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**Political Attitudes in a period of Crisis: The case of the
Brazilian Elites**

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Resumo

O objetivo deste artigo é discutir o impacto que uma crise econômica tem sobre as atitudes políticas das elites. O artigo enfoca a experiência brasileira, considerando como essas atitudes mudaram ao longo de anos, levando em conta o cenário econômico. A influência exercida pela elite nas relações internacionais é algo amplamente debatido no campo da Análise de Política Externa e em trabalhos de opinião pública. Este trabalho propõe, assim, analisar como a elite brasileira se comporta diante de uma crise em relação às suas opiniões sobre a política econômica internacional. Nossa hipótese de trabalho é que certo pragmatismo se manifesta durante uma crise econômica, o que significa que, independentemente de sua posição política, a elite é mais favorável às políticas que estão convergindo com a globalização, especialmente a entrada de investimentos estrangeiros no país. Para isso, utilizaremos os bancos de dados de 2010 e 2016 do projeto *Las Americas y El Mundo*, ambos baseados em amostras de líderes brasileiros.

Abstract

The goal of this paper is to discuss the impact that an economic crisis has on the political attitudes of the elites. The paper focuses on the Brazilian experience, considering how these attitudes have changed from the years of economic bonanza to the years of economic downturn. The influence exerted by the elite in international relations is something widely debated in the Foreign Policy Analysis field and on works of public opinion. This paper proposes to analyze how the Brazilian elite behaves in the face of a crisis in relation to their opinions on international economic policy. Our working hypothesis is that certain pragmatism manifests itself during an economic crisis, which means that, regardless of its political position, the elite is more favorable to policies that are converging with globalization, especially the entry of foreign investments into the country. We will use the 2010 and 2016 databases of the *Las Americas and El Mundo* project, both based on samples of Brazilian leaders.

Introduction

What is the effect that an economic crisis has on people's perception of governmental policy? Are individuals affected by changes in the economic scenario and does this translate into their preferences and attitudes on political-economic policies? In this article, we explore this probability by examining two separate moments in Brazil's recent economic history to observe how individuals of the Elite behave in relation to neoliberal policies such as Foreign Investment and the opening of the economy.

Brazil has a long history of important internal discussion over what is the best approach towards an efficient political-economic policy, especially when it comes to its relationship with international institutions such as the World Trade Organization and the International Monetary Fund. Similarly from most countries in Latin America, we've seen both center-right and center-left governments win elections for fairly long periods of time: We had 8 years of PSDB¹ in power with Fernando Henrique Cardoso as president and 13,5 years of PT² with both Lula and Dilma Rousseff as presidents. Even though both parties are moderate either to the left or the right spectrum of political ideology, it shows an internal uncertainty, and more than that, it shows an internal dispute in narrative, and this is what we hope to explore in this article.

There is, as pointed out by Ole R. Holsti³, a long-standing debate on the importance - or lack thereof - of public opinion in the construction of foreign policy in the field of international relations. It is imperative that in this context we consider the controversy between liberal and realist thought: according to Holsti (1992) liberals, such as Kant, believe that "foreign policies of democracies are more peaceful, at least in part because the public can play a constructive role in constraining policymakers; only accountability to the public can restrain the war-making proclivities of leaders" (Holsti, 1992). On the other hand, realists like Morgenthau, describe public opinion as "a barrier to thoughtful and coherent

¹ Brazilian Party for Social Democracy

² Worker's Party

³ HOLSTI, O. R. (1992). Public opinion and foreign policy: Challenges to the Almond-Lippmann consensus. *International studies quarterly*, 36(4), 439-466

diplomacy, hindering efforts to promote national interests that transcend the moods and passions of the moment" (Holsti, 1992). Notwithstanding their perspective, the debate surrounding the impact of public perceptions on governmental actions in the foreign policy realm have been around for decades.

The debate on the field of Public Opinion and Foreign Policy has as its main objective the determination of the degree of influence and structuring of the elite and of the general population's opinions on foreign affairs. Glynn et al. (1999) describes how as early as the ancient Greek Philosophers, governments (or states) already had an interest in understanding people's feelings about government actions, and because of the increased participation in politics by society over the centuries, the debate about their relevance in the decision-making process gained momentum in the eighteenth century (Holzhacker, 2006).

Firstly we'll go over the literature that shapes this debate. Secondly we'll explore the question on the definition of foreign policy as a public policy: should foreign policy be considered a governmental policy? Thirdly the author will go through Latin American, and more specifically, Brazilian tradition on Public opinion polling and the use of surveys for international relations research on sentiment and attitudes. With this the author hopes to demonstrate the relevance of this subject in order to properly enter into an analysis of *Las Americas y el Mundo's* surveys for 2011 and 2016. With this analysis we hope to demonstrate that an economic crisis has an independent effect on the Brazilian Elite's political attitudes and perceptions on foreign investment and policies.

The mass, the elite and public opinion

As stated above, the literature surrounding Public Opinion and International Relations can be traced to the very beginnings of political debates. We want, however, to attain ourselves to the more recent debate, which we would like to establish as coinciding with the creation of the *Gallup poll* in 1936 together with the creation of the *Public Opinion Quarter* in 1938⁴. These two important actors helped shape what is today known as survey polling in political science

⁴ HOLSTI, O. R. (1992). Public opinion and foreign policy: Challenges to the Almond-Lippmann consensus. *International studies quarterly*, 36(4), 439-466

and, later on, in international relations research. We're now going to go through a revision of this debate and the literature around it. This debate can be categorized in three distinct moments:

- 1) The consensus that public opinion is not coherent and does not (and should not) influence public policy;
- 2) The consensus that even though the mass public opinion might be too volatile and that the elite's perceptions are better articulated and relate to different beliefs within their own group
- 3) The redefinition of foreign policy and public opinion debate, where these perceptions might be constructed in a hierarchical manner and where both the general public and the elite's sentiments are taken into account.

The first moment takes place in the post-war period, in the late 1940s. This resulted on what can be traced as one of the two main scientific works of the time: Thomas Bailey's *The Man in the Street* (1948) and Gabriel Almond's *The American People and Foreign Policy* (1950)⁵. It brought to light what was later widely known as the Lippman Consensus⁶, which was based on three assumptions (Holsti, 1992):

- 1) Public opinion is highly volatile and so do not have good fundamentals for foreign policy;
- 2) Public attitudes are so poorly structured that they should be called "non-attitudes";
- 3) Public opinion has a low impact on the conduct of foreign policy.

This moment categorizes public opinion as not being reliable enough to be taken into account in the study of the decision making process of foreign policy.

⁵ HOLSTI, O. R. (1992). Public opinion and foreign policy: Challenges to the Almond-Lippmann consensus. *International studies quarterly*, 36(4), 439-466

⁶ LIPPMANN, W. (1955) *Essays in the Public Philosophy*. Boston: Little, Brown

Further down the line, given the 20th century universal suffrage that started taking place in many western countries, as well as advances in data analysis technology, the debates of polarization between mass and elite in foreign policy studies were once more rekindled, with the conception of what is now known as the Elites' Theory (Grynszpan, 1996), which presupposes that the study of elites is sufficient to understand the dynamics of society.

The participation of the elite in the decision-making process has an even greater role in the study of the field of International Relations. As stated by Converse (1964), while mass public opinion has lower levels of articulation and internal coherence, the elite has higher levels of articulation and action, consequently making it more predictable in an opinion poll.

Converse (1962) brings great innovation in the field of public opinion research. He elaborates on the Belief System as

“(...) a configuration of ideas and attitudes in which the elements are bound together by some form of constraint or functional interdependence” (p.3) ... The “constraint” may be taken to mean the success we would have in predicting, given initial knowledge that an individual holds a specified attitude, that he holds certain further ideas and attitudes”. And this, together with “interdependence”, refers to the probability that a change in the perceived status (truth, desirability, and so forth) of one idea-element would psychologically require, from the point of view of the actor, some compensating change(s) in the status of idea-elements elsewhere in the configuration.”

In accordance to Converse's concepts above, the Elite has a more articulated and internal coherence than the mass, since they “rely in some active way on a relatively abstract and far-reaching conceptual dimension as a yardstick against which political objects and their shifting policy significance over time were evaluated.”⁷

The debate became more elaborate with Deutsch (1968) discussion on the “cascade” model, which conceives a certain “order” in the formation of public opinion, that can be compared to a cascade of five levels: i) economic and social elites, ii) governmental organizations, (iii) mass communication networks, (iv)

⁷ CONVERSE, Philip E. (1962) The nature of belief systems in mass publics. Survey Research Center, University of Michigan.

opinion leaders, and (v) mass. In this particular theory, each level carries out the information to the next; therefore, even though the masses would be influenced by many other levels of information before taking the decision to support or not public policies, it is still capable of absorbing information and having an opinion on state affairs. This is the moment that the debate opens up to the possibility of studying the Public opinion and its influence on governmental actions.

Nevertheless, it is important to note that not all people are necessarily interested in foreign policy issues, since this subject would be far from the reality of the majority of the population. Dahl (1977) states that only a small portion of the population has real political presence, since it has real interest in international decisions: "Most people ... base their political beliefs, on the charisma of leaders, family life and other concrete aspects" (Holzhacker, 2006). Consequently, "the concern of individuals would be directly related to their direct well-being".

From this discussion comes a much more recent conception, present throughout the literature on the role of the ideational dimension in the processes of political deliberation, which assumes that belief systems -- sometimes also called ideologies - are structured hierarchically.

Later, Paul Sabatier (1988), when first presenting his seminal contribution for understanding the processes that ended up organizing the participation of different coalitions in the process of designing a policy intervention, crafted the concept of Advocacy Coalitions. According to Sabatier, an advocacy coalition is "composed of people from various organizations who share a set of normative and causal beliefs and who often act in concert"(pp 133)⁸. Since then, the framework has evolved and gained in complexity to address other political realities than the pluralist system it initially took for granted⁹. Since the first presentation, one core conception of this framework was the proposition that "it is shared beliefs which provide the principal 'glue' of politics. Moreover, The

⁸ Hank C. Jenkins-Smith, Daniel Nohrstedt, Christopher M. Weible, Karin Ingold The advocacy framework: an overview of the research program" in Weble, C and Sabatier, P. Theories of the policy process (4th edition) Routledge, 2018

⁹ For a Contemporary review of the Advocacy Coalition Framework, see Jenkins-Smith et al. (2018): (Hank C. Jenkins-Smith, Daniel Nohrstedt, Christopher M. Weible, Karin Ingold The advocacy framework: an overview of the research program" in Weble, C and Sabatier, P. Theories of the policy process (4th edition) Routledge, 2018)

framework assumes "that people's 'core' beliefs are quite resistant to change." (p. 141).

