



## **TRI-POL: The triangle of polarization, political trust and political communication**

Wave II Questionnaire in Argentina

*February 2021*

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**Universitat  
Pompeu Fabra  
Barcelona**

**RECSM**

Research and Expertise Centre  
for Survey Methodology

**FIRST SCREEN:**

A few weeks ago you completed a survey on different topics about the political situation in your country. This is a continuation of that study. Your participation this second time is very important and will help us learn the opinions of people living in Argentina regarding the current political situation and the functioning of democracy in the country. The problems and challenges of our political and social systems require a good study of citizens' opinions and therefore your attentive and dedicated participation is essential for this study and to understand the major problems of current democracies. Your answers will remain completely anonymous and will only be subject to statistical analysis together with those of the hundreds of other participants.

This is a survey designed by a group of national and international researchers as part of a project led by a professor at the Pompeu Fabra University, who is interested in studying the opinions of people like you on issues related to political, economic and social events. Thus, you will be part of a group of 1,200 people from all over Argentina participating in this study.

If you have doubts, complaints, or questions about this study or about your rights as a research participant, you may contact UPF's Institutional Committee for the Ethical Review of Projects (CIREP) by phone (+34935422186) or by email ([secretaria.cirep@upf.edu](mailto:secretaria.cirep@upf.edu)). CIREP is not part of the research team and will treat any information you send confidentially.

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## **SECOND SCREEN**

In accordance with the General Data Protection Regulation (GDPR) 2016/679 (EU) we provide the following information about this survey:

**Data controller:** You can contact Netquest Data Protection Officer by sending an email to Will Hammond at [dpo\\_germany@gfk.com](mailto:dpo_germany@gfk.com)

**Purposes of the processing:** Carrying out the above mentioned research project. Personal data will be kept during the execution of the project and one more year after its finalization for its scientific validation.

**Legal basis:** Data owner's consent. You can withdraw your consent at any time.

**Recipients:** your personal data will only be processed by the PI of this project. Your personal data may also be processed by subcontractors after the signature of a data processing agreement preserving your privacy and will not be transferred to third parties without your consent, except when otherwise provided for by law.

The members of the research team will only receive the anonymized dataset for the statistical analysis where all the personal data will be already removed.

**Rights:** access, rectification or erasure of your personal data, as well as data portability and the restriction or objection to the processing of your personal data. Rights may be exercised by contacting UPF's General Manager ([gerencia@upf.edu](mailto:gerencia@upf.edu)). You have the right to lodge a complaint with the Catalan Data Protection Authority if you think we have not properly managed your rights.

**[GENERAL INSTRUCTIONS: ALL QUESTIONS esmP\_X ARE MANDATORY. ALL QUESTIONS p\_X FOLLOW THE SAME LOGIC AS WAVE 1. INCLUDE A VARIABLE THAT CALCULATES THE TIME SINCE THE END OF WAVE 1 AND WHEN WAVE 2 IS ANSWERED]**

## GAME 1

**Before answering some questions, we would like to pair you with other respondents of this survey (real individuals) to measure different reactions to certain situations. However, you will never personally interact with these individuals. In addition, you will never know their identity and they will never know yours. The individuals you have been paired with live in Argentina.**

### [NEXT SCREEN]

We invite you to take some decisions in a situation with “You” and “Individual 2”.

Individual 2, like you, received 5 points to participate in the study. You will not be told who this person is either during or after the survey (nor will that person be told anything about you).

Today, you will have the opportunity to send some, all, or none of your X 5 points to Individual 2. This person will then keep the points sent to them, if any, and you keep the remainder.

The situation is as follows:

- 1.) You must decide how many points (if any) you will send to Individual 2. Any amount you keep for yourself will be given to you.
- 2.) Whatever amount you send to Individual 2 will be tripled before it is passed on to him/her.
- 3.) Individual 2 then has the option of returning any portion of this tripled amount to you.

For example:

- (a) If you send 1 point, Individual 2 will receive 3 points.
- (b) If you send 5 points, Individual 2 will receive 15 points.

### [NEXT SCREEN]

To review, any number of points you send will be tripled and given to Individual 2. This person will keep the points you send them, minus the number of points they return to you. Your payoff in this scenario is the number of points that you kept for yourself, plus any points Individual 2 decide to return to you. Keep in mind that the points he/she will have depends on your initial decision.

To clarify how this situation works, consider the following examples:

If you send:	Individual 2 receives:	Individual 2 might return:	You receive: (5 - # sent + # returned)	Individual 2 receives: (5 + # received - # returned)
1 point	3 points	1 point	5 - 1 + 1 = 5 points	5 + 3 - 1 = 7 points

2 points	6 points	2 points	$5 - 2 + 2 = \mathbf{5 \text{ points}}$	$5 + 6 - 2 = \mathbf{9 \text{ points}}$
5 points	15 points	10 points	$5 - 5 + 10 = \mathbf{10}$ <b>points</b>	$5 + 15 - 10 = \mathbf{10}$ <b>points</b>
3 points	9 points	0 points	$5 - 3 + 0 = \mathbf{2 \text{ points}}$	$5 + 9 - 0 = \mathbf{14 \text{ points}}$
0 points	0 points	0 points	$5 - 0 + 0 = \mathbf{5 \text{ points}}$	$5 + 0 - 0 = \mathbf{5 \text{ points}}$

**[NEXT SCREEN]**

**esmP8\_2** Do you understand the situation and the outcome?

- Yes [GO ONTO THE NEXT SCREEN]
- No [RETURN TO THE INSTRUCTIONS]

**[NEXT SCREEN]**

**esmP9\_2** Referring to the type of situation we outlined above, suppose you gave 3 points, out of 5, to the other individual, how many points would the other individual receive for your decision?

