

OLAC NATIONAL SURVEY 2025

Argentina Facing China and the United States

How Argentines view the two great powers.

A national survey on international affairs.

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Universidad de
Buenos Aires

Structure of the presentation

Opening: objectives, methodology and political breakdown

- 01** The image of the two powers
- 02** The perceived international order: today and in 20 years
- 03** The international conduct of the powers
- 04** China in the region and the Argentina-China relationship
- 05** Chinese products: quality and trust
- 06** International media and the image of the powers

Closing: summary and conclusions



OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY

Where does Argentine society stand on the China-U.S. rivalry?

THE STARTING POINT

The government combines **geopolitical alignment with the United States** with **economic dependence on China**.

The survey asks whether **public opinion** follows that alignment or a logic of its own.

Does the political divide also shape views of China and the United States?

FOUR QUESTIONS

- 1 **Image.** How society perceives China and the United States.
- 2 **Leadership.** Which power it sees as the leader today and twenty years from now.
- 3 **Alignment.** What it thinks of both powers' international conduct.
- 4 **Everyday life.** How this translates into the consumption of Chinese products and international media.

All results are broken down by political camp.

The survey

1,162

cases, people aged 16 and over

29

localities across the country's eight regions

Aug 25-29

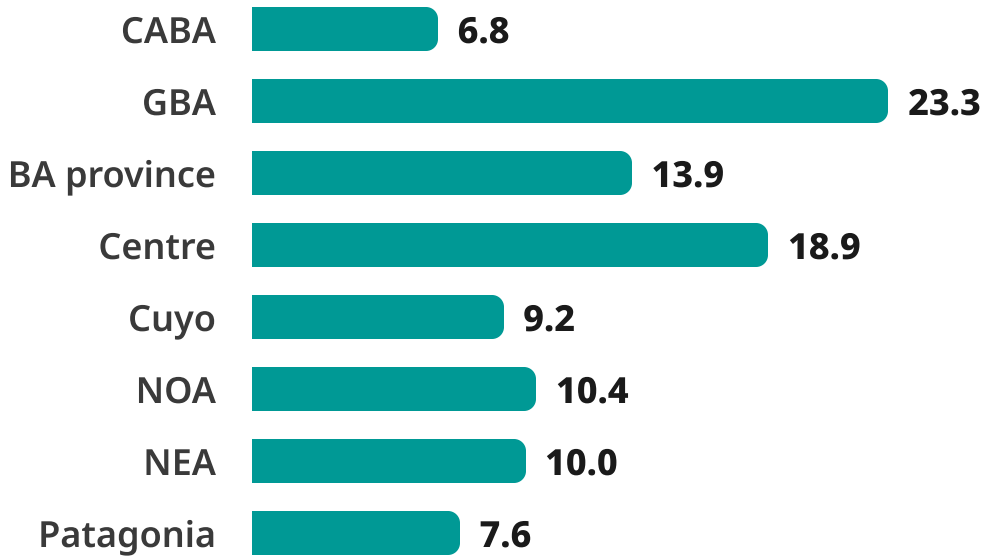
2025, fieldwork

±3 pp

margin of error for the total (95% confidence)

Region

% of the weighted sample



Gender

% of the weighted sample



Age

% of the weighted sample

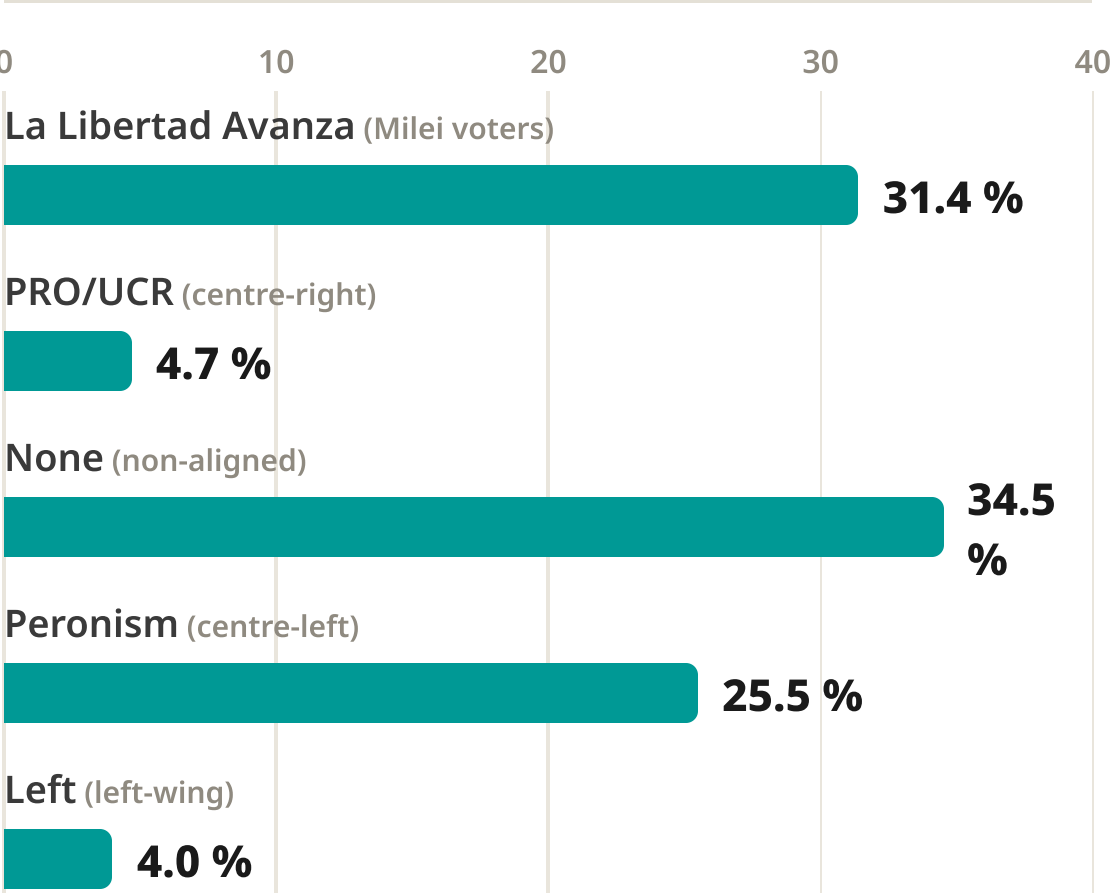


Semi-probabilistic sample with telephone, online and in-person interviews; quotas and weighting by gender, age, education and region.

Which political camp do you identify with? Composition of each camp

Which political camp do you identify with?

% of the sample

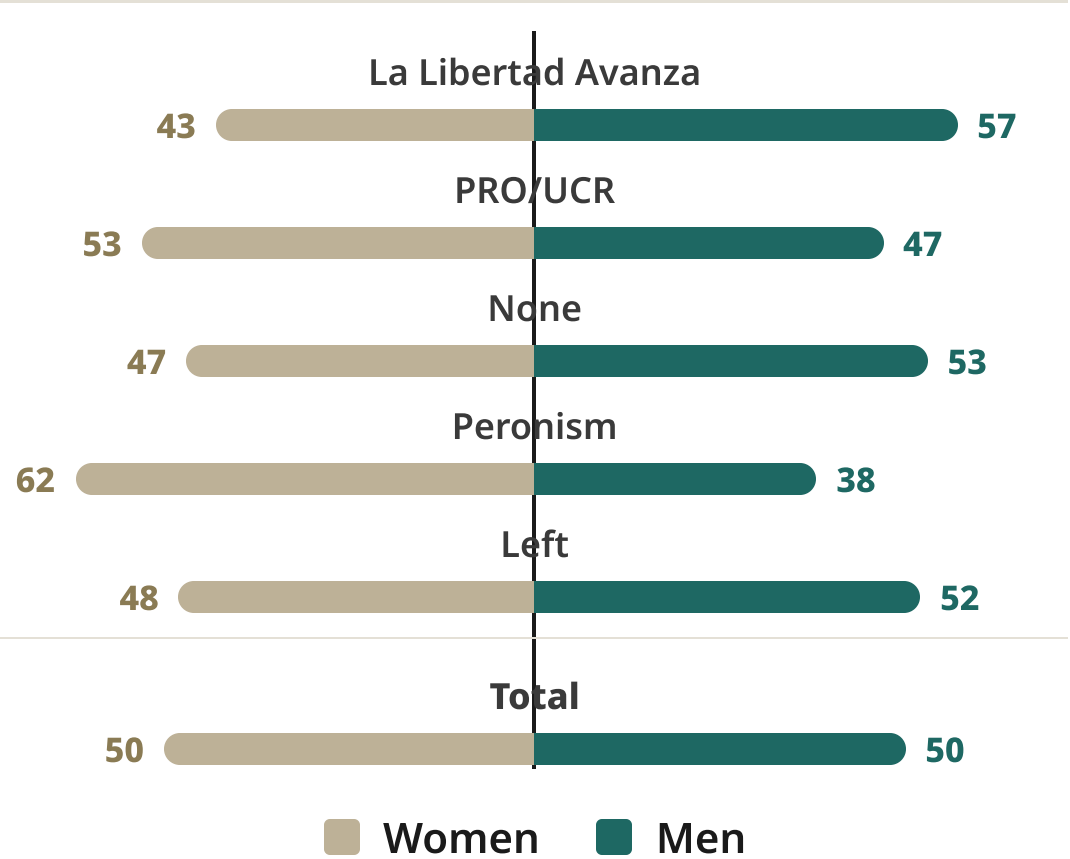


n = 1,162 cases

■ These camp shares closely tracked the actual election results.

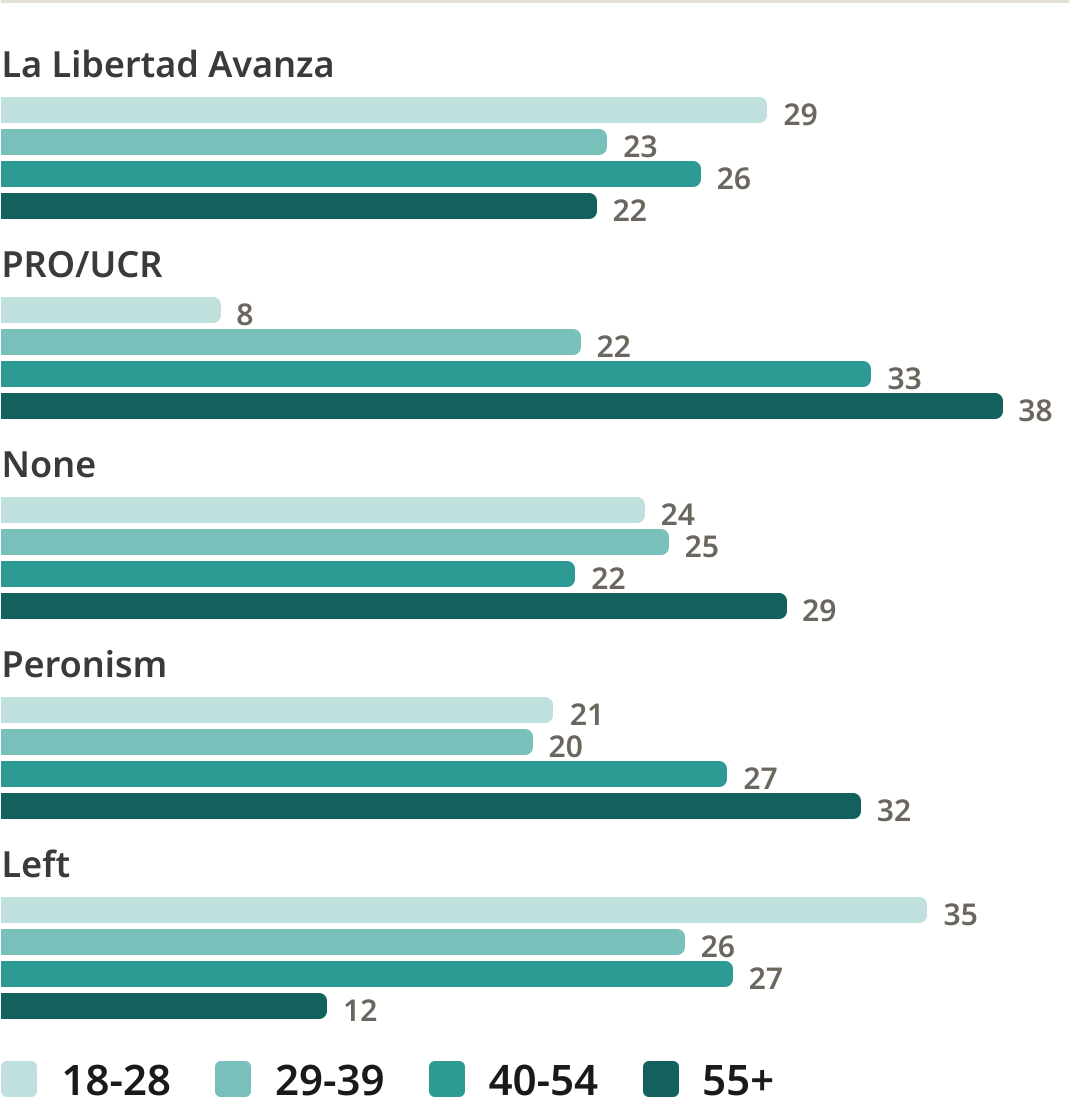
Composition by gender

women on the left, men on the right



Composition by age

% within each camp



Weighted sample; "Other" and DK/NA excluded (2.4%). The full composition is shown. The camp-level analysis that follows focuses on the three main ones: La Libertad Avanza (Milei voters), None (non-aligned) and Peronism (opposition-left).



OPENING

Who is who: the political camps in plain terms

La Libertad Avanza

GOVERNING PARTY

President **Javier Milei**'s party. Right-wing and libertarian: pro-market, pro-United States. In office since December 2023.

None

NON-ALIGNED

People who claim **no party**: the non-aligned and abstainers. The single largest group.

Peronism

MAIN OPPOSITION

Argentina's historic **nationalist and workers'** movement (incl. Kirchnerism). Governed for much of recent decades. Today with a centre-left orientation and more sympathetic to China.

Simplified descriptions for context. The analysis by camp focuses on these three groups.

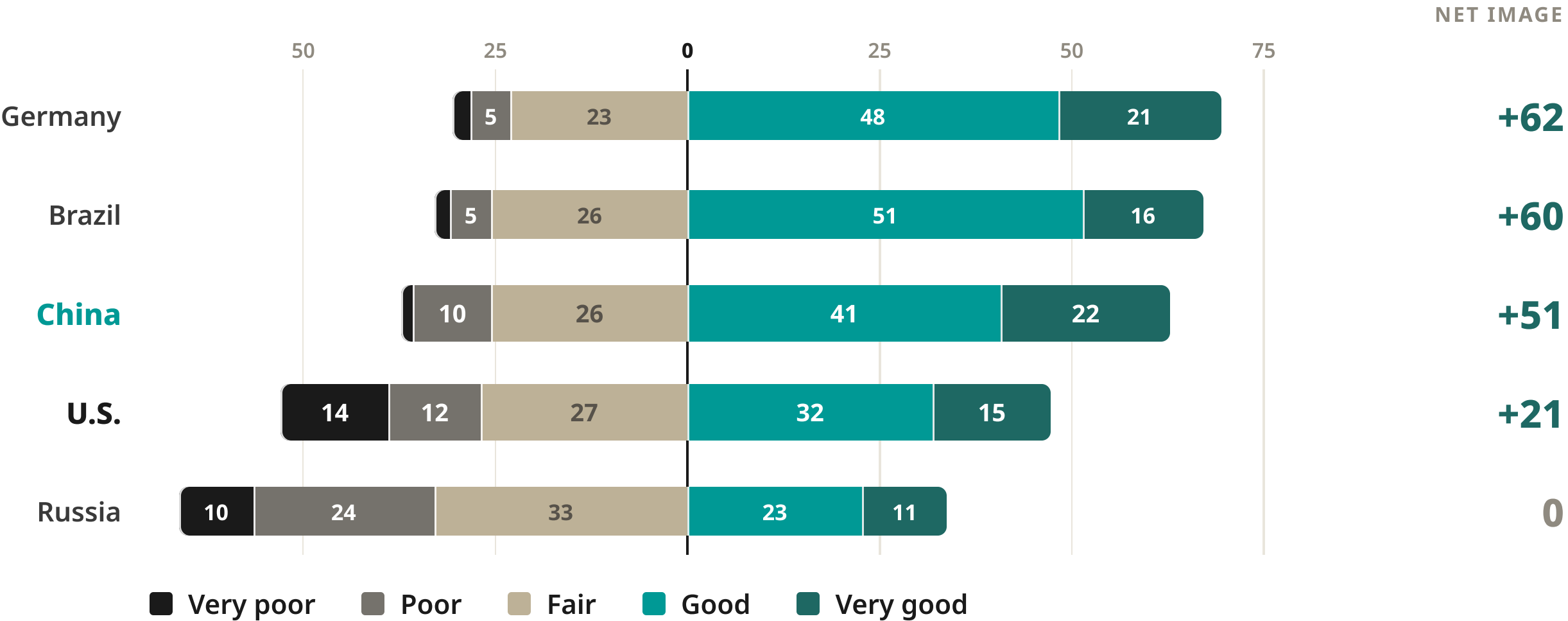
TOPIC 1 OF 6

01

The image of the two powers

What image do you have of the following countries?

