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Latin American Public Opinion Project

LAPOP

Proyecto de Opinión Pública de América Latina

www.lapopsurveys.org



VANDERBILT UNIVERSITY

Democratic Political Culture in Hard Times: Results from the 2010 AmericasBarometer



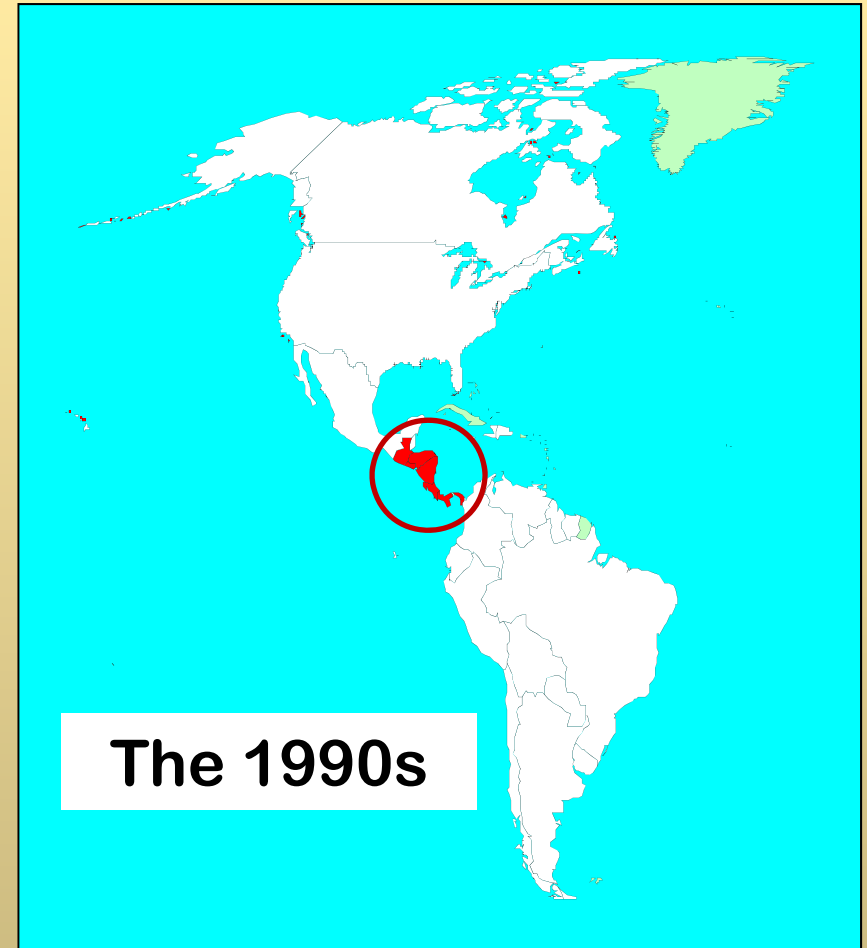
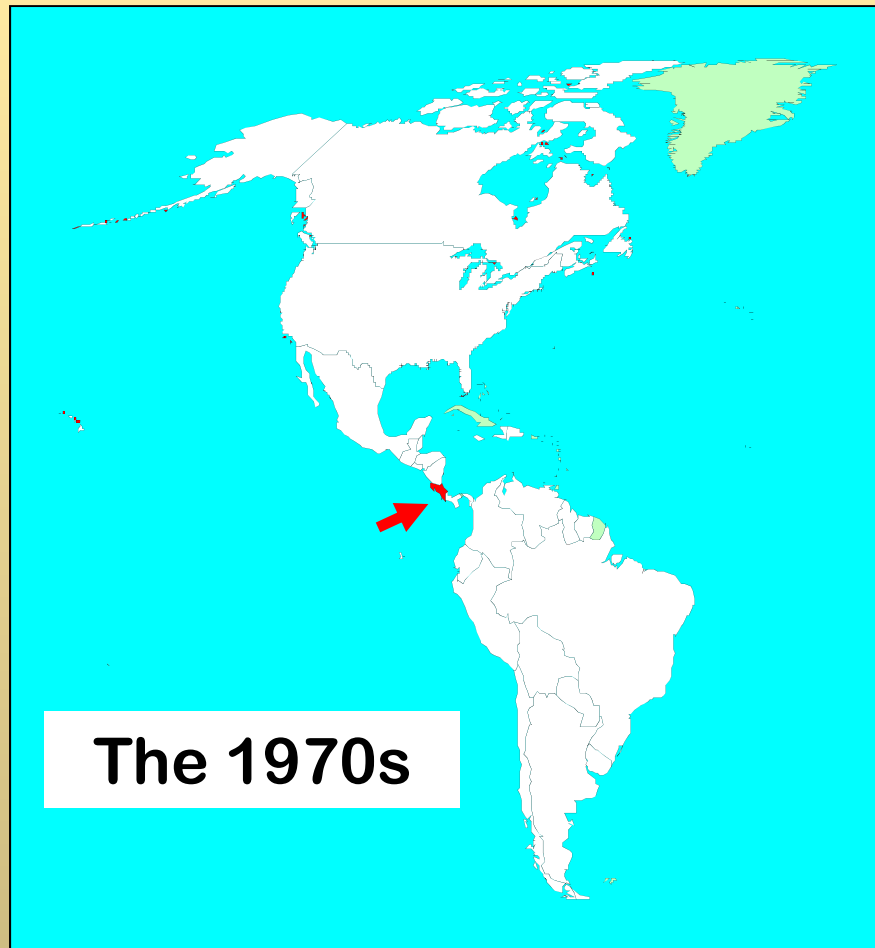
AmericasBarometer
by LAPOP
Barómetro de las Américas

www.AmericasBarometer.org

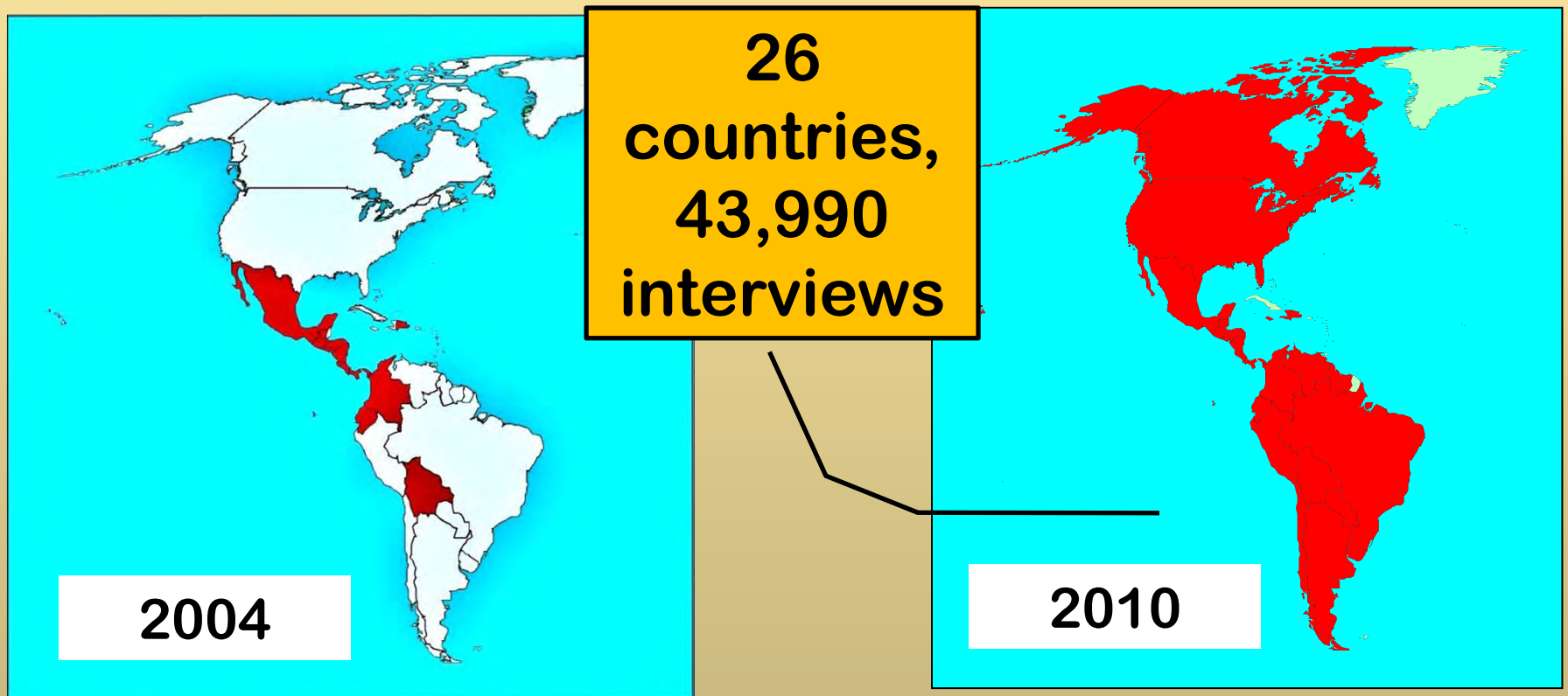
Presentation Order

1. About the surveys: when, where how
2. Economic crisis and democracy
3. The vulnerabilities of democracy in the Americas

LAPOP's Beginnings



The AmericasBarometer



What is unique about the AmericasBarometer?

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

What is unique about the AmericasBarometer?

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

Donors 2010

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11



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: $< \pm 3\%$ with 95% confidence interval
- Use of PDAs (handheld computers) in most countries

Sample Size and Confidence Intervals (National Level)



AmericasBarometer
Barómetro de las Américas by LAPOP

www.AmericasBarometer.org

Country	Sample Size	Sampling Error
Mexico/ Central America		
Mexico	1,562	±2.5%
Guatemala	1,504	±2.5%
El Salvador	1,550	±2.5%
Honduras	1,596	±2.5%
Nicaragua	1,540	±2.5%
Costa Rica	1,500	±2.5%
Panama	1,536	±2.5%
Andean/Southern Cone		
Colombia	1,506	±2.5%
Ecuador	3,000	±1.8%
Peru	1,500	±2.5%
Bolivia	3,018	±1.8%
Paraguay	1,166	±2.9%
Chile	1,965	±2.5%
Uruguay	1,500	±2.5%
Brazil	2,882	±1.8%
Venezuela	1,500	±2.5%
Argentina	1,505	±2.5%
Caribbean		
Belize	1,504	±2.5%
Dominican Republic	1,500	±2.5%
Guyana	1,540	±2.5%
Haiti	1,752 (+4,248)	±2.4%
Jamaica	1,499	±2.5%
Suriname	1,500	±2.5%
Trinidad & Tobago	1,503	±2.0%
United States and Canada		
Canada	1,500	±2.2%
United States	1,500	±2.0%

Honduras



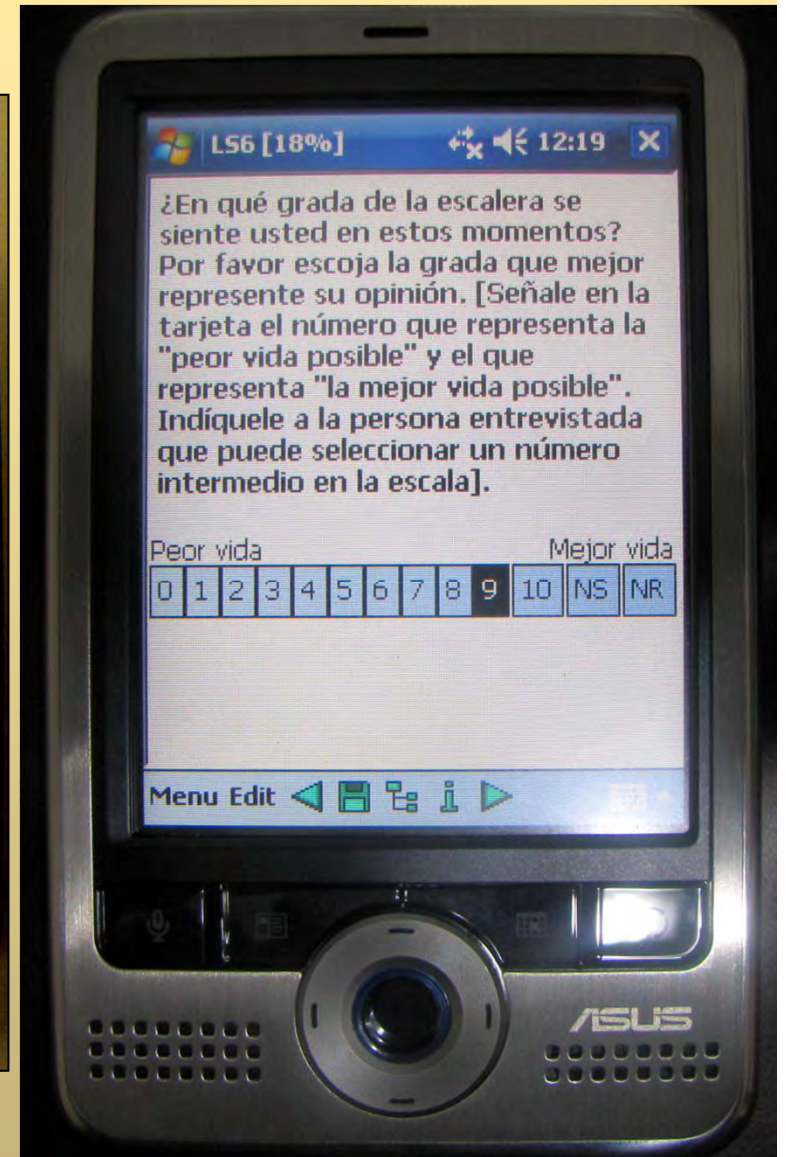
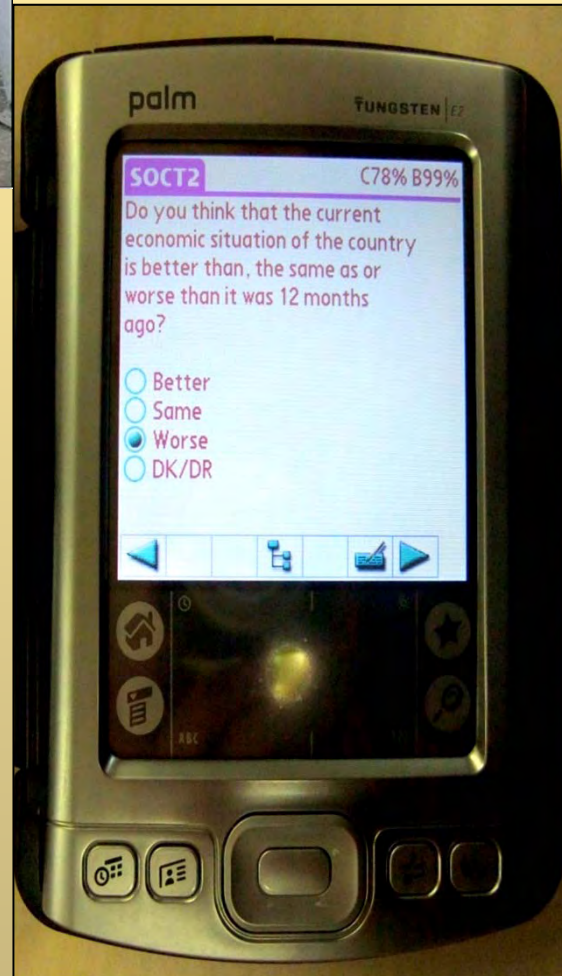
Costa Rica



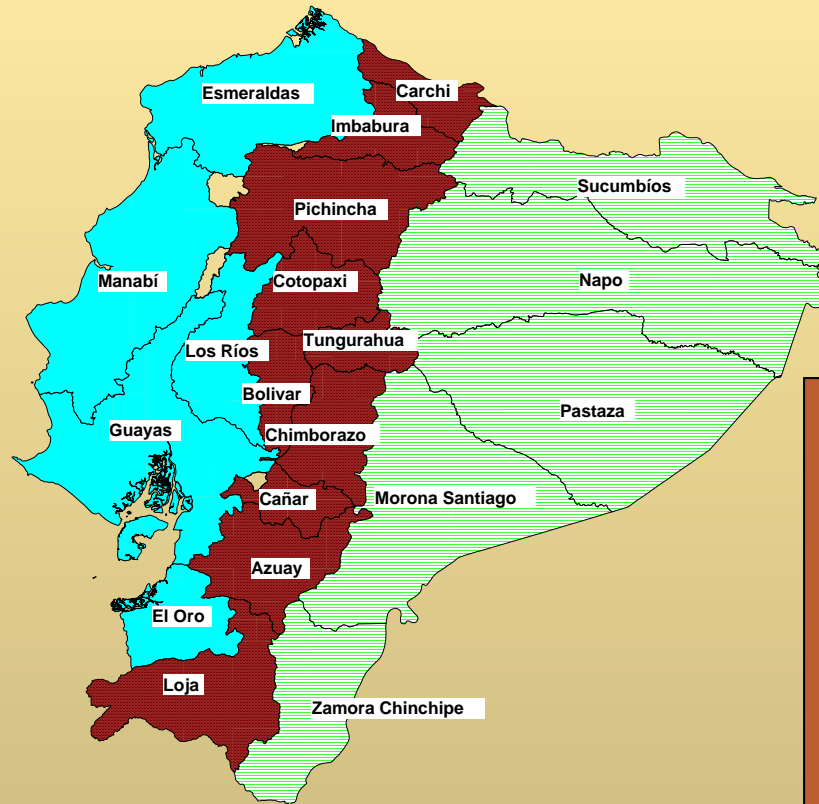
Guyana



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



National Samples Stratified by Key Regions

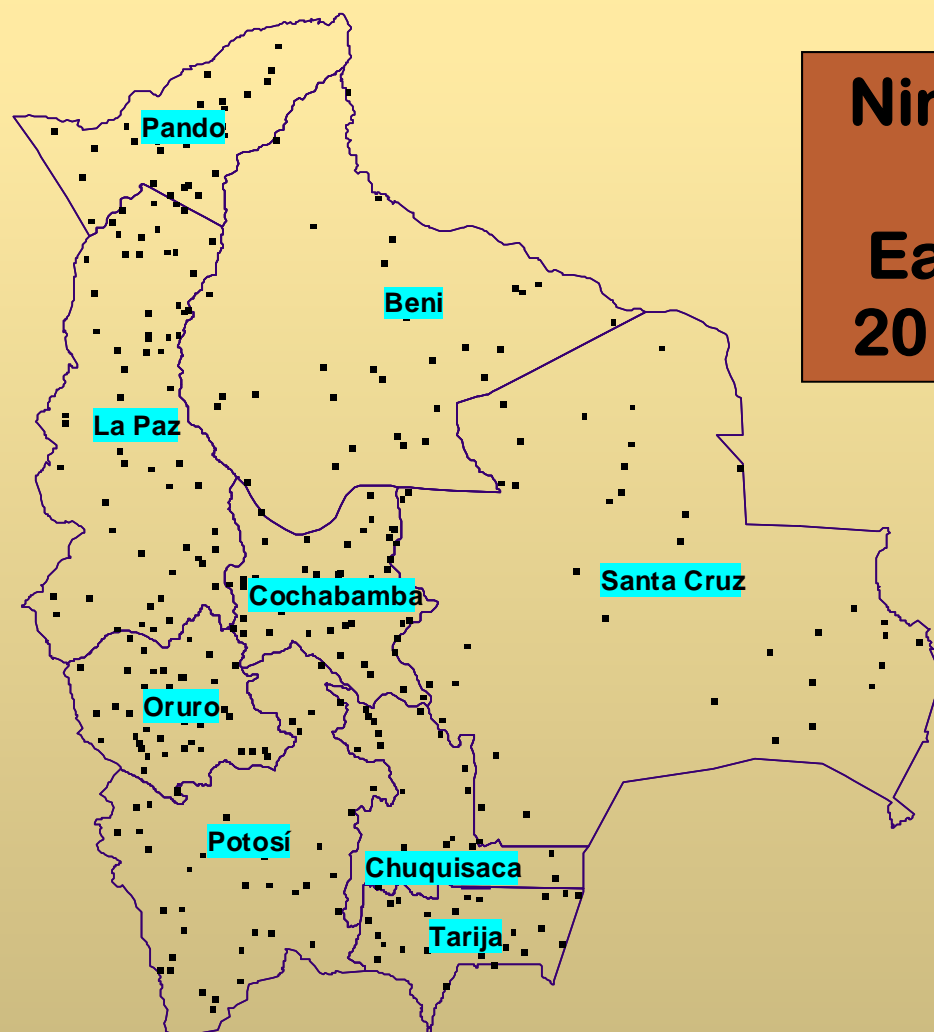


Three Strata in Ecuador:

**Coast,
Mountains,
Amazon**

(N = 3,000)

National Samples Stratified by Key Regions



Partners 2010



Andean / Southern Cone		
Colombia		
Ecuador		
Peru	<i>IEP Instituto de Estudios Peruanos</i>	
Bolivia		
Paraguay		
Chile		
Uruguay		
Brazil		
Venezuela		





Partners 2010



Mexico and Central America		
Mexico		
Guatemala		
El Salvador		
Honduras		
Nicaragua		
Costa Rica		
Panama		

Partners 2010



Caribbean	
Dominican Republic	
Guyana	
Haiti	
Jamaica	 THE UNIVERSITY OF THE WEST INDIES AT MONA, JAMAICA

Canada and United States	
Canada	
U.S.	

Making Results Accessible

Country Reports: all on-line, free

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 viene llevando 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 ronda 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 de 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 Universidad 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.

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www.ciudadaniabolivia.org

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Cultura política de la democracia en Bolivia, 2010

Consolidación democrática en las Américas en tiempos difíciles

- Daniel E. Moreno Morales, Coordinador nacional
- Eduardo Córdova Eguivar
- Vivian Schwarz Blum
- Gonzalo Vargas Villazón
- Miguel Villarreal Nikitenko

- Mitchell A. Seligson
Coordinador científico y editor de la serie
Vanderbilt University

Asdi PNUD VANDERBILT UNIVERSITY

Dissemination in Each Country

Uruguay



ESTADO ASISTE AL 31% DE LA POBLACIÓN

Barómetro. Uruguay es el segundo país de Sudamérica que más subvenciona a los pobres



El Estado asiste al 31% de la población, lo que lo convierte en el segundo país de Sudamérica que más subvenciona a los pobres, según un estudio del Barómetro de las Américas. El estudio revela que Uruguay es el segundo país de Sudamérica que más subvenciona a los pobres, con un 31% de la población asistida. El estudio también revela que Uruguay es el segundo país de Sudamérica que más subvenciona a los pobres, con un 31% de la población asistida.

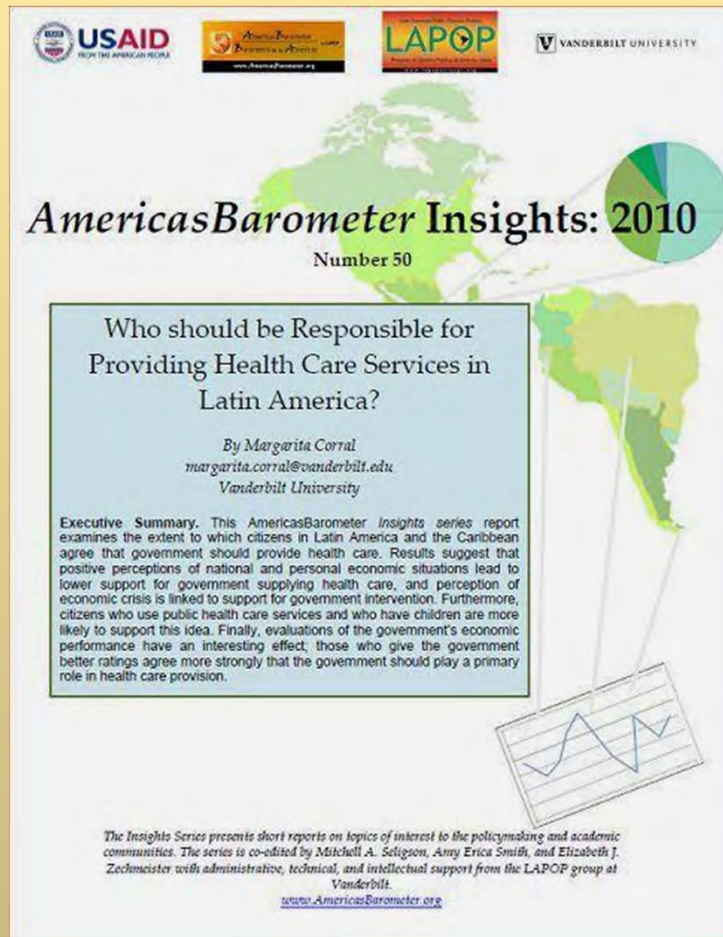
Ecuador



Colombia

Insights Series & Americas Quarterly

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Free on-line data
analysis:
www.LapopSurveys.org

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

http://encuestas.ccp.ucr.ac.cr/Lapop_English.html

File Edit View Favorites Tools Help

The Latin American Public Opinion ...

