

Committee of 100

Hope *and* Fear

Full Report of C-100's Survey on
American and Chinese Attitudes Toward Each Other

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The report is prepared by the Committee of 100, with assistance from Zogby International and Horizon Research Consultancy Group.

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The Committee of 100 is deeply grateful to the Henry Luce Foundation for its support of this project.

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Table of Contents

SUBJECT

Background	1
Executive Summary	2
Figures	12
Narrative Analysis	16
Part I: Overall Impressions	16
Impressions of Each Country	16
Impressions of the People	20
Impressions of Culture	22
Impressions of the News Media	23
Impacts on Respective Impressions	23
Part II: China's Rise and Its Implications for U.S.-China Relations	27
Assessing International Influence	27
Responding to the Rise of China	29
Perspectives on the State of U.S.-China Relations	32
Part III: U.S.-China Common Issues	37
General Perceptions of Mutual Issues	37
Investigation of Specific Shared Problems	40
Assessing Congress's Understanding of China	52
Part IV: Domestic Challenges and Values	55
Views on Domestic Issues	55
Views on Immigration	60
Personal Goals	62
Patriotism	63
Methodology	65
Sample Characteristics	67
Appendix A: First Impression of China	71
Appendix B: First Impression of the U.S.	72
Appendix C: Top Issues Facing the U.S.	73
Appendix D: Top Issues Facing China	74

QUESTIONS

1.	General Feelings	16
2.	Elite's Assessment of General Public's Opinion	17
3.	Initial Thought	18
4.	Relocation Appeal	19
5.	Adoption	20
6.	Marriage Approval	21
7.	Cultural Impact	22
8.	Accuracy of Mutual Reporting	23
9.	Visitation	23
10.	Change of Opinion Due to Visitation	24
11.	Change of Opinion Due to U.S.-led War on Terror	25
12.	Media Sources for Different Population Groups	25
13.	Global Influence	27
14.	Future World Superpower	28
15.	Future Leading Power in East Asia	28
16.	China's Growing Military Power	29
17.	China's Growing Economy	30
18.	American Policy Toward China	31
19-25.	Important Foreign Partner	32
26.	Current Trends in U.S.-China Relations	33
27.	Responsibility for Worsening of Relations	34
28.	Chinese Government's Performance on Bilateral Relations	35
29.	U.S. Government's Performance on Bilateral Relations	35
30.	Greatest Concerns about U.S.-China Relations	37
31.	Common Interest	38
32.	Potential Conflicts	39
33.	U.S. Involvement in China-Taiwan Relations	40
34.	U.S. Military Obligations to Taiwan	40
35.	Current Cross-Strait Relations	41
36.	Solution to the Taiwan Issue	42
37.	Shared Benefit of Trade	42
38.	Benefit from Low-Cost Chinese Products	43
39.	Responsibility for Trade Deficit	44
40.	Chinese Product Safety	44
41.	Outsourcing and Loss of American Jobs	45
42.	Eliminating Outsourcing to China	46
43.	China's Investment in Africa	46
44.	Greatest Concerns about Doing Business	47
45.	Intellectual Property Rights in China	49
46.	Impact of U.S. Immigration Policy	49
47.	China's Future Role in the Global Economy	50
48.	Global Warming Concerns	51

49.	Environmental Stewardship in China	51
50.	Environmental Stewardship in the U.S.	52
51.	Access to Information on China in Congress	52
52.	Communication with Chinese Officials in Congress	53
53.	Usefulness of Exchanging with Chinese Officials	53
54.	Communication with Chinese Americans in Congress	53
55.	Usefulness of Exchanging with Chinese Americans	54
56.	Mood of the Country	55
57.	Most Pressing National Problems	56
58.	China's Emerging Middle Class	57
59.	China's Democracy	58
60.	Impact of 2008 Beijing Olympics	59
61.	China's Image during the 2008 Olympics	60
62.	Impact of Immigrants/Expatriates	60
63.	Opportunities for Immigrants/Expatriates	61
64.	Current Life Goal	62
65.	Level of Patriotism	63

BACKGROUND

The Committee of 100 (C-100) is a national non-partisan, non-profit membership organization comprised of prominent Chinese Americans in a broad range of professions. With their knowledge and experience, the Committee has dedicated its efforts to a dual mission: (1) encouraging constructive relations between the peoples of the United States and Greater China, and (2) encouraging the full participation of Chinese Americans in all aspects of American life.

C-100's survey project began in 1994 and has released substantive public opinion reports to track the shift in attitudes among Americans toward Greater China. As a follow-up on the 2005 survey entitled "American Attitudes Toward China," this year's survey is unprecedented—a large-scale, multi-group, parallel polling of both Americans and Chinese about their opinions toward each other.

The objective of this study is to determine American attitudes toward China, and, as a "mirror," find analogous results on Chinese attitudes toward America. The polls parallel each other by surveying the same or similar issues at the same time. This study is aimed to allow comparative analysis not only among some key groups in both countries, but also with the results of C-100's previous 2005 survey. The target groups include the general public, opinion leaders, and business leaders in both countries, as well as a stand-alone sample of Congressional staffers in the U.S. The research has explored a broad array of issues shaping U.S.-China relations, ranging from American and Chinese overall impressions of each other to their views about important bilateral issues. The survey findings provide unique, comprehensive, and comparable information that can be shared, discussed and used to better understand the current state of U.S.-China relations and formulate recommendations on how to forge mutually beneficial partnerships for the future.

The study is co-chaired by C-100 members Cheng Li (Senior Fellow, Brookings Institution) and Frank H. Wu (Dean, Wayne State Law School), coordinated by C-100 Research Director Yong Lu, and is being conducted in collaboration with the polling firm Zogby International in the United States. The data for the China part are drawn from Horizon Research Consultancy Group's own continuously self-sponsored and annually released survey on China's global views—"The World in Chinese Eyes."

The survey results were released on December 10, 2007 at the National Press Club in Washington, DC. A shorter version of the report (a summary of key findings) and other related materials can be found at www.Committee100.org.

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Hope and Fear

The Committee of 100's survey—conducted in both the United States and China from August 18-September 19, 2007—reveals that American and Chinese mutual perceptions can be best described as a paradox of hope and fear. On one hand, a majority of citizens in the U.S. and China generally hold positive views of each other; both countries broadly recognize the importance of U.S.-China relations and sense their increasing economic interdependence. On the other hand, a strong majority of Americans view China's growing economic and military power as a serious or potential threat, and nearly half of the Chinese feel that the U.S. is trying to prevent their country from becoming a great power.

The C-100 survey examined a broad segment of issue and policy areas of importance to both countries:

- **Economics / Trade:** Both sides believe the most common interests lie in trade. Among Americans, trade is regarded as the most likely area of shared interests, yet it also ranks as the most likely source of conflict.
- **Product Safety:** Favorability in the U.S. about China has fallen since 2005. This lower opinion of China may partly reflect recent media attention on the Chinese product safety issue. More than two-in-three Americans have reduced their confidence in Chinese-manufactured goods as a result of the food and toy contamination cases emanating from China.
- **Taiwan:** For wide majorities in China, Taiwan is the greatest concern and the most likely source of conflict between the two nations. In the U.S., less than one-third of the general public, business and opinion leaders agree that the U.S. should intervene on behalf of Taiwan if a declaration of independence by Taiwan leads to military hostilities.
- **Environment / Climate Change:** The survey also finds that majorities in both the U.S. and China—the world's two largest producers of greenhouse gases that scientists believe are contributing to climate change—worry to some degree about global warming. The Chinese are more likely to be worried than the Americans. Americans rate both governments poorly on their respective performance in handling environmental issues. By contrast, the Chinese rate both governments positively.
- **Views on an Emerging China:** As compared with C-100's survey conducted in 2005, U.S. elite groups have largely shifted from thinking about China in terms of its government and more in terms of its emergence as a major player on the global economic stage.

- **Views on America:** At the mention of the United States, the Chinese mostly associate it with the war on terrorism. The Chinese regard the U.S. as the most important partner to China in the world today, however, most Chinese elites believe that the U.S. global influence has decreased or remained the same over the past ten years.
- **2008 Beijing Olympics:** Both Americans and Chinese have very positive feelings about Beijing hosting the Games, agreeing that the Games will help improve China's global image and economy.
- **Elites vs. General Public Views:** Elites not only differ from the general public in both countries in terms of their views of the other nation, but also tend to misperceive the general public's views of each other. For the U.S., elite groups underestimate the favorable views of China among the general public, while in China, elite groups overestimate the favorable views of the U.S. among the general public.

Hope: Overall Favorable Impressions & Increasing Interdependence

Majorities in the U.S. and China generally hold favorable impressions of each other. This is especially the case with Chinese elites, where 94% of business leaders and 86% of opinion leaders express positive opinions of the U.S. (see Figure 1 on page 12). Majorities of these elites in China say the U.S.-led war on terrorism has had little impact on their positive views toward the U.S. In the U.S., favorability of China has increased among Congressional staffers since 2005 (from 19% in 2005 to 35% today, shown in Figure 1). In both countries, younger people are more likely than other age groups to hold favorable views of each other.

U.S. opinion leaders, business leaders, and Congressional staffers have largely shifted from thinking of China in terms of its government (authoritarianism, communism and human rights issues) and more in terms of its global role (as an economic power, with the challenges and responsibilities this presents).

- The American public tends to associate China with its large size, massive population, and unique culture, while business leaders, opinion leaders and Congressional staffers are more inclined to associate China with its growing economic power and increasing political and diplomatic stature.
- By contrast, Chinese respondents' first impressions of the U.S. most commonly focus on the U.S. war on terrorism, foreign policy, and landmark buildings and cities.
- The United States generally welcomes China as having a more visible and important role in the international system. There is a wide consensus among all American samples that the U.S. accepts China's status and seeks a collaborative relationship.

Certainly, the 2008 Summer Olympics in Beijing provides a great opportunity for China to demonstrate its important international role. Both Americans and Chinese have very positive feelings about Beijing's hosting of the Games, agreeing that the Games will help improve China's global image and economy. Pluralities in both countries also think hosting the Games will encourage China's continuing integration with international norms. When asked what kind of national image China should focus most on projecting during the Games, both Americans and Chinese favor one of "a prosperous modern nation with a proud culture and history," while the Chinese place equal importance on projecting an image of "a harmonious society."

There is a broad consensus on both sides of the Pacific about the importance of bilateral relations:

- From a list of seven nations, Americans rank China as the third most important partner, behind only England and Japan. Among Americans, Democrats rate China as second and Republicans rate China as fourth.
- For the Chinese, the U.S. ranks first in importance, followed by Russia.

There is also a near universal approval that U.S.-China trade is mutually beneficial to each country's respective economy (see Figure 2 on page 12). Strong majorities also agree that the low-cost goods from China benefit American consumers, including a slightly lower level of acceptance among union members in the U.S.

Business leaders in both countries have an optimistic outlook on China's economic future: both predict that China will be the world's largest exporter and the world's largest consumer society within twenty years from now.

In terms of politics, the majority of Americans believe that China will eventually fully transition into a democracy, although most believe that this process may take more than twenty years. Both countries hold optimistic views on the rapid growth of China's middle class and believe that the middle class will become the largest and most influential class in China in the future.

In addition, Americans and Chinese hold largely positive views of the other's culture and people. Majorities in both countries say that the other nation's culture has had a positive impact on their own nation. Americans have a more favorable opinion of American adoptions of Chinese children, and are more likely to support interracial (Chinese-American) marriages within their families than are the Chinese.

Of particular note, 16% of Americans say they can imagine themselves living in China someday, which is roughly the same number of Chinese who say they can imagine living in the U.S.

Fear: “China Threat” & U.S. Containment Policy

Despite generally favorable mutual perceptions and a universal approval of bilateral trade, more than 60% of all four U.S. samples regard China’s emergence as an economic power as either a serious or potential threat. However, the Chinese are more likely to believe that their country poses little or no threat to the American economic future, and about one-in-three elites think China could be an economic partner that will serve U.S. national interests (see Figure 3 on page 12).

With China’s growing economy, Americans are increasingly wary of losing jobs through outsourcing to China. Three-in-four Americans believe that China is responsible for the loss of U.S. jobs. Chinese respondents largely hold the opposite opinion. Among those Americans who believe that China causes job losses, a majority agree that the U.S. should not outsource manufacturing jobs to China, even if eliminating such outsourcing would result in higher prices for U.S. consumers.

Americans are also increasingly anxious about the growing strength of China’s military—three out of four Americans (75%) see China’s emergence as a military power posing either a serious or potential threat to the U.S. as compared with two out of three Americans (66%) in 2005 who held the same opinion. Most consider China to be more of a potential threat than a serious one.

Nearly all Americans believe that China’s influence has grown over the past ten years. By contrast, about half of the Chinese public and a majority of elites believe that U.S. global influence has decreased or remained about the same.

While a majority of Americans feel the U.S. will remain the leading superpower twenty years from now, fewer than 40% of the Chinese surveyed hold the same opinion. A majority of the Chinese public (55%) and business leaders (53%) believe China will be the world superpower in twenty years. Among Congressional staffers, who have the most negative views of China among all U.S. samples, there is a much higher percentage than in other groups in thinking about China as a “growing world power” or “future superpower.” When it comes to power and influence in the East Asian region twenty years from now, China clearly dominates among all respondents in both countries.

Most Americans believe that current U.S. policy accepts China’s status as a rising power and wants a collaborative relationship. However, nearly half of all the Chinese public, opinion leaders and business leaders feel that the U.S. is trying to prevent China from becoming a great power. In the U.S., Democrats (54%) are also less likely to agree that the U.S. accepts China’s global status than are Independents (66%) and Republicans (79%).

Elite Groups Out of Sync with the General Public

Elites not only differ from the general public in both countries in terms of their views of the other nation, but also tend to misjudge the general public's views of each other. For the U.S., elite groups underestimate the favorable view of China by the general public, while for China, elite groups overestimate the public's favorable views of the U.S.

- In China, opinion leaders and business leaders hold a far more favorable opinion of the U.S. than the general public. Among the general public, better-educated and wealthier people are more likely to hold favorable views of the U.S. The Chinese Communist Party members (74%) hold a more favorable opinion of the U.S. than those non-Party members (60%).
- In the U.S., Congressional staffers hold a much lower opinion of China than the other samples. The general public with a higher income are more likely to hold a negative opinion of China than those in the lower income bracket. Caucasian Americans are also more likely to hold an unfavorable opinion than Hispanic and African Americans.
- When asked to imagine how the general public views each other, the vast majority of U.S. business leaders (73%) and Congressional staffers (86%) believe the American public has an unfavorable opinion of China. In the survey of the general public, only 45% hold an unfavorable opinion, while the majority (52%) view China favorably. At the same time, 91% of Chinese business leaders believe the Chinese public holds a favorable opinion, but in fact, more than a quarter of the general public expresses an unfavorable opinion (see Figure 4 on page 13).
- Congressional staffers greatly diverge from the other samples on viewing the loss of American jobs to China as a big problem in U.S.-China relations, with only 12% of staffers surveyed citing this issue as compared to 41% of the U.S. public (see Figure 5 on page 13).
- Congressional staffers are far more likely than those in any other samples in the U.S. to agree that the U.S. government should take an active role in China-Taiwan relations (64%) and should intervene in the event of military hostilities between China and Taiwan following a declaration of Taiwan independence (49%). They are also more inclined than the U.S. public (50% vs. 15%) to view the Taiwan issue as a source of potential conflict between the U.S. and China.

Key Issues Influencing U.S.-China Relations

Both sides see the most common interests lie in trade, energy, the environment, and security in the Asian-Pacific region (see Figure 6 on page 13). Among Americans, trade is regarded as the most likely area of shared interests, yet it also ranks as the most likely source of conflict. For

wide majorities in China, Taiwan is believed to be the most likely source of conflict between the two nations.

Americans see the top issues of greatest concerns in the U.S.-China relationship as being:

- Loss of American jobs to China
- Growing trade deficit with China
- China's human rights situation

While the Chinese also share the concerns over trade and human rights issues, they name Taiwan as the biggest problem (see Figure 5 on page 13).

On the trade issue, Americans are more likely to blame their own government for the growing trade deficit with China, while opinion in China is evenly divided between blaming the American government and blaming both governments.

There are differing views between Americans and Chinese on the Taiwan issue:

- Americans are evenly divided over whether their government should be involved in China-Taiwan relations. If a declaration of independence by Taiwan leads to military hostilities, support for intervention on behalf of Taiwan has dropped significantly since 2005 among U.S. business and opinion leaders. Less than one-third of the general public, business and opinion leaders in the U.S. agree that the U.S. should intervene on behalf of Taiwan.
- The majority in China say the Taiwan issue should be resolved through peaceful unification as a result of expanded cross-strait exchange and communication. A majority or plurality of the Chinese public and elites are optimistic about the future of the Taiwan problem and believe that the issue is evolving toward a peaceful resolution.

More than two-in-three Americans have reduced confidence in Chinese-made goods as a result of the food and toy contamination cases emerging from China. In China, a plurality of the general public (44%) also say they have reduced confidence in their own products, although a majority of business and opinion leaders say their confidence in Chinese goods has not changed (see Figure 7 on page 14).

The recent media attention on the Chinese product safety issue, along with other political and economic problems, may have contributed to the decline of China's image in the U.S. since the 2005 C-100 survey—7 percentage points lower among both the general public and opinion leaders, and 9 percentage points lower among business leaders (see Figure 1 on page 12).

Doing Business Across the Pacific

Business leaders on both sides have an optimistic outlook on China's economic future: both predict that China's role in the global economy twenty years from now will be mostly defined as the world's largest exporter and the world's largest consumer society.

Key findings:

- American business leaders also feel that China will be a key destination for the outsourcing of manufacturing in twenty years, although Chinese business leaders do not share this opinion.
- Strong majorities of Americans and Chinese business leaders believe that China's growing middle class will become the largest and most influential class in China in the future. Wealthy respondents and urban residents in China are more likely to share this view.
- American business leaders cite corruption, poor intellectual property rights protection, and bureaucratic interference as their greatest concerns when doing business with China. Chinese business leaders also rank corruption and bureaucratic interference in the top three, but feel an inadequate legal system is the biggest problem when doing business in their own nation.
- When asking Chinese business leaders about their concerns in doing business with the U.S., bureaucratic interference again ranks high, along with trade barriers and import measures as well as cultural and legal differences.
- A majority of American business leaders, especially those in the high-tech industry, believe China's poor intellectual property rights protection has had a negative impact on foreign investment in China. However, Chinese business leaders do not share the same opinion.
- Clear majorities of all Americans surveyed view China's expanded aid and investment in Africa as an opportunity for U.S.-China cooperation, rather than a threat to U.S. interests.

