



“Democracy is Latin America’s second Independence” Evidence from Latinobarómetro

**Presented at
The James A. Baker III Institute for Public Policy
Rice University**

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Houston Texas
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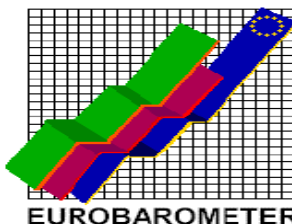


LATINOBARÓMETRO

www.latinobarometro.org

- Represents the adult population of each country, 500 million all over the region. Sample error fluctuate by country between 2,8% and 4,1%
- 200 variables applied per year (aprox.)
- Comparative information sources:

- GLOBAL BAROMETERS
- WORLD VALUES SURVEY
- CSES
- EUROPEAN SOCIAL SURVEY
- EUROBAROMETER
- GENERAL SOCIAL SURVEY
- OWN SOURCES



LATINOBARÓMETRO

TECHNICAL REFERENCE

- **196.788 face to face interviews.**
- **Sample size of 1000 y 1200 cases.**
- **Sample error 3%**



A global perspective



SUPPORT FOR AND SATISFATION WITH DEMOCRACY DATA FROM EUROBAROMETER AND GLOBAL BAROMETERS

	SUPPORT	SATISFACTION	DIF.
EUROPEAN UNION*	78%	53%	-25
AFROBAROMETER*	69%	58%	-11
ASIAN BAROMETER	61%	55%	-6
EASTERN EUROPE*	53%	29%	-24
LATINOBAROMETER*	56%	32%	-24
SOUTH ASIA	62%	11%	-51%

* EUROBAROMETER: Member countries of the European Union
AFROBAROMETER: 12 PAÍSES, 1999 - 2001
ASIANBAROMETER: 4 Countries 1999-2001
NEW DEMOCRACIES BAROMETER: 9 PAÍSES, 2000
LATINOBAROMETER: 17 Countries.
SOUTH ASIA BAROMETER: 5 countries 2004



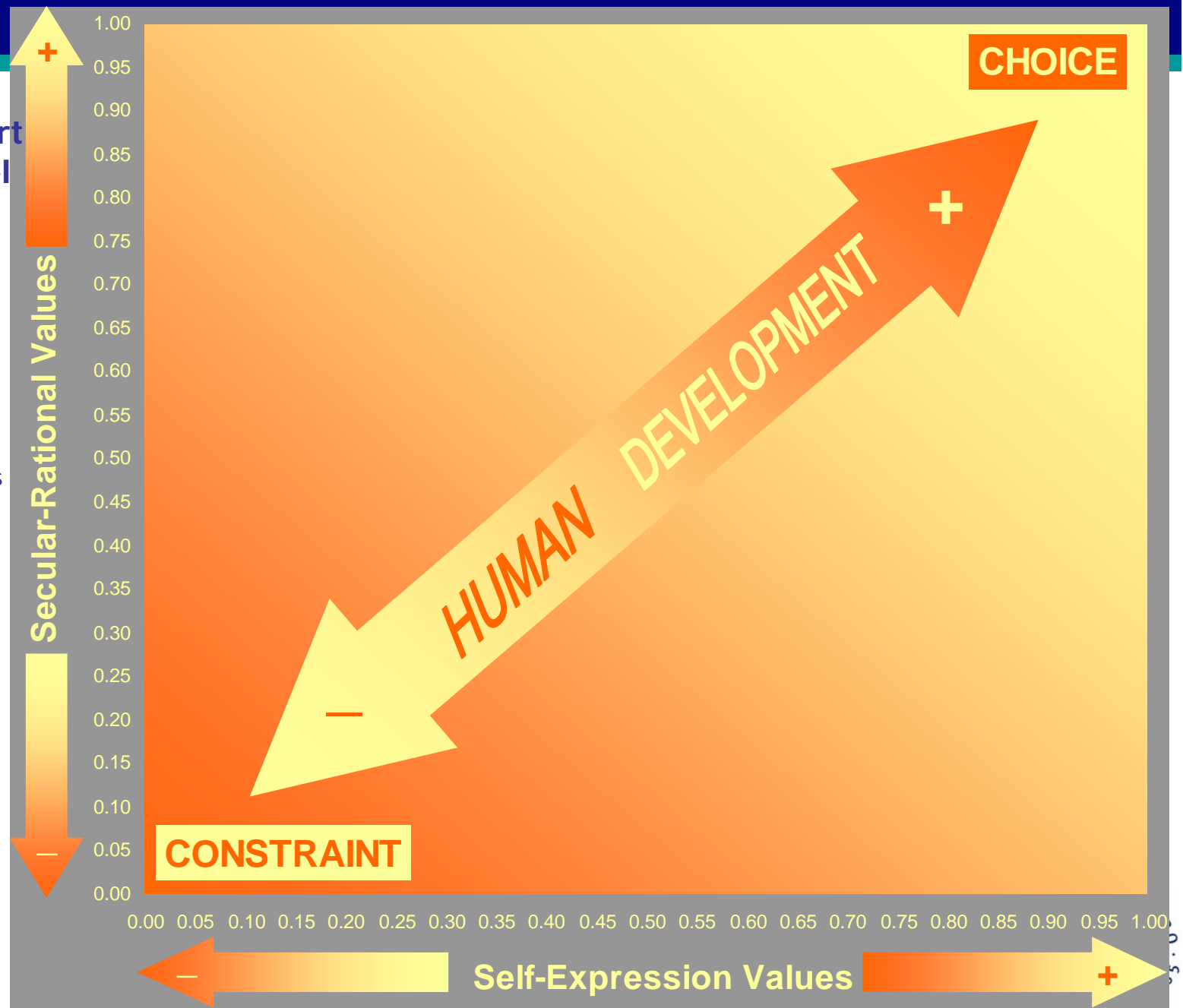
The world in values



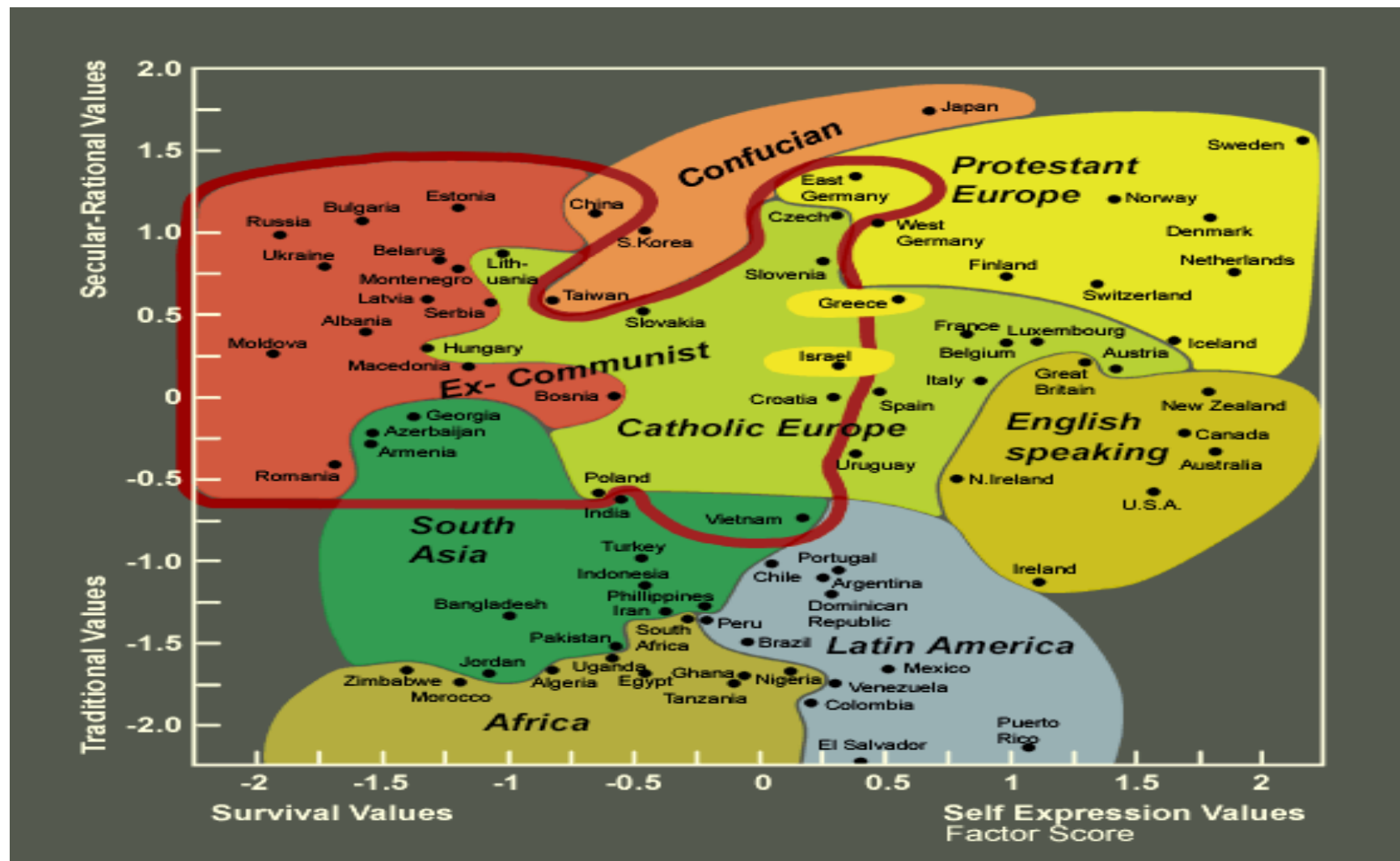
THE WORLD VALUE SURVEY- HUMAN DEVELOPMENT IN A VALUE SPACE.

Ronald Inglehart
Christian Welzel

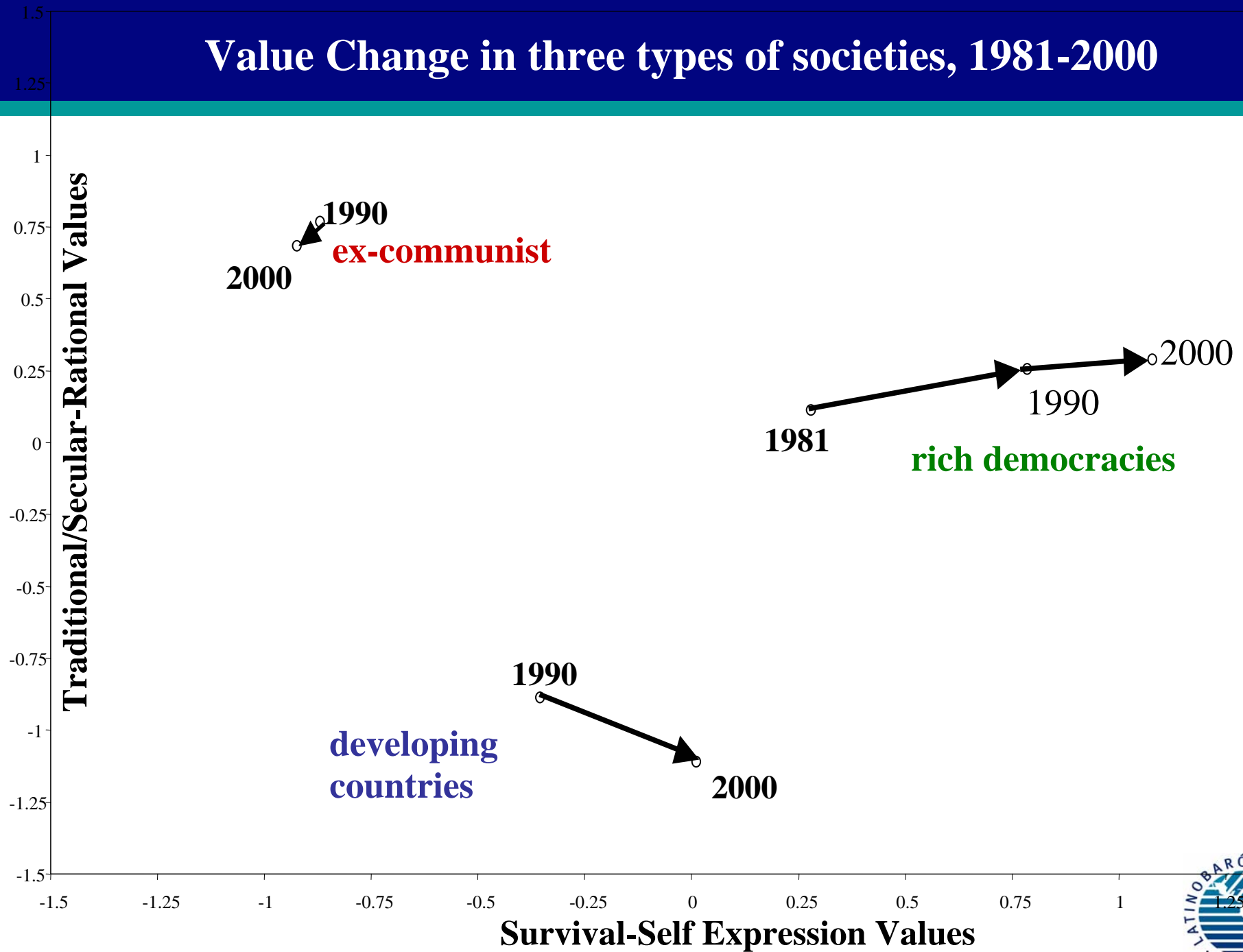
The constraint vs. choice polarity reflects a Human Development continuum in which a move towards the choice-end means more Human Development as it gives people more room to realize their inner human potentials.