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

Principal Censos Demografía Encuestas Recursos Capacitación Actividades Investigación


Spanish

New database survey on-line: Latin America 2004. **new**

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del Hemisferio Occidental

 **VANDERBILT UNIVERSITY**

 **LAPOP**
Encuestas de Opinión Pública de América Latina

 **Americas Partnership for Development**

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,



The Latin American Public Opinion Project
of the Vanderbilt University



(LAPOP)

[Español](#)

[Expert mode](#) [Home](#)

Free on-line data analysis

Querying system for the databases

1. Select the database:

Barómetro de las Américas 2008

2. What topic do you want to analyze?

13. Democracy.

3. Select the variable:

(ing4) ¿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

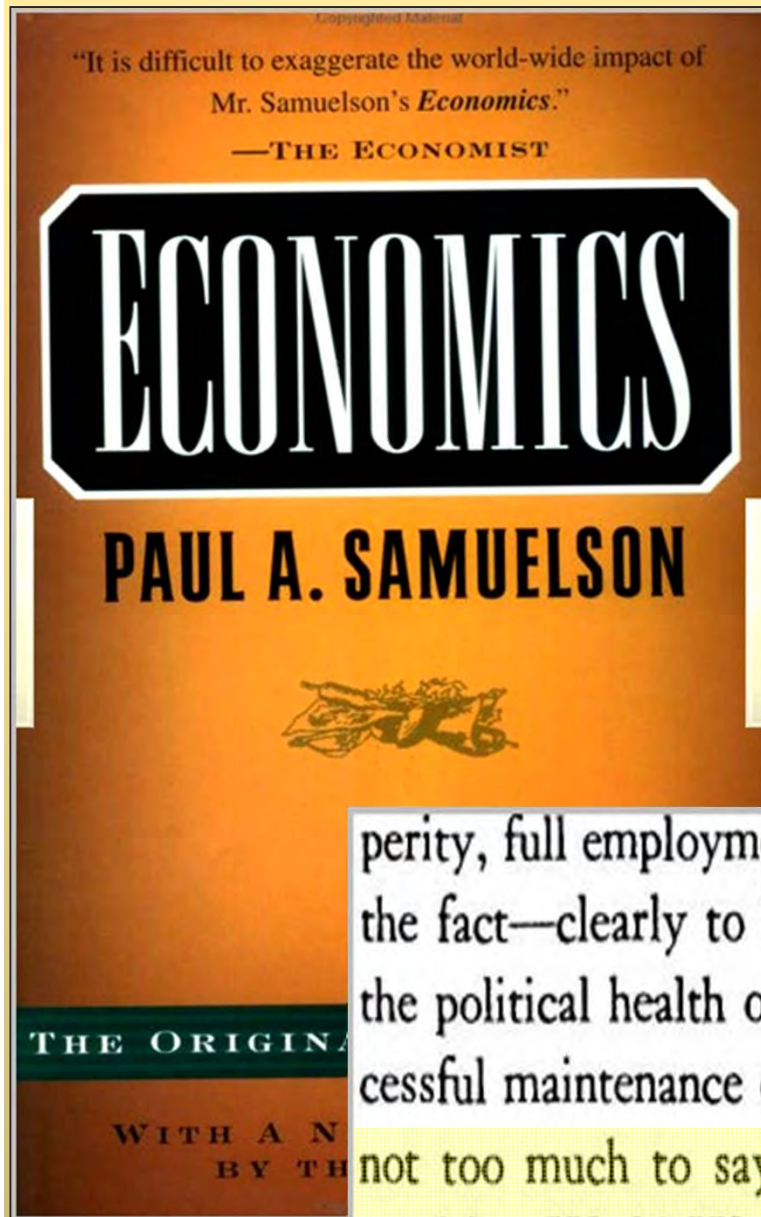
2. Socio-Demographic.

6. Select the variable for cross-tabulation

(q1) Género

column percentage			
+-----+			
¿Hasta qué punto está de acuerdo con que puede que la democracia tenga problemas	Género		
	Hombre	Mujer	Total
+-----+			
Muy en desacuerdo	746	758	1,504
	4.19	4.19	4.19
+-----+			
(2)	638	663	1,301
	3.58	3.66	3.62
+-----+			
(3)	1,337	1,453	2,790
	7.51	8.02	7.77
+-----+			
(4)	2,326	2,553	4,879
	13.07	14.10	13.59
+-----+			
(5)	2,744	3,045	5,789
	15.42	16.82	16.12
+-----+			
(6)	3,418	3,290	6,708
	19.20	18.17	18.68
+-----+			
Muy de acuerdo	6,589	6,346	12,935
	37.02	35.05	36.02
+-----+			

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”

Nancy Bermeo, *Ordinary People in Extraordinary Times: the Citizenry and the Breakdown of Democracy*. Princeton University Press, 2003, p. 21

“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**



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Latvia Is Shaken by Riots Over Its Weak Economy



Ilmars Znotins/Agence France-Presse — Getty Images

Military personnel faced off with protesters in Riga, Latvia, on Tuesday night.

By ELLEN BARRY

- 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

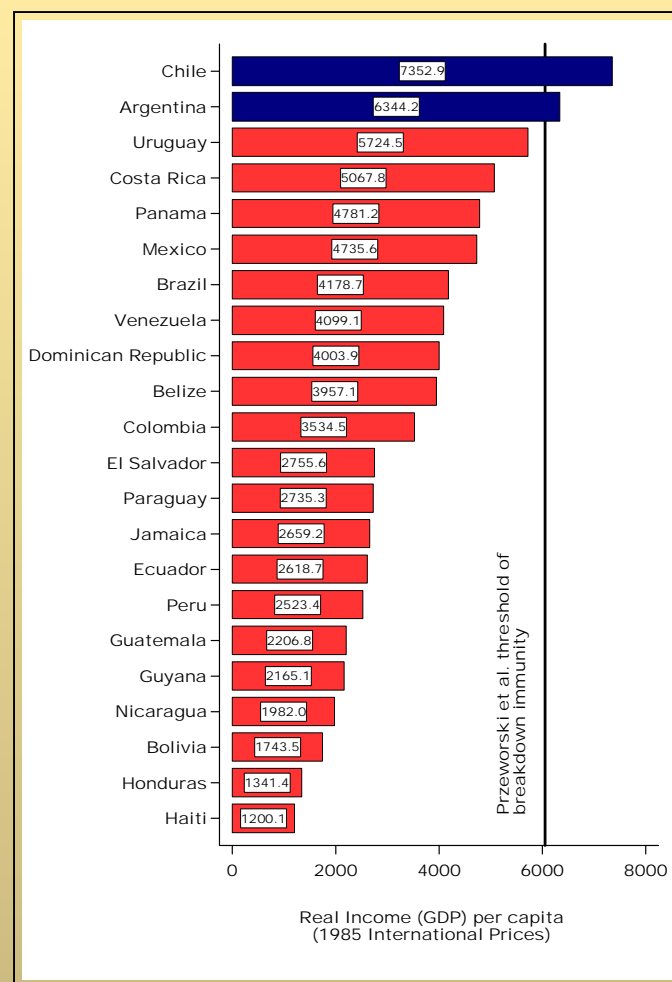
• (Converse and Kapstein, *The Fate of Young Democracies*, Cambridge University Press, 2008).

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).



Two published studies using pre-crisis 2008 AmericasBarometer data:

Economic Shocks and Democratic Vulnerabilities in Latin America and the Caribbean *Latin American Politics and Society*

Abby Córdova
Mitchell A. Seligson

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.

Hard times have often led to sharp political transformations (Gourevitch 1986). Dictatorships have been found to be especially brittle when confronted with severe economic downturns, occasionally opening the door to democracy, but more often than not yielding to yet another authoritarian regime (Przeworski 2009; Przeworski et al. 1996; Weede 1996; Haggard and Kaufman 1995; Mainwaring and Pérez-Liñán 2007). On the other hand, the downfall of many European democracies in the wake of the Great Depression of the 1930s suggests that democracies can be destabilized by severe economic crises (Bermeo 1999, 2003).

This article focuses on the possible impact of economic shocks on democratic consolidation in contemporary Latin America, a region in which nearly all countries have at least nominally democratic regimes but with widely diverse levels of polyarchy (Coppedge et al. 2008). This investigation is prompted by the worldwide financial and economic crisis that exploded in 2008 and that is still reverberating in the Latin American region. From the perspective of this research, the main lesson of the 2008 meltdown is that bubbles and busts remain a permanent feature of the economic landscape. This study therefore looks at and

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FEATURES

PS: Political Science and Politics

Economic Crisis and Democracy in Latin America

Abby Córdova, Vanderbilt University
Mitchell A. Seligson, Vanderbilt University

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 accompanied by almost daily reference to the classics on the Great Depression, such as John Kenneth Galbraith's (1955) study of the stock market crash of 1929, or John Maynard Keynes's (1936) analysis of recessions 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 economic crisis has focused on the advanced industrial democracies where the meltdown began, and therefore we expect no more than conventional actions from citizens; voters will punish incumbents with "new brooms" to sweep away the crisis and in the process will "throw the bums out." The great Republican Party losses in the 2008 U.S. elections are a case in point, as are the recent elections in Iceland.

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 emeritus James Davies (1962, 5): "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." His 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 1962, 6), driving some individuals to participate in violent protests and even revolution. Davies supports his theory with an analysis of several rebellions and revolutions, including the French, Russian, and American Revolutions.

Predicting rebellions and revolutions remains today about as difficult as it was when Davies wrote more than 40 years ago. Davies himself takes note of mitigating factors. For example, the Great Depression in the U.S. did not produce revolution, largely because of, in his view, the strong actions taken during the Roosevelt years to mitigate its impact on people's lives. To make sounder predictions, Davies concludes that one needs to be able to assess the "state of mind" of the population by using data emerging from the (then embryonic) field of survey research. 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

Abby Córdova is a post-doctoral fellow in the department of political science at Vanderbilt University and the Latin American Public Opinion Project (LAPOP). She can be reached at abby.cordova@vanderbilt.edu.

Mitchell A. Seligson is Centennial Professor of Political Science, professor of sociology, and director of the Latin American Public Opinion Project (LAPOP), which coordinates the AmericasBarometer consortium. He can be reached at mitchell.seligson@vanderbilt.edu.



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The Political Culture of Democracy, 2010

Democratic Consolidation in the Americas in Hard Times

Report on the Americas

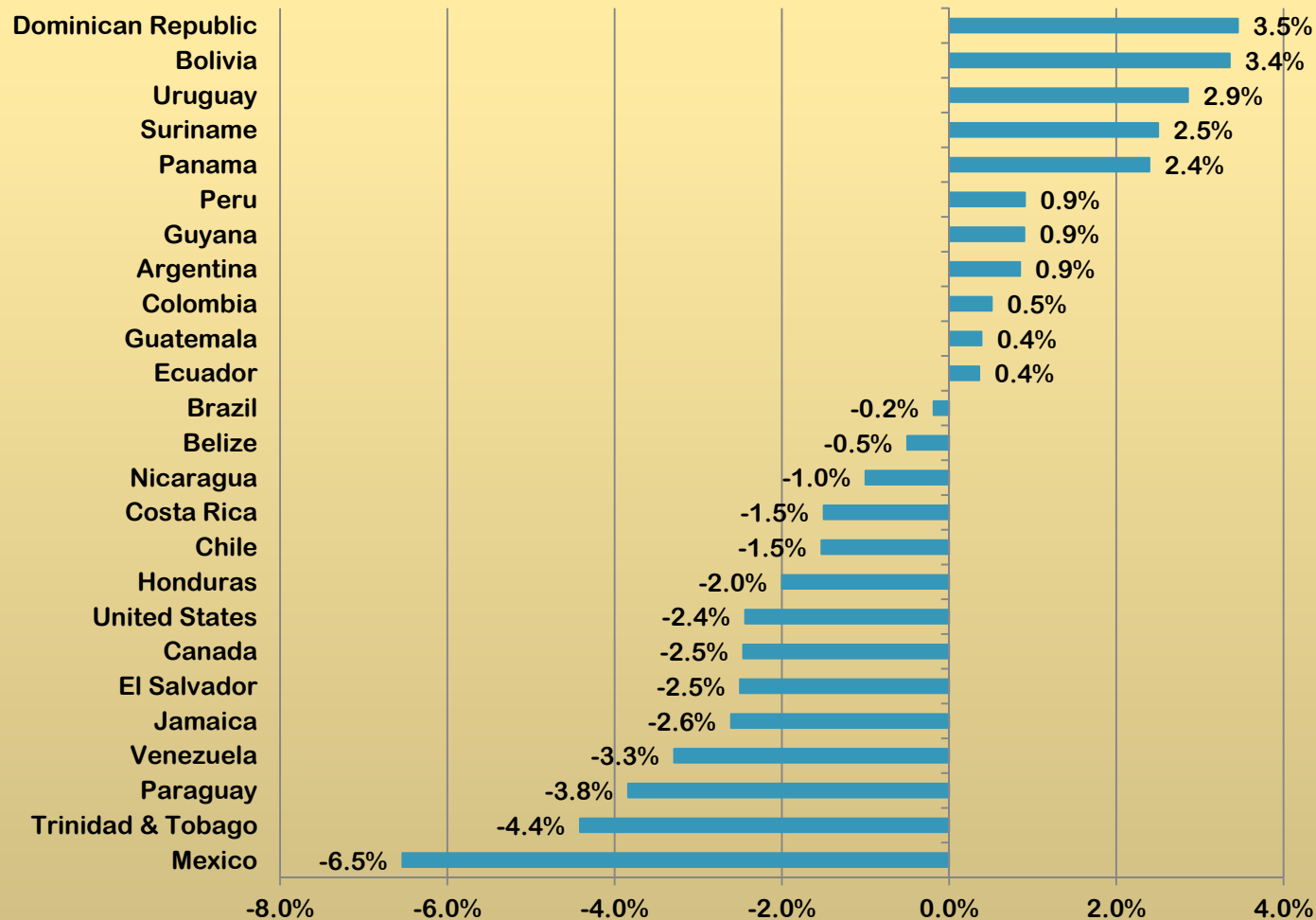
Editors:

- 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



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Changes in Real GDP: 2008-2009



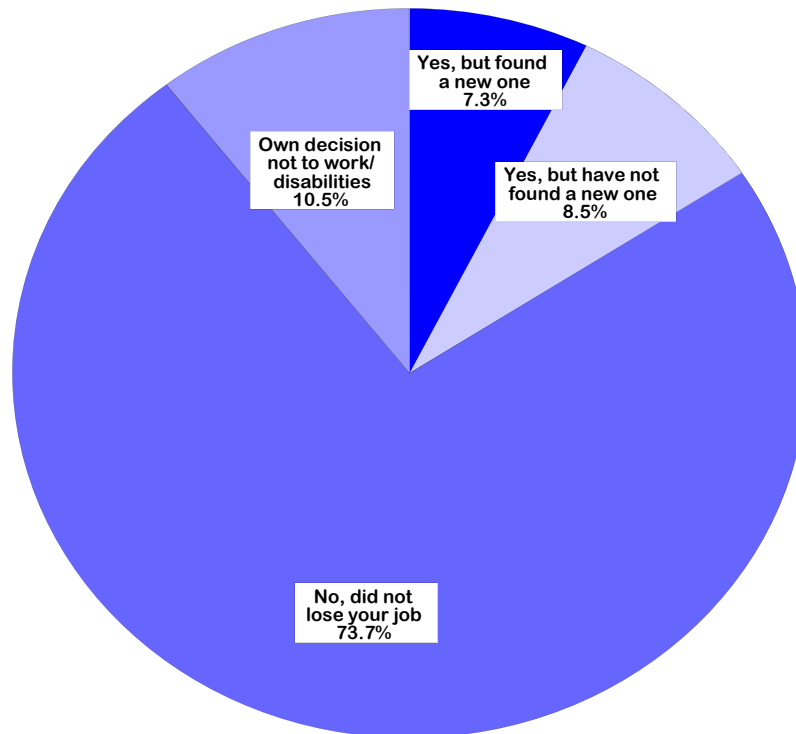
Source: World Bank 2010

Research Question:

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?

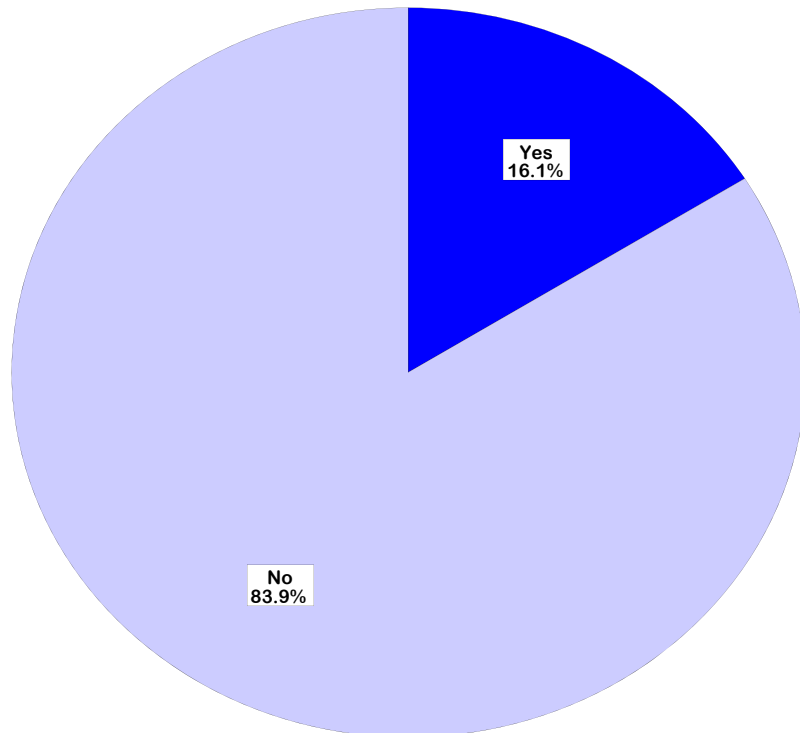
Economic Experiences and Perceptions in the Americas, 2010

Job Losses in the Americas, 2008-2010



Have you lost your job in the past two years?

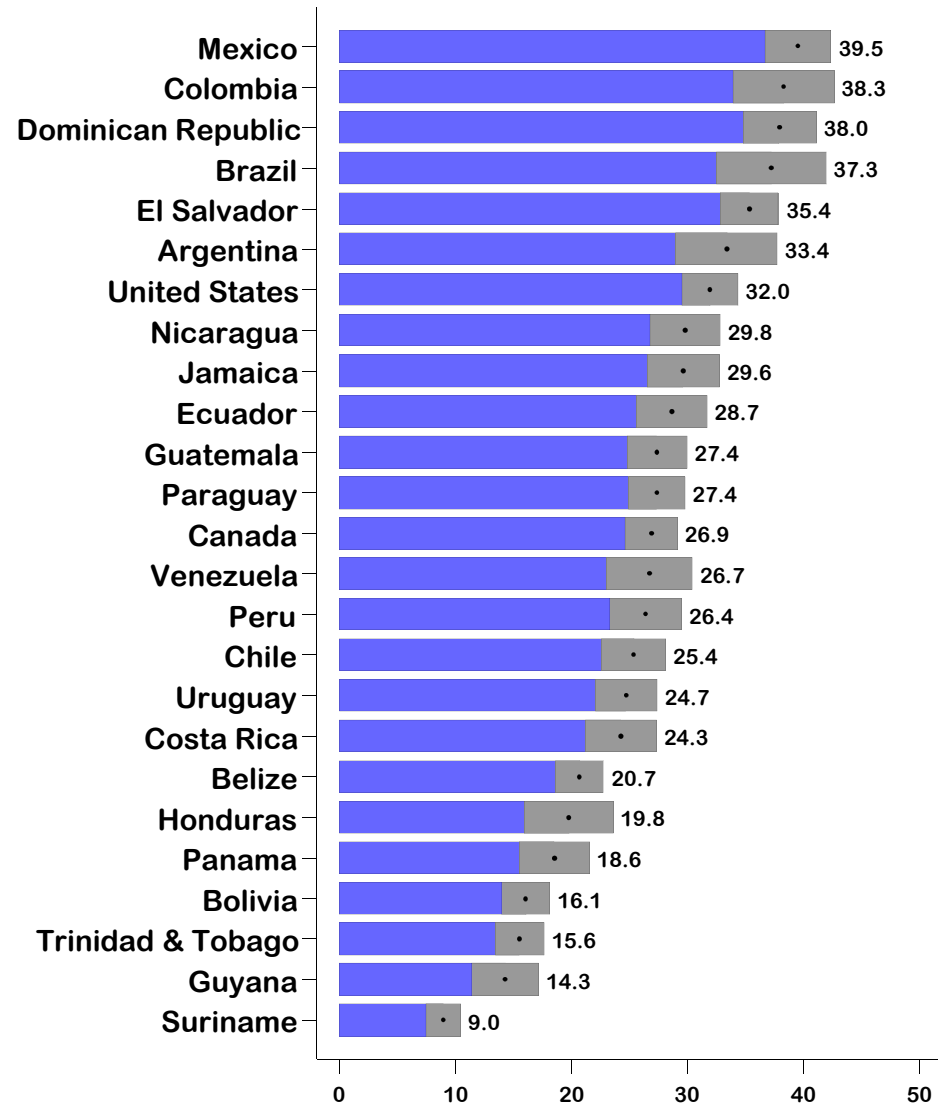
Source: AmericasBarometer by LAPOP



Has anyone in your household lost his or her job in the past two years?

Note: Based on 25 countries (excludes Haiti).

Percentage of households with job loss (past two years)



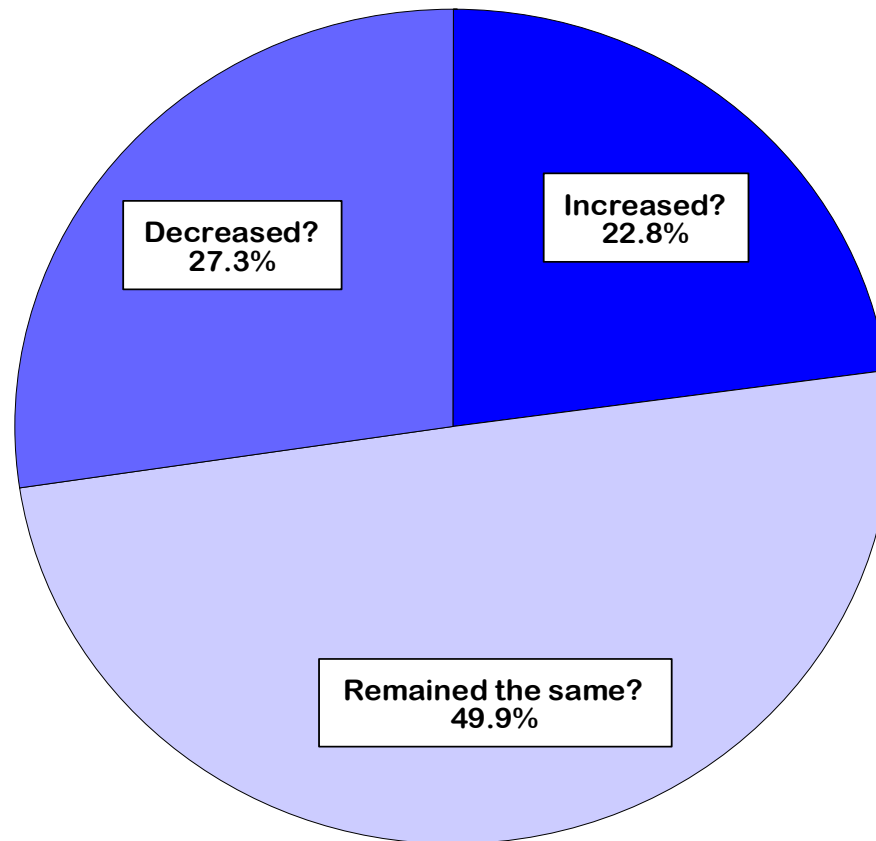
Percent of households with at least one member
who lost a job in the past two years

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

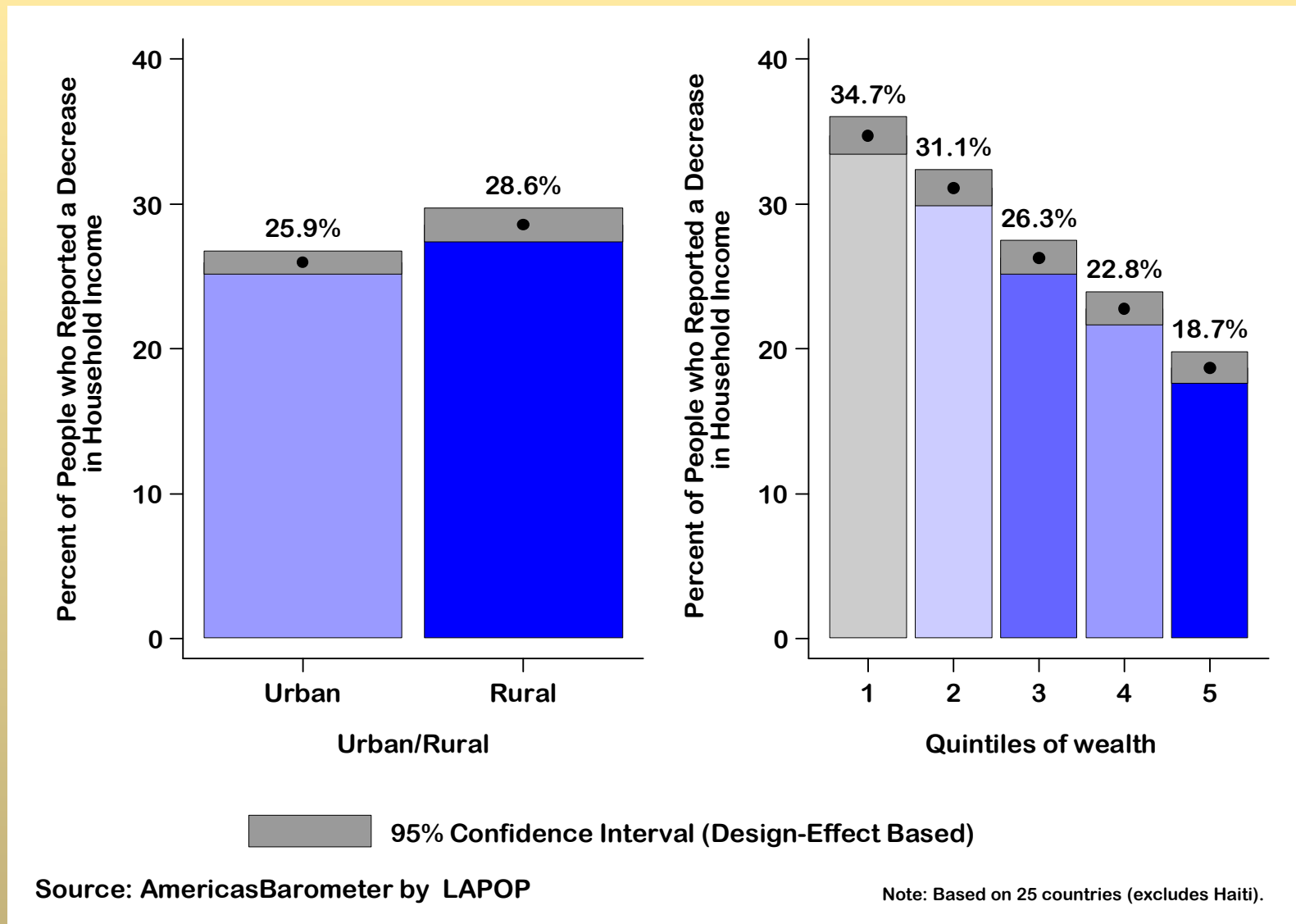


Over the past two years, has the income of your household:

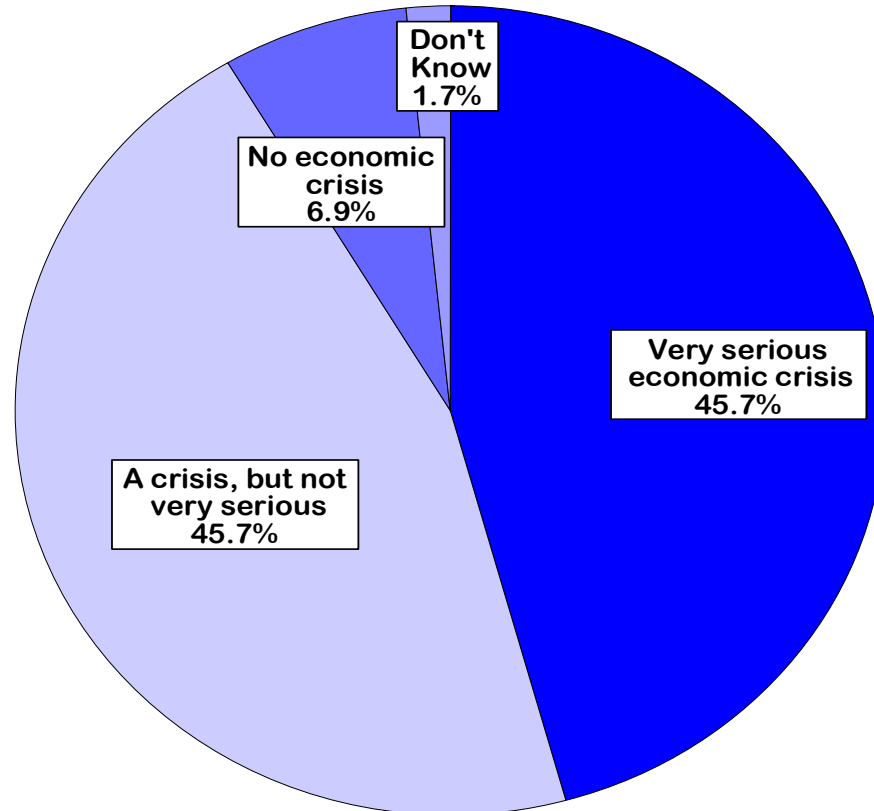
Source: AmericasBarometer by LAPOP

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



Is your country experiencing an economic crisis?