Views on Addressing Environmental Challenges

Majorities in the U.S. and China—the two largest producers of greenhouse gases—expressed concern to some degree about climate change (see Figure 8 on page 14).

- The Chinese surveyed are more likely to be worried, with 92% of opinion leaders and 89% of business leaders expressing a great deal or a fair amount of concern.

- In the U.S., about 40% of the general public and elites express little or no concern about the problem. Only 37% of Republicans expressed concerns, as compared to three-quarters of Democrats and 70% of Independents.

Americans rate both governments poorly regarding their performance in addressing environmental issues, but particularly the Chinese government. In contrast, majorities in China rate both their government and the American government positively on this issue, with the American government receiving slightly higher ratings.

Current Trends in U.S.-China Relations

Respondents in both countries highly value the importance of the U.S.-China bilateral relationship. However, there emerged different viewpoints on the current state of this important relationship:

- Though the majority of Americans believe that U.S.-China relations are either currently improving or remaining stable, there has been a marked decline in that opinion since 2005, especially among the general public and opinion leaders: roughly one-in-four respondents believe that the relationship has worsened, with both groups now twice as likely to believe so than they were in 2005.
- Most Chinese respondents believe the bilateral relationship has changed little. Of those who feel the relationship is worsening, most Chinese blame the U.S. government, while U.S. opinion is divided over whom to fault.
- More than 70% of all Americans give the Chinese government a negative performance rating when it comes to handling relations with the U.S. The majority of Chinese, however, holds the opposite opinion and is satisfied with their government's performance.
- Notably, clear majorities on both sides agree that the American government deserves a negative rating for its handling of relations with China—Americans are more likely to rate their government negatively in this context than the Chinese.

State of the Nation: Chinese Optimism, American Discontent

There are sharp differences in the way Chinese and Americans currently view the direction their respective countries are heading (see Figure 9 on page 14):

- Chinese people are overwhelmingly satisfied with their national conditions—more than 88% of the general public and elites in China believe that China is headed on the right track. 94% of Communist Party members believe things in China are on the right track.

- In sharp contrast, there is a widespread dissatisfaction in the U.S. about their national conditions and direction—three-in-five members of the general public, two-in-three Congressional staffers, and a majority of opinion and business leaders believe the U.S. is headed on the wrong track. Democrats (28%) are least likely to believe the country is on the right track. A third of Independents have the same opinion, while Republicans are evenly divided on the issue—48% believe the U.S. is on the right track, and 47% on the wrong track.

Although the two populations have very different views toward their national conditions, the survey finds that most Americans and Chinese rate themselves as highly patriotic individuals.

While a majority of Americans and Chinese agree on their primary life goal—to have a happy family life, the Chinese (42%) are five times more likely than Americans (8%) to express a desire for increased wealth, and Americans are more interested in living as they like.

Most Pressing National Problems

Jobs and the economy rank in the top two urgent issues in both countries (#1 in China, #2 in the United States).

- For Americans, however, the war in Iraq remains the top issue, and the economy/jobs, health care and immigration round out the top four. Democrats and Independents rate the issues in the same order (war in Iraq/foreign policy; jobs and the economy; health care; immigration), while Republicans rate immigration third, ahead of health care.
- For the Chinese, corruption and Taiwan rank directly below jobs and the economy, while the environment ranks high among business and opinion leaders. Notably, almost none of the Chinese general public mentions political reforms or democratization concerns, although 11% of opinion leaders cite these issues.
- On the immigration issue, the majority of Americans believe that today's Chinese immigrants will have a positive impact on American society in the long run. For most Chinese, Americans in China have little effect on their society. Americans also believe that the United States provides Chinese and Chinese Americans with an equal opportunity to live and work, whereas the Chinese largely feel that Americans in China enjoy superior treatment than do most Chinese. In addition, American business leaders are divided about whether current U.S. visa policy has interfered with their ability to hire foreign-born skilled professionals.

How to Improve U.S.-China Relations?

The dramatic rise in China's global power and influence has the dual effect of encouraging cooperation between the U.S. and China in areas of common interest, while also being the source of increasing concerns to both nations. The Committee of 100's survey suggests that sensitivities between the Americans and Chinese have heightened, and the shift in U.S. attitudes toward China is often due to major incidents emerging from U.S.-China trade, economic, political and diplomatic relations.

Furthermore, our survey finds a few factors that may help improve mutual attitudes:

- **Travel and visitations:** Of the Americans and Chinese who have visited the other country, majorities hold a more favorable opinion of each other as a result. With the exception of Congressional staffers, however, less than a quarter of respondents from either the U.S. or China report that they have traveled to the other country. Opening up opportunities for the publics to travel abroad may help in encouraging more balanced cross-cultural perceptions.
- **Communication between Chinese Americans and U.S. Congress:** Congressional staffers report that they have adequate access to relevant information about China and the state of U.S.-China relations, including majorities who say they have communicated directly with Chinese officials and Chinese Americans on U.S.-China issues. The staffers surveyed regard their contacts with Chinese Americans as more useful, however, than their contacts with Chinese government officials.
- **Objective news coverage of each other:** Our data shows that neither the Chinese nor the American public believes that their country is accurately portrayed in the other country's news media. Perhaps if steps are taken to present a more unbiased image of the other country in the media, the populations can gradually develop a better understanding of each other.

In the paradox of hope and fear revealed by the survey, even the most contentious issues between the U.S. and China imply that there are ever increasing opportunities for cooperation. The most urgent task for both countries is to increase dialogue, respect the core interests of the other side, and resolve differences and potential conflicts in a calm and timely manner. By advancing mutual understanding and learning from each other, the U.S. and China can then move toward further cooperation on key common issues and tipping the balance further in favor of hope—to the benefit of the U.S., China, and the global community in the 21st century. ■

Figure 1. U.S.-China Mutual Impressions: Favorable vs. Unfavorable Opinion

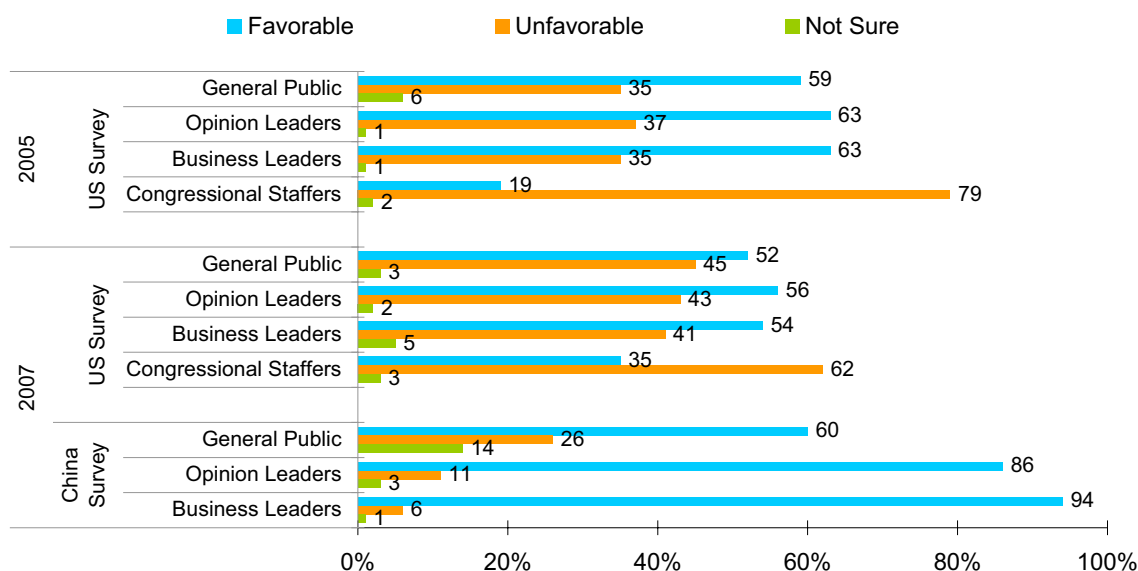


Figure 2. Agreement on the Benefits of Bilateral Trade to Each Economy

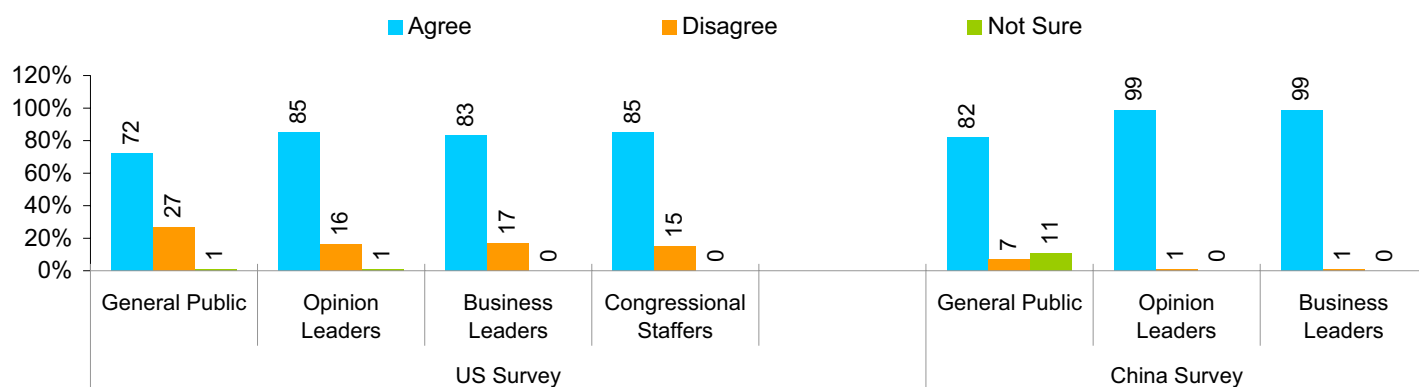


Figure 3. Views of China's Emergence as a Global Economic Power

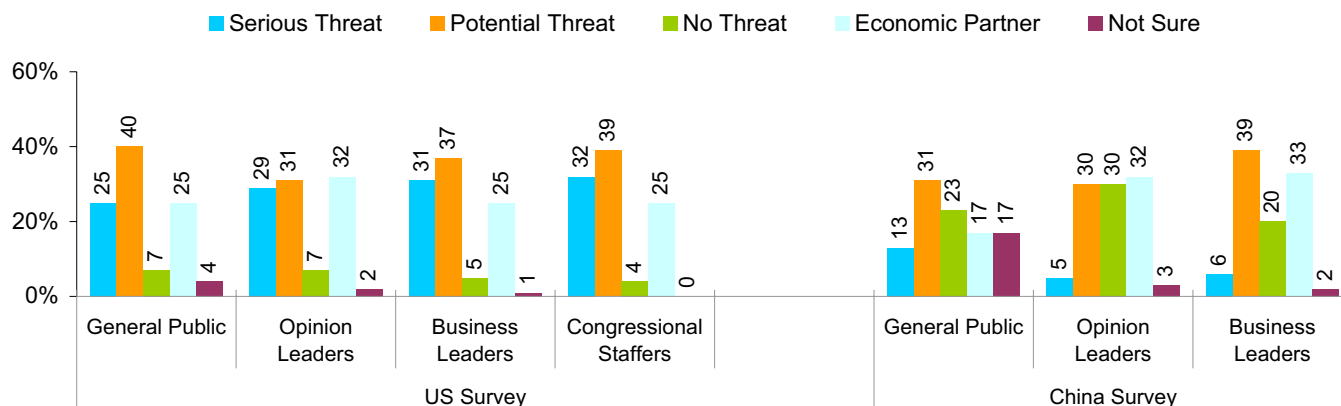


Figure 4. U.S.-China Mutual Impressions: Public Opinion vs. Elites' Assessment

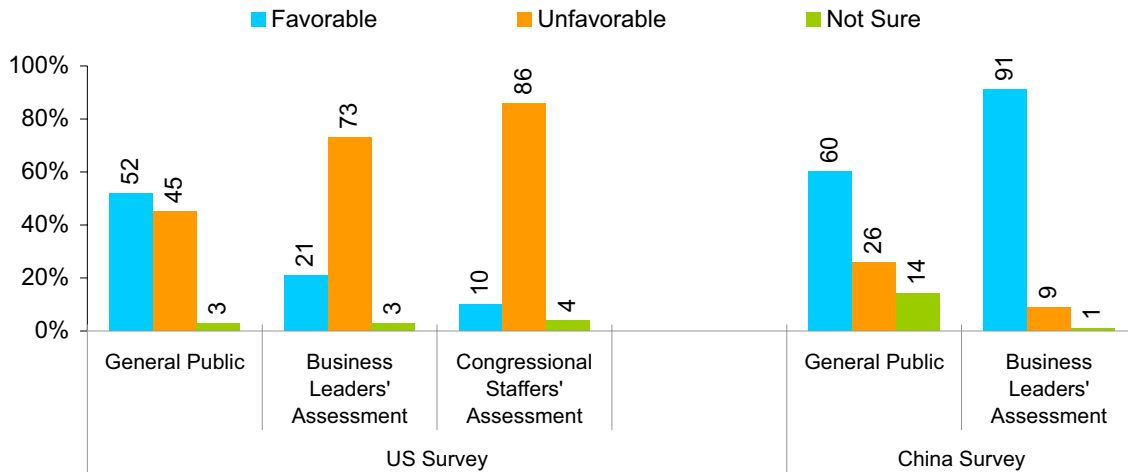


Figure 5. U.S.-China: Areas of Greatest Concerns (Top 4)

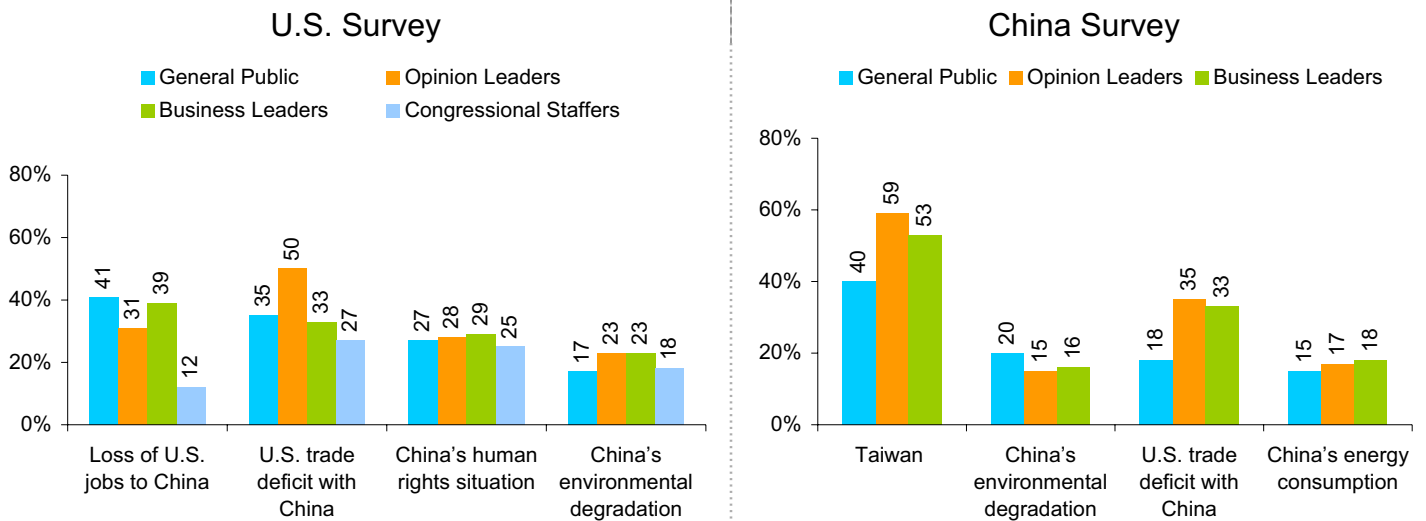


Figure 6. U.S.-China: Areas of Common Interest (Top 4)