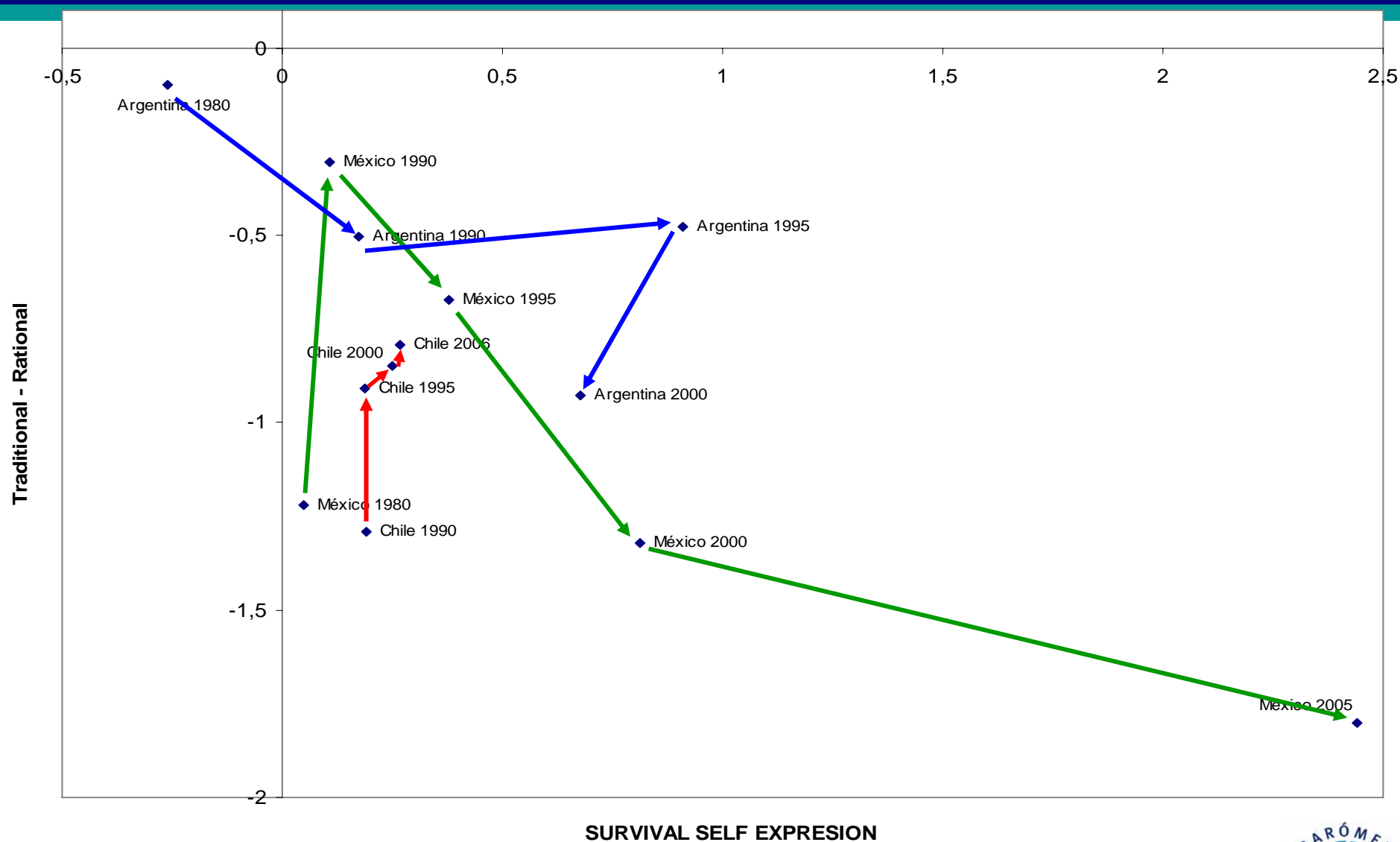
About 2000



Value Change in three types of societies, 1981-2000



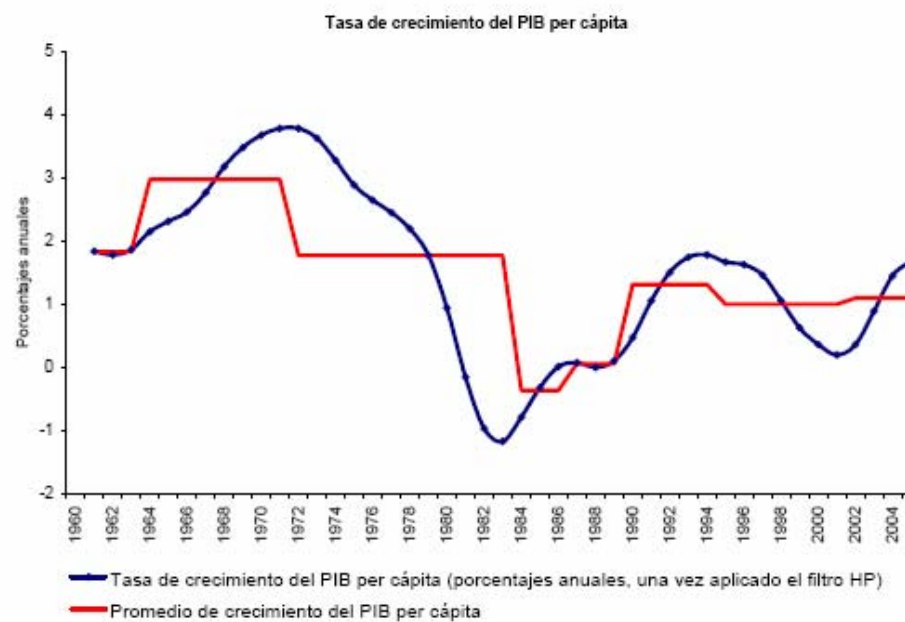
WORLD VALUE SURVEY CHILE, ARGENTINA, MEXICO 1980 - 2006



Recovering the past



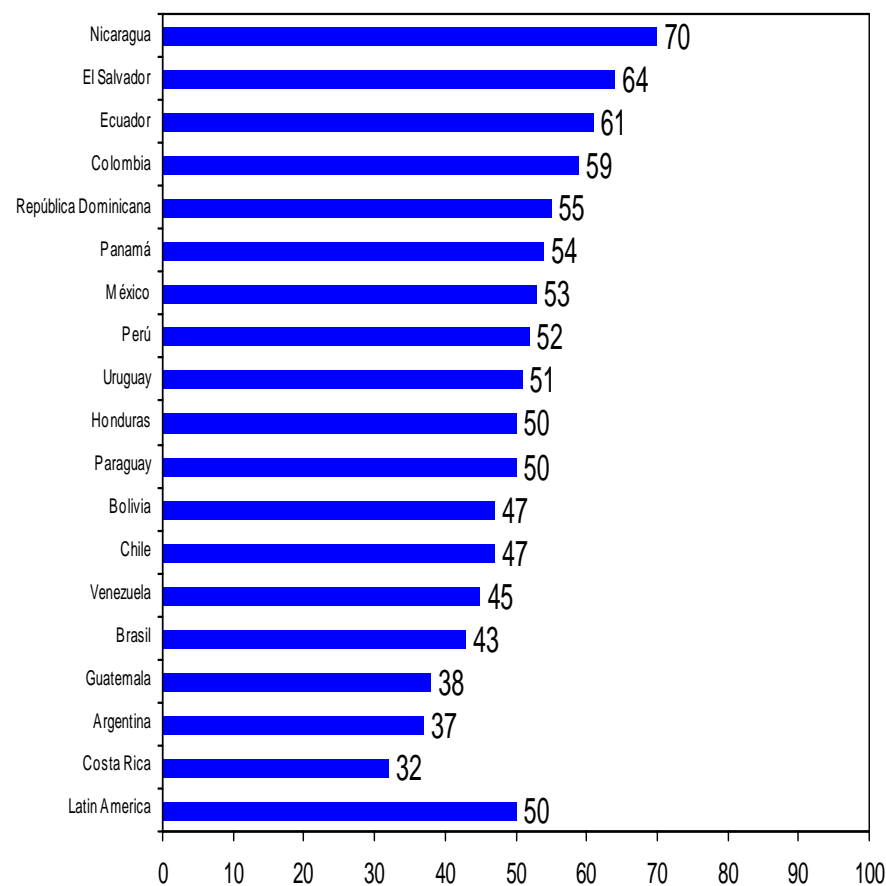
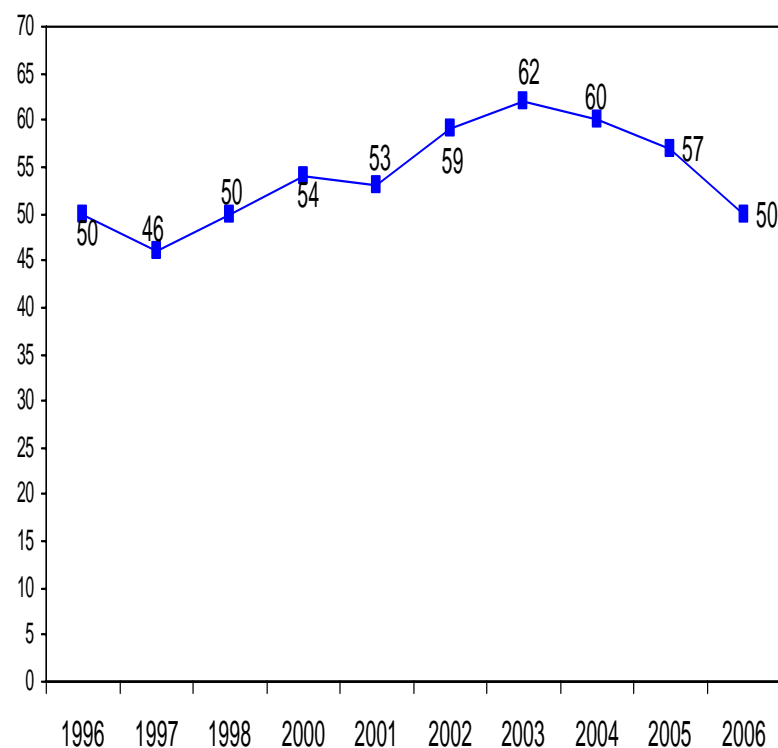
Gráfico A.1
 AMÉRICA LATINA Y EL CARIBE: TASA DE CRECIMIENTO DEL PIB PER CÁPITA, FORMACIÓN
 BRUTA DE CAPITAL Y AHORRO NACIONAL Y EXTERNO



SUBJECTIVE INCOME

LATIN AMERICA 1996-2006 / TOTALS BY COUNTRY 2006

*P. Your total income and that of your family, ¿Does it allow you to cover your needs? ¿In which of the following circumstances do you find yourself? *Here only 'It is not enough, we have difficulties' plus 'It is not enough we have great difficulties'*

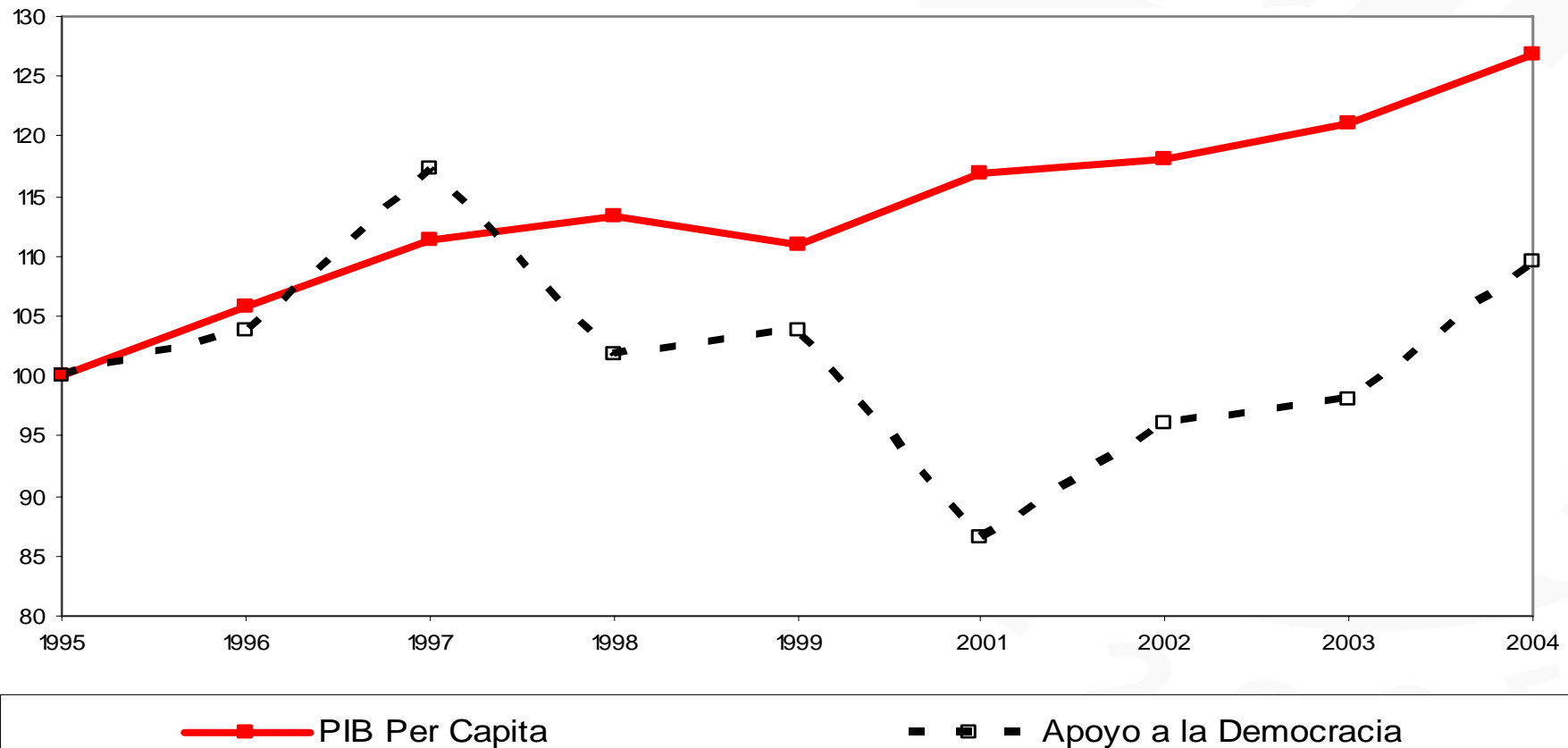


Source: Latinobarómetro 1995-2006.





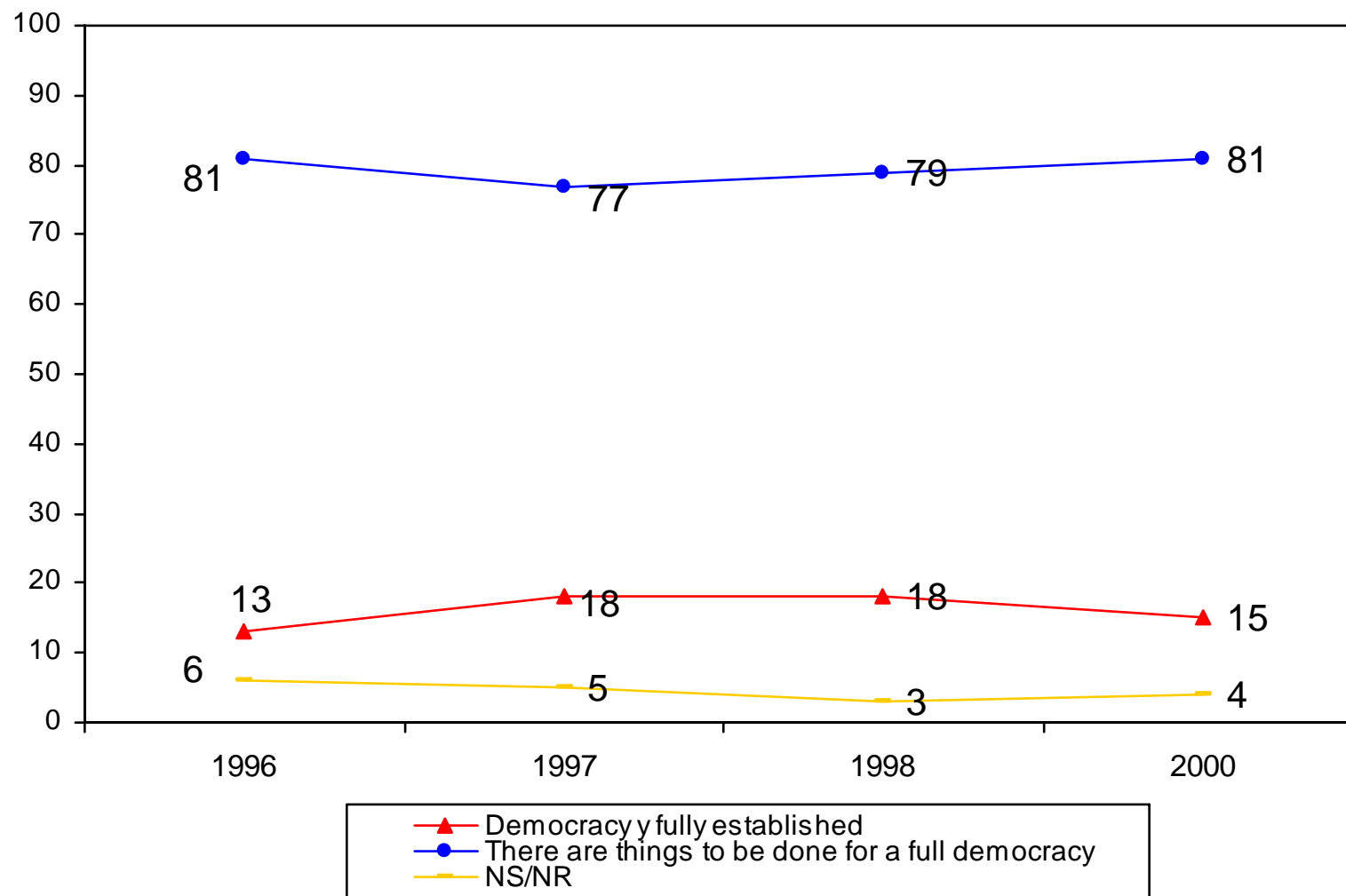
Per Capita income and support for democracy in Chile 1995-2004



THERE ARE THINGS TO BE DONE FOR A FULL DEMOCRACY

AMÉRICA LATINA 1996-2000

P. ¿Do you think democracy is fully established or do you think it is not fully established and there are things to be done for a full democracy?