- 9 (correct=1) [GO ONTO THE NEXT SCREEN]
- 5 (incorrect=0) [RETURN TO THE INSTRUCTIONS]
- 21 (incorrect=0) [RETURN TO THE INSTRUCTIONS]

**esmP10\_2** Now suppose the other individual returned 1 point to you, how many points would you end up with?

- 10 (incorrect=0) [RETURN TO THE INSTRUCTIONS]
- 15 (incorrect=0) [RETURN TO THE INSTRUCTIONS]
- 3 (correct=1) [GO ONTO THE NEXT SCREEN]

**[NEXT SCREEN]**

**Now, we are going to invite you to interact with other respondents in this same study to give you the opportunity to share and obtain some additional points.**

**esmP0c\_2. Would you like to participate in this interaction with other respondents?**

1. Yes, I want to participate [PROGRAMMER: GO TO esmP11\_2]
2. No, I do not want to participate [PROGRAMMER: "Thank you. We would still like to ask you a few questions and learn your opinions about politics in Argentina." FOLLOW p1\_2 THE REST OF QUESTIONS esm\_ ARE CODED 999]

**[NEXT SCREEN]**

**esmP11\_2** Now that you understand the situation and the consequences of your decision, please select the amount of points you would like to send to Individual 2.

- 0
  - 1
  - 2
  - 3
  - 4
  - 5
- 

**[NEXT SCREEN]**

In a minute you will have opportunity to interact with other respondents of this survey, but first we would like to ask you a question and have you write about your opinions about politics in Argentina.

**[PROGRAMMER: START OF QUESTIONNAIRE FOR ALL OTHER RESPONDENTS (THOSE NOT SELECTED FOR THE EXPERIMENT AND HAVE CODED 999 FOR ALL QUESTIONS esmP\_)]**

**p1\_2 To what extent are you interested in politics?**

- 1 A lot
- 2 A fair amount
- 3 A little
- 4 Not at all

**p3\_AR\_2 In your opinion, what is the main problem that currently exists in Argentina?**

**[PROGRAMMER: RANDOMLY ROTATE THE ORDER OF THE TOPICS EXCEPT “OTHER” AND “DK” FOR EACH RESPONDENT]**

- 1 The Pandemic
- 2 Unemployment
- 3 Inflation
- 4 Drugs
- 5 Crime
- 6 The healthcare system
- 7 Housing
- 8 Education
- 9 Terrorism
- 10 Corruption
- 11 Immigration
- 12 Violence against women
- 13 Political instability
- 14 Climate change
- 15 Pensions
- 16 Citizen insecurity

17 Taxes

18 Parties and politicians in general

19 The economic situation

20 Other \_\_\_\_\_

People associate democracy with various different meanings. In your opinion, for a society to be called democratic, please indicate how important each of the following aspects are.

[PROGRAMMER: ROTATE THE ORDER OF THE TOPICS AT RANDOM FOR EACH RESPONDENT, SEPARATED INTO SCREENS WITH 3-4 ITEMS FOR A TOTAL OF 2 SCREENS]

		Very important	Important	Somewhat important	Not important at all	Don't know
p5a_2	Freedom to criticize the government	1	2	3	4	888
p5b_2	Jobs for everyone	1	2	3	4	888
p5c_2	Free and fair elections	1	2	3	4	888
p5d_2	A small income gap between rich and poor	1	2	3	4	888
p5e_2	A free and uncensored media	1	2	3	4	888
p5f_2	Minorities rights Are protected	1	2	3	4	888
p5g_2	A rule by a majority	1	2	3	4	888

[PROGRAMMER: NOW RANDOMLY ASSIGN RESPONDENTS TO CONTROL, POLARIZED, NON-POLARIZED, GROUP-BASED FRAME, OR NON-GROUP-BASED FRAME ELABORATION TASKS]

#### esmP12\_AR\_2 Polarization and Populism

Randomly assign panelists to one of 5 treatment arms:

Jump to **GAME 2.....1 (control group)**

Jump to **POLARIZING treatment .....2**

Jump to **UNIFYING treatment .....3**

Jump to **POPULIST treatment .....4**

Jump to **NON-POPULIST treatment.....5**

RESPONDENTS ASSIGNED TO GAME 2 (CONTROL GROUP) GO DIRECTLY TO EITHER GAME 2 (1) OR GAME 2 (2) ACCORDING TO RANDOM SELECTION.

RESPONDENTS ASSIGNED TO POLARAZING, UNIFYING, POPULIST OR NON-POPULIST TREATMENTS FIRST ANSWER THE TREATMENT QUESTIONS AND THEN ARE RANDOMLY ASSIGNED TO GAME 2 (1) OR GAME 2 (2).

