



**USAID**  
FROM THE AMERICAN PEOPLE

# The Political Culture of Democracy in Jamaica, 2010

*Democratic Consolidation in the Americas in Hard Times*



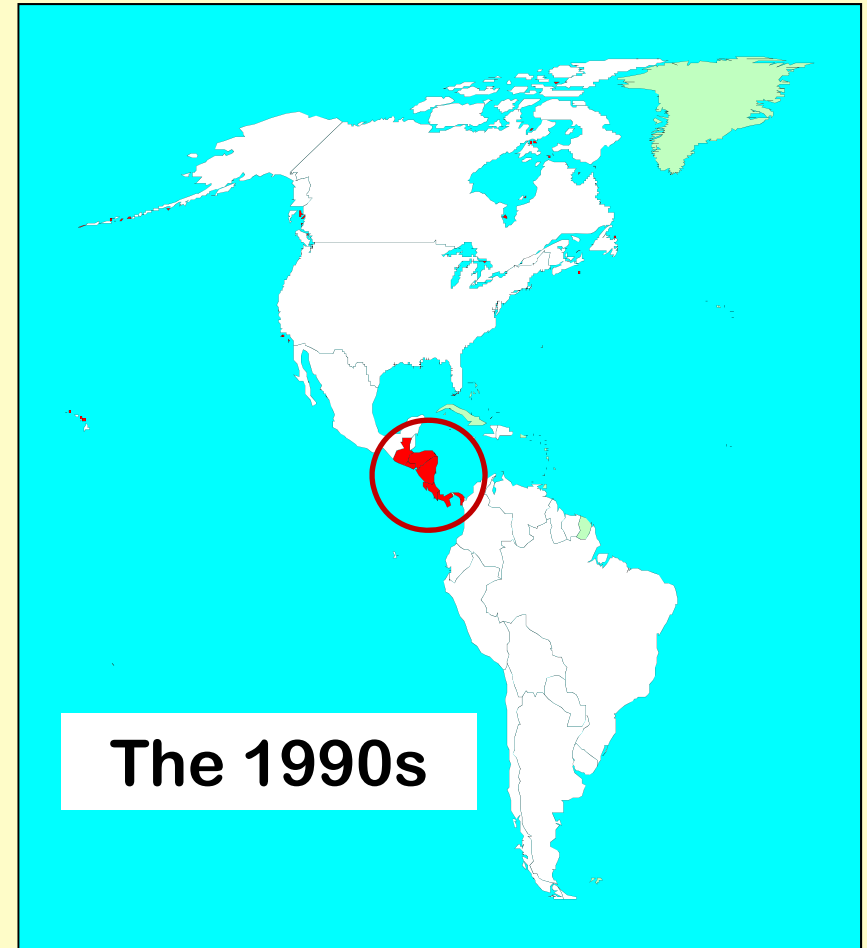
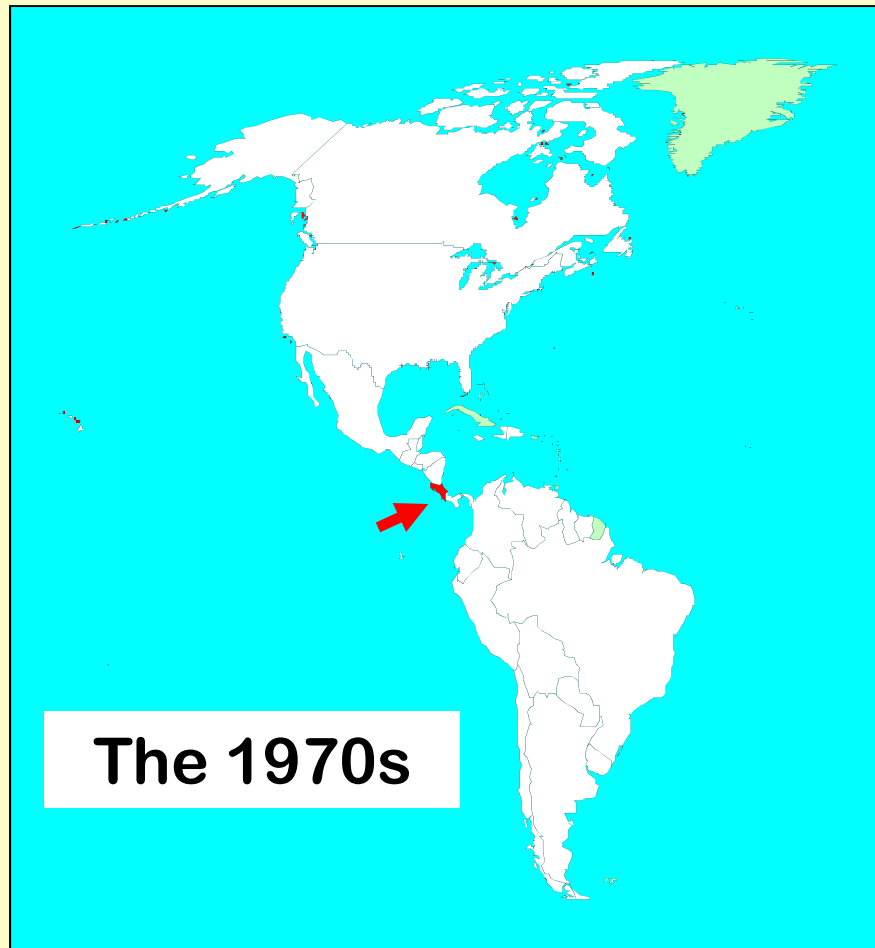
VANDERBILT UNIVERSITY



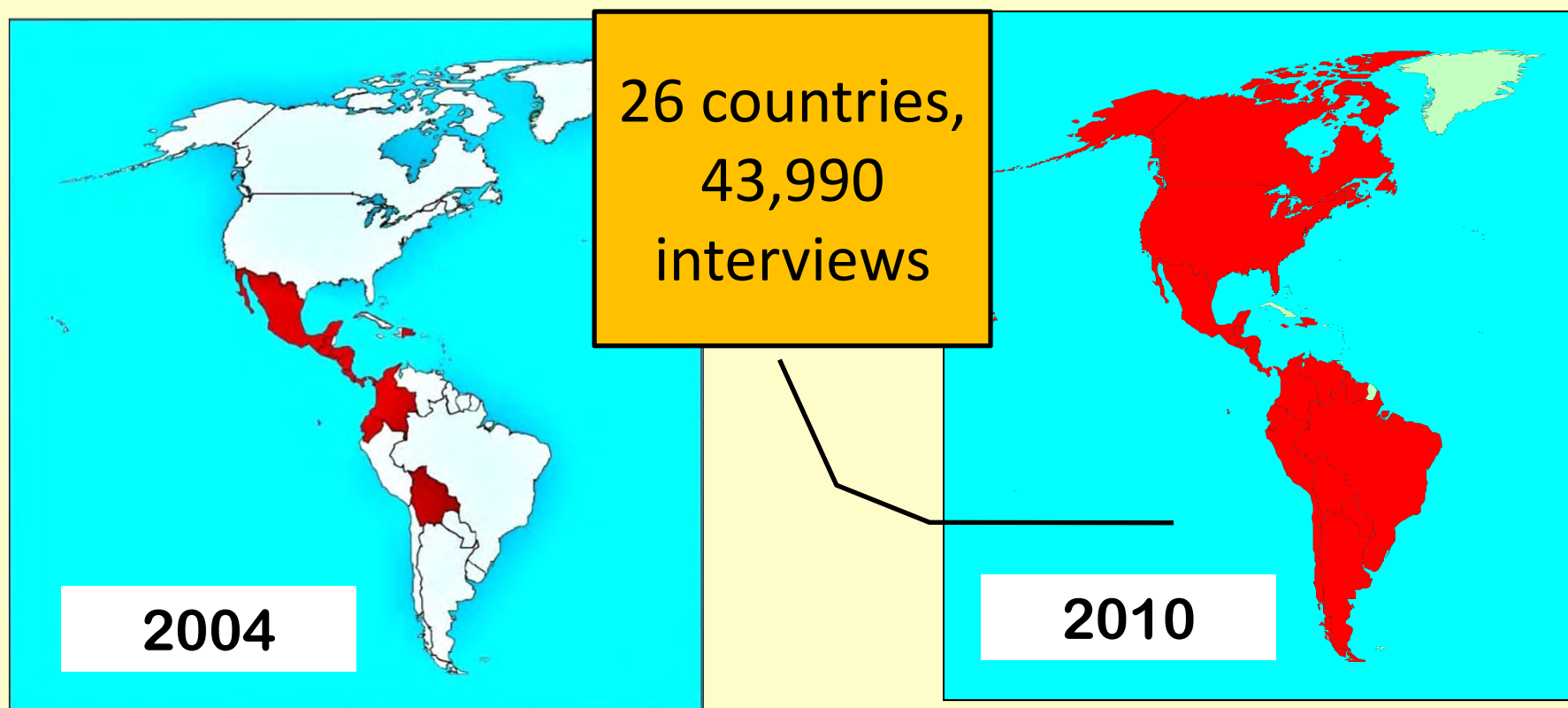
# **Topics to be Covered in this Presentation**

- I. Background on the AmericasBarometer**
- II. The Data**
- III. Social Capital**
- IV. Democratic Values**
- V. Trends in Corruption**

# LAPOP's Beginnings



# The AmericasBarometer



# Donors 2010



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**VIGH**  
Vanderbilt Institute  
for Global Health



# Sample Size and Confidence Intervals (National Level)



**AmericasBarometer**  
Barómetro de las Américas by LAPOP

[www.AmericasBarometer.org](http://www.AmericasBarometer.org)

Country	Sample Size	Sampling Error
<b>Mexico/ Central America</b>		
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%
<b>Andean/Southern Cone</b>		
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%
<b>Caribbean</b>		
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%
<b>United States and Canada</b>		
Canada	1,500	±2.2%
United States	1,500	±2.0%



Honduras



Costa Rica

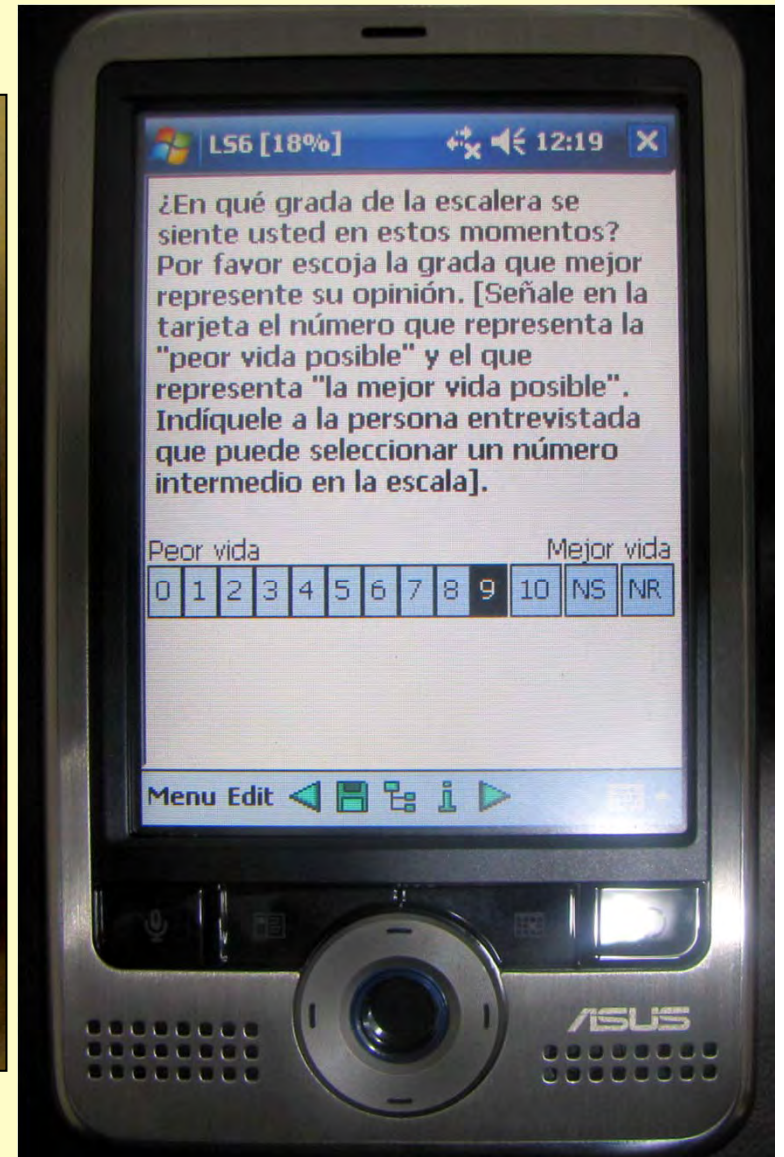
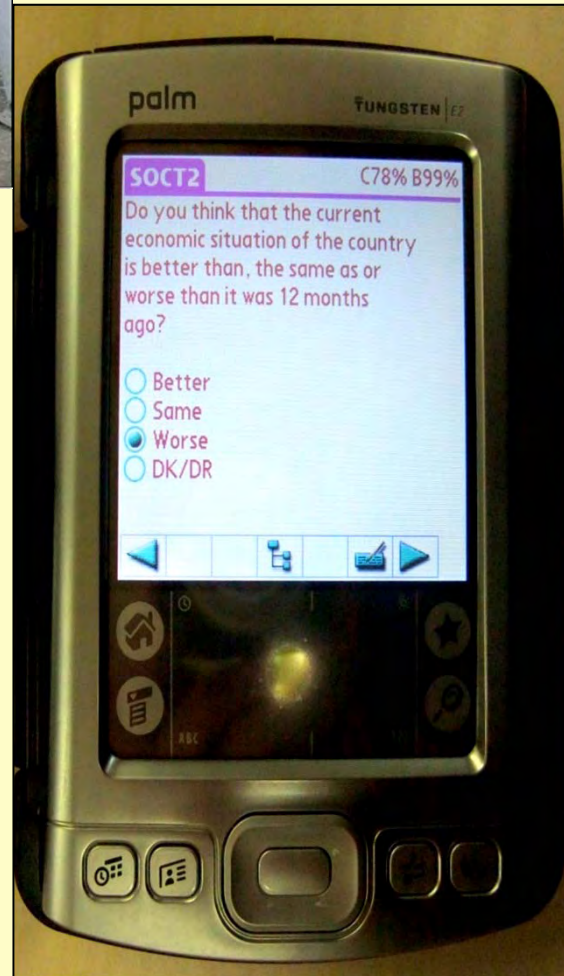


Guyana





## Use of handheld computers:

1. Reduces data entry errors
2. Allows for multiple languages
3. Permits embedded experiments



# 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	

Canada and United States	
Canada	
U.S.	

