Latin American Public Opinion Project

Proyecto de Opinión Pública de América Latina

www.lapopsurveys.org
Democratic Political Culture in Hard Times: Results from the 2010 AmericasBarometer

Presentation Order
1. About the surveys: when, where how
2. Economic crisis and democracy
3. The vulnerabilities of democracy in the Americas
LAPOP’s Beginnings

The 1970s

The 1990s
The AmericasBarometer

26 countries, 43,990 interviews
What is unique about the AmericasBarometer?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Features</th>
<th>AmericasBarometer</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Includes North America/ Caribbean (26 countries)</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Interviews in indigenous languages (15 total) and widespread use of handheld computers (PDAs) allowing “code-switching” among languages</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Samples of 1,500 vs. typical 1,000</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Full disclosure of sample designs</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>National stratification and sub-stratification by rural/urban residence</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Functions as a consortium of academic partners</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Central oversight over data collection: pre-tests in all countries; interviewer training; auditing of data sets</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### What is unique about the AmericasBarometer?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Features</th>
<th>AmericasBarometer</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>No cost/no registration, on-line multivariate analysis (no embargo period)</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No-cost, online reports for each country, in addition to a report for the entire region</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Confidence intervals are sample design based in all charts and regressions</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Statistical analyses based on theoretical models</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Entire questionnaire (in all local languages used for surveys) included as an appendix in each report</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Full adherence to federal human subjects protection rules; all team leaders IRB certified</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Donors 2010

1. USAID
2. IDB
3. Vanderbilt University
4. PNUD
5. Princeton University
6. CNPq
7. Sida
8. Université Laval
9. Kellogg Institute
10. VIGH
11. NSF
The LAPOP Research Team at Vanderbilt

Partner Country Teams for 2010 AmericasBarometer Startup meeting, San Salvador, El Salvador, November, 2009
Methodology

- Face-to-face interviews by interviewers trained by LAPOP personnel
- Stratified national probability samples down to the household level (quotas within households) of 1500 voting-age respondents
- Probability proportional to size (PPS) sampling is used at every stage
- Estimated Error: < +/- 3% with 95% confidence interval
- Use of PDAs (handheld computers) in most countries
## Sample Size and Confidence Intervals (National Level)

### Country Sample Size Sampling Error

**Mexico/ Central America**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Sample Size</th>
<th>Sampling Error</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mexico</td>
<td>1,562</td>
<td>±2.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guatemala</td>
<td>1,504</td>
<td>±2.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>El Salvador</td>
<td>1,550</td>
<td>±2.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Honduras</td>
<td>1,596</td>
<td>±2.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nicaragua</td>
<td>1,540</td>
<td>±2.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Costa Rica</td>
<td>1,500</td>
<td>±2.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Panama</td>
<td>1,536</td>
<td>±2.5%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Andean/Southern Cone**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Sample Size</th>
<th>Sampling Error</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Colombia</td>
<td>1,506</td>
<td>±2.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ecuador</td>
<td>3,000</td>
<td>±1.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peru</td>
<td>1,500</td>
<td>±2.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bolivia</td>
<td>3,018</td>
<td>±1.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paraguay</td>
<td>1,166</td>
<td>±2.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chile</td>
<td>1,965</td>
<td>±2.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uruguay</td>
<td>1,500</td>
<td>±2.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brazil</td>
<td>2,882</td>
<td>±1.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Venezuela</td>
<td>1,500</td>
<td>±2.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Argentina</td>
<td>1,505</td>
<td>±2.5%</td>
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</table>

**Caribbean**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Sample Size</th>
<th>Sampling Error</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Belize</td>
<td>1,504</td>
<td>±2.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dominican Republic</td>
<td>1,500</td>
<td>±2.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guyana</td>
<td>1,540</td>
<td>±2.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Haiti</td>
<td>1,752 (+4,248)</td>
<td>±2.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jamaica</td>
<td>1,499</td>
<td>±2.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Suriname</td>
<td>1,500</td>
<td>±2.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trinidad &amp; Tobago</td>
<td>1,503</td>
<td>±2.0%</td>
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**United States and Canada**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Sample Size</th>
<th>Sampling Error</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Canada</td>
<td>1,500</td>
<td>±2.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>United States</td>
<td>1,500</td>
<td>±2.0%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

