

At NAFTA's Platinum Anniversary: American Attitudes toward Cross-Border Ties

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The recent North American Summit in Toluca, Mexico, occurred 20 years after the United States, Canada, and Mexico linked their economies together with the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA). Perhaps fittingly, then, the discussions this year focused more on trade than on the security issues that have typified previous agendas. US President Barack Obama, Mexican President Enrique Peña Nieto, and Canadian Prime Minister Stephen Harper pledged to advance trilateral integration on energy, improve transportation infrastructure, and make border crossings more efficient. But the leaders were light on the details, and they barely touched on the continuing problems related to drugs, crime, and migration—issues that are the dominant concerns among the US and Mexican publics. In fact, Mexico has a growing image problem among Americans, whose negative views of the country are largely based on narcotics trafficking, crime, and to a lesser extent, undocumented immigration.

These are some of the findings from a pair of surveys conducted by The Chicago Council on Global Affairs in partnership with Centro de Estudios Sociales y de Opinión Pública (CESOP), Centro de Investigación y Docencia Económicas (CIDE), Instituto Tecnológico Autónomo de México (ITAM), and the Mexico Institute at the Woodrow Wilson Center. While the Toluca meeting focused on trilateral cooperation, a recent Mexico

Institute report, *Is Geography Destiny?*, states that nearly all of the key issues affecting North America are being addressed either independently by one of the three countries or in a dual-bilateral framework. These surveys thus focus on public attitudes on the US-Mexico relationship.

Key Findings

- ▶ Two decades since the implementation of NAFTA, Americans and Mexicans have grown more positive about the impact of NAFTA on their countries. But both—and especially Americans—still think the other country benefits more from the deal.
- ▶ Both publics tend to think the two countries are working in the same direction on trade and economic development. But Mexicans are much more likely than Americans to recognize the magnitude of the trading relationship between the two countries.
- ▶ While both Mexicans and Americans think bilateral relations are good and important, there is less consensus on whether the United States and Mexico are working “in the same direction” on combating drug trafficking, enforcing border security, and combating organized crime.
- ▶ Both publics want their governments to place a greater emphasis on security over economic issues.

- ▶ A majority of Mexicans continue to express a positive view of the United States, though it is down somewhat from previous surveys. On the other hand, American views of Mexico are at their lowest level since 1994, with fewer than four in ten viewing it favorably.
- ▶ One out of every two Americans surveyed has visited Mexico. Two out of every ten Mexicans have been to the United States. Travel across the border tends to correlate positively with favorable opinions of the other country and the economic ties between them.
- ▶ Americans are more positive toward Mexicans living in Mexico than Mexicans living in the United States. This is likely because of the association among some Americans with undocumented immigration. Both publics believe that immigrants who cross the border without legal documents do so in order to improve their living standards.

The Trade Relationship

Positive views of NAFTA have risen, but each side thinks the other benefits more

Since the implementation of NAFTA, US investments in Mexico have grown sixfold, and bilateral trade has more than tripled. Currently, Mexico ranks second among US export markets, supporting some six million US jobs.¹ Survey results show that majorities in both Mexico and the United States view the relation-

ship as one of economic cooperation, characterizing the other country as an economic partner (51% of Mexicans, 64% of Americans) rather than a competitor (31% of Mexicans, 33% of Americans). Both Americans (57%) and Mexicans (51%) also tend to say the United States and Mexico are working in the same direction on trade and economic development.

Mexicans, in particular, have increasingly recognized the benefits of NAFTA (figure 1). Opinion of the trade agreement has shifted over the past 10 years, with majorities of Mexicans now saying that NAFTA is good for the Mexican economy (64%, compared to 44% in 2004), creating jobs in Mexico (60% vs. 49% in 2004), and Mexican companies (65% vs. 50% in 2004). Mexicans continue to believe, however, that NAFTA is more beneficial for the United States (figure 2), with 72 percent saying NAFTA is good for the US economy and 67 percent saying it is good for creating American jobs. Over time, however, the gap in perceptions of greater benefits for the United States over Mexico has narrowed.

There are substantial regional differences in Mexican opinion towards NAFTA. Mexicans living in the northern part of the country, an area that has seen substantial growth in cross-border manufacturing over the past 20 years, are far more likely to say that NAFTA is good for the Mexican economy. Views are far less positive in the poorer and less-developed southern areas of Mexico (figure 3).

For their part, Americans have also grown more positive toward NAFTA (figure 2). According to April