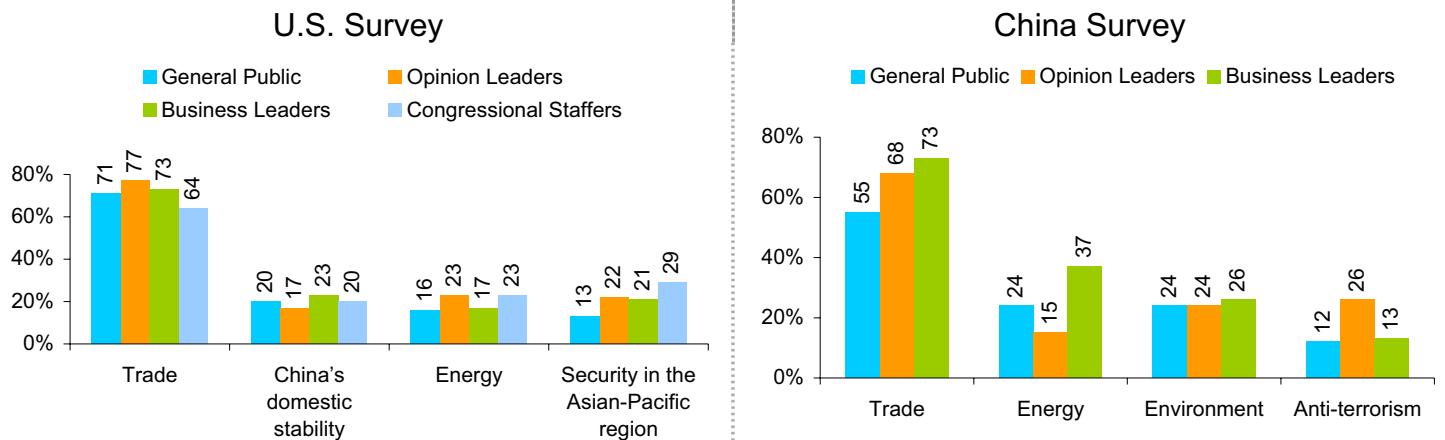


Figure 7. Loss of Confidence in Chinese Goods Due to Product Safety Concerns

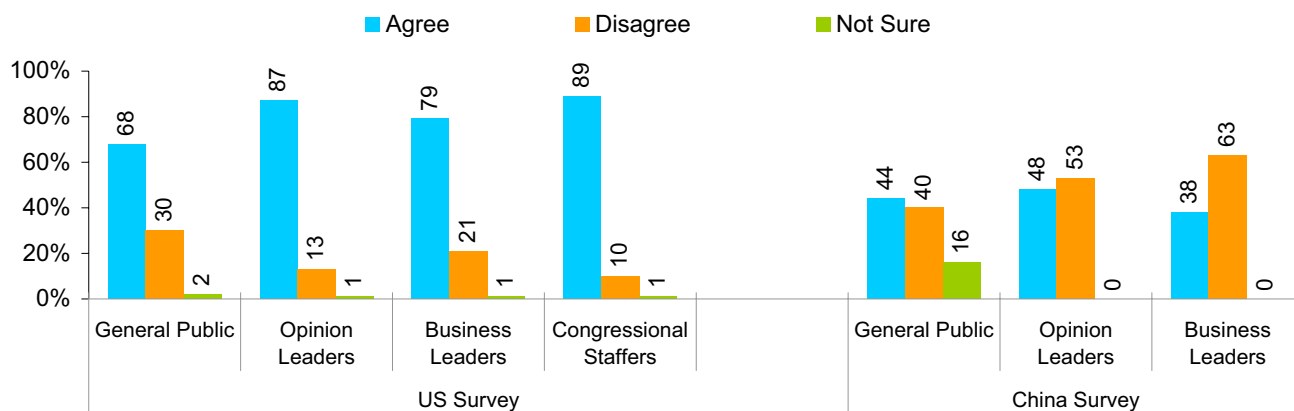


Figure 8. Global Warming Concerns

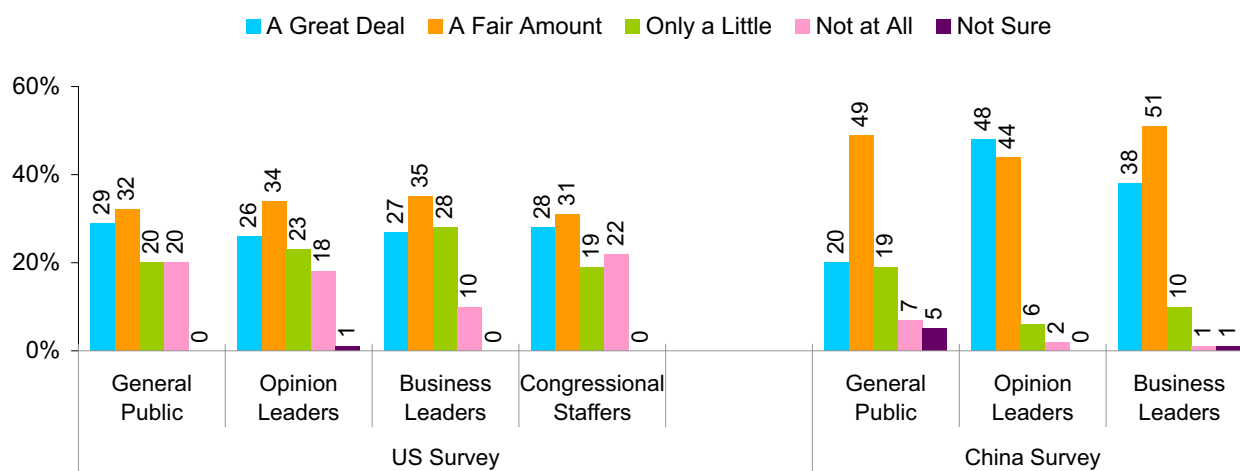
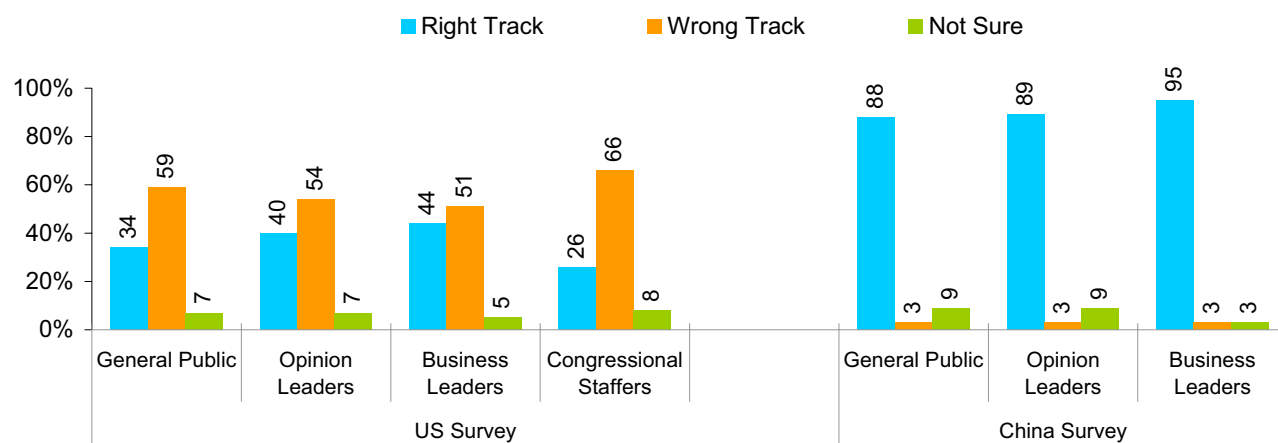


Figure 9. Current Mood of the Country: Right Track vs. Wrong Track



NARRATIVE ANALYSIS

NOTE:

- The questions presented in the following analysis have been slightly re-ordered in an effort to better present the information.
- Due to rounding, percentages may not total 100%.

Part I: Overall Impressions

1. Impressions of Each Country

General Feelings

1. (US SURVEY) How would you describe your impressions of China?

(CHINA SURVEY) How would you describe your impressions of the U.S.?

	US Survey								China Survey		
	General Public		Opinion Leaders		Business Leaders		Congressional Staffers		General Public	Opinion Leaders	Business Leaders
	'07	'05	'07	'05	'07	'05	'07	'05	'07	'07	'07
Very Favorable	12	9	10	15	15	17	3	1	13	28	34
Somewhat Favorable	40	50	46	48	39	46	32	18	47	58	60
FAVORABLE	52	59	56	63	54	63	35	19	60	86	94
Somewhat Unfavorable	27	26	33	28	26	29	46	63	20	10	5
Very Unfavorable	18	9	10	9	15	6	16	16	6	1	1
UNFAVORABLE	45	35	43	37	41	35	62	79	26	11	6
Not Sure	3	6	2	1	5	1	3	2	14	3	1

United States:

- A majority of the general public (52%), opinion leaders (56%) and business leaders (54%) have a favorable opinion of China. Favorable opinion has, however, fallen among all three groups since 2005—7 percentage points among both the general public and opinion leaders, and 9 percentage points among business leaders. Congressional staffers are the only sample where the majority has an unfavorable opinion (62%), although the number having a favorable opinion has nearly doubled from 19% in 2005 to 35% today.
- Nearly two-thirds (64%) of the American public with the lowest income (less than \$35,000) have a favorable opinion of China, as compared to 44 percent of those in the middle range (\$35,000-\$75,000) and 44 percent of those in the highest income range (more than \$75,000).
- Opinion of China is highest in the East (57%) and lowest in the South (46%).

- Hispanic Americans (74%) and African Americans (63%) are more likely to have a favorable opinion than are Caucasian Americans (47%).
- More than half of all males (58%) view China favorably, while less than half of all women (46%) have the same opinion.

China:

- A majority of the general public (60%), opinion leaders (86%) and business leaders (94%) have a favorable opinion of the United States. The percentage of the general public with negative views of the U.S. (26%) is significantly higher than that of opinion leaders (11%) and business leaders (6%).
- More than two-thirds (69%) of the Chinese public with a high income have a favorable opinion of the U.S., as compared to 63 percent of those in the middle income range and 60 percent of those in the low income range.
- Opinion of the U.S. is highest in the cities (79%) and lowest in the villages (53%).
- As educational levels increase, the general public's opinion of the U.S. appears to improve. People with a high level of education (81%) are more likely to have a favorable opinion of the U.S. than are people with a medium level (72%) or a low level (53%) of education.
- Younger Chinese aged 18 to 29 years old (69%) express more positive opinions of the U.S. as compared with other age groups.
- 74% of the Chinese Communist Party members have a favorable opinion of the U.S., as compared to 60% of those non-Party members. The percentage of Party members with negative impressions (17%) is also notably lower than that of non-Party members (27%).

Elite's Assessment of General Public's Opinion

2. (ASKED OF AMERICAN BUSINESS LEADERS & CONGRESSIONAL STAFFERS) How would you describe the American public's opinion of China?

(ASKED OF CHINESE BUSINESS LEADERS) How would you describe the Chinese public's opinion of the U.S.?

2007 Only	US Survey			China Survey	
	<i>General Public*</i>	<i>Business Leaders' Assessment</i>	<i>Congressional Staffers' Assessment</i>	<i>General Public*</i>	<i>Business Leaders' Assessment</i>
Very Favorable	12	3	--	13	24
Somewhat Favorable	40	18	10	47	67
FAVORABLE	52	21	10	60	91
Somewhat Unfavorable	27	41	64	20	6
Very Unfavorable	18	32	22	6	3
UNFAVORABLE	45	73	86	26	9
Not Sure	3	3	4	14	1

**General Public responses are taken from the first question.*

United States:

- The vast majority of both business leaders (73%) and Congressional staffers (86%) believe the American public has an unfavorable opinion of China. In the survey of the general public, only 45% hold an unfavorable opinion, while the majority (52%) hold a favorable opinion.

China:

- Chinese business leaders appear to overestimate the Chinese public's overall opinion of the United States: 91% of business leaders believe the Chinese public holds a favorable opinion, while more than a quarter of the Chinese public holds an unfavorable opinion of the U.S.

Initial Thought

3. (US SURVEY) What is the first thing that comes to mind when you think about China?
(CHINA SURVEY) What is the first thing that comes to mind when you think about the U.S.?

	US Survey			
	General Public	Opinion Leaders	Business Leaders	Congressional Staffers
Large Country/Large Population/Overpopulation/Adoption	18	25	9	1
Culture/History/Food/Great Wall	18	3	7	1
Cheap Products/Large Amount of Imports/Wal-Mart	12	8	11	5
Growing World Power/Future Superpower	7	12	3	37
Economic Growth/Booming Economy	7	10	30	19
	China Survey			
	General Public	Opinion Leaders	Business Leaders	
War on Terrorism/Sept. 11th	15	35	40	
Invasion/Interference in Int'l Affairs (Belgrade Embassy, Iraq, Taiwan)	14	11	3	
Developed Economy/Modernization	13	4	3	
Consumption/Popular Culture	7	6	6	
Landmark Buildings/Cities	3	19	30	

**Only Top 5 responses are presented here. For the entire table of responses, please see Appendix A and B.*

United States:

- When asked about the first thing that comes to mind when they think about China, the general public is evenly split between thinking about China as a large country (18%) and thinking about China's culture (18%). As with the 2007 survey, in the 2005 survey, the general public cited China's large population (22%) and China's culture and history (21%) as the top two things that came to mind when asked about China. Authoritarianism/communism (13%) and cheap products and imports (12%) were the third and fourth ranked responses for the general public in 2005.

- Since the 2005 survey, thoughts among elite groups have largely shifted from thinking of China in terms of its government (authoritarianism/communism and human rights) and more in terms of its economy (cheap products, economic growth and growing power).
- Opinion leaders in 2005 were most likely to cite China's economic growth (27%), followed by China's massive population (20%), human rights (8%) and authoritarianism/communism (8%). Business leaders in 2005 most frequently cited economic growth (53%), the low cost of labor (18%), authoritarianism/communism (6%) and human rights (5%). Congressional staffers first cited authoritarianism/communism (32%), followed by economic growth (13%), human rights (13%), unfair trade practices (7%) and China's population (7%).
- Opinion leaders in 2007 are most likely to cite China's size (25%), with China's status as a growing world power (12%) ranking second. The most common response among business leaders in 2007 is China's economic growth (30%), followed by Chinese production of goods (11%). Congressional staffers today first think of China as a growing world power (37%), followed by China's economic growth (19%).
- 29 percent of younger Americans aged 18 to 29 years old cite some aspect of the Chinese culture. Nearly one-in-four respondents in that age group mention China's size, both in geography and population (24%). One-in-ten younger Americans (9%) first think of the recent situation involving toys with lead paint.

China:

- With regard to initial thoughts about the United States, business leaders and opinion leaders both focus primarily on the war on terrorism (40% and 35%, respectively) and landmark buildings/cities (30% and 19%, respectively). The general public's thoughts are relatively scattered, concentrating on the war on terrorism (15%), foreign policy (14%) and developed economy/modernization (13%).
- Chinese aged 18-29 years old are more likely to associate America with consumption/popular culture than any other age groups, with 14% thinking of various elements of American popular culture such as street basketball, hip-hop and American fast food, as opposed to less than 5% in other age groups.

Relocation Appeal

4. (US SURVEY) Can you imagine yourself living in China someday?

(CHINA SURVEY) Can you imagine yourself living in the U.S. someday?

2007 Only	US Survey				China Survey		
	General Public	Opinion Leaders	Business Leaders	Congressional Staffers	General Public	Opinion Leaders	Business Leaders
Yes	16	17	12	30	11	19	19
No	82	83	88	62	76	67	74
Not Sure	3	--	--	8	12	14	6

United States:

- While the vast majority of respondents say they can not imagine themselves living in China, 30 percent of Congressional staffers say they can.

- Respondents aged 18-29 are most likely to be open to the idea of living in China (31%). Only 2% of those aged 75 or older embrace the idea of living in China.
- College graduates are twice as receptive (19%) to living in China than high school graduates (9%).
- There is little variation among income levels about being receptive to living in China, but those making \$50,000 to \$75,000 are the least likely to embrace the idea (9%).

China:

- The percentage of opinion leaders and business leaders who can imagine themselves living in America is greater (both 19%) than that of the general public (11%).
- One-fifth of respondents aged 18-29 are open to the idea of living in the United States, a number notably higher than those of other age groups.
- Those with a higher level of education and higher income are more likely to imagine themselves living in the United States. Among those holding this view, people in the high income range account for 24%, as opposed to middle and low income ranges (12% and 9%, respectively); those with a higher level of education take up 28%, with middle and lower levels at 7% and 16%, respectively.
- The percentage of city residents who are receptive to living in the U.S. (17%) is higher than those in towns (13%) and rural areas (9%).

2. Impressions of the People

Adoption

5. (BOTH SURVEYS) American citizens adopted over 6,000 children from China in 2006. Do you think American adoption is mainly positive for the adopted Chinese children or mainly negative?

2007 Only	US Survey				China Survey		
	General Public	Opinion Leaders	Business Leaders	Congressional Staffers	General Public	Opinion Leaders	Business Leaders
Mainly Positive	88	93	91	91	59	71	85
Mainly Negative	8	5	6	4	18	10	4
Not Sure	4	3	3	5	23	19	11

United States:

- The wide majority of the general public (88%), opinion leaders (93%), business leaders (91%) and Congressional staffers (91%) believe the adoption of Chinese children by Americans has been a mostly positive experience for those children.
- This opinion is most common among Americans between 18-29 (94%), those with incomes greater than \$50,000 (93%) and African Americans (93%).

China:

- A majority of the general public (59%), opinion leaders (71%) and business leaders (85%) believe the adoption of Chinese children by Americans is a mostly positive thing.

- Higher income and a better education correlate to a more positive attitude: 70% of people with a high income think positively about Chinese adoptions by Americans, 10 and 11 percentage points respectively above the numbers for those in the middle and low income range. 67% of people with a high level of education have a positive opinion, 3 and 10 percentage points respectively above the figures for those with middle and low levels of education.

Marriage Approval

6. (US SURVEY) Would you approve of your child marrying someone who is Chinese?

(CHINA SURVEY) Would you approve of your child marrying someone who is American?

2007 Only	US Survey				China Survey		
	General Public	Opinion Leaders	Business Leaders	Congressional Staffers	General Public	Opinion Leaders	Business Leaders
Yes	80	86	90	89	45	53	74
No	14	10	7	5	36	25	16
Not Sure	6	5	3	6	20	23	10

United States:

- Four-in-five Americans (80%) would approve of their child marrying someone who is Chinese, as would nearly all opinion leaders (86%), business leaders (90%) and Congressional staffers (89%).
- Only two-thirds of Americans over the age of 65 (67%) would approve of such a marriage, as compared to 93 percent of Americans between 18 and 29. African Americans (96%) are also more likely to approve of their child marrying someone who is Chinese than are Caucasian Americans (76%).

China:

- 74% of business leaders would approve of their child marrying an American, which is higher than that of opinion leaders (53%) and the general public (45%).
- Younger Chinese are more open to this issue. The younger they are, the more supportive they would be of their child's marriage to an American (18-29: 55%; 30-39: 46%; 40-49: 41%; 50-60: 36%).
- Those with a higher level of education and income are more likely to support their child marrying an American: the percentage of those with a high income is respectively 14 and 18 percentage points above that of those in the middle and low income ranges. The percentage of those with a high level of education is respectively 11 and 22 percentage points above that of those with medium and low levels of education.
- Receptiveness to having a child marry an American is more common among the Chinese of Han ethnicity (45%) than other minority groups (39%). Those with religious beliefs (55%) would also support it more than those without any religious beliefs (43%).

3. Impressions of Culture

Cultural Impact

7. (US SURVEY) Would you say the impact of Chinese culture on the U.S. has been favorable or unfavorable, or has it had no impact?

(CHINA SURVEY) Would you say the impact of American culture on China has been favorable or unfavorable, or has it had no impact?

2007 Only	US Survey				China Survey		
	<i>General Public</i>	<i>Opinion Leaders</i>	<i>Business Leaders</i>	<i>Congressional Staffers</i>	<i>General Public</i>	<i>Opinion Leaders</i>	<i>Business Leaders</i>
Very Favorable	12	8	8	6	8	7	4
Somewhat Favorable	42	51	39	52	45	49	58
FAVORABLE	54	59	47	58	53	56	62
Somewhat Unfavorable	13	16	13	9	11	6	6
Very Unfavorable	8	4	5	3	2	2	--
UNFAVORABLE	21	20	18	12	13	8	6
No Impact	23	21	34	26	14	21	27
Not Sure	2	2	2	4	22	15	6

United States:

- A majority of the general public (54%), opinion leaders (59%) and Congressional staffers (58%) believe that Chinese culture has had a favorable impact on the U.S., while a near majority of business leaders (47%) have the same opinion.
- Of younger Americans (18-29 year-olds), three-quarters (75%) believe Chinese culture has had a favorable impact.
- Americans making less than \$35,000 (64%) are more likely to have a favorable opinion of the impact of Chinese culture, as are African Americans (64%) and those living in the West (61%).

China:

- A majority of the general public (53%), opinion leaders (56%), and business leaders (62%) believe American culture has had a favorable impact on China. What is noteworthy is that the percentage of the general public that finds it unfavorable (13%) is higher than that of opinion leaders (8%) and business leaders (6%).
- Of younger Chinese between 18 and 29 years old, 59% think American culture has had a favorable impact, notably higher than any of the other age groups.
- 62% of city residents have a favorable opinion of the impact of American culture. The percentage is slightly greater than that of town residents (58%), and clearly above that of rural residents (48%). Nearly one-in-three respondents in rural areas (30%) are not sure about this question.

