

## Public Opinion Survey in Buenos Aires Province (PBA) and Buenos Aires City (CABA)



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The results thrown out by our last measuring at Buenos Aires City (April) and Buenos Aires Province (May) gather up the perceptions of districts that represent 48% of the national electorate. The first one represents 10%, and the latter, the biggest in the country, 38%.

The uniformity of evaluations provided by these two populations is notorious, as they quite frequently tend to think and decide in rather different ways.

The 600 cases in City of Buenos Aires and the 1000 at Buenos Aires Province, taken under “closed-envelope” procedure, show that kirchnerism and its national figures are clearly deteriorated, and that they have been worn out specially in the Province of Buenos Aires.

### THE KIRCHNERIST SPACE

**Cristina Fernández’s** negative image is near to 48%, while the positive is close to 25%. Her national management is

graded (from 1 to 10), slightly above the 4 points. In both cases she is perceived better in the City.

**Daniel Scioli** also has a better image in Buenos Aires City than in the Province, close to 30%, and his negative image is near to 25 points. His highest grades are still below the “regular” category. **Florencio Randazzo’s** positive, regular and negative image is divided in thirds, being a little worst in the City. **Sergio Urribarri** is still unknown by nearly 50% of the population.

### TO WANT AND TO BELIEVE

Some of the questions in our form aim to look into differences between that what citizens **want to happen** and what they **believe will happen**. None mark for sure the future, but individual perceptions generate behavior and decision-making.

22% of citizens in the Buenos Aires City and 18% in the Province **want kirchnerism to win** the elections in 2015, no matter who the candidate may be. This question sets the limit of national pro-government hard votes, which has decreased significantly in the Province (it was 30% at the 2013 elections) and has remained equal in the City. On the contrary, 57% in Buenos Aires City and 56% in the Province **want kirchnerism to lose** the elections. Close to 20% in both cases think that it does not make a difference to them. This

means that kirchnerism has lost some layers of voters in the Province, getting closer to the core of hard vote that will accompany it until the end of the process.

People in the City of Buenos Aires show themselves more hopeful (45%) **about the country getting better after the 2015 elections** than people in the Province (40%). Those who believe it will be worst represent 17% in both districts. The inhabitants of the City of Buenos Aires are also those who think, to a greater extent (63%) than the inhabitants of the Province (59%), that the **kirchnerist cycle has reached its end**. Those who opine otherwise reach 19%.

Such as in the 2013 elections, there is a part of the society that **wants** to end with the kirchnerist cycle and believes that their **wish** will be accomplished. When these two factors of wish and perception are **lined up, society does not tend to find obstacles to produce the political changes** that it pretends.

### POPE FRANCIS

The popularity and charisma of **Pope Francis** has made itself overwhelmingly evident in both districts, by reaching 78% of positive image in the City and 84% in the Province. This turns him into an authorized voice in the political and social discussions in Argentina, where previously, no exogenous factors could influence the national boundaries,

and is now setting the agenda in regards to the fight against drug trafficking, the combat against human trafficking, honesty in the institutions, compliance of the democratic cycle, among others .

### THE NEXT PRESIDENT

In first place, given that there is still a long time until the presidential election, the amount of indecisive people this question records is remarkably low. The fact that the figures below the “Others” category, where minor options are nucleated, finally do not reach those levels in the elections either, and the public opinion must circumscribe to the existing options in the polling booth, also has to be taken into consideration. Consequently, a great part of it will have to be rearranged.

The initial intentions of the electorate circulate mostly among the three figures whose capacity is allocated for the presidency: **Sergio Massa, Mauricio Macri** and **Daniel Scioli**. Both have very high levels of knowledge, although the first two enjoy more positive image than the last.

It is logical that **Mauricio Macri** obtains one point more in voting intention than **Sergio Massa** in the district in which he governs (20% to 19% in the City). It is also logical that **Sergio Massa** leads strongly in his district, overtaking **Mauricio Macri** by 13% (28% to 15% in the Province). It is

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worthy to note that the Province of Buenos Aires is 4 times more representative on the national level than the City of Buenos Aires.

After the 2013 elections, Sergio Massa became the tool society has used in the Province to stop kirchnerism, which does not necessarily imply that he knows how to become the tool the electorate will be needing in 2015. **Mauricio Macri** appears symbolically as the outsider of the political system, capable of representing a share of society offended with political leadership in general. However, the lack of structure and building of PRO on municipal level in the Province of Buenos Aires generates uncertainty in the population on its national power.

Remarkably, **Daniel Scioli** obtains more percentual points in the City (12%) than in the district he governs (11% in the Province). This might be indicating that public opinion, who until now could not define him neither in nor out kirchnerism, is now perceiving him as a candidate of the national ruling party, and that may wear him out significantly. The physical absence of **Cristina Fernandez** as leader of the political space and the truncated project of **Jorge Capitanich** as the government rebuilders could have left him as the “first visible face at the complaint desk”.

However, and in case they would GO together, the limit of votes for kirchnerism will not be determined so much for

the candidate but by the aforementioned 18% or 20% that **wants kirchnerism to win**. Nevertheless, in case the internal sectors of kirchnerism that do not approve of Daniel Scioli, should present themselves to the election with a candidate from the very heart of the party, they will have to take into consideration that Sergio Urribarri obtains by himself approximately 4% of the political will.

The FA-UNEN party has candidates as Hermes Binner and Julio Cobos who do not surpass 10%. Nonetheless they are in position to increase a few point in order to represent the 10% or 12% of the population that historically take shelter in a vote they consider more honest and ethical, but which in no way is assigned with governance capacity.

These numbers represent the public opinion’s initial positions and preferences, when there is still a long time and therefore many more incitements to come, even those coming from the campaigns. Withal it is not the same to stimulate a citizen that has still not given a thought about the elections than changing the decision of those who have already made one, however premature it may be.

### WE ARE GOING TO SECOND ROUND

Today’s scene is a stained glass made out of medium and small pieces. With two options close to 25%, and two others close to 15%, in addition to a left wing that is going to reach

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3% or 4%, plus a few points for minor parties, **it is impossible to visualize the triumph of any candidate in the first round.**

The country's two main districts would be sending **Sergio Massa** and **Mauricio Macri** to the second round, where the first one is about 6 or 7 points above the second one. Should governor **Daniel Scioli** manage to revert his downward tendency and get into the second round, he would lose to **Sergio Massa** as well as to **Mauricio Macri**.

### MAJOR AND GOVERNOR

The national candidacies of these district's current leaders have already fired the disputes for their chairs. In the City of Buenos Aires **Gabriela Michetti** is the better positioned one, reaching 25% vote intention, followed by **Martin Lousteau** with 15%. The first one will be representing the PRO, while the latter will have to decide if he will be representing UNEN again. Lousteau's tempting percentage can generate all kinds of proposals and speculations. It must be noted that the other contenders for the presidency, Sergio Massa and Daniel Scioli, still do not have candidates of their own that reach these percentages in order to be able to "take the fight" in the City.

In the Province of Buenos Aires the scenery is also surprising: the two best positioned on the national level

(Massa and Macri) do not have strong governor candidates in the most important district: Both Darío Giustozzi and Gustavo Posse from "Frente Renovador", as well as María Eugenia Vidal from PRO have high popular unawareness levels and limited voting intentions.

Instead, Daniel Scioli, who is now in disadvantage for the presidential election, has Martin Insaurralde and Florencio Randazzo on his side, who have the greatest flow of votes for governor (16% and 8%, respectively). In any case, Insaurralde's candidacy for kirchnerism must be taken with caution, whereas in the 2013 elections he had to wear the losing team's shirt, he got very well-known, which did not affect him in a negative way. In some way, the voters figured out his situation and did not vote against him, but against Cristina Fernández. To our understanding, Insaurralde is a candidate with the characteristics society is demanding for tomorrow: more dedicated to executing, less confrontational, less discursive. In terms of generation, he is more alike to Massa or Macri than to Cristina.

### TOWARDS A SOCIETY THAT REALIZES

In the last 30 years of democracy, Argentine society has evolved into accomplishing a better decision making process and an empowerment of group voices. Many issues have become established in the political agenda impelled by the



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social need, yet against attempts by political leaders to hide or minimize them. Argentine society has ended with the idea of killing as a way of solving conflicts of ideas, with the democratic interruption as a way to ease anxiety before a discredited government, even with the interruption of a government for the same reason, as well with respect to the permit to live in hyperinflation, among others.

The severe figures these surveys collect indicate that society is well aware that the penetration levels of drug trafficking in Argentina are not possible without consent and involvement of state actors who should be fighting it. Over 80% of the population believes that **drug trafficking is a**

**partner of a part of politics, the police and justice.** Likewise, almost 70% of society believes that drug trafficking is the main cause for unsafeness.

In the same way, almost 65% of the population **feels unsafe all the time while in the streets.**, while nearly 50% feels unsafe all the time inside their homes. These data are essential when analyzing the levels of fear that citizens currently have, the perception of physical risk and the behaviours this could generate.