FIGURE 1

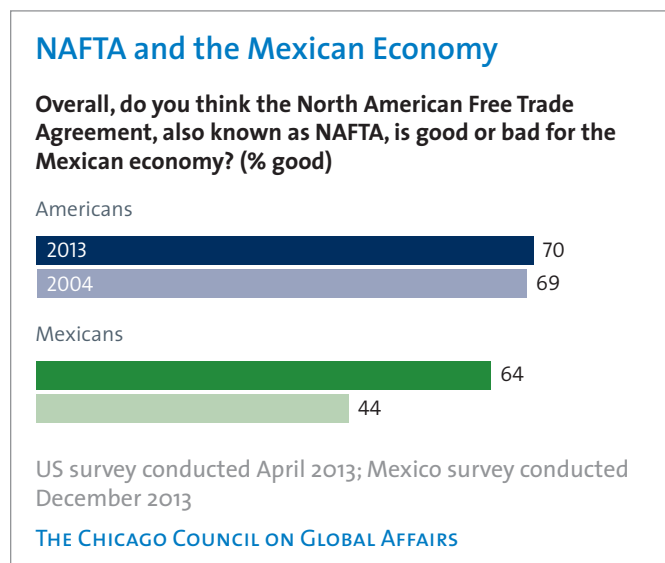


FIGURE 2

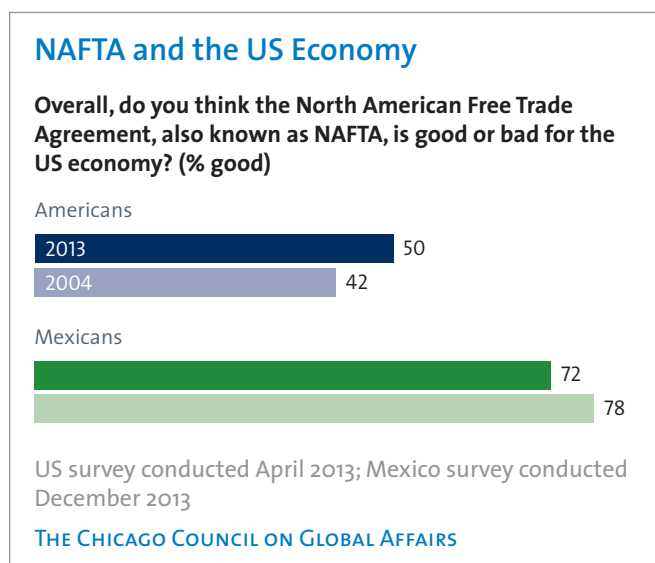
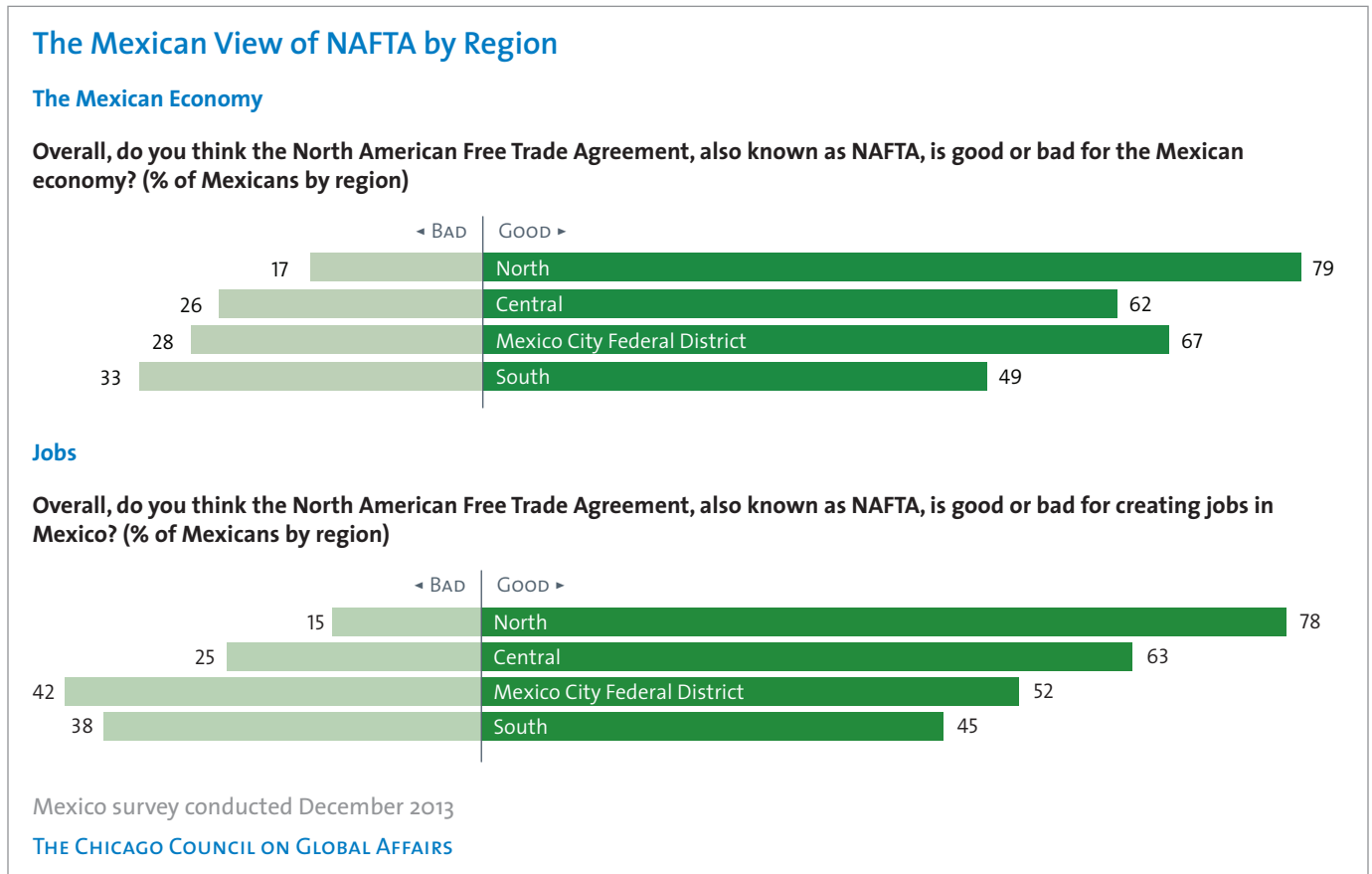


FIGURE 3



2013 results, 50 percent of Americans say NAFTA is good for the US economy (compared to 42% in 2004), good for American companies (55% vs. 50% in 2004), and good for creating jobs in the United States (38% vs. 31% 2004). But far more Americans continue to believe that NAFTA is good for the Mexican economy (70%) and creating jobs in Mexico (69%), unchanged since 2004 (figure 1).²

Many Americans are unaware of the depth of trade ties

Americans may not be as enthusiastic about NAFTA as Mexicans partly because they are less aware of how interconnected the two economies really are. Just two in ten Americans (20%) know that Mexico is one of the United States’ top five trading partners, compared to six in ten Mexicans (58%). Half of Americans and two in ten Mexicans incorrectly identify the other country as a top ten, but not a top five, trading partner (figure 4). Analysis of the April 2013 US poll results reveal that those who know that Mexico is a top five trading partner are more likely to say that the United States and

Mexico are working in the same direction on major bilateral issues and are more positive in their overall opinion of Mexico.³

Despite US trade with Canada and Mexico eclipsing the total trade relationship with the European Union,⁴ Americans say their country’s economic interests align more with European countries and the EU (55%) than with those of Canada and Mexico (28%) or those of Asian countries (12%).⁵

Energy and telecom reforms are unpopular in Mexico

Most Americans do not view Mexico’s economy as “modern” (only 9% do). A majority describes the Mexican economy as a “developing” one (63%), while 26 percent say it is “not developed.”

