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NATIONAL SURVEY / ARGENTINES' PERCEPTIONS OF THE WORLD ORDER, FOREIGN POLICY, AND GLOBAL ISSUES (Round 2)

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ABOUT ARGENTINA PULSE

ArgentinaPulse is a joint undertaking of Poliarquía Consultores and the Argentina Project at the Wilson Center. The aim of *ArgentinaPulse* is to produce, scientifically and systematically, analysis and public opinion data on Argentines' perceptions of the world order, international relations, and global issues. Poliarquía Consultores provides *ArgentinaPulse* with the technical capacity to produce high-quality social research, while the Wilson Center contributes its expertise studying international affairs.

ABOUT POLIARQUIA CONSULTORES

Poliarquía Consultores is Argentina's leading firm in providing strategic information to interpret the country's sociopolitical context. The company works in accordance with the highest ethical and professional standards to ensure accuracy in its analyses and to guarantee innovation in developing creative solutions. Using the latest social research techniques, Poliarquía Consultores systematically produces public opinion studies, market research, and sociopolitical analyses at the local, regional, and national levels.

ABOUT THE ARGENTINA PROJECT-WILSON CENTER

The Argentina Project is a new initiative of the Wilson Center whose goal is to research and promote diplomatic and commercial relations between the United States and Argentina. In this respect, the Argentina Project aspires to be the premiere institution for objective and up-to-date research and analysis on Argentina and the United States to policymakers, diplomats, journalists, scholars, investors, and the public.

ABOUT THE ARGENTINA PULSE SURVEY

The central tool that the *ArgentinaPulse* uses to collect public opinion data is a nationwide, probability survey conducted by telephone using CATI for Windows. The survey has a sample size of 1,000 with a statistical margin of error of +/-3.16% for a confidence level of 95% and a p=0.5. The survey is conducted quarterly. Each iteration includes new and repeat questions to build historical data series. The research methodology is available at the end of this report.

Evolution of the **Global Context** over the Last 10 Years

The majority of Argentines hold a negative view about the world's evolution over the past decade.

Seven out of ten Argentines (71%) think the world as a whole is worse today than it was ten years ago. Conversely, only two out of ten respondents (19%) state that the planet has changed for the better since 2008.

No significant differences were found in how respondents perceived global developments when the results were analyzed by age group, although some differences did exist based on respondents' educational level, support of the current government, and principally, their general view of the country's condition.

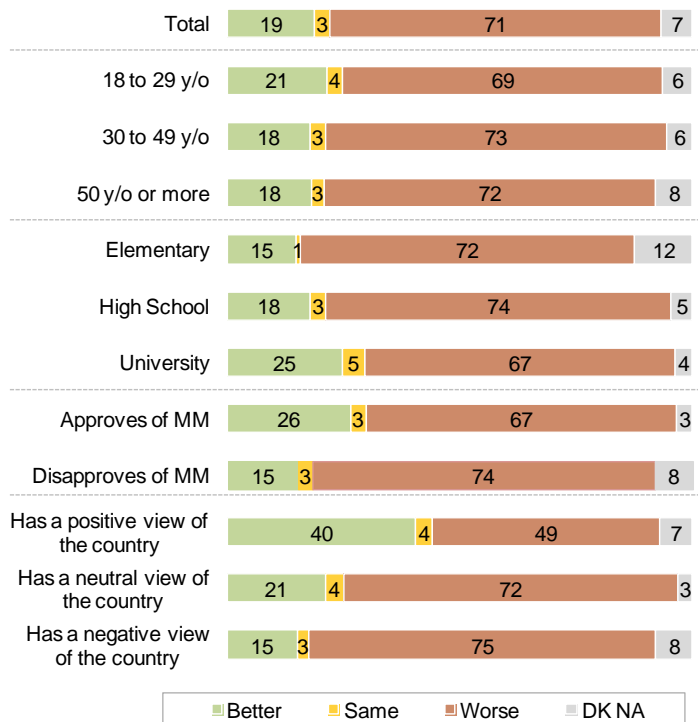
In this sense, a positive relationship was found between respondents' level of education and their having a favorable opinion of the world's evolution: among respondents with an elementary education, 15% support the idea that the world is better today, a percentage that increases to 18% among those with high school education and 25% among those who have attended university.