#### esmP13\_2 POLARIZING.

*Thinking about [PROGRAMMER: put here the problem selected by each individual in p3\_AR\_2] in Argentina, in at least a few sentences explain how differences between politicians and parties in Argentina can make it more difficult to resolve.*

**esmP14\_2 UNIFYING elaboration task text:**

*Thinking about [PROGRAMMER: put here the problem selected by each individual in p3\_AR\_2] in Argentina, in at least a few sentences explain how similarities between politicians in Argentina can make it easier to resolve.* \_\_\_\_\_

**esmP15\_2 POPULIST (Dispositional frame)**

*What groups or individuals do you think are most responsible for [PROGRAMMER: put here the problem selected by each individual in p3\_AR\_2]? (Please limit your response to a few words)*

**esmP16\_2 POPULIST (Dispositional frame)**

*In at least a few sentences, explain why you think these groups or individuals are responsible and what should be done about them.* \_\_\_\_\_

**esmP17\_2 NON-POPULIST (Situational frame)**

*What events or circumstances do you think are the main cause of [PROGRAMMER: put here the problem selected by each individual in p3\_AR\_2]? (Please limit your response to a few words)*

**esmP18\_2 NON-POPULIST (Situational frame)**

*In at least a few sentences, explain why you think these events or circumstances have caused this and what should be done in response.* \_\_\_\_\_

**GAME 2 (1)**

**FOR THOSE RESPONDENTS RANDOMLY ASSIGNED TO GAME 2 (1)**

This situation is similar to the interaction you took part in before. Similarly, this situation is between “You” and another respondent in this survey (Individual 3).

Individual 3, like you, received 5 points to participate in the study. You will not be told who this person is either during or after the survey (nor will that person be told who you are). While Individual 3 will not know anything about you, we would like you to know the following about him/her:

**Individual 3 is a supporter of [PROGRAMMER: PUT HERE THE *MOST LIKED POLITICAL PARTY SELECTED BY THIS INDIVIDUAL IN p33\_X IN PHASE 1, IF THE RESPONDENT HAS NOT ENTERED THAT QUESTION, SELECT THE ONE WITH THE HIGHEST RATING IN p36\_X IN PHASE 1 AND IF THERE IS A TIE THERE, SELECT ONE AT RANDOM. IF THERE IS NO PREFERRED PARTY AT ALL, THEN CODE AS MISSING (ONLY IN THE EXPERIMENT, AND ONLY IN THE CASE THAT NO PARTY CAN BE USED).*]**

**esmP19\_2 When ready to make a decision, select the amount you would like to send to Individual 3.**

- 0
- 1
- 2
- 3
- 4
- 5

## **GAME 2 (2)**

### **FOR THOSE RESPONDENTS RANDOMLY ASSIGNED TO GAME 2 (2)**

This situation is similar to the interaction you took part in before. Similarly, this situation is between “You” and another respondent in this survey (Individual 4).

Individual 4, like you, received 5 points to participate in the study. You will not be told who this person is either during or after the survey (nor will that person be told who you are). While Individual 4 will not know anything about you, we would like you to know the following about him/her:

**Individual 4 is a supporter of [PROGRAMMER: PUT HERE THE LEAST LIKED POLITICAL PARTY SELECTED BY THIS INDIVIDUAL SELECT THE ONE WITH THE LOWEST RATING IN p36\_X IN PHASE 1 AND IF THERE IS A TIE THERE, SELECT ONE AT RANDOM. IF THERE IS NO MOST-HATED PARTY, THEN CODE AS MISSING (ONLY IN THE EXPERIMENT, AND ONLY IN THE CASE THAT NO PARTY CAN BE USED).]**

**esmP20\_2 Once you are ready to make a decision, select the amount of points you will give to Individual 4 from the options below.**

- 0
- 1
- 2
- 3
- 4
- 5

Now we would like to ask you a few more questions.

There are many ways to govern a country. To what extent would you agree or disagree with the following?

[PROGRAMMER: ROTATE THE ORDER OF THE TOPICS AT RANDOM FOR EACH RESPONDENT, SEPARATED INTO SCREENS WITH 3-4 ITEMS ON EACH FOR A TOTAL OF 2 SCREENS]

		Strongly Agree	Agree	Neither agree or disagree	Disagree	Strongly disagree	Don't know
p7a_2	Only one political party should be allowed to stand for election and hold office	1	2	3	4	5	888
p7b_2	Congress should be abolished so that we can have a strong leader running this country	1	2	3	4	5	888
p7c_2	The armed forces should govern the country	1	2	3	4	5	888
p7d_2	In times of national crisis, it's alright to prohibit a political party from participating in national elections	1	2	3	4	5	888
p7e_2	When the country lacks order the right to vote can be restricted	1	2	3	4	5	888
p7f_2	In the case of a national emergency I would approve of the government censoring the media	1	2	3	4	5	888
p7g_2	In times of national crisis, I would approve of a law that prohibited public protests	1	2	3	4	5	888

Now we'll talk about aspects of your POLITICAL preferences. Remember again how important it is that you read the questions carefully and choose the answer that best fits what you think and feel. The results and quality of this international research depend on your effort and attention to answer.

p12\_2 When talking about politics, people talk about "left" and "right". Can you please tell us where you would position yourself on a scale of 0 to 10 where 0 means "left" and 10 means "right"?

[PROGRAMMER: VERTICAL ORIENTATION ON ALL DEVICES]

Left									Right	I prefer not to answer
0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10

PROGRAMMER: IF RESPONDENT GOES FORWARD WITHOUT ANSWERING, DISPLAY A MESSAGE THAT SAYS "IF YOU WILL ADVANCE WITHOUT ANSWERING THIS QUESTION, YOUR ANSWER WILL BE RECORDED AS "DON'T KNOW / DON'T ANSWER". DO YOU AGREE? WITH RESPONSE OPTIONS OF "YES" AND "NO".

How much do you identify with the following political/ideological labels?

		Very much	Somewhat	A little	Not at all	I don't know
p40a_2	Left	1	2	3	4	888

p40b_2	Right	1	2	3	4	888
p40c_2	Center	1	2	3	4	888

And where would you place each of the following political parties on this same left-right scale?