While Mexico’s economy has grown, particularly in the manufacturing and service sectors, it is still plagued by security issues, weak transportation infrastructure, and “uneven playing fields in business and citizens’ daily lives.”⁶ President Peña Nieto’s reform agenda is designed to address several shortcomings

FIGURE 4



in the Mexican economy, and many American experts have hailed these reforms. Commenting in the Wall Street Journal, for example, Pierpaolo Barbieri and Niall Ferguson argue that the new reforms could transform Mexico “from Latin America’s laggard into North America’s new engine of growth.”⁷

One of the most heralded changes will be opening up the Mexican energy industry to foreign investment. Previous efforts to open up the sector prompted public protests, and the reforms eventually fizzled. While

President Peña Nieto has been successful in moving all three political parties to support legislation for reforming the energy, telecommunications, and media sectors, he has yet to turn around public opposition to some of these changes.

A decisive majority of Mexicans continue to oppose the government allowing foreign investment in Mexican oil production, distribution, and exploration (68%), as they have in similarly worded questions in CIDE surveys since 2004.⁸ Majorities also oppose private investment in telecommunications (55%), electricity and gas (63%), and media such as newspapers and television (55%).

Reflecting deep opposition to private investment in the nation’s energy sector, a majority of Mexicans (65%) also oppose a proposed agreement between Mexico and the United States in which Mexico would permit the United States to invest in its oil and energy sectors, and the United States would provide greater financing for Mexico’s economic development (April 2013 survey results). Conversely, a majority of Americans (53%) said they would support such an agreement (44% opposed).

Beyond Economics: The Broader Bilateral Relationship

Mexicans and Americans recognize the importance of bilateral relations and characterize the US-Mexico relationship as good. Eight in ten Mexicans believe the United States is important for Mexico (79%). Seven in ten Americans (69%) say the same thing about Mexico (April 2013). Both sides also agree that current bilateral relations are positive: six in ten Mexicans (59%) and

FIGURE 5

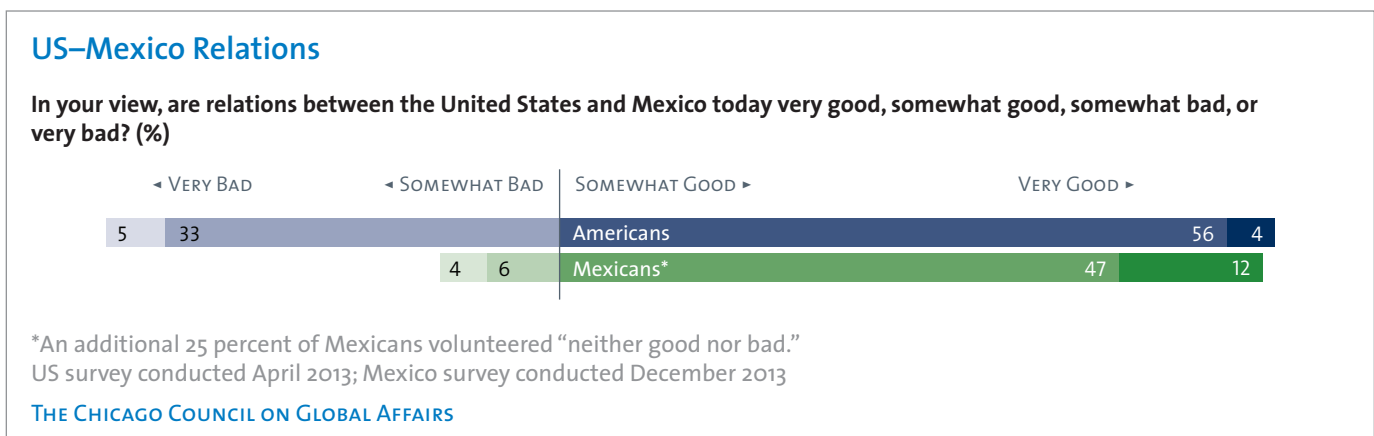
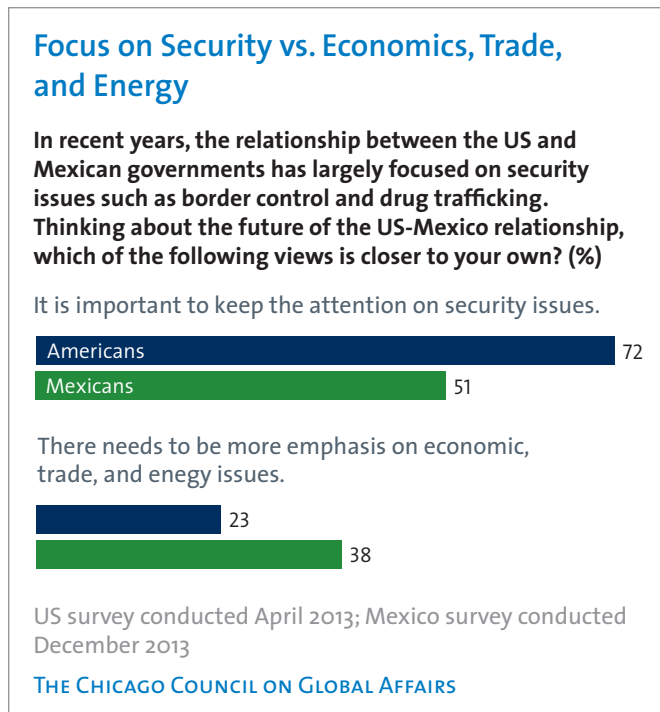


FIGURE 6



Americans (60%) say that current relations between the two countries are good (figure 5).

At the same time, however, Mexicans are somewhat divided on whether their interests are more similar to North or South America. A plurality (44%) of Mexicans say their country's interests are more similar to the United States and Canada, but nearly as many (39%) say that interests are closer to Latin America. Americans consider Mexico's interests to be closer to Latin America (77%) than the United States and Canada (20%).

Publics want to keep focus on security

Despite the focus on economic matters at Toluca, neither Mexicans nor Americans are ready to move their attention away from security issues. By a five to four margin, Mexicans say it is important for the future of the US-Mexico relationship to keep the attention on security issues such as border control and drug trafficking (51%) than say there needs to be a greater emphasis on economic, trade, and energy issues (38%) (figure 6).

