

PERCEPTIONS ON FOREIGN POLICY AND NATIONAL SECURITY

5TH SURVEY | MAY 2024



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MAY 2024

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Index

Introduction.....	7
Five years of perceptions on foreign policy and security	8
Perception of threats to national security in Chile	20
Attribution of tasks to the Chilean Armed Forces	23
Perception of threats to the national security and foreign policy objectives in Argentina	26
Model countries for Chile and Argentina	29
Countries with which Chile and Argentina perceive that they are more aligned	31
Bilateral relationship since the signing of the Treaty of Peace and Friendship in 1984 and the importance of territorial disputes from the Argentine perspective	34
"An indispensable inquiry" Comments on the Survey 2020-2023	38
Methodological Annex	46
About the Authors.....	49
Publications by AthenaLab	50



0.1

Introduction

Five years ago, when we began conducting the first, one-of-a-kind Survey of Perceptions on Foreign Policy and National Security along with the pollster Ipsos, the data showed that Chileans' main concern was drug trafficking and organised crime, followed by the porosity of borders and the increase in irregular immigration. Today that seems obvious; there is no survey that says otherwise. Even Chilean universities are conducting research on the topic and creating related centres.

More importantly, those who denied the relevance and even the validity of the concept of national security for years now evoke it as a response to the problems that Chilean institutions are facing in enforcing the rule of law throughout the territory.

For AthenaLab, the survey is a source of tremendous pride, because at the beginning of the decade it helped us guide our own research into precisely such challenges that require urgent solutions, like the need to create a State-level security architecture, reform of the intelligence system, improvement of border security, control of illicit economic activities, protection of maritime interests, and geopolitical updates regarding Chile's most distant territories to exercise effective sovereignty. Today

we have documents that not only offer a diagnosis for all of these issues, but also advance in proposing solutions.

Therefore, after five years, we can affirm that some trends have consolidated themselves among Chileans, such as the desire to be a proactive country in international matters, and the perception that our main partners – and the models of development to which we aspire – are outside Latin America. The United States and New Zealand are now recurring names in the responses.

This time in particular, we wanted to look more closely at Argentina, due to the beginning of President Javier Milei's administration and the fact that it will be the 4th anniversary of the signing of the Treaty of Peace and Friendship with that country, a document that did not put an end to our territorial disputes.

We hope that the 2024 survey, a publication highly anticipated by local authorities, embassies, academics and journalists, will be useful for those interested in Chile, its foreign policy and, above all, in the search for security.

Sincerely,



Juan Pablo Toro
Executive Director
AthenaLab

0.2

Five years of perceptions on foreign policy and security

After five years measuring perceptions about foreign policy and security, it is abundantly clear that most Chileans recognise that they have benefited from globalisation through the expansion of trade and diplomatic networks. However, they are increasingly concerned about negative effects related to transnational threats that affect national interests.

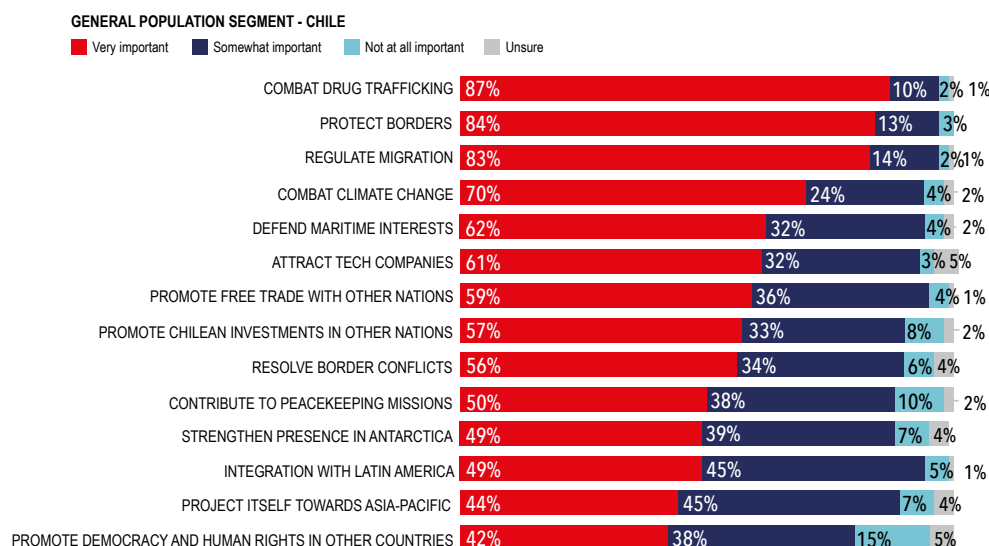
Regarding foreign policy objectives, a trend is confirmed: both experts and the general population assign high significance to the fight against drug trafficking, border protection, and migration regulation, the latter having grown the most, reaching levels over 80%. Incidentally, these objectives not only share the top places, but can also be considered, as closely related.

As for the condition that Chile assigns to other countries, just as in past polls, the responses from the general population confirm their lack of information or knowledge. They mainly concentrate on a neutral relationship, or they claim not to know. On the contrary, experts have a clear position regarding which countries are our partners and which are not.

The trends observed in both segments over five years are consistent in maintaining the United States, China, the United Kingdom, Spain and Japan in the top spots as partners. This is certainly interesting, since none of them are in Latin America, which speaks to Chileans' more global, rather than regional orientation. Furthermore, it is noted that bordering countries (Peru, Bolivia and Argentina),

FIGURE 1
FOREIGN POLICY OBJECTIVES: GENERAL POPULATION CHILE

In your opinion, how important for Chile is each of the following foreign policy objectives?



Sample: 1360, total sample of the general population of Chile. When the results do not add up to 100, it may be due to rounding, multiple answers, or the exclusion of unknown or unreported responses.
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in addition to Venezuela, are even identified as Chile's competitors.

Regarding global aspects, both experts and the general population maintain their opinion that Chile should continue to have a proactive role in the international arena. These results have remained practically unchanged in the last five years, consistently representing 74% or more of those surveyed (see figure 11). This undoubtedly implies a challenge for national diplomacy and should probably lead to questions about how well this task is being accomplished and the resources available to do so.

Regarding the trade agreements that Chile has signed with other countries, both the general population and experts tend to consider them beneficial, but to different extents. Their lower recognition among the general population (even if it has grown from 47% in 2021 to 65% in 2024 as shown in figure 12) could be due to lack of information or awareness about the direct benefits of these free trade agreements. Beyond the pending task of education and communication, it is necessary to highlight that the contrarian positions that existed towards the Comprehensive and Progressive

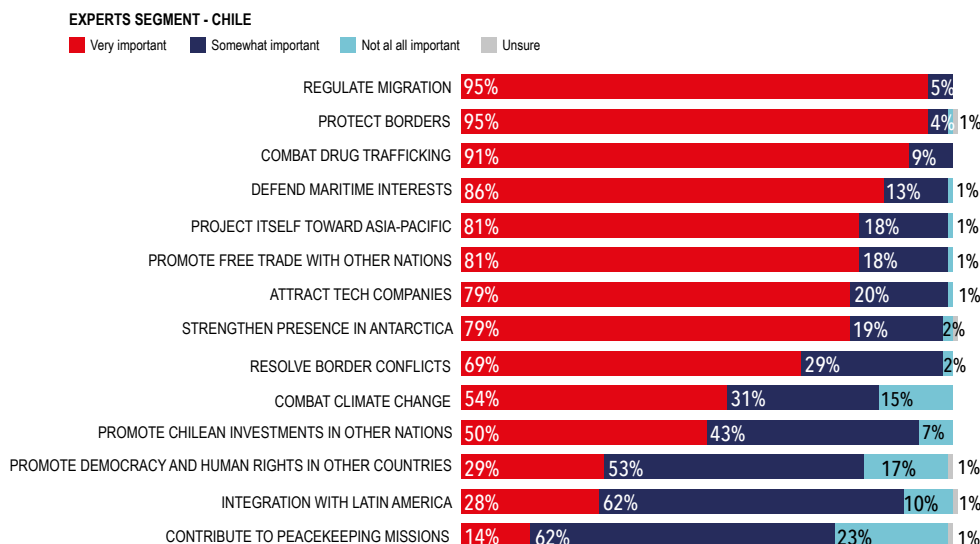
Agreement for Trans-Pacific Partnership (CPTPP), especially in the initial foreign policy of Gabriel Boric's administration, were as misguided as they were unpopular.

On the same topic, there is a solid consensus among both segments (general population and experts) that foreign investment in strategic sectors, or those with an impact on national security, should be regulated. This opinion has obtained steady support of around 90% throughout the last five years (see figure 13). However, nothing has been done about it in terms of public policy; the conversation about economic security is non-existent in Chile.

The current geopolitical scenario, which is highly competitive and the most unstable in the past three decades, finds the country on the wrong foot and facing multiple crises – public safety among them. The Chilean economy, which had previously stood out for its performance in Latin America, is now experiencing minimal growth levels. The political stability built through the consensus reached after the restoration of democracy, has given way to acute polarisation, which has manifested itself in the latest electoral processes.

FIGURE 2
FOREIGN POLICY OBJECTIVES: EXPERTS

In your opinion, how important for Chile is each of the following foreign policy objectives?



Sample: 112, total sample of the experts of Chile. When the results do not add up to 100, it may be due to rounding, multiple answers, or the exclusion of unknown or unreported responses.
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If Chile wants to achieve an advantageous position on the international stage, making the most of the opportunities offered by globalisation and mitigating the threats posed by it, the diplomatic and security instruments of the State must work in a close and coordinated manner, thus increas-

ing the chances of success. The search of alliances, the reduction of economic vulnerabilities, and the avoidance of sudden deviations that intend to dismantle what has actually been working well: this is the path indicated by the survey over the last five years.

“

The Ipsos survey, prepared in conjunction with AthenaLab, is a contribution to the debate on Chile's foreign policy. In this context, it is very interesting to observe that both segments surveyed consider it best for Chile to maintain a proactive role in global affairs. This sheds light, on the one hand, on the internationalist vocation of our country, and on the other hand, on the importance of promoting our interests and foreign policy objectives with a State perspective”.

Alberto van Klaveren
Minister of Foreign Affairs of Chile



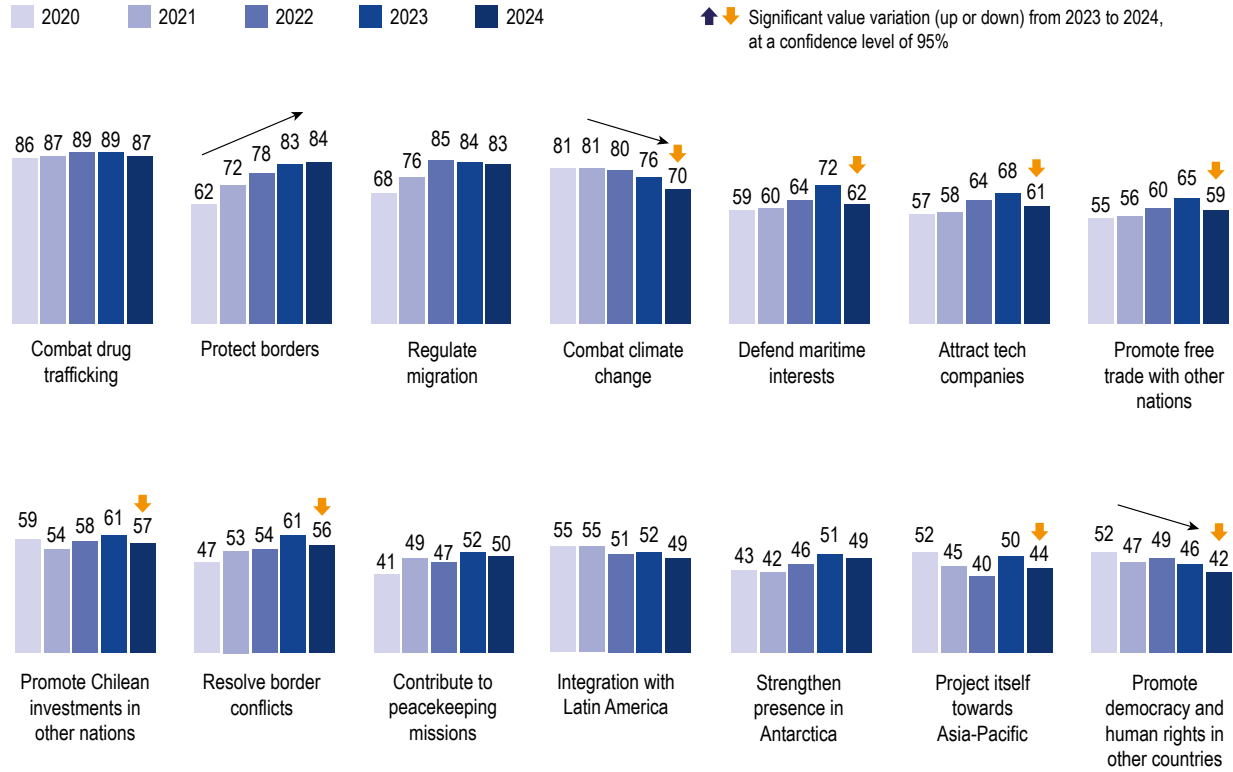
FIGURE 3

HISTORICAL COMPARISON OF FOREIGN POLICY OBJECTIVES 2020-2024: GENERAL POPULATION - CHILE

In your opinion, how important for Chile is each of the following foreign policy objectives?

GENERAL POPULATION SEGMENT - CHILE

% VERY IMPORTANT



Sample: Total Chilean general population respondents measured every year.
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FIGURE 4

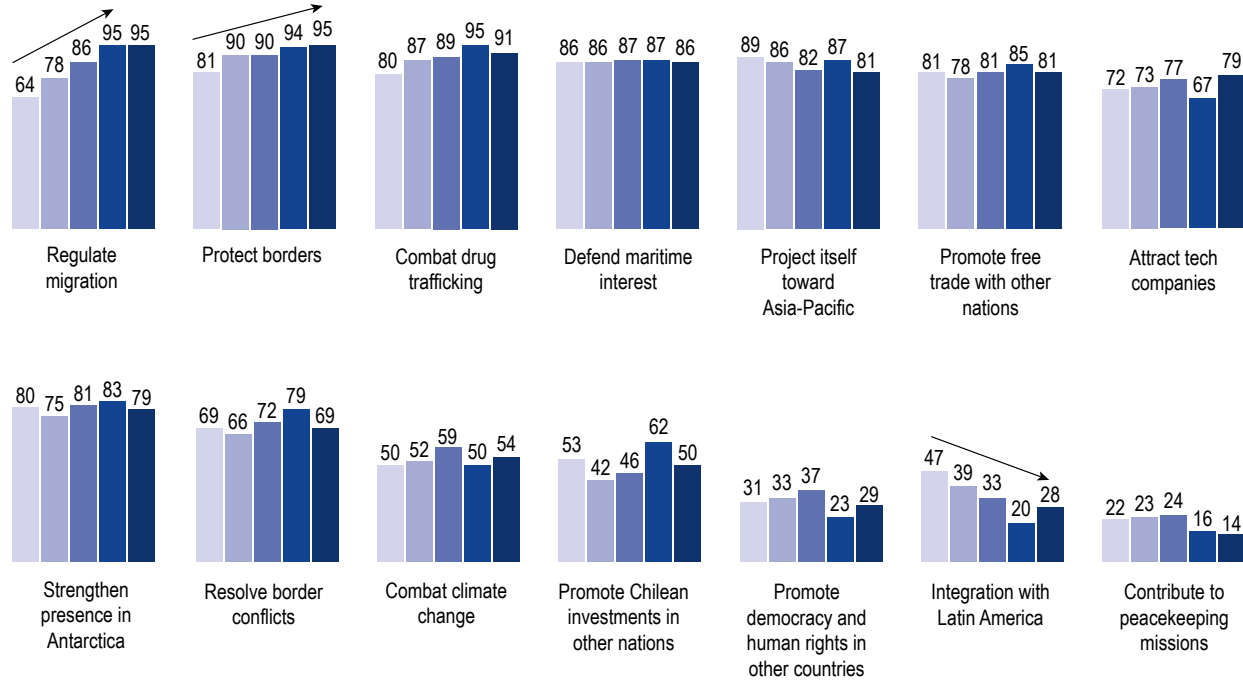
HISTORICAL COMPARISON OF FOREIGN POLICY OBJECTIVES 2020-2024: EXPERTS

In your opinion, how important for Chile is each of the following foreign policy objectives?