[PROGRAMMER: RANDOMLY ROTATE THE ORDER OF THE PARTIES FOR EACH RESPONDENT]

[PROGRAMMER: ON ALL DEVICES, RANDOMLY ROTATE FOR EACH RESPONDENT, VERTICAL ORIENTATION AND SEPARATE INTO SCREENS WITH TWO OR THREE ITEMS PER SCREEN].

		Left									Right	I don't know
p13a_AR_2	Frente de Todos	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
p13b_AR_2	PRO	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
p13c_AR_2	Unión Cívica Radical	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
p13d_AR_2	Partido Justicialista	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
p13e_AR_2	Coalición Cívica	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
p13f_AR_2	Partido Socialista	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
p13g_AR_2	Frente de Izquierda	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
p13i_AR_2	Juntos por el Cambio	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
p13j_AR_2	La Libertad Avanza	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10

We would also like to know your feelings about some groups of people in Argentinian society, using this thermometer.

Ratings between 60 and 100 mean that you have rather favourable feelings toward that group of people, with 100 being very favourable; while ratings between 0 and 40 mean instead that you have rather unfavourable feelings toward the group, with 0 being very unfavourable. If you do not have particularly favourable or unfavourable feelings toward a group, you should choose a 50 grade rating.

[PROGRAMMER: ON MOBILE DEVICES, RANDOMLY ROTATE ORDER FOR EACH RESPONDENT, VERTICAL ORIENTATION FOR MOBILE DEVICES AND SEPARATE INTO SCREENS].

		Unfavourable feelings			Indifferent				Favourable feelings	I don't know
p16a_AR_2	Frente de Todos voters	0	15	30	40	50	60	70	85	100
p16b_AR_2	PRO voters	0	15	30	40	50	60	70	85	100
p16c_AR_2	UCR voters	0	15	30	40	50	60	70	85	100
p16d_AR_2	PJ voters	0	15	30	40	50	60	70	85	100
p16e_AR_2	Coalición Cívica voters	0	15	30	40	50	60	70	85	100
p16f_AR_2	Partido Socialista voters	0	15	30	40	50	60	70	85	100
p16g_AR_2	FIT voters	0	15	30	40	50	60	70	85	100

<b>p16h_AR_2</b>	Juntos por el Cambio voters	0	15	30	40	50	60	70	85	100	888
<b>p16j_AR_2</b>	La Libertad Avanza voters	0	15	30	40	50	60	70	85	100	888
<b>p16m_2</b>	Left-wing ideology voters	0	15	30	40	50	60	70	85	100	888
<b>p16n_2</b>	Voters who declare themselves centrist	0	15	30	40	50	60	70	85	100	888
<b>p16o_2</b>	Right-wing ideology voters	0	15	30	40	50	60	70	85	100	888

[PROGRAMMER: RANDOMIZE ORDER OF p41a\_2 AND p41b\_2. JUST PROVIDE THREE SEPARATE BOXES FOR EACH ADJECTIVE. ALLOW RESPONDENTS TO CHOOSE "I don't know" FOR EACH BOX. START THE LAST OF THE TWO QUESTIONS WITH "And can..."]

#### FOR MOST LIKED

p41a\_2 Can you tell me the adjectives that best describe the voters of [MOST-LIKED PARTY]?

#### FOR LEAST LIKED

p41b\_2 Can you tell me the adjectives that best describe the voters of [LEAST-LIKED PARTY]?

#### [LEADERSHIP GROUP]

And what are your feelings about these leaders?

[PROGRAMMER: ON MOBILE DEVICES, RANDOMLY ROTATE ORDER FOR EACH RESPONDENT, VERTICAL ORIENTATION FOR MOBILE DEVICES AND SEPARATE INTO SCREENS].

		Unfavourable feelings				Indifferent				Favourable feelings	I don't know
<b>p17a_AR_2</b>	Alberto Fernández	0	15	30	40	50	60	70	85	100	888
<b>p17b_AR_2</b>	Cristina Fernández de Kirchner	0	15	30	40	50	60	70	85	100	888
<b>p17c_AR_2</b>	Mauricio Macri	0	15	30	40	50	60	70	85	100	888
<b>p17d_AR_2</b>	Horacio Rodríguez Larreta	0	15	30	40	50	60	70	85	100	888
<b>p17e_AR_2</b>	Patricia Bullrich	0	15	30	40	50	60	70	85	100	888
<b>p17f_AR_2</b>	Alfredo Cornejo	0	15	30	40	50	60	70	85	100	888
<b>p17g_AR_2</b>	Gerardo Morales	0	15	30	40	50	60	70	85	100	888
<b>p17h_AR_2</b>	Elisa Carrió	0	15	30	40	50	60	70	85	100	888
<b>p17i_AR_2</b>	Roberto Lavagna	0	15	30	40	50	60	70	85	100	888
<b>p17j_AR_2</b>	José Luis Gioja	0	15	30	40	50	60	70	85	100	888
<b>p17k_AR_2</b>	Daniel Scioli	0	15	30	40	50	60	70	85	100	888
<b>p17l_AR_2</b>	Antonio Bonfatti	0	15	30	40	50	60	70	85	100	888
<b>p17m_AR_2</b>	Nicolás Del Caño	0	15	30	40	50	60	70	85	100	888
<b>p17n_AR_2</b>	Javier Milei	0	15	30	40	50	60	70	85	100	888

Now we would like to know your feelings toward some of these leaders. Specifically, how often has they made you feel the following emotions during the last 3 months?

