

## 2009 Survey of Party-Voter Linkage Questionnaire

I am [insert interviewer name] from [insert polling firm name]. We are conducting a survey on public opinion in Argentina for academic research and would benefit from your participation. If you agree to participate, the survey will take approximately 45 minutes of your time. The answers you give us today will be recorded anonymously, and we will protect your privacy to the fullest extent. Your participation in our survey is entirely voluntary, and you may withdraw your consent and discontinue participation at any time. If you wish, you may also decline to answer any individual question. Do you consent to participating in this survey?

### **SECTION A (filled out by interviewer)**

A1. Date of interview

A1a. Day: \_\_\_\_\_

A1b. Month: \_\_\_\_\_

A2. Duration of interview

A2a. Hours: \_\_\_\_\_

A2b. Minutes: \_\_\_\_\_

A3. Name of interviewer: \_\_\_\_\_

A4. Number of interviewer: \_\_\_\_\_

A5. Subject number: \_\_\_\_\_

A6. *Radio censal*: \_\_\_\_\_

A7. Department: \_\_\_\_\_

A8. City: \_\_\_\_\_

A9. Province: \_\_\_\_\_

A10. Gender of interviewer:

1. Male
2. Female

A11. Gender of respondent:

1. Male
2. Female

### **SECTION B**

B1. Compared to one year ago, do you think the economic situation of the country is:

1. Better
2. The same

3. Worse

98. HARD TO SAY

99. REFUSED

B2. In a year from now, do you think the economic situation of the country will be:

1. Better
2. The same
3. Worse

98. HARD TO SAY

99. REFUSED

B3. Compared to one year ago, do you think your personal economic situation is:

1. Better
2. The same
3. Worse

98. HARD TO SAY

99. REFUSED

B4. In a year from now, do you think your personal economic situation will be:

1. Better
2. The same
3. Worse

98. HARD TO SAY

99. REFUSED

B5. People often talk about the level of inequality between the incomes of wealthy people and those of the poor. Do you think the incomes in Argentina are generally:

1. Extremely unequal
2. Very unequal
3. Somewhat unequal
4. Roughly equal

98. HARD TO SAY

99. REFUSED

B6. Compared to one year ago, do you think incomes in Argentina have become:

1. Much more unequal
2. More unequal
3. Neither more nor less unequal
4. Less unequal
5. Much less unequal

98. HARD TO SAY

99. REFUSED

B7. How often would you say that you watch news programs on television?

1. Every day
2. Once or twice a week
3. Rarely
4. Never

98. HARD TO SAY  
99. REFUSED

B8. How often would you say that you listen to news on the radio?

1. Every day
2. Once or twice a week
3. Rarely
4. Never

98. HARD TO SAY  
99. REFUSED

B9. How often would you say that you read a newspaper?

1. Every day
2. Once or twice a week
3. Rarely
4. Never

98. HARD TO SAY  
99. REFUSED

B10. How often would you say that you read or listen to news on the internet?

1. Every day
2. Once or twice a week
3. Rarely
4. Never

98. HARD TO SAY  
99. REFUSED

B11. Please tell me, do you identify with a political party?

1. Yes
2. No

98. HARD TO SAY  
99. REFUSED

B12. Which party is that? Please name it for me.

1. Partido Justicialista (PJ)
2. Unión Cívica Radical (UCR)
3. Partido Democrático Progresista (PDP)
4. Afirmación para una República Igualitaria (ARI)
5. Recrear para el Crecimiento
6. Partido Nuevo
7. Partido Socialista (PS)
8. Other: \_\_\_\_\_

## **SECTION C**

[INTERVIEWER HANDS RESPONDENT CARD A]

### **FORM 1**

Using the information on this card, I would like you to consider a hypothetical scenario. Imagine two parties running for election in Argentina. We'll call them Party A and Party B. Party A supports negotiating a loan with the International Monetary Fund and opposes legalizing abortion. Party B opposes negotiations with the International Monetary Fund and supports legalizing abortion. In other words, Party A and Party B rarely agree on policy.