LAPOP: Americas Barometer

www.AmericasBarometer.org
Use of handheld computers:
1. Reduces data entry errors
2. Allows for multiple languages
3. Permits embedded experiments

Honduras

Costa Rica

Guyana
National Samples Stratified by Key Regions

Three Strata in Ecuador:
- Coast
- Mountains
- Amazon

(N = 3,000)
National Samples Stratified by Key Regions

Nine Strata in Bolivia
Each point = 20 interviews
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Partners 2010</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

### Andean / Southern Cone

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Institution 1</th>
<th>Institution 2</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Colombia</td>
<td>Universidad de los Andes</td>
<td>Observatorio de la democracia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ecuador</td>
<td>FLACSO Ecuador</td>
<td>CEDATOS Galafip</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peru</td>
<td>IEP Instituto de Estudios Peruanos</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bolivia</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paraguay</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chile</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uruguay</td>
<td>CIFRA</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brazil</td>
<td></td>
<td>Universidad de Brasilia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Venezuela</td>
<td>CISOR</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mexico and Central America</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------------------------</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Mexico</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Guatemala</strong></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>El Salvador</strong></td>
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<td><strong>Honduras</strong></td>
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<td><strong>Nicaragua</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Costa Rica</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Panama</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Partners 2010**

[Logos for each country and partner organizations are included in the table.]

[Logo for Americas Barometer by LAPOP is shown on the left side.]
## Partners 2010

### Caribbean

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Logo</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Dominican Republic</td>
<td><img src="intec%20logo%20image" alt="intec logo" /></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guyana</td>
<td><img src="DP%20logo%20image" alt="DP logo" /></td>
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<tr>
<td>Haiti</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jamaica</td>
<td><img src="uniwest%20indies%20logo%20image" alt="uniwest indies logo" /></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Canada and United States

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Logo</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Canada</td>
<td><img src="York%20University%20logo%20image" alt="York University logo" /></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>U.S.</td>
<td><img src="Vanderbilt%20University%20logo%20image" alt="Vanderbilt University logo" /></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Making Results Accessible
El Barómetro de las Américas

El presente estudio es parte de un programa de investigaciones que el Proyecto de Opinión Pública de América Latina (LAPOP) de la Universidad de Vanderbilt tiene llevado a cabo desde hace más de dos décadas. LAPOP es un consorcio de instituciones académicas y de investigación en las Américas, con sede central en la Universidad de Vanderbilt en Estados Unidos. En el Proyecto LAPOP participan más de 30 instituciones de toda la región, cuyos esfuerzos tienen el propósito de producir estudios científicos, objetivos e independientes de opinión pública. Dichas investigaciones se enfocan principalmente en la medición de actitudes y comportamientos políticos relacionados con la democracia. El proyecto ha recibido el generoso apoyo de la Agencia de los Estados Unidos para el Desarrollo Internacional (USAID), del Centro para las Américas y del Departamento de Ciencias Políticas de la Universidad de Vanderbilt, del Programa de las Naciones Unidas para el Desarrollo (PNUD) y del Banco Interamericano de Desarrollo (BID), así como de la Pontificia Universidad Católica de Chile y del Instituto Kellogg de la Universidad de Notre Dame. LAPOP también mantiene vínculos con organizaciones como el Banco Mundial y la Organización de Estados Americanos (OEA), entre otras.

Las encuestas más recientes —cuyos resultados se analizan y discuten en este informe— fueron realizadas en el año 2010, utilizando una muestra representativa de la población nacional en áreas rurales y urbanas. La red de estudios del 2010 incluyó 26 países de las Américas, lo que permite comparar los resultados de cada país con los otros países de la región.