We opened with a deliberately broad question: respondents rated their image of several countries from different regions - China and the United States among them - so the two powers sit among many others and the answers are not primed by a polarized framing.

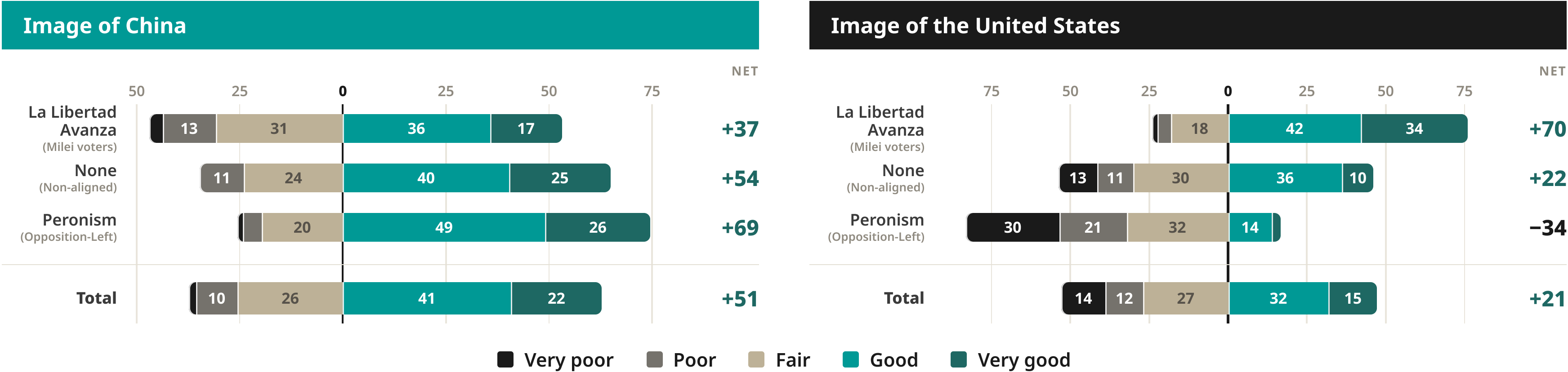


KEY POINTS

- China: 63% favorable and 12% unfavorable; net image of +51.
- U.S.: 47% and 26%; net +21, thirty points behind China.
-

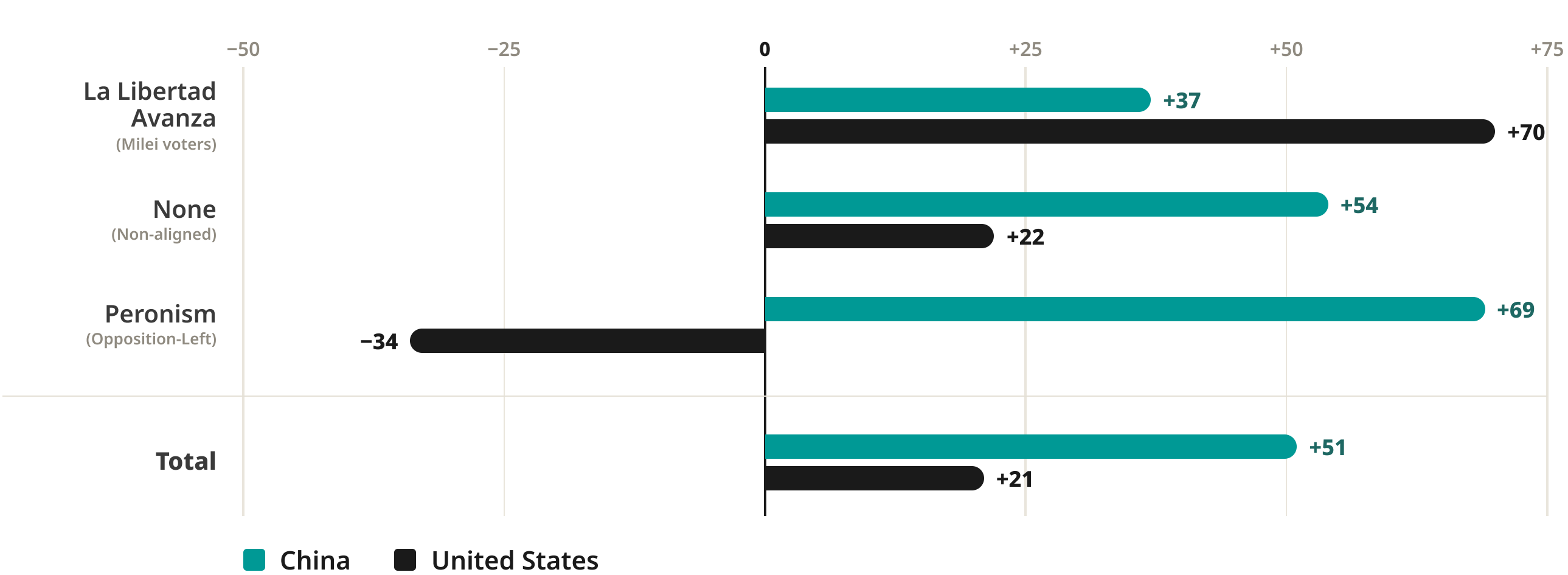
Scale: very good to very poor; DK/NA excluded (2-6% by country). Net = favorable minus unfavorable, in points. Full sample, August 2025.

Image of China and the United States, by political camp



- China's favorable rating ranges from 53% to 75% across camps.
- The U.S. rating ranges from 17% to 76%: a much wider spread.
- The U.S. image tracks the party divide; China's much less so.

Net favorable image of China and the United States

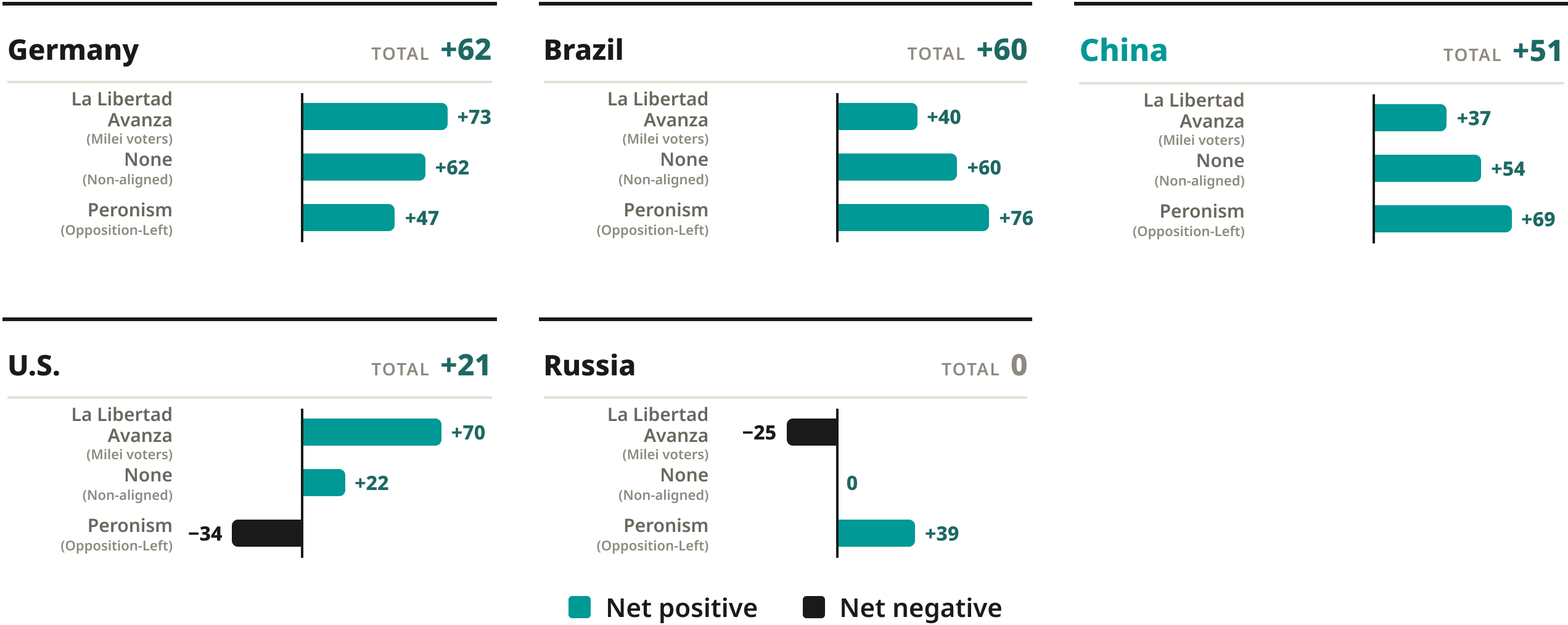


KEY POINTS

- China: net positive in all three camps, +37 to +69.
- The U.S. flips sign: +70 in La Libertad Avanza, -34 in Peronism.
- Across that pair of camps: the U.S. spans 104 points; China, 32.
- The U.S. image is clearly polarized by political ideology; China's is not.

Net = favorable minus unfavorable image, in points; DK/NA excluded.

Net image of five countries, by political camp



KEY POINTS

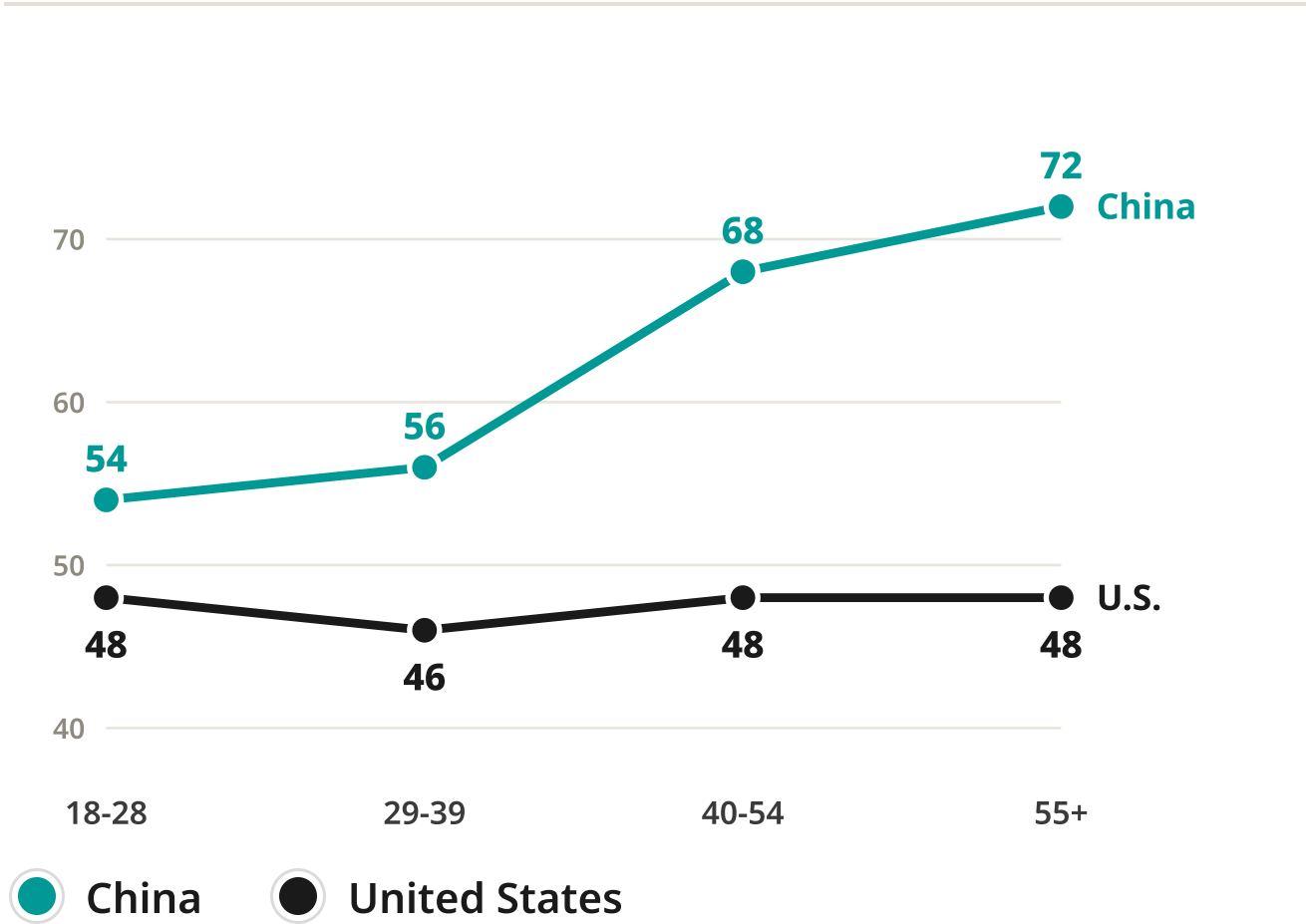
- Germany and Brazil: positive across the spectrum.
- The U.S. and Russia track the party divide with opposite signs.
- China: differences of degree, no change of sign.

Net = favorable minus unfavorable, in points; common scale across the five panels.

Favorable image of the powers, by age and gender

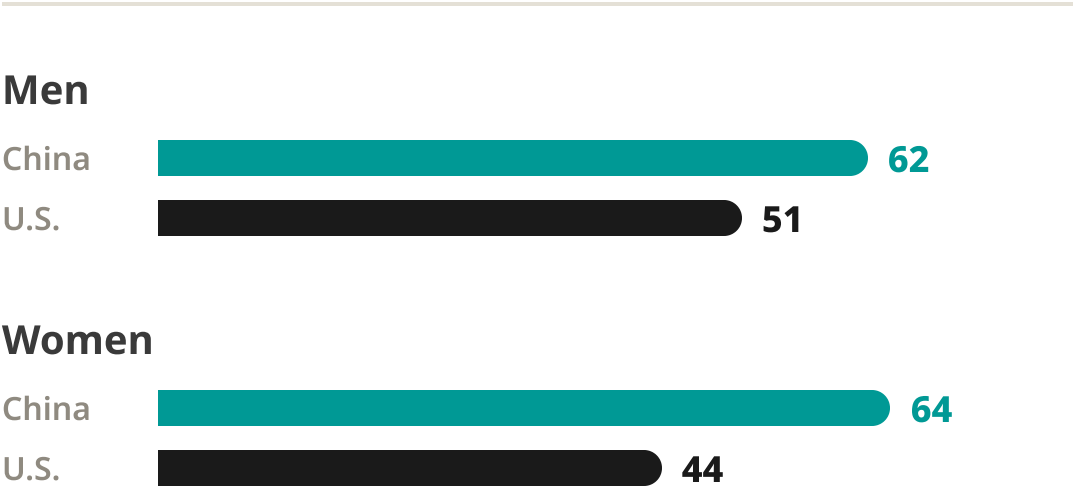
Favorable image, by age group

% with a favorable or very favorable image



Favorable image, by gender

% with a favorable or very favorable image



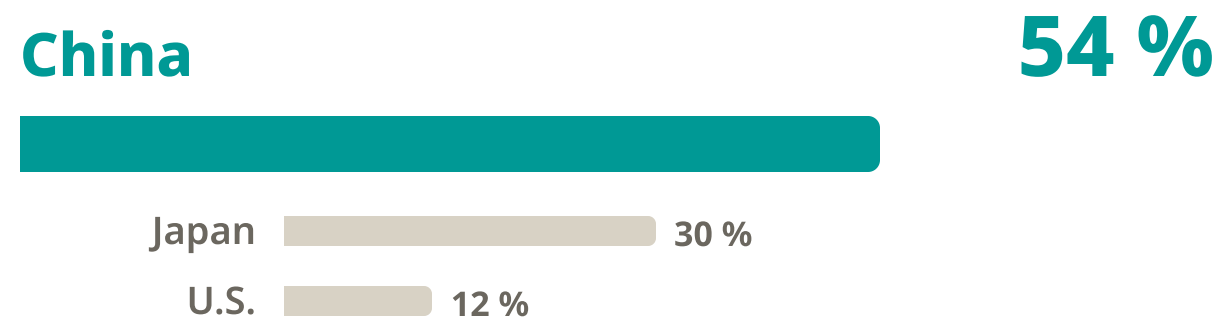
KEY POINTS

- China's favorable rating rises from 54% to 72% with age; the U.S. rating is flat.
- Gender: no gap on China; 51% vs 44% on the U.S.
- The young: the most reserved segment toward China, including within each camp.

