



#### Latin American Public Opinion Project



#### Proyecto de Opinión Pública de América Latina

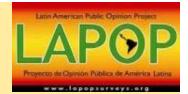
#### www.lapopsurveys.org

Find us at: www.lapopsurveys.org

Follow us at **y** @Lapop\_Barometro







**PROMOTION OF DEMOCRATIC CULTURE, Essential Values and Practices: Evidence from the AmericasBarometer 2012** 

Mitchell A. Seligson Founder and Director of LAPOP Centennial Professor of Political Science Vanderbilt University

The State of Democracy in the Americas. The Inter-American Democratic Charter in Review July 15-16, 2013. Washington DC

#### Supporters of the AmericasBarometer







٢

P N U D

VANDERBILT VUNIVERSITY

PRINCETON UNIVERSITY

Kellogg Institute

**VIGH** 

for Global Health

#### TINKER FOUNDATION INC.





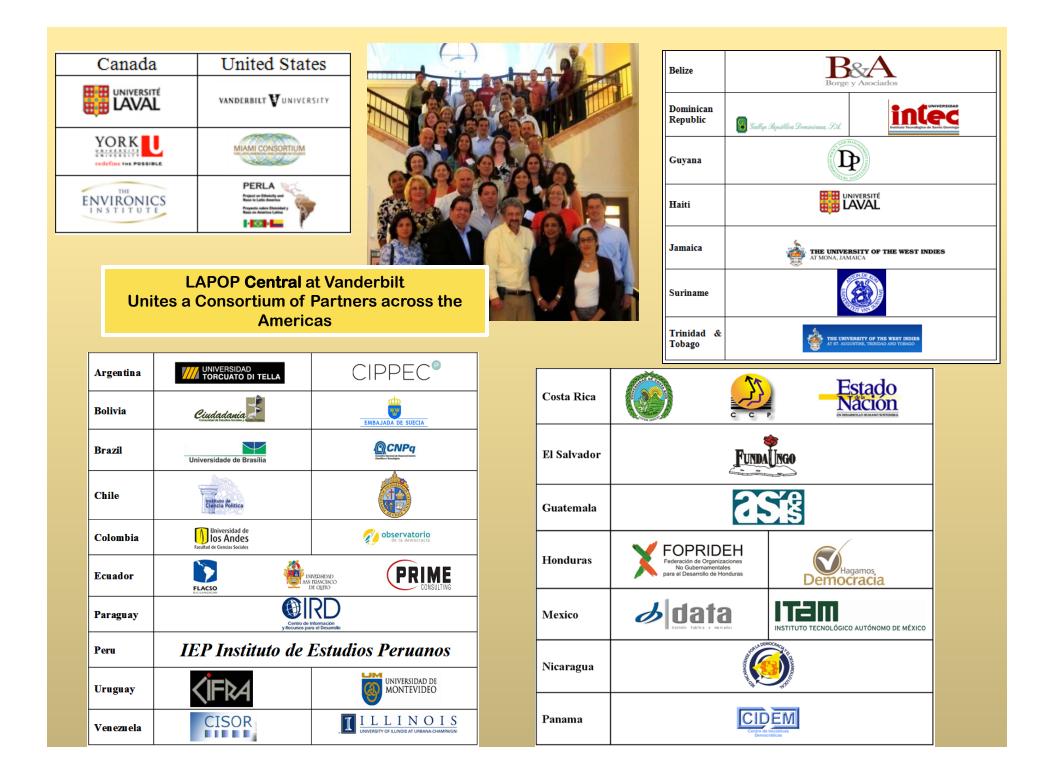








