



Hope *and* Fear

A Summary of Key Findings of C-100's Survey on
American and Chinese Attitudes Toward Each Other

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B A C K G R O U N D

The Committee of 100 (C-100) is a national non-partisan, non-profit membership organization comprised of Chinese American leaders 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 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), 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 (WCE)." For purposes of comparison, Horizon Research made partial reference to Committee of 100's survey questions in the Sino-U.S. part of its 2007 WCE questionnaire and consulted with both C-100 and Zogby on survey methodology.

The Committee of 100 would like to express our great appreciation to The Henry Luce Foundation, which has provided generous financial support for the dissemination of survey results.

For more information about the Committee of 100 and access to survey reports, please visit: www.committee100.org.

KEY FINDINGS

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 world power.

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

- **Economics / Trade:** Both sides see 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 might 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.
- **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.

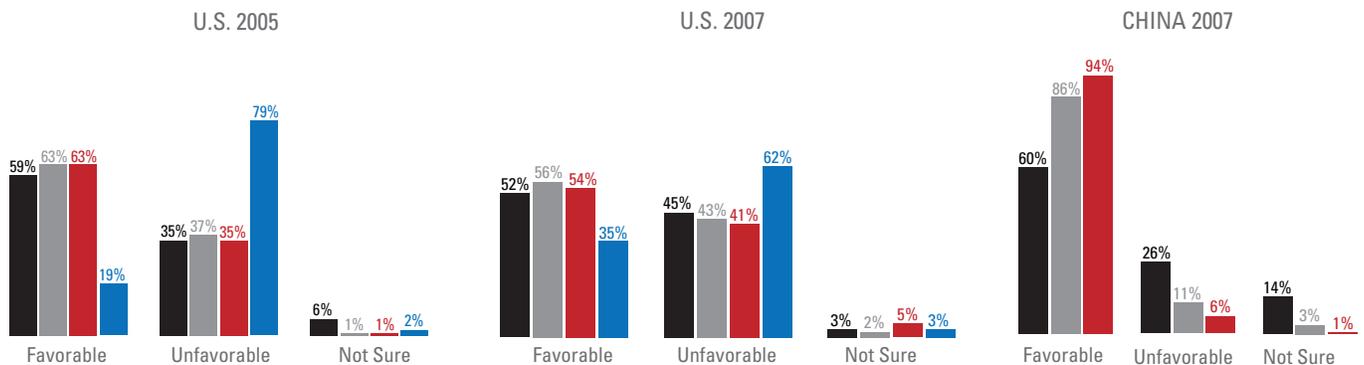
Hope: Overall Favorable Impressions & Increasing Interdependence

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. 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). In both countries, younger people are more likely than other age groups to hold favorable views of each other.

Chart#1: Favorable vs. Unfavorable Impressions

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

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



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 into the 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. 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.

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 among the general public, while for China, elite groups overestimate the public's favorable views of the U.S.

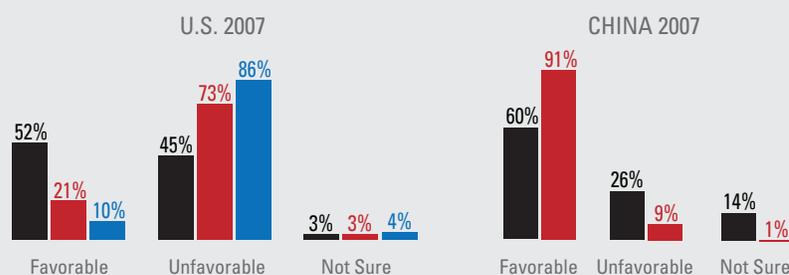
- In China, opinion leaders and business leaders hold a far more favorable opinion of the U.S. than the general public. Among the general public, better-educated and wealthier people are more likely to hold favorable views of the U.S. The Chinese Communist Party members (74%) hold a more favorable opinion 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. In the meanwhile, 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.

Chart #2: Mutual Impressions of the U.S. and China—Public's Opinion vs. Elites' Assessment

General Public
 Business Leaders
 Congressional Staffers

(U.S. SURVEY—BUSINESS LEADERS & CONGRESSIONAL STAFFERS) How would you describe the American public's opinion of China?