# Making Results Accessible

# Country Reports: all on-line, free



## The Political Culture of Democracy in Jamaica, 2010

Democratic Consolidation in the Americas in Hard Times

- Lawrence Alfred Powell, Centre For leadership and Governance, UWI, Mona
- Balford Lewis, Department of Sociology , Psychology and Social Work ,UWI, Mona
- Mitchell A. Seligson  
Scientific Coordinator and Editor of the Series  
Vanderbilt University



THE UNIVERSITY OF THE WEST INDIES

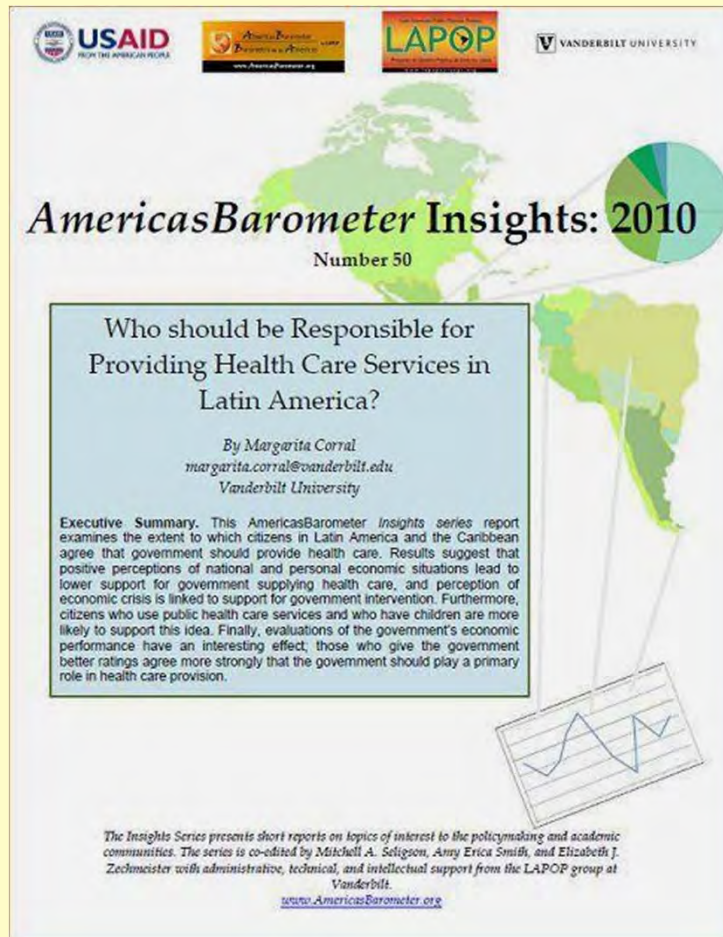


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# Insights Series & Americas Quarterly

Free on-line subscription:



Free subscriptions to the “Insights Series” of bi-weekly studies  
at: [insight@mail.americasbarometer.org](mailto:insight@mail.americasbarometer.org)

Free on-line data  
analysis:  
[www.LapopSurveys.org](http://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**

Supported by:

 **USAID**  
FROM THE AMERICAN PEOPLE

 **Comisión de las Américas**  
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
+-----+			

## **II. The Jamaica Data**



# LAPOP Surveys in Jamaica

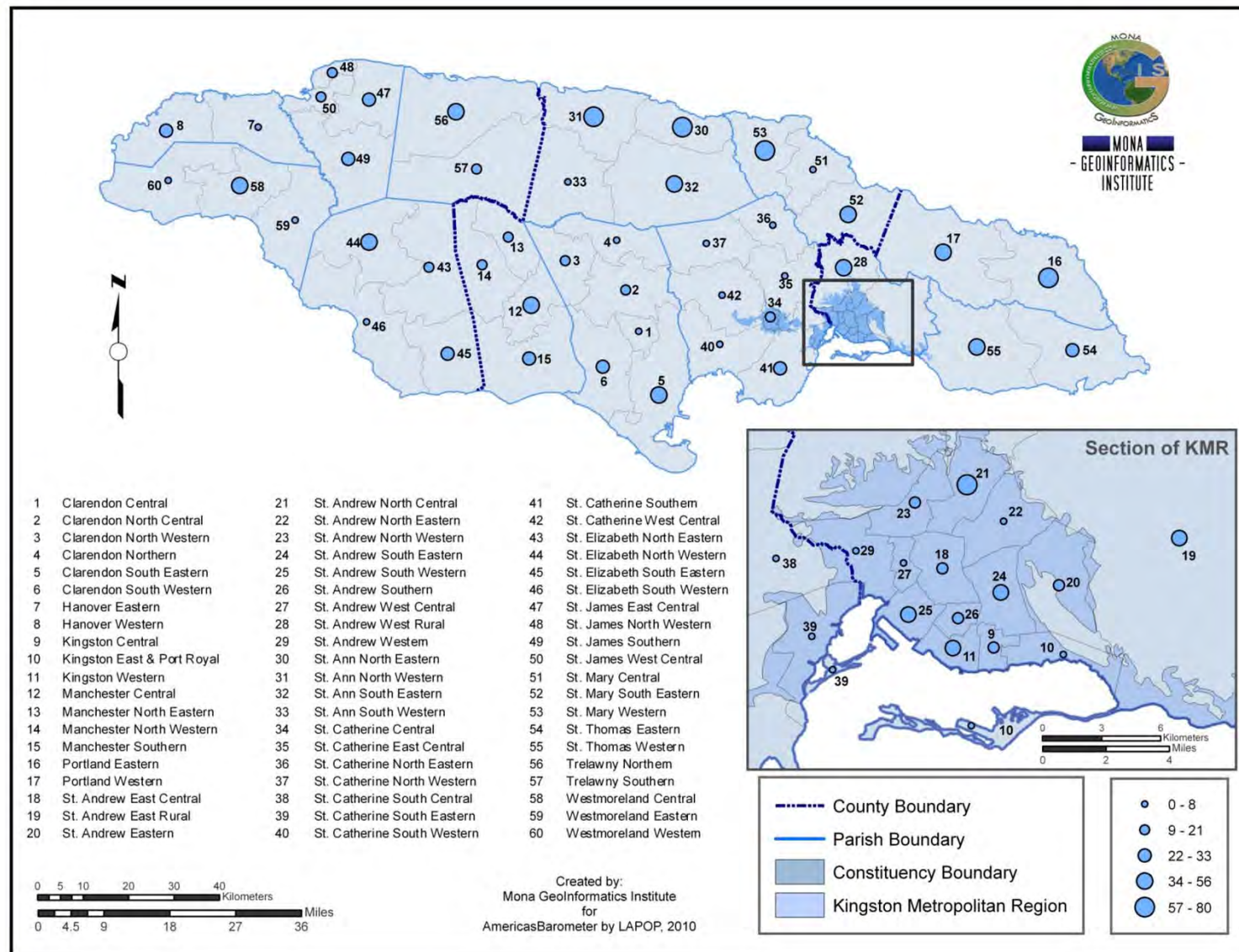
<b>Survey Years</b>	<b>No. of Respondents</b>	<b>Theme of the Survey</b>
<b>2006</b>	<b>1,595</b>	<b>The Political Culture of Democracy in Jamaica: 2006</b>
<b>2008</b>	<b>1,499</b>	<b>The Political Culture of Democracy in Jamaica, 2008: The Impact of Governance</b>
<b>2010</b>	<b>1,504</b>	<b>The Political Culture of Democracy in Jamaica, 2010: Democratic Consolidation in the Americas in Hard Times</b>

# The Sample

- **Face-to-face interviews by interviewers trained by LAPOP**
- **Stratified national probability samples down to the household level (quotas within households)**
- **National sample of 1504 persons, 18 years and over**
- **Probability proportional to size (PPS) sampling is used at every stage**
- **Estimated Error:  $< \pm 2.5\%$  with 95% confidence interval**
- **Use of PDAs**



# Spatial Distribution of Respondents



## Selected Descriptive Statistics from Population Census (2001) and LAPOP (2010) Survey

<b>Selected Population Characteristics</b>	<b>2001 Population Census</b>	<b>LAPOP 2010 Survey</b>
<b>N(n) – Voting age Jamaicans</b>	<b>1,653,906</b>	<b>(1504)</b>
<b>Region</b>		
<b>% Kingston Metropolitan Area</b>	<b>30.9</b>	<b>31.2</b>
<b>% Cornwall</b>	<b>24.8</b>	<b>23.6</b>
<b>% Middlesex</b>	<b>33.3</b>	<b>33.4</b>
<b>% Surrey</b>	<b>11.0</b>	<b>11.8</b>
<b>Gender</b>		
<b>% Males</b>	<b>48.4</b>	<b>50.0</b>
<b>Age</b>		
<b>Average age (years)</b>	<b>40.3</b>	<b>40.5</b>



# **III. Social Capital**

**Interpersonal Trust**

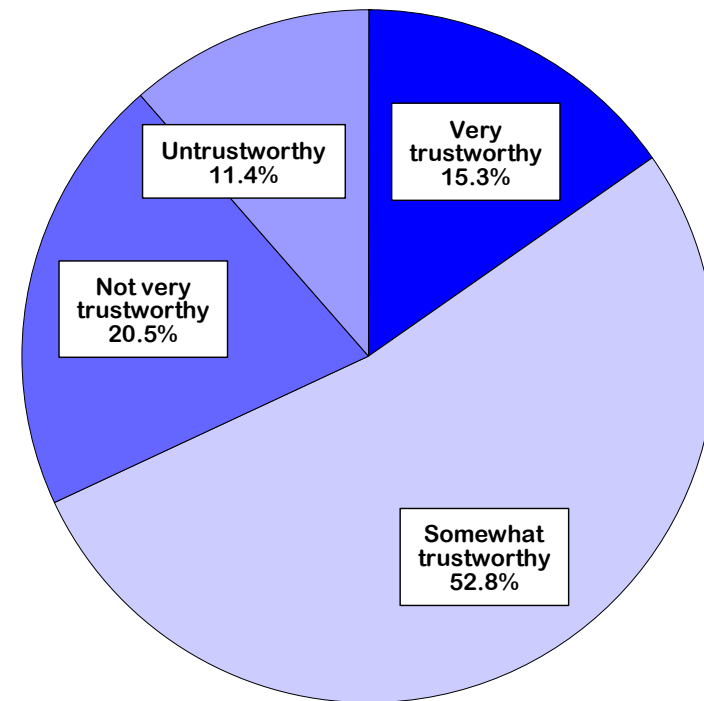
**Civic Participation**

**Political Participation**

# Interpersonal Trust

**IT1.** Now, speaking of the people from around here, would you say that people in this community are very trustworthy, somewhat trustworthy, not very trustworthy or untrustworthy...?

- (1) Very trustworthy**
- (2) Somewhat trustworthy**
- (3) Not very trustworthy**
- (4) Untrustworthy**

