

MEXICO AND THE WORLD 2006

Leaders, public opinion and foreign policy in
Mexico, the United States, and Asia: a
comparative study



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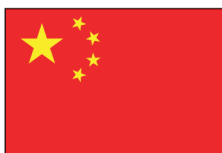
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COMEXI is a pluralistic, multidisciplinary forum for debate and analysis on the role of Mexico in the world. The Council is an independent, nonprofit forum with no government or institutional ties and is financed exclusively by membership dues and corporate support.

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Mexicans, their leaders and the world: comparing opinions

This comparative study presents and compares the findings of two mirror surveys conducted by the Centro de Investigación y Docencia Económicas (CIDE) and the Consejo Mexicano de Asuntos Internacionales (Mexican Council on Foreign Relations, COMEXI) of the opinions, outlooks, values, and general attitudes held by Mexicans and their leaders toward the world. It also compares the results with data from a series of parallel surveys conducted by the Chicago Council on Global Affairs in the United States and several Asian countries.

With this study, CIDE and COMEXI continue and broaden the domestic and international scope of the planned long-range research project they began in 2004 to survey and analyze how Mexicans, including the country's foreign policy leaders, understand and respond to changing world realities. This year, the collaboration with the Chicago Council made it possible not only to carry out the second comparative study of Mexicans' and Americans' opinions on key foreign-policy issues but also to conduct the first comparison of Mexico with China, South Korea, and India, the three Asian countries that currently represent the greatest challenge to Mexico's competitive position in North America.

This report comprises four different comparisons. The first two are domestic surveys, one looking at similarities and differences in opinion between Mexico's general population and its foreign policy leaders and the second comparing opinions among different groups of foreign policy leaders. The second two are international comparisons, the first between the public in Mexico and the United States and the second between the public in Mexico and the publics of the three Asian countries. For the first domestic analysis, we compare the attitudes of a representative domestic sampling of 1,499 people with a sampling of 259 leaders who have professional responsibilities or interests in international affairs to determine how closely both groups' opinions correspond. For the second domestic study, we describe and compare the opinions of five sectors within the leaders'

group —governmental, political, business, media and academic, and social (NGO) — to determine where leaders agree and where they do not as well as identify distinctions in their opinions on foreign policy.

The aim of combining various levels of comparison is to offer a large amount of data simultaneously so as to cross-analyze information on opinions in Mexico with opinions in other countries. It also makes it possible to identify domestic points of agreement and disagreement that affect Mexico's ability to define objectives and implement strategies in foreign policy. At the same time, the study will identify where public opinion in Mexico and in some of the other countries of the world, with which it shares challenges, converge or diverge.

Such a focus facilitates the task of posing questions that can be useful for guiding academic analysis or public discussion on foreign policy topics. Do Mexico's leaders and the country's general public hold common views of the United States, globalization, and international security? How divided or united vis-à-vis global affairs are Mexicans, Americans, and Asians? How different are Asians' sentiments toward geopolitics from those of Mexicans and Americans? How close are Mexicans and Americans in their views on the emerging countries of Asia? Are opinions in the United States closer to those in Asia or in Mexico? What opinion do Mexicans have of Americans and vice versa? What type of bilateral agreements on controversial topics such as security, border, immigration, and energy would be acceptable for publics both in Mexico and in the United States? Do Mexicans and Americans have similar attitudes on the economic and political integration of North America? This wide-ranging comparative report complements and expands on the detailed reporting of public attitudes in the Mexico report, providing preliminary answers to these questions. These initial responses can help inform foreign policy debates in Mexico as well as in the United States and Asia.

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A task force composed of members of the academic community at CIDE and COMEXI helped on designing the research, administering the study, analyzing the data, and preparing this report. Professor Susan Minushkin, of CIDE's International Studies Division, acted as project director, coordinating all the work carried out by the task force. Professor Guadalupe González González, also in the International Studies Division, acted as the project's principal investigator. The following people played key roles on the task force: Aurora Adame, executive director of COMEXI; Professor Jorge Chabat, also of the International Studies Division; Professor Antonio Ortiz Mena L.N., director of the International Studies Division; Mónica Colin, project administrator; José Luis Caballero, currently research assistant at CIDE, and Ana González, previously project administrator and research assistant at CIDE. In the final stage, CIDE professors Matthew Adam Kocher, Jorge Schiavon, Covadonga Meseguer, Arturo Sotomayor, and an external expert, Luis Herrera-Lasso, joined the task force to help analyze the results and design and draft the reports.

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The CIDE-COMEXI task force also benefited from the invaluable technical and methodological advice, the intellectual generosity, and the academic expertise of Columbia University Political Science professor Robert Y. Shapiro. Dr. Shapiro helped ensure that the Mexican data was comparable with data from similar polls conducted by the Chicago Council on Global Affairs in the United States, Australia, South Korea, China, India, and Japan, in collaboration with various institutions in those countries. Professor Shapiro also played a pivotal role in designing the survey, analyzing the data, and in preparing the report on the Mexico results as well as the chapters of the comparative report.

In addition, the Chicago Council's president, Marshall Bouton, generously allowed us unrestricted and timely access to the results of the Council's surveys in the six countries mentioned above. From a comparative international perspective, these data enriched our knowledge of Mexicans' attitudes toward the world. The Chicago Council's executive director of studies, Christopher B. Whitney, also provided support in the form of inter-institutional coordination throughout the project.

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The survey findings and analyses included in these reports are solely the responsibility of the report's editors, Guadalupe González and Susan Minushkin, and do not necessarily reflect the official opinions of either CIDE or COMEXI, nor those of any of the other individuals and organizations that financed or collaborated with the project team.

The study's information and data will be deposited at the Inter-University Consortium for Political and Social Research of the University of Michigan in Ann Arbor; the Roper Center for Public Opinion, in Storrs, Connecticut; and the National Opinion Research Center, at the University of Chicago. The data will also be stored at the Public Opinion Studies Databank of the library of CIDE, for consultation by academics, professionals, students, and the public at large. The survey data and reports will also be available at the following websites: <http://mexicoyelmundo.cide.edu>, and <http://www.consejomexicano.org>.

Executive Summary

Mexico's leaders and the Mexican public

Leaders and the public favor an active role for Mexico in the world

- Leaders are much more in favor of an active role for Mexico on the international stage, 96%, than is the Mexican public, 56%, although, majorities of both groups favor Mexico taking an active part in world affairs.
- They also favor more active positions vis-à-vis internal conflict or democratic breakdown in Latin America than does the public.
- Nevertheless, leaders are more traditionally nationalistic on Mexican security issues than the average citizen is: leaders are much more reluctant to accept the presence of United States agents on Mexican soil to cooperate with Mexican authorities in combating terrorism, 29% of leaders versus 51% of the public, or to streamline international travel, 45% of leaders versus 56% ordinary Mexicans.

Foreign policy making

- Mexico's leaders want the president to be the leading influence on foreign policy decision-making.
- The average citizen believes that public opinion should have the greatest influence in formulating foreign policy and also tends to favor strong legislative checks and balances on the power of the executive.

Threats and foreign policy objectives

- Leaders and citizens agree that the main threat to the country's interests over the next 10 years is drug-trafficking. They also consider terrorism and weapons of mass destruction to

be serious threats, although they differ on the seriousness of epidemics and global warming, at least in terms of their ranking relative to other threats, if not in terms of the percent who say they are grave threats to Mexico. Neither group is very alarmed by competition from Asia or the rise of China.

- Leaders and the general population agree on a pragmatic foreign policy focused on promoting economic and security interests rather than defending values and principles. Although Mexican leaders are more inclined than the public to consider strengthening the United Nations to be a very important goal for Mexico, their support for making the promotion of democracy a priority is weaker.

Mexico in the international system

- The country's leaders are more multilateralist than the rest of the population and most believe that Mexico should seek to regain a non-permanent seat on the United Nations Security Council.
- However, they are less inclined to approve the use of military force by the United Nations in most international crises.
- Leaders (64%) are more willing to cooperate and to make joint decisions with the United Nations than is the general public (46%).
- Leaders are also more willing (89%) to see Mexico abide by decisions of multilateral economic agencies than are members of the general public (53%); leaders feel strongly committed to the World Trade Organization.
- Although the two groups share a relatively pessimistic vision of the world, they hold differing opinions on economic and cultural globalization. Mexican leaders strongly favor (75%) the influence of ideas and customs from

other countries as well as increased economic interaction (83%), whereas the general public is much less sure about the benefits of cultural (40%) and economic globalization (41%).

International trade and foreign investment

- Both the Mexican public and the country's leaders strongly favor international trade and consider it to be beneficial for the country's economy, Mexican companies, job creation in Mexico, poverty reduction, and their own living conditions. They share doubts about the benefits of trade for Mexican agriculture and the environment.
- Leaders, 96%, favor increasing trade more than the population at large does, although the public provides strong support, 79%, for increasing international trade.
- The two groups agree on three basic trade issues for Mexico: concentrate on existing free trade agreements rather than signing new ones; renegotiate the agricultural provisions in the North American Free Trade Agreement; and the importance of upholding labor and environmental protections in free trade agreements.
- Mexicans generally believe that foreign direct investment benefits Mexico a lot (47%) or some (29%), but leaders support it much more strongly, 78% say a lot and 16% say some.
- The country's leaders and the general public are at odds over whether or not to lift restrictions on FDI in strategic sectors such as oil, electricity, and gas: leaders favor an opening, but the public overwhelmingly rejects it.

North America and South America

- Leaders and the general population alike believe that the future will bring more economic and political integration both within North America and with the rest of Latin America, although the leaders are more wary of integration with the south than with the north.
- They also hold more favorable views of the United States and are more convinced than the rest of Mexicans are that Mexico's proximity to the United States represents more advantages than problems.
- There is basic agreement that Mexico should pay greater attention to Latin America. There is also a consensus that Mexico, rather

than exercising leadership in the region, should promote cooperation and serve as a link between the northern and southern hemispheres.

- Leaders are more wary than the general public is of the potential for Venezuela and Cuba to become rivals or threats to Mexico.
- Leaders and the general public alike are skeptical about promoting economic development in Central American countries.
- Both are also ambivalent about Central American undocumented immigration, although the leaders prefer to address the issue through normalization -- such as a temporary-worker program -- rather than through tighter border controls.

Mexico and the United States: differences, similarities, and common problems

Despite important geopolitical, economic, and social differences separating the United States and Mexico, the publics in both countries agree on many issues.

- A similar proportion of Americans and Mexicans pay attention to international news, 38% and 39%, although Mexicans are slightly better informed about some details, such as the common currency used in the many countries of the European Union.
- Majorities in both countries -- 56% in Mexico and 69% in the United States -- agree that their country should play an active role in the world, although Mexicans favor limiting that role to issues that affect Mexico directly.
- Americans and Mexicans do not want the United States continuing to act as the preeminent world power. Majorities in both countries (75% in the United States and 59% in Mexico) feel that the United States should cooperate with other countries to address world problems.
- A significant minority of Mexicans (22%) want the United States to "stay out" of efforts to resolve the world's problems.

Threats and foreign policy objectives

- Americans and Mexicans agree that international terrorism and weapons of mass destruction are serious threats. However, Mexicans feel more threatened than Americans by drug-trafficking, epidemics such as AIDS and avian flu, and global warming.

- In neither country is the public overly concerned about economic competition from Asian countries and China's emergence as a global power.
- Americans and Mexicans hold similar views on foreign policy, preferring pragmatic objectives; still, security issues are generally more important for Americans than they are for Mexicans who focus more on economic matters.
- Both Mexicans and Americans view combating international terrorism and preventing the spread of nuclear weapons as very important goals.
- Publics in both countries place even more importance on objectives related to personal well-being. The top priority for the U.S. public is protecting the jobs of American workers, while export promotion and the protection of Mexican interests abroad are the leading priorities for the Mexican public.
- Citizens in both countries consider promoting democracy in other countries the least important foreign-policy goal, after such issues as cooperation for development and defending human rights.

The international system

- Despite the widely held perception of Americans as unilateralists, respondents in the two countries agree that strengthening the United Nations should be an important objective, although for Mexicans it is a higher foreign policy priority than it is for Americans.
- Moreover, a majority of Americans, 60%, approve of the United States making decisions within the U.N. framework and abiding by its resolutions, even those with which they disagree. Only 46% of Mexicans approve of Mexico abiding by U.N. decisions that are not what Mexico would have preferred.
- Despite the two countries' very different roles in military interventions to guarantee international security, Mexicans and Americans alike favor the U.N. Security Council having the right to authorize the use of military force in a wide range of situations including humanitarian and military crises.
- A sizeable majority of Americans, 73%, and a smaller majority of Mexicans, 53%, agree with complying with WTO rulings.
- A majority of the respondents in both countries -- those in the United States overwhelmingly --

support strengthening the capacity of multilateral economic organizations and international trade agreements to protect labor and environmental standards.

Globalization and international trade

- Americans and Mexicans have differing views on economic globalization, although the difference has narrowed since 2004: 60% of Americans believe that globalization is beneficial for their country, whereas 41% of Mexicans view it favorably.
- Majorities in both countries see international trade as beneficial for their countries' economy, companies in their countries, and their own standard of living.
- Nevertheless, they differ on the benefits of international trade for employment: 74% of Mexicans believe that it creates jobs in Mexico, while 60% of Americans believe that it is bad for creating jobs in the United States. In neither country do citizens think that trade has environmental benefits.
- Respondents in the two countries share similar sentiments toward other countries. Mexicans and Americans have a favorable opinion of each other's country, as well as of Canada, Europe, and Japan. Surprisingly, Mexicans share Americans' less favorable feelings toward the rest of Latin America.

Common problems and the future of North America

- Americans and Mexicans differ on the advantages of joint decisions to solve common problems. A majority of Americans, 64%, favor bilateral decision-making to solve common problems while only 42% of Mexicans do.
- A large majority of Mexicans support Mexico adopting certain security measures in conjunction with the United States to combat international terrorism, such as allowing U.S. agents to help monitor airports, seaports, and border bridges.
- Respondents show the greatest disagreement over energy and immigration. Americans oppose increased legal immigration, and Mexicans categorically reject foreign investment in Mexico's energy sector.
- 66% of Americans support the idea of providing funds for Mexico's development in exchange

for U.S. companies being permitted to invest in Mexico's oil sector, whereas most Mexicans, 52% oppose such a tradeoff.

- Still, a majority in both countries believe that in coming years North America will become more integrated both economically and politically, although more see economic integration in the future than see political integration in North America.

Mexico and Asia: different responses to similar challenges

Interest in and knowledge of the world

- Mexicans overall indicate more interest in international news than do respondents in India, China, or South Korea; for those who say they are "very interested," the percentages of Mexicans and Indians are higher than those of Chinese and South Koreans.
- A majority of respondents in Mexico and in each of the three Asian countries support an active international role for their country. However, internationalism is considerably stronger among Chinese, 87%, and Koreans, 81%, than among Mexicans and Indians, with 56% in both cases.
- Respondents in all four countries have a more pragmatic than idealistic outlook on foreign-policy goals, although they assign varying degrees of importance to economic and security issues. In each case, promoting democracy, defending human rights, and aiding poor countries rank last on the list of priorities.
- Of the countries surveyed, China has the highest percentage of respondents who assign a high priority to economic goals such as protecting jobs, promoting economic growth, and ensuring adequate energy supplies. Surprisingly, Chinese respondents indicate little interest in security and defense objectives such as a stronger military.
- A majority of Mexicans, 56%, say that strengthening the United Nations is a very important foreign-policy goal for their country. Fewer Asians feel the same way: 51% of Chinese say this is a very important foreign policy goal, 49% of Indians agree, as do only 32% of South Koreans.
- More Mexicans and Americans than Chinese, Indians, and South Koreans believe that nuclear nonproliferation and combating international terrorism should be high priorities. Among citizens of all countries, far fewer South Koreans view combating terrorism as a priority.

Threats and foreign policy objectives

- Although Mexico and the three Asian countries describe distinct threats to their interests, publics in all four countries are more concerned with issues that have a domestic impact rather than a global impact. The two leading concerns for Mexicans are drug-trafficking and epidemics, followed by such international threats as terrorism, economic crises, global warming, and ethnic and religious strife.
- The three leading concerns for Chinese and South Korean respondents are social and economic: epidemics, continued energy supplies, and global warming, followed by terrorism, Islamic fundamentalism, nuclear weapons, and regional security.
- Indians are concerned above all by security issues: terrorism, tensions with Pakistan, nuclear proliferation, and Islamic fundamentalism.
- Indians and South Koreans are somewhat wary of China's emergence as a global power and of economic competition from the United States.

Globalization and international trade

- The largest differences between Mexicans and Asians are their sharply different views of economic globalization. A large majority of respondents in China, 87% and South Korea, 86%, and a smaller majority if those in India, 54%, consider globalization beneficial to their country. Only 41% of Mexicans say that globalization is good for Mexico.
- In all four countries a majority of citizens believe that international trade is good for their domestic economy, although the proportion is higher in China, 88%, and South Korea, 80%, than in India, 64%, or Mexico, 59%.
- Mexican, Chinese, and Indian respondents believe that signatories to international trade agreements should be required to comply with minimum labor and environmental standards.
- A majority of Mexican and Chinese citizens support compliance with the rulings of multilateral organizations such as the WTO, but Indians and South Koreans are less supportive.

The international system

- A large majority of respondents in China and the United States, 78% and 60%, support their country reaching decisions within the U.N. framework and abiding by them even when they are contrary to their national positions. In contrast, the level of approval among Mexicans, 46%, Indians, 44%, and South Koreans, 48%, indicates the public division in each country on this issue. Support is stronger, unsurprisingly, in the two countries that are permanent members of the U.N. Security Council.
- In all four countries, majorities support the U.N. Security Council approving multilateral military force to prevent countries from supporting terrorism, to stop large-scale human rights violations, or to defend countries that have come under attack.
- Mexicans (54%), Americans (57%) and Indians (51%) agree with the use of multilateral force to restore democracy or to prevent the spread of nuclear weapons. Chinese and South Korean respondents do not agree.
- Mexicans and Asians agree that the United States should cooperate with other countries to address world problems. However, a larger

percentage of Mexicans than Asians or U.S. citizens would prefer to see the United States stay out of international efforts to resolve the world's problem. Indians are more accepting than Mexicans or other Asians of continued U.S. leadership in world affairs.

Feelings toward other countries

- Mexico and India have similar sentiments toward other countries. In both countries, rankings of favorable opinions toward other countries put the United States in the top two.
- South Koreans also have a favorable opinion of the United States and rank it among the top five countries.
- In contrast, Chinese respondents rank the United States, along with Japan, the least favorably, while both North and South Korea rank at the top of their preference.
- The Chinese, South Koreans, and Indians have a favorable opinion of Mexico, but Mexicans hold these three countries in even higher regard. Citizens of the three Asian countries have a much less favorable opinion of Japan than do Mexicans. Respondents in all four countries indicate a liking for European countries.

CHAPTER 1

Comparing Mexico's Leaders and the Mexican Public

The new democratic context: divided government, a multiparty system, and close elections

In Mexico, democratization has led to a highly competitive multiparty electoral system and a divided government in which no political force has the majority needed to implement its proposals. The 2006 presidential and congressional elections confirm the image of a democratic, although politically polarized, country. The new president will take office on December 1 without a clear mandate or majority in congress and the losing candidate's refusal to accept the election results has generated post-electoral conflict.

Beyond the short-term complexity of the change of government, the new democratic context has long-term implications for the process of designing and conducting foreign policy. First, social groups have new access to policy-makers to exert their political influence, which has made the decision-making process more open. Foreign policy disagreements have become part and parcel of the public debate. Second, agreements between the president and congress are more complex with divided government in a system of checks and balances, even in an area traditionally dominated by the president such as foreign policy. Third, in conditions of intense electoral competition, the politicization of diplomatic issues becomes more likely, since politicians must openly seek the support of their constituencies for their foreign-policy proposals. Fourth, intense electoral campaigning and more open media coverage have encouraged the public to take a greater interest in public policy. Mexico's new political conditions mean that disagreements over foreign policy -- either among foreign policy elites or between leaders and public opinion -- have larger consequences than in the past when policy making was confined to a small and unquestioned group. From the standpoint of representative democracy, differences between Mexican leaders and public

opinion have the potential to undermine Mexico's fledgling democratic institutions. Similarly, divisions among Mexico's leaders could lead to increased political conflict, decreased government efficacy, and incoherent, uncoordinated policy, tarnishing the country's international image and the credibility of its foreign policy.

This chapter examines the views of a sample of 259 leaders from five sectors (government, politics, business, media and academic, and non-governmental organizations) with an interest in international affairs or professional ties with other countries. It also compares leaders' attitudes with those of the general public. The leaders interviewed agree with a majority of Mexicans on several issues, including some that have generated dispute within the circles responsible for framing economic and security foreign policy strategies. However, on other issues, there is no such consensus. Some points of disagreement probably reflect differences of information, but others may suggest authentic discrepancies stemming from the different values, interests, and preferences of leaders and of citizens at large.

Basic agreements and areas of convergence

Foreign-policy goals for Mexico

The public and the country's leaders agree on the three goals that should be most important for Mexico's foreign policy. The two groups also agree that issues related to security and economic well-being should take precedence over promoting principles or values.

A large majority of leaders, 90%, and the public, 76%, view promoting Mexican exports as a very important foreign-policy goal; 92% of the leaders and 73% of the public place protecting the interests of Mexicans living abroad in the same category; and 85% of leaders and 70% of the public believe

that drug-trafficking should be a priority for Mexican foreign policy, making it the third most important objective. Leaders and the public agree on the following priorities, although in different orders. Tied in third place with drug-trafficking, 85% of the country's leaders view attracting foreign investment as a priority, followed by strengthening the United Nations, which 70% describe as very important. Protecting the country's borders is the next most important objective (66%), followed by preventing nuclear proliferation (64%), and fighting international terrorism (62%). In contrast, among the public slightly more respondents consider border protection a priority (68%) than attracting foreign investment (67%). The public puts combating terrorism, as well as preventing nuclear proliferation, next with 65% for each objective. Controlling immigration, with 59%, and strengthening the United Nations, with 56% rank next on the list of very important foreign policy goals. A key difference is that leaders are more likely than ordinary Mexicans to believe that strengthening the United Nations is a highly important issue.

Lastly, leaders agree with the public that the three lowest-priority objectives are those linked to values and principles, although they assign these issues even lower importance. 41% of the leaders

versus 55% of the public view cooperation for development as a priority; 43% of leaders versus 53% of the public consider human rights very important; and only 18% of leaders versus 47% of the public believe that promoting democracy should be a leading objective.

Despite Mexico's recent democratic transition, both the public and foreign policy leaders place little importance on promoting democratization in other countries. It ranks last on the list of foreign policy priorities. Indeed, the leaders indicate outright opposition to the international community's participation in upholding democracy. Whereas 54% of the public supports the use of force by the United Nations Security Council to reinstate democratic governments that have been overthrown, only 25% of the leaders support such actions. Leaders' lack of support for such action stems from Mexico's historic defense of the principle of nonintervention in other nations' domestic issues. (Tables 1.1a and 1.1b)

A shared pessimistic view of the world

Majorities of both Mexico's leaders and the general public reject the view that the world is moving in the right direction: 61% of the leaders and 54% of the

Table 1.1a
Public / Leaders agreements on Foreign Policy

PUBLIC / LEADERS 2006

	Public (%)	Leaders (%)
Mexico should increase its trade with other countries	79	84
Countries that are part of international trade agreements should be required to comply with minimum environmental standards	76	92
Mexico should participate with other Latin American countries to solve regional problems without trying to be the leader	59	75
Foreign investment is a great benefit or of some benefit to Mexico	76	94
Mexico should seek to be a bridge between the countries of Latin American and North America	41	62
Countries that are part of international trade agreements should be required to comply with minimum labor standards	67	87
Mexico should focus on the twelve free trade agreements that it has already signed rather than seek to sign new agreements	53	75
Being a neighbor of the United States is more of an advantage for Mexico than a problem	52	85
It is better for Mexico's future that it play an active role in international affairs	56	96

Table 1.1b**Public/Leader agreements on Foreign Policy****PUBLIC / LEADERS 2006**

	Public (%)	Leaders (%)
To combat international terrorism, Mexico should increase controls on the movement of goods through its borders, ports, and airports	79	75
International terrorism is a critical threat to Mexico's interests	70	71
Global warming is a critical threat to Mexico's interests	70	73
International trade is good for job creation in Mexico	74	82
In the future, there will be more economic integration between the countries of Latin America	72	76
The President should be required to receive congressional approval before sending Mexican forces outside the country to help in case of natural disasters in other countries	71	67
Protecting Mexico's land and sea borders is a very important foreign policy objective	68	66
The United Nations Security Council should have the right to authorize the use of military force to defend a country that has been attacked by another country	65	65
Combating international terrorism is a very important foreign policy objective	65	62
Preventing the spread of nuclear weapons is a very important foreign policy objective	65	64
Mexico should participate in international efforts to improve the human rights situation in Cuba	66	67
International trade is good for reducing poverty in Mexico	61	71
Mexico should seek to renegotiate parts of NAFTA, particularly those sections that treat agricultural products, even if it loses some of the benefits it has acquired	52	61
Mexico should pay more attention to Latin America	51	48
Mexico should participate in UN peacekeeping missions	49	49
Mexico should seek special treatment from the United States rather than coordinate its policy with Canada	50	45
Generally, the world is moving in the right direction	43	39
In order to prevent deaths in the border region, the Mexican government should inform migrants of the risks they face and give them provisions for their journey	34	33
Mexico should pay more attention to Europe	24	27
Mexico should seek to be the predominate leader in Latin America	22	23

public express this opinion. However, the Mexican public has become somewhat less pessimistic since 2004. While only 26% said the world was moving in the right direction in 2004, 43% express this view today. Among the leaders, there has been little change: 44% expressed a positive view of the direction of the world in 2004, while 39% say so in 2006.

Regional priorities: Latin America and Europe

Both the country's leaders and the public consider Latin America to be the region that deserves the most attention, before Europe, Asia, the Middle East, and Africa (Canada and the United States were excluded from this question). 51% of the public and 48% of the leaders chose Latin America as the priority region. There is also broad agreement on Europe's importance for Mexico: 24% of the public and 27% of the leaders say that Europe is the region that Mexico should pay the most attention to. However, the leaders place Asia on the same level of importance, with 23% saying that it should be a priority. The general population is largely uninterested in this region, only 3% say that Mexico should pay the most attention to Asia.

The group of leaders has highly favorable sentiments toward the developed countries of Europe and Asia. Canada, Spain, Germany, and Japan received average rankings of 86, 84, 84, and 83 on a 0-to-100 scale of sentiments toward different countries. Chile, the only Latin American country to score above 80, received a ranking of 81. The United States, with 74, led the next tier of countries, followed by Brazil, 73, South Korea, 70, and China, 70. In contrast, the population at large distinguishes clearly between wealthy and less developed countries, regardless of their geographic or cultural proximity. Latin American countries tend to fall further down on the public's list behind developed countries and even China, a much poorer country than Mexico and most Latin American countries but seen by many as a rising power.

