

# Public Opinion Survey in the Argentine Republic

## ESCENARIO ELECTORAL EN ARGENTINA

## ELECTION SCENARIO IN ARGENTINA

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La encuesta nacional de 1500 casos bajo el sistema de sobre cerrado realizada por Giacobbe & Asociados durante septiembre de 2014 refleja que el electorado argentino exhibe ciertos criterios políticos estables y otros cambiantes.

Estable es la situación vinculada a que el ciclo político kirchnerista se encuentra agotado. Cualquiera fuera el candidato oficialista, el gobierno tendrá un caudal de votos de entre 20% y 24%, que quizás le permita ingresar a la segunda vuelta electoral, pero de ninguna manera le ganarla. Cualquier otro candidato que llegue a segunda vuelta contra el candidato kirchnerista, ganará las elecciones, y será presidente.

Cambiante es el proceso de construcción de la herramienta (candidato) que el electorado no-kirchnerista utilizará para combatir al gobierno. Este conjunto mayoritario de ciudadanos demuestra aún ser relativamente volátil.

The national survey of 1500 cases under the sealed envelope system carried out by Giacobbe & Associates during September 2014, reflects that Argentina's electorate shows certain stable and other changing political criteria.

Stable is the situation related to the fact that the Kirchnerist political cycle is completed. No matter who would be their candidate, the government will have a 20% to 24% share of the vote, which might enable it to enter the second electoral round, but will in no way, be enough to win. Any other candidate who reaches the second electoral round against the Kirchnerist candidate will win the elections and become President.

On the other hand, what is changing, is the candidate construction process that the opposition will use to fight the government. That majoritarian set of citizens shows to be still relatively volatile.

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## LAS LAGUNAS ELECTORALES

El electorado argentino está hoy dividido en tres lagunas de preferencias electorales. Cada una de ellas tiene un tipo de público, razones de voto y candidatos diferentes. Respecto de tres meses atrás, las lagunas no han cambiado de tamaño, pero sí cambian las preferencias internas.

Existe una laguna del 10% del electorado que quiere ser representado por una opción con valores éticos y de honestidad, pero que no quiere participar por la disputa del poder. Este electorado será bien representado por el espacio conformado por la alianza del FAP y UNEN, cuyos mayores exponentes son Hermes Binner, Julio Cobos, Ernesto Sanz y Elisa Carrió. En esta interna, Hermes Binner muestra mayor envergadura electoral.

Existe otra laguna del 24% que quiere que el kirchnerismo gane las elecciones. No importa el candidato que finalmente la represente, pues está compuesta de un voto cautivo en condiciones de hacer aquello que Cristina Fernandez desee. Sin embargo, hacia su adentro, el gobernador de la provincia de Buenos Aires, Daniel Scioli, duplica en votos al ministro Florencio Randazzo. No existen otras figuras del oficialismo que posean hoy algún valor electoral significativo.

## ELECTORAL SEGMENTS

Argentina's voters are currently divided into three segments of electoral preferences. Each of them has different types of public, voting reasons and candidates. Compared to three months ago, these groups have not changed their size, but changed their internal preferences.

There is a 10% of the electorate that wants to be represented by an option with ethical values and honesty, but that does not want to participate in the dispute for power. This electorate will be truly represented by the space conformed by the alliance of FAP and UNEN, whose major exponents are Hermes Binner, Julio Cobos, Ernesto Sanz and Elisa Carrió. Inward this alliance, it is Hermes Binner who shows the greatest electoral share.

There is another 24% of the electorate that wants Kirchnerism to win the elections, no matter, which candidate will ultimately represent it, since these are captive voters willing to do whatever Cristina Fernandez wants. Nevertheless, within this percentage of voters, the Governor of Buenos Aires Province, Daniel Scioli, duplicates Minister Florencio Randazzo in voting intention. To this date, there are no other figures within the government that hold any significant electoral value.

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La laguna más grande está conformada por un 55% de la población, que claramente quiere que el kirchnerismo pierda las elecciones, y quiere participar por la disputa del poder. Este público se debate entre los candidatos Sergio Massa y Mauricio Macri. Hace tres meses, el deseo y las miradas estaban puestas sobre Sergio Massa, pero esa situación ha cambiado en favor de Mauricio Macri. Se trata de una población cambiante y absolutamente independiente en lo político, que pasea por la góndola mirando y evaluando a los dos productos que podrían servirle.

De este modo, las intenciones de voto a presidente dan a Mauricio Macri con el 28,4% de votos, seguido por Sergio Massa y Daniel Scioli con 19,4% cada uno. Luego Hermes Binner con 9,8%. Luego se registra un 4% de votantes para Jorge Altamira, del Partido Obrero, y un 18% de la categoría "otros" de gente que aún no quiere tomar partido por ninguna de estas opciones.

## RAZONES DEL CAMBIO

Durante los últimos meses, Mauricio Macri ha mejorado en instalar la idea de que puede gobernar el país sin que ello conlleve un riesgo de anomia. También crece desde su perfil empresario y gestor, cuanto más se profundiza la crisis económica.

The biggest segment is composed by 55% of the population that clearly wants Kirchnerism to lose the elections and wants to be part of the dispute for power. This public splits up between candidates Sergio Massa and Mauricio Macri. Three months ago, the expectations were posed upon Sergio Massa, but that situation has shifted favoring Mauricio Macri. This part of the electorate is mind-changing and absolutely independent in the political arena: it walks down the gondola, watching and evaluating the differences between the two products that could benefit them.

Voting intentions for President, give Mauricio Macri 28,4%, followed by Sergio Massa and Daniel Scioli, each one with 19,4% electoral share. Hermes Binner follows with 9,8%. 4% of voters is registered for Jorge Altamira, from the Workers Party, and 18% for "others", made up of voters that still do not want to take sides for any of these options.

## REASONS FOR CHANGE

During the last months, Mauricio Macri has improved in installing the idea that he can rule the country without causing risk of anomie. He also grows from his businessman and manager perspective as the economic crisis deepens.

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La "espuma" que quedó del triunfo de Sergio Massa en las elecciones del 2013 ha tendido a bajar, y el entusiasmo a calmarse. Tras tanta exposición, su figura ha sufrido un gran agotamiento y ciertas porciones del electorado comienzan a percibirlo con desconfianza. Este espacio vacío ha succionado a Mauricio Macri hacia arriba.

La estrategia del kirchnerismo para polarizar la elección con Mauricio Macri también ha sido exitosa, centrando las miradas en este binomio, en detrimento de Sergio Massa. El plan del kirchnerismo es armar un escenario conceptual donde se discuta entre "derechas e izquierdas".

## SEGUNDAS VUELTAS

En escenario de segunda vuelta, Daniel Scioli perdería tanto contra Mauricio Macri como contra Sergio Massa. En el caso de una segunda vuelta entre estos dos últimos, Mauricio Macri aventaja por pocos puntos a Sergio Massa, pero esta pregunta registra aún un nivel de indecisos superior al 30%, por lo cual este escenario todavía es incierto.

