

October 12, 2018

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

PRESS CONTACTS:

Alejandro CATTERBERG / President, Poliarquia Consultores

Benjamin GEDAN / Director, Argentina Project – Wilson Center

Nicolás SOLARI / Coordinator, ArgentinaPulse

SUGGESTED CITATION

ARGENTINA PULSE #1. Poliarquía-Wilson Center Survey, August 2018. "Argentines' Perceptions of the World Order, Foreign Policy, and Global Issues."

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.

Identifying Current World Powers

Half of Argentines recognize the United States as the world's leading power. China, meanwhile, ranks second (15%) and has practically three times the number of mentions of third place Russia (6%). Germany and Japan close out the list of countries considered to be the leading world power.

Of the five countries at the top of the table, two are from Asia, two from Europe, and one from North America.

In the club of those considered the second world power, the United States (21%), Russia (18%), and China (16%) again lead the mentions, followed by Japan (6%) and Germany (4%). Next are England and Brazil (both at 2%).

The designation of third world power mainly goes to Russia (14%), surpassing China and Germany (both with 9%), the United States (8%), Japan (7%), England (6%), and Spain (4%).

Adding together all mentions allows us to rank world powers according to Argentine public opinion. The United States (77%) comfortably leads the ranking. China and Russia compete for second place, although Russia has slight advantage. Fourth place is also competitive, in this case between Germany and Japan. The top-10 list of greatest powers is completed by four European countries and one Latin American country: #6 England (9%), #7 Spain (6%), #8 France (4%), #9 Brazil (4%) and #10 Switzerland (2%).

One out of every two Argentines considers the United States to be the leading world power. China leads Russia in the battle for second place

*What country do you think is currently the leading world power? And the second? And the third?**

#	COUNTRY	LEADING	SECOND	THIRD	TOTAL
1	United States	49	21	8	77
2	China	15	16	9	40
3	Russia	6	18	14	39
4	Germany	4	4	9	17
5	Japan	4	6	7	16
6	England	0	2	6	9
7	Spain	0	1	4	6
8	France	1	1	2	4
9	Brazil	1	2	1	4
10	Switzerland	0	1	1	2
-	Others	4	5	7	16
-	DK/NA	16	22	33	71
-	Total	100	100	100	300

* Question with spontaneous response.

Identifying Future World Powers

Three out of every ten Argentines believe that 10 years from now, the United States will still be the world's leading power. At the same time, two out of every ten people surveyed projected China would become the leading world power within the next decade. The numbers indicate that Argentines expect the United States to weaken and China to strengthen over the next 10 years.

With just under 10% of mentions, Russia ranks third on the list of leading power by 2028, followed by Japan (5%), Argentina (4%), and Germany (2%).

Only a small portion of those surveyed places Argentina in an advantageous position.

The United States, China, and Russia dominate mentions of the second world power within 10 years, while Germany and Japan are candidates for the third power.

Adding together all mentions allows us to rank which countries, according to Argentines, will be major world powers within 10 years. Nine of the current powers are repeated in the ranking, with only Switzerland losing its place in the top 10 to Argentina. In addition, the United States holds onto its spot at the top of the table, but with a tighter lead over the other countries.

Another important difference compared with the ranking of current powers is that: a) respondents perceive that China will win the race against Russia to become the second world power; and b) they believe Japan will overtake Germany as the fourth world power.

Argentines believe that in 10 years the United States will continue as the leading world power, although China will edge closer

What country do you think will be the leading world power within 10 years? And the second? And the third?

#	COUNTRY	LEADING	SECOND	THIRD	TOTAL
1	United States	30	23	11	64
2	China	22	12	6	39
3	Russia	9	12	11	32
4	Japan	5	5	6	17
5	Germany	2	4	9	14
6	Argentina	4	2	4	10
7	England	1	3	4	8
8	Brazil	1	3	1	5
9	France	0	1	2	4
10	Spain	0	1	3	4
–	Others	3	7	10	20
–	DK/NA	22	27	34	83
–	Total	100	100	100	300

* Question with spontaneous response.