Mexico's priority in the Americas: serving as a bridge and link

Both the Mexican public and the country's leaders believe that Mexico's priority in the Western Hemisphere should be to serve as a bridge between the countries of the North and those of the South. Still, a difference of more than 20

percentage points separates the two groups: 62% of the leaders agree on this objective versus a plurality of 41% among the overall population.

According to 32% of the general population, the country's top foreign-policy priority should be integration with the countries of Latin America rather than being a bridge or integrating with North America, whereas only 11% of the leaders hold this view. Only 18% of the public believes that a priority for Mexico should be integration with the countries of North America, compared with 24% of the leaders. In sum, a higher percentage of leaders than of ordinary Mexicans view North America as a priority.

Leaders and citizens have similar views on the future of economic integration both in North America and Latin America, but their perspectives on political integration in the two regions differ. A large majority of leaders, 85%, and a smaller majority of the public, 67%, expect to see more economic integration among Mexico, the United States, and Canada. 72% of the Mexican public and 76% of the leaders expect to see greater economic integration among Latin American countries.

But strengthened political ties are less likely, according to the leaders. 74% of them reject the idea that there will be political integration among the countries of North America in the coming years. That is a contrast with the majority of the general population, 61%, that does expect such integration. The same difference was found on the question of Latin American political integration: 69% of the leaders do not believe that Latin America will become more politically integrated, whereas 64% of the public expects that it will. (Tables 1.2 and 1.3)

Mexico's role in Latin and Central America

Majorities of both leaders and the general public believe that Mexico should opt for a strategy of cooperation with its Latin American neighbors to address problems that face the region. Support for this option is stronger among leaders, with 75%, than among the rest of the population, with 59%. Only 1% of the leaders believe that Mexico should remain on the sidelines of regional events as do 13% of the public.

Similarly, leaders are less passive and isolationist regarding responses to internal conflict in Latin America. While 43% of the public believes that Mexico should stay out of domestic conflicts in the region, only 12% of the country's leaders

Table 1.2
Greater economic integration
in North America
PUBLIC / LEADERS 2006

Do you think that in the future there will or will not be greater economic integration between the countries of North America, Mexico, Canada and the United States?

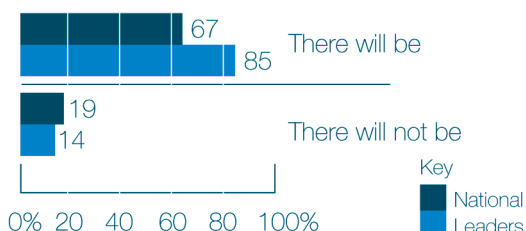
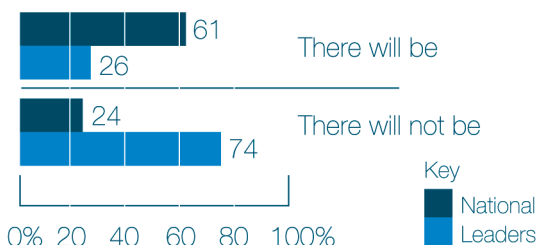


Table 1.3
Political integration in North America
PUBLIC / LEADERS 2006

Some European countries have formed a union where officials nominated by national governments and deputies elected by the citizens make joint decisions that affect all member countries. Do you think that in the future there will or will not be political integration between Canada, the United States and Mexico similar to the European countries?



agree. A majority of 54% of leaders say Mexico should advocate multilateral intervention to solve such conflicts and close to one third believe that Mexico should participate more directly, offering to act as a mediator. The general public is less willing to intervene: only 30% support multilateral action and 23% support Mexico acting as a mediator. We found a similar difference between leaders and the general population regarding the case of a democratic breakdown or coup d'état in the region. 37% of the population feels that if a democratic government is overthrown, Mexico should refrain from voicing objection, compared with 20% of the leaders. Among the possible actions Mexico could take, 41% of the leaders, compared with 16% of

the public, favor Mexico publicly condemning any coups d'état; 24% of the leaders say Mexico should recall its ambassador, compared with 17% of the public; and 12% of the leaders advocate severing diplomatic ties, compared with 18% of the general population. In general, leaders are more inclined to advocate an active and decisive role for Mexico in Latin America.

The country's leaders as well as the general population have ambivalent views on what to do about undocumented Central American migrants in Mexico. And, they disagree over the best policy. 51% of Mexicans prefer stricter controls on the southern border and the creation of a border patrol as do 38% of the leaders. Yet, the same proportion of leaders, 51%, advocate instead a temporary worker program for Central Americans while only 26% of the public supports this idea. 15% of Mexicans would agree with building a wall on the border with Guatemala and Belize, but only 1% of the leaders support such a measure.

Mexicans are split over whether it is in Mexico's interest to use resources to promote economic development in Central America: 46% say Mexico should and the same percentage disagree. 57% of the leaders favor such cooperation in Central America and 43% oppose it.

The leaders generally have more favorable opinions of Latin American and Central American countries than does the general population. On a scale of sentiments toward other countries, with 0 totally unfavorable and 100 completely favorable, the leaders assign 81 to Chile while the general public gives just 52. Brazil gets 73 from leaders and 57 from ordinary citizens. The difference for Guatemala is 63 for leaders to 54 for the public and for El Salvador it is 60 to 47. However, for Cuba and Venezuela the relationship is reversed. The leaders assign less favorable scores to Cuba and Venezuela, 51 and 47, than does the general public, 59 and 50 respectively.

Lastly, the two groups also have different perceptions of Brazil. Leaders assign an average favorability score to Brazil of 73; the public gives Brazil a score of 57. But, leaders consider Brazil equally as a friend and partner and, to a lesser extent a rival country, while the public considers Brazil to be a friend of Mexico. A majority of 53% of Mexico's general public considers Brazil primarily a friend of Mexico, while 30% view it as a partner, and 4% as a rival. In contrast, the group of leaders is divided into three: 35% consider Brazil primarily a friend, 35% a partner, and 27% a rival. Sentiments

of rivalry or competition with Brazil are widespread among Mexico's leaders but almost nonexistent among the general population.

Approval of the use of force by the Security Council but ambivalence on Mexico's participation in peacekeeping

The country's leaders and its public both support the United Nations' use of military force to maintain or restore peace. This support is generally stronger among the public than among leaders. The one exception is in the case of genocide. More leaders, 87%, than members of the general public, 73%, agree that the U.N. Security Council should be able to authorize military force to avoid grave human rights violations such as genocide. In the other four cases, the public is more likely to approve the use of force. 71% of the public and 57% of the leaders support the U.N. authorizing military force against countries that back terrorist groups; 65% of the public and 65% of the leaders agree that the U.N. should be able to authorize military force to defend countries that have been attacked; and lastly, 70% of the public and 49% of the leaders support United Nations-sanctioned military actions to prevent countries from acquiring nuclear weapons. In the case of the use of multilateral force to restore democracy there is a sharp difference, with 54% of the public supporting the use of force and only 25% of the leaders in favor.

However, this general agreement backing the use of U.N.-authorized military force does not translate into overwhelming support for Mexican participation in peacekeeping efforts. Surprisingly, in response to the question of whether Mexico should join United Nations peacekeeping forces, nearly half, 49%, of the leaders said they would approve and the same percentage said they would disapprove. Among the general public, 49% approve, although a smaller proportion, 43% say they disapprove.

Support for free trade

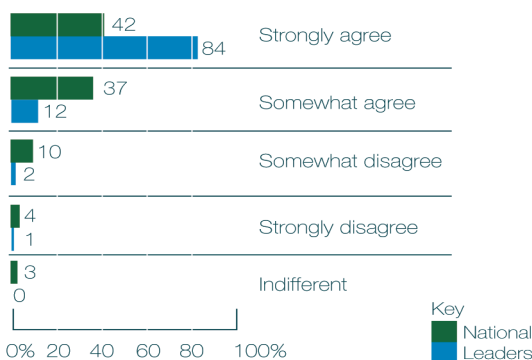
Both the country's leaders and the public rank export promotion among Mexico's two most important foreign-policy objectives and hold a largely favorable opinion of international trade. Nearly all the leaders, 96%, and a large majority of the general public, 79% support increased trade between Mexico and other countries. (Table 1.4)

Table 1.4

Stimulating foreign investment

PUBLIC / LEADERS 2006

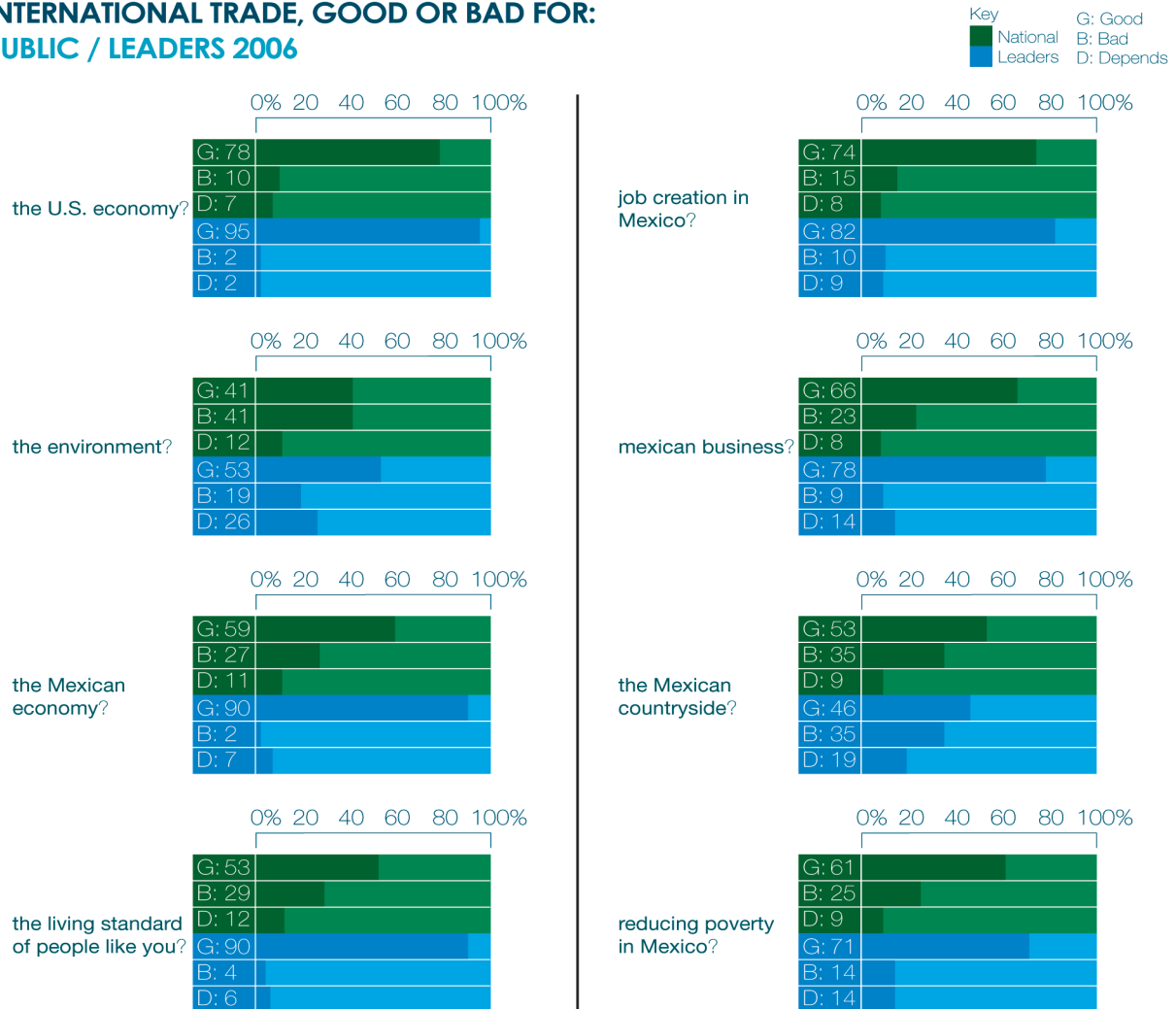
Do you agree or disagree with Mexican government stimulating foreign investment?



This finding is confirmed by questions about the benefits of trade for eight sectors or objectives. 95% of leaders and 78% of the public believe that international trade is good for the U.S. economy, while 90% of the leaders and 59% of the overall population view trade as beneficial for the Mexican economy. 90% of the leaders and 53% of the public believe that it has a positive impact on their own standard of living. 78% of the leaders believe that international trade benefits Mexican companies, compared to 66% of the public and 82% of the leaders believe that it creates jobs versus 74% of the public. 71% of the leaders say that trade helps reduce poverty in Mexico compared to 61% of the overall population. The numbers are lower when it comes to the environment: 53% of the leaders and 41% of the public say that international trade benefits the environment. But in each case, the proportion of leaders who hold a favorable opinion is between 10 and 37 percentage points higher than that of the general population. The one exception is trade's effect on Mexico's countryside (el campo) where opinions are much closer and leaders are less positive than the general public: 46% of leaders and 53% of the public say trade benefits the Mexican countryside. (Table 1.5)

One of the most important findings of the two surveys is that the agreement between leaders and the general public on free trade is not limited to general attitudes but also encompasses specific trade policy issues, including some that have caused much controversy such as the call to renegotiate the North American Free Trade Agreement. 61% percent of the leaders and 52%

Table 1.5
INTERNATIONAL TRADE, GOOD OR BAD FOR:
PUBLIC / LEADERS 2006

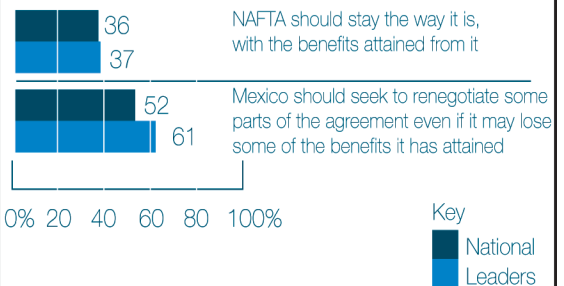


of the Mexican public believe that Mexico should seek to renegotiate parts of NAFTA, principally the sections dealing with agricultural products, even if this would mean that Mexico might lose some its current advantages. Slightly over one-third of the respondents in each group, 36% of the public and 37% of the leaders, believe that the text of NAFTA, which took effect 12 years ago, should remain unchanged. (Table 1.6)

Another important point of agreement on trade policy bears emphasizing. Despite the consensus in favor of international trade, the two groups agree that Mexico should not sign any new free trade agreements but should concentrate instead on taking advantage of existing ones. 75% of the leaders and 53% of the public say that Mexico should focus on consolidating its twelve free trade agreements with 43 countries.

Table 1.6
NAFTA terms and renegotiation
PUBLIC / LEADERS 2006

As you know, Mexico is part of the North American Free Trade Agreement. Which of the following comes closest to your point of view?



Both leaders and the general public also agree on the need to link international trade to environmental and labor issues. They agree that signatories to international trade agreements should abide by minimum standards on labor conditions, (87% of the leaders and 67% of the public hold this view), and minimum standards for environmental protection (92% of the leaders and 76% agree.).

In sum, support for international trade is one of the closest areas of agreement between average citizens and leaders, although support for trade is even stronger among leaders. This is hardly surprising given leaders' greater knowledge of and contact with foreign countries.

The differences between Mexico's leaders and general public

Despite broad agreement on many issues, there are several important differences in foreign policy preferences between leaders and the general public. For the purposes of this analysis, an important disagreement refers to a difference of 15 percentage points or more. Any wide difference in opinion between Mexican leaders and the public

is noteworthy for two reasons. First, it points to leadership deficiencies. Given that leaders have more information and that part of their role consists of informing and even convincing the public - above all when their own viewpoints differ from public opinion -- a dramatic difference between the opinions of the two groups indicates that the leaders either need to educate the public on the issue or that they should reevaluate their own positions. Second, when leaders do not respond to public opinion by both educating and persuading the public or by adapting their own viewpoints, then the differences raise doubts as to how representative the making of foreign policy is. (Tables 1.7a and 1.7b)

The surveys provide evidence of several disagreements that might be important in Mexico's new democratic context. Some disagreements might reflect differences in how well-informed leaders and citizens are, which suggests leaders' failure to communicate on important foreign policy issues. Others might be due to genuinely distinct values and interests between the two groups. This difference in values suggests that leaders are failing to represent their constituents, which makes it difficult to conduct a democratic foreign policy.

Table 1.7a
Public / Leader disagreements on Foreign Policy

PUBLIC / LEADERS 2006

	Public (%)	Leaders (%)
Mexico should coordinate its positions with Canada to defend its interests when dealing with the United States	27	47
Mexico should publicly condemn the overthrow of a democratically elected government in Latin American countries	16	41
The Mexican government should create a temporary worker program for undocumented Central American migrants in Mexico	26	51
Mexico should encourage the intervention of international organizations such as the United Nations or the Organization of American States to resolve disputes between Latin American countries	30	54
The entrance of undocumented foreigners into Mexican territory is a critical threat to Mexico's interests	50	26
The United Nations is very effective in guaranteeing international peace and security	31	7
In order to combat international terrorism, Mexico should permit U.S. officials to participate with Mexican officials in the surveillance of Mexico's airports, ports, and land borders	51	29
The United Nations Security Council should be permitted to authorize the use of military force to prevent a country from acquiring nuclear weapons	70	49
Mexico should pay more attention to Asia	3	23
Mexico should not comply with decisions against it by the World Trade Organization	21	2
Mexico should sign new free trade agreements	42	24
Mexico should be willing to jointly make decisions within the United Nations even if this means that on occasion Mexico will have to take actions that are different from what it would have preferred	46	64
Defines identity as citizen of the world	22	39

Table 1.7b
Public / Leader disagreements on Foreign Policy

PUBLIC / LEADERS 2006

	Público (%)	Líderes (%)
Have traveled outside of Mexico eleven or more times	4	84
Never traveled outside of Mexico	69	1
Recognize the initials of the World Trade Organization (Organización Mundial de Comercio - OMC)	27	90
The Mexican government should permit foreigners to invest in the gas sector	25	76
Very interested in the news about Mexico's relations with other countries	39	89
The Mexican government should permit foreigners to invest in the electricity sector	27	78
Very interested in the news about events in other countries	34	84
Have lived in the United States	14	61
Have lived in Europe	3	50
The Mexican government should permit foreigners to invest in oil exploration, production and distribution	19	62
Strongly agrees that the Mexican government should seek to attract foreign investment	38	80
Economic globalization is generally good for Mexico	41	83
Disagrees with the performance of the Mexican government in foreign policy	25	61
Believes that it is good that the ideas and customs of other countries spread in Mexico	40	75
Believes that in the future there will be greater political integration between the countries of North America	61	26
In order to combat international terrorism, Mexico should increase its requirements on people from other countries to enter and exit Mexican territory	74	39
It would be positive for the world if the Chinese economy grew to be as large as that of the United States	33	67
In the future, there will be more political integration between the countries of Latin America	64	31
Mexico should participate in helping to solve the grave problems in the world	29	61
International trade is good for the Mexican economy	59	90
Mexico should stay out of conflicts in Latin American countries	43	12
Admire the United States	34	64
Helping to bring democracy to other countries is a very important foreign policy objective for Mexico	47	18
The United Nations Security Council should have the right to authorize the use of military force to reestablish a democratic government that has been overthrown	54	25
Favors an agreement between Mexico and the United States in which the United States would provide financing for Mexico's economic development in Exchange for Mexico permitting foreign investment in oil, gas and electricity	29	58
The Mexican government should permit foreign investment in media companies, such as television stations and newspapers	41	69
It is better for Mexico's future that it stays out of world affairs	30	2
Agrees with the Mexican government's performance in foreign policy	65	38
Has lived in Latin America	3	29
Trusts the United States	25	51
Disdains the United States	32	7
Defines identity as Latin American	62	49

Who should determine foreign policy?

The new democratic context in Mexico is characterized by a divided government and the autonomy of the executive, legislative, and judicial branches. For the first time, an independent and pluralistic congress reviews and questions the executive's existing and proposed foreign policy. Disputes between the executive and legislative branches on foreign policy issues have brought international affairs to the fore in Mexico and have encouraged greater participation by a broad diversity of actors, such as state and local officials, business leaders, nongovernmental organizations, the mass media, and the general public.

In this light, the Mexican public and Mexican leaders were asked how much influence the following actors should have in formulating foreign policy: the majority of Mexicans, congress, the president, business leaders, and NGOs. A scale from 0 to 10 was used in which 0 means "not at all influential" and 10 means "extremely influential." Whereas the general population is most likely to say that public opinion should be extremely influential, 38%, followed by the 34% who say that the president should be extremely influential and only 22% who say congress should be so influential; leaders differ. Leaders are most likely to say that the president should be extremely influential, 43%, followed by the congress with 26%, and public opinion, with 20% saying that the opinion of the majority of Mexicans should be very influential. Neither the public nor leaders see an extremely influential role for societal actors in foreign policy-making. Only 7% of leaders say that business leaders and non-governmental organization should be extremely influential while 16% of the public believe that business leaders and should have this level of influence and 12% say that non-governmental organization should be so influential. (Tables 1.8 - 1.12)

Although the leaders and public disagree on whether the president should have the greatest influence in Mexican foreign policy, they do agree on the need for checks and balances. A majority of respondents in both groups support congressional oversight and approval of the president's foreign-policy actions. 67% of leaders and 71% of the public favor the president being required to request congress' approval to send armed forces abroad on non-combat missions. 91% of the leaders and 77% of the public believe that the country needs congress' approval to enter into negotiations for international treaties and agreements.

Table 1.8
Impact groups should have
on foreign policy
PUBLIC / LEADERS 2006

Please tell me, on a scale of 0 to 10, where 0 means should have no influence and 10 means should be extremely influential, how much influence should **the opinion of the majority if Mexicans** have in shaping Mexico's foreign policy?

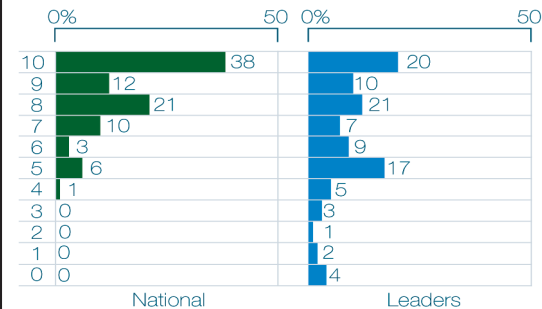


Table 1.9
Impact groups should have
on foreign policy
PUBLIC / LEADERS 2006

Please tell me, on a scale of 0 to 10, where 0 means should have no influence and 10 means should be extremely influential, how much influence should **the Congress** have in shaping Mexico's foreign policy?

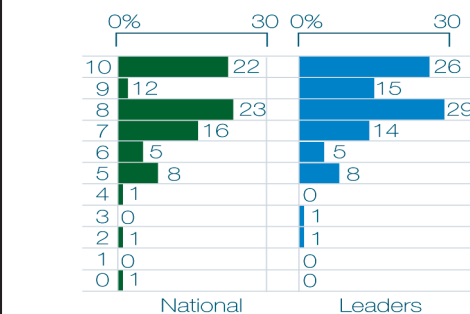


Table 1.10
Impact groups should have
on foreign policy
PUBLIC / LEADERS 2006

Please tell me, on a scale of 0 to 10, where 0 means should have no influence and 10 means should be extremely influential, how much influence should **the President** have in shaping Mexico's foreign policy?

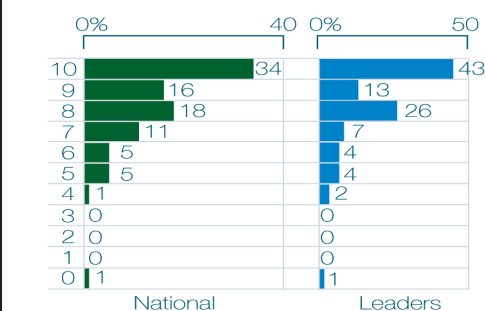


Table 1.11
Impact groups should have
on foreign policy
PUBLIC / LEADERS 2006

Please tell me, on a scale of 0 to 10, where 0 means should have no influence and 10 means should be extremely influential, how much influence should **Business Leaders** have in shaping Mexico's foreign policy?

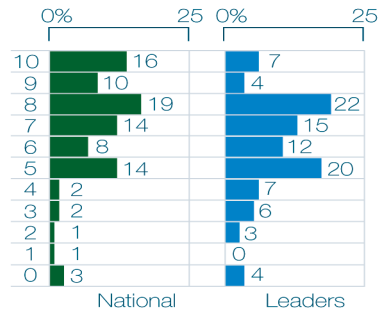
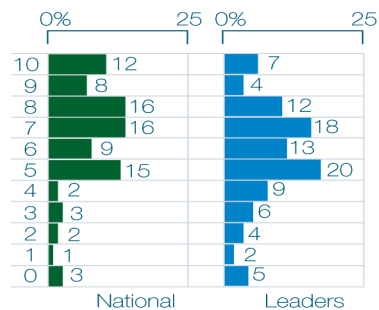


Table 1.12
Impact groups should have
on foreign policy
PUBLIC / LEADERS 2006

Please tell me, on a scale of 0 to 10, where 0 means should have no influence and 10 means should be extremely influential, how much influence should **non-governmental organizations** have in shaping Mexico's foreign policy?



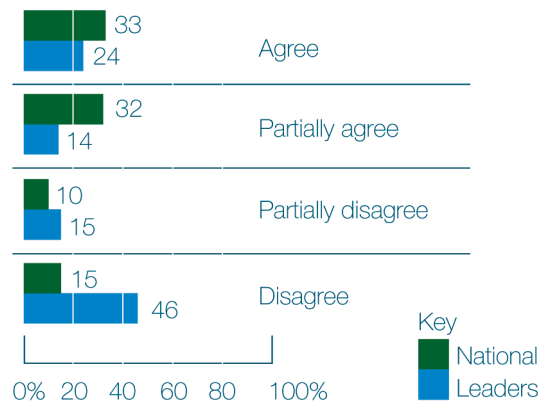
There is an important difference relative to a less crucial issue: authorization for the president to travel abroad. 52% of leaders and 72% of the general public agree that the president should continue to be required to receive congressional authorization to leave the country. 48% of leaders believe that the president should be able to leave the country without first seeking the approval of congress. It is somewhat amazing that a majority of leaders, many of whom are frequent international travelers, continue to support restrictions on the president's ability to travel. This apparent anomaly is just one more demonstration of leaders' generally traditional notions of foreign policy and the policy-making process.

Evaluation of government performance

Leaders and the public generally have widely differing opinions concerning the Mexican government's performance on foreign-policy issues. Leaders are much more critical of the current government's foreign policy than is the man or woman on the street. 61% of the leaders, but only 25% of the public, partially or completely disagree with the government's handling of international affairs while 65% of the public and 38% of the leaders totally or partially approve of the government's foreign-policy performance. (Table 1.13)

Table 1.13
GOVERNMENT'S PERFORMANCE
IN FOREIGN POLICY
PUBLIC / LEADERS 2006

Please tell me, do you agree or disagree with the Mexican government's performance in foreign policy?