The "foam" that stayed after Sergio Massa's triumph in the 2013 elections has tended to decrease, and the enthusiasm to calm down. After such great exposition, his figure has suffered great exhaustion and certain portions of the electorate start to perceive him with mistrust. The empty space created by this situation has drawn Mauricio Macri up.

The Kirchnerist strategy to polarize the election with Mauricio Macri has also been successful, focusing the looks on the antagonism between the two, in detriment of Sergio Massa. The plan of Kirchnerism is to build a conceptual scenario where the discussion is held between "right and left".

## SECOND ROUNDS

In a second round scenario, Daniel Scioli would lose against Mauricio Macri, as well as against Sergio Massa. In case of a second round between these last two, Mauricio Macri takes the lead for few points ahead of Sergio Massa, but this is an uncertain scenario, as it still registers a level of undecided voters greater than 30%.

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## EL UNIVERSO KIRCHNERISTA

Todos los indicadores señalan que el universo kirchnerista se mantiene estable, pero se perfila hacia una derrota en las elecciones del 2015. La imagen positiva de la presidenta Cristina Fernández de Kirchner asciende al 27,7%, mientras que la negativa representa el 44,2%. La calificación de su gobierno es de 4,64 puntos (de 1 a 10). El 58% de la población no es indiferente a su estímulo, y quiere que pierda las elecciones.

Algunas de las principales banderas del kirchnerismo están absolutamente en crisis. El 73% de los argentinos cree que el vicepresidente Amado Boudou debería renunciar a su cargo en función de su situación judicial. El 15% cree que debería pedir licencia, y solo el 9% cree que debería mantenerse. En el caso del Ministro de Economía Axel Kicillof, el 51% cree que no posee las condiciones necesarias para ejercer el cargo. Por otro lado, el 81% de los argentinos cree que el Gobierno Nacional no está haciendo todo lo posible para combatir al narcotráfico.

En contraposición, el Papa Francisco posee una imagen positiva cercana al 90%, que lo consolida como un liderazgo de contrafigura y le permite condicionar, desde su posición de voz autorizada, la agenda de temas sociales en el país.

## THE KIRCHNERIST UNIVERSE

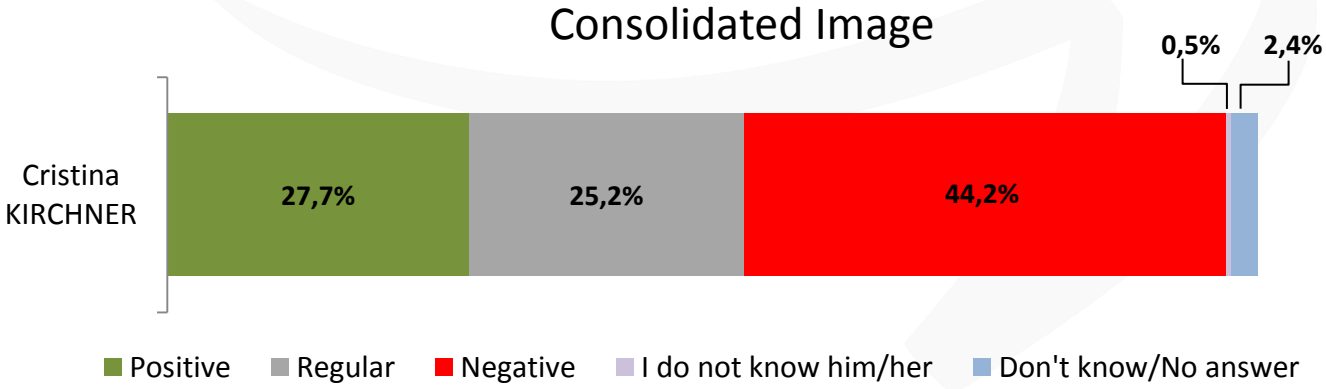
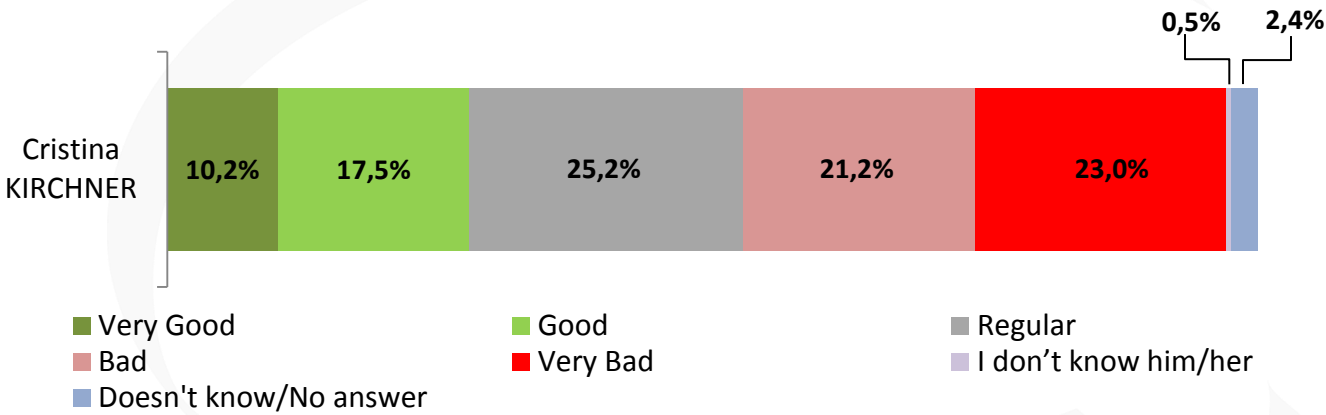
All indicators show that the Kirchnerist universe keeps stable, but moves towards defeat in the 2015 elections. Cristina Fernández de Kirchner's positive image reaches 27,7%, while the negative represents 44,2%. Her government is graded with 4,64 points (out of 10). 58% of the population is not indifferent towards her and wants her to lose the elections.

Some of the main banners of Kirchnerism are absolutely in crisis. 73% of Argentines believe that Vice-President, Amado Boudou, should resign his post given his judicial situation. 15% believes that he should ask for a leave, and only 9% believes that he should stay in his functions. As for the Economy Minister, Axel Kicillof, 51% believe that he does not have the necessary conditions to perform his office. On another subject, 81% of Argentines think that the National Government is not doing everything in its power to fight drug trafficking.

On the other hand, Pope Francis has a positive image close to 90%, which consolidates him as a counter figure leadership and allows him to address, from his authorized voice position, the agenda of the social issues in the country.

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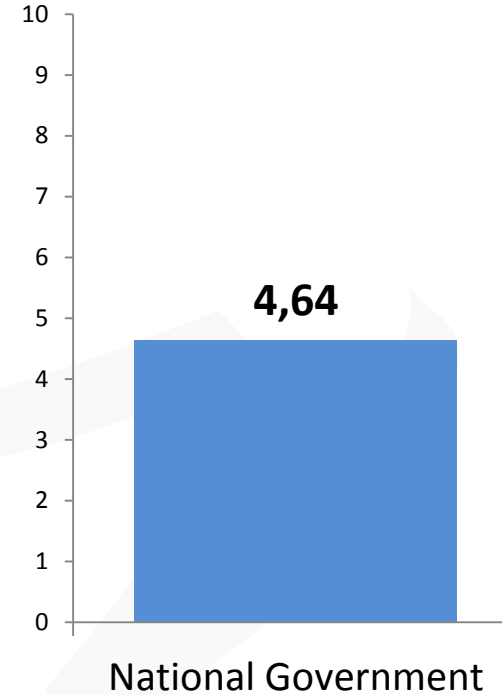
## CRISTINA KIRCHNER'S IMAGE



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How would you grade the performance of the National Government?

