization increased the number of jobs and 48% said it resulted in unfair competition. When the same question was asked in

December, 2007, just 28% of Americans felt globalization increased jobs in the U.S., a decline of 20 points, and 58% felt it resulted in unfair competition

The connection between attitudes towards globalization and its impact on jobs is seen in the Monmouth College poll. Among Midwesterners who feel the region's economy has gained because of globalization, 55% feel globalization has increased jobs and opened new markets for American goods. Among those who feel the Midwest economy has been harmed by

### Impact of Globalization on Midwest Economy and Jobs

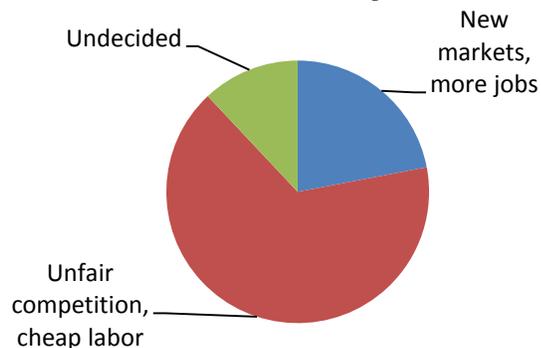


Figure 3. American Economy More Global: Good or Bad?

globalization, just 13% feel it has increased jobs while 78% feel it has subjected American companies and workers to unfair competition.

Results among subgroups on this question are similar to views about whether globalization has been good or bad for the Midwest economy. African-Americans are slightly more likely than whites to see globalization as increasing jobs (27% v 22%). Women more often believe that globalization has subjected Americans to unfair competition than men (70% v 60%). Midwesterners with four year degrees or higher levels of education more often see globalization as good because it created jobs than those with lower levels of education (16% good/71% bad v 35% good/54% bad). The break-off point by income groups is \$100,000 with those making less than this amount more likely to see globalization resulting in unfair competition (18% good/81% bad) and those making more than \$100,000 evenly divided on the impact of globalization (43% good/43% bad). Some variance was found by partisan affiliation on this question, with strong Republicans more likely than strong Democrats to view globalization as bad because it subjects Americans companies to unfair competition and cheap labor (20% good/69% bad v 24%/61%).

### Globalization and Manufacturing

The foundations of the Midwest economy throughout most of its history have been manufacturing and agriculture. The Midwest is home to five of the top 10 states with the largest contributions to manufacturing GDP— Ohio, Illinois, Indiana, Michigan and Wisconsin. Detroit has been synonymous with the Big Three American auto manufacturers, Akron with the rubber industry and Gary with steel. Manufacturing is important to the U.S. economy because it generally pays higher wages and benefits than other sectors of the economy such as retail and services.

As other nations developed industrial sectors of their economies, competitive pressures forced American manufacturers to seek cheaper locations in the South, move their facilities overseas or close them altogether. Some foreign companies have opened manufacturing facilities in the Midwest but

### Has Globalization Helped or Harmed Manufacturing and Agriculture in the Midwest?

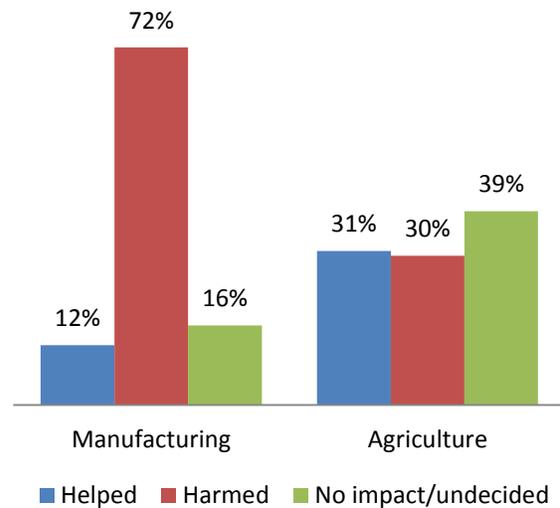


Figure 4. Impact of Globalization on Manufacturing and Agriculture in the Midwest

the perception remains that the Midwest manufacturing base has suffered as a result of globalization.

This feeling is confirmed in the poll as 72% of Midwesterners believe that globalization has harmed manufacturing in the region and just 12% believe it has helped manufacturing in the region. Even among those who feel the Midwest has gained overall from globalization, 52% feel it has harmed the manufacturing sector. And, among those who feel globalization has created jobs in the Midwest, 46% feel it has harmed manufacturing. These respondents perhaps feel that restructuring of the manufacturing sector, while painful in the short term, will produce more opportunities for the Midwest in long term. But large majorities of all subgroups, including the most educated and wealthiest of respondents, feel that globalization has been harmful to manufacturing in the Midwest. Strong Republicans are even more likely to say globalization has harmed manufacturing in the Midwest than strong Democrats.

### **Globalization and Agriculture**

The Midwest features some of the leading agricultural producing states in the nation. Iowa and Illinois are leaders in corn, soybean and livestock production. According to the U.S.D.A., five of the top 10 agricultural producing states in the nation are in the Midwest (Iowa, Illinois, Minnesota, Indiana and Missouri). The Midwest is also home to four of the top 10 farm exporting states in the U.S.—Iowa, Illinois, Minnesota and Indiana.

Global growth in food production helped farm equipment manufacturers such as Deere and Caterpillar, both headquartered in Illinois. Opening of new markets overseas enabled American farmers to sell more products around the globe and maintain farm prices. However, competition from foreign producers like Brazil and China has limited the gains of American farmers. Farmers have similar concerns about unfair competition as manufacturers with their focus on subsidization of agriculture in foreign countries.