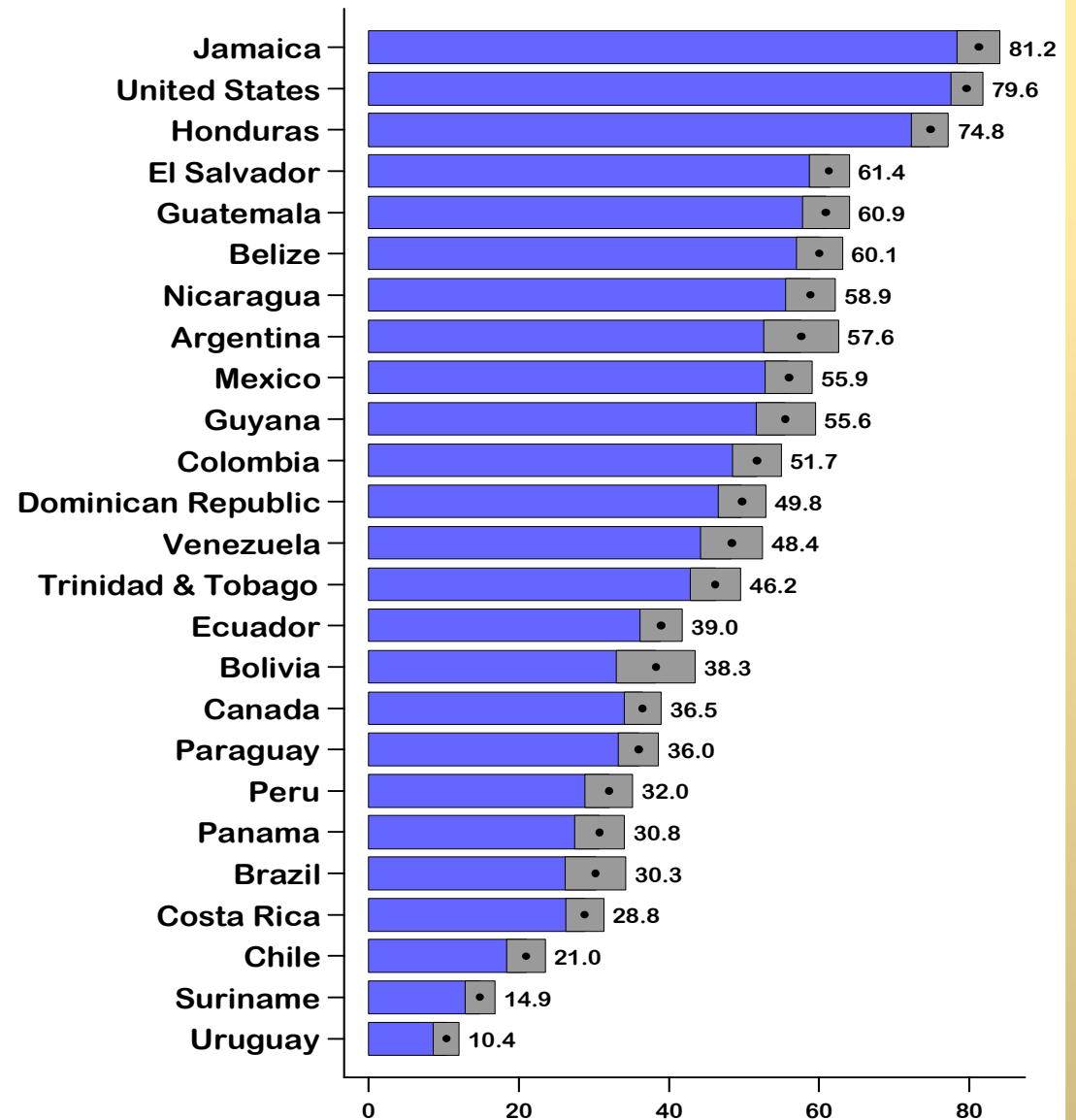


Perception of Magnitude of Economic Crisis

Source: AmericasBarometer by LAPOP

Note: Based on 25 countries (excludes Haiti).

Perception that the economic crisis is “very serious”



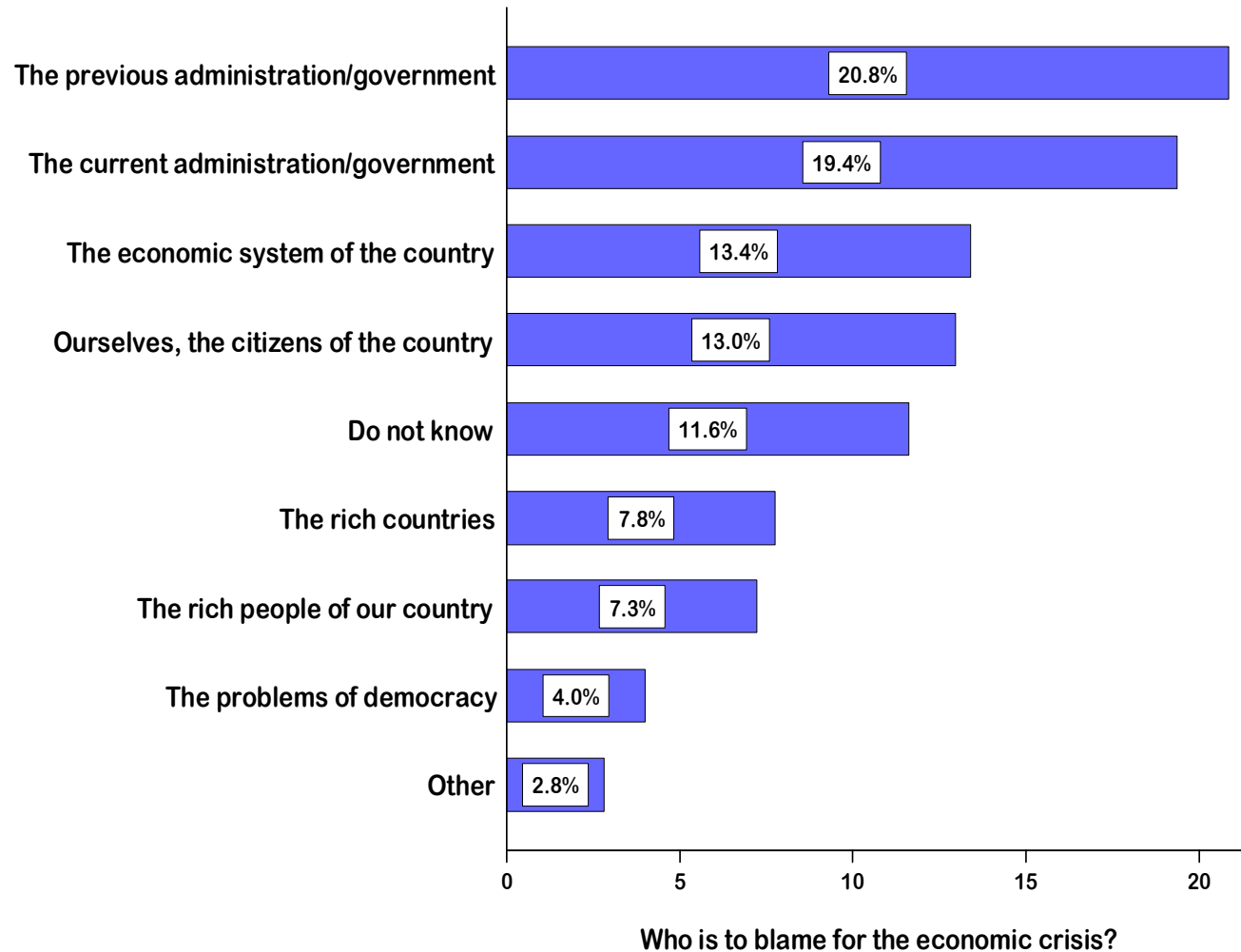
Percentage or population who say economic crisis is very serious

95% Confidence Interval (Design-Effects Based)

Source: AmericasBarometer by LAPOP

Note: Based on 25 countries (excludes Haiti).

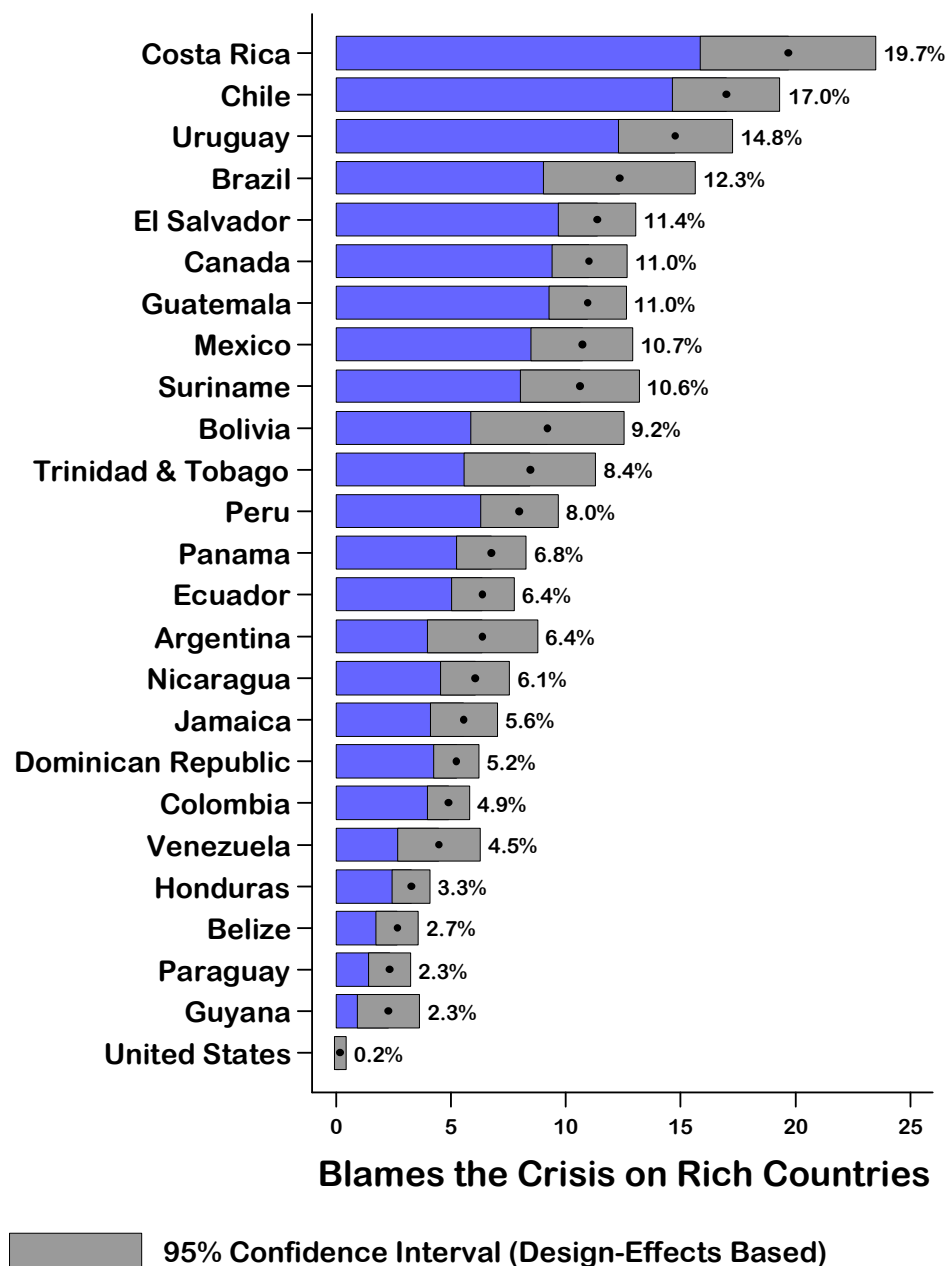
Who is to blame for the crisis? (among those who perceive a crisis)



Source: AmericasBarometer by LAPOP

Note: Based on 25 countries (excludes Haiti).

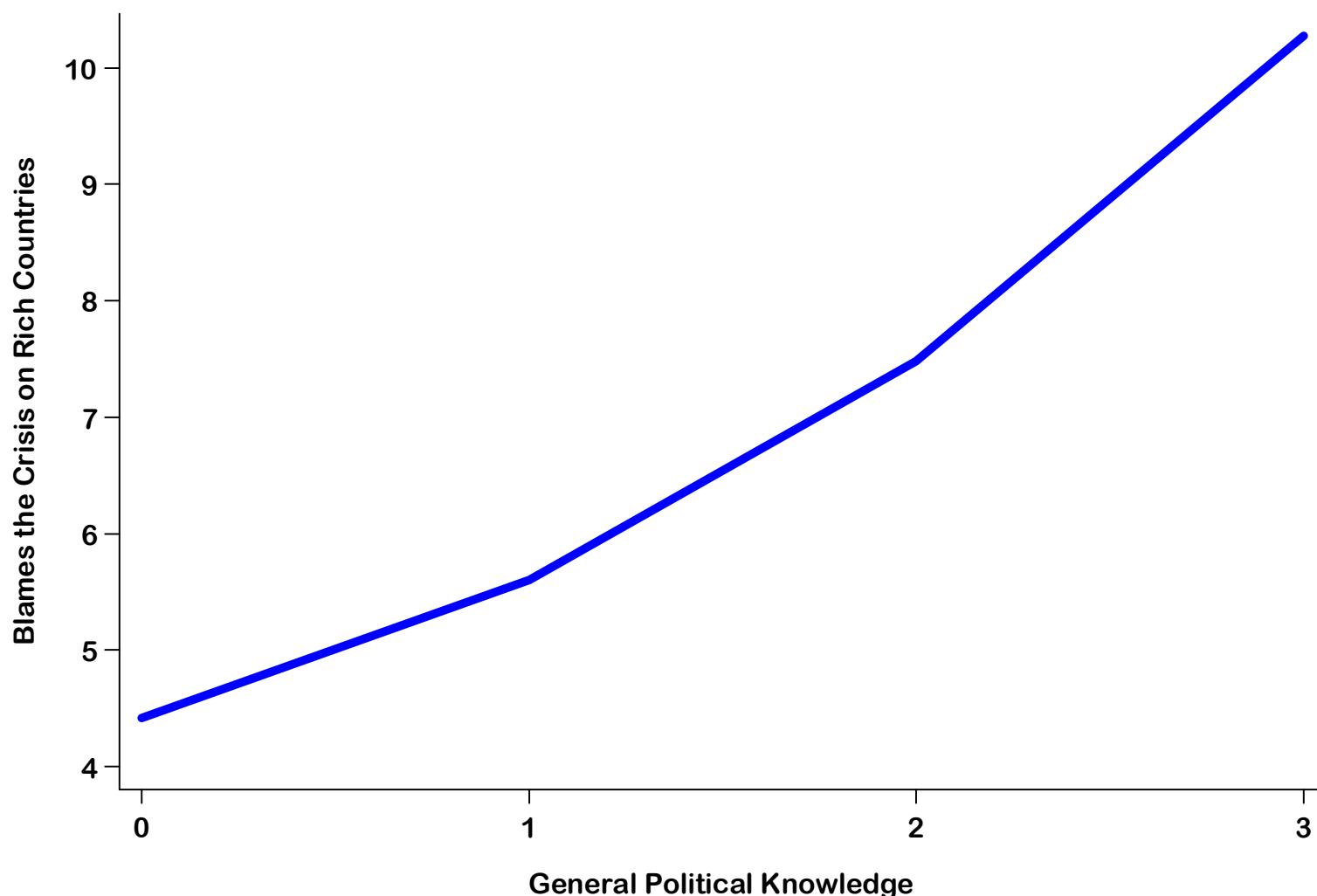
Percentage blaming “rich countries” (among those who perceive a crisis)



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

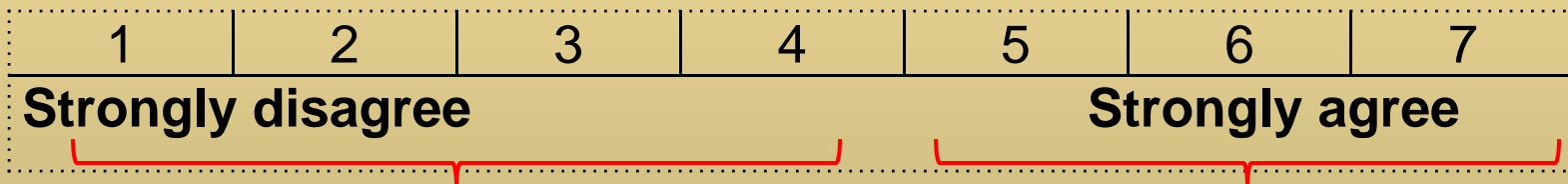
Note: Based on 23 countries (excludes Haiti, the US, and Canada).

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?”

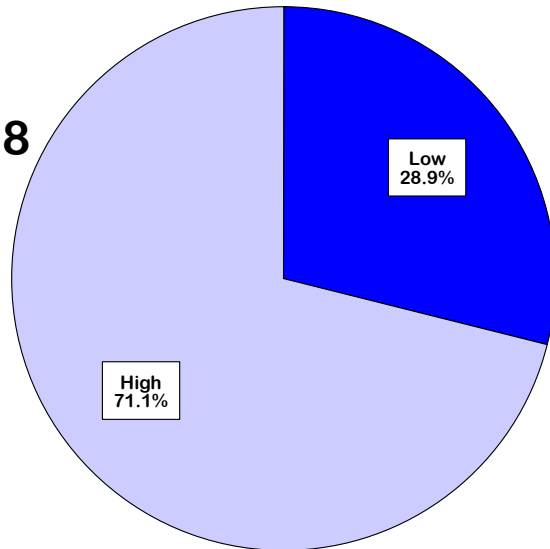


Low Support

High Support

Support for democracy showed no significant decline from the 2008 survey

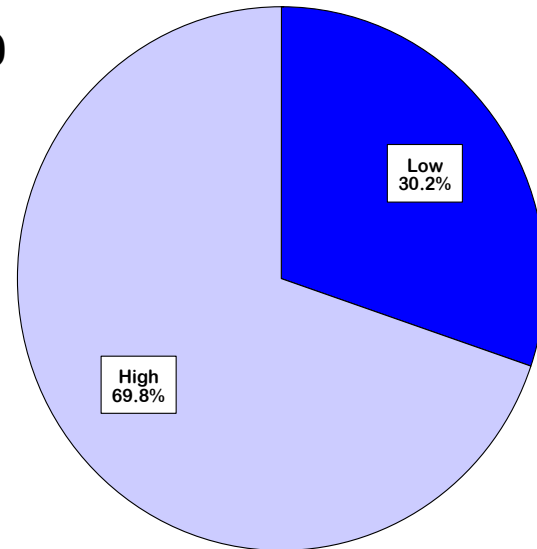
2008



Support for Democracy

Source: AmericasBarometer by LAPOP

2010



Support for Democracy

Source: AmericasBarometer by LAPOP

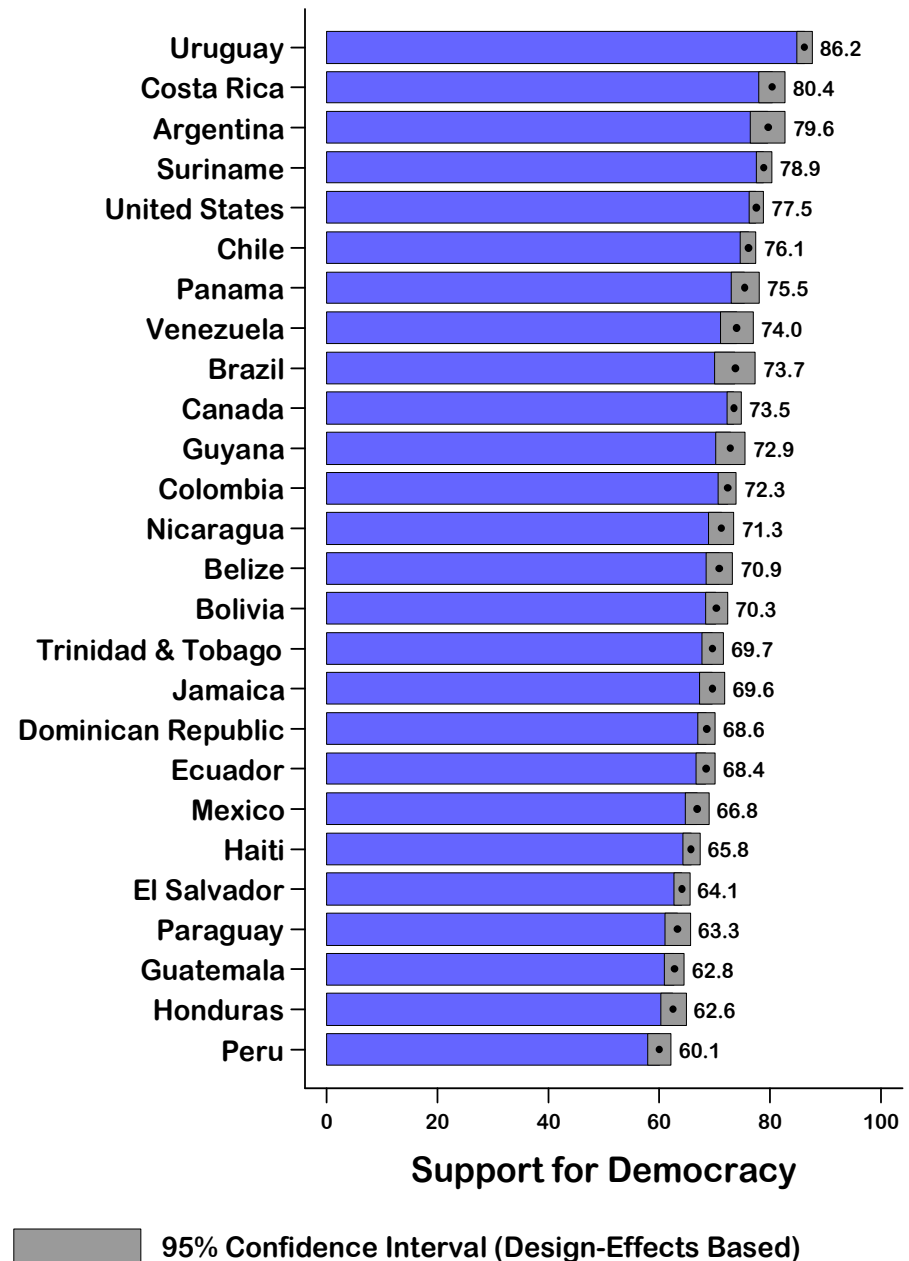
Note: Includes all 26 countries

“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?”