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



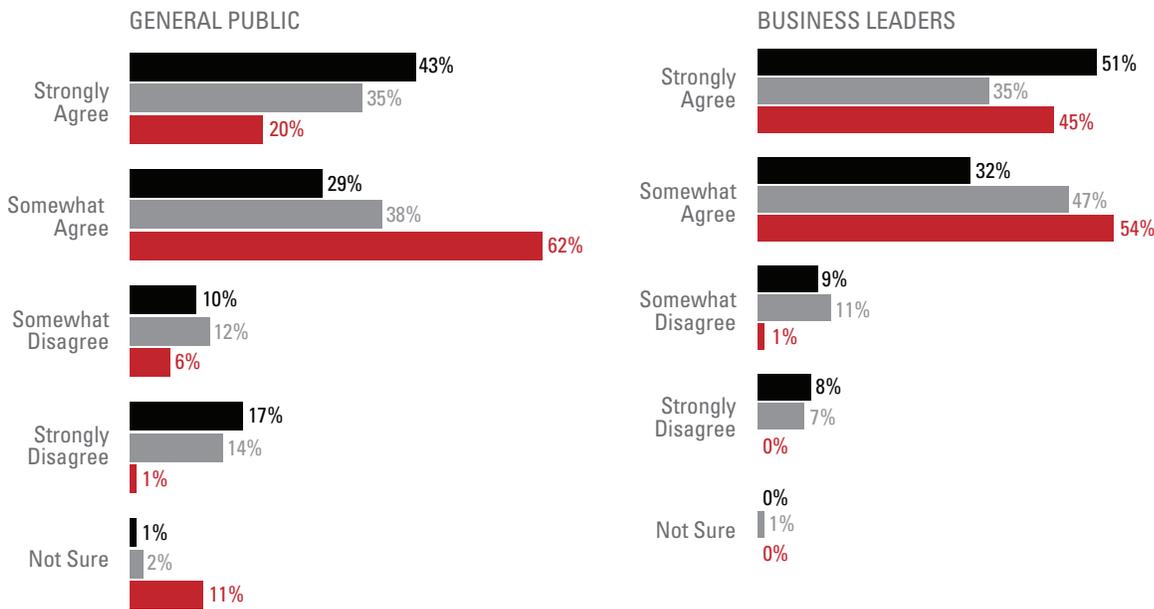
- Congressional staffers greatly diverge from the other samples on viewing the loss of American jobs to China as a big problem in U.S.-China relations, with only 12% of staffers surveyed citing this issue as compared to 41% of U.S. public.
- Congressional staffers are far more likely than those in any 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 (50%) are also more inclined than the U.S. public (15%) to view the Taiwan issue as a source of potential conflict between the U.S. and China.

Chart #3: Benefits of Bilateral Trade

■ U.S. 2007
 ■ U.S. 2005
 ■ China 2007

(U.S. 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.



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 frequency of Chinese who say they can imagine living in the U.S.