Opinions are more mixed regarding the impact of globalization on agriculture in the Midwest. Similar numbers of Midwesterners feel that globalization has helped agriculture in the region (31%) and harmed it in the region (30%). Another 21% feel it has had no impact and 17% were undecided. Strong majorities of respondents who feel globalization has been good and created jobs for the Midwest say Midwest agriculture has benefitted from globalization. Smaller pluralities of those who see globalization as harmful to the Midwest and subjecting American businesses to unfair competition say globalization has been harmful to agriculture in the Midwest.

Some variation is seen by education and income levels with respondents with college degrees or higher and those with incomes of more than \$75,000 more likely to see the benefits of globalization to agriculture than those with lesser incomes and education. A slight plurality of

strong Democrats believes globalization has helped Midwest agriculture compared with those who say it has been harmful (33% helped /28% harmed) while the opposite is true among strong Republicans (27% helped/36% harmed). In addition, women are more likely to view globalization as more harmful to Midwest agriculture than men (36% v 23%).

### Globalization and China

The emergence of China as a global economic powerhouse in the past two decades created both tremendous opportunities and ominous threats for the U.S. economy. As China grew from a Third World economy to a leading global producer and consumer, U.S. firms and farmers benefited from Chinese production and consumer needs. But China also presents a low cost competitor in the global marketplace and is the object of American concerns about unfair competition and currency manipulation. The Midwest economy stands to benefit from China’s growth and demand for manufacturing and agricultural goods but is also vulnerable to China as a low cost competitor in the global marketplace. China is the second largest trading partner of the U.S. and it is the 2<sup>nd</sup> or 3<sup>rd</sup> largest export market for six of the eight states in the Midwest (Illinois, Michigan, Minnesota, Missouri, Ohio and Wisconsin). However, the U.S. merchandise trade deficit with China has skyrocketed to \$273 billion in 2010 from \$10 billion in 1990.

The poll asked Midwesterners if they saw China as more of an opportunity for new markets and investment or a threat to jobs and economic security in the region. Three times as many respondents view China as a threat than as an opportunity (61% threat v 22% opportunity). The number of Midwesterners who see China as a threat is the same as a nationwide poll taken in January by the Washington Post/ABC News. The number of Midwesterners who see China as an opportunity in the Monmouth College poll is higher than the Washington Post/ABC poll— 29% v 22%.

Views about China tend to track with attitudes toward globalization in general. For example, a plurality of respondents who feel the Midwest has gained from globalization see China as an opportunity (44% opportunity/36% threat) but, among those who feel the Midwest has lost from globalization, 16% see it as an opportunity and 71% see it as a threat. Similarly, among those who feel globalization created new

### China: Economic Opportunity for Midwest or Threat to Jobs and Economic Security?

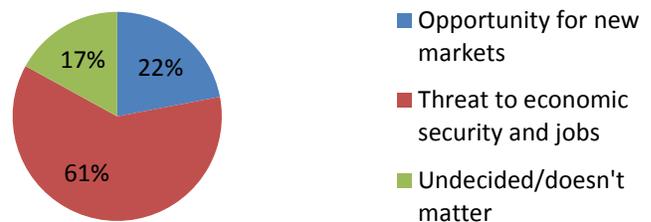


Figure 5. China’s Role in Global Economy: Opportunity or Threat to the Midwest?

opportunities for the Midwest, 51% of respondents see China in positive terms and 28% see it as a threat and, among those who see globalization in terms of unfair competition, 11% see China as an opportunity and 76% see it as a threat.

Similar variations are found among subgroups as the other questions on globalization. Those with higher incomes and higher levels of education are more likely to view China as an opportunity although majorities of all groups still see it as a threat. More strong Democrats than strong Republicans view China as an opportunity (27% v 16%) and more strong Republicans than strong Democrats see China as a threat (75% v 57%). Continuing a trend found involving differences of opinion towards globalization by gender, women are more likely to view China as a threat than men (64% v 57%).

## Trade

One of the most important aspects of globalization is trade among the nations of the world. The New York Times/CBS polls have tracked national views on foreign trade since the passage of the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) in 1993. From 1993 to 2009, American views have shifted very little regarding their attitudes toward trade. On balance, Americans view trade with other countries, both buying and selling, as good rather than bad by a roughly 3 to 1 margin. The last time the question was asked in April 2009, 67% felt trade was good for the U.S. economy and 23% felt it was bad.

In the Monmouth College poll, Midwesterners are less positive towards trade's impact on their region than Americans as a whole. A plurality of poll respondents (46%) said trade for good for the Midwest economy and 36% said it is bad. Like most Americans, Midwesterners likely feel torn between the benefits of cheaper goods available from foreign countries, such as electronics and autos, but leery about the impacts from trade, especially unfair competition, on domestic businesses and employees.

There is a striking contrast on this issue between those who feel the Midwest has gained from globalization and those who feel it has lost from globalization. Among the former group, 84% feel trade is good for the Midwest economy and among the latter group, 47% believe trade is bad for the Midwest economy and 36% feel it

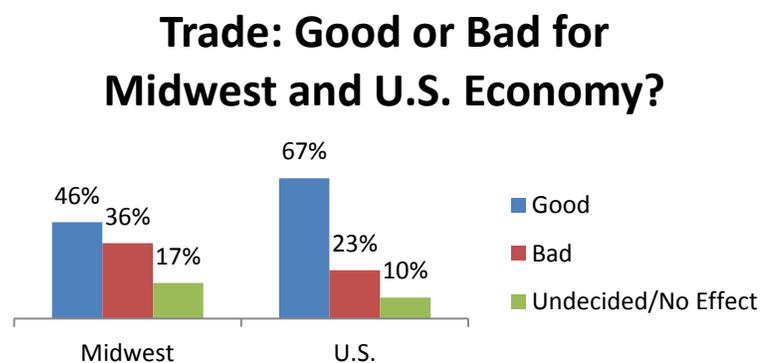


Figure 6. Impact of Trade on the Midwest and U.S. Economy

is good for the region's economy.