EXPERTS SEGMENT
% VERY IMPORTANT

2020 2021 2022 2023 2024

* There were no significant differences

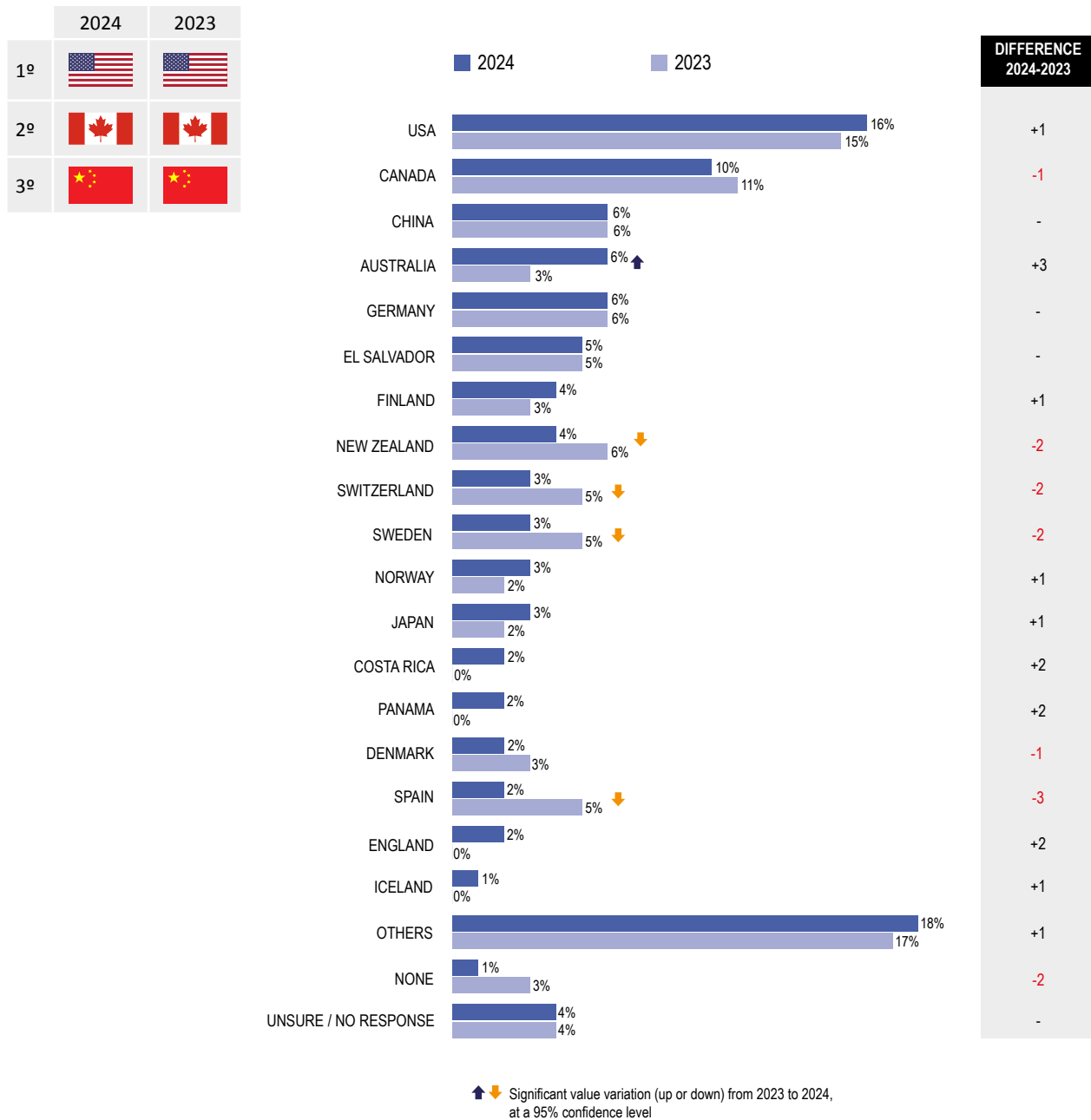


Sample: Total of Chilean expert respondents measured every year.
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FIGURE 5

**MODEL COUNTRIES FOR CHILE 2024-23:
GENERAL POPULATION**

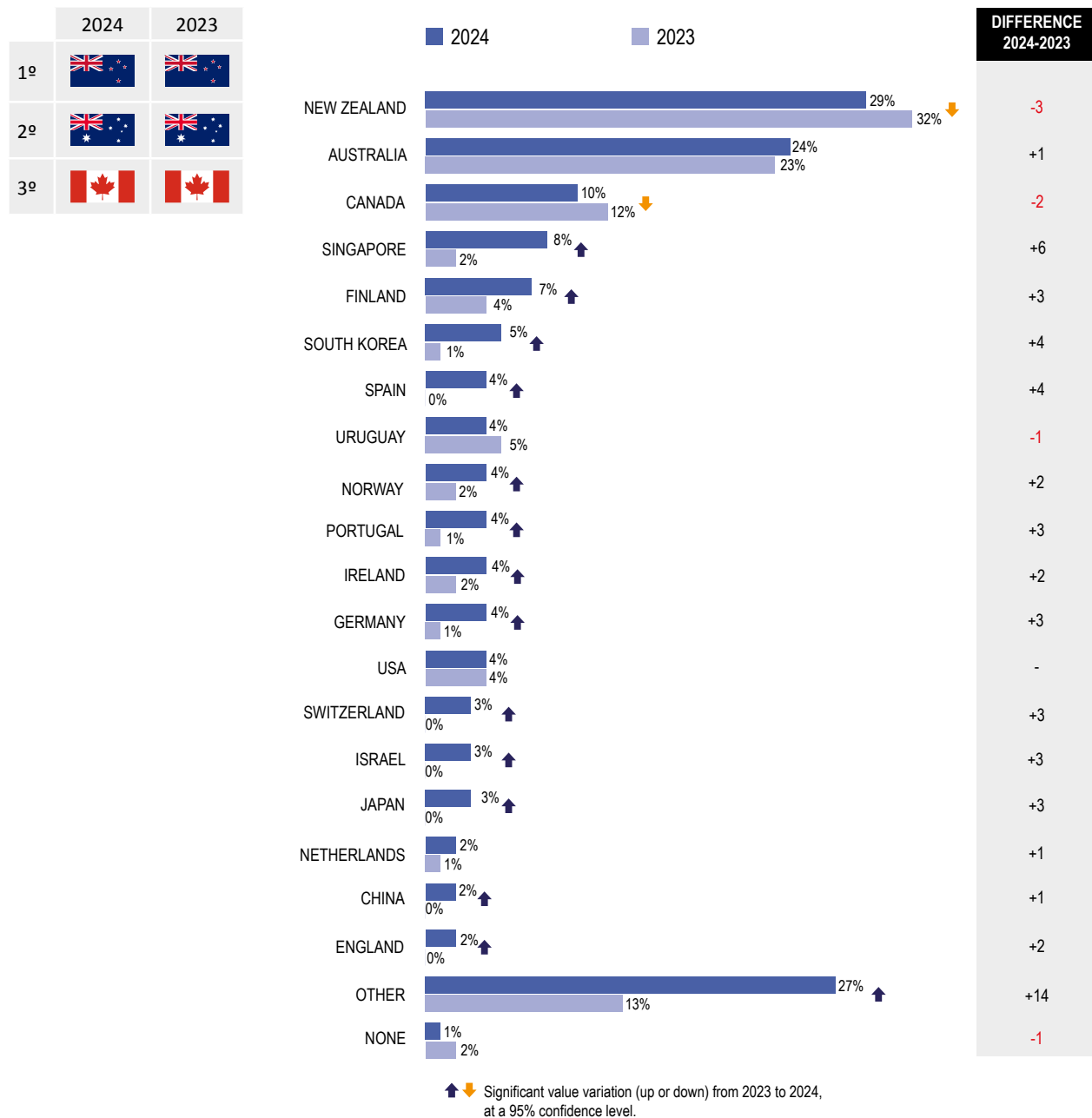
Which country or countries could serve as a model for Chile?



Sample Total Chilean general population respondents measured every year. Open-ended and multiple response.
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FIGURE 6
MODEL COUNTRIES FOR CHILE 2024-23:
EXPERTS

Which country or countries could serve as a model for Chile?



Sample: Total of Chilean expert respondents measured every year. Open-ended and multiple response.
 ©IPSOS | Survey on Perceptions on Foreign Policy and National Security.

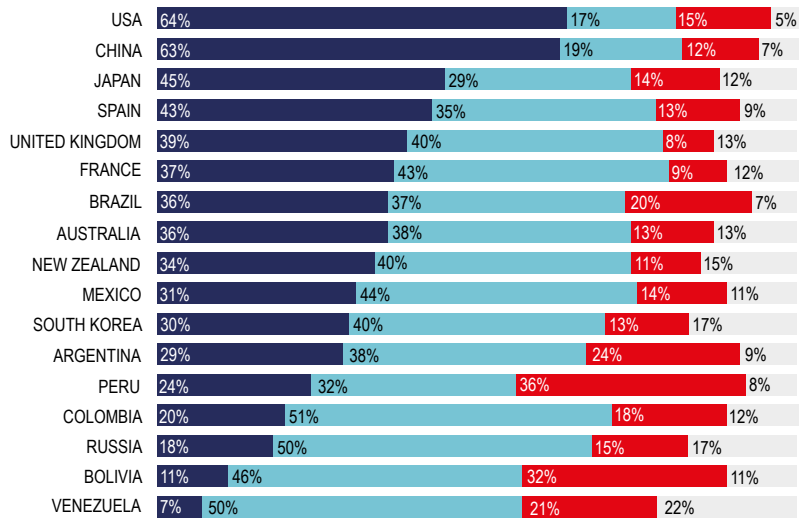
FIGURE 7

POSITION ATTRIBUTED TO COUNTRIES WITH RESPECT TO CHILE: GENERAL POPULATION - CHILE

For each of the following countries, what is in your opinion the position that they currently hold or maintain regarding Chile: partner, neutral, or competitor?

GENERAL POPULATION SEGMENT - CHILE

■ PARTNER ■ NEUTRAL ■ COMPETITOR ■ UNSURE



MAIN PARTNERS

-
-
-

For each of the following countries, what is in your opinion the position that they currently hold or maintain regarding Chile: partner, neutral, or competitor? When the results do not add up to 100, it may be due to rounding, multiple answers, or the exclusion of unknown or unreported responses.
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FIGURE 8

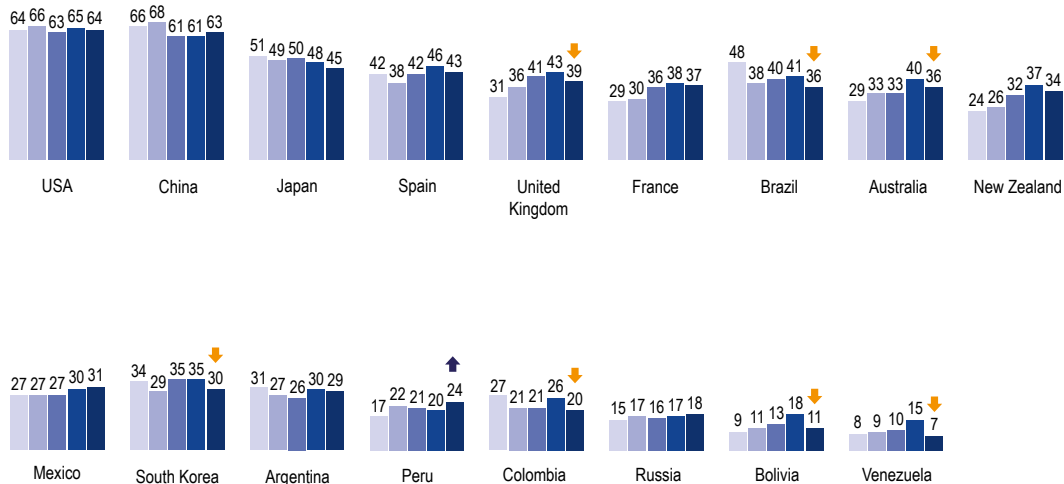
HISTORICAL COMPARISON: POSITION ATTRIBUTED TO COUNTRIES WITH RESPECT TO CHILE 2020-2024: GENERAL POPULATION - CHILE

For each of the countries shown, what is in your opinion the position that they currently hold or maintain with Chile?

GENERAL POPULATION SEGMENT - CHILE
% PARTNER

■ 2020 ■ 2021 ■ 2022 ■ 2023 ■ 2024

▲ ▼ Significant value variation (up or down) from 2023 to 2024, at a 95% confidence level



Sample: Total Chilean general population respondents measured every year.
©IPSOS | Survey on Perceptions on Foreign Policy and National Security.

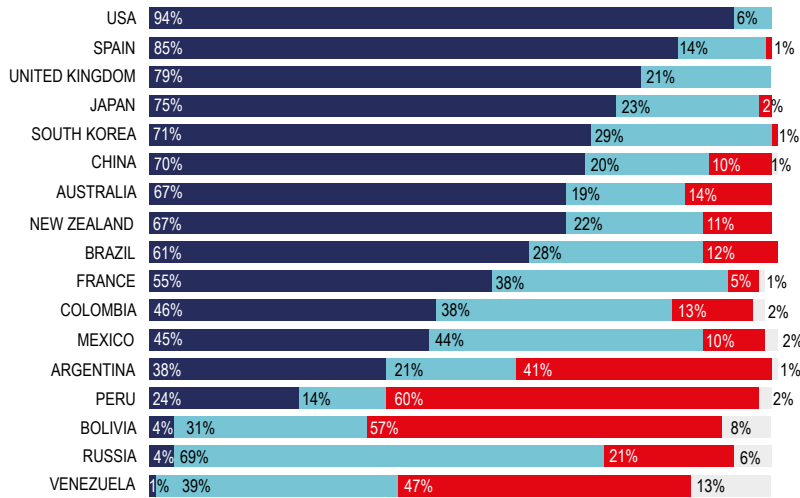
FIGURE 9

POSITION ATTRIBUTED TO COUNTRIES REGARDING CHILE: EXPERTS

For each of the following countries, what is in your opinion the position that they currently hold or maintain regarding Chile: partner, neutral, or competitor?