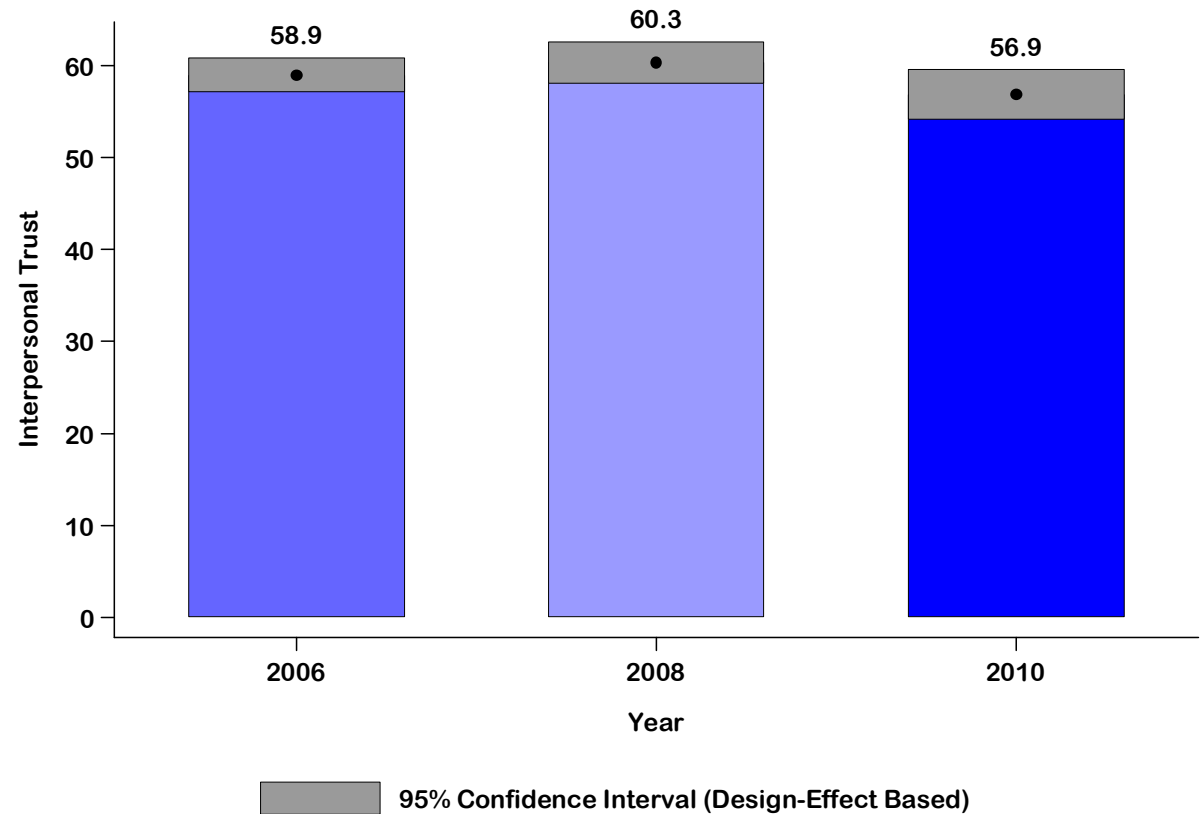


**Interpersonal Trust**

Source: AmericasBarometer by LAPOP

# Interpersonal Trust 2006-2010

Trust among neighbors  
has remained  
unchanged in Jamaica  
from 2006 to 2010

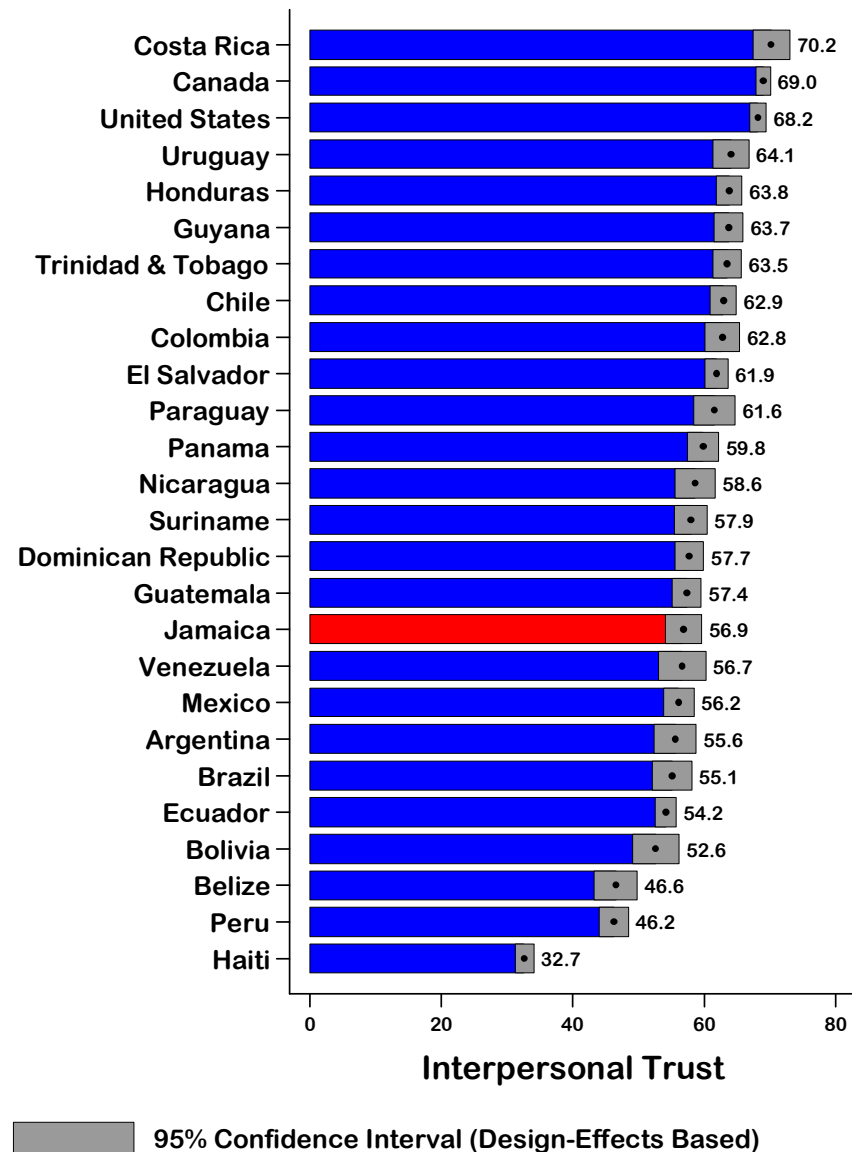


Source: AmericasBarometer by LAPOP



# Interpersonal Trust in Comparative Perspective, 2010

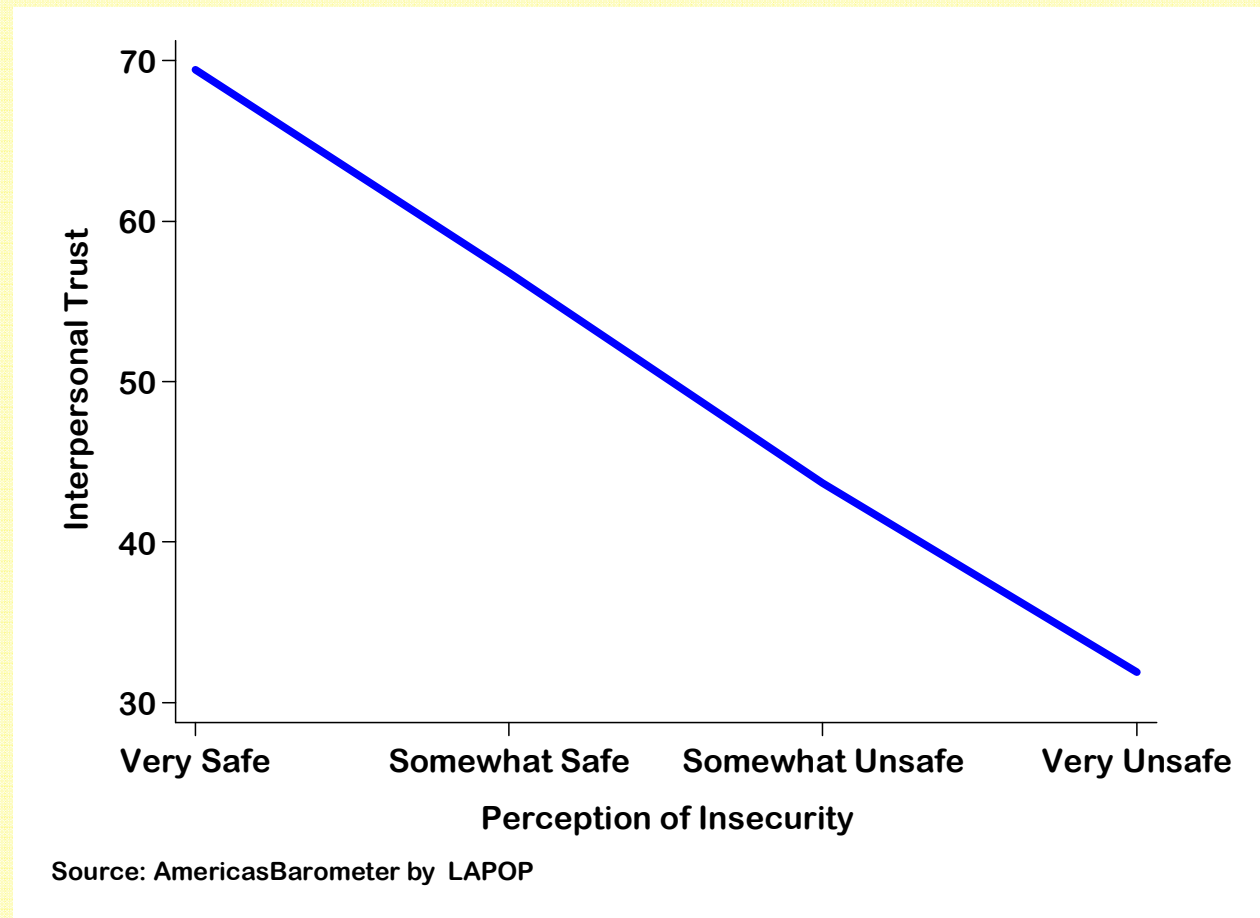
Jamaica shows an intermediate level of Interpersonal trust in comparison to other countries in the Americas



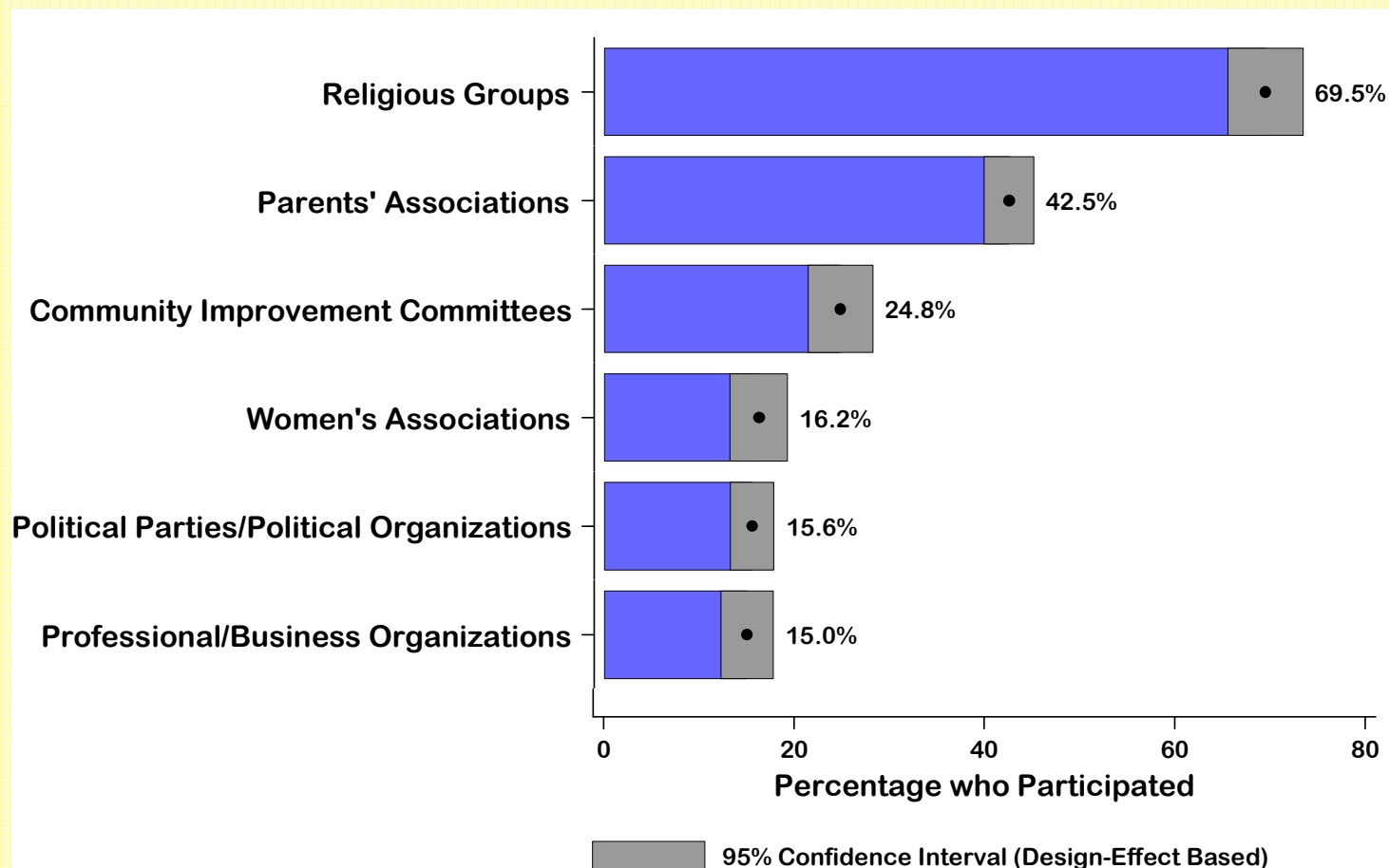
Source: AmericasBarometer by LAPOP



# Interpersonal Trust and Perception of Insecurity



# Participation in Civic Organizations in Jamaica, 2010

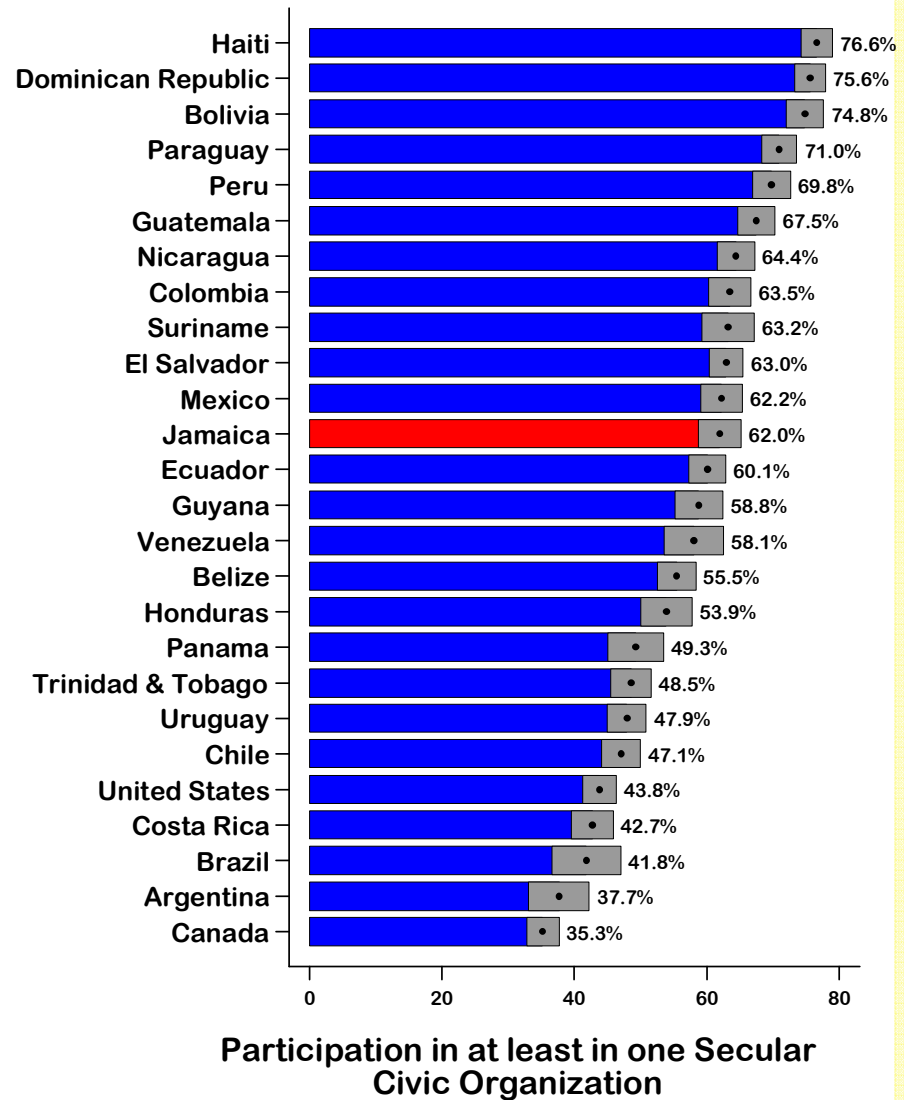


Source: AmericasBarometer by LAPOP



# Participation in Secular Civic Organizations in Comparative Perspective, 2010

Jamaica has an intermediate level of participation in secular civic organizations among the countries included in the 2010 surveys

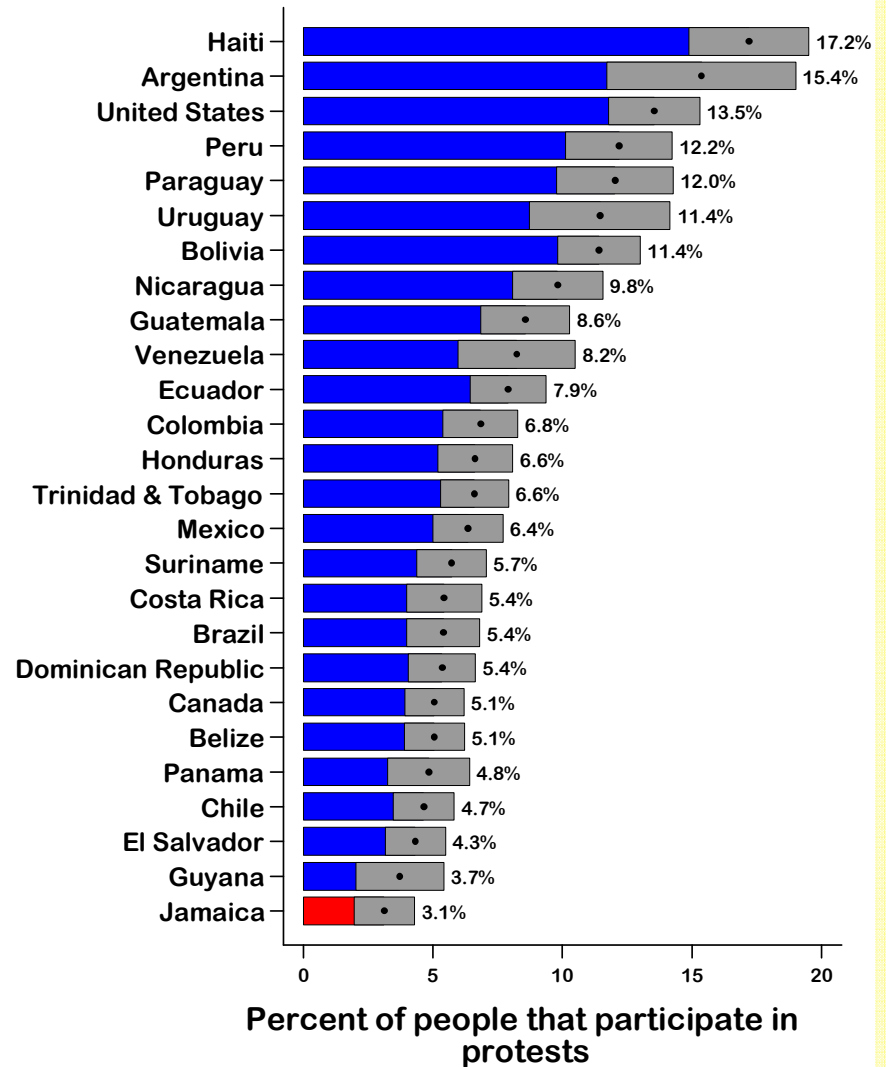


95% Confidence Interval (Design-Effects Based)

Source: AmericasBarometer by LAPOP

# Participation in Protests in Comparative Perspective, 2010

Jamaica has the lowest level of public protest participation among the countries included in the 2010 surveys



95% Confidence Interval (Design-Effects Based)

