

Mark Aspinwall and Gerardo Maldonado, *¡Despierta México! Changing Public Attitudes Toward NAFTA, 2008–2018*. *Latin American Politics and Society* vol. 64, no. 1 (Spring 2022).

APPENDIXES

Appendix 1. Technical Characteristics of “Mexico, the Americas and the World” Surveys, 2008-2018

	2008	2010	2012	2014	2016	2018
Sample Size	2,400	2,400	2,398	2,400	2,400	1,531
Mode of Interview	Face-to-face personal interview in private household with printed questionnaire.	Face-to-face personal interview in private household with printed questionnaire.	Face-to-face personal interview in private household with printed questionnaire.	Face-to-face personal interview in private household with CAPI (80.3%) and printed questionnaire (19.7%).	Face-to-face personal interview in private household with printed questionnaire.	Face-to-face personal interview in private household with CAPI, using Survey To Go app.
Response Rate	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	42.7%	N.A.	27%
Sampling Error for the entire sample	+/- 2%	+/- 2.04%	+/- 2%	+/- 2%	+/- 2%	+/- 2.5%
Survey Dates of collection	From 14th August to 6th September, 2008.	From 27th September to 29th October, 2010.	From 18th August to 20th September, 2012.	From 8th November to 22nd December, 2014.	From 1 st October to 4th November, 2016.	From 25th November 2018 to 25th January 2019.

Source: Own elaboration based on available information at

<http://lasamericasyelmundo.cide.edu/mexico>.

Notes: The target populations in all the surveys is Mexicans 18 years of age and older, living within the National territory. CAPI: Computer-Assisted Personal Interview. N.A.:

Not Available

Appendix 2. Survey Questions and Answer Codification, in Spanish and English, of the variables used in the analyses.

Name of Variable	Question and Codification in English	Question and Codification in Spanish (Original)
Age	How old are you? [Write down number of years]	¿Cuántos años cumplidos tiene usted? [Anote número de años]
Educational Attainment	What is your highest level of schooling (your highest year)? 0 = None 1 = Incomplete Primary School 2 = Complete Primary School 3 = Incomplete Secondary School 4 = Complete Secondary School 5 = Incomplete High School 6 = Complete High School 7 = Incomplete College 8 = Complete College 9 = Graduate School	¿Hasta qué año escolar estudió usted (su grado máximo)? 0 = Ninguno 1 = Primaria incompleta 2 = Primaria completa 3 = Secundaria incompleta 4 = Secundaria completa 5 = Preparatoria o Carrera Técnica completa 6 = Preparatoria o Carrera Técnica incompleta 7 = Universidad incompleta 8 = Universidad completa 9 = Posgrado
Income (Lightbulbs)	How many lightbulbs do you have at this household? [Write down number]	¿Cómo cuántos focos tienen en su casa? [Anotar número]

Interest in foreign affairs news	How interested are you in news about Mexico's foreign relations?	Y, ¿qué tanto le interesan las noticias sobre las relaciones de México con otros países?
	4 = A lot	4 = Mucho
	3 = Some	3 = Algo
	2 = Few	2 = Poco
	1 = Nothing	1 = Nada
	0 = I don't follow the news (SPONTANEUOS)	0 = No sigo las noticias (ESPONTÁNEA)
Use of Internet	Do you use the Internet?	¿Usa usted internet?
	0 = No	0 = No
	1 = Yes	1 = Sí
Ideology	On scale from 0 to 10, where zero means "politically left" and 10 means "politically right", where would you put yourself? You can use any point on the scale.	Hablando de su orientación política, ¿dónde se ubica usted en una escala de 0 a 10, donde 0 significa "políticamente de izquierda" y 10 "políticamente de derecha"? Puede utilizar cualquier punto de la escala.
	[Write down number from 0 to 10]	[Escribir número de 0 a 10]
Nationalism	<i>[Question used in 2008, 2010 and 2012]</i>	<i>[Pregunta utilizada en 2008, 2010 y 2012]</i>
	How proud are you of being Mexican?	¿Qué tan orgullo se siente usted de ser mexicano?
	4 = Very proud	4 = Muy orgulloso
	2 = Some proud	2 = Algo orgulloso
	3 = Little proud	3 = Poco orgulloso
	1 = Nothing proud	1 = Nada orgulloso

[Question used in 2014, 2016, and 2018]

People have different ideas about what it means to be Mexican. In your opinion, how important is it to feel very proud of being Mexican in order to be Mexican: very important, somewhat important, not very important, or not important?