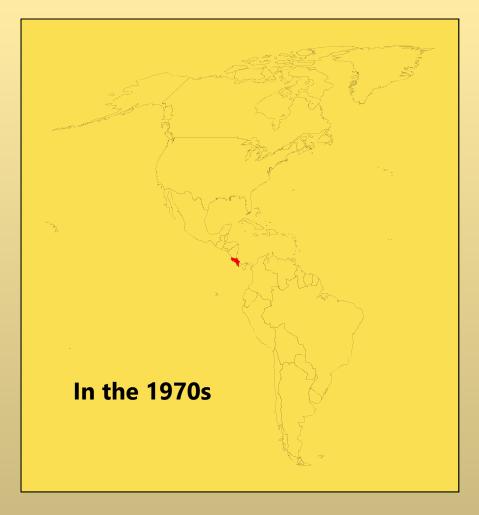




#### **LAPOP** at Vanderbilt



## **LAPOP: The Early Years**





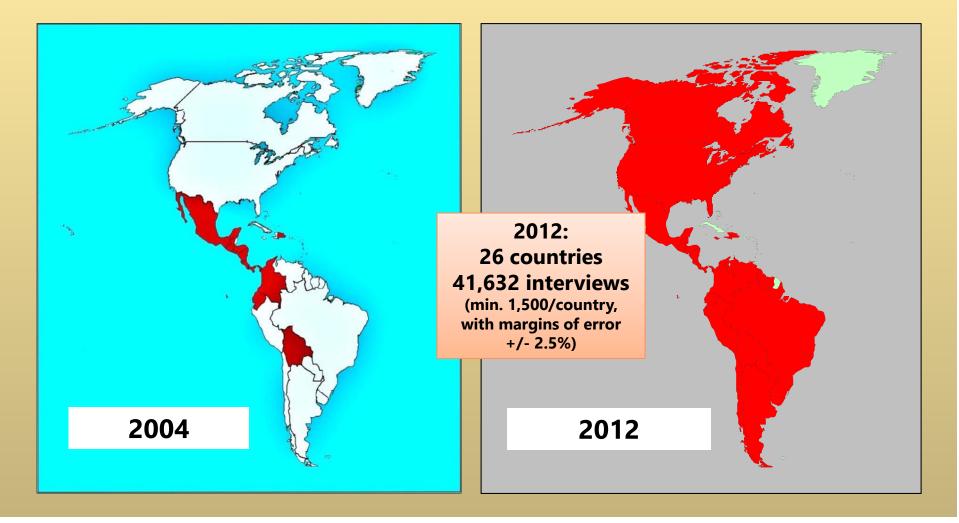
# The AmericasBarometer



Americas Barometer Barómetro de las Américas

www.AmericasBarometer.org

#### 2004-2012: 178,864 Interviews

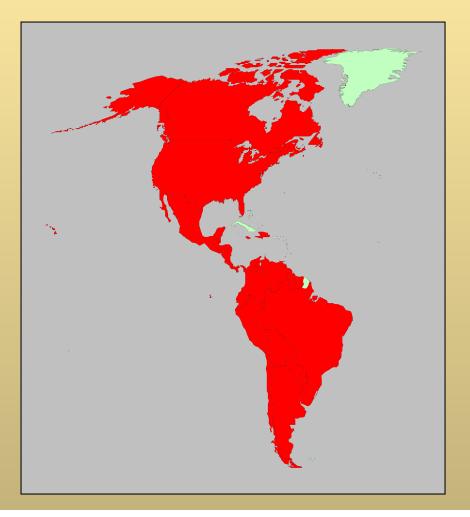


## The AmericasBarometer Data Base



www.AmericasBarometer.org

#### 2004-2012: 178,864 Interviews



- The only household survey of the hemisphere that includes North America, Central America, South America and key nations in the Caribbean
- Minimum sample sizes of 1,500 per country
- Truly nationally representative, urban centers & rural areas
- Face-to-face interviews conducted in 13 languages
- Extensive, year-long pretests: 1,116 versions for 2012 round