When the question is phrased in terms of the president's overall performance, the gap narrows and leaders are less critical. 59% of the leaders and 72% of the public approve of President Fox's performance as President while 39% of the leaders and 25% of the public disapprove.

Leaders have more interest in, knowledge of, and contact with foreign countries

Not surprisingly, leaders are much more interested in all types of news, both national and international, than is the general population. 97% of the leaders -- 49 percentage points higher than in the case of the public -- are very interested in social and political

issues in Mexico; 83% percent are very interested in financial and economic issues, compared with 25% of the public; 84% in world events, which is 50 percentage points higher than the general population; and 89% in Mexico's relations with other countries, compared with 39% among the public.

It is not surprising, therefore, that a majority of the leaders, 56% are dissatisfied with the Mexican media's coverage of international affairs, although 40% find that coverage adequate.

Leaders also have a much higher level of contact with and exposure to other countries. Whereas 84% of leaders have traveled abroad eleven times or more, among the general public the figure is only 4%. 61% of the leaders have lived in the United States, 50% in Europe, and 29% in another Latin American country; the numbers among the general public are 14% for the United States, 3% for Europe, and 3% for Latin America. The knowledge difference between leaders and the general population is enormous. While 90% of leaders recognize the Spanish initials for the World Trade Organization, only 27% of average citizens do. However, not even the elites are familiar with some high priority foreign-policy initiatives of the current government such as the Security and Prosperity Partnership of North America (ASPPAN in its Spanish acronym).

National identity is strong among the leaders, but more identify themselves as "citizens of the world"

A majority of Mexicans have deeply nationalist sentiments rather than local ones, but among leaders the percentage is even higher. 83% of the leaders identify themselves most strongly as Mexican, compared with 64% of the public. Only 11% of leaders have a primarily local identity versus 34% of the public.

Both groups' single strongest external identity is as Latin American, 49% for leaders and 62% for the public. But leaders are more likely to identify themselves as citizens of the world: 39% compared to 22% of the public. The lowest percentage of respondents are those who identify themselves as North American (11% for leaders and 7% for average citizens).

The elites and the general population have very different views of cultural globalization. 34% of the general public is apprehensive about the spread of cultural influences from other countries into Mexico, while the leaders do not fear it. Indeed,

75% consider it beneficial for the country and only 6% see it as harmful.

The leaders are less alarmed by public-health threats

Leaders and the public rank drug-trafficking as the first threat to Mexico's most important interests in the coming 10 years, although concern is 13 percentage points higher among leaders, with 93%, than among the public, with 80%. There is general consensus between the two groups on many threats in the world, particularly security threats such as drug-trafficking, weapons of mass destruction, and international terrorism. But there are important differences between the two groups regarding social and economic threats.

While a large majority, 77%, of the Mexican public views potential epidemics such as avian flu and AIDS as serious threats, just over half, 54%, of the leaders agree. Leaders are also less concerned than the average citizen by world economic crises: 55% of the leaders versus 70% of the public view them as a serious threat. Nor are they as worried about undocumented immigration in Mexico: 26% of the leaders say it is serious versus 50% of the public. China's emergence as a global power is also less of a concern for leaders than for the public, with 39% versus 47%. In contrast, leaders are more concerned by economic competition from Asia: 45% of leaders versus 38% of the general population describe this as a serious threat.

The finding on leaders' lower degree of alarm over the rise of China is confirmed by another question on China: whether the growth of the Chinese economy to the size of the U.S. economy would have a positive or negative effect on the world. 67% of the leaders would expect such a development to be mostly positive while only one-third of the public shares this opinion and 38% would see such a change as mostly negative.

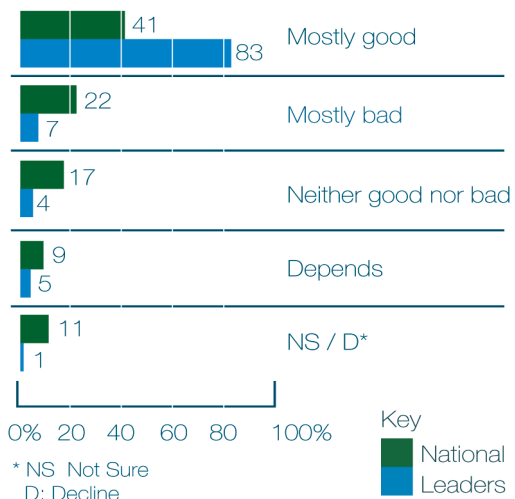
Leaders' positive view of globalization

An enormous gap divides leaders and the Mexican public regarding the benefits to Mexico of economic globalization. In the survey, globalization is defined as closer contact with other economies. The Mexican public is split over globalization, with 41% of respondents describing it as beneficial, 22% considering it harmful, and 26% volunteering that it is "neither good nor bad" or that "it depends". Leaders show hardly any disagreement over globalization's

benefits: 83% consider it positive and only 7% see it as mostly bad. As will be seen in chapters 3 and 4, Mexican leaders' overwhelming support for economic globalization is similar to that found in the United States and the emerging and developed countries of Asia, including China, South Korea, and Japan. (Table 1.14)

Table 1.14
GLOBALIZATION
PUBLIC / LEADERS 2006

Do you believe that the increasing contact of our economy with others around the world, what is known as globalization, is mostly good or mostly bad for Mexico?



This resounding support for globalization among leaders may stem from this group's much higher level of personal and professional interaction with the outside world. Moreover, this finding is consistent with leaders' highly favorable view of cultural globalization -- the spread of ideas and customs from other countries into Mexico.

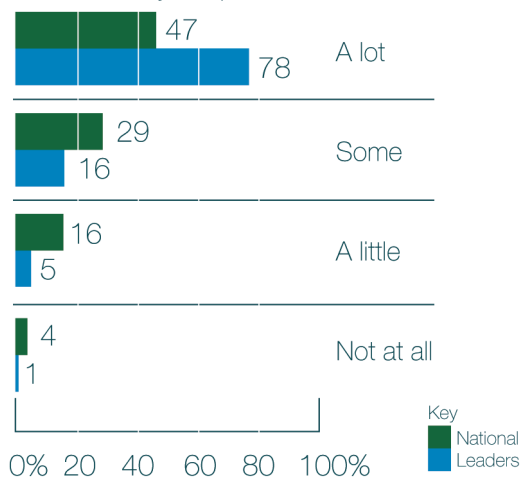
Greater support from leaders for foreign investment

Leaders harbor very few doubts over foreign investment's advantages for Mexico: 94% believe that the entry of foreign capital brings very or fairly strong benefits. An overwhelming 95% of leaders agree strongly or somewhat that the Mexican government should promote foreign investment. By contrast, the Mexican public has reservations: although 47% consider foreign investment to be

very beneficial to Mexico and 29% say Mexico derives some benefit from foreign investment, 20% say that it benefits little or not at all. Still, a large majority, 79%, of the public either strongly or somewhat agrees with the government promoting foreign investment. (Table 1.15)

Table 1.15
Foreign investment benefits Mexico?
PUBLIC / LEADERS 2006

How much does Mexico benefit from foreign investment, in your opinion?



Also noteworthy is the difference between leaders and the public on the question of opening up strategic sectors of the economy to foreign investment. Public opinion runs strongly against foreign investment in these areas while broad majorities of leaders support it. A clear majority of Mexicans oppose foreign investment in Mexico's strategic sectors such as electricity, with 68% opposed, natural gas, with 70%, oil production, exploration, and distribution, with 76%, government bonds, with 60%, communication and transportation infrastructure, with 58%, telecommunications companies, with 57%, and the mass media, with 54%. In contrast, 78% of leaders favor foreign investment in electricity; 76% support it in the gas industry; 62% in the exploration, production, and distribution of petroleum and petroleum products; 70% in government bonds; 82% in communication and transportation infrastructure; and 69% in newspapers, radio, and television. The difference of opinion between the leaders and the public is

truly surprising, since these issues have elicited much political controversy within both the elites and the population at large. The consensus among leaders is also unexpected given public disputes among them, particularly over foreign investment in oil and energy. (Table 1.16)

Greater reluctance among leaders toward measures to combat international terrorism

Both the Mexican public as well as the country's leaders take international terrorism very seriously. A majority of the public, 51%, favors a proposal that has generated considerable controversy through much of the country's history: allowing U.S. agents to collaborate with Mexican authorities in surveillance of Mexico's airports, ports and land borders. Unlike the general public in this case, leaders have traditionally assumed a stance in defense of

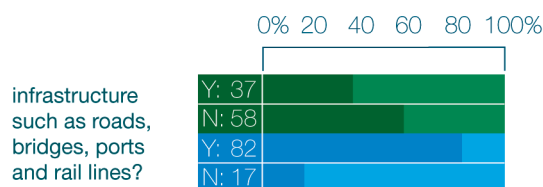
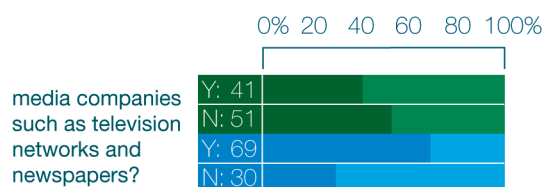
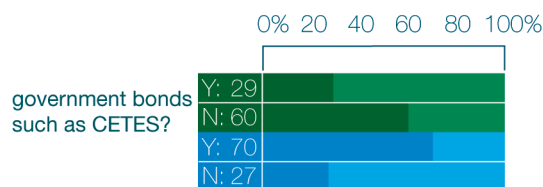
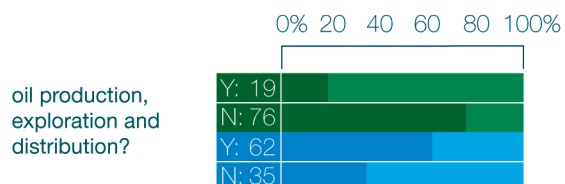
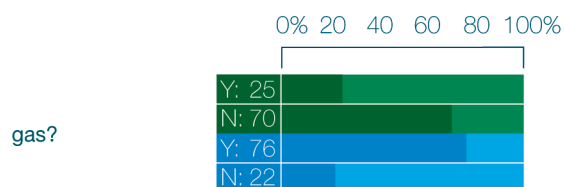
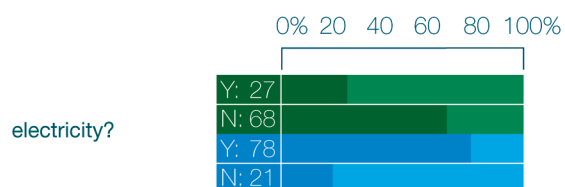
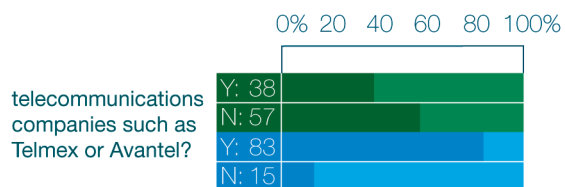
national sovereignty mostly in response to Mexico's geographic position as a neighbor of the United States. 68% of leaders compared to 38% of the public emphatically oppose allowing the presence of U.S. agents to jointly monitor Mexican airports, seaports, and borders to combat international terrorism. Only 29% of leaders support this type of joint action to fight international terrorism.

Likewise, a majority of leaders, 58%, also oppose proposals for Mexico to cooperate in the fight against terrorism by adopting more stringent entry and departure requirements for foreigners. In contrast, 74% of the general public supports greater immigration controls for security purposes. The only anti-terrorism policy on which leaders and the population agree is tightening controls on trans-shipments of merchandise. 79% of the public and 75% of leaders would approve of such tighter controls.

Table 1.16
Foreign investment in sectors
PUBLIC / LEADERS 2006

In your opinion, should the Mexican government permit foreigners to invest in:

Key
National Y: Yes
Leaders N: No



A higher percentage of leaders accept active internationalism

A majority of Mexicans, 56%, support the idea of Mexico taking a more active role in world affairs. Among leaders, support is much stronger, with 96% in favor. Moreover, while close to one-third of the general public considers that Mexico should stay out of world affairs, only 2% of the leaders agree. Leaders' greater knowledge and closer ties with the outside world may explain their more internationalist stance.

A slim majority of Mexicans, 52%, are "light internationalists" who believe that Mexico should participate to resolve only those international problems that have a direct bearing on domestic issues. Only 29% of the Mexican public can be considered "strongly internationalist," willing to see Mexico play an international role even in issues that do not affect it directly. In contrast, leaders appear to have a broader view of Mexico's role in the world. 61% of the leaders are "strongly internationalist" and 37% want the country to participate only in issues with a domestic impact. A mere 2% believe Mexico should remain on the sidelines.

Leaders indicate a strong commitment to strengthening the United Nations

Leaders and the public agree that Mexico should play an active role to strengthen the United Nations; 70% of the leaders and 56% of the general public ranked strengthening the United Nations as a very important goal for Mexican foreign policy. However, there are important differences between the two groups regarding the U.N.'s role and Mexico's cooperation.

A majority, 72%, of the public believes that the United Nations is very or somewhat effective at guaranteeing international security and peace but leaders are more skeptical; 51% percent of leaders believe that the United Nations carries out its security tasks effectively, while 49% believe that it does not. By comparison, 20% of the public shares this negative opinion.

Still, leaders are much more supportive than the general public, 64% to 46%, about joining multilateral decisions in the U.N. framework even if this means at times having to carry out actions contrary to Mexico's initial position.

Leaders' commitment to the United Nations is also strong even when the issues are more contentious. One key example is Mexico's role

in the Security Council in 2003, when the United States sought Security Council support for military action against Iraq. Mexico has rarely sought a non-permanent seat on the UNSC to avoid unnecessary friction with other countries, particularly the United States. Nevertheless, 71% of the leaders agree strongly or somewhat with Mexico once again seeking a non-permanent seat.

Leaders indicate greater commitment to multilateral economic institutions

One way to evaluate the multilateral outlook of the country's population and its leaders is to ask them if they are willing to abide by decisions of multilateral agencies that are contrary to Mexico's positions or that harm special domestic interests. In this case, 89% of the leaders believe that the government should always abide by decisions of the World Trade Organization, even when they go against Mexico's interests. In contrast, a much smaller majority, 53%, of the general population agrees that Mexico should follow contrary WTO rulings; 21% are adamantly opposed and 18% volunteer the answer that "it depends" on the circumstances.

Leaders' greater willingness to cooperate with the United States

The respondents were asked to rank their opinion on the nature of Mexico's relationship with the United States on a scale of 0 to 10. A score of 0 means they reject cooperation with the United States and 10 means they support complete cooperation. Leaders gave the relationship an average score of 8 and the public gave it 7. This willingness to cooperate with the United States appears to be related to considerations of interest more than empathy: 76% of the leaders and 50% of the general population describe the United States primarily as a partner of Mexico, while lower percentages, 19% of the leaders and 36% of the public, consider it to be a friend.

Sentiments toward the United States are more favorable among the leaders than among the general population. 51% of the leaders versus 25% of the public indicate that they trust the United States; whereas 41% of the leaders and 53% of the general public distrust it. The gap between leaders and the population is broader in the case of sentiments of admiration or disdain. A majority of leaders, 64%, express admiration and only 7%

disdain, while the general population is more evenly divided, with 34% expressing admiration, 25% indifference, and 32% disdain.

This difference in opinions is also clear through a comparison of the two groups' perceptions on the effects of Mexico's geographic proximity to the United States. 85% of the leaders consider being a neighbor of the United States more of an advantage than a disadvantage, and only 13% have the opposite view. Among the general population, a smaller majority, 52%, agree that it is more of an advantage, while 39% say it is more of a problem.

Despite leaders' strong support for cooperation with the United States, this group is equally divided on what is better for Mexico in North America -- coordination with Canada to defend its interests vis-à-vis the United States, with 47% in favor, or seeking special treatment with the United States regardless of its relationship with Canada, with 45%. In contrast, 50% of the public favors seeking special treatment and only 27% would prefer a partnership with Canada.

Leaders' more cooperative attitude toward the United States is also seen in their greater willingness to extradite crime suspects: 86% of the leaders versus 59% of the general public completely agree with cooperating to extradite fugitives and prevent them from escaping justice in the United States and Mexico. Similarly, a broad majority of leaders think that in the future there should be greater integration among Mexico, the United States, and Canada to fight organized crime, with 92%, defend themselves against external threats, with 72%, and monitor the borders, with 78%.

However, leaders are less inclined than the general population to approve of cooperation with the United States when they perceive Mexico's national sovereignty to be at risk. 54% of leaders would not support an agreement with the United States to allow the presence of U.S. immigration agents at Mexican airports to streamline immigration procedures for U.S.-bound passengers. In contrast, 56% of the Mexican public would agree to this type of cooperation.

Public opinion and leaders are also divided over the hypothetical idea of an energy agreement with the United States in exchange for Mexico receiving financial assistance for its economic development. A majority of leaders, 58%, would support an agreement under which the United States would offer greater funding for economic development in exchange for Mexico's consent to allow more foreign investment in oil, gas, and electricity sectors.

But 52% of the Mexican public would oppose such a tradeoff.

The relationship with Cuba and Venezuela

Both the public and leaders agree on participating in international efforts to improve the human rights situation in Cuba, with 67% and 66% in favor respectively. Leaders have a slightly less favorable opinion of Cuba: on the scale of sentiments toward other countries, from 0 to 100, leaders give Cuba a score of 51 while the general population gives it 59. Similarly, a larger percentage of leaders than citizens consider Cuba to be Mexico's rival, 21% versus 16%, or a threat, 17% versus 10%. Similar proportions in both groups describe Cuba primarily a friend, 44% and 43%. The recent diplomatic tensions between Mexico and Venezuela appear to have had more of an effect among the leaders than among the general population. Only 24% of the leaders consider Venezuela a friend of Mexico, while 45% of the public say it is. While 30% of the leaders consider Venezuela a threat to Mexico and 24% see it as a rival, only 6% of the public see it as threat and 14% as a rival.

Conclusions

Mexico's general public and its leaders strongly agree on the more general aspects of Mexico's relationship with the world. Both groups have a pragmatic view of foreign-policy objectives and goals and both prefer active diplomacy. In economic affairs they both prefer free trade. They are pessimistic regarding the direction of world events. They oppose a unilateral role by the United States as the unchallenged superpower and both favor the multilateral use of force when necessary. They also agree that Mexico should serve as a bridge between Latin America and North America and avoid seeking a leadership role in the region.

Nevertheless, there are also many differences between public opinion and the leaders group which reflect an important level of disagreement. In general, leaders are stronger supporters of globalization and foreign investment. They are more committed to multilateralism and are staunch defenders of internationalism. In most cases, they favor greater cooperation with the United States. They are aware of changing international conditions, and they are better informed and in closer contact with foreign countries.

Comparing Mexico's Leaders

Mexico's leaders on foreign policy and international affairs are a diverse group. This year's survey used five sub-samples of leaders from different groups that have interests or job responsibilities in international affairs. The five sub-samples are federal and state government public servants (Government), elected officials and political party leaders (Politics), corporate executives (Business), journalists, commentators, and academics (Media and Academics) and leaders from civil society groups such as non-governmental organizations, unions, and religious organizations (NGOs). This chapter of the comparative report will illuminate where there is convergence and divergence in attitudes and beliefs among different groups of leaders. The sampling methodology for this leaders' survey is not probabilistic and a margin of error cannot be calculated. Because of the small numbers included in groups of leaders, this report will emphasize only large differences between groups (>15%).

The first section of this chapter will review results on leaders' interest in international affairs, their levels of contact with the world and their feelings of identity. The second section will assess their sense of confidence and security in the world, the role they believe Mexico should play in international affairs, and their opinions on the Mexican foreign policymaking process. The third section deals with leaders' attitudes toward the workings of the international political and economic systems. The fourth section will discuss leaders' sentiment on North American relations and compare this to their beliefs on Latin American relations.

Interest, contact and identity

Mexico's leaders in international affairs are most interested in news about Mexico's social and political conditions: 97% say they are very interested. They are also very interested in news about Mexico's relations with other countries, with 89% very interested, events in other countries, with 84% very interested, and news about finance and

the economy, with 83%. Unfortunately, they also believe that the Mexican media do not provide enough coverage of international news. 56% say the media provide too little coverage, 40% say the coverage is just enough, and only 4% say that there is too much coverage. Responses among the groups of leaders do not differ substantially. The exceptions are leaders in the Media and Academics group: 25% say there is too much coverage of international news.

The leaders surveyed in this study have a great deal of contact with the world, because of both their job responsibilities and their personal experience outside of Mexico. 84% of them have traveled outside of Mexico eleven or more times and only 1% have never left the country.

The leaders also have lived outside of Mexico. 61% have lived in the United States: the numbers increase to 73% for Business leaders and drop to 54% for Government leaders. 50% of the leaders have lived in Europe: 72% of the Media and Academics group have lived there as have 59% of the NGO leaders, but only 39% of Government leaders have lived in Europe. The number falls for those who have lived in Latin America: 29% have lived in Latin American countries with 44% of those in the Media and Academics group and 42% of NGO leaders, but only 17% of Government leaders. Business leaders are more likely to have lived in Canada, with 31%, than are Government leaders, with 9%. 18% of all leaders have lived in some other region than those named above. (Table 2.1)

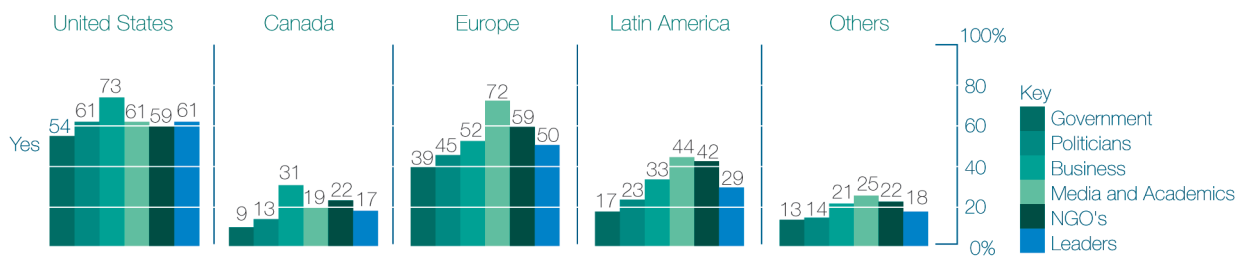
The leaders overwhelmingly identify themselves as Mexican, 83%, rather than from their state, 11%, but they divide on whether they feel more Latin American, 49%, North American, 11%, or a citizen of the world, 39%.

Mexico's role in world affairs and the foreign policymaking process

The cosmopolitan nature of Mexico's foreign policy leaders is evident not only through their contact

Table 2.1**Lived abroad****LEADERS 2006**

Have you ever lived in the United States, Canada, Europe, Latin America or any other country, to study, work or for personal reasons?



with the world, but is also reflected in their openness to cultural globalization. When asked whether they believe it is good or bad for ideas and customs from other countries to spread in Mexico, 75% say it is good and only 6% say it is bad, with 19% volunteering that "it depends."

Yet they are quite pessimistic about the direction of the world; 61% either somewhat or strongly disagree that the world is going in the right direction. Media and Academics are more pessimistic than other groups, with 77% who disagree, and Business leaders are less pessimistic, with 54%. Only 8% of all leaders strongly agree that the world is going in the right direction.

This pessimism is reflected in their perceptions of potential threats to Mexico's important interests in the next ten years. Overwhelmingly, leaders in all the groups cite drug trafficking as the most serious threat facing Mexico over the next ten years; 93% say it is a grave threat. The next most serious threat to Mexico's interests is global warming, with 73% who say it is a grave threat, followed by international terrorism, with 71%, and weapons of mass destruction, with 64%.

Media and academics are more likely than those in other groups to cite world economic crisis, international terrorism as a grave threat. NGO leaders are more likely to cite the hardening of US immigration policy, international terrorism and weapons of mass destruction as grave threats.

Drug trafficking is considered both a domestic problem, because of the insecurity caused within Mexico by drug cartels and the cartels' corruption of government institutions, as well as a bilateral issue with the U.S. But all of the other grave threats cited derive from forces well beyond Mexico's control. This perception of numerous threats may be behind leaders' pessimism about the world's direction.

Leaders do not consider the rise of China as a world power or the migration of undocumented foreigners into Mexican territory to be grave threats. Only 39% of leaders see China as a grave threat and only 26% say that undocumented foreigners are a serious threat. All groups of leaders ranked these two concerns among the bottom three potential grave threats. Nor are leaders too worried about economic competition from Asian countries.

In sum, leaders believe that drug trafficking, which directly affects the everyday lives of Mexicans is, without question, the most serious threat. Next, come three amorphous dangers -- global warming, international terrorism, and weapons of mass destruction -- over which Mexico has very little control but which have the potential to cause great harm to Mexico and the world. The middle-ranked threats vary from group to group, but generally include the hardening of U.S. immigration policy, world economic crisis, epidemics, religious and ethnic conflict, and economic competition from Asian countries. The threat least likely to be perceived as grave is the entrance of undocumented foreigners into Mexico. (Table 2.2) As we saw in Chapter 1 of this report, leaders may not be concerned about this issue, but the public is.

However, leaders do not translate their perception of grave threats to Mexico into foreign-policy priorities, with the exception of combating international drug trafficking. The four most important foreign-policy goals for leaders, ranked by the percentage who believe each is very important, are protecting the interests of Mexicans in other countries, with 92%, promoting Mexican exports, 90%, and combating international drug trafficking and attracting foreign direct investment, with 85% for each of these objectives.

Table 2.2**Threats****LEADERS 2006**

Key

■ Leaders

Grave threat (%)

You see drug trafficking as:	93
You see global warming (world environmental problems) as:	73
You see international terrorism as:	71
You see weapons of mass destruction (chemical, biological, or nuclear) as:	64
You see the hardening of US immigration policy as:	57
You see world economic crises as:	55
You see potential epidemics like AIDS and Avian flu (bird flu) as:	54
You see violent conflicts due to religious and ethnic difference as:	47
You see economic competition from Asian countries as:	45
You see the development of China as a world power as:	39
You see the entrance of undocumented foreigners (immigrants) into Mexican territory as:	26

The only large difference among the groups is that many more leaders in the NGO group consider strengthening the United Nations to be a very important foreign policy goal, 85%, tied for second place with promoting exports. That compares with 70% for leaders overall. Considering how important NGOs are for much of the United Nations' work and how much the United Nations has opened itself up to collaboration with NGOs, this result is not so surprising.

Lower down on the list are: protecting Mexico's land and sea borders, 66%; helping to stop the spread of nuclear weapons, 64%; and combating international terrorism 62%. These objectives are lower priorities even though they address threats the leaders described as very serious.