4. Impressions of the News Media

Accuracy of Mutual Reporting

8. (US SURVEY) Do you think that the Chinese media portrays an accurate picture of the U.S.?

(CHINA SURVEY) Do you think that the U.S. media portrays an accurate picture of China?

2007 Only	US Survey				China Survey		
	General Public	Opinion Leaders	Business Leaders	Congressional Staffers	General Public	Opinion Leaders	Business Leaders
Yes	14	6	11	1	15	20	44
No	63	65	65	67	49	53	44
Not Sure	24	29	24	32	36	27	12

United States:

- Approximately two-in-three respondents in each sample believe that the Chinese media does not accurately portray the United States.

China:

- Approximately half of the general public (49%) and opinion leaders (53%) believe that the American media does not present a truthful picture of China. The business leaders are evenly split about this issue (44% versus 44%).

5. Impacts on Respective Impressions

Change of Opinion Due to Visitation

9. (US SURVEY) Have you ever visited mainland China?

(CHINA SURVEY) Have you ever visited the U.S.?

2007 Only	US Survey				China Survey		
	General Public	Opinion Leaders	Business Leaders	Congressional Staffers	General Public	Opinion Leaders	Business Leaders
Yes	6	18	19	38	1	21	23
No	94	82	81	62	98	79	77

United States:

- Six percent of the general public reports having traveled to mainland China at some point in their lives. Approximately one-in-five opinion leaders and business leaders have visited mainland China. Nearly four-in-ten Congressional staffers say they have visited mainland China.

China:

- More than one-in-five opinion leaders and business leaders have visited the United States. Less than 1% of the general public has visited the U.S.

10. (ASKED OF AMERICANS WHO HAVE VISITED MAINLAND CHINA) After visiting mainland China, is your impression of China more favorable, less favorable, or was there no change?

(ASKED OF THE CHINESE WHO HAVE VISITED THE U.S.) After visiting the U.S., is your impression of the U.S. more favorable, less favorable, or was there no change?

2007 Only	US Survey				China Survey		
	General Public	Opinion Leaders	Business Leaders	Congressional Staffers	General Public	Opinion Leaders	Business Leaders
More Favorable	56	67	64	55	45	30	36
Less Favorable	9	11	11	13	5	2	--
No Change	30	19	25	29	49	65	61
Not Sure	5	3	--	3	2	2	3

United States:

- Of Americans who have visited mainland China, the majority say they now have a more favorable opinion of China, including two-thirds of opinion leaders (67%) and business leaders (64%).

China:

- Of Chinese who have visited the U.S., a plurality of the general public (45%), opinion leaders (30%) and business leaders (36%) say they now have a more favorable opinion of the United States. Almost two-thirds of opinion leaders (65%) and business leaders (61%) think the visits have not changed their overall impressions of the U.S. Nearly half of the general public also report no impact.
- Visitations clearly have a positive impact on the Chinese public opinion of the U.S.: the percentage of those with a positive assessment (very favorable) after a trip to the U.S. is notably higher than for those who have never been (30% versus 13%). Also, the percentage of those with a negative assessment after visiting the U.S. is clearly lower than for those who have never been there (4% versus 26%).
- Visiting the U.S. positively impacts trust in the American media: more than 60% of those who have been to the U.S. agree that the American media presents an accurate picture of China. For those who have never been to the U.S., less than 15% believe as much.
- Those who have been to the U.S. (83%) feel more positively about the U.S. government's performance in handling environmental problems than those who have never been there (50%). Also, among those who have been to the U.S., fewer people (14%) feel negatively about the U.S. government's performance in this regard than those who have not (26%).

Change of Opinion Due to U.S.-led War on Terror

11. (CHINA SURVEY) Has the U.S.-led war on terror led you to have a more favorable or less favorable opinion of the U.S., or has there been no change?

2007 Only	China Survey		
	General Public	Opinion Leaders	Business Leaders
More Favorable	10	14	25
Less Favorable	32	31	23
No Change	36	52	51
Not Sure	22	3	1

China:

- More than half of opinion leaders and business leaders believe the war on terrorism has not changed their overall views of the U.S., and more than one-third of the general public holds the same view.
- The percentages of both the general public and opinion leaders who say “less favorable” are about 17 percentage points higher than those who say “more favorable.” For business leaders, near equal numbers view the war as having a positive impact (25%) and a negative impact (23%).

Media Sources for Different Population Groups

12. (US SURVEY) From which sources do you get much of your news about China?

(CHINA SURVEY) From which sources do you get much of your news about the U.S.?

2007 Only	US Survey				China Survey		
	General Public	Opinion Leaders	Business Leaders	Congressional Staffers	General Public	Opinion Leaders	Business Leaders
English TV	73	69	71	75	1	23	14
Chinese TV	1	1	1	3	85	79	76
English Newspapers	50	67	75	91	1	22	11
Chinese Newspapers	2	1	4	--	33	72	69
English Internet	37	55	65	79	1	33	19
Chinese Internet	<1	--	3	1	11	77	68
English Radio	29	46	45	49	1	10	6
Chinese Radio	<1	--	--	--	11	34	28
English News Magazines	24	46	64	81	1	17	12
Chinese News Magazines	1	1	2	--	9	46	35
Text Messages	2	1	4	2	3	4	3
Other	3	1	1	14	1	3	1

United States:

- Respondents with less than a high school education are more likely to get their news about China from English-language TV (87%) than those who have finished college (67%).

- People older than 65 are most likely to get their China news from English-language TV (85%), and are also more likely than other age groups to get information from English-language newspapers (54%). Those 18-29 are most likely to get the same information from English-language Web pages (52%).
- People earning \$35,000 to \$50,000 are most likely to get Chinese news from English-language TV (82%). Those earning \$75,000 to \$100,000 are slightly more inclined than other economic brackets to get their news from English-language magazines (35%).

China:

- 85% of the general public uses Chinese-language TV as their primary source of information about America. Percentages of opinion and business leaders who use all forms of media (other than Chinese-language TV) are greater than the use by the general public. Over two-thirds of opinion and business leaders get information from Chinese-language newspapers and websites.
- More highly educated people obtain information on the U.S. through English-language media than do people with a middle or low level of education. Additionally, highly educated people more use Chinese websites, Chinese radio programs, Chinese magazines and text messages for information on the U.S. than do people with a middle or low level of education.
- More people with a high income obtain news on the U.S. through all forms of media than those in the middle or low-income range. There is especially a notable difference in the use of Chinese newspapers, Chinese websites and Chinese magazines.

Part II: China's Rise and Its Implications for U.S.-China Relations

1. Assessing International Influence

Global Influence

13. (US SURVEY) How has China's global influence changed over the past ten years?

(CHINA SURVEY) How has the U.S. global influence changed over the past ten years?

2007 Only	US Survey				China Survey		
	General Public	Opinion Leaders	Business Leaders	Congressional Staffers	General Public	Opinion Leaders	Business Leaders
Increased	81	95	91	99	35	33	34
Decreased	5	1	3	--	24	38	26
Remained the Same	11	3	6	1	23	27	40
Not Sure	3	1	--	--	18	2	1

United States:

- Large majorities of all four samples believe that China's global influence has increased over the past ten years. That number is lowest among the general public (81%) and of that group, only 76% of 18 to 29 year olds believe China's global influence has grown in that time.
- Most in the general public agree that China's global influence has increased (81%), including those with a very favorable impression of China (74%) concurring with those who have a very unfavorable impression of the country (75%).
- The opinion that China's influence is growing correlates with the respondent's degree of education, as those with less than a high school education (76%), who finished high school (79%), received some college education (79%) are less likely to hold that opinion than are college graduates (86%).

China:

- All three samples are widely divided as to the changes in American international influence over the past decade: the percentages of those who think its influence has increased, decreased or remained unchanged are similar.
- The percentage of opinion leaders who think the influence has decreased is 12 and 14 percentage points higher than business leaders and the general public, respectively. Business leaders who think that influence has remained unchanged is 13 and 17 percentage points higher than opinion leaders and the general public.
- Among the general public, more people with a high income think U.S. international influence has increased over the past decade (46%) than those in the middle (35%) and low-income range (34%).

Future World Superpower

14. (BOTH SURVEYS) Which nation or political region do you think will be the world's leading superpower twenty years from now?

2007 Only	US Survey				China Survey		
	General Public	Opinion Leaders	Business Leaders	Congressional Staffers	General Public	Opinion Leaders	Business Leaders
U.S.	49	62	69	73	20	38	36
China	23	21	19	13	55	31	53
E.U.	10	5	7	4	6	21	8
Russia	5	2	2	--	2	2	--
India	2	5	1	1	<1	--	--
Other	4	2	1	1	<1	1	--
Not Sure	7	4	1	8	18	8	3

United States:

- A majority of Congressional staffers (73%), business leaders (69%), opinion leaders (62%) believe the United States will be the leading global superpower in twenty years. Nearly half of the general public (49%) has the same opinion. China ranks second among all four samples, but ranks highest among the general public (23%).
- Younger Americans (18-29 year-olds) rate the U.S. (36%) and China (17%) lower than the other age brackets and give greater weight to the E.U. (26%) and Russia (10%).

China:

- A majority of the general public (55%) and business leaders (53%) believe China will be the leading global superpower in twenty years, and 31% of opinion leaders agree. The percentage of opinion leaders selecting the U.S. (38%) is close to that of business leaders (36%), notably higher than the general public (20%).
- Younger Chinese (18-29 year-olds) give greater weight to the E.U. (10%) than other age groups.

Future Leading Power in East Asia

15. (BOTH SURVEYS) Which one of the following countries do you expect to have the greatest degree of influence in the East Asian region twenty years from now?

2007 Only	US Survey				China Survey		
	General Public	Opinion Leaders	Business Leaders	Congressional Staffers	General Public	Opinion Leaders	Business Leaders
China	47	70	56	85	68	86	85
U.S.	17	13	21	7	8	3	4
Japan	12	10	10	5	6	5	10
South Korea	8	4	5	--	1	1	1
Russia	5	3	3	2	3	3	3
Other	2	--	--	--	--	--	--
Not Sure	9	2	5	1	14	3	3

United States:

- When asked which nation will have the greatest degree of influence in East Asia twenty years from now, China ranks first among all four samples. Congressional staffers (85%) are most likely to hold that opinion, followed by opinion leaders (70%), business leaders (56%) and the general public (47%). The U.S. ranks second among all four samples, followed closely by Japan and South Korea.
- Among Americans with more than a college education, 60 percent believe China will be the most dominant regional power, followed by Japan (15%), the U.S. (8%) and South Korea (5%).

China:

- China ranks first among all three samples. The Chinese public is more likely to select the U.S. (8%) than business leaders (4%) and opinion leaders (3%). Business leaders (10%) are more likely to think Japan will be the dominant power in East Asia than the general public (6%) and opinion leaders (5%).
- More than 70% of those with a high level of education think China will become the most influential country in East Asia in twenty years. More people with a high level of education select China and Japan than those with a middle level of education.
- 74% of Communist Party members think China will become the most influential country in East Asia in twenty years, which is 6 percentage points higher than for non-Party members.

2. Responding to the Rise of China

China's Growing Military Power

16. (US SURVEY) How do you view China's emergence as a military power—as a serious threat to the U.S., a potential threat, no threat, or as an ally of the U.S.?

	US Survey							
	General Public		Opinion Leaders		Business Leaders		Congressional Staffers	
	'07	'05	'07	'05	'07	'05	'07	'05
Serious Threat	22	15	20	12	17	16	19	36
Potential Threat	53	51	54	67	62	71	68	55
No Threat	12	16	13	14	11	8	11	5
Ally	8	13	11	4	8	3	2	2
Not Sure	5	6	3	3	3	3	--	2

United States:

- More than three-quarters of all four samples view China's emergence as a military power as a serious or potential threat. Compared with 2005, the percentage of those who view China's military power as a serious threat rose by 7 percentage points among the general public and 8 percentage points among opinion leaders. The same rate held constant among business

leaders and fell 17 percentage points among Congressional staffers. The percentage of those who view China as an ally rose only among opinion leaders and business leaders.

China's Growing Economy

17. (BOTH SURVEYS) How do you view China's emergence as a global economic power—as a serious threat to the U.S., a potential threat, no threat, or as an economic partner of the U.S.?

	US Survey								China Survey		
	General Public		Opinion Leaders		Business Leaders		Congressional Staffers		General Public	Opinion Leaders	Business Leaders
	'07	'05	'07	'05	'07	'05	'07	'05	'07	'07	'07
Serious Threat	25	24	29	30	31	31	32	49	13	5	6
Potential Threat	40	36	31	38	37	49	39	34	31	30	39
No Threat	7	11	7	7	5	5	4	3	23	30	20
Economic Partner	25	25	32	24	25	12	25	25	17	32	33
Not Sure	4	4	2	2	1	3	--	--	17	3	2

United States:

- More than sixty percent of each of the four samples view China's emergence as an economic power as a serious or potential threat. One-quarter (25%) of Congressional staffers, business leaders and the general public view China as an economic partner, while 32 percent of opinion leaders hold the same view.
- Compared with 2005, the percentage of respondents who view China as a serious economic threat remains unchanged, except among Congressional staffers, where it fell 17 percentage points. The percentage that view China as an economic partner remains unchanged among the general public and Congressional staffers, while it rose 8 percentage points among opinion leaders and 13 percentage points among business leaders since 2005.
- 35 percent of 18-29 year-olds view China as an ally, while 53 percent view China as a threat.
- Among business leaders, those in manufacturing (76%) and retail (70%) are more likely to see China as a serious or potential threat than are those in trade associations (61%). Only 8% of business leaders in manufacturing view China as an economic partner, while 18% of those in retail and 37% of those in trade associations hold the same opinion.

China:

- The percentage of the general public (13%) who see China's growing economy as a serious threat to the U.S. is higher than the percentages of business leaders (6%) and opinion leaders (5%). About one-in-three opinion leaders and business leaders think China can become an economic partner to the United States.
- Younger Chinese (18-29 year-olds) are more likely to view China as an economic partner to the U.S. than other age groups (22%).
- Business leaders in foreign-invested enterprises and joint ventures are more inclined to see China as becoming an economic partner to the U.S. (40%) and see China as posing no threat to the U.S. (25%) than those in domestic enterprises (including state-owned enterprises, domestic enterprises with mixed ownerships and private enterprises). Business leaders in

SOEs (48%) and domestic enterprises with mixed ownership (50%) are more inclined to view China as a potential threat to the U.S.

American Policy Toward China

18. (BOTH SURVEYS) I will now read two statements. Please tell me which comes closest to your view.

Statement A: The U.S. accepts China's status as a rising power and wants a collaborative relationship.

Statement B: The U.S. is trying to prevent China from becoming a great power.

2007 Only	US Survey				China Survey		
	General Public	Opinion Leaders	Business Leaders	Congressional Staffers	General Public	Opinion Leaders	Business Leaders
Statement A	64	81	75	74	32	42	51
Statement B	32	17	22	15	45	48	44
Not Sure	5	3	3	11	23	10	6

United States:

- There is a broad consensus among all samples that the U.S. accepts China's status and seeks a collaborative relationship. Still, one-third of the general public feels that the U.S. is trying to prevent China from becoming a great power, including 48% of younger Americans between the ages of 18 and 29.
- Democrats are also less likely to agree that the U.S. accepts China's status (54%) than are Independents (66%) and Republicans (79%).
- Most of the American public (64%) say the U.S. understands China's status as a rising power and wants a collaborative relationship. Those who have either finished high school, finished some college or have finished college embrace this opinion almost evenly. Respondents who have not finished high school are most likely to say (62%) the U.S. is trying to prevent China from becoming a great power.

China:

- The percentage of business leaders who feel the U.S. accepts China's status (51%) is higher than the percentage of those who believe the U.S. is trying to contain China (44%). However, among the Chinese public and opinion leaders, the percentage of those who believe the U.S. is trying to prevent China from becoming a world power is higher than the percentage of those who believe the U.S. accepts China's increasing status.
- 39% of younger Chinese between the ages of 18-29 believe "the U.S. accepts China's status and wants cooperation," this percentage is higher than other age groups. 47% of 30-39 year-olds believe the U.S. is preventing China from becoming a great power; higher than other age groups.
- People with high and medium levels of education (38%) are more likely to agree that the U.S. accepts China's status than those with a lower education (29%).

3. Perspectives on the State of U.S.-China Relations

Important Foreign Partner

19-25. (US SURVEY) I am going to read to you a list of countries. For each, please tell me if they are the most important, a very important, a somewhat important, or not an important partner to the U.S. in the world today.

(CHINA SURVEY) I am going to read to you a list of countries. For each, please tell me if they are the most important, a very important, a somewhat important, or not an important partner to China in the world today.

		US Survey						China Survey		
		General Public		Opinion Leaders		Business Leaders	Congressional Staffers	General Public	Opinion Leaders	Business Leaders
		'07	'05	'07	'05	'07	'07			
England	Imp*	75	79	89	95	91	88	55	73	57
	Not Imp.	24	19	12	5	9	11	26	27	42
Japan	Imp	59	64	75	89	79	78	46	76	79
	Not Imp.	38	34	25	11	21	20	35	24	20
China (US survey) /US (China survey)	Imp	55	48	68	58	69	82	64	90	91
	Not Imp.	44	50	33	39	31	17	19	10	8
Israel	Imp	53	58	63	58	63	60	24	33	26
	Not Imp.	44	39	36	41	37	39	51	66	72
Saudi Arabia	Imp	47	44	60	52	64	56	26	39	43
	Not Imp.	49	52	39	47	36	41	48	60	56
Russia	Imp	35	45	53	58	49	38	60	88	94
	Not Imp.	62	53	47	41	51	60	20	12	5
India	Imp	32	31	55	49	52	66	36	49	48
	Not Imp.	64	63	45	50	48	32	43	50	51

*“Important” includes “Most Important” and “Very Important;” “Not Important” includes “Somewhat Important” and “Not Very Important.”

**In the 2005 survey, the word “ally” was used instead of “partner,” and the question options also included South Korea, Taiwan and France.

United States:

- Respondents were asked to rate the individual importance of seven countries to the United States—England, Japan, China, Israel, Saudi Arabia, Russia and India. England rates as the most important partner to the U.S. across all four samples and all subgroups.
- Japan rates second among the general public (59%), opinion leaders (75%), business leaders (79%), Independents (58%) and Republicans (66%). Japan rates third among Congressional staffers (78%) and fourth among Democrats (51%).
- China rates second among Democrats (56%) and Congressional staffers (82%) and third among the general public (55%), opinion leaders (68%) and business leaders (69%). Among Republicans, China rates fourth (51%), behind England, Japan and Israel.

- The importance of England and Japan has fallen among the general public and opinion leaders since the 2005 survey. In contrast, the importance of China rose 7 percentage points among the general public and 10 percentage points among opinion leaders.