LAPOP pone a disposición del público sin costo alguno sus bases de datos a través de nuestra página web www.lapopsurveys.org. Tanto los datos y reportes de investigación, como los artículos y libros que ha producido el Proyecto Opinión Pública de América Latina, son de acceso público y gratuito. Esta investigación y los datos pueden también consultarse en los sitios de otras importantes universidades de los Estados Unidos, como Duke, Harvard, Notre Dame, Princeton, la Universidad de Carolina del Norte, la Universidad de Texas y en instituciones en Latinoamérica tales como la Escuela de Ciencias de la Política de Costa Rica y la Pontificia Universidad Católica de Chile. Con estas iniciativas, LAPOP continúa colaborando con la generación de excelencia académica y de políticas públicas en las Américas.
Dissemination in Each Country

Uruguay

Ecuador

Colombia
Free on-line subscription:

Free subscriptions to the “Insights Series” of bi-weekly studies
Free on-line data analysis: www.LapopSurveys.org

The Latin American Public Opinion Project (LAPOP) - Windows Internet Explorer

The Latin American Public Opinion Project (LAPOP)
Vanderbilt University
(CCP)


QUERYING SYSTEM FOR THE LAPOP DATABASES

We offer two alternatives for querying LAPOP databases:

BEGINNER mode: The user can only request frequency distributions or cross-tabulations. The user is unable to define filters (i.e., select sub-classes), recode variables or control for third variables.

Beginner

EXPERT mode: Beyond the Beginner mode’s functions, the user can define filters (select sub-classes), recode variables, and control for third variable effects.

Expert

This is an on-line querying system to the original databases (micro-data) of the surveys of the Latin American Public Opinion Project (LAPOP), Vanderbilt University.

LAPOP, a project directed by Centennial professor Mitchell A. Seligson, includes more than 70 high quality surveys on major topics of great interest to political and social scientists, Latin Americanists, government officials, and interested citizens. LAPOP surveys analyzing citizen views on system support, political tolerance, citizen participation, local government,
Free on-line data analysis

The Latin American Public Opinion Project (LAPOP)

Querying system for the databases

1. Select the database:
   - Barómetro de las Américas 2008
   - Dictionary

2. What topic do you want to analyze?
   - Democracy.

3. Select the variable:
   - (inq4) ¿Hasta qué punto está de acuerdo con que puede que la democracia tenga problemas

4. What process do you want to run?
   - Frequency Mean Cross Tabulation

5. Topic for cross-tabulation
   - Socio-Demographic.

6. Select the variable for cross-tabulation
   - Género

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>¿Hasta qué punto está de acuerdo con que puede que la democracia tenga problemas</th>
<th>Hombre</th>
<th>Mujer</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Muy en desacuerdo</td>
<td>4.19</td>
<td>4.19</td>
<td>4.19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>638</td>
<td>663</td>
<td>1,301</td>
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<td></td>
<td>3.58</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1,337</td>
<td>1,453</td>
<td>2,790</td>
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<td></td>
<td>7.51</td>
<td>8.02</td>
<td>7.77</td>
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<td></td>
<td>2,326</td>
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<td></td>
<td>13.07</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2,744</td>
<td>3,045</td>
<td>5,789</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>15.42</td>
<td>16.82</td>
<td>16.12</td>
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<td></td>
<td>3,418</td>
<td>3,290</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>19.20</td>
<td>18.17</td>
<td>18.68</td>
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<tr>
<td>Muy de acuerdo</td>
<td>6,589</td>
<td>6,346</td>
<td>12,935</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>37.02</td>
<td>35.05</td>
<td>36.02</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Economic Crisis and Democracy
What economists tell us......

On p. 3:

“...perity, full employment, and high standards of living. But no less important is the fact—clearly to be read from the history of the twentieth century—that the political health of a democracy is tied up in a crucial way with the successful maintenance of stable high employment and living opportunities. It is not too much to say that the widespread creation of dictatorships and the resulting World War II stemmed in no small measure from the world’s failure to meet this basic economic problem adequately.”
“In 1920, 26 out of 28 European states were parliamentary democracies”

“By 1938, 13 of those democracies had become dictatorships”
- Italy, October 1922
- Bulgaria, June 1923
- Portugal, May 1926
- Poland, May 1926
- Yugoslavia, January 1929
- Germany, January 1933
- Austria, March 1933
- Estonia, March 1934
- Latvia, May 1934
- Spain, July 1936
- Romania, 1938
• Breakdown is not limited to the distant past: Worldwide, nearly 38 percent of the 114 democratizations 1960-2003 were reversed, at least for some period of time

• (Converse and Kapstein, The Fate of Young Democracies, Cambridge University Press, 2008).
The Theory: Country-Level

Economic context also matters for the stability of democracy

- **Economic Underdevelopment**
  - Przeworski et al: “No democracy has ever been subverted...in a country with a per capita income higher than that of Argentina in 1975: $6,055. There is no doubt that democracy is stable in affluent countries” (98).