A positive relationship also exists between support of Mauricio Macri's administration and a favorable evaluation of global developments. Indeed, 26% of Macri supporters believe that the world has improved, an opinion shared by only 15% of his opponents.

Finally, the survey confirms that those who positively evaluate Argentina's current situation believe more strongly that the world has gotten better (40%) than do those who evaluate Argentina's situation as average (21%) or negative (15%).

Seven out of ten Argentines believe that the world is worse today than it was 10 years ago

In general, do you believe that the world is better or worse than it was 10 years ago?



Argentina's Role in International Affairs

Six out of ten respondents believe that Argentina would benefit from being proactive in international politics, while three out of ten believe that the country would benefit more from an isolationist policy to keep it out of global conflicts.

Analyzing the results by sociodemographic groups reveals a direct relationship between respondents' degree of support for a more active foreign policy and their educational level.

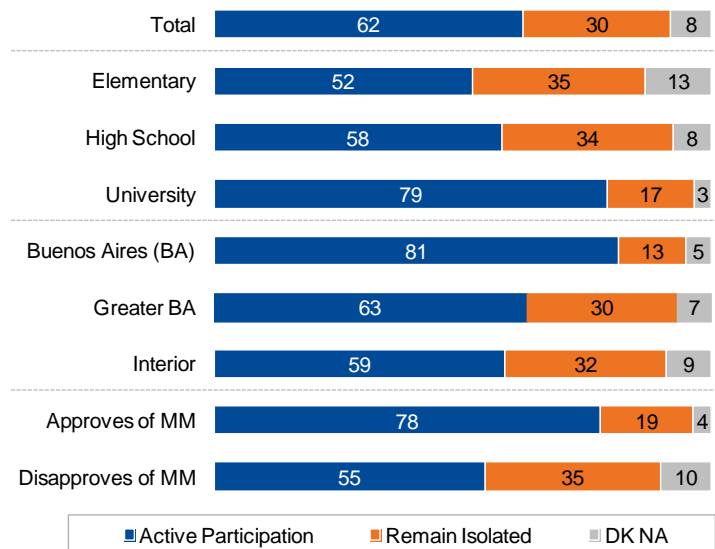
That is, 52% of respondents with elementary education express a preference for increasing Argentina's participation in global affairs, a position shared by 58% of those with high school education and 79% of those who have attended university.

At the geographical level, residents of the City of Buenos Aires are more likely to support active participation in world affairs (81%) than are their fellow citizens of the Greater Buenos Aires metropolitan area (63%) and the country's interior regions (59%).

At the political level, Mauricio Macri's supporters are much more enthusiastic (78%) than his opponents (55%) about developing a more active foreign policy, one of the pillars that Macri often highlights as an achievement of his administration.

Six out of ten respondents believe that Argentina would benefit from being proactive in international politics

What do you think is better for Argentina's future: participating actively in international affairs or staying isolated from international affairs?



Evaluation of Core Countries and Regions

Germany and Japan are viewed the most positively among all of the countries evaluated. Germany has an approval rating of 81%, with 32% of Argentines rating the country “very good” and 49% “good.” Similarly, Japan receives a highly positive evaluation (80%), with 25% of Argentines rating the country “very good” and 55% “good.”

Russia and the European Union (whose ratings are taken from the first round of the *ArgentinaPulse* survey, conducted in August 2018) both receive largely favorable ratings, as does China.

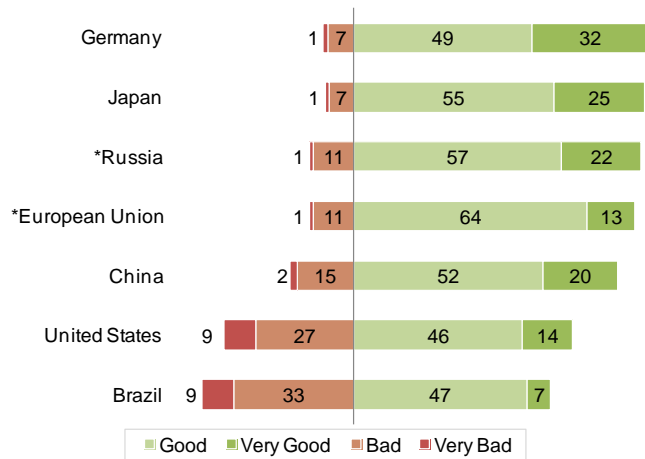
The United States and Brazil make up the bottom of the list, both with a substantially higher percentage of negative evaluations. The United States is viewed favorably by 60% of respondents and unfavorably by 36%, while Brazil is evaluated positively by 54% of respondents and negatively by 42%.