Leaders were least likely to consider the next foreign-policy goals very important: controlling the entrance of undocumented foreigners into Mexican territory, with 46%; promoting human rights, 43%; helping developing countries improve their standard of living, 41%; and promoting democracy in other countries, 18%. (Table 2.3)

Much of the foreign-policy agenda of the Fox government emphasized a new role for Mexico in the world as a defender of human rights and as a promoter of development in poor countries. The survey results show that leaders do not believe these should be Mexico's most important foreign-policy goals and they do not approve of the

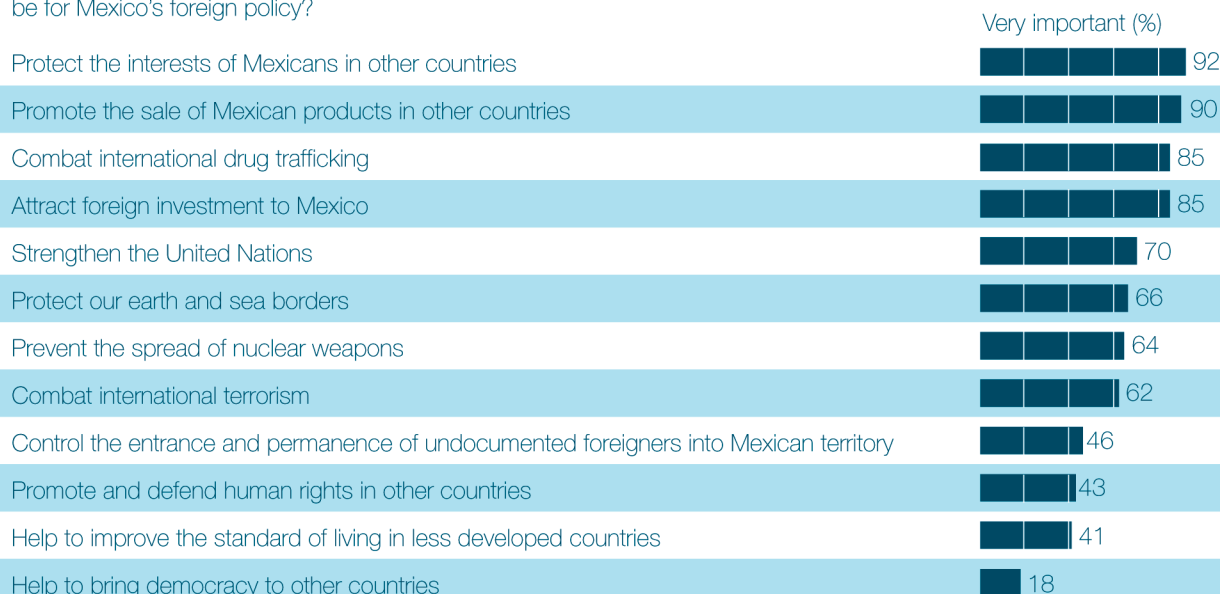
government's performance in foreign policy. 61% either partially disagree (15%) or disagree (46%) with the government's handling of foreign policy. Only 38% either partially agree (14%) or agree (24%) with it. Media and Academics are most strongly opposed to the government's foreign policy; 72% of them say that they disagree. Government leaders are most supportive, although less than a majority, 48%, agree (with 33% who agree and 15% who partially agree) and 50% either partially disagree (9%) or disagree (41%).

When asked who should have most influence on the foreign policy-making process, leaders are most likely to say that the president should be extremely influential. 43% give the president 10 on a scale of 0 to 10 with 0 being not at all influential and 10 being extremely influential. 53% of Government leaders and 50% of Politicians say that the president should be extremely influential, but only 22% of Media and Academics and 37% of NGO leaders agree. After the president, leaders are most likely to say that Congress should be extremely influential, with 26% scoring the Congress at 10. NGO leaders, with 39%, Government, with 30%, and Politicians, with 29% were most likely to give Congress a score of 10. Media and Academic leaders were least likely to say that Congress should be extremely influential: only 8% of them gave the Congress a score of 10. 20% of all leaders say that the opinion of the majority of Mexicans should be extremely influential, with no

Table 2.3
Foreign Policy Goals
LEADERS 2006

Key
■ Leaders

Please tell me, how important should each of the following goals be for Mexico's foreign policy?



large differences between groups of leaders. Finally, non-governmental organizations and business leaders were ranked last in terms of how influential they should be: both scored 10 among just 7% of leaders.

Although leaders support an extremely influential role for the President in foreign policy, they do want congressional checks on his power. Almost all leaders, 91%, say that the President should be required to receive congressional approval for negotiating and approving international treaties. 67% say congressional approval should be required before the President may send Mexican military forces to help in other countries. And even 52% of this cosmopolitan group of frequent fliers say that the President should receive congressional approval before traveling abroad! Majorities of all groups agree, except for Business leaders, but even there, a large minority, 40%, believe the president needs congressional approval!

Mexico, the United Nations and multilateralism

Leaders are committed to multilateralism through the United Nations. When asked whether Mexico

should be willing to make decisions within the United Nations framework even if this means that Mexico will sometimes have to go along with a decision that it would not have preferred, 64% of leaders agree. Business leaders are the strongest multilateralists: 77% agree. Intriguingly those in the NGO group, who are most likely to say that strengthening the U.N. is a very important foreign-policy goal, are least likely to support Mexico making decisions within the U.N. framework: only 59% agree except for those in Government where a nearly equal percentage (58%) agree. This may be because, as in the case of the public, rhetorical support for the idea of the United Nations, as expressed in the importance of strengthening the U.N. as a foreign policy objective, is stronger than actual support, as expressed in willingness to accept decisions that are not what would have been preferred.

Strengthening the United Nations, a traditional goal of Mexico's multilateral foreign policy, while not top-ranked, is considered relatively important by all of the groups. However, leaders divide over whether the U.N. is actually effective in doing its most important job, guaranteeing international peace and security. Very few say the U.N. is either very effective (7%) or not effective at all (8%). Roughly equal numbers say

that it is either somewhat effective, with 44%, or only a little effective, 41%.

As part of its task to keep international peace and security, the United Nations Security Council may authorize the use of force by member-nations to combat threats. Leaders believe that the Security Council should have this right only in some circumstances. There is overwhelming support, 87%, for the right of the Security Council to authorize the use of military force to prevent severe human rights violations such as mass killings and genocide. There is also strong support, 65%, to defend a country that has been attacked. A majority of leaders, 57%, also agree that the Security Council should have the right to authorize force to stop a country from supporting terrorist groups. However, on this question, opinions differ by groups. While 75% of Business leaders, 61% of Politicians, and 59% of Government leaders

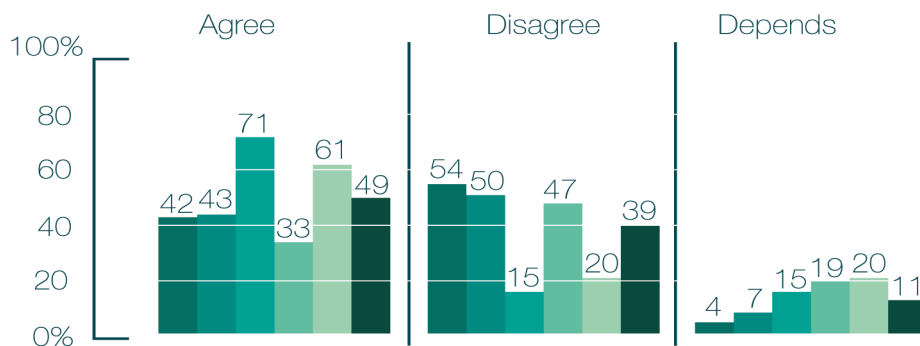
say the Security Council should have the right, only 31% of Media and Academics and 49% of the NGO leaders agree. 50% of Media and Academics say it should not have the right (17% volunteered the answer that it depends) and 29% of NGO leaders say it should not, with 22% saying that it depends.

Nearly half, 49%, believe that the Security Council should have the right to authorize the use of force to prevent a country that does not have nuclear weapons from acquiring them, but 39% say it should not and 11% say it depends. Business, with 71%, and NGO leaders, with 61%, were most supportive of this and Media and Academics were least supportive (33% say it should, 47% say it should not, and 19% say it depends). Majorities of Government leaders, 54%, and Politicians, 50%, say that the Security Council should not have the right to authorize force to prevent a country from acquiring nuclear weapons.

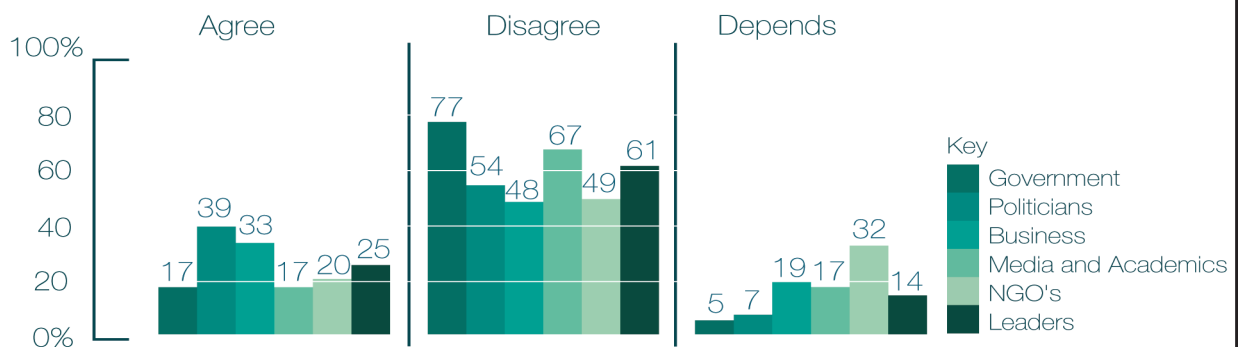
Table 2.4
When UNSC can authorize the use of force
LEADERS 2006

The Security Council is one of the most important bodies of the UN. Do you think that the UN Security Council should or should not have the right to authorize the use of military force in which of the following circumstances?

To prevent a country that does not have nuclear weapons from acquiring them



To restore by force a democratic government that has been overthrown



Leaders are against the right of the Security Council to authorize the use of force to restore a democratic government that has been overthrown; 61% say it should not have this right and only 25% say that it should. Government leaders were most strongly opposed, with 77%, and opposition was weakest among Business leaders (48% say it should not, 33% say it should and 19% say it depends). This strong rejection by Government leaders is surely related to their more traditional notions, in the Mexican context, of state sovereignty and their strong attachment to the principle of non-intervention. (Table 2.4)

Mexico has participated three times in the U.N. Security Council as a non-permanent member, many fewer times than other Latin American countries. Part of Mexico's earlier reluctance to seeking the non-permanent seat for Latin America stems from its traditional and constitutional principle of non-intervention in the internal affairs of other countries. Security Council participation is also seen as problematic because it could cause conflict in Mexico's most important bilateral relationship with the United States, as it did in 2003 when the United States sought Security Council authorization for the use of force in Iraq.

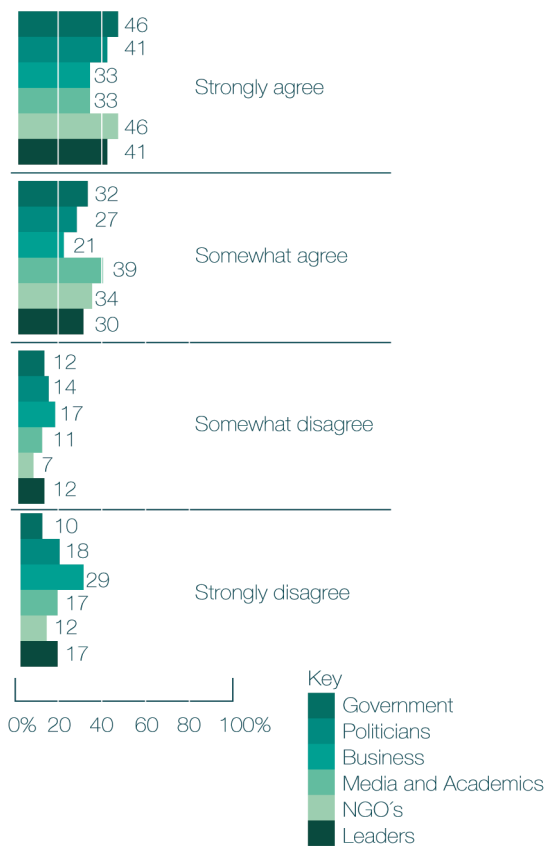
Still, Mexico is currently seeking a new term as the Latin American non-permanent member for the period 2009-2010. Leaders strongly support this with 71% who either strongly, 41%, or somewhat, 30%, agree. There are few differences among the groups. Business leaders are least supportive, with 54% who strongly or somewhat agree; while NGOs are most supportive, with 80% who either strongly or somewhat agree. (Table 2.5) NGO leaders' support reaffirms the importance they place on strengthening the United Nations as well as their belief that the U.N. has been effective in guaranteeing international peace and security.

Business leaders are most likely to strongly disagree; 29% of them strongly disagree, while for all leaders only 17% strongly disagree and only 10% of those in Government strongly disagree. This difference is likely explained by Business leaders' concern that a non-permanent seat could generate discord with the United States that might disrupt their business plans or even hurt profits.

Leader support divides when asked about Mexican participation in U.N. peacekeeping missions; 49% say that Mexico should participate and 49% say that Mexico should leave this type of activity to other countries. Breaking down the opinions among leader groups, it is clear that only

Table 2.5
Being a member of the UN's Security Council
LEADERS 2006

How much do you agree with Mexico seeking once again to become a non-permanent member of the UN's Security Council?

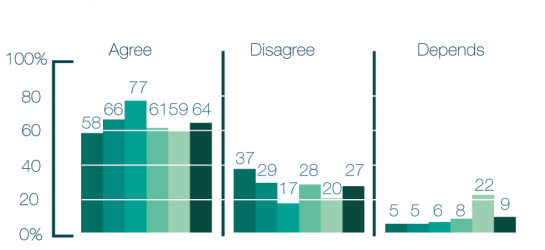


one group actually opposes Mexican participation in peacekeeping; 57% of Politicians say Mexico should not take part. But 50% of Government leaders, 54% of Business leaders, and 56% of Media and Academics say that Mexico should participate. A plurality, 49%, of NGO leaders agree that Mexico should participate and 46% say it should not. (Table 2.6)

Mexican leaders' multilateralism extends beyond the United Nations. When asked whether Mexico should comply with World Trade Organization rulings that go against Mexico, fully 89% of leaders say that it should and only 2% say that it should not (9% volunteered that it depends). Leaders also believe that countries that are part of international trade agreements should be required to maintain minimum standards for working conditions, with 87% who agree, and for environmental protection, with 92%.

Table 2.6
MEXICO-UN JOINT DECISION MAKING
LEADERS 2006

When dealing with international problems, Mexico should be willing to make decisions within the United Nations even if this means that Mexico will sometimes have to go along with a decision that it would not have preferred.



International trade and investment

Leaders broadly support increased international trade and policies to stimulate foreign investment in Mexico. 84% of leaders strongly agree with Mexico increasing its international trade and 80% strongly agree that the government stimulates foreign investment. There are no notable differences among groups of leaders. However, they do not believe that the government should continue signing new free trade agreements. Fully 75% say that it would be best for the country if the government focuses on those free trade agreements that already exist; only 24% say that it would be best for the government to sign new agreements.

One existing agreement that is of concern to leaders is the North American Free Trade Agreement. Mexico's recent presidential election featured calls by some candidates and congressional leaders for Mexico to seek to reopen NAFTA's agricultural chapters. Despite their broad support for trade, leaders are clearly concerned about some effects of NAFTA. When asked whether NAFTA should stay the way it is, with Mexico continuing to enjoy its benefits, or whether Mexico should seek to renegotiate some parts of the agreement (mainly within the agricultural sector) even though it may lose some of those benefits, a significant majority, 61%, say that NAFTA should be renegotiated. Only Politicians do not completely agree; 50% say it should stay the same and 46% say it should be renegotiated.

There is strong support for government policies that stimulate foreign investment; 80% of leaders strongly agree that the government should stimulate

investment and another 15% somewhat agree. These results are not surprising given that 78% say that Mexico benefits a lot from foreign investment and only 6% say that it benefits only a little or not at all.

The leaders also overwhelmingly say that international trade is good for the Mexican economy, with 90% who agree, and good for the standard of living of people like themselves, also with 90%. They believe that trade is good for job creation in Mexico, with 82%, good for Mexican business, with 78%, good for reducing poverty in Mexico, 71%, and good for the environment, with 53%. However, they disagree over whether trade is good for Mexican agriculture and the countryside (el campo). Only 46% of all leaders say international trade is good for el campo and 35% say it is bad (19% volunteered that it depends). Those in the Media and Academic and the NGO groups agree that it is bad for el campo, with 56% for both groups. But majorities of those in the Government and Politicians groups, both with 54%, and Business, with 58%, say that international trade is good for el campo. (Tables 2.7 – 2.14)

Their support for foreign investment even extends to sensitive sectors of the economy where laws or the constitution now restrict it. The political debate over foreign investment in energy has been especially strong. 83% of leaders say that the Mexican government should permit foreign investment in telecommunications companies such as Telmex or Avantel, and 82% believe that it should be permitted in infrastructure projects such as roads, bridges, ports, and railways. 78% agree with foreign investment in the electricity sector, and 76% agree with it in gas. 70% believe that the government should permit foreign investment in government bonds such as Cetes, although NGO leaders split on this issue with 49% saying yes and 46% saying no. Leaders also believe that the government should permit foreign investment in media companies, with 69% who agree.

Leaders even believe that the government should permit foreign investment in the exploration, production and distribution of petroleum, political rhetoric notwithstanding! 62% of all leaders say that the government should permit such investment with majorities of all groups of leaders agreeing. Business leaders most strongly support this, with 83%, while Media and Academic leaders, with 56% and NGO leaders, with 54%, are most reluctant. A slightly smaller percentage of leaders, 58%, agree with allowing U.S. investment in oil and energy in exchange for the United States providing greater development assistance to Mexico. (Table 2.15)

Table 2.7
BENEFITS FROM
INTERNATIONAL TRADE
LEADERS 2006

Overall, so you think international trade is good or bad for the U.S. economy?

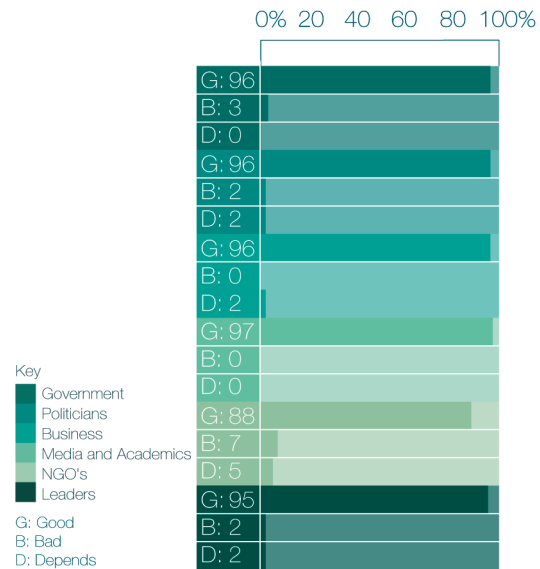


Table 2.8
BENEFITS FROM
INTERNATIONAL TRADE
LEADERS 2006

Overall, so you think international trade is good or bad for the environment?

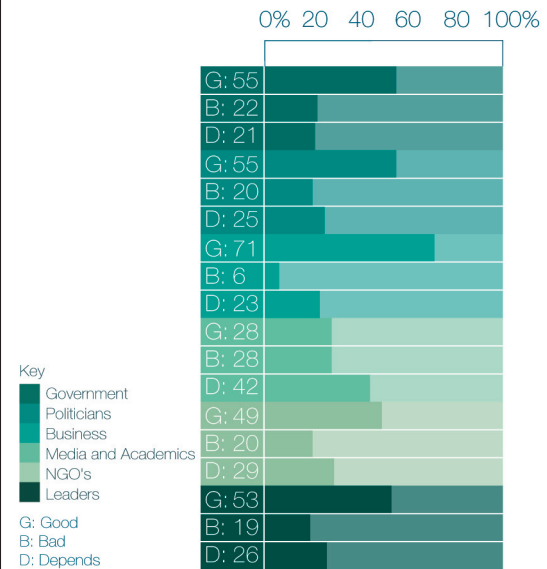


Table 2.9
BENEFITS FROM
INTERNATIONAL TRADE
LEADERS 2006

Overall, so you think international trade is good or bad for the Mexican economy?

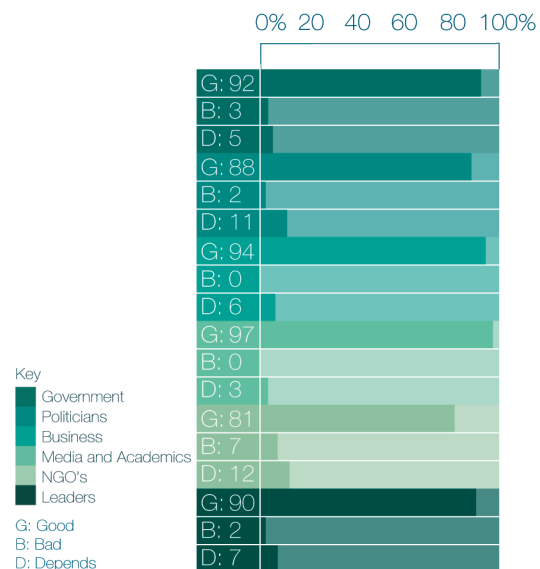


Table 2.10
BENEFITS FROM
INTERNATIONAL TRADE
LEADERS 2006

Overall, so you think international trade is good or bad for the living standard of people like you?

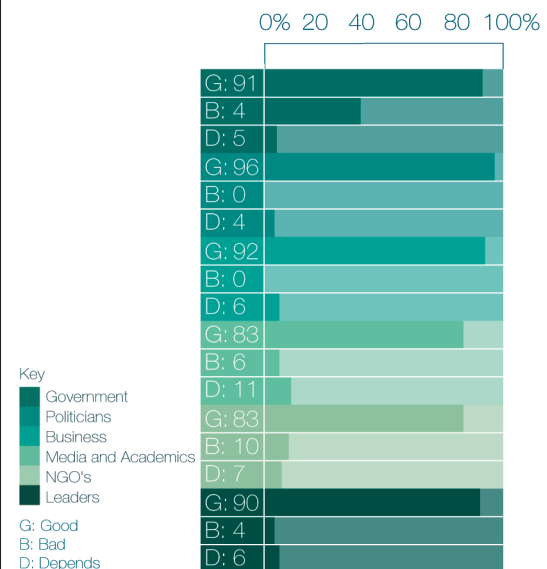


Table 2.11
BENEFITS FROM
INTERNATIONAL TRADE
LEADERS 2006

Overall, so you think international trade is good or bad for job creation in Mexico?

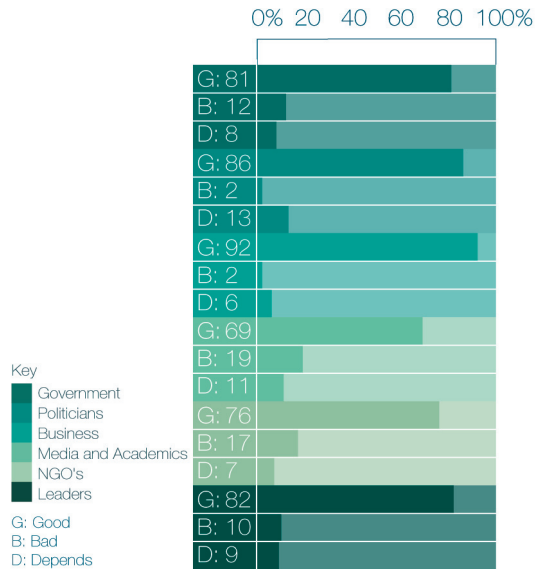


Table 2.12
BENEFITS FROM
INTERNATIONAL TRADE
LEADERS 2006

Overall, so you think international trade is good or bad for Mexican business?

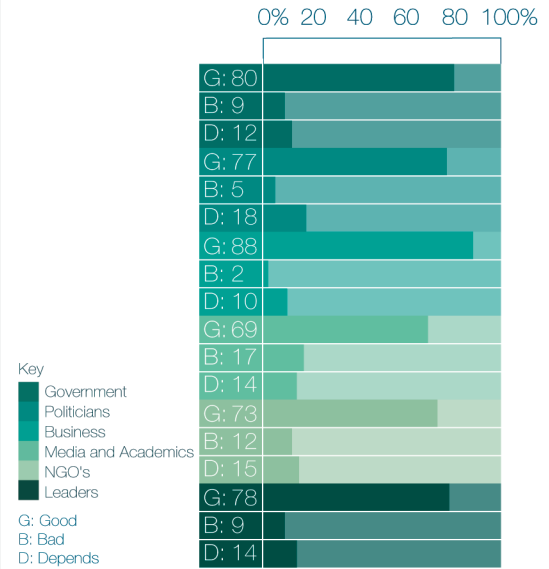


Table 2.13
BENEFITS FROM
INTERNATIONAL TRADE
LEADERS 2006

Overall, so you think international trade is good or bad for the Mexican countryside?

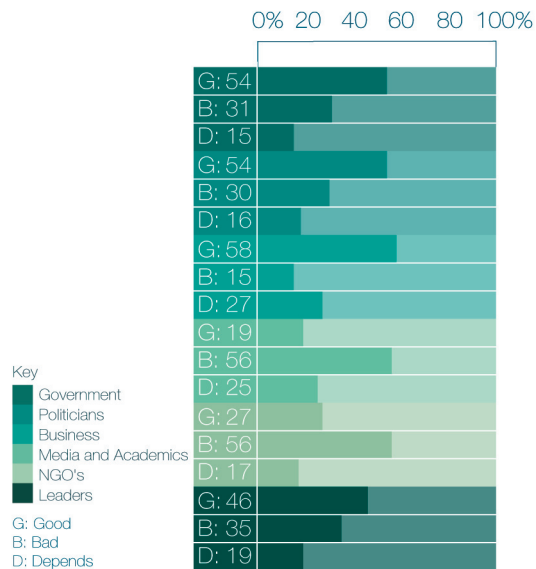


Table 2.14
BENEFITS FROM
INTERNATIONAL TRADE
LEADERS 2006

Overall, so you think international trade is good or bad for reducing poverty in Mexico?

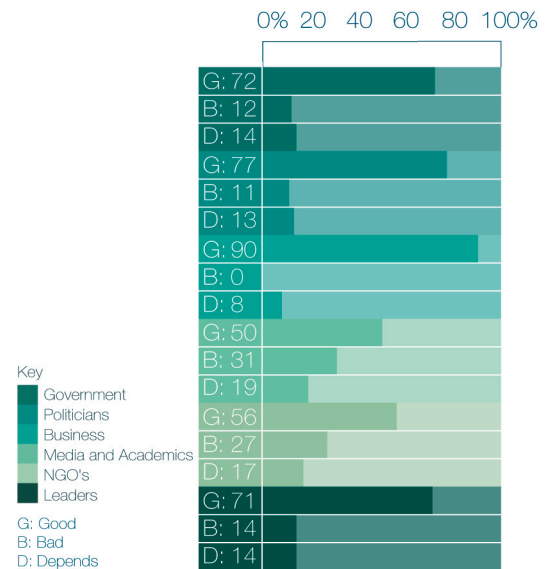


Table 2.15
Foreign investment in sectors
LEADERS 2006

In your opinion, should the Mexican government permit foreigners to invest in:

Key
■ Leaders
Y: Yes
N: No

0% 20 40 60 80 100%

telecommunications companies such as Telmex or Avantel



electricity



gas



oil production, exploration and distribution



government bonds such as CETES



media companies such as television networks and newspapers



infrastructure such as roads, bridges, ports and rail lines



Mexico – United States Relations and North America

Mexico's most important and complex relationship is with the United States. The myriad issues which intertwine the two countries go far beyond the traditional realm of foreign policy to include day-to-day concerns that involve federal, state and local governments on both sides of the border. Tradition has it that being the U.S.'s neighbor is and always will be a trial for Mexico, as reflected in Porfirio Díaz's famous quip, "Poor Mexico, so far from God, so close to the United States."

