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Proyecto de Opinión Pública de América Latina

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China in Latin America: Public Impressions and Policy Implications

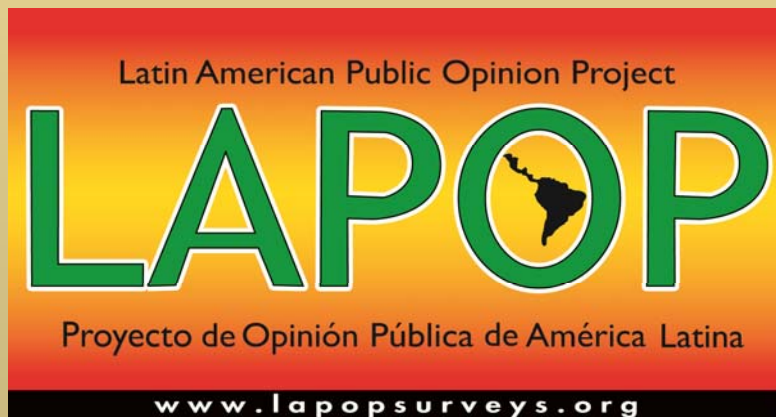
Elizabeth J. Zechmeister, Associate Director of LAPOP & Associate Professor of Political Science, Vanderbilt University

Mitchell A. Seligson, Founder and Director of LAPOP Centennial Professor of Political Science, Vanderbilt University

Dinorah Azpuru, Wichita State University

Kang Liu, Duke University and Shanghai Jiaotong University, China

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The Americas Barometer



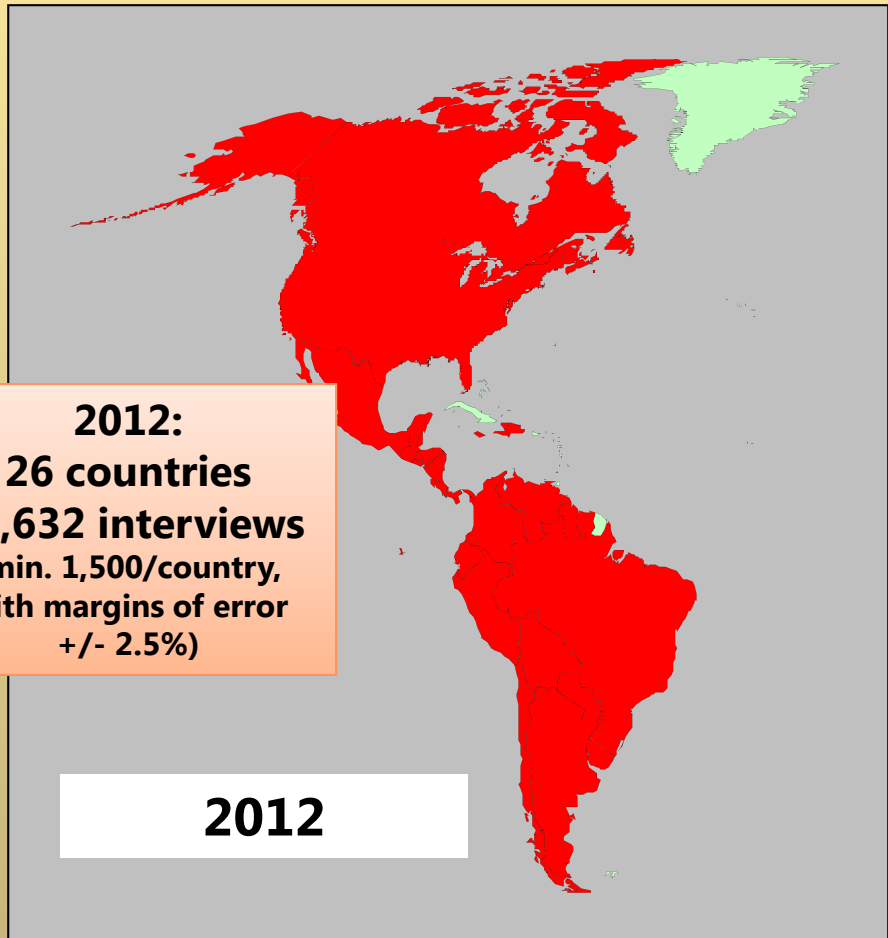
Americas Barometer
Barómetro de las Américas by LAPOP

www.AmericasBarometer.org

2004-2012: 178,864 Interviews



2012:
26 countries
41,632 interviews
(min. 1,500/country,
with margins of error
+/- 2.5%)



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Latin American Public Opinion Project **LAPOP** Americas Barometer Barómetro de las Américas

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2012

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2010

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2006

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Argentina	2012			
Country Director	Director e-mail	Technical Document File	Stata File	SPSS File
German Lodola	glodola@utdt.edu		Argentina 2012 STATA	Argentina 2012 SPSS
Name of Questionnaire Document and Language				
Argentina 2012 Questionnaire - Español				
Notes:				
To download the files, click on the links shown or right-click on the file name and save it. You will not be able to open STATA or SPSS files unless your computer has the corresponding software available. The Questionnaires and Technical Information documents are saved as .pdf files which can be opened with pdf reader software available for free online such as Adobe Acrobat Reader get.adobe.com/reader/ and Foxit Reader www.foxitsoftware.com .				

Belize	2012			
Country Director	Director e-mail	Technical Document File	Stata File	SPSS File
Mitchell A. Seligson	mitchell.a.seligson@vanderbilt.edu		Belize 2012 STATA	Belize 2012 SPSS
Name of Questionnaire Document and Language				



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Nationally representative surveys, covering easy-to-access urban centers



**Bolivia:
Densely
populated
urban area**

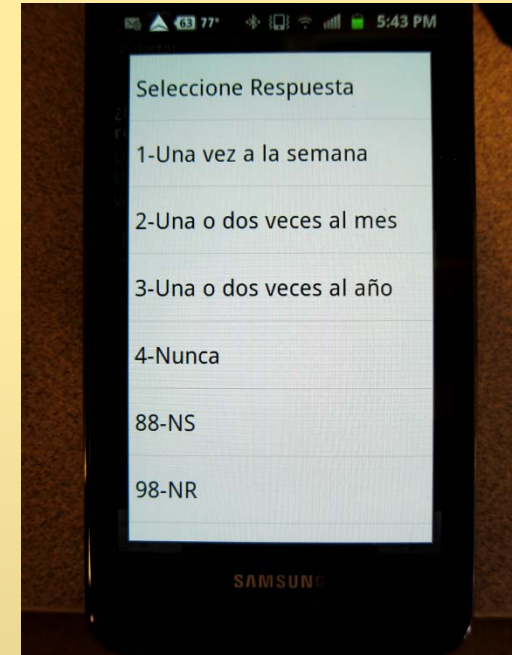
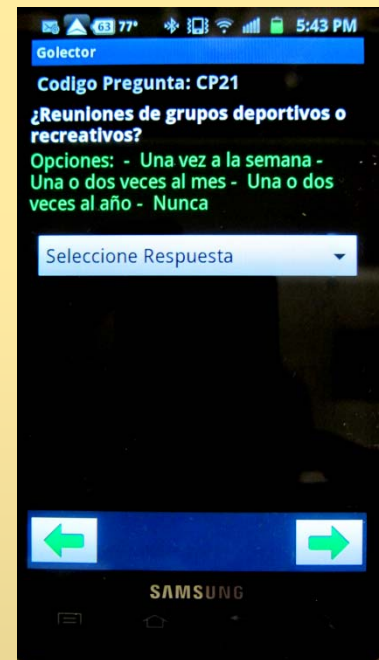
And, remote rural regions.



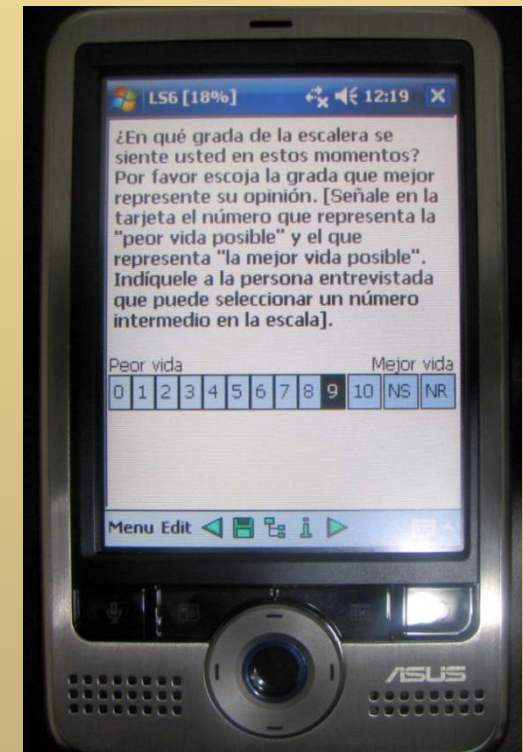
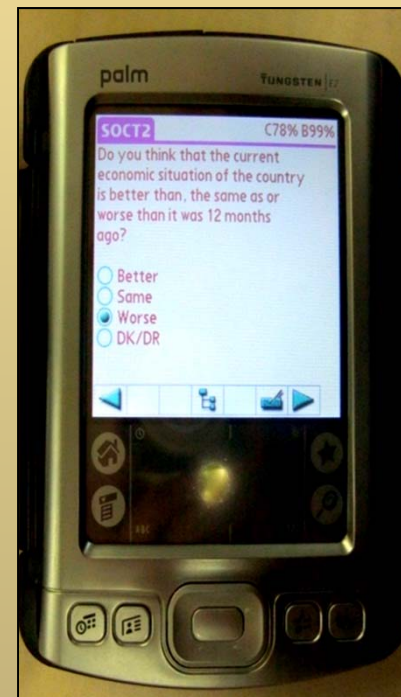
**Bolivia:
Dispersed
rural area**

The only regional survey using handheld computers, with software developed by academic partners in Costa Rica and Bolivia:

- Reduces data entry errors
- Allows for multiple languages
- Easily customized
- Permits embedded experiments



Pretesting in Guyana



Each Survey Round is Preceded by Extensive Training and Pre-testing (1,116 versions for 2012)



Pretesting in Honduras



Pretesting in Costa Rica



Pretesting in Mexico

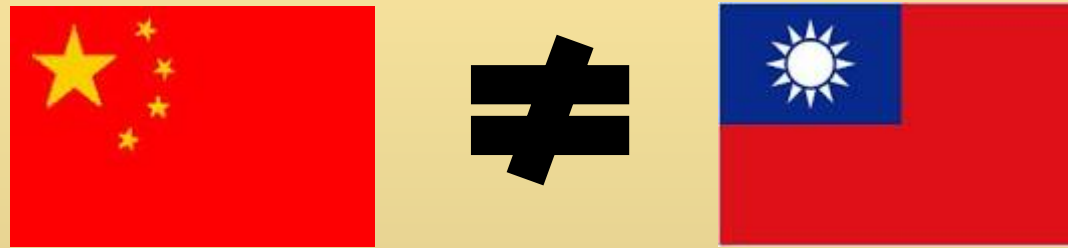


Training in Nicaragua



Training in Dominican Republic

The Importance of Extensive, In-Person Pretesting

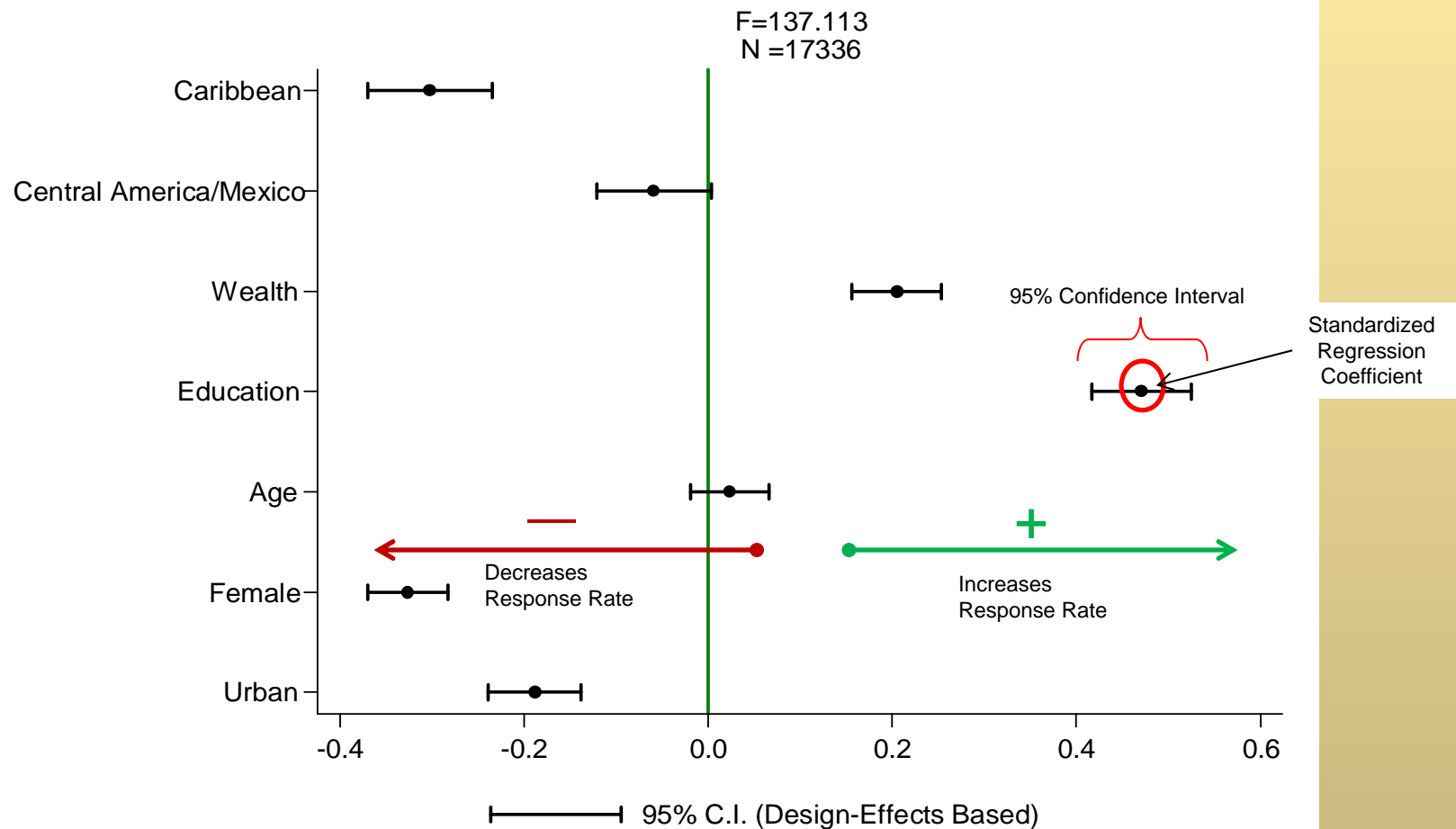


Now we are going to talk about your views with respect to some countries. When we talk about “China” in this interview, we are talking about mainland China, the People’s Republic of China, and not the island of Taiwan.