[PROGRAMMER: RANDOMLY ROTATE THE ORDER OF QUESTIONS FOR EACH RESPONDENT]

[PROGRAMMER: ON MOBILE DEVICES, RANDOMLY ROTATE ORDER FOR EACH RESPONDENT, VERTICAL ORIENTATION AND SEPARATE INTO SCREENS WITH TWO OR THREE ITEMS PER SCREEN].

Alberto Fernández

		Always	Most of the time	About half of the time	Occasionally	Never	I don't know
p17a1_AR_2	Hopeful	1	2	3	4	5	888
p17a2_AR_2	Proud	1	2	3	4	5	888
p17a3_AR_2	Angry	1	2	3	4	5	888
p17a4_AR_2	Fearful	1	2	3	4	5	888
p17a5_AR_2	Indifferent	1	2	3	4	5	888
p17a6_AR_2	Disgusted	1	2	3	4	5	888

Cristina Fernández de Kirchner

		Always	Most of the time	About half of the time	Occasionally	Never	I don't know
p17b1_AR_2	Hopeful	1	2	3	4	5	888
p17b2_AR_2	Proud	1	2	3	4	5	888
p17b3_AR_2	Angry	1	2	3	4	5	888
p17b4_AR_2	Fearful	1	2	3	4	5	888
p17b5_AR_2	Indifferent	1	2	3	4	5	888
p17b6_AR_2	Disgusted	1	2	3	4	5	888

Mauricio Macri

		Always	Most of the time	About half of the time	Occasionally	Never	I don't know
p17c1_AR_2	Hopeful	1	2	3	4	5	888
p17c2_AR_2	Proud	1	2	3	4	5	888
p17c3_AR_2	Angry	1	2	3	4	5	888
p17c4_AR_2	Fearful	1	2	3	4	5	888
p17c5_AR_2	Indifferent	1	2	3	4	5	888
p17c6_AR_2	Disgusted	1	2	3	4	5	888

**Horacio Rodríguez Larreta**

		Always	Most of the time	About half of the time	Occasionally	Never	I don't know
p17d1_AR_2	Hopeful	1	2	3	4	5	888
p17d2_AR_2	Proud	1	2	3	4	5	888
p17d3_AR_2	Angry	1	2	3	4	5	888
p17d4_AR_2	Fearful	1	2	3	4	5	888
p17d5_AR_2	Indifferent	1	2	3	4	5	888
p17d6_AR_2	Disgusted	1	2	3	4	5	888

**Patricia Bullrich**

		Always	Most of the time	About half of the time	Occasionally	Never	I don't know
p17e1_AR_2	Hopeful	1	2	3	4	5	888
p17e2_AR_2	Proud	1	2	3	4	5	888
p17e3_AR_2	Angry	1	2	3	4	5	888
p17e4_AR_2	Fearful	1	2	3	4	5	888
p17e5_AR_2	Indifferent	1	2	3	4	5	888
p17e6_AR_2	Disgusted	1	2	3	4	5	888

**Alfredo Cornejo**

		Always	Most of the time	About half of the time	Occasionally	Never	I don't know
p17f1_AR_2	Hopeful	1	2	3	4	5	888
p17f2_AR_2	Proud	1	2	3	4	5	888
p17f3_AR_2	Angry	1	2	3	4	5	888
p17f4_AR_2	Fearful	1	2	3	4	5	888
p17f5_AR_2	Indifferent	1	2	3	4	5	888
p17f6_AR_2	Disgusted	1	2	3	4	5	888

**Elisa Carrió**

		Always	Most of the time	About half of the time	Occasionally	Never	I don't know
p17h1_AR_2	Hopeful	1	2	3	4	5	888
p17h2_AR_2	Proud	1	2	3	4	5	888
p17h3_AR_2	Angry	1	2	3	4	5	888
p17h4_AR_2	Fearful	1	2	3	4	5	888
p17h5_AR_2	Indifferent	1	2	3	4	5	888
p17h6_AR_2	Disgusted	1	2	3	4	5	888

Javier Milei

		Always	Most of the time	About half of the time	Occasionally	Never	I don't know
p17n1_AR_2	Hopeful	1	2	3	4	5	888
p17n2_AR_2	Proud	1	2	3	4	5	888
p17n3_AR_2	Angry	1	2	3	4	5	888
p17n4_AR_2	Fearful	1	2	3	4	5	888
p17n5_AR_2	Indifferent	1	2	3	4	5	888
p17n6_AR_2	Disgusted	1	2	3	4	5	888

**FOR QUESTIONS p19a\_2 TO p19f\_2 [PROGRAMMER: DON'T KNOW...888 (GENERATED AUTOMATICALLY IF RESPONDENTS MOVE ON TO THE NEXT QUESTION WITHOUT ANSWERING AND AFTER INSISTING)]**

**FOR QUESTIONS p19a\_2 TO p19f\_2 [PROGRAMMER: IF RESPONDENTS GO FORWARD WITHOUT ANSWERING, DISPLAY A MESSAGE THAT SAYS "IF YOU WILL GO FORWARD WITHOUT ANSWERING ONE OF THE QUESTIONS ON THIS SCREEN, YOUR ANSWER WILL BE RECORDED AS "DOESN'T KNOW / DOESN'T ANSWER" FOR THAT QUESTION. DO YOU AGREE?" WITH RESPONSE OPTIONS "YES" AND "NO".]**