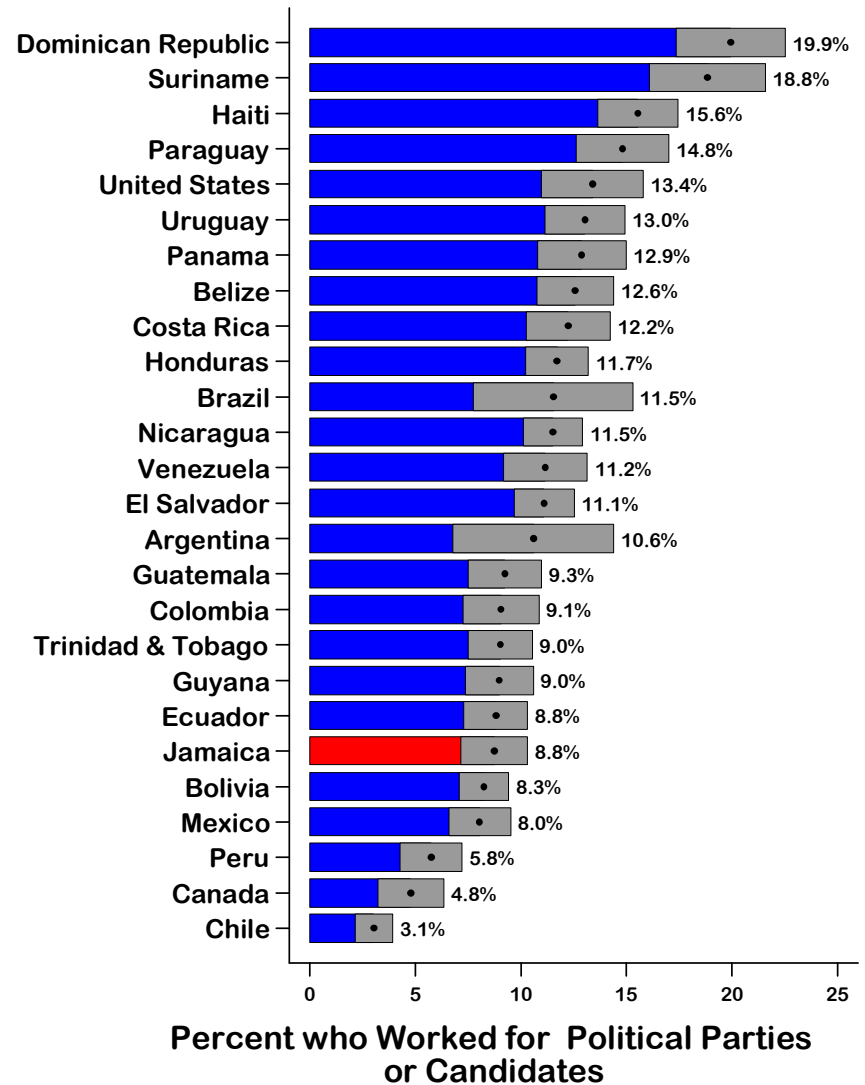
Source: AmericasBarometer by LAPOP



# Percent who Worked for Political Parties or Candidates in Comparative Perspective, 2010

PP2. There are people who work for parties or candidates during electoral campaigns. Did you work for any candidate or party in the last general elections of 2007?

- (1) Yes, worked
- (2) Did not work



95% Confidence Interval (Design-Effects Based)

Source: AmericasBarometer by LAPOP

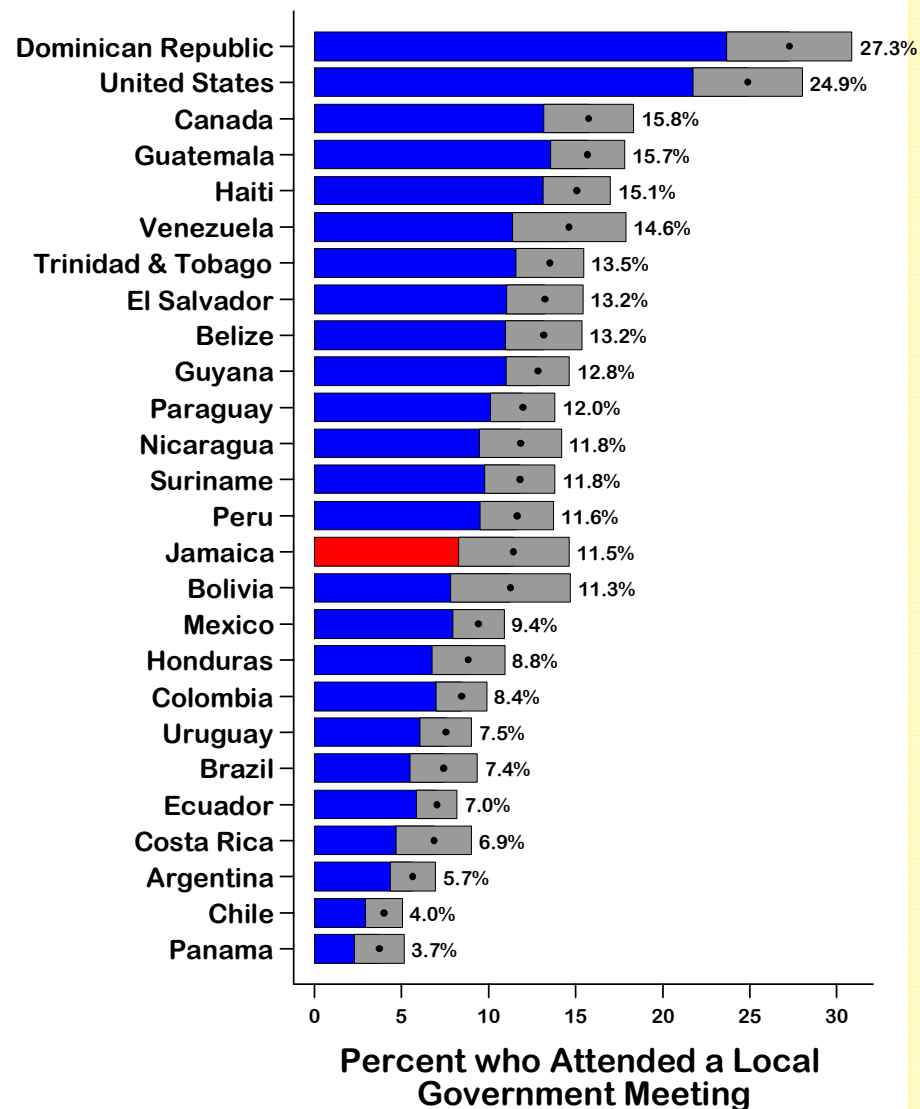


# Participation in Local Government Meetings in Comparative Perspective, 2010

NP1. Have you attended a town meeting, parish council meeting or other meeting in the past 12 months?

(1) Yes

(2) No



95% Confidence Interval (Design-Effects Based)

Source: AmericasBarometer by LAPOP

# **IV. Democratic Values in Jamaica**

**Support for Democracy**

**Satisfaction with Democracy**

**Support for the Rule of Law**

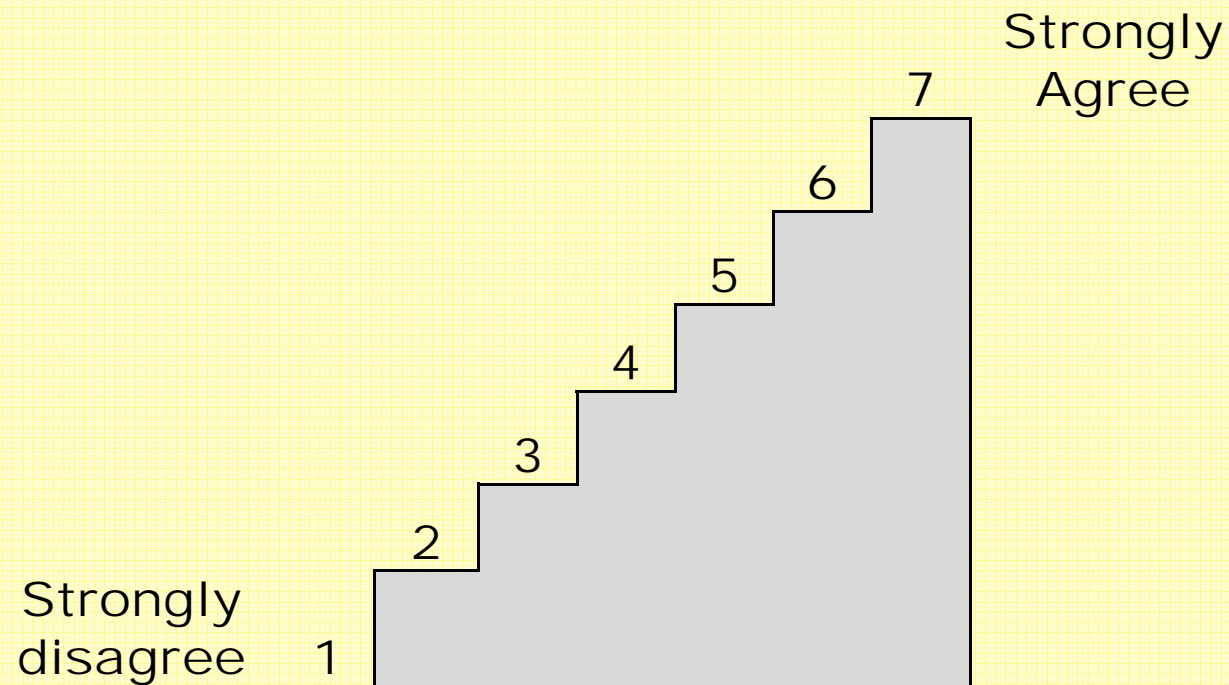
**Support for Political Institutions**

**Political and Social Tolerance**

**Support for Stable Democracy**

# Agreement with Churchill?

**ING4. 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?**

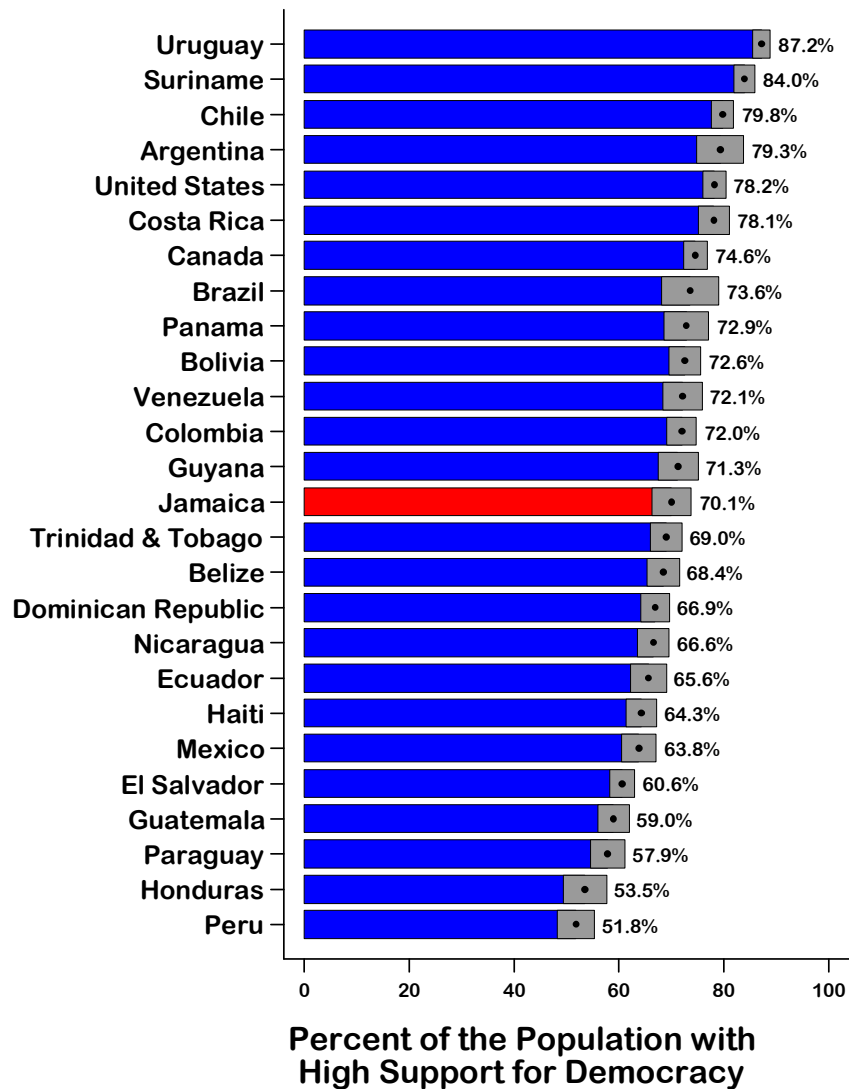




# Widespread Support for Democracy in the Latin America and the Caribbean

However, Jamaica shows a relatively intermediate level of support for democracy in comparison to other countries in the Americas

Low support=1-4 values on 1-7 scale  
High support=5-7 values on 1-7 scale



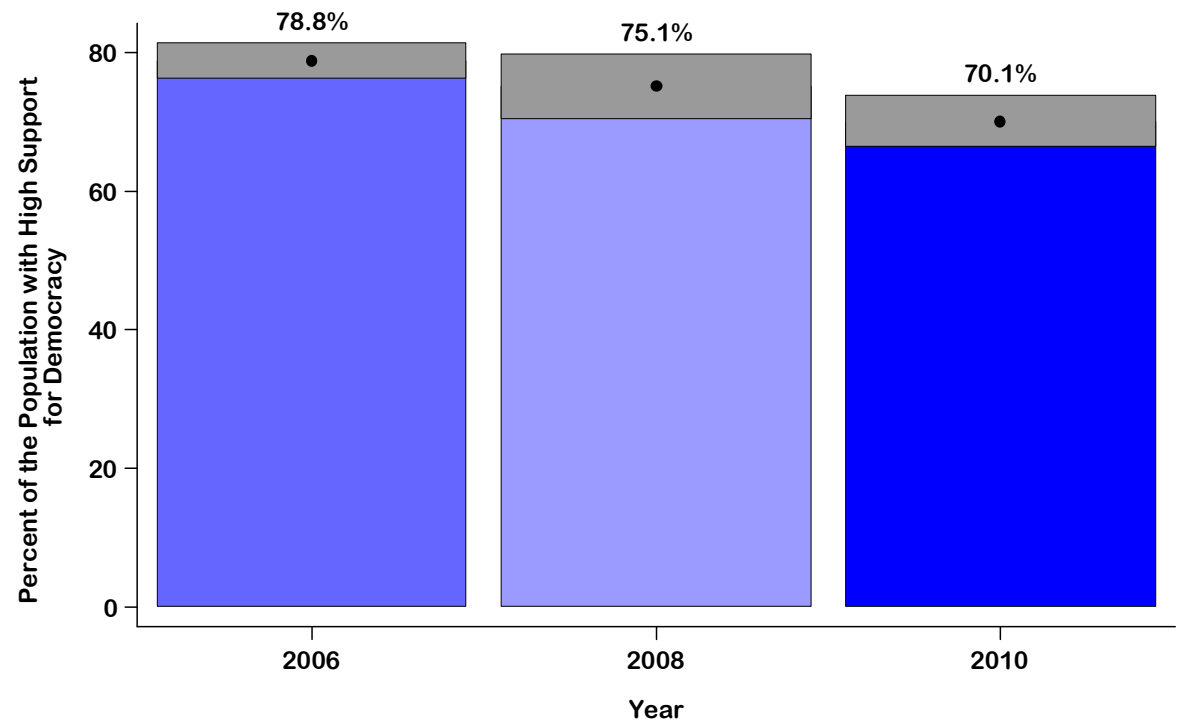
95% Confidence Interval (Design-Effects Based)