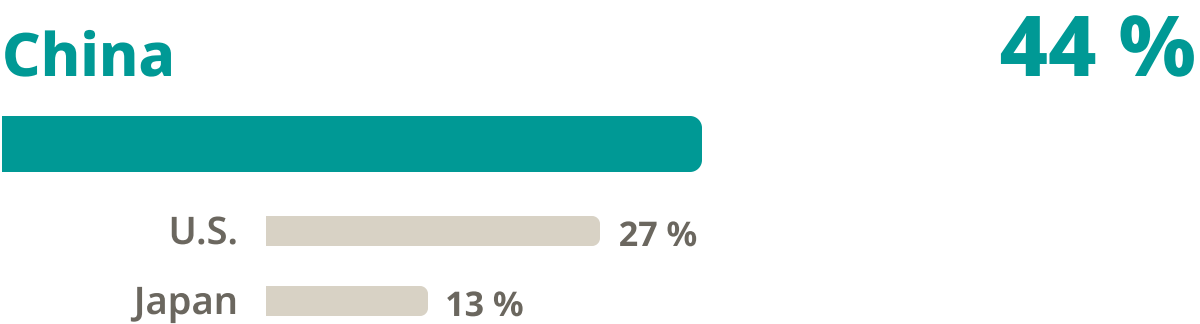
% with a favorable or very favorable image; DK/NA excluded. Weighted base.

Which country stands out most in each area?

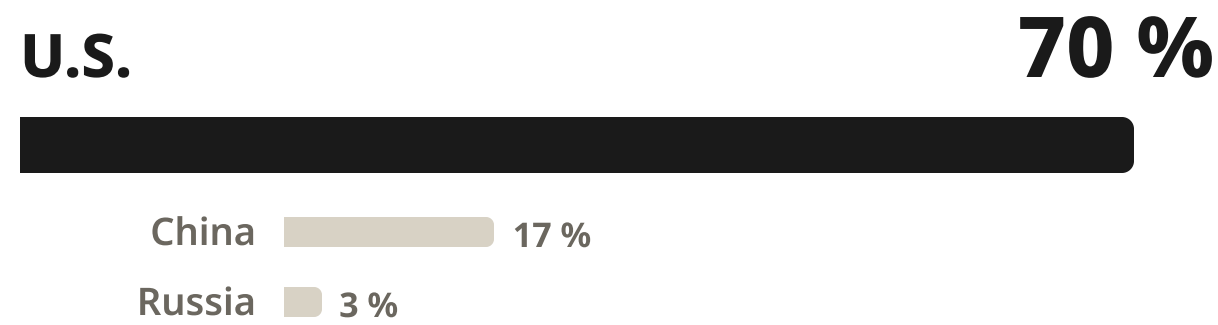
TECHNOLOGY



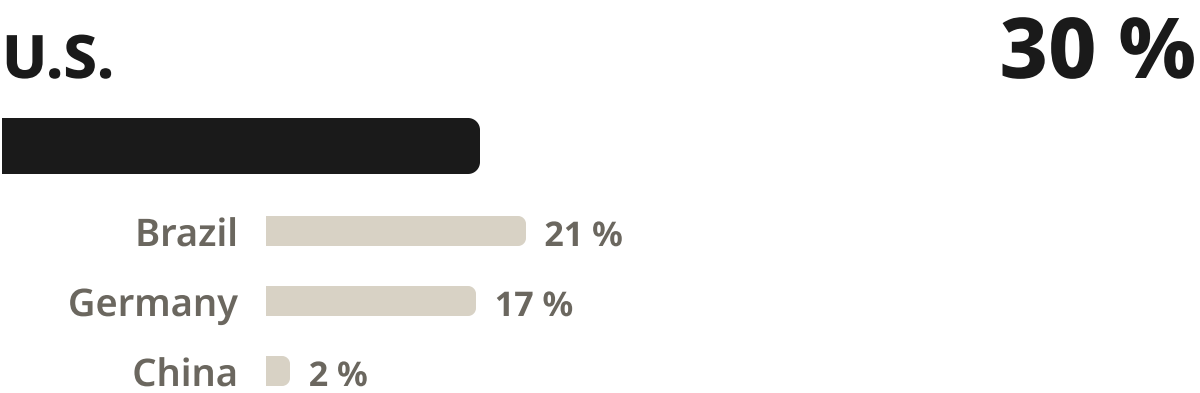
ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT



INTERNATIONAL INFLUENCE



DEMOCRACY



KEY POINTS

- China leads on technology and economic development.
- The U.S. concentrates international influence and the democratic credential.
- Domain-specific criteria, not a single blanket judgment.

First mention per attribute. Full sample.

What does “China” evoke? The spontaneous, one-word response



■ Positive sentiment ■ Ambivalent or neutral ■ Negative sentiment

Positive associations - development, technology, power and the future - far outweigh the negative ones.

Open-ended question - “What is the first word that comes to mind when you think of China?” (1,118 responses, cleaned and normalized). Size is proportional to the weighted frequency of mention; the 66 most frequent associations are shown.

“China” in one word, by political camp

La Libertad Avanza (Milei voters) 344 responses

Peronism (Opposition-Left) 299 responses

Communism Technology
Superpower Dictatorship
Advancement Power Development Future
Intelligence Giant Culture Lovely Futuristic
Growth Excellence Slavery Geniuses Socialism
Strange Innovation Evolution Good Exploitation Work
Authoritarianism Progress Progressive Trade Vast
Self-improvement Extraordinary Democracy Tradition
Overpopulation Millennia-old Inventions Average Empire
Population Left Shameless Order Champion

Superpower Intelligence
Future Development Power
Technology Progress Advancement
Culture Leadership Giant Growth Hardworking
Authoritarianism Artificial intelligence Work
Organization Lovely Expansion Communism Economy
Discipline Respect Thriving Perseverance Vast
Extraordinary Wisdom Global Excellence Inventions
Rigorous Cybernetics Arrogant Planning Prosperity Diversity
Production Superiority Futuristic Globalization Innovation
Strategist Immense

■ Positive sentiment ■ Ambivalent or neutral ■ Negative sentiment

| In every camp, positive associations clearly outweigh the negative ones.

Open-ended question - “What is the first word that comes to mind when you think of China?” - cleaned and normalized, by stated political sympathy; weighted frequency. The 44 most frequent associations for each camp are shown.

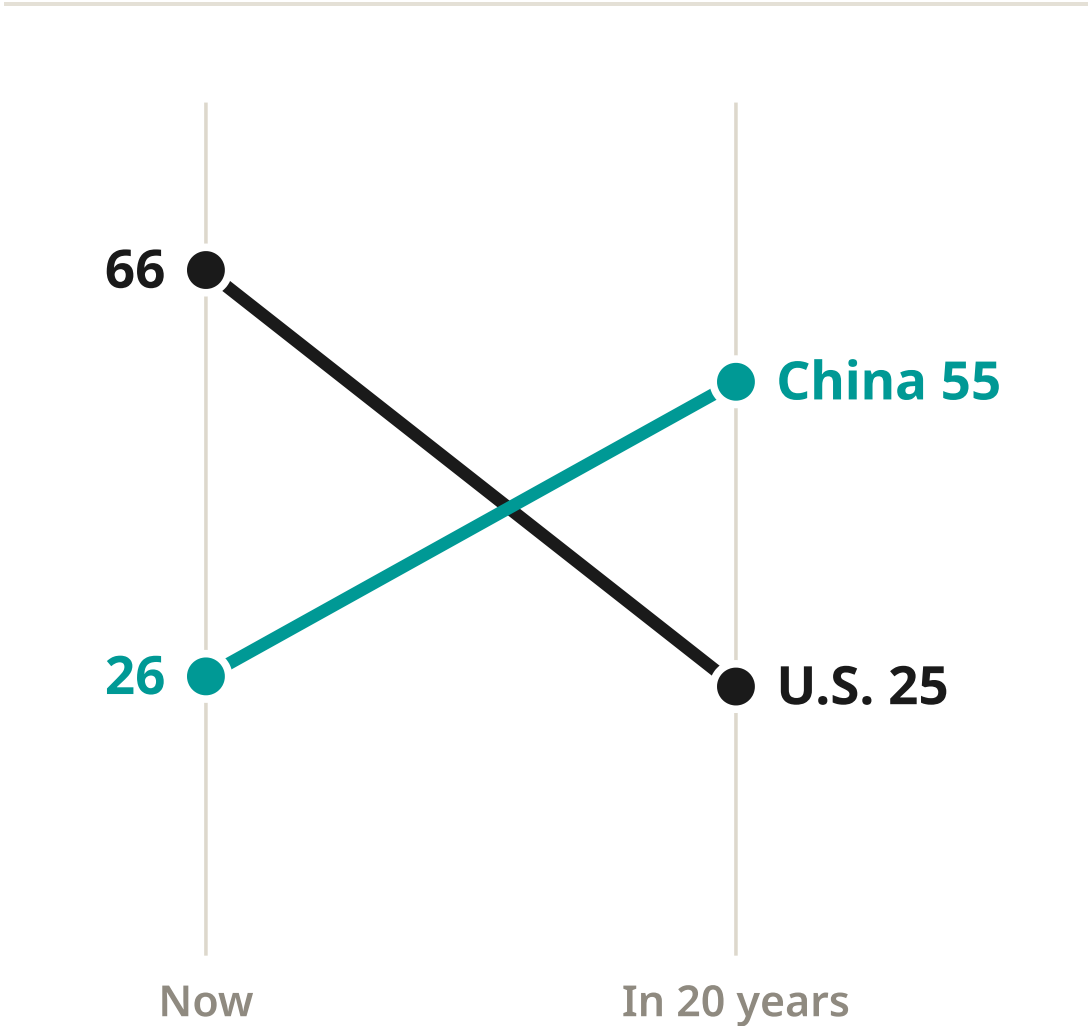
TOPIC 2 OF 6

02

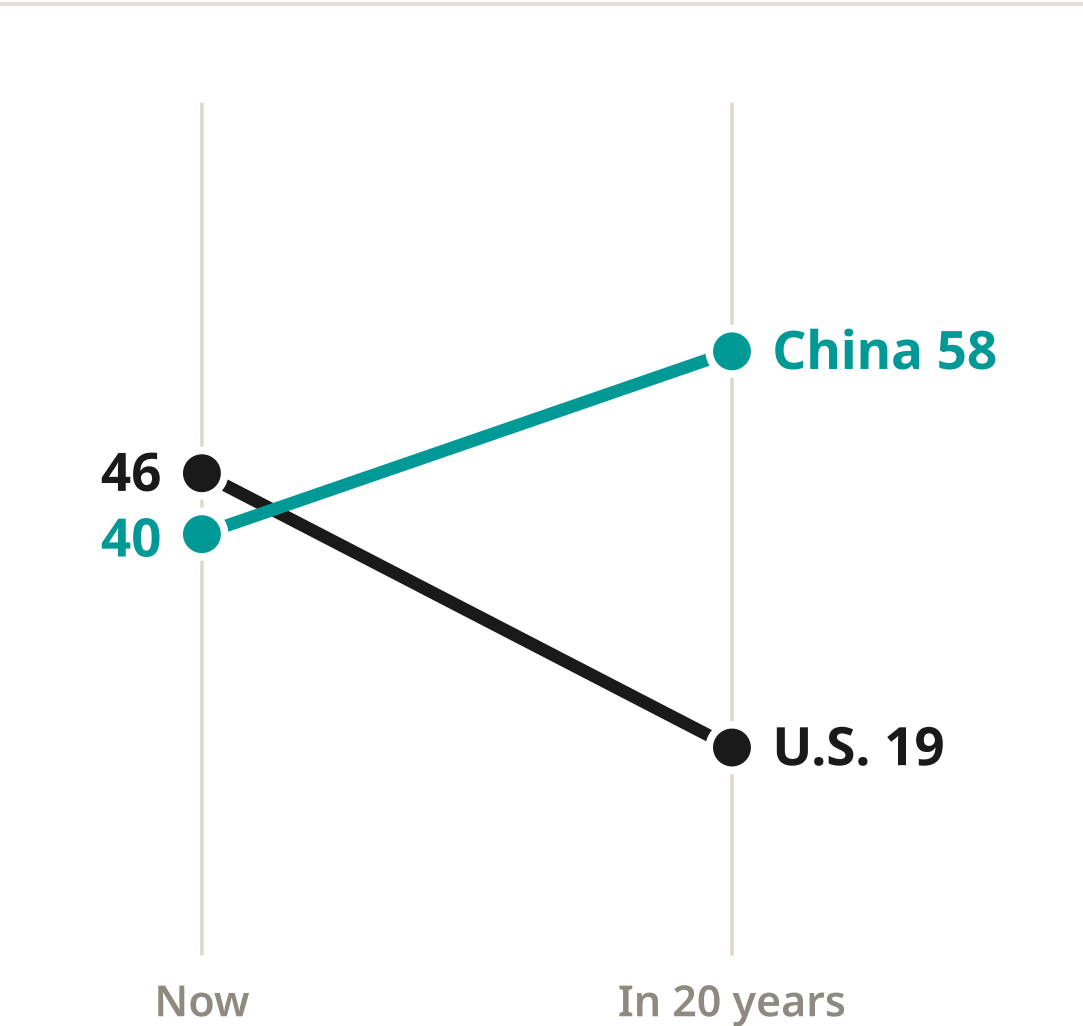
The perceived international order: today and in 20 years