**[PROGRAMMER: ROTATE QUESTIONS RANDOMLY AND PRESENT THEM ON SEPARATE SCREENS]**

**How much do you trust each of the following political institutions...**

**[PROGRAMMER: PUT ON NEW SCREEN]**

**p19a\_AR\_2 ...the Argentinian Congress**

I don't trust it at all									Trust it completely	
0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10

**p19b\_AR\_2 ...the federal government**

**[PROGRAMMER: PUT ON NEW SCREEN]**

I don't trust it at all									Trust it completely	
0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10

**p19c\_AR\_2 ... the provincial government [PROGRAMMER: In the city of Buenos Aires, this should be "the Buenos Aires City Government"]**

**[PROGRAMMER: PUT ON NEW SCREEN]**

I don't trust it at all									Trust it completely	
0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10

**p19d\_AR\_2 ... the municipal government**

**[PROGRAMMER: PUT ON NEW SCREEN]**

I don't trust it at all									Trust it completely	
0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10

**p19e\_AR\_2** ...politicians in Argentina

[PROGRAMMER: PUT ON NEW SCREEN]

I don't trust them at all										Trust them completely
0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10

**p19f\_AR\_2** ...political parties in Argentina

[PROGRAMMER: PUT ON NEW SCREEN]

I don't trust them at all										Trust them completely
0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10

**p19g\_AR\_2** ...the police

[PROGRAMMER: PUT ON NEW SCREEN]

I don't trust them at all										Trust them completely
0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10

**p19h\_AR\_2** ...the army

[PROGRAMMER: PUT ON NEW SCREEN]

I don't trust it at all										Trust it completely
0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10

**p19i\_AR\_2** ...the judicial system

[PROGRAMMER: PUT ON NEW SCREEN]

I don't trust it at all										Trust it completely
0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10

### [Populism Attitudes Scale]

To what extent do you agree or disagree with the following statements?

	Strongly agree	Somewhat agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Somewhat disagree	Strongly disagree
<b>p39a_2</b> Politicians should always listen closely to the problems of the people.	1	2	3	4	5
<b>p39b_2</b> Politicians don't have to spend time among ordinary people	1	2	3	4	5

to do a good job											
<b>p39c_2</b> The will of the people should be the highest principle in this country's politics	1	2	3	4	5						
<b>p39d_2</b> The government is pretty much run by a few big interests looking out for themselves	1	2	3	4	5						
<b>p39e_2</b> Government officials use their power to try to improve people's lives	1	2	3	4	5						
<b>p39f_2</b> Quite a few of the people running the government are crooked	1	2	3	4	5						
<b>p39g_2</b> You can tell if a person is good or bad if you know their politics	1	2	3	4	5						
<b>p39h_2</b> The people I disagree with politically are not evil	1	2	3	4	5						
<b>p39i_2</b> The people I disagree with politically are just misinformed	1	2	3	4	5						

**There are many political parties in Argentina that would like to count on your vote. Regardless of your decision in the recent election, what is the likelihood that you would ever vote for one of the following political parties?**

		Not at all likely								Extremely likely	I don't know		
<b>p36a_AR_2</b>	Frente de Todos	00	01	02	03	04	05	06	07	08	09	10	888
<b>p36b_AR_2</b>	PRO	00	01	02	03	04	05	06	07	08	09	10	888
<b>p36c_AR_2</b>	Unión Cívica Radical	00	01	02	03	04	05	06	07	08	09	10	888
<b>p36d_AR_2</b>	Partido Justicialista	00	01	02	03	04	05	06	07	08	09	10	888
<b>p36e_AR_2</b>	Coalición Cívica	00	01	02	03	04	05	06	07	08	09	10	888
<b>p36f_AR_2</b>	Partido Socialista	00	01	02	03	04	05	06	07	08	09	10	888

p36g_AR_2	Frente de Izquierda	00	01	02	03	04	05	06	07	08	09	10	888
p36h_AR_2	Juntos por el Cambio	00	01	02	03	04	05	06	07	08	09	10	888
p36j_AR_2	La Libertad Avanza	00	01	02	03	04	05	06	07	08	09	10	888

**p37a\_AR\_2 Now, could you tell me what party you voted for in the recent elections on 14 November?**

1. Frente de Todos
2. PRO
3. Unión Cívica Radical
4. Partido Justicialista
5. Coalición Cívica
6. Partido Socialista
7. Frente de Izquierda
8. Juntos por el Cambio
9. La Libertad Avanza
- Others \_\_\_\_\_ (13)
- Blank vote (20)
- I did not vote (21)
- I do not have the right to vote (22)
- I don't know (23)
- I prefer not to say (24)

**(DON'T SHOW THE PARTY SELECTED IN p37\_AR\_2)**

**p40\_AR\_2 And are there any parties that you would never have voted for?**

- Frente de Todos (1)
- PRO (2)
- Unión Cívica Radical (3)
- Partido Justicialista (4)
- Coalición Cívica (5)
- Partido Socialista (6)
- Frente de Izquierda (7)
- Juntos por el Cambio (8)
- La Libertad Avanza (9)
- Other \_\_\_\_\_ (13)
- I do not have the right to vote (22)
- I don't know (23)
- I prefer not to say (24)

**Now we would like to know how much you trust various groups of people. For each, indicate the extent to which you trust the people in that group on a scale of 0 to 10.**

**[PROGRAMMER: RANDOMLY ROTATE THE ORDER OF QUESTIONS FOR EACH RESPONDENT]**

**[PROGRAMMER: ON MOBILE DEVICES, RANDOMLY ROTATE ORDER FOR EACH RESPONDENT, VERTICAL ORIENTATION AND SEPARATE INTO SCREENS WITH TWO OR THREE ITEMS PER SCREEN].**

		I don't trust them at all										Complete trust
p18a_2	Your family	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
p18b_2	Your neighbours	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
p18c_2	People you know	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
p18d_2	People you meet for the first time	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
p18e_2	People you are in touch with exclusively on social media (Facebook, Instagram, Twitter, etc.)	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
p18f_2	People of another religion	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10

p20a\_2 In general, would you say that you can trust most people, or that you can never be too careful in dealing with others? Please place yourself on the following scale from 0 to 10.