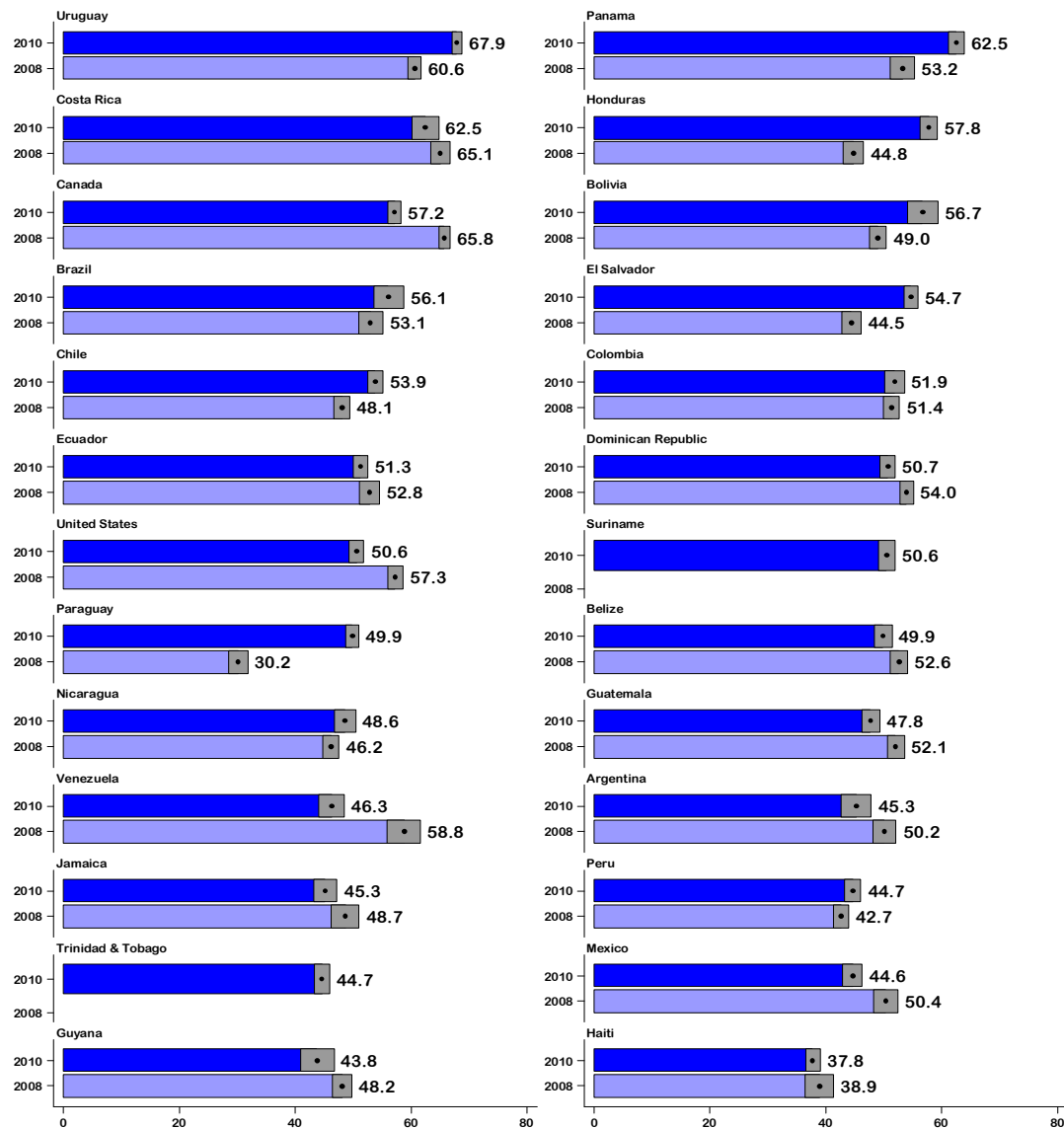
Source: AmericasBarometer by LAPOP

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



Satisfaction with Democracy Note: Includes all 26 countries

95% Confidence Interval (Design-Effect Based)

Source: AmericasBarometer by LAPOP

How Economic Experiences Affect Support for Democracy and System Support



VANDERBILT UNIVERSITY

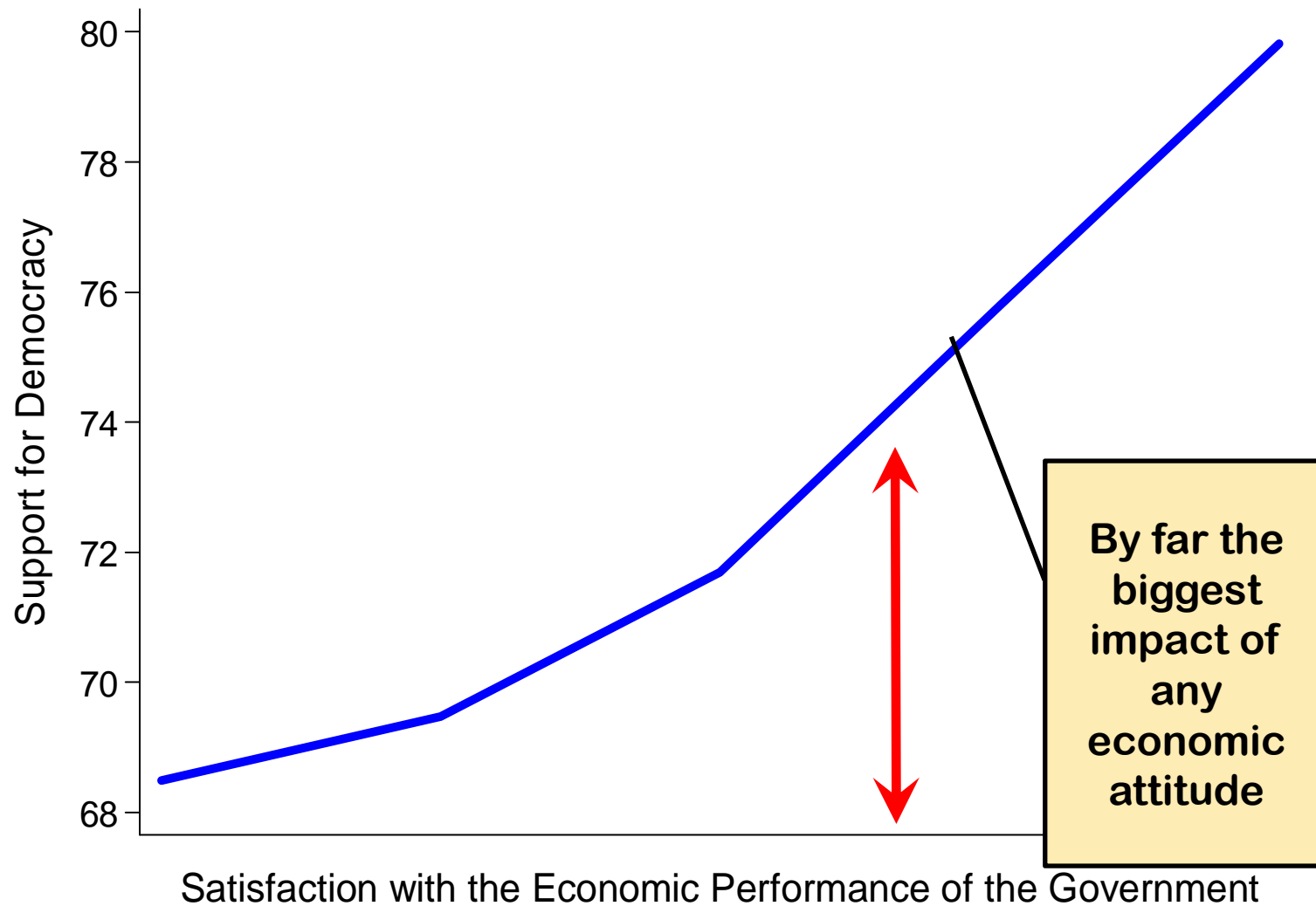


AmericasBarometer
Barómetro de las Américas

www.AmericasBarometer.org



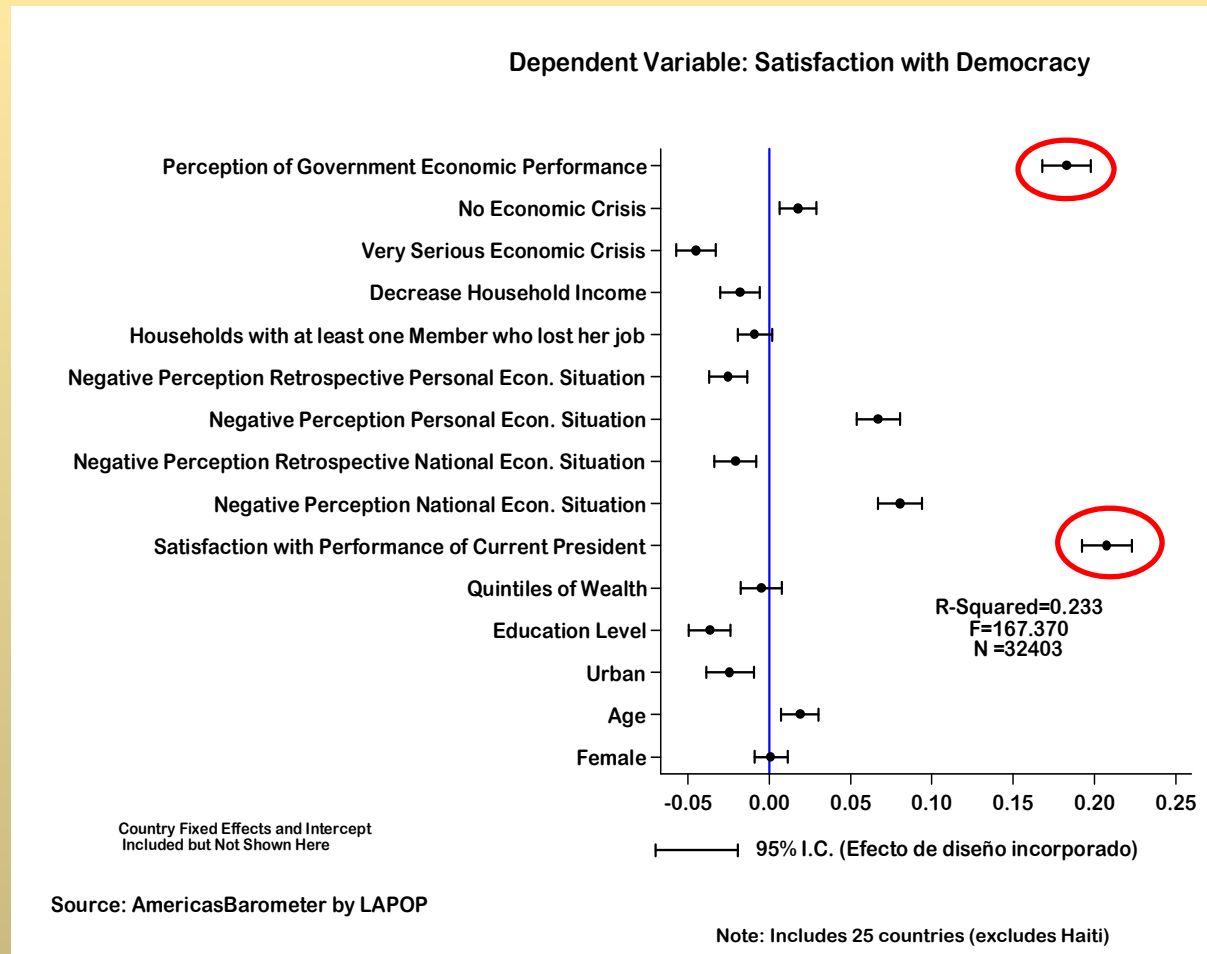
Support for democracy heavily impacted by satisfaction with government economic performance



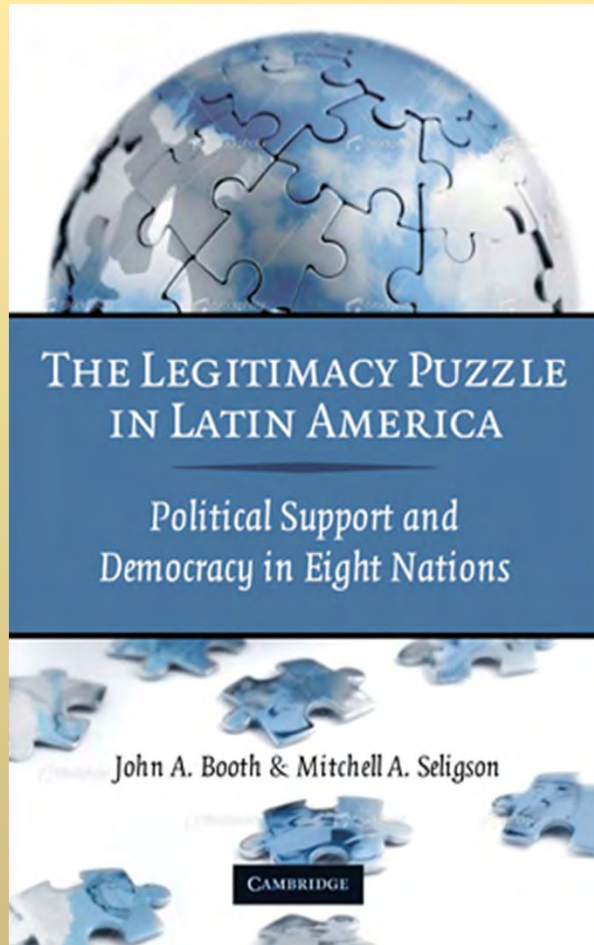
Source: AmericasBarometer by LAPOP

Note: Includes all 26 countries

Who is **satisfied** with democracy?

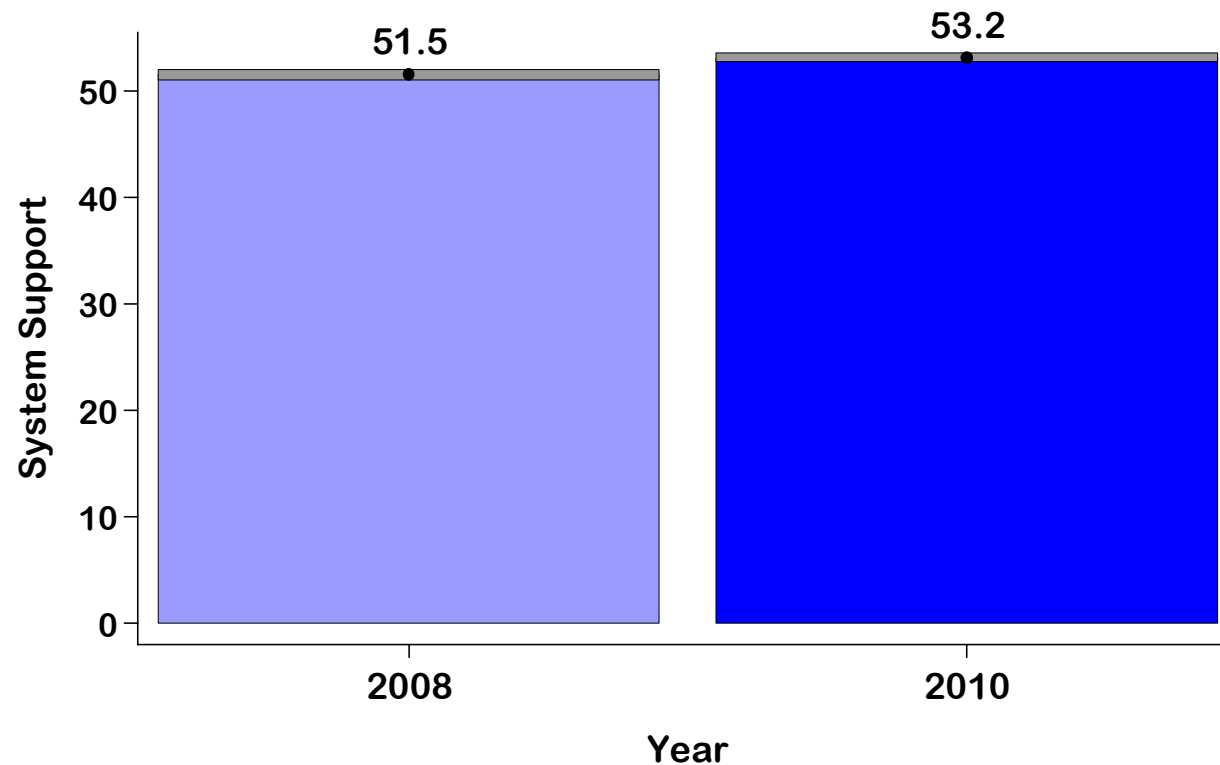


System Support Index



- **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

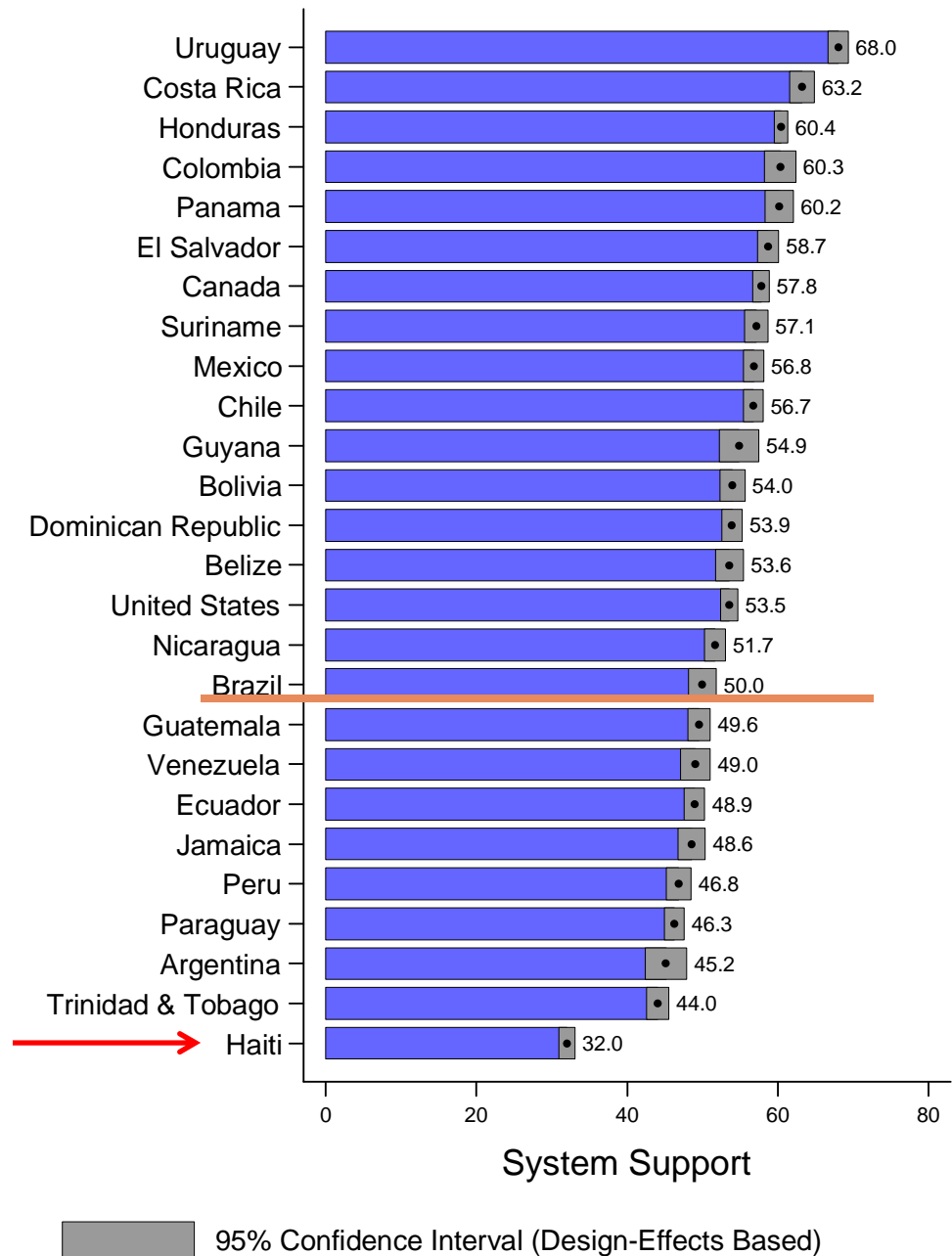


95% Confidence Interval (Design-Effect Based)

Source: AmericasBarometer by LAPOP

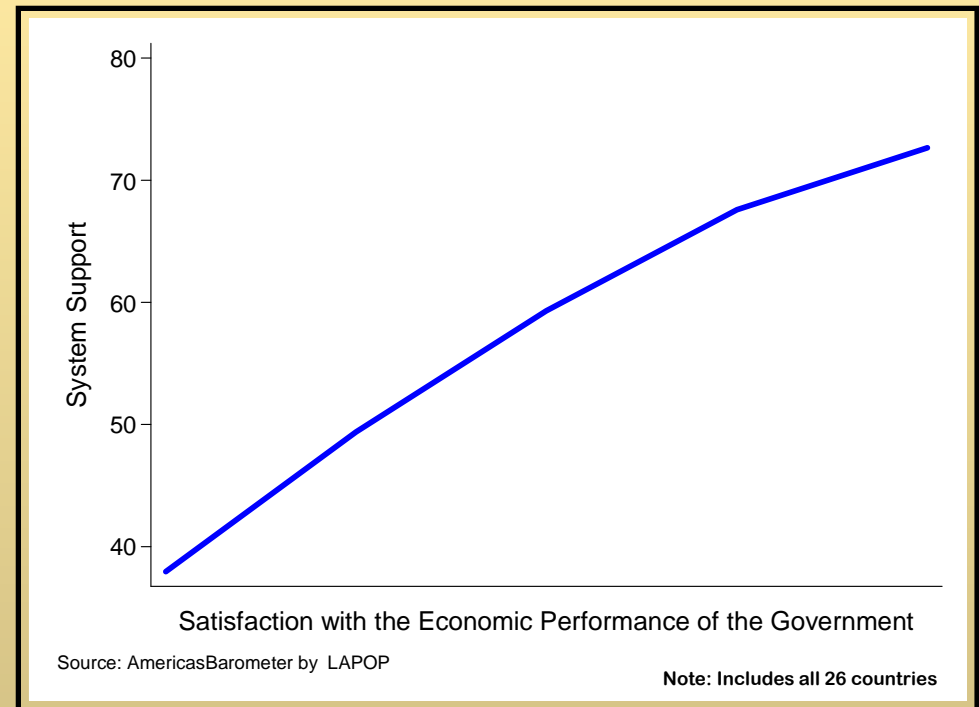
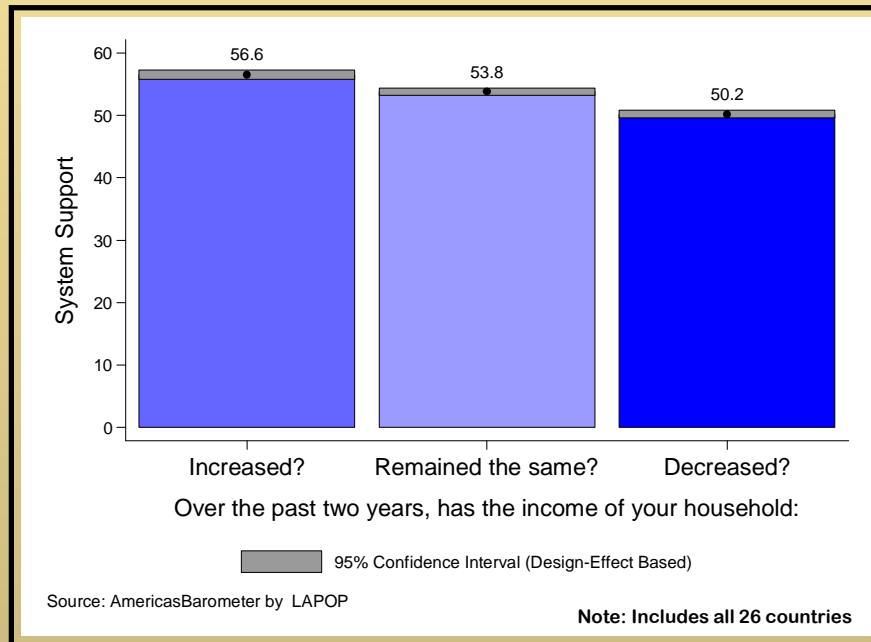
Note: Includes all countries surveyed in each year.

System Support in the Americas 2010 (9 countries below 50)



Source: AmericasBarometer by LAPOP

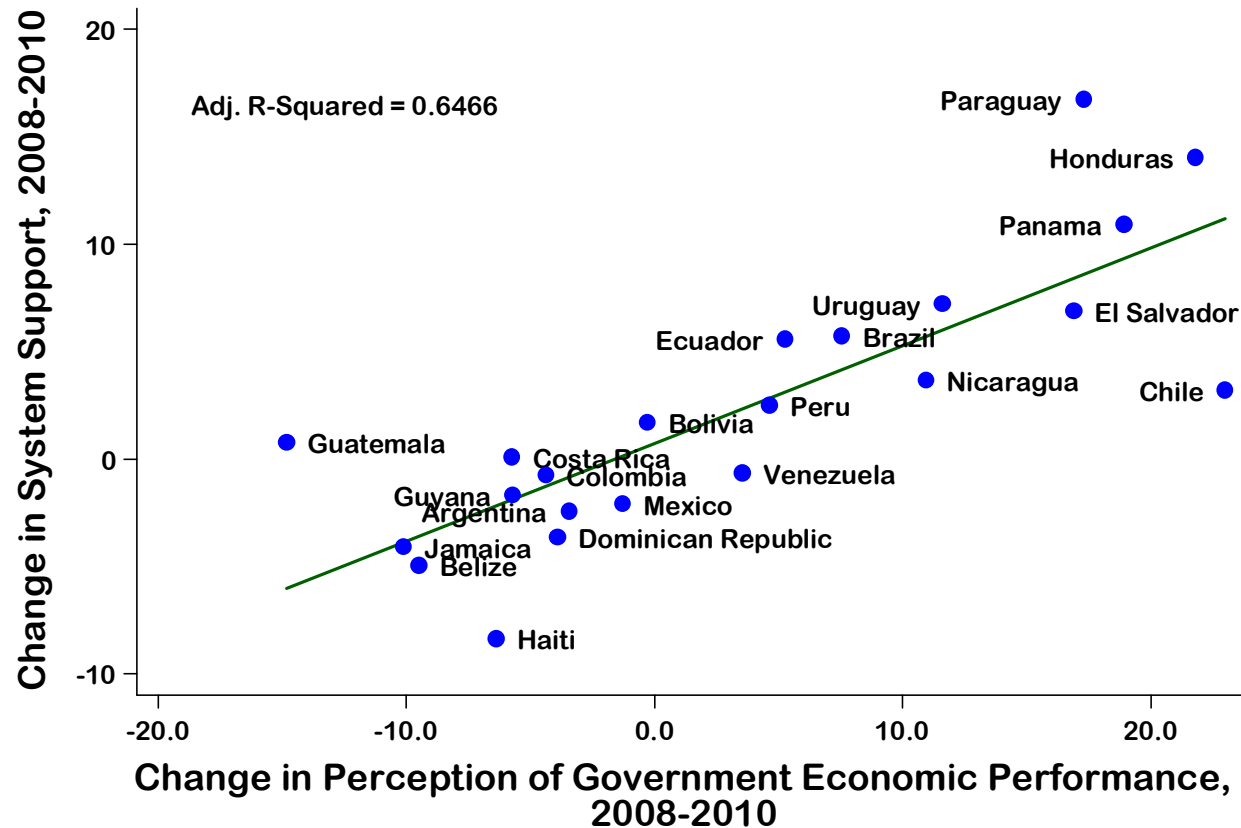
Who supports the **political system**?



Government Economic Performance: A Cause for Unexpected Optimism

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.