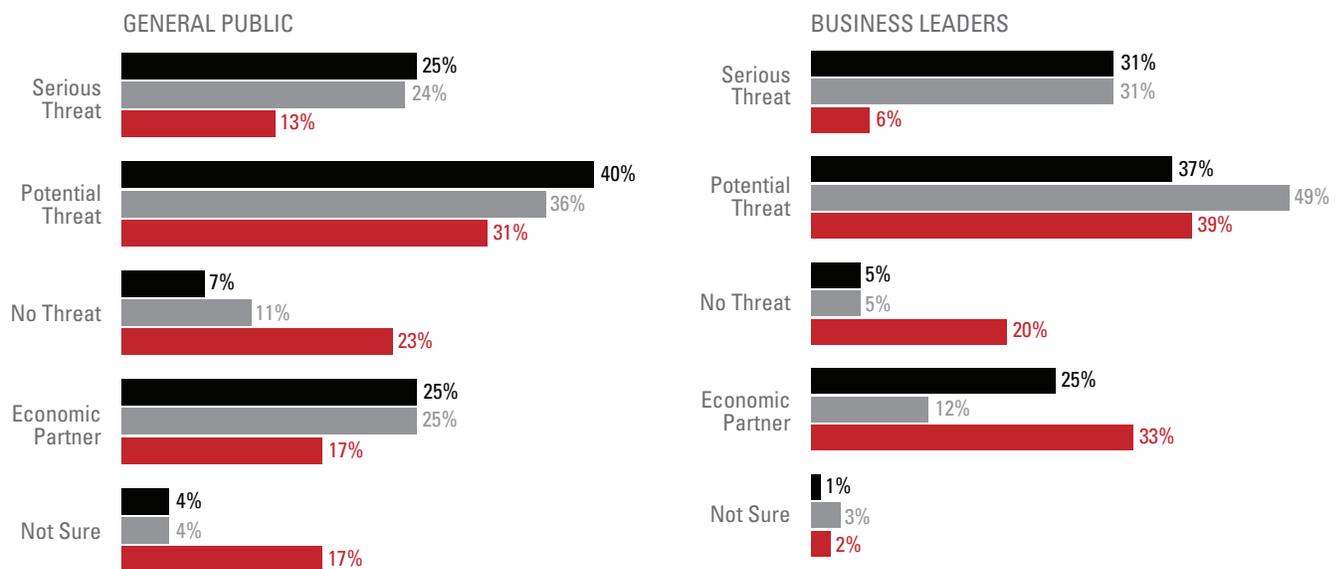
Fear: "China Threat" & U.S. Containment Policy

Despite generally favorable mutual perceptions and a universal approval of bilateral trade, more than 60% of all four U.S. samples view 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

Chart #4: Emergence of a Global Economic Power

(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.?

■ U.S. 2007
 ■ U.S. 2005
 ■ China 2007



poses little or no threat to the American economic future, and about one-in-three elites see China could be an economic partner that will serve U.S. national interests.

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 sense 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.

While most Americans believe that current U.S. policy accepts China's status as a rising power and wants a collaborative relationship, 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%).

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. 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 with trade and human rights issues, they name Taiwan as the biggest problem.

Chart #5: Who will be the world's superpower 20 years from now?

■ U.S. 2007
■ China 2007

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

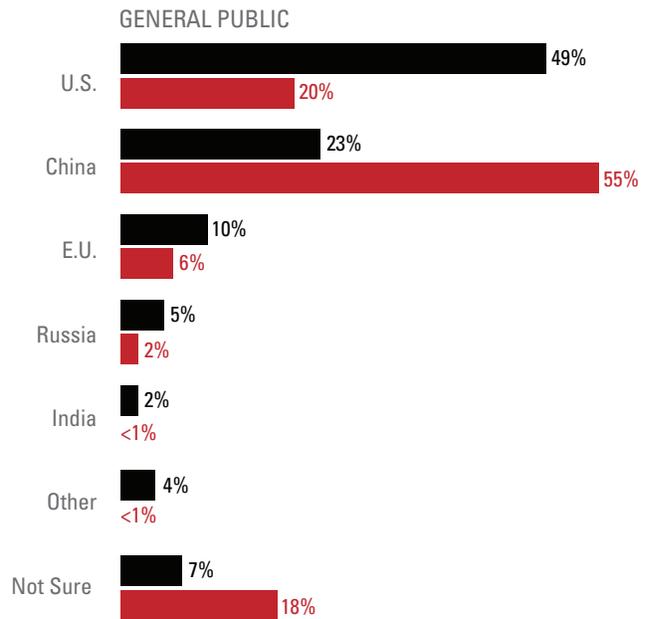


Chart #6: Views on U.S. Policy Regarding China

■ U.S. 2007
■ China 2007

(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.