Evaluation of Core Countries and Regions

Argentines give a favorable evaluation of the world's major powers. Among the four actors evaluated, China receives the highest percentage of positive ratings: four out of five Argentines have a positive image of the country.

Russia, perhaps helped by its successful organization of the World Cup, also receives a largely positive rating, just a few points below China.

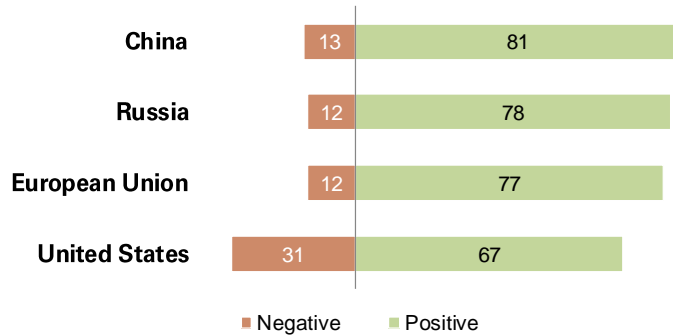
The countries of the European Union also enjoy a largely favorable assessment among Argentines, reaching 77%.

The United States ranked the lowest in the group, though it nevertheless retains an approval rating of 67% and a rejection rating of 31%.

While supporters of Mauricio Macri's government have similar views of the European Union (85%), China (82%), Russia (80%), and the United States (80%), opponents of Macri behave differently. In effect, among those opposed to Argentina's national government, China and Russia earn mainly positive evaluations, while the European Union and, particularly, the United States receive significantly lower ratings.

In general, Argentines evaluate positively major foreign powers, although the United States provokes the most disapproval

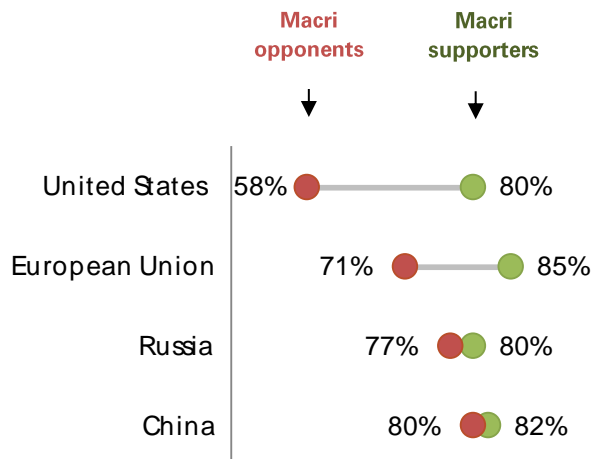
I'm going to mention some countries and regions that are competing for world leadership. I would like you to tell me if you have a positive or negative image of each of them.



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

The view towards the United States differs 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



The United States' Importance in the World

Seven out of ten Argentines believe that the United States is as or more important in the world as it was ten years ago, while only two out of every ten respondents believe that it has become less relevant internationally over the last decade.

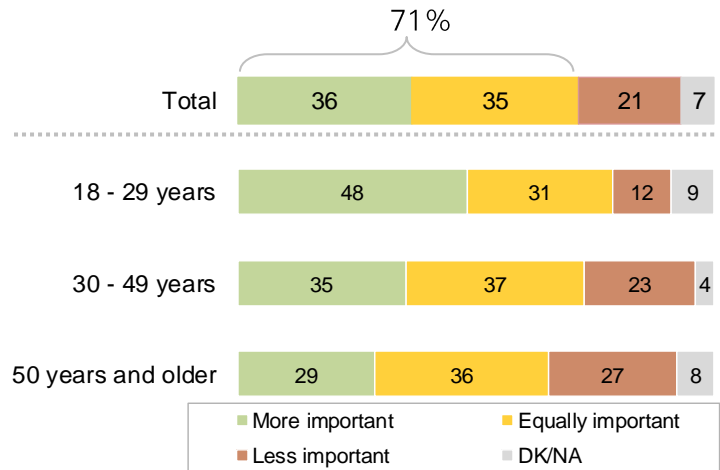
Respondents' perception of the evolution of U.S. influence differs significantly by age group. As the age of interviewees increases, their perception of the importance of the U.S. role in international politics decreases, and their belief that the leading world power has lost global influence grows.