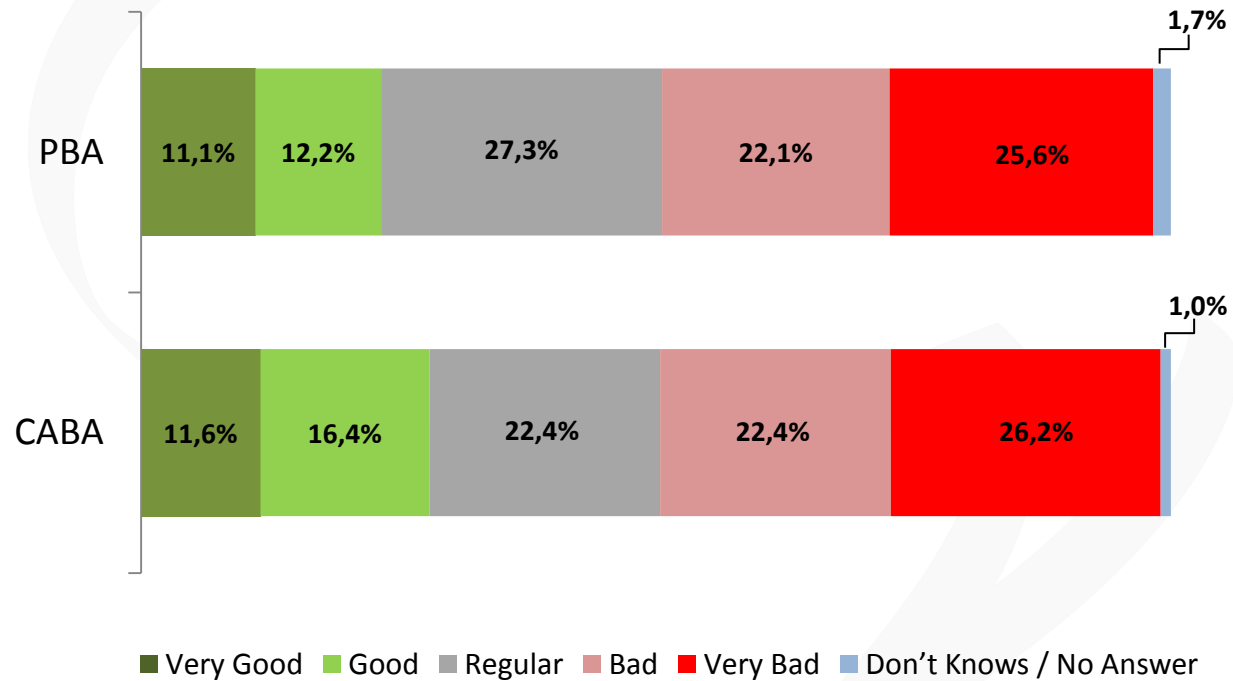
Contrary to the process that is being experienced by the neighbouring Uruguay, over 50% is against the idea of decriminalizing drugs, while 30% stands for it.

### Lic. Jorge Daniel Giacobbe

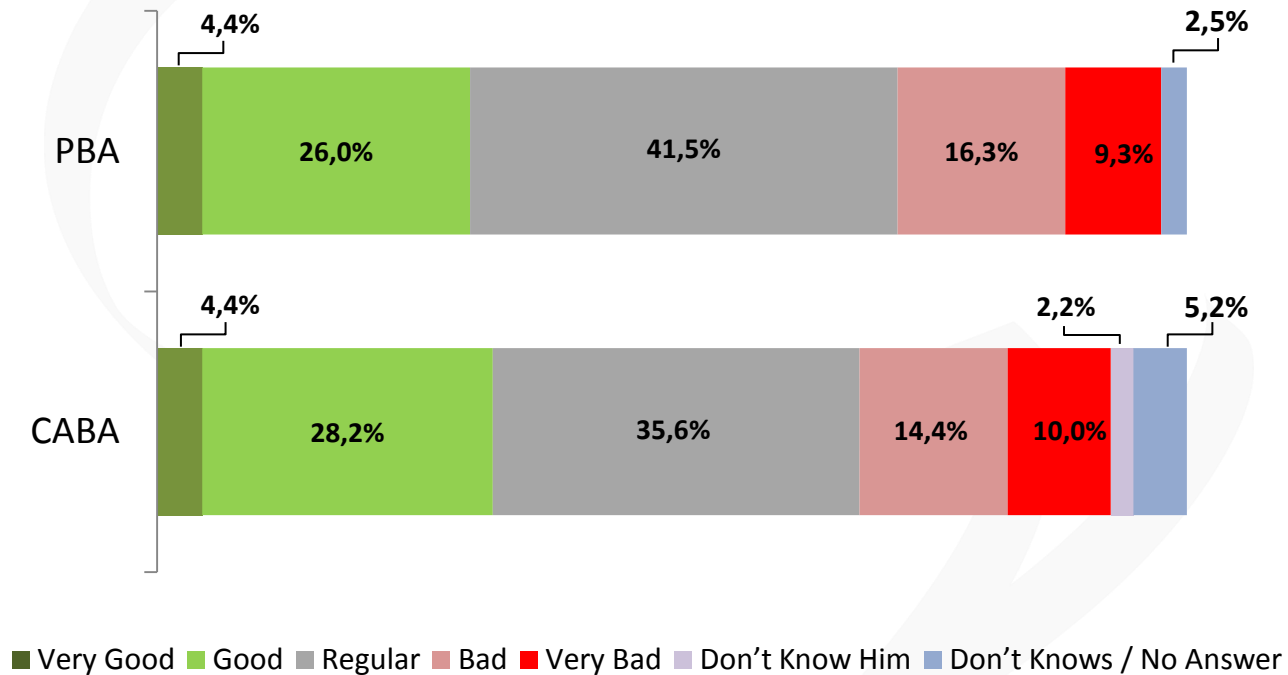
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## CRISTINA KIRCHNER'S IMAGE