### **FORM 2**

Using the information on this card, I would like you to consider a hypothetical scenario. Imagine two parties running for election in Argentina. We'll call them Party A and Party B. Party A supports negotiating a loan with the International Monetary Fund and opposes legalizing abortion. Party B opposes negotiations with the International Monetary Fund and supports legalizing abortion. In other words, Party A and Party B rarely agree on policy. Despite their differences, though, Party A and Party B have recently been forming alliances after elections. The last president from Party A named politicians from Party B to be Minister of Foreign Affairs and Minister of Justice. Before him, a president from Party B named politicians from Party A to be Minister of Agriculture and Minister of Economy.

### **FORM 3**

Using the information on this card, I would like you to consider a hypothetical scenario. Imagine two parties running for election in Argentina. We'll call them Party A and Party B. Party A supports negotiating a loan with the International Monetary Fund and opposes legalizing abortion. Party B opposes negotiations with the International Monetary Fund and supports legalizing abortion. In other words, Party A and Party B rarely agree on policy. Despite their differences, though, Party A and Party B recently formed an alliance after the elections. The president from Party A named politicians from Party B to be Minister of Agriculture and Minister of Economy. Those ministers, and other legislators from Party B, helped the president negotiate a loan from the International Monetary Fund, even though officially Party B opposes this action.

### **FORM 4**

Using the information on this card, I would like you to consider a hypothetical scenario. Imagine two parties running for election in Argentina. We'll call them Party A and Party B. Party A supports negotiating a loan with the International Monetary Fund and opposes legalizing abortion. Party B opposes negotiations with the International Monetary Fund and supports legalizing abortion. In other words, Party A and Party B rarely agree on policy. Despite their differences, though, Party A and Party B recently formed an alliance after the elections. The president from Party A named politicians from Party B to be Minister of Agriculture and Minister of Economy. Those ministers, and other legislators from Party B, helped the president approve a ban on abortions, even though officially Party A supports legalizing abortions.

C1. If you had to vote in an election between Party A and Party B, which party would you choose, or would you vote blank?

1. Party A
2. Party B
3. Blank



Please tell us how strongly you personally support the Primary Education Restructuring Act.

1. Strongly support the Primary Education Restructuring Act
2. Weakly support the Primary Education Restructuring Act
3. No opinion on the Primary Education Restructuring Act
4. Weakly oppose the Primary Education Restructuring Act
5. Strongly oppose the Primary Education Restructuring Act

98. HARD TO SAY/DON'T KNOW

99. REFUSED

**FORM 1**

D2. It was recently proposed that the federal government build a new high-speed train line between Córdoba and Buenos Aires. Although the project will cost the government millions of pesos, it will reduce air congestion and pollution, and provide more economic links between the two cities.

**FORM 2**

D2. <PARTY> recently proposed that the federal government build a new high-speed train line between Córdoba and Buenos Aires. Although the project will cost the government millions of pesos, it will reduce air congestion and pollution, and provide more economic links between the two cities.

**FORM 3**

D2. <PARTY> and <ALLY> recently jointly proposed that the federal government build a new high-speed train line between Córdoba and Buenos Aires. Although the project will cost the government millions of pesos, it will reduce air congestion and pollution, and provide more economic links between the two cities.

**FORM 4**

D2. <PARTY> and <COMPETITOR> recently jointly proposed that the federal government build a new high-speed train line between Córdoba and Buenos Aires. Although the project will cost the government millions of pesos, it will reduce air congestion and pollution, and provide more economic links between the two cities.

**SECTION E**

**FORM 1**

[INTERVIEWER HANDS RESPONDENT CARD B1]

**FORM 2**

[INTERVIEWER HANDS RESPONDENT CARD B2]

**FORM 3**

[INTERVIEWER HANDS RESPONDENT CARD B3]

**FORM 4**

[INTERVIEWER HANDS RESPONDENT CARD B4]

Here is some information about a number of major political parties in Argentina today. Please read over this information now, and then I will ask you some questions about these political parties. Please let me know when you are done reading over the card and I will continue.

E1. INTERVIEWER: Please write down approximately how many minutes the respondent spends reading the card.