EXPERTS SEGMENT - CHILE

PARTNER NEUTRAL COMPETITOR UNSURE



MAIN PARTNERS

- 1º
- 2º
- 3º

Sample: 112, total sample of the experts of Chile.
When the results do not add up to 100, it may be due to rounding, multiple answers, or the exclusion of unknown or unreported responses.
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FIGURE 10

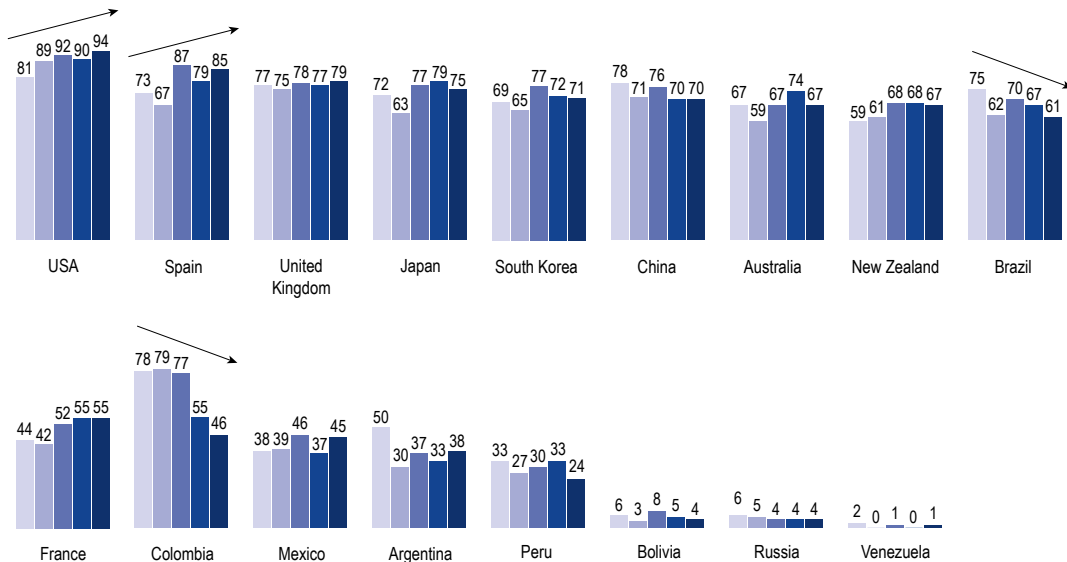
HISTORICAL COMPARISON: POSITION ATTRIBUTED TO COUNTRIES WITH RESPECT TO CHILE 2020-2024: EXPERTS

For each of the countries shown, what is in your opinion the position that they currently hold or maintain with Chile?

EXPERTS SEGMENT - CHILE

% PARTNER

2020 2021 2022 2023 2024 * There were no significant differences



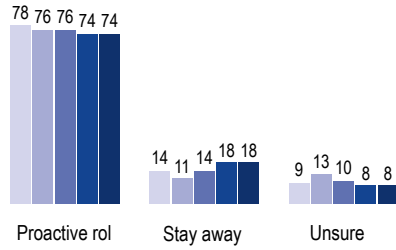
Sample: Total of Chilean expert respondents measured every year.
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FIGURE 11

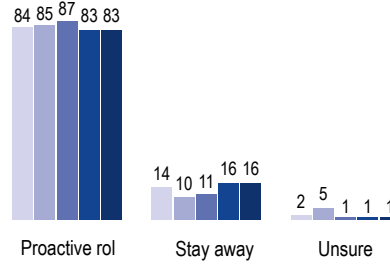
**HISTORICAL COMPARISON: CHILE'S ROLE IN GLOBAL AFFAIRS 2020-24
GENERAL POPULATION AND EXPERTS, CHILE**

In your opinion, what do you consider best for Chile: to maintain a proactive role on global issues, or stay away from them?

GENERAL POPULATION SEGMENT - CHILE
%



EXPERTS SEGMENT - CHILE
%



2020 2021 2022 2023 2024

* There were no significant differences

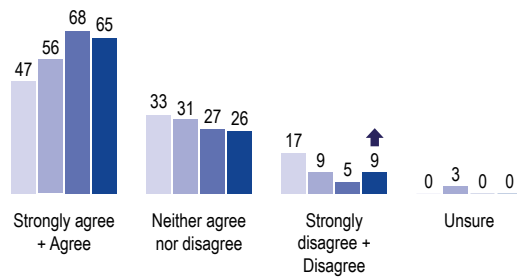
Sample: Total sample of Chilean general population/expert respondents measured each year.
©IPSOS | Survey on Perceptions on Foreign Policy and National Security.

FIGURE 12

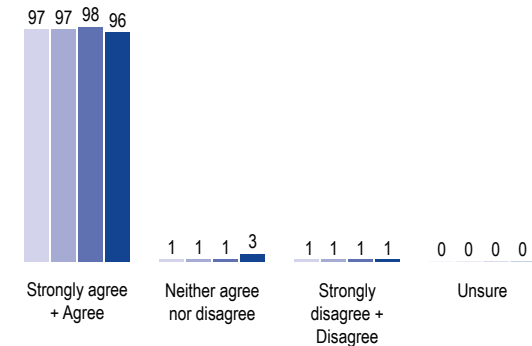
HISTORICAL COMPARISON: THE CHILEAN ECONOMY AND ITS GLOBAL INSERTION 2021-24

Do you believe that the free trade agreements signed between Chile and other countries have directly benefited you?

GENERAL POPULATION SEGMENT - CHILE
%



EXPERTS SEGMENT - CHILE
%



2021 2022 2023 2024

↑ ↓ Significant value variation (up or down) from 2023 to 2024, at a 95% confidence level

Sample: Total sample of Chilean general population/expert respondents measured each year.
©IPSOS | Survey on Perceptions on Foreign Policy and National Security.

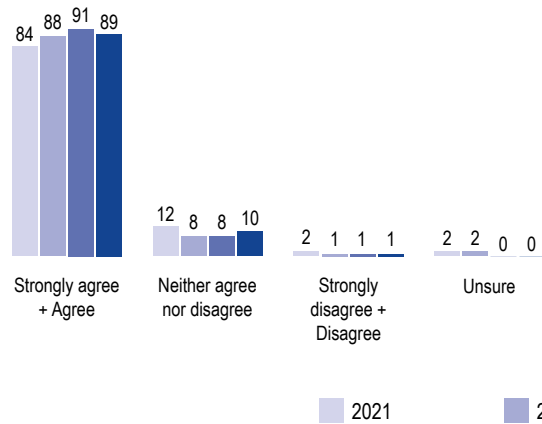
FIGURE 13

REGULATION OF FOREIGN INVESTMENT 2021-24: GENERAL POPULATION AND EXPERTS - CHILE

Do you think that foreign investment in strategic sectors or those with a high impact on Chile's security should be regulated?

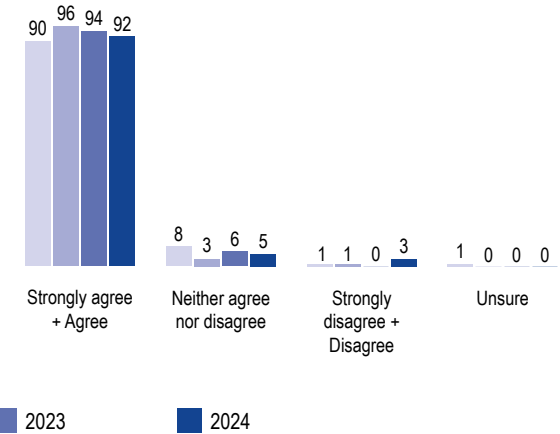
GENERAL POPULATION SEGMENT - CHILE

%



EXPERTS SEGMENT - CHILE

%



* There were no significant differences

Sample: Total sample of Chilean general population/expert respondents measured each year.
©IPSOS | Survey on Perceptions on Foreign Policy and National Security.

FIGURE 14

HISTORICAL COMPARISON OF PERCEPTION OF NATIONAL INTERESTS: 2020-24: GENERAL POPULATION - CHILE

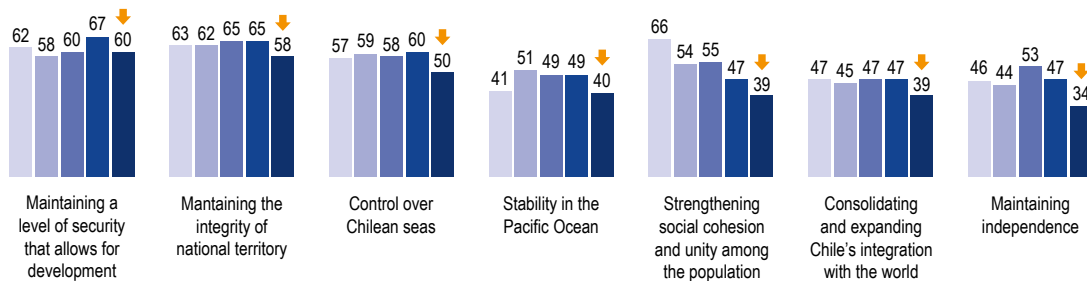
For each national interest listed, select whether you consider it vital or essential, important, or not of national interest.

GENERAL POPULATION SEGMENT - CHILE

% VITAL OR ESSENTIAL

2020 2021 2022 2023 2024

↑ ↓ Significant value variation (up or down) from 2023 to 2024, at a 95% confidence level



Sample: Total Chilean general population respondents measured every year.
©IPSOS | Survey on Perceptions on Foreign Policy and National Security.

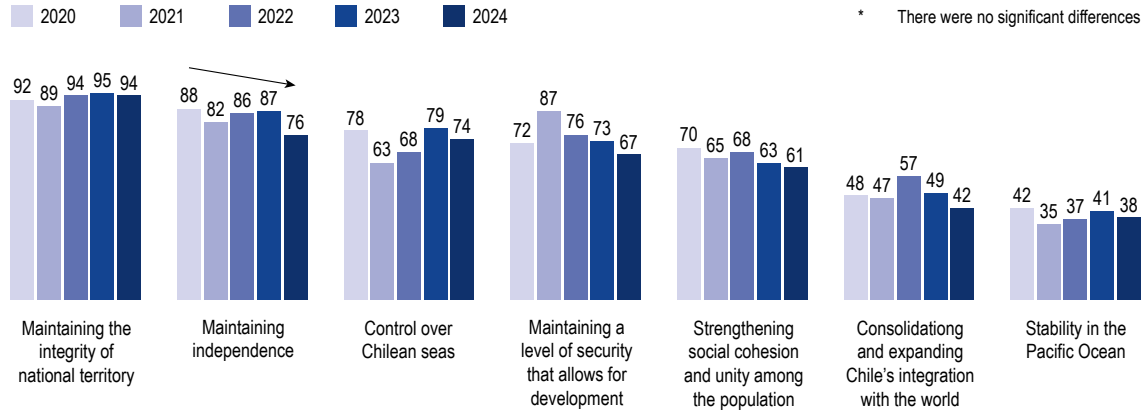
FIGURE 15

HISTORICAL COMPARISON OF PERCEPTION OF NATIONAL INTERESTS 2020-24: EXPERTS

For each national interest listed, select whether you consider it vital or essential, important, or not of national interest.

EXPERTS SEGMENT - CHILE

% VITAL OR ESSENTIAL



Sample: Total of Chilean expert respondents measured every year.
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0.3

Perception of threats to national security in Chile

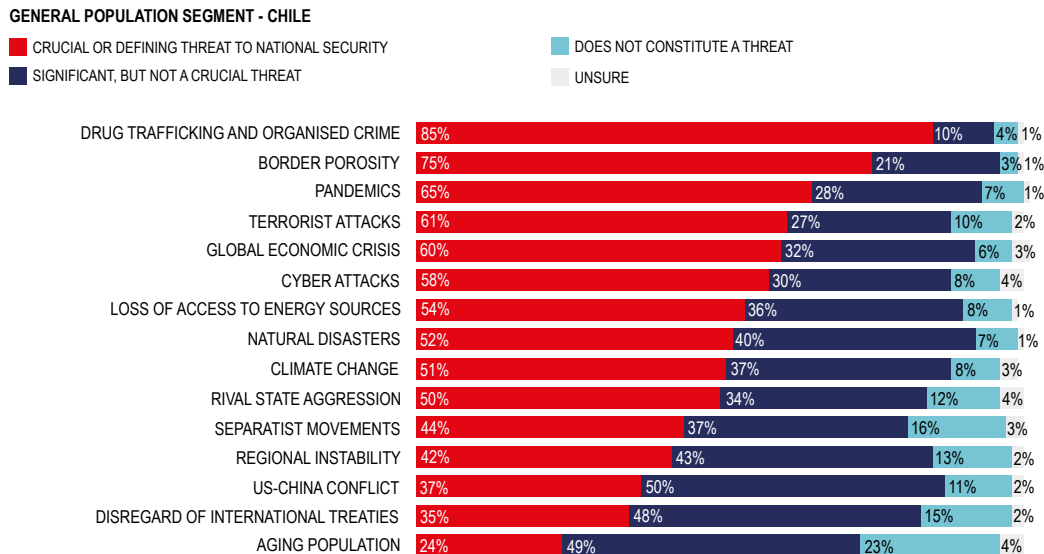
The strong perception of drug trafficking and organised crime as a threat, both by experts and the general population, is confirmed once again. Furthermore, 95% of the experts consider it the most significant threat, followed by border porosity (79%), and the possibility of a cyberattack (76%). Among the general population, drug trafficking and organised crime reach 85%, also followed by border porosity (75%) and pandemics (65%). These figures are even higher when we include those who consider these threats as "significant". From the above it is clear that greater border control – one that limits today's free circulation – is

an appropriate and very necessary measure to be able to reduce the impact of the main threat to national security, namely drug trafficking and organised crime.

Likewise, border porosity stands out as the threat that had the greatest increase in the last five years both among experts and the general population, doubling its perception as a risk to national security. Meanwhile, the perceived threat of drug trafficking and organised crime is the second fastest growing in the last four years.

FIGURE 16
PERCEPTION OF THREATS TO THE NATIONAL SECURITY OF CHILE: GENERAL POPULATION - CHILE

For each of the topics mentioned, select whether you consider it a crucial or defining threat to national security, a significant but not crucial threat, or that it does not constitute a threat.