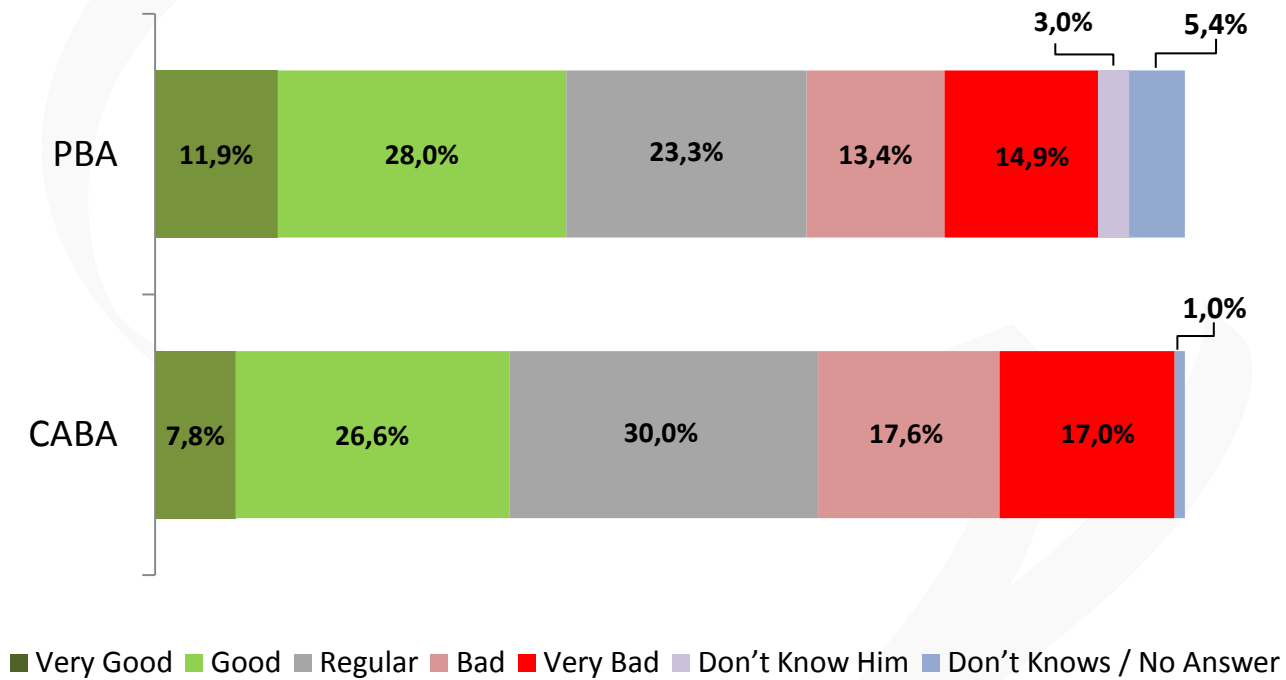


## IDANIEL SCIOLI'S IMAGE



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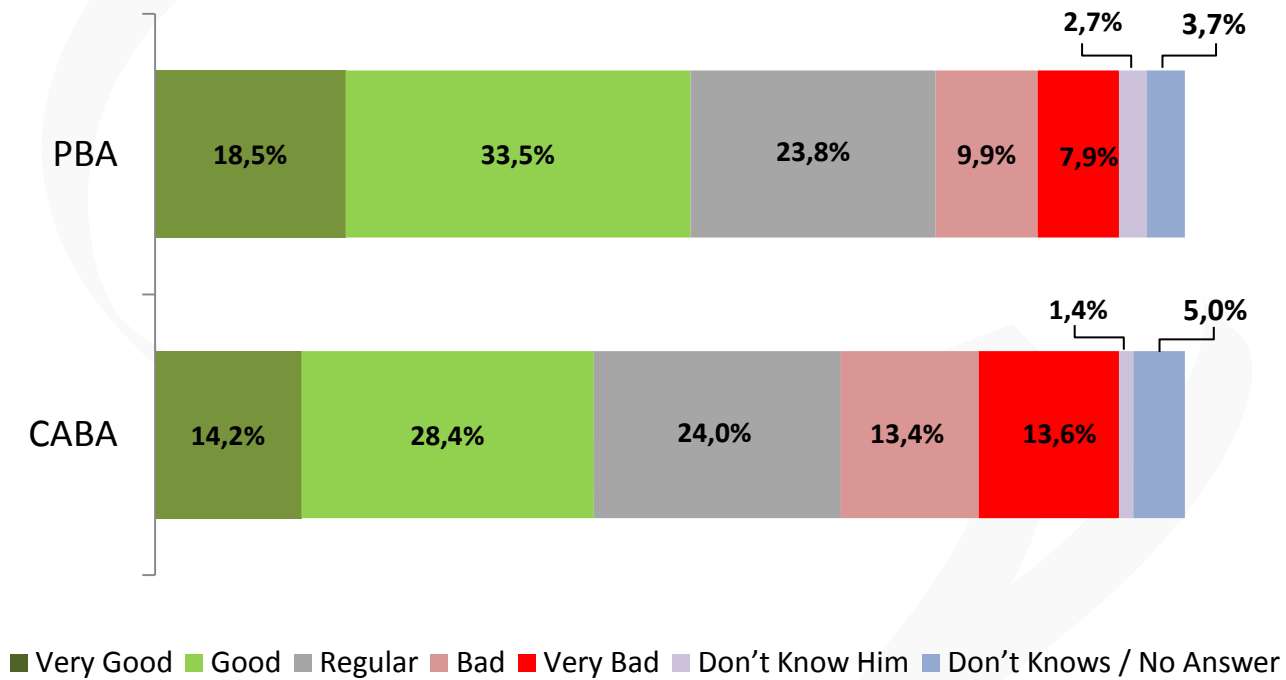
# MAURICIO MACRI'S IMAGE





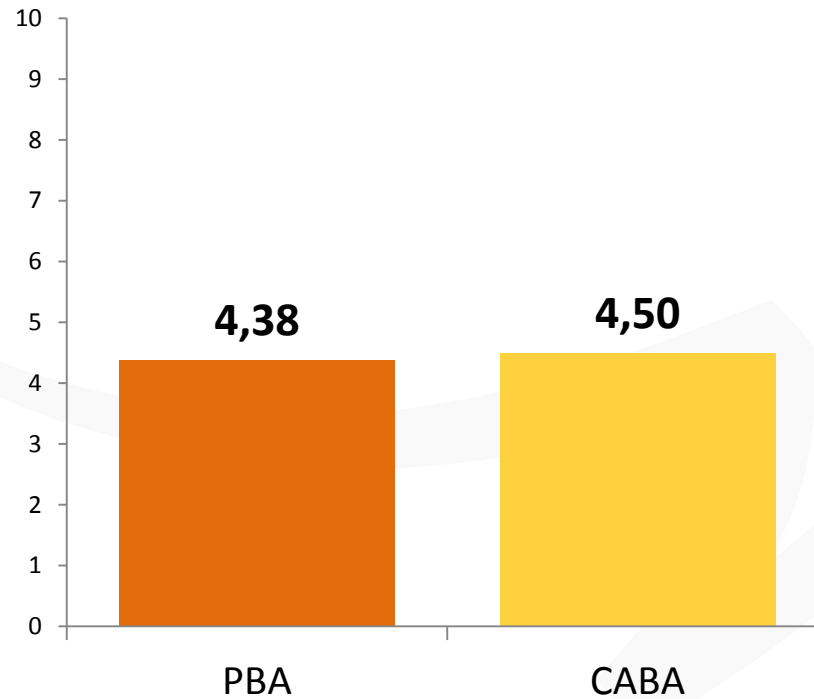
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# SERGIO MASSA'S IMAGE



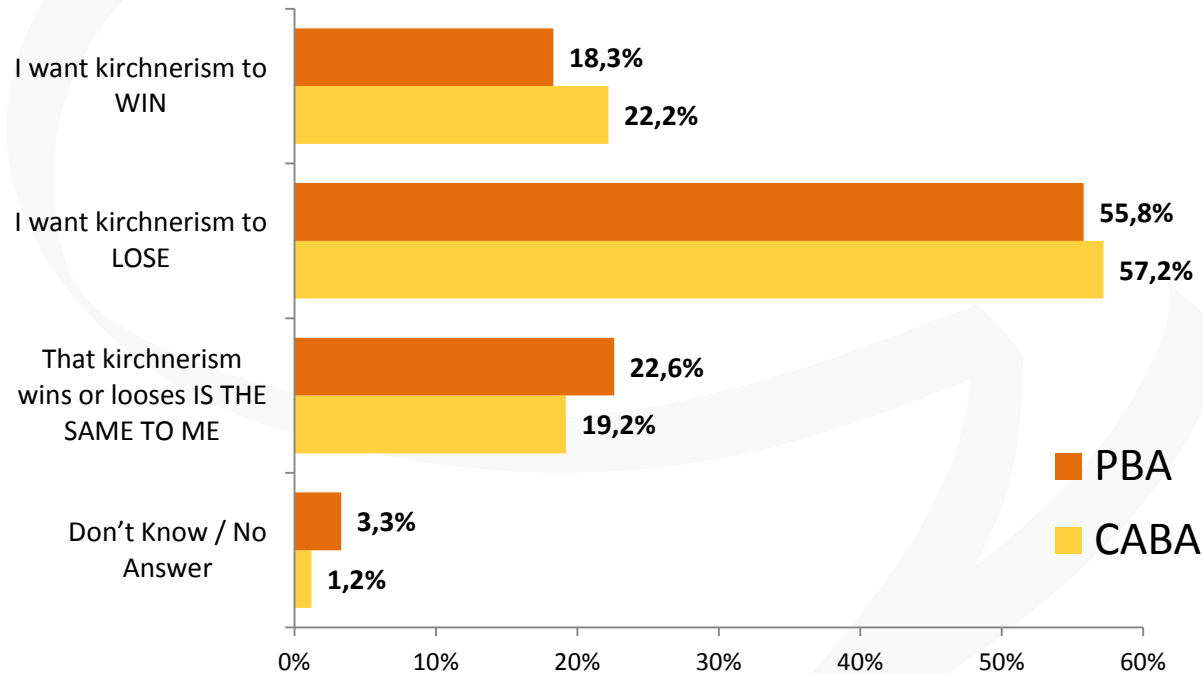
## Public Opinion Survey in Buenos Aires Province (PBA) and Buenos Aires City (CABA)

With what grade (from 1 to 10) would you rate the management of the National Government?



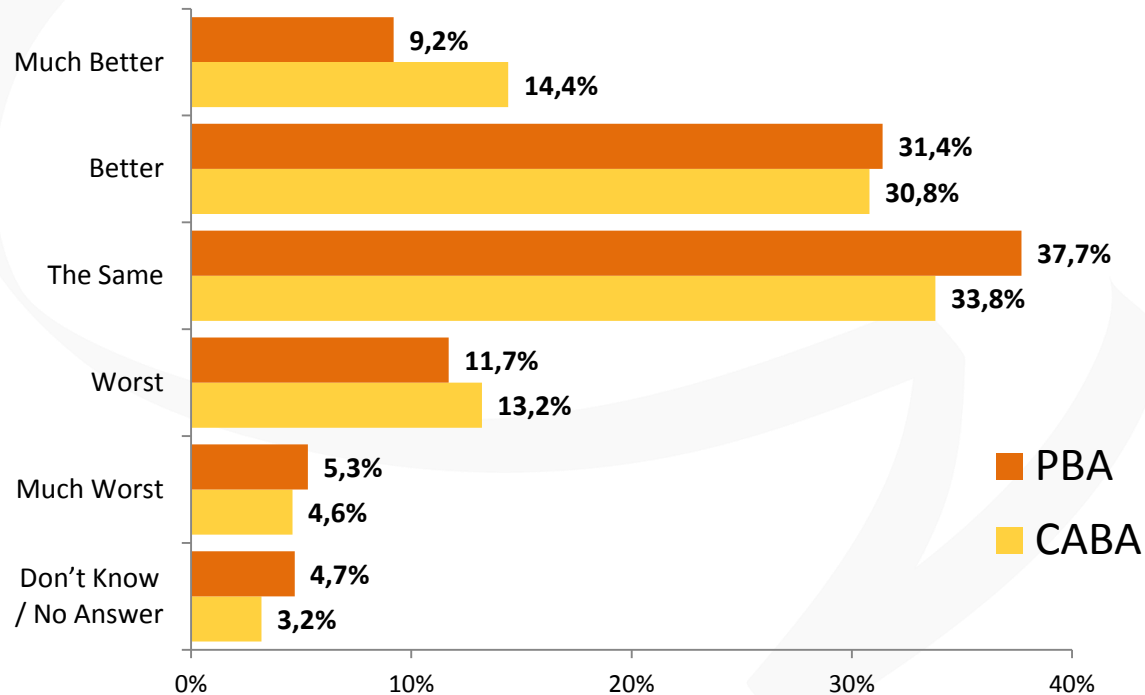
## ON THE 2015 EXECUTIVE ELECTIONS

What is your position towards the next executive elections in 2015?