Score	%
1	16,0%
2	7,1%
3	11,2%
4	12,2%
5	15,0%
6	9,2%
7	9,6%
8	8,8%
9	3,7%
10	3,3%
DK/NA	3,9%
<b>Total</b>	<b>100%</b>
<b>AVERAGE</b>	<b>4,64</b>



# Public Opinion Survey in the Argentine Republic

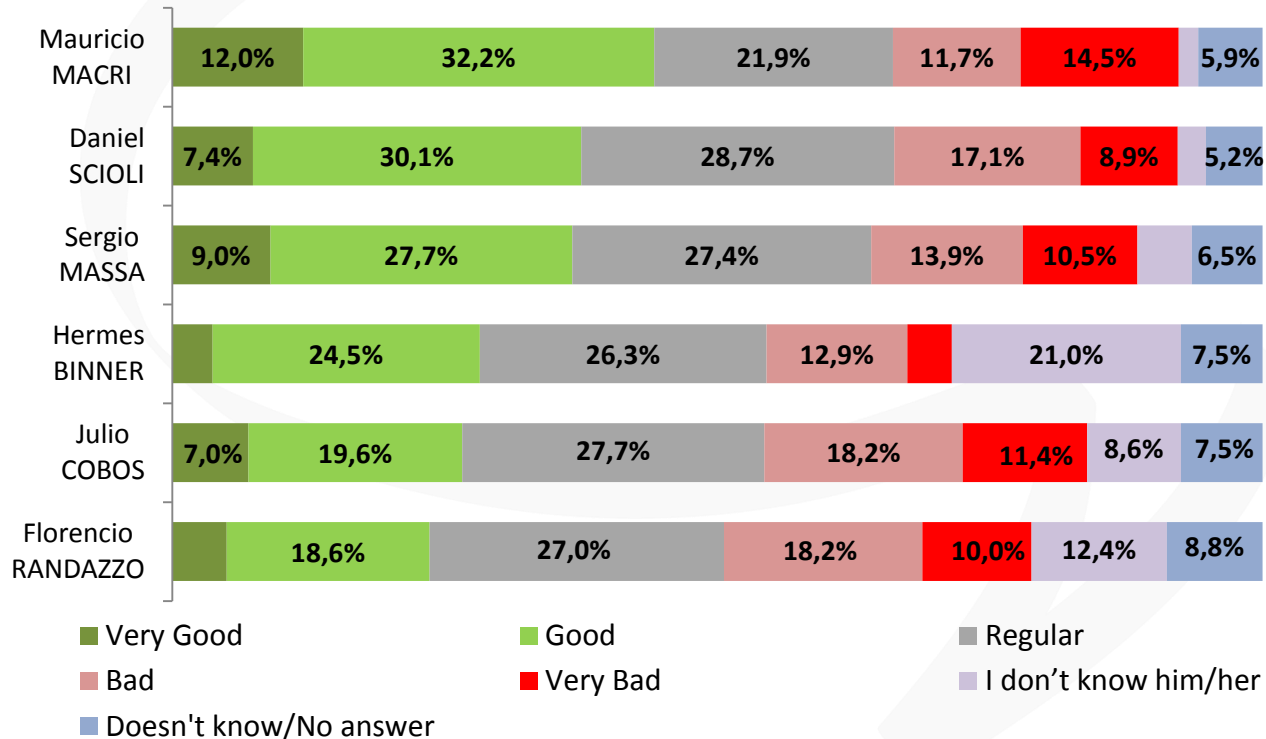
What personal perception do you have of the following political figures?

Option	Very Good	Good	Regular	Bad	Very Bad	I don't know him/her	DK/NA
Mauricio MACRI	12,0%	<b>32,2%</b>	21,9%	11,7%	14,5%	1,8%	5,9%
Daniel SCIOLI	7,4%	<b>30,1%</b>	28,7%	17,1%	8,9%	2,6%	5,2%
Sergio MASSA	9,0%	<b>27,7%</b>	27,4%	13,9%	10,5%	5,0%	6,5%
Hermes BINNER	3,7%	24,5%	<b>26,3%</b>	12,9%	4,1%	21,0%	7,5%
Julio COBOS	7,0%	19,6%	<b>27,7%</b>	18,2%	11,4%	8,6%	7,5%
Florencio RANDAZZO	5,0%	18,6%	<b>27,0%</b>	18,2%	10,0%	12,4%	8,8%



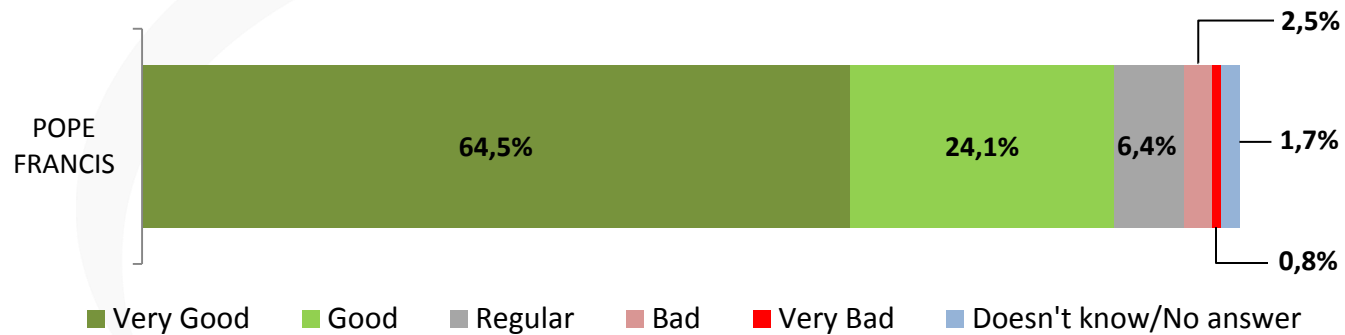
# Public Opinion Survey in the Argentine Republic

What personal perception do you have of the following political figures?