Fuente: Latinobarómetro 1996-2000: n = 18.717/ 17.767/ 17.907/ 18.135



INCONSISTENCY LEVELS OF ATTITUDES TOWARDS THE DEMOCRACY

Number of Non-favorable Mentions towards Democracy

Number of
Favorable
Mentions
towards
Democracy

	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	Total
0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	5
1	1	1	0	0	0	1	1	3	-	7
2	0	0	1	1	1	2	6	-	-	10
3	0	0	1	1	2	9	-	-	-	13
4	0	1	1	3	12	-	-	-	-	17
5	0	1	3	15	-	-	-	-	-	19
6	0	2	14	-	-	-	-	-	-	16
7	1	9	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	10
8	4	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4
Total	8	14	20	20	16	11	7	3	1	100

* Numbers represent % of the total of the sample (and not of the column)

At least 49% of the Latin Americans have inconsistent attitudes towards the democracy

Q. Do you strongly agree, agree, disagree or strongly disagree with the following statements.

In democracy, the economic system generally works well/ Democracy may have problems, but it is the best system of government/ I would not mind a non democratic government in power if it could solve the economic problems/ More than political parties and elections, what we lack is a decisive leader who is dedicated to resolving problems/ I prefer democracy to a leader with powers unlimited by law/Only with a democratic system can (country) become a developed country/ Elections offer the voters a real option to choose between parties and candidates.

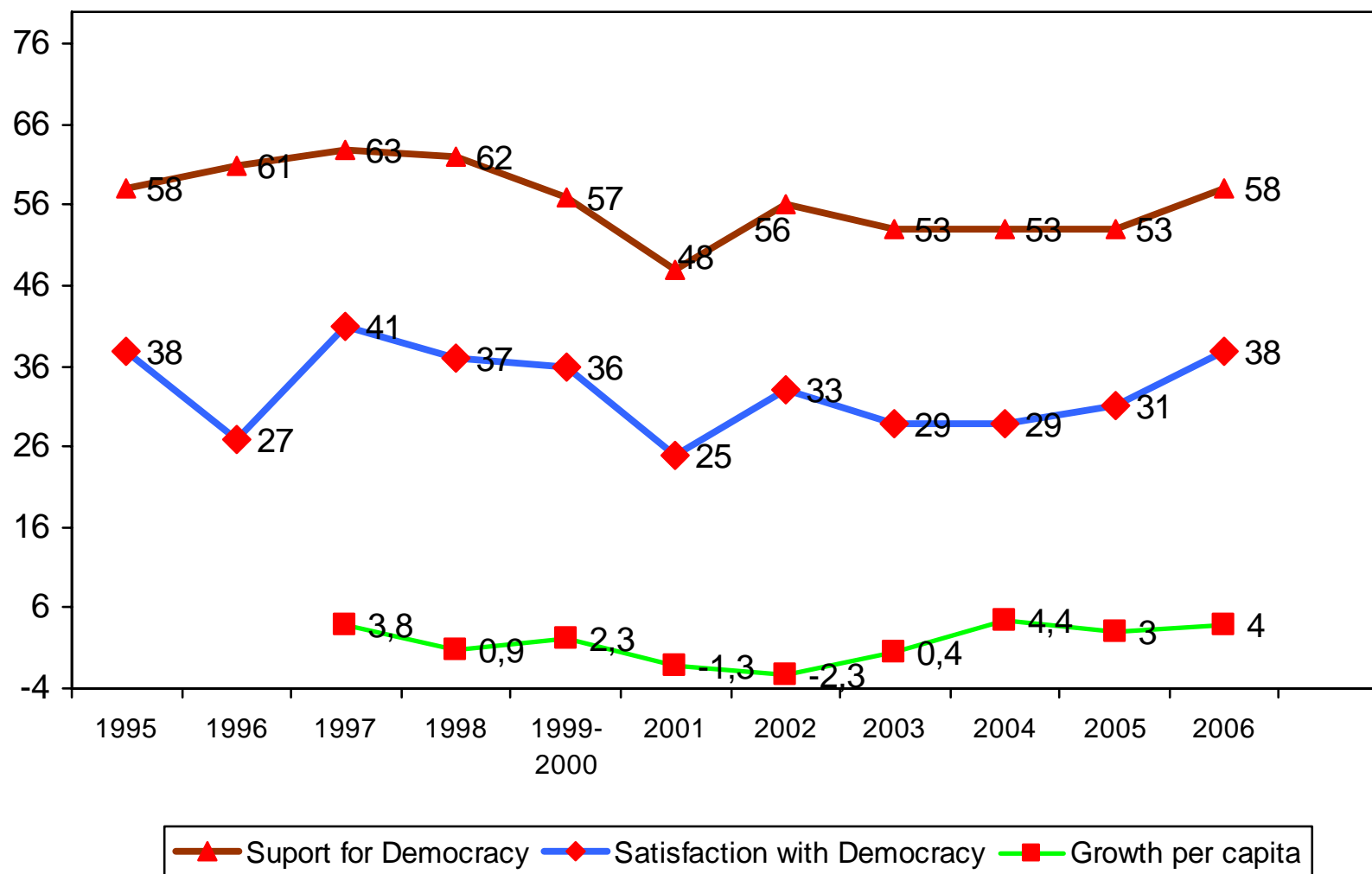
Q. Please look at this card and tell me how much confidence you have in...? Democracy as a government system with which (country) can become a developed country

NOTE: Favorable mentions towards democracy refer to the number of times that the interviewee responds 'Agree' or 'Strongly agree' with a favorable affirmation towards the democracy or 'Disagree' or 'Strongly disagree' with a non favorable affirmation towards the democracy. Unfavorable mentions towards democracy refers to the inverse case.

Source: LATINOBARÓMETRO 2003



SUPPORT - SATISFACTION WITH DEMOCRACY AND PIB PER CAPITA LATIN AMERICA 1995-2006



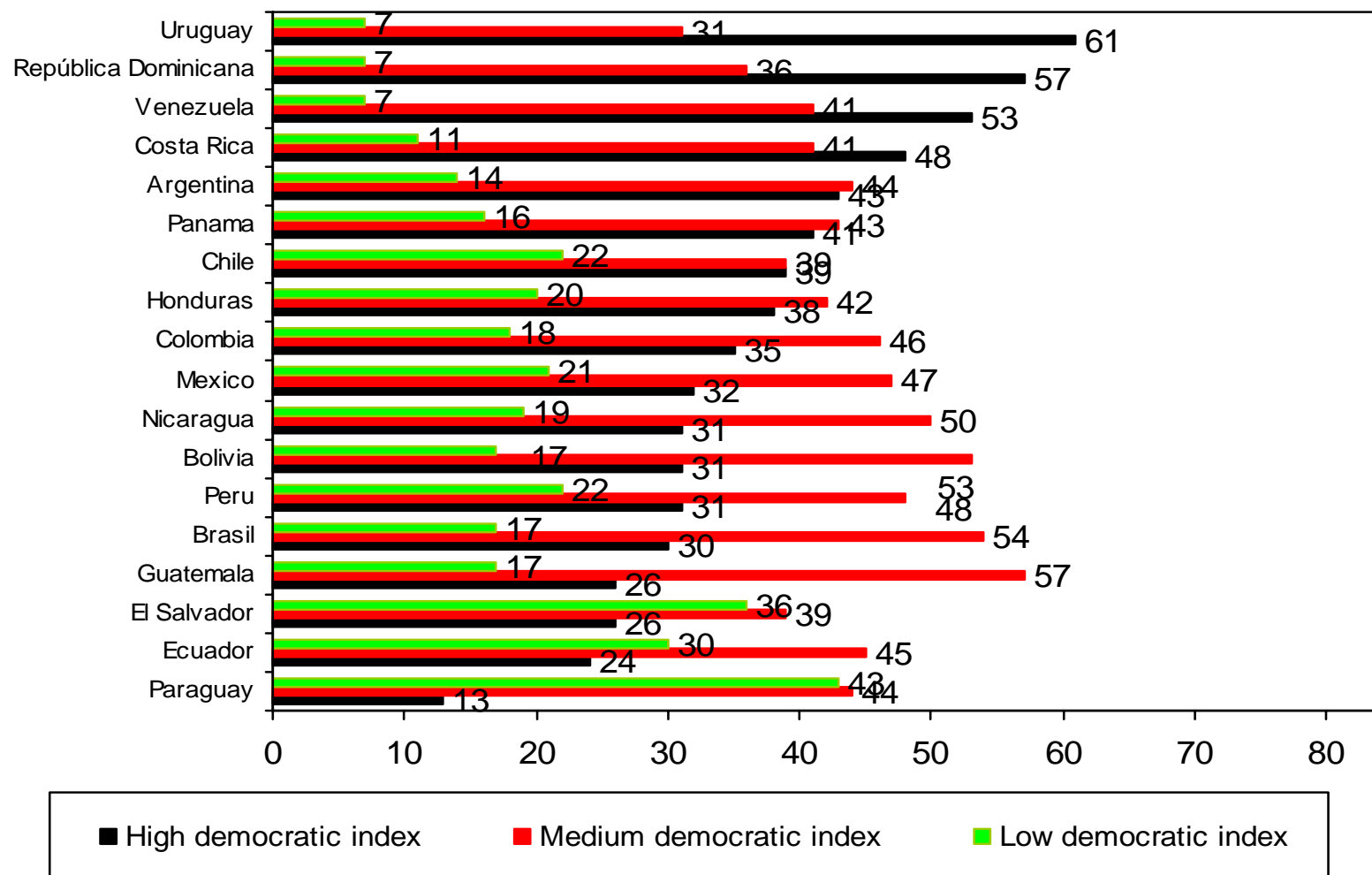
Source: Latinobarómetro 1995-2006: n = 18.717/ 17.767/ 17.907/ 18.135/ 18.135/ 18.522/ 18.658/ 19.605/20.207/ 20.234



DEMOCRACY INDEX

LATIN AMERICA 2006

*Índice de Democracia construido a partir de las preguntas P18st, P19st, P20stm, P22st.a, P22st.b, P22na.c.
Índice Alto es cuando Índice toma valores 5 o 6, Medio si toma valores 3 o 4 y Bajo si toma valores 0,1 o 2.*



Source: Latinobarómetro 2006

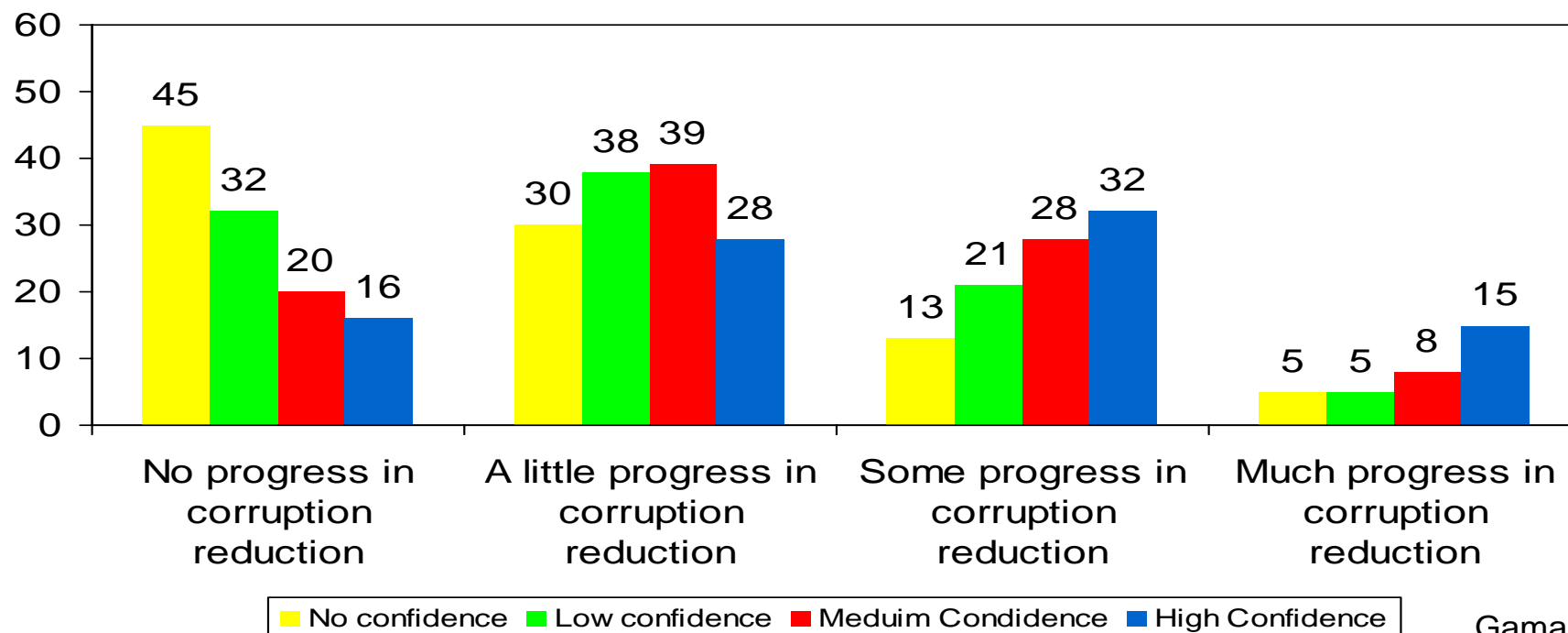


POLITICAL INSTITUTION CONFIDENCE INDEX BY PROGRESS ON REDUCING CORRUPTION IN STATE INSTITUTIONS LATIN AMERICA 2003

Q. How much progress do you think has been made on reducing corruption in the State institutions during the last year? Do you think there has been much progress, some progress, little or no progress at all?

Q. Please look at this card and tell me how much confidence you have in each of the following groups/ institutions. Would you say you have a lot, some, a little or no confidence? Political Parties, Government, Judiciary & Congress

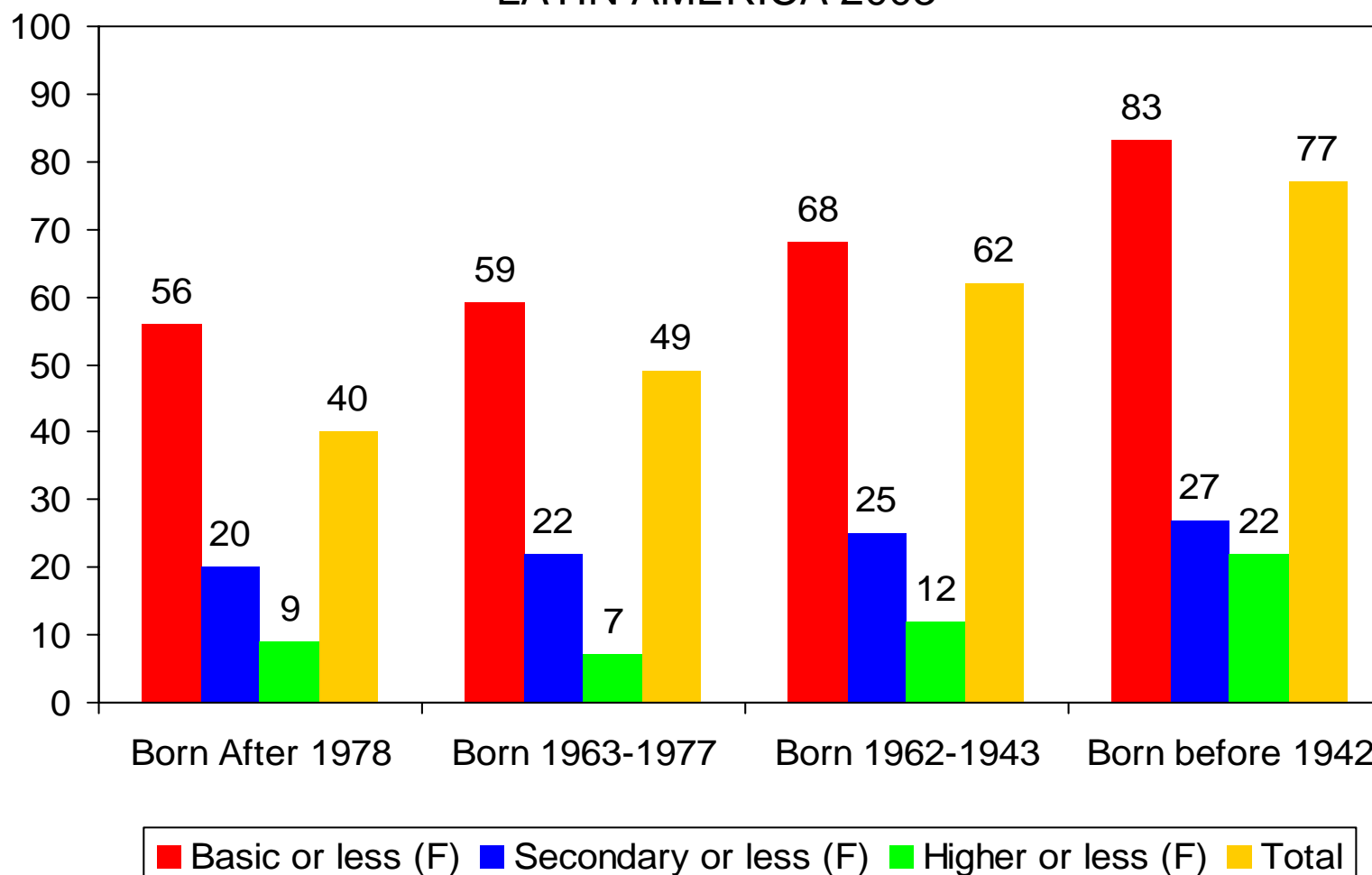
* 'No confidence' corresponds to interviewees that have mentioned 'No confidence' for the 4 institutions. Instead 'High Confidence' corresponds to interviewees that have 'A lot' of confidence for at least 2 institutions.