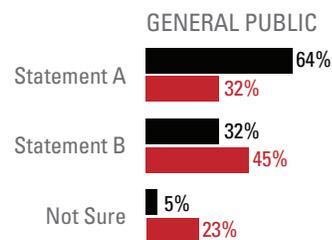
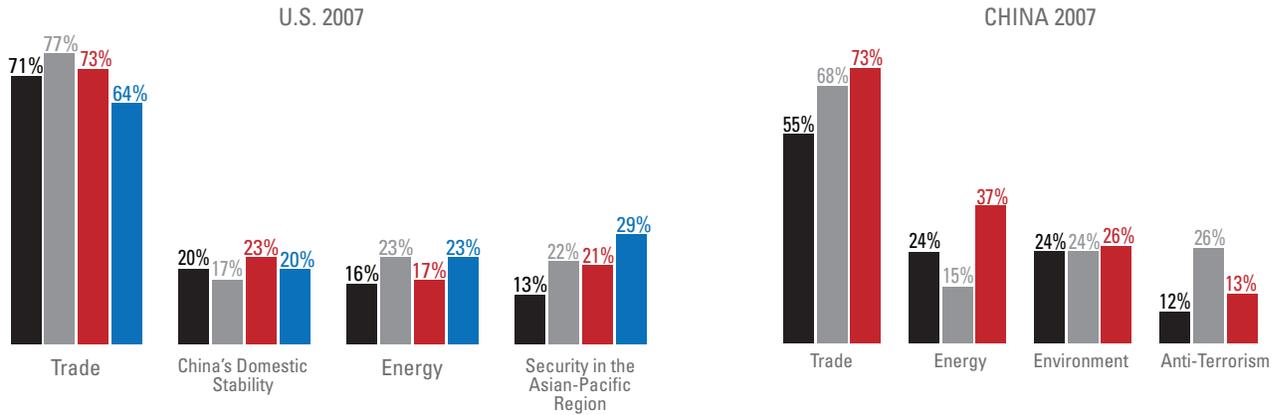


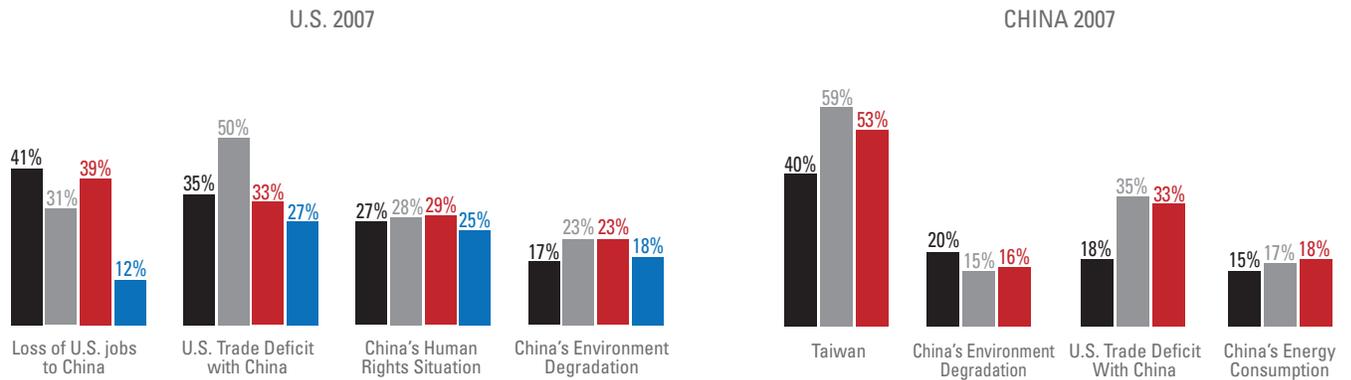
Chart #7: U.S.-China: Areas of Common Interest and Greatest Threat (Top 4)

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

General Public
 Opinion Leaders
 Business Leaders
 Congressional Staffers



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



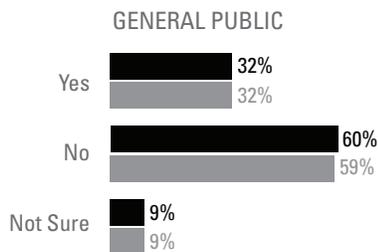
On the trade issue, Americans are more likely to blame their own government for the growing trade deficit with China, while opinion in China is evenly divided between blaming the American government and blaming both governments.

There are differing views between American 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 U.S. should intervene on behalf of Taiwan.
- The majority in China believe that the Taiwan issue will eventually 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.