### 2012 Sample Sizes and Confidence Intervals (national level)

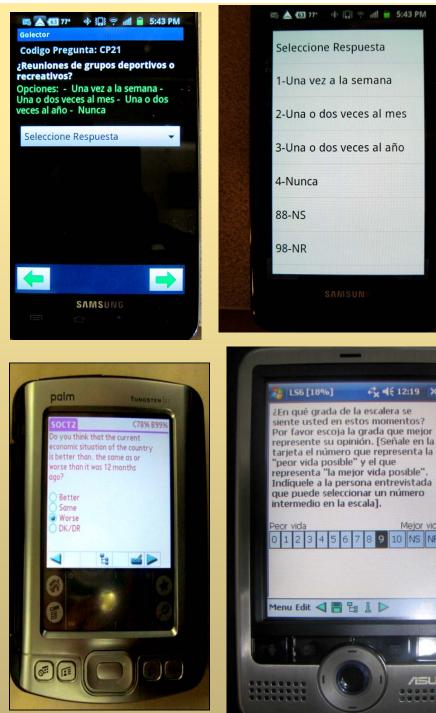
Country	Sample Size	Sampling Error						
Mexico/ Central America								
Mexico	1,560	± <b>2.5%</b>						
Guatemala	1,509	± <b>2.5%</b>						
El Salvador	1,497	± <b>2.5%</b>						
Honduras	1,728	± <b>2.4%</b>						
Nicaragua	1,686	± <b>2.4%</b>						
Costa Rica	1,498	± <b>2.5%</b>						
Panama	1,620	± <b>2.4%</b>						
Andean/Southern Cone								
Colombia	1,512	± <b>2.5%</b>						
Ecuador	1,500	± <b>2.5%</b>						
Peru	1,500	± <b>2.5%</b>						
Bolivia	3,029	±1.8%						
Paraguay	1,510	± <b>2.5%</b>						
Chile	1,571	± <b>2.5%</b>						
Uruguay	1,512	± <b>2.5%</b>						
Brazil	1,500	± <b>2.5%</b>						
Venezuela	1,500	± <b>2.5%</b>						
Argentina	1,512	± <b>2.5%</b>						
Cari	bbean							
Belize	1,512	± <b>2.5%</b>						
Dominican Republic	1,512	±2.5%						
Guyana	1,529	± <b>2.5%</b>						
Haiti	1,836	± <b>2.3%</b>						
Jamaica	1,500	± <b>2.5%</b>						
Suriname	1,492	± <b>2.5%</b>						
Trinidad & Tobago	1,506	±2.5%						
United States and Canada								
Canada	1,501	±2.5%						
United States	1,500	±2.5%						
Total	41,632							
*Confidence intervals based on unweighted sample sizes. For cross- national analysis purposes, LAPOP weights each sample to 1,500.								

The only regional survey using handheld computers, with software developed by academic partners in Costa Rica and Bolivia:

- **Reduces data entry errors**
- Allows for multiple languages
- **Easily customized**
- **Permits embedded experiments**



**Pretesting in Guyana** 

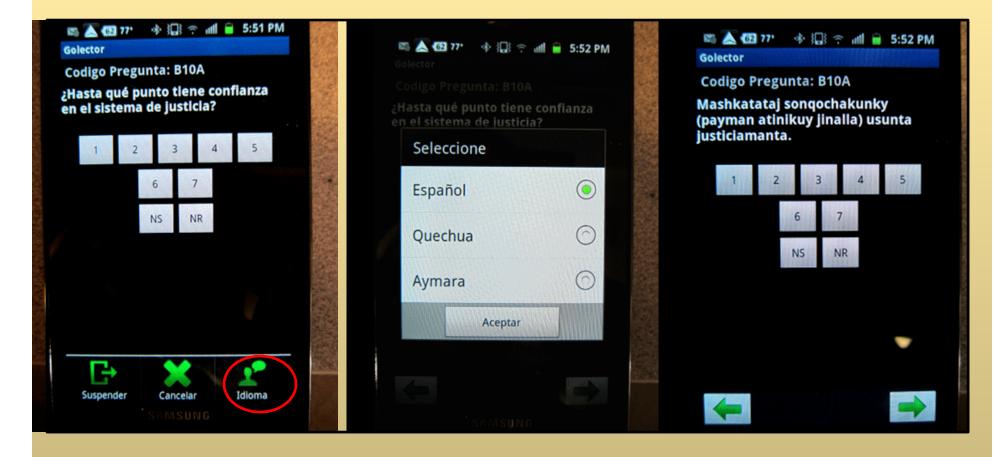


Mejor vida

151 :=

10 NS NR

#### The app rapidly is capable of changing the language of the question in midstream: illustration of switch from Spanish to Quechua

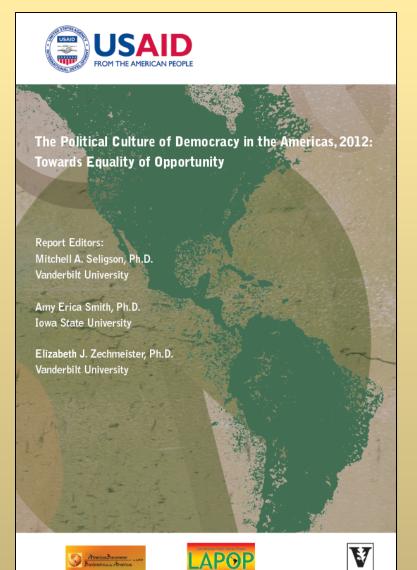


#### **Free Reports Available Online**

VANDERBIL

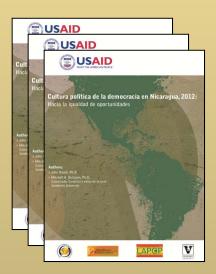
#### Regional Reports

#### Country Reports









#### Free Access to Online Data Analysis Program in Beginner and Expert Modes <u>www.LapopSurveys.org</u>



	   sex   male	female	
уез	3,871	3,452   16.42	7,323
no		83.58	82.35
	20,463		41,487
P	earson chi2(1) Cramér's V	= 44.5075 = 0.0328	Pr = 0.000
K	endall's tau-b	= 0.0328	ASE = 0.005