SOCIAL MOBILITY

% OF RESPONDENTS WITH PRIMARY OR LESS EDUCATION BY AGE AND PARENTS EDUCATION

LATIN AMERICA 2003



Q. How much and what type of education respondent completed?

Q. How much and what type of education did your parents complete?

* Percents represent population who's parents and respondents have basic education or less by age cohort. N = 16.424

Source: LATINOBARÓMETRO 2003



SOCIAL MOBILITY AND SUPPORT FOR DEMOCRACY

	Basic to Basic	Basic to Secondary	Basic to Higher	DIF (Higher- Basic)
High Impact				
Colombia	34	52	71	37
Brasil	30	33	58	28
Guatemala	28	41	54	26
México	50	48	70	21
Argentina	56	72	73	17
Perú	46	51	60	14
Medium Impact				
Chile	45	50	57	12
Bolivia	47	50	59	12
Uruguay	74	84	86	12
Venezuela	67	75	77	10
Low or Negative Impact				
El Salvador	44	49	53	9
Ecuador	46	44	55	9
Panamá	46	53	54	8
Nicaragua	55	47	62	7
Honduras	56	46	57	1
Paraguay	38	37	37	-2
Costa Rica	79	78	75	-4

N = 12.668

Q. How much and what type of education respondent completed?

Q. How much and what type of education did your parents complete?

Q. With which of the following statements do you agree most? Democracy is preferable to any other kind of government.

Under some circumstances, an authoritarian government can be preferable to a democratic one. For people like me, it does not matter whether we have a democratic or a non-democratic regime.

* Percents represent population who supports democracy and who's parents have less than basic education.

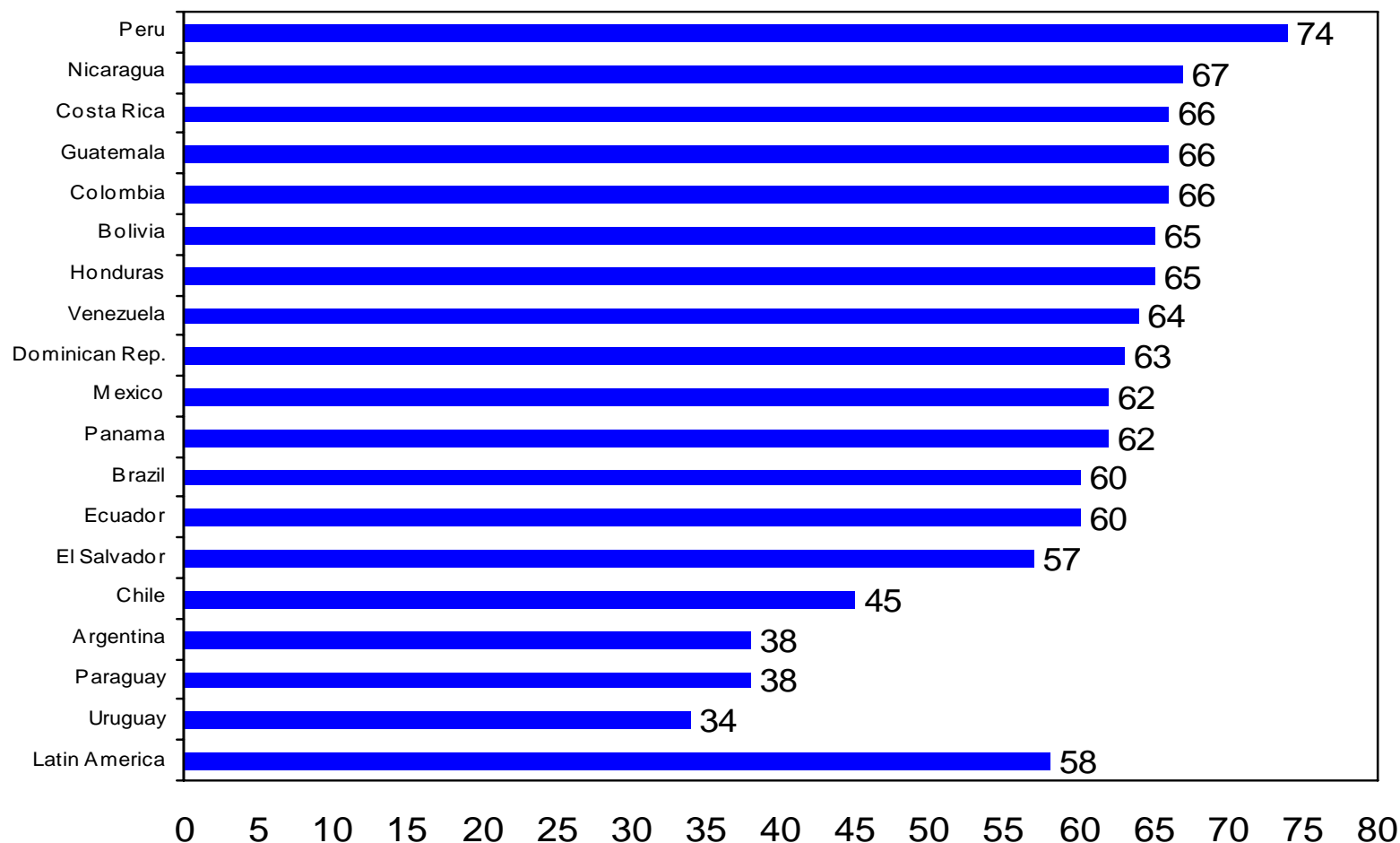
Source: LATINOBARÓMETRO 2003



EXPECTATIONS OF SOCIAL MOBILITY

TOTALS BY COUNTRY, 2006

*Q. Do you think that in (country) a person who is born poor can become rich or do you think it's impossible to be born poor and become rich? * Answer shown 'A person who is born poor can become rich'.*



Source: Latinobarómetro 2006. n=20.234.



Diminishing power of Parties and ideology



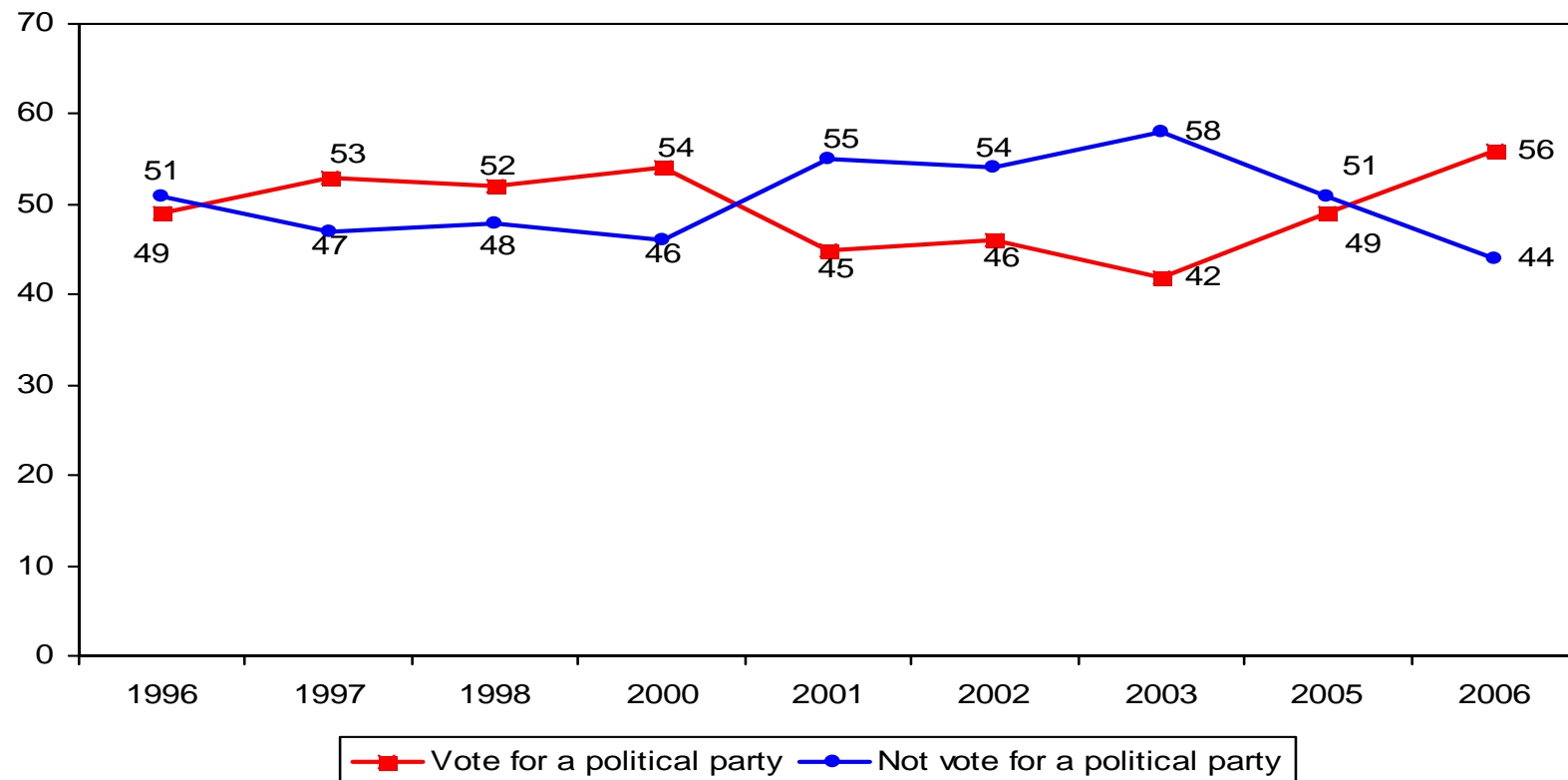
VOTE FOR A POLITICAL PARTY

TOTALS LATIN AMERICA, 1996-2006

Q. If elections were held this Sunday, which party would you vote for?

* 'Vote for a party' includes all those cases in which interviewees mentioned a political party.

** 'Not vote for a party' includes 'Vote void/blank', 'Nor vote/none', 'Not registered' and 'DNK /DNA'.



Source: LATINOBARÓMETRO 1996-2006.



DEMOCRACY WITH PARTIES AND CONGRESS

TOTALS BY COUNTRY, 2006

Q1. Some people say that without political parties there can be no democracy, while others say that democracy can work without political parties. Which is closer to your view? Q2. Some people say that without a National Congress there can be no democracy, while others say that democracy can work without a National Congress. Which is closer to your view?

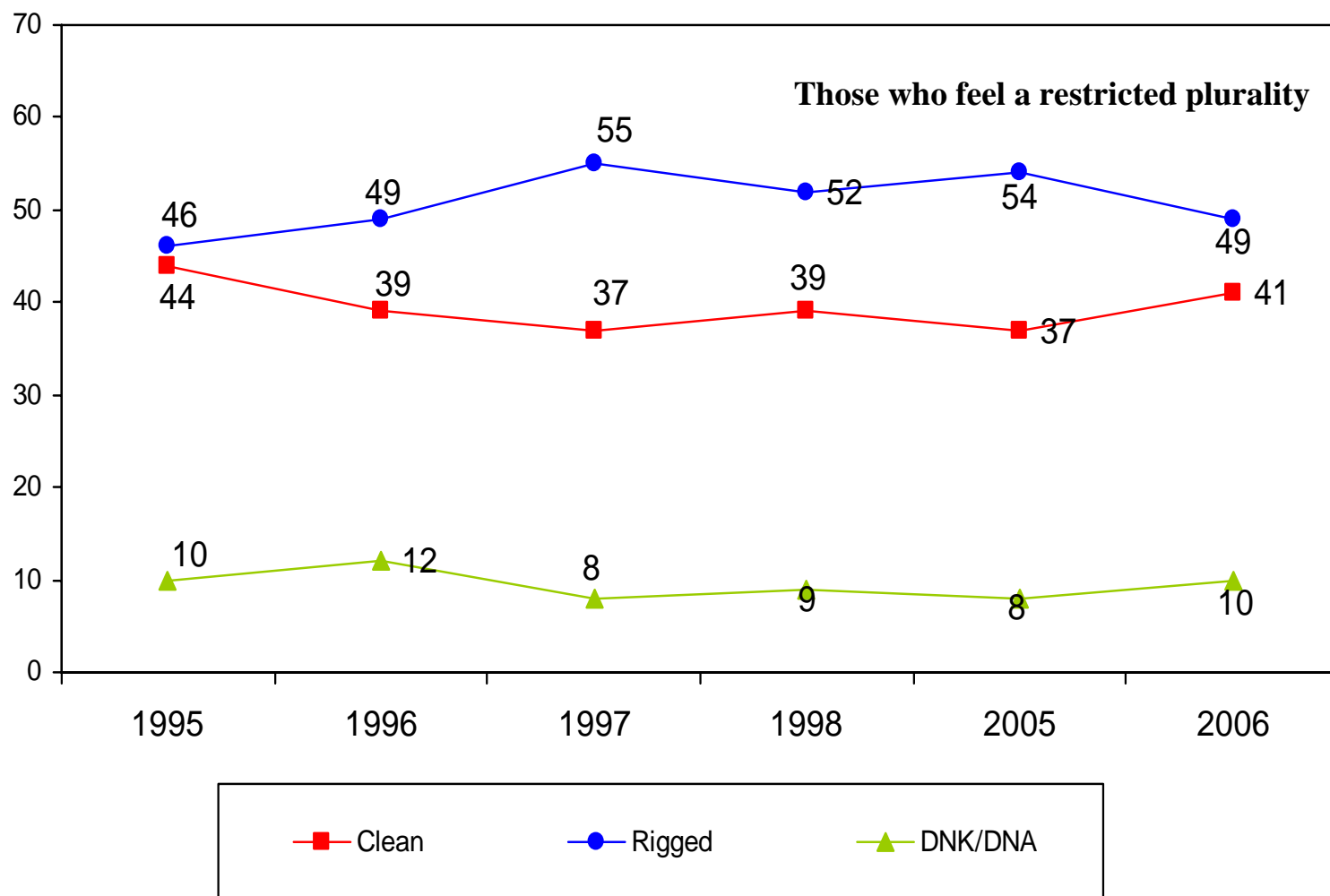
Table: Interviewees who say that, without Congress and without parties, there can be no democracy.		
	Without parties	Without Congress
Uruguay	71	73
Costa Rica	73	75
Venezuela	58	65
Dominican Rep.	77	80
Argentina	64	71
El Salvador	56	54
Chile	53	59
Guatemala	50	52
Nicaragua	64	66
Peru	52	54
Mexico	52	54
Honduras	57	64
Colombia	51	54
Paraguay	39	47
Panama	42	49
Brazil	45	50
Bolivia	38	47
Ecuador	45	42
Latin America	58	55

Source: Latinobarómetro 2006.n= 20.234



CLEAN OR RIGGED ELECTIONS: Elections do not represent plurality within societies: LATIN AMERICA, 1995-2006