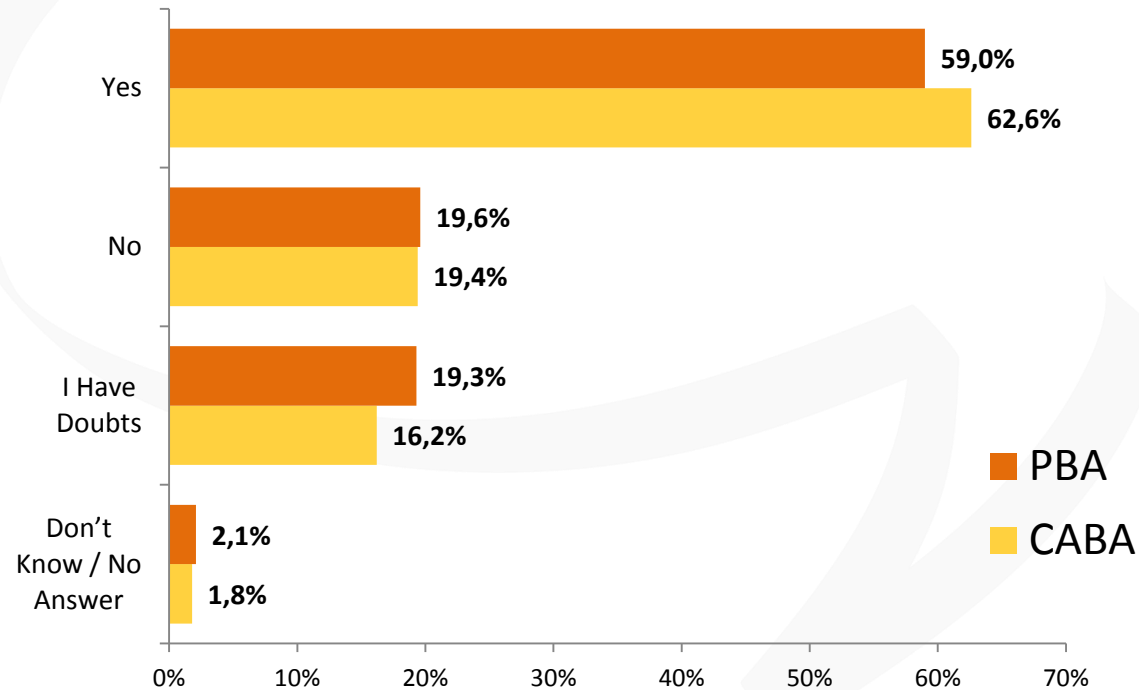
## ON THE 2015 EXECUTIVE ELECTIONS

How do you think will the country be after the election of 2015?



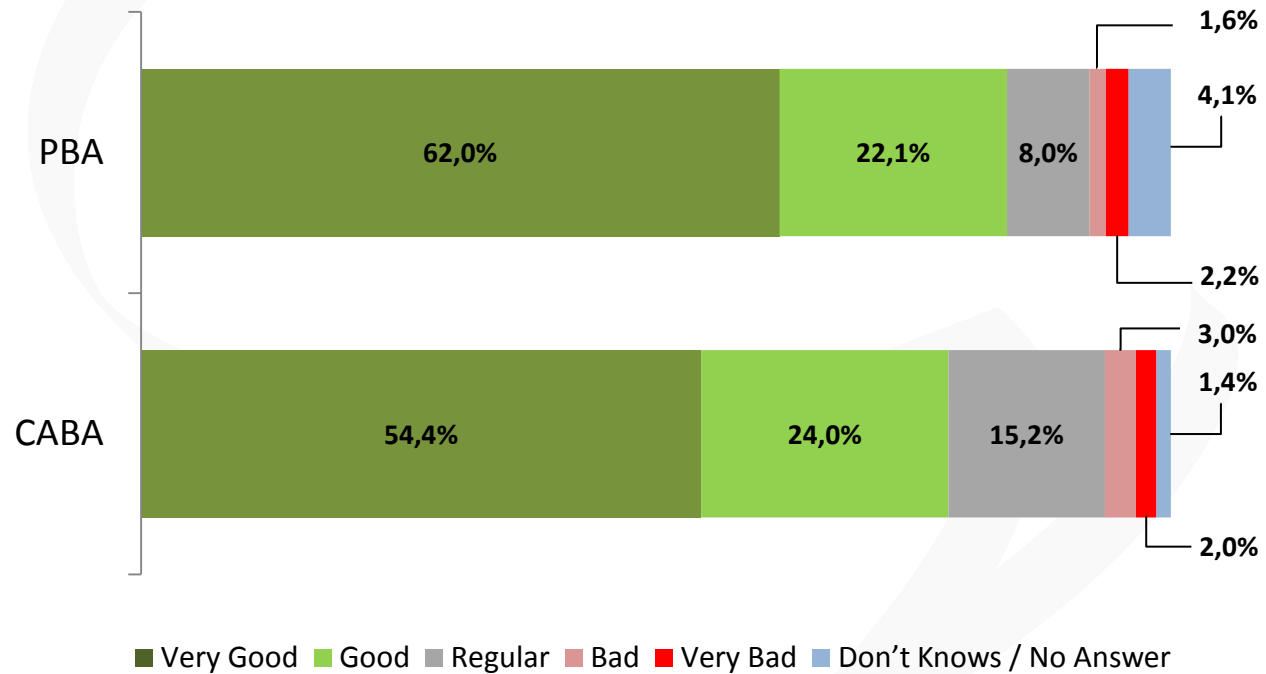
## ON THE 2015 EXECUTIVE ELECTIONS

In your opinion, is the kirchnerist cycle worn out?