Thus, Sabatier's discussion provided the first contribution regarding how beliefs and values play a central role in organizing the political participation, especially of the elites, and presented a hierarchical model for understanding how these values, beliefs and preferences are organized. The discussion made by this literature on the structure and organization of ideas and values held by different sectors of the elite can be seen in the table below: (Sabatier, 1988, p 145).

Table 1 - Structure of belief systems of policy

	Deep (normative) core	Near (policy) core	Secondary aspects
Defining Characteristics	Fundamental normative and ontological axioms	Fundamental policy positions concerning the basic strategies for achieving normative axioms of deep core	Instrumental decisions and information searchers necessary to implement policy core
Scope	Part of basic personal philosophy. Applies to all policy areas.	Applies to policy area of interes (and perhaps a few more).	Specific to policy/subsystem of interest.
Susceptibility to change	Very difficult; akin to a religious conversion	Difficult, but can occur if experience reveals serious anomalies.	Moderately easy; this is the topic of most adminstrative and even legislative policy-making
Illustrative Components	1)The nature of man: i) Inherently evil vs. socially redeemable; ii) Part of Nature	1) Proper scope of governmental vc. marker activity and 2) Proper distriction of authority among various	1) Most decisions concerning administrative rules, budgetary allocations, disposition of cases

Similarly, Goldstein and Kohane (1993) propose three major types of beliefs that would be relevant for understanding individual political decision. They are i) World Views, ii) Principled beliefs, and iii) Causal beliefs. Principled beliefs are "normative ideas" that help the individual decide whether something is right or wrong, good or bad. Some of the examples given by the authors are: "Slavery is wrong" or "Abortion is murder". Causal Beliefs refer to cause-effect relationships and derives authority from shared elite consensus. For this latter concept, it implies a strategy for the attainment of a shared greater goal (Keohane, Goldstein 1993). And lastly, according to the authors, world views:

"are embedded in the symbolism of a culture and and deeply affect modes of thought and discourse. They are not purely normative, since they include views about cosmology and ontology, as well as about ethics. Nevertheless, world views are entwined with people's conceptions of their identities, evoking

deep emotions and loyalties. The World's greatest religions provide world views, But so does the scientific rationality that is emblematic of modernity." (KEOHANE, GOLDSTEIN 1993)

More recently, Campbell (1998), presents a complex classification, where values and ideas supported by elites are considered from two dimensions: one that distinguishes normative conceptions from cognitive ones, and one that distinguishes conceptions that articulate in the debate about a policy and those that are taken as given by the debate (background of the policy debate):

Table 2. Types of ideas and their effects on policy making

	Concepts and theories in the foreground of the policy debate	Underlying assumptions in the background of the policy debate
Cognitive level	<i>Programs</i> Ideas as elite policy prescriptions that help policy makers to chart a clear and specific course of policy action	<i>Paradigms</i> Ideas as elite assumptions that constrain the cognitive range of useful solutions available to policy makers
Normative level	<i>Frames</i> Ideas as symbols and concepts that help policy makers to legitimize policy solutions to the public	<i>Public Sentiments</i> Ideas as public assumptions that constrain the normative range of legitimate solutions available to policy makers

In Brazil, Souza (2010), aligns with the Elite Theory by stating that it would not make sense to study the attitudes from the mass public on international affairs, as one would not be able to find coherent opinion amongst the subjects. The ideational dimension plays a central role not only in guiding the formation of elites's policy preferences, but also in organizing the elite's participation in the policy process (Weible 2018), specifically from the Elite. These values and beliefs are particularly relevant as a determining factor in the decision-making process of policies more or less insulated from the values and interests based on daily experience of the population in general, as is the case of the Foreign Policy of a Country.

This literature also converges to conceive belief systems held by elites as being hierarchized at different levels, some of them more susceptible to change, others less (Converse, Sabatier, Keohane, Campbell, for example). In the different models of hierarchy, this literature always identifies a set of core values and beliefs, "entwined in people's conception of their identity" (Goldenstein, Keohane 1993); "part of basic personal philosophy" (Sabatier) that are stable and

offer great resistance to change. In general, these core beliefs, in different ways, create "constraints" over what are useful and legitimate policy options.

We could also say that nationalism understood as "a perception of threat and vulnerability within an international society, which prevents the nation from achieving power and wealth" (Adler 1987, p.35), is one of these core values, as pointed by the literature. In particular in the Brazilian case, and that "the belief that a nation is inevitably imperfect and unequal, to a great extent of international factors "and seeing" Interdependence not only the roadblock to progress for the nation but also the cause of inequalities both within and between countries "(Indem, ibidem, p 35), compose a core value which is ingrained in a relevant part of the country's domestic elites. It can be classified as a core belief: the set of feelings and causal beliefs that organize nationalism. Therefore, following this literature, one would expect that elite attitudes and political perceptions of the presence of foreign capital in the country should have the degree of stability and resilience that this literature attributes to core beliefs. This is important for this work, since we aim to discuss how a crisis might affect one's attitude toward specific political economic policies, regardless of their core beliefs.

Going beyond the classical International Relations debate about the State's role as the main actor in the international system (STEIN&GUZZINI 2002), the Foreign Policy Analysis field studies the decision making process in State's actions. M. Faith Tayfur makes a very detailed review on the different approaches there are to the study of Foreign Policy (TAYFUR 1994) and states that "different approaches and variables explain the phenomena best in different context" since "what determines a foreign policy behavior is a complex set of variables"¹⁰.

In order to clarify this study's place within the International Relations Field, it is important to go back to the very early-stage question of what is Foreign Policy? How should one define what is and what isn't? It could be easy to simply say that Foreign Policy is everything that is not embedded in Domestic Policy,

¹⁰ TAYFUR, M. Fatih. Main approaches to the study of foreign policy: A review. METU Studies in Development, 1994, 21.1: 113-141.)

however, a glimpse of the debate around this question – as seen in the next paragraph – is important for contextualizing this author's discussion.

Clarck White (1989, pp.5) argues that Foreign Policy, although being formulated within the State, it is to be implemented in the environment that is outside the State. Others, such as Wallace (1974, pp. 7:12), view Foreign Policy as being a “bridge” between the internal and external environment of the State and also a boundary between the government and its diplomacy agenda. Rosenau (1976, pp. 16:7) conceptualizes three different types of Foreign Policy: i) Foreign Policy as Orientations (Traditions and aspirations), ii) Foreign Policy as Plans and Commitments (Strategies and Decisions) iii) Foreign Policy as Activities (concrete behaviors). Finally, as Russett and Starr (1985) put it “People do not agree on exactly what should be included here (...) Foreign Policy is the output of the State into the global system”.

M. Fatih Tayfur describes Foreign Policy Studies as being a sub-group inside the International Relations field. According to the author “it focuses on the external behaviors of governments and more specifically on their authorized representatives since states act almost always through their official agents” (TAYFUR 1994). The present study focuses on looking into causal relationships between external conditioning factors and individuals' response to foreign policy. Surveys have been used as research instruments to collect citizens attitudes towards governmental policy, be it to analyze possible pressure points or even to measure government's legitimacy (de ALMEIDA 2011, pp.4).

The discussion on how best to conceptualize Foreign Policy is far from over and that it is not the intent of this paper to find final answers to these questions. It is, however, our intention here to call the attention of the reader to the idea that if foreign policy is influenced by many variables and actors, and we cannot ignore that there are many domestic actors with different interests that have an effect in the decision making process in the realm of Foreign Affairs, and like the early Greek philosophers, we too should be interested in knowing and analyzing public opinion polls, both for the elite and the masses.

As we can see, the agenda of Foreign Policy Analysis Studies has been continually changing, especially if we consider the debate on the role the Elite plays on influencing policy change. The first wave of research used comparative methodology with empirical data which allowed the scientific community to establish causal models, leading up to the second wave of research which used more complex causal connections¹¹.

Hosti makes an interesting remark on his 1992 paper on how public opinion should be designed for long-term perspectives and for accumulative knowledge and research:

“the independent surveys that have been undertaken in recent years appear to have taken little note of questions in other studies that might provide the basis for comparative analysis. In one sense this is understandable; the whole rationale for an independent survey is to undertake probes that have been overlooked by others. But it is also regrettable that there appears to be rather limited communication at the planning stage between those who are designing surveys. The development of even a handful of standard foreign policy questions that would be included in all such surveys would go a long way toward improving a less-than-outstanding record of cumulative findings.”(HOLSTI, 1992 pp.460).

Based on this, the objective of this work is to analyze the Las Américas y el Mundo elites database, more specifically the 2010 and 2016 Brazilian leaders data. Both samples are composed of academics, ambassadors, politicians, third sector specialists and businessmen and women. The debate, as explored earlier in this paper, called attention to the difference between the belief system in the Elite and the mass. Gabriel Almond¹² (1960) emphasizes how the indifference from american citizens in relation to international matters might change in a period of Crisis.

In the year of 2010, the economic context of Brazil was that of growth and increase of investment (internal and external). In the year 2016 however, a

¹¹ ALMEIDA, Maria Hermínia, et al. Brasil as America'seo Mundo: opiniao publica e politica externa. 2015.

¹² ALMOND, Gabriel. The American Prople and Foreign Policy. London-New York: F.A. Praeger Publisher, 1960.

domestic political and economic crisis gave way to a fall in its GDP¹³, consequently to a slowdown of the economy, high unemployment and low production rates. With this, we have two completely different scenarios of economic and social variables to analyze.

To the Brazilian elite, a decrease in the country's economic health could be an influence factor on their perceptions on what are the right economic policies the government should adopt. It could mean, for instance, that foreign investment is now indispensable, even if not exclusively positive. The goal here is to determine whether the economic crisis factor has a decisive influence on the decision to support or not the entry of foreign capital into the country, or whether the sphere of belief system and values still exerts influence regardless of the context of crisis in order to determine the preferences of the elite¹⁴. That is, given the current circumstances, the Brazilian elite portrays itself mostly or not, favoring globalization in general for economic reasons, not just for their personal political-ideological reasons. With this, the hypothesis that we want to test in this paper is:

- The economic crisis has an independent effect on the Brazilian Elite's political attitudes and perceptions on foreign investment and foreign economic policies.