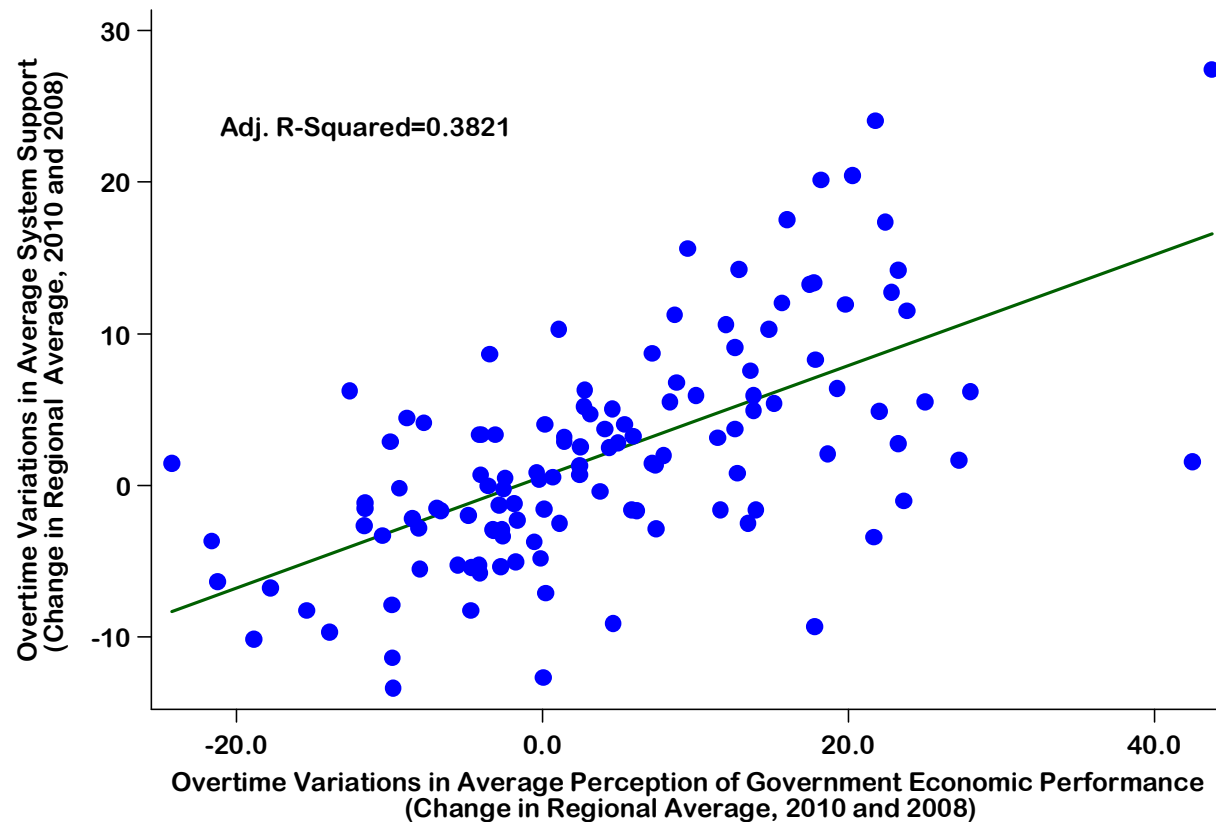
Changes in perceptions of performance predict changes in system support (2008/2010, country-level)



Source: AmericasBarometer 2010 by LAPOP

Note: Includes all 26 countries

Changes in perceptions of performance predict changes in system support (2008/2010, subnational level)



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

		Tolerance	
System support		High	Low
	High	Stable Democracy	Authoritarian Stability
	Low	Unstable Democracy	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?

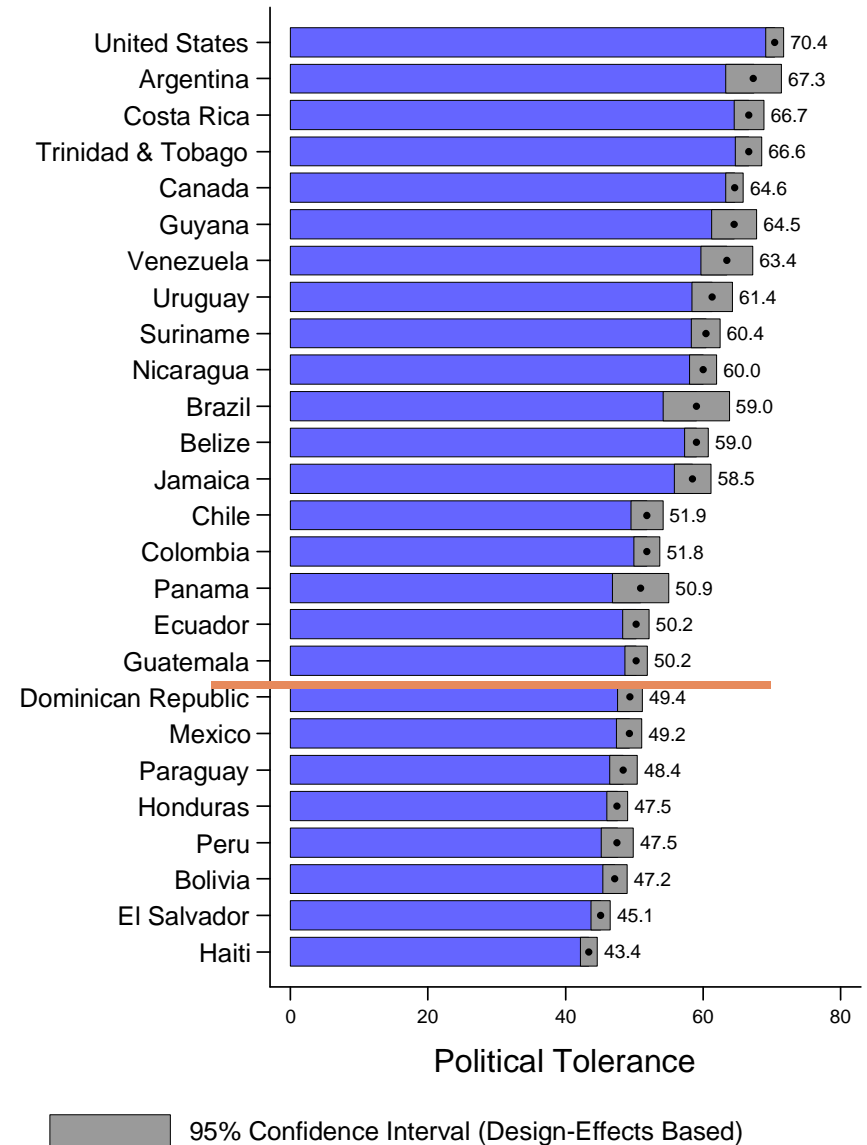
D2. That such people be allowed to conduct peaceful demonstrations?

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)

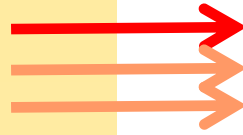


Source: AmericasBarometer by LAPOP

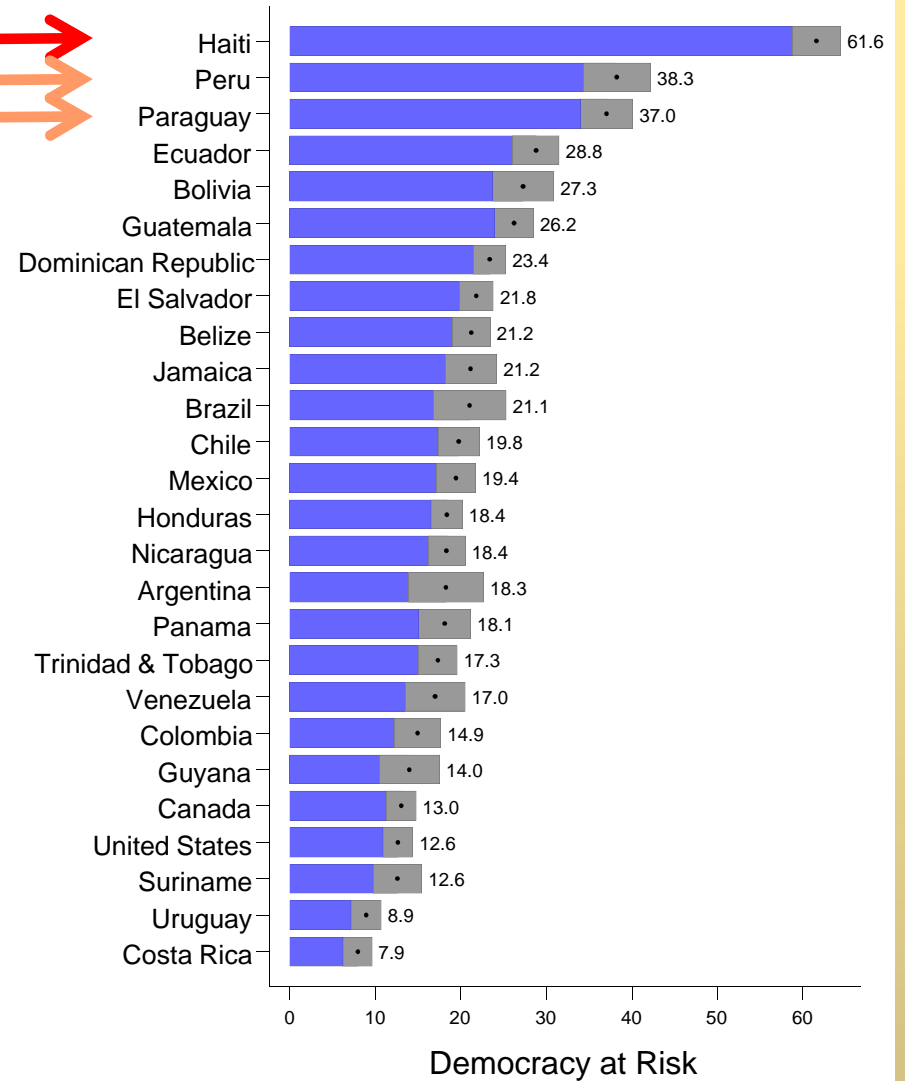
Empirical findings, Costa Rica

Tolerance		
System support	High	Low
High	Stable Democracy 46%	Authoritarian Stability 40%
Low	Unstable Democracy 6%	Democracy at Risk 8%

Democracy at Risk



	Tolerance	
System support	High	Low
High	Stable Democracy	Authoritarian Stability
Low	Unstable Democracy	Democracy at Risk



95% Confidence Interval (Design-Effects Based)

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



*AmericasBarometer Insights: 2009**

Special Report on Honduras

Predicting Coups?

Democratic
Vulnerabilities, The
AmericasBarometer and
The 2009 Honduran Crisis

By Mitchell A. Seligson
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Vanderbilt University
and John A. Booth
booth@unt.edu
University of North Texas

Long range weather forecasting is probably little more accurate today than it was in the heyday of the *Farmer's Almanac*. Meteorologists today can certainly tell farmers with a high degree of certainty whether it will rain tomorrow, but they are far less confident about the prospects for rain next week, and have almost no ability to predict next month, let alone next year. Weather forecasters can tell very well whether the conditions are ripe for thunderstorms or tornadoes, but they cannot specify which towns or areas will get rain or suffer tornadic winds, or what hour the storms will come. Social scientists are in the same boat:

* The Insights Series is co-edited by Professors Mitchell A. Seligson and Elisabeth Zachmeister with administrative, technical, and intellectual support from the LAPOP group at Vanderbilt. The opinions expressed in this study are those of the authors and do not necessarily reflect those of USAID. We thank Susan Berk-Seligson for her comments on an earlier draft of this paper.

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www.AmericasBarometer.org

hardly anyone predicted the fall of the Berlin wall or the breakup of the Soviet Union, and Wall Street “experts” are infamous for their ability to “predict” two out of the last five downturns. Indeed, expert predictions are more often wrong than right, as a recent comprehensive study on the subject reveals (Tetlock 2005).

While successful predictions of specific events in the distant future (e.g., rain a year from now, a riot) are most likely beyond our scientific abilities for the foreseeable future, there is some hope that political scientists may well be able to detect weaknesses, or vulnerabilities of countries to system-challenging forces. In this special *Insights* paper, we look for signs of such vulnerabilities, drawing on the LAPOP AmericasBarometer data for Honduras.

The events, which are still unfolding as this paper is being written, are punctuated by the ousting and exile of elected President Manuel Zelaya Rosales by the Honduran military. A non-binding plebiscite, or poll, had been called by Zelaya to determine popular support for a national constituent assembly to reform the constitution. Opponents suspected that the plebiscite would somehow be used to eventually override the constitutional prohibition against presidential succession, thus paving the way for an eventual reelection of Zelaya. Formal opposition to this poll was rendered by the Honduran Attorney General, the Honduran Supreme Electoral Tribunal, the Honduran Supreme Court, and the National Congress, the latter having passed a law prohibiting such plebiscites within 180 days prior to national elections, which had already been scheduled for November 29, 2009. Zelaya rejected each of these barriers to the plebiscite and pushed the military to carry it out. When the military refused, Zelaya fired the head of the military, who was subsequently reinstated by the Supreme Court. The Attorney General and later the Supreme Court issued a warrant for Zelaya's arrest. Soldiers detained him in the early morning hours of June 28, 2009 and unconstitutionally

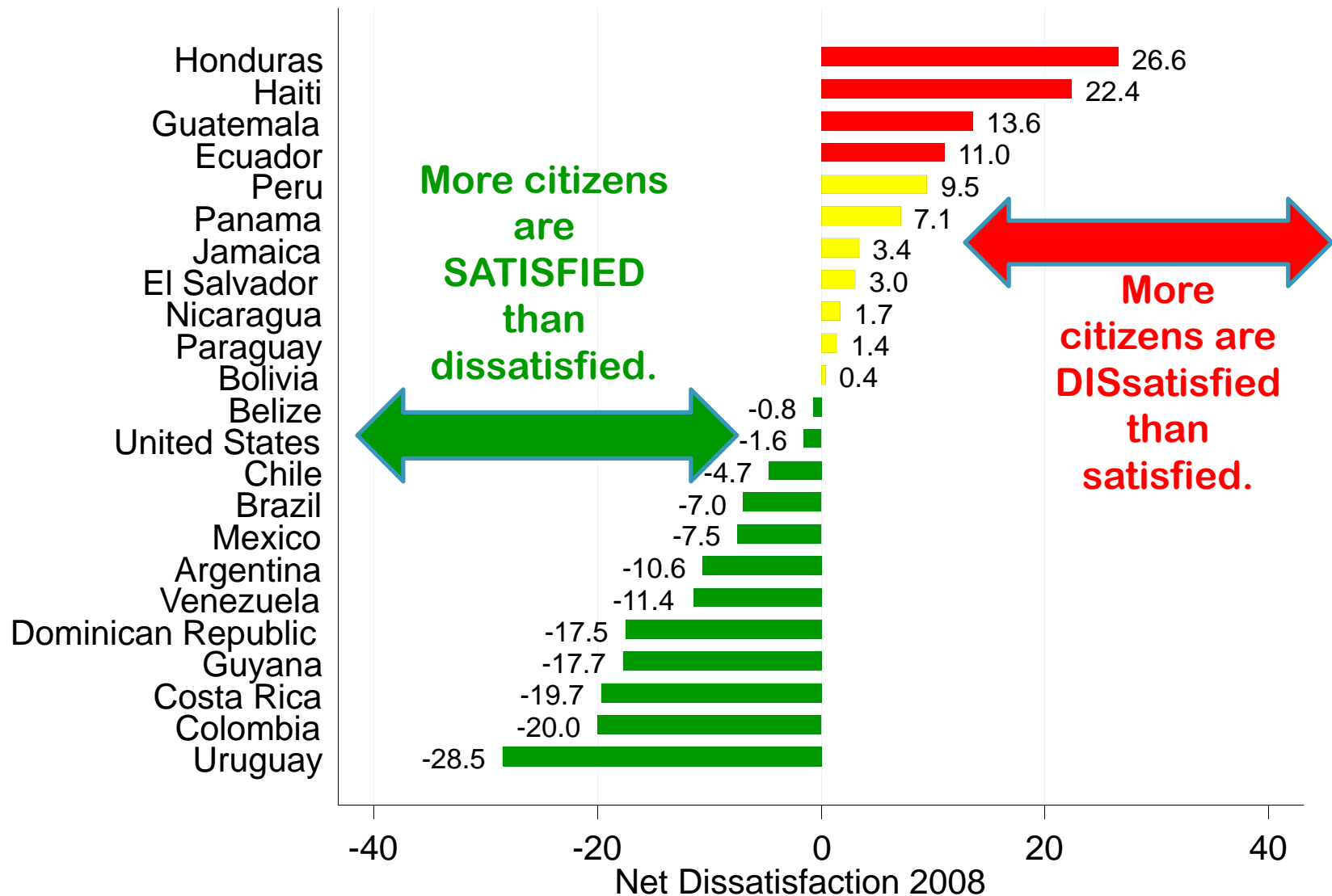
Estimating Triple Dissatisfaction (2010)

	Triply Dissatisfied	Mixed	Triply Satisfied	Dissatisfied minus Satisfied
Haiti	43.3%	55.2%	1.4%	41.9% *
United States	7.9%	76.6%	15.5%	-7.5% *
Jamaica	7.7%	86.4%	5.9%	1.9% *
Costa Rica	2.7%	68.7%	28.6%	-25.8% *
Uruguay	1.8%	42.9%	55.3%	-53.5% *

* Number of dissatisfied exceeds satisfied.

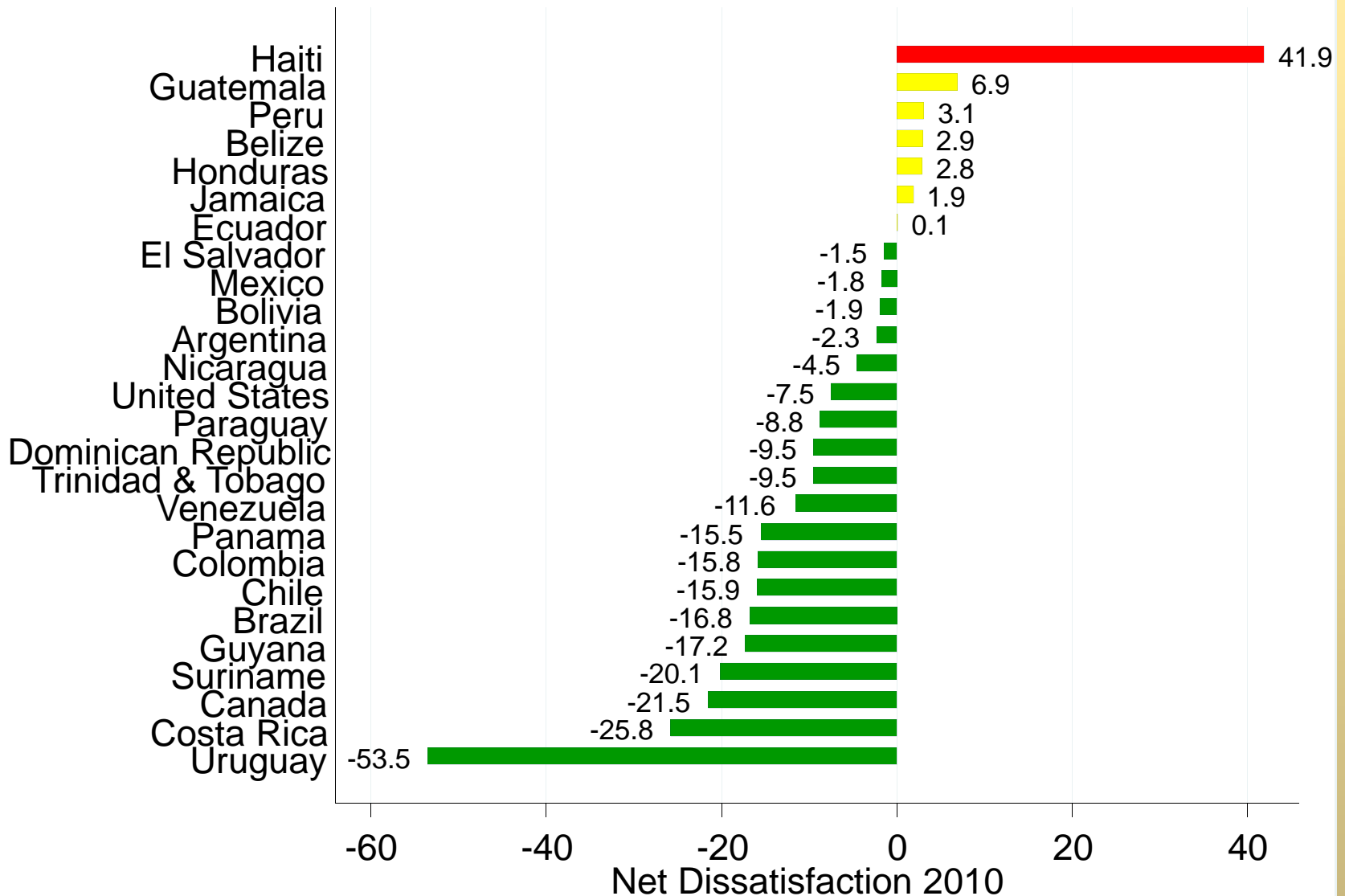
* Number of satisfied exceeds dissatisfied.

Triple Dissatisfaction Index: Net Dissatisfaction in 2008



Source: AmericasBarometer 2008 by LAPOP

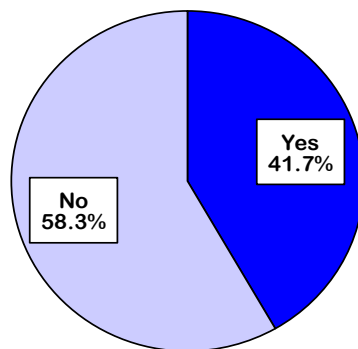
Triple Dissatisfaction Index: Net Dissatisfaction in 2010



Source: AmericasBarometer 2010 by LAPOP

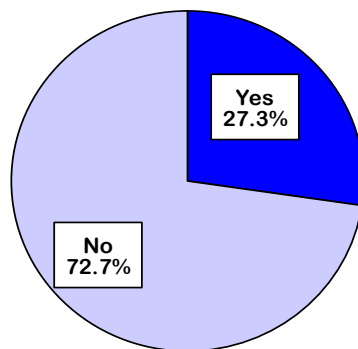
Public Opinion in the Aftermath of Honduras' Coup of 2009

Hondurans divided on coup, but opposed to exile of President



¿Did you favor the removal from office of President Zelaya?

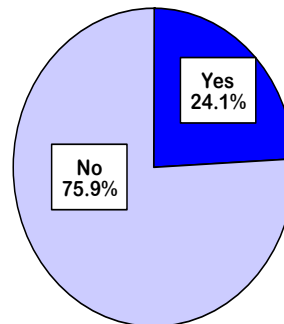
Source: AmericasBarometer by LAPOP



¿Did you favor sending President Zelaya into exile in Costa Rica?

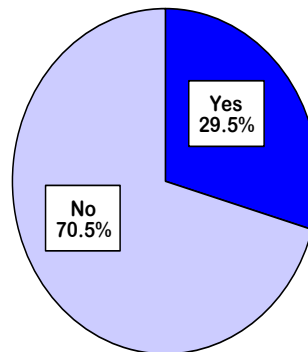
Source: AmericasBarometer by LAPOP

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?

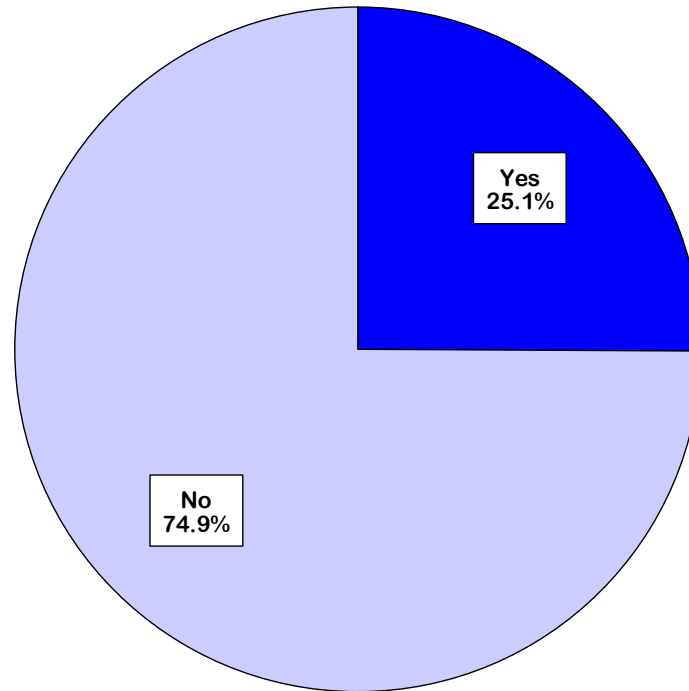
Source: AmericasBarometer by LAPOP



¿Did you favor the formation of a Constituent Assembly?