Source: AmericasBarometer by LAPOP



# Support for Democracy 2006-2010

Jamaicans experience some decline on their belief that democracy is the best possible form of government since 2006



95% Confidence Interval (Design-Effect Based)

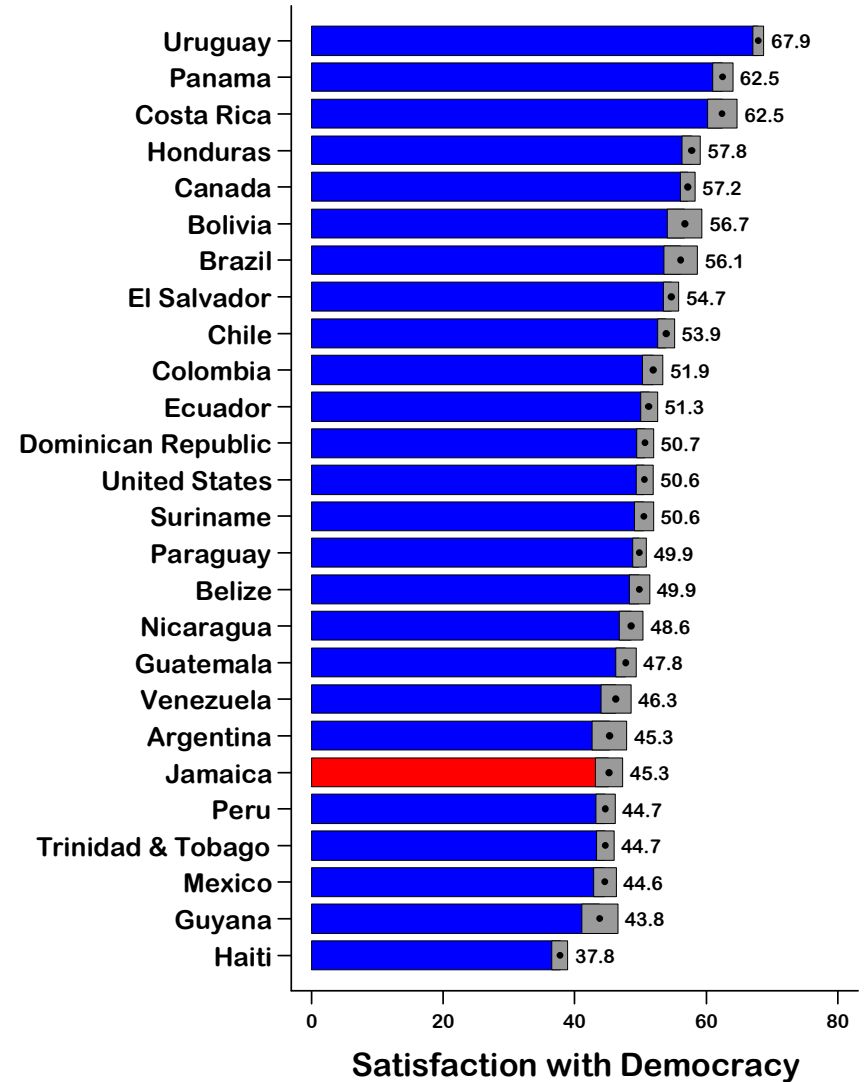
Source: AmericasBarometer by LAPOP

# Satisfaction with the way democracy works in Jamaica

PN4. In general, would you say that you are very satisfied, satisfied, dissatisfied or very dissatisfied with the way democracy works in Jamaica?

- (1) Very satisfied
- (2) Satisfied
- (3) Dissatisfied
- (4) Very dissatisfied

Jamaica shows a relatively low satisfaction with democracy in comparison to other countries in the Americas

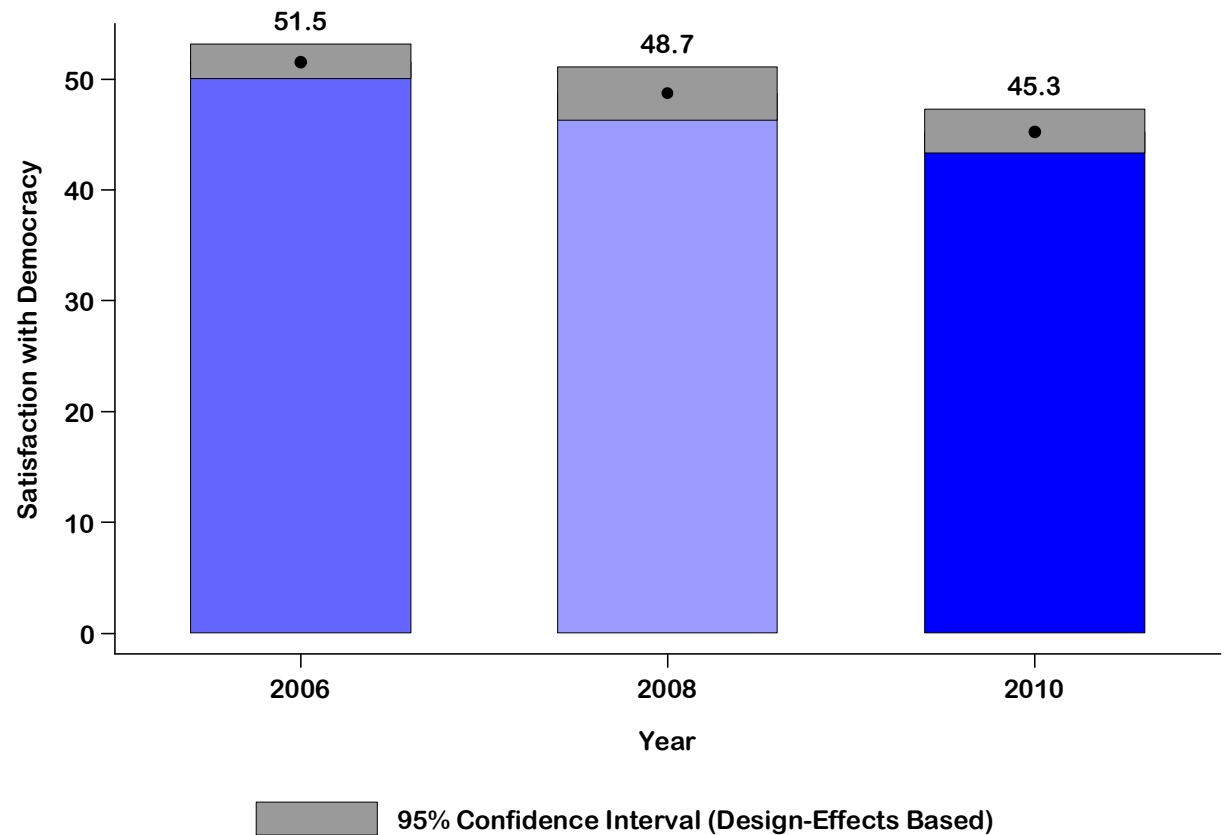


95% Confidence Interval (Design-Effects Based)

Source: AmericasBarometer by LAPOP

# Satisfaction with Democracy 2006 - 2010

Satisfaction with  
democracy is also  
declining



Source: AmericasBarometer by LAPOP



# Items used to create “Support for Military Coups” Index

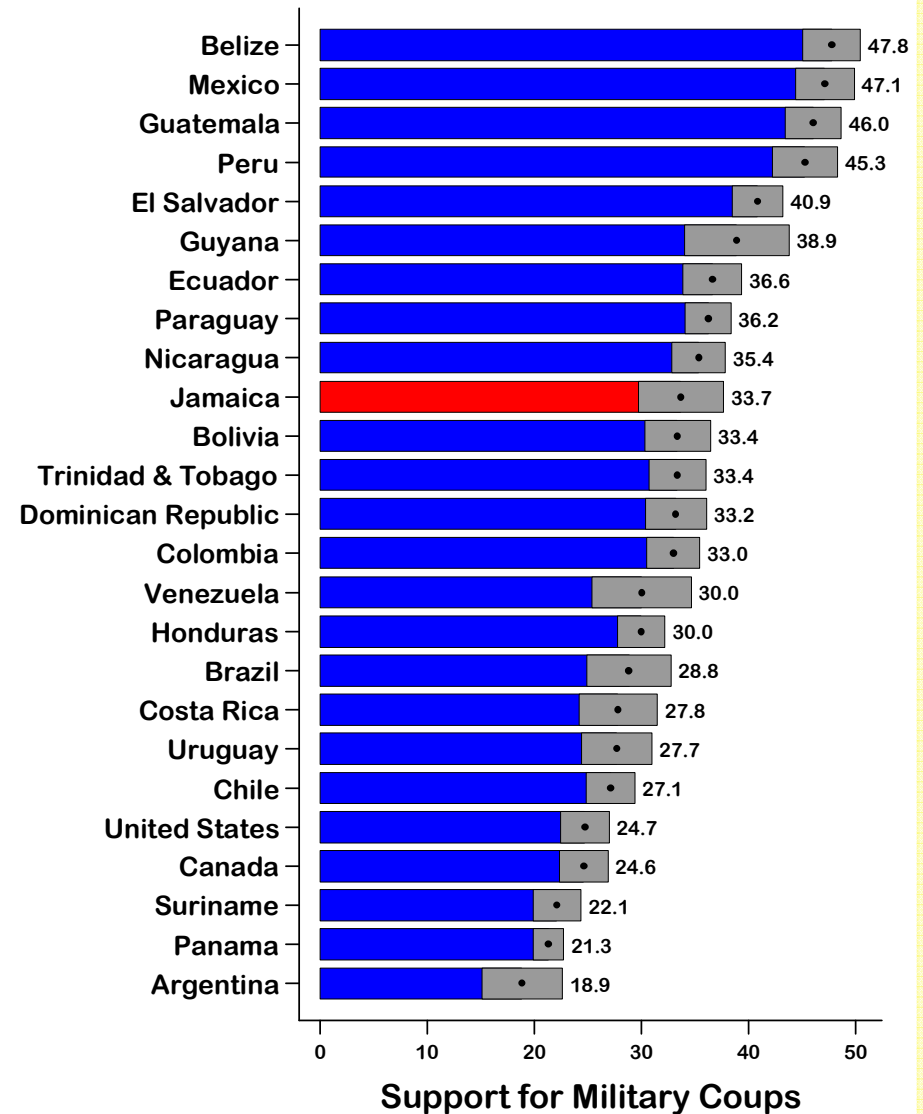
Now, changing the subject. Some people say that under some circumstances it would be justified for the military of this country to take power by a coup d'état (military coup). In your opinion would a military coup be justified under the following circumstances? **[Read the options after each question]**

JC1. When there is high unemployment.	(1) A military take-over of the state would be justified	(2) A military take-over of the state would not be justified	(88) DK	(98) DA
JC10. When there is a lot of crime.	(1) A military take-over of the state would be justified	(2) A military take-over of the state would not be justified	(88) DK	(98) DA
JC13. When there is a lot of corruption.	(1) A military take-over of the state would be justified	(2) A military take-over of the state would not be justified	(88) DK	(98) DA



# Support for military coups, 2010

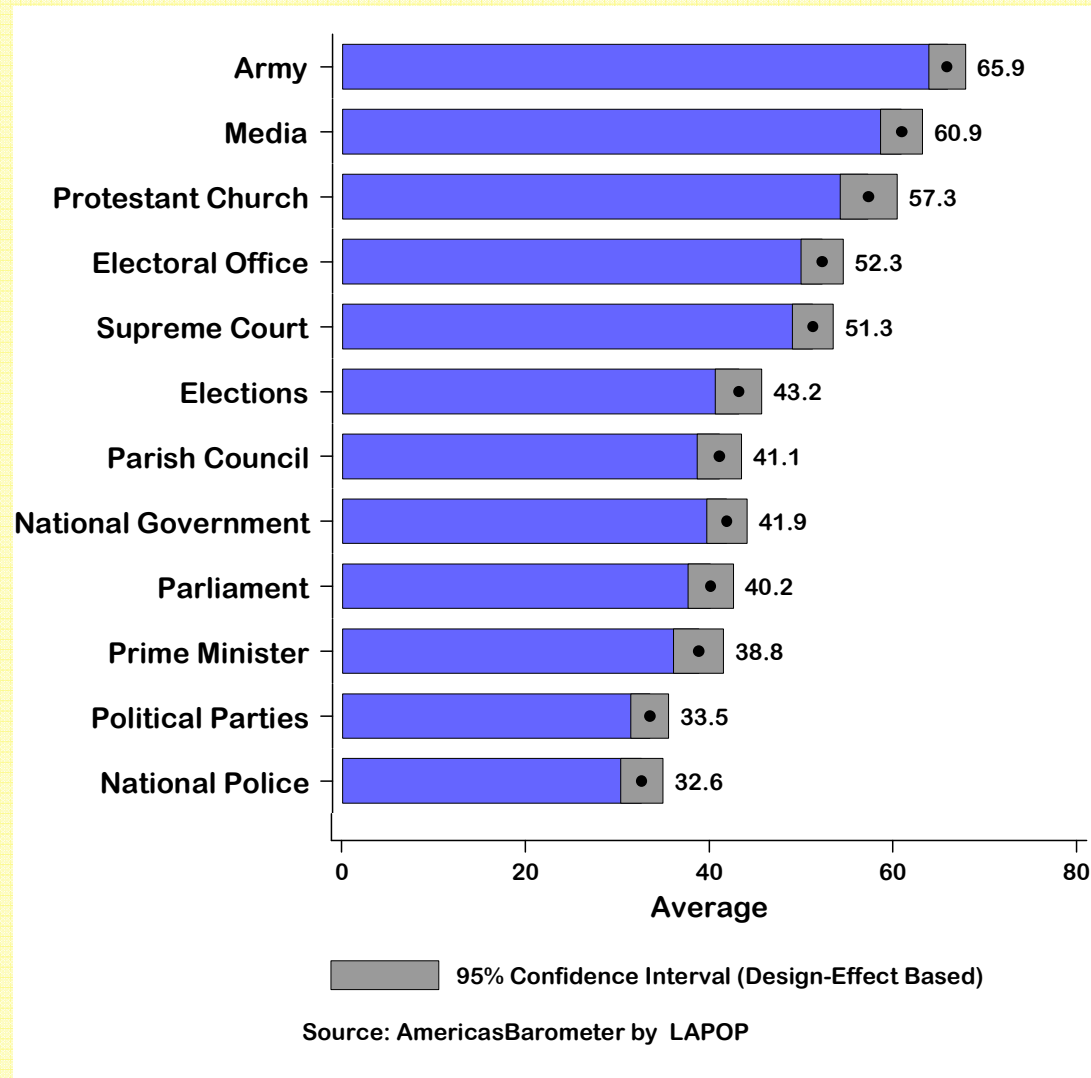
Jamaica shows a high level of support for military coups



95% Confidence Interval (Design-Effects Based)