Does an economic crisis have an independent effect on the formation of elite opinion by making ideological alignment significantly less important? If this is proven, the year of the interviews (a proxy for the presence or not of an economic crisis context) is relevant to explain the opinion of the interviewees on the subject of foreign investment. That is to say, in a crisis context there could be a certain pragmatism in the political attitudes of the elite, that is, the association between the opinions of the elites about globalization and the importance of foreign investment must be more homogeneous and less

¹³ An official GDP history can be found on Brazil's Banco Central Website at: <https://www.bcb.gov.br/pec/Indeco/Port/indeco.asp>

¹⁴ A survey with the same characteristics, seeking to investigate the sociotropic effects of economic changes, from the impact of Chinese investments, was applied in 2013, under the coordination of Professor Janina Onuki, in partnership with the School of Public and International Affairs of North Carolina State University (NCSU), with funding from the Edital University Global Partnership Network.

associated with other components of political identity, such as party preference, ideological identity, etc.

The project entitled *Brazil, the Americas, and the World* (Brasil, las Americas y el mundo) is a periodical study on the perceptions of the Brazilian population and elite about international issues related to trade, politics, economy and security. Caped by the Center for Economic Research and Teaching - CIDE (Mexico), "Las Americas y el Mundo" is carried out by an international network of institutions in Latin America and aims to bring insights of "opinions, attitudes, beliefs, interests, aspirations and values of leaders and ordinary citizens about their relations with the world" (ALMEIDA et al, 2011).

This database was chosen mainly on the basis of Holsti's (1992) critique of the lack of research that is comparable to one another and to the limited communication between different research centers. When analyzing this joint Latin American project, it is noticed that it responds precisely to this criticism on how important it is to analyze public opinion in different times and places, as well as that there are communication efforts between different research centers for coordination of periodic surveys and exchange of information. As noted by Castillo et al¹⁵ (2015), Las Americas y el Mundo is the "most systematic, noteworthy effort" to constitute a study through time and consolidate data on the sentiment of the public in Latin America. In the 2010 edition, the study was able to embody Brazil, Mexico, Peru, Ecuador and Colombia into its database, and has been actively collecting data every two years in different countries in Latin America since 2004.

Not the first of its kind in Brazil, since the 90s, the Research Group for International relations at USP has also been involved with similar research (Albuquerque, et al 1999), specifically when dealing with the Elite. This is importante to mention in order to establish ourselves within the public opinion and foreign policy sector.

¹⁵MORALES CASTILLO, Rodrigo; MALDONADO, Gerardo; SCHIAVON, Jorge A. To Know or Not To Know? Realist and Liberal Theories on Foreign Affairs and Public Opinion in Latin America. Latin American Policy, 2015, 6.1: 2-18.

For the present study, as well as the one published by NUPRI in 1999¹⁶, we chose to limit ourselves to the database entitled "Banco de Líderes" (Leaders Data Bank) for the years 2010 and 2016, in addition to focusing on Brazil. In order to begin an analysis in time, accompanying important economic changes inside the country and its society. In the years 2010 and 2011, Brazilian GDP grew by 7.5% and 4.5%, respectively, according to the Central Bank's consolidated economic indicators. This scenario of positive growth then gave way to a serious slowdown in the economy, with a decline of 3.8% and 3.6% of GDP in the years 2015 and 2016.

It is important to note that the Leaders database uses an intentional sampling. This means that there was no randomness in attracting interviewees: there were two hundred people selected among the intellectual elite, the business community and the government. The empirical results found here are evidence of the different perceptions of the Brazilian elite about foreign policy and international relations. In the next parts of this article, we'll try to draw conclusions on the analysis of our data.

For this analysis, we chose the Brazilian leaders' surveys from the years 2010 and 2016. The important aspect of these two databases is that we are able to see, through time, how the Elite behaves and reacts to deep economic changes in regards to international political economy policies and concepts such as Foreign Investment and Globalization.

It's impossible to frame Latin America as a homogeneous region, specially if we look into how states perceive their role in a globalized world. According to Gonzalez and Schiavon¹⁷, who also used the Las Americas y el Mundo database for their research, there is a broad spectrum of distinct circumstances in Latin America, including political beliefs that range from the liberal right, to the socialist view influenced by the bolivarian left and pragmatic

¹⁶ ALBUQUERQUE, José Augusto Guilhon, et al. *Percepção das elites do Cone Sul sobre as relações internacionais do Brasil*. 1999.

¹⁷ GONZÁLEZ, Guadalupe; SHIAVON, Jorge. *Opinión pública y política exterior en América Latina: percepciones, intereses y prioridades*. *Revista Mexicana de Política Exterior*, 2011, 93: 7-25.

left. Also, still according to the writers, Brazil and Mexico would hold a leadership position in the region with the biggest capacity for international projection¹⁸. The authors found that roughly 2 out of 3 latin americans is said to have an interest in international news, which contradicts the conventional view that people are largely mainly concerned with daily and local matters. Furthermore, their study found that, amongst other concerns, the fear of economic crisis is shared throughout the continent.

Unlike the global north, Latin America has been dealing with deep social and economic issues for centuries, and throughout the twentieth century, more than once international economic theorists have tried to come up with a solution for the underdevelopment of the continent. According to Cristóbal Kay And Robert N. Gwynne (2000), "Structuralism and dependency theories grew out of a critique of existing development paradigms, which these authors saw as being unable to uncover (let alone deal with) Latin America's problems of underdevelopment and development". Globalization gave way to the weakening of local markets, making domestic economy much more dependent on international trade, this means that Latin American countries now have to "pursue national goals and objectives within globally-defined parameters and structures." (KAY & GWYNNE 200, pp. 56). Dependency theory, since it's beginning in the 1960s (Chilcote and Edelstein, 1974; Chilcote, 1974), was a response to the rapid industrialization and the problems foreing investment had brought into Latin American nations, this theory "grew out of and were defined by the experience of Latin American radical and revolutionary movements" (Hardings, 1976). The idea behind dependency theory is that the national elite would be responsible for the development of their own nation in contrast with foreign imperialism. This is important to note, since dependency theory, although it might have in the past, does not necessarily entail a leninist-marxist approach to the proposal of alternative solutions, indeed the

"central question for this group of national bourgeois dependentistas is how to build a national capitalism within an overwhelming imperialist framework. The assumption here is that socialism is not on the immediate agenda (even in Chile under

¹⁸Ibidem

Allende) and that reforms of capitalism based on a thorough understanding of dependency can lead to independent national development". (Hardings, 1976).

Dependency theories have had significant impact on Brazil's political agenda. However it might vary in intensity and degree, even more recent governments have had their own idea on how Brazil should position itself in regards to the international scene, one might argue that the formation of the BRICS and the deepening of South-South relations during the worker's party time in the presidency might could be tied to the idea that Brazilians, along with the rest of the global south, had to find their own solutions to their own problems.

With this, it is imperative to say that given these independent sentiments, the idea to analyse the elite;s behaviour towards neoliberal policies that would attract and incentive foreign aid is in itself really interesting. What does the Brazilian elite believe in, in regards to this subject? Would a crisis that has shaken the economic vitality of the country have an independent effect on it's opinions? Moving forward we will dive deeper into our data and investigate our findings.

Data Analysis and First Results

Unlike the United States and other countries alike, Latin America has had a scarcity in studies that find a link between public opinion and foreign policy (Castillo et al, 2015). This research, like others of its kind (Gonzalez & Schiavon; Castillo et al; de Almeida et al, Albuquerque et al 1999), intends to utilize local data sets to analyze Brazilian Elite's attitudes towards Foreign Investment and Globalization. Moreover, our intent is to demonstrate how one's political attitude might change in a period of crisis.

For this study, we chose to operationalize the dependent variable with questions that refer to respondents' opinions on issues of globalization and free trade. The first questions is a "mother"questions, which means that it encompasses two other "child"questions:

1. How important are each of the following objectives for Brazil's foreign policy?
 - a. Attracting foreign investments to Brazil.

- i. Not Important → Very Important
- b. Further opening of the Brazilian economy to international competition
 - i. Not Important → Very Important

These first questions aim to measure the degree of importance that a certain "objective" has to the interviewee. The degree ranges from "Not Important" to Very important". If a measure is not important, we can consider that it is not necessarily a negative policy, but that there are more important goals for Brazilian Government to focus on.

- 2. Do you believe that foreign investment benefits Brazil?
 - a. It does not Benefit → It is highly Beneficial

This Last question is more focused on the positive and negative effects that an economic policy can have on Brazil's economy. In this case, it is clear that if something is highly beneficial, the person is strongly in favor of such a policy. However, if a person feels the policy does not benefit, they are not supporters of such a policy.

To balance the analysis, we chose a set of independent variables that could have an indirect or direct effect on the interviewees perceptions on Brazilian Foreign Policy. They are: 1) Gender, 2) Age and 3) Political View, as can be seen in table one.

Table 3 - Gender, age and Political View

Gender	Men 75.94%	Women 24%
Age		
Youngest 23 years-old	Oldest 86 years-old	Average 53 years-old
Political View		
Left 17.76%	Center 62.50%	Right 19.74%

With Age, we aim to control the generational difference that might have an impact on one's world views. This type of generational difference is discussed in the literature as control variables such as age (generation) (Converse, 1987). Gender (Fite et al, 1990) and race, social class, religion and education (Page and Bouton, 2006) are also used as control variables. Because we are using an intentional sample, it is unclear whether this change is a social one or if it's intentional (or unintentional) change done by the researchers who selected the interviewees. Thus, for this analysis, we accept the limitations and consider the results as evidence, not certainties.

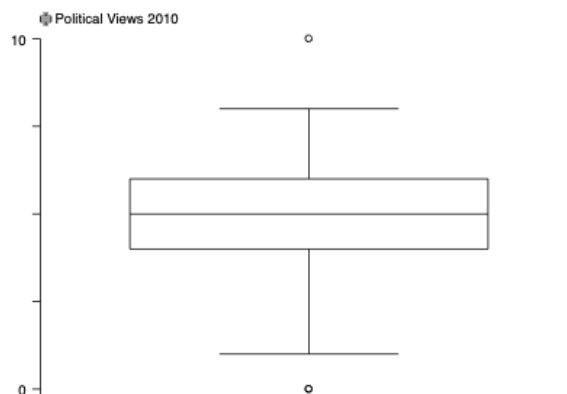
Gender is, as well as age, a very straightforward variable. As shown in Table 3, we have almost 76% males vs 24% females who were interviewed. This data could tell us 2 things: i) there was a bias in the selection of the sample, or ii) this is a more or less realistic representation of our Elite. It is important here to highlight that, even though women make up for more than 50% of Brazil's population, when dealing with decision making positions (in companies, universities and government), this is still far from true. Women represent today 15% of the school's Full Professor Faculty body (Jornal da USP, 2016) and even though women constitute 44% of the labor force, only 16% of CEO positions are occupied by a woman, and even in middle-management positions, women are only 19% (G1 Economia, 2017). Thus, taking into consideration that this is an intentional sampling, we are able to attest that it does not deflect much from reality.