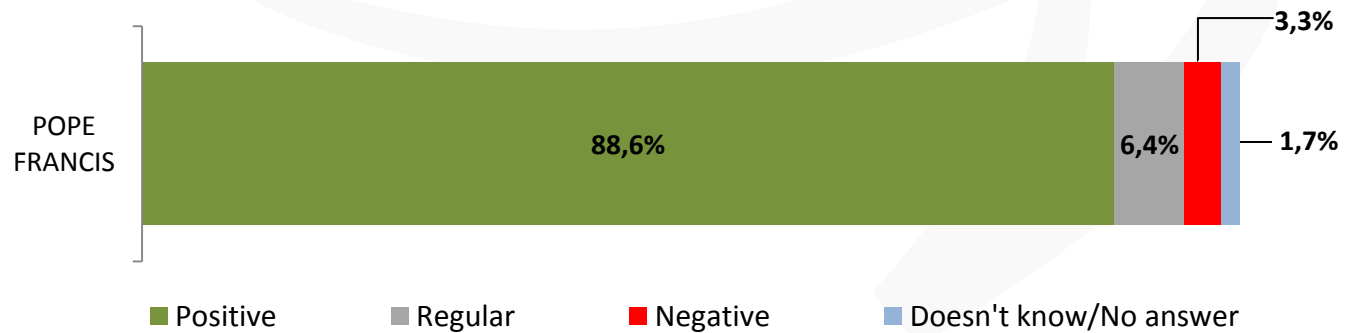


# Public Opinion Survey in the Argentine Republic

## POPE FRANCIS'S IMAGE



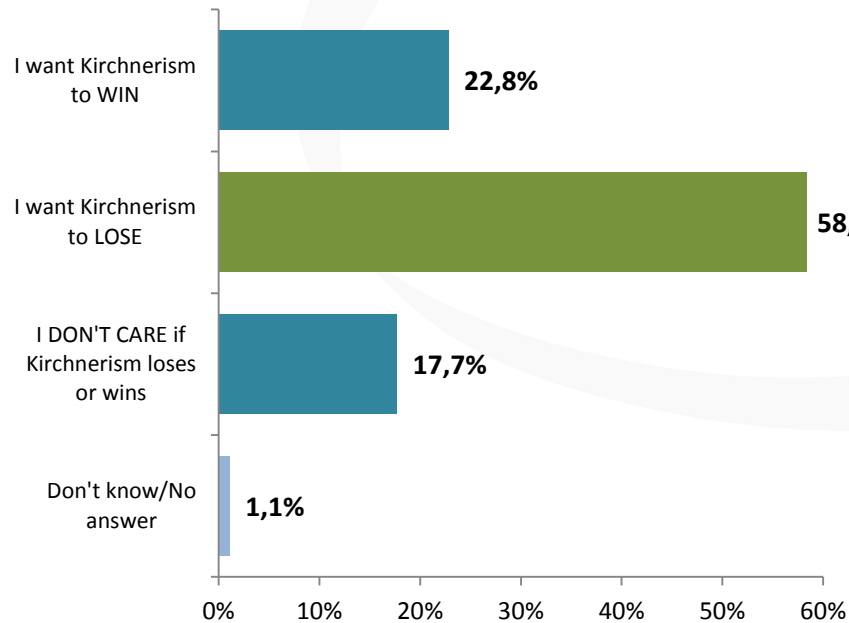
### Consolidated Image



# Public Opinion Survey in the Argentine Republic

## REGARDING THE 2015 PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS

What is your position looking forward to the presidential elections to be held in 2015?

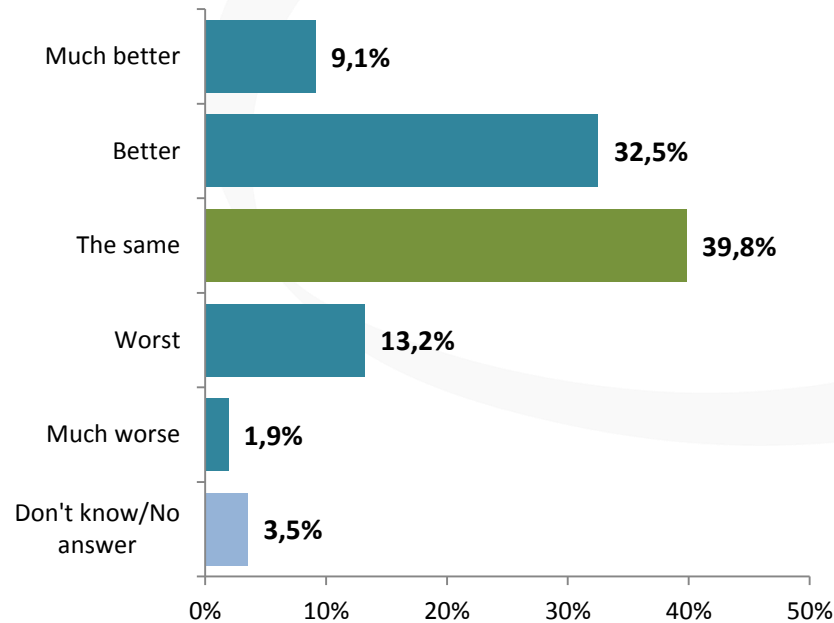


Option	%
I want Kirchnerism to WIN	22,8%
I want Kirchnerism to LOSE	58,4%
I DON'T CARE if Kirchnerism loses or wins	17,7%
Don't know/No answer	1,1%
<b>Total</b>	<b>100%</b>

# Public Opinion Survey in the Argentine Republic

## REGARDING THE 2015 PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS

How do you think the country will be like after the 2015 elections?

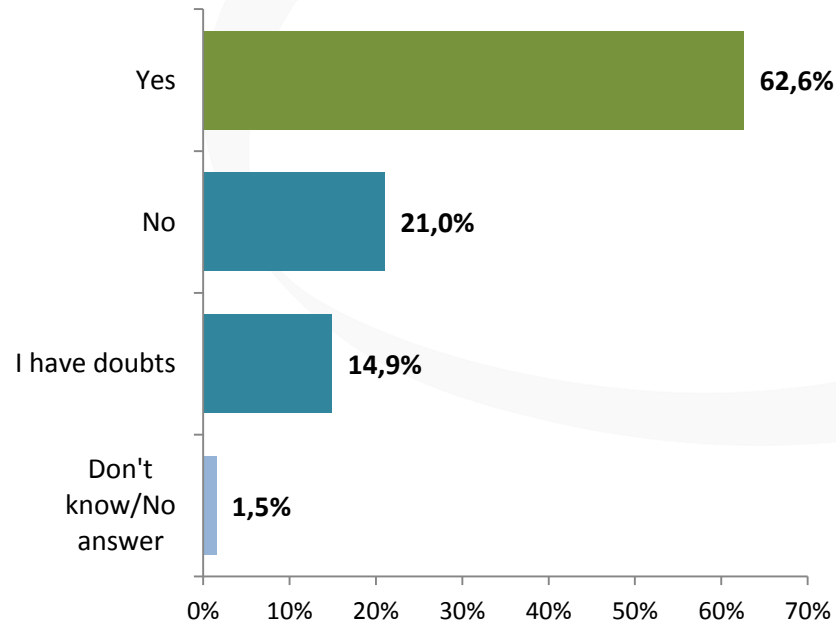


Option	%
Much better	9,1%
Better	32,5%
The same	39,8%
Worst	13,2%
Much worse	1,9%
Don't know/No answer	3,5%
<b>Total</b>	<b>100%</b>