Compared to the first round of *ArgentinaPulse*, Argentines’ views of China and the United States dropped significantly. The U.S. rating fell 7 points, while China’s fell 9 points.

When countries’ ratings are analyzed by respondents’ political identification, Brazil and the United States receive much lower levels of approval than the other nations, primarily among Mauricio Macri’s opponents. This finding could be related to the political profiles of Donald Trump and Jair Bolsonaro.

Among the countries evaluated, Germany and Japan are rated the most positively. The United States and Brazil, the least.

I’m going to mention some countries and regions that are competing for regional and world leadership. I would like you to tell me if you have a positive or negative image of each of them.

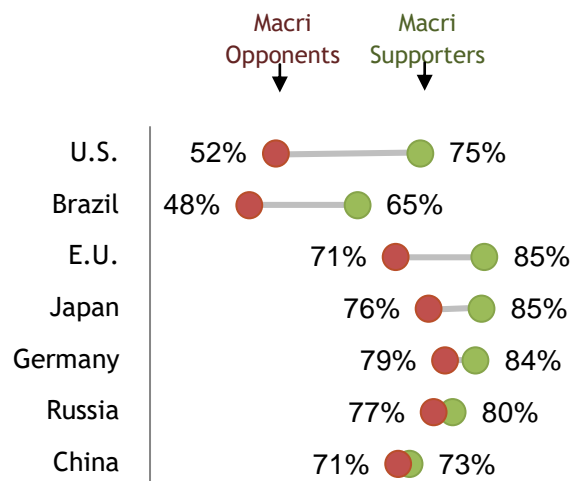


Note: The % of respondents who did not answer the question is not included in the chart.

*Ratings taken from the first round of *ArgentinaPulse*, August 2018.

Views toward Brazil and the United States differ significantly between those who approve or disapprove of the Macri administration

% of positive evaluations of each country based on the respondent’s opinion of Macri



View of World Leaders

The president of the United States, Donald Trump; the elected president of Brazil, Jair Bolsonaro; and the managing director of the IMF, Christine Lagarde, engender more disapproval than approval among Argentines. The President of the People's Republic of China, Xi Jinping, on the other hand, is the only global leader among the four who receives overall favorable evaluations.

Despite being the most unfamiliar world leader, Xi Jinping is viewed positively by

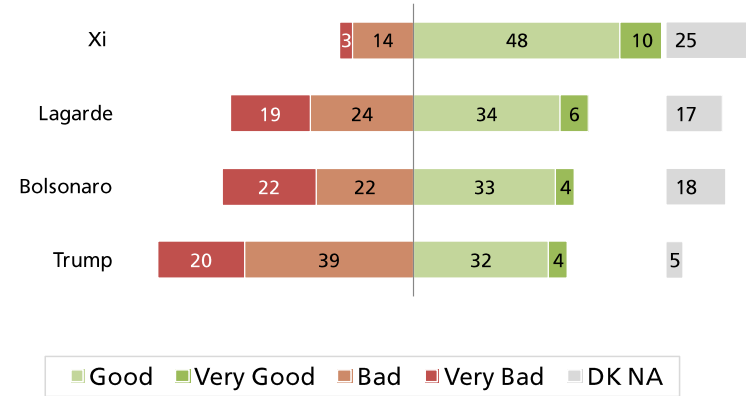
58% of Argentines and negatively by 17%. The Chinese president's approval ratings are noticeably higher than those of Christine Lagarde (40% positive and 43% negative), Jair Bolsonaro (37% and 44%), and Donald Trump (36% and 59%). Compared to the previous round of the *ArgentinaPulse* survey, Trump has improved his positive image, which rose from 28% three months ago to 36% today, and reduced his negative image, which fell from 64% to 59%.