China:

- When asked about the importance of countries as China's partners, the general public and opinion leaders rate the U.S. as first and Russia second among the seven countries. Russia (94%) rates first among business leaders, followed by the U.S. (91%).
- City residents (69%) rate the U.S. first, and regard it as far more important than do people living in towns (50%) and rural areas (51%), and they put Russia second, while people living in towns and rural areas think Russia is more important than the U.S. as China's partner.

Current Trends in U.S.-China Relations

26. (BOTH SURVEYS) Do you believe that the relationship between the U.S. and China is currently improving, getting worse, or is there no change?

	US Survey								China Survey		
	General Public		Opinion Leaders		Business Leaders		Congressional Staffers		General Public	Opinion Leaders	Business Leaders
	'07	'05	'07	'05	'07	'05	'07	'05	'07	'07	'07
Improving	28	45	38	56	37	43	24	27	29	22	27
Getting Worse	26	12	22	8	20	18	39	34	13	3	3
No Change	43	37	38	36	41	35	33	30	40	69	70
Not Sure	3	6	4	1	1	3	4	10	18	5	1

United States:

- Approximately one-quarter of the general public (28%) and Congressional staffers (24%) believe the relationship between the U.S. and China is improving. Opinion leaders and business leaders are more likely to believe that the relationship between the two nations is improving—38% and 37% respectively. While a plurality of the general public, business leaders and opinion leaders believe there has been no change, the plurality of Congressional staffers believe that relations are getting worse.
- Among 18-29 year-olds, one quarter (24%) feel relations between the two nations have improved, while half (49%) believe there has been no change. Older Americans—50 to 64 (34%) and over 65 (33%)—are more likely to see relations are improving.
- Opinion leaders from the public sector (52%) and the NGO community (42%) are also more likely to feel relations are improving compared to those in the media (26%) and academia (30%).
- While there has been little change since 2005 among business leaders and Congressional staffers in their evaluation of U.S.-China relations, opinion leaders and the general public are now twice as likely to believe that the relationship has become worse than they were in 2005. In 2005 a majority of opinion leaders (56%) and a plurality of the general public (45%) believed relations between the two nations were improving. Now only 38 percent of opinion leaders and 28 percent of the general public hold that opinion.

China:

- Approximately 70% of opinion leaders and business leaders think there has been no change in Sino-U.S. relations. 40% of the general public share this view.
- Among the general public, 30-39 year-olds are more likely to believe that relations are getting worse (14%). The percentage of 18-29 year-olds who think there has been no change is the highest (44%).
- The percentage of people with a high level of education (52%) and those with a medium level of education (50%) who think there have been no changes in relationship is higher than those with a low level of education (32%).
- Opinion leaders from the academia are most likely to see the relationship as improving (35%), while leaders from the media are most likely to see the relationship as stable (81%).

Responsibility For Worsening of Relations

27. (ASKED OF BOTH AMERICANS & CHINESE WHO THINK RELATIONS ARE GETTING WORSE) Who do you think is most responsible for the deterioration in U.S.-China relations—The U.S. government or the Chinese government?

2007 Only	US Survey				China Survey		
	General Public	Opinion Leaders	Business Leaders	Congressional Staffers	General Public	Opinion Leaders	Business Leaders
U.S. Gov't	41	19	N/A*	N/A	74	N/A	N/A
Chinese Gov't	35	44	N/A	N/A	4	N/A	N/A
Both	20	33	N/A	N/A	13	N/A	N/A
Neither	1	2	N/A	N/A	2	N/A	N/A
Not Sure	3	2	N/A	N/A	7	N/A	N/A

*N/A because samples for this group were not significant.

United States:

- When asked who they believe is responsible for the deterioration of U.S.-China relations, 41% of those in the general public who said relations are getting worse blame the United States. More than a third (35%) blame China, while 20% find fault with both.
- 53% of Americans between 18-29 blame the United States, while only 7% cite China as being at fault. The remaining age groups evenly divide blame between the U.S. and China.
- Opinion leaders (44%) and business leaders (53%) are more likely to blame the Chinese government, with a third of each (33%) blaming both. Congressional staffers are evenly split between blaming the Chinese government (46%) and both (46%).

China:

- Among the general public who believe U.S.-China relations are worsening, almost three-quarters (74%) attribute these problems to the U.S. government, 13% think both governments are responsible, and only 4% think the Chinese government is responsible.
- 80% of 18-29 year-olds place the responsibility with the U.S. government, a percentage greater than other age groups.
- Of the seven opinion leaders who think relations are deteriorating, five lay the blame on the U.S. government, one believes the Chinese government is responsible, and one thinks both governments are responsible.

Government's Performance on Bilateral Relations

28. (BOTH SURVEYS) How would you rate the Chinese government's handling of its relations with the U.S.?

2007 Only	US Survey				China Survey		
	General Public	Opinion Leaders	Business Leaders	Congressional Staffers	General Public	Opinion Leaders	Business Leaders
Excellent	5	3	2	1	10	17	30
Good	20	25	24	25	48	44	51
POSITIVE	25	28	26	26	58	61	81
Fair	43	50	50	45	25	34	14
Poor	27	21	21	29	2	3	5
NEGATIVE	70	71	71	74	27	37	19
Not Sure	6	3	3	--	15	2	--

United States:

- Roughly one quarter of all four samples rate the Chinese government's handling of relations with the U.S. as either excellent or good. Between 70% and 74% of each sample gives the Chinese government a negative rating, with Congressional staffers (29%) and the general public (27%) comprising highest percentages for a poor rating.
- Among the general public, Democrats (28%) and Independents (27%) hold a slightly more positive view of the Chinese governments handling of relations than do Republicans (19%).

China:

- A higher percentage of business leaders (81%) maintain a positive outlook on the Chinese government's handling of Sino-U.S. relations as compared with opinion leaders (61%) and the general public (58%). Across all three groups, less than 6 percent give the Chinese government a poor rating.

29. (BOTH SURVEYS) How would you rate the U.S. government's handling of its relations with China?

2007 Only	US Survey				China Survey		
	General Public	Opinion Leaders	Business Leaders	Congressional Staffers	General Public	Opinion Leaders	Business Leaders
Excellent	6	1	3	3	4	4	6
Good	24	27	31	15	24	28	42
POSITIVE	30	28	34	18	28	32	48
Fair	40	53	51	52	41	53	42
Poor	26	18	15	30	14	13	8
NEGATIVE	66	71	66	82	55	66	50
Not Sure	3	2	1	--	18	2	1

United States:

- When asked to rate the U.S. government's handling of its relations with China, the American government receives a slightly more positive rating among business leaders (34%) and the

general public (30%) than the Chinese government. Opinion leaders (28%) rate both countries equally, while Congressional staffers take a more negative view of the American government's efforts (82%) than the Chinese government's efforts (74%).

China:

- Across the board, all three samples give lower average scores to the U.S. government than they do for their own government, with 55% of the general public, 66% of opinion leaders and 50% of business leaders giving a negative rating to the American government.
- A sizable percentage of opinion leaders (53%) think the government's performance is fair, 11 and 12 percentage points respectively above the percentage of business leaders and the general public who hold this view.

Part III: U.S.-China Common Issues

1. General Perceptions of Mutual Issues

Greatest Concerns

30. (BOTH SURVEYS) What are your two greatest concerns about U.S.-China relations?

2007 Only	US Survey				China Survey		
	General Public	Opinion Leaders	Business Leaders	Congressional Staffers	General Public	Opinion Leaders	Business Leaders
Loss of U.S. jobs to China	41	31	39	12	5	4	4
U.S. trade deficit with China	35	50	33	27	18	35	33
China's human rights situation (US survey)/The implementation of Chinese people's legal rights (China survey)	27	28	29	25	8	6	19
China's environmental degradation	17	23	23	18	20	15	16
China's exchange rate policy	12	11	15	16	9	17	15
China's military modernization	11	13	12	26	11	5	12
China's energy consumption	9	15	14	24	15	17	18
Cultural differences	9	3	3	--	4	4	8
U.S. military presence in Asia	6	4	5	5	10	15	13
China's intellectual property infringement	5	10	12	15	7	1	7
China's responsibility in resolving the Darfur problem	4	1	3	4	1	1	--
Taiwan	3	7	3	20	40	59	53
Other	2	3	3	6	<1	3	--
Not sure	4	1	1	--	31	4	1

*Percentages total more than 100% as respondents were asked to select the top **two** responses.

United States:

- The two greatest concerns about U.S.-China relations among the general public are the loss of U.S. jobs to China (41%) and the U.S. trade deficit with China (35%). These same two concerns are also the top two choices for business leaders (39% and 33%, respectively). Opinion Leaders hold those same two issues as most important, but in the reverse order—U.S. trade deficit (50%) and loss of jobs (31%).
- Congressional staffers are evenly divided among four issues: U.S. trade deficit (27%), China's military modernization (26%), China's human rights (25%) and China's energy consumption (24%).
- Democrats (43%) and Republicans (48%) are most likely to cite the loss of U.S. jobs as the top issue, while Independents (37%) see the U.S. trade deficit as the greatest concern.
- Among opinion leaders, the trade deficit ranks as the most important issue, especially for those in the public sector (60%) and those in the media (50%).

China:

- All three samples are most concerned about Taiwan, with 59% of opinion leaders, 53% of business leaders and 40% of the general public citing this issue. In addition, opinion leaders (35%) and business leaders (33%) are also deeply concerned about the U.S. trade deficit with China, while the general public (20%) is more concerned about China's environmental degradation.
- The Taiwan issue unites the opinion of people with all levels of education, as it is of most concern to these samples of the general public.
- Younger Chinese between 18-29 are more concerned about the Taiwan problem, U.S. trade deficit with China, and Chinese exchange rate policy than other age groups.
- Opinion leaders from the academia are especially concerned about the Taiwan problem, while leaders in the media are more likely to worry about the implementation of Chinese people's legal rights.

Common Interest

31. (BOTH SURVEYS) In what two areas do you think the U.S. and China share the most common interest?

2007 Only	US Survey				China Survey		
	General Public	Opinion Leaders	Business Leaders	Congressional Staffers	General Public	Opinion Leaders	Business Leaders
Trade	71	77	73	64	55	68	73
China's domestic stability	20	17	23	20	9	10	11
Energy	16	23	17	23	24	15	37
Security in the Asian-Pacific region	13	22	21	29	11	23	22
Environment	13	17	15	8	24	24	26
Anti-terrorism	11	7	13	11	12	26	13
Nuclear non-proliferation	11	13	7	14	10	23	14
Public health	7	6	11	11	6	9	4
Other	1	3	--	2	7	3	--
None, The U.S. and China have no common interests	5	2	3	2	--	--	--
Not sure	5	2	1	2	20	--	--

Percentages total more than 100% as respondents were asked to select the top **two responses.*

United States:

- Clear majorities of all four samples cite trade as the most common interest between the United States and China. Agreement is mixed, however, among the remaining areas of potential common interest. The general public cites China's domestic political stability (20%), as do business leaders (23%), while opinion leaders name energy (23%) and Congressional staff name security in the Asia-Pacific region (29%).

China:

- All three samples agree that trade is the area where China and the U.S. share the most interest, with 73% of business leaders, 68% of opinion leaders and 55% of the general public selecting trade. Among the remaining areas of potential common interest, the general public cites energy (24%) and the environment (24%). Business leaders select the same two issues, but put more emphasis on energy (37%) than the environment (26%), while the opinion leaders name anti-terrorism (26%), followed by the environment (24%). Opinion leaders (23%) and business leaders (22%) also cite security in the Asian-Pacific region as an important area of common interest.

Potential Conflicts

32. (BOTH SURVEYS) What are the two most likely sources of conflict between the U.S. and China in the near future?

2007 Only	US Survey				China Survey		
	General Public	Opinion Leaders	Business Leaders	Congressional Staffers	General Public	Opinion Leaders	Business Leaders
Trade	37	48	43	55	15	22	22
Energy	26	20	23	36	10	24	17
Human rights	26	34	33	17	21	20	25
U.S. missile defense system	22	10	12	10	7	12	8
War in Iraq	19	7	18	2	8	2	6
Security in the Asian-Pacific region	16	19	14	7	17	19	21
Taiwan	15	27	18	50	54	74	71
Intellectual property rights	7	12	19	13	8	12	12
Anti-terrorism	6	9	11	--	7	2	3
Tibet	2	4	1	--	6	9	13
Other	2	5	2	6	7	3	1
None, The U.S. and China are unlikely to have conflict	1	1	--	1	1	--	--
Not sure	4	--	1	--	20	1	1

Percentages total more than 100% as respondents were asked to select the top **two responses.*

United States:

- When asked to name the two most likely sources of conflict between China and the U.S., trade was rated highest among all four samples. The general public places equal weight on energy (26%) and human rights (26%) as the second most likely source of conflict, while business leaders and opinion leaders both rate human rights second. Congressional staffers, however, rate Taiwan as the second most likely source of conflict (50%), just under trade (55%).

China:

- The three samples see Taiwan as the area where China and the U.S. are most likely to have conflict: over 70% of opinion leaders and business leaders select this option, as do more than

half of the general public. Both the general public (21%) and business leaders (25%) rate human rights as the second most likely source of conflict, while opinion leaders cite energy (24%).

- Out of all the different age groups, younger Chinese (18-29 years old) are more concerned about the Taiwan issue (58%). They are also more likely to mention anti-terrorism (10%) and U.S. missile defense system (8%).

2. Investigation of Specific Shared Problems

Taiwan

(a) U.S. Involvement in China-Taiwan Relations

33. (US SURVEY) Please tell me whether you agree or disagree with the following statement:
The U.S. should take an active role in China-Taiwan relations.

	US Survey							
	General Public		Opinion Leaders		Business Leaders		Congressional Staffers	
	'07	'05	'07	'05	'07	'05	'07	'05
Agree*	46	44	57	44	54	50	64	49
Disagree	50	47	40	53	44	47	27	28
Not Sure	4	9	4	4	2	3	9	24

*In 2005 the question was presented as “Yes/No” and asked about a “more active role.”

United States:

- A majority of Congressional staffers (64%), business leaders (54%) and opinion leaders (57%) agree the U.S. should take an active role in China-Taiwan relations, while less than half of the general public (46%) agrees. The rate of agreement has risen among all four samples since 2005, most notably among Congressional staff where there has been a 15 percentage point increase.
- There is little variation among subgroups, however, with Independents (53%) and males (53%) as more likely to agree with an active U.S. role.

(b) U.S. Military Obligations to Taiwan

34. (US SURVEY) If a declaration of independence by Taiwan leads to military hostilities, should the U.S. intervene on behalf of Taiwan?

	US Survey							
	General Public		Opinion Leaders		Business Leaders		Congressional Staffers	
	'07	'05	'07	'05	'07	'05	'07	'05
Yes	32	32	31	55	23	48	49	52
No	60	59	59	39	72	50	28	19
Not Sure	9	9	11	6	5	3	23	29

United States:

- Congressional staffers are more likely than those in any other sample to agree that the U.S. should intervene in the event of military hostilities between China and Taiwan following a declaration of Taiwanese independence. While nearly half of Congressional staffers (49%) support intervention, less than one-third of the general public (32%), opinion leaders (31%) and business leaders (23%) feel the same.
- Among subgroups, Independents (38%), men (42%) and those living in Western America (42%) are more likely to support intervention than are Republicans (21%), women (22%) and those in the South (25%) and East (28%).
- Opinion in the general public regarding U.S. involvement on behalf of Taiwan should they declare independence has not changed since the 2005 survey, with one-third (32%) still in support. Among business leaders and opinion leaders, however, support for intervention fell significantly—24 percentage points among opinion leaders and 25 percentage points among business leaders. The opinions of Congressional staffers remained largely unchanged.

(c) Current Cross-Strait Relations

35. (CHINA SURVEY) Which of the following do you think is the most accurate description of the current Cross-Strait situation?

2007 Only	China Survey		
	General Public	Opinion Leaders	Business Leaders
Taiwan Issue is Evolving Toward Peaceful Resolution	53	41	53
Taiwan Issue Has Become a Deadlock	16	32	27
Taiwan Issue is Evolving Toward Military Conflict	12	17	12
None/Not Sure	19	9	8

China:

- The general public (53%) and business leaders (53%) are notably more optimistic about the present situation in the Taiwan Strait and believe the issue is evolving toward a peaceful resolution as compared to opinion leaders (41%). Opinion leaders (49%) are more pessimistic about this issue and think it has become a deadlock or that it is evolving toward military conflicts than are the general public (28%) and business leaders (39%).
- City residents (45%) are more pessimistic about the Taiwan issue, as opposed to their town (31%) and rural (21%) counterparts.
- Men (32%) tend to adopt a more optimistic attitude toward this issue than women (25%).

(d) Solution to the Taiwan Issue

36. (CHINA SURVEY) Among the following measures that China can take to resolve the Taiwan problem, which one do you think will be most appropriate?

2007 Only	China Survey		
	General Public	Opinion Leaders	Business Leaders
Eventually Achieving Unification By Expanding Cross-Strait Exchanges	52	66	57
Forcing Taiwan to Return to China By Exerting Economic Pressure	17	10	21
Achieving Unification By Force	11	7	12
Observing Measures Taken by Taiwanese Authorities	6	12	9
Doing Nothing	1	1	--
Not Sure	15	4	1

China:

- All samples regard achieving unification by expanding cross-strait exchanges as the most appropriate measure to resolve the Taiwan issue: 66% of opinion leaders, 57% of business leaders and 52% of the general public select this option. The percentage of business leaders who favor the use of force and economic pressure is higher than the other two groups.
- 60% of the Communist Party members favor achieving unification by expanding cross-strait exchanges, while 12% of them select unification by force; these two percentages are 8 and 2 percentage points above the percentages of non-Party members.

Trade

(a) Shared Benefit of Trade

37. (US SURVEY) Please tell me whether you agree or disagree with the following statement:
Trade with China is beneficial to the U.S. economy.

(CHINA SURVEY) Please tell me whether you agree or disagree with the following statement: Trade with the U.S. is beneficial to China's economy.

	US Survey								China Survey		
	General Public		Opinion Leaders		Business Leaders		Congressional Staffers		General Public	Opinion Leaders	Business Leaders
	'07	'05	'07	'05	'07	'05	'07	'05	'07	'07	'07
Strongly Agree	43	35	47	47	51	35	42	25	20	50	45
Somewhat Agree	29	38	38	34	32	47	43	43	62	49	54
AGREE	72	73	85	81	83	82	85	68	82	99	99
Somewhat Disagree	10	12	7	8	9	11	10	19	6	1	1
Strongly Disagree	17	14	9	7	8	7	5	2	1	0	0
DISAGREE	27	26	16	15	17	18	15	21	7	1	1
Not Sure	1	2	1	3	--	1	--	2	11	0	0

United States:

- Nearly three-quarters of respondents in each of the four samples agree that trade with China is beneficial to the U.S. economy, including more than 40% in each group who strongly agree. Agreement is lowest among the general public, but only 27 percent disagree with the statement.
- Compared to 2005, agreement is largely unchanged, except among Congressional staffers where the number rose by 17 percentage points.
- There is no significant variation by subgroup, including union membership.