Among those who believe that, in the last decade, the role of the United States has stayed the same or strengthened, the general view is that this is bad for the rest of the world. Moreover, among those who believe that the United States has lost international appeal, most agree that this benefits the rest of the world.

Given that the United States is rated positively by 67% of Argentines, it is possible to speculate that the assessment of the evolution of the U.S. role in the world is more related to the search for a global equilibrium than to a rejection of the U.S. role in particular. In any case, there is no empirical evidence to that effect in this study.

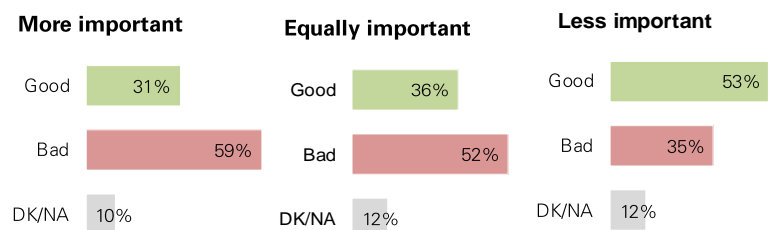
Seven out of ten Argentines believe that the importance of the United States in the world stayed the same or increased during the last ten years

Would you say that the United States' role in the world is more important, less important, or just as important as it was 10 years ago?



Among those who believe that U.S. international influence has stayed the same or increased, the general view is that this harms the rest of the world

Would you say that this is good or bad for the rest of the world?



View of U.S. President Donald Trump

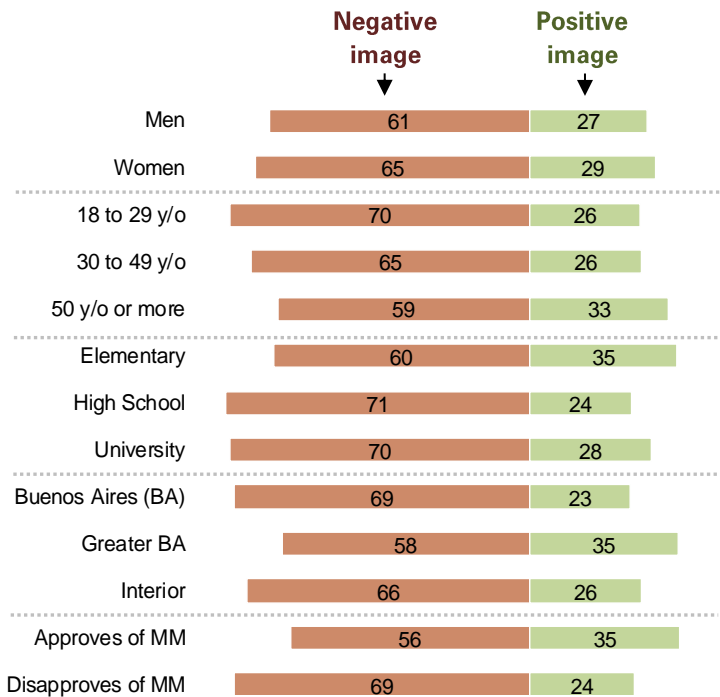
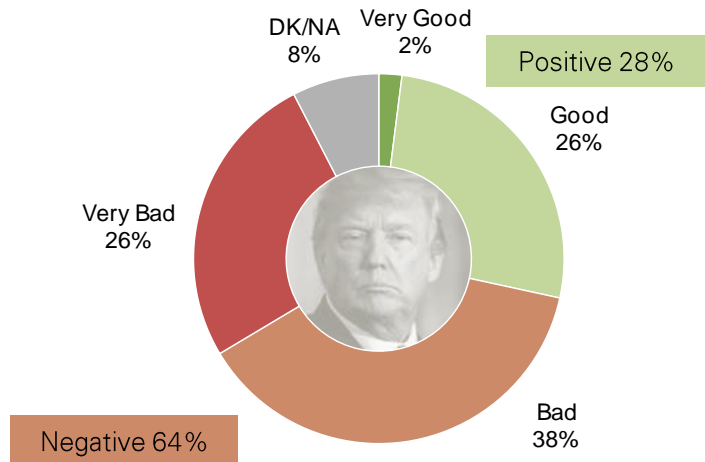
Sixty-four percent of Argentines have a bad or very bad image of U.S. President Donald Trump, while 28% evaluate him well or very well. Thus, his image ratio is -2.28, which means that for every positive opinion of the president there are 2.28 negative opinions.