# Public Opinion Survey in the Argentine Republic

## REGARDING THE 2015 PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS

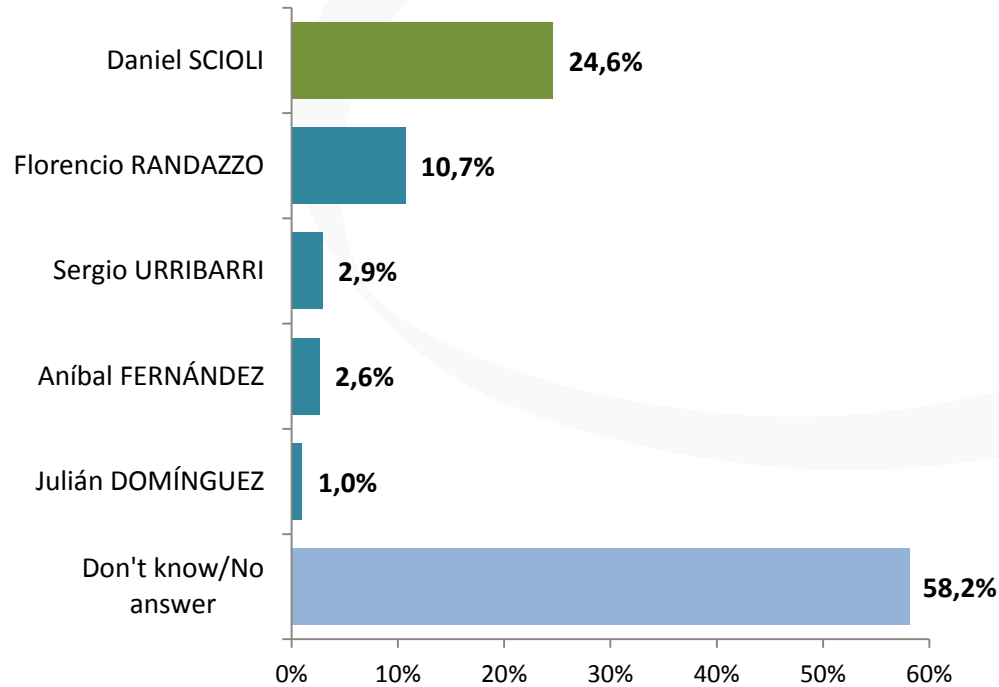
In your opinion, is the Kirchnerist political cycle reaching its end?



Option	%
Yes	62,6%
No	21,0%
I have doubts	14,9%
Don't know/No answer	1,5%
<b>Total</b>	<b>100%</b>

# Public Opinion Survey in the Argentine Republic

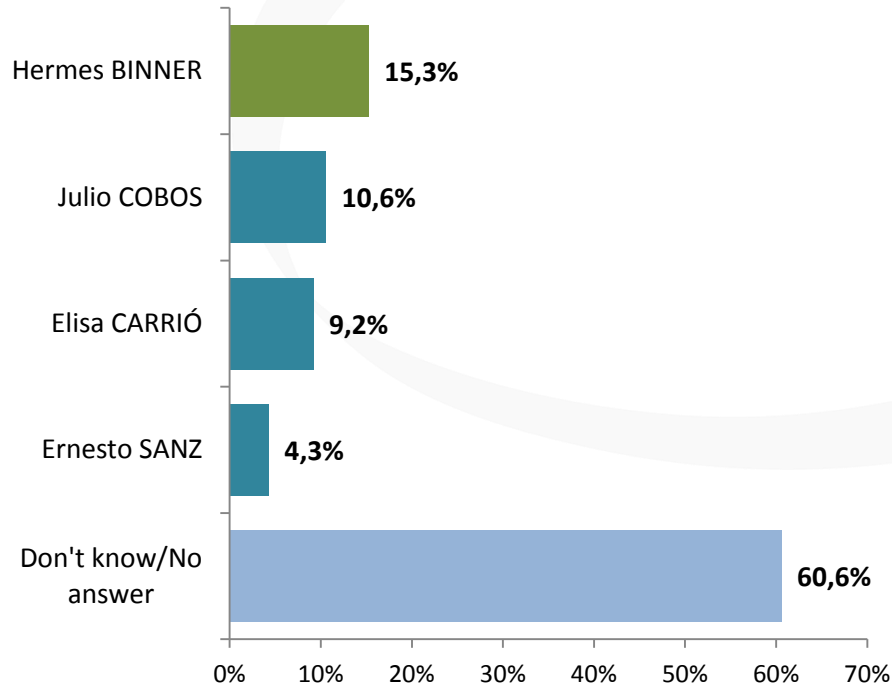
## 2015 OPEN INTERNAL ELECTIONS FOR PRESIDENT FRENTE PARA LA VICTORIA



Option	%
Daniel SCIOLI	24,6%
Florencio RANDAZZO	10,7%
Sergio URRIBARRI	2,9%
Aníbal FERNÁNDEZ	2,6%
Julián DOMÍNGUEZ	1,0%
Don't know/No answer	58,2%
<b>Total</b>	<b>100%</b>

# Public Opinion Survey in the Argentine Republic

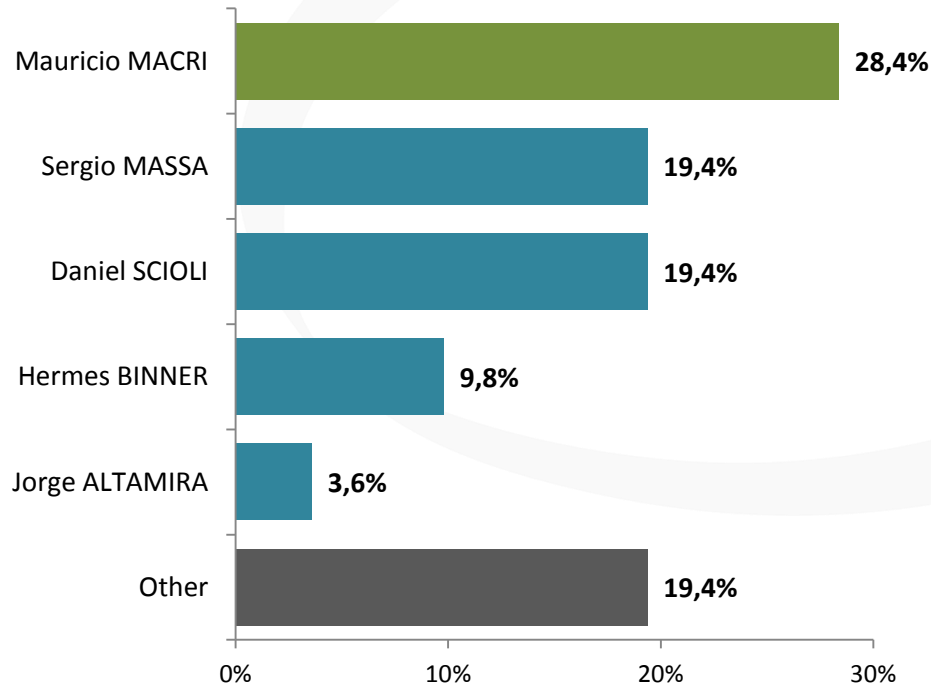
## 2015 OPEN INTERNAL ELECTIONS FOR PRESIDENT FRENTE AMPLIO UNEN



Option	%
Hermes BINNER	15,3%
Julio COBOS	10,6%
Elisa CARRIÓ	9,2%
Ernesto SANZ	4,3%
Don't know/No answer	60,6%
<b>Total</b>	<b>100%</b>