China:

- Almost all opinion and business leaders (99%) agree that trade with the U.S. is beneficial to China's economy. Similar to the U.S., agreement is lowest among the general public, but even then, only 7 percent disagree with the statement.

38. (BOTH SURVEYS) Please tell me whether you agree or disagree with the following statement: Products from China benefit American consumers because of their low cost.

	US Survey								China Survey		
	General Public		Opinion Leaders		Business Leaders		Congressional Staffers		General Public	Opinion Leaders	Business Leaders
	'07	'05	'07	'05	'07	'05	'07	'05	'07	'07	'07
Strongly Agree	32	28	30	37	41	28	33	15	17	36	22
Somewhat Agree	35	35	35	41	27	49	43	43	47	50	58
AGREE	67	63	65	78	68	77	76	58	64	86	80
Somewhat Disagree	13	18	19	12	11	14	14	24	17	10	17
Strongly Disagree	21	17	16	11	22	9	10	19	3	3	2
DISAGREE	34	35	35	23	33	23	24	43	20	13	19
Not Sure	<1	3	1	--	--	9	--	--	16	1	0

United States:

- At least two-thirds of respondents in each sample agree that American consumers benefit in some way from Chinese-made products. Among the general public and Congressional staffers, agreement has risen since 2005 (4 and 18 percentage points, respectively), while at the same time, that rate has fallen among opinion and business leaders (13 and 9 percentage points, respectively).
- Just over half of union members (54%) agree that Chinese-made products benefit American consumers, as compared to 60 percent of non-union members.

China:

- 86% of opinion leaders agree that Chinese-made products benefit Americans because of their low cost, 22 and 6 percentage points above the numbers for the general public and business leaders.

(b) Responsibility for Trade Deficit

39. (BOTH SURVEYS) Who do you think is most responsible for the U.S.'s large trade deficit with China—The U.S. government or the Chinese government?

2007 Only	US Survey				China Survey		
	General Public	Opinion Leaders	Business Leaders	Congressional Staffers	General Public	Opinion Leaders	Business Leaders
U.S. Gov't	65	58	43	18	35	39	36
Chinese Gov't	15	18	27	20	7	8	7
Both	10	12	23	40	27	37	39
Neither	3	8	6	20	3	7	3
Not Sure	8	5	2	2	28	9	15

United States:

- More than half of the general public (65%) and opinion leaders (58%) believe the United States is most responsible for the large trade deficit with China, while a plurality of business leaders (43%) hold the same opinion. Among Congressional staffers, a plurality (40%) blames both nations, while near equal numbers blame China (20%) and the United States (18%).

China:

- A majority of all three samples think the U.S. government or both governments are responsible for U.S. trade deficit with China; those who think the Chinese government is responsible take up less than 9 percent.

Chinese Product Safety

40. (BOTH SURVEYS) Please tell me whether you agree or disagree with the following statement: Chinese food contamination cases have reduced your confidence in products made in China.

2007 Only	US Survey				China Survey		
	General Public	Opinion Leaders	Business Leaders	Congressional Staffers	General Public	Opinion Leaders	Business Leaders
Strongly Agree	52	64	65	53	9	16	10
Somewhat Agree	16	23	14	36	35	32	28
AGREE	68	87	79	89	44	48	38
Somewhat Disagree	14	8	9	6	30	42	49
Strongly Disagree	16	5	12	4	10	11	14
DISAGREE	30	13	21	10	40	53	63
Not Sure	2	1	1	1	16	0	0

United States:

- A wide majority of all respondents agree that food contamination cases have reduced their confidence in Chinese-made products, with a majority of each sample in strong agreement. Nearly two-thirds of business leaders (65%) and opinion leaders (64%) are in strong agreement.

China:

- A majority of opinion leaders (53%) and business leaders (63%) claim the contamination cases have not reduced their confidence in Chinese-made products. At the same time, the percentage of the general public who agrees with this is slightly higher than the percentage of those who disagree (44% versus 40%).

Outsourcing

41. (BOTH SURVEYS) Please tell me whether you agree or disagree with the following statement: China causes job losses in the U.S.

2007 Only	US Survey				China Survey		
	General Public	Opinion Leaders	Business Leaders	Congressional Staffers	General Public	Opinion Leaders	Business Leaders
Strongly Agree	54	43	54	33	6	4	5
Somewhat Agree	21	35	25	37	30	18	20
AGREE	75	78	79	70	36	22	25
Somewhat Disagree	14	11	9	22	28	53	49
Strongly Disagree	11	10	11	7	15	24	25
DISAGREE	25	21	20	29	43	77	74
Not Sure	1	2	--	1	22	2	1

United States:

- Between seventy and eighty percent of each of the four samples agree that China is causing job losses in the United States. A majority of the general public (54%) and business leaders (54%) strongly agree with the statement.
- There is no significant variation by subgroup, including union membership.

China:

- Roughly three quarters of opinion leaders (77%) and business leaders (74%) disagree that China causes job losses in the United States, far above the number for the general public (43%).

42. (ASKED ONLY OF AMERICANS WHO THINK CHINA CAUSES JOB LOSSES) Please tell me whether you agree or disagree with the following statement: the U.S. should not outsource manufacturing jobs to China even if eliminating outsourcing results in higher prices for U.S. consumers.

2007 Only	US Survey			
	<i>General Public</i>	<i>Opinion Leaders</i>	<i>Business Leaders</i>	<i>Congressional Staffers</i>
Strongly Agree	53	37	40	17
Somewhat Agree	21	26	25	23
AGREE	74	63	65	40
Somewhat Disagree	14	22	13	37
Strongly Disagree	10	14	19	17
DISAGREE	24	36	32	54
Not Sure	2	2	3	6

United States:

- Of those who agree that China has caused job losses in the United States, a majority of all samples except Congressional staffers believe that the United States should not outsource manufacturing jobs to China, even if it results in higher prices for U.S. consumers. Three quarters of the general public (74%) agree, including a majority (53%) who strongly agree.
- A majority of Congressional staffers (54%) disagree that such restrictions should be placed on outsourcing.

China's Investment in Africa

43. (US SURVEY) In recent years, China has expanded aid and investment in Africa. Do you think this poses a threat to U.S. interests or an opportunity for U.S.-China cooperation?

2007 Only	US Survey			
	<i>General Public</i>	<i>Opinion Leaders</i>	<i>Business Leaders</i>	<i>Congressional Staffers</i>
A Threat to U.S.	26	17	20	28
An Opportunity	66	77	77	61
Not Sure	7	6	3	11

United States:

- Clear majorities of all four samples view China's expanded role in Africa as an opportunity for U.S.-China cooperation, rather than as a threat to the United States.

Doing Business Across the Pacific: Views from Corporate Executives

(44-47 ARE EXCLUSIVELY ASKED OF BUSINESS LEADERS):

(a) Greatest Concerns

44. (US SURVEY) What are your two greatest concerns about doing business with China?

(CHINA SURVEY) What are your two greatest concerns about doing business in China?

2007 Only	US Survey	China Survey
	<i>Business Leaders</i>	<i>Business Leaders</i>
Corruption	47	44
Poor intellectual property rights protection	27	24
Bureaucratic interference	26	51
Cultural differences (US survey only)	19	--
Inadequate legal system	17	52
Lack of knowledge on how to initiate and do business in China	14	--
Political instability	14	8
Language barrier (US survey only)	12	--
Underdeveloped financial infrastructure	10	21
Other	1	--
Not sure/None	3	1

Percentages total more than 100% as respondents were asked to select the top **two responses.*

United States:

- American business leaders report that their greatest concern about doing business with China is corruption (47%), including a majority of those in the retail sector (60%) and a near majority of those in trade associations (49%). Poor intellectual property rights protection (27%) and bureaucratic interference (26%) rated second and third in terms of business concerns. Among business leaders in manufacturing, poor intellectual property protection rated first (33%), followed by corruption (31%).

China:

- The top two concerns of Chinese business leaders doing business in their own country are China's inadequate legal system (52%) and bureaucratic interference (51%), with more than half of those surveyed citing these issues. In addition, nearly half (44%) of business leaders are concerned about corruption.
- Among corporations with different types of ownership, business leaders in China's state-owned enterprises (SOEs) are more concerned about bureaucratic interference (58%) and corruption (58%), those in foreign-invested enterprises and joint ventures are more likely to worry about undeveloped financial infrastructure (28%) and poor intellectual property protection (26%), while those in private enterprises are more concerned about political instability (14%) than others.
- Among corporations in different sectors, business leaders in manufacturing are more concerned about bureaucratic interference (63%) than their counterparts in other sectors, business leaders in the service sector are more concerned about inadequate legal system (57%) than their counterparts in other business fields, while business leaders in agriculture

worry about poor intellectual property protection (41%) and fragile financial system (29%) more than any other sector.

(CHINA SURVEY) What are your two greatest concerns about doing business with the U.S.?

2007 Only	China Survey
	<i>Business Leaders</i>
U.S. import measures (e.g. tariff protections, anti-dumping)	39
U.S. bureaucratic interference	34
Differences in culture and customs	33
Differences in laws and regulations	28
Importance of product quality to Americans	17
Complicated trade approval procedures	17
Lack of knowledge about doing business in U.S.	10
Highly seasonal U.S. product markets	8
Language barriers	7
U.S. export measures (policies encouraging exports)	5
Not sure/None	3

Percentages total more than 100% as respondents were asked to select the top **two responses.*

China:

- U.S. import measures are the top concern of Chinese business leaders conducting business with the United States (39%). U.S. bureaucratic interference (34%) and differences in culture and customs (33%) come next.
- Business leaders with SOEs (43%) and foreign-invested enterprises/joint ventures (39%) are most concerned about U.S. import measures, while those with mixed-ownership domestic enterprises (50%) are most worried about US bureaucratic interference. Respondents from private enterprises (46%) are most concerned about different laws and regulations.
- Business leaders in the agricultural sector are more likely to worry about American import measures (59%) and bureaucratic interference (59%), those in the manufacturing sector are more likely to be concerned about the product quality control (18%), while those in the service sector are more likely to be concerned about differences in culture (39%) and regulations (37%).

(b) Intellectual Property Rights in China

45. (BOTH SURVEYS) Please tell me whether you agree with the following statement: China's current intellectual property rights protection policy has a negative impact on foreign investment.

2007 Only	US Survey	China Survey
	<i>Business Leaders</i>	<i>Business Leaders</i>
Strongly Agree	45	9
Somewhat Agree	24	26
AGREE	69	35
Somewhat Disagree	7	41
Strongly Disagree	11	21
DISAGREE	18	62
Not Sure	14	3

United States:

- More than two-thirds of business leaders (69%) agree that China's problems with intellectual property protection have a negative impact on foreign investment in China, including 45% who strongly agree. Among business leaders in high tech industries, 77% agree with the statement with a majority (57%) in strong agreement.

China:

- The percentage of business leaders who disagree with the idea that China's current intellectual property protection policy has negatively impacted international investment (62%) is notably higher than the percentage of those who agree (35%).

(c) Impact of U.S. Immigration Policy

46. (US SURVEY) Please tell me whether you agree with the following statement: Current U.S. visa policy has interfered with your ability to hire foreign-born skilled professionals.

2007 Only	US Survey
	<i>Business Leaders</i>
Strongly Agree	35
Somewhat Agree	11
AGREE	46
Somewhat Disagree	12
Strongly Disagree	33
DISAGREE	45
Not Sure	9

United States:

- Business leaders are evenly divided over whether current U.S. visa policies have interfered with their ability to hire foreign-born skilled professionals. Overall, the number of business

leaders who say the U.S. visa policy has interfered with their ability to hire skilled, foreign-born professionals (46%), is about the same as those who have not had a problem (45%).

(d) China's Future Role in the Global Economy

47. (BOTH SURVEYS) In your opinion, what will be China's role in the global economy twenty years from now?

2007 Only	US Survey	China Survey
	<i>Business Leaders</i>	<i>Business Leaders</i>
World's largest exporter	69	61
Key destination for outsourcing manufacturing	65	30
World's largest consumer society	52	71
Leader in developing high-tech products	47	14
Key destination for outsourcing services	44	27
Other	2	--
Not sure	1	1

*Percentages total more than 100% as respondents were asked to select the top **two** responses.

United States:

- Business leaders are evenly divided over what role China will take in the global economy twenty years from now. 69% of business leaders believe China will be the world's largest exporter, while 65% believe China will be the key destination for outsourcing manufacturing.

China:

- In twenty years, 71% of business leaders think China will become the world's largest consumer society, and 61% think China will become the world's largest exporter. Less than one third of business leaders think China will become a key destination for outsourcing manufacturing (30%).
- Business leaders in manufacturing (74%) are more likely to believe China will become the world's largest consumer society as compared to those in the service sector (64%). On the other hand, those in the service sector (71%) are more likely to believe China will become the world's largest exporter as compared to those in the manufacturing sector (66%) who share this view.

The Environment

(a) Global Warming Concerns

48. (BOTH SURVEYS) How much do you personally worry about global warming—a great deal, a fair amount, only a little, or not at all?

2007 Only	US Survey				China Survey		
	General Public	Opinion Leaders	Business Leaders	Congressional Staffers	General Public	Opinion Leaders	Business Leaders
A Great Deal	29	26	27	28	20	48	38
A Fair Amount	32	34	35	31	49	44	51
Only a Little	20	23	28	19	19	6	10
Not at All	20	18	10	22	7	2	1
Not Sure	<1	1	--	--	5	--	1

United States:

- A majority of all four samples worry about global warming (either a great deal or a fair amount). 61 percent of the general public worries about global warming, including three-quarters of Democrats (75%), 70 percent of Independents and only 37 percent of Republicans. Females are also more likely to worry about global warming (67%) than are males (54%), as are those between the ages of 18 and 29 (66%).

China:

- A large majority of both opinion leaders (92%) and business leaders (89%) worry about global warming (either a great deal or a fair amount). The general public, however, appears less worried (69%).
- The percentage of 18-29 year-olds (72%) worried about global warming is higher than other age groups.
- People with a high level of education (83%) are more worried about global warming, 20 percentage points above those with medium and low levels of education.

(b) Environmental Stewardship

49. (BOTH SURVEYS) How would you rate the Chinese government's performance in handling environmental issues?

2007 Only	US Survey				China Survey		
	General Public	Opinion Leaders	Business Leaders	Congressional Staffers	General Public	Opinion Leaders	Business Leaders
Excellent	1	--	1	--	6	5	14
Good	9	5	5	3	51	44	49
POSITIVE	10	5	6	3	57	49	63
Fair	30	20	15	5	28	40	28
Poor	50	64	70	88	5	10	8
NEGATIVE	80	84	85	93	33	50	36
Not Sure	11	11	9	4	10	1	1

United States:

- More than 80 percent of all four samples give the Chinese government a negative rating on environmental performance. Of those who have visited mainland China, 15 percent give the Chinese government a positive rating, and 71 percent give the government a negative rating.

China:

- The majority of business leaders (63%) and the general public (57%) believe their government is doing a good job in addressing environmental issues, while nearly half of opinion leaders (49%) share this view.

50. (BOTH SURVEYS) How would you rate the American government's performance in handling environmental issues?

2007 Only	US Survey				China Survey		
	General Public	Opinion Leaders	Business Leaders	Congressional Staffers	General Public	Opinion Leaders	Business Leaders
Excellent	7	1	3	10	5	11	12
Good	22	27	27	19	46	52	69
POSITIVE	29	28	30	29	51	63	81
Fair	44	50	48	50	21	23	12
Poor	26	24	21	21	5	8	5
NEGATIVE	70	74	69	71	26	31	17
Not Sure	1	--	--	--	24	6	3

United States:

- The American government receives slightly higher ratings than the Chinese government for its performance on environmental issues, still less than a third of each of the four samples gives the government a positive rating.

China:

- The percentage of business leaders (81%) who think the U.S. government does a good job in environmental issues is higher than the percentages of opinion leaders (63%) and the general public (51%). Opinion leaders who think that the U.S. government does not do a good job (31%) outweigh both business leaders (26%) and the general public (17%).

3. Assessing Congress's Understanding of China

(51-55 ARE EXCLUSIVELY ASKED OF CONGRESSIONAL STAFFERS):

Access to Information on China

51. Please tell me whether you agree with the following statement: I feel my member of Congress and our Congressional office have access to enough relevant information about China and the state of U.S.-China relations.

2007 Only	US Survey
	Congressional Staffers
Strongly Agree	28
Somewhat Agree	49
AGREE	77
Somewhat Disagree	14
Strongly Disagree	6
DISAGREE	20
Not Sure	3

- A strong majority of Congressional staffers (77%) say they have enough access to information about China and U.S. relations. Only 20% of respondents said they did not have enough access to pertinent information.

Communication with Chinese Officials

52. Have you ever communicated directly with Chinese officials on U.S.-China issues?

- Slightly more than half (55%) of Congressional staffers have been in contact with Chinese officials in regard to U.S. relations with China, as compared to those who have not (45%).

53. (ASKED ONLY OF CONGRESSIONAL STAFFERS WHO RESPONDED “YES” TO THE PREVIOUS QUESTION) On a scale of 1 to 5 with 1 being “not at all useful” and 5 being “highly useful,” how would you rate the usefulness of your exchange with Chinese officials?

2007 Only	US Survey
	Congressional Staffers
(1) Not at All Useful	16
(2)	20
(3)	27
(4)	27
(5) Highly Useful	7
Not Sure	2

- Those who have made exchanges with Chinese officials report mixed feelings as to its effectiveness, with 34% saying it was a positive and helpful experience and 36% saying it was not that helpful.

Communication with Chinese Americans

54. Have you ever communicated directly with Chinese Americans on U.S.-China issues?

- Most Congressional staffers (64%) report having contacted Chinese Americans with regard to U.S.-China issues. About one-third (34%) say they have not contacted Chinese Americans about issues between the two countries.

55. (ASKED ONLY OF CONGRESSIONAL STAFFERS WHO RESPONDED “YES” TO THE PREVIOUS QUESTION) On a scale of 1 to 5 with 1 being “not at all useful” and 5 being “highly useful,” how would you rate the usefulness of your exchange with Chinese Americans?

2007 Only	US Survey
	<i>Congressional Staffers</i>
(1) Not at All Useful	--
(2)	3
(3)	39
(4)	34
(5) Highly Useful	23

- More than half (57%) of all those who interacted with Chinese Americans about U.S.-China issues say the exchange was helpful. Only three percent of respondents say the contact lacked any real usefulness.