![Graph showing the Przeworski et al. threshold of breakdown immunity](image)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Real Income (GDP) per capita (1985 International Prices)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Chile</td>
<td>374.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Argentina</td>
<td>624.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uruguay</td>
<td>587.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Costa Rica</td>
<td>312.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Panama</td>
<td>573.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mexico</td>
<td>137.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brazil</td>
<td>167.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Venezuela</td>
<td>999.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dominican Republic</td>
<td>165.0</td>
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<td>Belize</td>
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<td>Colombia</td>
<td>324.4</td>
</tr>
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<td>El Salvador</td>
<td>825.0</td>
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<td>Paraguay</td>
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<td>Jamaica</td>
<td>292.2</td>
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<td>Ecuador</td>
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<td>252.3</td>
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<td>Guatemala</td>
<td>208.8</td>
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<tr>
<td>Guyana</td>
<td>221.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nicaragua</td>
<td>222.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bolivia</td>
<td>342.9</td>
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<tr>
<td>Honduras</td>
<td>341.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Haiti</td>
<td>120.4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Real Income (GDP) per capita (1985 International Prices)
Two published studies using pre-crisis 2008 AmericasBarometer data:

**Latin American Politics and Society**

Economic Shocks and Democratic Vulnerabilities in Latin America and the Caribbean

**ABSTRACT**

Historical evidence suggests that bad economic times often mean bad times for democracy, but prior research has given us little guidance on how this process may work. What economic conditions are most threatening, and how might they weaken consolidating democracies? This article uses the AmericasBarometer conducted by the Latin American Public Opinion Project (LAPOP) to answer these questions by focusing on core attitudes for the consolidation of democracy. We use survey data at the level of the individual and economic data at the country level to help detect democratic vulnerabilities in Latin America and the Caribbean. The study finds that conditions of low levels of economic development, low economic growth, and high levels of income inequality increase those vulnerabilities substantially, but the effects are not uniform across individuals. Some groups, especially the young and the poor, are particularly vulnerable to some antidemocratic appeals.

**FEATURES**

Economic Crisis and Democracy in Latin America

**ABSTRACT**

While the world is focused on the economic impact of the financial and credit meltdown, what might be its impact on politics? In well-established democracies, probably not more than elections lost by incumbent parties seen as having mismanaged the economy. But what of consolidating democracies that predominate in the developing world, where some forecasts expect the crisis to hit the poor especially hard? This article uses AmericasBarometer survey data from Latin America and the Caribbean drawn on the eve of the crisis to project how it might affect democracy in the region.

In times of crisis, scholars and pundits alike often seek inspiration from the classical thinkers. The worldwide credit and financial meltdown that began in 2008 has been compared almost daily to the classics on the Great Depression, such as John Kenneth Galbraith's (1980) study of the stock market crash of 1929, or John Maynard Keynes's (1936) analysis of depressions and depressions. Surprisingly, however, political scientists seem little concerned about the political consequences of the current economic crisis. Maybe this is because so much attention on the crisis has focused on the advanced industrial democracies where the meltdown began, and therefore we expect no more than conventional actions from democratic voters who punish incumbents with "new brooms" to sweep away the crisis and in the process will "throw the bums out." The entire Republican Party losses in the 2008 U.S. elections are a case in point, as are the recent elections in Ireland.

In developing countries, however, the current economic crisis may have a far more profound impact. Their economies do not have the deep pockets (or hard currencies) that the governments of advanced industrial societies do, which makes it far more difficult for them to follow the Keynesian prescription that in times of economic slowdowns governments should spend their way out of them. Furthermore, in many of the developing nations, democracy itself has had only a brief history and is often still in the process of being consolidated. To gauge the possible political effects of the current severe economic downturn, political scientists might do well to turn their attention to their own classics. No more relevant piece of that literature is the J-curve theory of University of Oregon political science professor Daniel James Davies (1996). 