# Public Opinion Survey in the Argentine Republic

## VOTING INTENTION FOR PRESIDENT 2015



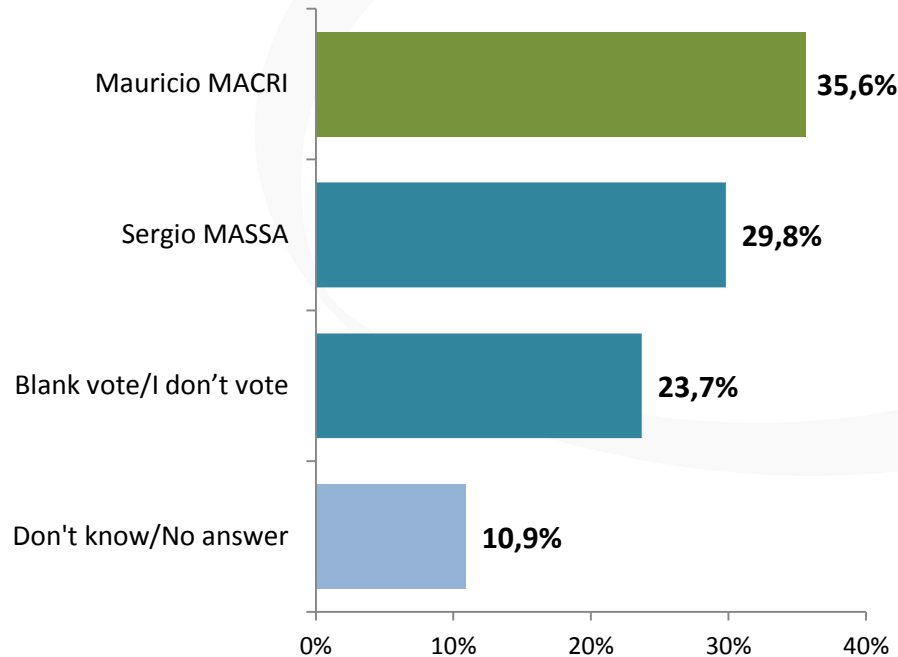
Option	%
Mauricio MACRI	28,4%
Sergio MASSA	19,4%
Daniel SCIOLI	19,4%
Hermes BINNER	9,8%
Jorge ALTAMIRA	3,6%
Other	19,4%
<b>Total</b>	<b>100%</b>



# Public Opinion Survey in the Argentine Republic

## SECOND ROUND SCENARIO

### Sergio MASSA Vs. Mauricio MACRI

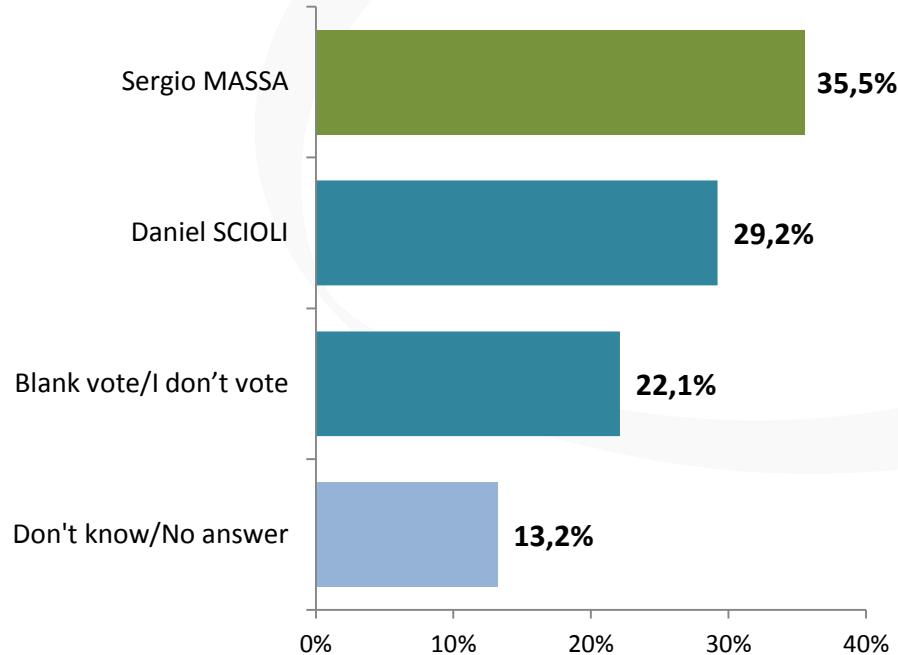


Option	%
Mauricio MACRI	35,6%
Sergio MASSA	29,8%
Blank vote/I don't vote	23,7%
Don't know/No answer	10,9%
<b>Total</b>	<b>100%</b>

# Public Opinion Survey in the Argentine Republic

## SECOND ROUND SCENARIO

Sergio MASSA Vs. Daniel SCIOLI

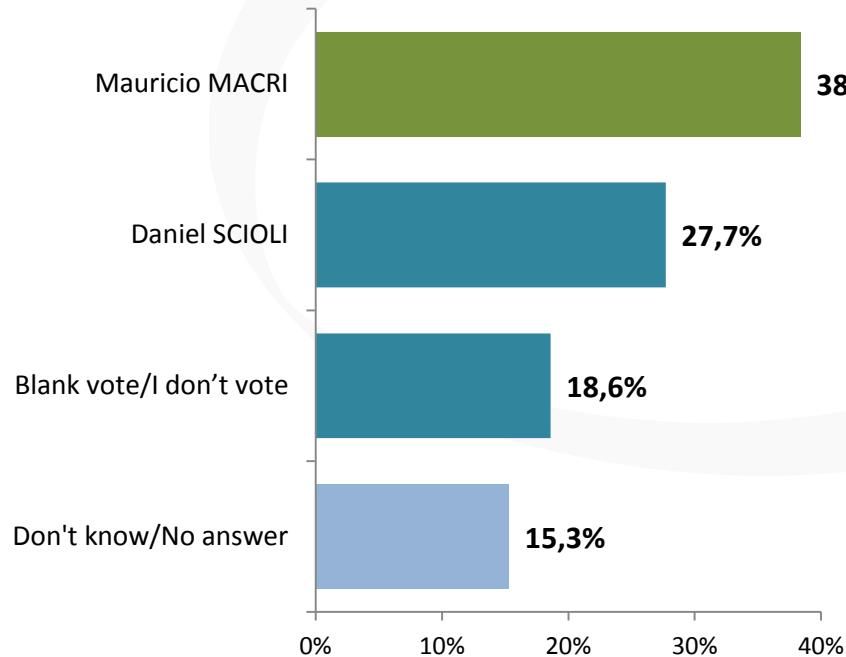


Option	%
Sergio MASSA	35,5%
Daniel SCIOLI	29,2%
Blank vote/I don't vote	22,1%
Don't know/No answer	13,2%
<b>Total</b>	<b>100%</b>

