

April 8, 2019

**NATIONAL SURVEY / ARGENTINES'
PERCEPTIONS OF THE WORLD ORDER,
FOREIGN POLICY AND GLOBAL ISSUES
(Round 3)**

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SUGGESTED CITATION

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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 science 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 WILSON CENTER'S ARGENTINA PROJECT

The Argentina Project aspires to be the premiere institution for policy relevant research on the political and economic reforms underway in Argentina. This ambitious project takes advantage of renewed significant interest in Argentina in the public and private sectors in the United States, and provides a forum for non-partisan discussions about Argentina's challenges, opportunities and growing regional and global engagement. The Argentina Project also analyzes relevant regional phenomena affecting Argentina and its neighbors.

ABOUT THE ARGENTINA PULSE SURVEY

The central tool 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.

Level of Interest in International Affairs

The majority of Argentines showed little interest (35%) or none at all (19%) in international affairs. However, a solid minority is interested (15%) or highly interested (29%) in what happens in the world.

Interest for international affairs is slightly higher for men (49%) than for women (40%).

In terms of age, interest in international issues is highest for individuals 30 to 49 years old (47%), dropping for the younger population (42%) and the oldest (41%).

The level of education of respondents correlates to their interest in international affairs. Among those with a university education, interest in international politics is 68%, falling to 43% among those with only a high school education, and 23% among those with only a primary education.

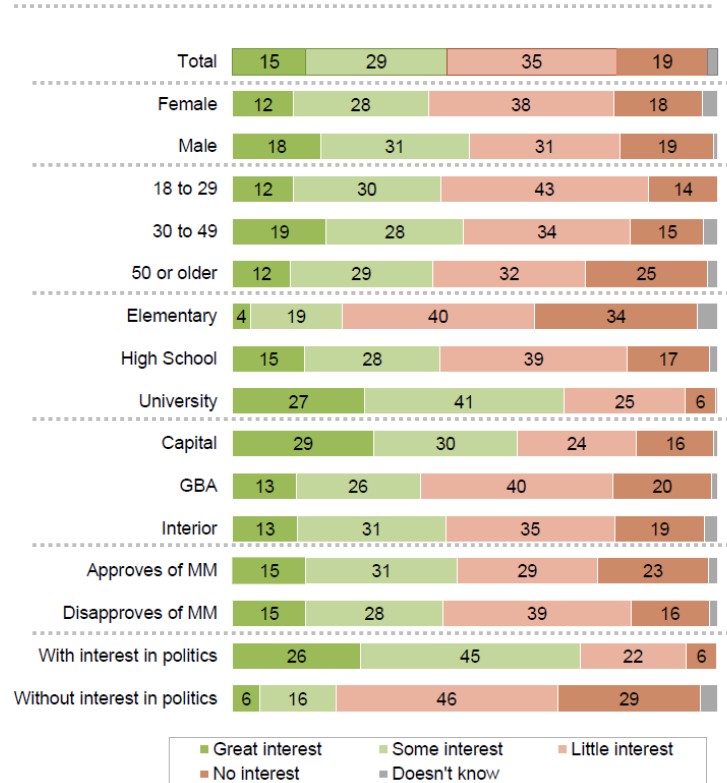
Geographically, interest in international issues is more common in the City of Buenos Aires (59%) than in the interior of the country (44%) or in the greater metropolitan area of Buenos Aires (39%).

Politically, the survey did not show significant differences in the interest in foreign affairs among those who approve or disapprove of President Mauricio Macri's government.

Finally, there is a strong correlation between interest in local politics and interest in international issues. Among those who closely follow local politics, interest in international issues is 71% — a percentage that falls to 22% among those not interested in local politics.

Among Argentines, there is moderate interest in international issues

How interested are you in international affairs?



Argentina's Role in International Affairs

There is no consensus among Argentines on the effects globalization has had on the country. A third of the population maintains that globalization has had a positive impact, while another third attributes negative effects. Finally, another third argues that globalization has not had any impact on the country.

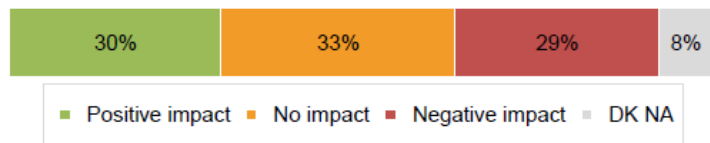
Although opinions about globalization are distributed more or less homogeneously according to the sex and age of respondents, there are differences based on geographic area and level of education. Both the population in the interior of the country as well as those with higher education tend to express an optimistic perspective regarding the effects of globalization (36% and 38% believe its impact is positive, respectively). Conversely, inhabitants of the Buenos Aires suburbs and the population with only a primary or high school education typically offer a more negative view of globalization.