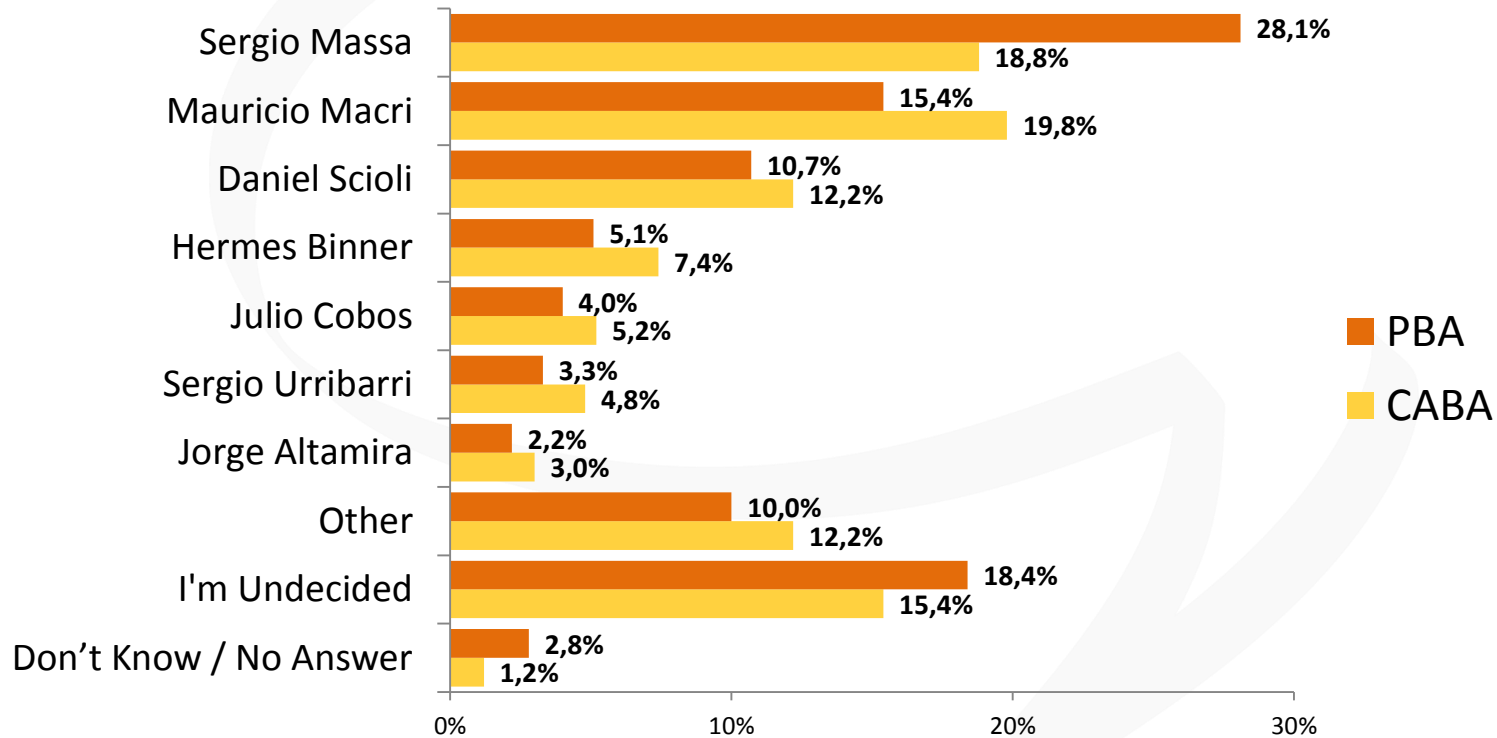


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# POPE FRANCIS'S IMAGE

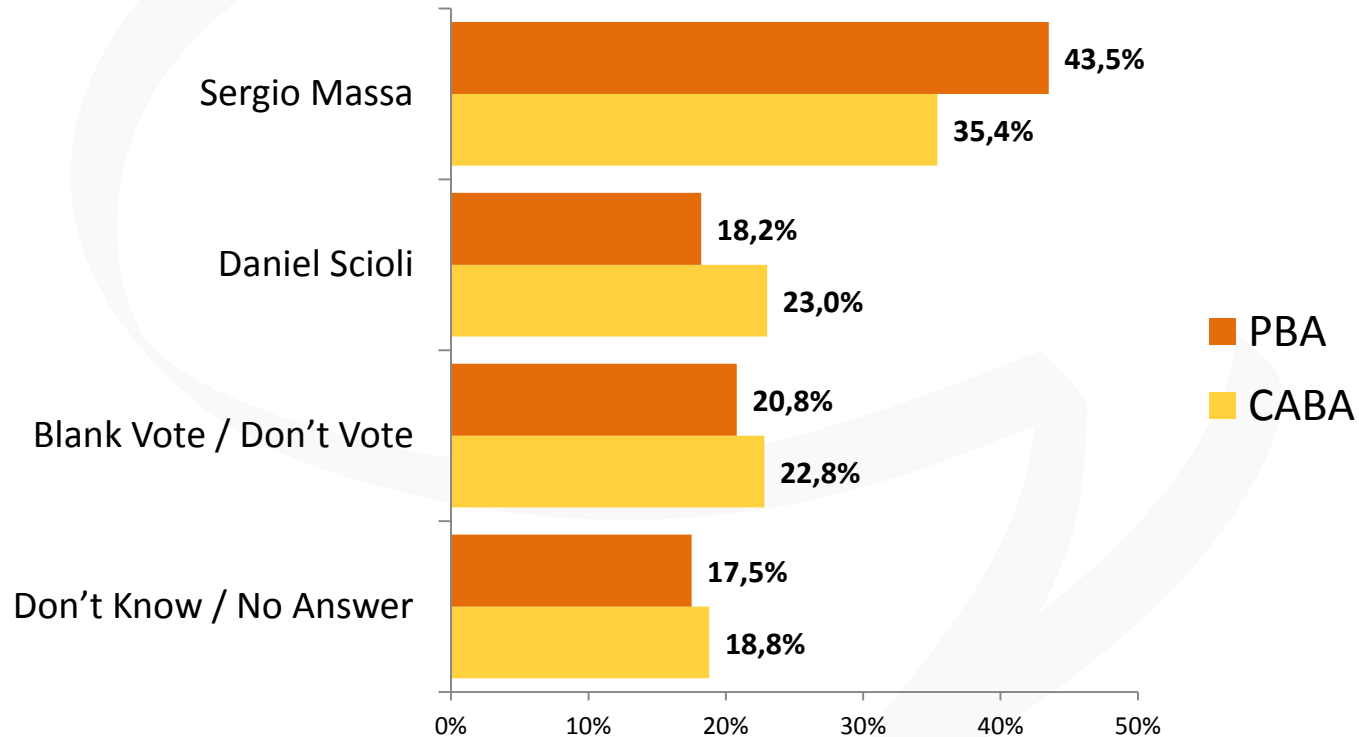


## VOTE INTENTION FOR 2015 PRESIDENT



## SECOND ROUND SCENARIOS

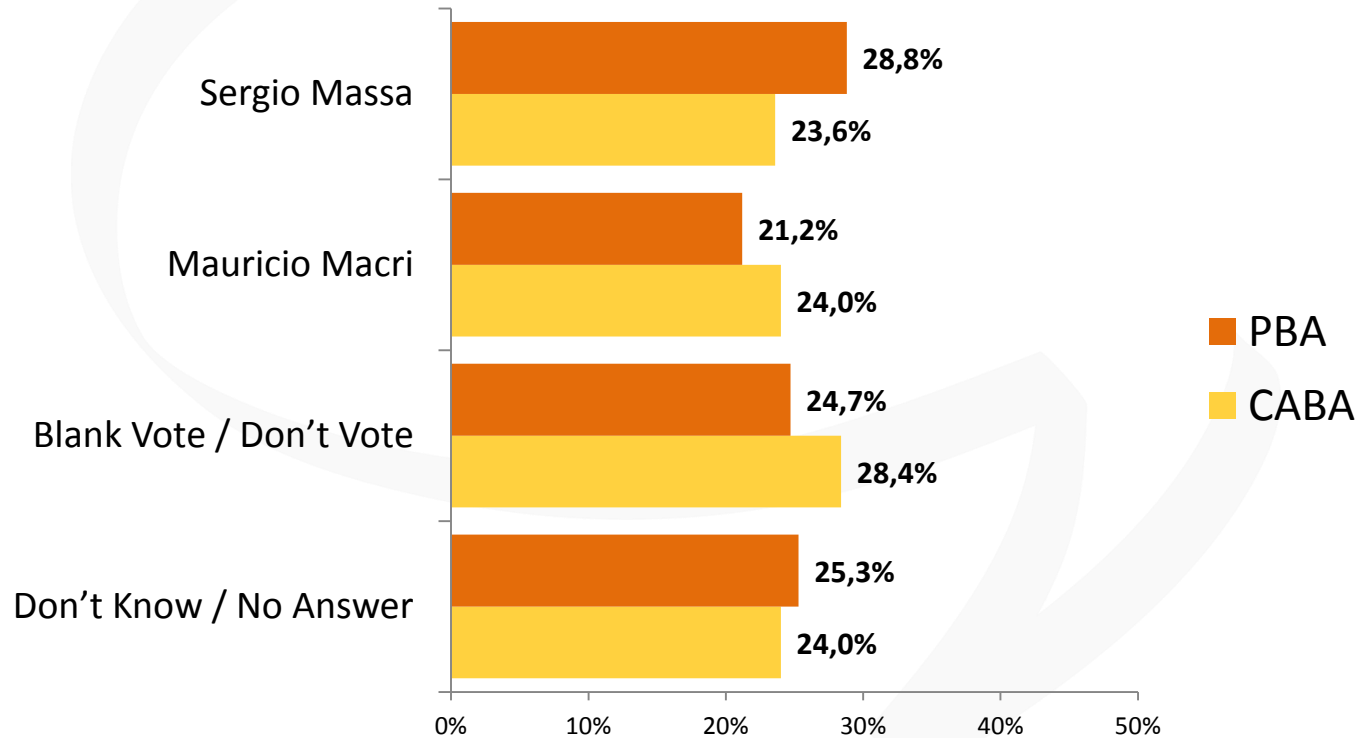
### Sergio Massa Vs. Daniel Scioli





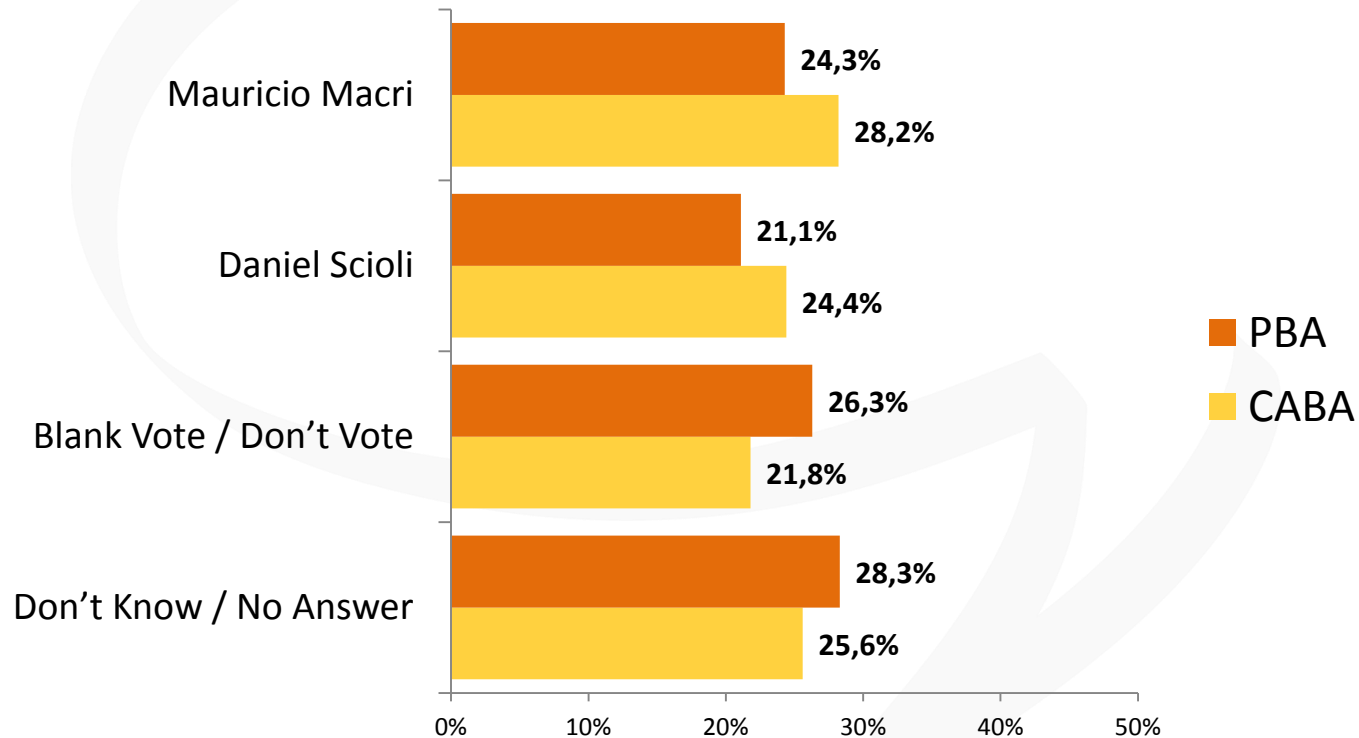
