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NATIONAL SURVEY / ARGENTINES' PERCEPTION OF THE WORLD ORDER, FOREIGN POLICY, AND GLOBAL ISSUES (Round 4)

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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.

Identifying countries of interest for Argentina

The United States heads the ranking of countries considered a priority for Argentinian foreign policy, with 28 percent of survey respondents mentioning it in first place. The North American country is mentioned in 45 percent of responses, if one takes into consideration those who mention it in second and third place.

The United States is followed in order of importance by China, which is mentioned mostly in second place: 21 percent of respondents name it in that position, compared to 19 percent of respondents who name it in first place. However, the Asian country has a greater number of total mentions than the United States, being present in 47 percent of responses.

The two countries are trailed by Spain, which 7 percent of respondents name in first place; Russia, which 5 percent mention in first place and 9 percent mention in second place; France, which 5 percent mention in first place and 7 percent mention in second place; and Germany, which 4 percent of respondents mention in first place and 6 percent mention in second place.

If we group countries by geographical area, North America¹ has the highest percentage of mentions in first place (29 percent, corresponding mainly to the United States), while Asia² has the highest percentage of mentions in second place (34 percent). Finally, Europe³ earns the majority of mentions in third place, by 29 percent of respondents. These regions are trailed by the Middle East⁴ and Oceania.⁵ No African country is mentioned.

Nevertheless, it is important to note that a high percentage of those surveyed (21 percent) did not mention any country in first place.

The United States and China head the ranking of non-Latin American countries that are considered a priority for foreign policy*

And outside of Latin America, which are the three countries you think should be a priority for Argentine foreign policy?

COUNTRY	1º	2º	3º	TOTAL
United States	28	11	6	45
China	19	21	7	47
Spain	7	6	5	19
Russia	5	9	8	22
France	4	7	7	18
Germany	4	6	8	18
Japan	3	3	5	11
England	2	2	3	7
Italy	1	2	3	6
Portugal	1	0	0	1
Canada	0	1	1	2
The Netherlands	0	-	1	1
India	0	1	1	3
Switzerland	0	0	0	1
Israel	0	0	0	0
Australia	0	0	2	2
Sweden	0	0	0	1
European Union	0	0	0	1
Norway	0	0	0	0
Others	3	2	4	10
DK NA	21	28	37	86
Total	100	100	100	300

*Order of countries according to first mention

¹ Includes the United States

² Includes China, Russia, Japan and India

³ Includes Spain, France, Germany, England, Italy, Portugal, the Netherlands, Switzerland, Sweden, Norway, and the European Union.

⁴ Israel

⁵ Australia

Perceptions of China

In general terms, China has a predominantly positive image among Argentines. Seventy-six percent of respondents have a good or very good image of the country.

This perception is shared by the different sectors of society, as the analysis shows. The most pronounced differences correspond to gender, with men (82 percent) being more favorable to the country than women (69 percent); level of education, with a higher percentage of respondents having a positive image of China if they have postsecondary or university education (86 percent) than if they have only secondary (76 percent) or primary (66 percent) education; and sympathy for Mauricio Macri, with respondents who approve of his government (83 percent) having a more positive image of China than those who disapprove of it (73 percent).