Chart #8: U.S. Intervention in Taiwan Crisis

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



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

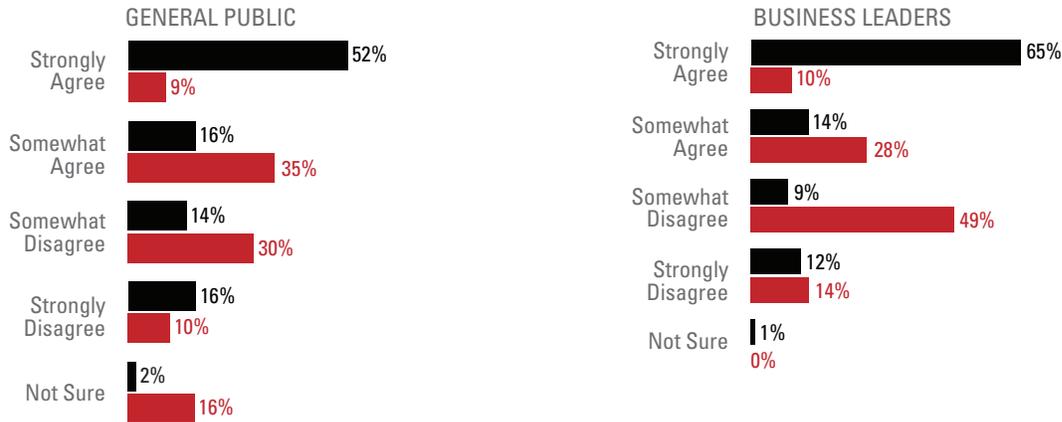


More than two-in-three Americans have reduced confidence in Chinese-made goods as a result of the food and toy contamination cases emerging from China. In China, a plurality of the general public (44%) also say they have reduced confidence in their own products, although a majority of business and opinion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

Chart #9: Views of Chinese Product Safety

■ U.S. 2007
■ China 2007

(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.



The recent media attention on the Chinese product safety issue, along with other political and economic problems, may contribute to the lower U.S. opinion of China since 2005. China's image in the U.S. appears to be lower as compared to 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.

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:

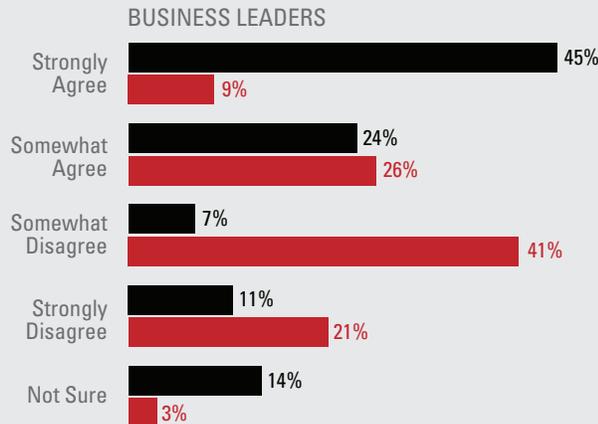
- American business leaders also feel that China will be a key destination for the outsourcing of manufacturing in twenty years, although Chinese business leaders do not share this opinion.
- Strong majorities of Americans and Chinese business leaders believe that China's growing middle class will become 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.

Chart #10: Impact of Intellectual Property Issues on Investment (China)

(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.

■ U.S. 2007
■ China 2007



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.

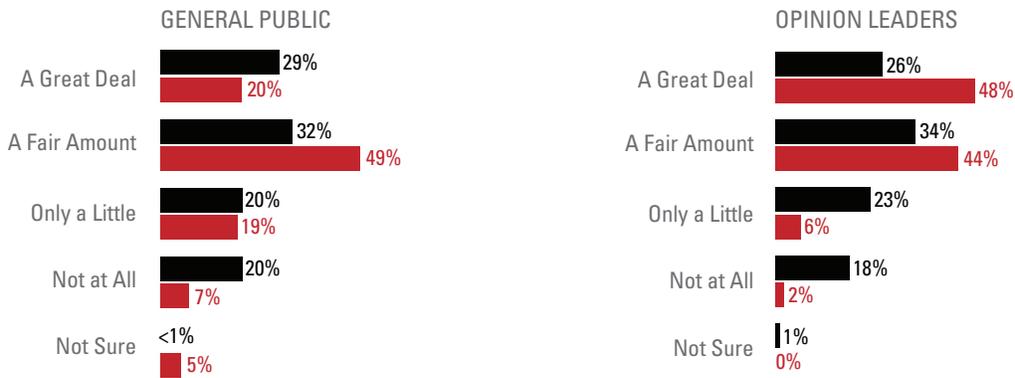
- The Chinese surveyed are more likely to be worried, with 92% of opinion leaders and 89% of business leaders expressing a great deal or a fair amount of concern.
- In the U.S., about 40% of the general public and elites express little or no concern about the problem. Only 37% of Republicans expressed 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.