4 = Very important

3 = Somewhat important

2 = Not very important

1 = Not important

[Pregunta utilizada en 2014, 2016 y 2018]

Las personas tienen ideas distintas sobre lo que significa ser MEXICANO. En su opinión, ¿qué tan importante es cada uno de los siguientes aspectos para ser mexicano?

...Sentirse muy orgulloso de ser mexicano

4 = Muy importante

3 = Algo importante

2 = Poco importante

1 = Nada importante

Opinion about the President

Please give your opinion about (the president of Mexico). You may use any number from 0 to 100; the higher the number, the more favorable your opinion.

[In 2008, 2010, and 2012]

FELIPE CALDERÓN

[In 2014, 2016, and 2018]

ENRIQUE PEÑA NIETO

[Write down number between 0 and 100]

Le voy a pedir que mida su opinión sobre algunos líderes políticos. Puede usar cualquier número de 0 a 100, mientras más alto sea el número más favorable es su opinión sobre ese líder.

[In 2008, 2010, and 2012]

FELIPE CALDERÓN

[In 2014, 2016, and 2018]

ENRIQUE PEÑA NIETO

[Anotar número entre 0 y 100]

Economic Globalization

Do you think that greater contact between our economy and

¿Cree usted que el mayor contacto de nuestra economía con otras economías en el

	<p>others, known as economic globalization, is ... for Mexico?</p> <p>1= Generally bad</p> <p>2 = Neither good nor bad / Depends</p> <p>3 = Generally good.</p>	<p>mundo, lo que se conoce como globalización económica, es... para México?</p> <p>1= Generalmente malo;</p> <p>2 = Ni bueno ni malo / Depende</p> <p>3 = Generalmente bueno.</p>
Opinion about the United States	<p>Now I will ask your opinion about some countries, with 0 expressing a very unfavorable opinion, 100 expressing a very favorable opinion and 50 meaning neither favorable nor unfavorable. You can use any number from zero to 100, and the higher the number, the more favorable the opinion.</p> <p>UNITED STATES</p> <p>[Write down a number between 0 and 100]</p>	<p>Ahora le voy a pedir que mida su opinión sobre algunos países, con cero expresando una opinión muy desfavorable, 100 expresando una opinión muy favorable y con 50 una opinión ni favorable ni desfavorable. Puede usar cualquier número de 0 a 100, y mientras más alto sea el número más favorable es su opinión sobre ese país. Si no tiene opinión al respecto o no conoce ese país, por favor dígamelo.</p> <p>ESTADOS UNIDOS</p> <p>[Anotar número entre 0 y 100]</p>
Opinion about Canada	<p>Now I will ask your opinion about some countries, with 0 expressing a very unfavorable opinion, 100 expressing a very favorable opinion and 50 meaning neither favorable nor unfavorable. You can use any number from zero to 100, and the higher the number, the more favorable the opinion.</p>	<p>Ahora le voy a pedir que mida su opinión sobre algunos países, con cero expresando una opinión muy desfavorable, 100 expresando una opinión muy favorable y con 50 una opinión ni favorable ni desfavorable. Puede usar cualquier número de 0 a 100, y mientras más alto sea el número más favorable es su</p>