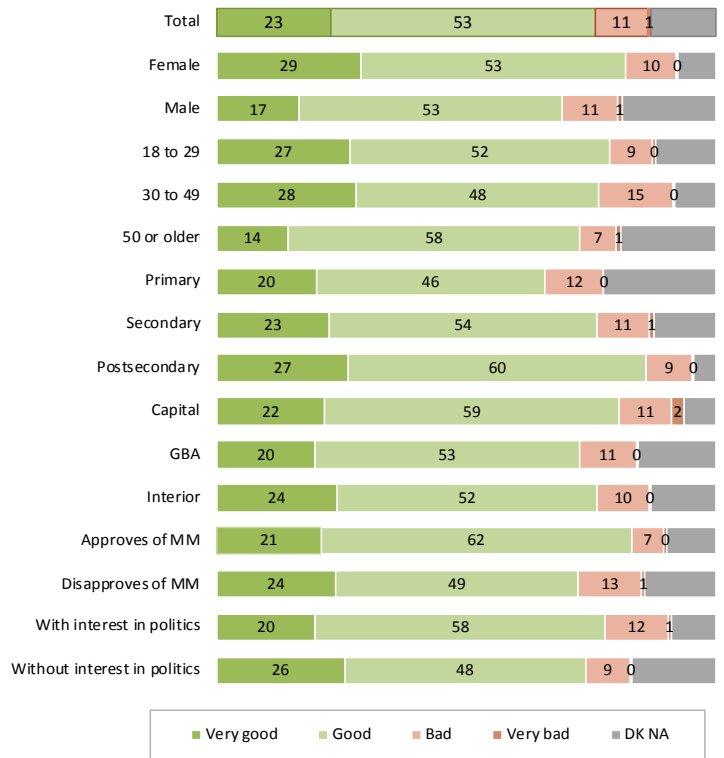
The fact that sympathizers of Mauricio Macri's government make a more positive assessment of the Asian country than his detractors is significant.

On the other hand, the majority of respondents evaluate Chinese investment in the country favorably. Sixty-three percent consider it a positive development, and the proportion increases to 80 percent if we include those who consider it to a 'somewhat positive' development. In contrast, only 16 percent of respondents consider Chinese investment in Argentina to be 'negative' or 'somewhat negative'.

Finally, the majority of those surveyed (62 percent) disagree with the notion that there is a trade-off between having a good relationship with China and with the United States, while 32 percent agree with the idea.

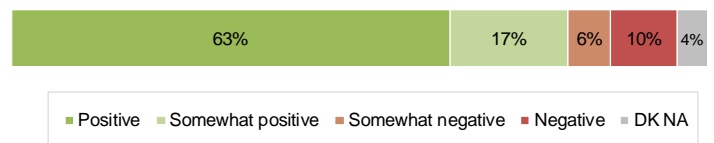
China enjoys a positive image among Argentines

I would like you to tell me what perception you have of China, in the following terms: very good, good, bad, or very bad



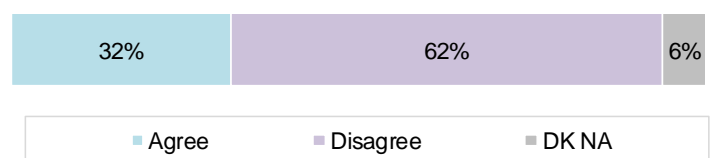
The majority of respondents view Chinese investments in the country as something positive

Do you think it is positive or negative that the country receives Chinese investments?



The majority of respondents disagree with the idea of choosing between the United States and China

Some people think Argentina will have to choose between having a good relationship with the United States or with China, given the conflict between the two countries. Do you agree or disagree with that idea?



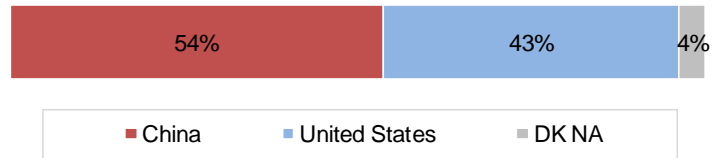
Among those who think it is necessary to choose between the two countries, 54 percent believe that relations with China should be prioritized, while 43 percent are inclined toward the United States.

That preference is correlated with the assessment respondents make of Chinese investments in the country. A comparison between the responses to both questions reveals that 61 percent of those who look favorably toward such investments prefer to prioritize relations with the Asian country, while 92 percent of those who consider them negative prefer to prioritize relations with the United States.