Some People Do Not Have Opinions about “Difficult” Foreign Affairs Questions

Which of the following countries has the most influence in Latin America/the Caribbean?	Percent
Other	60.4%
China	20.1%
Don't Know/Didn't Respond	19.5%

Wealthier, More Educated, and Male Citizens Respond More to “Difficult” Foreign Affairs Questions



Source: © AmericasBarometer by LAPOP, 2012; dv=response=1, nr=0 (.a, .b) on for1; v47

Citizen Views on China in the Americas

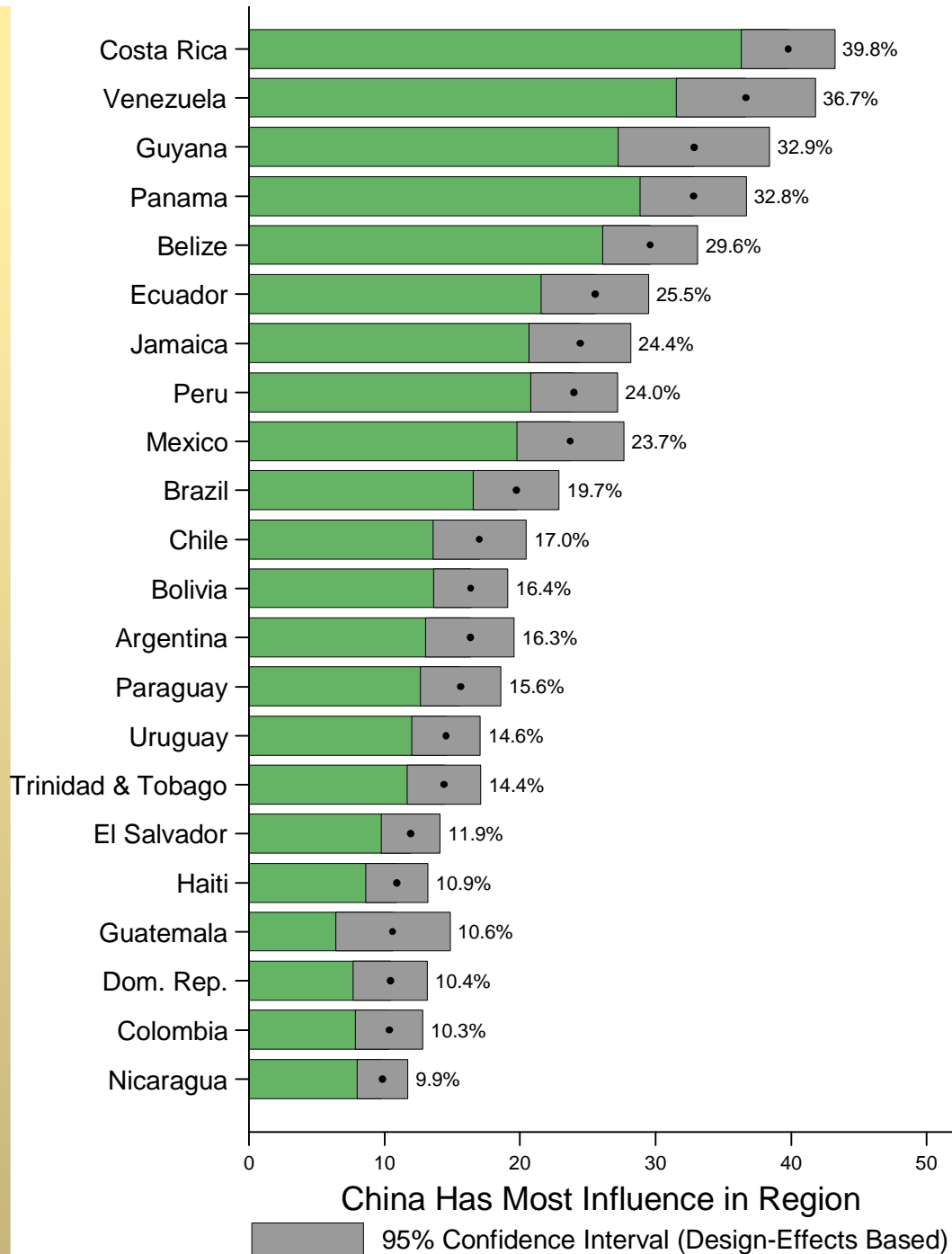
**Elizabeth J. Zechmeister, Associate Director of LAPOP &
Associate Professor of Political Science, Vanderbilt University**

**Mitchell A. Seligson, Founder and Director of LAPOP
Centennial Professor of Political Science, Vanderbilt University**

What Do Citizens of the Americas Think of China's Influence in their Region?

KEY POINTS:

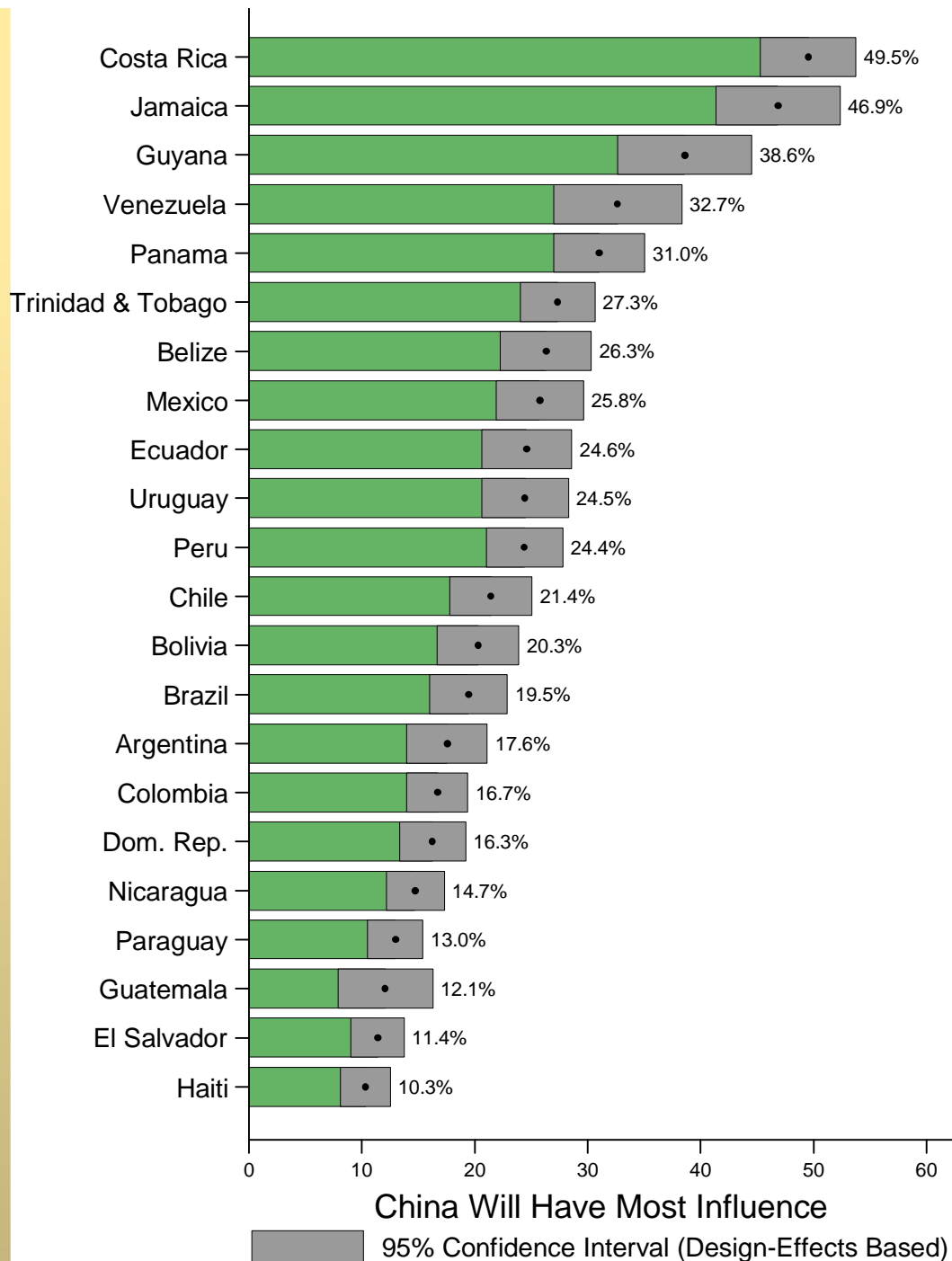
- **20% view China as the most influential country**
- **23% believe China will soon be the most influential**
- **Country average evaluations of China in the region range from neutral to positive**



On average, one out of five (20%) of citizens in the Latin American and Caribbean region believes CHINA is the most the most influential country in the region.

FOR1. ... Which of the following countries has the most influence in Latin America/the Caribbean?

- (a) China; (b) Japan; (c) India; (d) U.S.; (e) Brazil; (f) Venezuela; (g) Mexico; (h) Spain; (i) Other/DK

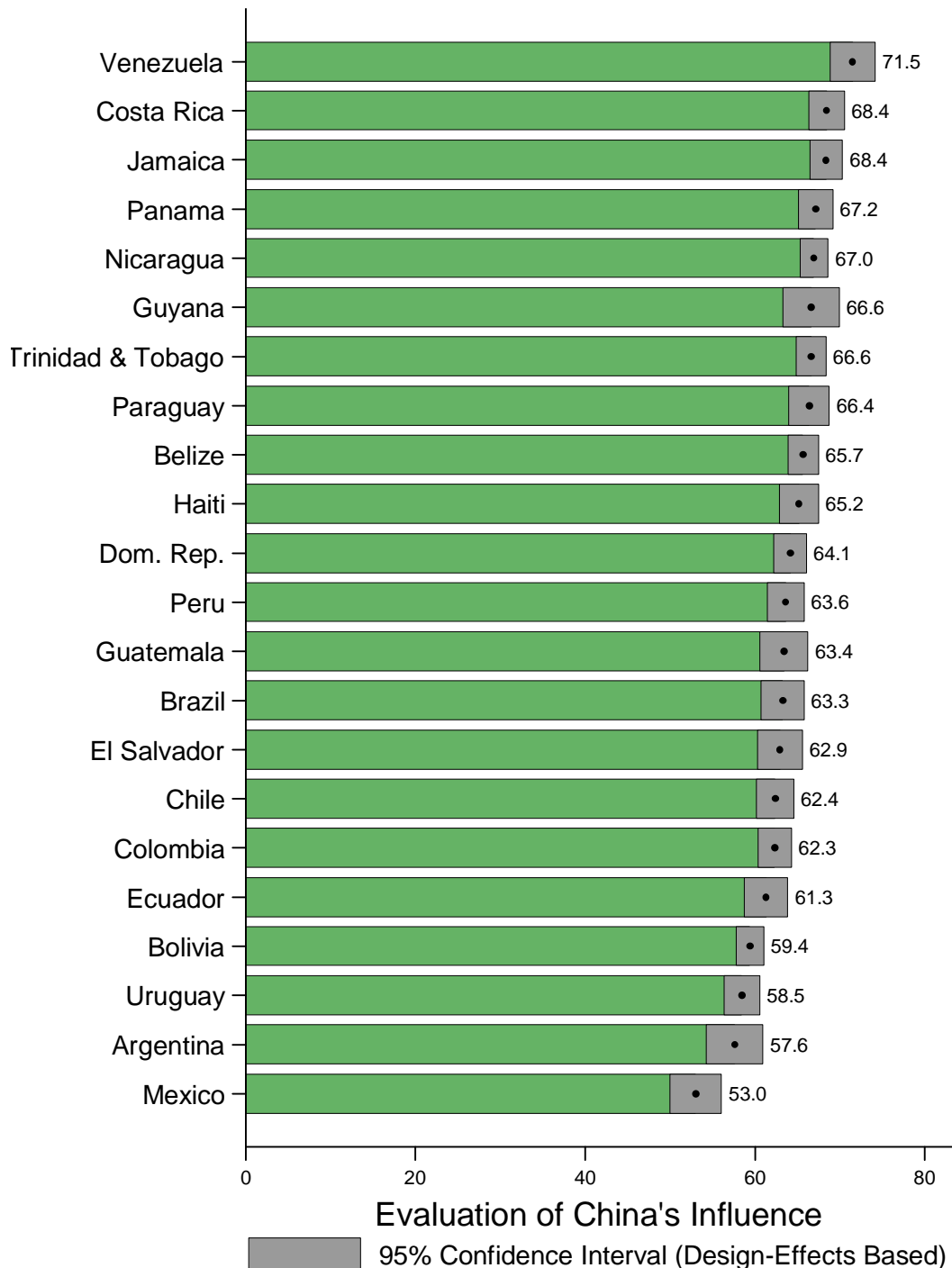


On average, nearly one quarter (23%) of citizens in the Latin American and Caribbean region believe China will *soon* be most the most influential country in the region.

FOR4. And within 10 years, in your opinion, which of the following countries will have most influence in Latin America/the Caribbean?*

(a) China; (b) Japan; (c) India; (d) U.S.; (e) Brazil; (f) Venezuela; (g) Mexico; (h) Spain; (i) Other/DK

*NR = 24%



Source: © AmericasBarometer by LAPOP, 2012; v47; reversed for2/for3, "no influence" and NR excluded.

Average evaluations of China's influence in the region range from neutral to positive.