Tradition, however, doesn't reflect reality. An overwhelming majority, 85%, believe that being a neighbor of the United States is an advantage; only 13% say it is problem. Business leaders are most likely to see being a neighbor of the U.S. as an advantage, 94%, and NGO leaders are most likely to see it as more of a problem, 27%, although a strong majority, 73%, still see it as an advantage.

Leaders' personal feelings toward the United States are also relatively positive. A slim majority, 51%, say that they trust the United States; 41% distrust the United States. A larger majority, 64%, say that they admire the United States while only 7% say that they disdain it.

Leaders believe that many of the common

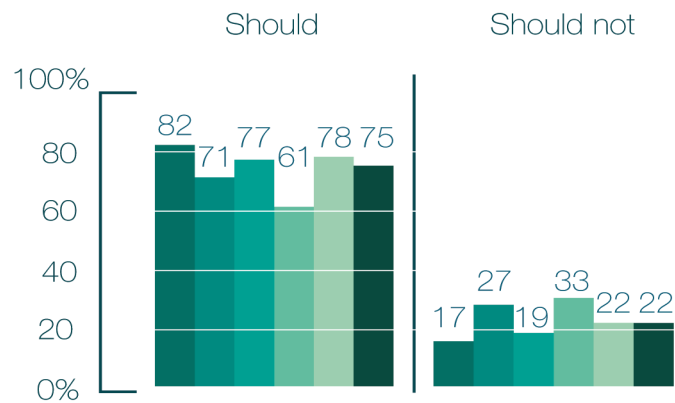
problems that arise between Mexico and the United States can best be resolved through cooperation. On a scale of 0 to 10, with 0 meaning no cooperation and 10 meaning complete cooperation, more leaders say that there should be very high levels of cooperation between the two countries. 51% graded the preferred level of cooperation at 8 or higher; 45% graded the preferred level of cooperation at between 5 and 7, and only 4% say that the preferred level should be between 0 and 4.

This personal support for high levels of cooperation with the United States extends to specific measures to help in combating international terrorism, but only when these measures do not infringe upon Mexican sovereignty. Three-quarters of the leaders support increasing controls on the movement of goods through Mexico's borders, ports and airports to combat international terrorism but a majority, 58%, do not agree that Mexico should increase its entrance and exit requirements for people from other countries. 68% do not support permitting American officials to participate with Mexican officials in guarding Mexico's airports, ports, and borders. Government leaders are most likely, with 82%, to agree to increasing controls on the movement of goods through borders and NGO leaders are most likely, with 51%, to say that Mexico should increase its entrance and exit requirements. (Table 2.16)

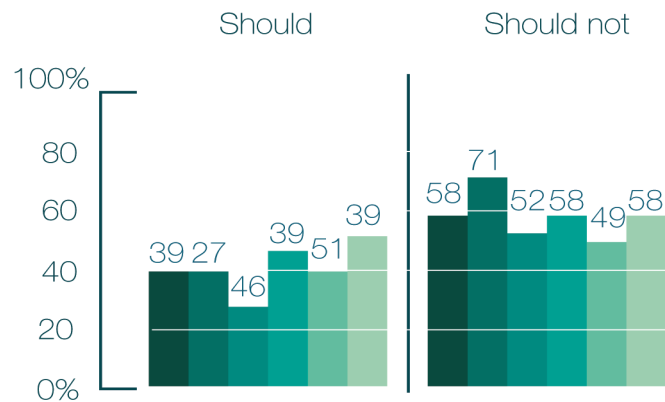
Table 2.16
ACTIONS AGAINST TERRORISM
LEADERS 2006

Please tell me, in order to combat international terrorism, Mexico should or should not?

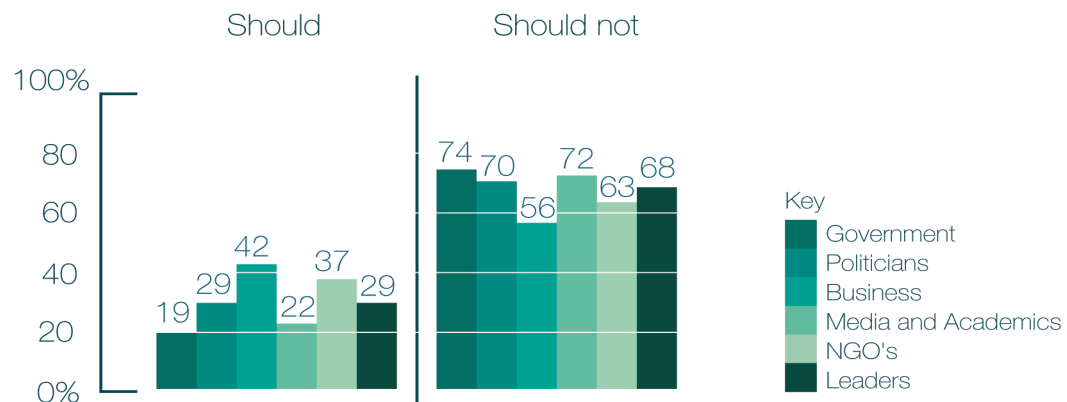
Increase controls on the movement of goods through Mexico's borders, ports and airports



Increase Mexico's entrance and exit requirements for people from other countries



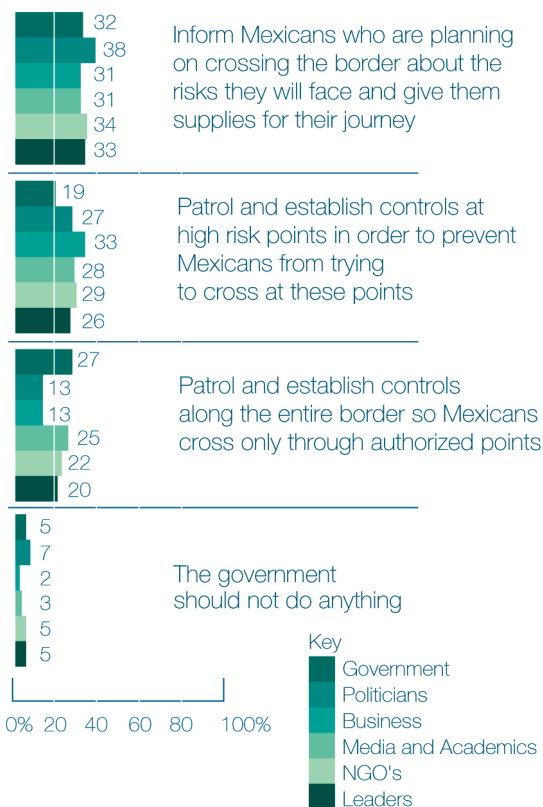
Permit American agents to participate with Mexican agents in guarding (watching) Mexico's airports, ports, and borders



Migration is another issue of great concern in Mexican – U.S. relations. Mexican leader opinions do not provide optimism for close cooperation since Mexican leaders show little inclination to favor any controls on illegal border-crossing into the United States. When asked what the Mexican government should do in response to the high number of deaths among undocumented border crossers, a plurality, 33%, favor warning Mexicans who are planning on crossing the border of the risks they will face and giving them supplies for their journey. 26% say that the government should patrol and establish controls at high risk points on the border to prevent Mexicans from trying to cross at these points, and only 20% agree with the preferred U.S. policy response, patrolling and establishing controls along the entire border so Mexicans cross only through authorized points. (Table 2.17)

Table 2.17
Border crossing at high risk points
LEADERS 2006

Every year, nearly 400 people die crossing the US the border. Please tell me, in your opinion what should the Mexican government do about this?



On the other hand, Mexican leaders strongly support, with 86% in favor, extradition of suspected criminals between the two countries. In the past, Mexico has resisted extradition, citing concerns over sovereignty. These results suggest there may be room for more cooperation on extradition in the future. In addition to the bilateral aspects of Mexico's relations with the United States, it is also involved in a trilateral relation with the U.S. and Canada through NAFTA. Although there are great differences in the relationship Mexico and Canada each have with the United States, they are the United States' top two trading partners. This presents an opportunity for Mexico and Canada to cooperate with each other when dealing with the U.S. However, Mexico's leaders divide over whether to pursue a collaborative strategy with Canada. 47% believe that Mexico should collaborate with Canada in order to defend its interests against the United States while 45% say Mexico should instead seek special treatment from the U.S. independent of its relations with Canada. Media and Academic leaders are most in favor of working with Canada, with 69% support, while Government, with 53% and Business, 52%, prefer to seek special treatment.

Leaders believe that in the future there will be greater economic integration in North America - 85% believe so. They strongly doubt, however, whether there will be greater political integration similar to that of the European Union -- 74% say there will not be.

Still, they do believe that there should be greater integration among the three countries to resolve specific problems. Almost all leaders, 92%, say that there should be greater integration on security issues to fight organized crime. They also agree on greater integration for regional defense against external threats; 72% support it. And 78% believe that there should be greater integration in North American for border surveillance. The differences among leaders are minimal for all of these questions. These responses point to the possibility of much greater cooperation among the countries of North America on specific issues of concern to all three, particularly regarding security.

Mexico – Latin American relations

Close to half of all leaders identify themselves as Latin American, rather than as North American, or as world citizens. When leaders are asked which region Mexico should devote more attention to, excluding the United States and Canada, more

leaders, 48%, pick Latin America. Only 27% say that the attention should go to Europe and 23% say it should go to Asia. Mexico's leaders clearly have a Latin American identity and vocation, which they are willing to translate into action, albeit as one among equals rather than as a leader.

Leaders generally see other Latin American countries as Mexico's friends first while they see Canada and the United States more as partners. 63% say that Canada is Mexico's partner; 35% say the two countries are friends. 76% say that the United States and Mexico are partners and 19% believe that the two countries are friends. Few see the United States as a rival, 1%, or threat 3%.

But across the region, Latin American countries are friends first and partners second. 61% of leaders say that the relationship between Mexico and Guatemala is that of friends, while 34% say it is that of partners, none say the two countries are rivals, and only 3% say that Guatemala is a threat. When it comes to translating this friendly relationship into action, leaders believe either a great deal, 26%, or somewhat, 31%, that Mexico should provide economic resources to help develop the economies of Central American countries. A majority, 51%, also support establishing a temporary workers' program for undocumented Central Americans in Mexico.

Chile and Mexico traditionally have friendly relations. 54% of leaders believe that Mexico and Chile are friends, 41% say they are partners, and only 4% say that the two countries are rivals or threats. 50% of leaders view the relation between Mexico and Argentina as that of friends, 36% say the two countries are partners, 10% see Argentina as Mexico's rival and 1% say it is a threat to Mexico.

Brazil, Mexico's traditional rival in economic terms as well as for leadership within Latin America, is viewed as either a friend or partner of Mexico, with 35% for each, but a significant 27% of leaders view Brazil as a rival of Mexico. Only 1% say that Brazil is a threat.

Two other countries with which Mexico has much more complex relations provoke more diverse opinions. While 44% see Cuba as Mexico's friend and 14% see the two countries as partners, 21% say that Cuba is Mexico's rival and 17% believe that Cuba is a threat to Mexico. Business leaders are most likely to say that Cuba is a threat, with 29%, compared to Media and Academic leaders, with 11%. Venezuela also provokes disparate responses. While 24% overall say that Venezuela and Mexico are friends, fully 44% of those in the Media and Academic group say so versus only 18% of those in the Government

and Political groups. 18% view the countries as partners (with 30% of those in Government, but only 6% of these in the Media and Academic group). 24% say that Venezuela and Mexico are rivals and 30% see Venezuela as a threat to Mexico. Those in the Media and Academic group are more likely to say that Venezuela is a rival, with 39% who say so, and are less likely to see Venezuela as a threat, with just 11%. On the other hand, Business leaders are most likely to say that Venezuela is a threat to Mexico, with plurality of 40%.

Leaders are clear that Mexico's role in the region should be limited to that of an equal partner and that it should not seek leadership. Three quarters of all leaders say that Mexico should participate along with other Latin American countries in solving regional problems without trying to be a leader, while just 23% say that Mexico should act as the preeminent leader of the region.

Within Latin America, Mexico's leaders want their government to participate actively and multilaterally. Exemplifying this, a majority of leaders, 54%, say that in the case of an internal conflict in a Latin American country, like the guerrilla war in Colombia or the violence in Haiti, Mexico should call for the intervention of an international organization such as the United Nations or the Organization of American States, rather than offer to mediate the dispute, 31%, or stay out of the conflict, 12%. In the case of the armed overthrow of a democratically elected leader, 41% say that Mexico should denounce such actions publicly. Fewer approve further action, such as withdrawing the Mexican ambassador, with 24%, or breaking diplomatic relations with the new government, with 12%. Mexico's traditional foreign policy of not publicly commenting on the internal affairs of other countries won support from just 20%. With regard to human rights in Cuba, leaders again favor multilateral action over Mexico's traditional non-interventionist policy. 67% agree, either strongly with 34%, or somewhat, with 33%, with Mexico participating in international efforts to improve human rights in Cuba. Only 31% disagree, either strongly, 16%, or somewhat, 15%.

Leaders see the future of Latin American integration as similar to that of North America. They believe that in the future there will be greater economic integration between the countries of Latin America; 76% say so. But, as in the case of North America, they are doubtful about the chances for greater political integration similar to that of the European Union; only 31% believe that this will happen.

CHAPTER 3

Comparing Mexico and the United States

This chapter moves beyond Mexico's borders and turns to comparisons of Mexican public opinion with public opinion in the United States, using data provided by the Chicago Council on Global Affairs (CCGA) from their long-running survey of American public opinion and foreign policy. The two countries have a unique relationship. Nowhere else in the world is there an example of such a long and active border between a developed and a developing country. Increasing flows of trade, investment, and people continue to reinforce the countries' economic and social interdependence. At the same time, however, long-standing historical antagonisms and continuing tensions have made it difficult for the two countries to cooperate effectively over sustained periods. The United States and Mexico differ in military power, economic capacity and socio-political development. These asymmetries in turn influence the perceptions and opinions of Mexicans and Americans on a broad range of issues.

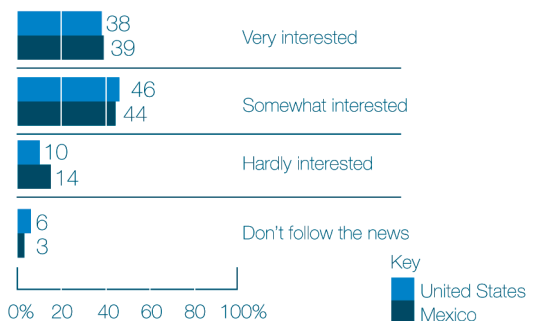
Economic conditions in Mexico have gradually improved and there are sustained improvements in most macroeconomic variables. Inflation and the public deficit are down and economic growth is up although it is still too slow to create enough jobs to meet demand. Mexico is on track to grow as much as 4.5% this year, its strongest growth since 2000. In the United States, the recent economic outlook is not as good as in Mexico. Economic growth is slowing down and the deficit is rising.

Interest and activism in world affairs

We find some similarities as well as striking differences in the attitudes of the general public in both countries. Both Mexicans and Americans show a similar level of interest and attention to international affairs: in 2006, 39% of Mexicans say they are very interested compared to a roughly equal number of Americans, 38%. The percentage for Mexicans is roughly the same as in 2004, while it is up four percentage points for Americans. (Table 3.1)

Table 3.1
Follow News
MEXICO / U.S.

When you follow the news these days, how interested are you in news about the relations of [survey country] with other countries?



This similar level of interest in both countries is reflected further in their levels of factual knowledge, with Mexicans, if anything, appearing to be more knowledgeable. 59% of Mexicans know that the Euro is the common currency of the European Union compared to 53% of Americans. More Americans, 24%, know the name of United Nations Secretary General Kofi Annan than Mexicans, 21%. (Tables 3.2 and 3.3)

Mexicans and Americans also coincide in their opinions on whether their respective countries should take an active part in world affairs or stay out. Majorities in both countries say that their countries should take an active part: 56% of Mexicans and 69% of Americans agree, little changed from 57% and 67%, respectively, in 2004 for each country. The percentage for the United States is perhaps surprising given that Americans' opinions have soured toward the war in Iraq and the possibility of further military engagements elsewhere, but Americans still see the importance of the United States, as a major world leader, staying actively involved in world affairs.

Table 3.2
UN Secretary General
MEXICO / U.S.

Could you please tell me the name of the Secretary General of the United Nations:

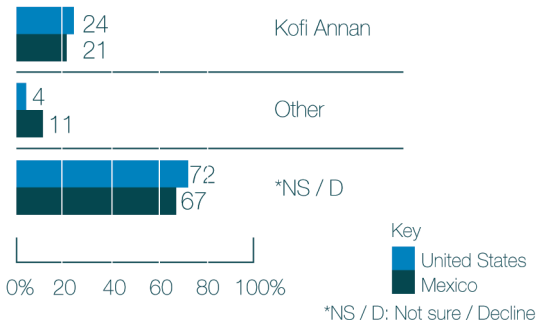
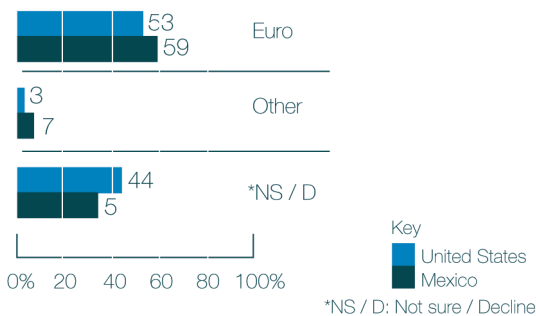


Table 3.3
EU common currency
MEXICO / U.S.

The countries of the EU have introduced a common currency. To the best of your knowledge, what is it called?



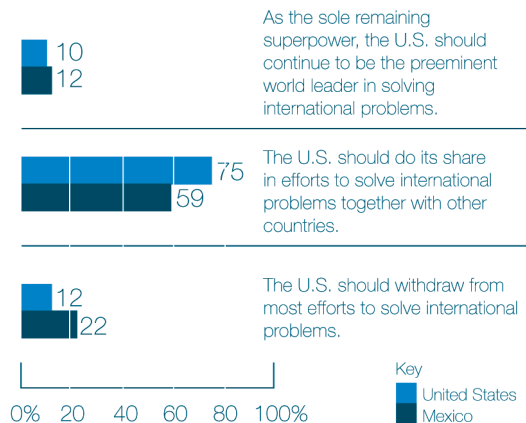
While there is general support for an active role abroad in both countries, this support is qualified by the context. A majority of Mexicans, 52%, prefers to address only problems that affect Mexico rather than participate in global affairs. This is a six percentage-point decline from 58% in 2004, while the percentage who prefer not to participate at all has increased from 9% to 15%.

75% of Americans think that their country should work together with other countries to solve international problems. Only 10% think that the United States should continue to be the preeminent world leader and 12% say that the United States should withdraw completely. Americans clearly support United States international activism but in a multilateral framework. Mexicans also prefer

this kind of activism for the United States: 59% of Mexicans prefer that the United States work with other countries. A larger percentage of Mexicans, 22%, than Americans, 12%, feel that the U.S. should withdraw completely but this percentage has declined from 28% in 2004. (Table 3.4)

Table 3.4
U.S. as a World Superpower
MEXICO / U.S.

Which statement comes closest to your position?



Threats to vital interests

The 2006 survey reveals important differences in Mexican and American perceptions of critical threats to their countries' interests. In the United States, the percentages who describe different threats as critical have changed since 2004 but there is no clear pattern. In contrast, in Mexico perceptions of critical threats decreased across the board. This may be because the 2006 Mexican presidential election diverted people's attention to domestic issues.

The more specific difference is the order of perceived threats. Mexicans perceive drug trafficking and epidemic diseases such as AIDS and avian flu to be the greatest threats. These have been visible issues in the Mexican press, government prevention campaigns and health promotion efforts by non-governmental organizations. Mexicans may see themselves, their families, and the country at large as vulnerable to the effects of potentially catastrophic diseases coming from abroad. Drug trafficking continued its top ranking from the 2004 survey, but the security and global issues that ranked highest in 2004 dropped down to the middle group of perceived threats. In 2006, these include

terrorism, world economic crises, global warming, and violent religious and ethnic conflicts. The final group includes economic concerns, specifically economic competition with Asia and China's rise as a world power. Such economic concerns were also at the bottom in the 2004 survey, which included economic competition from the U.S. instead of from Asia, but Asia has become an increasingly significant economic rival in fact more than in perception. (Tables 3.5 and 3.6)

In contrast to Mexicans' ranking, Americans were more likely to see security issues as the top threats -- international terrorism and the possibility of unfriendly countries becoming nuclear powers -- as in the 2004 survey. Similarly, economic issues -- competition from Asian and other low-wage countries and the development of China as a world power -- were at the bottom. Clearly security issues are the primary concern in the United States because of the terrorist threat since the September 11, 2001, attacks, the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan, and the nuclear threat posed by Iran and North Korea. Such issues are not central in Mexico even though they are important due to Mexico's proximity to the United States. The threats that matter most to Mexicans and Americans are either the top national issues -- such as terrorism in the United States -- or those that might affect people's lives directly, such as epidemics in Mexico. In the case of epidemics, Mexicans not only see themselves as vulnerable but they may also believe that the Mexican health care system will be overwhelmed. It is noteworthy that in 2006 neither Mexicans nor Americans see economic competition from Asia as a major threat, although protecting jobs in the United States is a major American foreign policy objective.

Foreign policy goals

The importance that Mexicans and Americans attach to foreign-policy goals echoes some of their concerns about threats, although publics in both countries also include economic objectives near the top of the list. The top foreign-policy goal for Americans is protecting the jobs of American workers -- at 76% in 2006. For Mexicans, promoting exports and foreign investment are among the top objectives.

The surveys show that publics in both countries give less priority to economic development in poor countries, human rights, humanitarian issues and the United Nations. In Mexico, helping poor countries, promoting human rights, bringing

democracy to other countries, and strengthening the United Nations are seen as less important than promoting exports and foreign investment, defending Mexicans abroad, combating drugs, and protecting the country's borders. Issues such as terrorism and global warming fall in the middle. This is the same overall pattern found in the 2004 survey except that several goals dropped very sharply: promoting human rights fell from 71% to 53% and helping poor countries dropped from 66% to 55%. These results -- especially the fall in importance of Mexico's new human-rights policy goal -- may be related to the 2006 election campaign which focused on domestic issues. Another factor that might help to explain the reduced importance of human rights as a foreign-policy priority is the change of emphasis in public discourse after Luis Ernesto Derbez took over as Secretary of Foreign Relations following Jorge Castañeda, who strongly promoted human rights as a foreign-policy objective. These systematic decreases of five percentage points or more in Mexico do not occur in the United States.

The United Nations and joint decision-making

Mexicans and Americans continue to favor a strong role for the United Nations in dealing with world problems. They continue to have positive feelings about the U.N., with Mexicans showing a more favorable sentiment. Asked to rank their feelings about the U.N. from 0 to 100, with 100 as the most favorable, Mexicans give the U.N. 80, up from 75 in 2004, and Americans give it an average of 55 compared to 57 in 2004. Mexicans and Americans also continue to think that strengthening the UN is an important foreign-policy goal. 82% of Mexicans and 79% of Americans consider it to be a very important or somewhat important goal. Mexicans feel more strongly though. 56% of Mexicans versus 40% of Americans call this goal very important.

The greater affinity that Mexicans have for the U.N. may have to do with the fact that core principles of the multilateral organization are part of the Mexican Constitution and that Mexicans are taught in school that the U.N. is the central international organization to promote peace and cooperation. Mexicans believe that multilateralism through the United Nations is important because, among other things, it serves to balance the unilateralism of the United States and offers smaller countries a chance to address the global agenda.

Table 3.5
Threats
MEXICO / U.S.