Which country leads today and which will lead in 20 years? Full sample

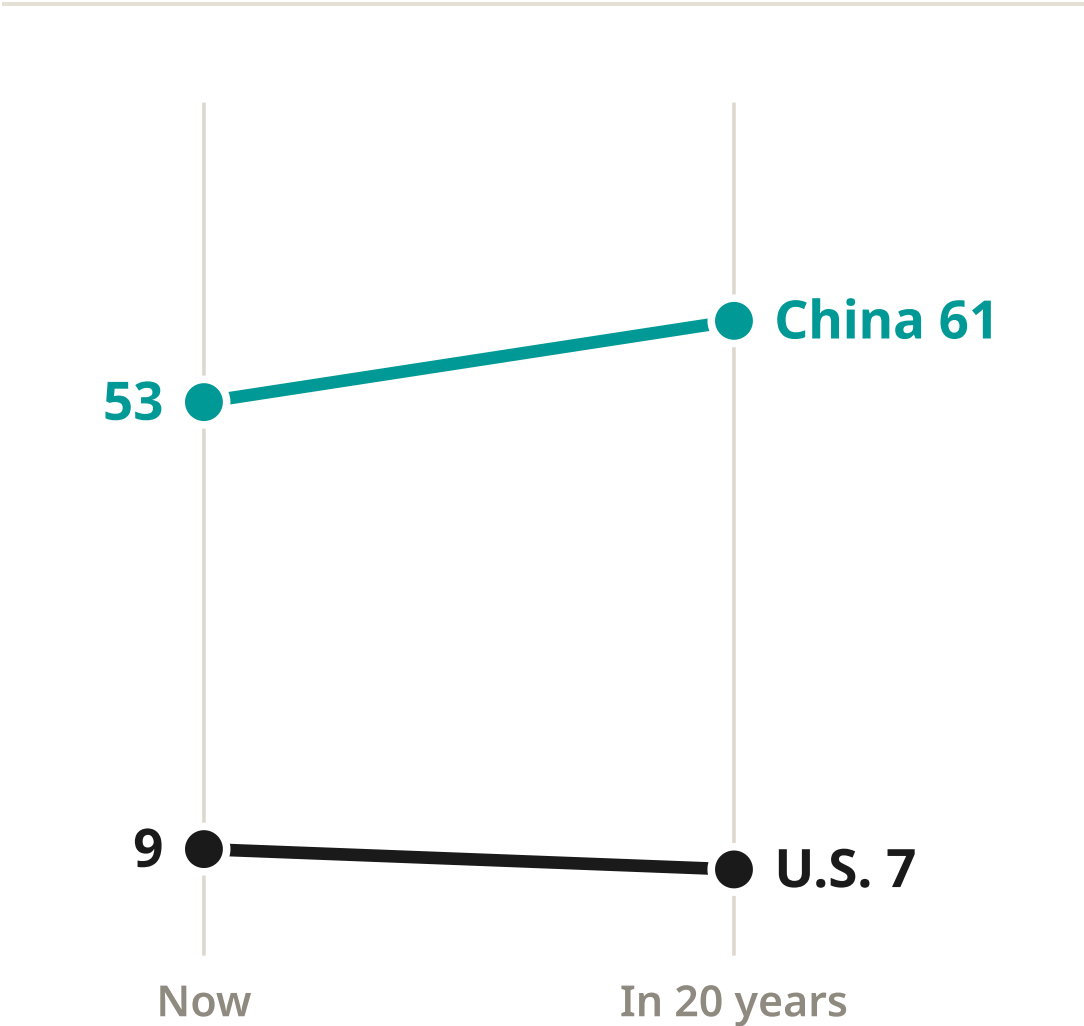
Global leadership



Economic power



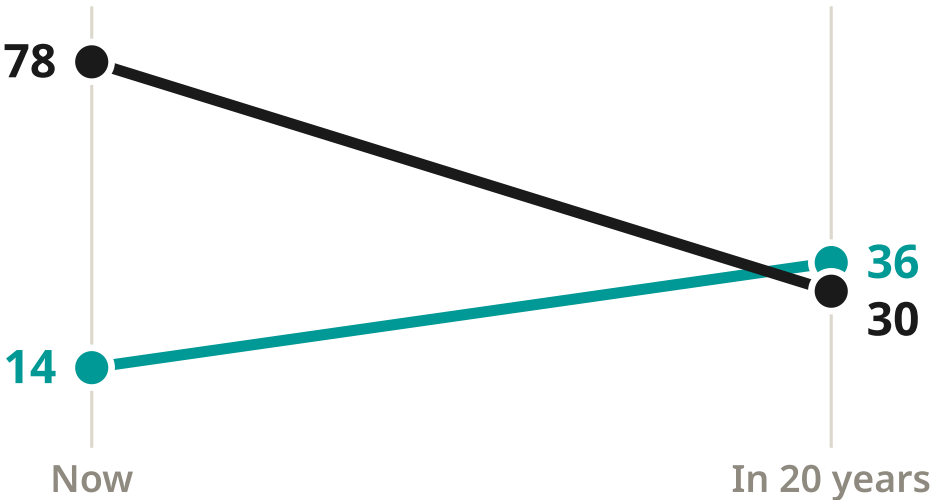
Technological development



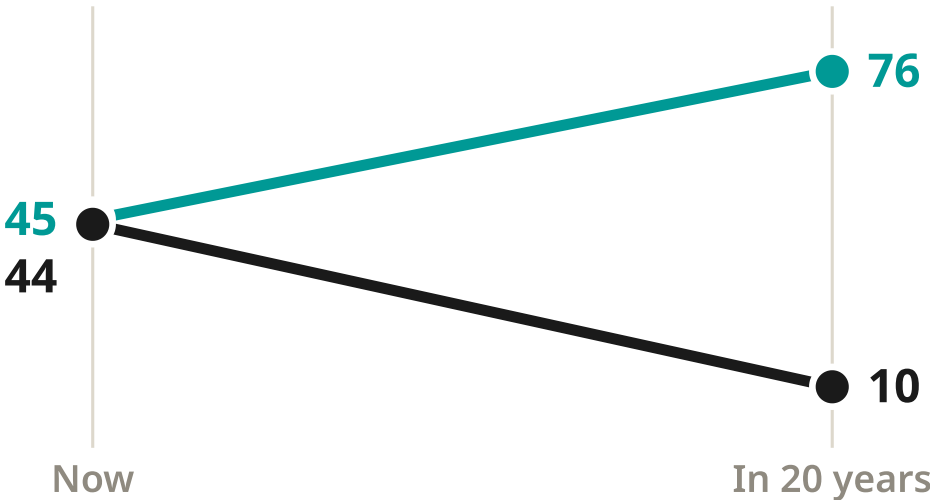
Open-ended questions; % of mentions. The remainder goes to other powers.

Global leadership, today and in 20 years. By political camp

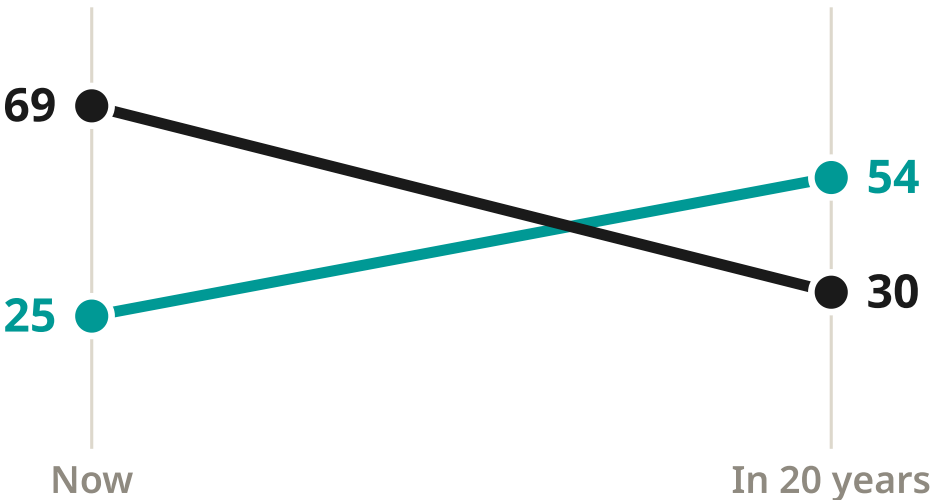
La Libertad Avanza (Milei voters)



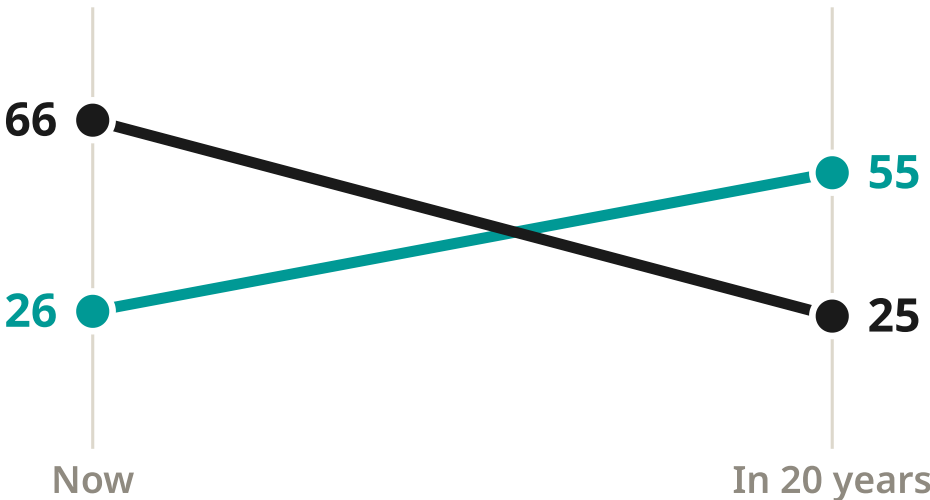
Peronism (Opposition-Left)



None (Non-aligned)



TOTAL



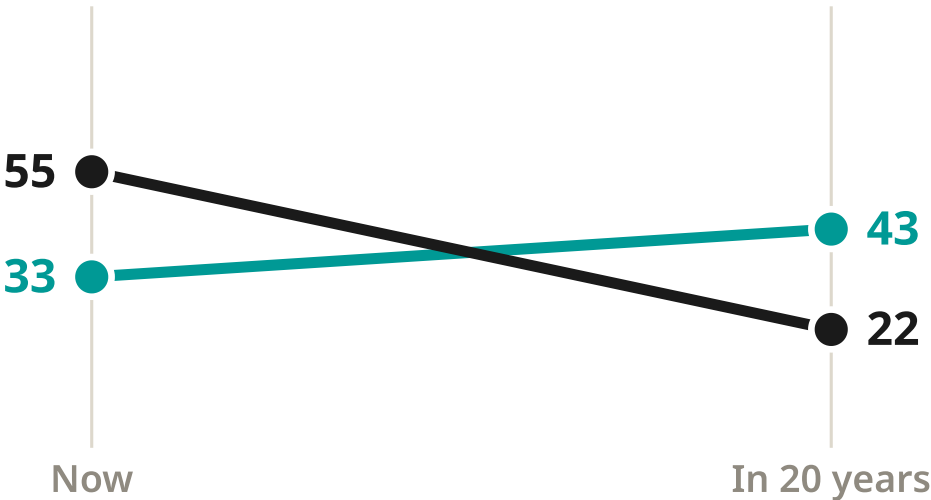
KEY POINTS

- Today the U.S. leads in almost all; Peronism splits 45 to 44.
- In 20 years, China moves ahead in every group.
- The narrowest margin: La Libertad Avanza, 36 to 30.

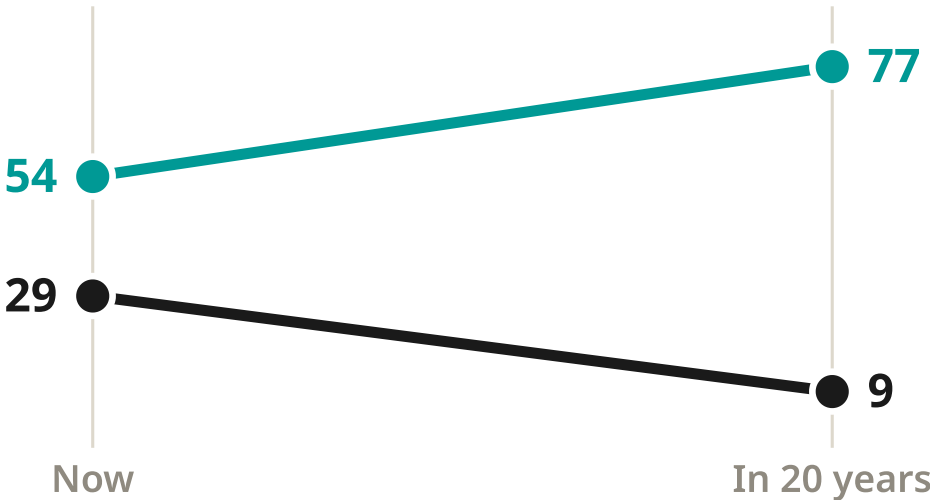
Open-ended question; % of mentions per power. The three main camps and the total are shown.

Economic power, today and in 20 years. By political camp

La Libertad Avanza (Milei voters)



Peronism (Opposition-Left)



None (Non-aligned)



TOTAL



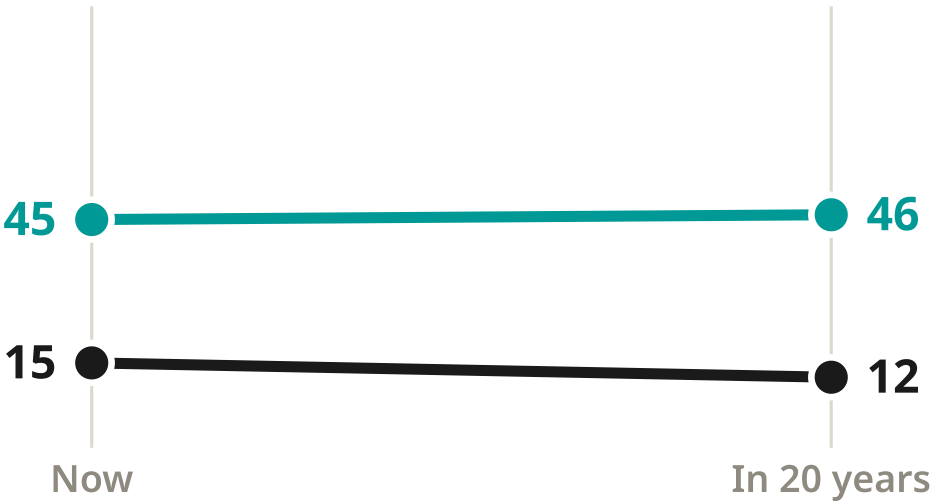
KEY POINTS

- Today the U.S. leads in La Libertad Avanza and “None”; China ahead in Peronism.
- In 20 years, China leads in every group: from 43% to 77%.
- In La Libertad Avanza, China’s future lead is the tightest: 43 to 22.

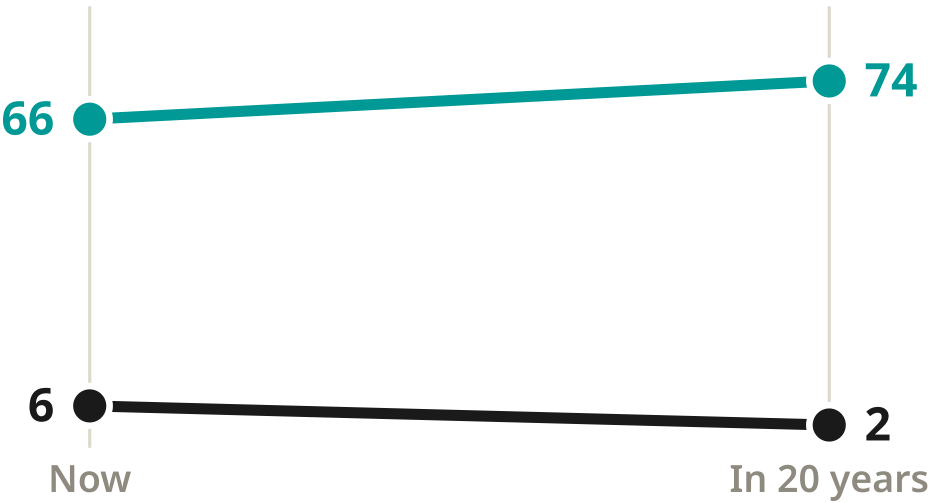
Open-ended question; % of mentions per power. The three main camps and the total are shown.