[PROGRAMMER: ON MOBILE DEVICES, VERTICAL ORIENTATION]

You can never be too careful										Most people can be trusted
0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10

p20b\_2 And do you think that most people would try to take advantage of you if they could, or that they would be honest with you?

[PROGRAMMER: ON MOBILE DEVICES, VERTICAL ORIENTATION]

Most people would try to take advantage of me										Most people would be honest with me
0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10

p20c\_2 Would you say that most of the time people try to help others or that they mainly look out for themselves?

[PROGRAMMER: ON MOBILE DEVICES, VERTICAL ORIENTATION]

Most of the time people look out for themselves										Most of the time people try to help others
0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10

[PROGRAMMER: IF RESPONDENT ADVANCES WITHOUT ANSWERING, PRESENT A MESSAGE THAT SAYS "If you advance without answering this question, your answer will be recorded as "Don't know / Don't answer", do you agree?" With response options "ACCEPT" and "CANCEL".

**TO ALL RESPONDENTS**

In your opinion, how often do you think that there is fake news...

	Never	Rarely	Sometimes	Often	Always	I don't know
<b>p31a_2</b> On television, radio, newspapers and online newspapers	1	2	3	4	5	888
<b>p31b_2</b> On social media (like Facebook, YouTube, Instagram, etc.)	1	2	3	4	5	888
<b>p31c_2</b> On messaging apps	1	2	3	4	5	888
<b>p31d_2</b> In face-to-face conversations	1	2	3	4	5	888

Specifically, in managing personal relationships on social media in the last two months have you ever tried or experienced the following:

	Yes	No	I don't remember
<b>p32a_2</b> Stopped following, blocked or excluded someone from your contacts for reasons related to politics or political issues	1	2	888
<b>p32b_2</b> Decided not to publish political content for fear of offending someone or exposing yourself too much	1	2	888
<b>p32c_2</b> Intervened in a political conversation to make fun of someone, to disturb or to give irrelevant information	1	2	888

[PROGRAMMER: ALL RESPONDENTS]

Now we'll talk about aspects of your political preferences. Remember again the importance of reading the questions carefully and choosing the answer that best fits your thoughts and opinions. The results and quality of this international research depend on your efforts and attention to detail.

**p33\_2** Regardless of the party or candidate you voted for in the recent elections, do you consider yourself close to any political party?

1 Yes [GO TO p33a\_2]

2 No [PROGRAMMER: TAKE A SUBSET OF PARTICIPANTS TO TRUST GAME, PLAYER 2. ALL OTHER RESPONDENTS ANSWERING "NO" GO TO s8\_2]

[PROGRAMMER: QUESTIONS TO p33j\_2 Only IF 1 ON p33\_2. CODE 999 FOR THE OTHERS] SIMPLE ANSWER

**p33a\_AR\_2 Which one?**

1. Frente de Todos
2. PRO
3. Unión Cívica Radical
4. Partido Justicialista
5. Coalición Cívica
6. Partido Socialista
7. Frente de Izquierda
8. Juntos por el Cambio
9. La Libertad Avanza
10. Others\_\_

**p33b\_2 And how close do you feel to this party?**

3 Very close

2 Somewhat

close

1 Not very close

0 Not at all close

[PROGRAMMER: ONLY FOR THOSE WHO SELECTED A PARTY IN p33a\_2. PLEASE ROTATE ALL ITEMS FROM p33c\_2 TO p33j\_2]

Now I would like to know to what extent you agree or disagree with the following statements regarding the party to which you feel close.

[IF p33a\_2 IS DIFFERENT FROM 888]

**p33c\_2 When I speak about this party, I usually say “we” instead of “they”.**

Completely disagree										Completely agree
0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10

**p33d\_2 I am interested in what other people think about this party.**

Completely disagree										Completely agree
0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10

**p33e\_2 When people criticize this party, it feels like a personal insult.**

Completely disagree										Completely agree
0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10

**p33f\_2 I have a lot in common with other supporters of this party.**

Completely disagree										Completely agree
0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10

**p33g\_2** If this party does badly in the opinion polls, my day is ruined.

Completely disagree										Completely agree
0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10

**p33h\_2** When I meet someone who supports this party, I feel connected with this person.

Completely disagree										Completely agree
0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10

**p33i\_2** When I speak about this party, I refer to them as “my party”.

Completely disagree										Completely agree
0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10

**p33j\_2** When people praise this party, it makes me feel good.

Completely disagree										Completely agree
0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10

**Finally, for a subset to play the role of players 2s—this is to remove deception from the game. Only need an anonymous game—no treatments.**

#### [Trust Game, Player 2] ALL RESPONDENTS

Finally, we would now like to ask you to interact one last time with another participant in this study.

In this interaction there are two participants: Participant 1 and Participant 2. *You are Participant 2.*

Participant 1, like you, received 5 points for participating in the study. You will not know who this person is during or after the study, and that person will not be told who you are either.