Source: AmericasBarometer by LAPOP

# Trust in Key National Institutions





# Items used to create “System Support” Index

**B1. To what extent do you think the courts of justice in Jamaica guarantee a fair trial?**

**B2. To what extent do you respect the political institutions of Jamaica?**

**B3. To what extent do you think that citizens' basic rights are well protected by the political system of Jamaica?**

**B4. To what extent do you feel proud of living under the political system of Jamaica?**

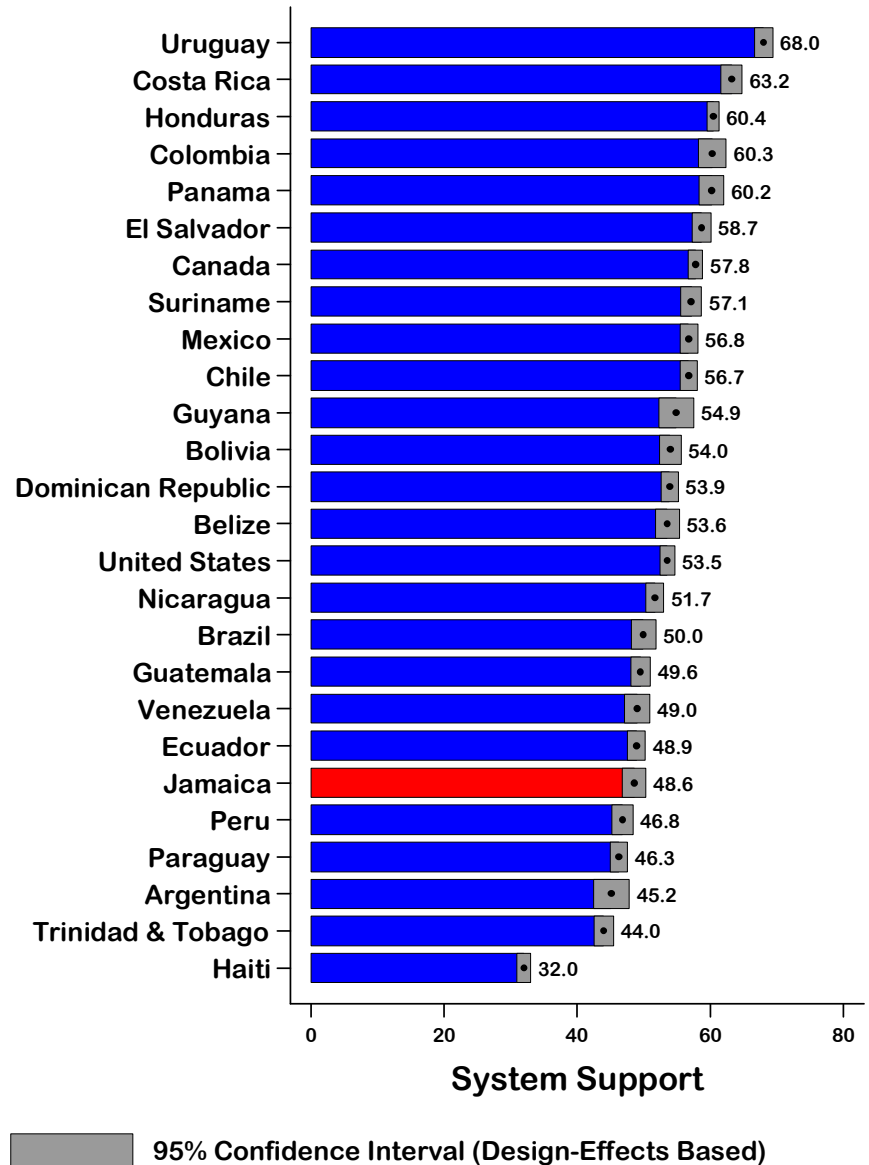
**B6. To what extent do you think that one should support the political system of Jamaica?**

A lot		7
		6
		5
		4
		3
		2
Not at all		1



# System Support in Comparative Perspective, 2010

Jamaica shows a relatively low system support in comparison to other countries in the Americas



Source: AmericasBarometer by LAPOP

# Items used to create the “Political Tolerance” index

**D1.** There are people who only say bad things about the Jamaican form of government, not just the incumbent government but the system of government. How strongly do you approve or disapprove of such people’s **right to vote**?

**D2.** How strongly do you approve or disapprove that such people be allowed **to conduct peaceful demonstrations** in order to express their views?

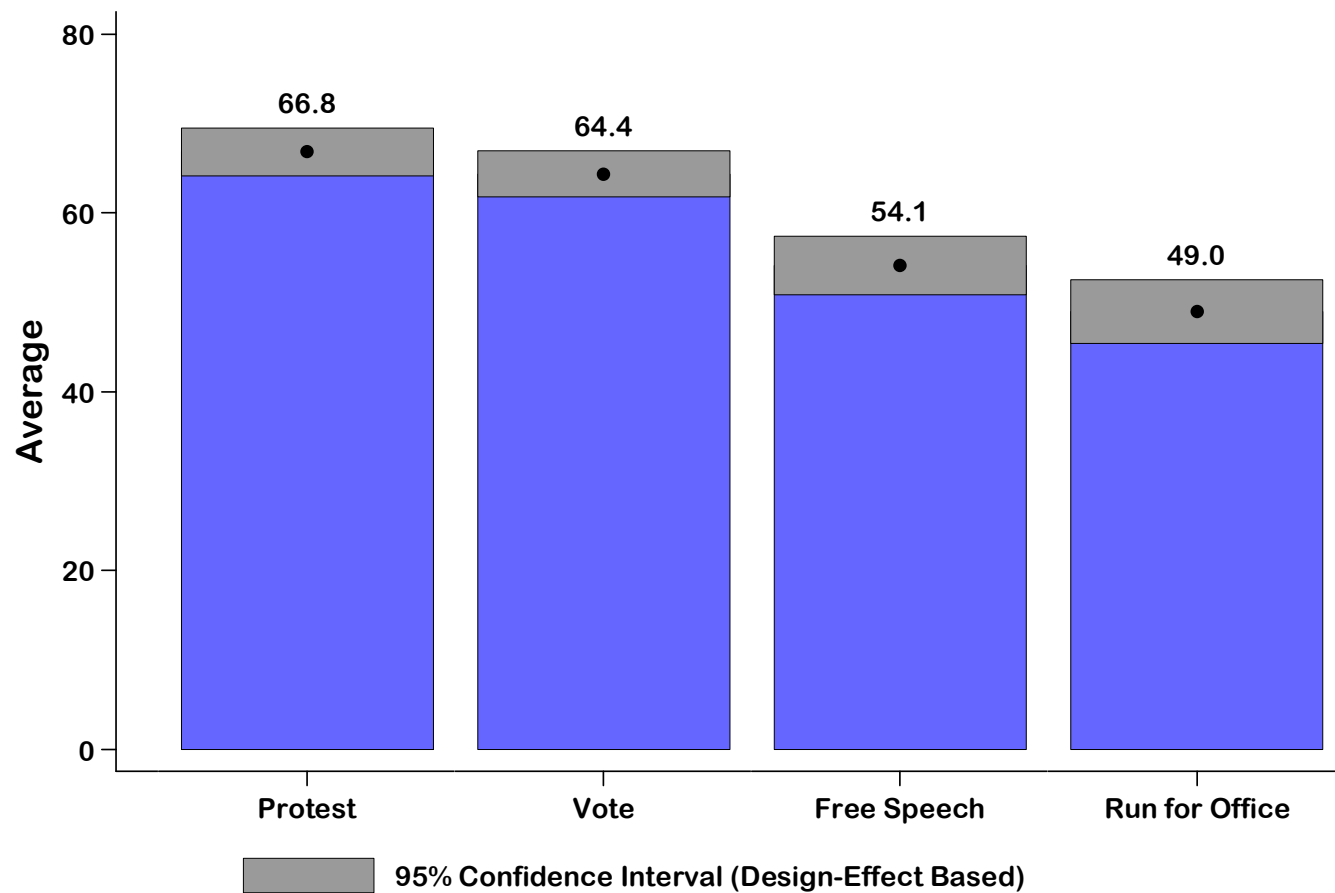
**D3.** Still thinking of those who only say bad things about the Jamaican form of government, how strongly do you approve or disapprove of such people being permitted **to run for public office**?

**D4.** How strongly do you approve or disapprove of such people **appearing on television to make speeches**?

Strongly Approve	10
	9
	8
	7
	6
	5
	4
	3
	2
Strongly Disapprove	1



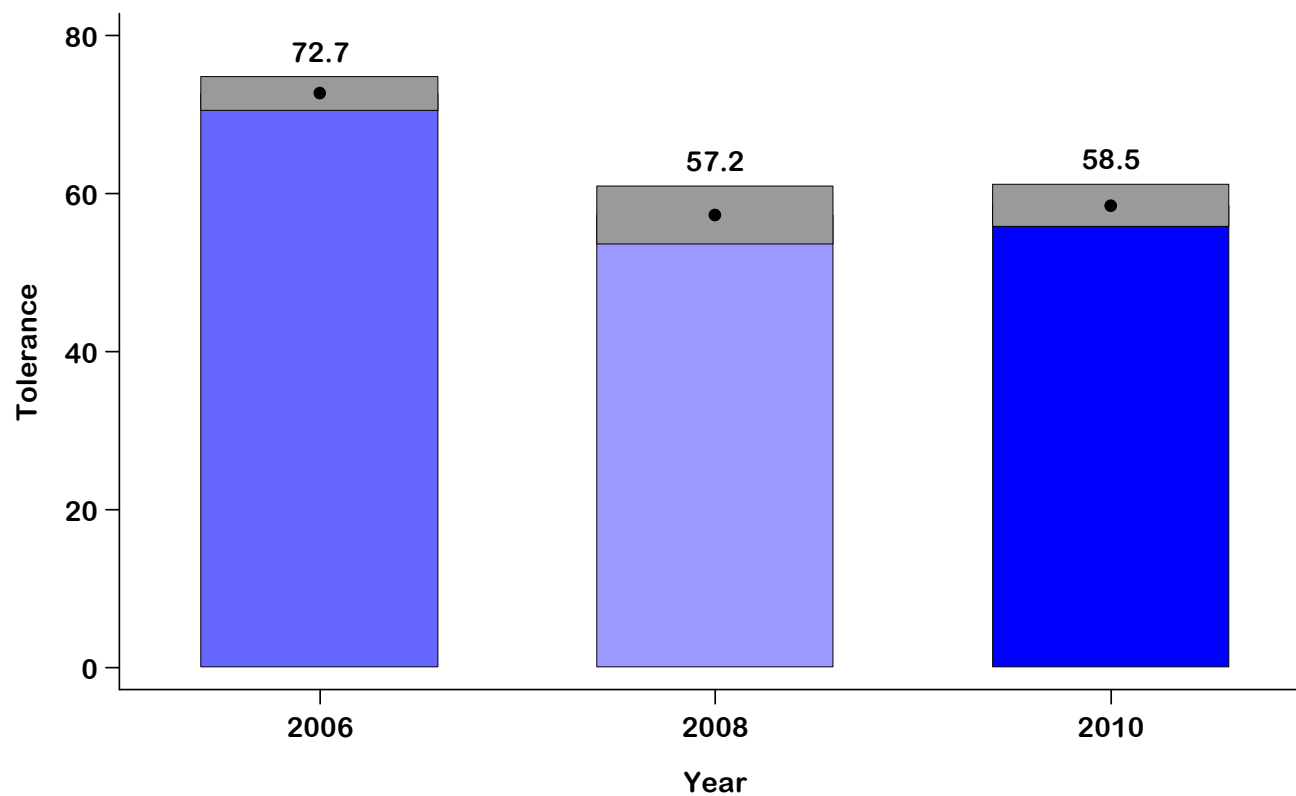
# Indicators of Political Tolerance



Source: AmericasBarometer by LAPOP



# Political Tolerance, 2006 - 2010

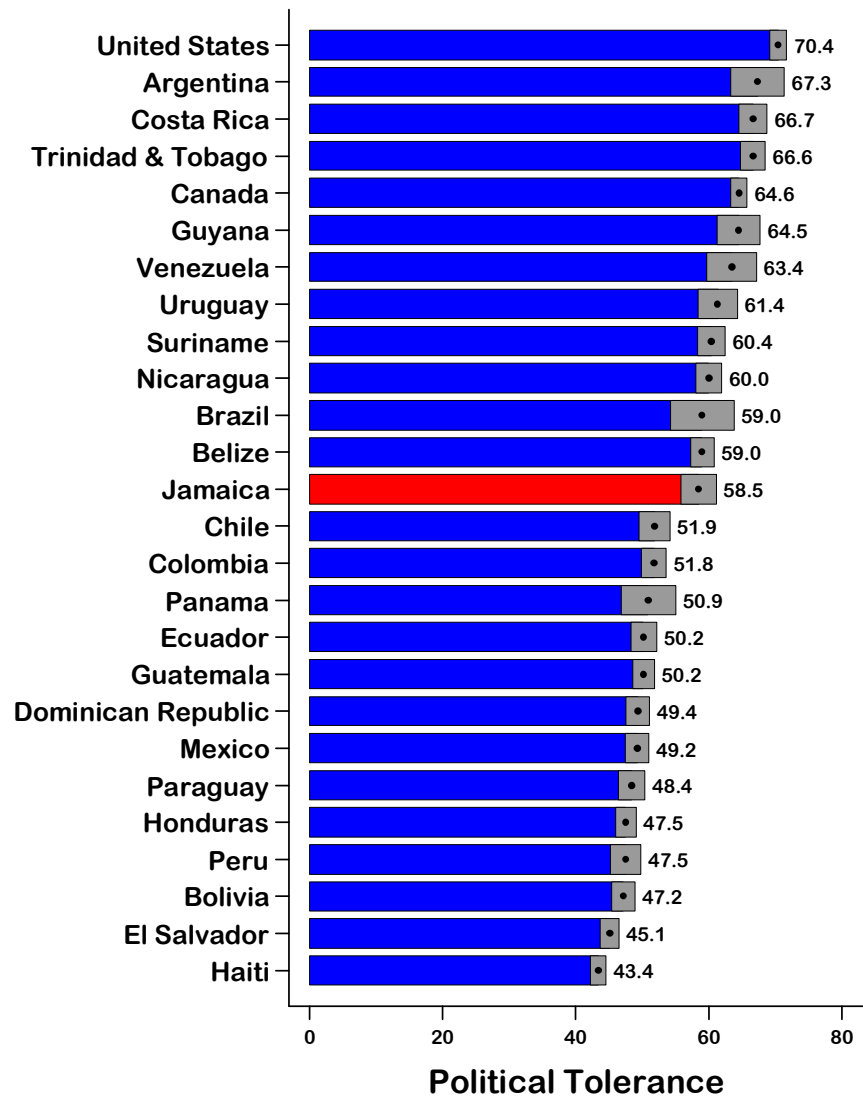


95% Confidence Interval (Design-Effect Based)

Source: AmericasBarometer by LAPOP

# Political Tolerance in Comparative Perspective, 2010

Jamaica shows an  
intermediate level of  
political tolerance in  
comparison to other  
countries in the  
Americas