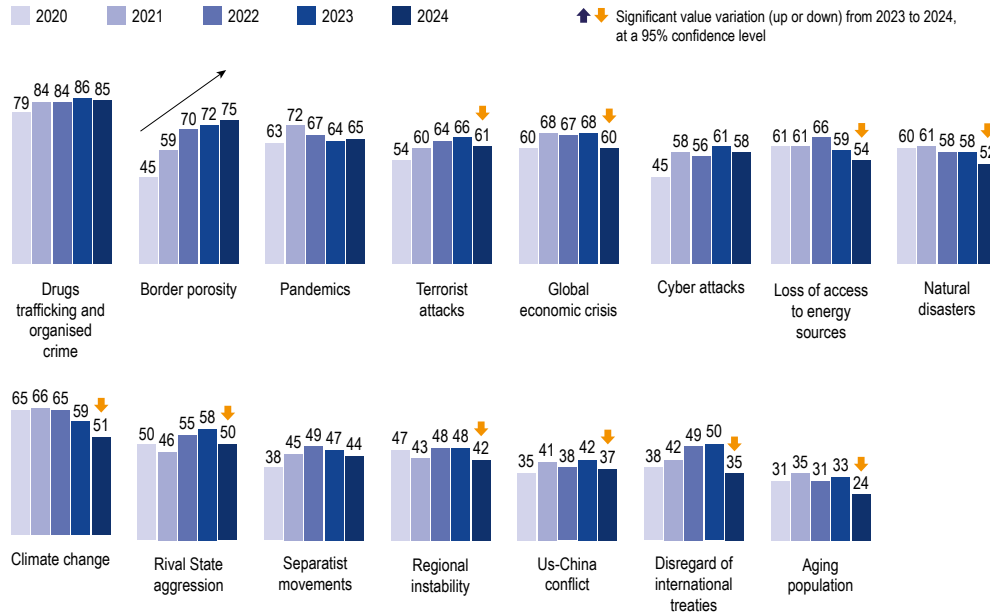
Sample: 1360, total sample of the general population of Chile. When the results do not add up to 100, it may be due to rounding, multiple answers, or the exclusion of unknown or unreported responses.
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FIGURE 17

THREATS TO THE NATIONAL SECURITY OF CHILE 2020-24: GENERAL POPULATION - CHILE

For each of the topics mentioned, select whether you consider it a crucial or defining threat to national security, a significant but not crucial threat, or that it does not constitute a threat.

GENERAL POPULATION SEGMENT - CHILE
% CRUCIAL OR DEFINING THREAT TO NATIONAL SECURITY



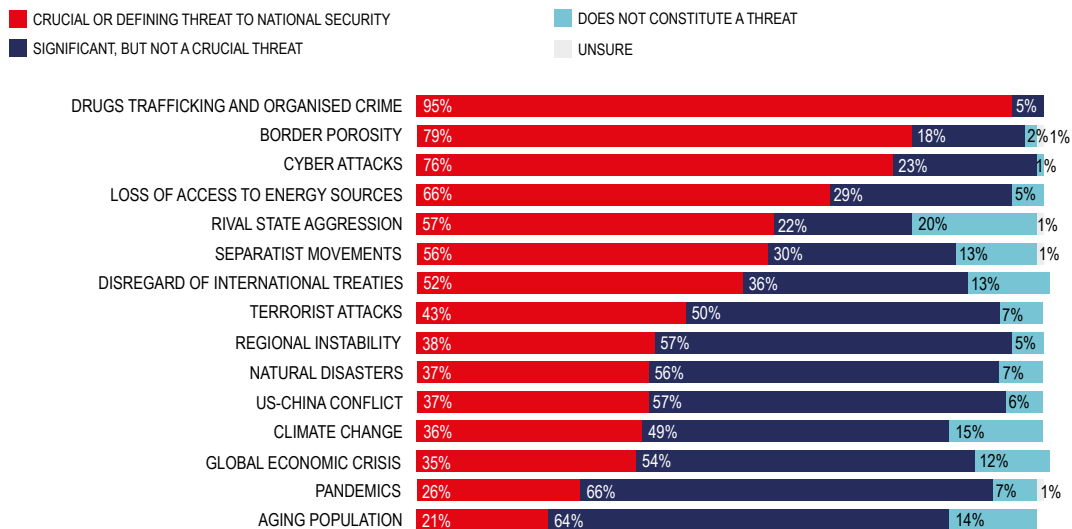
Sample: Total sample of the general population of Chile measured in each year.
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FIGURE 18

PERCEPTION OF THREATS TO CHILE'S NATIONAL SECURITY: EXPERTS

For each of the topics mentioned, select whether you consider it a crucial or defining threat to national security, a significant but not crucial threat, or that it does not constitute a threat.

EXPERTS SEGMENT - CHILE



Sample: 112, total sample of the experts of Chile. When the results do not add up to 100, it may be due to rounding, multiple answers, or the exclusion of unknown or unreported responses.
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FIGURE 19

THREATS TO CHILEAN NATIONAL SECURITY 2020-24: EXPERTS - CHILE

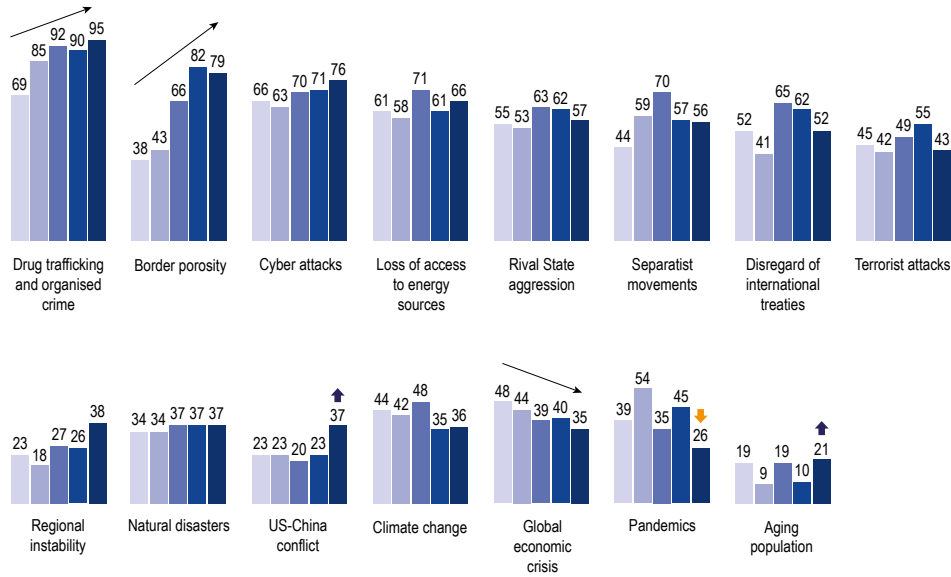
For each of the topics mentioned, select whether you consider it a crucial or defining threat to national security, a significant but not crucial threat, or that it does not constitute a threat.

EXPERTS SEGMENT - CHILE

% CRUCIAL OR DEFINING THREAT TO NATIONAL SECURITY

2020 2021 2022 2023 2024

↑ ↓ Significant value variation (up or down) from 2023 to 2024, at a 95% confidence level



Sample: Total of Chilean expert respondents measured every year.
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0.4

Attribution of tasks to the Chilean Armed Forces

This year's survey included a question about which tasks are seen as either fundamental, complementary, or outside of the Armed Forces' realm. The general population identified border surveillance and protection in first place among the fundamental tasks (77%), followed by the fight against drug trafficking (74%), the defence of sovereignty (69%), and aid in case of natural disasters (67%). Among experts, the defence of sovereignty appears in first place (98%), followed by border surveillance and protection (69%), and the protection of national interests wherever they are (67%). In sum, both groups assign high relevance to border surveillance and protection as fundamental tasks for the Armed Forces.

Regarding complementary tasks, the general population highlights international cooperation (46%), contribution to development (42%), and contribution to national unity (40%). Meanwhile, among experts, first place is for international cooperation (70%), followed by contribution to development (62%) and support for the police in case of serious alteration to public order (61%). Interestingly, 65%

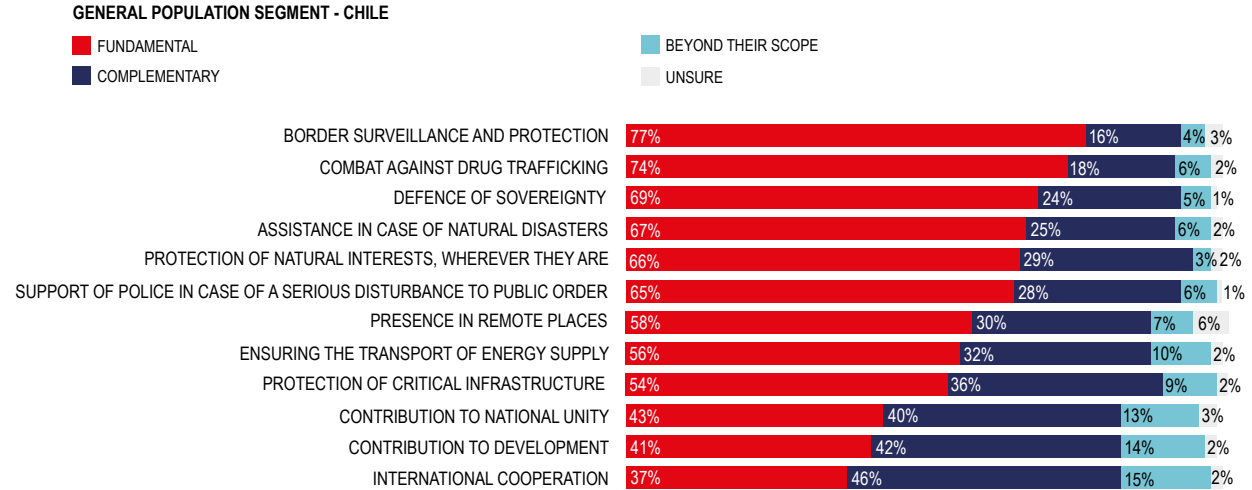
of the general population evaluated this task as fundamental. The difference in perceptions confirms that experts assign a higher relevance to traditional and longer-term missions, while the general population does so regarding tasks perceived as more urgent in connection to Chile's current security crisis.

However, it is clear that this security crisis is mainly related to threats of a transnational nature, such as drug trafficking and organised crime, a concern that is also shared by Argentines. This leads us to consider that, regardless of the internal factors at play, both countries seem to consider it relevant to be able to agree on multilateral responses. On the other hand, the fact that the Armed Forces are favoured to play a role in public order is concrete evidence of the deterioration of the rule of law, as well as the fact that law enforcement are overwhelmed. Nevertheless, this does not imply that those surveyed disregard the key role of the Armed Forces in controlling national borders and their contribution to internal security.

FIGURE 20

ATTRIBUTION OF TASKS TO THE CHILEAN ARMED FORCES: GENERAL POPULATION - CHILE

For each of the tasks listed, select whether you consider it a fundamental task for the Armed Forces (Army, Navy, Air Force), complementary, or beyond their scope.



Sample: 1360, total sample of the general population of Chile.
 When the results do not add up to 100, it may be due to rounding, multiple answers, or the exclusion of unknown or unreported responses.
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FIGURE 21

HISTORICAL COMPARISON OF ATTRIBUTION OF TASKS TO THE CHILEAN ARMED FORCES

For each of the tasks listed, select whether you consider it a fundamental task for the Armed Forces (Army, Navy, Air Force), complementary, or beyond their scope.

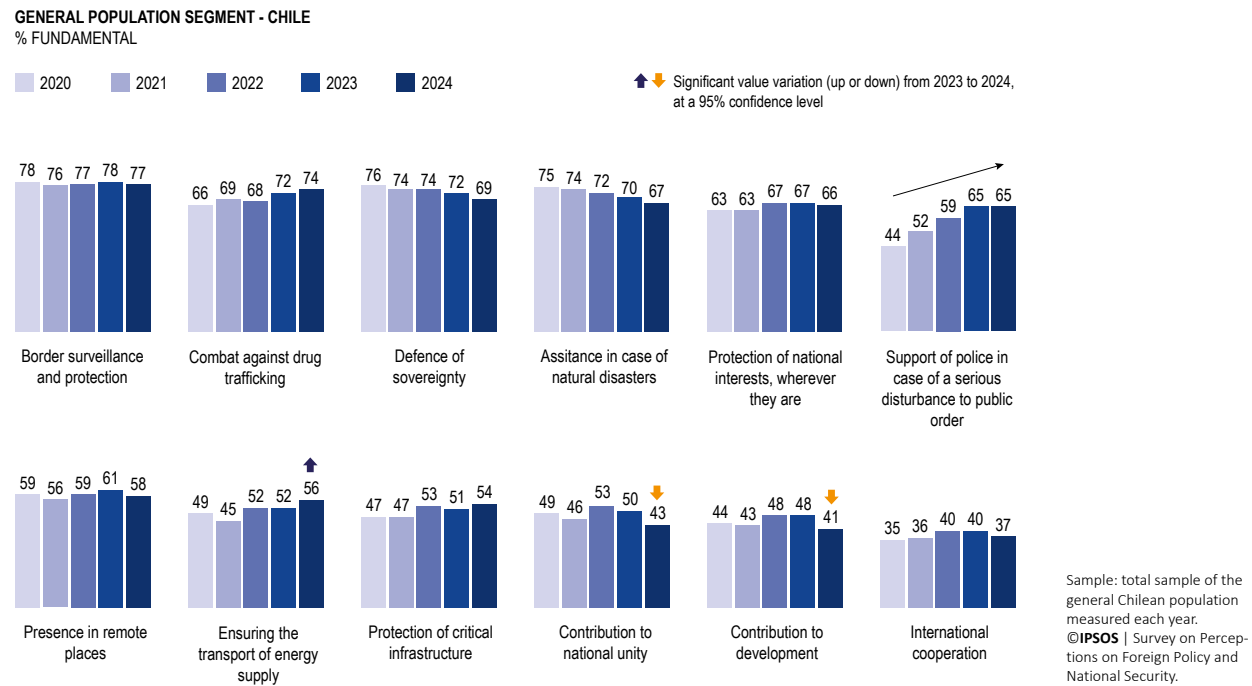
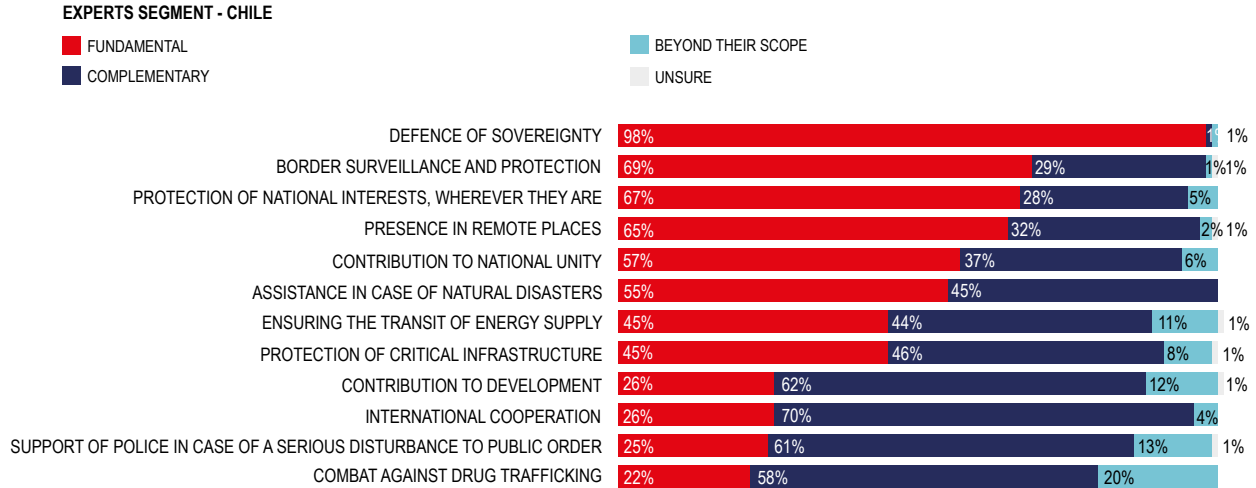


FIGURE 22

ALLOCATION OF TASKS TO THE CHILEAN ARMED FORCES: EXPERTS

For each of the tasks listed, select whether you consider it a fundamental task for the Armed Forces (Army, Navy, Air Force), complementary, or beyond their scope.