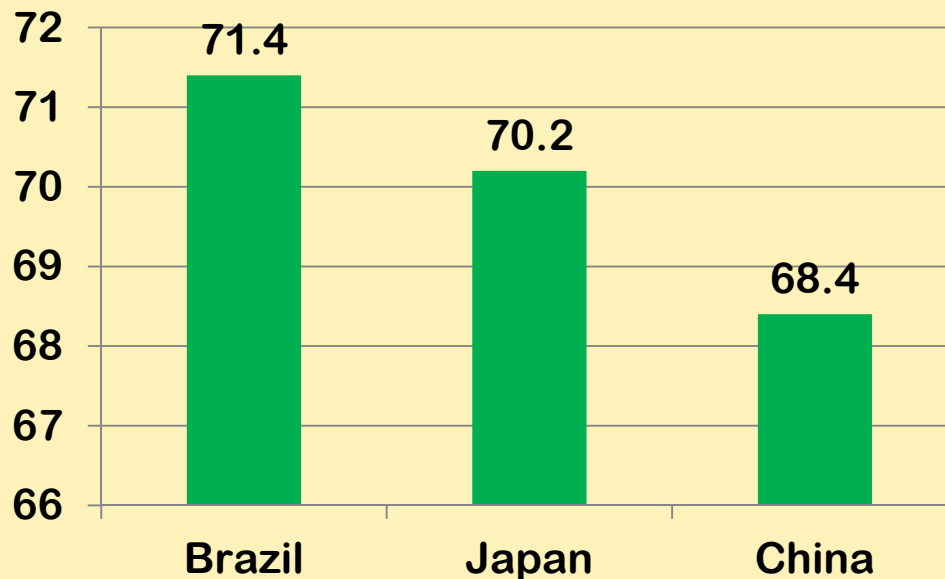
FOR2/FOR3. And thinking of [China] and the influence it has in Latin America/the Caribbean, do you think that this influence is very positive, positive, negative or very negative?

Questions answered on a 1-5 scale converted here to 0-100, where higher values are more positive.

Excludes 2% who respond "no influence" and, as well, non-respondents.

Yet, Brazil's and Japan's Influence in the Region is Viewed Somewhat Positively Than China's*

Mean Evaluation of Country's Influence, Regional Average



FOR2. And thinking of [Country] and the influence it has in Latin America/the Caribbean, do you think that this influence is very positive, positive, negative or very negative?

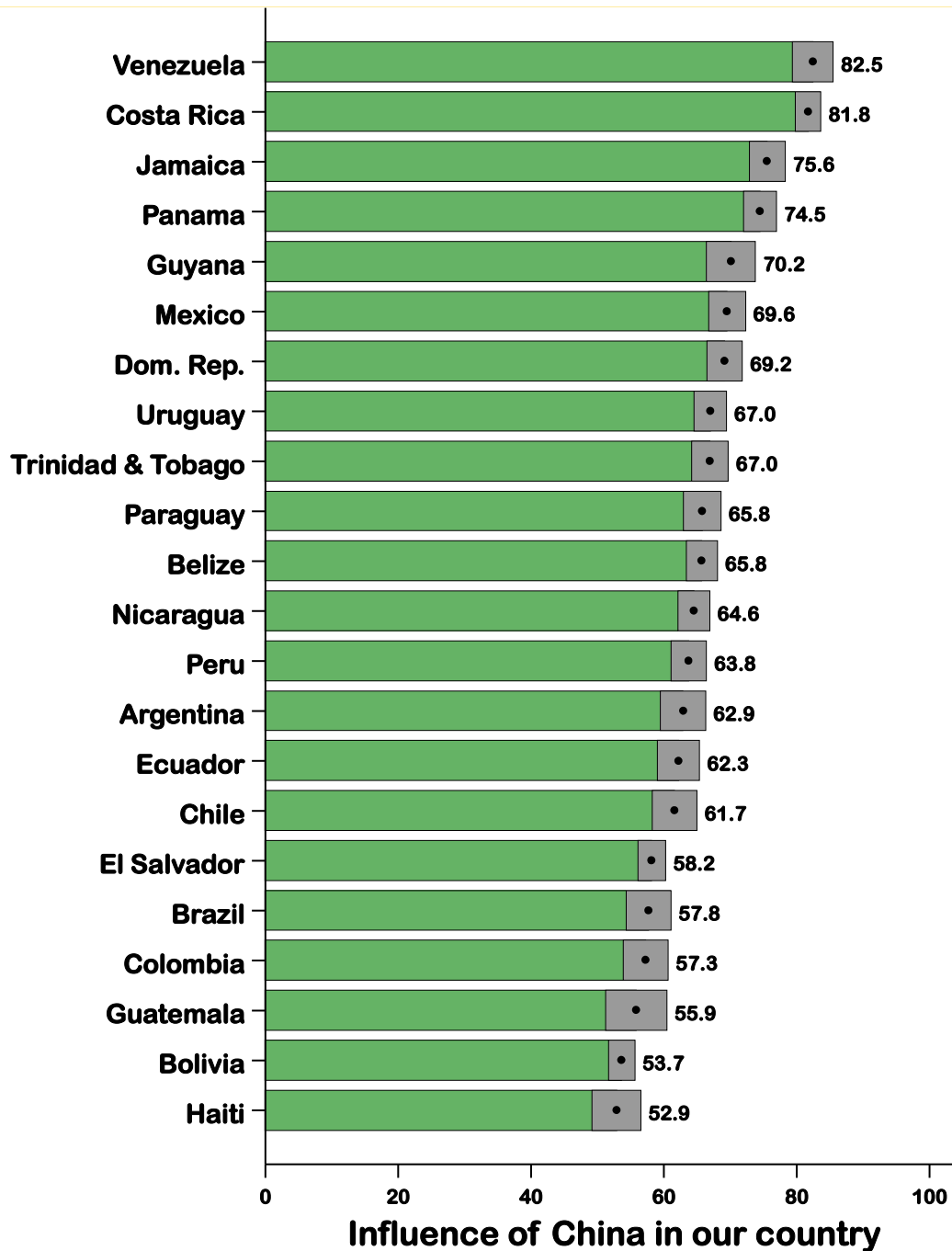
Variable is scaled from 0 to 100, where higher values reflect more favorable mean evaluations.

* Data reflect responses given only by those indicating that country as the most important regional influence. Excludes "no influence" and NR respondents.

What Do Citizens of the Americas Think of China's Influence in their Country?

KEY POINTS:

- **On average, China is seen as having “some” influence within respondents’ countries**
 - **Yet, these perceptions vary significantly**
- **On average, relations with China are perceived to be growing closer**
- **Country average evaluations of China in the region range from neutral to positive**
 - **Yet,, these perceptions vary significantly**



 95% Confidence Interval (Design-Effects Based)
 Source: © AmericasBarometer by LAPOP

Considering their country, on average individuals in Latin America and the Caribbean perceive China as having **“SOME”** influence.

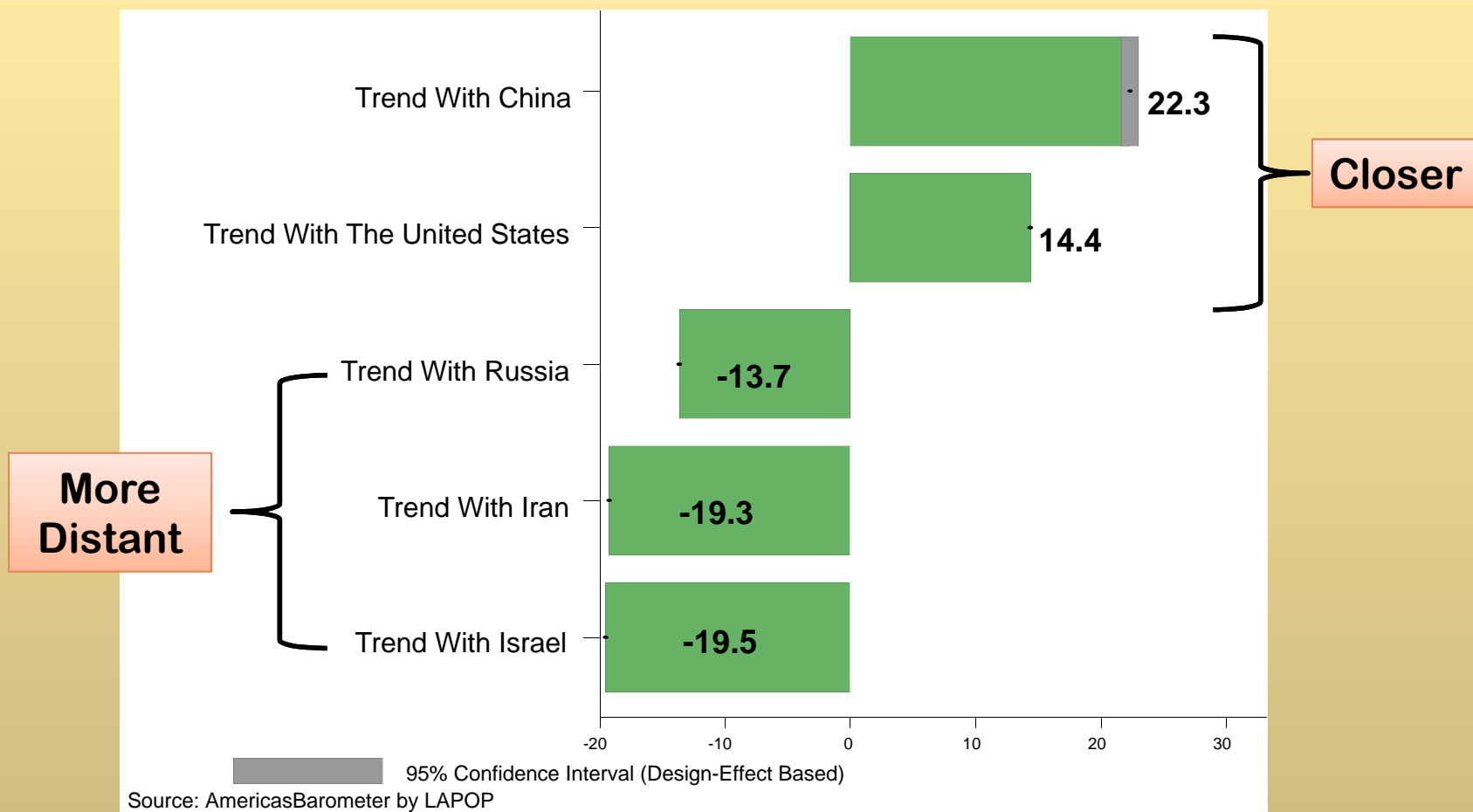
FOR6. And thinking now only of our country, how much influence do you think that China has in our country?

Coded here so that 0=None; 33=A Little; 66=Some; 100= A Lot

Approximately 16% do not respond.

Regional average = 66.

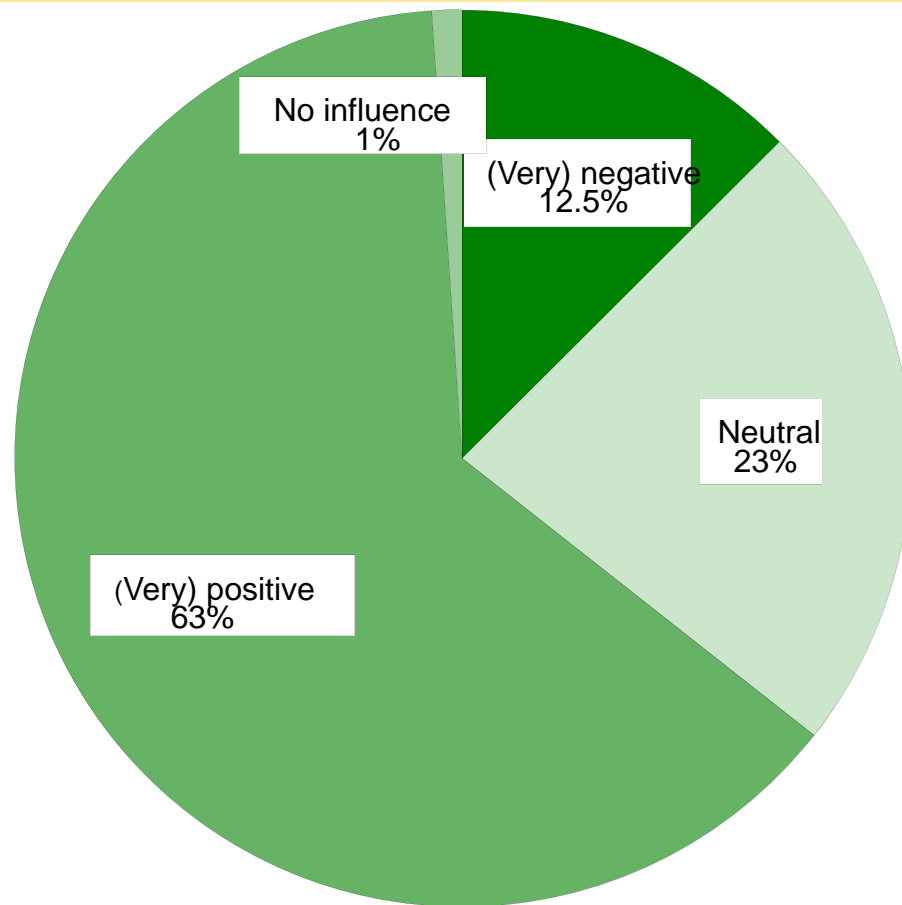
On Average, Citizens in the Latin American and Caribbean Region Perceive Relations between their Country and China to be Growing Closer



Now I would like to ask you about the relations in general of our country with other nations around the world. When you think of our country's relationship with [country], would you say that in the last 5 years our relationship has become closer, more distant, or has it remained about the same, or do you not have an opinion?

Question answered on a 1-3 scale from "More distant" to "Closer"; converted here to -50 to 50.