## SECOND ROUND SCENARIOS

### Sergio Massa Vs. Mauricio Macri



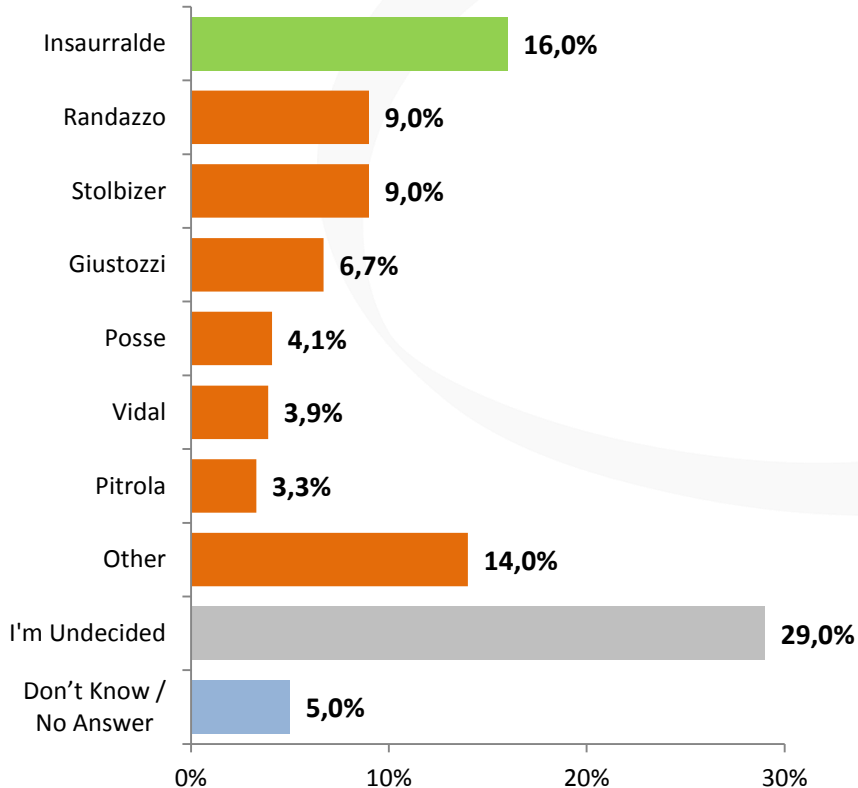
## SECOND ROUND SCENARIOS

### Mauricio Macri Vs. Daniel Scioli

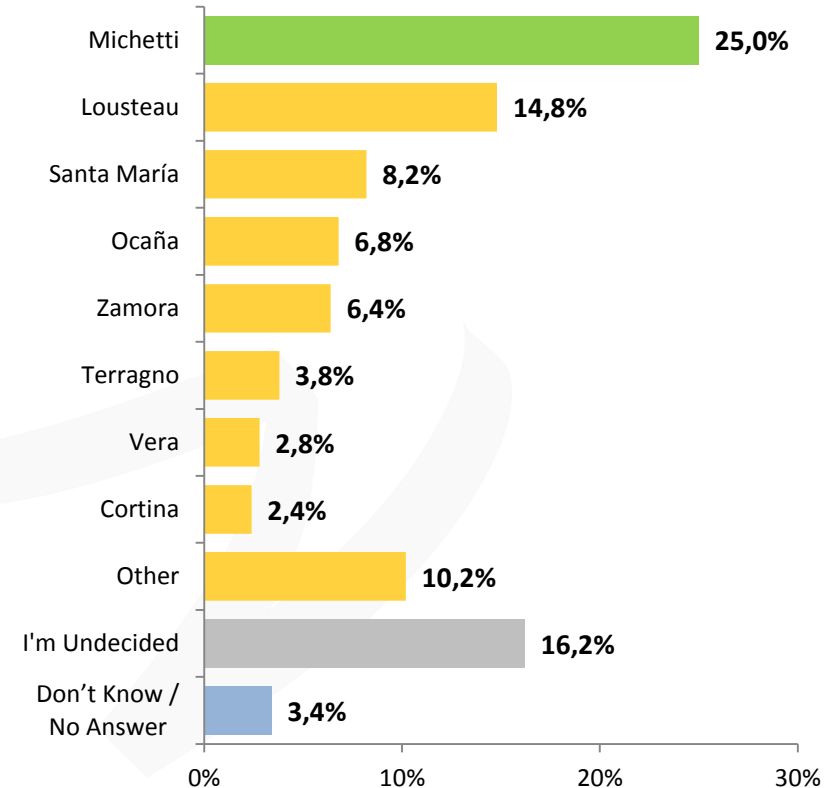


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Which of these candidates would you vote for **2015 GOVERNOR? (PBA)**



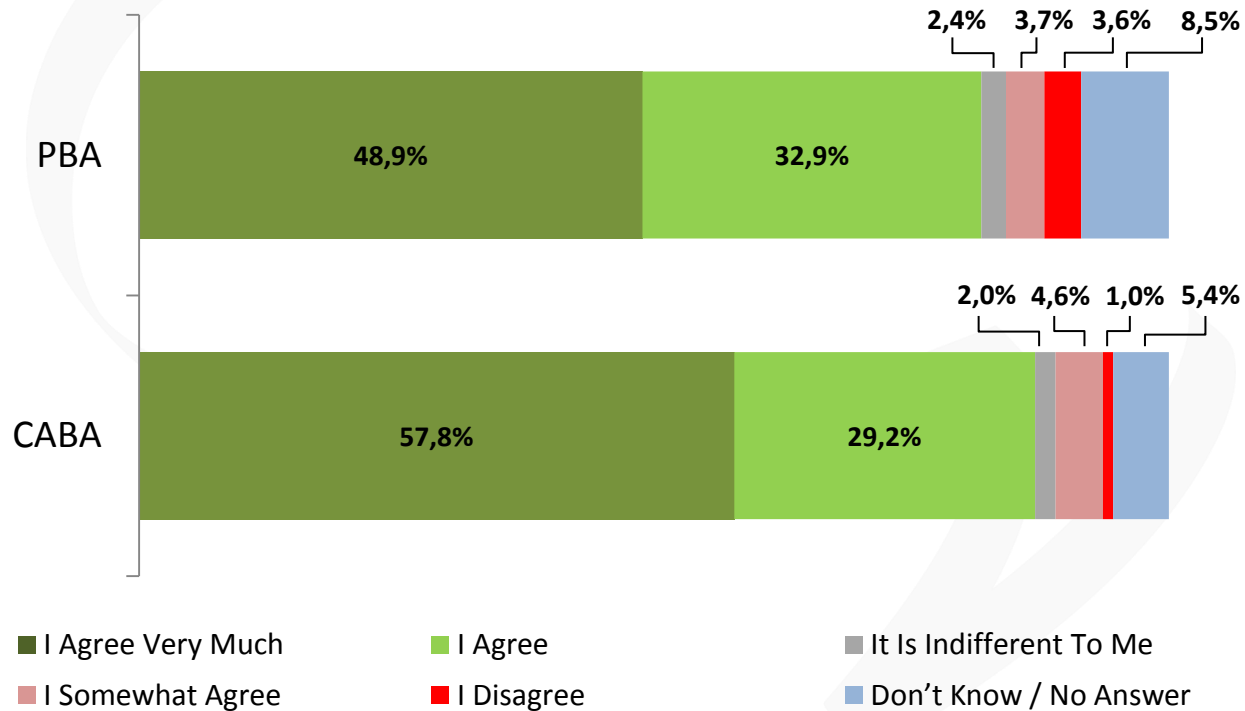
Which of these candidates would you vote to **2015 MAJOR? (CABA)**