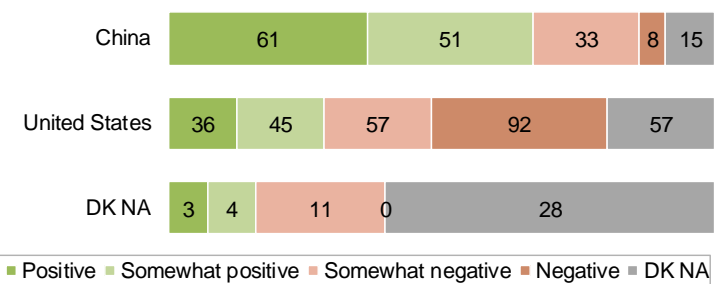
Similarly, the choice between China and the United States is correlated with the position of respondents toward the current president. Effectively, 63 percent of those who disapprove of Mauricio Macri's administration prefer to prioritize relations with China, compared to 35 of those who approve of his administration. By contrast, the majority of respondents who sympathize with the current government prefer prioritizing relations with the United States (59 percent) rather than with China.

By a difference of 9%, the majority of respondents prefer to prioritize relations with China

You think Argentina will have to prioritize its relations with one country over the other. Which of the two should it choose?



There is a correlation between the assessment of Chinese investments and the country it is thought Argentina should prioritize relations with



There is a correlation between sympathy for Macri's government and the country it is thought Argentina should prioritize relations with

	Approval of Mauricio Macri	
	Approves	Disapproves
China	35	63
United States	59	35
DK NA	6	3
Total	100	100

The perception of Donald Trump

After three periods of improvement, the image of United States President Donald Trump remained stagnant.

The American head of state has a positive image among 44 percent of respondents in the last *ArgentinaPulse* survey, only one point below the results from last February (45 percent).

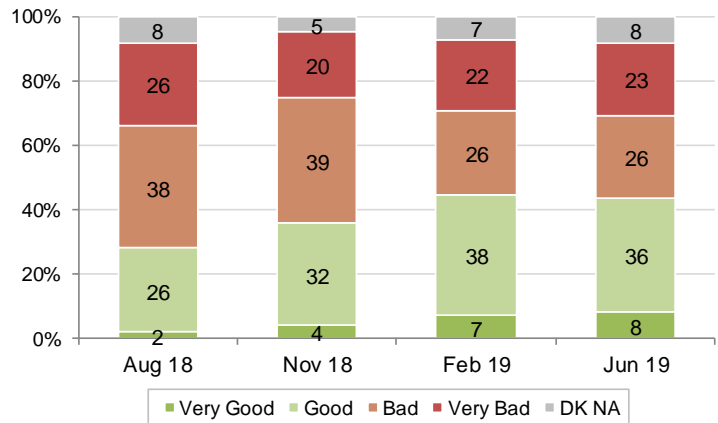
Meanwhile, his net image rating went from -3 to -4 percentage points, which does not constitute a significant change.

When analyzed by sociodemographic segments, Trump's image exhibits downward trend in most categories, with the exception of women (+2 percentage points), youth between the ages of 18 and 29 (+11 percentage points), respondents with a postsecondary or university education (+5 percentage points), and respondents who approve of Mauricio Macri's government (+4 percentage points).

In this sense, the segments where Donald Trump's image deteriorated the most were among men (-6 percentage points), respondents between the ages of 30 and 49 (-4 percentage points), and respondents older than 50 years old (-4 percentage points).