Majorities of Midwesterners with higher levels of education (college degree or greater) and higher incomes (greater than \$75,000) view trade as a positive for the Midwest economy compared with lower levels of those with lesser incomes and levels of education. There is a difference in attitudes among men and women on trade as well, with men more likely to say trade is good for the Midwest economy (50% good /34% bad) and women more likely to say it is bad for the Midwest economy (43% bad/38% good).

Strong Democrats are the only partisan group where a more believes trade is good for the Midwest economy than bad (53% good/26% bad). A plurality of both Republicans (41% good/44% bad) and Independents (38% good/43% bad) feel trade is bad for the Midwest economy.

### Trade and Jobs

While Midwesterners have a slightly positive view of trade as a whole, a wide majority feels that trade with other countries has resulted in job losses for the Midwest. Nearly two thirds of poll respondents (65%) said that trade leads to job losses in the region compared with 19% who said trade leads to job creation in the Midwest.

The results are similar to national polls that measure the effect of trade on jobs in the U.S. A Wall Street Journal/NBC News poll from September, 2010, showed that 18% of Americans believe free trade agreements helped create jobs in the U.S. and 69% felt it cost jobs in the U.S. These polls worded the question slightly differently from the Monmouth College poll in that it asked about the impact of "free trade agreements" on jobs in the U.S. rather than "U.S. trade" as in the Monmouth College poll. The results are similar enough to believe that the wording may not make a difference in the results.

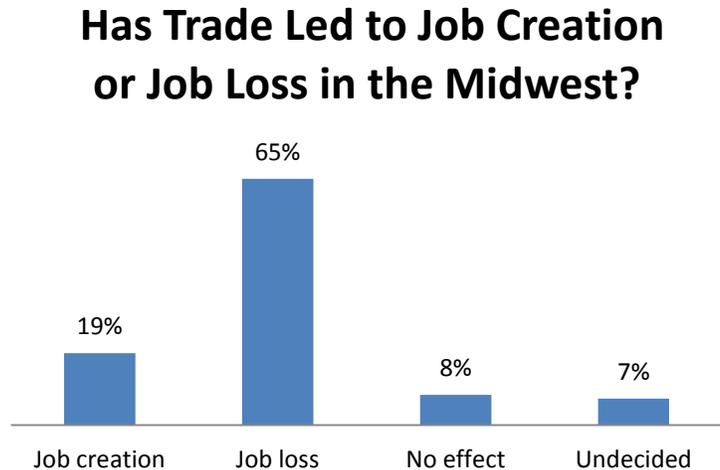


Figure 7. Impact of Trade on Jobs in the Midwest

As with the previous question on trade, Midwesterners' overall views on globalization shape their attitudes on jobs and trade. Among those who feel the Midwest has gained from globalization, 44% believe trade led to job creation in the Midwest and 33% said it led to job

losses. Among those who feel the Midwest has lost from globalization, just 13% feel trade created jobs in the Midwest and 75% said it led to job losses.

A plurality of those who feel trade overall is good for the Midwest think it resulted in job losses for the region (37% job gains/41% job losses) while 93% of those who feel trade is bad for the Midwest feel it has led to job losses.

Midwesterners making more than \$75,000 and those with educations greater than a bachelor's degree are slightly more likely to believe that trade led to job gains in the Midwest than those with less education and incomes but majorities of all groups feel trade has led to job losses in the Midwest. The gender gap found in the poll on globalization and trade issues applies to this question as well with women more likely to feel trade has led to job losses than men (men: 22% job gains/59% job losses v women 16% job gains/70% job losses).

The trends found in the poll on partisan differences apply to this issue as well. Strong Republicans are more likely to see trade leading to job losses in the Midwest (16% job gains/62% job losses) than Strong Democrats (23% job gains/59% job losses) and Independents (14% job gains/72% job losses).

### Trade Restrictions v Free Trade

What, if anything, can be done to stop the loss of jobs in the Midwest due to trade?

Respondents were asked whether they believe trade restrictions are necessary to protect domestic industries or whether they prefer that free trade be allowed because it helps the overall economy even if domestic industries are hurt. Nearly one-half (49%) of Midwesterners support trade restrictions while 39% favor unfettered free trade. The results show more support for free trade in the Midwest than nationally. In April, 2009, the New York Times/CBS poll found 60% of Americans in support of trade restrictions and 28% in favor of free trade even if domestic industries are hurt by foreign competition.

Midwesterners' views on globalization and trade impact their attitudes about trade restrictions. Among respondents who feel globalization has been good for the Midwest, 34% support trade restrictions and 56% support free trade while, among those who believe globalization has been bad for

### Trade Restrictions Versus Free Trade

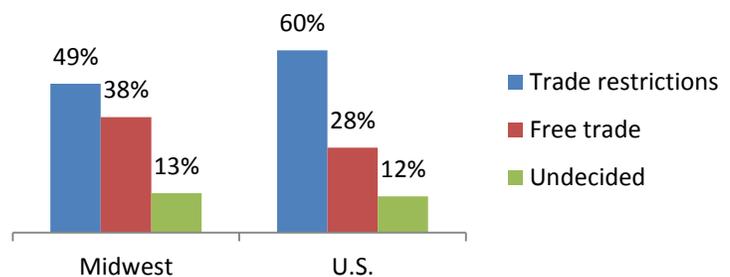


Figure 8. Trade Policy Options: Free Trade or Trade Restrictions?

the Midwest, 57% support trade restrictions and 32% support free trade. Among those who think U.S. trade with other countries is a good thing for the Midwest economy, 35% support trade restrictions and 53% support free trade and, among those who think U.S. trade is a bad thing, 66% support trade restrictions and 25% support free trade. Finally, among those who feel trade has led to job creation in the Midwest, 27% support trade restrictions and 65% support free trade compared with 59% who support trade restrictions and 29% who support free trade among those who feel trade has led to job losses in the Midwest.