Argentines have a relatively homogeneous view of Donald Trump. That is, Trump’s approval levels range from a minimum of 23% to a maximum of 35%, though the level of approval is always far below the level of disapproval for every demographic.

The U.S. leader is viewed most favorably among citizens with elementary education, residents of the Greater Buenos Aires metropolitan area, and Macri supporters (35% in all three cases). Alternatively, the highest levels of rejection correspond to young people aged 18 to 29 (70%), people with high school or college education (71% and 70%, respectively), residents of the city of Buenos Aires (69%), and those who disapprove of the Macri administration (69%).

Two out of every three Argentines have a negative opinion of the U.S. president

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



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

Guiding Principles for Argentina’s Foreign Policy

Argentines are divided over what should be the guiding principle of the country's foreign policy. Similar proportions of respondents emphasize commercial, security, and value issues.

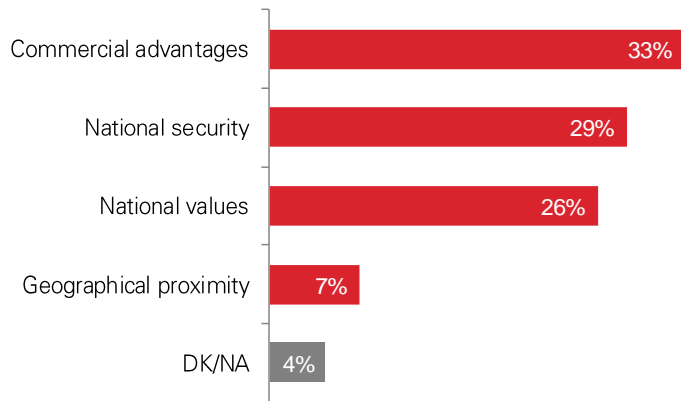
In this respect, one in three Argentines (33%) believes that the national government should choose its international allies based on the commercial advantages they bring to the country.

A slightly lower proportion (29%), however, believes that national security should be the main criterion for entering into strategic alliances with other countries.

One in four Argentines (26%) favors prioritizing international allies that share Argentine values.

There is no consensus around a single guiding principle for Argentina's foreign policy

Which of the following criteria should Argentina prioritize when selecting international allies?

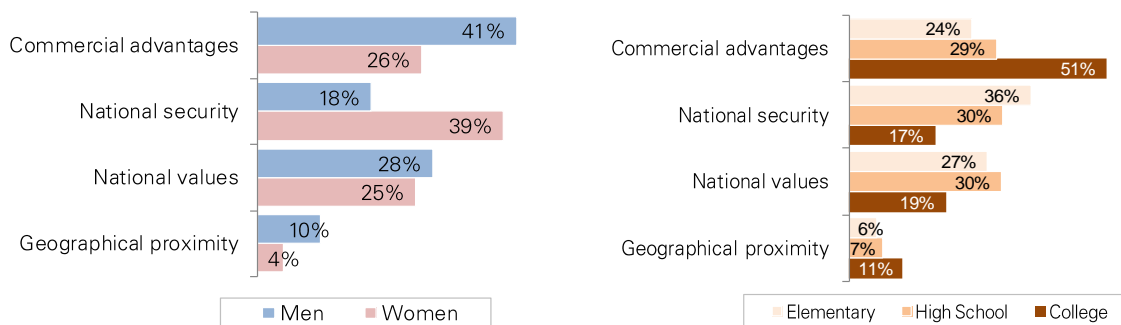


Finally, a minority of the population (7%) stresses geographical proximity as the guiding principle of the country’s foreign policy.