# Public Opinion Survey in the Argentine Republic

## SECOND ROUND SCENARIO

### Mauricio MACRI Vs. Daniel SCIOLI

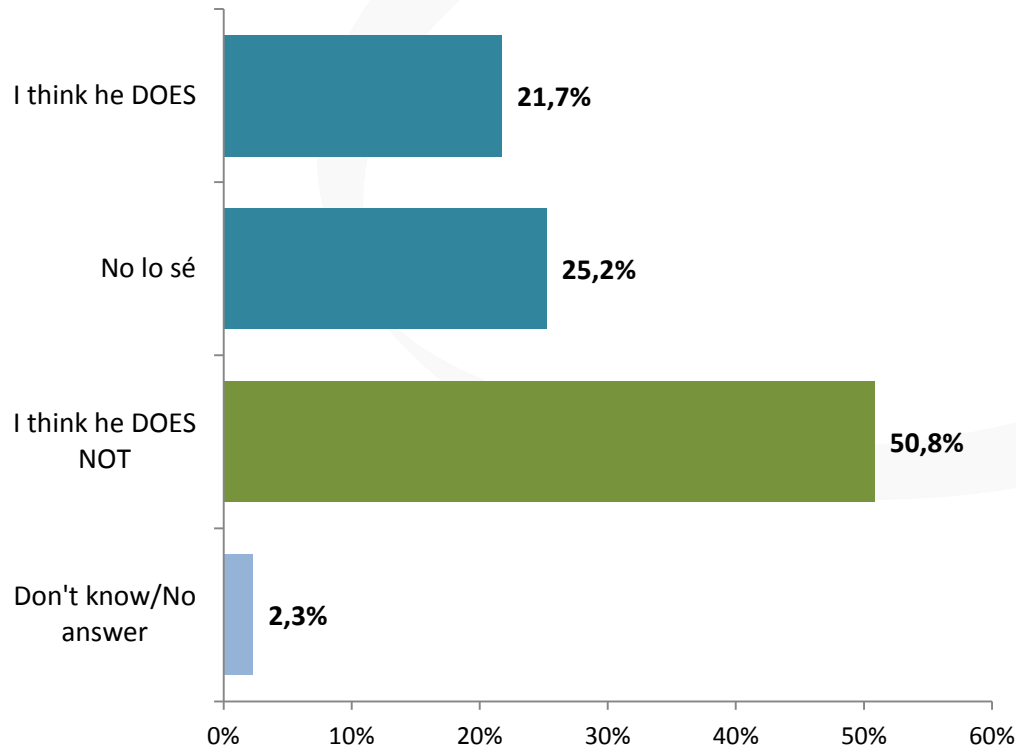


Option	%
Mauricio MACRI	38,4%
Daniel SCIOLI	27,7%
Blank vote/I don't vote	18,6%
Don't know/No answer	15,3%
<b>Total</b>	<b>100%</b>

# Encuesta de Opinión Pública en la República Argentina

## ABOUT THE SOCIO-ECONOMIC SITUATION

Do you think that Axel Kiciloff has the necessary conditions to be Argentina's Minister of Economy?



**ONLY AMONG  
THOSE THAT  
WANT  
KIRCHNERISM  
TO WIN**

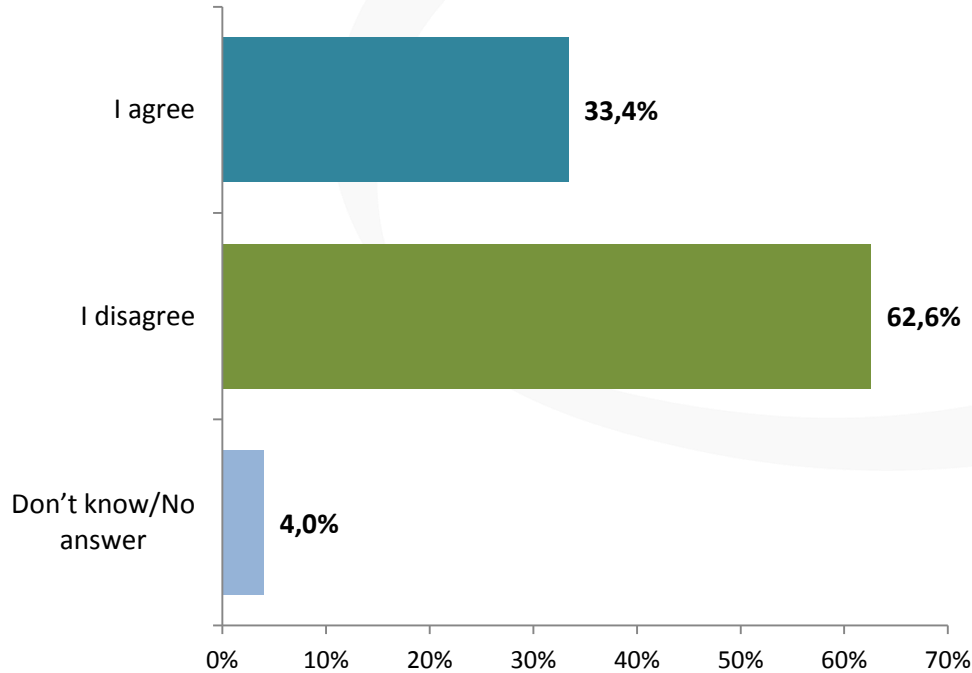


Option	%	%
I think he DOES	21,7%	66,0%
I don't know	25,2%	18,6%
I think he DOES NOT	50,8%	11,6%
Don't know/No answer	2,3%	3,8%
<b>Total</b>	<b>100%</b>	<b>100%</b>

# Public Opinion Survey in the Argentine Republic

## ABOUT THE SOCIO-ECONOMIC SITUATION

Do you agree with the idea claimed by certain officials of the National Government, of bringing the elections forward?



**ONLY AMONG  
THOSE THAT  
WANT  
KIRCHNERISM  
TO WIN**

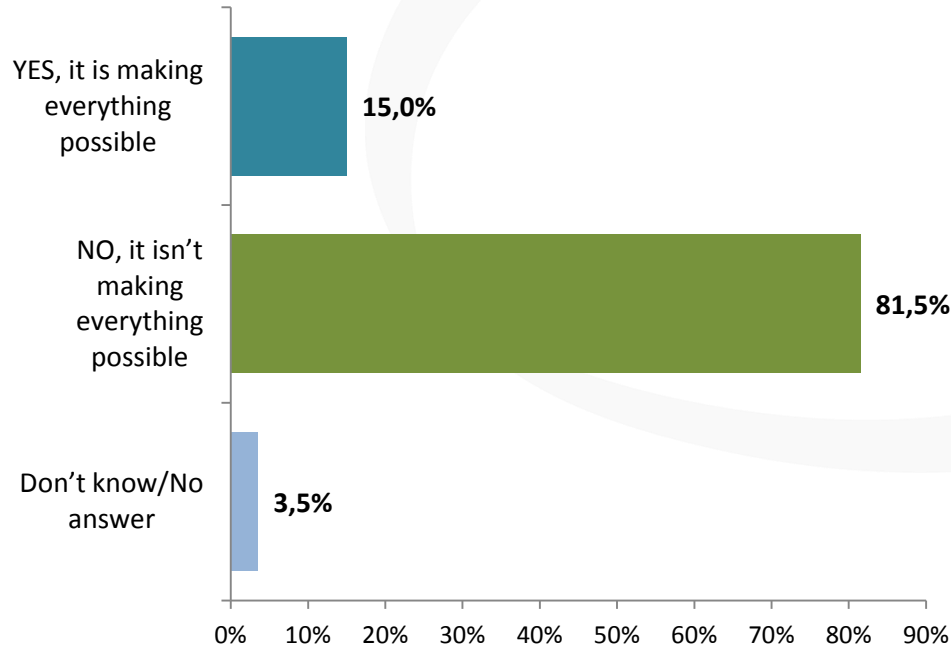


Option	%	%
I agree	33,4%	22,5%
I disagree	62,6%	72,3%
Don't know/No answer	4,0%	5,2%
<b>Total</b>	<b>100%</b>	<b>100%</b>

# Public Opinion Survey in the Argentine Republic

## ABOUT THE SOCIO-ECONOMIC SITUATION

Do you think that the National Government is doing everything in its power to fight drug trafficking?