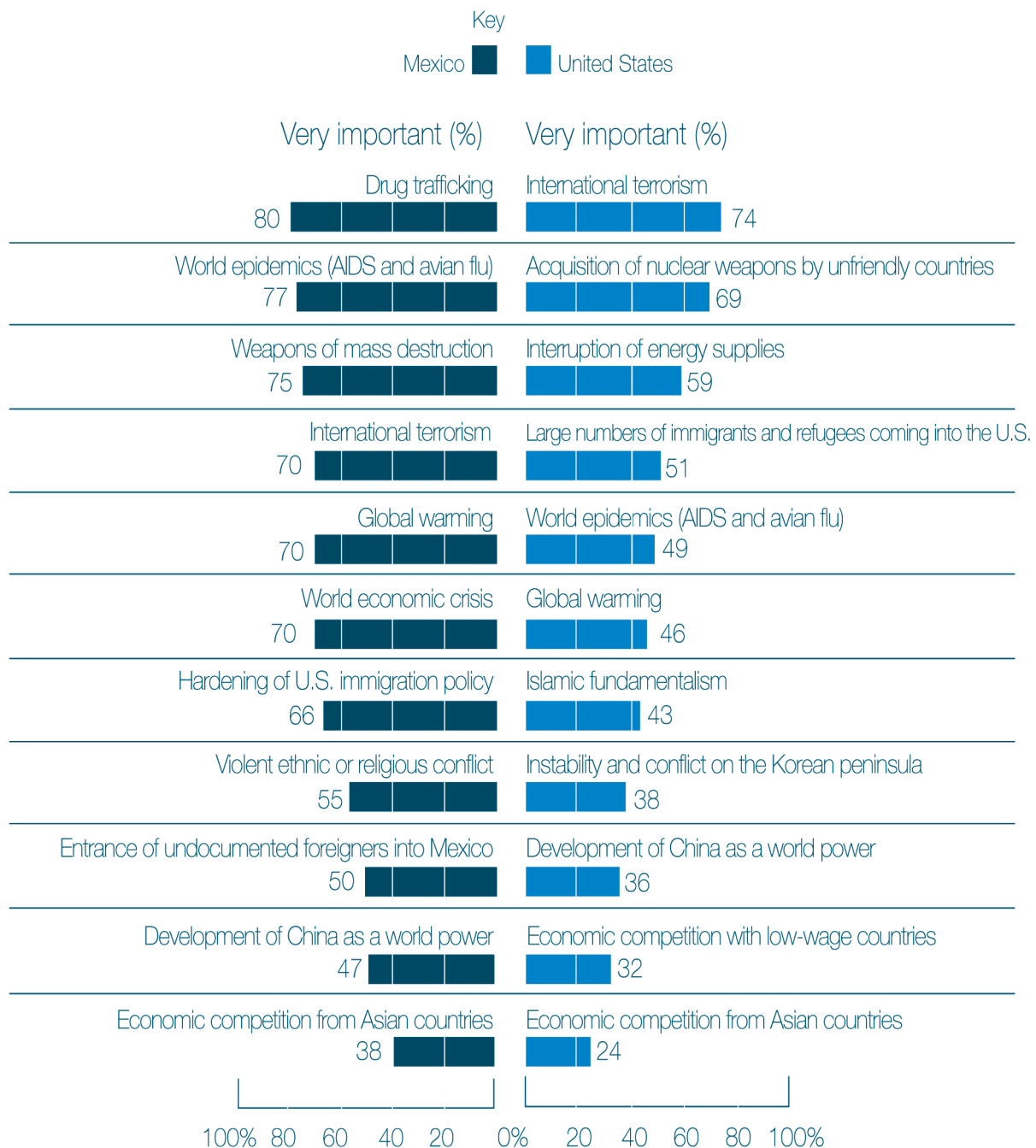
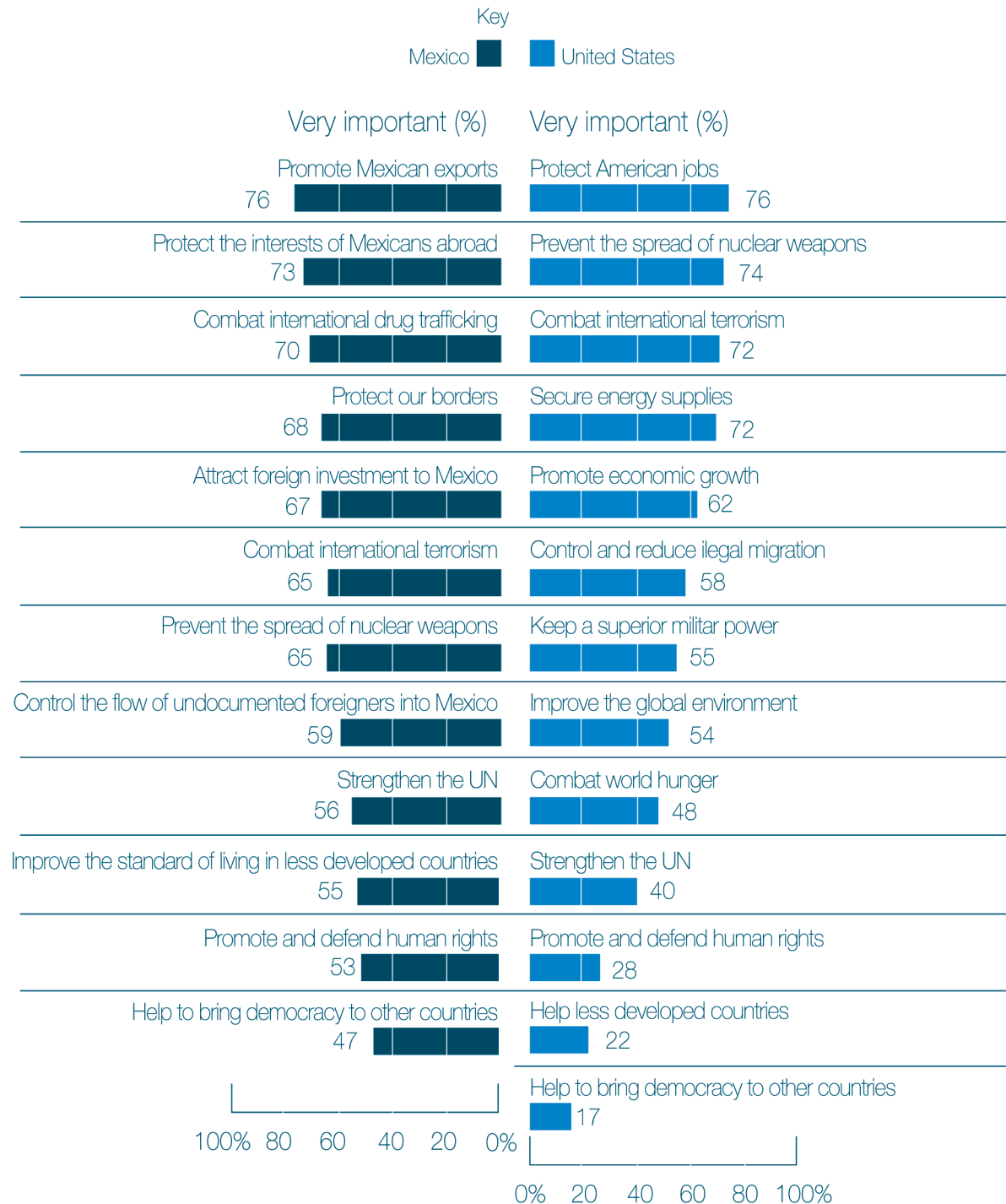


Table 3.6
Foreign Policy Goals
MEXICO / U.S.



In contrast to these general opinions about the United Nations, Mexicans differ when it comes to abiding by U.N. decisions and giving it specific powers. When asked whether Mexico should go along with U.N. decisions that Mexico would not have preferred, Mexicans are more divided, with 46% in favor and 27% opposed, than they are about the U.N. in general. However, the percentage opposed declined from 38% in 2004. Those volunteering that "it depends" increased from 11% to 19%.

One possible explanation is that Mexicans might be hesitant to give international organizations such as the U.N. too much decision-making power since they fear that Mexico's interests may be overwhelmed by other countries, including the United States, who may dominate the U.N. A second explanation might be related to Mexicans' longstanding sense of nationalism and their general support for non-intervention in other countries' internal affairs. This second argument, which is based on Mexico's diplomatic tradition, is more persuasive since there is evidence that Mexicans prefer multilateral action and tend to favor strengthening the U.N. precisely because it serves to balance the dominance of the superpowers. In contrast, Americans are more willing to go along with a United Nations policy decision that is not their first choice, with a 60% majority saying this in 2006, down a bit from 66% in 2004.

Mexicans and Americans have similar opinions over whether to give the U.N. Security Council the power to decide on the use of force in five different circumstances: 70% of Mexicans and 62% of Americans agree on the Security Council approving force to prevent a country that does not have nuclear weapons from acquiring them (Table 3.7); 73% of Mexicans and 83% of Americans agree to prevent severe human rights violations such as genocide; 71% of Mexicans and 76% of Americans say yes to stop a country from supporting terrorist groups; 54% of Mexicans and 57% of Americans approve of the U.N. authorizing force to restore a democratic government that has been overthrown (Table 3.8); and 65% of Mexicans and 83% of Americans agree on force to defend a country that has been attacked. These percentages for both countries have decreased in general from 2004.

Only in the case of defending a country that has been attacked do the opinions of Mexicans and Americans diverge significantly, even though there is still majority support in both countries. Americans' support declined the most in the case of preventing

Table 3.7
UN Security Council
Use of force
MEXICO / U.S.

The Security Council is one of the most important bodies of the UN, and in certain circumstances it authorizes the use of force. Do you think that the UN Security Council should or should not have the right to authorize the use of military force in which of the following circumstances?:

To prevent a country that does not have nuclear weapons from acquiring them

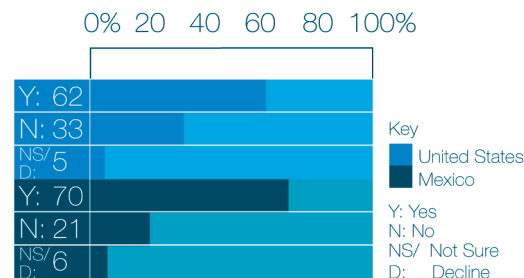
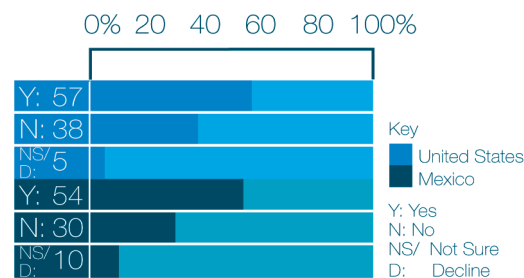


Table 3.8
UN Security Council
Use of force
MEXICO / U.S.

The Security Council is one of the most important bodies of the UN, and in certain circumstances it authorizes the use of force. Do you think that the UN Security Council should or should not have the right to authorize the use of military force in which of the following circumstances?:

To restore by force a democratic government that has been overthrown



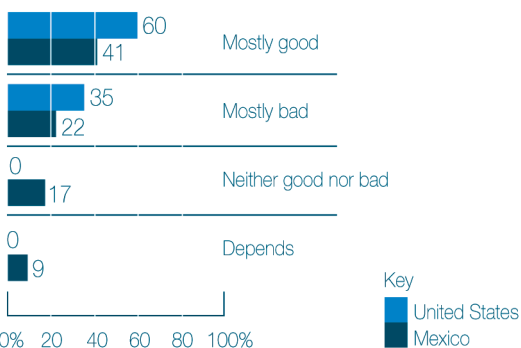
the spread of nuclear weapons, with support for the U.N. Security Council using force decreasing from 70% to 62%. This no doubt reflects increased reluctance to using military force against Iran and North Korea who are attempting to acquire nuclear weapons. For most of these issues, the percentage of Mexicans and Americans taking a strong pacifist position remains at about 20%.

Globalization

While security issues dominate Americans' top-ranked foreign policy goals, protecting the jobs of American workers is still the single most important goal. Similarly, in Mexico, economic foreign-policy goals are at the top. The way Mexicans and Americans perceive the effect of the international economic system on their countries is reflected in their attitudes toward globalization. These attitudes have converged somewhat since 2004, when 64% of Americans believed that globalization was mostly good for the United States, compared to only 34% of Mexicans who thought the same for Mexico. This difference has decreased: in 2006, 41% of Mexicans now see globalization as mostly good for Mexico, and the percentage who see globalization as mostly bad has dropped from 31% to 22%, so that a larger plurality see globalization as good compared to 2004. This change in Mexico occurred in both the north and center, but not in the south, which is further removed from and more skeptical about international economic policies. In the United States, the percentage seeing globalization as mostly good declined 4 points, to 60%, in 2006. (Table 3.9)

Table 3.9
Globalization
MEXICO / U.S.

Do you believe that the increasing contact of our economy with others around the world, what is known as globalization, is mostly good or mostly bad for [survey country]?



What is notable is that the shift in opinion in Mexico in favor of globalization reflects the perception that the country's recent macroeconomic stability and modest economic growth have benefited from

international trade and Mexico's increasing role in it. Mexicans have positive perceptions of Mexico's economic situation compared to the previous year, and they have optimistic forecasts for their personal economic situations in the coming year. 53% of Mexicans believe that the country's economic situation is better than, or equally as good as, the year before and 60% believe that their personal economic situation will be better, or equally good, in the coming year.

Majorities in both countries think that international trade is good for their countries' economies: 59% of Mexicans say this in 2006 and 54% of Americans agree. This opinion is most widely held in Mexico's north, with 69%, though majorities in all three regions share this opinion. In contrast, Mexicans and Americans differ concerning the relationship of international trade to creating jobs: 74% of Mexicans think that trade is good for job creation while fully 60% of Americans think it is bad. In Mexico, this perception may stem from job creation in the country's export sector, while in the United States there is steady publicity about the loss of jobs to lower-cost countries, such as Mexico. Majorities in both countries, 66% of Mexicans and 52% of Americans, think that international trade benefits businesses and companies in their countries. And majorities in both countries, 53% in Mexico and 64% in the United States, think that trade is good for an individual's standard of living, though this is more the case in the north of Mexico, where 60% hold this view, than in the south, with 42%. (Table 3.10)

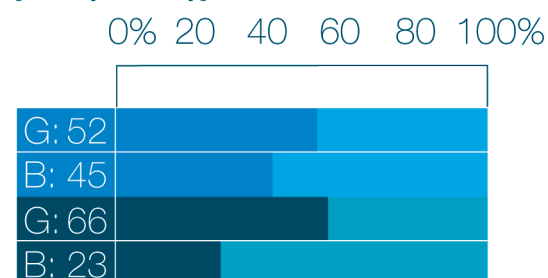
Opinions in both countries are more mixed over how international trade affects the environment. In Mexico, equal numbers, 41%, think that it does more good than bad to the environment while a plurality of Americans see it as bad, 49%. Mexicans in the north, however, are much more likely to say that international trade is good for the environment, with 50%, than those living in the south, with 33% and the center, with 40%. This difference may be due to the fact that those in the north see more export-related companies with modern plants and equipment that are less likely to do environmental harm.

Large and stable majorities of Mexicans and Americans, with no substantial regional differences among Mexicans, think that international trade agreements should require the signatories to maintain minimum standards for labor rights and environmental protection. In 2006, 76% of Mexicans, unchanged from 2004, say that

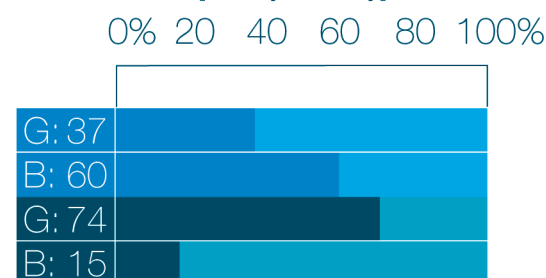
Table 3.10
International Trade. Good or bad for?
MEXICO / U.S.

Overall, do you think international trade is good or bad for:

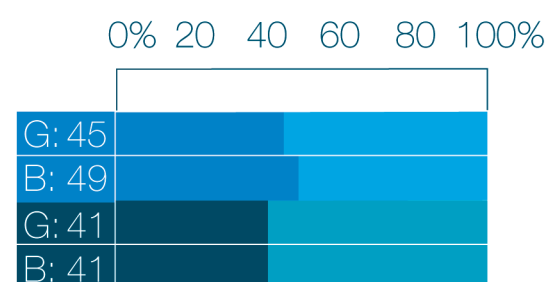
[Survey country] business



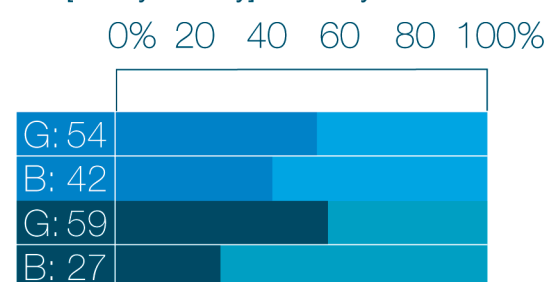
Job creation in [survey country]



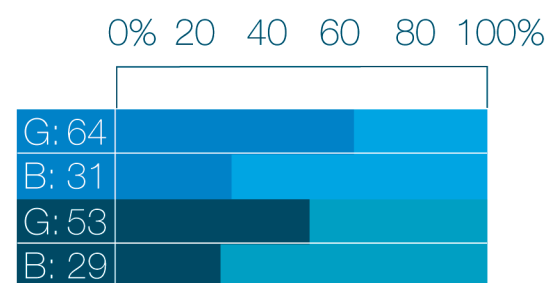
The environment



The [survey country] economy



The standard of living of people like you



Key
 United States
 Mexico
 G: Good
 B: Bad

free trade agreements should include minimum standards for protecting the environment. Among Americans, an even larger proportion, 91%, say this, also unchanged from 2004. The results are almost the same for working conditions: 67% of Mexicans support minimum standards compared to 93% of Americans, again with the percentages unchanged from the 2004 surveys in both countries.

In the case of compliance involving international economic institutions, there is increasing, and

now majority, support among both Americans and Mexicans for their countries to comply with World Trade Organization rulings against them: 53% of Mexicans, up from 48% in 2004, think that Mexico should comply; and a larger percentage of Americans, 73%, up from 69% in 2004, agree. The continued difference between Mexican and American opinion on this issue may, once more, reflect reluctance in Mexico to abiding by decisions made by organizations in which big powers have

greater influence. But the increase in support in Mexico is in line with greater support overall for globalization.

United States-Mexico relations

As background to examining relations between Mexico and the United States, it is useful to compare the extent to which Mexicans and Americans share similar feelings toward different countries around the world. Despite some differences, in general North American neighbors, European friends, and Japan are rated most favorably by both Mexicans and Americans. Mexicans also rate China and several Latin American countries favorably on a scale of 0 to 100, with 0 meaning very unfavorable, 100 very favorable, and 50 neutral.

The mean ratings by Mexicans of all countries increased from 2004 to 2006 and the mean ratings for Americans were stable, with three exceptions. (Tables 3.11 and 3.12) Most relevant here, the mean US rating for Mexico decreased from 54 to 47 which may be related to the heated debate in the United States concerning immigration and border policies involving Mexico. The mean US rating for China decreased from 44 to 40, reflecting the continued low or at best mixed feelings Americans have toward China. China ranks toward the top for Mexicans but toward the bottom for Americans, which is perhaps surprising, given that Mexicans are increasingly competing with China in the world economy. The mean rating by Americans for South Korea also decreased from 49 to 44, perhaps reflecting South Korea's mixed support for the United States' aggressive policies and rhetoric toward North Korea over the nuclear weapons issue.

In contrast, Mexicans continue to give the United States a very high average rating -- 74 in 2006, just one point below Canada at 75. This continued high rating and even increase suggests more openness among Mexicans to the United States' role as an active super-power, to the extent that it works jointly and cooperates with other countries.

Despite this, Mexicans are less supportive of the leading role of the United States than the publics of some of the major Asian emerging countries such as China and South Korea. Mexicans' opinions toward the United States have different dimensions, which reflect strengthening positive and negative attitudes, continuing ambivalence, and some disagreement among Mexicans. When Mexicans are asked to describe their feelings toward the United States

Table 3.11
Countries Thermometer
MEXICO

Now I am going to ask you to measure your feelings towards some countries, with 100 meaning a very favorable feeling, 0 meaning a very unfavorable feeling, and 50 meaning a feeling that is neither.

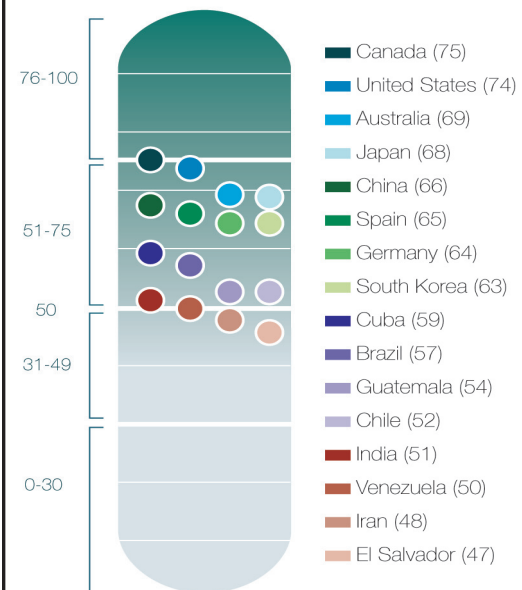
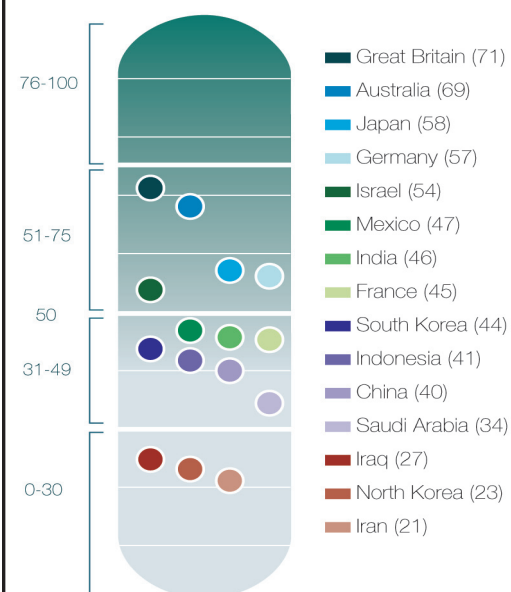


Table 3.12
Countries Thermometer
UNITED STATES

Now I am going to ask you to measure your feelings towards some countries, with 100 meaning a very favorable feeling, 0 meaning a very unfavorable feeling, and 50 meaning a feeling that is neither.



in terms of opposites -- trust/distrust, admiration/disdain, and fraternity/resentment, with the option in each case of "indifference," -- it is clear that their attitudes have changed substantially from 2004. In the case of trust/distrust, Mexicans reveal less indifference, which dropped sharply from 33% to 16%, somewhat more trust, increasing from 20% to 25%; and much more distrust, up from 43% to 53%.

With respect to admiration/disdain, Mexicans are less indifferent and both more admiring and more disdainful (especially in the south and less so in the north, which borders and interacts most with the United States). We find the same pattern for the distinction between fraternity/resentment.

These different feelings toward the United States are clarified by Mexicans' responses to whether they would describe Mexico's relationship to different North and South American countries as "friends," "partners," "rivals," or "threats." Mexicans consistently describe Latin American countries (Brazil, Argentina, Chile, Guatemala, Venezuela, and Cuba) more as friends than anything else. In contrast, Canada and especially the United States are seen more as partners than friends: 50% of Mexicans see the United States as a partner and only 36% see it as a friend. This partnership is clearly based on economic interests and the international security that the United States provides to Mexico by virtue of being next door. Beyond this sense of partnership, there is little trust, and Mexicans' feelings of kinship, described in terms of admiration and fraternity toward the United States, appear to be more mixed and polarized.

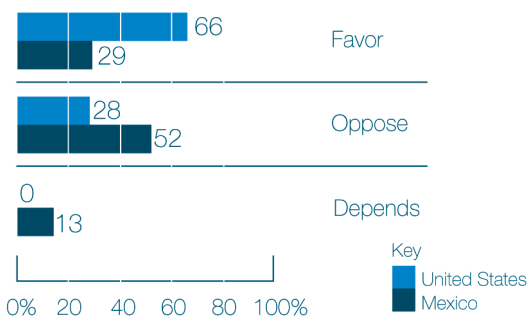
The partnership that Mexicans describe in their country's relationship with the United States is reflected further in both publics' attitudes toward economic and political integration. Large majorities in both countries, 67% of Mexicans (though only 49% in the south) and 73% of Americans, think that in the future there will be greater economic integration among the countries of North America. Smaller majorities, 61% in Mexico (though only 38% in the south) and 57% in the United States, think that there will be greater political integration, similar to what is occurring among European countries.

While Mexicans and Americans have similar general expectations regarding economic and political integration, Mexicans are less supportive of cooperation regarding specific proposals. When asked whether they would favor an agreement between the two countries in which Mexico allowed the United States to invest in its oil and energy

sector in exchange for greater American financing of Mexico's economic development, a large majority of Americans, 66%, continue to favor this in 2006, compared to 29% of Mexicans. This suggests that Mexicans believe they could be exploited by the United States' greater power and that they remain highly attached to their nationalist tradition of defending their rights over oil. But Mexican opposition is declining, with the percentage who say they oppose such an agreement falling to 52% from 70% in 2004 (although this change did not occur in the south). This is consistent with the positive attitudes Mexicans appear to have toward the United States as an economic partner, though Mexican support for these kinds of proposals has a long way to go. Surprisingly, opposition in the United States to such an investment/financing proposal increased from 16% in 2004 to 28% in 2006. This is unexpected given United States' interest in oil and energy sources, unless it reflects a public preference to reduce foreign investment and financing for economic growth in other countries. (Table 3.13)

Table 3.13
U.S.-Mexico agreement
on energy/development
MEXICO / U.S.

Would you favor or oppose an agreement between Mexico and the United States in which the U.S. would provide greater financing for Mexico's economic development and Mexico would permit the U.S. to invest in its oil and energy sectors?

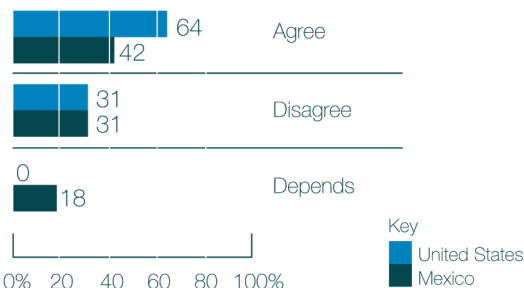


In the case of joint political decisions to deal with common problems, even if it means that each country will sometimes have to go along with a policy that is not its preferred choice; there has been a significant change in Mexican public opinion since 2004. While a large and stable majority of Americans, 67% in 2004 and 64% in 2006, say they

would agree to dealing with common problems in this way, only a 42% plurality in Mexico agree. This 42%, however, is a 12 percentage-point increase from 30% in 2004. In addition, the 54% majority that disagreed in 2004 decreased by fully 23 percentage points to 31% in 2006. Thus, while Mexicans have mixed attitudes toward joint decision-making and political cooperation, the evolution in Mexican public opinion, which occurred in all three regions, reflects a more favorable Mexican view toward certain aspects of working with the United States. (Table 3.14)

Table 3.14
Mexico-U.S. joint decision making
MEXICO / U.S.

Please select whether you agree or disagree with the following statement. When dealing with common problems, the U.S. and Mexico should be more willing to make decisions jointly, even if this means that [survey country] will sometimes have to go along with a policy that is not what it would have preferred.



However, the prospects for bilateral cooperation look particularly poor on one of the issues that Mexicans care about most, improving the conditions and protecting the rights of Mexicans living abroad. 51% of Americans consider large number of immigrants and refugees coming into the United States to be a critical threat and 58% think controlling and reducing illegal immigration should be a foreign-policy priority. Nor is there a favorable view of increased legal immigration; 46% think legal immigration should decreased from the present level, 39% think it should be kept at the present level, and only 13% think it should increase. Given the trend of Americans' views on the migration question, any expectation in Mexico about a temporary worker program or new mechanisms to regularize the status of undocumented workers in the United States looks highly unrealistic, at least in the short run.

Comparing Mexico and Asia

This chapter moves further beyond Mexico's borders to compare public opinion in Mexico with the opinions of the general publics in South Korea, China, and India. It will also make occasional comparisons with the United States and two other countries of the Asian/Pacific region, Australia, and Japan. Although Australia and Japan were part of the Chicago Council on Global Affairs 2006 public opinion study as well, they are less comparable to Mexico due to their higher level of economic and human development, making extensive comparisons between these countries and Mexico less relevant to foreign policy debates in Mexico.