"Revolutions are most likely to occur when a prolonged period of objective economic and social development is followed by a short period of sharp reversal. People then subjectively fear that ground gained with great effort will be quite lost; their mood becomes revolutionary." This theory presumes that during extended periods of growth, people come to expect a better future as the norm, but with the onset of a sudden downturn in the ability of the economy to satisfy those expectations, there emerges an "intolerable gap between what people want and what they get." Davies (1996). Davies, driven by some individuals to participate in violent protests and even revolution. Davies supports his theory with an analysis of several revolutions and rebellions, including the French, Russian, and American Revolutions.

Fortunately, the recent widespread growth of surveys among the developing nations makes such an assessment possible for those countries today. In this article, we examine the state of mind of Latin Americans on the eve of the current great economic crisis in order to get a fix on what might be its ultimate impact. We do so with the
The Political Culture of Democracy, 2010
Democratic Consolidation in the Americas in Hard Times

Report on the Americas

Editors:
- Mitchell A. Seligson, Ph.D.
  Scientific Coordinator and Editor of the Series
  Vanderbilt University
- Amy Erica Smith
  Research Coordinator and Editor of the Report
  Vanderbilt University
Changes in Real GDP: 2008-2009

Source: World Bank 2010
While breakdown is an extreme and unlikely outcome, will the current global economic downturn weaken citizen support for key components of democracy, thus slowing or even undermining democratic consolidation?

Research Question:
Economic Experiences and Perceptions in the Americas, 2010
Job Losses in the Americas, 2008-2010

Have you lost your job in the past two years?
- Yes, but found a new one: 7.3%
- Yes, but have not found a new one: 8.5%
- Own decision not to work/disabilities: 19.5%
- No, did not lose your job: 73.7%

Has anyone in your household lost his or her job in the past two years?
- Yes: 16.1%
- No: 83.9%

Source: AmericasBarometer by LAPOP
Note: Based on 25 countries (excludes Haiti).
Percentage of households with job loss (past two years)

Percent of households with at least one member who lost a job in the past two years

95% Confidence Interval (Design-Effects Based)

Source: AmericasBarometer by LAPOP

Note: Based on 25 countries (excludes Haiti).
Household Income Changes, 2008-2010 in the Americas

Over the past two years, has the income of your household:

Increased? 22.8%
Decreased? 27.3%
Remained the same? 49.9%

Source: AmericasBarometer by LAPOP
Note: Based on 25 countries (excludes Haiti).
Decrease in household income, by area of residence and level of wealth: crisis hurt the poor the most

Source: AmericasBarometer by LAPOP

Note: Based on 25 countries (excludes Haiti).
Is your country experiencing an economic crisis?

- Very serious economic crisis: 45.7%
- A crisis, but not very serious: 45.7%
- No economic crisis: 6.9%
- Don’t Know: 1.7%

Perception of Magnitude of Economic Crisis

Source: AmericasBarometer by LAPOP

Note: Based on 25 countries (excludes Haiti).
Perception that the economic crisis is “very serious”

Percentage or population who say economic crisis is very serious

95% Confidence Interval (Design-Effects Based)

Source: AmericasBarometer by LAPOP

Note: Based on 25 countries (excludes Haiti).
Who is to blame for the crisis? (among those who perceive a crisis)

- The previous administration/government: 20.8%
- The current administration/government: 19.4%
- The economic system of the country: 13.4%
- Ourselves, the citizens of the country: 13.0%
- Do not know: 11.6%
- The rich countries: 7.8%
- The rich people of our country: 7.3%
- The problems of democracy: 4.0%
- Other: 2.8%

Source: AmericasBarometer by LAPOP

Note: Based on 25 countries (excludes Haiti).
Percentage blaming “rich countries” (among those who perceive a crisis)

Source: AmericasBarometer by LAPOP

Note: Based on 25 countries (excludes Haiti).
Who blames the crisis on rich countries? (among those perceiving a crisis)

Fuente: Barómetro de las Américas por LAPOP

Note: Based on 23 countries (excludes Haiti, the US, and Canada).
Main findings on the crisis-democracy nexus:

In the midst of the worst economic crisis since the Great Depression, democratic attitudes and the legitimacy of the political system have turned out to be surprisingly resilient.
Agreement with Churchill?