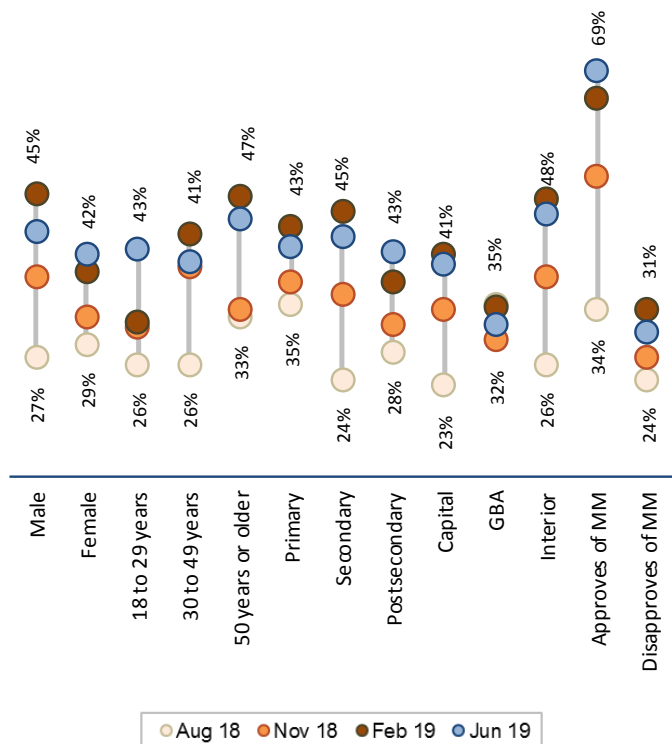
Following improvement in the image of the American head of state, there was stagnation

How do you evaluate the President of the United States, Donald Trump?



Trump's image improved in some sociodemographic sectors and deteriorated in others

% of positive evaluation of Trump by category



The assessment of countries

Uruguay is the country seen most favorably by Argentines, with 81 percent of respondents having a ‘good’ or ‘very good’ image of it. This positions it in the same level as Germany, and one place above Japan (which obtained 81 percent and 80 percent in an earlier round of the survey, respectively). This leads Russia and the European Union to each move down one place in the ranking.

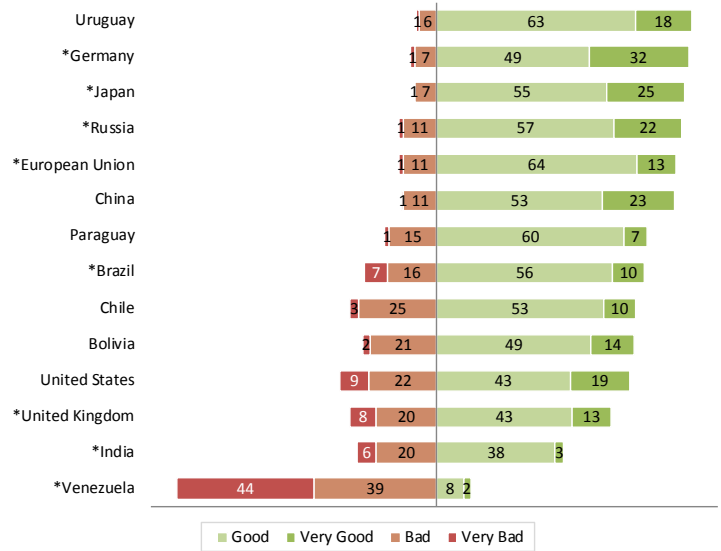
China occupies the second place among the countries evaluated in this round, with 76 of respondents having a positive image of the country, as well as the highest percentage of respondents that have a ‘very good’ image of it (23 percent). Paraguay comes in third place, having a positive image among 67 percent of respondents (thus surpassing earlier figures for Brazil). It is followed by Chile (64 percent) and Bolivia (63 percent), whose inclusion in the ranking push the United States to the sixth place. The positive image of the latter increased by one percentage point from the prior measurement. It is worth noting the different positions that China and the United States occupy in the ranking, with the latter leading by 14 points.

Meanwhile, England, India, and Venezuela continue to occupy the three lowest places in the ranking, based on earlier measurements.

Venezuela continues to be at the bottom of the ranking. In a context of great political and social crisis, it has a positive image among 10 percent of respondents alone, and a negative image among 83 percent of them.

Uruguay is the country that enjoys the best image among Argentines

I will now mention some countries that our country has diplomatic and commercial relations with. I would like you to tell me what image you have of each.