Technological development, today and in 20 years. By political camp

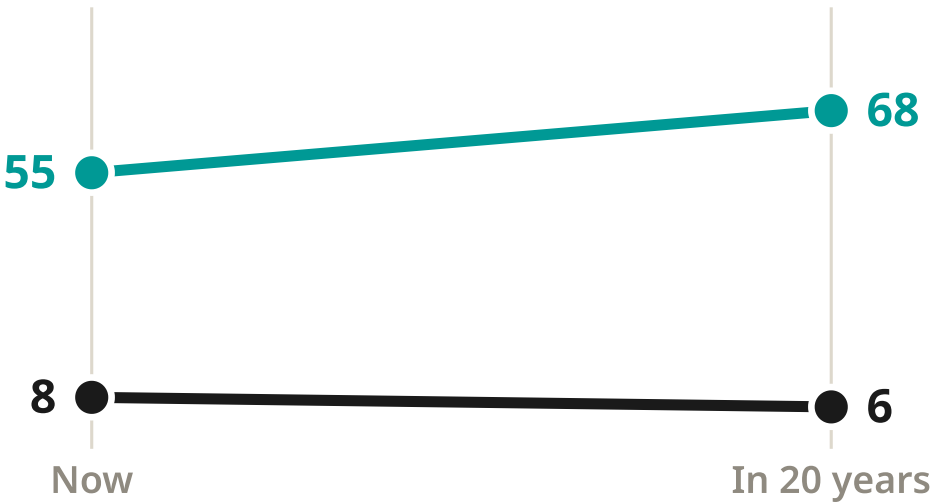
La Libertad Avanza (Milei voters)



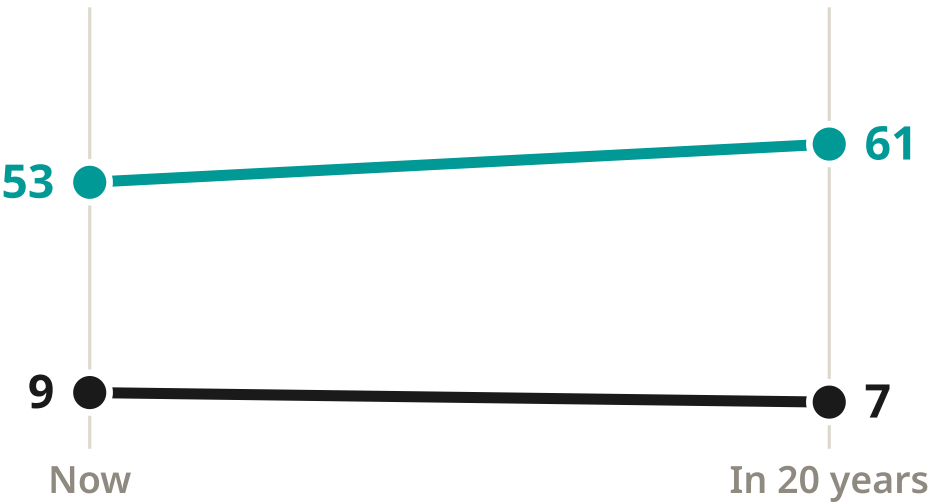
Peronism (Opposition-Left)



None (Non-aligned)



TOTAL



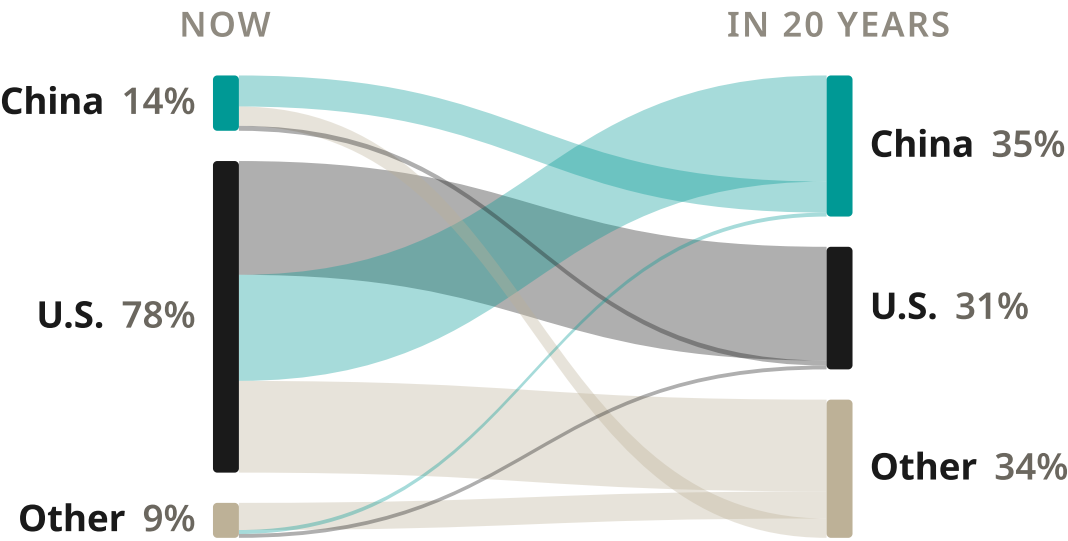
KEY POINTS

- China leads the U.S. in every group, already today.
- In 20 years the lead holds or widens across the board.
- The most widely shared perception across camps in the whole survey.

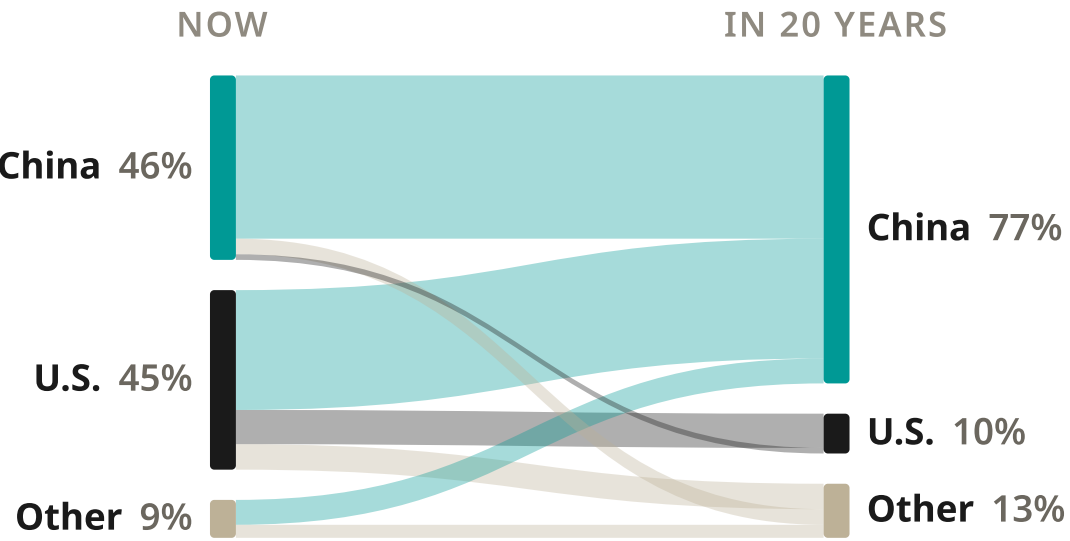
Open-ended question; % of mentions per power. The three main camps and the total are shown.

Trajectories between today's leader and the leader 20 years out

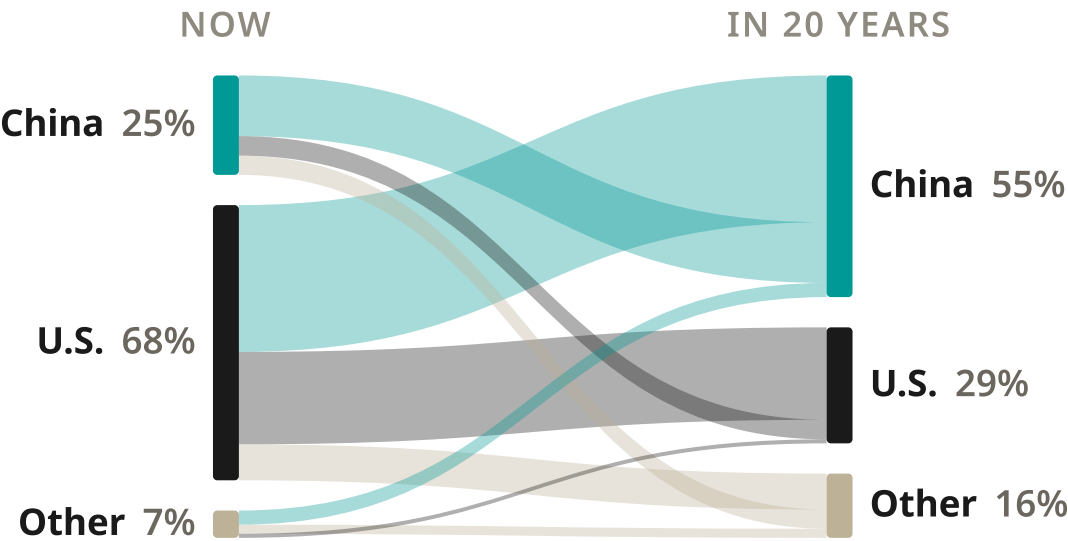
La Libertad Avanza (Milei voters)



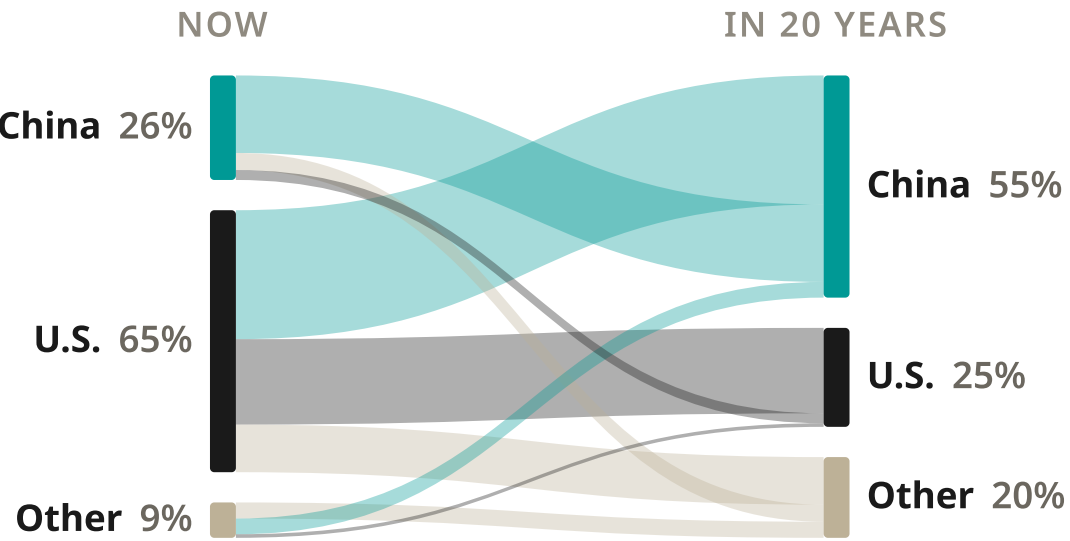
Peronism (Opposition-Left)



None (Non-aligned)



TOTAL



KEY POINTS

- The largest flow crosses from the U.S. to China: 32% of the total.
- Continuities: U.S. 21% and China 19% stay put.
- Destination: China 55%, U.S. 25%, other powers 20%.

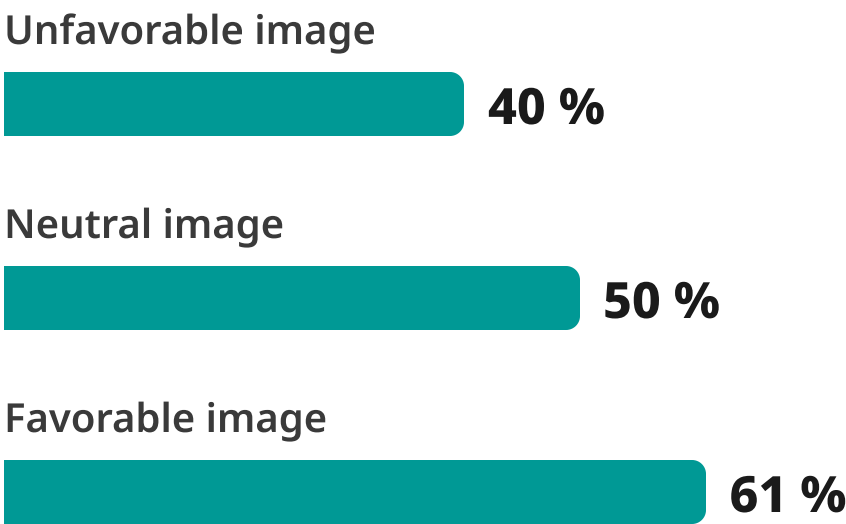
Each ribbon's width is the % of respondents following that trajectory; color by destination. Only those who answered both questions are included.

DESTINATION China United States Other powers

Perceived leadership, by prior image of each country

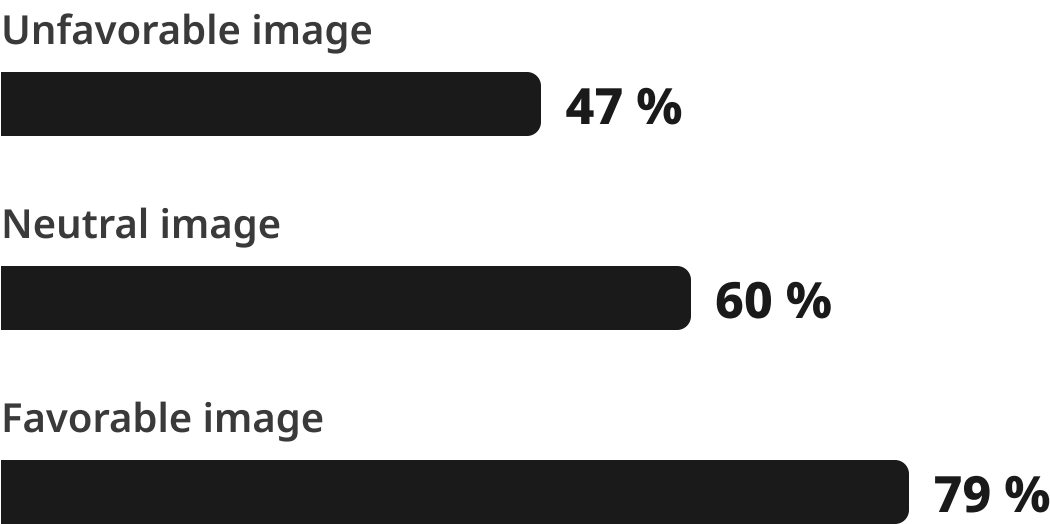
Names China as leader in 20 years

by their image of China



Recognizes the U.S. as leader today

by their image of the U.S.



KEY POINTS

- 40% of those with a poor image of China still expect it to lead in 20 years.
- 47% of those with a poor image of the U.S. still see it as leader today.
- Readings of the international order are not a mere reflection of sympathies.

Each leadership question is crossed with the prior image of the corresponding country; DK/NA excluded.

TOPIC 3 OF 6

03

The international conduct of the powers

How much do you agree with the following statements?

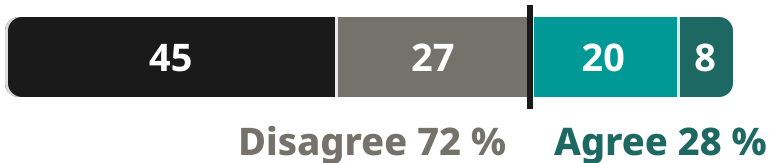
«China respects each country’s political system»

+26 net agreement, in points



«The United States respects each country’s political system»

-44 net agreement, in points



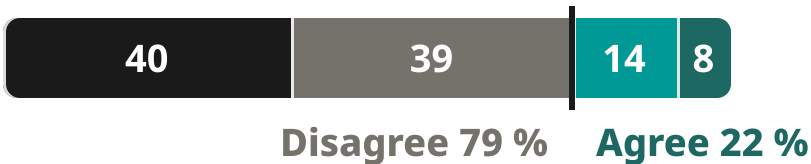
«The U.S. tends to act unilaterally; China prefers dialogue»

+36 net agreement, in points



«The United States leads China in technology»