The idea is to control the results of our analysis by taking into consideration that these variables might have an effect on how the interviewee feels on such policies. With the question that refers to the person's ideological political view, we're able to create three different categories: Right, Center and Left. We decided not to use political parties as a measurement of ideology since it is not easy to assess where each political party is on the ideological spectrum and it would also mean digging into a completely new literature and field of study, which is not the goal of this particular study. In turn, we've decided to utilize the question referring to where, in a scale from 0 to 10 the interviewees see themselves in the political spectrum, with 0 being left-wing and 10 being right-

wing. As it can be seen on the Graphs 1 and 2, the first challenge we faced in this analysis was to figure out how to properly measure peoples' political views.

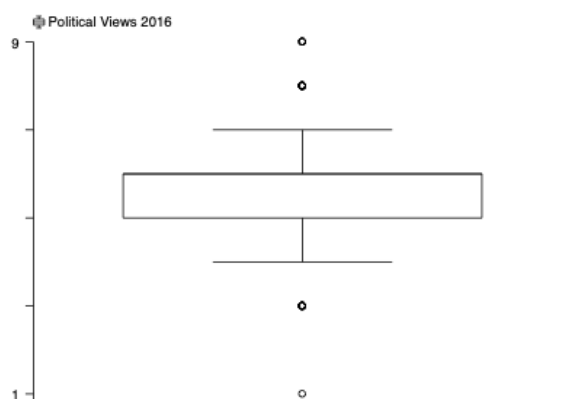
We took out the missing answers and thow who did not know/did not reply.

As we can see, in 2010, the median of the interviewees are tending to the center, we can also see that 75% of the people interviewed, if we look at the upper quartile, put themselves as less than 7 on the scale from 0-10.



This means that most people consider

themselves center right at the most. This shows us that the elite in Brazil can in some aspects be considered a moderate one. However, in 2016, we see a change in the median, this has gone a little further up towards the right spectrum,



and 75% (upper quartile) of the people interviewed are more centralized and closer to the right, with only a few outliers closer to the left spectrum. The Lower quartile in this case is localized above number 3 on the scale.

Table 4 - Level of Interest in the news

Subject on the news:	How much interest:					
	2010			2016		
	High	Medium	Small	High	Medium	Small
Economy/ Finance	79.0%	17.0%	3.5%	85.0%	13.3%	0.8%
International Politics	91.5%	8.0%	0.5%	94.2%	5.8%	-
Domestic Politics	91.0%	8.0%	1.0%	96.7%	3.3%	-

Another very important aspect that we aimed to look into with this dataset was to examine the degree of interest to which the interviewees had on international politics and Economic and Financial matters. As it can be seen from table 4, there's a high interest within the pool of interviewed subjects in both financial and political news. This is true for all three categories: i) Economy and Finance, ii) International Politics and iii) Domestic Politics. In 2016 we have an even higher rate of interest from 79% of high interest in Economic and Finances to 85% of high interest. The interest rate is particularly high in International Politics, both in 2010 (91.5% of high interest rates) and in 2016 (94.2% of high interest rates). This is very important because it means that the attitudes we're about to analyze come from a highly interested public, meaning that they are able to make informed decisions to be favourable or not to certain governmental policies.

Table 5 - Education Level

Education level	2010	2016
High School	3%	4%
Higher Education	22%	18%
Graduate Degree	74%	78%

The educational level of the sample is also very high. By looking at table 5, it is possible to see that 74% in 2010 and 78% of the subjects have a graduate degree. This degree might be an MBA, a Master Degree or a PhD. This is even more important because of the Brazilian educational situation. A very recent research by IBGE (Brazilian Institute of Geography and Statistics) called Continued Annual Research by Household Samples in 2019¹⁹ shows that the access to basic education (high school) reaches only 47% of people over 25 years-old. With this in mind, we can conclude that this sample greatly

¹⁹AGENCIA DE NOTÍCIAS. PNAD Contínua 2018: educação avança no país, mas desigualdades raciais e por região persistem. Disponível em: <https://agenciadenoticias.ibge.gov.br/agencia-sala-de-imprensa/2013-agencia-de-noticias/releases/24857-pnad-continua-2018-educacao-avanca-no-pais-mas-desigualdades-raciais-e-por-regiao-persistem>. Acesso em 28 de junho de 2019.

differentiates from the Brazilian general public, and represents the Elite, which is what this article intends to analyze.

Moving forward, in order to control the "Economic Crisis" variable in our future results, we'll make use of the year of the interviews, i.e., the databases of 2010 and 2016. These two points in time are distinguished by belonging to the economic contexts of "Crisis vs. Non-Crisis". We've aligned our interviewees in such a way that we know when each answer was given and can in this way properly measure the effect the "year" variable has on the individual's perception. These variables are named Crisis and Stable Economy in order for us to know if being in a year of crisis would have an effect on the subject's decision to be more or less in favour of a given policy. It is important to note that, although both samples (from 2010 and 2016) are intentional (i.e. non-random) samples, both years are highly similar to each other in terms of number of interviews and public. Remembering that we do not have a population (for example, a national census), to base our proportions on, and therefore weights were not made in the sample for the tests, we take any result as evidence and not as concrete proof.

Elite political attitudes

By comparing the answers on the different topics in the years of 2010 and 2016, some important findings come to our attention. Firstly we see that tables 6, 7 and 8 take into account the beneficial of Foreign Investment and the importance of both foreign investment and of the opening of the economy respectfully. Something that we would like to call the attention of the reader to, is the fact that the perceptions amongst the Brazilian elite is highly cohesive. It is so cohesive that the difference between the answers is on the degree of their perception. For example, the answers on the benefits of Foreign investment are that it is either Beneficial or Very Beneficial. As we discussed before, this would be the variable that could indicate if a person is for or against a certain policy, and here we see that the Brazilian elite is generally favourable for foreign investment. Moving on to the importance of both foreign investment and the opening up of the economy we see that the pattern repeats itself. We already knew that this variable would

not necessarily show an antagonism towards these policies, since considering something unimportant cannot be translated into being against it.

Table 6 - Tabchi, Adjust: Is Foreign Investment Beneficial for Brazil?

	2016	2010
Beneficial	36.6%	26.8%
	39.604	67.396
	3.816	-3.816
Very Beneficial	51.8%	73.2%
	74.396	126.604
	-3.816	3.816

Table 7 - Tabchi, Adjust: How Important is the Opening of the Economy

	2016	2010
Important	20.2%	68.7%
	59.879	98.121
	-8.347	8.347
Very Important	79.8%	31.3%
	59.121	96.879
	8.347	-8.347

Table 8 - Tabchi, Adjust: How Important is Foreign Investment?

	2016	2010
Important	5.1%	6.6%
	7.095	11.905
	-0.536	0.536
Very Important	94.9%	93.4%
	110.905	186.095
	0.536	-0.536

We also expected to find a big difference between the years of 2010 and 2016. We can see that people do find opening the economy more beneficial in 2016 than in 2010 on table 7, the jump is from 31% to 79%. Yet, when it comes to the Benefits of Foreign Investment in table 6, we see a drop from 73% in 2010 to 51.8% in 2016. Continuing to the Importance of Foreign Investment, seen in table 8, Foreign Investment is still perceived as highly important both in 2010 and 2016, the difference is very small (93% and 94% respectfully).

To corroborate our hypothesis we analyzed the adjusted residue found in our tests, and could only find strong connections with the variable that relates to the importance of opening up the Brazilian economy and about the benefits of foreign investments to Brazil. In the proxy variable, that is, year 2016 and year 2010, we see that the year of the interview, and therefore the context of crisis, strongly influences the opinion of the elite about the importance of the role of the opening of the Economy, on table 7. Table 6 also brings evidence that the being on a year of stable economic situation or in a situation of crisis, can affect your attitude towards the benefits of Foreign Investment.

The results are interesting because they show that foreign investment is seen as something less beneficial in 2016. In addition, we see that by 2016, the opening of the economy is considered more important. The null hypothesis that “there is no difference between the proportions” can be thus, be rejected, since the test has a significant residuo. That is, depending on the economic context, in addition to political alignment, the year of the interview will have a role in the elite's decision to be more or less favorable to these issues, as the proportions are different in each year, that is, we have sufficient evidence to say that in these two cases the null hypothesis that there is no influence of the year is not confirmed.

Crisis effect on political attitudes

Because we are working with categorical variables, we are unable to do multivariate linear regression, and therefore transform the dependent variables into binary ones. Firstly, it is important to remember that there is a majority positive view on globalization and free trade issues amongst the Brazilian Elite. In this way, what should be analyzed is the intensity: 'very positive' or just 'positive'

Table 9 - LogIT Regression

	Importance of Foreign Investment	Importance of the opening of the Economy	Is Foreign Investment Beneficial?
Main			
Gender	-0.151 (-0.26)	0.4 (-1.25)	-0.275 (-0.88)
Age	-0.00267 (-0.13)	0.00459 (0.42)	0.00607 (0.56)
Crisis	-0.409 (-0.71)	2.019*** (6.94)	-1.287*** (-4.44)
Estable Economy <i>Base</i>	0 (.)	0 (.)	0 (.)
Left	-2.209*** (-3.71)	-0.870* (-2.31)	-1.652*** (-4.54)
Center <i>Base</i>	0 (.)	0 (.)	0 (.)
Right	-0.234 (-0.27)	-0.209 (-0.61)	0.179 (0.5)
Constant	4.085** (2.77)	-1.271 (-1.65)	1.503 (1.96)
Observations	295	294	289

t statistics in parentheses

* p<0.05, ** p<0.01, *** p<0.001

As we look at table 9, we see that the political position in all dependent variables is the one that actually has an effect (at 95% confidence). The category

that has an effect, when compared to the base "Center" is the "Left". That is, the people identifying themselves as being more aligned with left-wing political attitudes will have a negative association with this issue. What we can see is that being on the left will negatively affect a person's likelihood of going from 0 to 1 on their view on Globalization in general. With this, we obtain our first evidence that political attitudes have an effect on the opinion of the Brazilian elite on issues of globalization and free trade.