The break-off point by educational level for this question is four-year college degrees: respondents with that level of education or lower are more likely to support trade restrictions than those with higher levels of education (50% trade restrictions/35% free trade v 40% trade restrictions/50% free trade). Those making \$75,000 or less are more likely to support trade restrictions than those reporting an income of more than that amount (50% trade restrictions free trade/40% v 43% trade restrictions/50% free trade).

There are other differences of opinion according to race, gender and partisan identification. Whites more often support trade restrictions than African-Americans (Whites: 49% trade restrictions/37% free trade v African Americans: 38% trade restrictions/44% free trade); women are more likely to support trade restrictions than men (men: 46% trade restrictions/43% free trade v women: 51%trade restrictions/33% free trade); and Independents support trade restrictions more often than strong Democrats and strong Republicans (Ind: 52% trade restrictions/35% free trade; Dem: 47%trade restrictions/40% free trade; Rep: 39% trade restrictions/50% free trade). Majorities of Independents who lean either Democrat or Republican also favor trade restrictions (55% and 56% respectively).

### **Legal Immigration**

One of the critical issues related to globalization is the free movement of people across borders throughout the world. Many countries, including the United States, have legal limits on the number of immigrants allowed to become citizens each year. Illegal immigration has become a thorny issue with economic, demographic and political consequences.

Midwesterners generally welcome legal immigration into the nation with 63% thinking it helps the country and makes it a better place to live and 28% believing it hurts the country and makes it a worse place to live. These numbers differ from a national poll taken in May 2010 by Fox News/Opinion Dynamics which showed that 41% feel legal immigration helps the country and 31% believe it hurts the country.

There are clear distinctions about legal immigration in the Midwest according to education, income and partisan affiliation. Those with a bachelor degree or more of education are much more likely to view legal immigration as good for the U.S. compared with those with less education (80% v 54%).

Midwesterners with a household income of more than \$75,000 are more likely to see legal immigration as good for the country than those with less household income (76% v 61%). And, strong Democrats more often see legal immigration as a good thing for the U.S. (68%) than strong Republicans (59%) and Independents (52%).

## Does Legal Immigration Help or Harm U.S.?

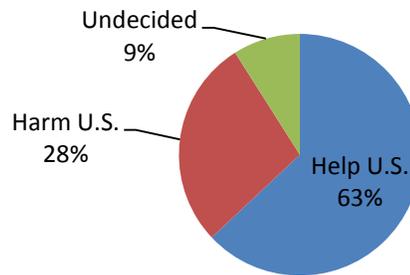


Figure 9. Midwest Opinions on Immigration

### Illegal Immigration

Midwest opinions are largely in step with national views on how serious a problem illegal immigration is for the country. In the Monmouth College poll, 86% of Midwesterners say that illegal immigration is a problem with 62% viewing it as a very serious problem and 24% saying it is somewhat serious. Only 10% of the poll respondents said it was not a problem. In a CBS News poll conducted in August, 2010, 88% of respondents nationwide said illegal immigration was a serious issue and 11% said it was not a serious issue. Among those who said it was a serious issue, 61% said was a very serious issue and 27% said it was somewhat serious.

While majorities of all subgroups believe illegal immigration is a very serious issue, there are differences within each subgroup as to how many view it as a very serious issue. By age, Midwesterners age 50 and older are more likely to see illegal immigration as a very serious issue than those under 50 (69% v 56%). By race, 64% of Whites view illegal immigration as a very serious issue compared with 48% of African-Americans. By gender, 66% of women see illegal immigration as a very serious issue compared with 59% of men. By educational background, those who have less than a four-year degree view illegal immigration as a very serious issue more often than those with college degrees and higher (67% v 53%). Midwestern households with income of less than \$75,000 see illegal immigration as a very serious issue more often than those with incomes of more than \$75,000 (65% v 57%). Finally, 73% of strong Republicans view illegal immigration as a very serious issue compared with 68% of Independents and 46% of Democrats.

In general, Midwesterners who view globalization and trade as having harmed the country tend to be more likely to view illegal immigration as a very serious issue than those who view globalization and trade more favorably. Even 64% of Midwesterners who believe legal immigration is good for the country feel that illegal immigration is a very serious issue.

### Immigration Reform

Midwest opinion also tracks closely to national opinion on immigration reform. Two prominent solutions to illegal immigration include the integration of illegal immigrants into American society through pathways to citizenship and stricter enforcement of current laws and deportation of illegal immigrants. Nearly two-thirds of Midwesterners (65%) favor the tougher approach while 24% support pathways to citizenship for illegal immigrants. In a Quinnipiac University poll from September, 2010, 68% of national respondents said they favored stricter enforcement of current laws and deportation of illegal immigrants and 24% support the integration of illegal immigrants into American society through pathways to citizenship.

There are some significant differences of opinion on this question in the subgroups included in the poll.

Midwesterners 65 years of age and older more often favor stricter enforcement of immigration laws than those younger than 65 (71% v 64%). Whites are more likely to support stricter enforcement than African-Americans (66% v 54%). Respondents with less

than bachelor degrees more often favored stricter enforcement than those with bachelor degrees and higher levels of education (71% v 54%). Those with incomes of less than \$75,000 were more likely to support stricter enforcement than those with incomes of greater than \$75,000 (67% v 57%). And, 83% of strong Republicans favored stricter enforcement compared with 72% of Independents and 48% of strong Democrats.

Among respondents who feel legal immigration helps make the country better, 61% favor stricter enforcement of existing immigration laws and deportation of illegal immigrants. Those who feel illegal immigration is a very serious issue are more in favor of stricter enforcement of current laws (79%) than those who see it as a less serious issue.