Analyzing the results by sociodemographic groupings shows significant differences. For instance, men and those with higher education prioritize commercial advantages, while women and those with elementary education emphasize national security.

Trade emerges more frequently as the guiding principle of foreign policy among men, and as the respondents’ level of education increases

Which of the following criteria do you think Argentina should prioritize when choosing international allies?



Identifying Countries of Interest for Argentina

Twenty-nine percent of Argentines believe that, from now on, Argentina should prioritize relations with the United States. This finding is consistent with the perception that the United States is and will continue to be the leading world power.

Tied for second place are China and Brazil, each with 21% of mentions. Countries with more than 10% of mentions include Russia (15%) and the countries of the European Union (12%).

Chile, at 9%, is the first country without a sizeable or developed economy to appear among the main partners mentioned.

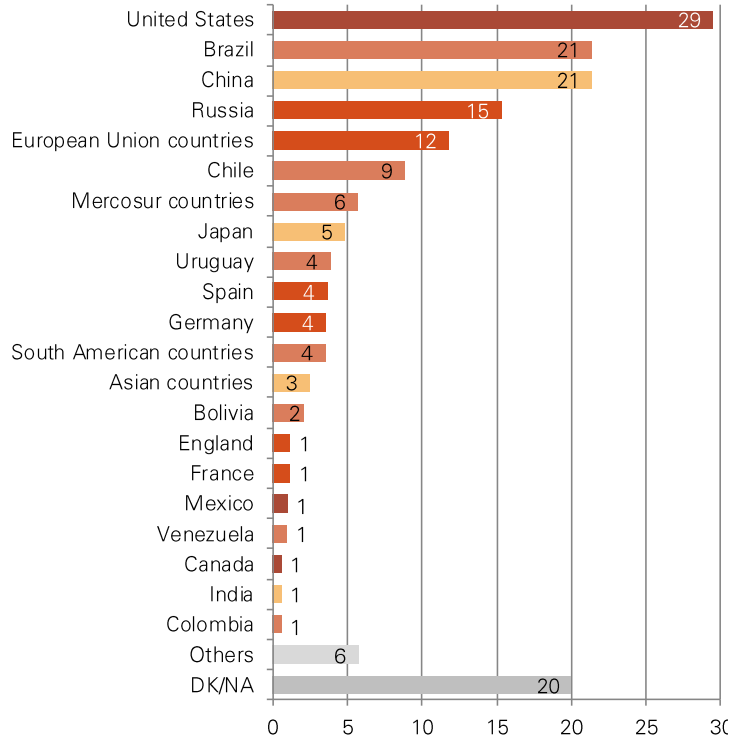
Mercosur as an institution appears overlooked, with only 6% of mentions—just above Japan (5%), Uruguay, Spain, Germany, and Latin American countries in general (all with 4%).

Grouping the countries by continent shows the supremacy of South America (49%). In second place is Europe (39%), followed by North America (31%, which essentially matches the United States), and Asia (30%).

Also of note is the lack of any reference to Africa and Oceania.

Argentines believe that Argentina should prioritize relations with the United States, Brazil, and China

From now on, what two countries or regions do you think Argentina should prioritize in its international policy?



* Question with spontaneous and multiple answers.

Grouping countries by continents shows a preference for prioritizing relations with South America



View of Multilateral Organizations

Mercosur is rated most highly among the multilateral organizations evaluated by *ArgentinaPulse*. In fact, 70% of Argentines evaluate it “well” or “very well,” despite its showing few political and economic achievements.