Source: AmericasBarometer by LAPOP

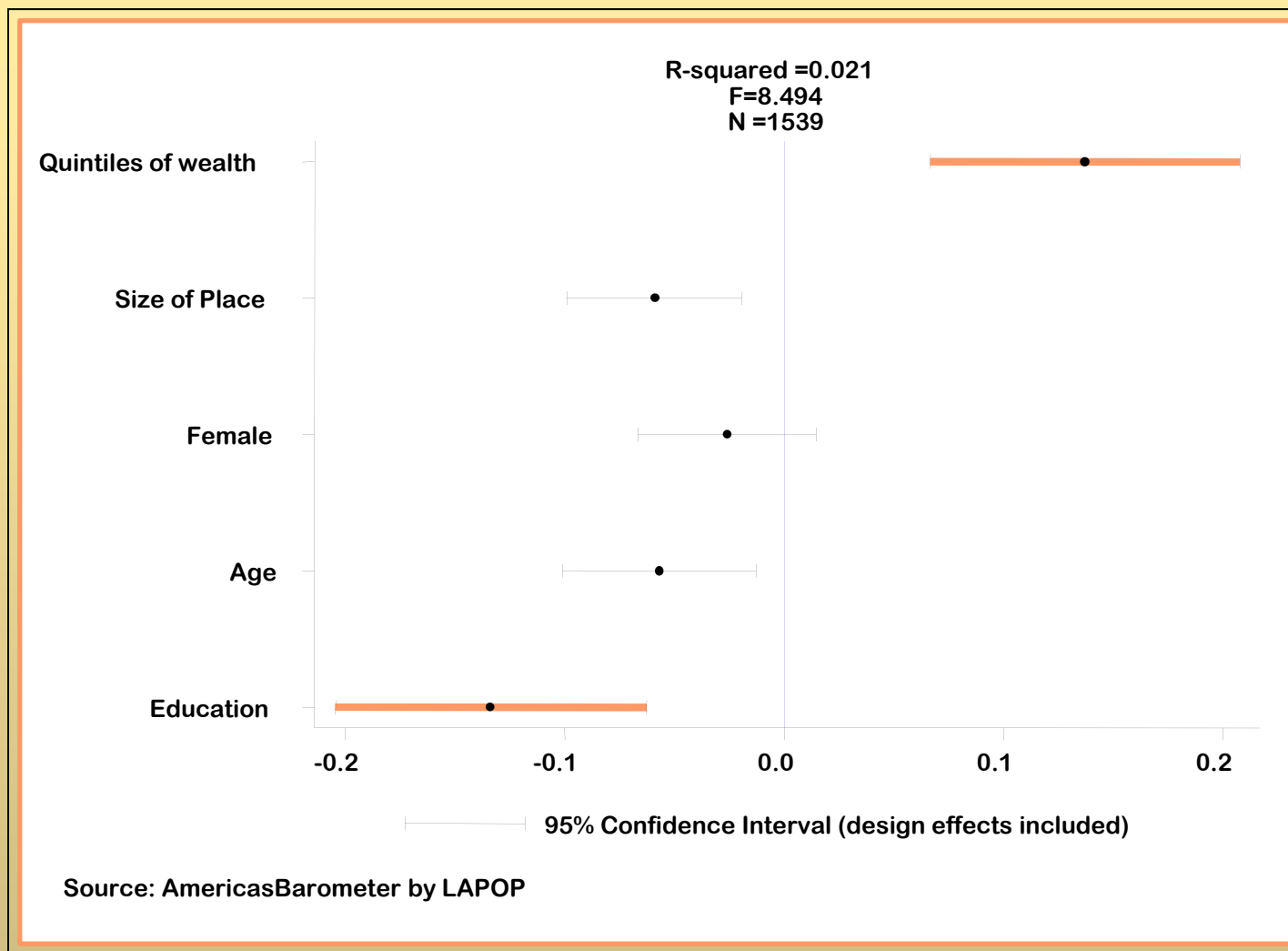
Hondurans strongly oppose a reform allowing presidential re-election



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

Source: AmericasBarometer by LAPOP

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

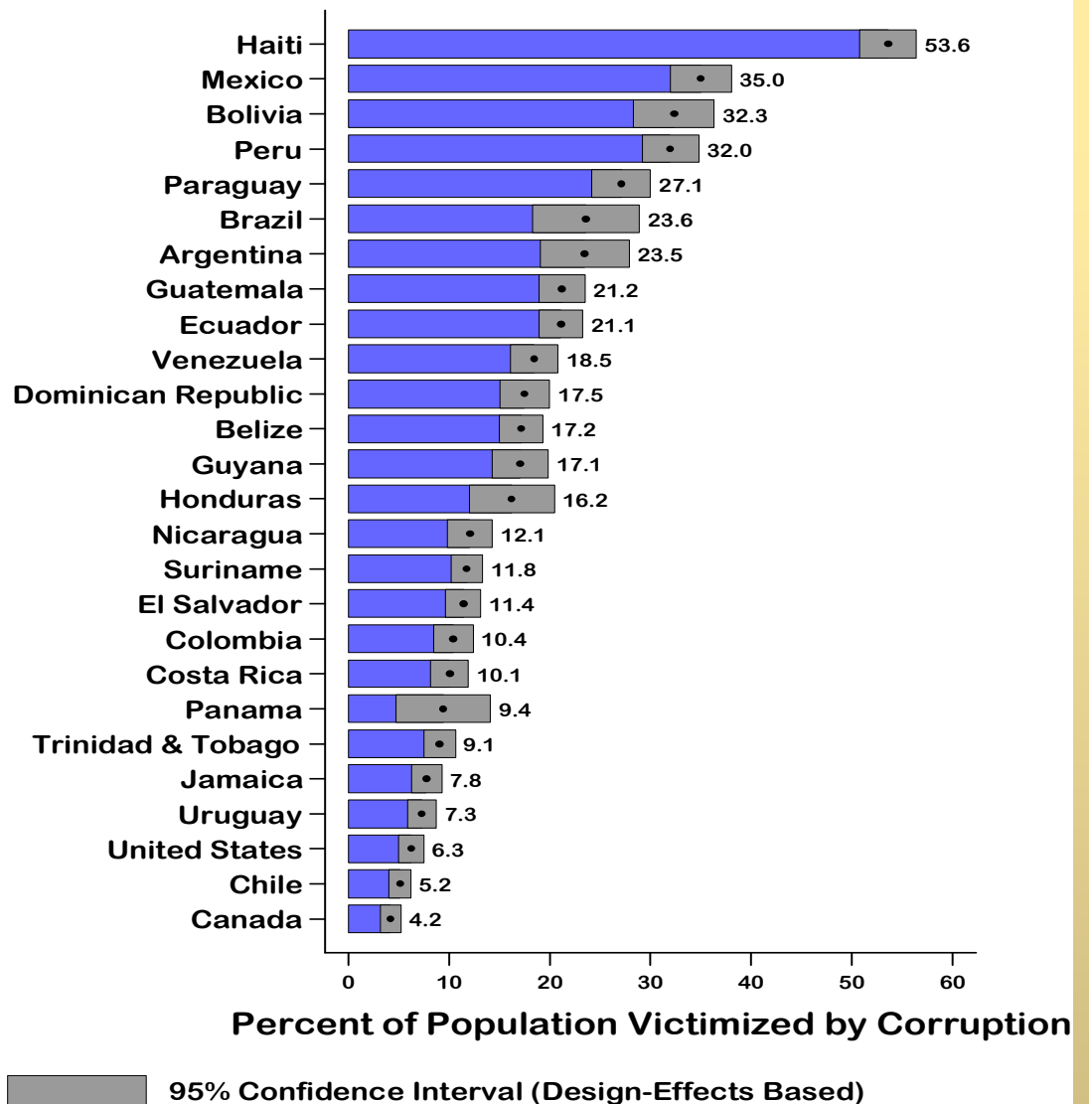


Based on **JC1**. Frente al desempleo muy alto; **JC10**. Frente a mucha delincuencia;
JC13. Frente a mucha corrupción:

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

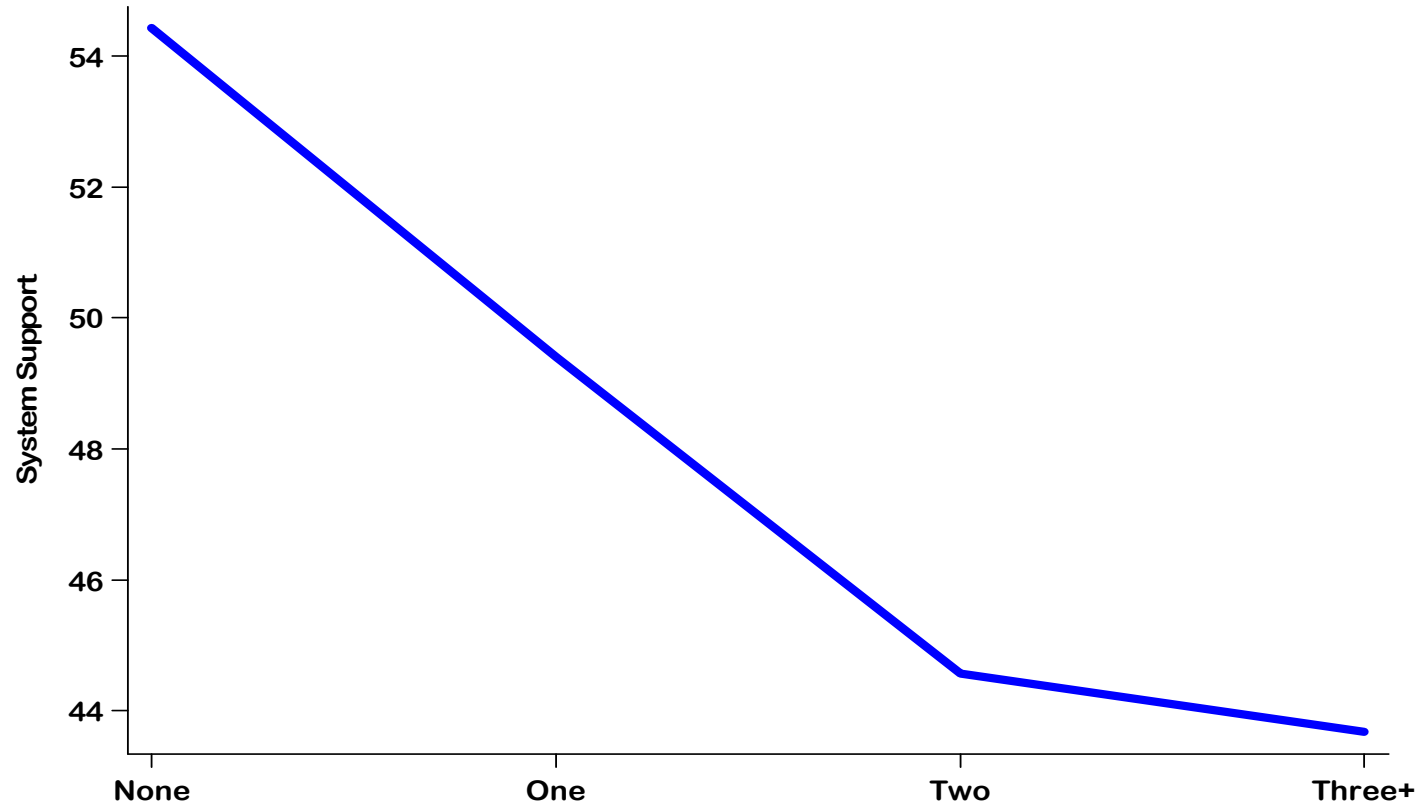
- To a police officer
- To a public official
- To expedite a transaction with the municipal government
- At work
- For public health/medical service
- In the school system



Source: AmericasBarometer by LAPOP

Note: Includes all 26 countries

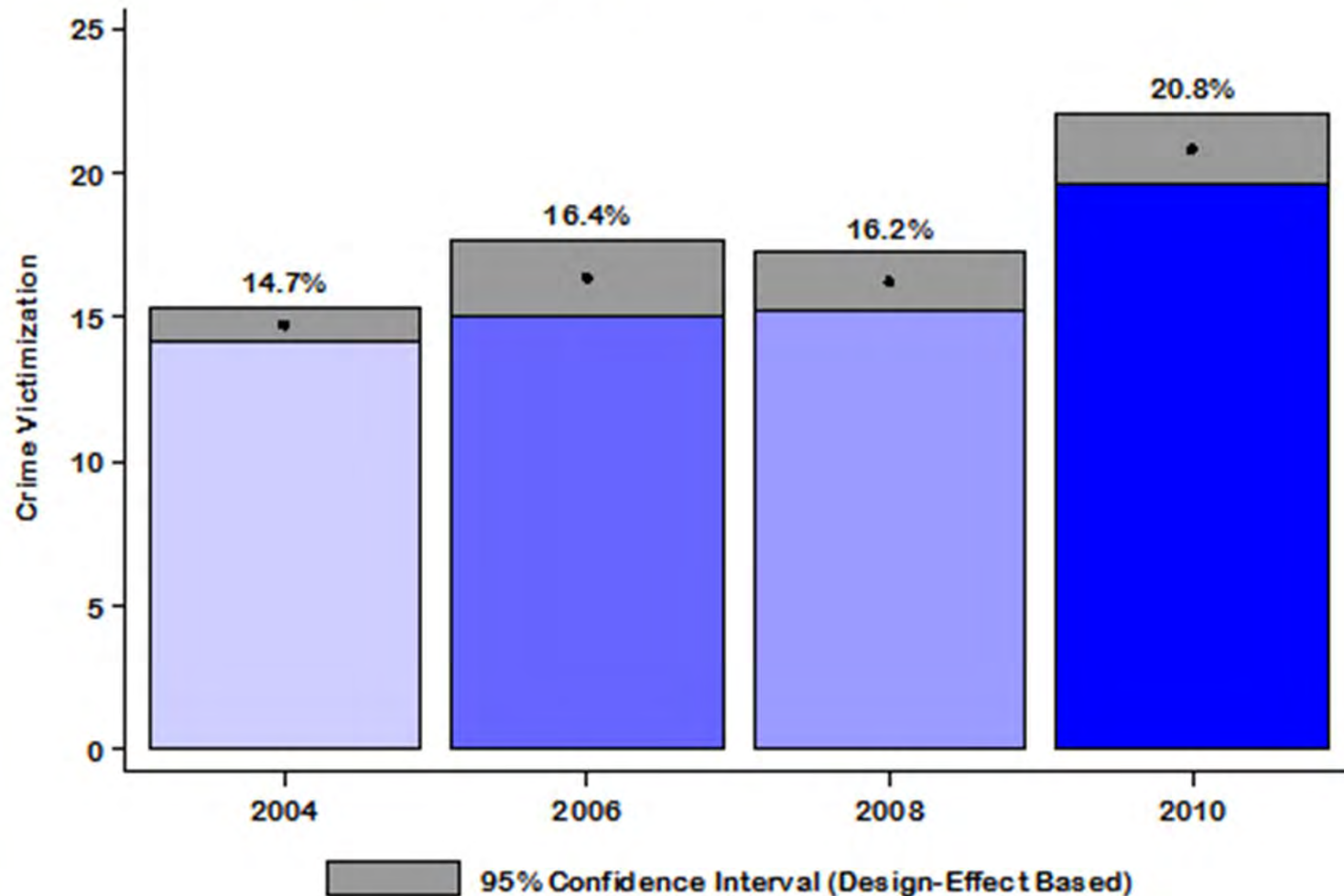
Relationship of corruption victimization to system support



Source: AmericasBarometer by LAPOP Corruption Victimization

Note: Includes all 26 countries

Crime victimization has increased

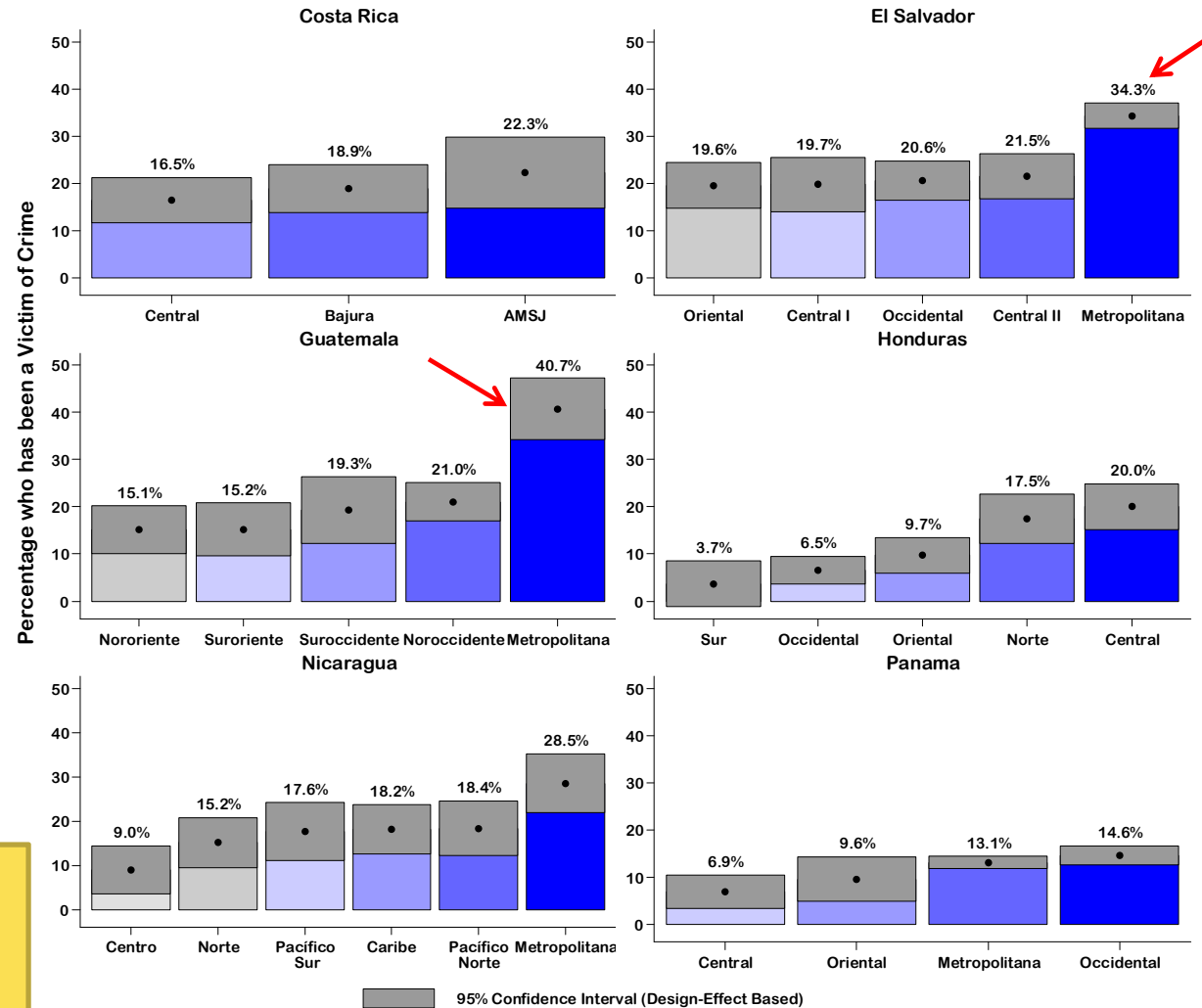


Source: AmericasBarometer by LAPOP

Crime victimization is higher in metropolitan areas

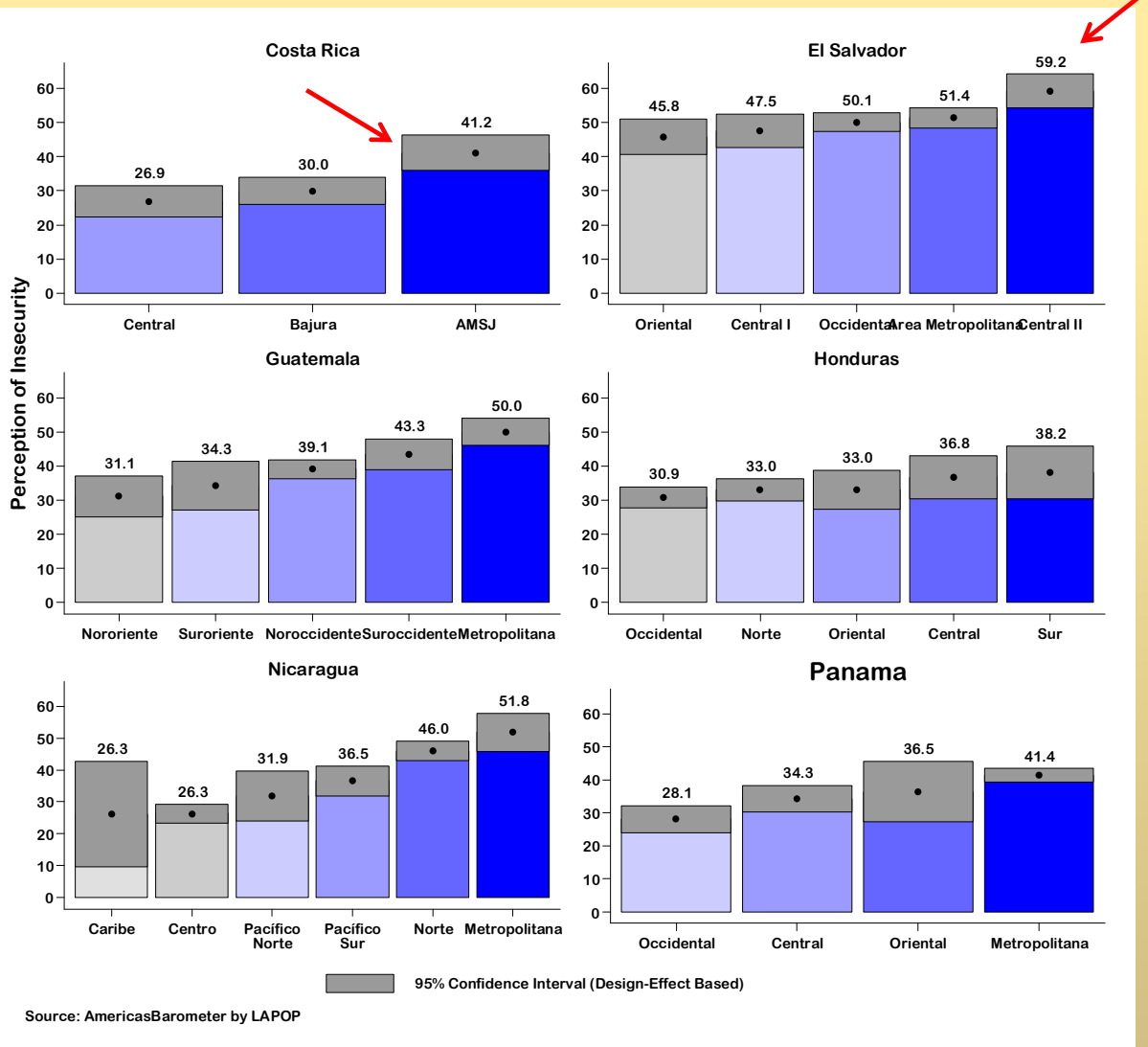
(Central America)

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

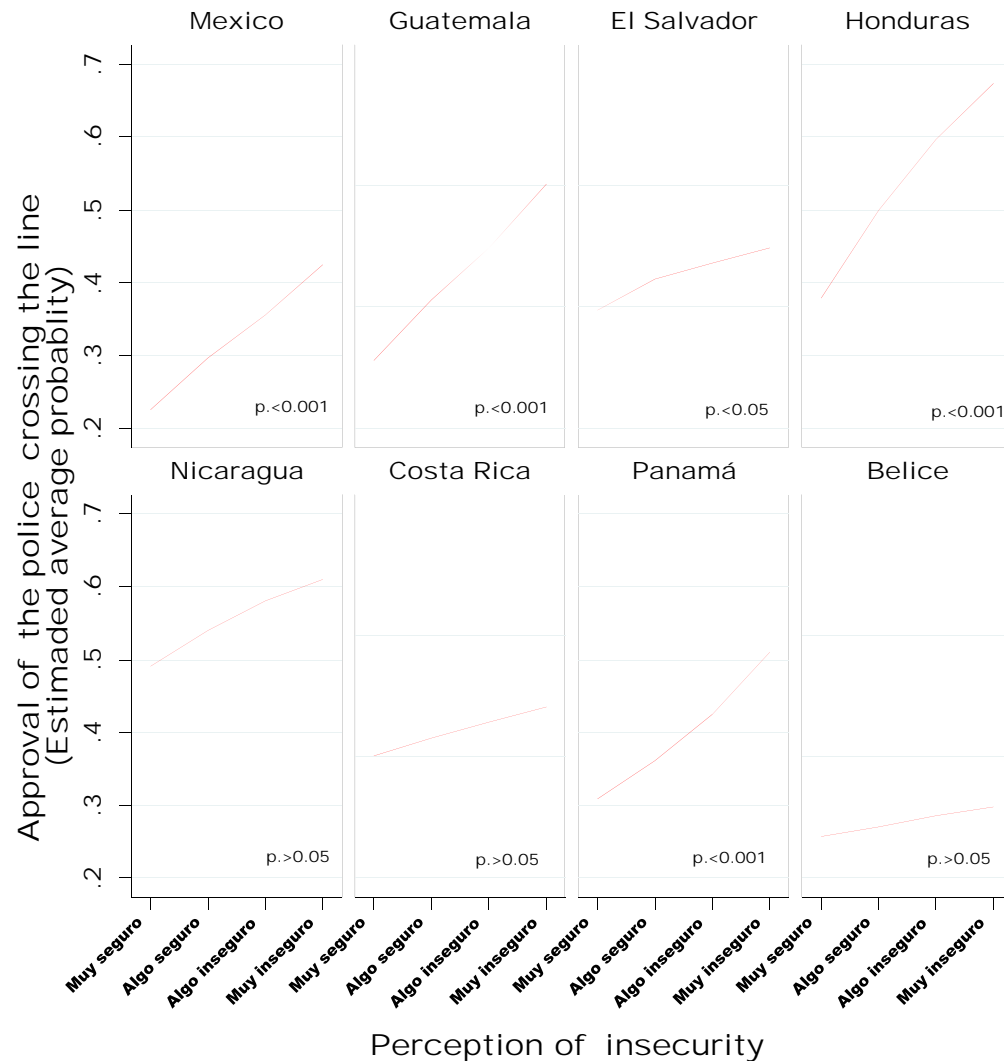


Source: AmericasBarometer by LAPOP

The fear of crime is also concentrated in major cities.