	CANADA	opinión sobre ese país. Si no tiene opinión al respecto o no conoce ese país, por favor dígamelo.
	[Write down a number between 0 and 100]	CANADÁ [Anotar número entre 0 y 100]
Opinion about the United Nations (UN)	On a scale of 0 to 100, where 0 is very unfavorable, 100 is very favorable, and 50 is neither favorable nor unfavorable, what is your opinion of the following international organizations?	En una escala de 0 a 100, donde 0 es una opinión muy desfavorable, 100 una opinión muy favorable y 50 una opinión ni favorable ni desfavorable, ¿cuál es su opinión de las siguientes organizaciones internacionales?
	UNITED NATIONS (UN)	
	[Write down a number between 0 and 100]	ORGANIZACIÓN DE LAS NACIONES UNIDAS (ONU) [Anotar número entre 0 y 100]
Geographical Region	NOTE: The sample design of the survey uses not only a national representative sample; it also includes two over-representations of the North and South regions. States included in each geographical region are as follows: 0 = Center of country (Aguascalientes, Baja California Sur, Colima, Estado de México, Distrito Federal, Durango, Guanajuato, Hidalgo, Jalisco, Michoacán, Morelos, Nayarit, Puebla, Querétaro, San Luis	NOTA: El diseño muestreo de la encuesta toma en cuenta no solo la muestra representativa de la población nacional, también ha realizado cada levantamiento dos sobre-muestras regionales representativas de estas regiones. Los estados de cada región –y su codificación- se detallan a continuación: 0 = Resto del país (Aguascalientes, Baja California Sur, Colima, Estado de México, Distrito Federal,

Potosí, Sinaloa, Tlaxcala,
Veracruz y Zacatecas)

1 = North (Baja California,
Sonora, Chihuahua, Coahuila,
Nuevo León y Tamaulipas)

2 = South-South East (Guerrero,
Oaxaca, Chiapas, Tabasco,
Campeche, Yucatán y Quintana
Roo)

Durango, Guanajuato, Hidalgo,
Jalisco, Michoacán, Morelos,
Nayarit, Puebla, Querétaro,
San Luis Potosí, Sinaloa,
Tlaxcala, Veracruz y
Zacatecas)

1 = Frontera Norte (Baja
California, Sonora, Chihuahua,
Coahuila, Nuevo León y
Tamaulipas)

2 = Sur-Sureste (Guerrero,
Oaxaca, Chiapas, Tabasco,
Campeche, Yucatán y
Quintana Roo)

Source: Authors' elaboration based on the survey questionnaires.

Appendix 3. Models predicting opinion about NAFTA (with information about economic sector for employed respondents), 2008-2018

	2008	2010	2012	2014	2016	2018	All Years
	Coef.	Coef.	Coef.	Coef.	Coef.	Coef.	Coef.
Age	0.014 (0.02)	-0.114 (0.07)	-0.184** (0.08)	-0.137* (0.07)	-0.073 (0.13)	0.149 (0.09)	-0.010 (0.02)
Income (Lightbulbs)	-0.155 (0.19)	0.302 (0.20)	-0.155 (0.19)	-0.005 (0.22)	0.882** (0.44)	0.240 (0.22)	0.089 (0.09)
Economic Sector	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	Ref.	Ref.	Ref.
Government							
Agriculture	Ref.	Ref.	Ref.	Ref.	7.329 (7.88)	5.380 (6.34)	-3.465 (3.48)
Fisheries, livestock	9.135* (5.53)	0.236 (5.74)	-2.085 (5.92)	8.273 (7.40)	31.960** (14.86)	-13.676 (13.25)	-1.131 (4.11)
Industry	8.753** (3.54)	-1.146 (3.62)	-5.777 (4.02)	-0.339 (4.03)	0.558 (7.36)	5.560 (5.88)	-3.299 (3.36)
Commerce	7.661** (3.15)	-1.046 (3.00)	1.525 (3.52)	-0.117 (3.63)	5.652 (6.69)	1.955 (4.94)	-2.018 (3.26)
Construction	2.817 (4.00)	3.471 (3.56)	-2.905 (4.65)	7.332* (4.04)	5.445 (7.75)	-1.520 (5.90)	-1.157 (3.43)
Education	8.582** (4.34)	-2.824 (4.50)	1.994 (5.21)	6.073 (5.04)	-3.576 (10.02)	-2.660 (7.38)	-2.435 (3.57)
Services	6.783** (3.39)	2.985 (3.18)	1.070 (3.95)	3.033 (3.78)	2.236 (6.62)	-0.687 (5.06)	-1.745 (3.27)
Others		-2.552 (5.31)	2.953 (4.09)	-2.440 (4.74)	0.373 (8.32)	-0.890 (5.45)	-2.880 (3.48)
Educational Attainment	0.189 (0.47)	0.124 (0.44)	-0.667 (0.51)	-0.841* (0.51)	0.092 (0.97)	0.330 (0.65)	-0.080 (0.22)
Interest in F.A. news	-0.719 (0.75)	2.600*** (0.84)	0.046 (0.90)	1.163 (0.94)	2.417 (1.73)	2.250* (1.30)	1.058*** (0.39)
Use of Internet	-2.091 (1.96)	-2.228 (2.04)	3.106 (2.13)	-0.469 (2.06)	-7.922* (4.22)	5.867** (2.81)	0.374 (0.92)
Ideology	0.987*** (0.31)	-0.171 (0.31)	0.626** (0.31)	0.222 (0.31)	-0.060 (0.60)	-0.055 (0.05)	-0.010 (0.04)