Now we needed to see if the same thing happens with the economic context. We chose the years 2010 and 2016 for a reason. The variable "crisis" is controlled because in 2010 we had a moment of great economic growth, and by 2016 we were already experiencing a strong economic crisis that could affect the elite's perceptions, especially those who have political attitudes linked to the left. Therefore, we performed the regression including the dummy variable that indicates the Year of the interview.

As it is shown in Table 9, we have a very high relevance of the Year of the interview on the dependent variables i) Importance of opening up the economy and ii) the benefits of foreign investment with a 99% relevance. The first question is: a) "Do you believe that foreign investment benefits Brazil?" And the second is b) What is the importance of each of the following objectives for Brazil's foreign policy? a) Open up the Brazilian economy to international competition. According to the regression, we did not observe a different effect between the economic contexts of the two shows in the opinion questions about globalization and the importance of foreign investment.

It is also important to note that when we introduce the context or crisis, the variable opinion about the importance of openness is no longer affected by political attitudes. So what we understand is that there is evidence to suppose that the hypothesis about pragmatism is confirmed as to the openness of the economy. In a time of crisis in 2016, people tend to be more in favor of opening the economy, regardless of whether or not their political attitude is left. This shows that controlling the regression in a context of "crisis" Vs. "non crisis" is important

because we would not have this result considering only the variables Gender, Age and Political Position.

Nonetheless, we should look at perceptions and attitudes. Those interviewed who align themselves to the left also tend to view foreign investment less positively in the First Regression. When we do the second test, this is confirmed. The influence of the "non-crisis" context is equally negative on the political perception, as well as the alignment of the interviewee on the left. That is, when the answer "Benefit" is "0" and "Benefits Much" is 1, the leftists in 2016 showed a less positive view of the benefits of foreign investment for the Brazilian economy, compared to the base year 2010 '.

It is interesting to note that there is in some way an influence the economic context of the interview year on the opinions, especially on the opening of the economy. In this case, the hypothesis is not confirmed, since it shows that in 2016 respondents have a positively associated view of the year, that is, in a crisis context, there is influence over perceptions, which are independent of political attitudes.

Conclusion

After analyzing the results of the statistical tests, some conclusions can be drawn about the Brazilian elite's political attitudes on globalization. First, it was found that, within the elite, there is a great majority that stands for globalization. The polarization was in the intensity of the benefit of issues such as free trade, foreign investment and the role of globalization. That is, the polarization is between: to “benefit greatly” vs. to “benefit”, or “extremely important” vs. “important”.

Thus, it can be said that there is a consensus within the Brazilian elite regarding the role of globalization for the economy, even in years so different as to the performance of the economy and even within groups of different political positioning. That is, in the general sense of globalization and free trade, one sees a clear convergence of opinions within the elite.

It was also noted that it will be necessary to consider the role of the political crisis on the political attitudes of the interviewees, and for this, other information, such as the political crisis, should somehow be used in a future analysis. In the year 2016 we had not only an economic crisis, but also a political one, with the impeachment of President Dilma Rousseff and intensification of investigations of Operation Lava Jato. There are variables that may be hidden in this analysis and somehow may have some influence on the results of the analysis.

Resuming to considering now the central hypothesis of this work, our study presents we have strong evidence that the crisis conjuncture has a pragmatic effect on the attitudes of the elite. However, it would be necessary to analyze more questions, using more databases of other years and periods for a more solid and temporal analysis on the opinion of the elite. In 2018, a new database of elites should be ready and it is our intension to add it to the final draft of this working paper.

In addition, one of the possibilities would involve finding other questions that would reveal more polarization of opinion, so that the tests become more

relevant. In any case, the analysis gives us clues that there are factors outside the political alignments that can affect opinion decisions within the group. In addition, it would be interesting to deepen the analysis with other documents and sources to have a better picture on the role of the crisis in the political attitudes of the Brazilian elite.

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ANEXO

Questionário

O Brasil, as Américas e o Mundo

Estamos realizando uma pesquisa, que está sendo também realizada em outros países, sobre as relações do Brasil com o mundo. As respostas são anônimas e permitirão comparar o que pensam os brasileiros e as pessoas de outros países. Pedimos que colabore conosco, dedicando alguns minutos do seu tempo para responder as perguntas.

Legenda:

NS: Não sabe

NO: Prefere não responder

Interesse

(1) Quando assiste ao noticiário, o quão interessado você está sobre...?

	Muito	Médio	Pouco	Nada	Não acompanha notícias	NS	NO
Finanças e economia	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(8)	(9)
As relações do Brasil com outros países	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(8)	(9)
A situação política e social do Brasil	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(8)	(9)

Contato

(2) Algum familiar seu vive fora do Brasil?

Sim 1

Não..... 2

Não sabe 8

Prefere não responder 9

(3) Se pudesse, viveria fora do Brasil?

Sim..... 1 (ir para Q.4)

Não 2 (ir para Q.6)

Outra resposta (especificar)..... 3 (ir para Q.4 ou Q.5)

Não sabe..... 8 (ir para Q.6)

Prefere não responder..... 9 (ir para Q.6)

(4) (SE SIM) Em que país? (especificar).

Não sabe.....8

Prefere não responder.....9

(5) Qual o motivo principal que o levaria a viver fora do Brasil?

Não sabe..... 8

Prefere não responder..... 9

(6) Você concorda ou não que os brasileiros que vivem no exterior tenham direito a...

	Concor -da muito	Concor -da	Concor -da pouco	Disco rda	N S	NO
Levar sua família para viverem juntos	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(8)	(9)
Ter acesso à educação pública	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(8)	(9)
Ter acesso a serviços de saúde	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(8)	(9)
Formar organizações para defender seus direitos	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(8)	(9)
Ter um trabalho em igualdade de condições com os cidadãos do outro país	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(8)	(9)
Votar no país onde residem	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(8)	(9)

(7) Você acredita que a migração de brasileiros para outros países é bom ou ruim para...

	Bom	Ruim	Nem bom nem ruim (espontân eo)	NS	NO	
Suas famílias	(1)	(2)	(3)	(8)	(9)	
Suas comunidades de origem	(1)	(2)	(3)	(8)	(9)	
O Brasil	(1)	(2)	(3)	(8)	(9)	
O país de destino	(1)	(2)	(3)	(8)	(9)	

(8) Você tem contato com estrangeiros que vivem no Brasil?

Sim..... 1 (ir para Q.9)
 Não 2 (ir para Q.10)
 NS..... 8 (ir para Q.10)
 NO..... 9 (ir para Q.10)

(9) (SE SIM) Que tipo de contato?

	Sim	Não	NS	NO
Amizade	(1)	(2)	(8)	(9)
Trabalho	(1)	(2)	(8)	(9)
Escolar	(1)	(2)	(8)	(9)
Vizinhança	(1)	(2)	(8)	(9)
Familiar	(1)	(2)	(8)	(9)

(10) Como você avalia o número de estrangeiros que vivem no Brasil?.

É um número exagerado... 1
 É um número adequado..... 2
 São poucos..... 3
 NS..... 8
 NO..... 9

(11) Em geral, você concorda ou discorda das seguintes afirmações sobre os estrangeiros que vivem no Brasil? Você concorda muito, concorda, concorda pouco ou discorda?

	Concorda muito	Concorda	Concorda pouco	Discorda	NS	NO
Contribuem para a economia brasileira	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(8)	(9)
Tiram empregos dos brasileiros	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(8)	(9)
Geram insegurança	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(8)	(9)
Trazem ideias inovadoras	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(8)	(9)
Debilitam nossos costumes e tradições	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(8)	(9)

(12) Em sua opinião, qual a importância dos seguintes fatores para que um estrangeiro possa viver no Brasil? Você diria que é muito importante, importante, pouco importante ou sem importância?

	Muito importante	Importante	Pouco importante	Sem importância	NS	NO
Ter um bom nível educacional	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(8)	(9)
Ter familiares que vivam aqui	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(8)	(9)
Falar português	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(8)	(9)
Ser de um país com cultura similar à brasileira	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(8)	(9)
Ter dinheiro	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(8)	(9)

Ter uma profissão ou um ofício de que o Brasil precise	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(8)	(9)	
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Confiança e segurança

(13) Em geral, você acredita que o mundo melhorou ou piorou nos últimos 10 anos?

Melhorou	1
Piorou.....	2
Ficou igual (espontânea).....	3
NS.....	8
NO.....	9

(14) Você acredita que o mundo estará melhor ou pior nos próximos 10 anos?

Melhor	1
Pior.....	2
Igual (espontânea).....	3
NS.....	8
NO.....	9

(15) Abaixo está uma lista de questões que podem ou não afetar os interesses do Brasil nos próximos 10 anos. Por favor, indique em cada caso se é ou não uma ameaça para o Brasil.

	Ameaça grave	Ameaça importante, mas não grave	Ameaça pouco importante	Não é uma ameaça (esp.)	NS	NO	
O surgimento da China como potência mundial	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(8)	(9)	
O terrorismo internacional	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(8)	(9)	
As crises econômicas no mundo	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(8)	(9)	
As barreiras à entrada de imigrantes nos países desenvolvidos	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(8)	(9)	
O aquecimento global	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(8)	(9)	
O narcotráfico e o crime organizado	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(8)	(9)	
As epidemias como a AIDS	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(8)	(9)	
As armas nucleares	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(8)	(9)	
A entrada no Brasil de estrangeiros sem documentos legais de imigração	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(8)	(9)	
As guerrilhas em países vizinhos	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(8)	(9)	
A possibilidade de suspensão do	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(8)	(9)	

suprimento internacional de energia, como gás e petróleo							
A pobreza e a fome no mundo	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(8)	(9)	
Os conflitos fronteiriços e as disputas territoriais	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(8)	(9)	
As lideranças populistas em países vizinhos	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(8)	(9)	
A escassez e os altos preços dos alimentos	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(8)	(9)	
O aumento de gastos militares na região	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(8)	(9)	
O tráfico de armas	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(8)	(9)	
Os desastres naturais	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(8)	(9)	
A instabilidade em países vizinhos	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(8)	(9)	
O poder econômico dos Estados Unidos	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(8)	(9)	

Identidade

(16) Você se sente mais brasileiro ou identifica-se mais com o Estado ou região onde reside ou nasceu (por exemplo, mineiro, nordestino, etc)?