### Immigration Reform Focus: Integration or Enforcement?

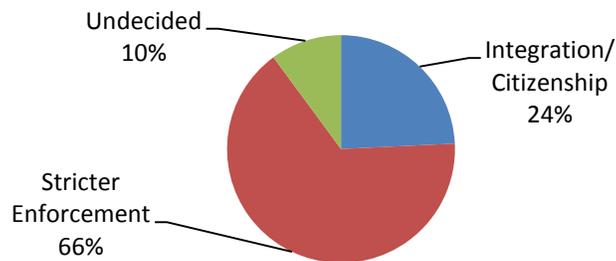


Figure 10. Immigration Policy Options:  
Integration/Citizenship or Stricter Enforcement?

## Arizona Immigration Law

A controversial law enacted last year in Arizona gives police the authority to ask people they have stopped to verify their residency status. Supporters of the law argued that it would help crack down on illegal immigration while opponents said it was an unconstitutional infringement on civil rights and could lead to racial profiling. The law was challenged in the federal courts where it is currently being considered.

The law drew nationwide attention and lawmakers in nearly all states drafted bills with language similar to the Arizona law. No other state has yet passed a law with Arizona-style language although such legislation is proceeding in five states, including Indiana from the Midwest.

The poll found strong support for enacting state laws like the Arizona legislation in the Midwest, with 62% of respondents in favor and 29% opposing. Among those supporting such a law, nearly one-half (49%) strongly support and among those in opposition, 17% strongly oppose. Using language the same as the Monmouth poll, a Washington Post/ABC News poll from June, 2010, found a slightly lower level of support nationwide (58%) but a higher level of opposition (41%).

There are variations in the intensity of feelings on this issue among the subgroups of the poll. Intensity can be measured by the number of respondents *strongly* in favor of or opposed to a question or issue. By age, Midwesterners 50 years of age or greater are more likely to strongly support an Arizona-type law in their state than those under 50

(56% v 43%). By race, Whites more often strongly favor Arizona-type laws on immigration than African-Americans (52% v 29%) and African-Americans are more likely to strongly oppose such measures than Whites (36% v 14%), likely because of fears of racial profiling. Those with less than bachelor degree levels of education were more likely to strongly support this type of law than those with bachelor degrees or higher levels of education (53% v 42%). Those with higher levels of education were also more likely to strongly oppose such a law than those with less education (23% v 13%). Respondents making less than \$100,000 more often supported

### Arizona Immigration Bill: Support or Oppose for Midwest States?

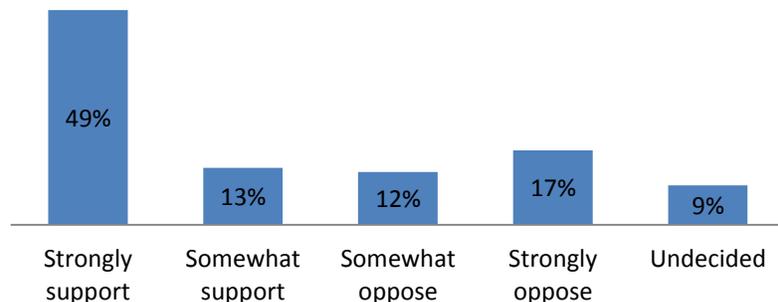


Figure 11. Midwest Opinions on Arizona Immigration Law

Arizona-like immigration legislation for their states than those making less than that amount (50% v 39%). And, 67% of strong Republicans favored this legislation compared with 51% of Independents and 33% of strong Democrats. Strong Democrats strongly oppose this legislation more often than other partisan groups (28% v 17% Independents and 2% strong Republicans).

Arizona-type immigration laws are more strongly favored by those who see legal immigration as hurting the country, those who see illegal immigration as a very serious issue and those who support stricter enforcement of laws as a solution to illegal immigration. Those who generally view globalization and trade negatively also tend to be more strongly supportive of their states adopting Arizona-type immigration laws.

### Midwest Identity

Two open-ended questions were asked to learn more about Midwesterner’s sense of place and values associated with the region. Respondents were asked to identify which states they thought of when they heard the word Midwest. There is a weak correlation between state of residence and the states named, for the eight states from which respondents were drawn were listed by one hundred or more respondents as Midwestern

(QQ. 7 and 28). If there is a pattern here, it is one of an absence of consensus and, at one level, a bit of confusion about the Midwest. The inclusion of Ohio and Michigan suggests that the Midwest still carries some identification with the historic “Old Northwest” of the Northwest Territories (Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, Minnesota, Ohio, and Wisconsin), though Iowa, so often thought of as the quintessential Midwestern state, finished second in the number of times named despite having only 5% of the total respondents.

| Rank | State | Number of times named | Number of respondents from state |
|------|-------|-----------------------|----------------------------------|
| 1    | IL    | 255                   | 95                               |
| 2    | IA    | 181                   | 25                               |
| 3    | IN    | 171                   | 45                               |
| 4    | OH    | 159                   | 100                              |
| 5    | WI    | 141                   | 50                               |
| 6    | MI    | 134                   | 85                               |
| 7    | MN    | 129                   | 50                               |
| 8    | MO    | 101                   | 50                               |
| 9    | KS    | 58                    | 0                                |
| 10   | NE    | 49                    | 0                                |
| 11   | SD    | 39                    | 0                                |
| 12   | ND    | 37                    | 0                                |
| 13   | KY    | 21                    | 0                                |
| 14   | AR    | 14                    | 0                                |
| 14   | OK    | 14                    | 0                                |
| 16   | PA    | 10                    | 0                                |

Table 1. Midwest Identification by States

Another question asked respondents what values they thought of when they heard the word “Midwest.” The three leading responses were hardworking (17%), traditional (15%) and family oriented (13%). These responses fit with traditional images of the Midwest representing the “Heartland” of the country with a common sense, middle of the road culture. Other responses

to the question included conservative (8%), honest/good people (7%) agricultural/farming (4%) and Christian (4%).

## **Conclusion**

As the United States has become more integrated into the global economy over the past 10 years, public opinion moved in the opposite direction. National polls have shown a gradual decline in the number of people who think globalization is a good thing since 2001. Support for trade remained steady since N.A.F.T.A. passed in 1993 but Americans increasingly believe that trade often comes in the form of unfair competition and cheap labor and results in the loss of jobs.