Analyzing Argentines' views of world leaders according to their approval or disapproval of the Macri administration brings to light two findings. First, Christine Lagarde earns a highly favorable evaluation from Macri's sympathizers (71%) and a very low one from his opponents (26%). The cases of Donald Trump and Jair Bolsonaro are similarly distributed, but less polarized.

Second, as in the case of China, ratings for Xi Jinping show no relationship with Macri's level of popular support.

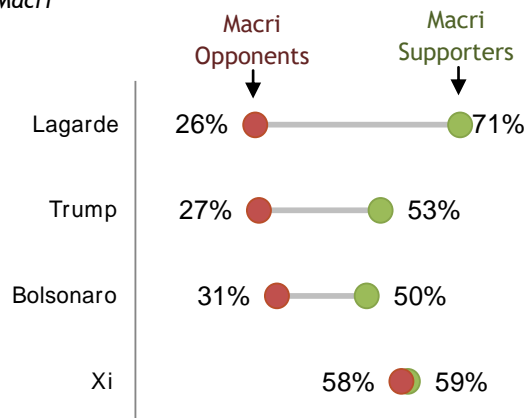
Trump, Bolsonaro, and Lagarde all receive low marks from Argentines. Xi Jinping is the exception

How do you evaluate the following foreign leaders?



Lagarde is the most polarizing figure, politically speaking; Xi the least

% of positive evaluations of each leader based on the respondent's opinion of Macri



Knowledge of and interest in the G-20 meeting

A few days before the meeting of the G-20 leaders, the Argentine public has little information about it. Indeed, only three out of ten Argentines admit to having heard about the G-20 meeting and knowing what it is about. Of the remaining seven Argentines, four have heard about the meeting despite not knowing what it is, while three others have not hear about the G-20 summit in Argentina.

As is typical in these cases, the level of information that respondents have directly correlates with their educational level. Thus, the percentage of the population that did not hear about the G-20 goes from 37% of respondents with elementary education, to 29% of those with high school education, and 16% of those with higher education.

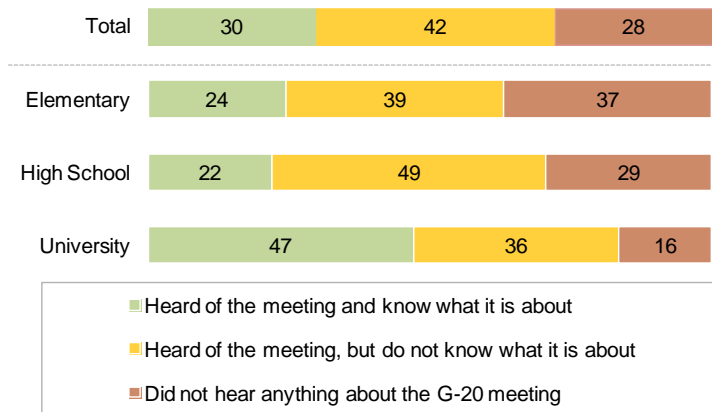
Residents of Buenos Aires, the host of the meeting, also show a greater level of knowledge: 56% of them said they had heard of the meeting and know what it is about, twice as high as those who live in the suburbs (26%) and the interior of the country (27%).

Of those who know what the G-20 is about, 50% say they follow the news about the meeting with much or some interest. Among those who have heard about the meeting but do not know what it is about, the level of interest in G-20-related news drops to 11%.

Finally, six out of ten Argentines admitted to being very (29) or somewhat (27%) worried about potential riots or violent acts taking place during the G-20.

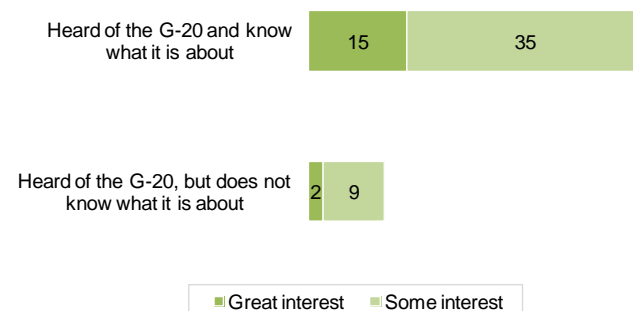
Although seven out of ten Argentines have heard about the G-20, less than half know what it is about

In a few days, the annual meeting of the Group of 20 will be held in Argentina. Which of the following statements best describes your situation in relation to the G-20?