“Democracy may have problems, but it is better than any other form of government. To what extent do you agree or disagree with this statement?”

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Strongly disagree</th>
<th>Strongly agree</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Low Support</td>
<td>High Support</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Support for democracy showed no significant decline from the 2008 survey.

“Democracy may have problems, but it is better than any other form of government. To what extent do you agree or disagree with this statement?”
Support for democracy remains widespread
(No country below 60)

“Democracy may have problems, but it is better than any other form of government. To what extent do you agree or disagree with this statement?”

Source: AmericasBarometer by LAPOP
Note: Includes all 26 countries
Satisfaction with democracy: 2008 vs. 2010

Major increases:
- Post-coup Honduras
- Paraguay after first opposition win
- El Salvador after FMLN victory

Source: AmericasBarometer by LAPOP
How Economic Experiences Affect Support for Democracy and System Support
Support for democracy heavily impacted by satisfaction with government economic performance

By far the biggest impact of any economic attitude

Source: AmericasBarometer by LAPOP

Note: Includes all 26 countries
Who is satisfied with democracy?

Dependent Variable: Satisfaction with Democracy

- Perception of Government Economic Performance
  - No Economic Crisis
  - Very Serious Economic Crisis
- Decrease Household Income
- Households with at least one Member who lost her job
- Negative Perception Retrospective Personal Econ. Situation
- Negative Perception Personal Econ. Situation
- Negative Perception Retrospective National Econ. Situation
- Negative Perception National Econ. Situation
- Satisfaction with Performance of Current President
- Quintiles of Wealth
- Education Level
- Urban
- Age
- Female

Source: AmericasBarometer by LAPOP

Note: Includes 25 countries (excludes Haiti)
System Support Index

• **B1.** To what extent do you think the courts in (country) guarantee a fair trial?

• **B2.** ¿To what extent do you respect the political institutions of (country)?

• **B3.** To what extent do you think that citizens’ basic rights are well protected by the political system of (country)?

• **B4.** To what extent do you feel proud of living under the political system of (country)?

• **B6.** To what extent do you think that one should support the political system of (country)?
System Support Index: Slight Increase 2008-2010

Year

System Support

95% Confidence Interval (Design-Effect Based)

Source: AmericasBarometer by LAPOP

Note: Includes all countries surveyed in each year.
System Support in the Americas 2010
(9 countries below 50)

Source: AmericasBarometer by LAPOP
Who supports the political system?

Over the past two years, has the income of your household:

- Increased?
- Remained the same?
- Decreased?

Note: Includes all 26 countries

Source: AmericasBarometer by LAPOP
Counter-cyclical and pro-poor policies may have prevented not only a more serious economic crisis but also a region-wide decline in support for democracy and political legitimacy and perhaps even threats to the consolidation of the democratic regime.
Changes in perceptions of performance predict changes in system support (2008/2010, country-level)

Source: AmericasBarometer 2010 by LAPOP

Note: Includes all 26 countries
Changes in perceptions of performance predict changes in system support (2008/2010, subnational level)

Adj. R-Squared = 0.3821

Source: AmericasBarometer by LAPOP

Note: Includes all 26 countries
The Vulnerabilities of Democracy in the Americas

- Countries at risk: predicting instability?
- Non-economic threats and their impact on democratic support
- The armed forces, hard-line policies: a double-edged sword?
# The Critical Combination of System Support and Political Tolerance

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tolerance</th>
<th>High</th>
<th>Low</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>High</td>
<td>Stability Democracy</td>
<td>Authoritarian Stability</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low</td>
<td>Unstable Democracy</td>
<td>Democracy at Risk</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The above table illustrates the relationship between system support and political tolerance. High system support combined with high tolerance leads to a stable democracy. Low system support combined with high tolerance leads to unstaibleness in democracy. Low system support combined with low tolerance leads to democracy at risk.
Political Tolerance and Stable Democracy in the Americas, 2010
Measuring Political Tolerance

There are people who only say bad things about the (country) form of government, not just the incumbent government but the system of government. How strongly do you approve or disapprove:

D1. Of such people’s right to vote?