Considering their Country, on Average Citizens in the Latin American and Caribbean Region Have Positive Evaluations of China's Influence



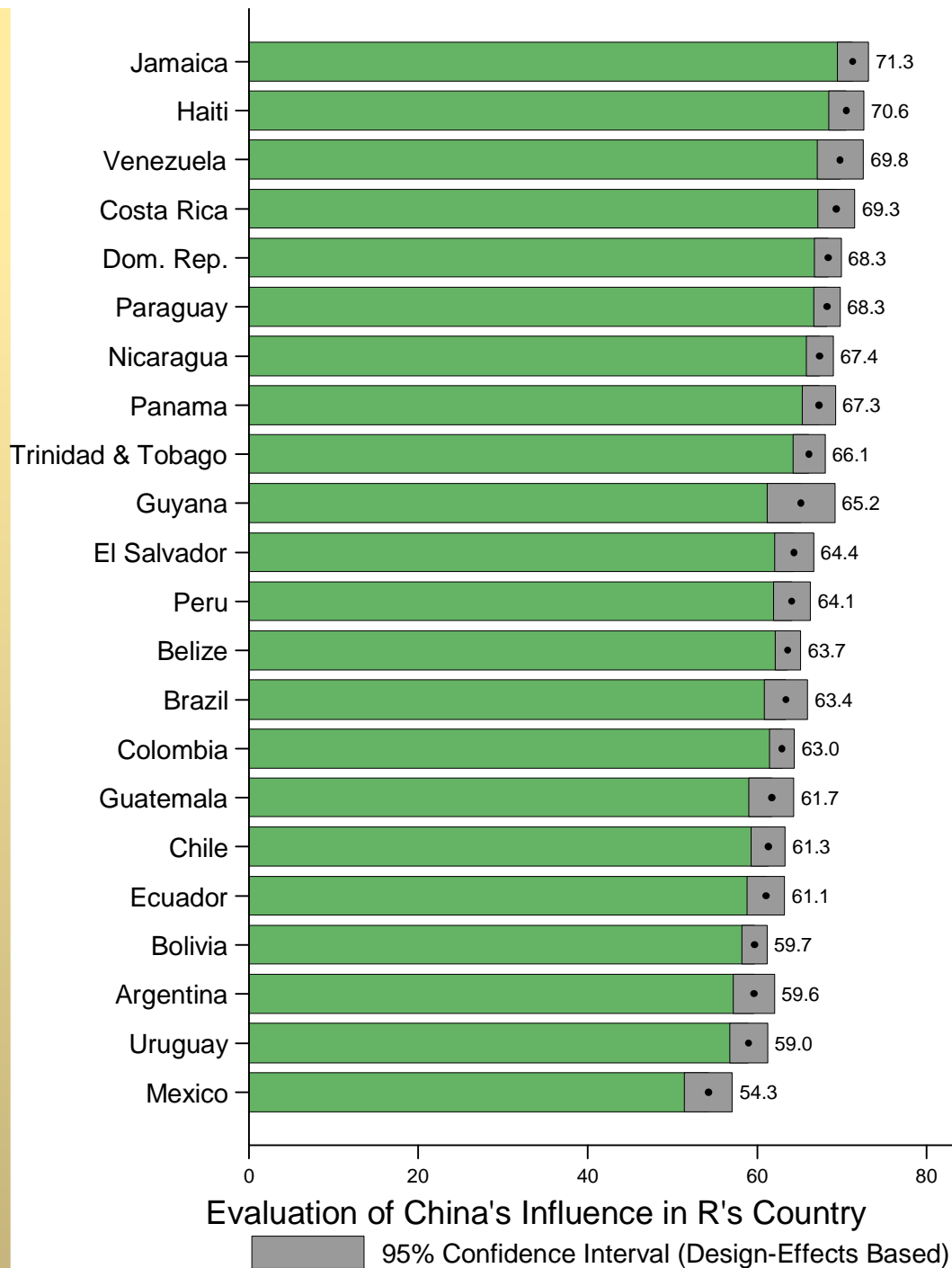
Perceptions of China's Influence in the Country

Source: © AmericasBarometer by LAPOP; v47; for7; not including NR

FOR7. In general, the influence that China has on our country is very positive, positive, neither positive nor negative, negative, very negative?

Coded so that “Very positive and positive”, “Very negative and negative” are combined.

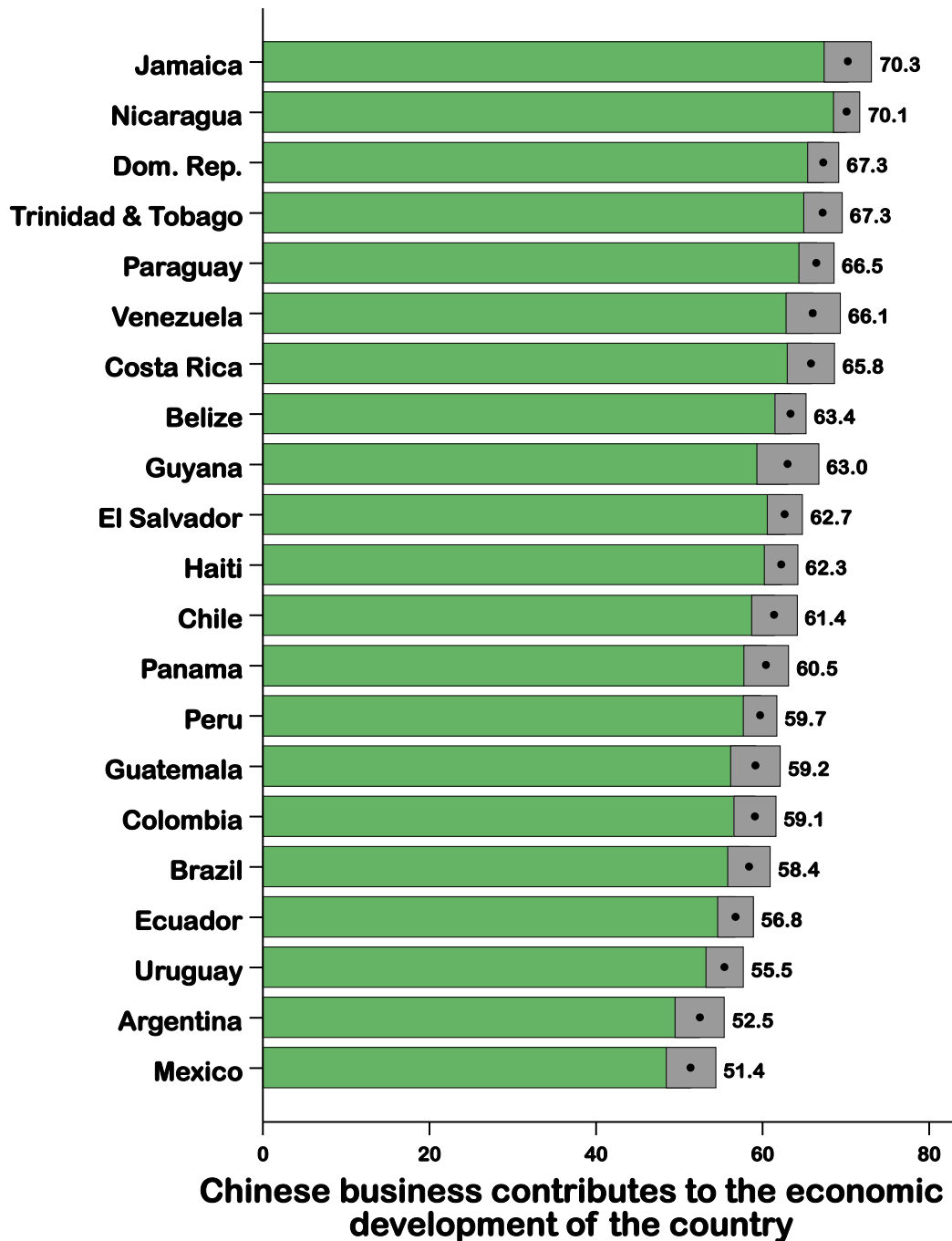
Excludes NR=4.5%



But, there is important variation across countries and regions.

FOR7. In general, the influence that China has on our country is very positive, positive, neither positive nor negative, negative, very negative?

Question answered on a 1-5 scale from 'Very positive' to 'Very negative', converted here to 0-100. The chart shows means (not percentages) where higher values indicate a more positive influence.



Chinese business contributes to the economic development of the country

95% Confidence Interval (Design-Effects Based)

Source: © AmericasBarometer by LAPOP

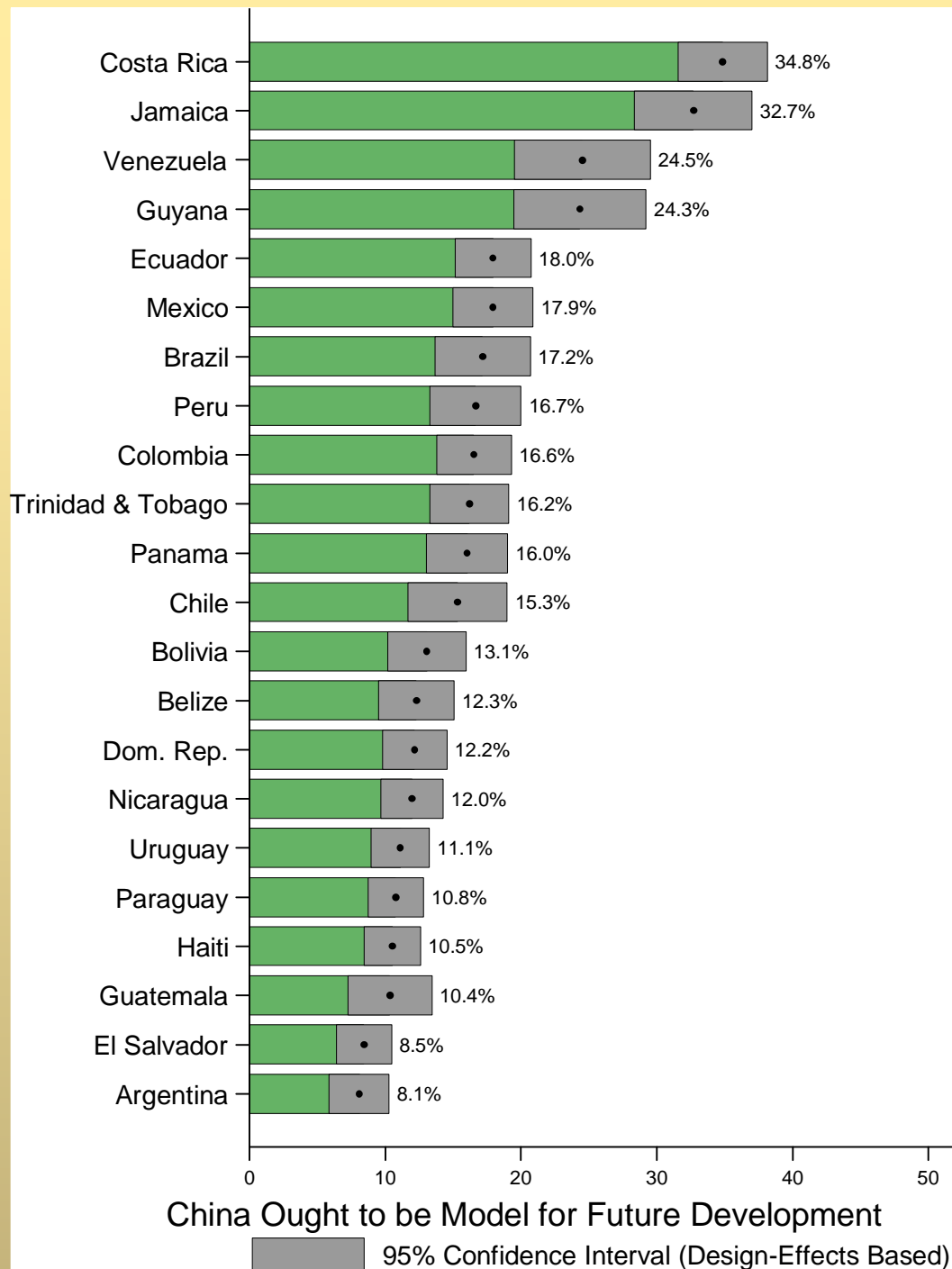
Average evaluations of the influence of Chinese business on development are also moderately positive.

These evaluations also vary by country.

FOR8. How much do you agree with the following statement: “Chinese business contributes to the economic development of [country]?”

Question answered on a 1-5 scale from ‘Strongly agree’ to ‘Strongly disagree’, converted here to 0-100.

The chart shows means (not percentages) where higher values indicate greater agreeableness.



Considering their own country, only 16%, on average, select China as the model for development.

FOR5. In your opinion, which of the following countries ought to be a model for the future development of our country?

(a) China; (b) Japan; (c) India; (d) U.S.; (e) *Brazil*; (f) *Venezuela*; (g) *Mexico**; (h) Spain; (i) Other/DK

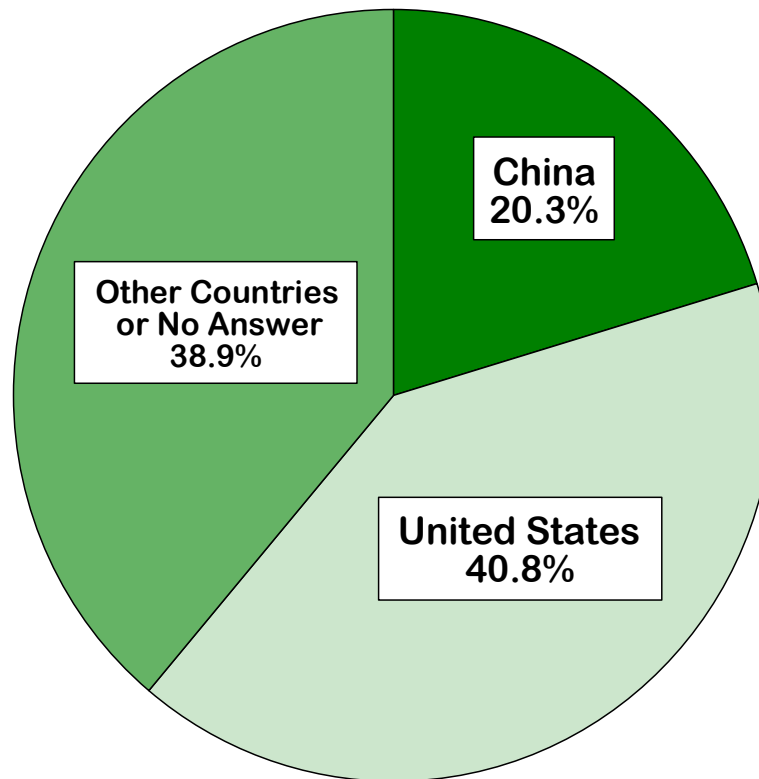
*Customized so that in these three countries, r's own country was not mentioned.