Shortly after President Mauricio Macri returned from a tour of Asia that included India, Vietnam and the United Arab Emirates, 54% of respondents said presidential trips generally have a positive impact on Argentina's trade and diplomatic relations. On the other hand, 42% of respondents said the president's foreign travel does not have any impact on the country.

The idea that presidential trips have a positive impact is held by a majority of women (70%), as well as among the population with higher education (62%); inhabitants of the City of Buenos Aires (61%); and among individuals older than 50 years of age (58%).

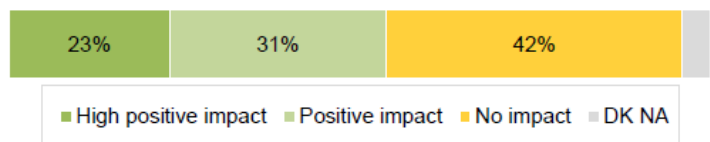
Argentine public opinion is divided regarding the effects of globalization

Globalization refers to the process of growing communication and interdependence among countries. In your opinion, has globalization had a positive impact on Argentina, a negative impact or none?



A majority of Argentines believes that presidential travel has positive effects on the country.

Periodically, presidents make official visits to other countries to promote trade and strengthen diplomatic relations. In your opinion, do the president's trips abroad generally have a high positive impact, a slight positive impact or no positive impact for Argentina?



Argentina's International Commerce Strategy

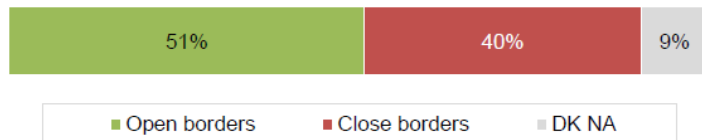
A majority (51%) of Argentines believe promoting free trade is the best development strategy for the country. That position, however, clashes head-on with the perception of a solid minority (40%) of Argentines who prefer closing borders and focusing on development fueled by domestic consumption. Both positions correlate with the political identification of respondents. Thus, among those who sympathize with President Mauricio Macri, support for free trade is 73%, while among his opponents, support falls to 38%.

Over all, 53% of Argentines say free trade agreements represent an economic opportunity, while 37% regard opening the market to foreign products as a threat. The optimistic view of the effects of free trade agreements is strongest among supporters of President Mauricio Macri (76%).

Despite majority support for free trade, there is significant skepticism among the Argentine population over the idea of a free flow of goods and services between countries. In all, 50% of the population rejects the free flow of goods and services, while only 36% supports it.

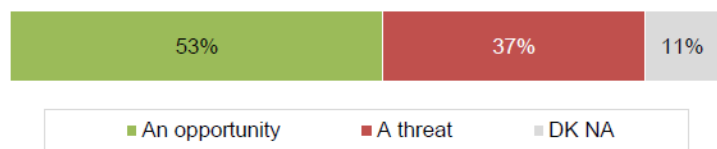
Most Argentines believe opening borders and promoting free trade is the best way to encourage development

What would you say is the best development strategy for Argentina: Open borders and promote free trade with other countries, or close borders and live on our own resources?



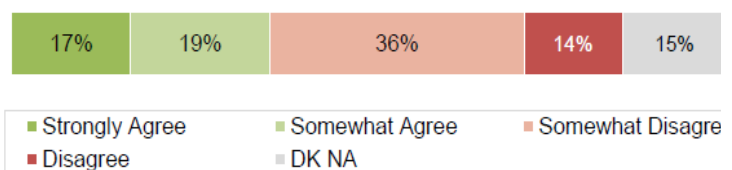
The idea that free trade agreements are an opportunity for the country's economy predominates among Argentines

With which of the following two phrases do you most agree: The signing of a free trade agreement with a foreign country is an opportunity to strengthen the economy through exports, or the signing of a free trade agreement with a foreign country is a threat to the economy due to the arrival of foreign products?



Half of the Argentine population opposes the free flow of goods and services between countries

Would you say, in general, that you strongly agree, somewhat agree, somewhat disagree or do not agree with the free flow of goods and services between countries?



Political Affiliation and Foreign Policy Views

When analyzing opinions on the effects of globalization and the free market according to political party affiliation, we see a pattern that places supporters of Cambiemos in a pro-market

position, supporters of Kirchnerism in an anti-market position, and supporters of traditional Peronism in an intermediate position.