Q. Generally speaking, do you think the elections in this country are clean or rigged?



Source: Latinobarómetro 1995-2006

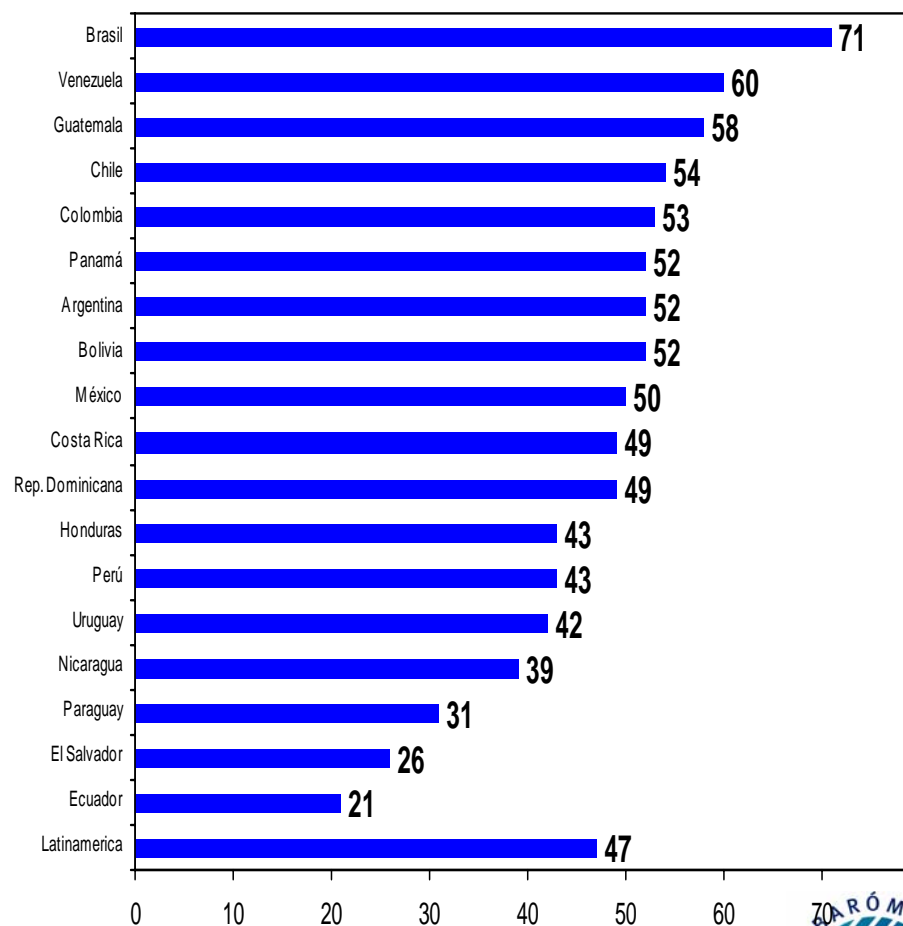
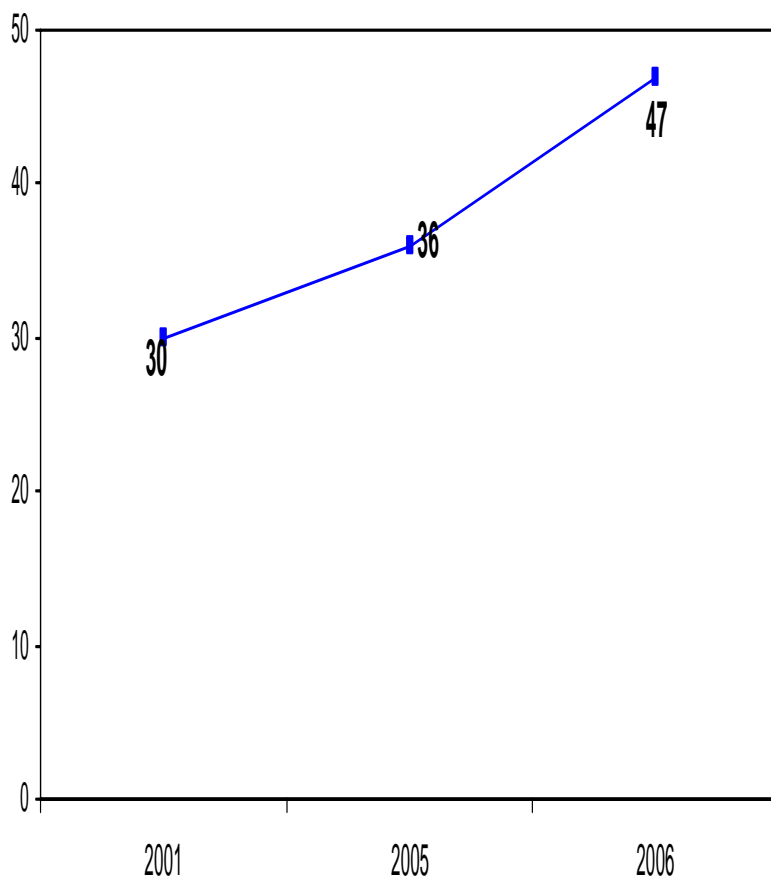


Window of Development



IMPROVEMENT OF THE ECONOMIC SITUATION COMPARED TEN YEARS AGO LATIN AMERICA 2001-2006 / TOTALS BY COUNTRY 2006

*Q. Pensando en su situación económica hoy comparada con hace 10 años atrás. ¿Ud. diría que ha mejorado mucho más, algo más, ha permanecido casi igual, ha empeorado algo más o ha empeorado mucho en relación al resto de los (nacionalidad)? * Aquí sólo 'ha mejorado mucho más' más 'ha mejorado algo más'*



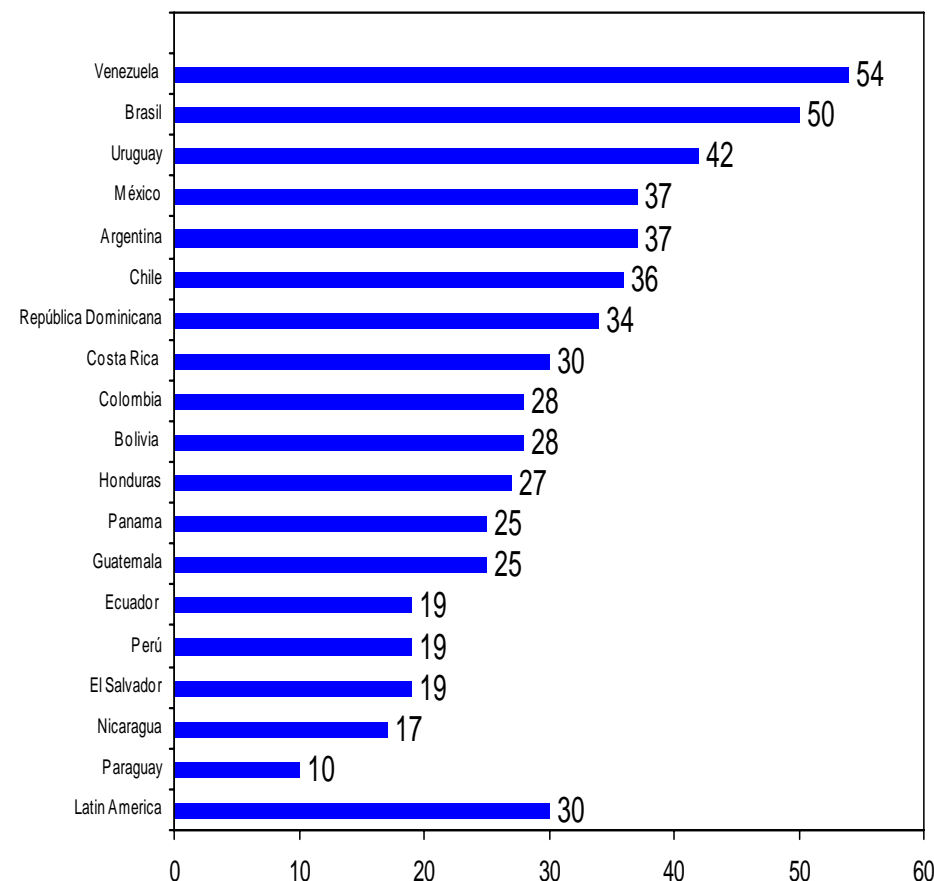
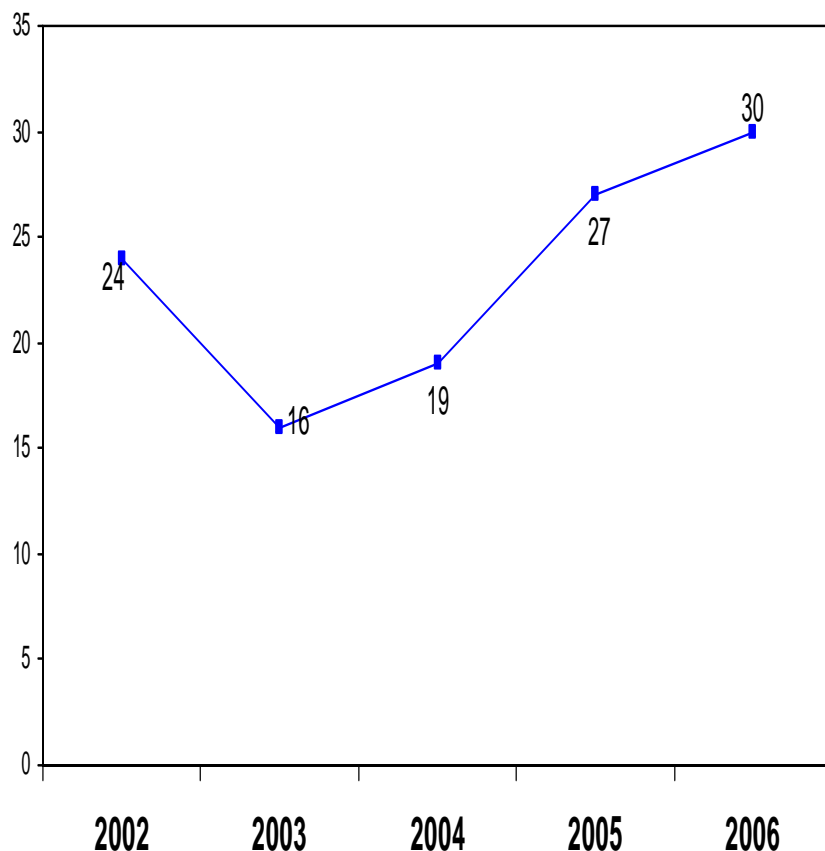
Source: Latinobarómetro 2001-2006.



SATISFACTION WITH ECONOMY

LATIN AMERICA 2002-2006 / TOTALS BY COUNTRY 2006

P. En general, ¿Diría Ud. que está muy satisfecho y más bien satisfecho; no muy satisfecho y nada satisfecho con el funcionamiento de la economía en (país)? Aquí 'Muy Satisfecho' más 'Mas bien satisfecho'



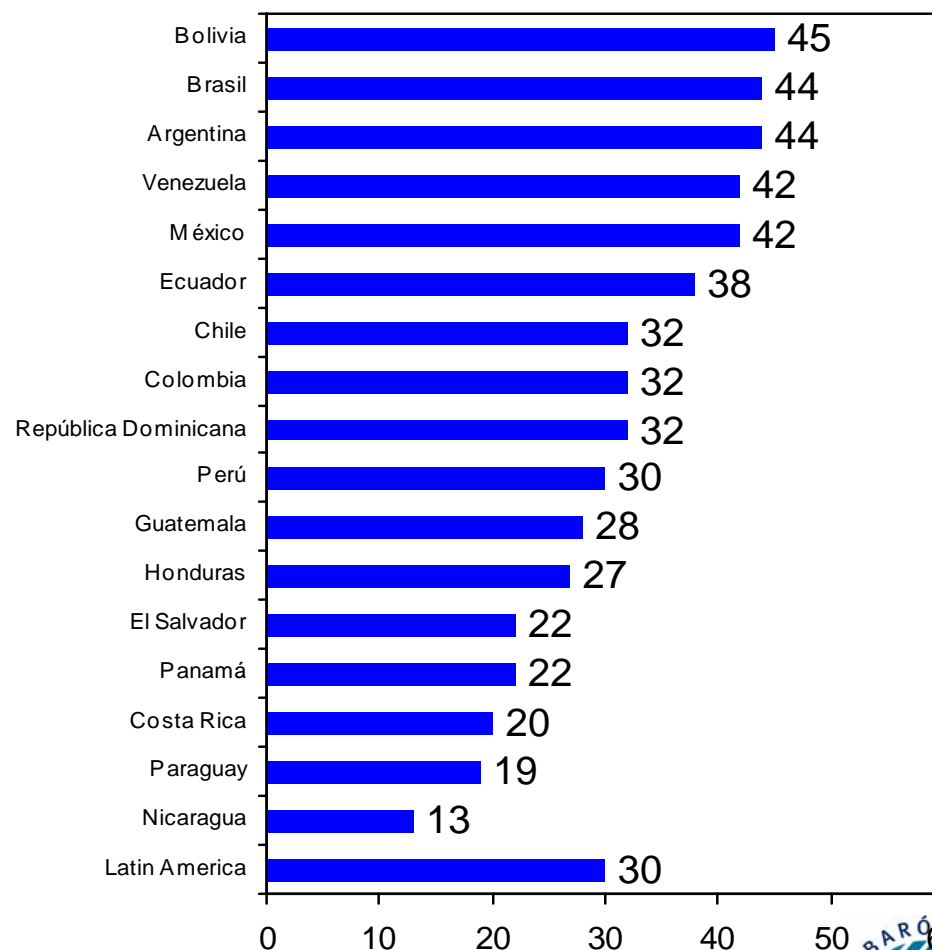
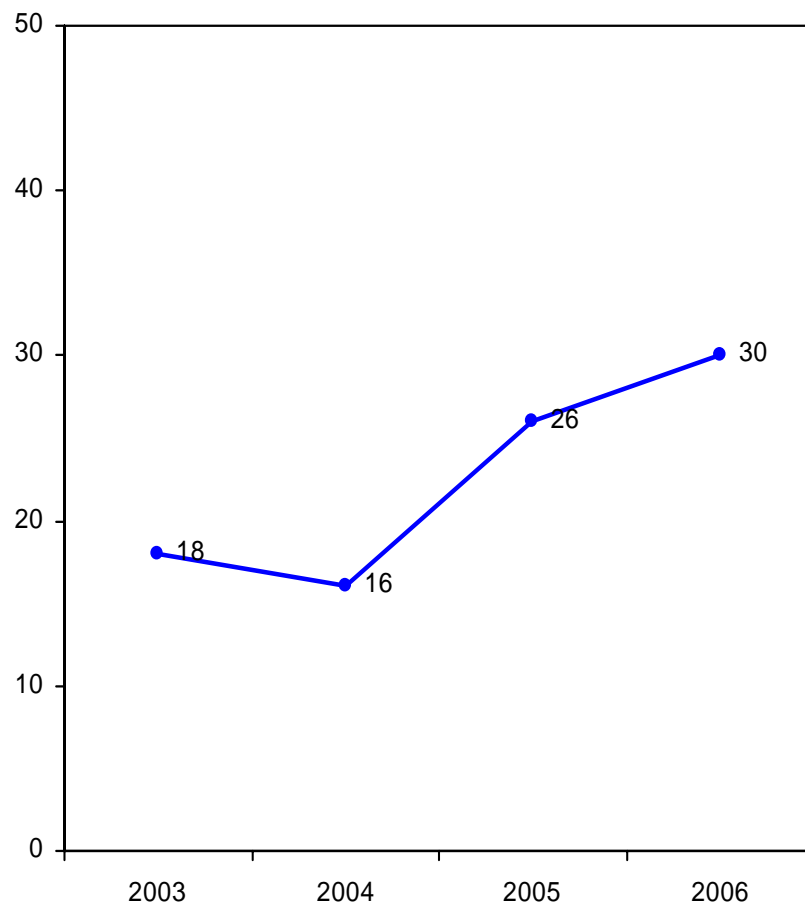
Source: Latinobarómetro 2002-2006



SATISFACCIÓN CON SERVICIOS PRIVATIZADOS BÁSICOS

LATIN AMÉRICA 2003-2006 / TOTALES POR PAÍS 2006

P. Ahora que se han privatizado servicios públicos estatales, de agua, luz, etc. Tomando en cuenta el precio y la calidad ¿está Ud. hoy día mucho más satisfecho, más satisfecho, menos satisfecho o mucho menos satisfecho con los servicios privatizados?. Aquí sólo 'Mucho más satisfecho' más 'Satisfecho'