Citizens' Attitudes Toward Global Powers in Comparative Perspective

**Dinorah Azpuru, Ph.D., Wichita State University
Member of the Scientific Support Team at LAPOP**

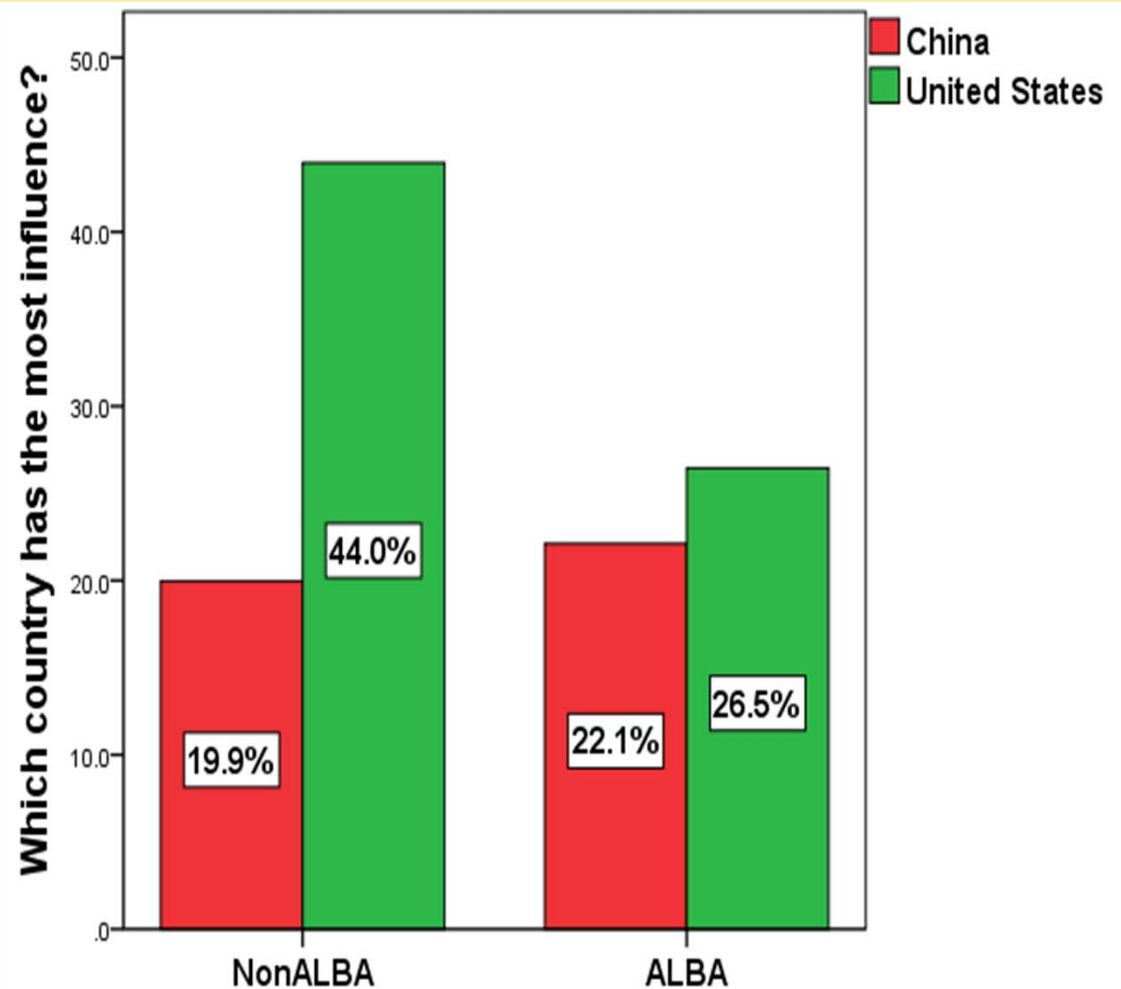
Comparing the perception of influence

Which country has the most influence in Latin America and the Caribbean?



Source: © AmericasBarometer by LAPOP

The U.S. is perceived as having more influence but mostly in the non-ALBA countries.



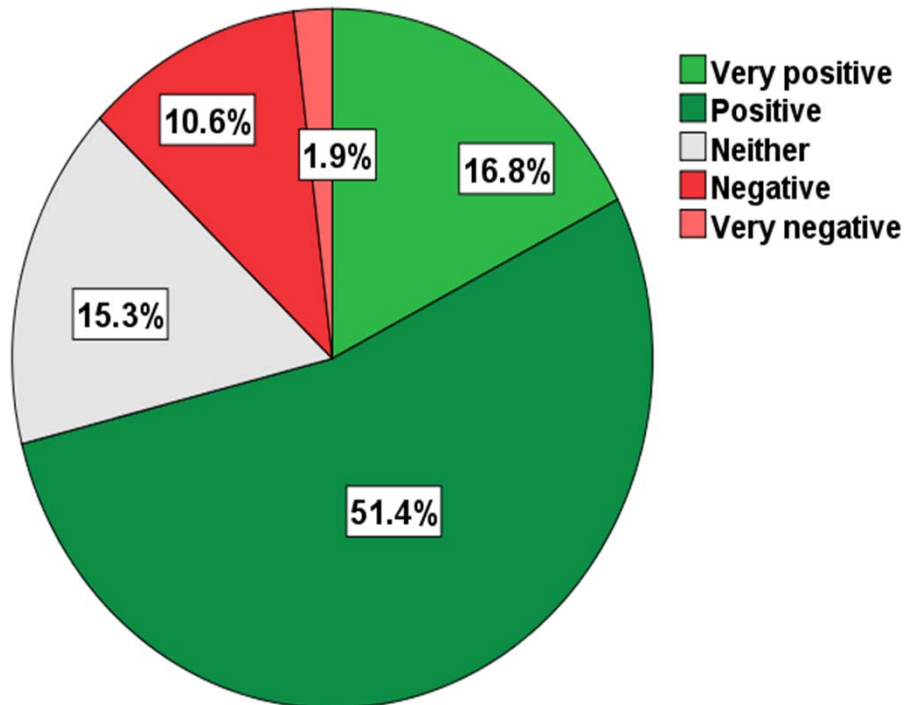
Source: @AmericasBarometer by LAPOP, 2012

Assessing the type of influence (average results across all 24 AmericasBarometer countries)

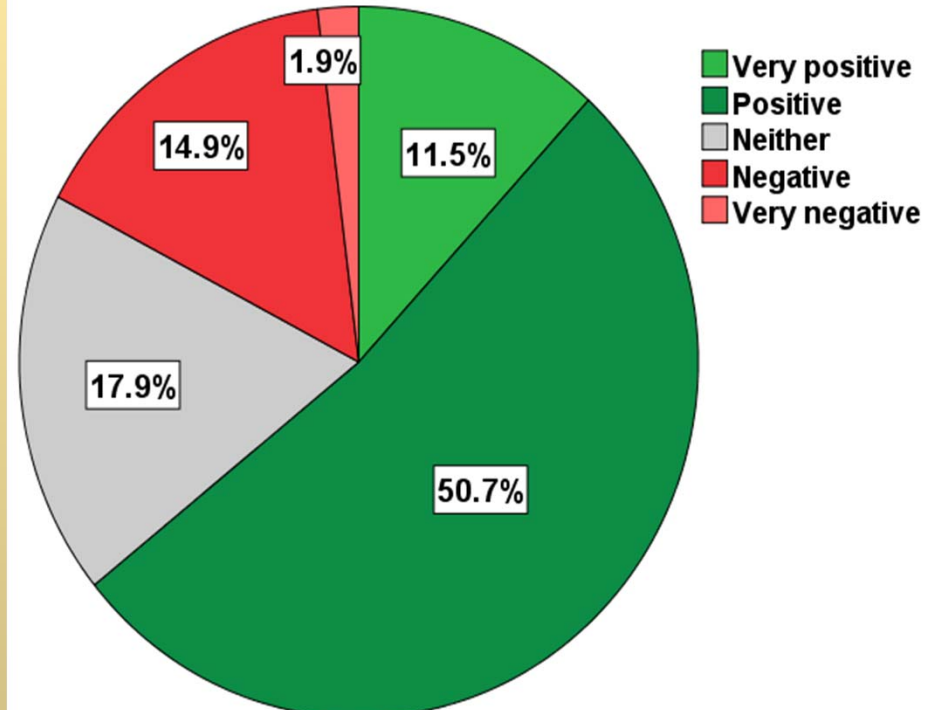
China

United States

The influence of China is...



The influence of the United States is...



Source: @AmericasBarometer by LAPOP, 2012

Source: @AmericasBarometer by LAPOP, 2012

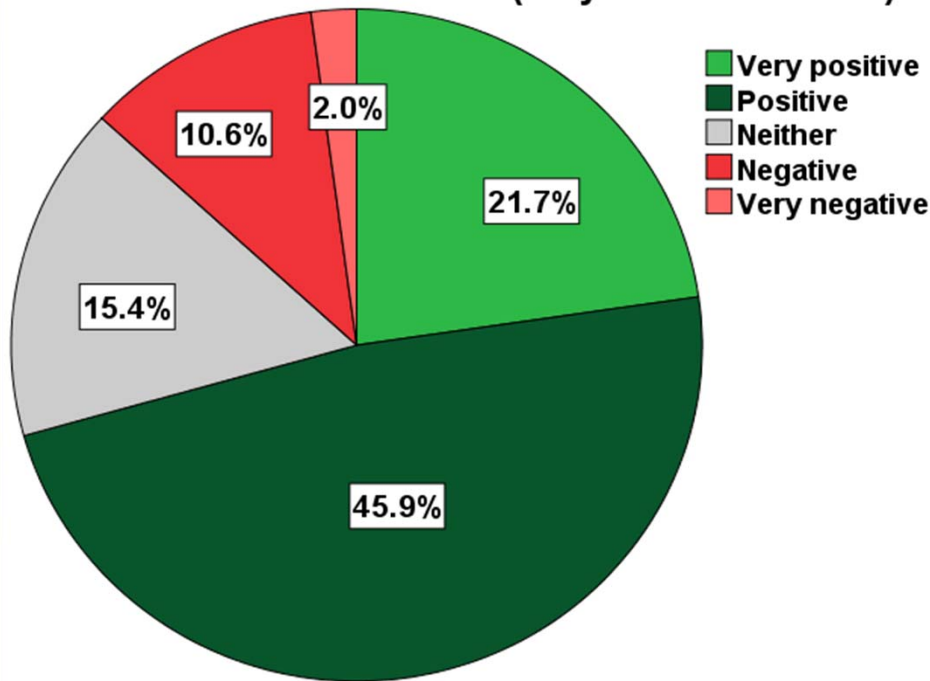
Figure shows results for respondents whose first choice in FOR1 was either China or the U.S. FOR2. And thinking of (___) and the influence it has in Latin America/the Caribbean, do you think that this influence is very positive, positive, negative or very negative?

Positive influence: 68.2% China vs. 62.2% United States.

Assessing the type of influence (only ALBA countries)

China

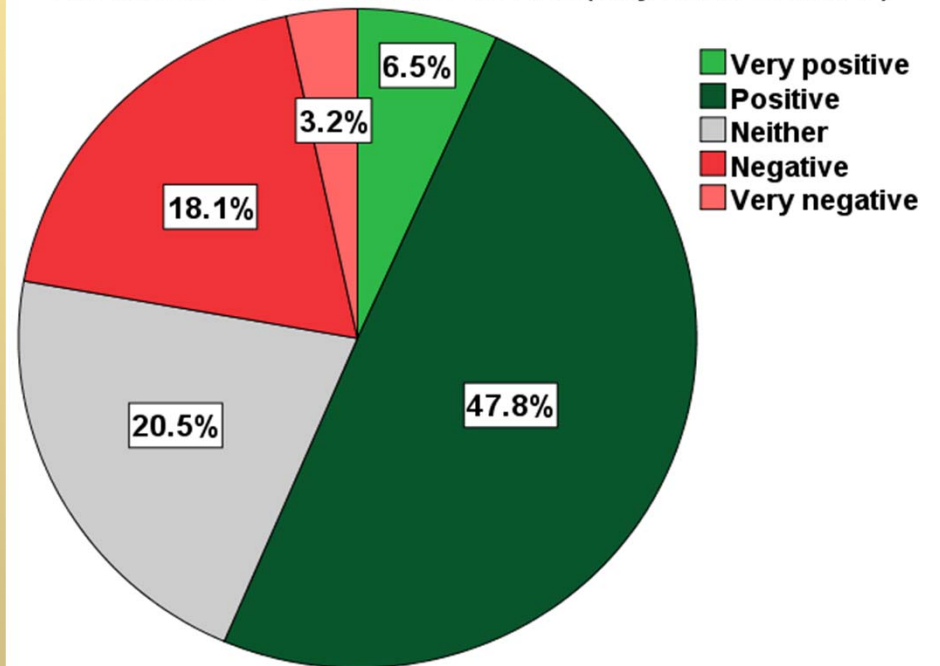
The influence of China is...(only ALBA countries)



Source: @AmericasBarometer by LAPOP, 2012

United States

The influence of the United States is...(only ALBA countries)



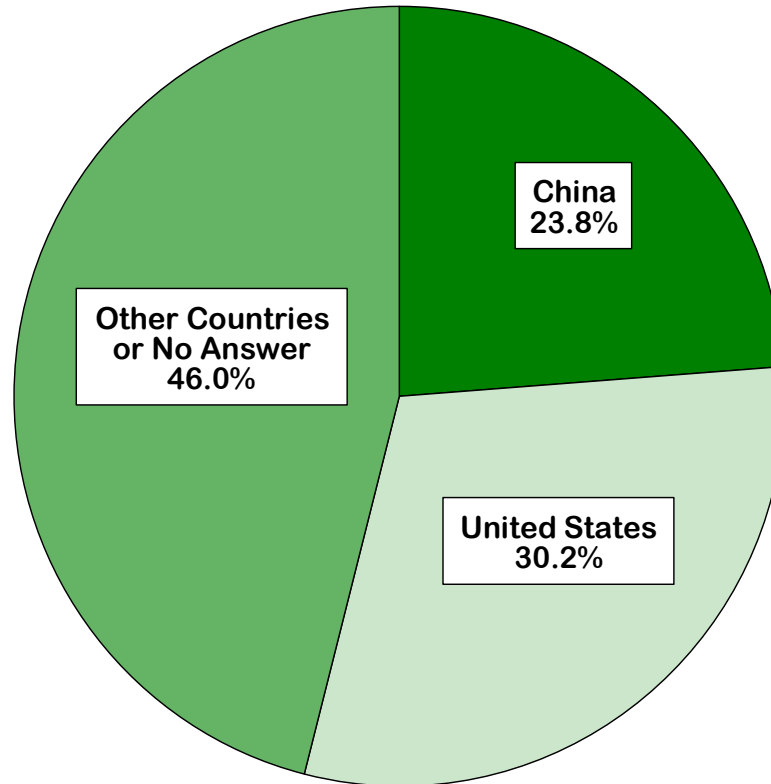
Source: @AmericasBarometer by LAPOP, 2012

Positive influence: 67.6% China vs. 54.3% United States.