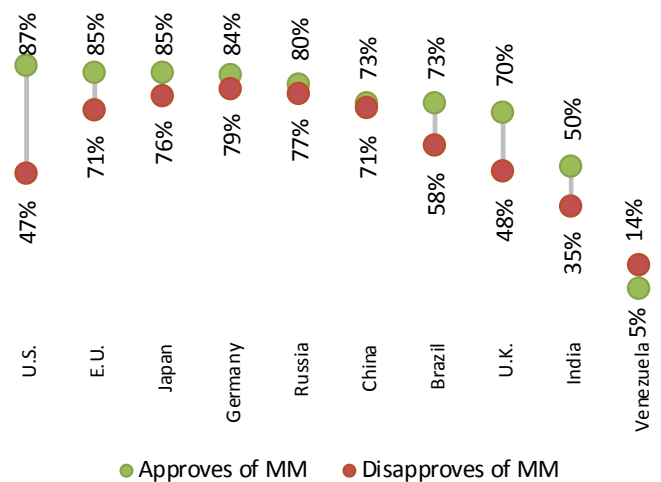


Note: The percentage of respondents that did not answer the question is not included in the graph.

* Images corresponding to waves #1, #2, and #3 of Argentina Pulse

The image of the United States differs significantly between those who approve and disapprove of Macri’s administration

% of positive evaluation of each country according to the respondent’s opinion of Mauricio Macri



Generally, the evaluation of countries is similar according to the evaluation of the presidential administration of Mauricio Macri, while polarization with respect to the United States remains constant.

The identification of Latin American countries of interest for Argentina

When respondents are asked to identify the two Latin American countries that they consider a priority for Argentinian foreign policy, Brazil receives the highest number of mentions in first place and in total: 49 percent of respondents name the country in first place, and the proportion increases to 59 percent if we take into account those who name it in second place.

Uruguay follows Brazil in order of importance, with 9 percent of mentions in first place, 14 percent of mentions in second place, and 23 percent of total mentions.

The third place is occupied by Chile, which 7 percent of respondents mention in first place and 20 percent mention in second place, for a total percentage of 26.

The prominence of neighboring countries stands out. It is worth remembering that the two countries with the most mentions in first place, Brazil and Uruguay, are also members of Mercosur. The fact that Brazil obtains the first place among Argentines by such a wide margin is remarkable given the country's polemical president and the lukewarm relationship he maintains with Mauricio Macri.

Finally, it must be underscored that a high percentage of those surveyed (19 percent) did not choose any country in first place, a proportion greater than the ones corresponding to Uruguay and Chile.

Brazil, Uruguay, and Chile head the list of Latin American countries considered a priority for foreign policy*

In the realm of international relations, which are the two Latin American countries you think should be a priority for Argentinian foreign policy?

#	COUNTRY	1°	2°	TOTAL
1	Brazil	49	10	59
2	Uruguay	9	14	23
3	Chile	7	20	26
4	Bolivia	6	7	13
5	Mexico	4	6	10
6	Colombia	2	5	6
7	Paraguay	2	7	9
8	Venezuela	1	2	3
9	Ecuador	1	2	3
10	Peru	1	2	3
11	Cuba	1	1	2
	Other	0	20	20
	DK NA	19	4	23
	Total	100	100	200

*Order of countries by first mention

Level of **interest** in international affairs

The majority of Argentines express little (39 percent) or no (22 percent) interest in international affairs, although there is a solid minority that expresses considerable (23 percent) or a lot (14 percent) of interest in what happens in the world.⁶

Interest in international affairs is slightly more pronounced among men (40 percent) than among women (34 percent).

In terms of age, the level of interest reaches its peak among respondents between 30 and 49 years old (42 percent) and is lower among the young (26 percent) and the elderly (40 percent).

As usual, the educational level of the people surveyed is significantly correlated with their interest in international affairs. Among respondents with postsecondary education the interest in international politics reaches 64 percent. It decreased to 31 percent among respondents with secondary education and all the way down to 22 percent among respondents with primary education.