Americans are even more emphatic about staying focused on security. By a seven to two margin, Americans believe it is more important to keep government attention on security issues (72%) than

to put greater emphasis on economy, trade, and energy (23%).

Drug trafficking, border security, trade, and migration are seen as most important to ties

Similarly, in a separate question about the most important aspect of the US-Mexican relationship, nearly two in ten Mexicans name combating drug trafficking and organized crime (20%), border security (15%), and migration (19%). A substantial portion of Mexicans also select trade and investment (38%). Only 2 percent say that the environment is the most important component of bilateral ties (figure 7).⁹ Responses are little changed from a 2012 CIDE survey in Mexico. Residents of northern Mexico (48%) and the state of Mexico (45%) are more likely than average to say that trade and investment are most important, reflecting their relatively higher perception of positive impacts from NAFTA than in other regions.

Americans were presented with a different version of this question. When asked about the relative importance of various aspects of the bilateral relationship, Americans are most likely to consider combating

FIGURE 7

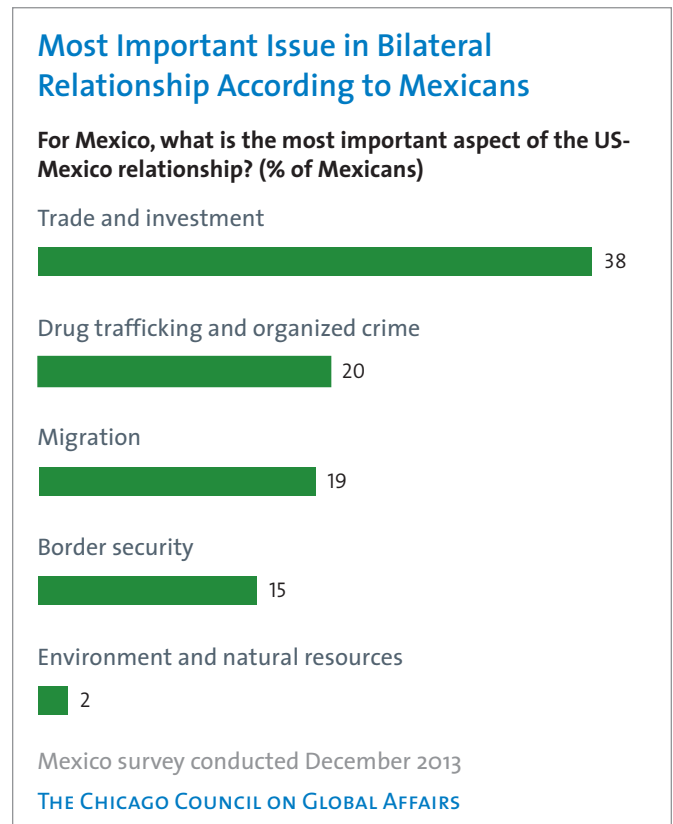
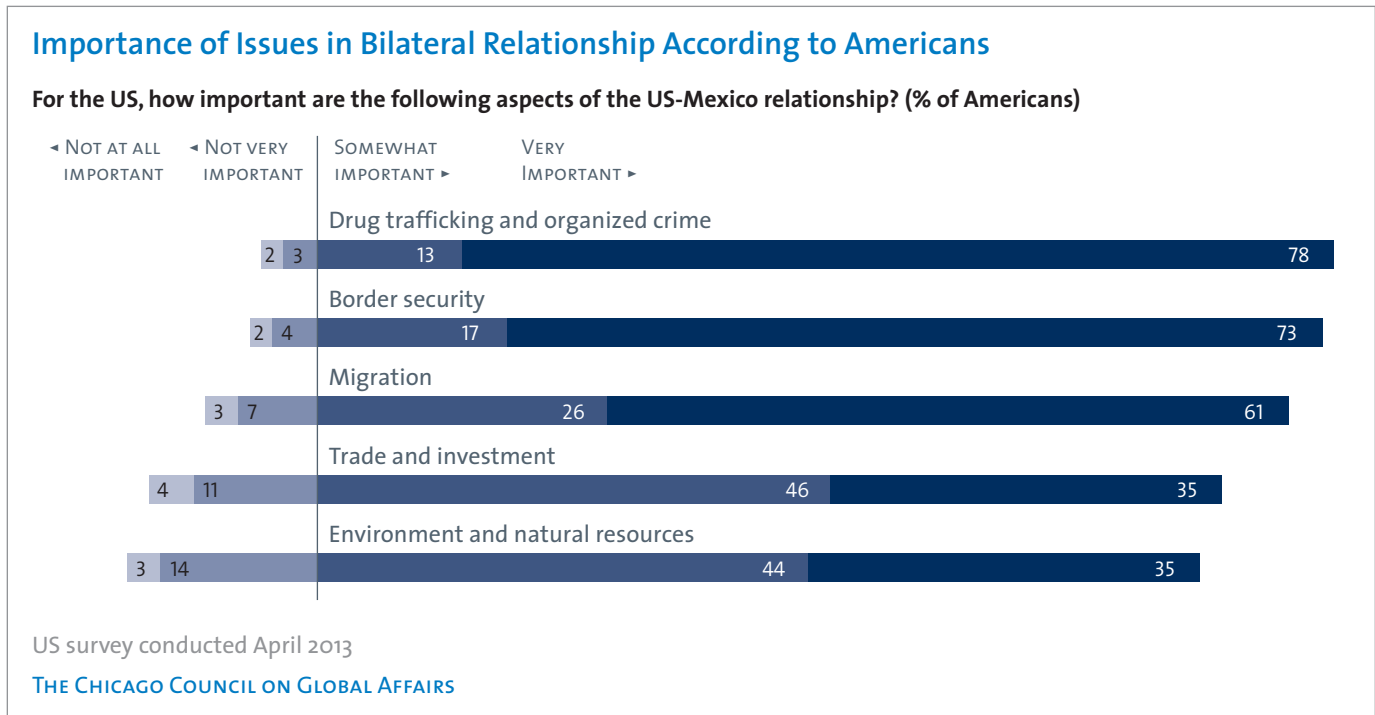


FIGURE 8



drug trafficking and organized crime (78%) and border security (73%) as “very important,” followed by migration (61%). About a third say developing trade and investment (35%) and protecting the environment (35%) are very important. It is worth noting that majorities of Americans say each of these aspects are at least somewhat important (figure 8).