Nationalism	0.851 (1.58)	-1.565 (1.52)	2.493 (1.77)	1.728 (1.32)	4.084* (2.39)	0.931 (2.33)	1.096 (0.68)
Economic Globalization	1.131 (0.87)	3.143*** (0.95)	-0.391 (1.05)	3.678*** (0.91)	0.239 (1.92)	1.117 (1.31)	1.735*** (0.43)
Opinion about President	0.123*** (0.03)	0.140*** (0.03)	0.101*** (0.03)	0.167*** (0.03)	-0.007 (0.06)	0.054 (0.04)	0.116*** (0.01)
Opinion about USA	0.127*** (0.03)	0.107*** (0.04)	0.031 (0.04)	0.044 (0.04)	0.036 (0.08)	0.067 (0.05)	0.091*** (0.02)
Opinion about Canada	0.061 (0.04)	-0.042 (0.04)	0.077* (0.05)	0.051 (0.05)	0.123 (0.08)	0.140** (0.06)	0.047** (0.02)
Opinion about UN	0.397*** (0.04)	0.415*** (0.04)	0.465*** (0.04)	0.329*** (0.04)	0.525*** (0.06)	0.473*** (0.05)	0.439*** (0.02)
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Geographic Region							
Center	Ref.	Ref.	Ref.	Ref.	Ref.	Ref.	Ref.
North	0.614 (2.06)	-0.832 (2.58)	4.827** (2.34)	-0.009 (2.20)	-2.303 (4.41)	-1.698 (3.09)	1.006 (1.03)
South-South East	2.239 (2.49)	-0.845 (2.30)	-0.755 (2.91)	-1.391 (3.31)	-6.538 (5.82)	-1.315 (3.31)	-0.019 (1.20)
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Survey Year							
2008							Ref.
2010							0.491 (1.18)
2012							0.637 (1.25)
2014							4.847*** (1.28)
2016							1.780 (1.83)
2018							10.376*** (1.49)
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Constant	-3.414 (7.28)	14.891* (8.10)	12.446 (9.52)	16.347* (8.37)	-10.538 (16.53)	-6.873 (12.29)	5.089 (4.73)
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R_sqr	0.326	0.294	0.314	0.307	0.399	0.373	0.289
Cases	678	641	570	596	194	443	3122
BIC	6093.0	5818.9	5223.0	5336.2	1837.1	4172.4	28106.4

Notes: Linear Regression Models. Method of estimation: Ordinary Least Squared estimates with Countries' Weights. Robust standard errors in parenthesis are below the coefficients. n.a.= Not available.

Levels of statistical significance: * $p < 0.05$; * $p < 0.01$; *** $p < 0.001$.

Source: Own calculation based on *Mexico, the Americas and the World*.