Opinion in the Midwest is even more skeptical of globalization according to the Monmouth College poll. Greater numbers of Midwesterners believe globalization harms the region, subjects American companies to unfair competition and cheap labor, and is particularly harmful to manufacturing in the region, and resulted in job losses than people nationwide. And Midwesterners are less likely to see China as an opportunity for new markets and investment. Regarding immigration issues, Midwest opinions are similar to nationwide views that illegal immigration is a very serious problem, reform efforts should focus on stricter enforcement rather than integration. There is even strong support for Arizona-style immigration reform.

It is apparent that either national governmental and business leaders need to do a better job of educating Midwesterners on the benefits of globalization or they may be out of touch with opinions in the Heartland. Even among Midwesterners with higher incomes and higher levels of education, people who might be more open to globalization and aware of its benefits, majorities feel it has harmed the Midwest.

Not all Midwest opinion is unfavorable to globalization and trade. Attitudes are mixed on whether globalization has harmed agriculture. A plurality of Midwesterners feels that trade with other countries is good for the Midwest. And, not all Midwesterners who believe globalization and trade have unfairly put American firms at a disadvantage and reduced jobs think the answer lies in trade restrictions. While support for trade limits was nearly 50% of poll respondents, it is less than the roughly 65% who otherwise have negative feelings about globalization and trade. There may be some realization in the region that globalization and trade, while harmful in the short term, may be beneficial in the longer term.

The results may be jarring for leaders in government and business who advocate for further global integration. However, it is highly likely there is no going back to a less globalized economy. Leaders can perhaps demonstrate the benefits of globalization by growing the regional economy to address the leading issue of unemployment. The results may also be surprising for those who feel that supporters of a hard-line approach to illegal immigration are limited to border states.

It is our hope that this inaugural Monmouth College Midwest Initiative poll can serve to educate leadership and the public and further strengthen the region.

## **About Monmouth College**

Intellectually challenging and individually supportive, Monmouth College offers a comprehensive liberal arts experience in an idyllic Midwest setting. Immersion in its distinctive general education curriculum develops competence and confidence for pursuing advanced study or a profession, while an emphasis on learning beyond the classroom fosters leadership skills, practical experience and social responsibility. A dedicated faculty and staff provide unparalleled personal and career guidance, while an active alumni community supports students through scholarships, internships and career networking opportunities.

- **Location:** Monmouth, Illinois, population 9,900
- **Founded:** 1853
- **Nearest cities:** Quad Cities—Rock Island, Moline and East Moline, Ill.; Davenport and Bettendorf, Iowa—(45 miles) Peoria (65 miles)
- **Enrollment:** 1,347 students
- **Demographics:** 52% men, 48% women; 93% live on campus
- **Calendar:** Semester (Two 17-week terms)
- **Areas of Study:** 33 majors, 30 minors, 16 pre-professional programs
- **Degree Awarded:** Bachelor of Arts
- **Student/Faculty ratio:** 14:1
- **Average class size:** 18 (55% of classes have fewer than 20 students)
- **Campus:** 106 acres, including a 33-acre nature preserve / athletic park
- **Affiliations & Accreditations:** Charter member of the Associated Colleges of the Midwest (ACM), a consortium of leading liberal arts colleges; Presbyterian Church (U.S.A.); American Chemical Society; North Central Association of Colleges and Schools since 1913.

## **About the Midwest Matters Initiative**

Launched in 2009, Monmouth College's Midwest Matters initiative seeks to contribute an academic voice to the conversation about the revitalization of the Midwest region within an increasingly globalized world. Activities include symposia, political forums, scholarly publications, polls, grant writing, academic courses and exhibits.

Coordinators of the program are Simon Cordery, associate professor of history; and Fred Witzig, assistant professor of history. Robin A. Johnson, lecturer in political science, contributes political expertise to the program.

**Funds for this research were provided by Midwest Bank of Western Illinois.**



**Survey: Midwest Attitudes Toward Globalization  
Spring 2011**

**Field Date: March 23-24, 2011  
Completed Surveys: 500  
Margin of Error: +/- 4.4%**

**Q1. For statistical purposes only, would you please tell me which category your age falls into?**

|            |     |       |
|------------|-----|-------|
| 18-34..... | 115 | 23.0% |
| 35-49..... | 140 | 28.0% |
| 50-64..... | 145 | 29.0% |
| 65+.....   | 100 | 20.0% |

**Q2. And again, for statistical purposes only, what is your race or ethnicity, white, black, Asian, Hispanic or something else?**

|                     |     |       |
|---------------------|-----|-------|
| White.....          | 434 | 86.8% |
| Black.....          | 52  | 10.4% |
| Asian.....          | 3   | 0.6%  |
| Hispanic.....       | 2   | 0.4%  |
| Something else..... | 7   | 1.4%  |
| Refused.....        | 2   | 0.4%  |

**Q3. Gender**

|             |     |       |
|-------------|-----|-------|
| Male.....   | 240 | 48.0% |
| Female..... | 260 | 52.0% |

**Q4. Do you feel things in this country are generally going in the right direction or do you feel things have gotten off on the wrong track?**

|                  |     |       |
|------------------|-----|-------|
| Right track..... | 100 | 20.0% |
| Wrong track..... | 346 | 69.2% |
| Undecided.....   | 51  | 10.2% |
| Refused.....     | 3   | 0.6%  |

**Q5. Do you feel things in the Midwest region are generally going in the right direction or do you feel things have gotten off on the wrong track?**

|                  |     |       |
|------------------|-----|-------|
| Right track..... | 114 | 22.8% |
| Wrong track..... | 332 | 66.4% |
| Undecided.....   | 52  | 10.4% |
| Refused.....     | 2   | 0.4%  |