1. Less than 1 minute
2. Between 1 and 2 minutes
3. Between 2 and 3 minutes
4. Between 3 and 4 minutes
5. More than 4 minutes

E2. We would like to know what you think of a number of our political parties. After I read the name of a political party, please rate it on a scale from 0 to 10, where 0 means that you strongly dislike that party and 10 means that you strongly like that party.

0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Strongly dislike										Strongly like

97. HARD TO SAY /DON'T KNOW
98. REFUSED

What is your attitude toward the following parties?

- E2a. Partido Justicialista (PJ)
- E2b. Unión Cívica Radical (UCR)
- E2c. Partido Democrático Progresista (PDP)
- E2d. Afirmación para una República Igualitaria (ARI)
- E2e. Recrear para el Crecimiento
- E2f. Partido Nuevo
- E2g. Partido Socialista (PS)

E3. Now let us talk a little about how much you trust or mistrust various people and organizations. Tell me if you fully trust, trust, mistrust, or completely mistrust.

1. Fully trust
2. Trust
3. Neither trust nor mistrust
4. Mistrust
5. Completely mistrust

98. HARD TO SAY
99. REFUSED

- E3a. The government of Argentina
- E3b. The President of Argentina
- E3c. The electronic media
- E3d. The political parties

E4. Do you usually think of yourself as close to any particular political party?

1. Yes (PROCEED TO E5)
2. No (SKIP TO E7)

98. HARD TO SAY

99. REFUSED

E5. Which party is that?

1. Partido Justicialista (PJ)
2. Unión Cívica Radical (UCR)
3. Partido Democrático Progresista (PDP)
4. Afirmación para una República Igualitaria (ARI)
5. Recrear para el Crecimiento
6. Partido Nuevo
7. Partido Socialista (PS)
8. Other: \_\_\_\_\_

E6. Do you feel very close to this party, somewhat close, or not very close?

1. Very close
2. Somewhat close
3. Not very close

98. HARD TO SAY

99. REFUSED

E7. Is there a political party you would never vote for?

1. Yes (PROCEED TO E8)
2. No (SKIP TO E9)

98. HARD TO SAY

99. REFUSED

E8. Which party is that?

1. Partido Justicialista (PJ)
2. Unión Cívica Radical (UCR)
3. Partido Democrático Progresista (PDP)
4. Afirmación para una República Igualitaria (ARI)
5. Recrear para el Crecimiento
6. Partido Nuevo
7. Partido Socialista (PS)
8. Other: \_\_\_\_\_

E9. In politics people sometimes talk of left and right. Imagine a scale from 0 to 10 where 0 means the left and 10 means the right. Where would you place yourself on this scale?

0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Left										Right

98. HARD TO SAY

99. REFUSED

E10. Using the same left-right scale from 0 to 10 as before, where would you place each of the following parties?

E10a. Partido Justicialista (PJ)

E10b. Unión Cívica Radical (UCR)



- E10c. Partido Democrático Progresista (PDP)
- E10d. Afirmación para una República Igualitaria (ARI)
- E10e. Recrear para el Crecimiento
- E10f. Partido Nuevo
- E10g. Partido Socialista (PS)

E11. On the whole, are you fully satisfied, satisfied, dissatisfied, or completely dissatisfied with how democracy functions in Argentina?

- 1. Fully satisfied
- 2. Satisfied
- 3. Dissatisfied
- 4. Completely dissatisfied
  
- 98. HARD TO SAY
- 99. REFUSED

Now I would like to ask about your opinion of individual political figures.

**FORMS 1 AND 4**

[INTERVIEWER HANDS RESPONDENT CARD C1]

**FORMS 2 AND 3**

[INTERVIEWER HANDS RESPONDENT CARD C2]

E12. What is your opinion of the politician on the left-hand side of this card? Please rate this politician on a scale from 0 to 10, where 0 means that you strongly dislike him and 10 means that you strongly like him.

0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Strongly dislike										Strongly like

- 98. HARD TO SAY
- 99. REFUSED

E13. And using the same scale, what is your opinion of the politician on the right-hand side of this card?

0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Strongly dislike										Strongly like

- 98. HARD TO SAY
- 99. REFUSED

**SECTION F**

F1. With which of the following statements do you most agree?