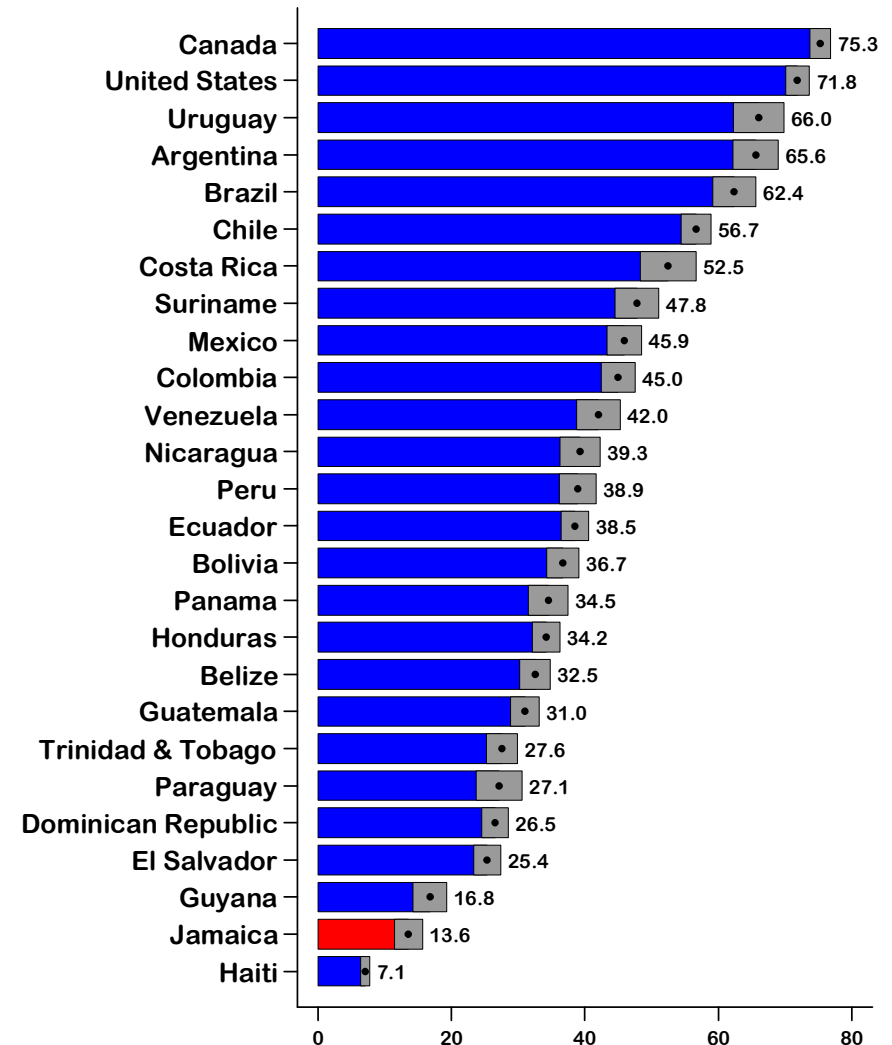
95% Confidence Interval (Design-Effects Based)

Source: AmericasBarometer by LAPOP

# Social Tolerance in Comparative Perspective, 2010

**D5.** And now, changing the topic and thinking of homosexuals, how strongly do you approve or disapprove of such people being permitted to **run for public office**?

With 13.6 points on a 0-100 scale, Jamaica has the second lowest average level of approval of homosexuals running for office



Approval of Homosexuals Running for Office

95% Confidence Interval (Design-Effects Based)

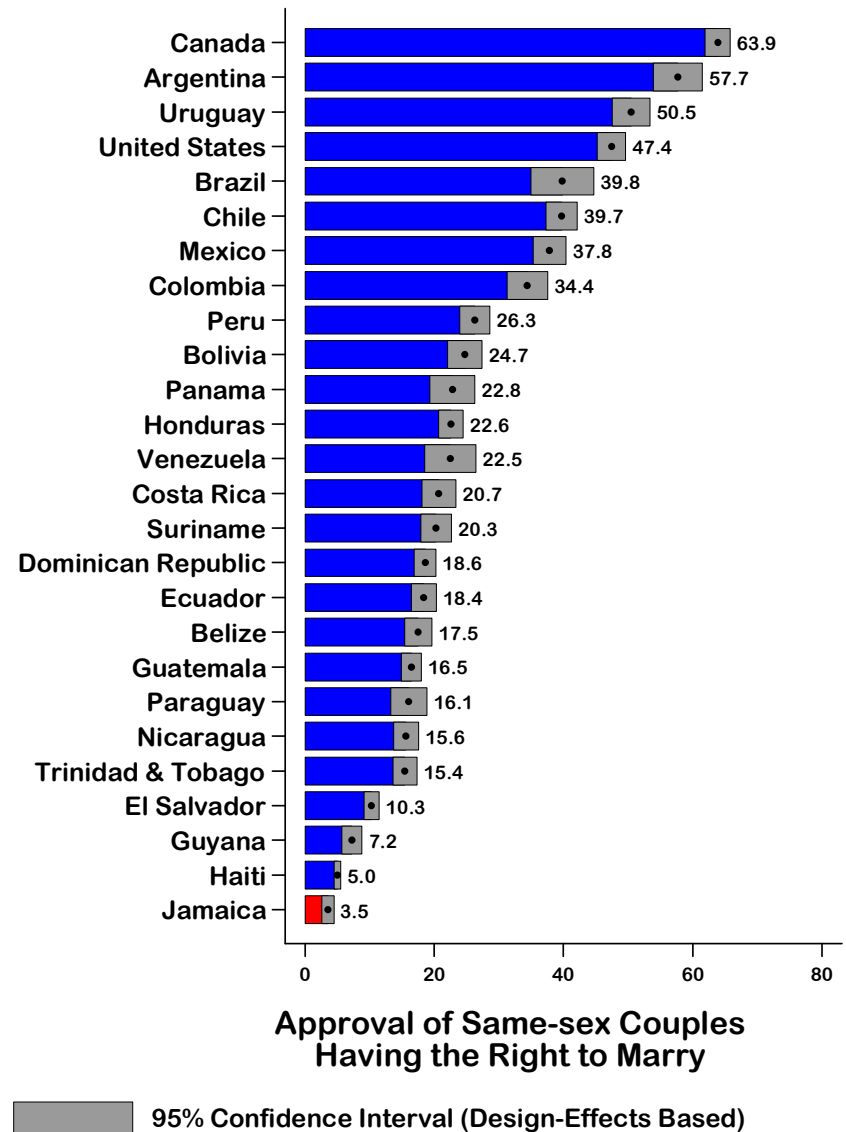
Source: AmericasBarometer by LAPOP



# Same-sex marriage in Comparative Perspective, 2010

**D6.** How strongly do you approve or disapprove of same-sex couples having the right to marry?

With 3.5 points on a 0-100 scale, Jamaica has the lowest average level of approval of same-sex marriage



Source: AmericasBarometer by LAPOP

# **V. Corruption and its Impact on Democracy**

**Perception of Corruption  
Corruption Victimization  
Justification of Corruption  
Corruption and Democracy**

# **Fight against Corruption**

- **Defined simply as the “the misuse of entrusted power for private benefit” (Transparency International, 2000, p.1), it is an age-old phenomenon**
- **Exists to some degree in all societies**
- **More prevalent in Developing Countries**
- **International collaboration in combating corruption intensified since the 1990s**
- **Central to anti-corruption effort are initiatives aimed at determining nature and scope of the problem in society**



# Corruption in Jamaica according to Transparency International (TI)

- Jamaica consistently ranked among the highly corrupt nations of the world on (TI's) Corruption Perception Index (CPI)
- Jamaica accorded a 'highly corrupt' designation every year since 2002
- Corruption in public affairs is perceived to have progressively worsened over the years
- Slight reversal in 2010

Year	CPI
2006	3.7
2007	3.3
2008	3.1
2009	3.0
2010	3.3
<i>Source: Transparency International, 2010</i>	

# Perception of Corruption in Jamaica

**EXC7.** Taking into account your own experience or what you have heard, corruption among public officials is...

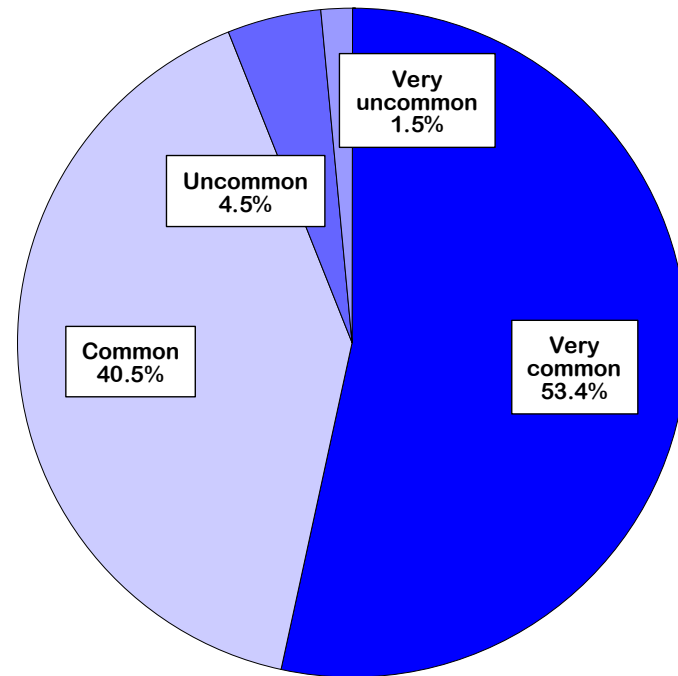
(1) Very common

(2) Common

(3) Uncommon

(4) Very uncommon

(88) DK (98) DA

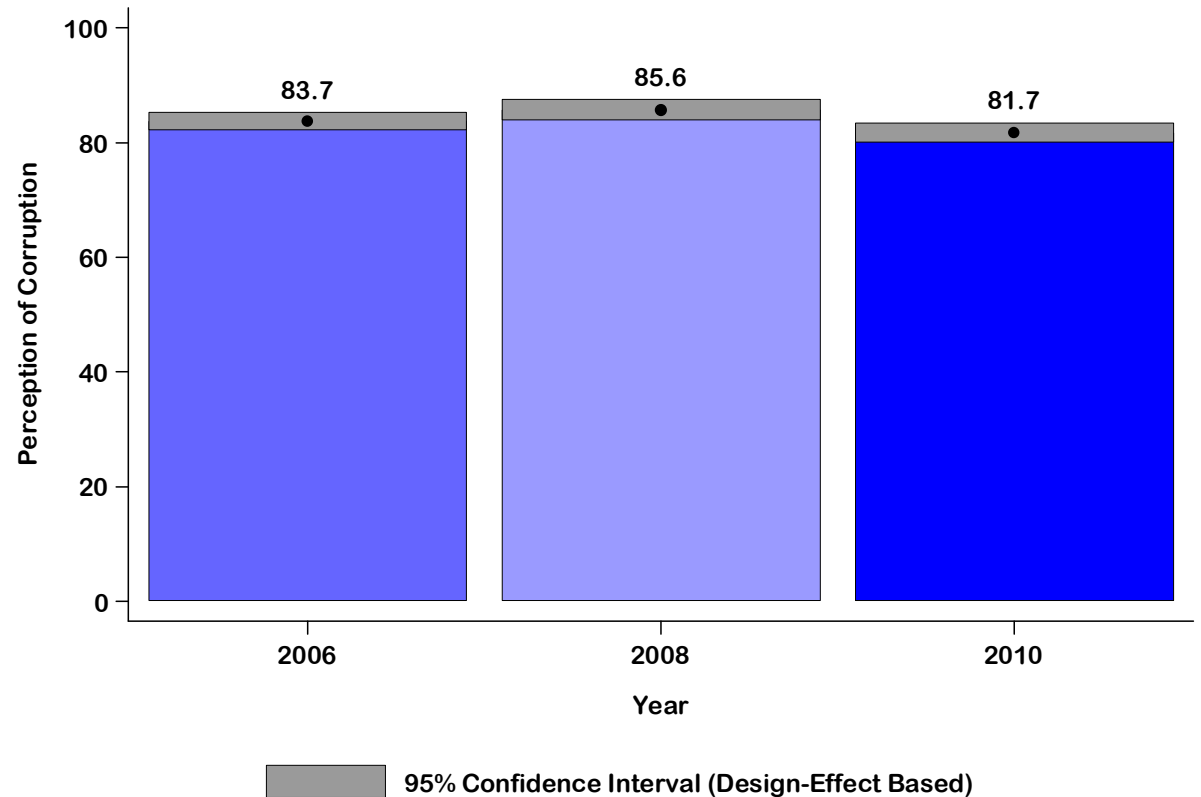


Perception of Corruption

Source: AmericasBarometer by LAPOP

# Perception of Corruption by Year

Slight decrease  
in the level of  
perception of  
corruption in  
Jamaica from  
2008 to 2010

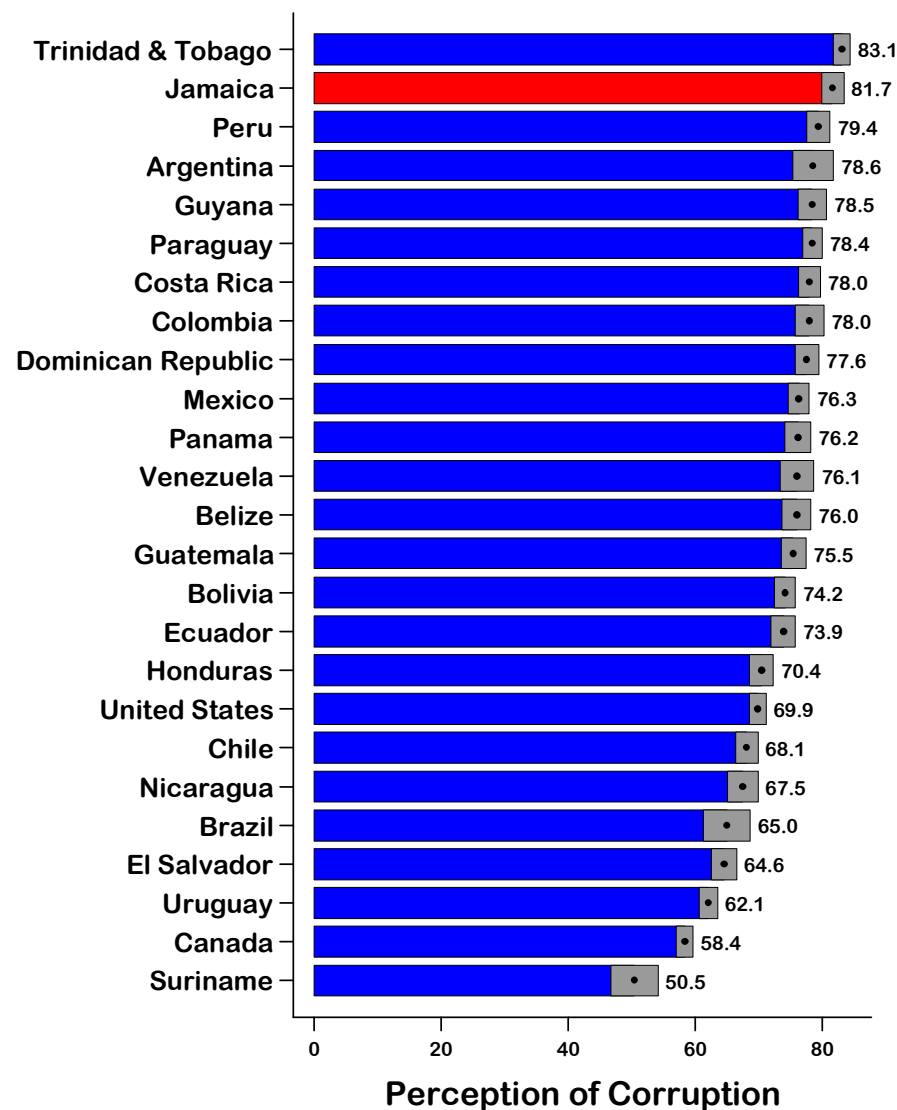


Source: AmericasBarometer by LAPOP



# Perception of Corruption in Comparative Perspective, 2010

Jamaica has the second highest level of perception of corruption in the Americas



95% Confidence Interval (Design-Effects Based)