**Q6. All things considered, on a scale of 1-10 (one being not satisfied at all, ten being extremely satisfied) how satisfied are you to live in the Midwest?**

|         |     |       |
|---------|-----|-------|
| 1.....  | 15  | 3.0%  |
| 2.....  | 7   | 1.4%  |
| 3.....  | 12  | 2.4%  |
| 4.....  | 19  | 3.8%  |
| 5.....  | 71  | 14.2% |
| 6.....  | 27  | 5.4%  |
| 7.....  | 61  | 12.2% |
| 8.....  | 106 | 21.2% |
| 9.....  | 53  | 10.6% |
| 10..... | 129 | 25.8% |

**Q7. When you hear the word Midwest, what states do you immediately think of?**

See page (Verbatim answers inserted in complete book) for verbatim answers

**Q8. When you hear the word Midwest, what values do you immediately think of?**

|                           |    |       |
|---------------------------|----|-------|
| Agricultural/Farming..... | 21 | 4.2%  |
| Christian.....            | 19 | 3.8%  |
| Conservative.....         | 38 | 7.6%  |
| Family oriented.....      | 66 | 13.2% |
| Hardworking.....          | 87 | 17.4% |
| Honest/good people.....   | 35 | 7.0%  |
| Traditional.....          | 75 | 15.0% |
| Other.....                | 63 | 12.6% |
| Don't know/Refused.....   | 96 | 19.2% |

**Q9. What do you think the future holds for the Midwest?**

|                       |     |       |
|-----------------------|-----|-------|
| Positive outlook..... | 187 | 37.4% |
| Negative outlook..... | 109 | 21.8% |
| Neutral outlook.....  | 47  | 9.4%  |
| Don't know.....       | 113 | 22.6% |
| Refused.....          | 43  | 8.6%  |

**Q10. Do you think the economy in the Midwest is getting better, getting worse or staying about the same?**

|                |     |       |
|----------------|-----|-------|
| Better.....    | 109 | 21.8% |
| Worse.....     | 158 | 31.6% |
| Same.....      | 220 | 44.0% |
| Undecided..... | 13  | 2.6%  |
| Refused.....   | 0   | 0     |

**Q11. Thinking about the future direction of the Midwest economy five years from now, do you think things in the Midwest will get better, get worse or be about the same as they are now?**

|                |     |       |
|----------------|-----|-------|
| Better.....    | 275 | 55.0% |
| Worse.....     | 90  | 18.0% |
| Same.....      | 92  | 18.4% |
| Undecided..... | 43  | 8.6%  |
| Refused.....   | 0   | 0     |

**Q12. Now, I'm going to read you some issues that affect the economy. As of today, which of the following is the single most important economic issue facing the Midwest?**

|  |     |       |
|--|-----|-------|
| Unemployment.....                              | 183 | 36.6% |
| The federal budget deficit.....                | 60  | 12.0% |
| The cost of health care.....                   | 43  | 8.6%  |
| Impact of foreign trade and globalization..... | 17  | 3.4%  |
| Gas prices and energy costs.....               | 58  | 11.6% |
| Federal taxes.....                             | 4   | 0.8%  |
| Pension security.....                          | 6   | 1.2%  |
| Housing prices.....                            | 9   | 1.8%  |
| Changes in the stock market.....               | 4   | 0.8%  |
| All equally important.....                     | 107 | 21.4% |
| None.....                                      | 5   | 1.0%  |
| Not sure.....                                  | 4   | 0.8%  |

**Q13. Globalization is the increase of trade, communication, travel and other things among countries around the world. In general, has the Midwest economy gained more or lost more because of globalization?**

|                |     |       |
|----------------|-----|-------|
| Gained.....    | 99  | 19.8% |
| Lost.....      | 318 | 63.6% |
| Undecided..... | 82  | 16.4% |
| Refused.....   | 1   | 0.2%  |

**Q14. 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.....      | 112 | 22.4% |
| Bad.....       | 328 | 65.6% |
| Undecided..... | 57  | 11.4% |
| Refused.....   | 3   | 0.6%  |

**Q15. Has globalization helped, harmed or had no impact on manufacturing in the Midwest economy?**

|                |     |       |
|----------------|-----|-------|
| Helped.....    | 60  | 12.0% |
| Harmed.....    | 358 | 71.6% |
| No impact..... | 38  | 7.6%  |
| Undecided..... | 42  | 8.4%  |
| Refused.....   | 2   | 0.4%  |

**Q16. Has globalization helped, harmed or had no impact on agriculture in the Midwest economy?**

|                |     |       |
|----------------|-----|-------|
| Helped.....    | 157 | 31.4% |
| Harmed.....    | 150 | 30.0% |
| No impact..... | 107 | 21.4% |
| Undecided..... | 84  | 16.8% |
| Refused.....   | 2   | 0.4%  |

**Q17. On balance, do you think U.S. trade with other countries - both buying and selling products - is good for the Midwest economy, or is it bad for the Midwest economy, or does it have no effect?**

|                |     |       |
|----------------|-----|-------|
| Good.....      | 232 | 46.4% |
| Bad.....       | 180 | 36.0% |
| No effect..... | 34  | 6.8%  |
| Undecided..... | 51  | 10.2% |
| Refused.....   | 3   | 0.6%  |

**Q18. Overall, would you say U.S. trade with other countries leads to job creation for the Midwest, job loss for the Midwest or does U.S. trade with other countries have no effect on Midwest jobs?**

|                   |     |       |
|-------------------|-----|-------|
| Job creation..... | 96  | 19.2% |
| Job Loss.....     | 323 | 64.6% |
| No effect.....    | 41  | 8.2%  |
| Undecided.....    | 36  | 7.2%  |
| Refused.....      | 4   | 0.8%  |