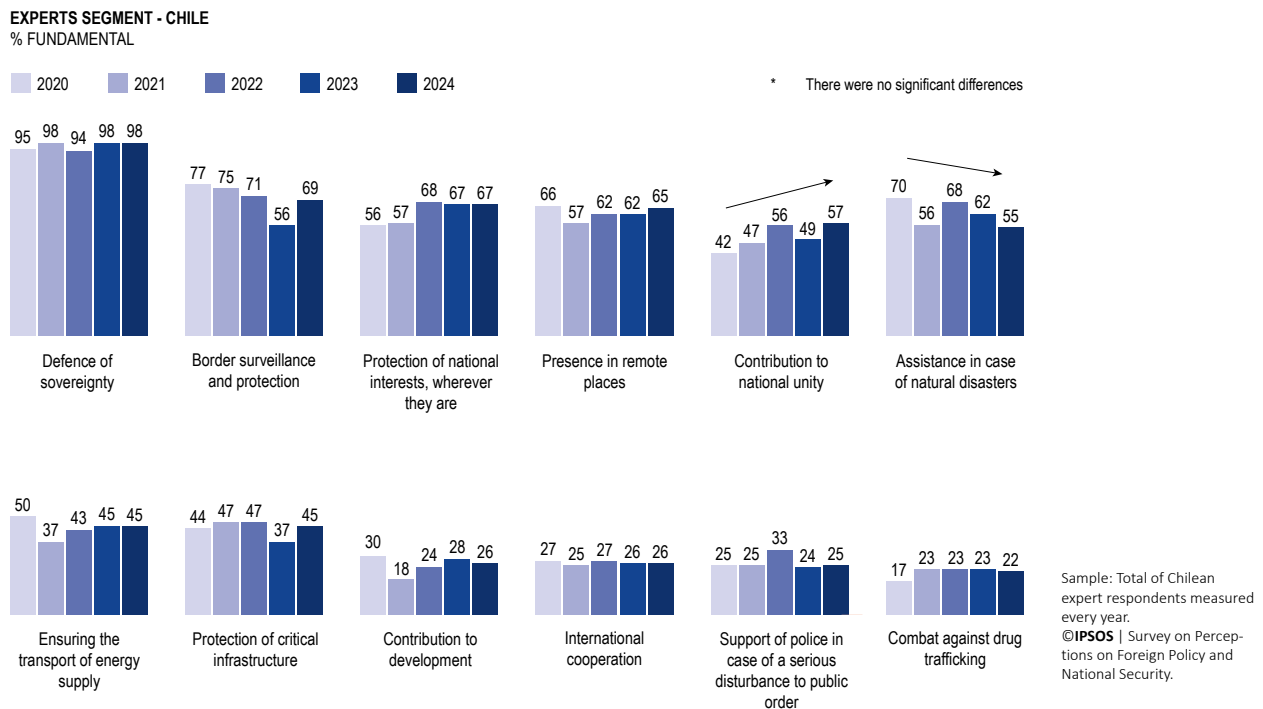


Sample: 112, total sample of the experts of Chile.
 When the results do not add up to 100, it may be due to rounding, multiple answers, or the exclusion of unknown or unreported responses.
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FIGURE 23

HISTORICAL COMPARISON OF ATTRIBUTION OF TASKS TO THE CHILEAN ARMED FORCES 2020-24: EXPERTS

For each of the tasks listed, select whether you consider it a fundamental task for the Armed Forces (Army, Navy, Air Force), complementary, or beyond their scope.



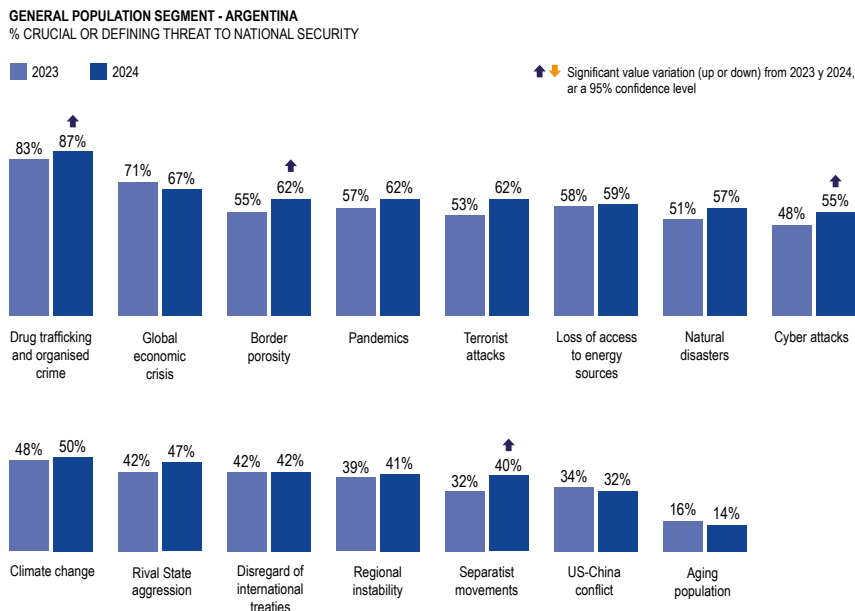
0.5

Perception of threats to the national security and foreign policy objectives in Argentina

The survey shows that the main security threats for Argentina – just like Chile – are drug trafficking and organised crime, as well as border porosity. Shared concern over these common threats presents opportunities for bilateral cooperation on security. Similarly, Chile and Argentina coincide on both the need to combat drug trafficking and border protection as foreign policy objectives.

FIGURE 24
PERCEPTION OF THREATS TO NATIONAL SECURITY: ARGENTINA

For each of the topics mentioned, select whether you consider it a crucial or defining threat to national security, a significant but not a crucial threat, or that it does not constitute a threat.



Sample: Total interviewees general Argentine population: 600.
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FIGURE 25

FOREIGN POLICY OBJECTIVES OF EACH COUNTRY SURVEYED: CHILE - ARGENTINA

In your opinion, how important for your country is each of the following foreign policy objectives?

GENERAL POPULATION SEGMENT OF EACH COUNTRY
% VERY IMPORTANT

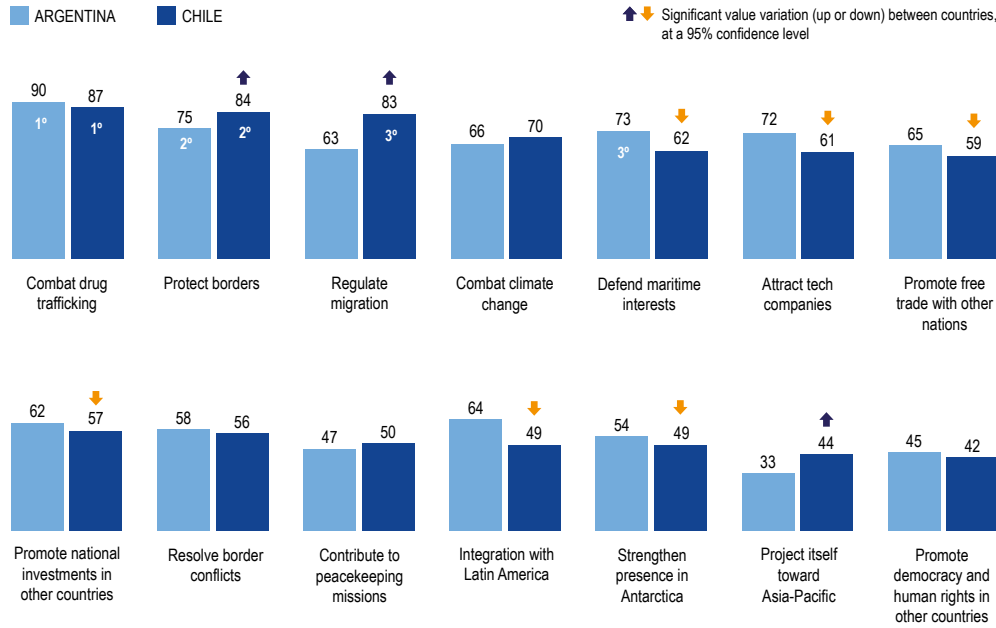


FIGURE 26

FOREIGN POLICY OBJECTIVES OF EACH COUNTRY MEASURED: ARGENTINA

In your opinion, how important for Argentina is each of the following foreign policy objectives?

GENERAL POPULATION - ARGENTINA
% VERY IMPORTANT

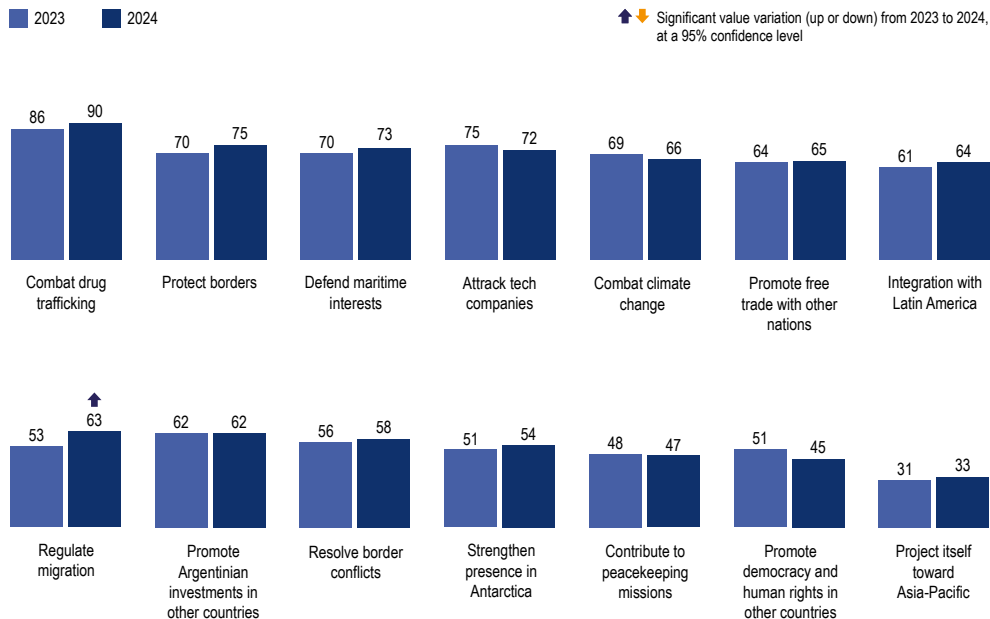
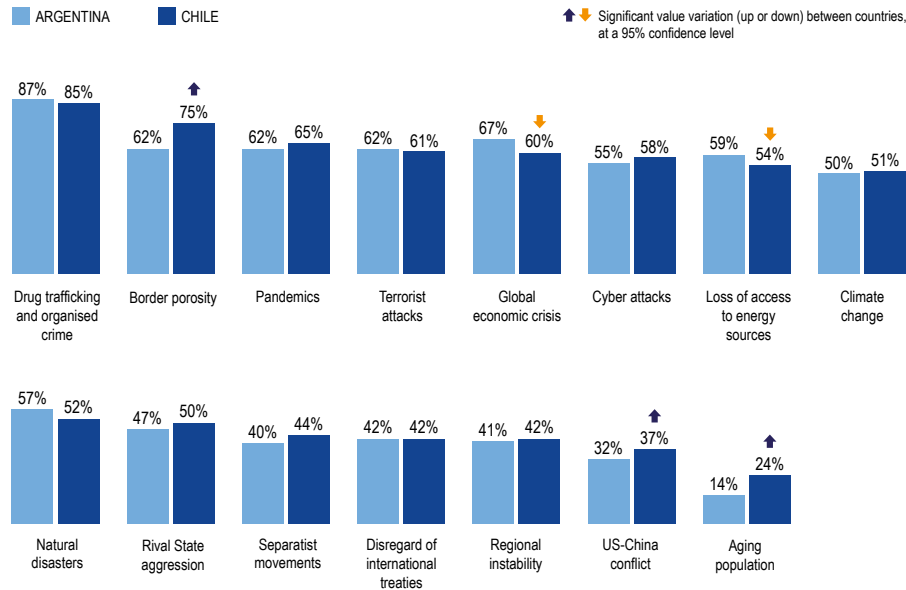


FIGURE 27

PERCEPTION OF THREATS TO NATIONAL SECURITY: CHILE - ARGENTINA

For each of the topics mentioned, select whether you consider it a crucial or defining threat to national security, a significant but not a crucial threat, or that it does not constitute a threat.

GENERAL POPULATION SEGMENT - CHILE AND ARGENTINA
% CRUCIAL OR DEFINING THREAT TO NATIONAL SECURITY



Sample: Total interviewed Chile: 1360, Argentina: 600.
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0.6

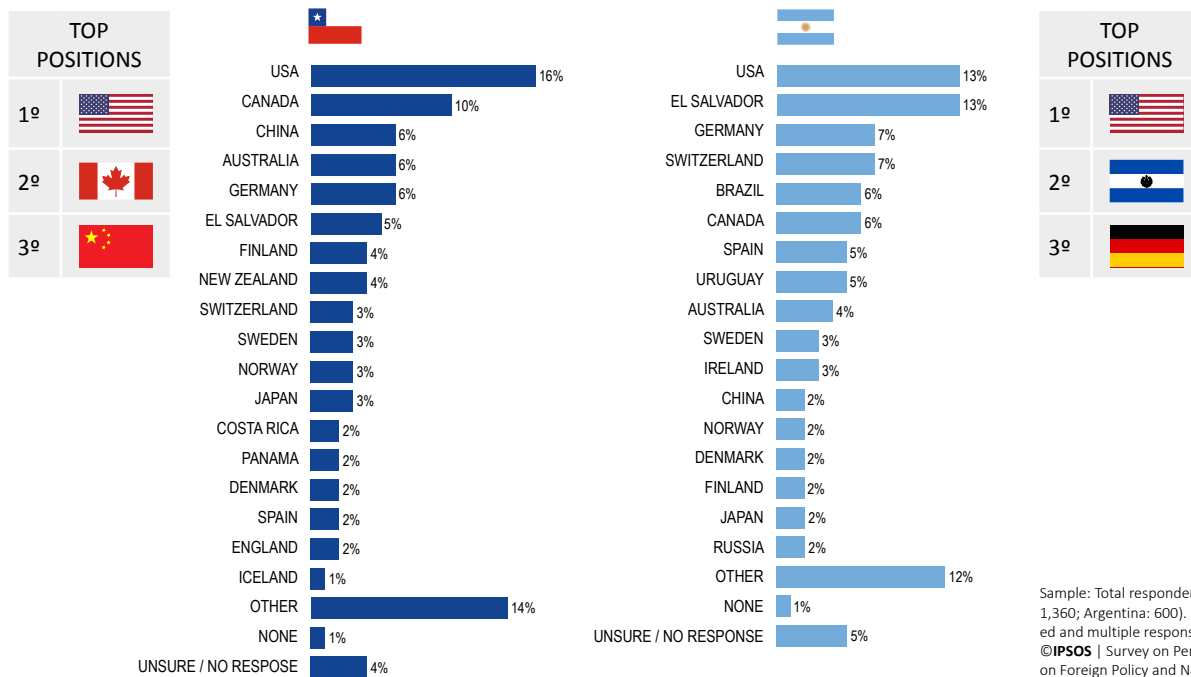
Model countries for Chile and Argentina

The results show us that both countries favour the United States as a model country, which confirms its positive perception in the Southern Cone. But the differences are manifest in that Argentina ranks El Salvador in second place with 13% (apparently due to the Argentine security crisis), and Chile has China in third place with 6%, derived

from their close trade relationship. Both countries also favour Canada and Germany to a very similar degree. Regarding Latin American countries, El Salvador – besides being second among Argentines – also occupies sixth place among Chileans (with 5%), which might also be explained by Chile’s own current security crisis.