	Cambiemos	PJ no-K	Kirchnerismo	Left	Total
IMPACT OF GLOBALIZATION					
Positive impact	50	27	15	14	31
Negative impact	17	29	38	71	29
No impact	27	35	45	7	34
DK NA	6	9	2	7	6
Total	100	100	100	100	100
DEVELOPMENT STRATEGY					
Open borders	73	58	20	36	51
Close borders	19	35	71	57	41
DK NA	7	7	9	7	8
Total	100	100	100	100	100
OPINION OF TLC					
An opportunity	75	53	30	21	53
A threat	18	36	62	68	39
DK NA	7	11	7	11	8
Total	100	100	100	100	100
OPINION OF FREE TRANSIT OF GOODS AND SERVICES					
Agree	52	36	18	25	37
Disagree	40	48	67	68	51
DK NA	8	15	15	7	12
Total	100	100	100	100	100

Half of Cambiemos

supporters believe globalization has had a positive impact on the country — a percentage that drops to 27% among adherents of traditional Peronism, and to 15% among supporters of Kirchnerism.

The value of presidential travel to promote trade and strengthen diplomatic relations exhibits a similar dynamic. While 84% of supporters of Cambiemos believe presidential travel has highly or mildly positive effects, only 24% of Kirchnerists share that view. Peronist voters express an intermediate position (49%) once again.

The preference for open borders as a development strategy predominates among supporters of the ruling party (73%), and among traditional Peronists, though by a smaller margin (58%). By contrast, Kirchnerists strongly favor the opposite strategy (71%).

Something similar occurs with free trade agreements, which are seen as an opportunity by supporters of President Mauricio Macri (75%) and traditional Peronists (53%), but are regarded as a threat by most Kirchnerists (62%).

Finally, when analyzing opinions of the free movement of goods and services, 52% of ruling party supporters are in favor — a proportion that drops to 36% among supporters of traditional Peronism, and to 18% among Kirchnerists.

Views of Donald Trump

For the second consecutive survey, the president of the United States, Donald Trump, significantly improved his positive image among Argentines.

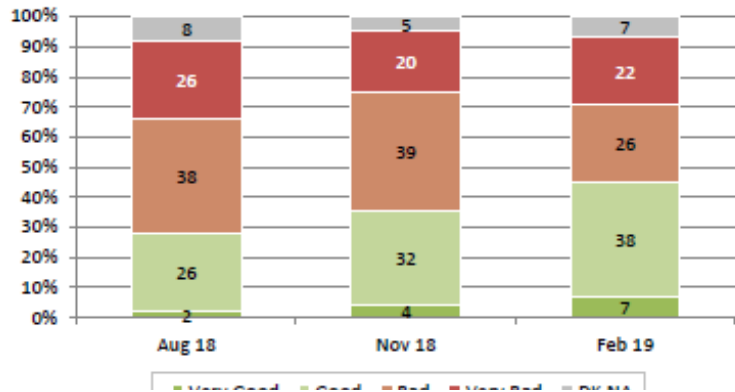
In the last ArgentinaPulse survey, the U.S. president recorded a positive image of 45%, nine percentage points higher than in November's survey, and 17 percentage points higher than in the August survey.

When analyzed according to socio-demographic segments, President Donald Trump's image improved among all categories (with the exception of residents of the Buenos Aires suburbs, where since August of last year, he has lost one percentage point).

Since August, President Donald Trump saw the biggest gains among supporters of President Mauricio Macri (+31 percentage points), men (+24 percentage points), respondents with a high school education (+24 percentage points) and those in the interior (+24 percentage points).