-57 net agreement, in points



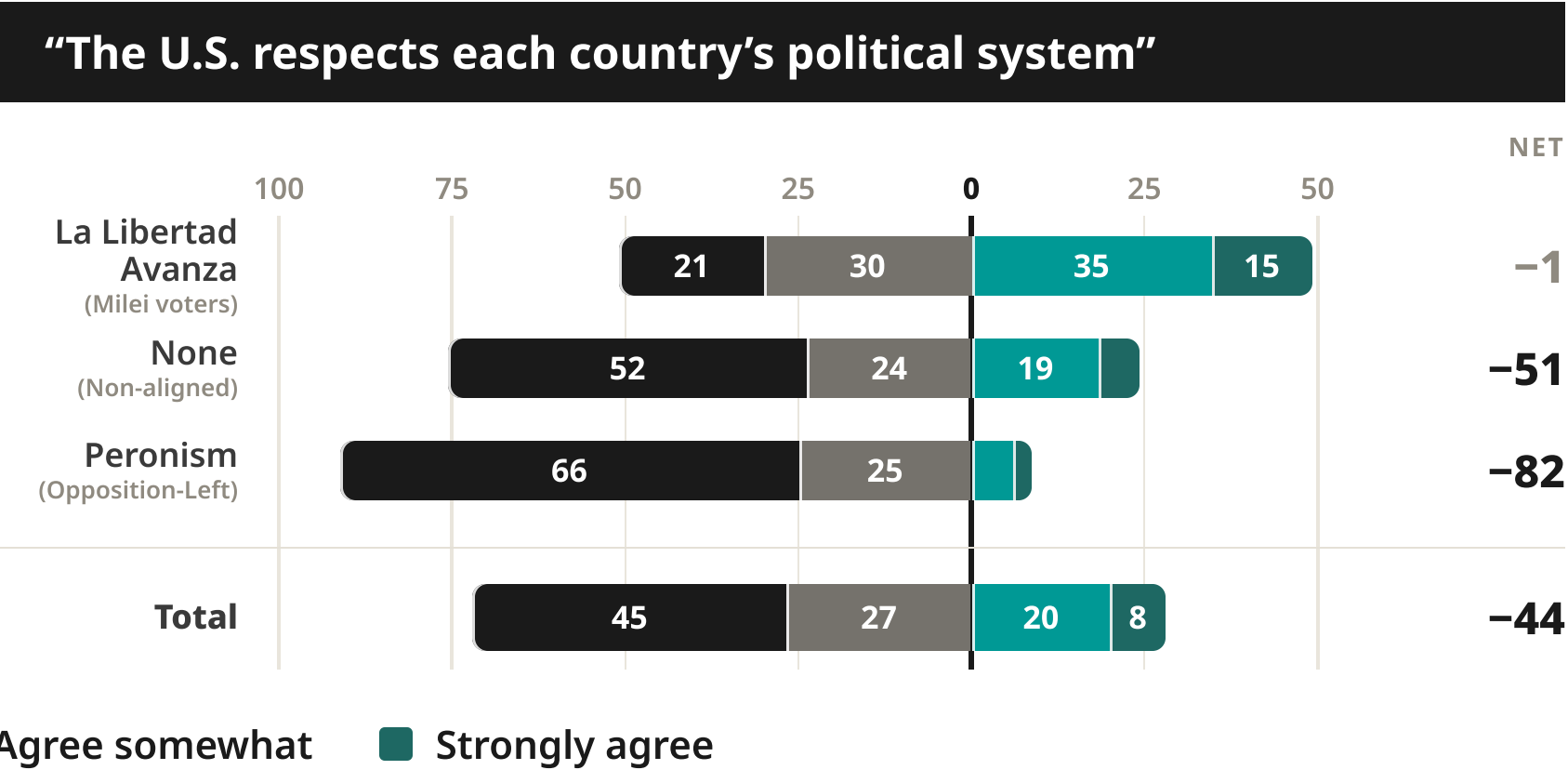
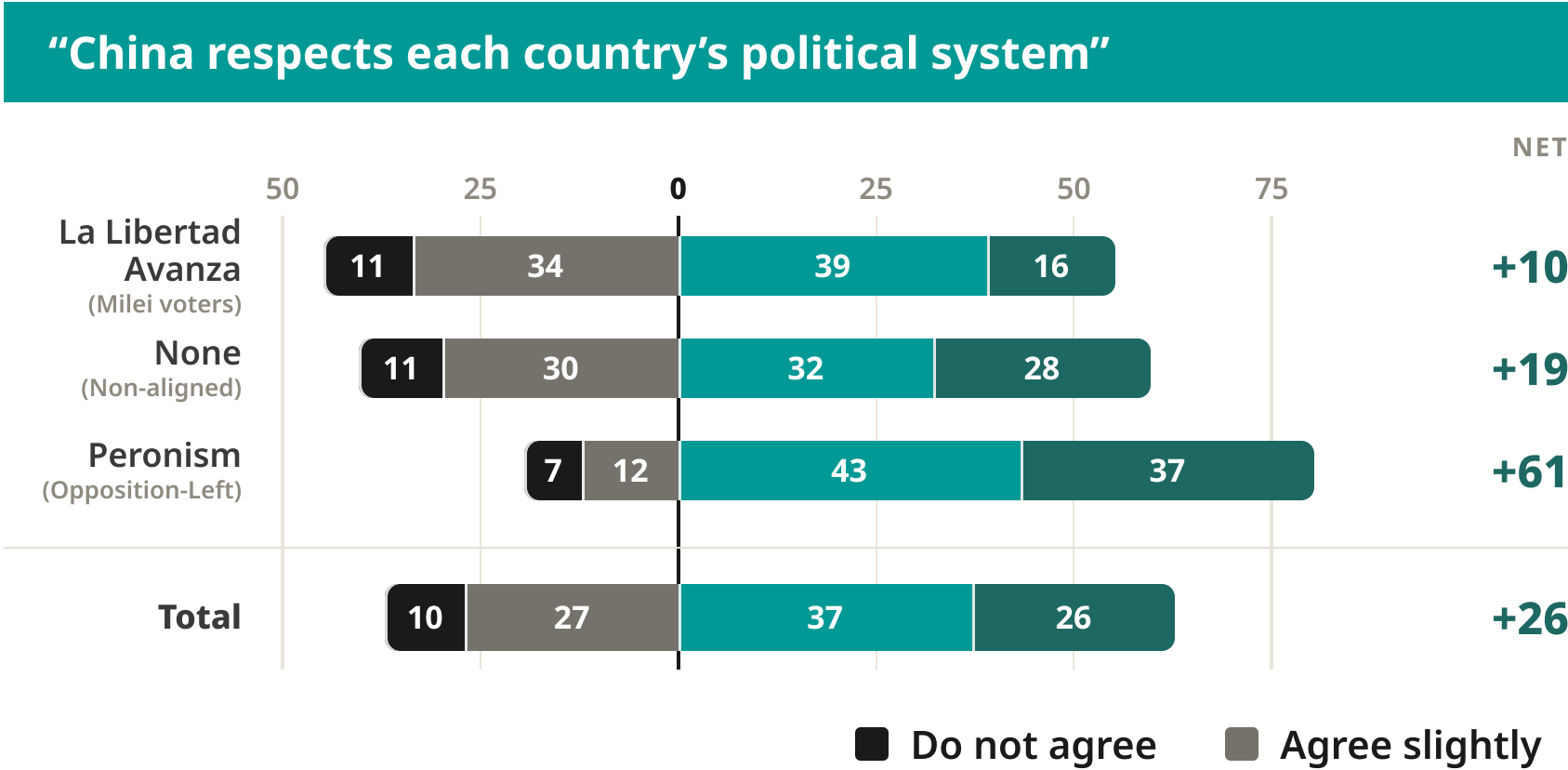
Do not agree Agree slightly Agree somewhat Strongly agree

KEY POINTS

- Respect for political systems: China +26, U.S. -44. A seventy-point gap.
- 68% see China as more open to dialogue than the U.S.
- Only 22% think the U.S. leads China in technology.

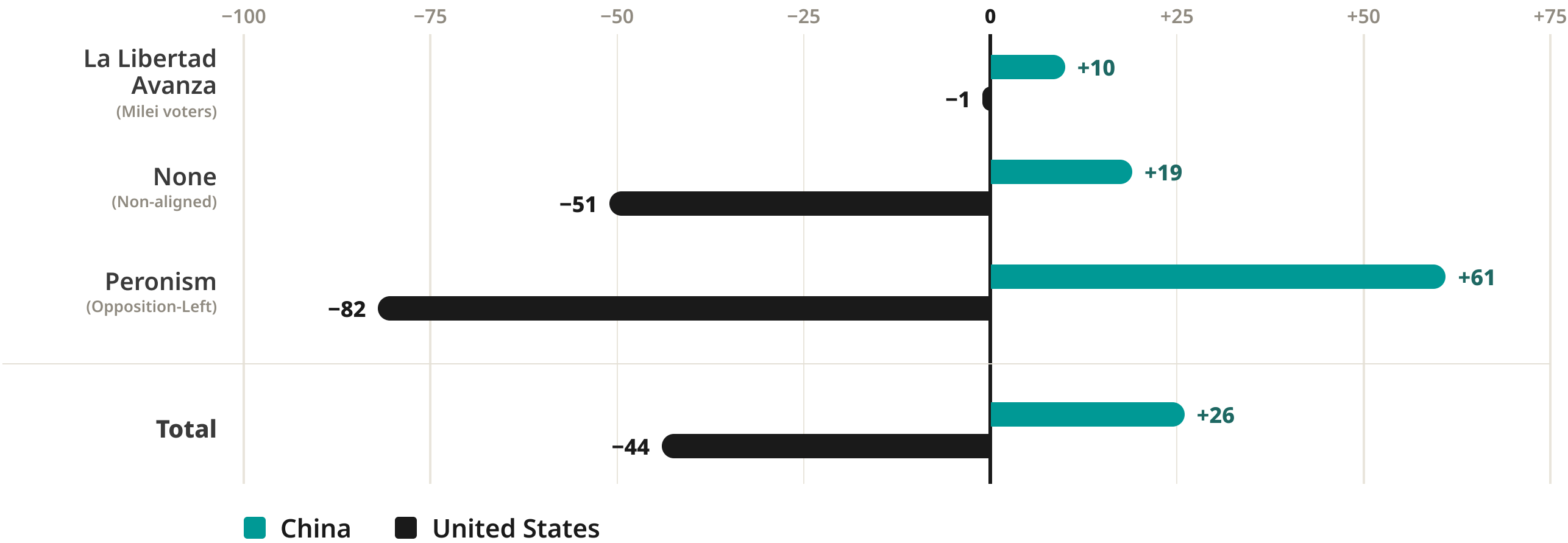
Full sample; DK/NA excluded (2-7% by statement). Fieldwork prior to the regional episodes of late 2025.

Do China and the United States respect each country's political system?



- Agreement on China runs from 55% (La Libertad Avanza) to 80% (Peronism).
- On the U.S. the order reverses: a peak of 49% in La Libertad Avanza.
- In Peronism, 66% "do not agree" on the U.S.

Respect for political systems: net agreement by camp



KEY POINTS

- China: net positive in all three camps; total +26.
- U.S.: net negative in all three; total -44.
- Even in La Libertad Avanza: China +10 and U.S. -1.

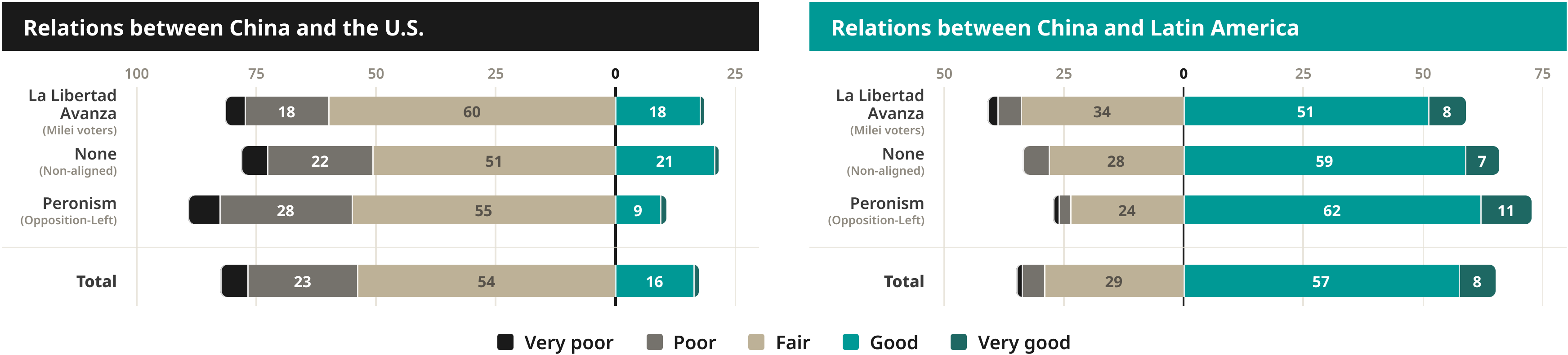
Net = agreement minus disagreement, excluding non-response.

TOPIC 4 OF 6

04

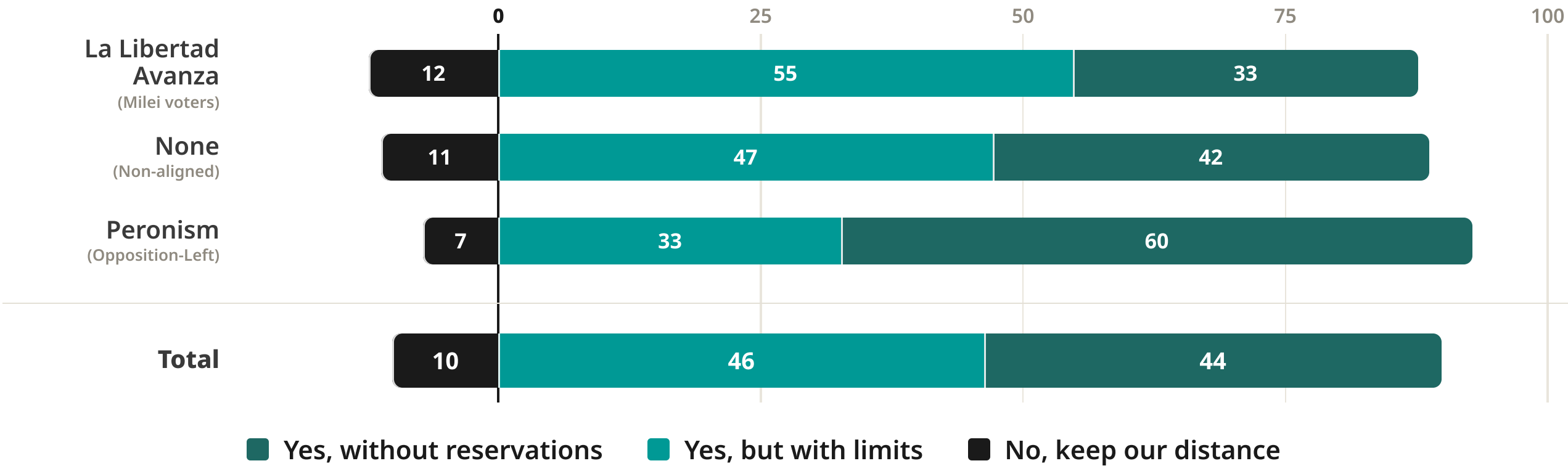
China in the region and the bilateral relationship

How are China's relations with the United States and with Latin America?



- The relationship between the powers is rated negatively across all camps.
- The China-Latin America relationship draws positive majorities in all camps.
- Global conflict and regional benefit coexist in perceptions.

Should Argentina strengthen its relationship with China in the coming years?



KEY POINTS

- 90% support strengthening the relationship; only 10% prefer distance.
- Peronism is the only camp with a majority of “yes, without reservations” (60%).
- In La Libertad Avanza, qualified support prevails.

DK/NA excluded from the breakdown by camp.

How important are economic and political relations with China?

ECONOMIC RELATIONS

How important are economic relations with China?

91 % consider them important
“very” plus “somewhat” important

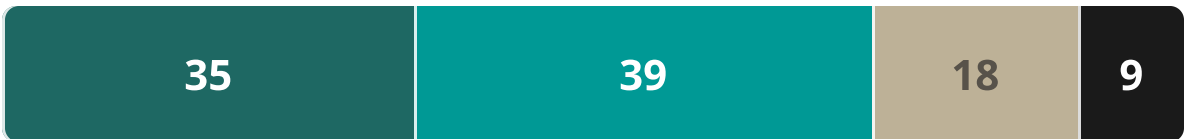


Very important Somewhat important Slightly important Not important

POLITICAL RELATIONS

How important are political relations with China?

74 % consider them important
“very” plus “somewhat” important

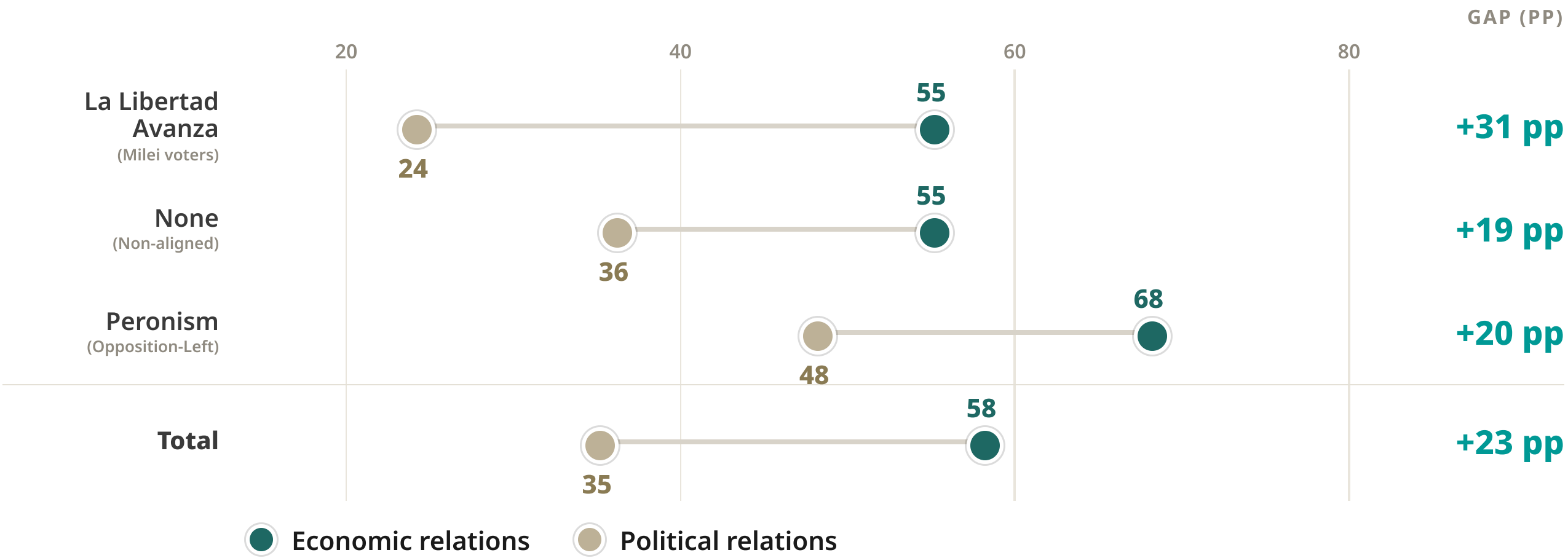


KEY POINTS

- Economic: 91% consider it important; 58% choose “very important.”
- Political: 74% and 35%. The strong mention drops 23 points.
- The primacy of economic over political ties is already visible in the total.