D2. That such people be allowed to conduct peaceful demonstrations?

D3. Of such people being permitted to run for public office?

D4. Of such people appearing on television to make speeches?
Political Tolerance in the Americas, 2010
(8 countries below 50)

Source: AmericasBarometer by LAPOP
Empirical findings, Costa Rica

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>System support</th>
<th>Tolerance</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>High</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High</td>
<td>High</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Low</td>
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<tr>
<td>Low</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- **Stable Democracy**: 46%
- **Unstable Democracy**: 6%
- **Authoritarian Stability**: 40%
- **Democracy at Risk**: 8%

- High System Support and High Tolerance:
  - Stable Democracy (46%)
- High System Support and Low Tolerance:
  - Authoritarian Stability (40%)
- Low System Support and High Tolerance:
  - Unstable Democracy (6%)
- Low System Support and Low Tolerance:
  - Democracy at Risk (8%)
Democracy at Risk

System support

High | Low
---|---
High | Stable Democracy | Authoritarian Stability
Low | Unstable Democracy | Democracy at Risk

Tolerance

Source: AmericasBarometer by LAPOP

Note: Includes all 26 countries
Triple Dissatisfaction Index: “Predicting” coups”: adding the economic dimension

- Regime Principles
- Rights to participation
- System support
- Trust in institutions

... and now adding

- Evaluations of Regime Economic Performance

Respondents’ satisfaction with their personal and national economies
Estimating Triple Dissatisfaction (2010)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Triply Dissatisfied</th>
<th>Mixed</th>
<th>Triply Satisfied</th>
<th>Dissatisfied minus Satisfied</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Haiti</td>
<td>43.3%</td>
<td>55.2%</td>
<td>1.4%</td>
<td>41.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>United States</td>
<td>7.9%</td>
<td>76.6%</td>
<td>15.5%</td>
<td>-7.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jamaica</td>
<td>7.7%</td>
<td>86.4%</td>
<td>5.9%</td>
<td>1.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Costa Rica</td>
<td>2.7%</td>
<td>68.7%</td>
<td>28.6%</td>
<td>-25.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uruguay</td>
<td>1.8%</td>
<td>42.9%</td>
<td>55.3%</td>
<td>-53.5%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Number of dissatisfied exceeds satisfied.

* Number of satisfied exceeds dissatisfied.
Triple Dissatisfaction Index:
Net Dissatisfaction in 2008

More citizens are SATISFIED than dissatisfied.

More citizens are DISsatisfied than satisfied.

Source: AmericasBarometer 2008 by LAPOP
Net Dissatisfaction in 2010

Source: AmericasBarometer 2010 by LAPOP
Public Opinion in the Aftermath of Honduras’ Coup of 2009
Hondurans divided on coup, but opposed to exile of President Zelaya.

¿Did you favor the removal from office of President Zelaya?
Source: AmericasBarometer by LAPOP

¿Did you favor sending President Zelaya into exile in Costa Rica?
Source: AmericasBarometer by LAPOP
Hondurans strongly oppose a Constituent Assembly

Did you favor the survey President Zelaya wanted to carry out on June 28, 2009 on calling a Constituent Assembly?

Source: AmericasBarometer by LAPOP

Did you favor the formation of a Constituent Assembly?

Source: AmericasBarometer by LAPOP
Hondurans strongly oppose a reform allowing presidential re-election

¿Do you support reforming the Constitution to permit presidential re-elections?