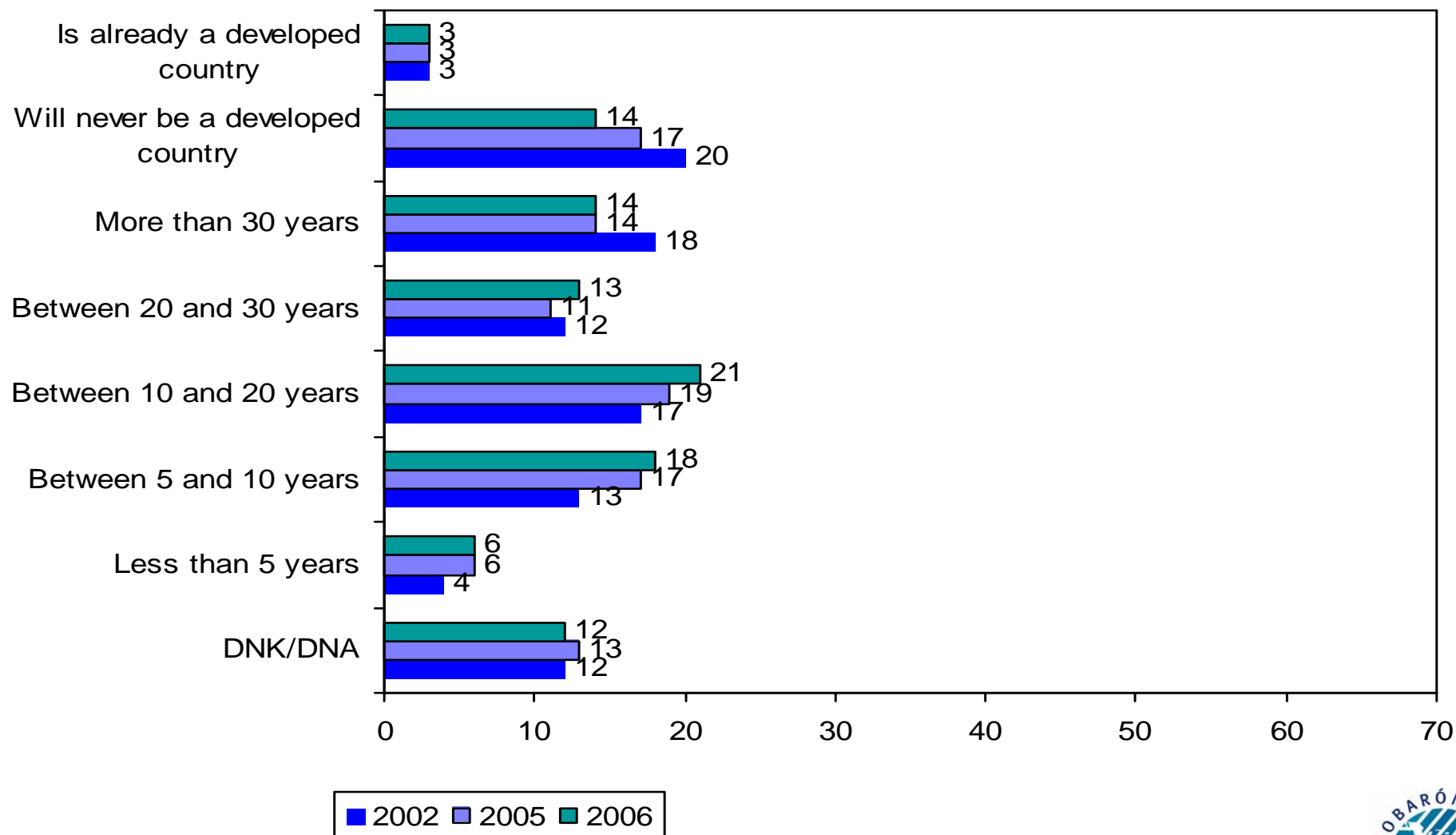
Source: Latinobarómetro 2003-2006.



TIME REQUIRED TO BECOME A DEVELOPED COUNTRY

LATIN AMERICA, 2002-2006

Q. How long do you think it will take (country) to become a developed country?



Source: Latinobarómetro 2002-2006.



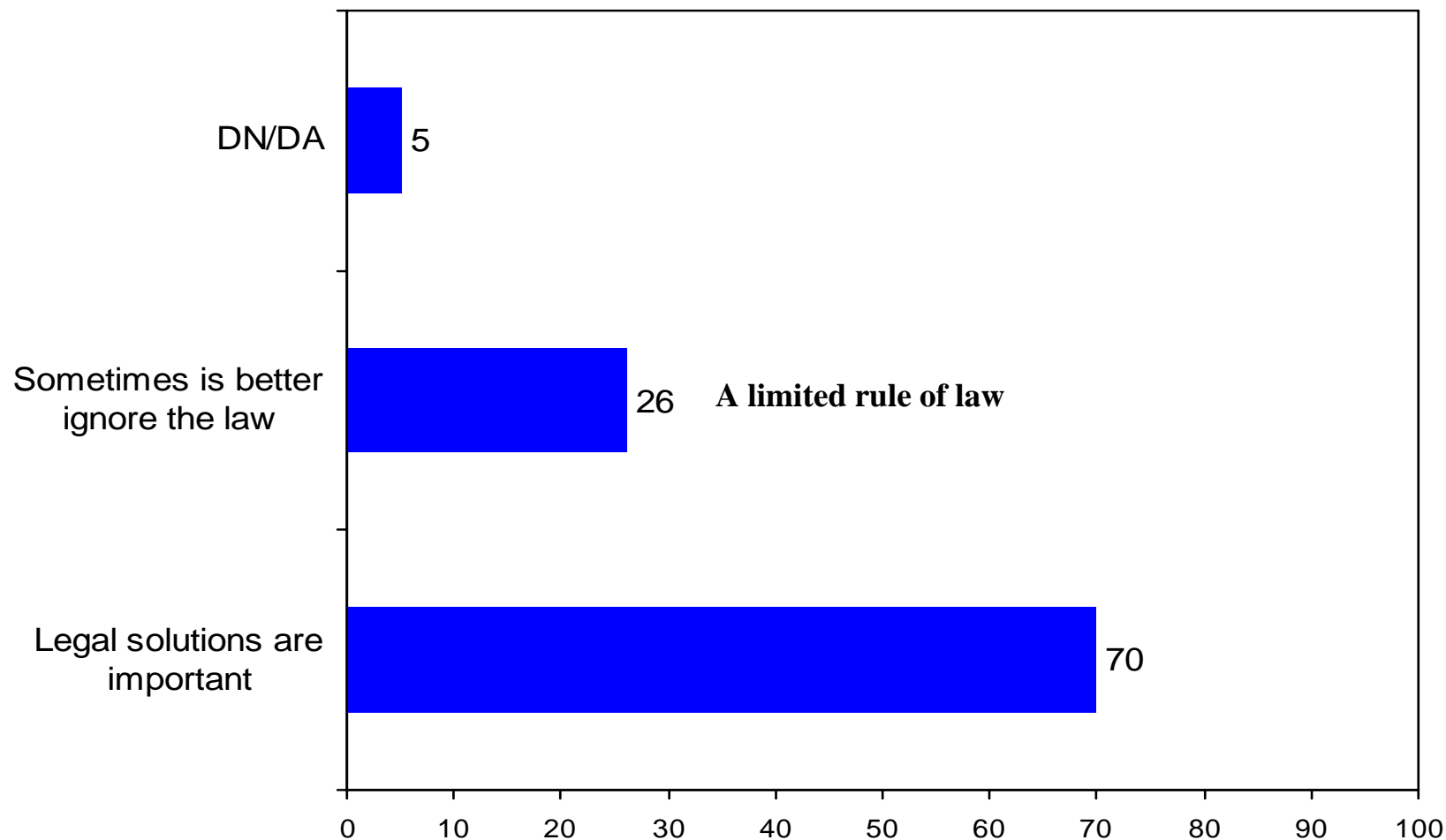
The role of the state



RESPECT OR IGNORE THE LAW?

LATIN AMERICA 2006

P. ¿Cuál de las siguientes frases está más cerca de su manera de pensar? A. Es importante encontrar soluciones legales a las cosas aunque tarde más. B. A veces es mejor ignorar la ley para resolver un problema inmediatamente.

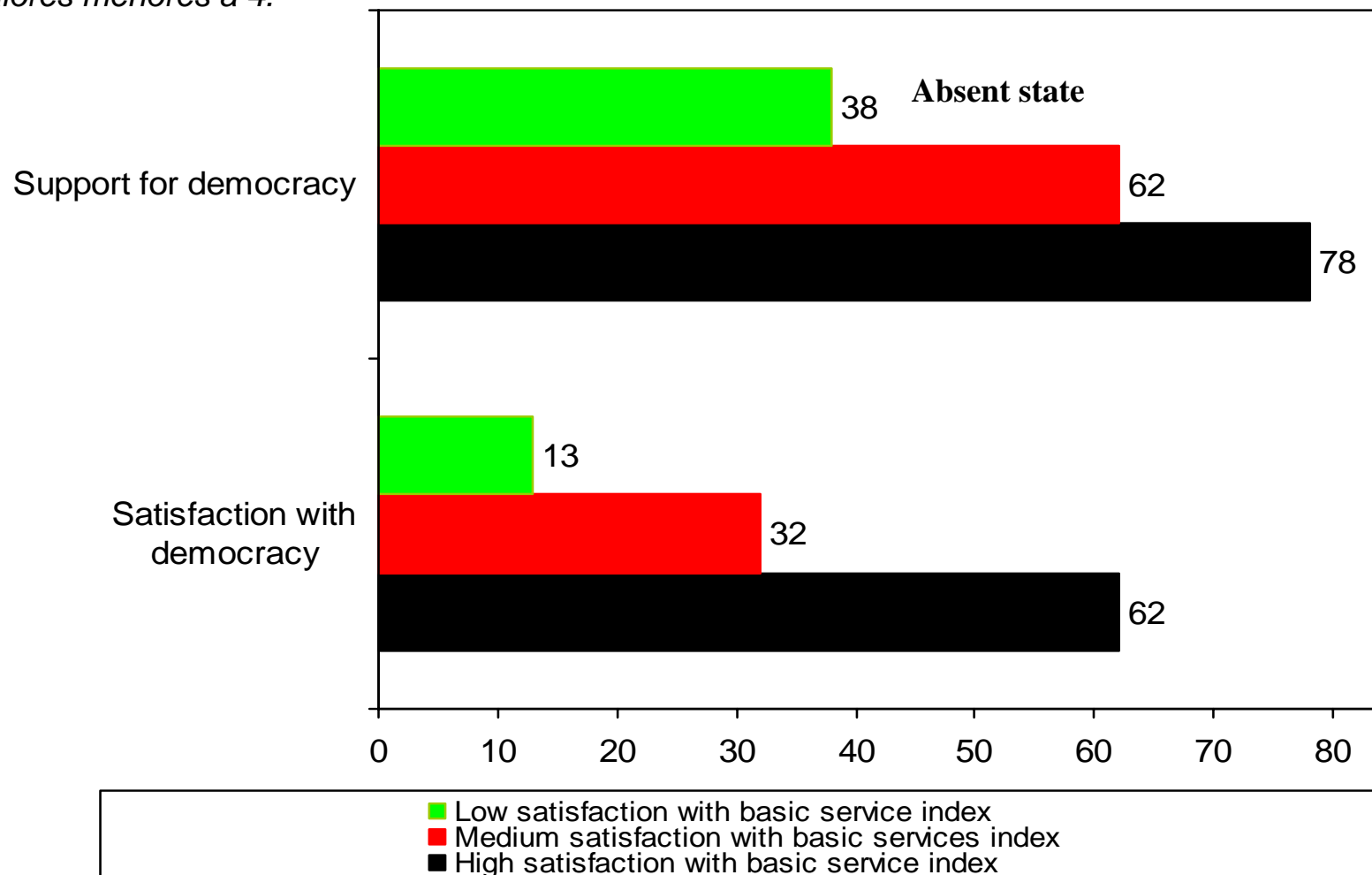


Source: Latinobarómetro 2006. n= 20.234



INDEX OF SATISFATION WITH BASIC SERVICE AND SUPPORT AND SATISFATION WITH DEMOCRACY LATIN AMERICA 2006

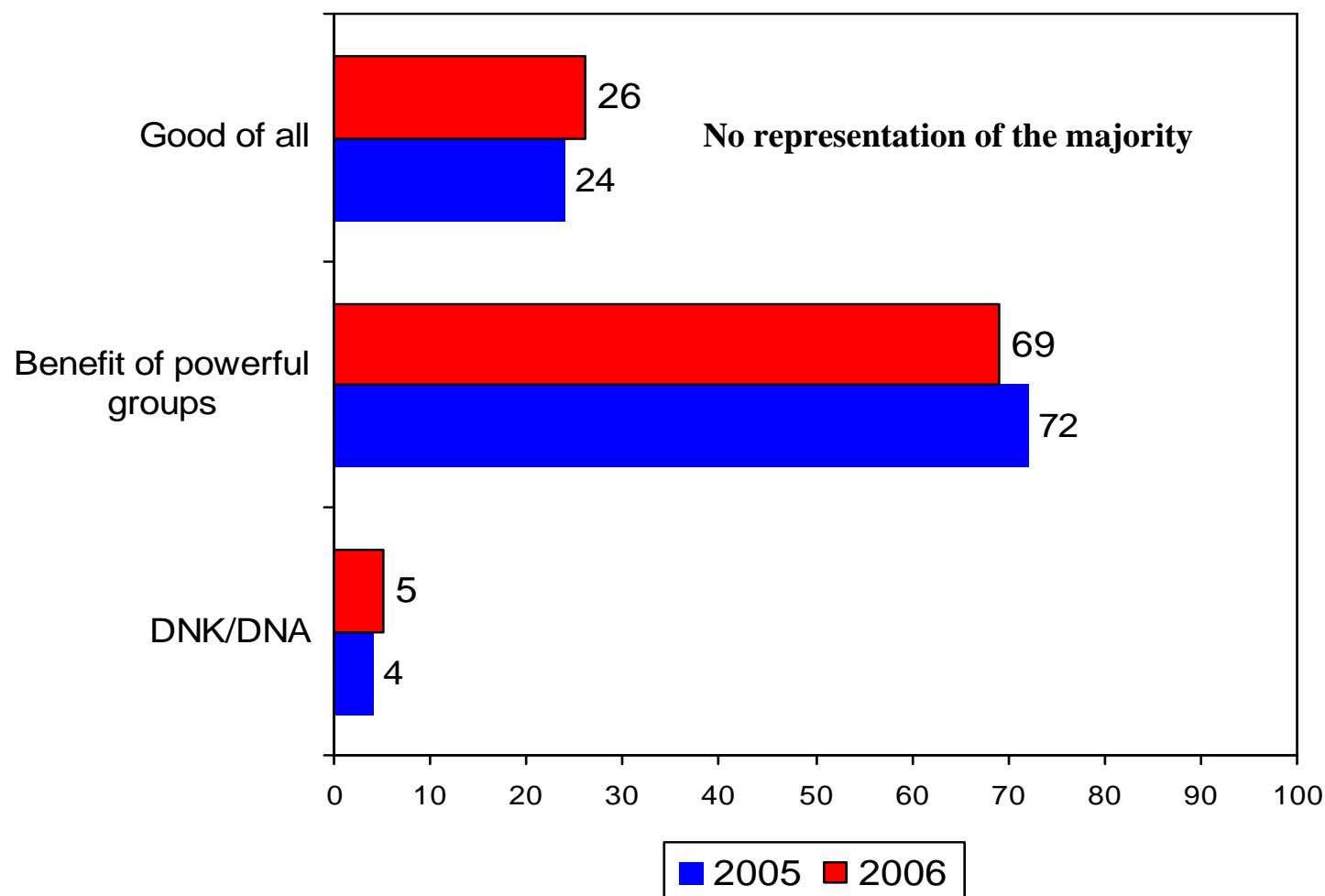
Índice de Satisfacción con Servicios Básicos fue construido a partir de las preguntas P80st.a-P80n.h. Alto es cuando el Índice toma valores 7 y 8, Medio cuando el Índice toma valores 4,5 o 6, y Bajo cuando toma valores menores a 4.



GOVERNMENT FOR WHOM?