Full sample; DK/NA excluded (2-4%). Percentages may not sum to 100 due to rounding.

“Very important”: the gap between economic and political ties, by camp



KEY POINTS

- In all three camps, economic ties outrank political ones on “very important.”
- The gap is widest in La Libertad Avanza (31 pp).
- The governing camp: affinity with the U.S. and economic pragmatism with China.

% rating each relationship “very important”; gap in percentage points.

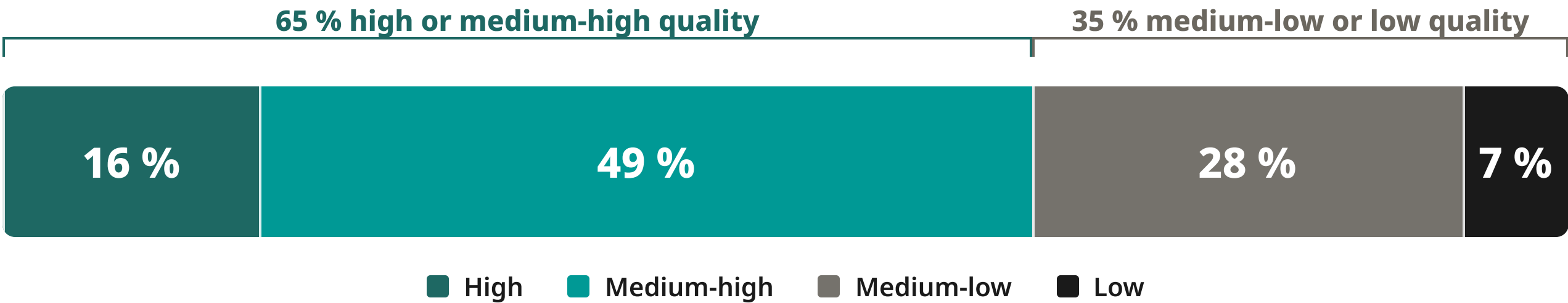
TOPIC 5 OF 6

05

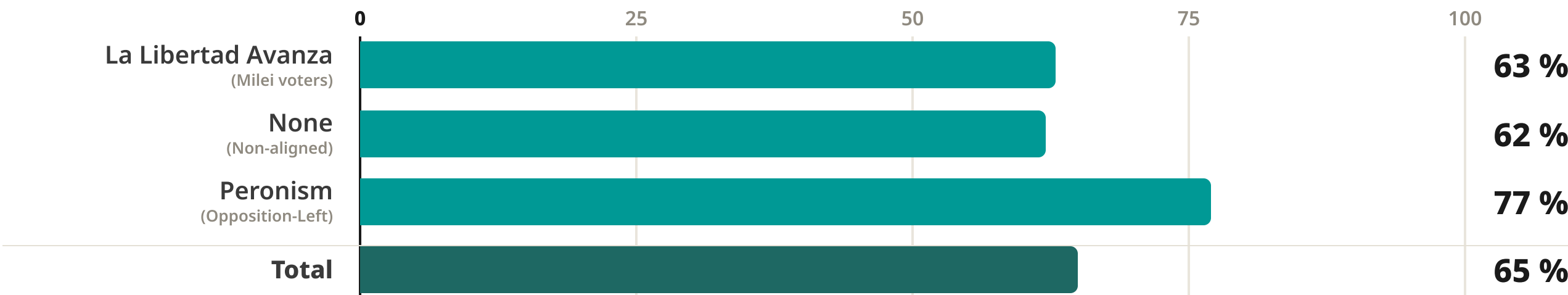
Chinese products: quality and trust

What quality do you think products made in China are?

OVERALL DISTRIBUTION



HIGH OR MEDIUM-HIGH QUALITY, BY POLITICAL CAMP

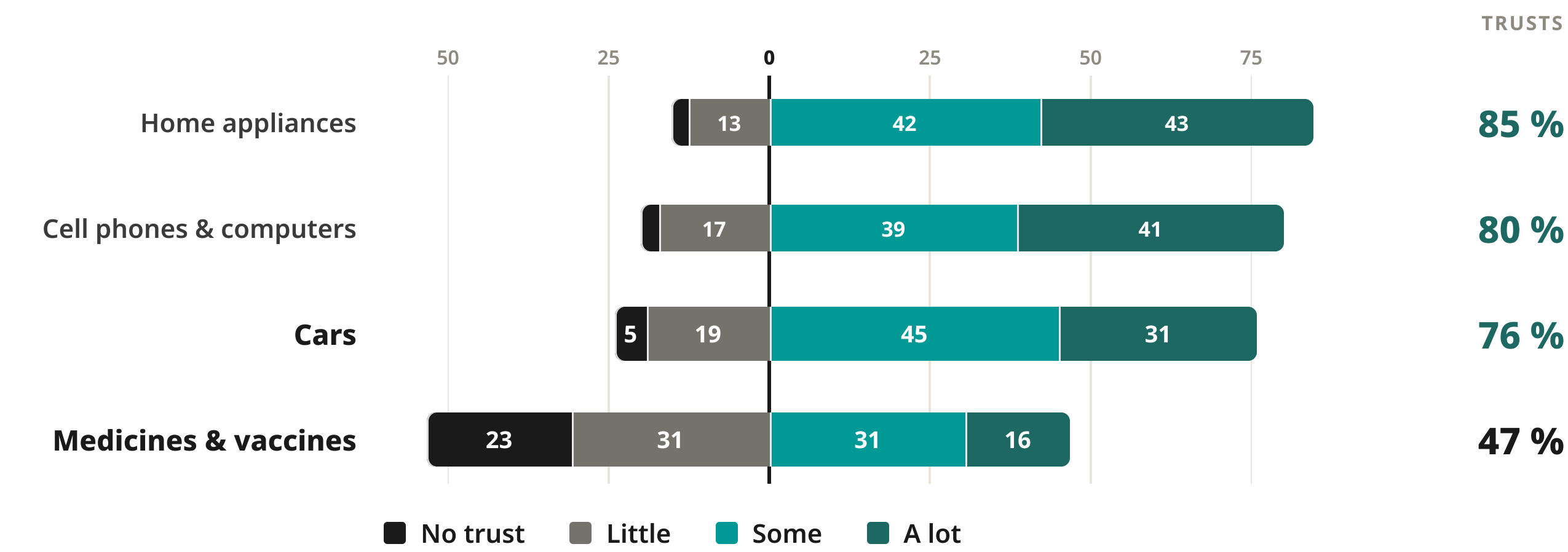


KEY POINTS

- Two in three rate quality high or medium-high (65%); only 7% rate it low.
- The perception is high across all camps: from 62% in None to 77% in Peronism.
- No divide here: even the most critical camp is above half.

Four-point scale, from high to low quality; DK/NA excluded (2%). By camp: share answering high or medium-high.

How much do you trust Chinese products, by type?



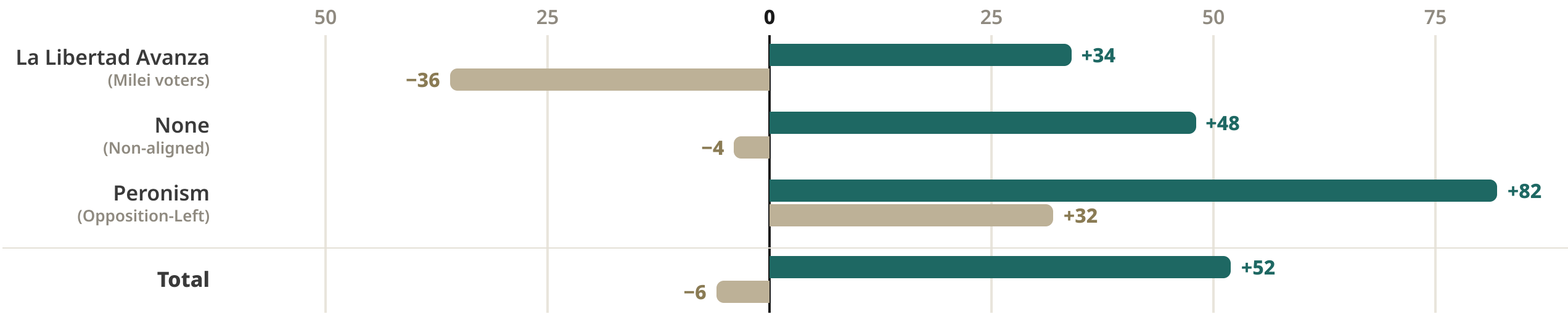
KEY POINTS

- Trust varies widely by product type.
- Home appliances, phones and cars: majority trust (76 to 85%).
- Medicines and vaccines: 47%, the only category without a majority.

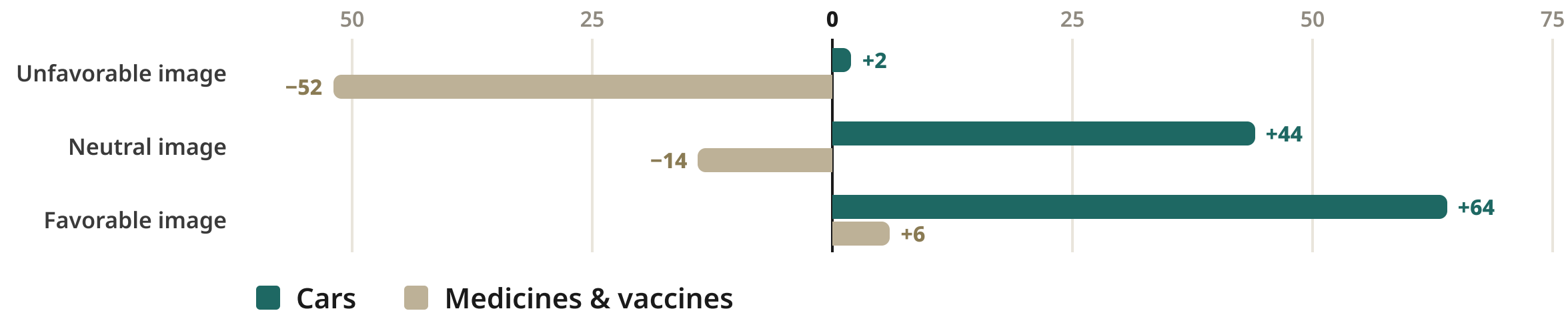
Scale: a lot, some, little or no trust; DK/NA excluded (2-14% by category). Trusts = a lot or some trust.

Net trust in cars and in vaccines, by camp and image

By political camp



By image of China



KEY POINTS

- Cars: net trust positive in all camps (+34 to +82).
- Vaccines: net negative except in Peronism (+32).
- Among those with a poor image of China: cars +2, vaccines -52.

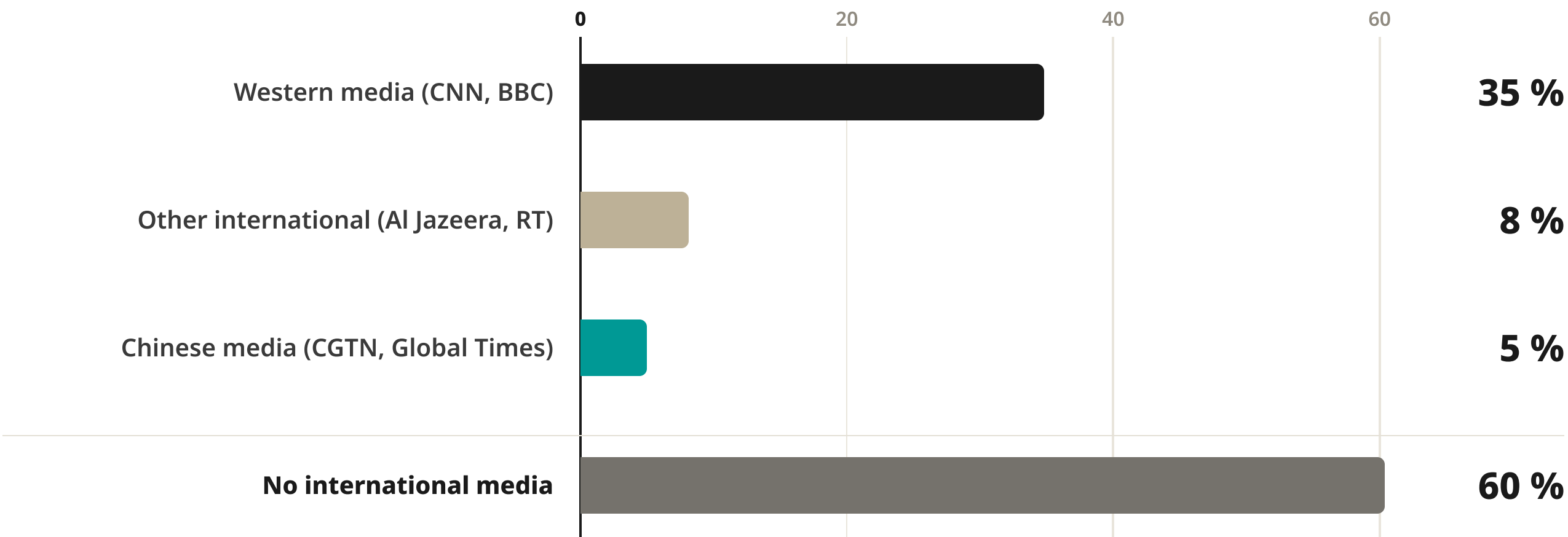
Net trust = % who trust - % who do not (DK/NA excluded). Bar to the right: trust prevails; to the left: distrust.

TOPIC 6 OF 6

06

International media and the image of the powers

Which international media do you watch at least occasionally?

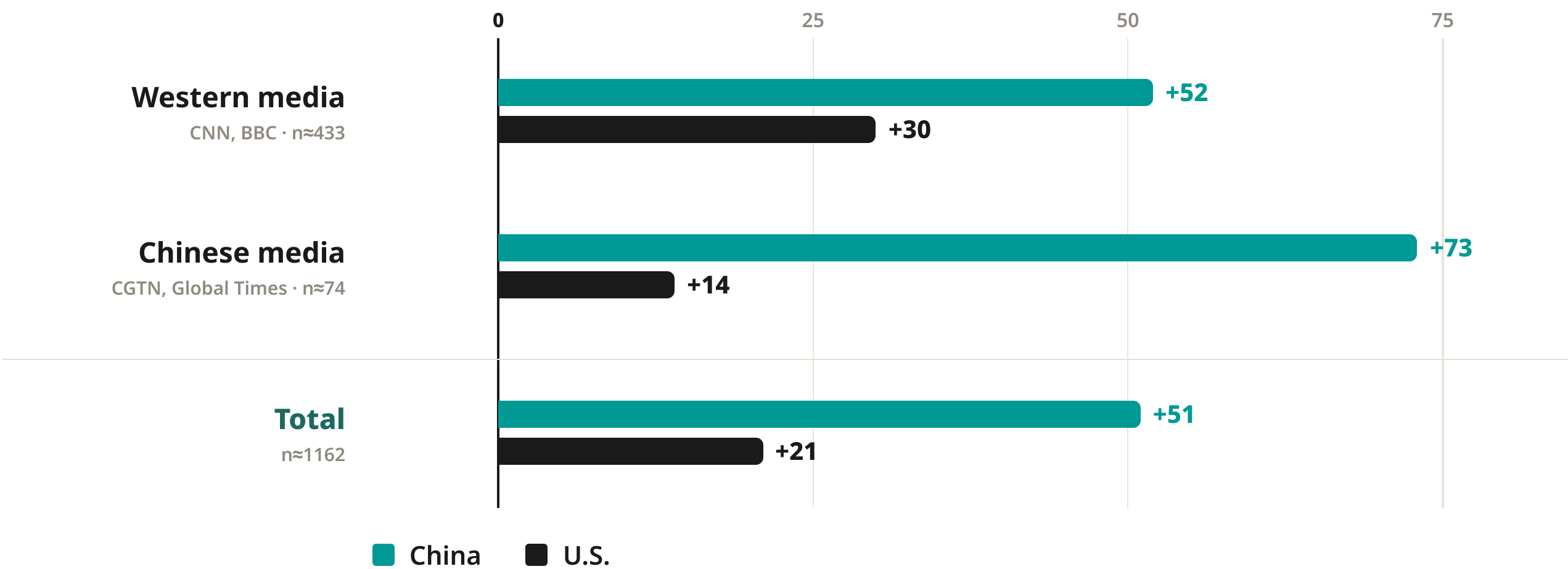


KEY POINTS

- Western media, CNN and the BBC, reach 35%: well above the rest.
- Chinese-media consumption is low: 5%.
- Six in ten consume no international media.