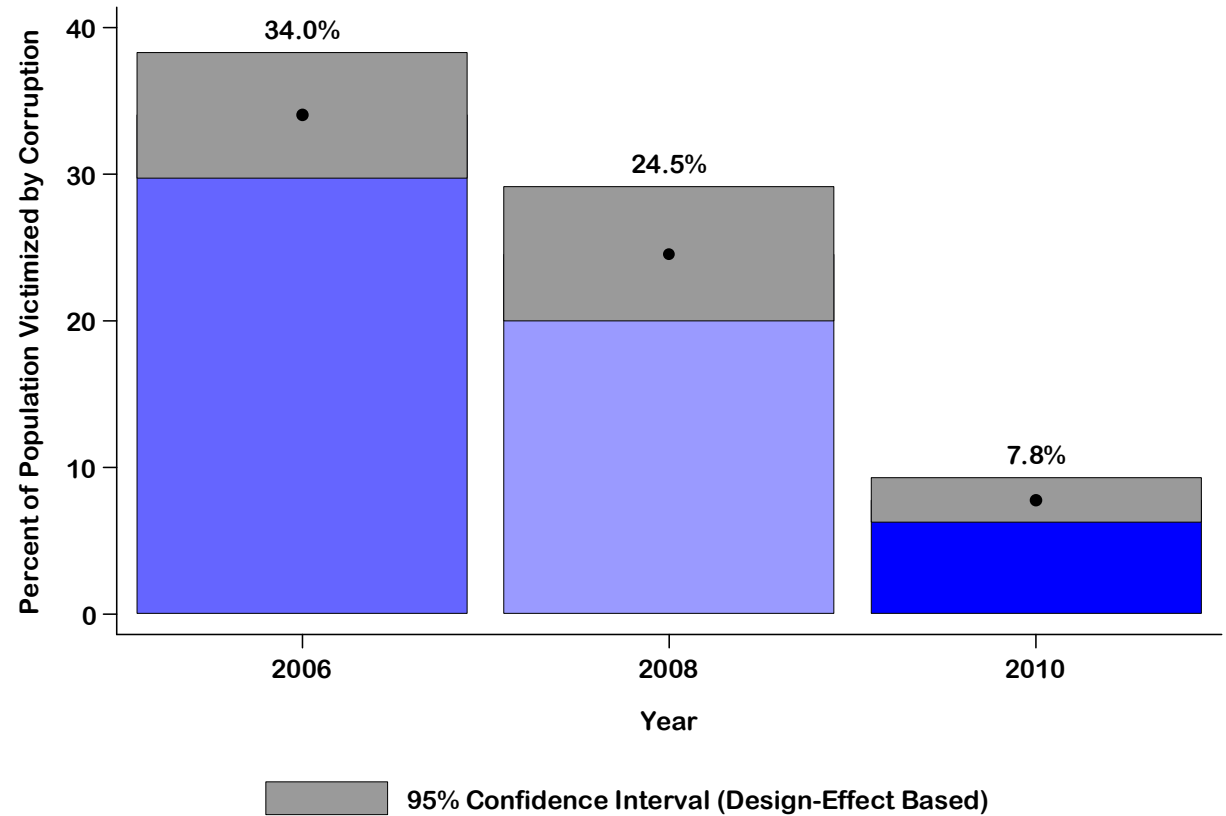
Source: AmericasBarometer by LAPOP

# **Key Items in the LAPOP Corruption Victimization Series**

- **being asked to pay a bribe to a police officer**
- **being asked to pay a bribe to a public official**
- **being asked to pay an illegal fee to expedite a transaction at the municipal government**
- **being asked to pay a bribe at work**
- **being asked to pay a bribe for public health/medical service**
- **being asked to pay a bribe in the school system**

# Corruption Victimization by Year

**Decrease in  
the level of  
corruption  
victimization  
in Jamaica  
from 2006 to  
2010**



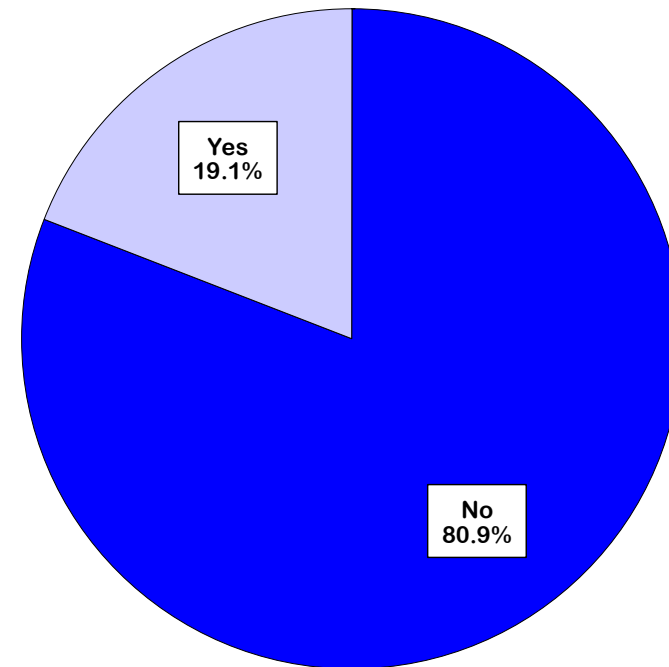
Source: AmericasBarometer by LAPOP



# Justification of Corruption in Jamaica

Do you think given the way things are, sometimes paying a bribe is justified?

- (1) Yes
- (2) No

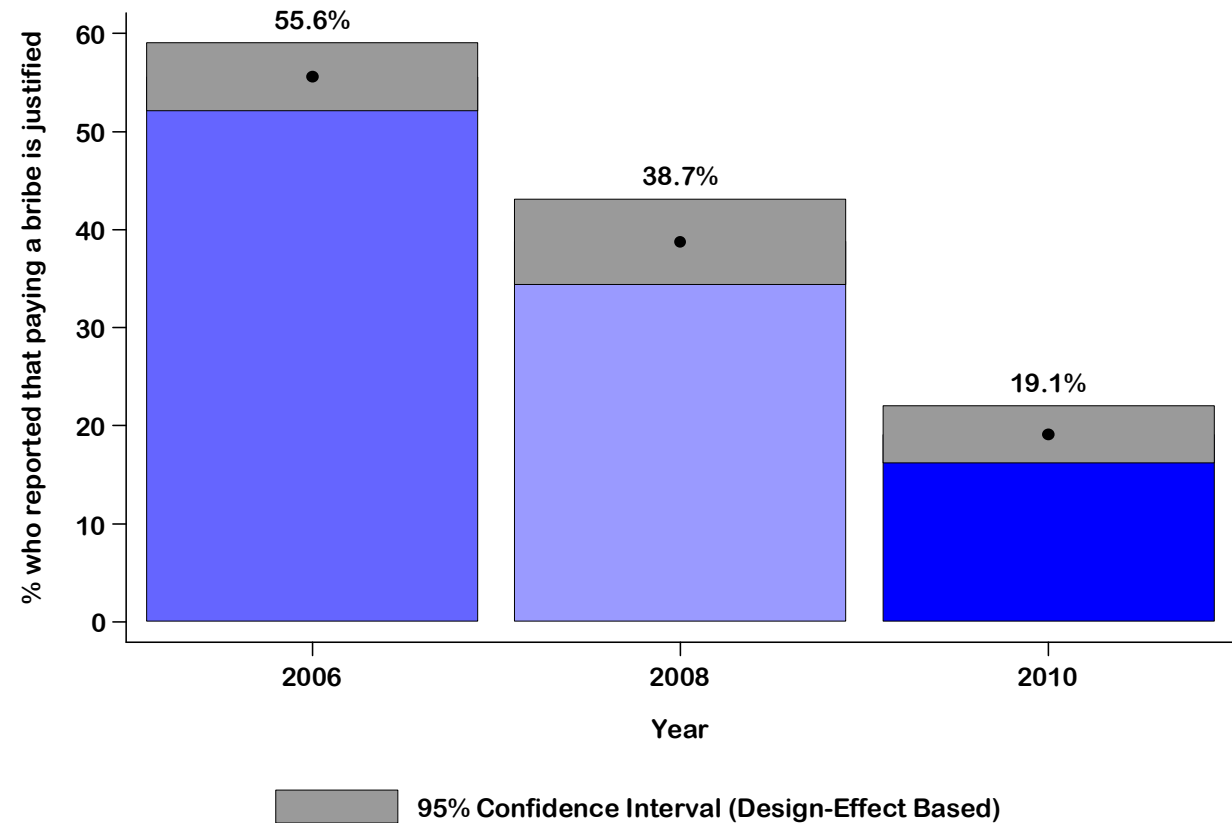


Do you think given the way things are, sometimes paying a bribe is justified?

Source: AmericasBarometer by LAPOP

# Justification of Corruption by Year

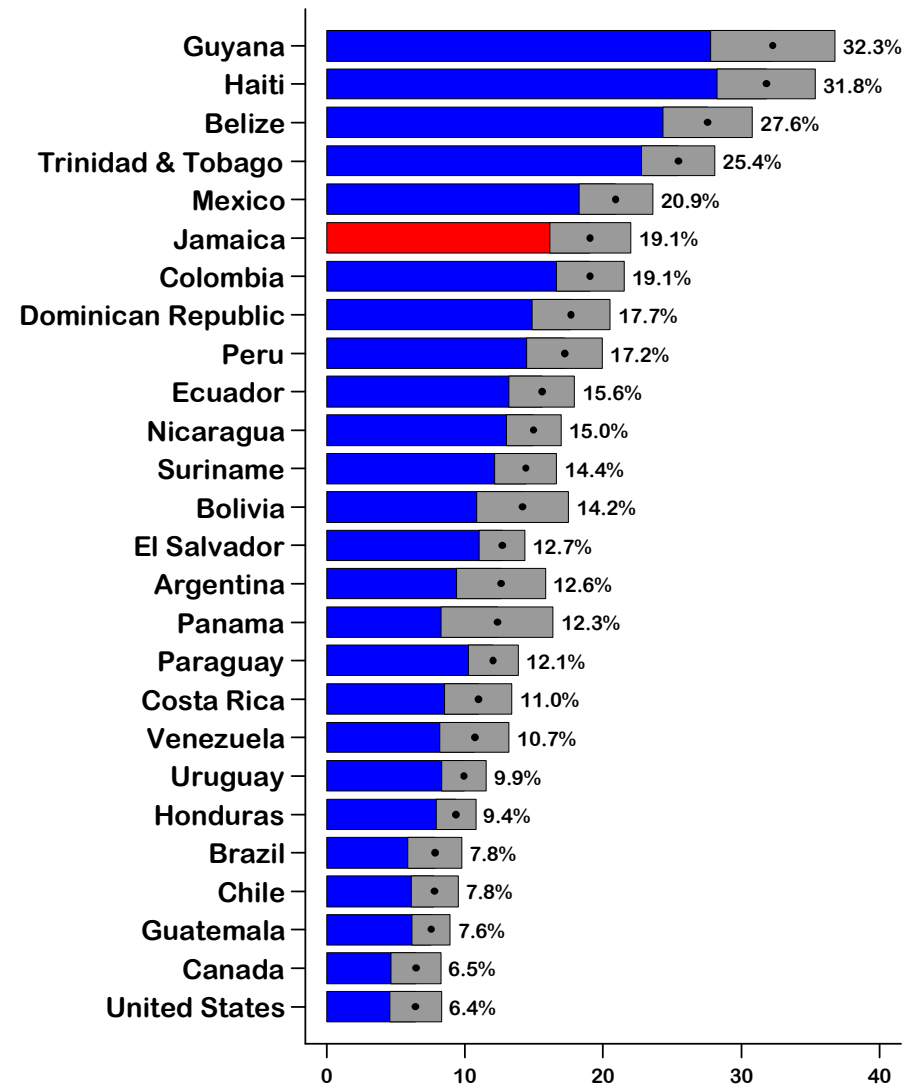
Jamaica has experienced a decrease in the level of justification of corruption from 2006 to 2010



Source: AmericasBarometer by LAPOP

# Justification of Corruption in Jamaica in Comparative Perspective, 2010

However, the country  
ranks fifth in terms of  
the percentage of  
people who reported  
that paying a bribe is  
justified given the way  
things are



% who reported that paying a bribe is justified

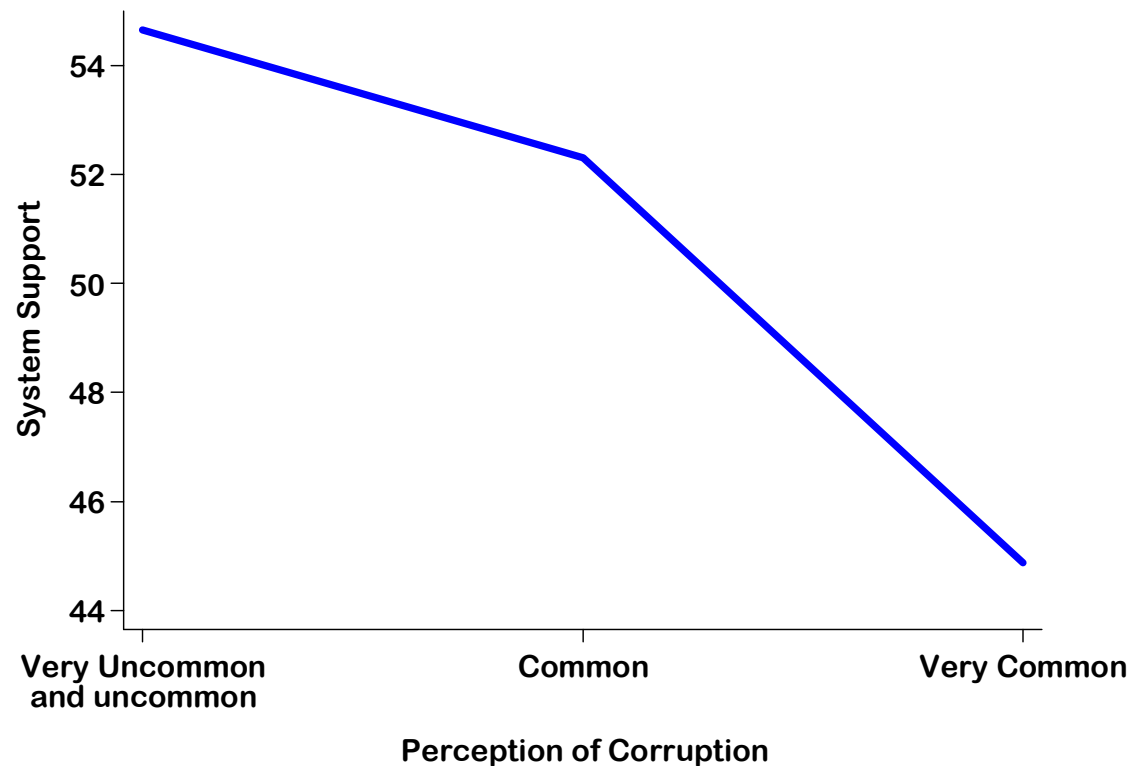
95% Confidence Interval (Design-Effects Based)

Source: AmericasBarometer by LAPOP



# Perception of Corruption Undermines Democratic Legitimacy

The greater citizens' perception that corruption is widespread in public affairs, the weaker the support for the political system in Jamaica



Source: AmericasBarometer by LAPOP



*A*mericas *B*arometer by LAPOP  
*B*arómetro de las *A*méricas

[www.AmericasBarometer.org](http://www.AmericasBarometer.org)