Future influence?

(average results across all 24 AmericasBarometer countries)

Within 10 years which country will have the most influence?

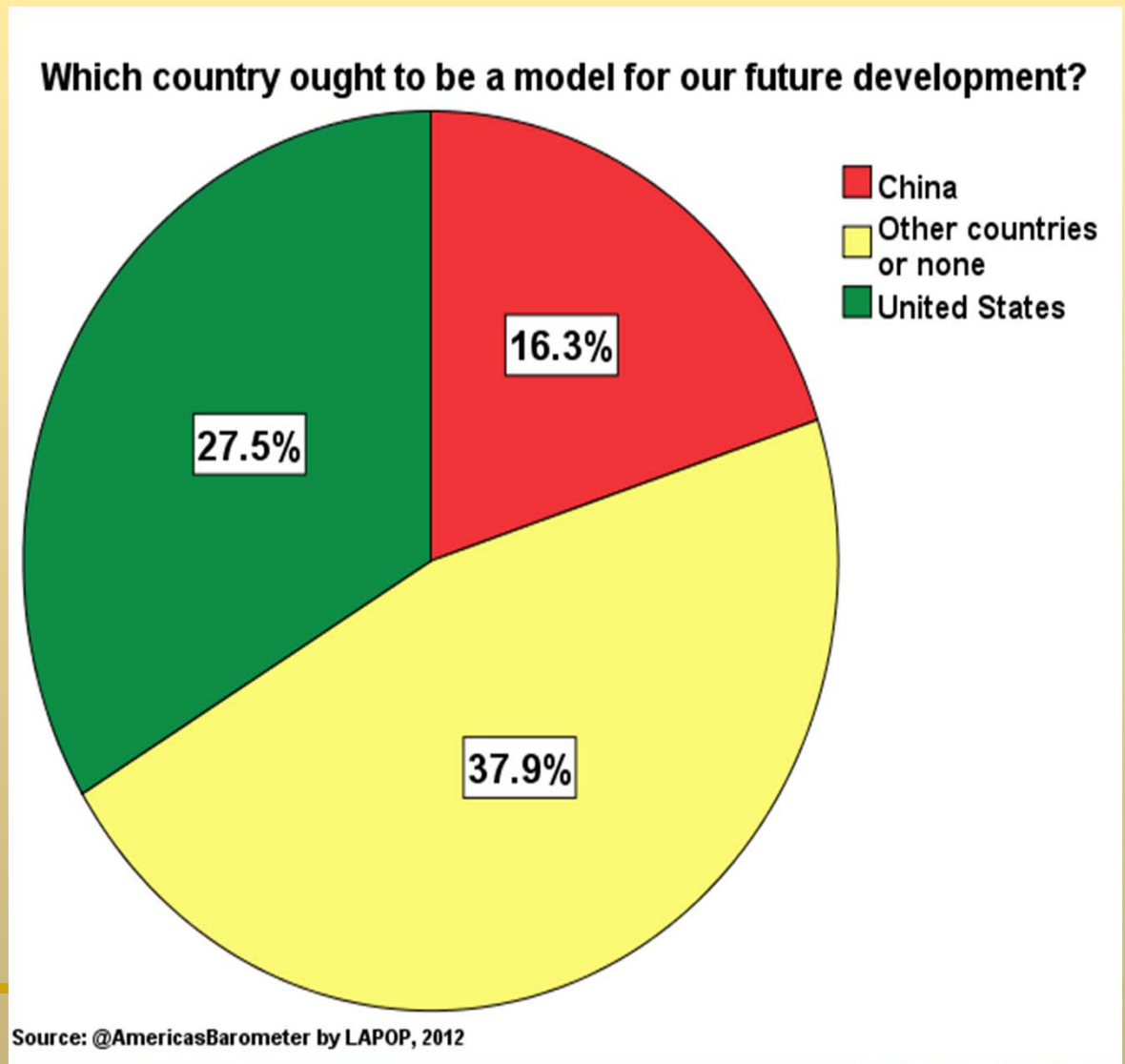


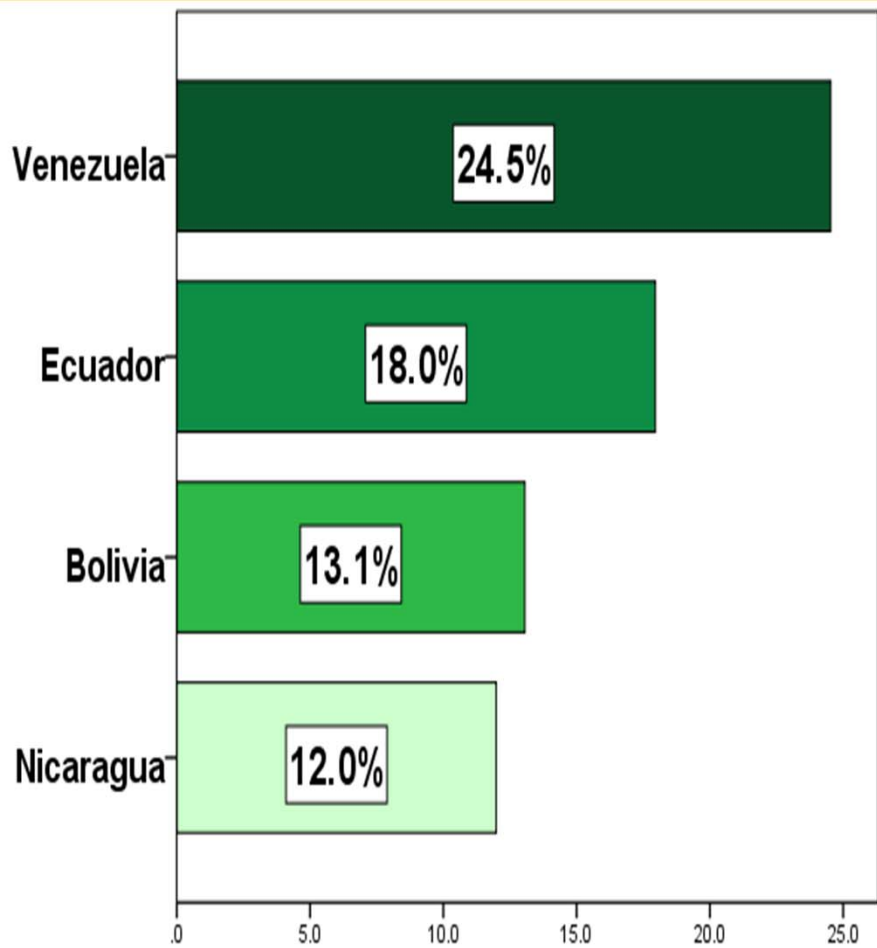
Source: © AmericasBarometer by LAPOP

Role models for development?

(average results across all 24 AmericasBarometer countries)

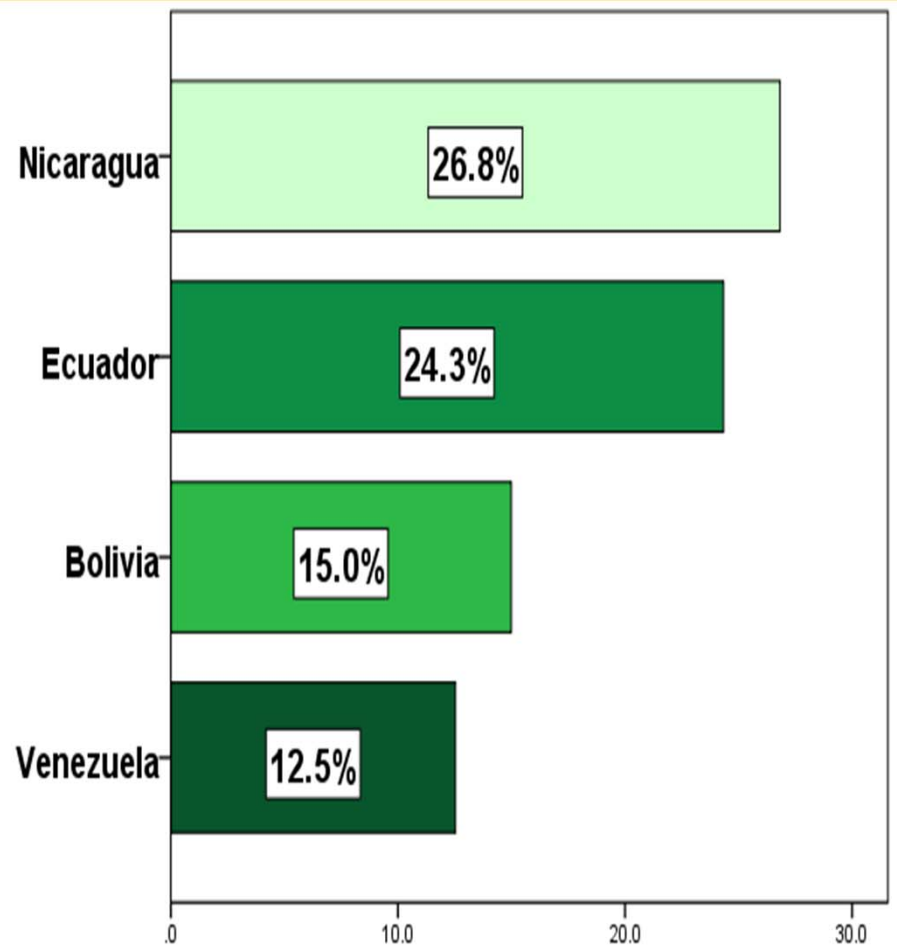
Country	Percentage
Japan	12.4%
Brazil	7.0 %
Venezuela	2.1 %
Mexico	1.7 %
Singapore	1.4 %
Russia	0.8 %
India	0.7 %
South Korea	0.6 %
Our own model	9.4 %
Other	1.8 %
No answer	18.3 %





China should be a role model for the country's development

Source: @AmericasBarometer by LAPOP, 2012



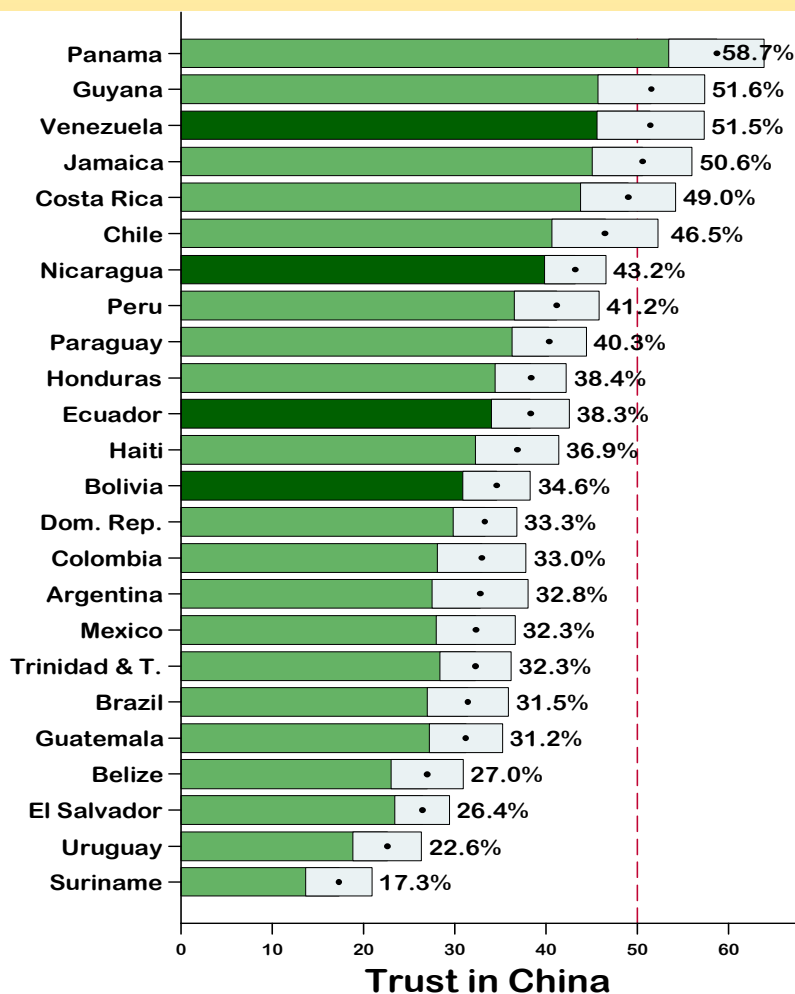
The United States should be a role model for the country's development