ONLY AMONG  
THOSE THAT  
WANT  
KIRCHNERISM  
TO WIN

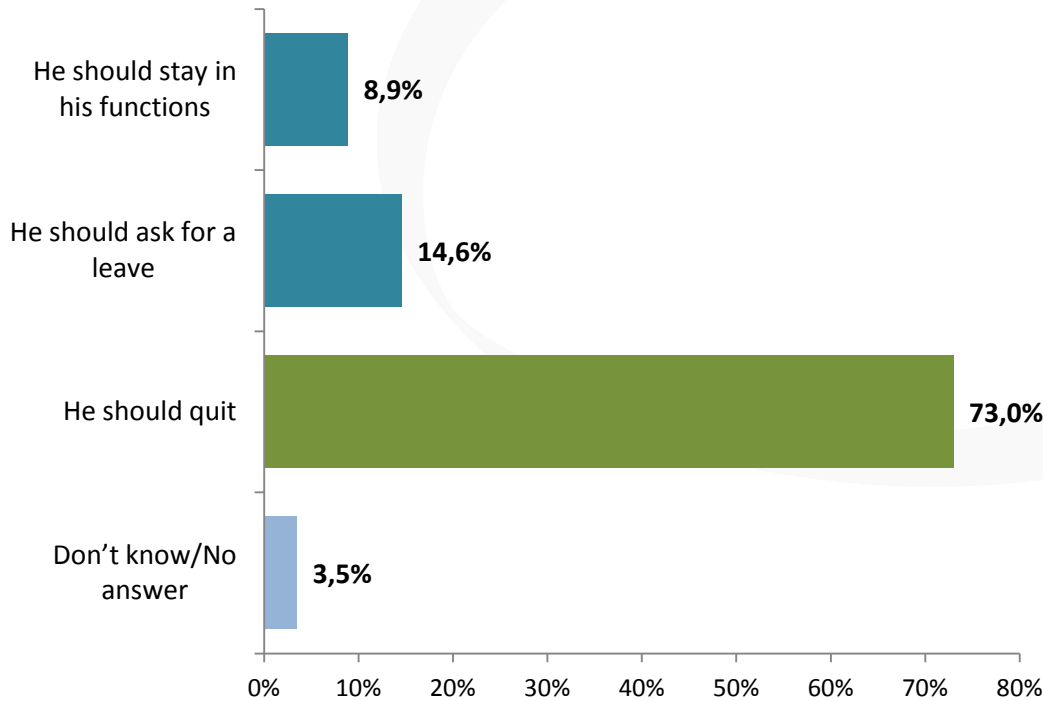


Option	%	%
YES, it is making everything possible	15,0%	46,0%
NO, it isn't making everything possible	81,5%	50,2%
Don't know/No answer	3,5%	3,8%
<b>Total</b>	<b>100%</b>	<b>100%</b>

# Public Opinion Survey in the Argentine Republic

## ABOUT THE SOCIO-ECONOMIC SITUATION

What do you think Vice-president Amado Boudou should do given his judicial situation?



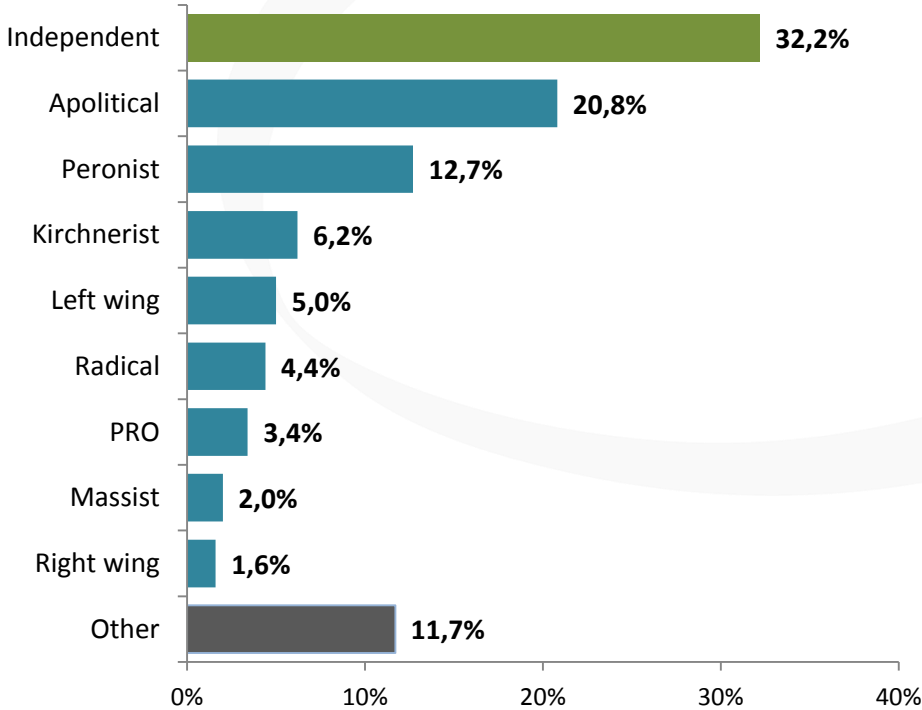
ONLY AMONG  
THOSE THAT  
WANT  
KIRCHNERISM  
TO WIN



Option	%	%
He should stay in his functions	8,9%	29,1%
He should ask for a leave	14,6%	29,8%
He should quit	73,0%	36,5%
Don't know/No answer	3,5%	4,6%
<b>Total</b>	<b>100%</b>	<b>100%</b>

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How would you define your ideology?



Option	%
Independent	32,2%
Apolitical	20,8%
Peronist	12,7%
Kirchnerist	6,2%
Left wing	5,0%
Radical	4,4%
PRO	3,4%
Massist	2,0%
Right wing	1,6%
Other	11,7%
<b>Total</b>	<b>100%</b>



## TECHNICAL SPECIFICATIONS SHEET

**Date carried out**

SEPTEMBER 2014.

**Sampling Type**

Disaggregated by age, sex and province.

**Sample size**

1500 CASES.

**Modality**

Structured questionnaires made up of open and closed questions.

**Consultation system**

Household under sealed envelope system.

**Sampling error**

+/- 2,58.