Yes 25.1%
No 74.9%

Source: AmericasBarometer by LAPOP
Support for coups (2010 AmericasBarometer Honduras survey): The toxic combination of wealth and low education

Based on JC1. Frente al desempleo muy alto; JC10. Frente a mucha delincuencia; JC13. Frente a mucha corrupción:

Source: AmericasBarometer by LAPOP
Corruption, Crime, Terrorism, the Military and Natural Disasters: Threats to Democracy?
Percent who reported having been asked to pay a bribe in the past year

- To a police officer
- To a public official
- To expedite a transaction with the municipal government
- At work
- For public health/medical service
- In the school system

Source: AmericasBarometer by LAPOP

Note: Includes all 26 countries
Relationship of corruption victimization to system support

Source: AmericasBarometer by LAPOP Corruption Victimization

Note: Includes all 26 countries
Crime victimization has increased.
Crime victimization is higher in metropolitan areas (Central America)

Crime victimization in Metropolitan Guatemala City is higher than in any country in our study, and rising.

Source: AmericasBarometer by LAPOP
The fear of crime is also concentrated in major cities.

Source: AmericasBarometer by LAPOP
Fear of crime increases approval of the police “crossing the line”

In Honduras, for example, those who feel “very insecure” have over a 65% probability of approving crossing the line, compared with 37% probability among those who feel “very secure.”

AOJ8. In order to catch criminals, do you believe that the authorities should always abide by the law or that occasionally they can cross the line?
(1) Should always abide by the law
(2) Occasionally can cross the line
(88 )DK

In Honduras, for example, those who feel “very insecure” have over a 65% probability of approving crossing the line, compared with 37% probability among those who feel “very secure.”
Perception of insecurity undermines system support

Fuente: Barómetro de las Américas por LAPOP

Note: Includes all 26 countries
San Miguelito District, Panama
Concentration of Homicides and Gang Activities

Red dots= homicides
Green dots= gangs

Source: Sistema Nacional de Estadísticas Criminales Integrado, Panama (Jan-Jun 2009)
CARSI (Central America Regional Security Initiative)
Impact Evaluation in Central America

- Central America: the “most violent region in the world” (UNDP, 10/2009)

- USAID: $56.5M for Central America (2008-2010) for community-based violence prevention programs
Three-year “clustered randomized experiment”
At-risk neighborhoods in El Salvador, Guatemala, and Panama
Data collected before, during, & after in treatment and control groups
Quantitative & qualitative data collection methods
WT1. How worried are you that there will be a violent attack by terrorists in [country] in the next 12 months?

Source: AmericasBarometer by LAPOP
Fear of terrorism is negatively related to support for democracy.

Relationship holds when controlling for insecurity, crime victimization, ideology, and other factors.
2010 Earthquake Studies
Research Question: Can Natural Disasters Affect Support for Democracy?

February 27, 2010:

Magnitude 8.8 Earthquake and Tsunami
CHILE: Disaster damage weakens democratic attitudes, increases participation

Note: Analysis on matched dataset; Predicted Effects computed based on OLS regression results controlling for Education, Gender, Age, Vote, Region, Wealth, Marital Status, Children, Race, Rural vs. Urban, City Size; rescaled 0-100.
Attitudes toward the Armed Forces in the Americas
Trust in the Armed Forces

Source: AmericasBarometer by LAPOP
Trust in Armed Forces is greater than trust in Police

Chart shows mean trust in Police subtracted from mean trust in Armed Forces
Corruption by Police decreases trust in people in uniform

14.6 unit difference b/t non-victims and victims

5.6 unit “spill-over effect” of police corruption on trust in Armed Forces

Source: AmericasBarometer by LAPOP
Believing Government protects human rights increases trust in Armed Forces

AmericasBarometer 2006 (15 countries included in analysis)

Source: AmericasBarometer by LAPOP
Trust in Armed Forces is positively related to support for democracy.

Source: AmericasBarometer by LAPOP

Country Fixed Effects and Intercept Included but not Shown Here
Trust in Armed Forces is positively related to support for political system.
Trust in Armed Forces is positively related to support for military coups.
Now, changing the subject. Some people say that under some circumstances it would be justified for the military of this country to take power by a coup d’état (military coup). In your opinion would a military coup be justified under the following circumstances?

1. High unemployment?
2. High crime levels
3. Lots of corruption
Work in Mozambique
Information about subscribing to the data, or becoming a repository, is found on our website:

www.LapopSurveys.org

Free subscriptions to the “Insights Series” of bi-weekly studies at:

insight@mail.americasbarometer.org