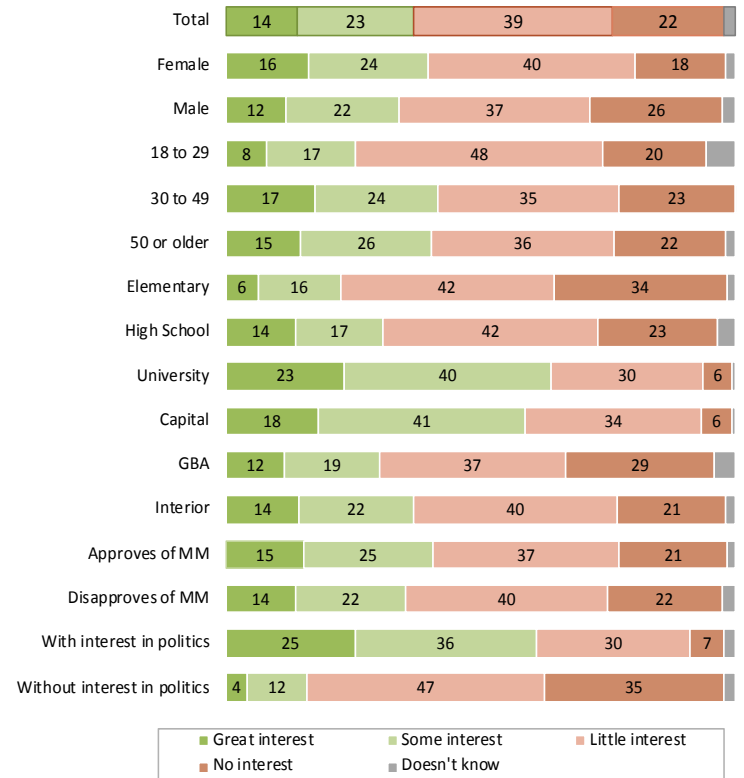
At a geographical level, interest in international affairs is more pronounced in the city of Buenos Aires (59 percent) than in the interior of the country (37 percent) and the Greater Buenos Aires (30 percent).

In political terms, the survey registers a slight, five-point difference between the interest expressed by those who approve of President Mauricio Macri's government (41 percent) and those who oppose it (35 percent).⁷

Finally, we observe a strong correlation between the interest expressed in local politics and in international affairs. Among those who follow the vicissitudes of domestic politics closely, the interest in international affairs increases to 61 percent, but drops to 16 percent among those uninterested in local politics.

Argentine's interest in international affairs ranges between low and moderate

How interested are you in international affairs?



⁶ If compared with the results of the prior report, the general tendency is an increase in the disinterest in international affairs. While the magnitude of that increase varies according to the segment of society, it is common to all social sectors.

⁷ This difference is slightly greater than the one registered in the previous report.

METHODOLOGY

The results included in this report are based on a nationwide probability survey conducted by telephone between June 3 and 11 of 2019 using CATI for Windows. The survey was conducted by Poliarquía Consultores and has a sample size of 1,019 participants with a margin of error of +/- 3.13% 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 for the main subgroups

Group	Sample size	Statistical error
Total sample	1019	+/- 3.13%
Men	441	+/- 4.76%
Women	578	+/- 4.15%
Youth between 18 and 29 years old	142	+/- 8.39%
Adults between 30 and 49 years old	382	+/- 5.11%
Adults 50 years old and over	495	+/- 4.49%
Interviewees with primary education	95	+/- 10.26%
Interviewees with secondary education	328	+/- 5.52%
Interviewees with postsecondary education	596	+/- 4.10%
Residents of the capital	191	+/- 7.24%
Residents of Greater Buenos Aires	252	+/- 6.30%
Residents of the interior	576	+/- 4.17%
Macri supporters	395	+/- 5.03%
Macri opponents	612	+/- 4.04%

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.](#)