- 1. "A bird in the hand is better than two in the bush"

2. “No risk, no gain”

98. HARD TO SAY

99. REFUSED

F2. Implementing new and attractive policies that are untested is:

1. Necessary for progress
2. Dangerous

98. HARD TO SAY

99. REFUSED

F3. A good job is one in which:

1. The salary is not high, but the position is stable and secure
2. The salary is high, but the position may be unstable

98. HARD TO SAY

99. REFUSED

F4. What is your opinion of the following statements:

1. Strongly agree
2. Agree
3. Neither
4. Disagree
5. Strongly disagree

98. HARD TO SAY

99. REFUSED

F4a. It is the responsibility of the government to reduce the differences in incomes between people with high incomes and those with low incomes.

F4b. The privatization of state companies has been beneficial to the country.

F4c. The prices of products should be determined by free competition.

F4d. The market economy is the most convenient for the country.

Now we would like to ask you some questions about past elections.

F5. Did you vote in the legislative elections this past June 28?

1. Yes (PROCEED TO F2)
2. No (SKIP TO F3)

97. NOT ELIGIBLE AT THE TIME

98. HARD TO SAY

99. REFUSED

F6. For which party did you vote in the legislative elections this past June 28?

1. Partido Justicialista (PJ)
2. Unión Cívica Radical (UCR)
3. Partido Democrático Progresista (PDP)
4. Afirmación para una República Igualitaria (ARI)

5. Recrear para el Crecimiento
6. Partido Nuevo
7. Partido Socialista (PS)
8. Other: \_\_\_\_\_
9. Blank

98. HARD TO SAY
99. REFUSED

F7. And did you vote in the 2007 presidential election?

1. Yes (PROCEED TO F4)
2. No (SKIP TO F5)

97. NOT ELIGIBLE AT THE TIME
98. HARD TO SAY
99. REFUSED

F8. For which candidate did you vote in the 2007 presidential election?

1. Cristina Fernández de Kirchner
2. Elisa Carrió
3. Roberto Lavagna
4. Alberto Rodríguez Saá
5. Fernando Solanas
6. Jorge Omar Sobisch
7. Other: \_\_\_\_\_
8. Blank

98. HARD TO SAY
99. REFUSED

F9. And did you vote in the 2003 presidential election?

1. Yes (PROCEED TO F6)
2. No (SKIP TO F7)

97. NOT ELIGIBLE AT THE TIME
98. HARD TO SAY
99. REFUSED

F10. For which candidate did you vote in the 2003 presidential election?

1. Carlos Saúl Menem
2. Néstor Carlos Kirchner
3. Ricardo López Murphy
4. Adolfo Rodríguez Saá
5. Elisa Carrió
6. Leopoldo Moreau
7. Other: \_\_\_\_\_
8. Blank

98. HARD TO SAY
99. REFUSED

F11. And did you vote in the 1999 presidential election?

1. Yes (PROCEED TO F8)
2. No (SKIP TO F9)

97. NOT ELIGIBLE AT THE TIME
98. HARD TO SAY
99. REFUSED

F12. For which candidate did you vote in the 1999 presidential election?

1. Fernando de la Rúa
2. Eduardo Duhalde
3. Domingo Cavallo
4. Other: \_\_\_\_\_
5. Blank

98. HARD TO SAY
99. REFUSED

F13. And did you vote in the 1995 presidential election?

1. Yes (PROCEED TO F10)
2. No (SKIP TO F11)

97. NOT ELIGIBLE AT THE TIME
98. HARD TO SAY
99. REFUSED

F14. For which candidate did you vote in the 1995 presidential election?

1. Carlos Saúl Menem
2. José Octavio Bordón
3. Horacio Massaccesi
4. Aldo Rico
5. Other: \_\_\_\_\_
6. Blank

98. HARD TO SAY
99. REFUSED

## **SECTION G**

G1. To the extent you can remember, did your father identify with a political party when you were young?

1. Yes
2. No

98. HARD TO SAY
99. REFUSED

G2. Which party was that?