Participant 1 was given the option to send you some, none, or all of their 5 points. If Participant 1 sends any points to you, those points will be tripled. You will then have the option of returning to Participant 1 some, none, or all of your points.

The interaction unfolds as follows:

- 1) You receive the points that Participant 1 sent you, multiplied by three.
- 2) Then, you must decide how many points you are going to send to Participant 1, if any. You will keep the points that you do not send.

To clarify how the interaction works, consider the following examples:

If Participant 1 sends:	You receive	If you decide to return:	Participant 1 receives: $(5 - \# \text{ sent} + \# \text{ returned})$	At the end, you receive: $(5 + \# \text{ received} - \# \text{ returned})$
1 point	3 points	1 point	$5 - 1 + 1 = 5 \text{ points}$	$5 + 3 - 1 = 7 \text{ points}$
2 points	6 points	2 points	$5 - 2 + 2 = 5 \text{ points}$	$5 + 6 - 2 = 9 \text{ points}$
2 points	6 points	4 points	$5 - 2 + 4 = 7 \text{ points}$	$5 + 6 - 4 = 7 \text{ points}$
3 points	9 points	3 points	$5 - 3 + 3 = 5 \text{ points}$	$5 + 9 - 3 = 11 \text{ points}$
4 points	12 points	5 points	$5 - 4 + 5 = 6 \text{ points}$	$5 + 12 - 5 = 12 \text{ points}$
5 points	15 points	7 points	$5 - 5 + 7 = 7 \text{ points}$	$5 + 15 - 7 = 13 \text{ points}$
0 points	0 points	0 points	$5 - 0 + 0 = 5 \text{ points}$	$5 + 0 - 0 = 5 \text{ points}$

### **esmP21\_2 Do you understand how this interaction works?**

- Yes [GO ONTO THE NEXT SCREEN]
- No [RETURN TO THE INSTRUCTIONS]

### **[NEXT SCREEN]**

**esmP22\_2** Regarding the type of interaction explained above, suppose Participant 1 sends you 2 points (which are tripled). How many points will you have after receiving those points from Participant 1?

- 3 [RETURN TO THE INSTRUCTIONS]
- 6 [RETURN TO THE INSTRUCTIONS]
- 11 [correct answer] [GO ONTO THE NEXT SCREEN]

Correct answer [FILTER: GO ONTO THE NEXT SCREEN]

Incorrect answer [FILTER: "The answer is not correct. Please check the instructions again."]

### **[NEXT SCREEN]**

Now that you understand the interaction, we would like you to tell us how many points you would return to Participant 1 depending on how many points Participant 1 sends you. Your answers to this interaction will be checked against the decisions made by a real person who is Participant 1. As Participant 1 you can send any number of points between 0 and 5 to you (and you will receive that amount in triplicate), we want you to tell us how many points you would return in each situation, if at all.

**esmP23\_2** Please indicate your options in the table below.

If Participant 1 sends:	You receive:	You have in total:	How many points, if any, you want to return to Participant 1?
0 points	0 points	5 points	
1 point	3 points	8 points	
2 points	6 points	11 points	
3 points	9 points	14 points	
4 points	12 points	17 points	
5 points	15 points	20 points	

[IF THE RESPONDENT CHOOSES A VALUE WITHIN THESE RANGES FOR EACH BOX, GO TO esmP24\_2, AND SIGNAL THE SPECIFIC ANSWER(S) TO WHICH IT APPLIES]

- 0 → Any answers ranging 3-5
- 1 → Any answers ranging 5-8
- 2 → Any answers ranging 6-11
- 3 → Any answers ranging 8-14
- 4 → Any answers ranging 9-17
- 5 → Any answers ranging 11-20

**esmP24\_2** You are making the decision to give away more than half of your accumulated points. Are you sure of your decision?

- Yes [CONTINUE TO s8\_2]
- No [RETURN TO esmP23\_2]

To finish this survey, we would like to ask four additional basic questions about other aspects of your current situation.

**s8\_2 Which best describes your situation in the last seven days? Please choose only one of the following options.**

- 1 Employed, but on temporary leave (includes temporary maternity/paternity leave, accident, illness or holidays).
2. Employed (full time or part-time).
3. Self-employed professional.
4. Owner of a small personal or family business.
5. Studying, even if you have been on holiday (includes company paid training)
6. Unemployed and actively seeking work
7. Unemployed, wanting to find a job but not actively looking for one
8. Chronically ill or permanently disabled
9. Retired
10. Homemaker, stay-at-home parent, or caregiver

**s9\_2 Which of the statements below best describes how you feel about your current household income?**

- 1 With our current income we live comfortably
- 2 With our current income we get by
- 3 With our current income we have difficulties
- 4 With our current income we have many difficulties

**s10\_2 Have you been fired or let go from your primary employment at any time in the past year?**

- 1 Yes
- 2 No

**Currently, to what extent do you feel concerned about...**

**[PROGRAMMER: ROTATE ORDER RANDOMLY FOR EACH RESPONDENT]**

		<b>Not at all concerned</b>	<b>A bit concerned</b>	<b>Quite concerned</b>	<b>Very concerned</b>
<b>s11a_2</b>	Paying your household bills	0	1	2	3
<b>s11b_2</b>	Having to reduce your standard of living	0	1	2	3
<b>s11c_2</b>	Having a job	0	1	2	3
<b>s11d_2</b>	Paying off loans from the bank or paying mortgage bills	0	1	2	3