Underscoring these findings, when asked in an open-ended question what the most serious problem in US-Mexico relations is, Americans most often name drug-related crime and violence (41%), followed by undocumented immigration (34%), border security (12%), and crime (9%).

For their part, Mexicans see the most serious problem affecting bilateral relations in this order: issues with migration, including the requirements to enter the United States (28%), drug trafficking and drug-related issues (21%), and undocumented immigration (18%).

Mexicans see more government alignment than Americans on key goals

While both sides think the bilateral relationship is good, and while public priorities for US-Mexico relations largely coincide on border and security issues, Americans and Mexicans do not necessarily think that the two governments are synchronized on these

issues. Mexicans are more likely than Americans to say that the two countries are working in the same direction—rather than in different directions—on securing the border, combating drug trafficking, and combating organized crime (figure 9).¹⁰

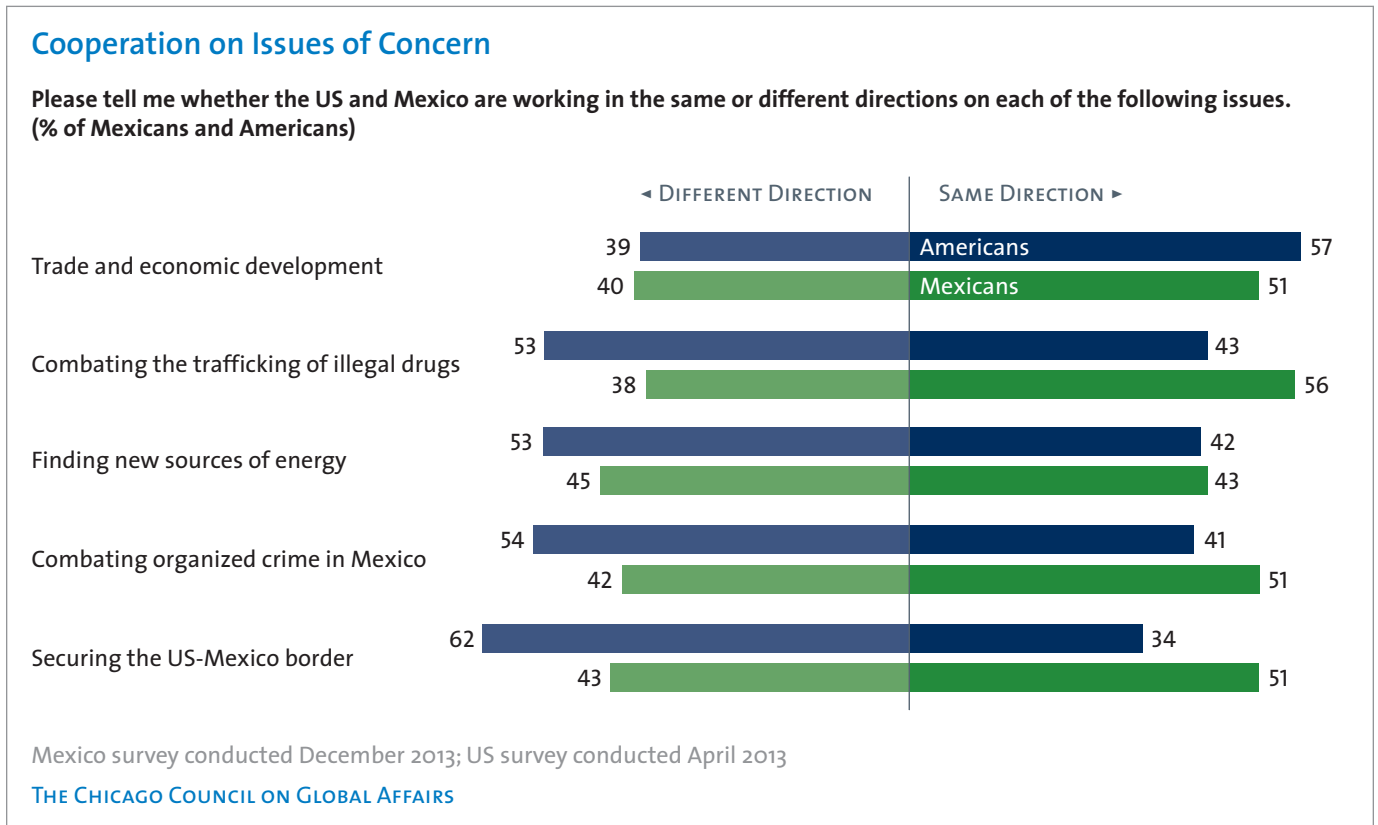
Americans are more likely to think they are working in different directions. Majorities on both sides think the two countries are working in the same direction on trade and economic development. While Mexicans are divided, Americans are more likely to see divergence between the two governments’ approaches toward developing new sources of energy. There is a hint of resentment behind Mexican opinion about the two governments’ cooperation, however, with a plurality (42%) saying that Mexico cooperates with the United States “more than it should.” Twenty-three percent say it cooperates less than it should, and 22 percent say cooperation is about right.

Mexico and the United States: Mutual Perceptions

Mexican view of United States is more positive than American view of Mexico

The dominant themes of drugs, violence, and often-related corruption has had a negative impact on Amer-

FIGURE 9



ican overall feelings toward Mexico. On a scale from 0 to 100 in which 100 is a very favorable opinion, 0 is a very unfavorable opinion, and 50 is neither favorable or unfavorable, Americans give Mexico an average of 36, down from 43 in April 2013 (figure 10). This is lower than at any point since 1994, when Mexico’s average rating was 57. Even Hispanic-Americans give a mean rating of 37. For their part, Mexicans give the United States an average favorable rating of 64, though this is down from an average of 75 in 2006 (according to CIDE surveys).

When Americans were asked a follow-up question to find out why they rated Mexico the way they did, Americans most often referenced drug cartels or drug trafficking (27%), crime and violence (20%), and corruption, lawlessness, and political unrest (16%).