1. Radicals
2. Peronists
3. Other: \_\_\_\_\_



G8. If you found yourself on election day in a situation that made it difficult to vote – say, for instance, that there was a family emergency – how hard would you try to vote anyway?

1. Nothing would keep me from voting
2. I would still try hard to vote
3. I would make some effort to vote
4. I would probably not vote

98. HARD TO SAY  
99. REFUSED

G9. If you were not to vote, how likely do you think it would be that you would be sanctioned?

1. Very likely (PROCEED TO G10)
2. Likely (PROCEED TO G10)
3. Unlikely (SKIP TO G11)
4. Very unlikely (SKIP TO G11)

98. HARD TO SAY/DON'T KNOW  
99. REFUSED

G10. How do you think you would be sanctioned?

1. A fine
2. Legal penalty
3. Loss of support from a political broker (*puntero*)

G11. Which statement best describes your views about compulsory voting?

1. It is a good thing; citizenship implies the obligation to vote
2. It is a necessary evil: without it, too few people would vote
3. It is not good: it represents an authoritarian imposition by the government/political parties

G12. Thinking about how people arrive at the poll on election day, which describes your situation most accurately?

1. I often rely on a friend or family member to take me to the polls
2. I often rely on a party operative to take me to the polls
3. I get to the polls on my own

98. HARD TO SAY  
99. REFUSED

G13. Here in your neighborhood, did any candidate or party member hand out things to people during the campaign?

1. Yes (CONTINUE TO G14)
2. No (SKIP TO G19)

98. HARD TO SAY  
99. REFUSED

G14. Which party handed out things in your neighborhood during the campaign? (OPEN ENDED)

G15. What did it hand out? (OPEN ENDED)

**FORM 1**

G16. Did you personally receive anything from a political party during the campaign?

**FORM 2**

G16. In Argentina, it is perfectly legal for individual voters to receive goods in exchange for their votes. Did you personally receive anything from a political party during the campaign?

**FORM 3**

G16. In a democracy, voters expect to receive some benefit from voting for one political party over another. Did you personally receive anything from a political party during the campaign?

**FORM 4 [??]**

1. Yes (PROCEED TO G17)
2. No (SKIP TO G19)

98. HARD TO SAY
99. REFUSED

G17. What did you receive? (OPEN ENDED)

G18. Which party did you receive it from? (OPEN ENDED)

G19. Faced with a serious family problem – for instance, losing a job, or a health emergency – would you seek help from a local broker (*puntero*) or other neighborhood political official?

1. Yes
2. No

98. HARD TO SAY
99. REFUSED

**SECTION H**

To conclude, I would like to ask some information for statistical purposes.

H1. How long have you lived in your current place of residence?

- H1a. Years: \_\_\_\_\_  
H1b. Months: \_\_\_\_\_

95. MY ENTIRE LIFE
98. HARD TO SAY
99. REFUSED

H2. What is your level of education?

1. No education
2. Elementary incomplete
3. Elementary completed
4. Secondary incomplete
5. Secondary completed
6. Tertiary incomplete

7. Tertiary completed
8. Higher incomplete
9. Higher completed

99. REFUSED

H3. To which religion do you consider yourself to belong?

1. Roman-Catholic
2. Traditional Protestant (Adventist, Baptist, Calvinist, Lutheran, Methodist, Presbyterian)
3. Evangelical Protestant (Pentecostal)
4. Mormon
5. Jehovah's Witness
6. Jewish
7. Traditional or native religion (Candomblé, Voodoo, Rastafarian)
8. Atheist

96. NOT TO ANY RELIGION

H4. How often, if at all, do you attend religious services?

1. Several times a week
2. Once a week
3. Two to three times a month
4. Once a month
5. Several times a year
6. More or less once a year
7. Less frequently than once a year
8. Never

98. HARD TO SAY

99. REFUSED

H5. Please tell me, are you working at the present time, are you on paid or unpaid leave, or are you not working?

1. Working
2. Birth leave or care of a child under three years of age
3. Some other paid leave
4. Unpaid leave
5. No work

98. HARD TO SAY

99. REFUSED

H6. What is your occupation?