Source: @AmericasBarometer by LAPOP, 2012

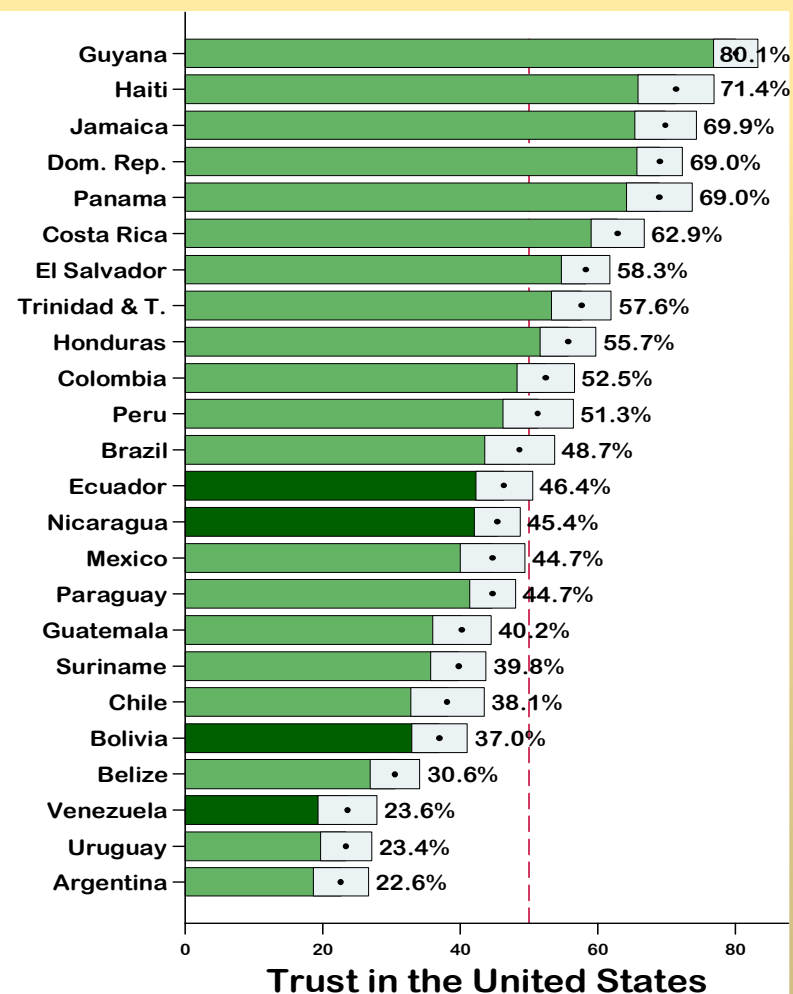
**Role models in ALBA countries:
Venezuela is the only country in which China surpasses the U.S.**

Trust in China and in the United States

(percentage who think the government of that country is very or somewhat trustworthy)



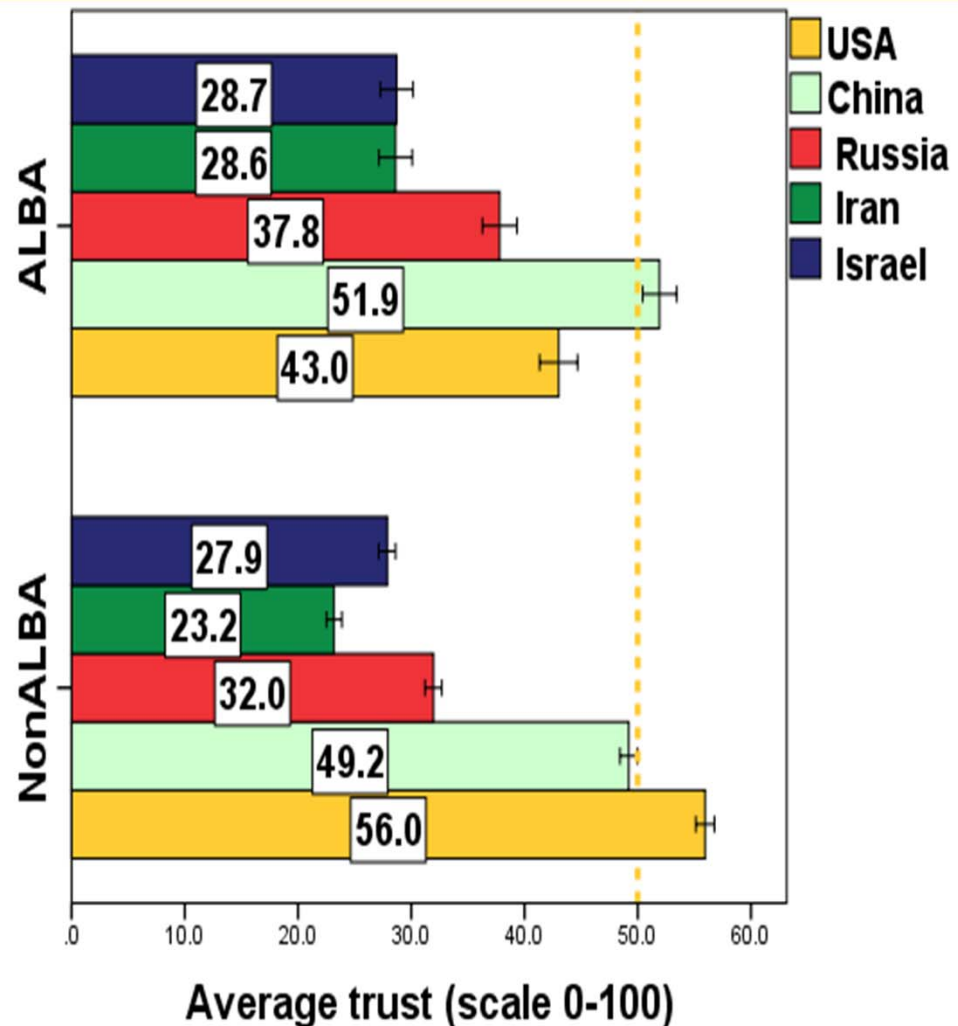
95% Confidence Interval (Design-Effects Based)
Source: © AmericasBarometer by LAPOP



95% Confidence Interval (Design-Effects Based)
Source: © AmericasBarometer by LAPOP

Comparative Trust

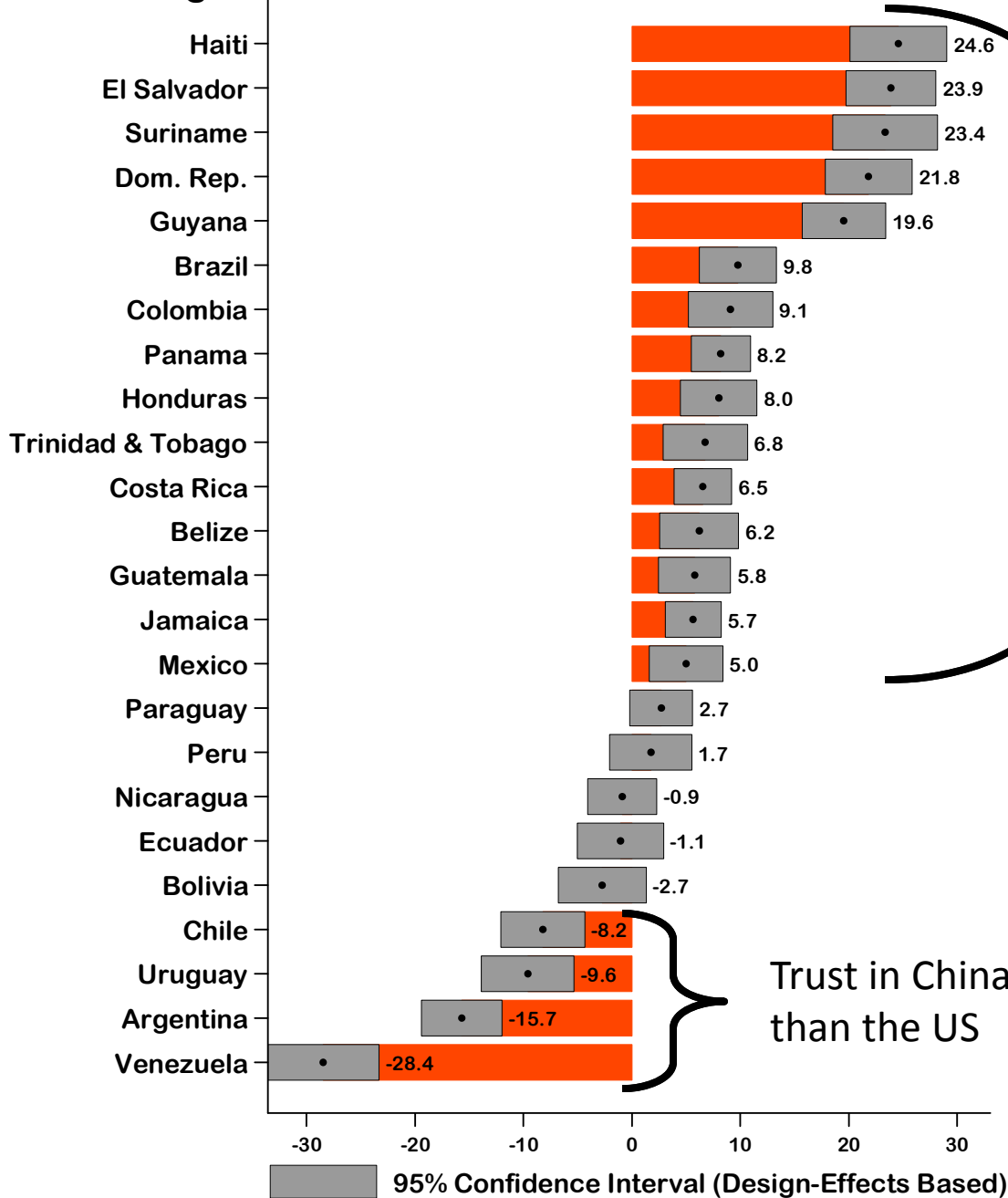
- Non-ALBA countries have more trust in the United States than in the other countries displayed in the chart.
- ALBA countries have greater trust in China than in the USA.
- China and the United States are the only countries that obtain an average higher than 40 points among both groups of countries.



Source: @AmericasBarometer by LAPOP 2012

95% Confidence Interval

Average Difference in Trust in US - Trust in China



Trust the US more than China

Relative levels of trust in the U.S. versus China vary across the region.

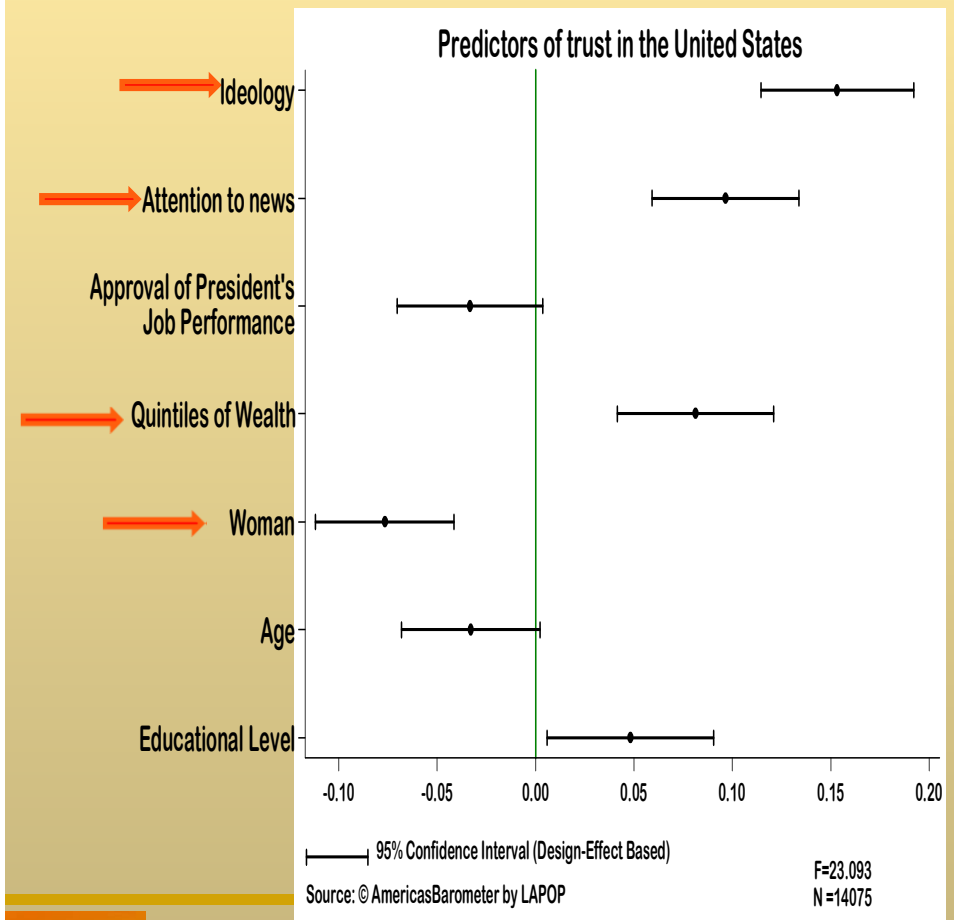
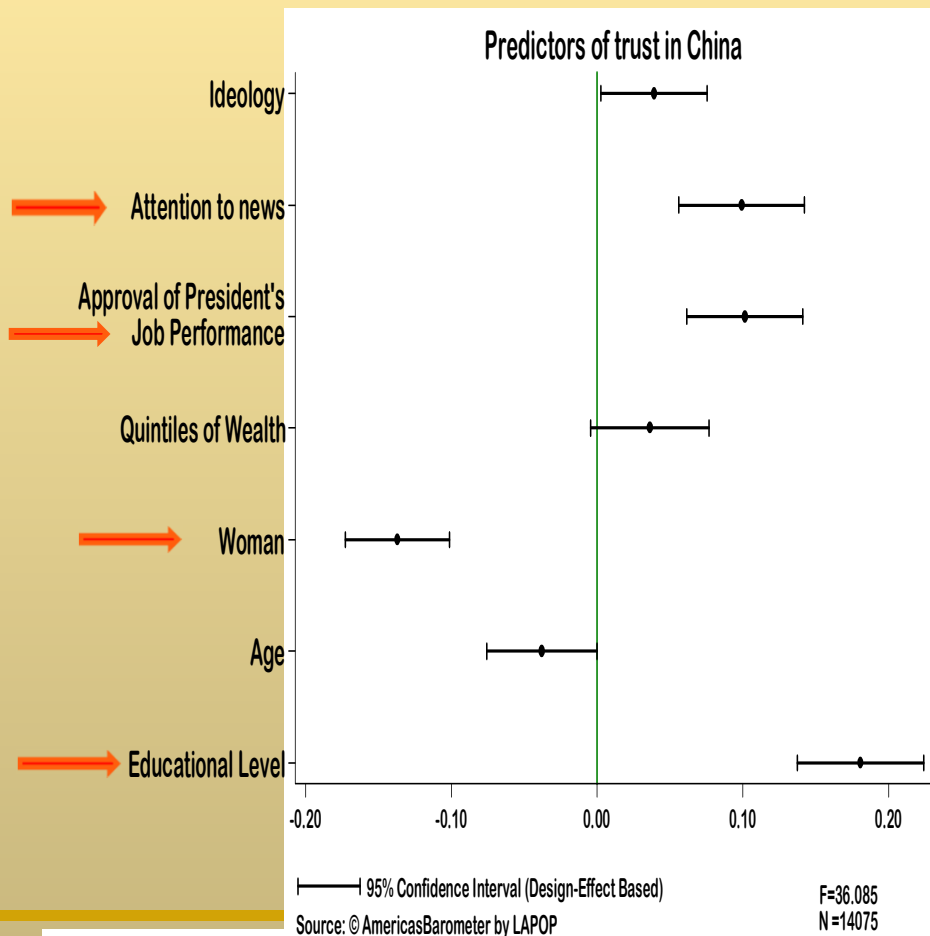
Trust in China more than the US