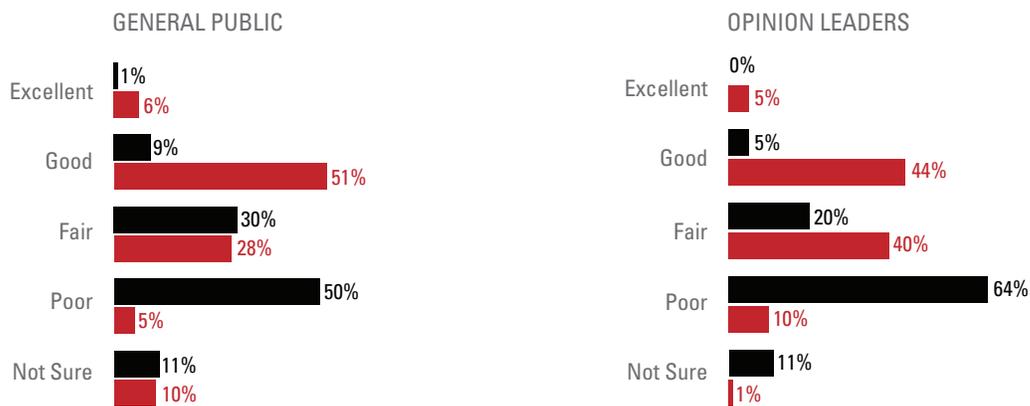
Chart #11: Global Warming and Environmental Stewardship

■ U.S. 2007
■ China 2007

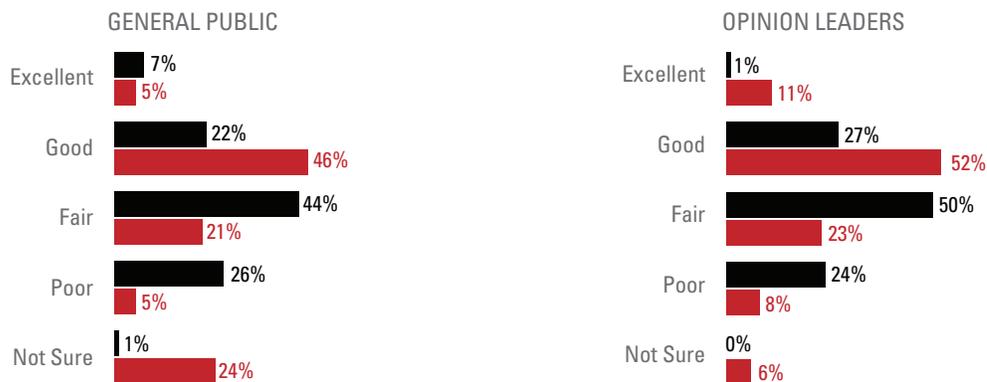
(BOTH SURVEYS) How much do you personally worry about global warming—a great deal, a fair amount, only a little, or not at all?