Estado ou região 1
 Brasileiro 2
 NS 8
 NO..... 9

(17) Você tem orgulho de ser brasileiro? Muito, médio, pouco ou nenhum orgulho?

Muito orgulho..... 1 (ir para Q.18)
 Médio 2 (ir para Q.18)
 Pouco orgulho..... 3 (ir para Q.19)
 Nenhum orgulho..... 4 (ir para Q.19)
 NS..... 8 (ir para Q.20)
 NO..... 9 (ir para Q.20)

(18) (SE RESPONDEU 1 OU 2) Qual é o principal motivo pelo qual você se sente orgulhoso de ser brasileiro?

.....
 NS..... 8
 NO..... 9

(19) (SE RESPONDEU 3 OU 4) Qual é o principal motivo pelo qual você não se sente orgulhoso de ser brasileiro?

.....
 NS.....8
 NO.....9

(20) O quão satisfeito você está com que o Brasil conquistou ao longo de sua vida independente em matéria de...?

	Muito satisfeito	Satisfeito	Insatisfeito	Muito insatisfeito	NS	NC	
Desenvolvimento econômico	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(8)	(9)	
Igualdade social	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(8)	(9)	
Paz e segurança interna	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(8)	(9)	
Independência frente ao mundo	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(8)	(9)	

(21) Você se sente mais:

Latino-americano 1
 Sul-americano..... 2
 Do Mercosul.....3
 Cidadão do mundo..... 4
 Outro (especificar)..... 5

NS..... 98
 NO..... 99

(22) Para você, é bom ou ruim que as ideias e costumes de outros países se difundam no Brasil?

Bom 1
 Ruim 2
 Depende (especificar) 3

NS 8
 NO 9

(23) Em geral, qual sua opinião sobre os estrangeiros que vivem no Brasil?

Muito boa.....1
 Boa.....2
 Ruim3
 Muito ruim.....4
 NS.....8
 NO.....9

(24) Qual é sua opinião sobre os seguintes grupos de estrangeiros que vivem no Brasil? Muito boa, boa, ruim ou muito ruim

	Muito boa	Boa	Ruim	Muito ruim	Nem boa nem ruim (espontâne a)	NS	NC	
Chineses	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(8)	(9)	
Espanhóis	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(8)	(9)	
Norte-americanos	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(8)	(9)	
Argentinos	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(8)	(9)	
Sírio-libaneses	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(8)	(9)	
Bolivianos	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(8)	(9)	
Sul-coreanos	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(8)	(9)	
Colombianos	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(8)	(9)	
Nigerianos	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(8)	(9)	
Japoneses	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(8)	(9)	

(25) Você concorda ou não que os estrangeiros que vivem no Brasil tenham direito a

	Concorda muito	Concorda	Concorda pouco	Discorda	NS	NO	
Trazar suas famílias para viverem juntos	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(8)	(9)	
Ter acesso à educação pública	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(8)	(9)	
Ter acesso a serviços de saúde	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(8)	(9)	
Formar organizações para defender seus direitos	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(8)	(9)	
Ter um trabalho em igualdade de condições com os cidadãos brasileiros	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(8)	(9)	
Votar no Brasil	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(8)	(9)	

(26) Você concorda ou não que um estrangeiro naturalizado brasileiro possa...

	Concorda	Não concorda	NS	NO	
Ser eleito deputado ou senador	(1)	(2)	(8)	(9)	
Ser eleito presidente	(1)	(2)	(8)	(9)	
Jogar na seleção brasileira de futebol	(1)	(2)	(8)	(9)	

Papel do Brasil e Política Exterior

(27) Nos próximos 10 anos, os seguintes países irão desempenhar um papel internacional mais importante, menos importante ou igual ao que desempenham hoje?

	Mais importante	Menos importante	Igual a hoje	NS	NO
Estados Unidos	(1)	(2)	(3)	(8)	(9)
Rússia	(1)	(2)	(3)	(8)	(9)
Japão	(1)	(2)	(3)	(8)	(9)
Alemanha	(1)	(2)	(3)	(8)	(9)
China	(1)	(2)	(3)	(8)	(9)
Índia	(1)	(2)	(3)	(8)	(9)
Brasil	(1)	(2)	(3)	(8)	(9)
África do Sul	(1)	(2)	(3)	(8)	(9)

(28) Na sua opinião, qual é a melhor estratégia de inserção do Brasil no mercado mundial?

Priorizar negociações comerciais com os países desenvolvidos do Norte (União Européia, Estados Unidos e Japão)..... 1

Priorizar negociações comerciais com países da América do Sul e outros grandes países em desenvolvimento, como a Índia, China e África do Sul..... 2

Outra resposta (especificar) 3
NS..... 8
NO..... 9

(29) Qual deve ser o alcance da integração da América do Sul? O Brasil deve apoiar uma integração seletiva (voltada apenas para o comércio, investimentos e infra-estrutura de transportes e comunicações), ou uma integração profunda (que estimule o desenvolvimento, reduza assimetrias entre os países da região e promova a cooperação política, social, ambiental, tecnológica e cultural)?

Apoiar uma integração seletiva..... .1
Apoiar uma integração profunda..... 2
NS..... 8
NO..... 9

(30) Em sua opinião, o que é melhor para o futuro do Brasil: ter participação ativa ou manter-se longe dos assuntos mundiais?

Participação ativa1
Manter-se longe dos assuntos mundiais ...2
Nem um nem outro (especificar)3
NS8
NO9

(31) Qual a importância de cada um dos seguintes objetivos para a política externa do Brasil?

	Extrema importância	Muita importância	Pouca importância	Nenhuma importância	NS	NO	
Fortalecer a Organização das Nações Unidas (ONU)	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(8)	(9)	
Fortalecer a Organização dos Estados Americanos (OEA)	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(8)	(9)	
Combater o terrorismo internacional	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(8)	(9)	
Garantir a democracia na América do Sul	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(8)	(9)	
Promover a venda de produtos e os investimentos brasileiros em outros países	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(8)	(9)	
Ajudar a melhorar o nível de vida nos países menos desenvolvidos	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(8)	(9)	
Prevenir a proliferação de armas nucleares	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(8)	(9)	
Combater o tráfico internacional de drogas	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(8)	(9)	
Proteger os interesses dos brasileiros residentes em outros países	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(8)	(9)	
Atrair investimentos estrangeiros para o Brasil	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(8)	(9)	
Mediar conflitos em outras regiões do mundo, como Irã	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(8)	(9)	
Atuar em defesa do meio ambiente	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(8)	(9)	
Promover a integração regional	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(8)	(9)	
Atuar em defesa dos direitos humanos	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(8)	(9)	
Atrair turistas	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(8)	(9)	
Promover a cultura brasileira	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(8)	(9)	
Fortalecer a UNASUL (União das Nações Sul-americanas)	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(8)	(9)	
Proteger os recursos naturais do Brasil da exploração internacional	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(8)	(9)	
Fortalecer o Mercosul	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(8)	(9)	
Fortalecer as Forças Armadas e a política de segurança e defesa nacional	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(8)	(9)	
Atuar em conjunto com países vizinhos para a defesa e proteção da Amazônia	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(8)	(9)	
Fortalecer a liderança regional do Brasil	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(8)	(9)	
Controlar e reduzir a imigração ilegal para o Brasil	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(8)	(9)	
Abrir mais a economia brasileira à competição internacional	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(8)	(9)	
Integrar a infra-estrutura da América do Sul (transportes, energia e comunicações)	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(8)	(9)	

(32) Qual é hoje a importância internacional do Brasil?

- Muito importante..... 1
 Médio 2
 Pouco importante..... 3
 Sem importância..... 4
 NS 8
 NO 9

(33) Na sua opinião, o Brasil tem maior ou menor importância internacional do que há 10 anos?

- Maior 1
 Menor 2
 Igual 3
 Nada..... 4
 NS..... 8
 NO.....9

(34) Nos próximos 10 anos, o Brasil terá maior ou menor importância internacional?

- Maior..... 1
 Menor..... 2
 Igual 3
 Nada..... 4
 NS..... 8
 NO..... 9

(35) Você concorda ou não com o desempenho do governo brasileiro nas seguintes áreas?

	Concorda muito	Concorda	Concorda pouco	Discorda	NS	NO
Política econômica	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(8)	(9)
Política de segurança pública	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(8)	(9)
Política externa	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(8)	(9)
Política educacional	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(8)	(9)
Política de combate à pobreza	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(8)	(9)
Política de comércio exterior	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(8)	(9)
Política de proteção aos brasileiros no exterior	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(8)	(9)

(36) Para aumentar a influência do Brasil no mundo, você concorda ou não que o país utilize os seguintes recursos:

	Concorda muito	Concorda	Concorda pouco	Discorda	NS	NO	
Militar	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(8)	(9)	
Diplomático	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(8)	(9)	
Cultural	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(8)	(9)	
Comercial	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(8)	(9)	

(37) Na sua opinião, o Brasil deveria aumentar, manter ou reduzir o tamanho das suas Forças Armadas para defender o país de ameaças externas?

Aumentar..... 1
 Manter..... 2
 Reduzir..... 3
 NS.....8
 NO..... 9

38) Na sua opinião, qual é a importância das seguintes medidas para a reestruturação das Forças Armadas?

	Extrema importância	Muita importância	Pouca importância	Nenhuma importância	NS	NO	
Investir no reaparelhamento e modernização tecnológica das Forças Armadas	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(8)	(9)	
Incentivar o desenvolvimento da indústria bélica nacional	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(8)	(9)	
Integrar a área de defesa e segurança da América do Sul	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(8)	(9)	
Capacitar as Forças Armadas para garantir a lei e a ordem dentro do Brasil	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(8)	(9)	
Controlar e proteger nossas fronteiras terrestres e marítimas	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(8)	(9)	
Substituir o serviço militar obrigatório pelo voluntariado	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(8)	(9)	

(39) Todo ano, brasileiros perdem a vida ou são vítimas de abusos ao tentar migrar ilegalmente para outro país. Na sua opinião, que medida deveria ser tomada pelo governo?

O governo não deve fazer nada.....1
 O governo deve informar os imigrantes sobre os riscos2
 O governo deve impedir a saída de brasileiros sem documentos legais de imigração3
 NS8
 NO9

(40) Em relação aos imigrantes ilegais que vêm para o Brasil, você concorda ou não com as seguintes medidas que o governo brasileiro poderia tomar?