Only a few points below Mercosur is the United Nations (UN), which has a positive image of 68%.

The Organization of American States (OAS) is among the most unfamiliar institutions evaluated (21%). Despite this, it is viewed positively by 54% of respondents.

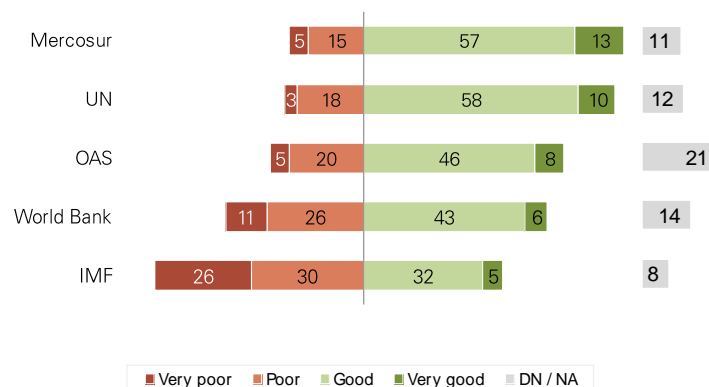
Organizations related to the financial system have the lowest approval ratings among Argentines. The World Bank, for example, has a favorable image of 49% and an unfavorable image of 37%, while the International Monetary Fund (IMF)—with which Argentina recently negotiated a line of credit—is viewed positively by 37% of respondents and negatively by 56%.

Views of international financial organizations are also polarized among supporters and opponents of President Macri’s government. In effect, the IMF and the World Bank are viewed positively by 67% and 68% of Macri supporters, respectively; these numbers fall to 18% and 38% among his opponents.

The gap between Macri supporters and opponents thus stretches to 30 points in the case of the World Bank and to 49 points for the IMF.

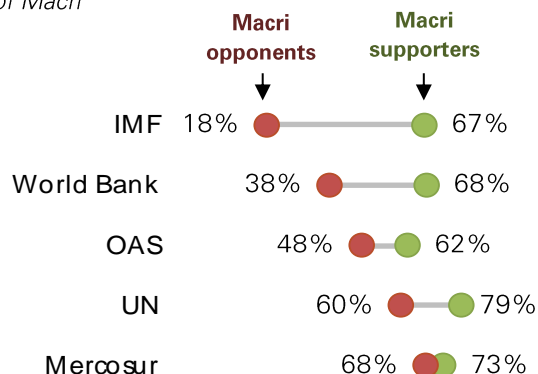
Mercosur and the UN are the international organizations rated highest among Argentines; the IMF is rated the lowest

I’m going to mention some international organizations of which our country is a member. Please tell me if you know them and what image you have of them.



Perceptions of financial organizations differ significantly among those who approve or disapprove of Macri’s administration

% positive image of each organization according to respondents’ opinion of Macri



METHODOLOGY

The results included in this report are based on a nationwide probability survey conducted by telephone between August 3–15, 2018 using CATI for Windows. The survey was conducted by Poliarquía Consultores and has a sample size of 1,001 participants with a margin of error of +/- 3.16% 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.

ARGENTINA PULSE #1

Group	Sample Size	Statistical Error
Total Sample	1,001	+/- 3.16%
Men	430	+/- 4.82%
Women	571	+/- 4.82%
Young people from 18 to 29 years old	163	+/- 7.83%
Adults 30 to 49 years old	379	+/- 5.14%
Adults 50 years old and above	459	+/- 4.67%
Respondents with elementary education	115	+/- 9.33%
Respondents with high school education	355	+/- 5.31%
Respondents with higher education	531	+/- 4.34%
Residents of the capital, Buenos Aires	195	+/- 7.16%
Residents of the greater Buenos Aires metropolitan area	255	+/- 6.26%
Residents of the interior	551	+/- 4.26%
Macri supporters	435	+/- 4.79%
Macri opponents	547	+/- 4.28%

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](#).