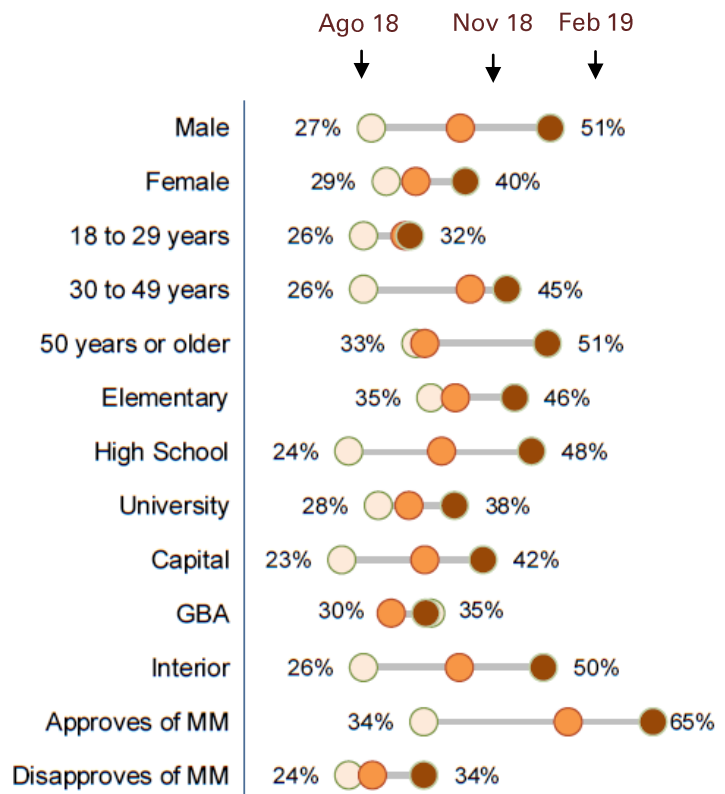
For the second consecutive survey, the image of the U.S. president sharply improved

¿Cómo evalúa usted al presidente de los Estados Unidos, Donald Trump?



Donald Trump's image significantly improved among almost every demographic segment

% positive image of Trump by segments



Views of **Jair Bolsonaro**

In our first evaluation of the Brazilian president since his inauguration, Jair Bolsonaro recorded a positive image of 50% among Argentines, and a negative image of 33%, with 18% of respondents unfamiliar with the new leader.

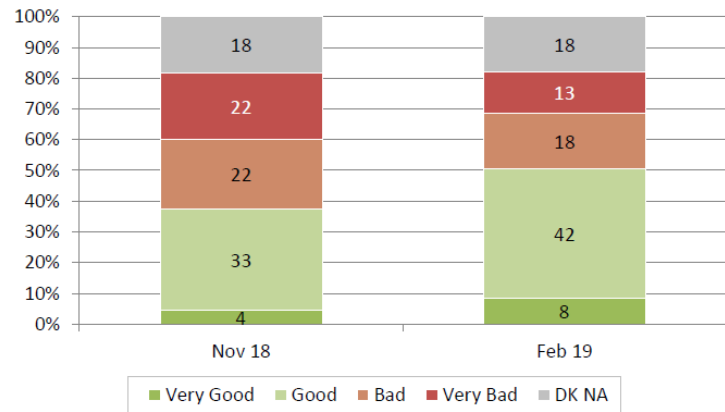
The Brazilian president significantly improved his image among Argentines since our November 2018 survey, when he was still president-elect.

President Jair Bolsonaro is particularly popular among supporters of President Mauricio Macri (68%). On the other hand, the image of the Brazilian president falls to 41% among those who oppose Cambiemos.

Optimism for future Argentine-Brazilian relations is also particularly strong among government supporters in Argentina, and among those with at least a primary or high school education.

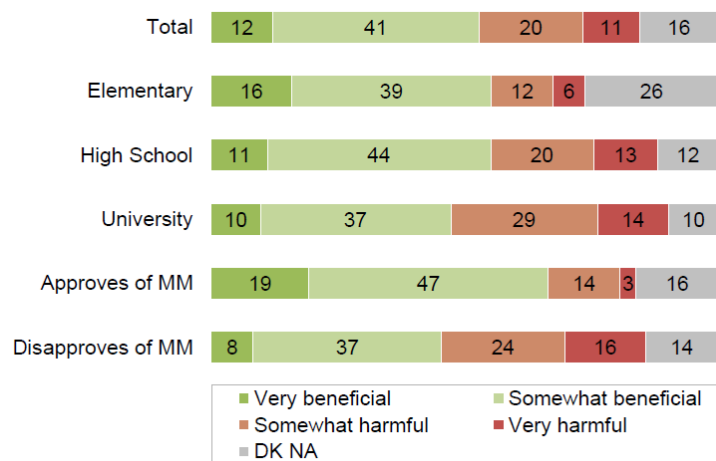
A month after his inauguration, the image of Brazilian President Jair Bolsonaro improved in Argentina

How do you evaluate the president of Brazil, Jair Bolsonaro?



The majority of Argentines believe Jair Bolsonaro's presidency will benefit Argentine-Brazilian relations

Do you think the presidency of Jair Bolsonaro will be very beneficial, somewhat beneficial, somewhat harmful or very harmful to relations between Brazil and Argentina?