Part IV: Domestic Challenges and Values

1. Views on Domestic Issues

Mood of the Country

56. (US SURVEY) Overall, do you think that the U.S. is headed on the right track or are things on the wrong track?

(CHINA SURVEY) Overall, do you think that China is headed on the right track or are things on the wrong track?

2007 Only	US Survey				China Survey		
	General Public	Opinion Leaders	Business Leaders	Congressional Staffers	General Public	Opinion Leaders	Business Leaders
Right Track	34	40	44	26	88	89	95
Wrong Track	59	54	51	66	3	3	3
Not Sure	7	7	5	8	9	9	3

United States:

- A majority of all four samples believe the U.S. is headed on the wrong track, with the highest percentages among the general public (59%) and Congressional staffers (66%).
- Democrats (28%) are least likely to believe the country is on the right track. A third of Independents (32%) have the same opinion, while Republicans are evenly divided on the issue—48 percent believe the U.S. is on the right track, 47 percent on the wrong track.
- More than half of all respondents, ranging in ages from 18 to 75, say the U.S. is heading on the wrong track. Those between the ages of 25 and 34 years old are most likely to say the country is heading on the wrong path (70%), while those 18-24 are the least likely to hold the same opinion (55%).
- Income has little to do with the opinion that the U.S. is moving in the wrong direction, as those making less than \$25,000 a year (60%) agree with those making more than \$100,000 (63%) that things are on the wrong track.
- People with less than a high school education (51%) are less likely than those with additional schooling to say things are headed down the wrong track.
- People living in the Central and Great Lakes regions (57%) and those in the West (52%) are less likely to say the U.S. is on the wrong track compared to opinions of those in the East (66%) and the South (63%).

China:

- An overwhelming majority of all three samples believe China is headed on the right track. This view is highest among business leaders (95%) as compared to the general public (88%) and opinion leaders (89%).
- 94% of Communist Party members think China is heading in the right direction, 6 percentage points higher than non-Party members.

- Elderly people are more likely to agree that China is moving in the right direction (ages 50-60: 90%; 40-49: 90%; 30-39: 88%; 18-29: 85%).
- People working for government and non-corporate institutions are more likely to think China is heading in the right direction (94%) than other occupational groups.

Most Pressing National Problems

57. (US SURVEY) What are the three most important issues facing the U.S. today?

2007 Only	US Survey			
	General Public	Opinion Leaders	Business Leaders	Congressional Staffers
War in Iraq/Peace/Foreign policy	51	47	44	45
Jobs and the economy	41	45	49	36
Health care/Insurance/Prescription drugs	22	31	26	29
Immigration	21	21	21	22
Politics/Government/Corruption/Campaign finance reform	17	15	19	4
Utility rates/Gas prices/Energy consumption	15	9	14	16
Terrorism	15	16	21	30

Percentages total more than 100% as respondents were asked to select the top **three responses.*

***Only Top 7 Issues Listed. Please see Appendix C for the complete set of responses.*

United States:

- All four samples agree that the top two issues facing Americans today are the war in Iraq/foreign policy, and jobs and the economy. All samples except Congressional staffers rate health care and immigration as the third and fourth issues, respectively. Congressional staffers place more importance on national security (31%) and terrorism (30%) than they do on health care (29%) and immigration (22%).
- Among subgroups, younger Americans aged 18-29 years old, Democrats, and Independents rate the issues in the same order (war in Iraq/foreign policy; jobs and the economy; health care; immigration), while Republicans rate immigration third, ahead of health care.

(CHINA SURVEY) What are the three most important issues facing China today?

2007 Only	China Survey		
	General Public	Opinion Leaders	Business Leaders
Jobs and the economy	35	36	40
Corruption	32	23	24
Taiwan	22	23	30
Health care/Insurance	17	13	13
Education/Schools	17	8	10
Environment	16	38	36
Income inequality/Regional gap	15	19	17

Percentages total more than 100% as respondents were asked to select the top **three responses.*

***Only Top 7 Issues Listed. Please see Appendix D for the complete set of responses.*

China:

- The general public (35%) and business leaders (40%) rate jobs and economy as the most critical issue facing China, while opinion leaders (38%) see the environment as the most pressing issue. Among the remaining important issues, the general public rates corruption (32%) and Taiwan (22%) as the second and third problems, opinion leaders cite jobs and the economy (36%), corruption (23%) and Taiwan (23%), while business leaders rate the environment as second (36%) and Taiwan as third (30%).
- 11 percent of opinion leaders cite political reforms or democratization, while almost none of the general public shares this concern. More opinion leaders and business leaders mention the inadequate legal system and fragile financial system as important problems facing China.
- 18-29 year-old Chinese rank Taiwan, the environment, energy consumption, education, crime and social welfare higher than other age groups. A sizable percentage of 50-60 year-olds see corruption and social security as important issues.
- People with high and medium levels of education see Taiwan, education, health care, the environment, and income inequality as important issues, higher than those with lower levels of education.
- People with a high income are more likely to worry about education, health care, the environment and energy, as compared to those in the middle and low-income range. People in the middle-income range are more likely to be concerned about the social security system.
- 46% of city residents and 51% of town residents regard jobs and the economy as the most critical issues, higher than for rural residents (28%). City residents (23%) and town residents (21%) are more concerned about income inequality than rural residents (10%).

China's Emerging Middle Class

58. (BOTH SURVEYS) Please tell me whether you strongly agree, somewhat agree, somewhat disagree, or strongly disagree with the following statement: China's growing middle class will become the most influential class in China.

2007 Only	US Survey				China Survey		
	General Public	Opinion Leaders	Business Leaders	Congressional Staffers	General Public	Opinion Leaders	Business Leaders
Strongly Agree	38	50	46	24	4	12	15
Somewhat Agree	34	34	34	52	45	54	72
AGREE	72	84	80	76	49	66	87
Somewhat Disagree	14	8	7	14	22	20	8
Strongly Disagree	10	8	12	5	2	10	4
DISAGREE	24	16	19	19	24	30	12
Not Sure	4	2	1	5	28	3	1

United States:

- More than 70 percent of all four samples believe China's growing middle class will, in the future, become the most influential class in China. There is no significant variation among subgroups, including income.

China:

- More business leaders (87%) agree with this statement than opinion leaders (66%) and the general public (49%)
- As income level increases, people appear to be more likely to agree with this view, with 68% of people with a high income agreeing that China's middle class will become the most influential.
- More city residents (70%) agree with the statement than town residents (53%) or rural residents (40%).
- More than 65% of middle and senior business executives, staffers in government and non-corporate institutions and general white-collar workers agree with the statement, higher than other occupational groups.

China's Democracy

59. (US SURVEY) In your opinion, how long will it take China to transition into a democracy?

2007 Only	US Survey			
	General Public	Opinion Leaders	Business Leaders	Congressional Staffers
Less than 10 years	10	3	5	4
10-20 years	28	30	29	26
More than 20 years	24	37	37	45
Never	35	29	29	15
Not sure	4	2	1	10

United States:

- Respondents in all four samples are evenly divided on when China will transition into a democracy, if ever. More than a third of the general public (35%) believes that change will never occur, as do 29 percent of both business and opinion leaders. A slight plurality of Congressional staffers (45%), business leaders (37%) and opinion leaders (37%) believe that it will take more than 20 years to fully transition.
- Among 18 to 29 year-old Americans, only 18 percent believe that China will never transition to democracy and 20 percent believe it will take less than 10 years. Independents (28%) are also less likely to believe China will never make the transition, as compared to Republicans (41%).
- Of those who have visited China, one-quarter (26%) believe that China will never transition to democracy, while nearly half (47%) believe it will take more than twenty years.

2008 Beijing Olympics

60. (BOTH SURVEYS) As you may know, the 2008 Summer Olympics will be held in Beijing, China. How do you think the Olympics will most impact China?

2007 Only	US Survey				China Survey		
	General Public	Opinion Leaders	Business Leaders	Congressional Staffers	General Public	Opinion Leaders	Business Leaders
Improve China's Economy	65	57	82	30	56	67	69
Improve China's Global Image	59	72	84	57	54	73	77
Make China More Integrated with International Norms	27	29	39	26	40	41	55
Hurt China's Image	8	7	11	6	4	4	1
No Impact	2	3	2	10	1	--	--
Other	2	2	1	9	<1	--	--
Not Sure	2	1	1	5	9	1	1

*Percentages total more than 100% as respondents were asked to select the top **two** responses.

United States:

- There is wide agreement among all four samples that the 2008 Olympics will both improve China's economy and its global image. The general public is, however, more likely to think that the Olympics will have a positive economic impact, while the remaining three samples believe that the greatest effect will be the improvement of China's global image.

China:

- The three samples agree that the 2008 Olympics will have a positive impact on China: More than 70% of opinion and business leaders and 54% of the general public think hosting the Games will improve China's international image. Nearly 70% of opinion and business leaders and 56% of the general public believe hosting the Games will promote China's economic development. 55% of business leaders think that by hosting the Games, China will become more integrated with international laws and regulations, with about 40% of opinion leaders and the general public sharing this view.

61. (BOTH SURVEYS) In your opinion, which of the following images should China focus most on projecting during the 2008 Olympics?

2007 Only	US Survey				China Survey		
	General Public	Opinion Leaders	Business Leaders	Congressional Staffers	General Public	Opinion Leaders	Business Leaders
A prosperous modern nation with a proud culture and history	43	39	52	31	26	40	31
Peaceful development	23	13	12	6	23	14	19
A responsible stakeholder in the int'l system	18	37	27	53	11	21	17
A harmonious society	11	7	7	3	30	22	33
No impact	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
Other	2	1	--	1	--	--	--
Not Sure	4	4	2	6	10	3	--

United States:

- A majority of business leaders (52%) and a plurality of the general public (43%) and opinion leaders (39%) feel that China should project an image of “a prosperous modern nation with a proud culture and history” during the 2008 Beijing Olympics. A majority of Congressional staffers (53%) on the other hand believe China should project itself as “a responsible stakeholder in the international system.” This image was second among all other groups, except the general public, among whom 23 percent believe China’s image should be one of a “peaceful development.”

China:

- When asked about what kind of national image China should present during the 2008 Beijing Olympics, opinion leaders (40%) tend to select “a prosperous modern nation with a proud culture and history,” while business leaders (33%) and the general public (30%) favor “a harmonious society.” The percentage of the general public (23%) who select “peaceful development” is higher than the other two groups, while opinion leaders (21%) opt for “a responsible stakeholder in the international system” more often.
- More people with lower levels of education (24%) chose “peaceful development” than did people with medium (21%) or higher levels (20%). More people with higher education (40%) select “a harmonious society” than do those with medium (36%) or low levels of education (26%).

2. Views on Immigration

Impact of Immigrants/ Expatriates

62. (US SURVEY) In the long run, will the Chinese immigrants in America today make American society better or worse, or will they have no effect?

(CHINA SURVEY) In the long run, will Americans residing in China today make Chinese society better or worse, or will they have no effect?

2007 Only	US Survey				China Survey		
	General Public	Opinion Leaders	Business Leaders	Congressional Staffers	General Public	Opinion Leaders	Business Leaders
Better	46	70	50	80	38	44	39
Worse	13	3	12	2	10	2	1
No Effect	36	24	35	14	33	50	56
Not Sure	4	4	3	4	19	5	3

United States:

- A strong majority of Congressional staffers (80%) and opinion leaders (70%) believe that Chinese immigrants in the United States will make American society better. Half of business leaders (50%) and a plurality of the general public (46%) have the same opinion.

China:

- About half of business leaders (56%) and opinion leaders (50%) and one third (33%) of the general public think American residents in China will have no impact on the society. A plurality of the respondents (about 40%) think they will have a positive impact in the long run.
- People with a high income hold a more positive opinion of the impact of Americans in China. More people in the low-income range think they will have no impact or will make Chinese society worse.
- The percentage of single people (45%) who are positive about Americans in China is higher than that of married people (38%) and widowed/divorced/separated (37%).

Opportunities for Immigrants/Expatriates

63. (US SURVEY) How would you rate the level of opportunity that the U.S. provides for the Chinese and Chinese Americans to live and work in the U.S.?

2007 Only	US Survey			
	General Public	Opinion Leaders	Business Leaders	Congressional Staffers
Equal	48	53	63	50
Somewhat Equal	34	37	25	29
Not Very Equal	7	5	6	12
No at All Equal	6	2	3	1
Not Sure	5	4	3	8

United States:

- Almost all respondents in each of the four samples believe the United States offers equal or somewhat equal opportunity for Chinese and Chinese Americans to live and work in the United States.

(CHINA SURVEY) Do you think the Americans living and working in China enjoy different treatment from the Chinese?

2007 Only	China Survey		
	General Public	Opinion Leaders	Business Leaders
Superior	55	79	65
Inferior	6	2	3
Totally Equal	25	16	31
Not Sure	14	3	1

China:

- 79% of opinion leaders, 65% of business leaders and 55% of the general public believe Americans receive superior treatment in China.
- The percentage of people in the high-income range who think Americans in China receive superior treatment (64%) is higher than the percentages of those in the middle (58%) or low-income range (52%).
- Among different ethnic groups, more people of Han ethnicity (53%) think Americans in China receive superior treatment than do other ethnic groups (36%).

3. Personal Goals

Current Life Goal

64. (ASKED ONLY OF THE AMERICAN & CHINESE GENERAL PUBLIC) Which of the following comes closest to your current personal goal in life?

2007 Only	US Survey	China Survey
	General Public	General Public
To have a happy family	72	54
To live as I like	38	28
To have a successful career	23	16
To work on behalf of society	15	10
To get rich	8	42
To enhance social status	3	16
Other	4	1
Not sure	1	3

Percentages total more than 100% as respondents were asked to select the top **two responses.*

United States:

- When asked about their personal goal in life, nearly three-quarters of the general public (72%) said they would like to have a happy family life.
- While a majority of all age groups agree that having a happy family is the most important personal goal, young people aged 18-29 are most likely to be concerned about a successful career (43%).
- Having a happy family is also the most reported among all education levels, with respondents having a high school education most likely to agree (79%).

- People making \$75,000 to \$100,000 are least worried (3%) about amassing wealth.
- Women (80%) outnumber men (64%) in making a happy family their number one priority.

China:

- The primary personal goals of the Chinese are having a happy family (54%) and getting rich (42%).
- Young people aged 18-29 are more concerned about social status, career, and to live as they like, while older people tend to care about amassing wealth and having a happy family.
- People with a high level of education (41%) are more concerned about having a successful career than those with medium (22%) or low levels of education (10%). People with the least education (47%) are more likely to say they want to get rich, and people with average education (40%) are more likely to say they want to live as they like.
- Women (57%) outnumber men (49%) in wanting a happy family, while men outnumber women in wanting a successful career, higher social status, and to work on behalf of society.
- More city residents aspire “to enhance social status,” “to live as I like” and “to work on behalf of society” than those living in towns and rural areas. More rural residents seek “to have a happy family” than those in urban areas.

4. Patriotism

Level of Patriotism

65. (BOTH SURVEYS) On a scale of 1 to 5 where 1 is “not at all patriotic” and 5 is “highly patriotic,” how would you rate your patriotism?

2007 Only	US Survey				China Survey		
	General Public	Opinion Leaders	Business Leaders	Congressional Staffers	General Public	Opinion Leaders	Business Leaders
(1) Not at All	4	2	9	--	0	0	0
(2)	4	3	1	6	1	0	1
(3)	16	10	5	6	24	12	9
(4)	22	24	23	31	24	36	40
(5) Highly Patriotic	54	62	61	54	47	50	51
Not Sure	1	1	1	3	4	1	0

United States:

- When asked to rate their patriotism on a scale of one to five, a majority of all four samples rated themselves as highly patriotic (a five on the scale). Three-quarters of the general public (76%) consider themselves to be patriotic (a four or a five), as compared to more than four-in-five opinion leaders (86%), business leaders (84%) and Congressional staffers (85%).

China:

- For self-assessment of patriotism, 91% of business leaders and 86% of opinion leaders consider themselves to be patriotic (a four or a five), higher than the general public (71%) who think so.

- People with religious beliefs (76%) think they are more patriotic than people do not have any religious beliefs (72%).

METHODOLOGY

United States:

	<i>Sample Size</i>	<i>Sample Error (%)</i>	<i>Field Work Dates</i>
<i>General Public</i>	1200	+/- 2.9	8/20/07 - 9/4/07
<i>Opinion Leaders</i>	200	+/- 7.1	8/20/07 – 9/19/07
<i>Business Leaders</i>	150	+/- 8.2	8/20/07 - 9/14/07
<i>Congressional Staffers</i>	100	+/- 10	8/20/07 – 9/14/07

The survey of the United States was conducted by Zogby International, a world-renowned polling firm based in Utica, New York. Zogby International surveys employ sampling strategies in which selection probabilities are proportional to population size within area codes and exchanges. Up to ten calls are made to reach a sampled phone number. Cooperation rates are calculated using one of AAPOR's approved methodologies¹ and are comparable to other professional public-opinion surveys conducted using similar sampling strategies.² Zogby International's sampling and weighting procedures also have been validated through its political polling: more than 95% of the firm's polls have come within 1% of actual election-day outcomes. The sample compositions are as follows:

(a) *General Public:* The survey was conducted between August 20 and September 4, 2007 through telephone interviews with a nationwide, statistically representative general population sample consisting of 1,200 American adults (18 years of age and older). Weighting by region, party, age, race, religion, gender is used to adjust for non-response. The margin of error is plus or minus 2.9 percentage points.

(b) *Opinion Leaders:* The survey was conducted between August 20 and September 19, 2007 through telephone interviews with a sample of 200 opinion elites nationwide. The sample represents influential leaders from the media (25%), academia (25%), NGOs (25%), and public sector (25%). Within each grouping, respondents were randomly selected from Zogby International's proprietary, public, and purchased lists, and were screened for familiarity with U.S-China relations. The margin of error is plus or minus 7.1 percentage points.

(c) *Business Leaders:* The survey was conducted between August 20 and September 14, 2007 through telephone interviews with a sample of 150 business elites nationwide. The sample was based on executives and senior level decision makers from a cross-section of American corporations with over 500 employees, and was also randomly drawn from trade associations, trade groups, lobby firms, chambers of commerce and economic development groups. The margin of error is plus or minus 8.2 percentage points.

¹ See COOP4 (p.38) in *Standard Definitions: Final Dispositions of Case Codes and Outcome Rates of Surveys*. The American Association for Public Opinion Research (2000).

² *Cooperation Tracking Study: April 2003 Update*, Jane M. Sheppard & Shelly Haas. The Council for Marketing & Opinion Research (CMOR), Cincinnati, Ohio (2003).