News about the G-20 is followed with interest by 50% of those who know what the meeting is about, and by 11% of those who have heard about it but do not know what it is about.

How interested are you in following news about the G-20?



Only % of those that showed some or great interest in the meeting

The G-20's Usefulness for Argentina

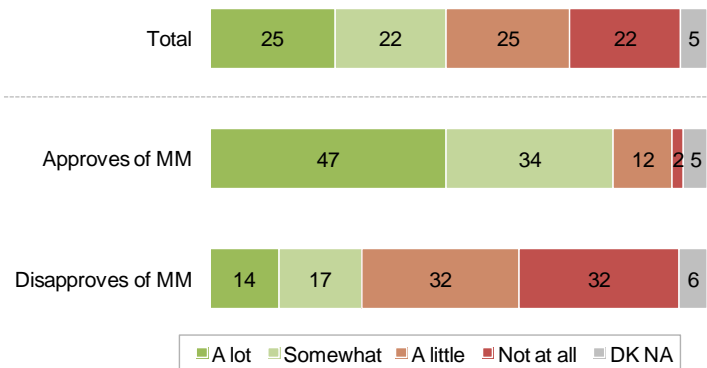
47% of Argentines believe that hosting the G-20 will benefit Argentina a lot (25%) or somewhat (22%). On the other hand, another 47% of the population stated that the meeting will bring few (25%) or no (22%) benefits to Argentina.

Opinions on how the G-20 could benefit the country vary significantly according to respondents' political identification. Macri's supporters believe almost unanimously (81%) in the benefits of hosting the G-20. Among Macri's opponents, the proportions are flipped: 64% think the country will not receive significant benefits from organizing the meeting.

Regarding the G-20's usefulness, four out of ten Argentines (38%) believe that the government should use the meeting to attract new investments to the country. Less frequently, respondents also viewed the meeting as an opportunity to establish joint policies among all countries (18%); improve Argentina's image abroad (14%); and possibly increase Argentine influence in the international arena (13%).

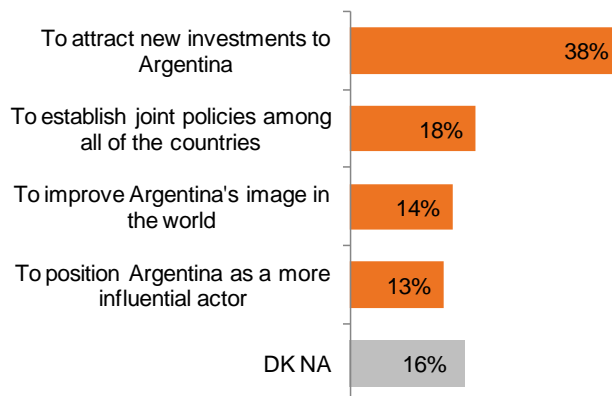
Argentina public opinion is divided on whether the G-20 meeting will benefit the country

The G-20 meeting will take place at the end of November in Buenos Aires and will bring together heads of state from the world's leading economies. In your opinion, how much will Argentina benefit from holding the G-20 meeting in our country?



More than any other goal, Argentines believe that hosting the G-20 should be a means of promoting investments in the country

Which of the following objectives should be a motivation for Argentina to host the G-20?



Macri's Agenda during the G20

Donald Trump, Xi Jinping and Angela Merkel are, in that order, the foreign leaders that Mauricio Macri should prioritize receiving if he were to follow the advice of the survey respondents.

Less frequently mentioned leaders were those of Brazil—both the current president, Michel Temer, and the elected president, Jair Bolsonaro; Japan's Shinzo Abe; Russia's Vladimir Putin; and France's Emmanuel Macron.

Macri's supporters believe that he should prioritize meeting with the U.S. president. Macri's opponents, however, rank Xi Jinping and Angela Merkel over Donald Trump.

When asked about what issues Macri should seek to solve during these meetings, respondents answered combatting poverty (50%), promoting foreign investment (32%), deterring drug trafficking (28%), and strengthening international trade (22%).

Further down on the list were defending human rights (14%), caring for the environment (11%), and addressing climate change (10%), among other important issues.

Argentines believe Macri should prioritize receiving the presidents of the United States, China, and Germany

If Macri could only meet with three foreign leaders during their visit to Buenos Aires, who would you recommend that he meet with?