FIGURE 28
MODEL COUNTRIES FOR CHILE AND ARGENTINA: GENERAL POPULATION

Which country or countries could serve as a model for your country (Chile, Argentina)?

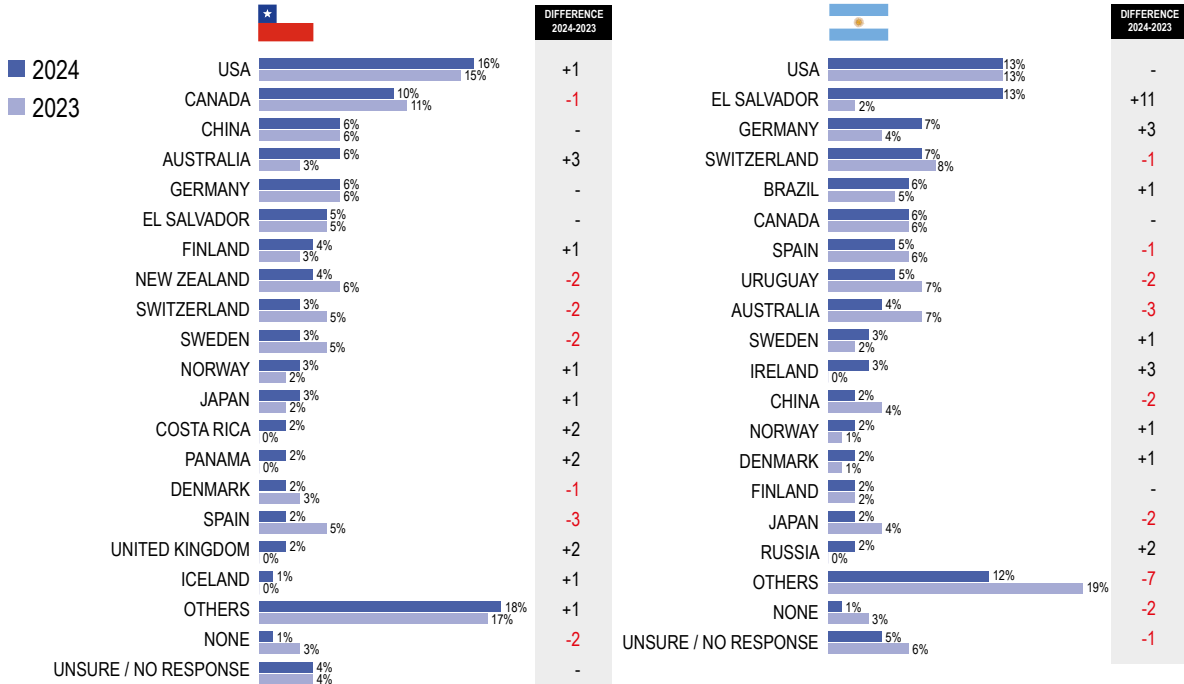


Sample: Total respondents (Chile: 1,360; Argentina: 600). Open-ended and multiple response.
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FIGURE 29

MODEL COUNTRIES FOR CHILE AND ARGENTINA 2024-23: GENERAL POPULATION

Which country or countries could serve as a model for your country (Chile, Argentina)?



Sample: Total respondents (Chile: 1,360; Argentina: 600). Open-ended and multiple response.
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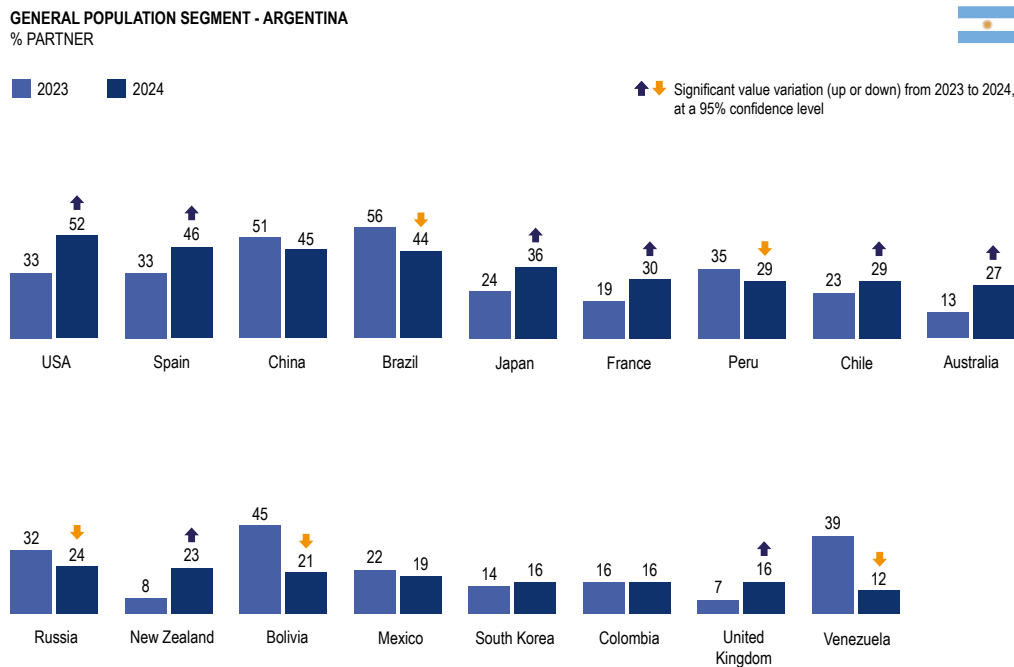
0.7

Countries with which Chile and Argentina perceive that they are more aligned

Regarding this item, the survey confirms that both Chile's and Argentina's general populations rank the United States in first place, followed in Chile by China and in Argentina by Brazil, trade relationships being the main reason behind these preferences. Coincidentally, the European Union appears in third place for both Chile and Argentina.

FIGURE 30
POSITION ATTRIBUTED TO COUNTRIES WITH RESPECT TO ARGENTINA: GENERAL POPULATION OF ARGENTINA 2023-2024

For each of the following countries, what is in your opinion the position that they currently hold or maintain regarding Argentina?



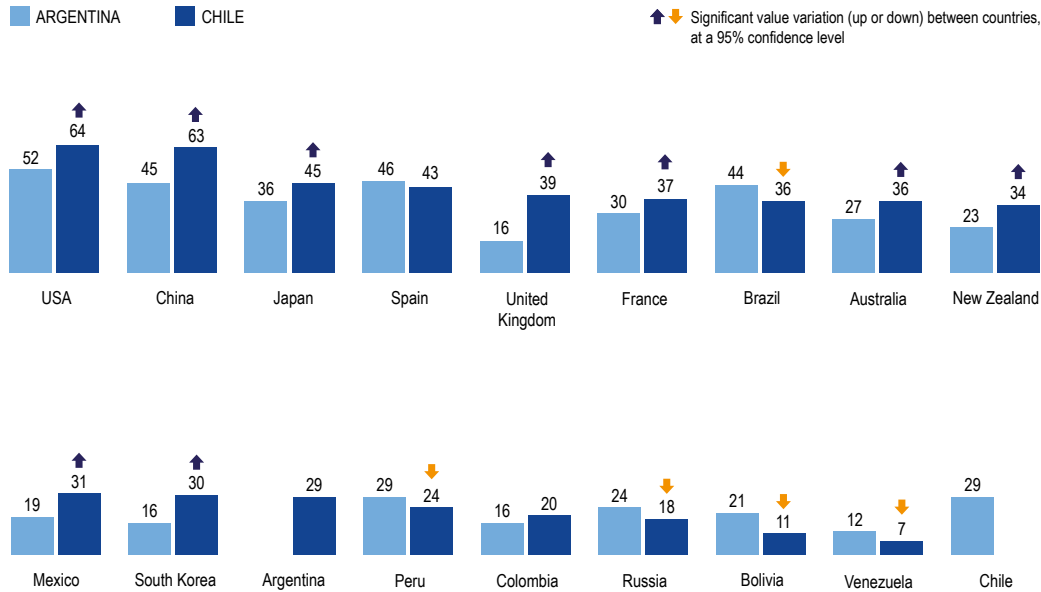
Sample: Total respondents Argentina (600).
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FIGURE 31

POSITION ATTRIBUTED TO COUNTRIES WITH RESPECT TO EACH COUNTRY: GENERAL POPULATION OF EACH COUNTRY

For each of the following countries, what is in your opinion the position that they currently hold or maintain regarding (Chile or Argentina)?

GENERAL POPULATION SEGMENT OF EACH COUNTRY
% PARTNER

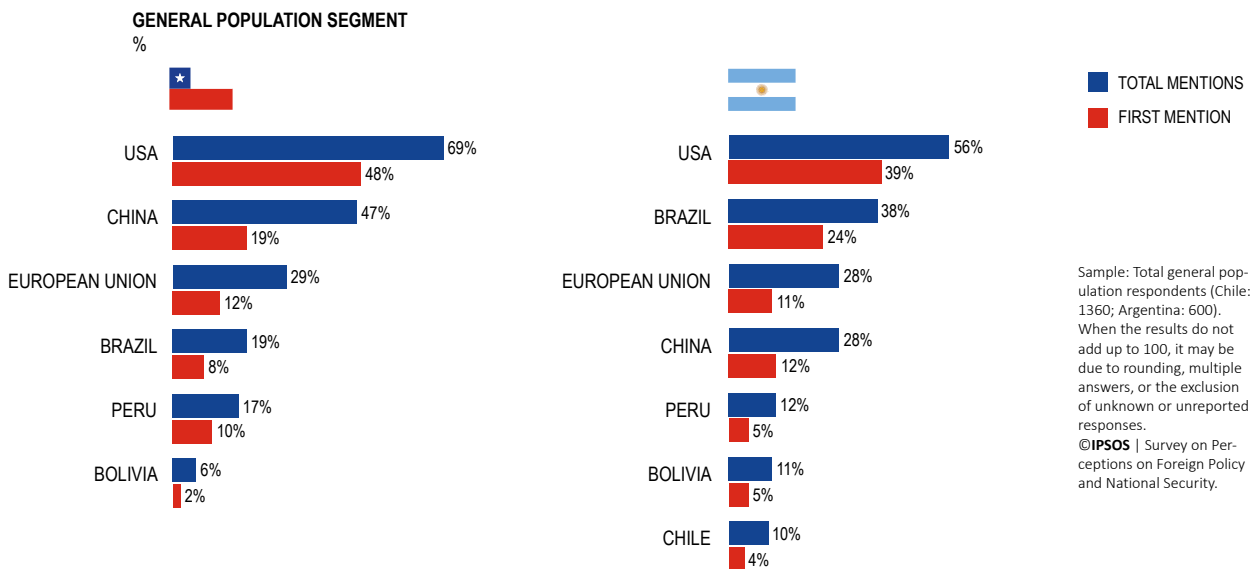


Sample: Total respondents (Chile: 1,360; Argentina: 600). ©IPSON | Survey on Perceptions on Foreign Policy and National Security

FIGURE 32

COUNTRIES WITH WHICH CHILE AND ARGENTINA CONSIDER THEMSELVES MORE ALIGNED

Which country do you consider your country most aligned with? Which other country or countries do you consider your country significantly aligned with?

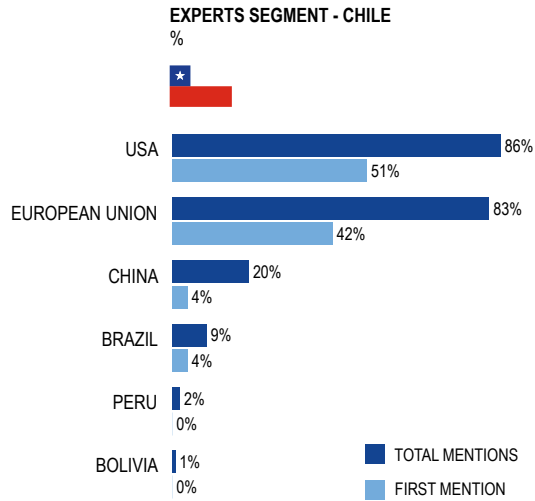


Sample: Total general population respondents (Chile: 1360; Argentina: 600). When the results do not add up to 100, it may be due to rounding, multiple answers, or the exclusion of unknown or unreported responses. ©IPSON | Survey on Perceptions on Foreign Policy and National Security.

FIGURE 33

COUNTRIES WITH WHICH EXPERTS CONSIDER CHILE MORE ALIGNED

Which country do you consider Chile most aligned with? Which other country or countries do you consider Chile significantly aligned with?



Sample: Total experts Chile (112). When the results do not add up to 100, it may be due to rounding, multiple answers, or the exclusion of unknown or unreported responses.

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0.8

Bilateral relationship since the signing of the Treaty of Peace and Friendship in 1984 and the importance of territorial disputes from the Argentine perspective

Among the Argentine general population, 54% agree that the Treaty has helped improve bilateral relations, while 26% estimate that it has not. The most favourable percentages are among men and people ages 18 to 35. Regarding the relevance of territorial disputes, 49% of Argentines estimate that they are very important, and 29% that they are somewhat important (for a combined 78%), confirming the broad relevance of this issue in Argentina.

Finally, Argentines perceive that it is possible to improve relations with Chile in several fields: trade

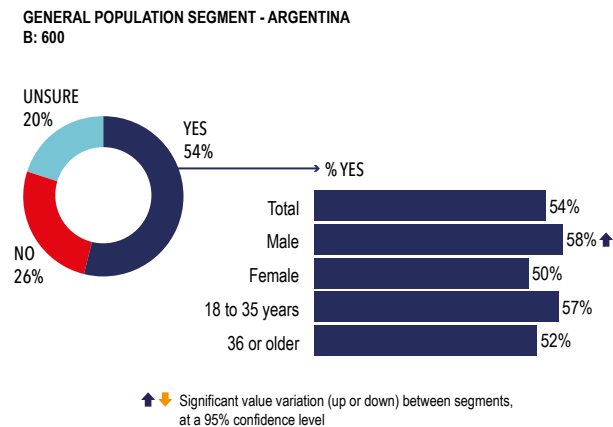
and infrastructure (which demands greater binational integration); security and defence (due to the common threats that affect them); and education and culture, in line with the possibility of further integrating both countries.

Considering all this information, challenges and opportunities present themselves. Certainly, the main challenges refer to overcoming current territorial disputes, and the opportunities, to the possibility of starting a common agenda on security matters.

FIGURE 34

RELATIONSHIP OF CHILE AND ARGENTINA SINCE SIGNING THE TREATY OF PEACE AND FRIENDSHIP IN 1984

Forty years after signing the 1984 Treaty of Peace and Friendship between Chile and Argentina, do you consider that this Treaty has helped improve relations between both countries?