Source: © AmericasBarometer by LAPOP

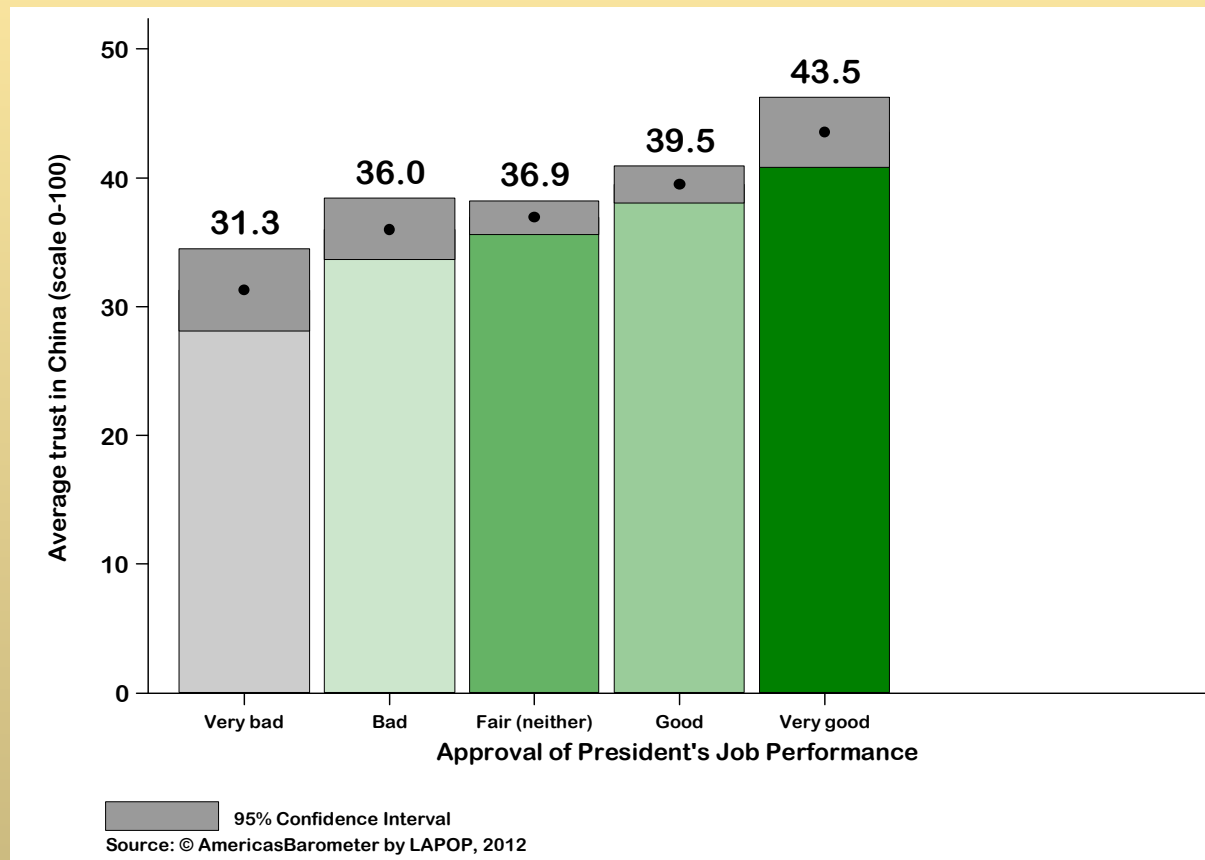
Determinants of trust in China and the U.S. (across all 24 AmericasBarometer countries)

China

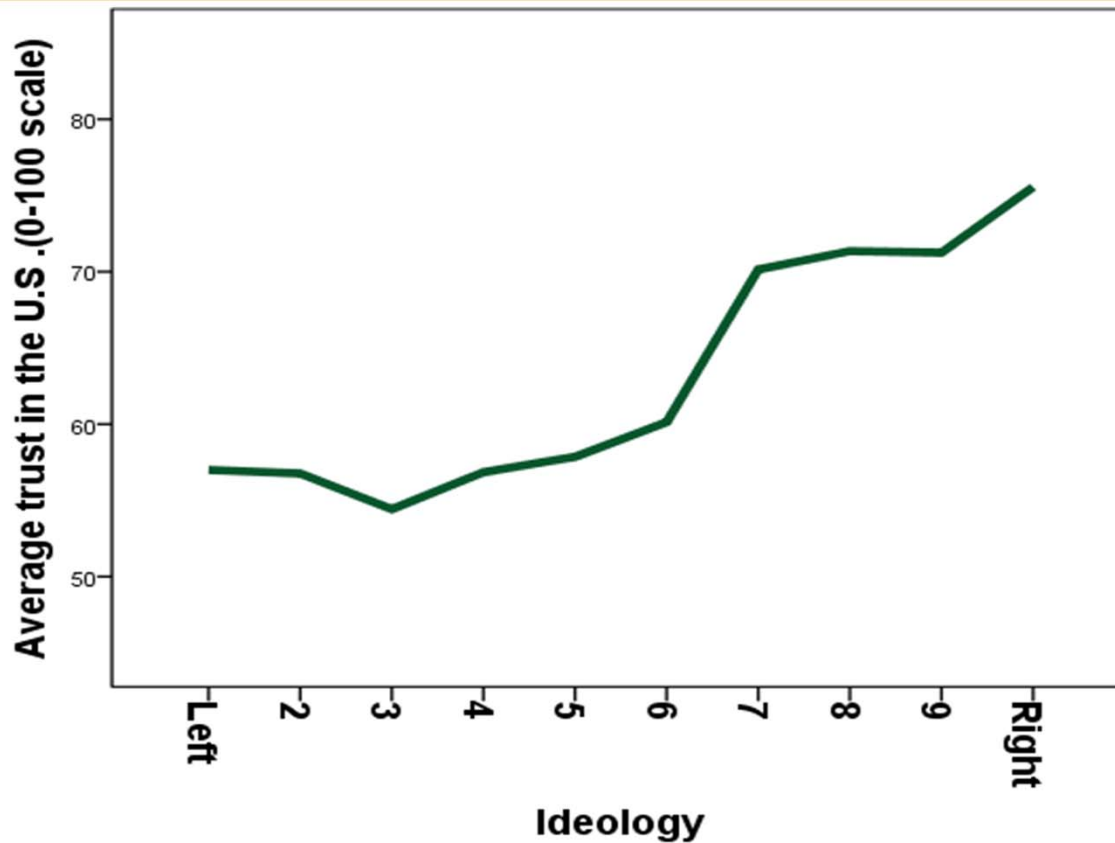
United States



Respondents who approve more highly of their president are more likely to trust China



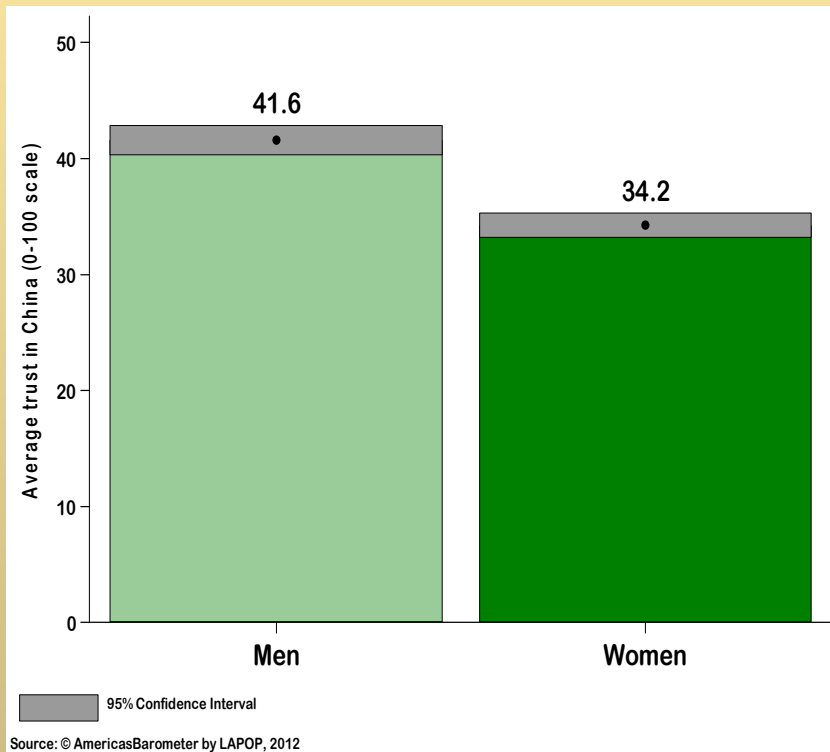
Respondents who identify as being to the right of the political spectrum are more likely to trust the United States



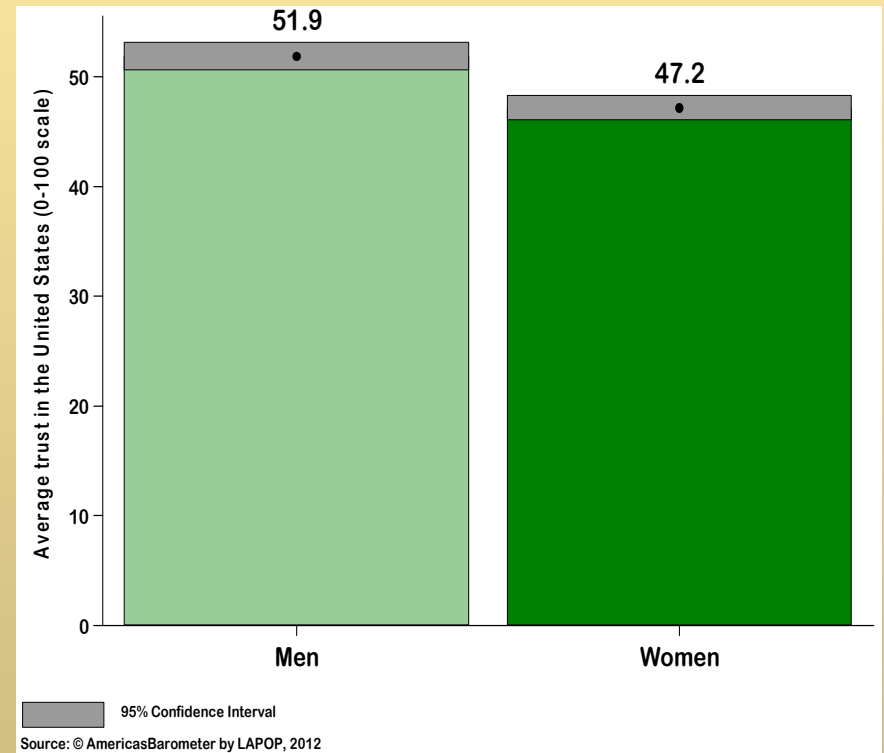
Source: @AmericasBarometer by LAPOP, 2012

Some predictors of trust: women have lower trust in both countries

China



United States



China and the Latin American Public: Reflections on Public Opinion Findings

**Kang Liu, Ph.D. Duke University and
Shanghai Jiaotong University, China**

China in Latin America



Xi Jinping (2009) told overseas Chinese in Mexico: “China exports neither revolution, nor hunger and poverty, and never inflicts pains on others, how come some prickly foreigners always like to meddle in our business?”

China's Latin American Policy: Distance, Caution, and Gradual Expansion

- **1960 China's diplomatic breakthrough with Cuba**
- **Most Latin American countries remained diplomatic ties with Taiwan till late 1970s**
- **China's non-interference foreign policy guided its relation with Latin America with distance and caution**
- **China's ties with Central and South America are anchored in trade and driven by an insatiable hunger for natural resources. Trade between China and Latin America increased by 1,200% or from 10\$ to 130\$ billion dollars between 2000 and 2009. In 2007 China's top 10 trade partners in the region were Brazil, Mexico, Chile, Argentina, Peru, Venezuela, Panama, Colombia, Costa Rica and Cuba.**

Latin America: Reaching Out to China

The world's most populous nation is rapidly forming trade, investment, technology, security, and cultural ties with developing nations around the globe and in particular Latin America. Latin America is no longer content being the 'backyard' of the United States.

China invests with no conditions, but still doles out rewards for nations that drop recognition of Taiwan. For now, the links between China and Latin America are lopsided in many ways, with exports and imports, commodities and aid largely flowing in one-way directions. Likewise, Latin America has a severe lack of trade or diplomatic officials who speak Chinese. The increasing ties and influence build expectations that China can step forward in promoting solutions for an onslaught of global crises.

- **Economic interaction is growing, but not the region's knowledge about China**

-----David Shambaugh, , director of the China Policy Program with George Washington University and also with the Brookings Institution.

17 November 2008

Preliminary Reflections on the Survey Data (I)

- Given the historical and geopolitical distance between China and Latin America, China's growing influence in the region is quite significant. The data shows a clear awareness of such influence with generally positive attitude.
- More positive views of China's influence than U.S. (slides 3) may suggest China's overall performance as a modernizing country, or formally a Third World, developing country, which is significant to Latin American public concerned about their own modernization.
- China's pragmatic and non-conflictual diplomacy (non-interference) works effectively in Latin America, compared to its role in other regions, particularly neighboring Asian-Pacific region. Moreover, China's expansion in Africa and its role in Middle East has been much more controversial than in Latin America, as it can be inferred from this public opinion survey in comparison with evidence of China's perception in other regions.

Preliminary Reflections on the Survey Data (II)

- Surprisingly China only trails the U.S. as a role model for Latin American development, overtaking Japan, Brazil and its own. (slide 33). The trust rate for China is also quite impressive, an indication of strong popular sentiment for alternative models of development rather than Brazil-Mexico pro-U.S. "free market" liberal model. (Latin American "dependency theory")



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