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**DRUG TRAFFICKING, DECRIMINALIZATION AND INSECURITY**

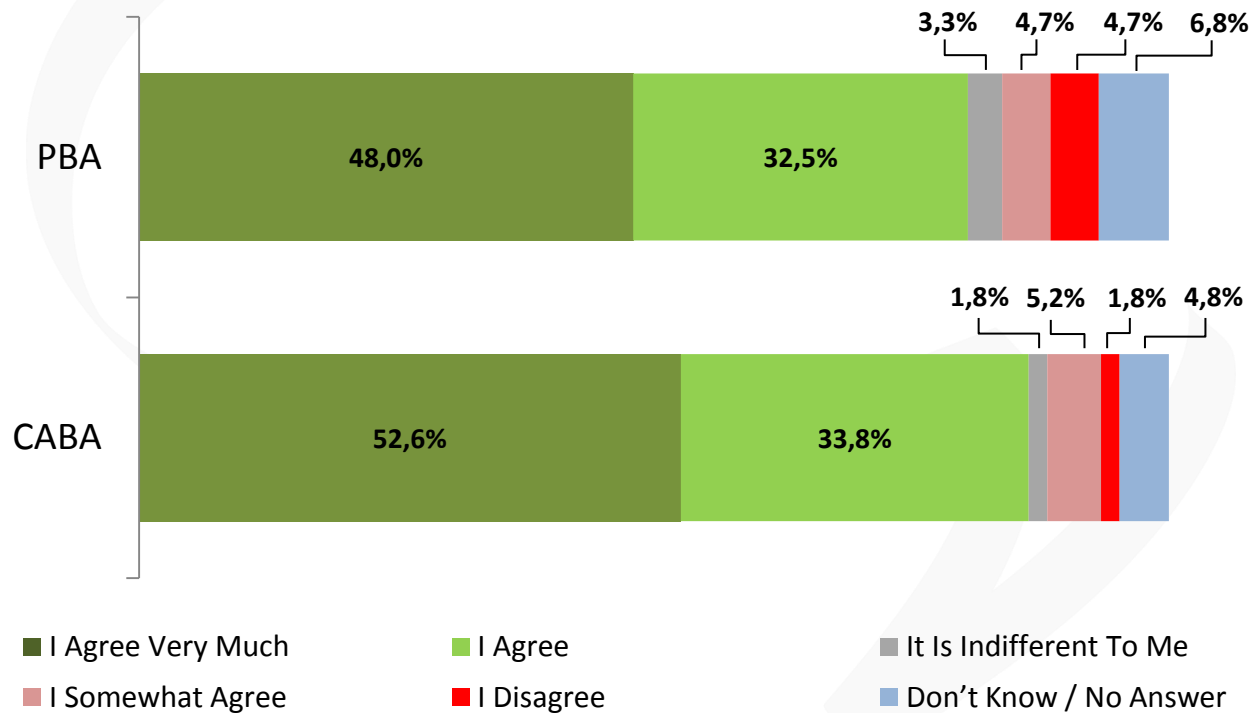
Drug trafficking is partner with a part of the police



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**DRUG TRAFFICKING, DECRIMINALIZATION AND INSECURITY**

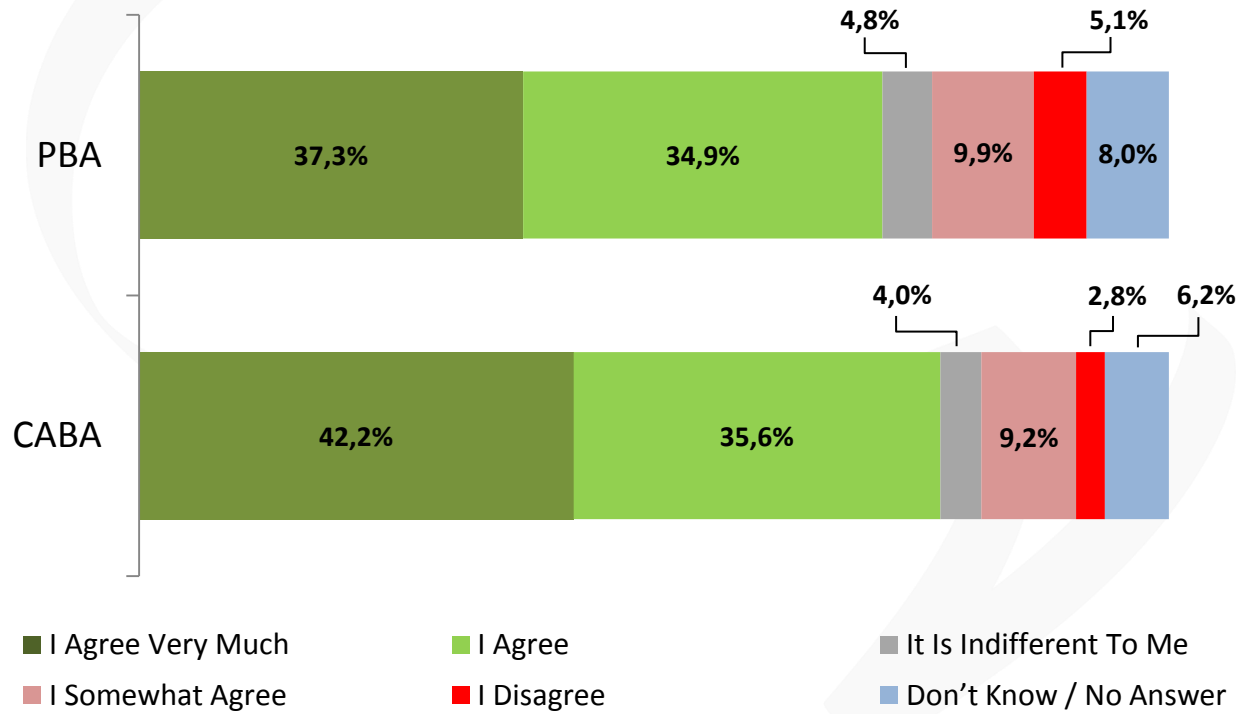
Drug trafficking is partner with a part of politics



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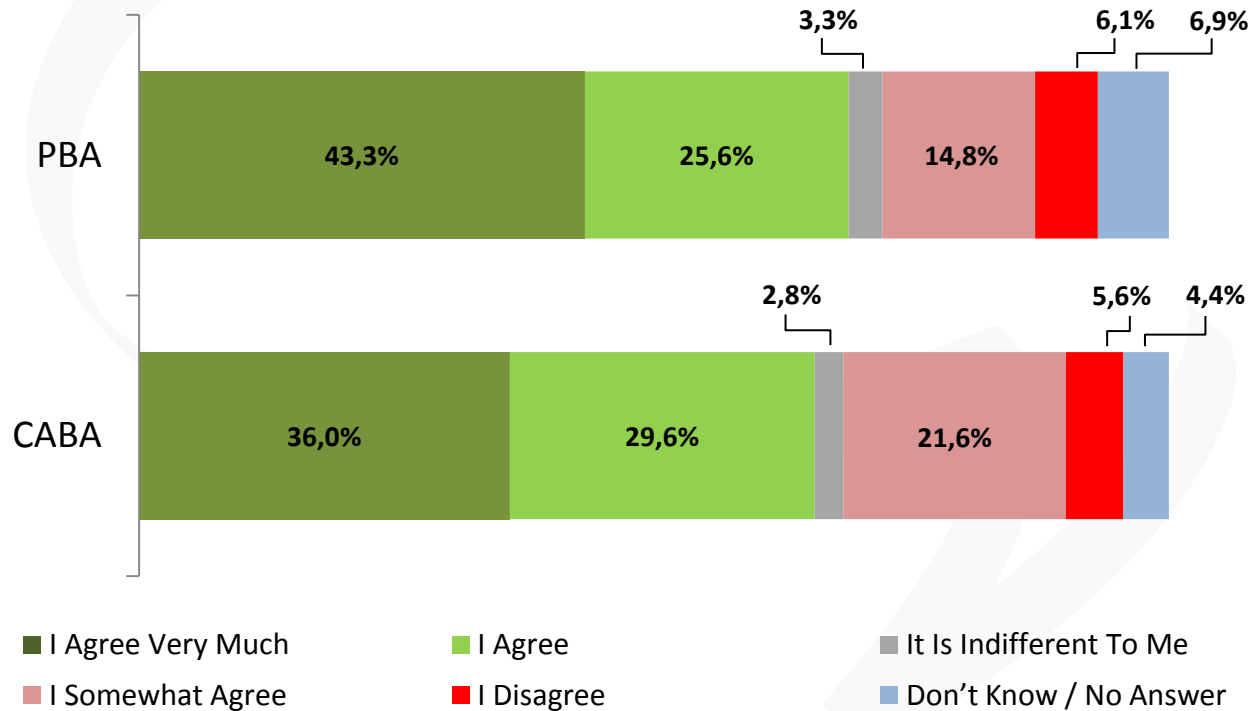
**DRUG TRAFFICKING, DECRIMINALIZATION AND INSECURITY**