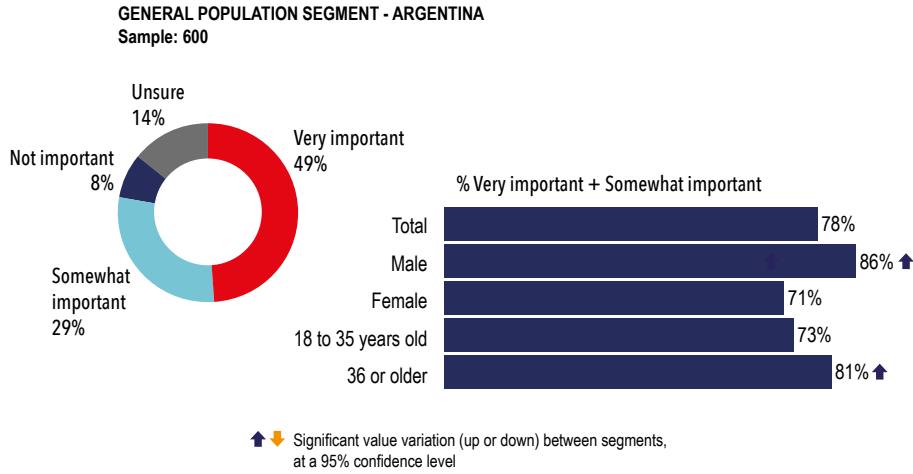


Sample: 600, total Argentine general population respondents.
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FIGURE 35

IMPORTANCE OF THE PENDING TERRITORIAL DISPUTES BETWEEN ARGENTINA AND CHILE

How important do you consider the pending territorial disputes between Argentina and Chile, such as the dispute over Campo de Hielo?

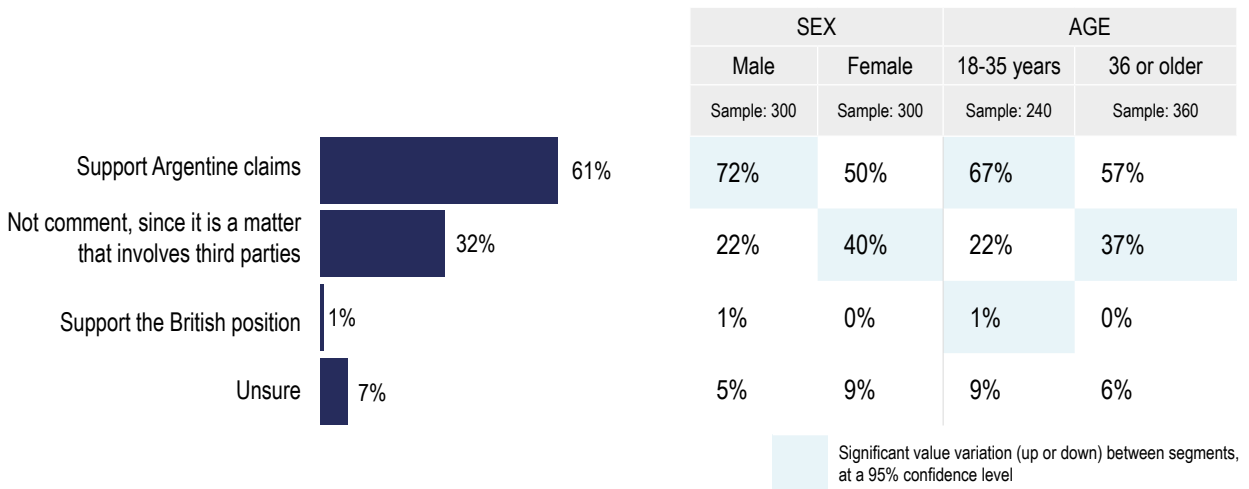


Sample: 600, total Argentine general population respondents.
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FIGURE 36

ARGENTINE CLAIMS ON SOUTH ATLANTIC ISLANDS

Regarding Argentine claims on islands in the South Atlantic, such as Malvinas/Falkland, in your opinion, should Chile...?

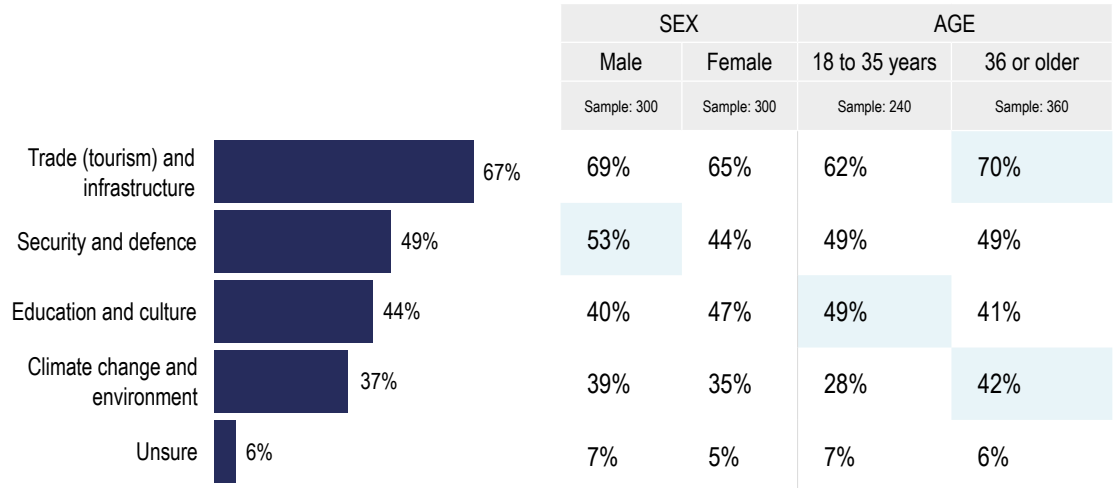


Sample: 600, total Argentine general population respondents.
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FIGURE 37

PUBLIC POLICY BASES ON WHICH ARGENTINA AND CHILE SHOULD IMPROVE THEIR RELATIONS

According to the following public policy areas, on what basis should Argentina and Chile improve their relations?



Significant value variation (up or down) between segments, at a 95% confidence level

Sample: 600, total Argentine general population respondents.
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A potential framework for bilateral cooperation on security

The latest survey by AthenaLab has shed new light on diverse national interests and geopolitical positionings in Latin America, allowing the identification of common points that could guide bilateral and multilateral agendas in the region.

One of the most relevant highlights relates to threats: the survey confirms that drug trafficking is identified as the main concern today in both Chile and Argentina, providing a glimpse of how the regional dynamics of this criminal activity have impacted the security of both countries. In the Argentine case, this threat is increasingly linked to border porosity. This indicates that citizens perceive that the danger of drug trafficking comes from the countries that produce the most consumed and re-exported narcotics (e.g. cocaine and cannabis), and that this problem is linked to increased violence in some sectors of the country such as Rosario, where the homicide rate reached 22 homicides per 100,000 inhabitants in 2023. Notably, a considerable percentage of citizens surveyed in both countries consider that this issue should be addressed through foreign policy, which opens a wide window of opportunity for joint work between both nations.

In recent years, claims to ancestral territories by communities identified as indigenous peoples in Argentina have gained relevance among citizens, which explains heightened concern about independence movements. This is close to the level of concern observed in Chile, which could also offer a space for cooperation and coordination between both countries.

In terms of global positioning, Argentina reaffirms the United States as its main country of reference. Meanwhile, two new developments are presented: firstly, El Salvador emerges as a model, probably related to the fight against crime; and in third place appears Germany, possibly linked to the need for more solid institutions. It is interesting to note that, in terms of model countries, China is only in ninth place for Argentines, but third for Chileans, which could be related to its persistent projection towards the Pacific. In Argentina, Brazil and the European Union are considered fundamental partners, while in Chile, Brazil (which is the main economic actor in the region) only appears in fourth place.

Although we will not delve into the specific details of this valuable work, it is important to highlight that the survey reveals a potential framework for bilateral cooperation on security matters, based on complex interdependence, as well as the growth of common threats and the progressive strengthening of trust between both countries. For this to materialise, Chile will have to overcome its insular tendency, while Argentina will have to demonstrate a greater degree of institutionality and predictability



Martín Verrier

Secretary of the Fight against Drug Trafficking and Organized Crime in the Ministry of Security of the Argentine Republic, the same position he held during the presidency of Mauricio Macri from 2015 to 2019.

"An indispensable inquiry" Comments on the Survey 2020-2023

COMMENTS SURVEY 2020

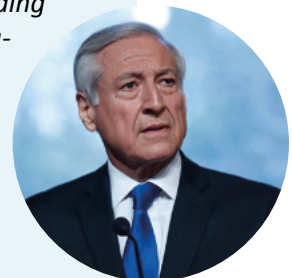
"The survey prepared by AthenaLab and carried out by Ipsos is a necessary investigation, which fills a gap in the matter thus assisting in the formulation of foreign policy and defence objectives. It would be interesting to maintain its periodic continuity, for comparative purposes, and it would also be positive for future versions to add the evaluation of the degree of achievement reached in the stated objectives."

Hernán Felipe Errázuriz
President of the Chilean Council for International Relations



"Where there is a clear difference between experts and the general population is in relation to Chile's insertion in the world economy. Among the general population surveyed, there is not the same positive evaluation as among the experts regarding this incorporation. I think it is due to the current criticism towards globalisation, which has its good reasons, and the campaign against the Trans-Pacific Partnership (TPP-11). However, it seems that the attitude on behalf of the general population is of scepticism rather than rejection."

Heraldo Muñoz
Former minister of Foreign Affairs



"The AthenaLab survey confirms the disconnect between the priorities of foreign affairs experts and the opinion of the general public. While the experts' main priorities are matters such as the projection towards Asia-Pacific and the defence of maritime interests and free trade, for the general public, climate change and the integration of Latin America have greater relevance. This should make us reflect on how we communicate."

Beatriz Corbo
Lawyer





"Foreign policy requires serious coordination mechanisms to deal with organised crime, which includes police collaboration, but also anti-corruption procedures and the need for greater transparency of information."

Lucía Dammert
Tenured professor at the Faculty of Humanities,
Universidad de Santiago de Chile



"The survey allows us to visualise the existing diversity regarding vital issues of the Armed Forces. For example, the defence of sovereignty is the first priority for the experts. Instead, the general public assigns great importance to a task that essentially belongs to the police: the fight against drug trafficking. The explanation may be multifactorial. Maybe the population estimates that the police institutions are overwhelmed, or they distrust some officials who collude with organised crime (a phenomenon that we have seen in other countries in the region), or other hypotheses."

Gabriel Gaspar
Former undersecretary of Defence, War, and Armed Forces



"There are few more important topics to consider, either for governments or for militaries. It could only have been AthenaLab who would recognise this: they are to be congratulated in commissioning this vital work."

Peter Roberts
Director of Military Sciences at the Royal United Services Institute



"In a country that has one of the lowest homicide rates in the world, it is strange to find that Chileans are more worried about drug trafficking than they are about climate change, pandemics, cyber-attacks or an economic crisis. Yet that is exactly what the most recent Ipsos/AthenaLab foreign security poll shows. In fact, for those polled, drug trafficking and organised crime are consistently the most, or among the most 'important' topics of concern as it relates to foreign policy and threats from abroad."

Steven Dudley
Co-director and co-founder of InSight Crime



"It is interesting to note that both segments surveyed consider that foreign investment in strategic sectors should be regulated. This discussion, we believe, should put non-discriminatory mechanisms at its core, as well as due transparency and predictability, reaching an appropriate balance between our national security interests and foreign investment, an important source of growth and development."

Rodrigo Yáñez
Undersecretary of International Economic Relations 2019-2022



"Another noteworthy aspect is the agreement between experts and the general population regarding the proactive role of the State in global affairs. Perhaps the safest interpretation is to consider it a manifestation of a real, cross-the-board interest in an integration of our country that transcends commercial aspects, perhaps as a reflection of its current state of economic and human development in relation to the region."

Paz Zárate
Public international law practitioner





"Once again, experts have identified New Zealand as a leading model for Chile. This is not a surprise: when I served in our Embassy in Santiago twelve years ago I heard this view already, especially on educational, agricultural and indigenous matters."

Matthew O'Meagher
Director of Latin America Centre of Asia-Pacific Excellence at
Victoria University of Wellington



"It is striking that only 42% of experts surveyed by Ipsos for AthenaLab consider climate change a crucial threat to national security versus 66% of the general population. In the latest version of the study on risks carried out by the World Economic Forum, extreme weather events, inaction on climate change and environmental damage appear as the three most pressing global problems; however, climate change is in tenth place among these priorities in the opinion of Chilean experts."

Karen Poniachik
Former director of Columbia Global Centers | Santiago



"In this context, the majority opinion of those surveyed on the relevance of environmental policy is very interesting, and has remained stable in recent years. This reflects well how deep the issue of the environmental crisis has taken hold in Chile, and it can be an excellent opportunity to carry out the public policies and actions in foreign policy that we hope to lead with a sense of urgency".

Antonia Urrejola
Minister of Foreign Affairs 2022-2023



"It is very positive that countries like New Zealand and Australia, among some others from the Pacific Rim, are mentioned by the general population as potential models for Chile. Indeed, there are experiences in the Asia Pacific that can be highly illuminating in the face of our transformational processes."

Loreto Leyton
Executive director of Fundación Chilena del Pacífico



"Both Canada and Chile are facing unprecedented risks from climate change. The incidence of record-high temperatures, floods and forest fires in Canada continues to increase and echoes similar challenges in Chile, at a time when both countries are also becoming increasingly aware of the need to better integrate their Polar regions."

Michael Gort
Canadian ambassador to Chile





"The population feels defenceless against the violence and territorial control that drug cartels have assumed in their neighbourhoods. Some areas of our cities and regions are crying out for more decisive action by the authorities and greater efficiency by our police forces. They attribute the Armed Forces with a task for which they are not prepared, and regarding which the experience in other countries that have tried it has not been successful."

Jaime Ravinet de la Fuente
Former minister of Defence



"Public perception in the Andean and Southern Cone countries reveals a sub-regional scenario acutely marked by transnational crime and the effects of the global rearrangement between China and the United States. The clamour for greater security calls the current administrations into question."

Carlos Solar
Investigador Senior en el Royal United Services Institute en Londres



"In times of reconfiguration of power alliances and the transition towards a multipolar order, the United States is seen as a model country both in Chile and by our neighbours. This perception is shared by Chilean citizens and experts, who also overwhelmingly consider it our main partner."

Carolina Valdivia
Former undersecretary of Foreign Affairs



"The views of Argentina, Peru and Bolivia are similar to those of Chile in terms of foreign policy priorities, such as fighting drug trafficking, defending maritime interests, taking on climate change and protecting borders. Argentina, Bolivia and Peru share a clear mission to be part of the technological transformation, to be a little more global in our economic structures, and to be agents of change in the 21st century."

Juan Battaleme
Academic director of Consejo Argentino para las Relaciones Internacionales (CARI).





"One of the most interesting and striking conclusions from the Ipsos survey, prepared for AthenaLab, is the disparity among the Bolivian people regarding which countries are perceived as models or partners. Unlike the other countries in which the survey was carried out – especially Chile, where the model countries coincide almost completely with the partners – in Bolivia there is no coherence between the two categories. There are countries like the United States, or Chile itself, which the public considers models but not partners; on the contrary, they are among those considered rivals or neutral."