Views of peoples are positive

Despite the declining views of Mexico as a whole, overall attitudes towards the people of each nation are fairly positive. Roughly half of Mexicans have a favorable view of Americans living in the United States (49%), more than twice as many as those who have an unfavorable view (20%). Mexicans are similarly inclined

to have a positive view of Americans living in Mexico (47% vs. 23%).¹¹ Residents of central Mexico (55%) and in the state of Mexico (47%) are more positive than those living in the north (41%) and the south (40%) in their regard for Americans living in Mexico.

For their part, a majority of Americans (80%) express favorable views of Mexicans in Mexico (April 2013 survey). But their views of Mexicans in the United States are less positive (55%) and lower than ratings for Brazilian immigrants (72%) and Chinese immigrants (67%). Some Americans may associate Mexican immigrants to the United States with undocumented immigrants, which could help to explain why overall views of Mexican immigrants in the United States are lower than that of Mexicans living in Mexico (according to April 2013 data).¹²

Crossing Borders, Both Legally and Not

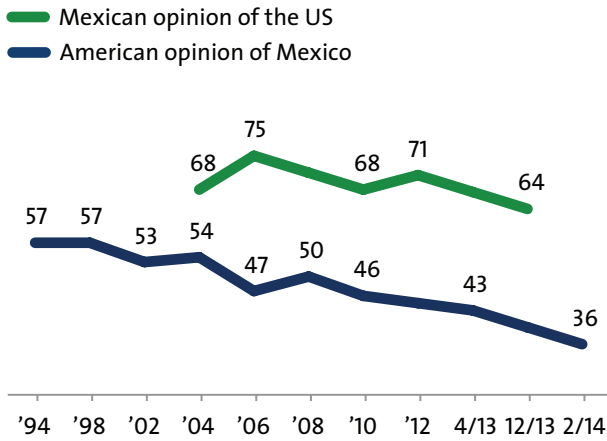
Cross-border travel has some impact on perceptions

One of the pledges emerging from the meeting in Toluca was to make border crossings more efficient and to harmonize existing trusted traveler programs designed

FIGURE 10

Mexican and American Opinion of the United States and Mexico, Respectively

I am going to ask you to measure your opinion of the United States/Mexico, with 0 expressing a very unfavorable opinion, 100 expressing a very favorable opinion, and 50 expressing an opinion of neither favorable or unfavorable.
(average rating by Mexicans and Americans)



US data from The Chicago Council on Global Affairs; Mexico data from Centro de Investigación y Docencia Económica

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for preapproved travelers. This survey indicates that cross-border travel among Mexicans and Americans is substantial.

Two in ten Mexicans have visited the United States (20%); about one in ten have lived there personally (9%). Three in ten (29%) have a relative who lives in

the United States, and 13 percent of Mexicans say that someone from their household is now living in the United States.¹³ There are regional variations on these questions. Mexicans living closer to the border are more likely to have traveled to the United (figure 11). Two in ten residents from the central region have lived in the United States, compared to no more than 6 percent elsewhere.

There are some indications that familiarity may have an effect on Mexican opinion of the American people. Mexicans who have been to the United States are more favorable towards Americans living in the United States than those who have not (60% vs. 47% of nonvisitors). Similarly, Mexicans who have lived in the United States are more favorable towards Americans than those who have not (67% vs. 47% of those who have not visited). This effect is also apparent in attitudes toward American expatriates living in Mexico: 53 percent of Mexicans who have traveled to the United States and 60 percent of Mexicans who have lived there feel favorably towards Americans living in Mexico. This compares to 45 percent in each case of those who have not traveled to or lived in the United States.

Mexicans who have either visited or lived in the United States are also more prepared to emphasize economic issues over security issues than those who have never been to the United States.¹⁴ This might be related to their greater awareness of Mexico's status as a top five trading partner¹⁵ and more positive views toward NAFTA.¹⁶ Those who have visited the United States are also generally more open to foreign investment in various sectors of the Mexican economy and are more supportive of a proposed deal where Mexico would allow US investment in its energy and oil sec-

FIGURE 11

Mexican Travel to the United States by Region

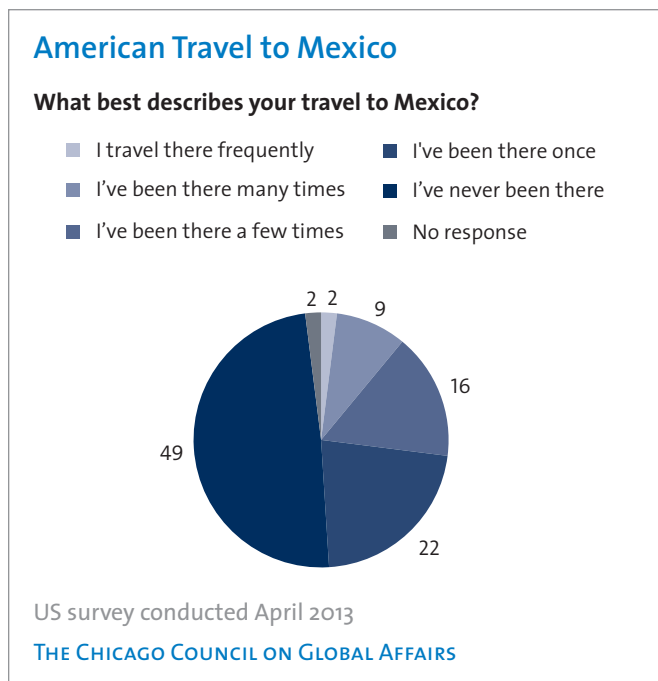
Have you ever traveled to the United States? (% of Mexicans by region)



Mexico survey conducted December 2013

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FIGURE 12



tor while the United States would in return provide financing for economic development (43% vs. 21% of nonvisitors).

On the American side, survey results show that one in every two Americans (49%) has visited Mexico (figure 12),¹⁷ and nearly one in three says they have a friend, family member, or colleague that was born in Mexico (28%). Many of these travelers are Hispanic Americans: two-thirds of Hispanic Americans have traveled to Mexico vs. 46 percent of non-Hispanics. Additionally, six in ten Hispanic Americans (61%) have friends, family, or colleagues who were born in Mexico, while only 23 percent of non-Hispanics say the same.