Evaluation of Core Countries and Regions

The United States, India and England obtained moderate support in the latest ArgentinaPulse survey. Venezuela, which is going through a period of high political instability, recorded a nearly unanimous negative perception.

Germany and Japan continue to lead the list of countries with the best image among Argentines, followed by Russia and the European Union. China and Brazil appear further down the list.

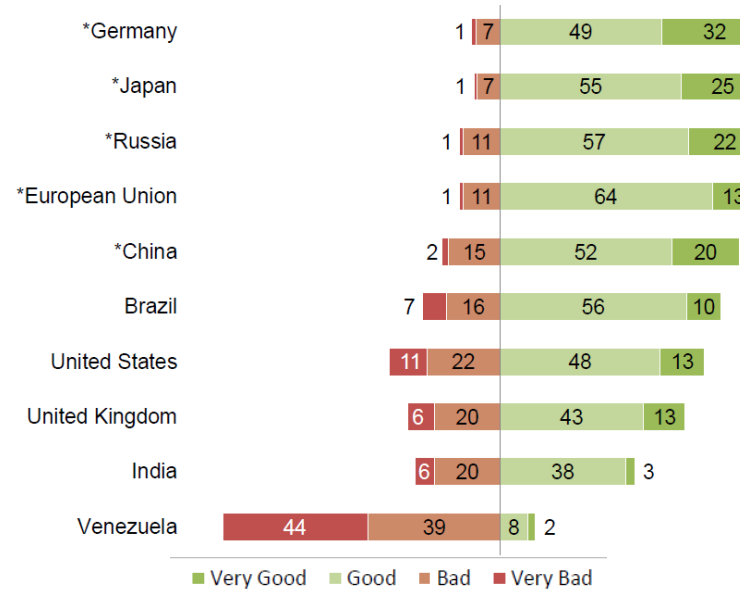
The United States recorded a positive image of 61%, nearly unchanged from three months ago (60%).

England, which fought a war against Argentina 37 years ago, recorded had a positive image of 51%. India, on the other hand, registered 41% favorability and the highest level of unfamiliarity (34%).

When analyzing the image of countries according to the political identification of respondents, the United States and England generate the most polarized opinions.

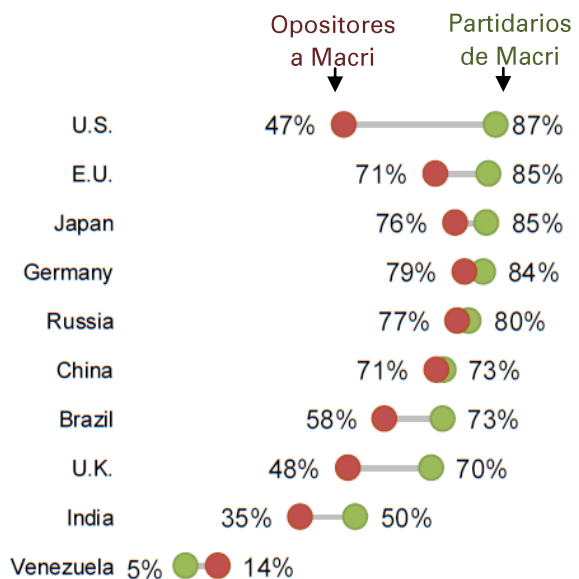
Among the countries evaluated, Germany and Japan have the best image; Venezuela, the worst

I would like you to tell me what image you have of each of the following countries and regions.



Note: The percentage of respondents who did not answer the question is not plotted.* Images corresponding to wave # 1 and # 2 of Argentina Pulse.

The image of the United States differs significantly among those who support or oppose President Mauricio Macri; views of Venezuela are nearly unanimous across the political spectrum. % positive evaluation of each country according to Macri's opinion



METHODOLOGY

The results included in this report are based on a nationwide probability survey conducted by telephone during February 1–15, 2019 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.

Table I: Sample sizes and errors of major subgroups

Group	Sample Size	Statistical Errors
Total Sample	992	+/- 3.18%
Men	423	+/- 4.86%
Women	569	+/- 4.19%
Young people from 18 to 29 years old	149	+/- 8.19%
Adults from 30 to 49 years old	331	+/- 5.50%
Adults from 50 years old and above	512	+/- 4.42%
Residents of the capital, Buenos Aires	178	+/- 7.50%
Residents of the greater BA metropolitan	252	+/- 6.30%
Residents of the interior	562	+/- 4.22%
Macri supporters	405	+/- 4.97%
Macri opponents	568	+/- 4.20%

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.](#)