Fear of crime increases approval of the police “crossing the line”



Source:
AmericasBarometer 2010 by LAPOP

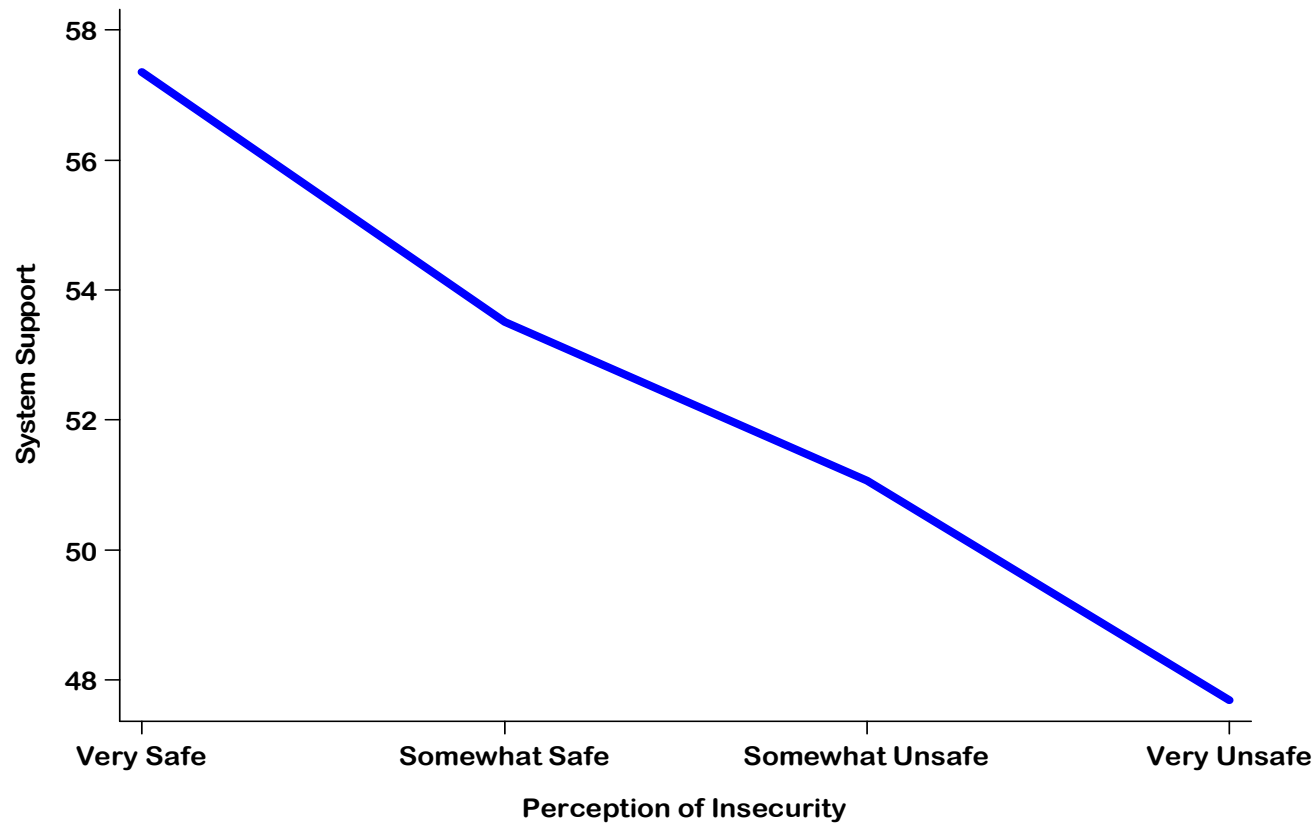
Logistic regression model
(standard control variables included)

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

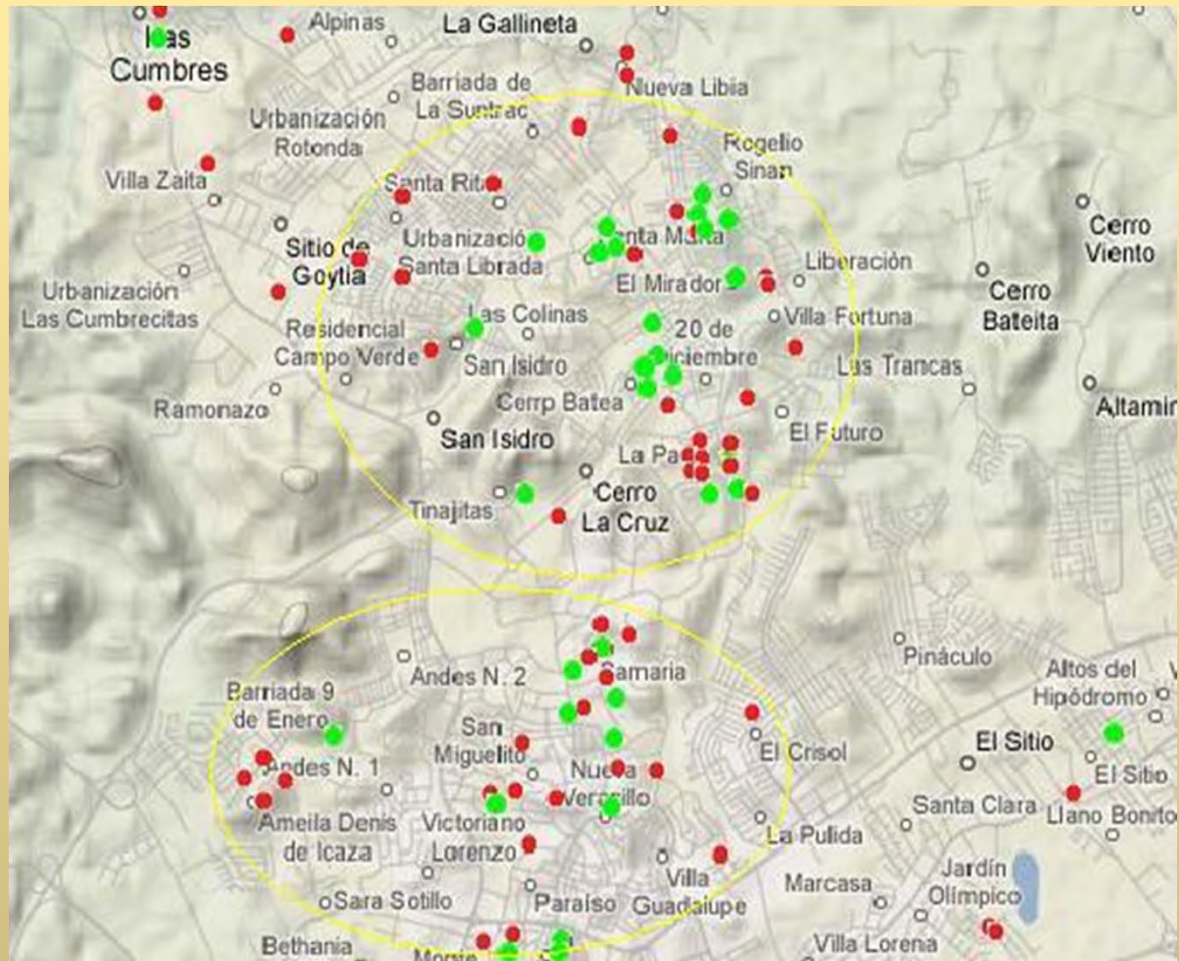
Note: Includes all 26 countries

San Miguelito District, Panama

Concentration of Homicides and Gang Activities

Red dots= homicides

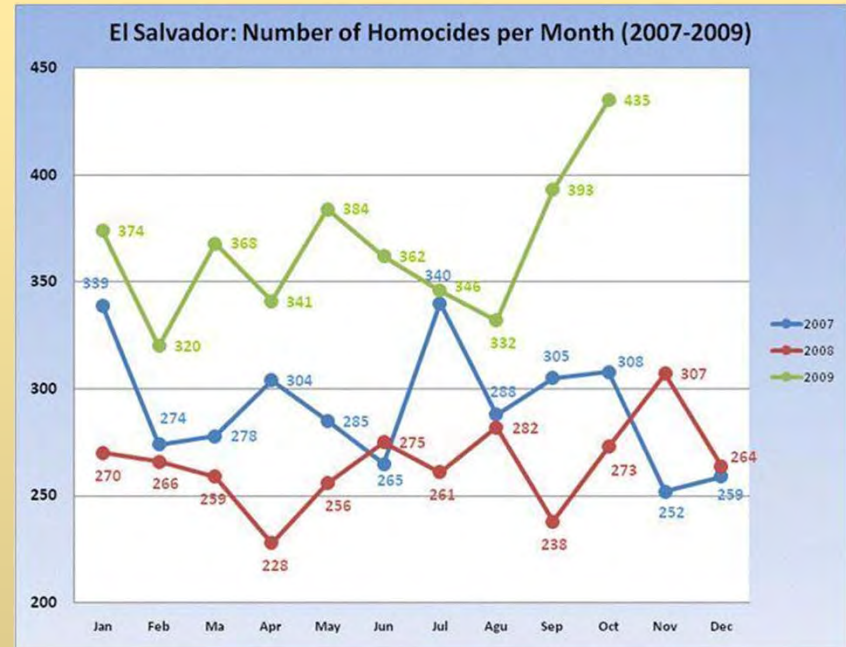
Green dots=gangs



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 (2008-1010) for community-based violence prevention programs



signs of gang
activity



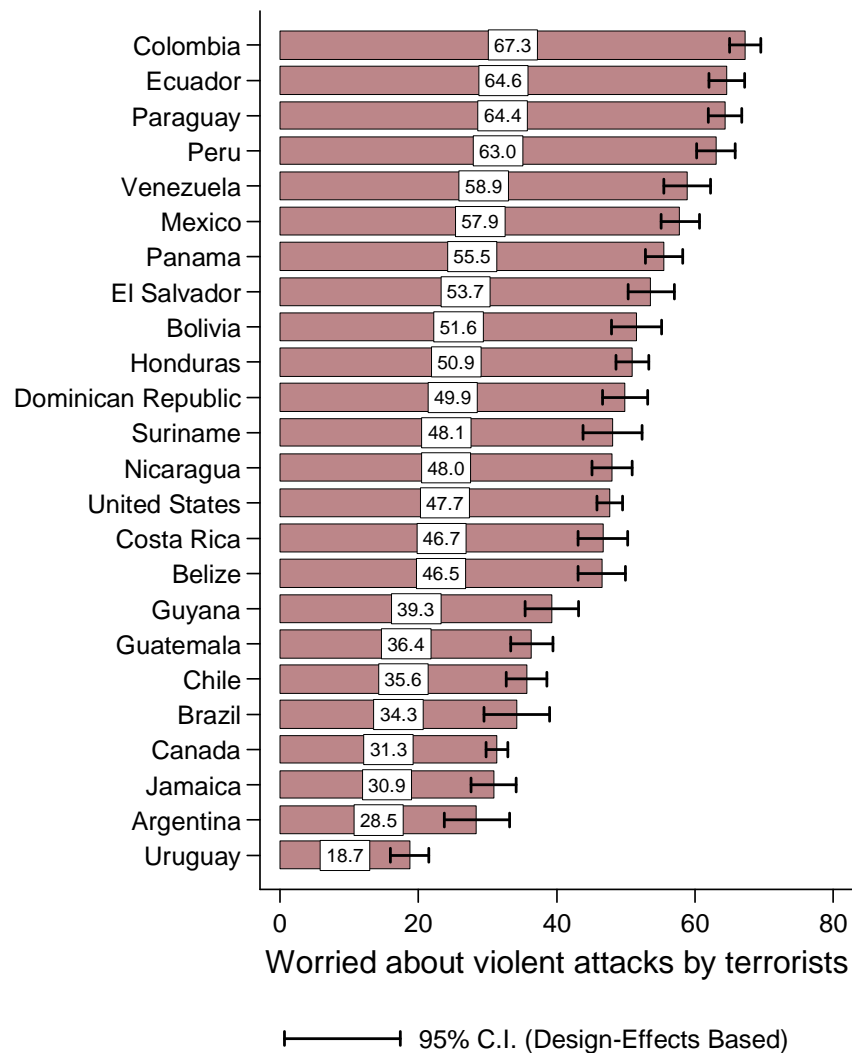
CARSI Impact Evaluation in Central America

- 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

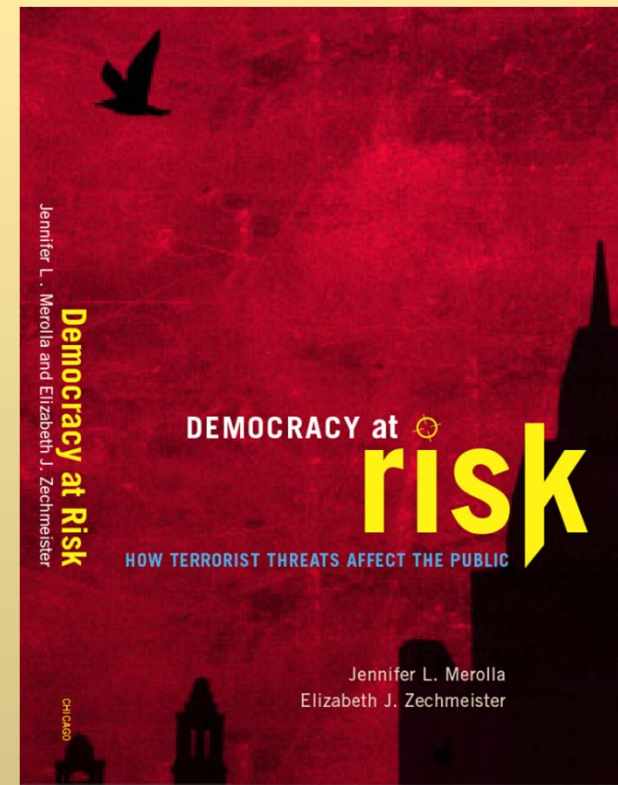
Interviewers in Panama



New in 2010: Measures of Concern about Terrorism

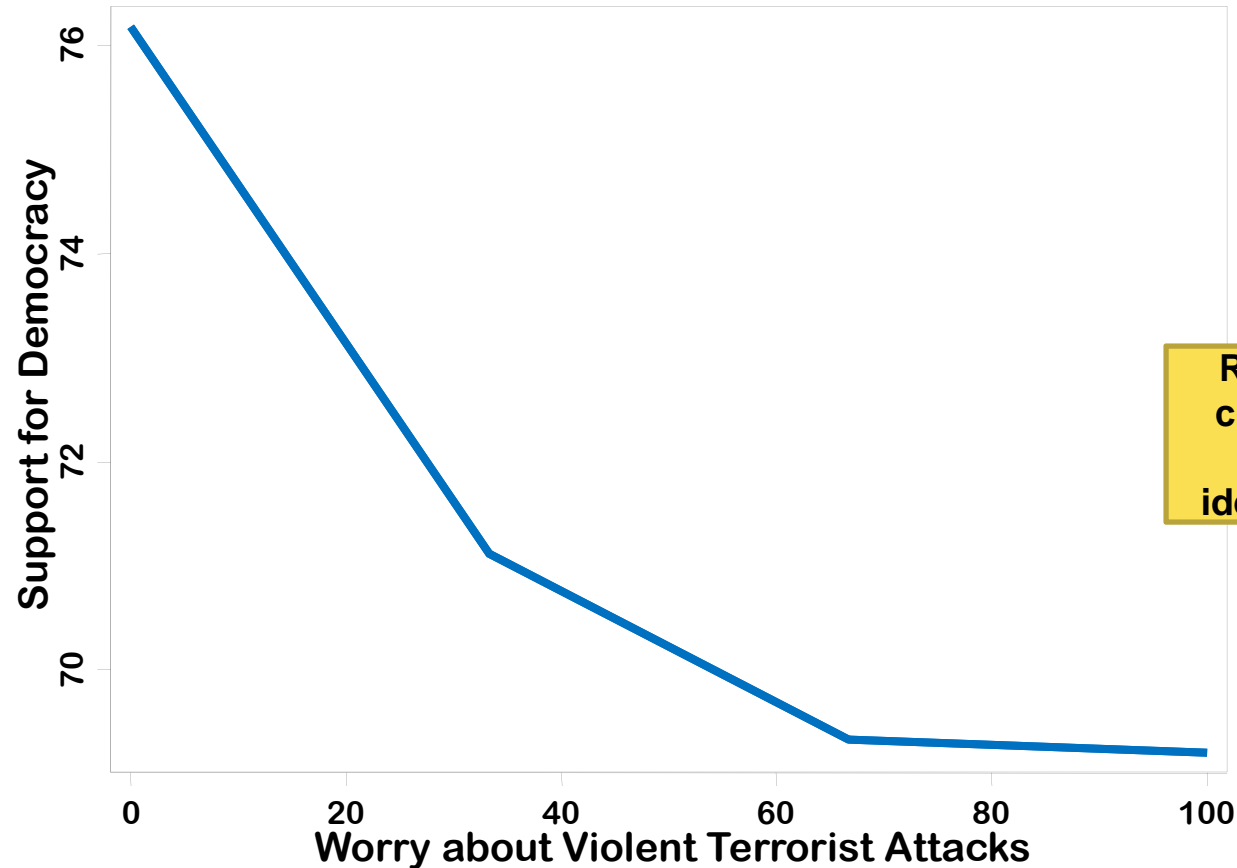


Source: AmericasBarometer by LAPOP



WT1. How worried are you that there will be a violent attack by terrorists in [country] in the next 12 months?

Fear of terrorism is negatively related to support for democracy

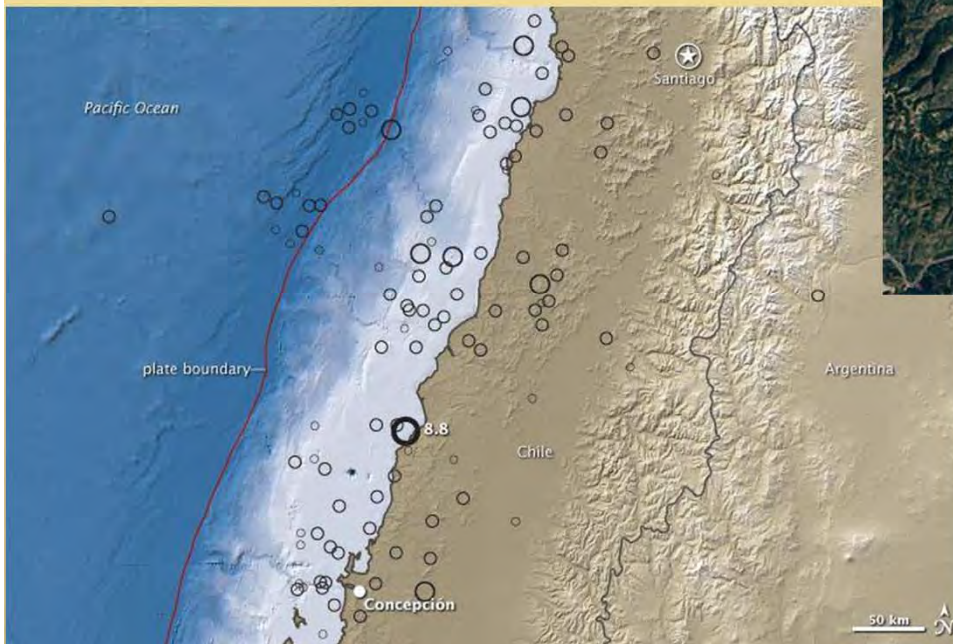
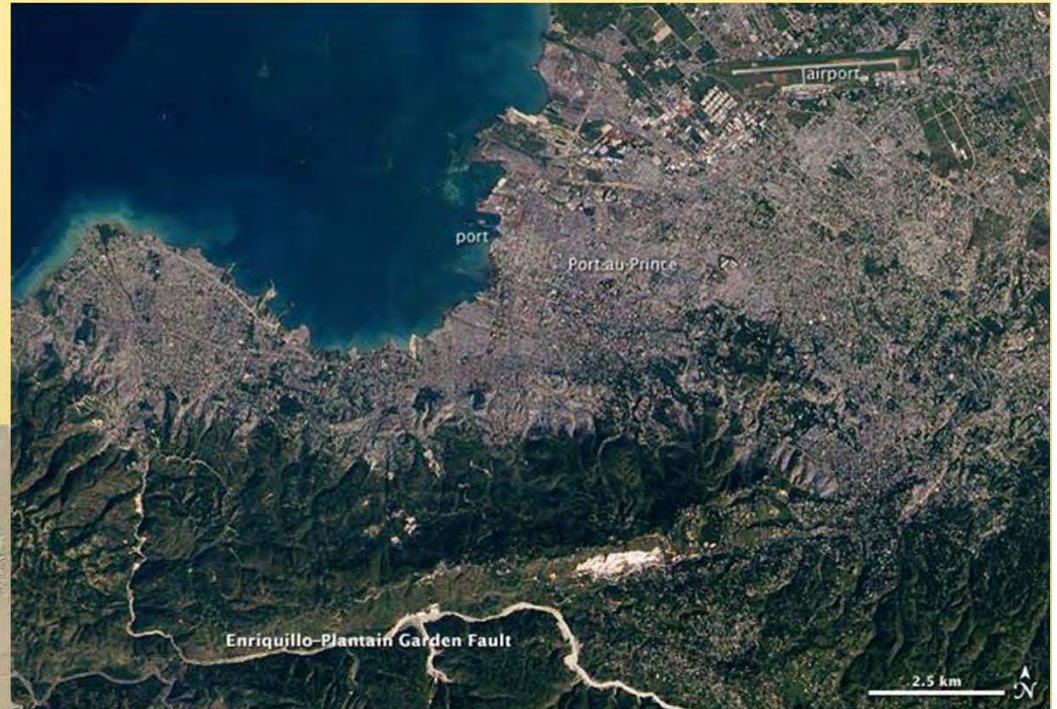


Relationship holds when controlling for insecurity, crime victimization, ideology, and other factors

2010 Earthquake Studies



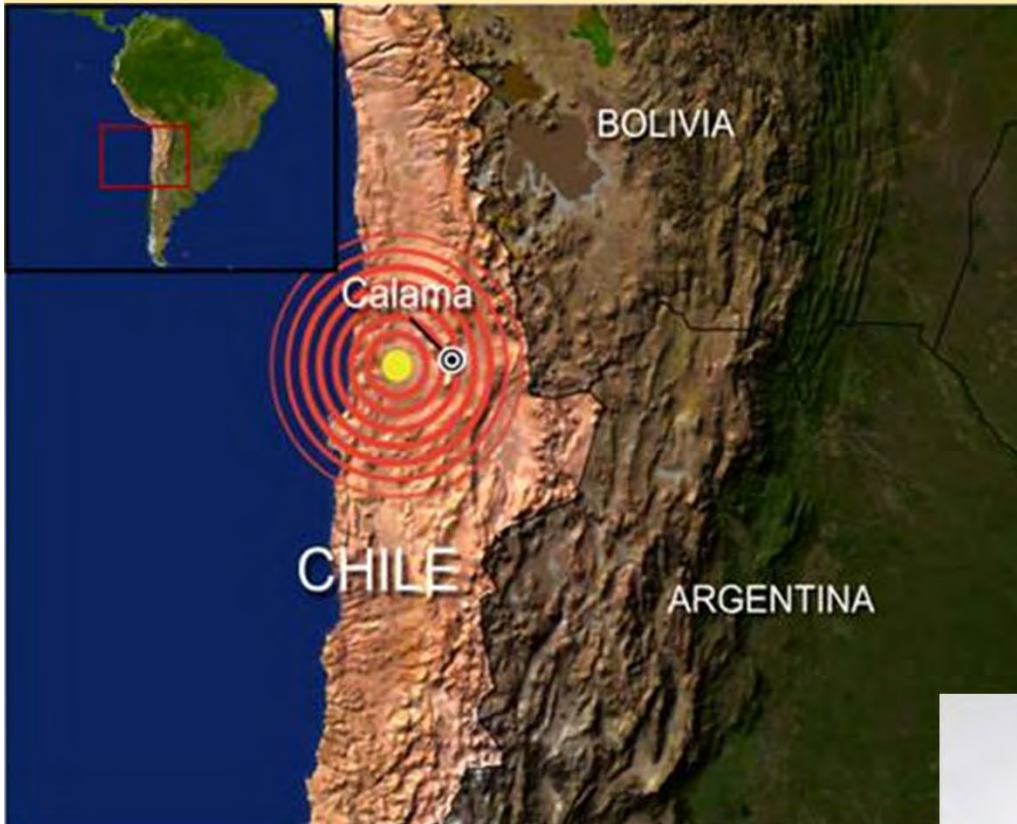
USAID
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National Science Foundation
WHERE DISCOVERIES BEGIN

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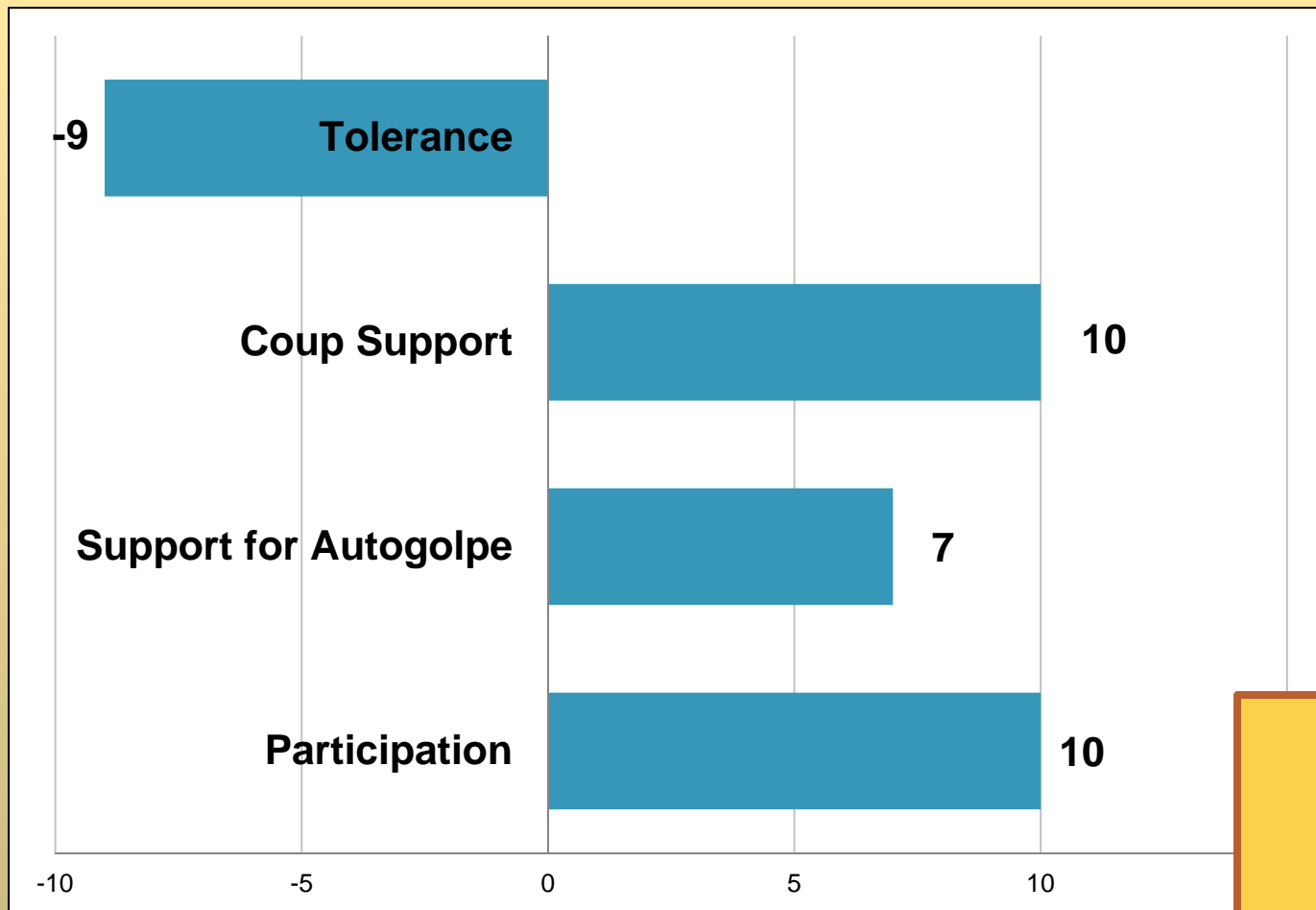
**Research
Question: Can
Natural Disasters
Affect Support for
Democracy?**

February 27, 2010:

**Magnitude 8.8
Earthquake and
Tsunami**



CHILE: Disaster damage weakens democratic attitudes, increases participation

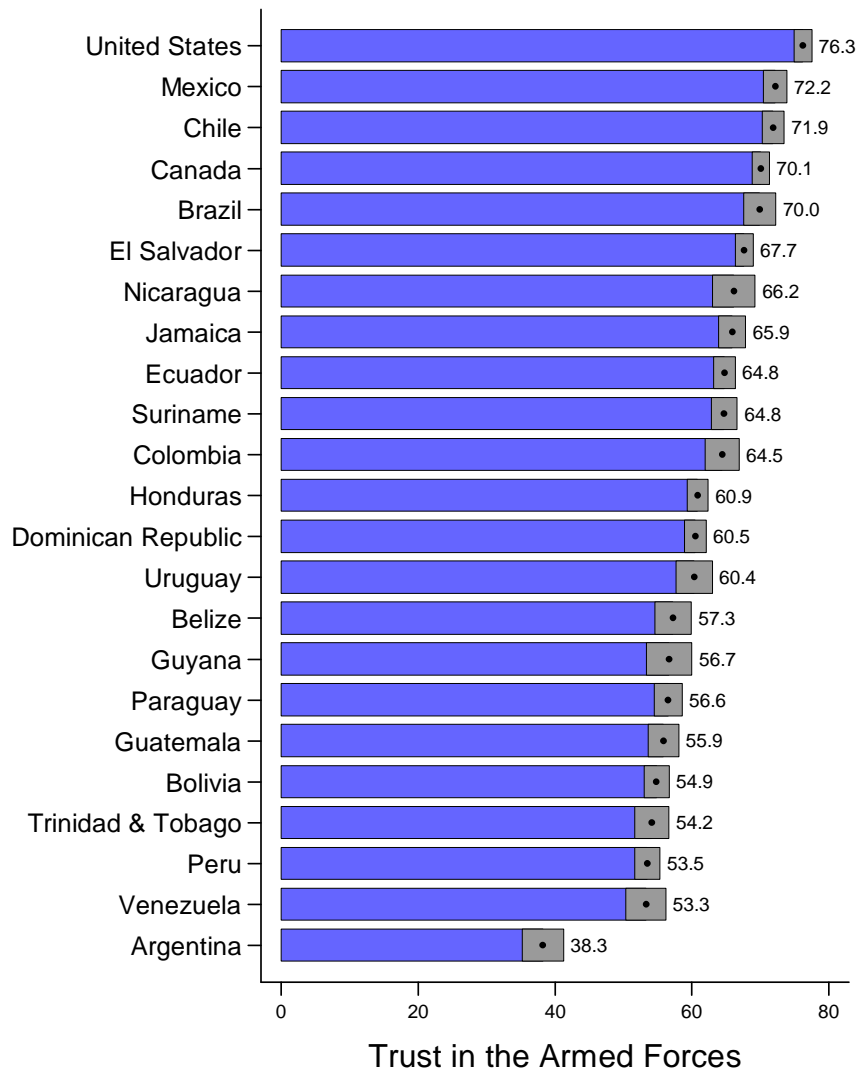


Note: Analysis on matched dataset; Predicted Effects computed based on OLS regression results controlling for Education, Gender, Age, Vote, Region, Wealth, Marital Status, Children, Race, Rural vs. Urban, City Size; rescaled 0-100.