Among those Americans who have visited Mexico or have close contacts to someone born in Mexico, somewhat more express a favorable view of the country than nonvisitors (23% vs. 14%), but majorities overall (51% vs. 62% of nonvisitors) still hold a mainly negative view (figure 13). When it comes to personal ties, proximity makes a difference. American residents in the western region of the United States are more frequent travelers to Mexico than residents in other areas. They are also more likely to have a friend, family member, or colleague who was born in Mexico (43% in the West, 30% in the South, 23% Midwest, and 13% in the Northeast).

Similar to patterns with Mexican visitors to the United States, Americans with some type of connec-

tion to Mexico are more likely than others to emphasize economic matters. Those who have friends, family, or colleagues that were born in Mexico are more likely to say there needs to be a greater emphasis on economic, trade, and energy issues (31% vs. 20% of those who do not have Mexican-born contacts) than on security issues (66% vs. 77%).¹⁸ They are also less likely to describe the country as “not developed” (18% vs. 30% of those who do not) and more likely to describe it as a developing economy (72% vs. 61%).

Both publics think undocumented immigrants come to better their lives

Of course, not all immigrants from Mexico come to the United States legally. It is currently estimated that 11 million undocumented immigrants live the United States, including many from Mexico.¹⁹ When asked what the primary motivation is for the undocumented immigration of Mexicans to the United States, half of Mexicans (50%) and 44 percent of Americans say “it is to earn more money and enjoy a better life.” Four in ten Mexicans (42%) and nearly as many Americans (35%) say “it is to earn money to send back to family living in Mexico.” Very few say it is because it is easy

FIGURE 13

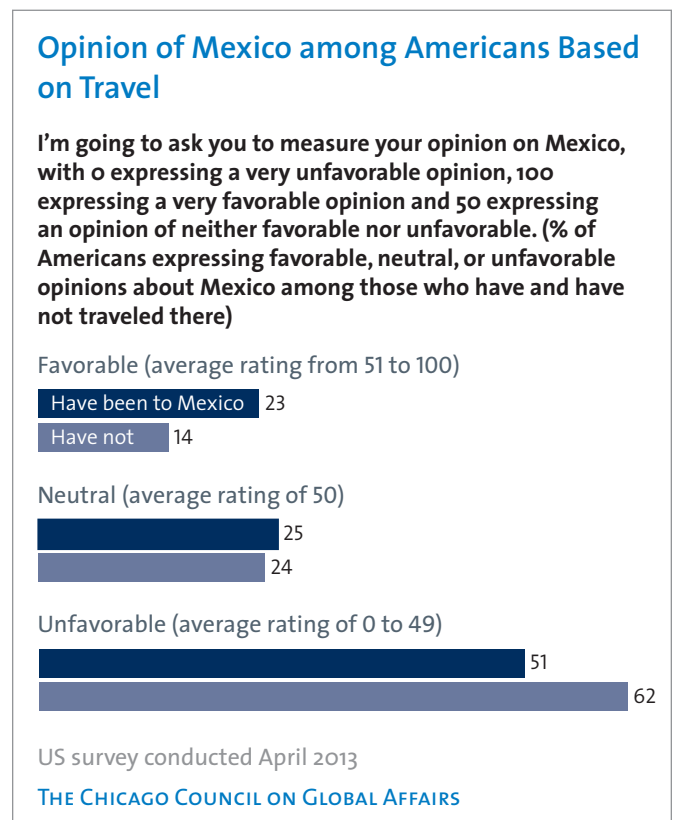


FIGURE 14

Dealing with Undocumented Immigrants in the United States

Which comes closest to your view about illegal immigrants who are currently working the United States? (% of Americans)

They should be allowed to stay in their jobs and to apply for US citizenship.



They should be allowed to stay in their jobs and to eventually apply for US citizenship only if they pay a penalty and wait a number of years.



They should be allowed to stay in their jobs with work permits, but not to apply for US citizenship.



They should be required to leave their jobs and leave the US.



US survey conducted April 2013

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to stay in the United States once one takes the risk of crossing the border (3% Mexicans, 10% Americans) or they want to join family who already live in the United States (3% Mexicans, 4% Americans).

When asked why Mexicans without documents do not attempt to enter the United States (i.e., decide to stay in Mexico), 32 percent of Mexicans say the primary reason is that they are afraid of crossing illegally and do not want to risk getting killed. Others say the primary reason is that they do not want to leave their families in Mexico (25%), they have a good job and are earning enough in Mexico (16%), they do not have the necessary money to go (13%), they could not arrange their documentation (8%), or because the economy will improve in Mexico (4%).²⁰

A majority of Americans support some kind of legal status for undocumented workers

The motivations of many undocumented workers do not seem to fall on completely deaf ears in the United States. The April 2013 Chicago Council survey showed that Americans tend to say that illegal immigrants who

are working in the United States should receive some type of legal status (figure 14). One in four (25%) says they should be allowed to stay in their jobs and apply for citizenship. An equal proportion (25%) says they should be allowed to stay in their jobs and eventually apply for US citizenship only if they wait a number of years and pay a fine. Another 16 percent say illegal immigrants should be allowed to stay in their jobs with work permits, but not allowed to apply for US citizenship.

In contrast, 31 percent think that undocumented workers should be required to leave their jobs and leave the United States. There are sharp partisan differences on these questions, with Republican respondents nearly divided between wanting to deport undocumented workers (48%) and allowing them to stay under one of the three scenarios mentioned, including without citizenship (52%). Democrats and Independents are more likely to support some form of legal status.

Most Mexicans support some kind of legal status for their own undocumented immigrants

Mexicans have their own issues with undocumented immigration, especially since the 1970s. In 2004 and 2005 the Mexican government reported over 200,000 unauthorized border crossings into Mexico.²¹ Asked about undocumented workers in the country, a plurality (43%) of Mexicans think that unauthorized immigrants currently working in Mexico should be allowed to stay in their jobs and apply for Mexican citizenship. Another 20 percent think they should be allowed to stay in their jobs and eventually apply for Mexican citizenship after a waiting period and paying a fine. One in ten (11%) says they should be able to keep their jobs with work permits, but not apply for Mexican citizenship. Seventeen percent say they should leave their jobs and leave Mexico.

Conclusion

Over the past 20 years, Mexico has benefited greatly from NAFTA due to a dramatically expanded export market, and today, Mexican public opinion toward the trade deal reflects these economic gains. Americans have also become more positive toward the agreement, and although Americans are less aware of US-Mexico commercial interdependence, trade is the

one area where both publics see their countries working in a similar direction.