	Concorda totalmente	Concorda	Concorda pouco	Discorda muito	NS	NO	
Permitir a entrada de estrangeiros sem obstáculos	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(8)	(9)	
Ter programas de trabalhadores temporários	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(8)	(9)	
Aumentar os controles nas fronteiras	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(8)	(9)	
Deportar imigrantes ilegais para seus países de origem	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(8)	(9)	
Construir muros nas fronteiras	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(8)	(9)	

Regras do Jogo Internacional

(41) Tropas brasileiras foram enviadas para o Haiti como parte da força de paz das Nações Unidas. Na sua opinião, o Brasil deve ou não enviar tropas para operações de paz da ONU?

Deve enviar tropas..... 1
 Não deve enviar tropas..... 2
 Depende (especificar)..... 3

 NS..... 8
 NO..... 9

(42) Qual dos seguintes países lhe inspira maior confiança para manter a paz no mundo?

China 1
 Estados Unidos 2
 França 3
 Inglaterra 4
 Rússia 5
 Outro (especificar) 6

 Nenhum 7
 NS 8
 NO 9

(43) E qual é o país que lhe inspira menor confiança para manter a paz no mundo?

China 1
 Estados Unidos 2
 França 3
 Inglaterra 4
 Rússia 5
 Outro (especificar) 6

 Nenhum 7
 NS 8
 NO 9

(44) Você concorda ou não com a seguinte afirmação: Para resolver problemas internacionais, o Brasil deve aceitar as decisões das Nações Unidas (ONU), mesmo que elas não lhe agradem..

- Concorda muito..... 1
 Concorda..... 2
 Concorda pouco..... 3
 Discorda..... 4
 NS..... 8
 NO..... 9

(45) Você acredita que a globalização (isto é, o maior contato entre nossa economia e outras economias do mundo), é em geral boa ou ruim para o Brasil?

- Geralmente boa 1
 Geralmente ruim 2
 Nem boa nem ruim..... 3
 Depende (especificar) 4

 NS 8
 NO..... 9

(46) Você acredita que o investimento estrangeiro beneficia o Brasil?

- Beneficia muito 1
 Médio..... 2
 Beneficia pouco 3
 Não beneficia..... 4
 NS 8
 NO 9

(47) Você acredita que o livre comércio é bom ou ruim para:

	Bom	Ruim	Depende (especificar)	NS	NO	
A economia dos países desenvolvidos	(1)	(2)	(3)	(8)	(9)	
O meio-ambiente	(1)	(2)	(3)	(8)	(9)	
A economia brasileira	(1)	(2)	(3)	(8)	(9)	
O nível de vida de pessoas como você	(1)	(2)	(3)	(8)	(9)	
As empresas nacionais	(1)	(2)	(3)	(8)	(9)	
A agricultura brasileira	(1)	(2)	(3)	(8)	(9)	
Os trabalhadores brasileiros	(1)	(2)	(3)	(8)	(9)	

(48) Você concorda ou discorda que um brasileiro acusado de crime contra a humanidade (como a tortura), e que não tenha sido julgado no Brasil, possa ser julgado por um tribunal internacional?

- Concorda muito..... 1
 Concorda..... 2
 Concorda pouco..... 3
 Discorda..... 4
 NS..... 8
 NO..... 9

(49) Na sua opinião, o Brasil deve ou não pleitear um assento permanente no Conselho de Segurança das Nações Unidas?

Deve pleitear..... 1
 Não deve pleitear..... 2
 Depende (especificar)..... 3

 NS..... 8
 NO..... 9

Relações com a América Latina e América do Sul

(50) Em geral, você acredita que a América Latina está melhor ou pior do que há 10 anos?

Melhor1
 Pior..... 2
 Igual 3
 NS..... 8
 NO..... 9

(51) Em geral, você acredita que a América Latina estará melhor ou pior dentro de 10 anos?

Melhor 1
 Pior..... 2
 Igual 3
 NS..... 8
 NO.....9

(52) Qual das seguintes afirmações se aproxima mais do que você pensa sobre o papel do Brasil na América do Sul?

O Brasil deveria ser o líder na região	(1)
O Brasil deveria cooperar com outros países da região sem pretender ser líder	(2)
O Brasil deveria manter-se afastado dos países da região	(3)
NS	(8)
NO	(9)

(53) Caso o exército ou um grupo armado de algum país latino-americano derrubasse um governo eleito democraticamente, você acredita que o Brasil deveria...

Romper relações diplomáticas com o novo governo	(1)
Condenar as atitudes tomadas de forma pública, mas sem romper relações diplomáticas	(2)
Esperar a reação internacional e então agir	(3)
Não fazer nada	(4)
NS	(8)
NO	(9)

(54) Nos últimos 10 anos, qual foi o país da América Latina mais influente na região?

NS..... 998
NO..... 999

(55) E nos próximos 10 anos, qual país da América Latina terá mais influência na região?

NS..... 998
NO..... 999

(56) Em comparação com os últimos 10 anos, existe hoje maior ou menor possibilidade de um conflito armado na América do Sul?

Maior 1
Menor 2
Igual 3
NS 8
NO 9

(57) Em caso de conflito armado na América do Sul, quem deve atuar para resolvê-lo?

Organização das Nações Unidas (ONU)	(1)
Organização dos Estados Americanos (OEA)	(2)
Estados Unidos	(3)
União das Nações Sul-Americanas (UNASUL)	(4)
Um grupo de países fora da região	(5)
Brasil	(6)
Outro (especificar)	(7)
Ninguém	(8)
NS	(98)
NO	(99)

(58) Nos últimos 10 anos, qual o país da América Latina que gerou mais conflitos na região? ?

NS..... 998
NO..... 999

(59) E nos próximos 10 anos, qual país poderá gerar mais conflitos na região?

NS..... 998
NO..... 999

(60) Comparando com os últimos 10 anos, você acha que as relações do Brasil com a América do Sul estão melhores ou piores?

Melhores 1
Piores..... 2
Iguais 3
NS..... 8
NO..... 9

(61) E daqui a 10 anos, você acha que as relações do Brasil com a América do Sul estarão melhores ou piores?

Melhores 1
 Piores..... 2
 Iguais (espontânea)..... 3
 NS..... 8
 NO..... 9

(62) Queremos conhecer sua opinião sobre alguns líderes políticos. Usando uma escala de 0 a 100, onde 100 significa uma opinião MUITO FAVORÁVEL e 0 uma opinião MUITO DESFAVORÁVEL, qual é sua opinião sobre....

	Nota	NS	NO
Luís Inácio "Lula" da Silva		(998)	(999)
Raúl Castro		(998)	(999)
José Luis Rodríguez Zapatero		(998)	(999)
Barack Obama		(998)	(999)
Felipe Calderón		(998)	(999)
Hugo Chávez		(998)	(999)
Evo Morales		(998)	(999)
Cristina Kirchner		(998)	(999)

(63) Você concorda ou discorda com as seguintes ações para promover a integração da América do Sul?

	Concord amuito	Concord	Concord apouco	Discorda	NS	NO
Permitir o livre fluxo de bens e serviços na região	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(8)	(9)
Permitir a liberdade de investimentos na região	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(8)	(9)
Permitir o livre trânsito de pessoas na região, sem controles de fronteira	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(8)	(9)
Criar uma moeda comum sul-americana	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(8)	(9)
Construir estradas e pontes que conectem a região	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(8)	(9)
Criar um parlamento sul-americano que aprove leis comuns para todos os países da região	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(8)	(9)
Formar um exército sul-americano	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(8)	(9)

(64) O Mercosul existe há 19 anos. Na sua opinião, o Mercosul tem sido benéfico ou prejudicial ao Brasil?

- Muito benéfico 1
 Médio..... 2
 Pouco benéfico..... 3
 Prejudicial..... 4
 Depende (especificar)..... 5
 NS..... 8
 NO..... 9

(65) Você considera o México um país mais norte-americano do que latino-americano ou mais latino-americano do que norte-americano?

- Mais norte-americano que latino-americano..... 1
 Mais latino-americano que norte-americano..... 2
 Ambos..... 3
 Outro (especificar) 4

- NS 8
 NO 9

Relações com os Estados Unidos

(66) Que palavras descrevem melhor seus sentimentos em relação aos Estados Unidos?

Confiança (1)	ou	Desconfiança (2)	Indiferença (esp.) (3)	NS (8)	NO (9)	
Admiração (1)	ou	Desprezo (2)	Indiferença (esp.) (3)	NS (8)	NO (9)	

(67) Você concorda ou discorda da seguinte afirmação: Para resolver problemas comuns, o Brasil deve atuar junto com os Estados Unidos mesmo que isso signifique assumir compromissos que não lhe agradem.

- Concorda muito..... 1
 Concorda..... 2
 Concorda.pouco..... 3
 Discorda..... 4
 NS..... 8
 NO..... 9

(68) Você seria contra ou a favor de que o Brasil recebesse ajuda financeira dos Estados Unidos para combater o tráfico de drogas e o crime organizado?

- A favor..... 1
 Contra..... 2 (ir para Q.71)
 Depende (especificar)..... 3
 NS..... 8
 NO..... 9

(69) (SE A FAVOR) E se, em troca, os Estados Unidos pedisse para fiscalizar o uso desses recursos?

A favor.....1
 Contra..... 2
 Depende (especificar)..... 3

 NS..... 8
 NO..... 9

(70) (SE A FAVOR) E se, em troca, os Estados Unidos pedisse para enviar agentes para operar dentro do Brasil?

A favor..... 1
 Contra..... 2
 Depende (especificar)..... 3
 Só em ações mutuamente acordadas, com Brasil no comando
 NS..... 8
 NO..... 9

(71) Em comparação com os últimos 10 anos, você acha que as relações do Brasil com os Estados Unidos estão melhores ou piores?

Melhores 1
 Piores..... 2
 Iguais 3
 NS..... 8
 NO..... 9

(72) E daqui há 10 anos, você acha que as relações do Brasil com os Estados Unidos estarão melhores ou piores?

Melhores 1
 Piores..... 2
 Iguais 3
 NS..... 8
 NO..... 9

(73) Falando das relações do Brasil com os países da América Latina, com qual das seguintes afirmações você concorda mais?

O Brasil deveria coordenar suas posições com os países da América Latina para defender seus interesses frente aos Estados Unidos.	(1)
O Brasil deveria negociar um tratamento especial por parte dos Estados unidos, independentemente de sua relação os países da América Latina.	(2)
Depende (especificar) Uma combinação. Brasil deve se unir aos outros países Latino-americanos, mas também reservar o direito de buscar acordos bilaterais, quando convenham.	(3)
NS	(8)
NO	(9)

Outras regiões e países do mundo

(74) O Brasil deve prestar mais atenção à qual região do mundo?