Maximum
predicted
effects of
disaster
damage

Attitudes toward the Armed Forces in the Americas

Trust in the Armed Forces



95% Confidence Interval (Design-Effects Based)

Source: AmericasBarometer by LAPOP

Trust in Armed Forces is greater than trust in Police

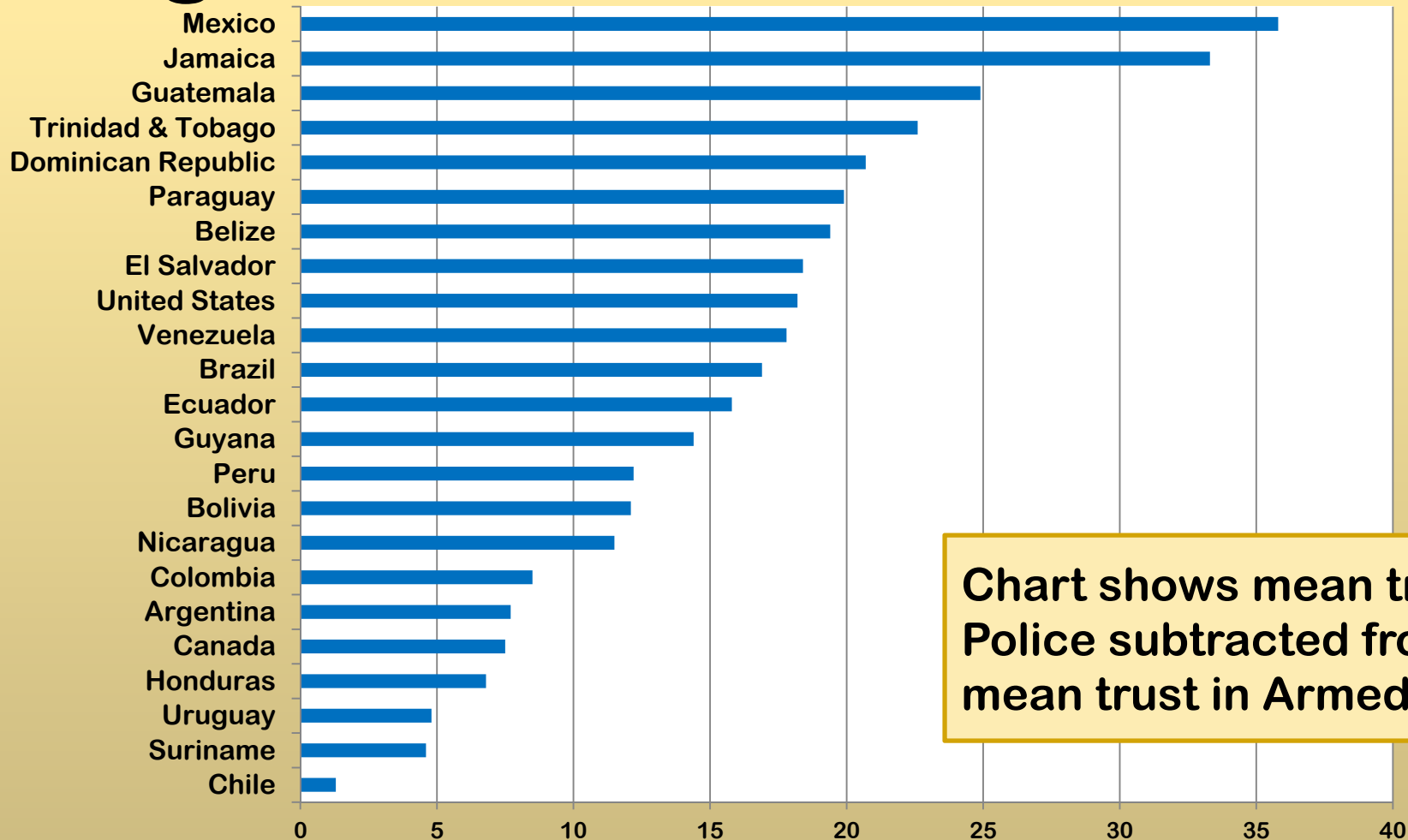
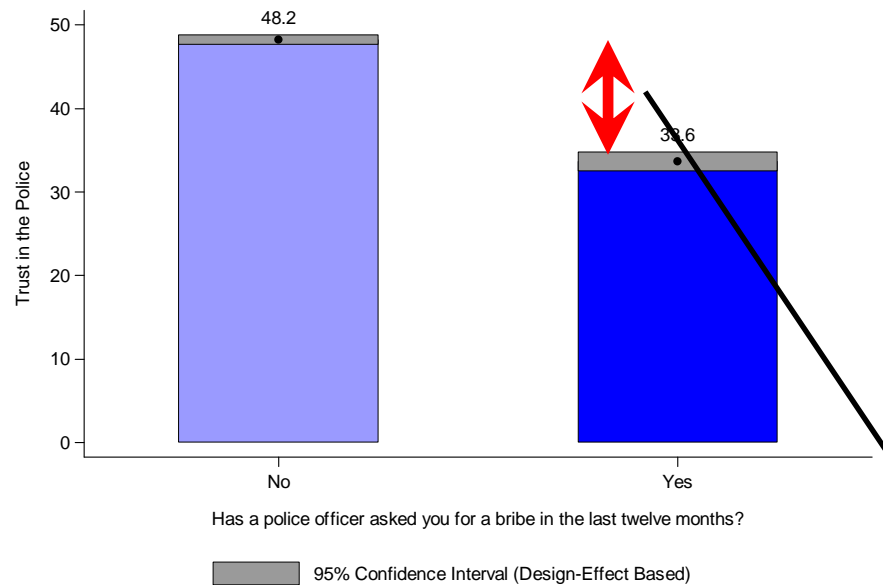
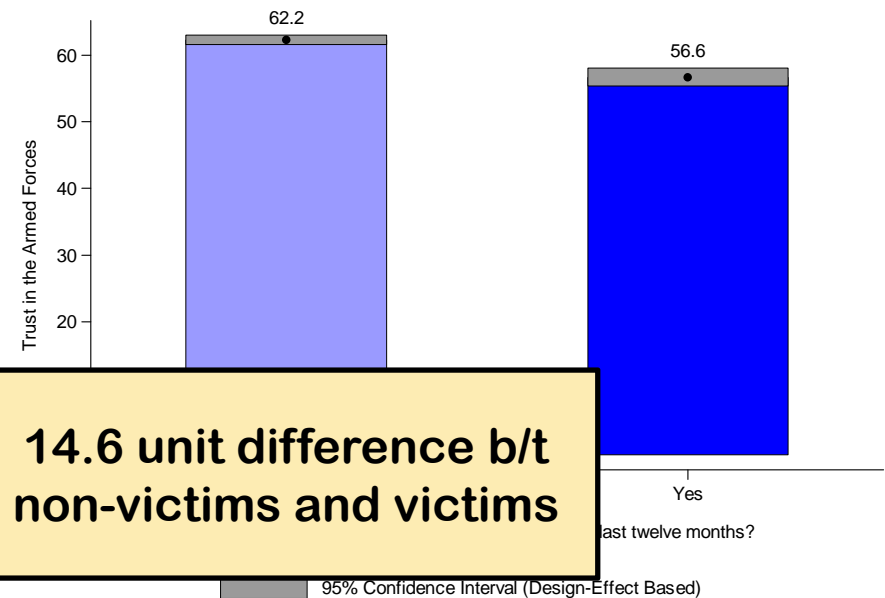


Chart shows mean trust in Police subtracted from mean trust in Armed Forces

Corruption by Police decreases trust in people in uniform



Source: AmericasBarometer by LAPOP



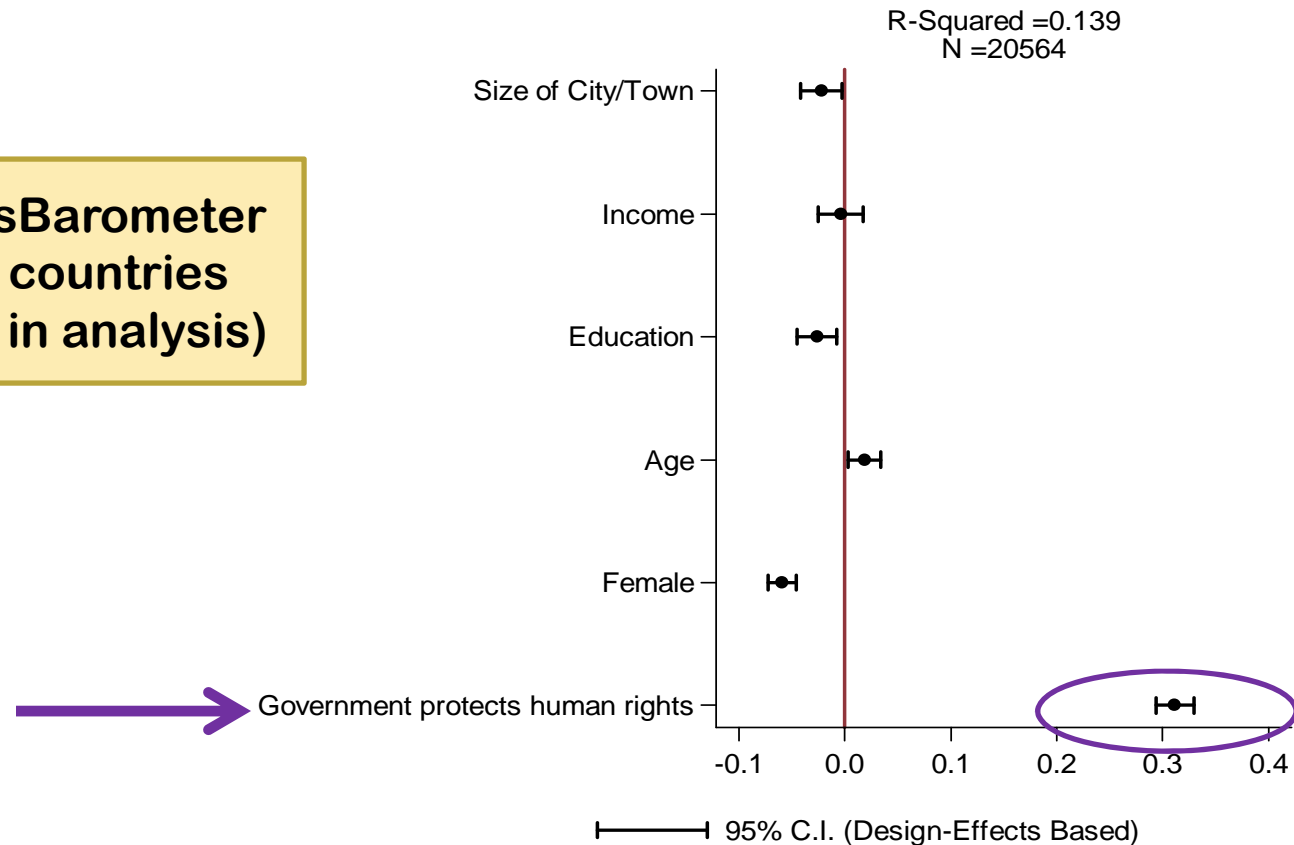
14.6 unit difference b/t non-victims and victims

Source: AmericasBarometer by LAPOP

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

Believing Government protects human rights increases trust in Armed Forces

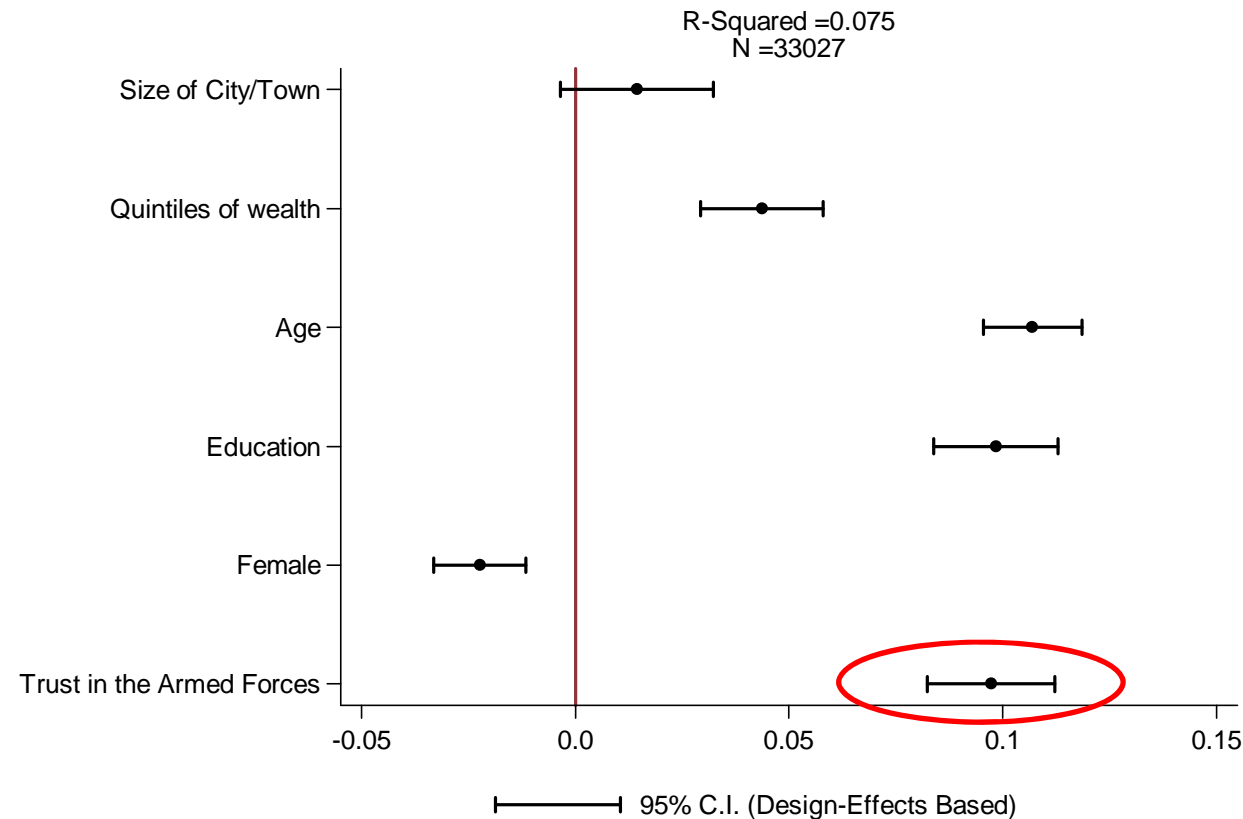
AmericasBarometer
2006 (15 countries
included in analysis)



Source: AmericasBarometer by LAPOP

County Fixed Effects and Intercept
Included but not Shown Here

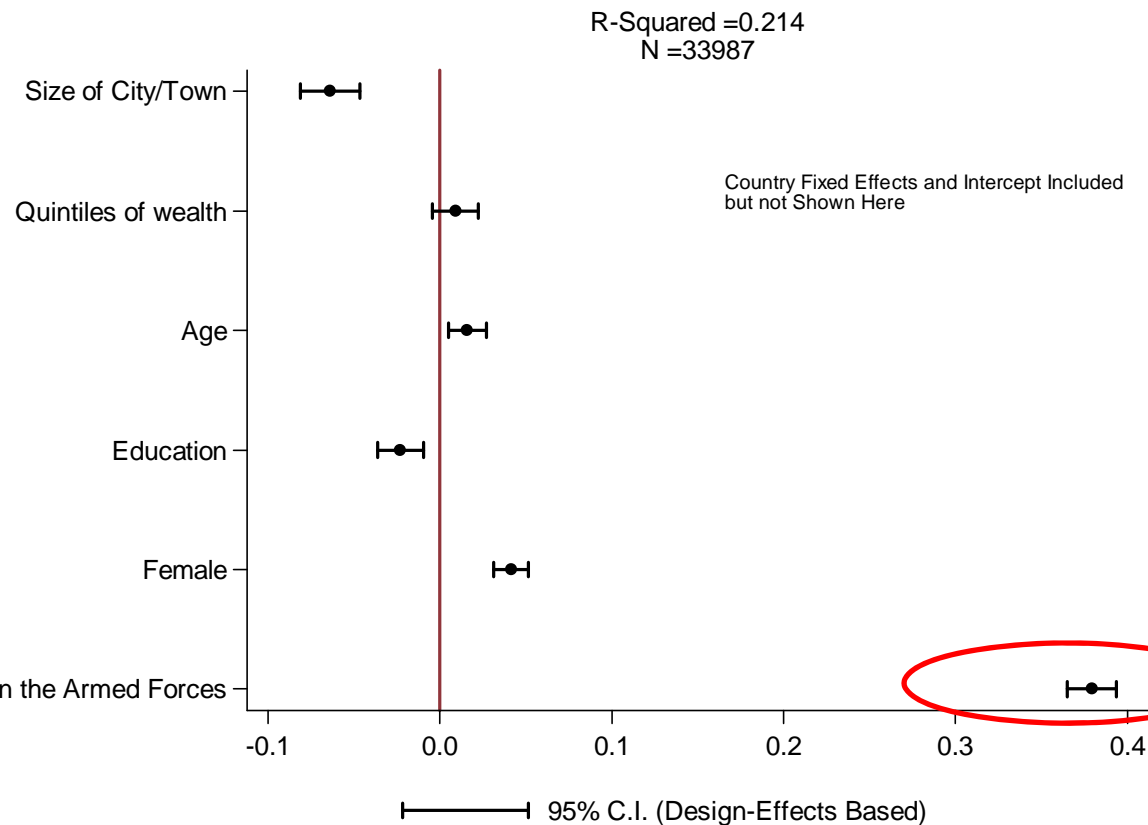
Trust in Armed Forces is positively related to support for **democracy**



Source: AmericasBarometer by LAPOP

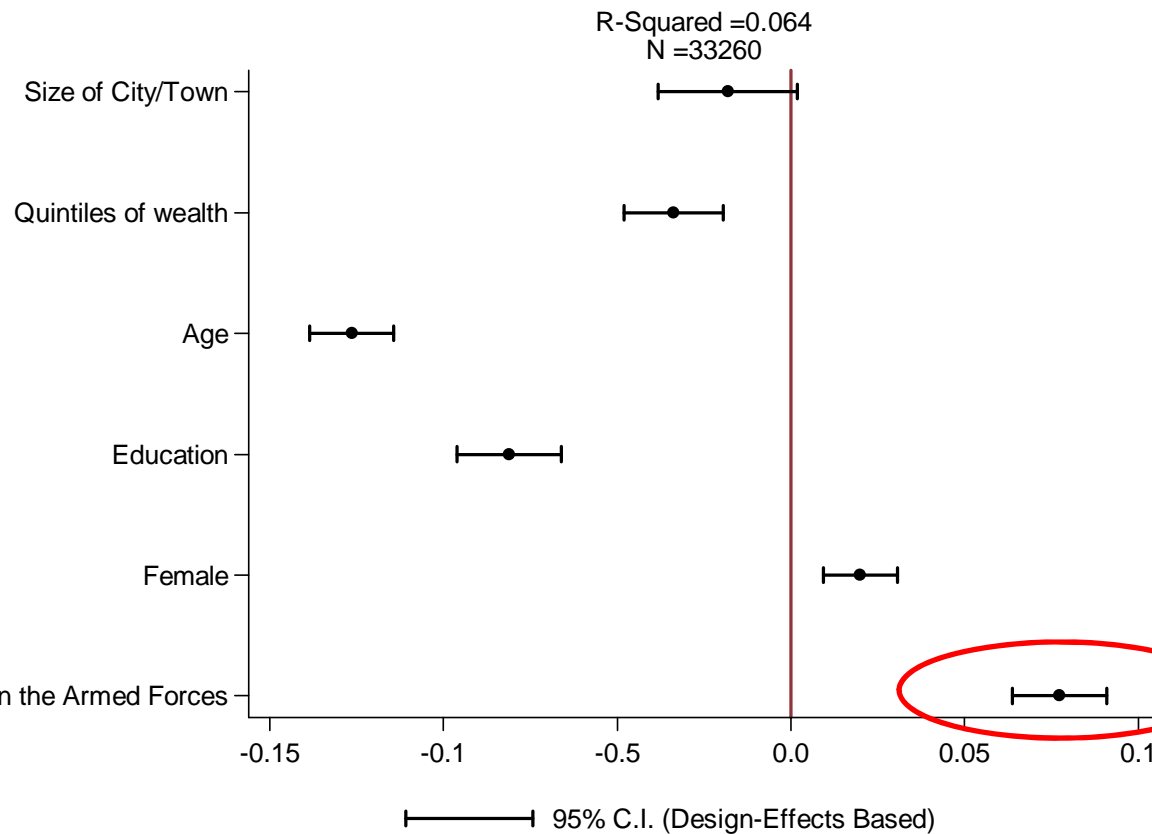
Country Fixed Effects and Intercept Included but not Shown Here

Trust in Armed Forces is positively related to support for **political system**



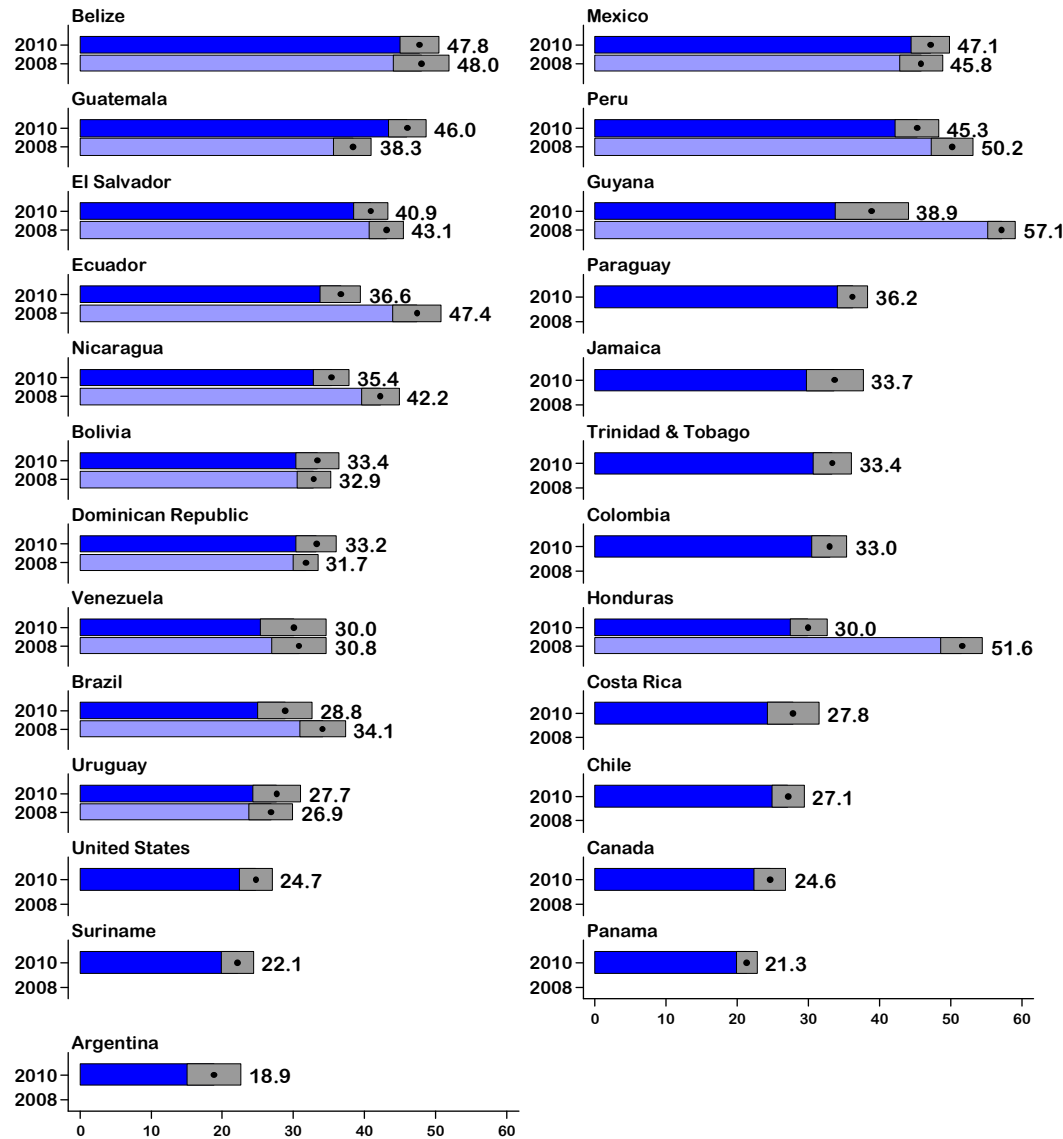
Source: AmericasBarometer by LAPOP

Trust in Armed Forces is positively related to support for **military coups**



Source: AmericasBarometer by LAPOP

Country Fixed Effects and Intercept
Included but not Shown Here



Support for Military Coups

95% Confidence Interval (Design-Effect Based)

Source: AmericasBarometer by LAPOP

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



VIGH

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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





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