**Q19. Some people say trade restrictions are necessary to protect domestic industries. Other people say free trade must be allowed because it helps the overall economy even if domestic industries are hurt. Which of the following statements comes closest to your opinion?**

|   |     |       |
|---|-----|-------|
| Trade restrictions are necessary to protect domestic Industries.....                                      | 243 | 48.6% |
| Free trade must be allowed because it helps the overall economy even if domestic industries are hurt..... | 189 | 37.8% |
| Undecided.....  | 62  | 12.4% |
| Refused.....  | 6   | 1.2%  |

**Q20. In economic terms, some people see China as more of an opportunity for new markets and investment, while others see it as a threat to jobs and economic security in the Midwest or does China not matter to the Midwest's economy. Which view is closer to your own?**

|   |     |       |
|---|-----|-------|
| Opportunity for new markets and investment .....          | 109 | 21.8% |
| A threat to jobs and economic security in the Midwest.... | 303 | 60.6% |
| Doesn't matter.....                                       | 38  | 7.6%  |
| Undecided.....  | 48  | 9.6%  |
| Refused.....  | 2   | 0.4%  |

**Q21. In general, do you think LEGAL immigrants who come to the United State today help the country and make it a better place to live or hurt the country and make it a worse place to live?**

|  |     |       |
|--|-----|-------|
| Help the country and make it a better place to live..... | 315 | 63.0% |
| Hurt the country and make it a worse place to live.....  | 138 | 27.6% |
| Undecided.....   | 44  | 8.8%  |
| Refused.....   | 3   | 0.6%  |

**Q22. How serious a problem do you think the issue of ILLEGAL immigration is for the country right now, very serious, somewhat serious, not too serious or not at all serious?**

|                         |     |       |
|-------------------------|-----|-------|
| Very serious.....       | 312 | 62.4% |
| Somewhat serious.....   | 122 | 24.4% |
| Not too serious.....    | 47  | 9.4%  |
| Not at all serious..... | 4   | 0.8%  |
| Undecided.....          | 14  | 2.8%  |
| Refused.....            | 1   | 0.2%  |

**Q23. Do you think immigration reform should primarily move in the direction of integrating illegal immigrants into American society through a pathway to citizenship, or in the direction of stricter enforcement of current laws and deportation of illegal immigrants?**

|   |     |       |
|---|-----|-------|
| Integrating illegal immigrants into American society.....   | 122 | 24.4% |
| Stricter enforcement of laws against illegal immigration... | 326 | 65.2% |
| Undecided.....  | 50  | 10.0% |
| Refused.....  | 2   | 0.4%  |

**Q24. A new law in Arizona gives police the authority to ask people they've stopped to verify their residency status. Supporters say this will help crack down on illegal immigration. Opponents say it could violate civil rights and lead to racial profiling. On balance, would you favor or oppose your state government from enacting a similar law?**

|                          |            |              |
|--------------------------|------------|--------------|
| Strongly favor.....      | 246        | 49.2%        |
| Somewhat favor.....      | 65         | 13.0%        |
| <b>TOTAL FAVOR.....</b>  | <b>311</b> | <b>62.2%</b> |
| Somewhat oppose.....     | 62         | 12.4%        |
| Strongly oppose.....     | 83         | 16.6%        |
| <b>TOTAL OPPOSE.....</b> | <b>145</b> | <b>29.0%</b> |
| Undecided.....           | 39         | 7.8%         |
| Refused.....             | 5          | 1.0%         |

**Q25. What is the last grade that you completed in school?**

|   |     |       |
|---|-----|-------|
| Grade school.....                               | 10  | 2.0%  |
| Some high school.....                           | 23  | 4.6%  |
| High school graduate.....                       | 173 | 34.6% |
| Some college, no degree.....                    | 75  | 15.0% |
| Vocational training/2-year college.....         | 44  | 8.8%  |
| 4-year college/bachelor's degree.....           | 95  | 19.0% |
| Some postgraduate work, no degree.....          | 8   | 1.6%  |
| 2-3 year postgraduate work/master's degree..... | 70  | 14.0% |
| Not sure/Refused.....                           | 2   | 0.4%  |

**Q26. If you added together the yearly income of all the members of your family who were living at home last year, please tell me in which category your family's annual income would fall into?**

|                                     |     |       |
|-------------------------------------|-----|-------|
| Less than \$15,000.....             | 40  | 8.0%  |
| Between \$15,000 and \$30,000.....  | 52  | 10.4% |
| Between \$30,000 and \$50,000.....  | 90  | 18.0% |
| Between \$50,000 and \$75,000.....  | 98  | 19.6% |
| Between \$75,000 and \$100,000..... | 63  | 12.6% |
| More than \$100,000.....            | 44  | 8.8%  |
| Refused.....                        | 113 | 22.6% |

**Q27. Generally speaking, do you think of yourself as a Democrat, a Republican, an independent or something else?**

|                                  |            |              |
|----------------------------------|------------|--------------|
| Strong Democrat.....             | 116        | 23.2%        |
| Not very strong Democrat.....    | 47         | 9.4%         |
| Independent/lean Democrat.....   | 40         | 8.0%         |
| <b>TOTAL DEMOCRAT.....</b>       | <b>203</b> | <b>40.6%</b> |
| Strictly Independent.....        | 69         | 13.8%        |
| Strong Republican.....           | 64         | 12.8%        |
| Not very strong Republican.....  | 51         | 10.2%        |
| Independent/lean Republican..... | 55         | 11.0%        |
| <b>TOTAL REPUBLICAN.....</b>     | <b>170</b> | <b>34.0%</b> |
| Something else.....              | 42         | 8.4%         |
| Refused.....                     | 16         | 3.2%         |

**Q28. In which state do you reside?**

|         |     |       |
|---------|-----|-------|
| IA..... | 25  | 5.0%  |
| IL..... | 95  | 19.0% |
| IN..... | 45  | 9.0%  |
| MI..... | 85  | 17.0% |
| MN..... | 50  | 10.0% |
| MO..... | 50  | 10.0% |
| OH..... | 100 | 20.0% |
| WI..... | 50  | 10.0% |