Appendix 4. Models predicting opinion about NAFTA (with information about occupation of respondents), 2008-2018

	2008	2010	2012	2014	2016	2018	All Years
	Coef.	Coef.	Coef.	Coef.	Coef.	Coef.	Coef.
Age	-0.007 (0.02)	-0.098** (0.05)	-0.087 (0.06)	-0.174*** (0.06)	0.025 (0.09)	0.041 (0.06)	-0.025* (0.01)
Income (lightbulbs)	0.127 (0.14)	0.098 (0.11)	-0.162 (0.15)	0.075 (0.18)	0.479* (0.28)	0.114 (0.15)	0.069 (0.06)
Occupation							
Employed	Ref.	Ref.	Ref.	Ref.	Ref.	Ref.	Ref.
Home Working	0.767 (1.34)	-1.881 (1.48)	3.509** (1.69)	-1.469 (1.63)	-4.335 (2.83)	4.268** (2.01)	0.490 (0.69)
Student	-2.772 (2.40)	1.107 (2.54)	-2.349 (2.69)	1.307 (2.55)	8.118* (4.25)	0.492 (2.92)	0.134 (1.11)
Retired	2.643 (3.10)	-4.232 (3.60)	-0.021 (3.97)	-2.119 (3.47)	-4.012 (5.33)	5.548 (3.86)	-0.599 (1.49)
Unemployed	-2.980 (2.73)	-4.513* (2.45)	2.187 (3.09)	-4.972 (3.16)	0.828 (9.18)	2.337 (3.14)	-2.019 (1.27)
Other	0.195 (4.48)	1.404 (8.69)	-10.296 (7.10)	12.524* (6.49)	-10.640 (7.82)	- (6.63)	-4.230 (2.64)
Educational Attainment	0.427 (0.32)	-0.332 (0.32)	-0.377 (0.38)	-1.022*** (0.38)	-1.059* (0.59)	0.222 (0.44)	-0.191 (0.15)
Interest in F.A. news	-0.786 (0.53)	1.823*** (0.61)	0.267 (0.70)	0.642 (0.73)	1.108 (1.14)	0.378 (0.85)	0.545* (0.29)
Use of Internet	-3.354** (1.47)	-0.466 (1.53)	2.003 (1.66)	-1.419 (1.61)	1.020 (2.77)	5.280*** (1.89)	0.278 (0.69)
Ideology	1.001*** (0.23)	-0.298 (0.23)	0.414* (0.24)	-0.026 (0.25)	0.582 (0.40)	-0.074** (0.03)	-0.054* (0.03)
Nationalism	-0.518 (1.10)	-0.639 (1.11)	0.708 (1.36)	2.152** (1.10)	1.518 (1.56)	1.116 (1.41)	0.527 (0.50)
Economic Globalization	1.288** (0.64)	2.467*** (0.70)	-0.094 (0.78)	3.774*** (0.73)	0.446 (1.22)	2.430*** (0.83)	1.964*** (0.31)
Opinion about President	0.114***	0.174***	0.093***	0.180***	0.040	0.099***	0.127***

	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.04)	(0.03)	(0.01)
Opinion about USA	0.121***	0.112***	0.031	0.028	0.204***	0.162***	0.107***
	(0.02)	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.06)	(0.03)	(0.01)
Opinion about Canada	0.088***	0.027	0.094***	0.097***	0.061	0.095**	0.076***
	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.04)	(0.05)	(0.04)	(0.01)
Opinion about UN	0.408***	0.415***	0.443***	0.335***	0.460***	0.452***	0.426***
	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.04)	(0.03)	(0.01)
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Geographical Region							
Center	Ref.	Ref.	Ref.	Ref.	Ref.	Ref.	Ref.
North	0.851	0.942	2.548	1.431	-5.175*	-2.124	0.827
	(1.44)	(1.80)	(1.75)	(1.78)	(2.87)	(2.01)	(0.74)
South-South	2.768	-0.106	-3.103	-4.125*	-5.843	-0.336	-0.693
East	(1.83)	(1.86)	(2.07)	(2.46)	(3.75)	(2.24)	(0.89)
<hr/>							
Survey Year							
2008							Ref.
2010							-0.454
							(0.85)
2012							1.146
							(0.90)
2014							4.477***
							(0.95)
2016							1.824
							(1.26)
2018							10.577***
							(1.03)
<hr/>							
Constant	4.236	10.847*	16.506**	18.244***	-2.818	-1.844	4.926*
	(5.08)	(5.59)	(6.96)	(6.25)	(9.34)	(7.12)	(2.53)
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R_sqr	0.303	0.289	0.257	0.304	0.357	0.410	0.295
Cases	1303	1182	1021	991	400	876	5773
BIC	11633.5	10643.7	9273.9	8866.0	3635.4	8011.9	51707.0