LATIN AMERICA, 2005-2006

Q. In general, would you say (country) is governed for the benefit of a few powerful groups or is governed for the good of all?

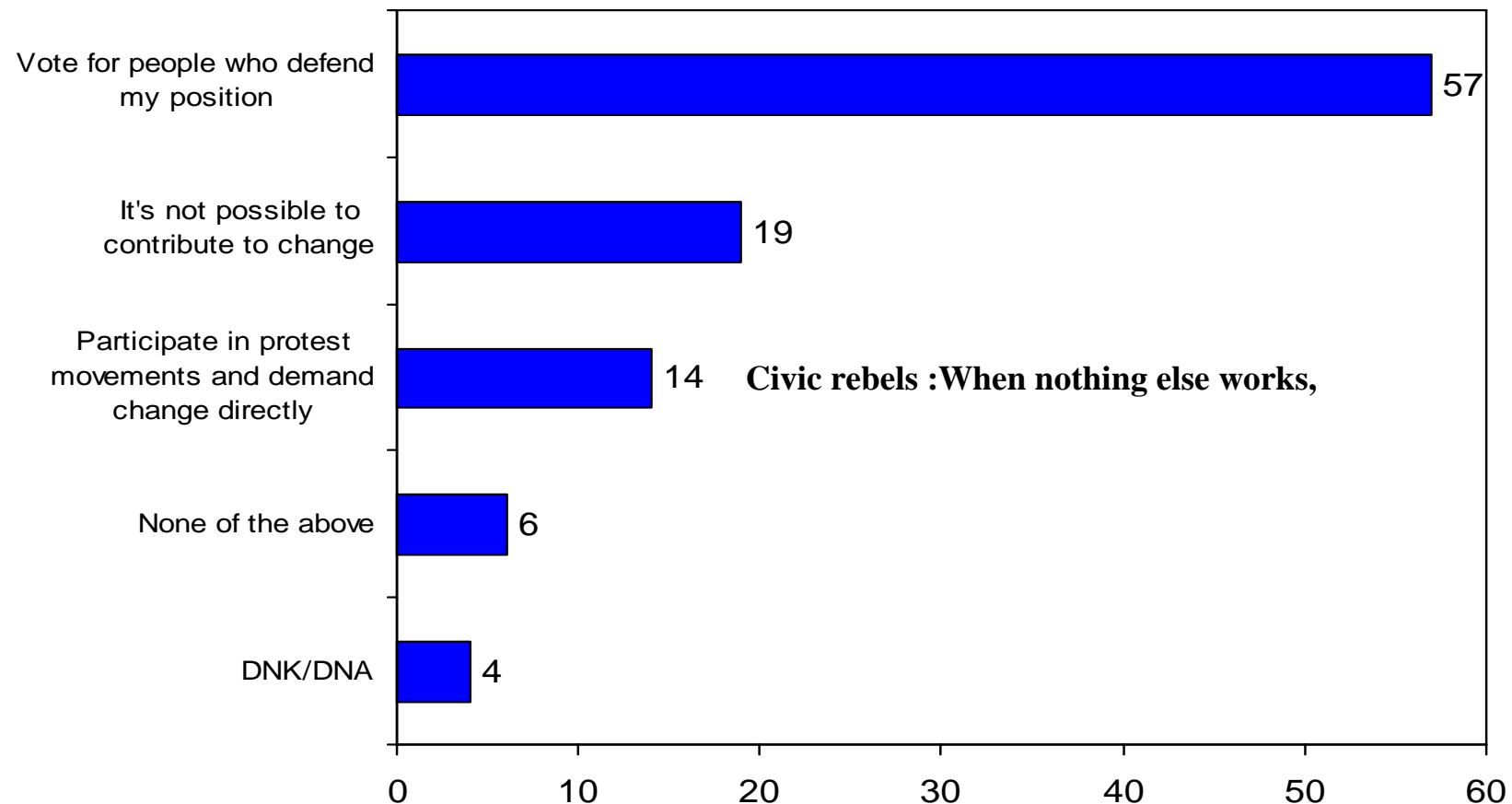


Source: Latinobarómetro 2005-2006.



EFFECTIVENESS OF THE VOTE: WHICH IS THE MOST EFFECTIVE WAY TO CHANGE THINGS? LATIN AMERICA, 2006

Q. What is the most effective way in which you can contribute to change things: vote to elect people who defend your position, participate in protest movements and demand change directly, or do you think that it's not possible to contribute to change things?



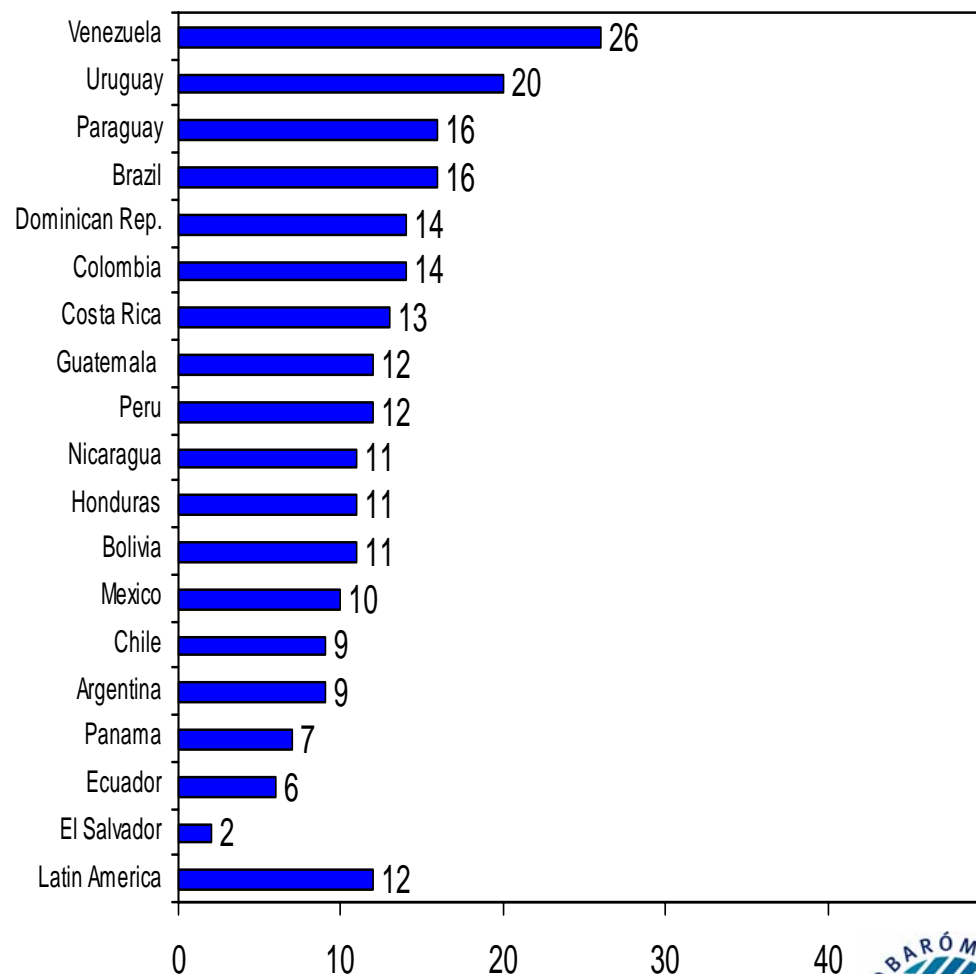
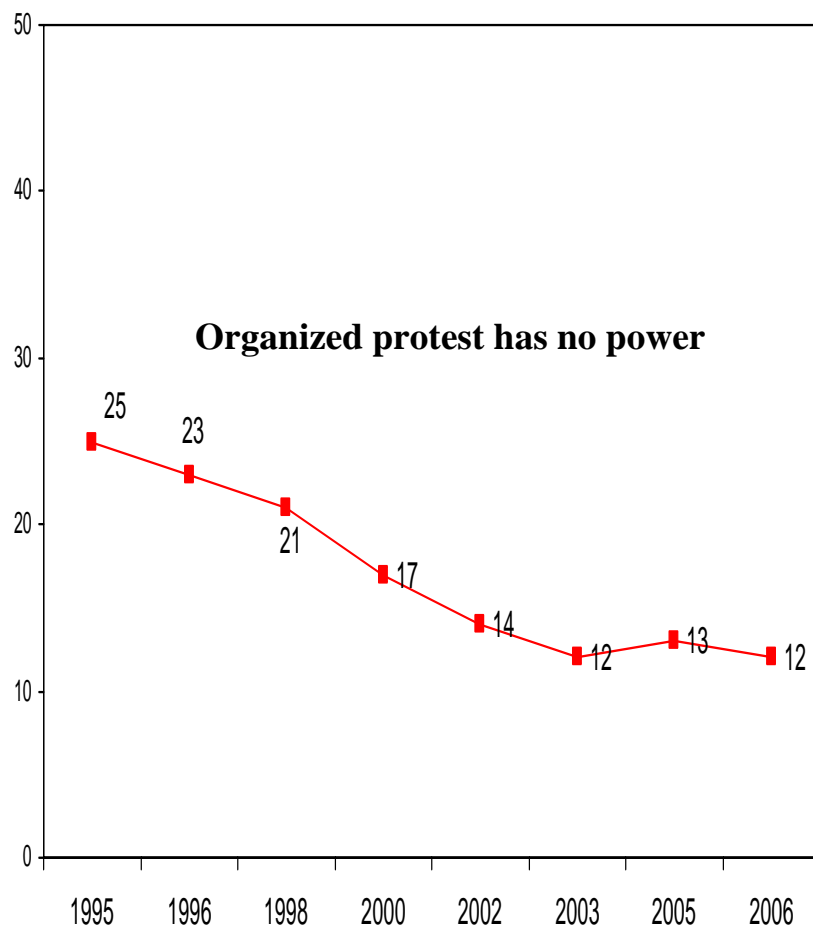
Source: Latinobarómetro 2006. n= 20.234



TAKING PART IN AN AUTHORIZED DEMONSTRATION

LATIN AMERICA, 1995-2006 / TOTALS BY COUNTRY, 2006

Q. I am going to read out a variety of political activities that people can undertake and I would like you to tell me if you have ever done any of them, if you would ever do any of them, or if you would never do any of them. Taking part in an authorized demonstration. Answer shown 'Have done this'.



Source: Latinobarómetro 1995-2006



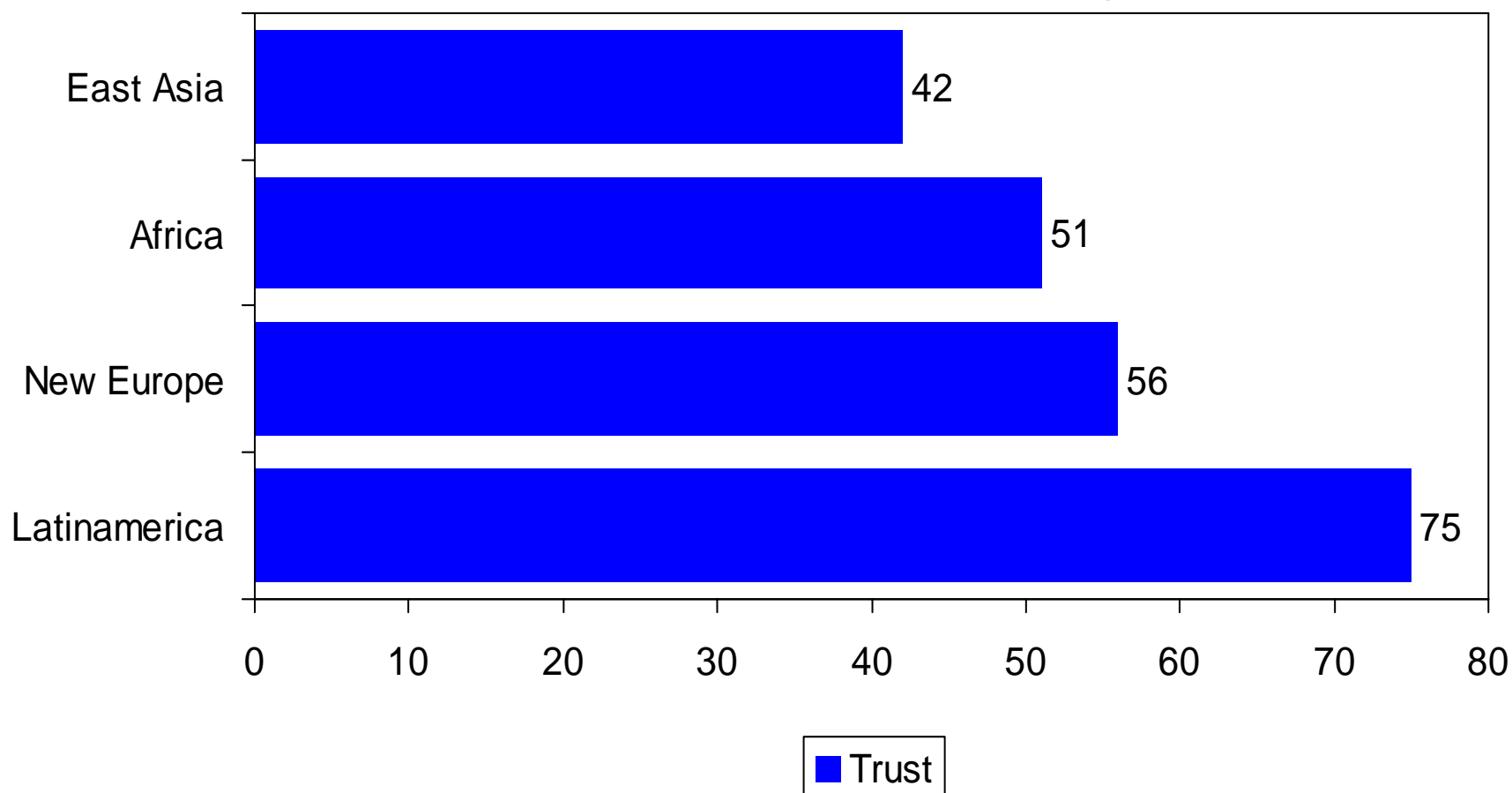
TRUST



TRUST

GLOBAL BAROMETER

Here those who no do not trust by continent



Q. Generally speaking, would you say that you can trust most people, or that you can never be too careful when dealing with others?