Andrés Guzmán Escobari

Bolivian expert in international affairs and diplomat. Coordinator of the Master's Degree in International Relations at Universidad Mayor de San Andrés



"The AthenaLab Survey confirms a series of trends that have been observed in Peru in recent years. First, the public perception that drug trafficking and organised crime have become the main domestic and foreign security issue in Peru, followed by migration problems, border protection and the need to attract technology companies. On the other hand, the promotion of democracy and respect for human rights is revealed to be a minor concern."

Ricardo Cubas Ramacciotti

Peruvian historian. Associate professor of Latin American History at the Institute of History of the Universidad de Los Andes, Chile



"We are very grateful for Chile's firm and constant support. At the same time, the war in Ukraine continues to claim dozens of lives every day and requires concrete actions to help the Ukrainian people and restore peace."

Vladyslav Bohorad

Chargé d'affaires of Ukraine in the Republic of Chile.



Methodological Annex

FIGURE 38
PROFILE OF THE UNWEIGHTED GENERAL POPULATION SAMPLE

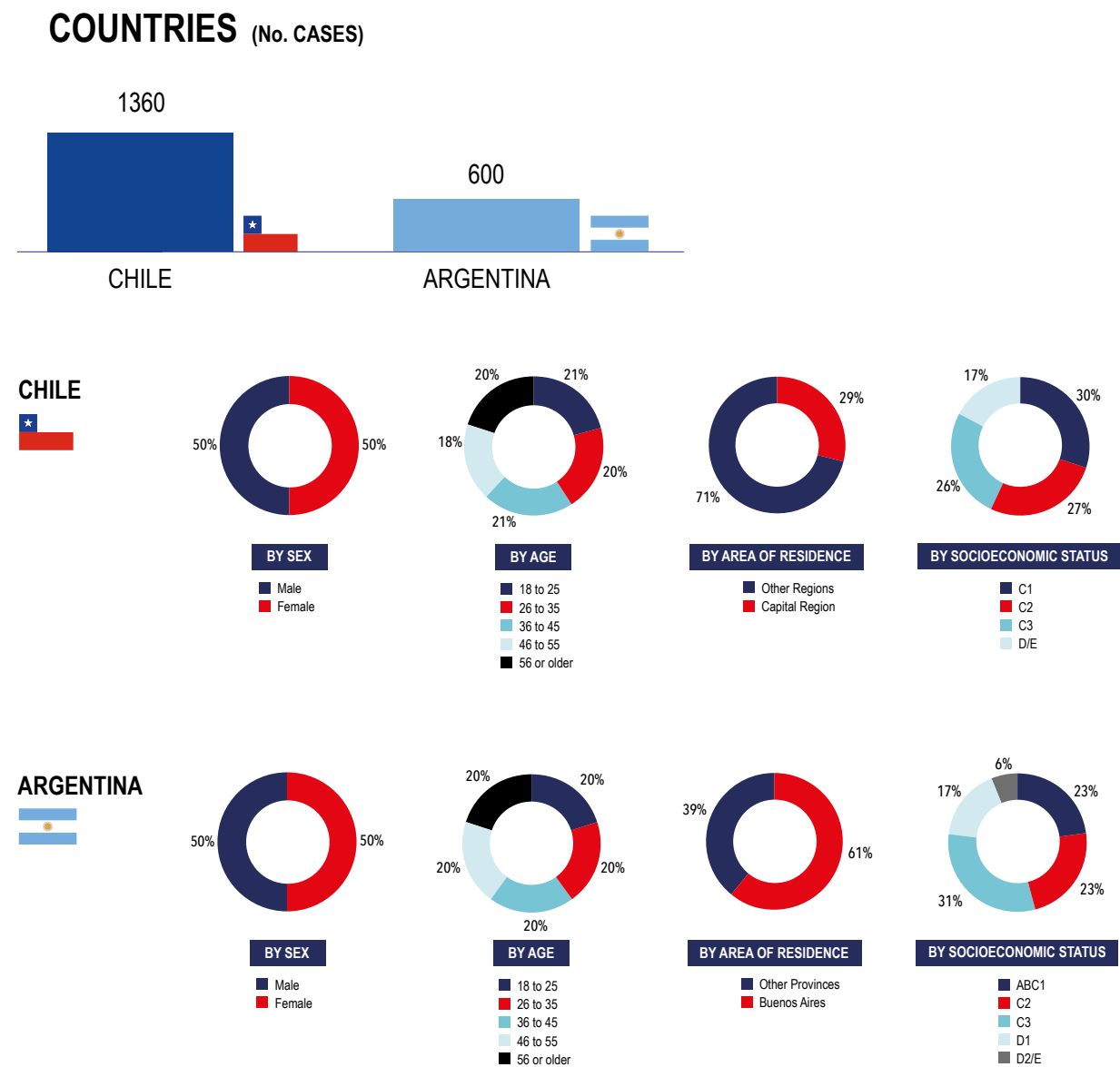
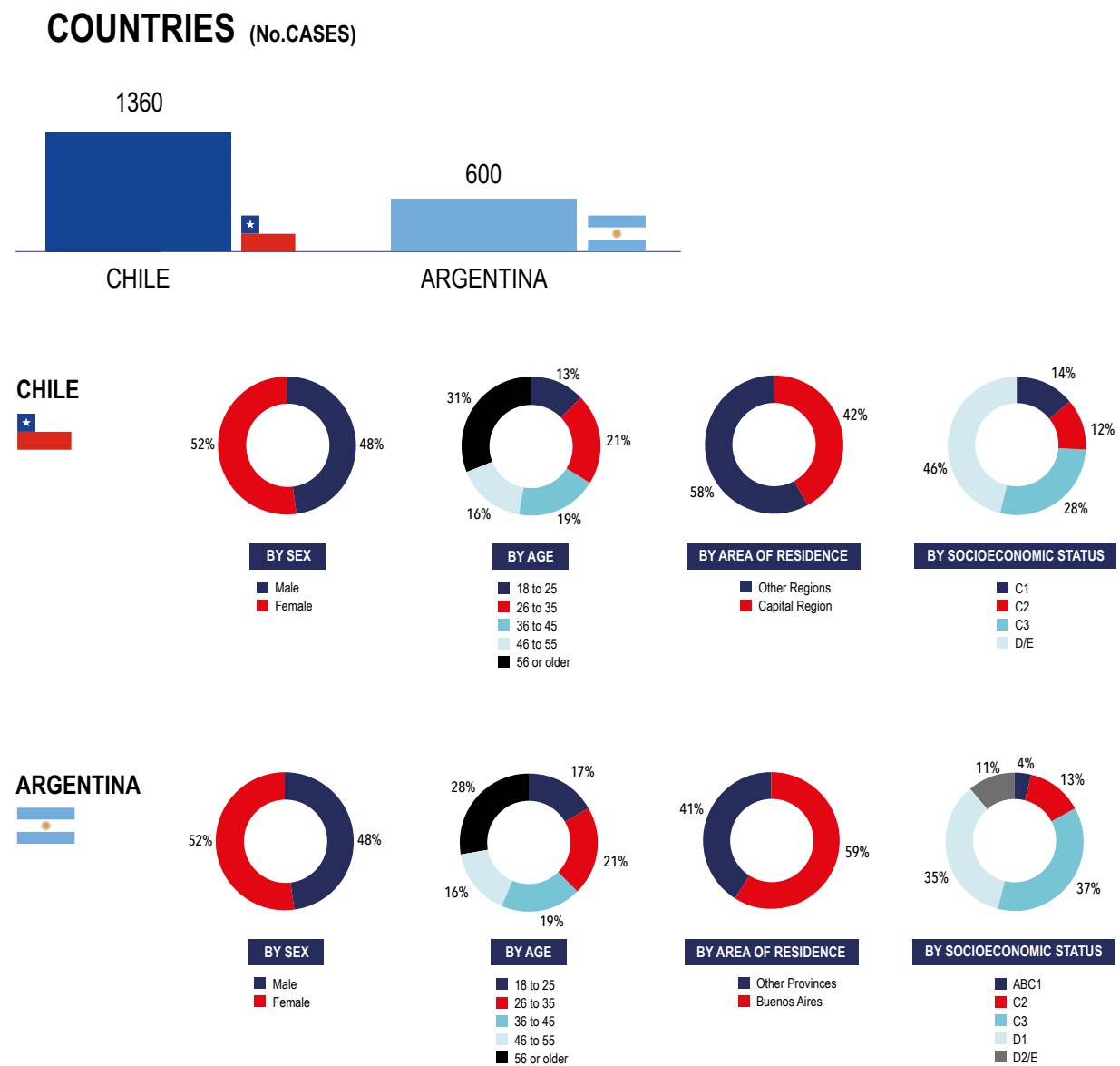


FIGURE 39
PROFILE OF THE WEIGHTED GENERAL POPULATION SAMPLE



Chilean sample weighted by area, sex, age group and SES according to 2017 Census projections and AIM information.
 Argentinean sample weighted by sex, age group and SES according to estimates from the 2022 Census.
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METHODOLOGY SHEET



METHODOLOGY

- Quantitative Methodology.
- Non-probabilistic quota sampling design.



TECHNIQUE

- Web survey applied to the Ipsos national web panel (General Population) and client database (Expert Segment).
- Data collection date:
General Population: January 30 to February 8, 2024.
Experts: February 13 to March 9, 2024.



UNIVERSE

- **General Population:** men and women aged 18 and over, from all regions of Chile and Argentina.
- **Experts:** list of experts or opinion leaders in Chile and Argentina, in or related to the subject of the survey.



SAMPLE

- General Population:
Chile: 1360.
Argentina: 600.
- 112 experts or opinion leaders.

* For a study with probabilistic simulation, the reference error would be +/- 2.66% (For total results with maximum variance and 95% confidence).

** When results do not add up to 100%, it may be due to rounding or multiple answers.

0.11

About the Authors

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Executive Director at AthenaLab

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English Translation

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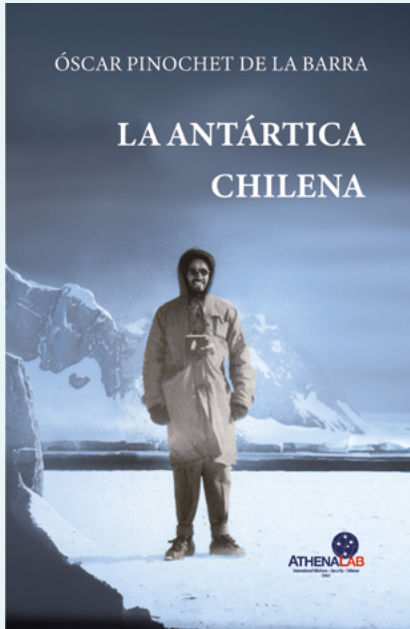
María Soledad Sairafi

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Unsplash.

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Óscar Pinochet de la Barra



Constitutional Route to the Revolution, Chile Between the Civil Unrest, Plurinationality and the Plebiscite
José Rodríguez Elizondo



Challenges for Security and Defence in the American Continent 2020-2030
John Griffiths Spielman and Juan Pablo Toro (editors)

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AthenaLab and Ipsos
Also available in English



Third Survey: Perceptions on Foreign Policy and National Security
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Second Survey: Perceptions on Foreign Policy and National Security
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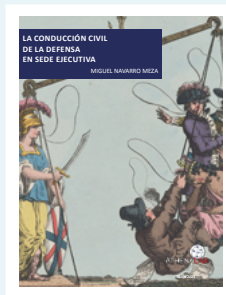
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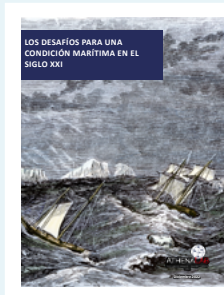
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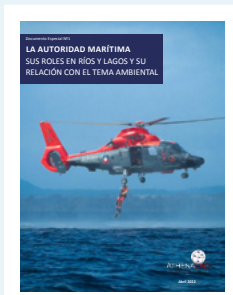
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The Challenges for a Maritime Orientation in the 21st Century



A Maritime Security Strategy for Chile



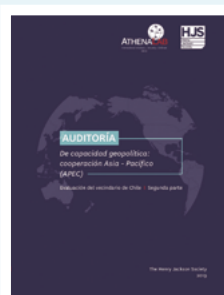
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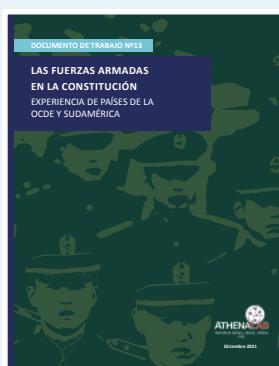
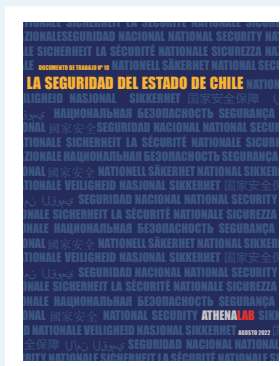
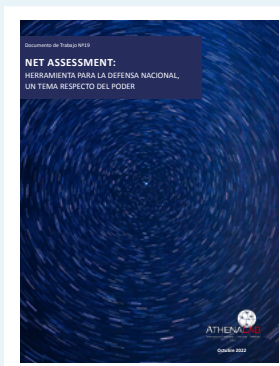
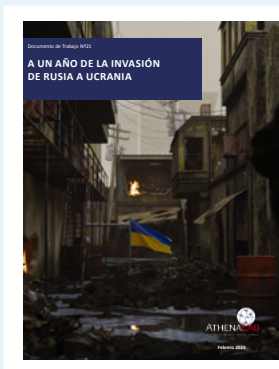
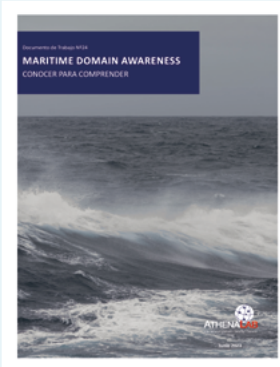
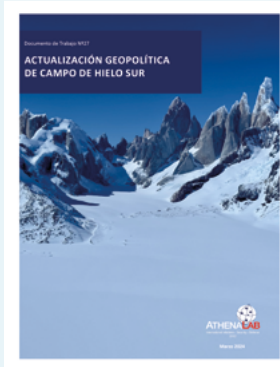


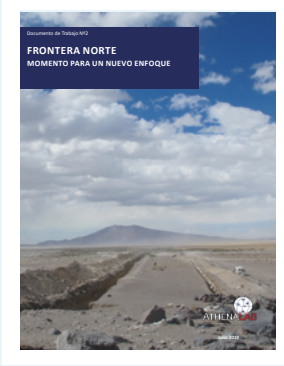
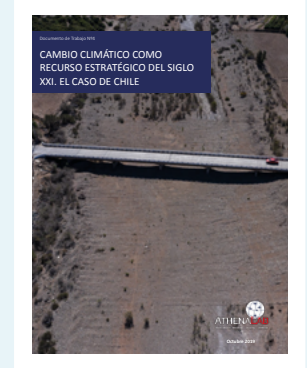
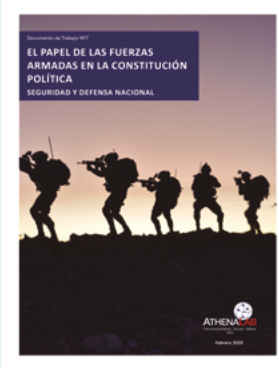
Audit of geopolitical capacity: Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC). Assessment of Chile's Neighborhood. Part Two.
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