Donald Trump
United States



Xi Jinping
China



Angela Merkel
Germany



Jair Bolsonaro
Brazil



Shinzo Abe
Japan



Vladimir Putin
Russia



Emmanuel Macron
France



Others



Don't know

* Question with spontaneous and multiple answers.

Poverty and investments top the list of issues that Macri should address in his meetings

Which of the following issues do you think Macri should prioritize during meetings with these leaders? And in second place?

| | Top Mention | 2nd Mention | Total |
|------------------------|-------------|-------------|-------|
| Poverty | 32 | 18 | 50 |
| Investment | 18 | 14 | 32 |
| Narcotrafficking | 12 | 15 | 28 |
| International trade | 12 | 10 | 22 |
| Human rights | 3 | 10 | 14 |
| The environment | 4 | 7 | 11 |
| Climate change | 3 | 7 | 10 |
| Migration and refugees | 3 | 4 | 8 |
| Defending democracy | 3 | 4 | 7 |
| Terrorism | 3 | 4 | 6 |
| Others | 1 | 1 | 2 |
| DK NA | 4 | 7 | 11 |
| Total | 100 | 100 | 200 |

METHODOLOGY

The results included in this report are based on a nationwide probability survey conducted by telephone during November 2-15, 2018 using CATI for Windows. The survey was conducted by Poliarquía Consultores and has a sample size of 1,009 participants with a margin of error of +/- 3.15% for a confidence level of 95% and $p = 0.5$.

The research sample universe includes individuals 18 and over residing in Argentina, in phone-equipped households, in urban centers of over 10,000 inhabitants. The sample design consists of a multistage, non-proportionally stratified probability sample up to the selection of household units.

The stratification is made according to seven country regions (Metropolitan, Pampas, Cuyo, Northeast, Northwest, and Patagonia) and three city sizes (more than 500,000 inhabitants, from 100,000 to 500,000 inhabitants, and from 10,000 to 100,000 inhabitants). Of the resulting 15 strata, 40 localities across the national territory are selected randomly. Within each city, telephone numbers are randomly selected from a sample frame consisting of all telephone numbers. Once the fieldwork is completed, the sample is weighted based on education level according to the most recent census data.

The cities of the sample are randomly selected with a probability proportionate to the population size. The successive stages for selecting the respondents are the following:

- **First stage:** Selection of locations (Primary Sampling Units). Within each stratum, cities are randomly selected, with a probability proportionate to their size, to ensure that each individual who lives in that city has the same probability of being selected.
- **Second stage:** Selection of telephone numbers in the chosen locations through a random, systematic procedure.
- **Third stage:** Selection of the respondent in each household according to sex and age quotas based on parameters from the National Population Census of 2010 (INDEC).

After the poll is concluded, the results are weighted based on the most recent census data to match the Argentine population according to gender, age, and education. This is done to “correct” the bias from the telephone surveys. That is, older respondents and those of a higher socioeconomic status are overrepresented in interviews, since they are more likely to have a telephone line than young people and those of a lower socioeconomic status.

The table on the following page shows the unweighted sample sizes of each sociodemographic grouping of the survey and their respective statistical error with a 95% confidence level. Sizes and sampling errors for other subgroups are available upon request.

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Table I: Sample sizes and statistical errors of major subgroups

| Group | Sample Size | Statistical Error |
|---|-------------|-------------------|
| Total Sample | 1009 | +/- 3.15% |
| Men | 404 | +/- 4.98% |
| Women | 605 | +/- 4.07% |
| Young people from 18 to 29 years old | 142 | +/- 8.39% |
| Adults 30 to 49 years old | 335 | +/- 5.46% |
| Adults 50 years old and above | 532 | +/- 4.34% |
| Residents of the capital, Buenos Aires | 206 | +/- 6.97% |
| Residents of the greater Buenos Aires metropolitan area | 254 | +/- 6.27% |
| Residents of the interior | 549 | +/- 4.27% |
| Macri supporters | 390 | +/- 5.06% |
| Macri opponents | 574 | +/- 4.17% |

In addition to statistical errors, opinion polls are subject to errors and biases resulting from the wording of questions and the practical challenges of conducting surveys. [Learn more.](#)