South Korea, China, and India, like Mexico, are developing or recently developed countries that have large economies and play an important role in regional stability. They are also states with growing influence in the world economy that have been making strong efforts to open their economies, attract foreign investment, and penetrate world markets over the past two decades. However, these four countries differ greatly in terms of their geopolitical significance, specific aspirations, and how they view the world or their region in military and strategic terms. China and India are military powers that are important players in international security issues. South Korea has the United States' security umbrella for its protection, even though it often differs from the United States on North Korea. Mexico's geopolitical environment is stable where traditional national security issues are concerned, and at this point there is no significant military dimension to its foreign-policy agenda. However, its domestic political situation is quite conflictual. What makes this comparison more relevant for Mexico's current foreign policy dilemmas is that the three Asian emerging economies are its more challenging competitors, not only in the world economy but in the key North American market. (Table 4.1)

Comparing Mexico with South Korea is particularly relevant. Mexico and South Korea had similar-sized economies three decades ago, although Mexico was much richer in 1960 in

terms of gross domestic product per capita. Both countries experienced similar economic booms at the same time in the 1970s, but of a different kind: in Mexico it was linked to the expansion of oil production and exports, while in South Korea, it was driven by the performance of the industrial sector and manufactured exports. In the 1980s, they faced similar problems, stalled along the way in the debt crisis, and responded with economic reforms. Mexico, however, stumbled and stagnated, whereas South Korea recovered rapidly and now ranks at the bottom of the list of the world's rich countries and leading manufacturers. Mexico is a member of the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development, but it is a low-tech developing economy that is listed at the top end of the middle-income countries. South Korea is currently twice as wealthy as Mexico and is a high-tech emerging economy.

China and India, which is also a democratic country, are good comparisons to Mexico due to their level of development, economic aspirations, and their recent take-off. Mexico ranks higher in terms of income per capita and human development, but China has a larger overall economy, and both China and India have much larger populations and are more dynamic, both in their pace of economic growth and in their internal adjustments to meet the demands of global economic competitiveness. Many observers believed Mexico's economy to be more dynamic at the beginning of the 1990s, when the country became a member of the Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation group (APEC) and the OECD and it became increasingly active in some of the rich countries' multilateral forums. By 2000, Mexico looked like a growing emerging economy and a dynamic young democracy with global aspirations, exemplified by taking a non-permanent seat at the United Nations Security Council. In the 1990s Mexico was seen as a "hot" economy, but it has not fulfilled that promise. Thanks to sustained economic growth, both India and China have continued to become important

Table 4.1
Mexico-Asia: Basic indicators 2005
MEXICO / ASIA

	Mexico	China	India	South Korea
Population (millions)	103.1	1,304.5	1,094.5	48.3
Area (thousands of square kilometers)	2,000	9,600	3,300	99.3
GDP (US\$ millions)	768,438	2,228,862	785,468	787,624
GDP average growth rate (%)	3	9.9	8.5	4
GDP per capita (US\$)	7,310	1,740	720	15,830
Exports of goods (US\$ billions)	189.1	593.3	75.6	561.2
Imports of goods (US\$ billions)	206.4	561.2	97.3	224.5
Exports world market share (%)	2.1	6.5	0.8	2.8
Imports world market share (%)	2.2	5.9	1	2.4
Goods trade (% of GDP)	58	63.8	28.2	69.3
Foreign direct investment (US\$ millions)	18,055	72,406	6,598	7,198
Oil production (% of world production)	4.8	4.6	0	0.9
Oil consumption (% world consumption)	2.3	8.5	3	2.7
International reserves (US\$ billions)	83.6	987.9	158.3	228.3
Labor force employed in: (%)				
Agriculture	18	49	60	6.4
Industry	24	22	17	26.4
Services	58	29	23	67.2
Human Development Index	0.814	0.755	0.901	0.901
Position in Human Development Index (of 177 countries)	53	85	127	28
Population with income of less than US\$1 per day (%)	9.9	16.6	34.7	<2
Military spending (US\$ billions)	6.1	81.5	19	21.1
Military spending (% of GDP)	0.8	4.3	2.5	2.6
Armed forces (active duty)	192,770	2,255,000	1,325,000	64,700
Fixed telephone lines (per 100 inhabitants)	53.9	49.8	8.4	131.4
Internet users (per 100 inhabitants)	13.4	7.2	3.2	65.7

Sources:
World Bank, *World Development Indicators* 2006
WTO, *World Trade Report* 2006
UNCTAD, *World Investment Report* 2006
BP Statistical Review of *World Energy* 2006
IMF, *World Economic Outlook Database* 2006
UNDP, *Human Development Report* 2005
IISS, *The Military Balance* 2005-2006

international economic competitors and global traders, whereas Mexico is losing its position as an emerging economic power.

While China and India still have proportionately smaller middle classes than Mexico, the absolute size of the middle class in these two countries is much larger because of these countries' enormous populations. This means that the two Asian countries have many more consumers, professionals, engineers, and other highly-skilled workers than Mexico does, and they continue to drive and sustain economic expansion. India exports engineers and computer technicians to the United States, while Mexican immigrants to the United States are lower-skilled workers.

Why is it important to compare the Mexican and Asian worldviews? Globalization has made economic competition paramount. Mexico must compete with its Asian counterparts on many fronts: trade, foreign investment, and raising money in capital markets. Asia today is more relevant geopolitically to the U.S. agenda, forcing Mexico to compete even for economic attention from the United States. As the governments of these Asian competitors assess their roles in the evolving global economy, it is helpful to see where public opinion in these countries stands and how it compares with attitudes in Mexico.

Interest and activism in world affairs

As the last chapter showed, Mexicans are as interested in foreign affairs as Americans are, and they more than hold their own against their Asian competitors. In 2006, 39% of Mexicans say they are very interested compared to only slightly more Indians, 38%, and smaller percentages of South Koreans, 16%, and Chinese, 20%. The percentages for "very interested" and "somewhat interested" combined show Mexico first with 83%, compared to 79% for South Korea, 75% for China, and 67% for India. India has the largest percentage of people, 15% compared to 6% or less in the other countries, who say they do not follow the news. This may reflect more poverty, lower levels of education, and less access to news media outlets in India. (Table 4.2)

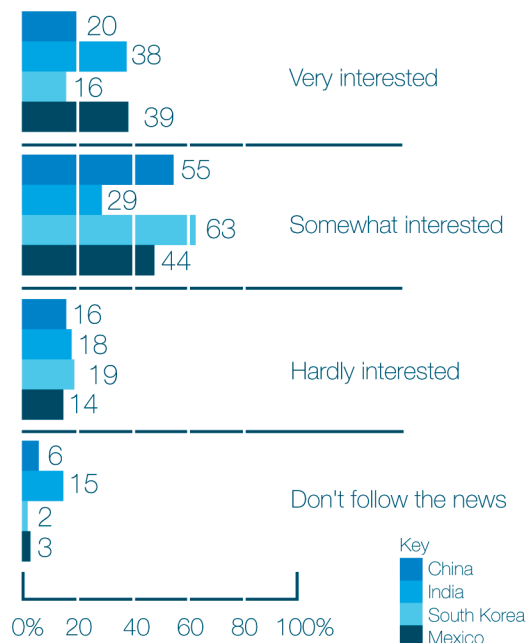
Mexicans as well as Americans, however, are at the lower end when it comes to knowing specific details in world affairs. Both majorities of Mexicans, 59% and Americans, 53%, know that the Euro is

Table 4.2

Follow news

MEXICO / ASIA

When you follow the news these days, how interested are you in news about the relations of [survey country] with other countries?



the common currency of the European Union. Only Indians, with 31%, were less aware of this. But the percentages were higher for South Koreans, 63%, and Chinese, 67%. The name of outgoing U.N. Secretary General Kofi Annan is not widely known in Mexico, with 21% able to identify him and 24% able to do so in the United States, and 21% in South Korea. In India, the percentage drops to just 12%. It is the Chinese who know him best, with 72%. (Table 4.3 and 4.4)

Interest and knowledge about world affairs aside, majorities in Mexico and all the other countries think that it is important for their countries to take an active part in world affairs. Mexico and India, where 56% in each country agree on a more active role, are also similar in their more cautious and selective view of that role. Much larger majorities of South Koreans, 81%, and Chinese, 87% favor an active role for their countries. Mexico's relatively less internationalist and proactive stance compared to East Asian emerging economies might be related

Table 4.3
UN Secretary General
MEXICO / ASIA

Could you please tell me the name of the Secretary General of the United Nations:

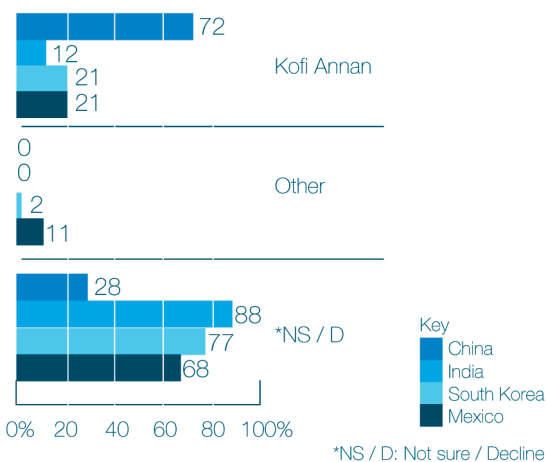
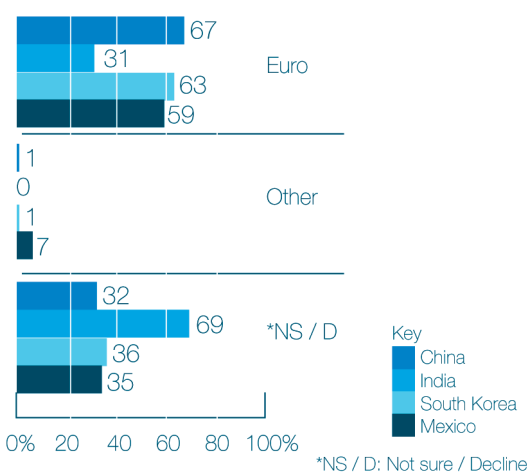


Table 4.4
EU common currency
MEXICO / ASIA

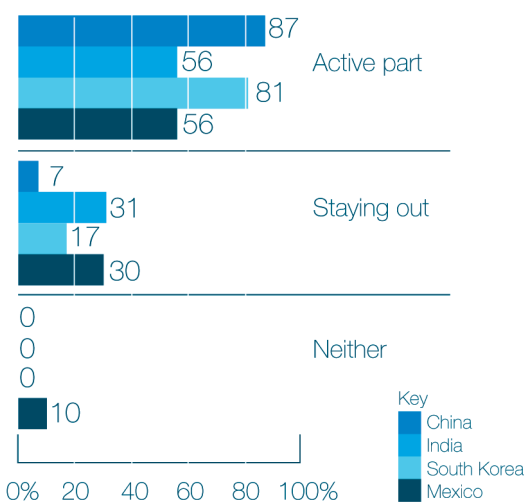
The countries of the European Union have introduced a common currency. To the best of your knowledge, what is this currency called?



to its position as the less developed neighbor of the predominant world power, the United States. China is both a rising military and economic power and South Korea has long been a focal point and an increasingly important actor in world affairs due to the threat posed by North Korea. (Table 4.5)

Table 4.5
[Survey country] active in world affairs
MEXICO / ASIA

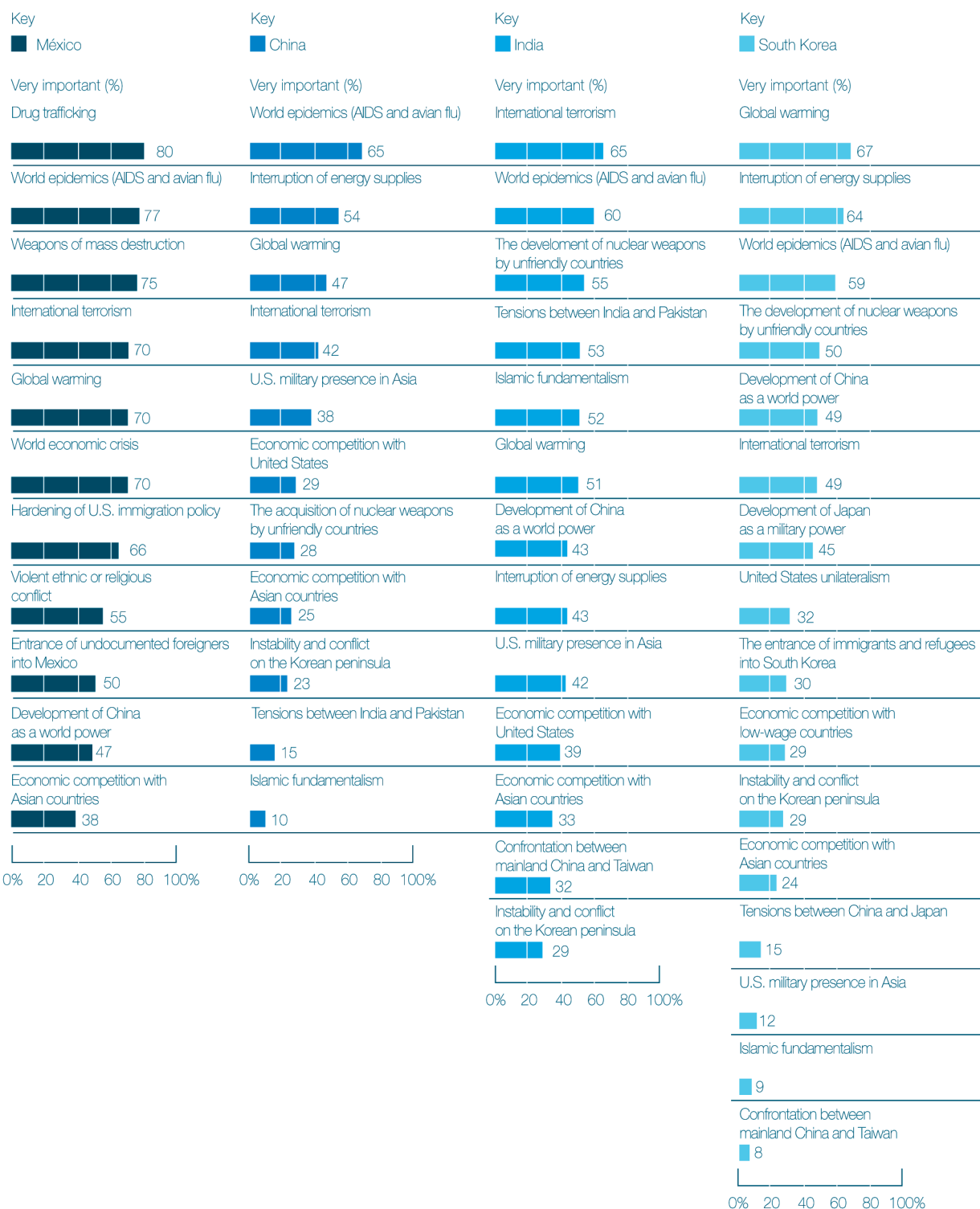
In your opinion, what is better for the future of [survey country], taking an active part in world affairs or staying out of world affairs?



Threats to vital interests

The threats that Mexicans and the publics of the three Asian countries face divide into issues linked to national security and personal welfare on the one hand and concerns over economic growth and competitiveness on the other. Interpreting these threat perceptions is difficult because past experience in each country alters how the public interprets any particular threat. Mexicans, as the last chapter noted, see drug trafficking and epidemic diseases such as AIDS and avian flu to be the greatest threats. While drug trafficking is a very real security threat, Mexicans have no recent experience of epidemics. Instead, they fear them as a potential threat to personal safety and social cohesion without much consideration of their grave economic consequences. The issues that then follow in the ranking are also largely related to security and personal welfare: nuclear proliferation, terrorism, world economic crises, global warming, and violent religious and ethnic conflicts. Competitiveness concerns, specifically economic competition with Asia and China's rise as world economic power, rank at the bottom of the list. (Tables 4.6)

Table 4.6
Threats
MEXICO / ASIA



In contrast, the Chinese perceive threats to their competitiveness as the top concerns. Their very recent experiences with SARS and bird flu, which had direct effects on their economy, may explain why the Chinese rank the threat of epidemics first. After epidemics, the next ranked threats perceived as very grave are the disruption of their energy supply and global warming. As with epidemics, the Chinese may have begun to perceive the potential economic fallout of global warming. Recent statements by some Chinese officials explicitly identify environmental degradation and global warming as impediments to China's future economic growth. Disruption of the country's energy supply would also impede China from growing rapidly.

The next issue is clearly related to competitiveness: economic competition with the United States. Then come two clear security issues: international terrorism and the U.S.'s military presence in Asia. These are followed by issues that are specific to Asia -- regional economic competition, tensions in the Korean peninsula, India-Pakistan rivalries, and Islamic fundamentalism.

In the case of grave threats to India, four of the five top threats in the ranking, aside from epidemic diseases, are security threats close to home: terrorism, tensions with Pakistan, unfriendly countries becoming nuclear powers, and Islamic fundamentalism, all of which are in the directly affect India and are in the forefront of the Indian policy agenda. The next group down, with the exception of the U.S. military presence in Asia, are issues that could affect India's economic progress: global warming, China as a world power, disruption to the energy supply, and economic competition from the United States and other Asian countries. The last group in the ranking is concerned with conflicts further away in Asia -- the confrontation between China and Taiwan and the conflict on the Korean Peninsula.

For South Koreans the top two sets of threats are those to the economy and to security. The top three threats are the same as those ranked high in China: global warming, disruption of the energy supply, and epidemic diseases. The next set of top threats are the North Korean nuclear threat, China's rise as a world power (which is seen as a security threat because of China's proximity), and international terrorism. What we conclude from these rough comparisons of perceived threats in Mexico and the three Asian countries is that Mexico's top threats all have to do with personal and national

security rather than broader geopolitical issues or economic competitiveness. Mexico also stands out in that threats related to economic growth are ranked lowest compared to the rankings in India, China, and South Korea.

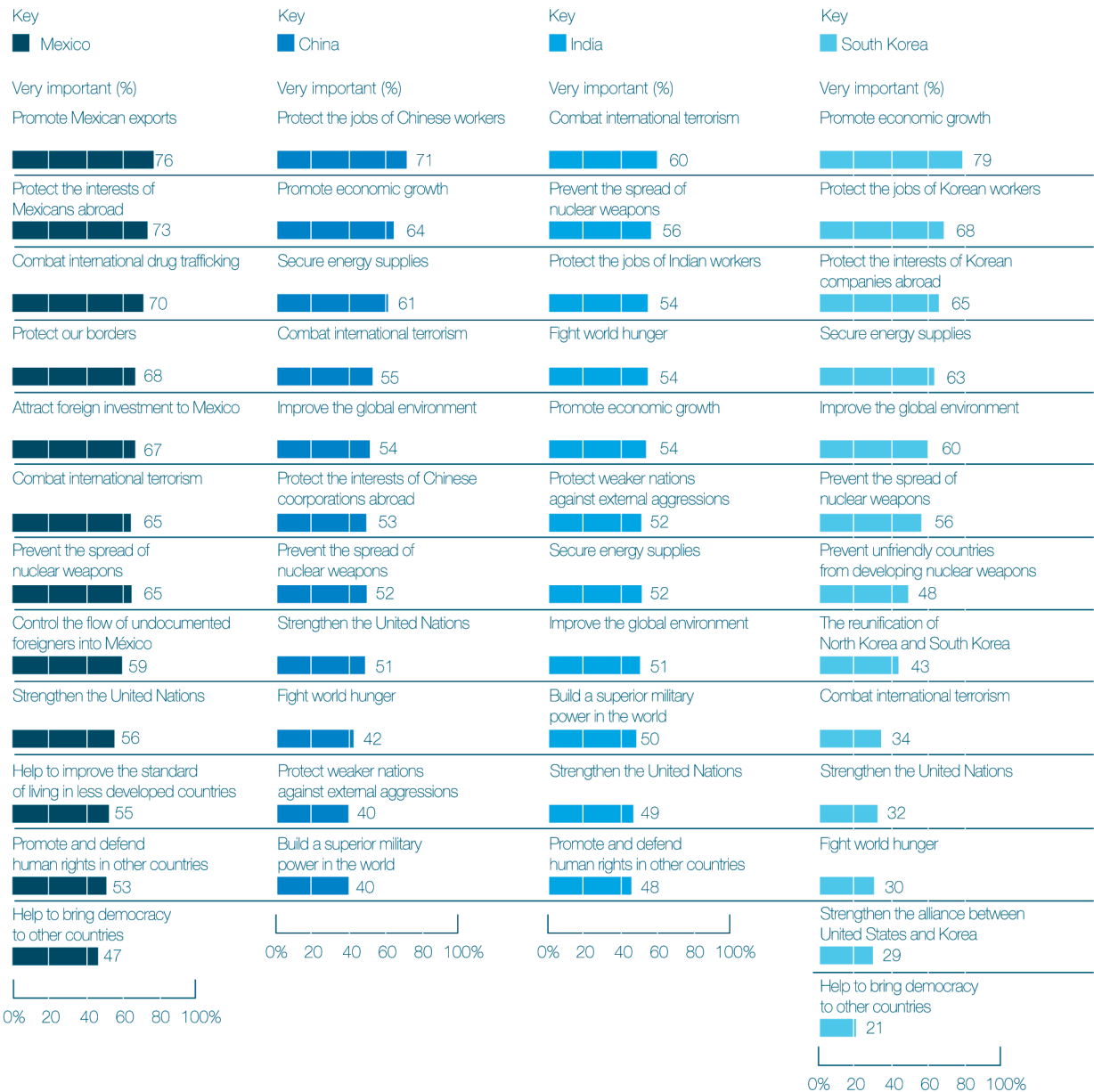
Foreign policy goals

The previous chapter discussed how the importance that Mexicans and Americans attach to different foreign-policy goals corresponds roughly with their perceptions of threats. In both countries, publics give low priority to international economics, human rights, humanitarian matters, and to the United Nations. In Mexico, helping poor countries, promoting human rights, bringing democracy to other countries, and strengthening the United Nations are much less important than promoting exports and foreign investment, protecting Mexicans abroad, combating drugs, and securing its borders. Security issues fall approximately in the middle. (Table 4.7)

In China, foreign economic policy goals are primary. The top three goals for the Chinese public are protecting the jobs of Chinese workers, promoting economic growth, and securing adequate supplies of energy. Issues related to the exercise of power are at the bottom: building superior military power in Asia and protecting weaker nations against foreign aggression. In India, the public sees two security issues -- combating terrorism and preventing the spread of nuclear weapons -- among the top foreign-policy goals. The next group of objectives are economic ones: protecting the jobs of Indian workers, promoting economic growth and combating world hunger, which presumably includes hunger in India. The remaining goals include world citizenship issues like defending human rights and strengthening the United Nations.

As in the case of China, the South Korean public sees economic goals as most important. These include the objectives of promoting economic growth, protecting the jobs of South Korean workers, protecting the interests of South Korean businesses abroad, and securing adequate energy supplies. Improving the global environment follows. Only then come security issues: preventing the spread of nuclear weapons in general and particularly in the case of North Korea, and the reunification of North and South Korea. The remaining goals in the bottom group include objectives relating to world citizenship and combating terrorism.

Table 4.7
Foreign Policy Goals
MEXICO / ASIA



While a summary of foreign-policy goals in the four countries is complicated, one important pattern can be seen. Both China and South Korea have foreign-policy objectives that are consistent with clear and congruent economic agendas. It is striking that becoming a military power in Asia is not a highly ranked goal for the Chinese people.

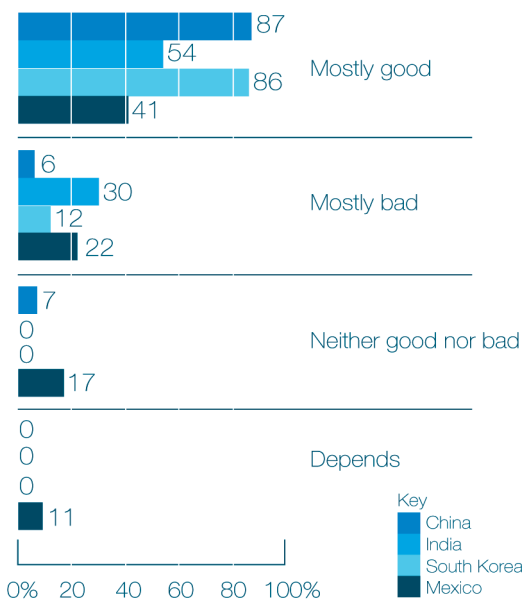
In contrast, these economic objectives are not as single-minded for Mexico and India. In India, security objectives take priority over economic aspirations. In Mexico, the problems posed by drugs, the vulnerability of its citizens in the United States, and its porous borders are foreign-policy issues that take precedence over economic concerns.

Globalization

Chapter 3 discussed how the way Mexicans and Americans perceive the impact of the international economic system on their countries affects their attitudes toward globalization. More Mexicans think globalization is mostly good compared to 2004, though this percentage, 41%, is still lower than the 60% for Americans. It is also much lower, than the percentage for South Koreans, with 86%, and Chinese, with 87%. Mexicans are most like Indians in this respect, although more Indians, 54%, than Mexicans think globalization is mostly good. In India, 30% think the opposite, that globalization is mostly bad, whereas in Mexico negative views are lower, with 22%. (Table 4.8)

Table 4.8
Globalization
MEXICO / ASIA

Do you believe that the increasing contact of our economy with others around the world, what is known as globalization, is mostly good or mostly bad for [survey country]?



Majorities in all four countries think that international trade is good for their countries' economies, though once more South Koreans, 80%, and the Chinese, 88%, are more likely to say this, while Mexicans, 59%, fall closer to Indians, with 64%. Surprisingly, Mexicans come out near the top when it comes to trade's impact on job creation:

74% of Mexicans think that trade is good for job creation, compared to 60% of South Koreans, 73% of Chinese, and 56% of Indians. Still, these are majorities in all four countries. Majorities in all countries also think that international trade benefits businesses or companies in their countries: 66% of Mexicans, 59% of Indians, and fully 78% of the Chinese and South Koreans agree. Once more Mexicans' attitudes are most similar to those of Indians. (Table 4.9)

Majorities in all four countries also think that trade is good for an individual's standard of living, though this is more the case in China, with 73%, than in Mexico, 53%, India, 54% and South Korea, 56%. Opinions in all four countries are somewhat more tempered concerning whether international trade's effect on the environment. A smaller majority in China, 58%, compared to other responses by the Chinese public, think that trade is good for the environment, compared to 51% in India, 47% in South Korea, and 41% in Mexico. Only the Chinese see international trade as good for all the goals and groups asked about in the 2006 survey. With the exception of job creation, Mexicans are less certain about the benefits of international trade than the Chinese, Indians and South Koreans. In Mexico, the majority support for free trade, is not as strong as in the Asian countries.

Beyond the general benefits of international trade, the 2006 survey asked whether minimum standards for environmental protection and working conditions should be required in trade agreements. These questions were not asked in South Korea, so we cannot make any comparison on these issues. But, large majorities in Mexico, 76%, and China, 85%, agree that minimum environmental standards should be required. A smaller majority in India, 60%, favors this position. The results are similar for working conditions: 67% of Mexicans support minimum standards compared to 84% of Chinese and, again, a smaller majority, 56%, in India.