Notes: Linear Regression Models. Method of estimation: Ordinary Least Squared estimates with

Countries' Weights. Robust standard errors in parenthesis are below the coefficients.

Levels of statistical significance: * $p < 0.05$; * $p < 0.01$; *** $p < 0.001$.

Source: Own calculation based on *Mexico, the Americas and the World*.

Appendix 5. Models predicting support for NAFTA

(including occupation), 2008, 2010 and 2016

	2008	2010	2016
	Coef.	Coef.	Coef.
Age	0.017 (0.02)	-0.115* (0.07)	-0.061 (0.07)
Income (Lightbulbs)	-0.143 (0.18)	0.246 (0.19)	0.387 (0.29)
Occupation			
White collar worker	Ref.	Ref.	
Manual worker	2.623 (2.05)	0.937 (2.39)	
Farmer	-3.732 (3.01)	0.020 (3.13)	
Self-employed	1.044 (1.78)	0.175 (2.04)	
House worker	-8.723 (11.18)	-2.131 (7.71)	
Other	5.414 (5.63)	0.756 (5.18)	
Manager or Director			Ref.
Professional			-7.896 (10.46)
Mid-level Technician			-2.617 (11.46)
Administrative			-8.617 (10.62)
Sales			-6.760 (10.29)
Farmer, fisher			-10.326 (10.71)
Skilled manual and artisan labor			-11.041

			(10.56)
Machine operator			-9.780
			(11.07)
Unskilled labor			-8.348
			(10.84)
Army			-0.151
			(20.85)
Other			-3.652
			(10.80)
<hr/>			
Educational attainment	0.212	-0.003	-0.901
	(0.41)	(0.41)	(0.58)
Interest in F.A. news	-0.421	2.614***	0.720
	(0.71)	(0.81)	(1.13)
Ideology	1.144***	-0.043	0.576
	(0.29)	(0.30)	(0.40)
Nationalism	-0.251	-1.697	1.537
	(1.42)	(1.48)	(1.57)
Economic globalization	0.813	2.888***	1.410
	(0.81)	(0.93)	(1.21)
Opinion of President	0.128***	0.148***	0.021
	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.04)
Opinion of USA	0.146***	0.098***	0.207***
	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.05)
Opinion of UN	0.410***	0.419***	0.426***
	(0.04)	(0.04)	(0.04)
<hr/>			
Geographical Region			
Center	Ref.	Ref.	Ref.
North	1.487	-2.462	-4.170
	(1.90)	(2.42)	(2.95)
South-South	2.852	-0.583	-6.830*
East	(2.26)	(2.24)	(3.75)
<hr/>			
Constant	6.516	12.395*	14.448
	(6.58)	(7.50)	(14.10)
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R ²	0.330	0.296	0.322
Observations	760	673	422
BIC	6791.6	6083.8	3861.5
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Notes: Linear Regression Models. Method of estimation: Ordinary Least Squared estimates with Countries' Weights. Robust standard errors in parenthesis are below the coefficients.

Levels of statistical significance: * $p < 0.05$; * $p < 0.01$; *** $p < 0.001$.

Source: Own calculation based on Mexico, the Americas and the World.