- América do Norte 1
- América Latina 2
- Europa 3
- Ásia 4
- Oriente Médio 5
- África 6
- Oceania 7
- NS 8
- NO 9

(75) Queremos conhecer sua opinião sobre alguns países. Usando uma escala de 0 a 100, onde 100 significa uma opinião MUITO FAVORÁVEL e 0 uma opinião MUITO DESFAVORÁVEL, qual é sua opinião sobre

	Nota	NS	NO
Alemanha	800	(998)	(999)
Argentina	600	(998)	(999)
Bolívia	100	(998)	(999)
França	700	(998)	(999)
Canadá		(998)	(999)
Chile		(998)	(999)
China		(998)	(999)
Colômbia		(998)	(999)
Costa Rica		(998)	(999)
Cuba		(998)	(999)
Honduras		(998)	(999)
Equador		(998)	(999)
Espanha		(998)	(999)
Estados Unidos		(998)	(999)
Portugal		(998)	(999)
Japão		(998)	(999)
Irã		(998)	(999)
Israel		(998)	(999)
México		(998)	(999)
Paraguai		(998)	(999)
Peru		(998)	(999)
Rússia		(998)	(999)
África do Sul		(998)	(999)
Uruguai		(998)	(999)
Venezuela		(998)	(999)
Angola		(998)	(999)
Índia		(998)	(999)
Coreia do Sul		(998)	(999)
Indonésia		(998)	(999)
Inglaterra		(998)	(999)

(76) Usando a mesma escala de 0 a 100, onde 100 significa uma opinião MUITO FAVORÁVEL e 0 uma opinião MUITO DESFAVORÁVEL, queremos conhecer sua opinião sobre as seguintes organizações internacionais:

	Nota	NS	NO
Organização das Nações Unidas (ONU)		(998)	(999)

As empresas multinacionais		(998)	(999)
Organização dos Estados Americanos (OEA)		(998)	(999)
União Europeia		(998)	(999)
Fundo Monetário Internacional (FMI)			
Tratado de Livre Comércio da América do Norte (NAFTA)		(998)	(999)
MERCOSUL (Mercado Comum do Sul)		(998)	(999)
Organização Mundial do Comércio (OMC)		(998)	(999)
Banco Mundial		(998)	(999)
UNASUL (União das Nações Sul-americanas)		(998)	(999)
Comunidade Econômica da Ásia e do Pacífico (APEC)		(998)	(999)
ALBA (Aliança Bolivariana para os povos de nossa América.		(998)	(999)
Comunidade Andina (CAN)		(998)	(999)
Mercado Comum Centro-americano (MCCA)		(998)	(999)
Grupo dos Vinte (G-20)		(998)	(999)

(77) Na sua opinião, o Brasil tem ou não tem interesse nos seguintes países?

	Tem interesse vital	Não tem interesse vital	NS	NO
Alemanha	(1)	(2)	(8)	(9)
Argentina	(1)	(2)	(8)	(9)
Bolívia	(1)	(2)	(8)	(9)
França	(1)	(2)	(8)	(9)
Canadá	(1)	(2)	(8)	(9)
Chile	(1)	(2)	(8)	(9)
China	(1)	(2)	(8)	(9)
Colômbia	(1)	(2)	(8)	(9)
Costa Rica	(1)	(2)	(8)	(9)
Cuba	(1)	(2)	(8)	(9)
Honduras	(1)	(2)	(8)	(9)
Equador	(1)	(2)	(8)	(9)
Espanha	(1)	(2)	(8)	(9)
Estados Unidos	(1)	(2)	(8)	(9)
Portugal	(1)	(2)	(8)	(9)
Japão	(1)	(2)	(8)	(9)
Irã	(1)	(2)	(8)	(9)
Israel	(1)	(2)	(8)	(9)
México	(1)	(2)	(8)	(9)
Paraguai	(1)	(2)	(8)	(9)
Peru	(1)	(2)	(8)	(9)
Rússia	(1)	(2)	(8)	(9)
África do Sul	(1)	(2)	(8)	(9)
Uruguai	(1)	(2)	(8)	(9)
Venezuela	(1)	(2)	(8)	(9)
Angola	(1)	(2)	(8)	(9)

Índia	(1)	(2)	(8)	(9)
Coréia do Sul	(1)	(2)	(8)	(9)
Indonésia	(1)	(2)	(8)	(9)
Inglaterra	(1)	(2)	(8)	(9)

(78) Existem várias possibilidades para a inserção internacional do Brasil. Alguns acham que o Brasil deve priorizar as negociações multilaterais na Organização Mundial do Comércio (OMC). Outros entendem que o Brasil poderá negociar melhores condições de comércio integrando-se num bloco de países (sub-regional, como o Mercosul; regional, como a América do Sul; hemisférico, nos moldes da ALCA, ou até transatlântico, como o acordo entre o Mercosul e a União Européia. Outros acreditam que o Brasil deve privilegiar acordos bilaterais de comércio. Caso fosse necessário escolher apenas uma dessas opções, qual seria a opção mais vantajosa para o Brasil?

Priorizar negociações multilaterais na OMC	1
Integrar um bloco sub-regional (Mercosul)2
Integrar um bloco regional (América do Sul))...	3
Integrar um bloco hemisférico (similar à ALCA).....	4
Integrar um bloco transatlântico (Acordo Mercosul-União Européia)	5
Privilegiar a negociação de acordos bilaterais de livre comércio.....	6
Outra resposta (especificar).....	7
<hr/>	
NS	8
NO	9

(79) De maneira geral, como você avalia a política externa do presidente Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva? Você a considera ótima, boa, regular, ruim ou péssima?

Ótima	1
Boa.....	2
Regular	3
Ruim	4
Péssima.....	5
Não sabe.....	7
Prefere não responder.....	8

Dados socioeconômicos

(80) Sexo

Masculino..... 1
Feminino..... 2

(81) Qual é sua idade (anos completos)?

Prefere não responder **(99)**

(82) Escolaridade

Anos de estudo no total_____

(VEJA O NÚMERO DE ANOS DE ESTUDO NA TABELA ABAIXO)

	Séries					
	1º	2º	3º	4º	5º	6º
Não escolarizado	(0)					
Fundamental/1º Fase	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	
Fundamental/2º Fase	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)		
Médio/2º Grau	(10)	(11)	(12)			
Superior	(13)	(14)	(15)	(16)	(17)	(18)
Pós-graduação	(19)	(20)	(21)	(22)		
NS	(98)					
NC	(99)					

(83) O nível de sua renda familiar (a soma do que ganham todos os que trabalham):

É suficiente para poder poupar..... 1
É suficiente para viver sem dificuldades..... 2
Não é suficiente e têm dificuldades..... 3
Não é suficiente e têm grandes dificuldades..... 4
NS..... 8
NO..... 9

(84) Em relação ao ano passado, você acha que a situação econômica do Brasil está melhor, igual ou pior?

Melhor..... 1
Igualmente boa..... 2
Igualmente ruim..... 3
Pior..... 4
NS..... 8
NO..... 9

(85) E no ano que vem, você acha que a situação econômica do Brasil estará melhor, igual ou pior?

Melhor..... 1
Igualmente boa..... 2
Igualmente ruim..... 3
Pior..... 4
NS..... 8
NO..... 9

(86) Como estará a sua situação econômica pessoal no ano que vem: melhor ou pior?

Melhor.....1
 Igualmente boa.....2
 Igualmente ruim.....3
 Pior.....4
 NS.....8
 NO.....9

(87) Você fala alguma língua estrangeira?

Sim (especificar)1

 Não..... 2
 NS..... 8
 NO..... 9

(88) Se você pudesse falar uma língua estrangeira com perfeição, que língua você gostaria de falar?

 NS..... 8
 NO..... 9

(89) Tendo em vista a diversidade de pessoas que existe no Brasil, você se considera:..

Indígena1
 Mestiço..... 2
 Branco.....3
 Negro.....4
 Mulato..... 5
 Asiático ou oriental..... 6
 Outro (especificar)..... 7

 NS.....8
 NO..... 9

DADOS DE CLASSIFICAÇÃO ECONÔMICA – NOVO CRITÉRIO BRASIL 2008

(90) Quais dos seguintes itens existem no seu domicílio? (Todos os itens eletro-eletrônicos devem estar funcionando. Caso não estejam funcionando, serão considerados apenas se houver intenção de conserto nos próximos seis meses.)

No domicílio tem...

Itens	Posse de itens	Não tem	TEM (Quantidade)			
			1	2	3	4 ou mais
Televisor em cores? Quantos?	Televisores em cores	0	1	2	3	4
Videocassete ou DVD? Quantos?	Videocasse- te/DVD	0	1	2	3	4
Rádio? Exceto rádio de automóveis. Quantos?	Rádios	0	1	2	3	4
Banheiros, inclusive o de empregada? Quantos?	Banheiros	0	1	2	3	4
Automóveis de passeio? Exceto veículos de uso profissional. Quantos?	Automóveis	0	1	2	3	4

Empregada doméstica? Quantas?	Empregadas mensalistas	0	1	2	3	4
Máquina de lavar roupa? Exceto “tanquinho”. Quantas?	Máquinas de lavar	0	1	2	3	4
Geladeira simples ou “duplex”? Quantas?	Geladeira	0	1	2	3	4
Freezer independente ou de geladeira “duplex”. Quantos?	Freezer	0	1	2	3	4

(91) Você tem telefone no seu domicílio?

Sim..... 1
Não..... 2

(92) Você tem telefone celular?

Sim..... 1
Não 2

(93) Você utiliza Internet?

Sim.....1
Não.....2 (ir para Q.95)

(94)(SE SIM) Com que frequência?

Diariamente, várias vezes ao dia.....1
Diariamente.....2
De três a cinco vezes por semana....3
Ocasionalmente.....4
Prefere não responder.....9

(95) Fala-se muito em esquerda e direita. Numa escala de 0 a 10, onde 0 significa EXTREMA ESQUERDA e 10 EXTREMA DIREITA, onde você se situa? Você pode usar qualquer ponto da escala

☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐

00 01 02 03 04 05 06 07 08 09 10

NS..... 98

NO..... 99

Estas foram as perguntas da pesquisa. Muito obrigado por sua colaboração.