Drug trafficking is partner with a part of justice



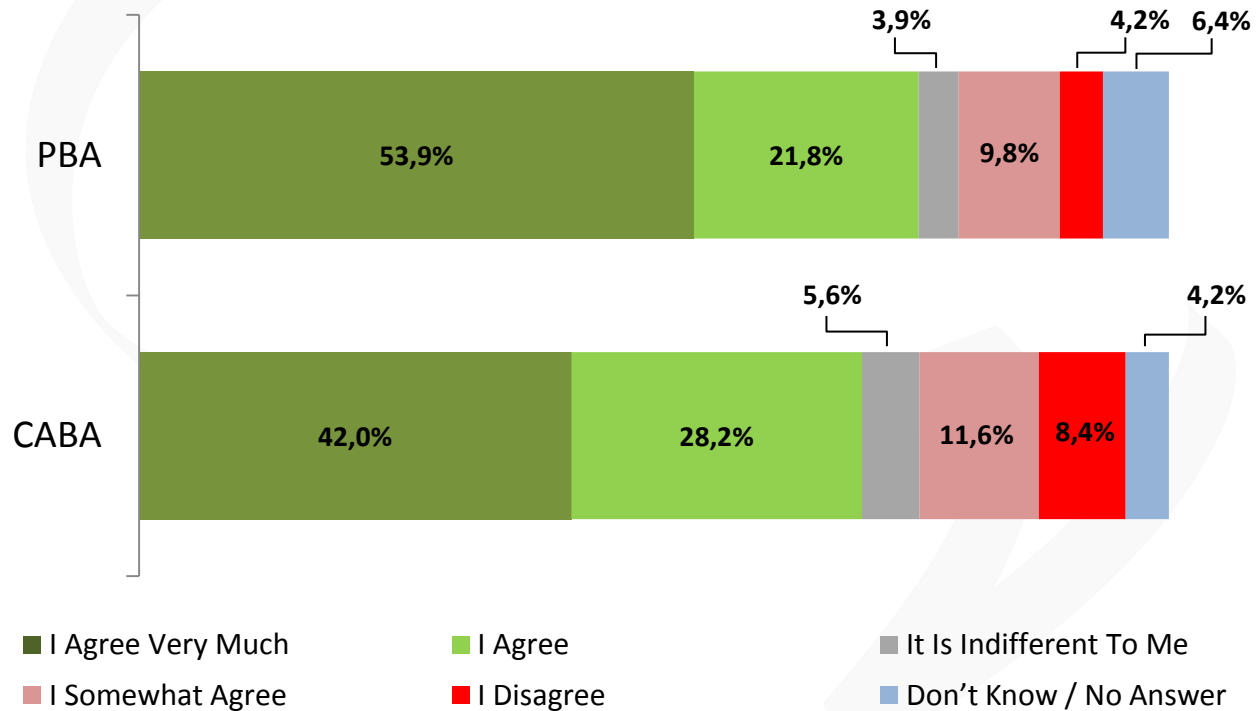
## DRUG TRAFFICKING, DECRIMINALIZATION AND INSECURITY

The advancement of drug trafficking is the main cause of insecurity



## DRUG TRAFFICKING, DECRIMINALIZATION AND INSECURITY

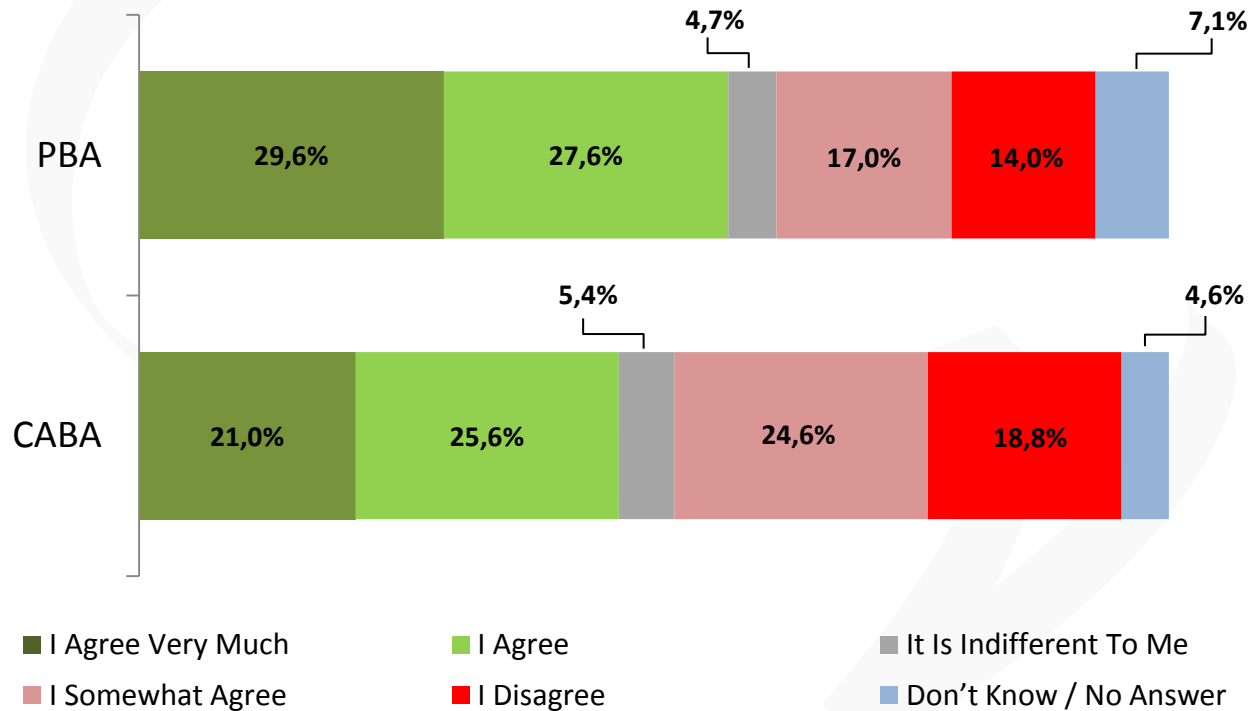
While walking down the street I feel unsafe all the time



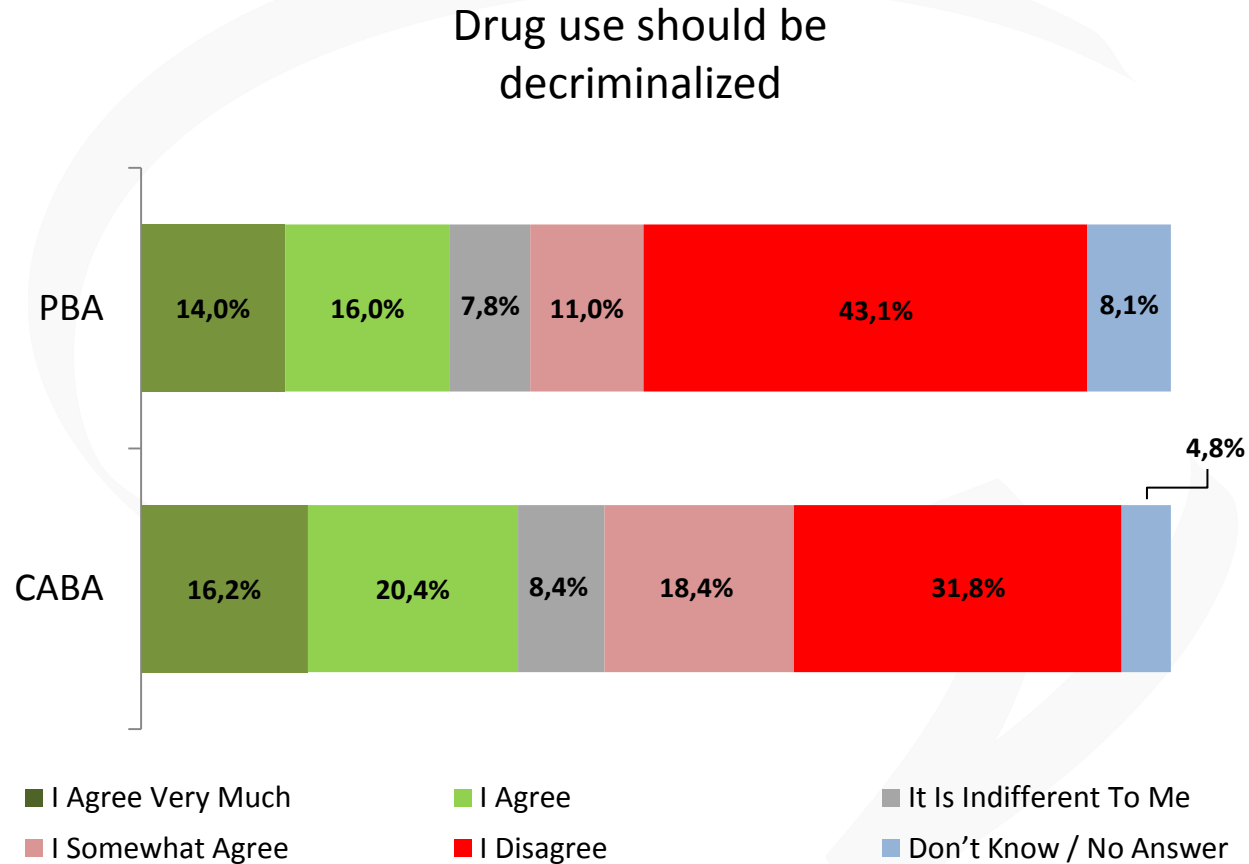


## DRUG TRAFFICKING, DECRIMINALIZATION AND INSECURITY

While inside my house I feel insecure all the time



## DRUG TRAFFICKING, DECRIMINALIZATION AND INSECURITY



## TECHNICAL DATA

### Date

APRIL 2014 (CABA) MAY 2014 ( PBA).

### Sample Type

Adjusted quota of sex, age, municipality (CABA) and electoral section (PBA).

### Sample Size

600 cases (CABA) 1000 cases (PBA).

### Mode

Structured questionnaire with open and closed questions.

### Query System

Domiciliary. Sealed Envelope.