Here only "You can trust most people"

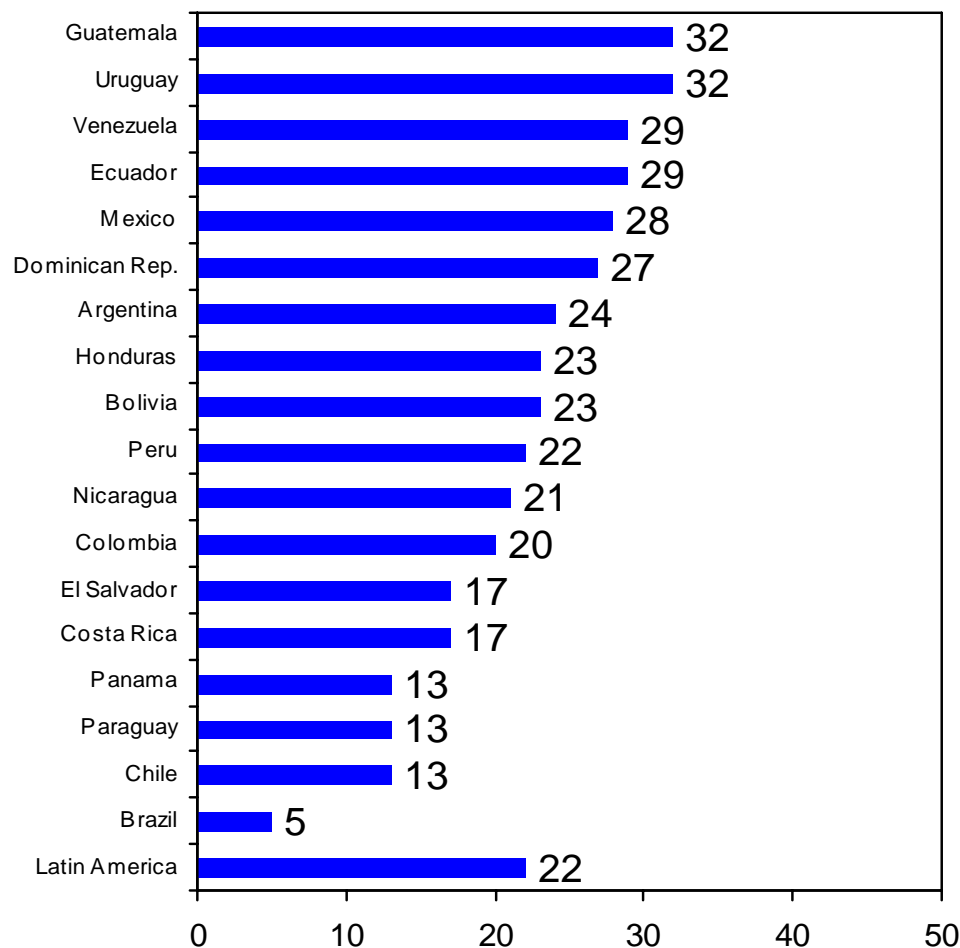
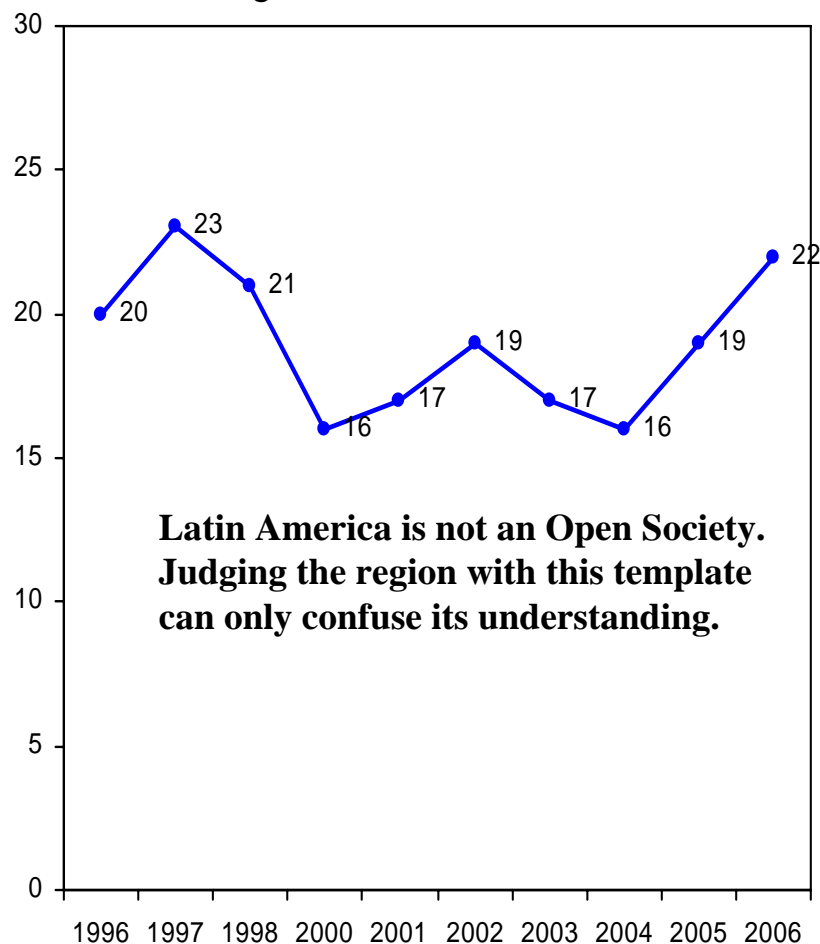
Source: LATINOBARÓMETRO 1996-2003 / ABROBAROMETER 1999-2001



INTERPERSONAL TRUST

LATIN AMERICA, 1996-2006 / TOTALS BY COUNTRY, 2006

*Q. Generally speaking, would you say that you can trust most people, or that you can never be too careful when dealing with others? *Answer shown 'One can trust most people'.*



Source: Latinobarómetro 1996-2006



Structure of trust

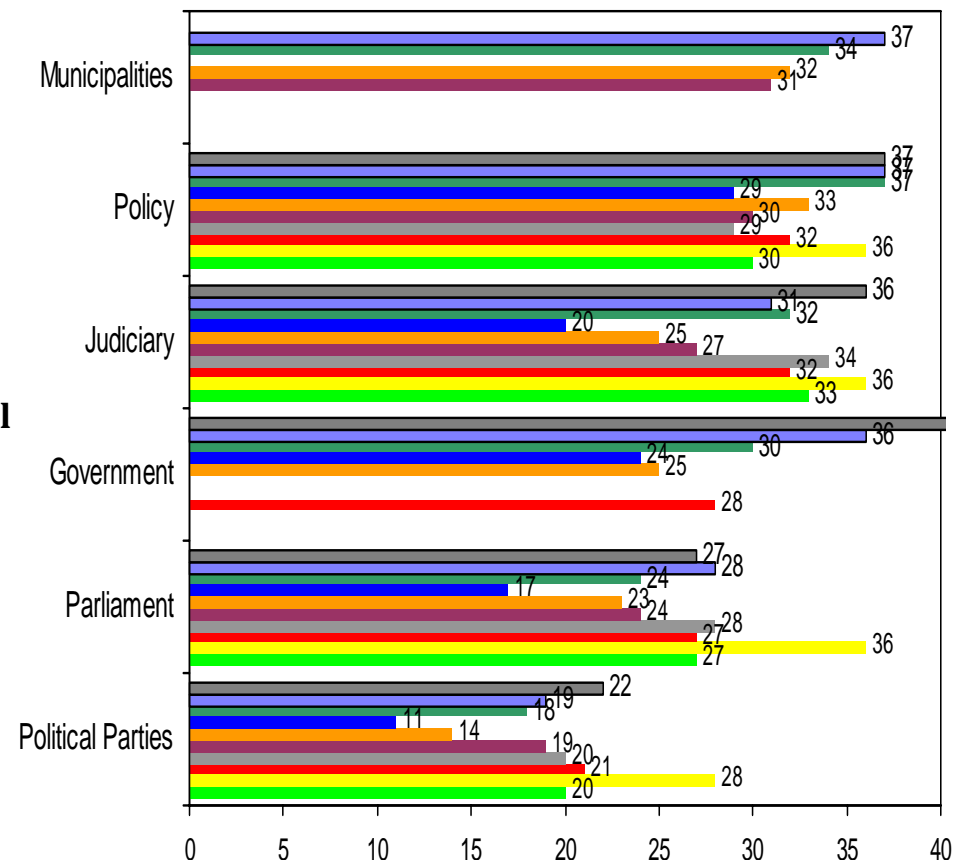
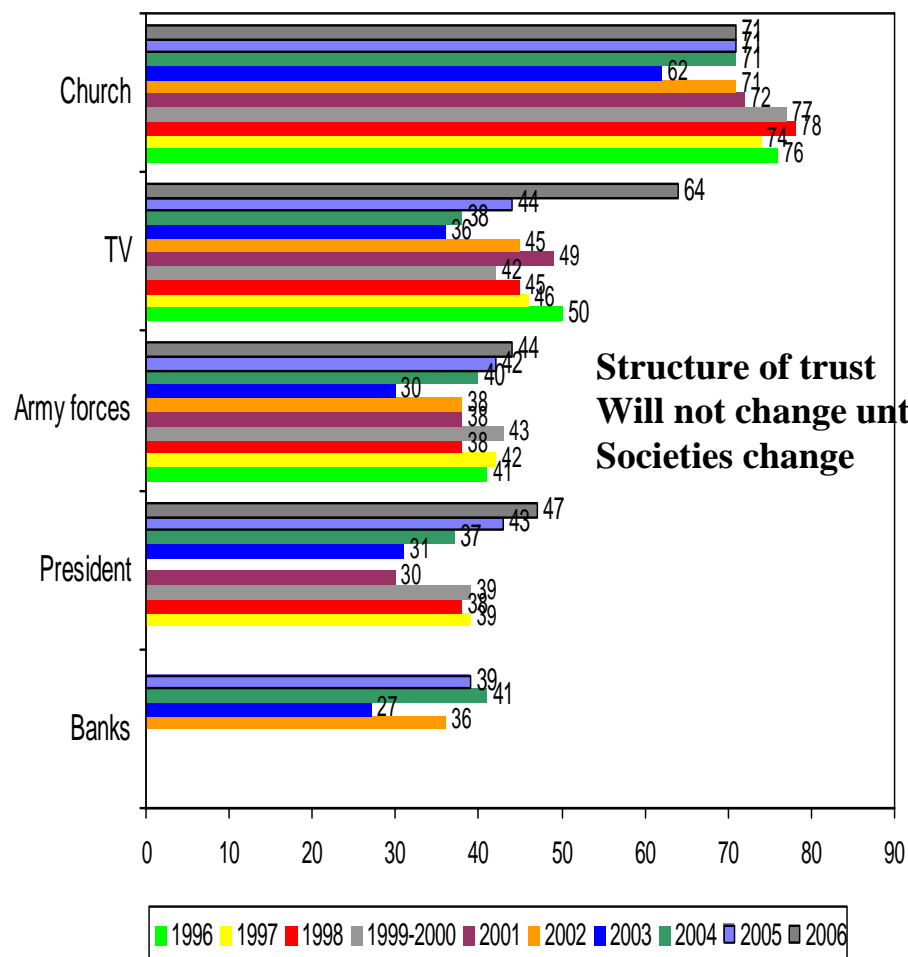
- No open society Trust 22%
- Trust in Democratic Institutions depends on Experience and expectations: Trust in all institutions are tied together, it is a system trust that depends on:
 - Equality before the law
 - Social mobility
 - Access to opportunities.
- Network Trust: based on experience and interaction. High trust is related to high levels of interaction:

	»	Trust
• Work related contact		60%
• Neighbours		51%
• A relative you have never seen is also not trustworthy		24%

TRUST IN INSTITUTIONS

LATIN AMERICA 1996 - 2006

*P. Por favor, mire esta tarjeta y dígame, cuánta confianza tiene en cada uno de estos grupos/instituciones. ¿Diría que tiene mucha, algo, poca o ninguna confianza en....? *Aquí 'Mucha' más 'Algo'.*



Source: Latinobarómetro 1996-2006.



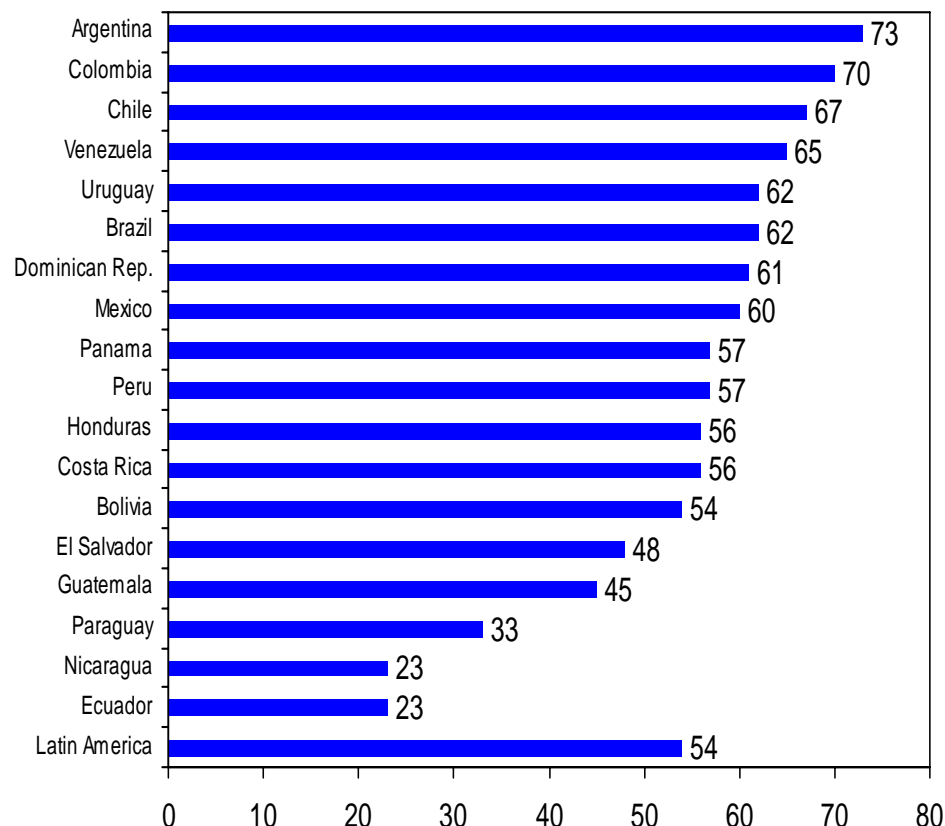
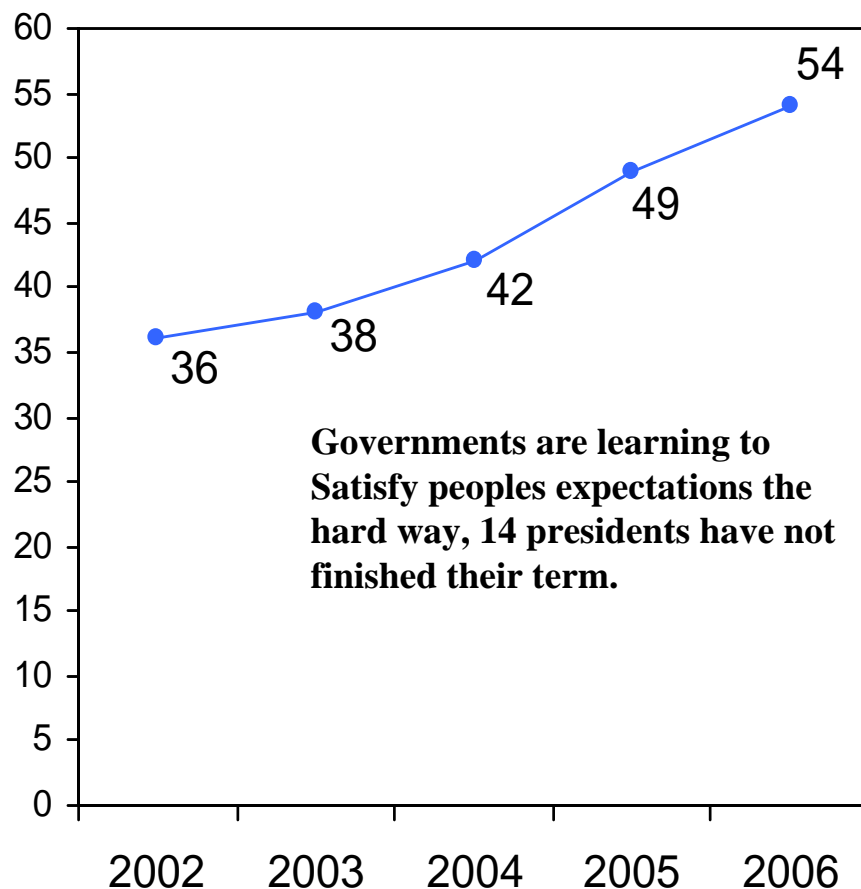
Increasing Legitimacy of Presidentialism: Renovation of elites



APPROVAL OF GOVERNMENT

TOTAL LATIN AMERICA, 2002-2006 / BY COUNTRY, 2006

Q. Do you approve or disapprove of the performance of the government headed by (NAME OF PRESIDENT OF COUNTRY)? Answer shown 'Approve'.



Source: Latinobarómetro 2002-2006



Another priest in a different Mule

Latin America is celebrating 200 years of independence, and as mexican peasants used to say after their independence, it was just “another priest in a different mule” . Democracy is making it possible for the first time in history for the population of the region to get rid of that priest and keeping the mule. Latinobarometro does not find undemocratic people in the incongruencies of attitudes towards democracy, but undemocratic institutions that by far are not what they say the are. Changing the priest means democratizing the system in such a way that there is a state for all, and that all have in fact equality before the law. Incongruence is about undemocratic structures of societies that need change.



Keeping the mule , changing the priest

Elite change has been the most powerful tool to democratize, to change the priest, especially in native dominated countries that had never had access to citizenship. There are so many democratic reasons for ingovernability. It has proven to be a tool when the old powers are unwilling to give in. Many more ingovernable spots will be the case, meaning Latin America is marching towards democracy. Democracy is a second independence, while the political independence took place 200 years ago, the social and economic independence is taking place with Democracy.