1. Empleado público
2. Empleado en una empresa privada
3. Trabajador por cuenta propia (plomero, taxista, vendedor, ambulante)
4. Profesional independiente
5. Productor Agropecuario
6. Empleada Doméstica
7. Empleado rural



8. Jornalero, changarín, albañil
9. Docente
10. Empresario
11. Comerciante
12. Estudiante
13. Ama de casa
14. Jubilado/pensionado
15. Beneficiario de plan social
16. Desempleado
17. Otro, ¿cuál? \_\_\_\_\_

99. REFUSED

H7. Are you a member of a union?

1. Yes
2. No

99. REFUSED

H8. What is your family situation?

1. Married
2. Never married
3. Divorced and not remarried
4. Widower or widow and not remarried

99. REFUSED

H9. How many individuals live in your household?

Number: \_\_\_\_\_

H10. Combining the incomes of everyone who contributes in your home, how much money does your family earn every month?

1. Sin ingreso
2. Hasta 1000 pesos
3. Entre 1001 a 2000 pesos
4. Entre 2001 a 3000 pesos
5. Entre 4001 a 5000 pesos
6. Entre 5001 a 7000 pesos
7. Entre 7001 a 9000 pesos
8. Entre 9001 a 12000 pesos
9. Más de 12001 pesos

97. HARD TO SAY

99. REFUSED

H11. How do you evaluate the current material situation of your household?

1. Very good
2. Good
3. Neither good neither bad
4. Bad
5. Very bad

- 98. HARD TO SAY
- 99. REFUSED

H12. I am going to read you the names of several politicians. Please tell me which office each of them occupies.

H12a. What position does Anibal Fernández occupy?

- 1. CORRECT ANSWER: MINISTER OF JUSTICE
- 2. INCORRECT ANSWER: MINISTER OF INTERIOR
- 3. INCORRECT ANSWER: ANY OTHER POSITION

- 98. HARD TO SAY
- 99. REFUSED

H12b. And Martín Redrado?

- 1. CORRECT ANSWER: PRESIDENT OF THE CENTRAL BANK OF ARGENTINA
- 2. INCORRECT ANSWER

- 98. HARD TO SAY
- 99. REFUSED

H12c. And Julio Cobos?

- 1. CORRECT ANSWER: VICE PRESIDENT
- 2. INCORRECT ANSWER

- 98. HARD TO SAY
- 99. REFUSED

H13. Is it true or untrue that the Senate has 72 members?

- 1. TRUE
- 2. UNTRUE

- 98. HARD TO SAY
- 99. REFUSED

H14. Please name the current President of the Republic.

- 1. CORRECT ANSWER: CRISTINA FERNÁNDEZ DE KIRCHNER
- 2. INCORRECT ANSWER: NÉSTOR KIRCHNER
- 3. INCORRECT ANSWER: ANY OTHER NAME

- 98. HARD TO SAY
- 99. REFUSED

H15. What is your date of birth?

- I15a. Day: \_\_\_\_\_
- I15b. Month: \_\_\_\_\_
- I15c. Year: \_\_\_\_\_

H16. Could you let me know whether you have the following items in your home?

- 0. No

1. Yes

H16a. Television

H16b. Refrigerator

H16c. Land-line telephone (not cellular)

H16d. Cellular telephone

H16e. Car (How many?)

0. No

1. One

2. Two

3. Three or more

H16f. Laundry machine

H16g. Microwave oven

H16h. Motorcycle

H16i. Potable water inside the house

H16j. Bathroom inside the house

H16k. Computer

As part of the survey you just completed, we asked you about a two pieces of legislation, one called the Primary Education Restructuring Act and the other regarding the construction of a high-speed rail line. These were not real pieces of legislation proposed in Argentina. Research has found that it is more difficult to use real legislation in surveys since some people will be more familiar with politics than others. We therefore used fictitious pieces of legislation in our questions. At this time we are happy to answer any questions you may have. We appreciate your cooperation with the survey and thank you for your participation.

**CARD A**

**Party A**

Supports negotiating a loan  
with the International  
Monetary Fund

Opposes legalizing abortion

**Party B**

Opposes negotiations with the  
International Monetary Fund

Supports legalizing abortion