(d) Congressional Staffers: The survey was conducted between August 20 and September 14, 2007 through telephone interviews and interactive interviews with a sample of 100 Congressional staffers. The sample was comprised of randomly selected senior staff, including legislative counsels, legislative directors, legislative assistants, chiefs of staffs and senior advisors from purchased Congressional staff email and telephone lists. Slight weights were added to responses to simulate the exact balance of the overall composition of the current Congress. The margin of error is plus or minus 10 percentage points.

China:

	<i>Sample Size</i>	<i>Sample Error (%)</i>	<i>Field Work Dates</i>
<i>General Public</i>	4104	+/- 1.6	8/18/07 – 9/7/07
<i>Opinion Leaders</i>	203	--	8/18/07 – 9/10/07
<i>Business Leaders</i>	156	--	8/18/07 – 9/10/07

The survey of China was self-sponsored by the Beijing-based independent public opinion polling firm Horizon Research Consultancy Group. The sample compositions are as follows:

(a) General Public: The survey was conducted between August 18 and September 7, 2007 through face-to-face interviews with a nationwide, statistically representative general population sample consisting of 4,104 Chinese adults (18-60 years old). The sample was constructed using multi-stage random sampling method, including respondents from seven cities, seven towns, and ten villages. The margin of error is plus or minus 1.6 percentage points.

(b) Opinion Leaders: The survey was conducted between August 18 and September 10, 2007 through face-to-face interviews and telephone interviews with a sample of 203 opinion elites in China's major cities. The sample was comprised of: (1) 60 social sciences experts from universities and research institutions; (2) 62 senior journalists and editors covering cultural, social, political, economic, or foreign affairs issues from provincial and national level news organizations; (3) 44 senior managers from NGOs working on cultural, social, political, economic, or foreign affairs; and (4) 37 senior professionals in such fields as law, accounting, marketing, and consulting.

(c) Business Leaders: The survey was conducted between August 18 and September 10, 2007 through face-to-face interviews and telephone interviews with a sample of 156 business elites in Beijing, Shanghai, and Guangzhou. The sample was constructed using the quota sampling method and was based on executives and senior level decision makers from corporations in different sectors (manufacturing, agriculture, service, etc.) and with various ownerships (state-owned enterprises, joint venture, private enterprises, etc.).

Sample Characteristics

United States:

*Represents Valid Percent. Numbers have been rounded to the nearest percent and may not total 100.

**For Congressional staffers, region represents their “Members’ Region.” The respondents’ party identification is listed first, followed by the party identification of the member of Congress for whom they work in parentheses. For example: 52 (51).

	General Public		Opinion Leaders		Business Leaders		Congressional Staff**	
Sample Characteristics	Freq.	%*	Freq.	%*	Freq.	%*	Freq.	%*
Sample size	1200	100	200	100	150	100	100	100
East	276	23	55	28	45	30	14	14
South	312	26	54	28	45	30	18	18
Central/Great Lakes	372	31	71	36	40	27	32	32
West	240	20	16	8	18	12	36	36
Did not answer region	--	--	4	--	2	--	--	--
Democratic	422	36	65	34	47	32	52 (51)	53 (56)
Republican	398	34	72	37	51	35	42 (39)	43 (43)
Independent/Minor party	265	23	53	28	49	33	3 (1)	3 (1)
Libertarian	28	2	1	1	1	1	1	1
Not sure	59	5	2	1	--	--	--	--
Did not answer party	28	--	7	--	2	--	2	--
18-29	234	20	7	4	9	6	36	36
30-49	469	40	67	34	58	40	55	56
50-64	270	23	98	50	71	49	7	7
65+	199	17	25	13	8	6	1	1
18-24	142	12	--	--	3	2	11	11
25-34	139	12	16	8	15	10	55	56
35-54	497	42	96	49	70	48	30	30
55-69	254	22	76	39	58	40	3	3
70+	139	12	9	5	--	--	--	--
Did not answer age	28	--	3	--	4	--	1	--
Less than high school	191	16	1	1	--	--	--	--
High school graduate	334	28	4	2	2	1	--	--
Some college	274	23	29	15	37	25	2	2
College graduate+	286	24	70	35	71	48	60	60
Master's	84	7	61	31	34	23	29	29
Ph.D.	24	2	35	18	5	3	9	9
Did not answer education	7	--	--	--	1	--	--	--
White	879	74	175	88	129	87	76	81
Hispanic	119	10	6	3	7	5	5	5
African American	131	11	9	5	5	3	4	4
Asian/Pacific	24	2	5	3	6	4	5	5
Other/Mixed	36	3	3	2	2	1	4	4
Did not answer race	12	--	2	--	1	--	6	--
Roman Catholic	321	27	56	28	43	29	20	22
Protestant	595	50	104	53	86	58	35	38
Jewish	36	3	3	2	3	2	9	10
Other/None (religion)	238	20	34	17	17	11	28	30
Did not answer religion	11	--	3	--	1	--	8	--
Member of union	215	18	18	9	18	12	5	5
Not member of union	976	82	182	91	131	88	92	95

United States cont.

	General Public		Opinion Leaders		Business Leaders		Congressional Staff**	
Sample Characteristics	Freq.	%*	Freq.	%*	Freq.	%*	Freq.	%*
Sample size	1200	100	200	100	150	100	100	100
Less than \$25,000	240	23	6	4	--	--	--	--
\$25,000-\$34,999	136	13	6	4	4	3	7	7
\$35,000-\$49,999	188	18	19	11	17	12	11	12
\$50,000-\$74,999	196	19	30	18	31	23	21	22
\$75,000-\$99,999	113	11	38	23	20	15	11	12
\$100,000 or more	169	16	70	41	65	47	45	47
Did not answer income	157	--	31	--	13	--	5	--
Male	578	48	122	61	71	47	86	86
Female	622	52	78	39	79	53	14	14
Managerial	111	9	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
Medical	50	4	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
Professional/Technical	155	13	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
Sales	45	4	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
Clerical	20	2	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
Service	56	5	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
Blue-Collar/Production	81	7	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
Teacher/Education	67	6	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
Military	8	1	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
Student	64	6	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
Homemaker	128	11	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
Unemployed/Retired	276	23	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
Other	121	10	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
Did not respond occupation	17	--	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
Retail	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	50	33	N/A	N/A
Manufacturing	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	49	33	N/A	N/A
Trade Assoc/etc.	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	51	34	N/A	N/A
High-Tech Business	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	67	45	N/A	N/A
Not-High Tech Business	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	83	55	N/A	N/A
20-49 Employees	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	38	25	N/A	N/A
50-99 Employees	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	8	5	N/A	N/A
100-499 Employees	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	5	3	N/A	N/A
500-999 Employees	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	67	45	N/A	N/A
1000+ Employees	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	32	21	N/A	N/A
Chief of Staff	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	24	24
Press Secretary	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	14	14
Committee Staff	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	8	8
Foreign Policy/Trade LA	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	40	40
Legislative Director	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	14	14
NGO	N/A	N/A	50	25	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
Academia	N/A	N/A	50	25	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
Public sector	N/A	N/A	50	25	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
Media	N/A	N/A	50	25	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
Married	680	57	148	75	111	75	43	44
Single, never married	261	22	30	15	11	7	47	49
Divorced/Widow/Separated	233	20	20	10	27	18	5	5
Civ. union/Dom. partner	13	1	--	--	--	--	2	2

China:

* Represents Valid Percent. Numbers have been rounded to the nearest percent and may not total 100.

	General Public		Opinion Leaders		Business Leaders	
Sample Characteristics	Freq.	%*	Freq.	%*	Freq.	%*
Sample size	4104	100	203	100	156	100
18-29	1,046	26	42	21	30	19
30-39	1,036	25	74	37	68	44
40-49	1,060	26	55	27	44	28
50-59	962	23	17	8	12	8
60+	--	--	3	2	--	--
Did not answer age	--	--	12	--	2	--
Male	1902	46	126	62	76	49
Female	2202	54	77	38	80	51
Han	4037	98	193	95	153	98
Other ethnic group	67	2	6	3	3	2
Did not answer ethnic group	3	--	4	--	--	--
Catholic	32	1	1	1	1	1
Protestant	42	1	3	2	1	1
Muslim	9	<1	2	1	1	1
Buddhist	487	12	12	6	12	8
Taoist	16	<1	1	1	--	--
Wujiao	--	--	1	1	--	--
No religious affiliation	3330	81	178	88	140	90
Did not answer religion	187	5	5	3	--	1
Married	3279	80	154	76	127	81
Widowed	49	1	1	1	1	1
Divorced/Separated	32	1	--	--	1	1
Single	689	17	40	20	26	17
Did not answer marital status	54	1	8	4	1	1
CPC Member	248	6	107	53	57	37
Non-CPC Member	3792	92	91	45	98	63
Did not answer CPC Membership	64	--	5	3	1	1
Low level of education**	2435	59	0	0	1	1
Medium level of education**	1389	34	21	10	38	24
High level of education**	221	5	177	87	117	75
Did not answer education	59	1	5	2	0	0
High income***	328	8	76	37	40	26
Medium income***	1639	40	58	29	73	47
Low income***	1558	38	37	18	30	19
Did not answer income	578	14	32	16	13	8

**Education Distribution – China Survey

Low Level of Education	Less than elementary school, elementary school, and junior high school.
Medium Level of Education	High school, technical high school, and technical school.
High Level of Education	University, Master's degree, Ph.D.

China cont.

	General Public		Opinion Leaders		Business Leaders	
Sample Characteristics	Freq.	%*	Freq.	%*	Freq.	%*
Sample size	4104	100	203	100	156	100
Government, non-corporate institutions, military, police	35	1	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
Middle and senior executive	191	5	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
White-collar (clerical staff in government, non-corporate institutions and corporations)	215	5	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
Blue-collar (technical staff, service staff)	537	13	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
Unemployed/Retired	150	4	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
Students (full-time)	83	2	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
Self-employed (individual owners, vendors)	260	6	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
Farmer	2611	64	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
Other	22	1	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
Class I Academia (professors of social sciences)	N/A	N/A	30	15	N/A	N/A
Class II Academia (scholars at social sciences research institutions)	N/A	N/A	30	15	N/A	N/A
Media	N/A	N/A	62	31	N/A	N/A
NGO	N/A	N/A	44	22	N/A	N/A
Professional services	N/A	N/A	37	18	N/A	N/A
State-owned enterprises	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	40	26
Domestic enterprises with mixed ownerships	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	22	14
Private enterprises	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	37	24
Foreign-invested enterprises and joint ventures	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	57	37
Agriculture sector	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	17	11
Manufacturing sector	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	49	31
Service sector	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	90	58

***Income Distribution - China Survey

	General Public				Opinion Leaders	Business Leaders
	City		Town	Rural Area		
	Tier-1 City	Tier-2 City				
High Income	9,001 yuan and above	7,001 yuan and above	4,501 yuan and above	2,501 yuan and above	10,001 yuan and above	20,001 yuan and above
Medium Income	3,001 - 9,000 yuan	2,001 - 7,000 yuan	1,501 - 4,500 yuan	801 - 2,500 yuan	6,001 - 10,000 yuan	9,001 - 20,000 yuan
Low Income	3,000 yuan and below	2,000 yuan and below	1,500 yuan and below	800 yuan and below	6,000 yuan and below	9,000 yuan and below

(Note: Tier-1 cities include Beijing, Shanghai and Guangzhou; Tier-2 cities include Wuhan, Chengdu, Shenyang, and Xi'an. All income refers to monthly household income.)

APPENDIX A: First Impression of China (All Responses)

The First Thing that Comes to Mind When the Americans Think about China:

2007 Only	US Survey			
	<i>General Public</i>	<i>Opinion Leaders</i>	<i>Business Leaders</i>	<i>Congressional Staffers</i>
Large Country/Large Population/Overpopulation/Adoption	18	25	9	1
Culture/History/Food/Great Wall	18	3	7	1
Cheap Products/Large Amount of Imports/Wal-Mart	12	8	11	5
Growing World Power/Future Superpower	7	12	3	37
Economic Growth/Booming Economy	7	10	30	19
Outsourcing/Cheap Labor/Loss of U.S. Jobs	6	4	13	3
Authoritarian/Communist/Mao	6	5	1	2
Trade Imbalance/U.S. Trade Deficit/Debt	4	8	7	10
Growing Threat/Rival	4	2	3	12
Lead in Toys/Lead Consumption	4	6	4	1
Human Rights Violations/Falun Gong/Tibet/Tiananmen Square	3	5	3	3
Tainted Food/Pet Food	2	6	9	--
Pollution/Energy Consumption	2	2	2	2
Other	6	7	--	4
Not Sure	4	2	1	

APPENDIX B: First Impression of the U.S. (All Responses)

First Thing That Comes to Mind When the Chinese Think about the United States:

2007 Only	China Survey		
	<i>General Public</i>	<i>Opinion Leaders</i>	<i>Business Leaders</i>
War on Terrorism/Sept. 11th	15	35	40
Invasion/Interference in Int'l Affairs (Belgrade Embassy, Iraq, Taiwan)	14	11	3
Developed Economy/Modernization	13	4	3
Consumption/Popular Culture	7	6	6
Landmark Buildings/Cities	3	19	30
Power/Superpower	6	3	1
Bad Nationalism (Arrogance)	5	2	3
Science and Technology/Advanced Military	4	6	5
American Celebrities	2	1	3
Sound Political Institutions	1	2	--
Sino-U.S. Relations/Civil Exchanges	1	--	--
National Symbols (Flag, Dollar, English)	1	3	1
Special Domestic Events (Lewinsky Scandal, etc.)	1	1	1
American Spirit (Freedom, Democracy, Rule of Law)	1	4	1
Americans (Physical Characteristics)	1	--	--
Good Nationalism (Open-minded, Hospitable, Generous)	<1	2	--
Economy/Financial Crisis	<1	1	1
Energy	<1	1	--
Academics/Thoughts	<1	--	1
Trade Friction with China	--	--	1
Other	1	--	--
Not Sure	25	1	1

APPENDIX C: Top Issues Facing the U.S. (All Responses)

Pressing Problems Facing the U.S. in American Eyes:

2007 Only	US Survey			
	General Public	Opinion Leaders	Business Leaders	Congressional Staffers
War in Iraq/Peace/Foreign policy	51	47	44	45
Jobs and the economy	41	45	49	36
Health care/Insurance/Prescription drugs	22	31	26	29
Immigration	21	21	21	22
Politics/Government/Corruption/Campaign finance reform	17	15	19	4
Utility rates/Gas prices/Energy consumption	15	9	14	16
Terrorism	15	16	21	30
Education/Schools	12	19	13	20
Environment	11	15	13	11
Morality/Values	10	11	10	6
Government budget/Spending/Deficit	10	8	7	22
Welfare/Child care/Homelessness/Housing/Poverty	8	4	4	2
National security	5	9	14	31
Crime/Drugs/Violence/Gun control	4	4	10	--
Racism	3	2	1	2
Social security/Elderly	3	3	6	6
Income inequality	2	2	2	6
Abortion	2	1	--	1
AIDS and other infectious diseases	<1	1	3	--
Other	13	14	3	2
Not sure/None	2	2	1	--

Percentages total more than 100% as respondents were asked to select the top **three responses.*

APPENDIX D: Top Issues Facing China (All Responses)

Pressing Problems Facing China in Chinese Eyes:

2007 Only	China Survey		
	General Public	Opinion Leaders	Business Leaders
Jobs and the economy	35	36	40
Corruption	32	23	24
Taiwan	22	23	30
Health care/Insurance	17	13	13
Education/Schools	17	8	10
Environment	16	38	36
Income inequality/Regional gap	15	19	17
Social security/Elderly	15	11	15
Energy consumption	10	15	19
Crime/Drugs/Violence	10	5	5
Welfare/Child care/Homelessness/ Housing/Poverty	9	9	12
National security	6	1	--
Inadequate legal system	5	16	21
Social instability	5	2	6
Population control/Abortion/Unbalanced gender ratio/Population resources	4	12	9
Morality/Values	4	6	4
Lack of legitimate rights of migrant workers from rural China in coastal cities	4	1	3
Terrorism	4	1	1
Fragile financial system	2	12	12
HIV/AIDS and other infectious diseases	2	1	2
Political reforms/Democratization	--	11	3
Technology/Innovation/IPR	--	5	4
Diplomacy/Peace/Sino-U.S. Relations	--	4	1
International trade/Exports	--	3	3
Living standard/Quality of life	--	3	1
Other	<1	5	7
Not Sure/None	29	11	6

*Percentages total more than 100% as respondents were asked to select the top **three** responses.

ABOUT US

Committee of 100

The Committee of 100 (C-100) is a national non-partisan, non-profit membership organization comprised of prominent Chinese Americans in a broad range of professions. With their knowledge and experience, the Committee has dedicated its efforts to a dual mission: (1) encouraging constructive relations between the peoples of the United States and Greater China, and (2) encouraging the full participation of Chinese Americans in all aspects of American life. C-100 was co-founded in 1990 by I.M. Pei, Yo-Yo Ma, and other distinguished Chinese Americans. They recognized the need for an organization that brings a strong Chinese American perspective to critical issues pertaining to Asian Americans and Sino-U.S. relations. “Seeking common ground while respecting differences” is the precept guiding all Committee actions. www.Committee100.org

Zogby International

Zogby International is a leading marketing, opinion research and consulting firm, considered one of the most preeminent in the field. Founded by John Zogby, President & CEO, in 1984, Zogby International conducts a wide range of opinion research that includes politics and current affairs, social values, consumer habits, and global trends. In addition to domestic polling and market research, Zogby polls on political, consumer and cultural issues throughout the world, including Latin America, Asia, Eastern and Western Europe, the Middle East, and Africa. www.Zogby.com

Horizon Research Consultancy Group

Horizon Research Consultancy Group has become a leading research and consulting firm during China’s transition from planned economy to market economy. Horizon Group has four subsidiaries: Horizon Research (market research) founded in 1992, Progress Strategy (strategic consulting) founded in 2000, Horizonkey.com (online studies) founded in 1999, and Vision Investment (investment consulting) founded in 2002. As exclusive representatives of ESOMAR and AMCF (Association of Management Consulting Firms) in China, Horizon Group has established four global research consultancy networks. www.Horizon-China.com

Milestones for Committee of 100 Previous Surveys

April 1994

National Survey: “American Attitudes Toward the People’s Republic of China” (Wirthlin Worldwide)

April 2001

National Survey: “American Attitudes Toward Chinese Americans & Asian Americans” (Martilla Communications Group & Yankelovich Partners)

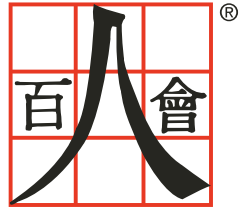
January-April 2005

National Survey: “American Attitudes Toward China” (Zogby International)

View all C-100 surveys at: www.Survey.Committee100.org

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