Beyond trade, both Mexicans and Americans recognize the importance of the bilateral relationship, but concerns over drug trafficking, organized crime, and undocumented immigration overshadow efforts to advance economic and energy initiatives. While increased contact across the border might have some marginal effect on improving mutual impressions, Americans' opinions of Mexico are only likely to improve if there are some clear gains against criminal activity. High-level arrests such as the apprehension of Joaquin "El Chapo" Guzman last month help to highlight Mexican government attention to these issues (as well as US government support in that arrest). But a deeper level of reform for security policies focusing on crime, kidnappings, and government corruption would probably go a long way in improving Mexico's image among Americans and in advancing the country toward Mexico's "moment."

Methods

The Chicago Council on Global Affairs partnered with Centro de Estudios Sociales y de Opinión Pública (CESOP), Centro de Investigación y Docencia Económicas (CIDE), Instituto Tecnológico Autónomo de México (ITAM), and the Woodrow Wilson Center's Mexico Institute to carry out opinion surveys in both Mexico and in the United States prior to the North American Summit of February 19, 2014.

The Mexican survey was conducted by Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México (UNAM) on behalf of CESOP and is based on face-to-face interviews conducted December 11 to 16, 2013, among a nationwide sample of 1,000 Mexican adults, with a margin of error of ± 4 percentage points. The sampling scheme used was a probabilistic, multistage, stratified cluster with 92 primary sampling units. For more details on the sampling methodology, please contact CESOP.

US survey results are based on two separate surveys of Americans conducted online by GfK for The Chicago Council. The first was fielded from April 12 to 15, 2013, and consisted of a national sample of 1,017 respondents with a margin of error of ± 3 percentage points. The second was fielded from February 7 to 10, 2014, and consisted of a national sample of 1,029 respondents with a margin of error of ± 3 percentage points. Unless noted as an April 2013 survey, the American

results cited are from February 2014. For more details on the sampling methodology and the Knowledge Panel, please contact GfK.

If you have questions about the study or the report or would like additional information about the survey results, please contact:

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Endnotes

1. For a full accounting of the US-Mexico economic relationship, see the Woodrow Wilson Center report *Working Together*, November 2011.
2. Canadians may be the most enthusiastic participants in NAFTA. A separate EKOS poll in Canada (not part of this project) conducted in the fall of 2013 found that a large majority of Canadians (80%) also agree that there should be free trade between the United States, Canada, and Mexico. Solid but smaller majorities in Mexico (74%) and the United States (65%) agree.
3. See “As President Obama Heads to Mexico, Americans Have Mixed Views of Neighbor Across the Border,” by Dina Smeltz and Craig Kafura, *The Chicago Council on Global Affairs*, April 29, 2013.
4. See <https://www.census.gov/foreign-trade/balance/>.
5. Not asked in Mexico.
6. Shannon K. O’Neil, “Six Markets to Watch: Mexico,” *Foreign Affairs*, January/February 2014. The author states that as a result of monopolies, oligopolies, and unhealthy competition, the OECD estimates that “the average Mexican pays 40 percent more than necessary for everyday basics.”
7. Pierpaolo Barberi and Niall Ferguson, “Mexico’s Economic Reform Breakout,” *The Wall Street Journal*, December 26, 2013. Mr. Barbieri is a former fellow at Harvard University’s Belfer Center for Science and International Affairs. Mr. Ferguson is a professor of history at Harvard.
8. See the *Mexico y El Mundo 2013* report from CIDE for trend data for some of these questions.
9. A March 2013 Pew survey also found that at least seven in ten Mexicans said that crime (81%), cartel/gang violence (71%), and illegal drugs (70%) were “very big problems.” A solid majority also want their government to focus on maintaining law and order (63%) over protecting personal freedoms (18%, with 11% volunteering both).
10. A majority of Mexicans (53%) also believe that US assistance to Mexico to combat drug trafficking has been helpful, with 43 percent saying it has not been helpful.
11. An additional 25 percent of respondents volunteer a neutral, “neither favorable nor unfavorable” response when asked about both Americans living in the United States and Americans living in Mexico.
12. According to the Pew Hispanic Center, most of the US unauthorized population comes from Mexico—52 percent in 2012. In addition, the April 2013 data shows that Americans with an unfavorable view of Mexicans in the United States are nearly three times as likely as those with a favorable view to say that undocumented workers currently in the United States should be required to leave their jobs and leave the United States (49% vs. 18%). See page 12 of this report for more on attitudes toward immigration.
13. Additionally, 16 percent say they have had contact with foreigners that live in Mexico, though these individuals are not necessarily American.
14. Mexicans who have been to the United States are more likely to say that the focus of the US-Mexico relationship should be more on economic and trade issues (44% vs. 36% of nontravelers). Those who have lived in the United States feel similarly, with 48 percent saying the focus should be on economics and travel (vs. 37% of those who have not lived in the United States).
15. Those who have been to the United States are far more likely to name it as one of the top five trading partners with Mexico (76% vs. 54% of nontravelers). Mexicans who have lived in the United States are also more likely to say so (70% vs. 57% of nonresidents).
16. Mexicans who have been to the United States are more likely to say that NAFTA is good for the Mexican economy (72% vs. 63% of nontravelers). Nontravelers are more likely to say it is bad for the Mexican economy (28% vs. 18%).
17. These visit rates are similar to a 2012 Vianovo poll: Vianovo/GSD&M, “Poll Reveals Dismal State of the Mexico Brand in the US,” November 20, 2012.

18. The February 2014 dataset from the United States did not include questions about views of Mexicans, the impact of NAFTA, or whether Mexico is among the United States' top five trading partners (these had been asked in the April 2013 survey). Thus we were unable to look at comparable linkages between those who have visited Mexico or have contacts from Mexico and their views on these items.

19. Jeffery S. Passel and D'Vera Cohn, "Unauthorized Immigrants: 11.1 Million in 2011," Pew Hispanic Center, December 6, 2012.

20. Asked only in the Mexico survey.

21. Instituto Nacional de Migración Estadísticas, 2012, http://www.inm.gob.mx/index.php/page/Estadisticas_Migratorias.

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