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



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



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:

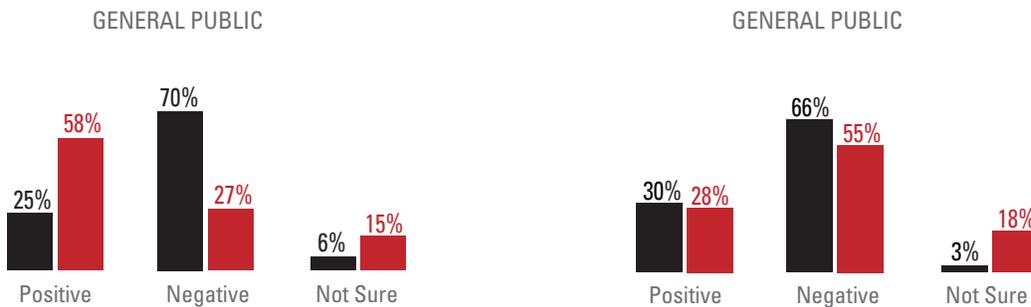
- Though the majority of Americans believe that U.S.-China relations are either currently improving or remaining stable, there has been a marked decline in that opinion since 2005, especially among the general public and opinion leaders: roughly one-in-four respondents believe that the relationship has 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.

Chart #12: Bilateral Relations: Rating Government Performance

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

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

■ U.S. 2007
■ China 2007



State of the Nation: Chinese Optimism, American Discontent

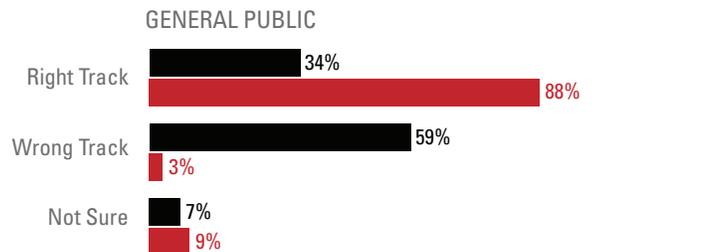
There are sharp differences in the way Chinese and Americans currently view the direction their respective countries are heading:

- 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 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.

Chart #13: Current Mood of the Country

(U.S. 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?



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).

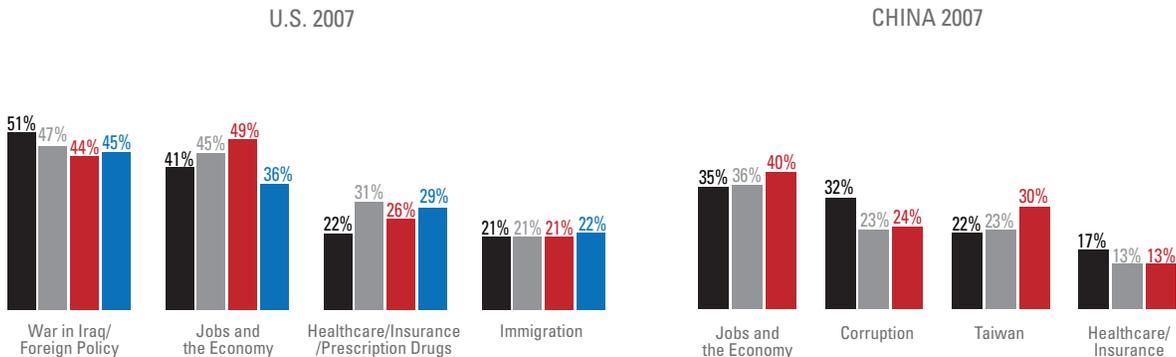
- For Americans, however, the war in Iraq remains the top issue, and the economy/jobs, health care and immigration round out the top four. Democrats and Independents rate the issues in the same order (war in Iraq/foreign policy; jobs and the economy; health care; immigration), while Republicans rate 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.

Chart #14: Most Important Issues (Top 4)

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

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

General Public
 Opinion Leaders
 Business Leaders
 Congressional Staffers



- 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 impact 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.
- **Understanding of China in the 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.
- **Lack of trust in each other's news media:** Our data shows that neither the Chinese nor 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 governments is to enhance problem management capabilities in order to resolve differences and potential conflicts in a calm and timely manner. Both countries should not only build a mechanism for governmental strategic dialogue, but also further expand different channels for civil exchanges. By advancing mutual understanding and promoting better national images in each other's country, the U.S. and China can then move toward 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.

METHODOLOGY

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:

→ **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.

United States:

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

→ **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.

→ **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.

→ **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.

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:

→ **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.

China:

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

→ **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.

→ **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.).

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).



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