On compliance with international economic institutions, small majorities of both Mexicans, 53%, and Chinese, 58%, support abiding by World Trade Organization rulings that go against them. Support among Indians and South Koreans, 37% in both cases, falls far short of a majority. Similarly, in South Korea a majority, 52%, opposes such compliance. This relatively low willingness to comply with WTO decisions might reflect an erosion of the WTO's image given the failure of the Doha negotiations to overcome the differences between developed and developing countries on the issue of agricultural

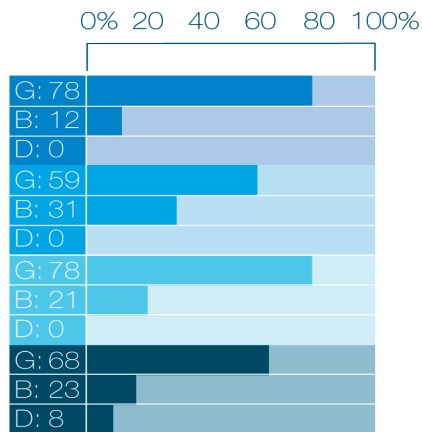
Table 4.9

International Trade. Good or bad for?:

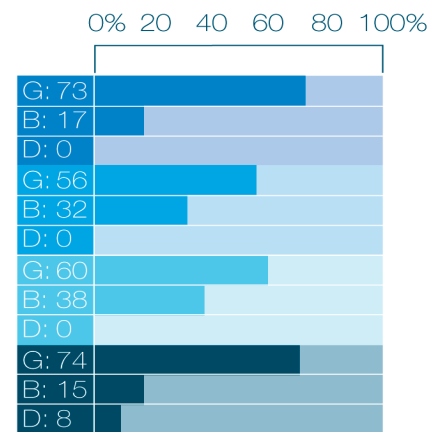
MEXICO / ASIA

Overall, do you think international trade is good or bad for:

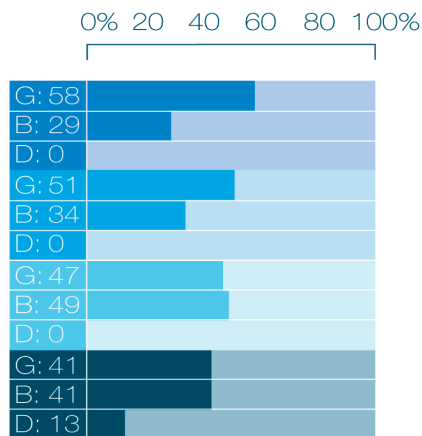
[survey country] business



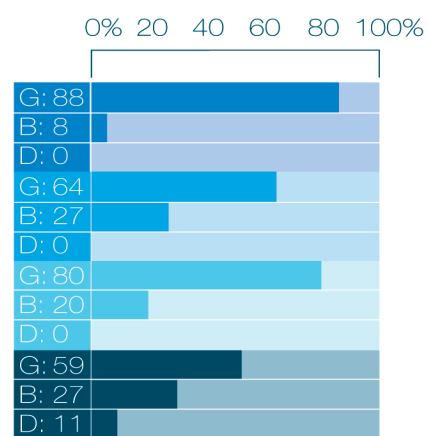
Job creation in [survey country]



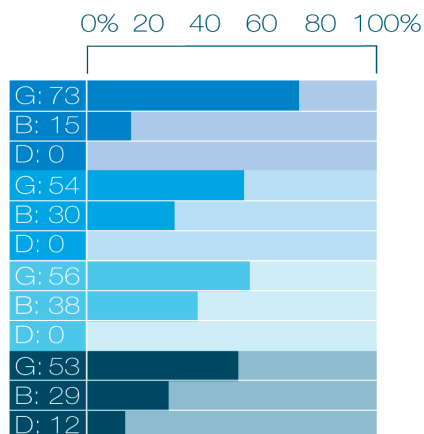
The environment



The [survey country] economy



The standard of living of people like you



Key

- China
- India
- South Korea
- Mexico

G: Good
B: Bad
D: Depends

subsidies. It might also reflect a sense among the publics of developing countries that the international rules of the game are less favorable to poor and mid-sized countries than to rich ones. Support is much higher in the United States, with 73%, perhaps reflecting the belief among citizens of these more powerful countries that their governments may have influence over the WTO and other international institutions.

International organizations, the United Nations, and joint decision-making

The country surveys asked respondents to assess their favorable feelings about international organizations on a scale of 0 to 100 with 0 meaning completely unfavorable feelings, 50 neutral feelings and 100 completely favorable feelings. Each country survey included its own list of relevant organizations, but all country surveys asked about the United Nations, the World Trade Organization, multinational corporations and important regional organizations. Mexicans give their highest ratings to the United Nations followed by the World Trade Organization and multinational corporations tied for third place with the European Union. The last two organizations are the Organization of American States and international non-governmental human rights groups.

For China, the World Health Organization is at the top, followed by the WTO, the U.N., the World Bank, APEC, the International Monetary Fund, the World Court, and multinational corporations. India has the WTO, the U.N., and the World Bank at the top; and South Korea has the WHO followed by the U.N., international human rights non-governmental organizations, APEC, the World Court, the WTO, and the World Bank.

Overall, all of the countries rate the U.N. highly, but China and India are more favorable toward the World Trade Organization than they are toward the U.N. and Mexicans and South Koreans rate the U.N. more favorably than they do the W.T.O. This difference may be explained by China and India's more recent entry into the W.T.O. and the significant increases in trade that both countries enjoy, in part, because of their recent membership. In contrast, Mexico and South Korea entered the W.T.O., and its predecessor, The General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) much earlier and any immediate benefits from entry are long gone.

In contrast to these general opinions about the United Nations and other international organizations, Mexicans, Indians, and South Koreans differ from

the Chinese, the Japanese, and Americans when it comes to abiding by U.N. decisions and giving the organization specific powers. When asked whether their country should go along with U.N. decisions that it would not have preferred, 46% of Mexicans say it should, as do 44% of Indians, and 48% of South Koreans. This contrasts with their generally more favorable view of the U.N. But majorities in China, with 78%, and the United States, 60%, agree that their governments should abide by decisions they don't like. This again suggests that the publics of Mexico, South Korea, and India are more reluctant to defer to decisions by international organizations that are heavily influenced by major world powers -- even though they have generally very favorable opinions of those organizations.

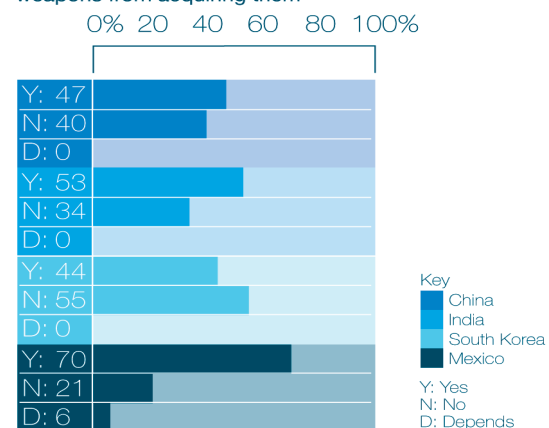
Use of force

When asked about their support for giving the United Nations Security Council the power to order the use of force in five distinct cases, the opinions vary. 70% of Mexicans support authorizing force to prevent a country that does not have nuclear weapons from acquiring them but the number drops sharply in Asia; 47% of Chinese, 53% of Indians, 44% of South Koreans agree. (Table 4.10)

Table 4.10
UN Security Council:
Use of force
MEXICO / ASIA

The Security Council is one of the most important bodies of the UN, and in certain circumstances it authorizes the use of force. Do you think that the UN Security Council should or should not have the right to authorize the use of military force in which of the following circumstances?:

To prevent a country that does not have nuclear weapons from acquiring them



The numbers rise in the case of using force to stop human rights violations such as genocide: 73% of Mexicans, 72% of Chinese, 63% of Indians, and 74% of South Koreans say yes to giving the U.N authorization. In the case of force to stop a country from supporting terrorist groups 71% of Mexicans agree, not too different from 67% of Chinese, 60% of Indians, and 61% of South Koreans. The numbers diverge when it comes to using force to restore a democratic government that has been overthrown: 54% of Mexicans and 51% of Indians agree while only 37% of Chinese and 32% of South Koreans do. (Table 4.11)

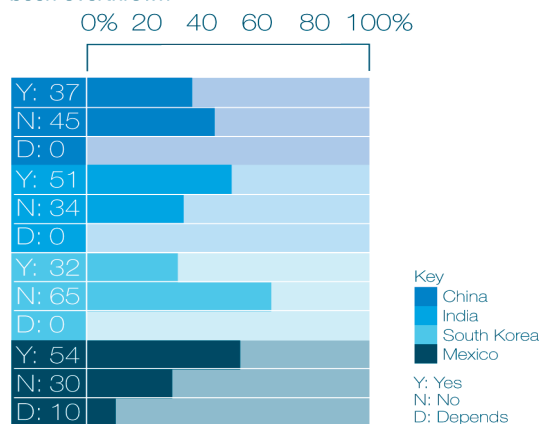
Table 4.11

**UN Security Council:
Use of force**

MEXICO / ASIA

The Security Council is one of the most important bodies of the UN, and in certain circumstances it authorizes the use of force. Do you think that the UN Security Council should or should not have the right to authorize the use of military force in which of the following circumstances?:

To restore by force a democratic government that has been overthrown



The numbers are more similar again when it comes to authorizing force to defend a country that has been attacked: 65% of Mexicans, 70% of Chinese, 67% of Indians, and 76% of South Koreans say the UN Security Council should have the right. Mexicans appear more willing than their Asian counterparts to approve the use of multilateral military force in most circumstances, although South Koreans show slightly higher support in the case of human rights violations and collective security.

There is a wide gap on the question of nuclear weapons where Mexicans show much greater support -- more than 22 percentage points, on

average -- than China, India and South Korea do for using multilateral force to stop countries from acquiring nuclear weapons. This might reflect Mexico's longstanding tradition against nuclear proliferation, and, in the case of India, where there is a slight majority in favor of force, its relatively recent acquisition of a nuclear capability as well as that of its rival, Pakistan. As for South Koreans, this issue has a much greater direct effect on their lives. Using force to prevent a country from acquiring nuclear weapons may well mean the use of multilateral force on the Korean peninsula to prevent North Korea from continuing its nuclear program. For all countries, using multilateral force to restore democratic governance is the option with the lowest score.

We see similar majorities in all four countries who think the U.N. Security Council should be able to authorize the use of force in the cases of human rights violations, stopping a country from supporting terrorist groups, and defending a country that has been attacked. The country where there is the largest support for defending a country that has been attacked is South Korea. This is not surprising, given that North Korea attacked South Korea in 1950 and the U.N. provided authorization for a United States-led force there. South Korea remains under the continued threat of another North Korean attack.

Mexicans and Indians share majority support for the use of force to restore a democratic government that has been overthrown. In contrast, a large majority of South Koreans oppose this as do a plurality of the more closely divided Chinese. China, unlike the other countries, is not a democracy, so the Chinese have no reason to support military intervention to restore democratic governments elsewhere.

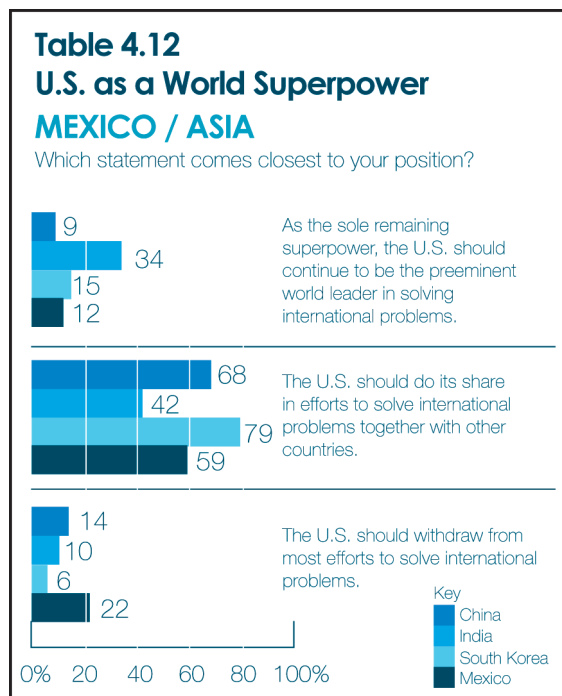
The United States as a world superpower and attitudes toward other countries

When asked about the role of the United States as a world superpower, a majority or a plurality in all four countries prefer that the U.S. work together with other countries to solve international problems. South Koreans are most supportive of this, with 79%, followed by the Chinese, with 68%.

South Koreans are also most concerned that the United States stay involved in world affairs. When asked if the United States should withdraw from efforts to solve global problems, only 6% agreed, probably because most South Koreans

see the United States as their guarantor of security against North Korea. In contrast, Mexicans are the most supportive of all the four countries of the U.S. withdrawing.

India has the highest percentage of those who believe that the United States should continue as the preeminent world leader, with 34%. In Mexico, the figure is just 12%. Indians may well see their country potentially allied or otherwise protected by actions that the United States might adopt unilaterally. Indian opinion is divided in a way that is different from Mexico and the others: only a plurality of 42% favor the United States taking the multilateral approach that majorities in Mexico, with 59%, China and South Korea support. (Table 4.12)



The surveys' 0-100 favorability scales provide a measure of the sentiment toward the United States and other countries. Mexico and India are again similar: the publics in both countries give the United States one of the highest average scores, the U.S. coming in a close second to Canada in Mexico and in the first five in India. The U.S. is also among the top five countries for South Koreans. The Chinese rank the U.S. second from the bottom, above only Japan. They rank North Korea and South Korea first. Mexico falls somewhere in the middle, along with India. Others closer to the top for the Chinese are the European powers and

Australia, and below Mexico and India are major Arab and Muslim countries followed by Israel just above the United States. It is difficult to make systematic comparisons of these rankings, since they might be capturing different dimensions. In the particular case of Mexico, it is clear that aspirations dominate over other considerations such as cultural or geopolitical closeness: Mexicans rank big and successful countries higher regardless of their culture, government or geographic region.

In contrast to where the Chinese rank Mexico, Mexicans rate China near the top, just after the Canada and the United States and at the same high level as Japan and Australia. South Korea is in the middle just above several Latin American countries, and India leads the bottom-ranked group of countries. India is an economic competitor of Mexico just as China is, and it is clear that Mexicans and Indians share many similar opinions on foreign policy, so Mexicans' low rating of India is somewhat surprising, as is the low rating that Indians also give Mexico, at the bottom of the mid-rated countries at best. One explanation could be the lack of knowledge publics in both countries have about the other. Indians give Japan, China, Germany, Great Britain, and North Korea the next highest average scores after the United States, reflecting perhaps a respect for the power or aspiration to nuclear power, in the case of North Korea, of these countries. South Korea, like Mexico, is at the bottom of the mid-ranked group, with an average score just below Mexico's.

In contrast, South Koreans' average favorability score for India is solidly in the mid-rated group of countries. In reciprocal fashion, just as Mexicans rate South Korea in the middle, South Koreans do the same for Mexico, just below India. South Koreans rate Japan near the bottom, which is not surprising given centuries of conflict between the two countries, followed only by Iran and Iraq. Iran and Iraq also fall at the bottom for the publics in the other Asian countries and Iran is at the bottom of Mexicans' favorability rankings.

Methodological Note

Mexican General Public Survey

For this second survey of Mexican public opinion on foreign policy issues, CIDE and COMEXI worked BGC-Ulises Beltran & Associates who conducted the general public survey from July 22 to 27, 2006, using the same survey method and field organization as the 2004 survey. The survey was conducted by in-person (face-to-face) interviews based on a sample of the adult Mexican population aged 18 and older. In-person interviews were necessary because of the low rate of telephone and Internet penetration in Mexico.

The general public survey consists of 1,499 interviews based on a probabilistic sample design. Given the nature and objectives of the study to compare Mexicans' opinions across regions of the country and in the same regions over time, it was necessary to oversample the populations of the states in the north that border the United States and the relatively sparsely populated regions of the southeast. The resulting sample included 600 respondents in the six states of the north, 299 respondents in the seven states of the south and southeast, and 600 respondents in the remaining nineteen states constituting the country's center region.

The sample design was based on a list of 63,594 electoral sections defined by the Federal Electoral Institute for the 2003 Mexican federal elections. This design provides an exhaustive and exclusive division of the population under study. The selection process used was multistage sampling in which the first stage is the grouping or "conglomeration" of sections in the same state and municipality. This was done to reduce costs by reducing the geographic dispersion of the survey.

The number of conglomerates per municipality increases with the population size of the electoral district. This combining of sections produced 6,080 section conglomerates. The selection of 75 conglomerates was then done through random sampling with probabilities proportional to the size of the electoral list. The second stage consisted of choosing two electoral sections inside a

conglomerate, selected through random sampling with probabilities proportional to the size of the electoral section. In the next stages, blocks and then residences were selected randomly with equal probabilities. Inside the residences respondents were chosen using quotas for age and sex based on the known demographic characteristics, according to the 2000 Mexican Census. The overall response rate was 48%. The survey took approximately 25 minutes. Because of the general public survey design, regional oversampling, and sample deviations from the distributions of age and sex, the data were weighted for the national and regional analyses based on the known demographic characteristics.

There were, however, generally small differences between the weighted and unweighted results. For the results based on the total national sample of 1,499 respondents, the sampling error for a 95% confidence interval is $\pm 4\%$. Each regional sample has a larger sampling error. For the north it is $\pm 6\%$, for the south/southeast it is $\pm 8\%$, and for the rest of the country (center) it is $\pm 6\%$. This margin of error does not include any additional error that can occur in surveys due to question wordings and other characteristics of the survey and interview process.

Leaders' Survey Methodology

The leaders' survey measures the attitudes of a select group on Mexican foreign policy and international affairs. IPSOS-Bimsa conducted the leaders' survey from July 28 to August 25, 2006. They surveyed 259 Mexican leaders, randomly selected from a list of 1,711 foreign policy decision makers and opinion leaders. CIDE and COMEXI created the list by first, defining the characteristics of each subgroup of leaders and then, using directories and other public and private information sources to obtain the names and contact information for all of the individuals whose job responsibilities or memberships fulfilled the definitions' criteria.

The leaders' survey includes five subgroups: senior federal and state government officials

(Government), political party leaderships, state governors, federal congressional representatives, and senators (Politicians), business executives (Business), media and academic leaders (Media and Academic), and civil society leaders, including non-governmental organizations, union and religious leaders (NGO). While this leadership survey should not be construed as representative of all of Mexico's national leaders, it does reliably capture a significant sector of Mexico's leadership, those with significant professional responsibilities or interests in Mexican foreign policy and international affairs.

Dr. Enrique Cabrero, General Director of CIDE, and Ambassador Andrés Rozental, President of Comexi, sent a letter via messenger service to each individual included on the leaders' list. The letter explained the survey's purpose, guaranteed the confidentiality of the individual responses, and asked for the leader's participation. Dr. Jorge Buendía, of IPSOS-Bimsa also sent a letter all of the individuals on the list explaining that they may be contacted by representatives of IPSOS-Bimsa and asked to complete the survey during a scheduled telephone interview. The criteria used to form the lists for each subgroup is detailed below.

GOVERNMENT

Federal Government

- All Undersecretaries and the Secretaries' General Coordinator of Advisors for the eighteen federal government Secretariats and the Attorney General's office.
- All General Directors, Assistant General Directors, and Directors in the international departments within the Secretariats.
- All General Directors in the three Secretariats with the most internationally-oriented responsibilities – the Secretariat of Foreign Relations, Secretariat of Finance and Public Credit, and the Secretariat of Economy.

State Government

- The Secretary for International Affairs, Secretary of Tourism and the Governors' General Coordinator of Advisors, or equivalents, from each of the 32 state governments
- The Undersecretaries, General Directors, and Assistant General Directors from state governments' internationally oriented Secretariats.

Decentralized Government Agencies and State-Owned Enterprises

- The General Coordinator of Advisors for each of the following decentralized federal agencies and commissions and state-owned enterprises:
 - The Banco de México, The National Bank for Foreign Trade (BANCOMEXT), The Center for Investigation and National Security (CISAN), The Federal Competition Commission (CFC), The Federal Electricity Commission (CFE), The Federal Telecommunications Commission (Cofetel), The National Banking and Securities Commission (CNBV), The National Human Rights Commission (CNDH), The Energy Regulatory Commission (CRE), The National Science and Technology Council (Conacyt), The Mexican Social Security Institute (IMSS), The Government Employees Social Security Institute (ISSSTE), The Federal Electoral Institute (IFE), The National Migration Institute (INMI), and Petróleos de México (Pemex).

POLITICIANS

- Senators who were members of the following committees: Foreign Relations, Border Affairs, National Defense and Energy.
- Congressional Representatives who were members of the following committees: National Defense, Energy, Population, Border and Migratory Affairs, Foreign Relations, and the Permanent Committee.
- Political appointees, including all federal government Secretaries, Presidents or General Directors of the included decentralized federal agencies, commissions and state-owned enterprises,
- Governors of the thirty-two Mexican states
- Political party leaderships including;
 - Members of the National Executive Committees for all of the political parties registered with the Federal Electoral Institute,
 - Secretary of International Relations for those political parties that have this position
 - Congressional and Senate party leaderships,
 - Presidents of the state political parties.

BUSINESS

Owners, Chief Executive Officers, Presidents, Vice Presidents and General Directors of the 100 largest Mexican companies, as measured by *Expansión* magazine. At the request of some of these corporate officers, who were not available for interviews because of travel or other scheduling conflicts, we also interviewed the Director of International Affairs for the corporation.

MEDIA AND ACADEMICS

Media

News directors, editorial directors, international section directors, national, business, and international section columnists, and foreign correspondents from the following media outlets with national coverage:

- Newspapers: *El Universal*, *La Jornada*, *Reforma*, *El Norte*, *El Informador*;
- Magazines: *Proceso*, *La Revista*, *Expansión*, *Contenido*, *Ejecutivos de Finanzas*, *Entrepreneur*, *Letras Libres*, *Mundo Ejecutivo*, *Newsweek*, *Nexos*, and *Siempre*;
- Wire services: *Agencia Apro/Proceso*, *Agencia de Información Integral Periodística*, *Agencia Mexicana de Información*, *Agencia Nacional de Noticias*, *El Financiero*, *Notimex*, *Servicio Universal de Noticias/El Universal*;
- Televisión: *Canal 11 (XEIPN)*, *Canal 22 (XEIMT-TV)*, *MVS Comunicaciones*, *Televisa*, and *TV Azteca*.

Academics

- Program directors and full-time professors of international relations and political science from the major public and private universities;
- Members of the National Researchers' System (SNI) from Area 5 (Social Sciences).

NGO

Unions

- Secretary General of the union local for the 100 businesses listed in the BUSINESS subgroup

Non-governmental organizations

- Directors and Presidents of non-governmental organizations with a program focus on international issues

- Members of professional organizations concerned with international affairs including: The Mexican Council on Foreign Relations and The Mexican International Studies Association.

Religious groups

Leaderships of the most prominent religious denominations including the positions of: President, General Director, Chaplain, Social Director, Director of Public Affairs, Legal Representative and Bishop. It is important to note that no Bishop of the Catholic Church, Mexico's largest religious domination, agreed to participate in the survey.

Sample Quotas and Final Sample Distribution

Groups	Original quota	Interviewed	Difference
Government	75	78	+3
Politicians	75	56	-19
Business	75	48	-27
Media and Academics	35	36	+1
NGO	40	41	+1
Total	30	259	-41

Survey Response Rate

1,507 calls were made to 799 contacts. Approximately six calls were made before getting one effective interview. The final results for those contacted are distributed as follows:

Code of final disposition	
Didn't answer	105
Busy line	24
Answering machine	7
Telephone line out of service	2
Refused to answer	19
Incomplete interview	13
Non-existent telephone number	15
Over quota	1
No longer employed there	16
Out of town	75
Appointed made	34
Hard to locate	80
Complete interview	259
Wrong number	13
Will return the call	124
Repeated contact number	4
No telephone number	3
Fax tone	3
Incomplete number	2

United States Survey Methodology

The survey of the United States, by the Chicago Council on Global Affairs (CCGA) was conducted by Knowledge Networks, a polling, social science, and market research firm in Menlo Park, California. The survey was conducted between June 23 and July 9, 2006, with a sample of 1,227 American adults who had been randomly selected from KN's respondent panel and answered questions on screens in their own homes. The margin of sampling error is approximately plus or minus 3 percentage points. The survey was fielded using a randomly selected sample of KN's large-scale, nationwide research panel. This panel is itself randomly selected from the national population of households having telephones and subsequently provided Internet access for the completion of surveys (and thus is not limited to those who already have Internet access). The distribution of the sample in the Web-enabled panel closely tracks the distribution of United States Census counts for the U.S. population on age, race, Hispanic ethnicity, geographical region, employment status, income, education, etc. The panel is recruited using stratified random digit- dial (RDD) telephone sampling. RDD provides a nonzero probability of selection for every U.S. household having a telephone. Households that agree to participate in the panel are provided with free Web access and an Internet appliance, which uses a telephone line to connect to the Internet and uses the television as a monitor. For more information about the methodology, please go to www.knowledgenetworks.com/ganp.

China Survey Methodology

The survey of China, by the Chicago Council on Global Affairs (CCGA) was conducted by the international polling firm GlobeScan. The survey was conducted July 10-21, 2006, with a sample of 2,000 respondents, but was subsequently reduced to 1,964 after screening out respondents who were illiterate or who had no formal education whatsoever, giving the results a margin of error of plus or minus 2.3 percentage points. The sample was nationally representative of those eighteen years of age or older and was drawn by a stratified multistage sampling method. All thirty-one provinces were divided into three strata according to their geographical location and their HDI (Human Development Index). The sample was weighted to represent the 2005 census that indicated that 43% of people live in cities or towns and 57% of people live in villages.

India Survey Methodology

The survey of India, by the Chicago Council on Global Affairs (CCGA) was conducted by the international polling firm GlobeScan. The survey was conducted July 9-27, 2006. The original sample included 3,132 respondents, but was subsequently reduced to 2,458 after screening out respondents who were illiterate or who had no formal education whatsoever, giving the results a margin of error of approximately plus or minus 2 percent points. The sample was a representative stratified random sample of all adults, age eighteen years of age or older. The sample was a nationwide sample drawing from 97% of the population geographically and 98% demographically across 526 parliamentary areas of the country. Respondents in the northeastern part of the country, representing 2% of the population and 3% of parliamentary areas, were not polled due to the relatively inaccessible nature of these respondents and other factors.

South Korea Survey Methodology

The survey of South Korea, by the Chicago Council on Global Affairs (CCGA) was conducted by Hankook Research Company for the East Asian Institute. The survey was conducted between June 16 and July 7, 2006, with a nationally representative sample of 1,024 adults nineteen years or older, providing a margin of error of plus or minus 3.1 percentage points. The interviews were conducted face-to-face. The sample was drawn from fifteen of the sixteen administrative divisions of South Korea based on a multistage quota sampling method. The national population was categorized into sixteen groups by administrative divisions, five groups by age and two groups by sex. The quota of samples was then calculated by region, age, and sex based on the 2005 Korean Census. Households were randomly selected in every region according to the quota. In the final step, weights were applied to the dataset in order to match the sampling-quota by region, sex, and age more precisely.

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