Multiple response, grouped by outlet origin; includes occasional consumption. Base: full sample.

Net image of China and the U.S., by media audience



KEY POINTS

- The Chinese-media audience: China at +73 net, far above its U.S. net (+14).
- The Western-media audience: the strongest U.S. net (+30); China at +52.
- China's net image is positive in every audience; the gap is widest with Chinese media.

Net image = favorable - unfavorable (very good/good minus bad/very bad); Ns/nc excluded. Image crossed with international-media consumption. Chinese-media group n≈74 - reads as a tendency, not a causal relationship.

“China” in one word, by international-media audience

Western media (CNN, BBC) n ≈ 433

Superpower Development
Communism Future Advancement
Intelligence Technology Authoritarianism
Giant Lovely Culture Dictatorship Growth Power
Progress Extraordinary Futuristic Vast Progressive
Empire Evolution Good Innovation Excellence The East
Trade Brilliant Immense Leadership Work Strange
Competition Hardworking Perseverance Millennia-old Prosperity
Thriving Capitalism Slavery Overpopulation Socialism Tradition

Chinese media (CGTN, Global Times) n ≈ 74

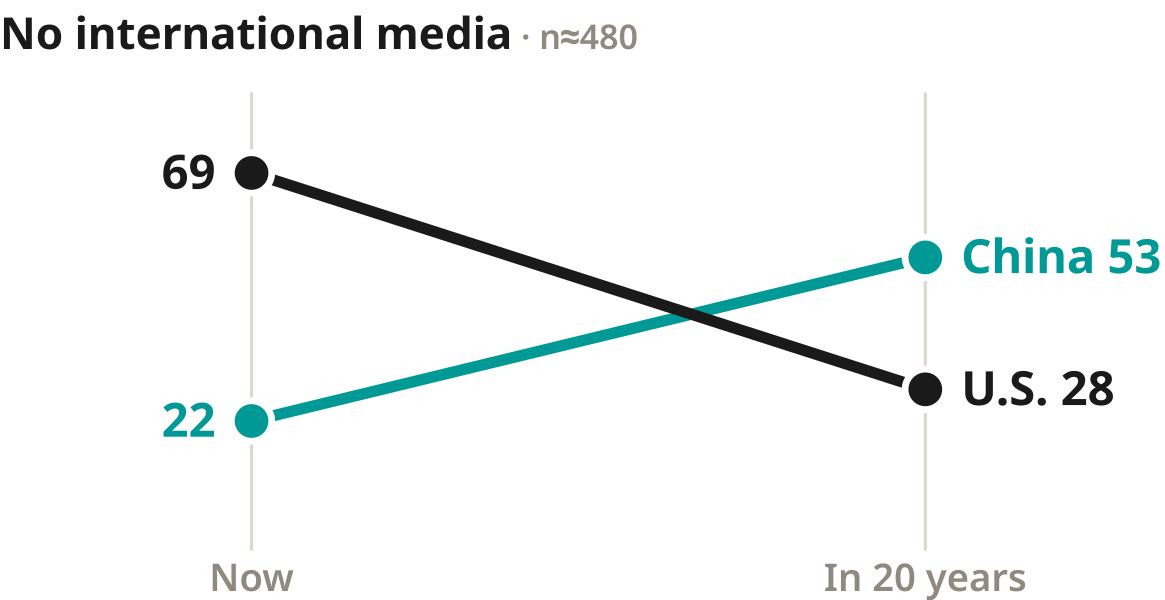
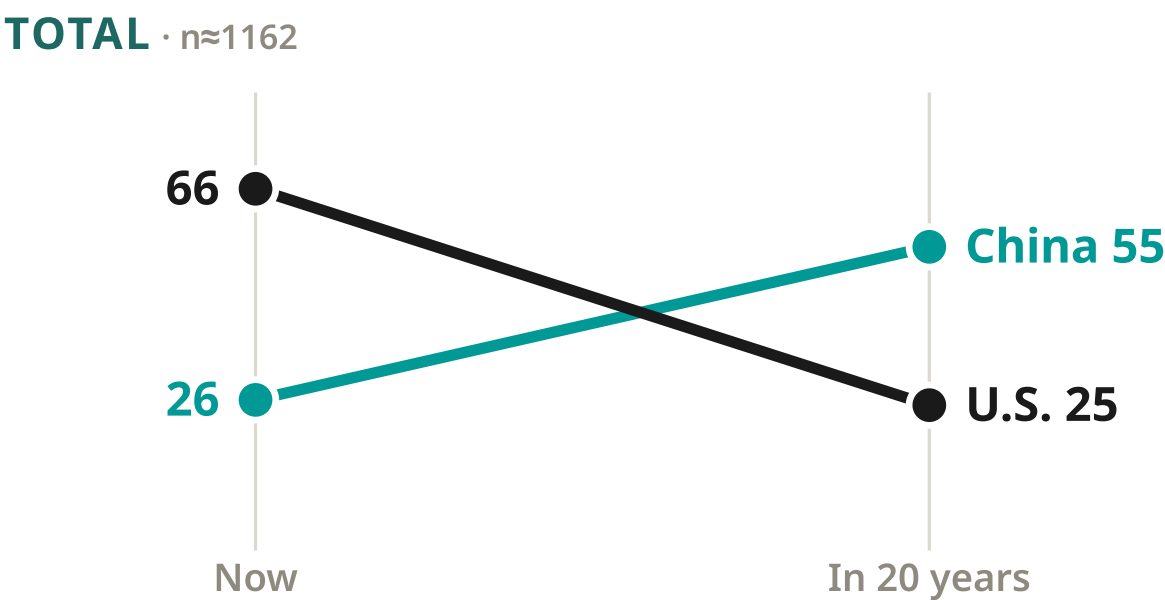
Superpower Future Lovely
Good Prosperity Intelligence Leadership
Development Advancement Work Geniuses
Overpopulation Progress Excellence Patience
Production Immense Community Giant Order Science
Communism Extraordinary Culture Discipline Respect
Democracy Capitalism Complex Innovation

■ Positive sentiment ■ Ambivalent or neutral ■ Negative sentiment

Positive associations dominate in both audiences; the more critical register is concentrated among Western-media consumers.

Open-ended question - “What is the first word that comes to mind when you think of China?” - cleaned and normalized, by international-media consumption; weighted frequency. Low-frequency group (Chinese media, n≈74) reads as a tendency; observed association, not a causal relationship.

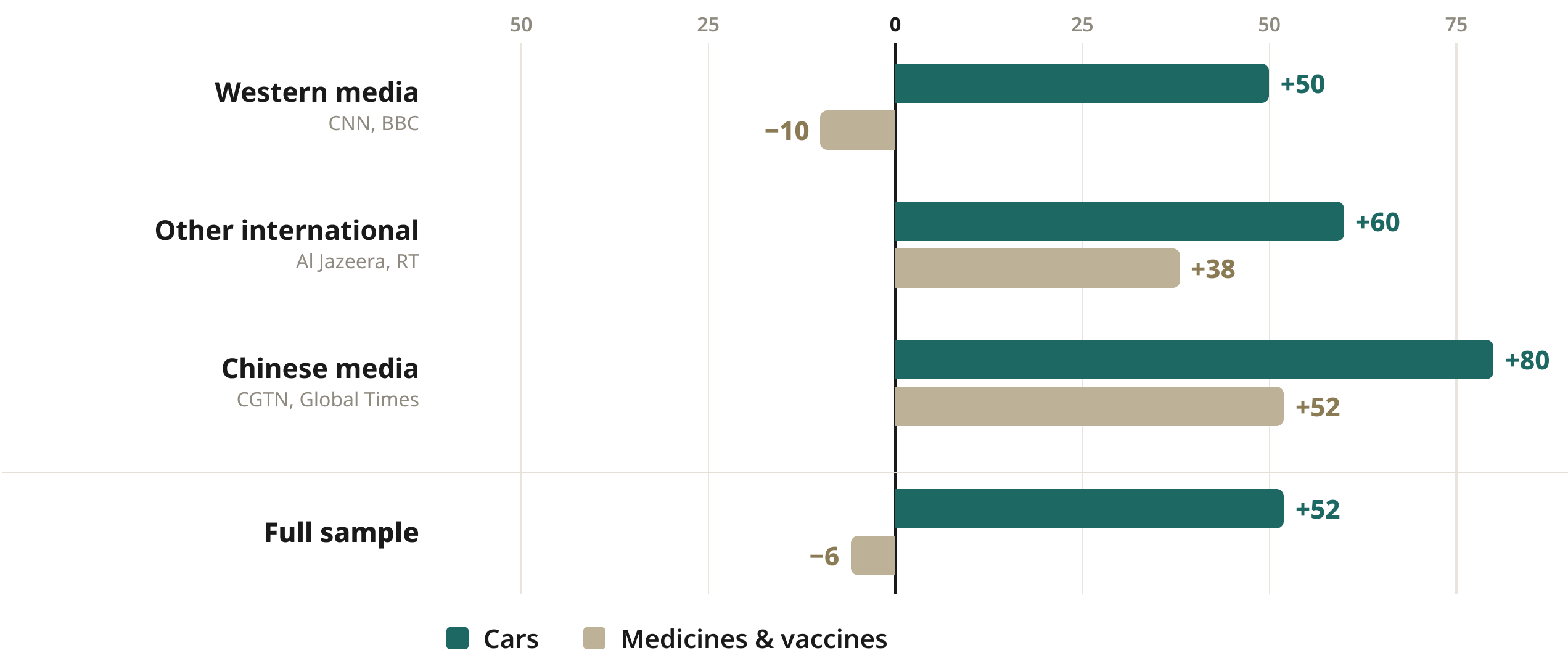
Global leadership, today and in 20 years, by media audience



Every audience expects the lead to pass from the U.S. to China within 20 years - earliest among the Chinese-media audience.

“Who leads the world today, and in 20 years?” Single response; Ns/nc excluded, by international-media consumption. Chinese-media group n≈74 - reads as a tendency.

Media consumption and trust in products



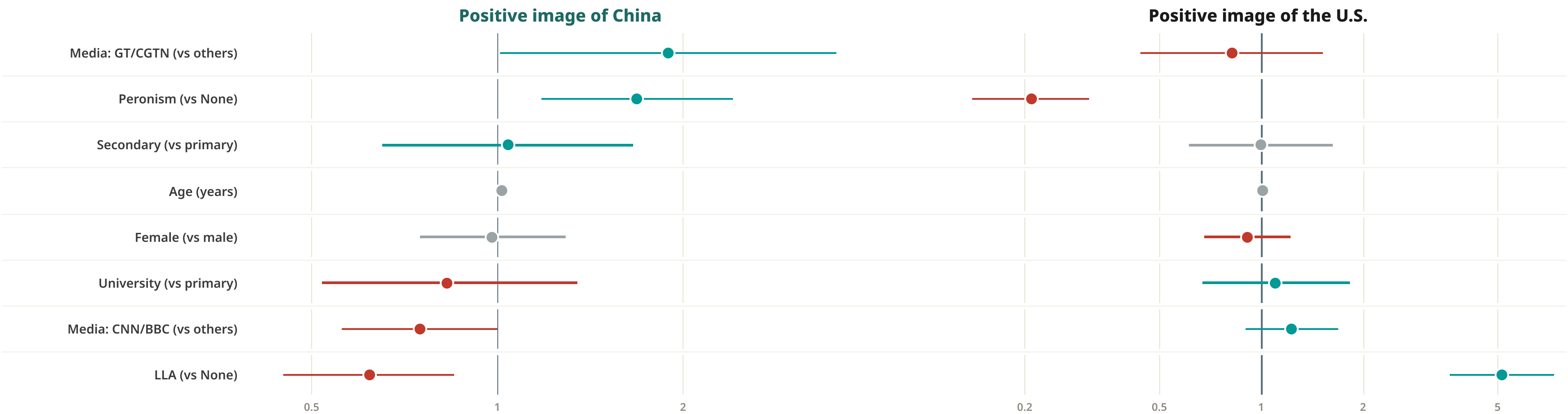
KEY POINTS

- With Chinese media, net trust is highest: cars +80, vaccines +52.
- For vaccines, the net moves from -6 in the total to +52 with Chinese media.
- For cars, net trust is positive in every group (+50 to +80).
- Chinese media reach a small audience but have a strong effect among those who watch them.

Net trust = % who trust - % who do not (DK/NA excluded). To the right, trust prevails; to the left, distrust. Media consumption crossed with trust in cars and in medicines and vaccines. Low-frequency groups (Chinese media, n≈74) read as a tendency. Observed association, not a causal relationship.

What predicts a positive image of each power?

Odds ratios from a logistic model: a marker to the right of the line makes a positive image more likely; to the left, less likely - holding all other traits constant.



READING - IMAGE OF CHINA

What raises the odds of a positive image most is **Chinese media (CGTN/GT)** and a **Peronist** identity; what lowers them most is **Western media (CNN/BBC)** and **LLA (Milei, far right)**.

READING - IMAGE OF THE U.S.

The pattern inverts: political polarization is starkest here. Voting **LLA (Milei, far right)** multiplies the odds of a positive image about fivefold, while a **Peronist** identity divides them by roughly five - the two camps pull in opposite directions; **Western media** also lift the image.

● More likely (OR > 1) ● Less likely (OR < 1) ● No clear effect Vertical line = no effect (OR 1)

Logistic regression - odds ratios with 95% confidence intervals (log scale). Positive image = good or very good. References: no party (None), primary education, region 2. The model adjusts for all the listed variables simultaneously, so each odds ratio is the partial effect of that variable, holding the others constant.

CLOSING

Summary & conclusions

Summary

IMAGE

China: net **+51**, positive in all three political camps.

U.S.: **+21** overall, polarized from +70 to -34 by political camp.

The young, the most reserved segment toward China.

Cross-cutting geopolitical affinities by camp: the detail, on the next slide.

INTERNATIONAL ORDER

Current U.S. hegemony; China’s technological primacy already present.

In 20 years, China is seen as hegemonic in all three domains, across every political camp.

A third of respondents shift their expectation from the U.S. to China.

THE RELATIONSHIP

90% support strengthening the relationship with China.

Economic ties over political ones, common to all political camps.

The China-Latin America relationship is seen as positive across the political spectrum.

MEDIA & INFORMATION

International news reaches few; Western outlets (CNN/BBC) dominate.

Chinese media (CGTN/GT) reach only a small audience.

Yet exposure to Chinese media is the strongest correlate of a positive image of China.

Geopolitical affinities by political camp

LA LIBERTAD AVANZA (Milei voters)

Affinity with the West: the U.S. net is the highest, +70.

China also positive, though less so: net +37.

Prioritizes ties with the United States and Europe.

NONE (Non-aligned)

Clearly positive image of China: net +54.

U.S. barely positive: net +22.

An intermediate position between the two poles.

PERONISM (Opposition-Left)

China among the highest images: net +69, alongside Brazil.

U.S. clearly negative: -34.

Leans toward Global South partners.

Cutting across all three camps: strengthening the relationship with China draws close to 90% support; “yes, without reservations” runs from 33% in La Libertad Avanza to 60% in Peronism.

Conclusions

- 1 Public opinion today rates China more favorably than the United States in all three political camps; the U.S. image works as a partisan marker to a degree that China's does not.
- 2 The expectation of a power transition toward China over the next two decades is shared by every camp, including the governing one.
- 3 The assessment of international conduct favors China in all three camps; fieldwork predates the regional episodes of late 2025, a measurement agenda still pending.
- 4 The relationship with China draws broad support, economically based and with political reservations concentrated in the governing camp; China's presence in Latin America is rated positively across the spectrum.
- 5 The results record a distance between the current orientation of foreign policy and the majority perceptions of public opinion.
- 6 International-media exposure is thin and Western-dominated, yet it patterns perceptions: the small Chinese-media audience holds a markedly more positive image of China.

Thank you

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