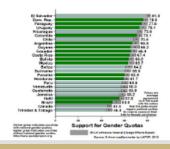
### World-Wide Free access: December 1, 2012

VANDERBILT 😽 UNIVERSITY

#### Latin American Public Opinion Project



#### Chart of the Week



LAPOP is the premiere academic institution carrying out surveys of public opinion in the Americas, with over thirty years of experience. Every two years it carries out the AmericasBarometer survey, which currently covers 26 nations including all of North, Central and South America, and the Caribbean. Each year it publishes dozens of high quality academic studies and policy-relevant papers.

www.LapopSurveys.org

(en español)

Americas Barometer

Barómetro ce un Américas

A-LARCE

Jul 23: Honest and Effective Efforts are Rewarded with Trust in National Legislatures in the Americas (en español)

Jul 9: Can Democracy Exist Without Political Parties? (en español)

Jun 25: Riches Don't Explain Campaign Participation in the Americas but Community Involvement

### AmericasBarometer 2004-2012 SPSS and **Stata Data Files now online**

2012

2011

2010

2009

2008

2007

2006

2005

2004

**World-wide free** access made possible by support from the Tinker **Foundation** 

TINKER FOUNDATION INC.

www.LapopSurveys.org

Latin American Public Opinion Project HOME DATASETS DATASET USAGE SUPPORT INFORMATION ADMINISTRATOR LOGIN Welcome Search results. Search again >> Search Merged Datasets (AII) Argentina 2012 Country Technical Director e-mail Stata File SPSS File Director **Document File** German Argentina 2012 Argentina 2012 glodola@utdt.edu Lodola STATA SPSS Name of Questionnaire Document and Language Argentina 2012 Questionnaire - Español Notes: To download the files, click on the links shown or right-click on the file name and save it. You will not be able to open STATA or SPSS files unless your computer has the corresponding software available. The Questionnaires and Technical Information documents are saved as .pdf files which can be opened with pdf reader software available for free online such as Adobe Acrobat Reader get adobe.com/reader/ and Foxit Reader www.foxitsoftware.com

Name of Questionnaire Decument and Language

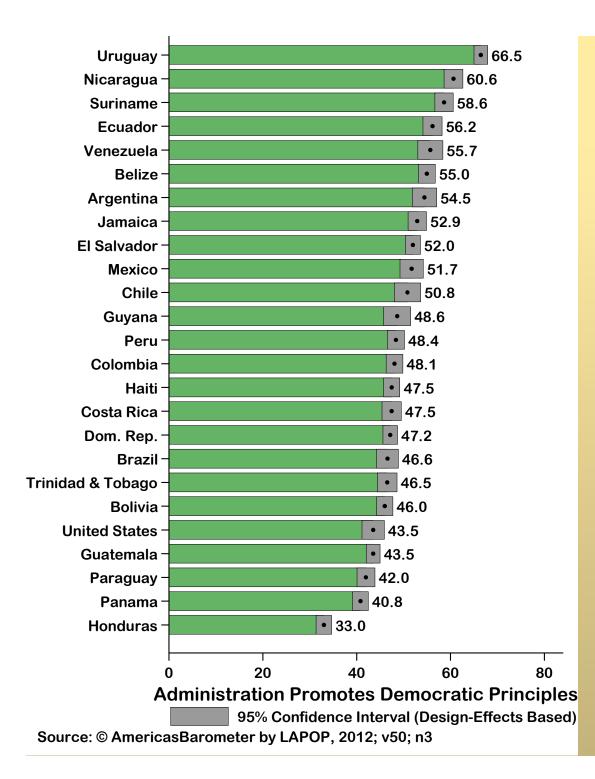
Belize	2012			
Country Director	Director e-mail	Technical Document File	Stata File	SPSS File
Mitchell A. Seligson	mitchell a selinson/alvanderbiltedu		Belize 2012 STATA	Belize 2012 SPSS

APOP

Americas Barometer Barómetro de la América

## DEMOCRATIC VALUES IN THE AMERICAS Citizen Views on the Principles of The Inter-American Democratic Charter

## "The peoples of the Americas have a right to democracy and their governments have an obligation to promote and defend it."

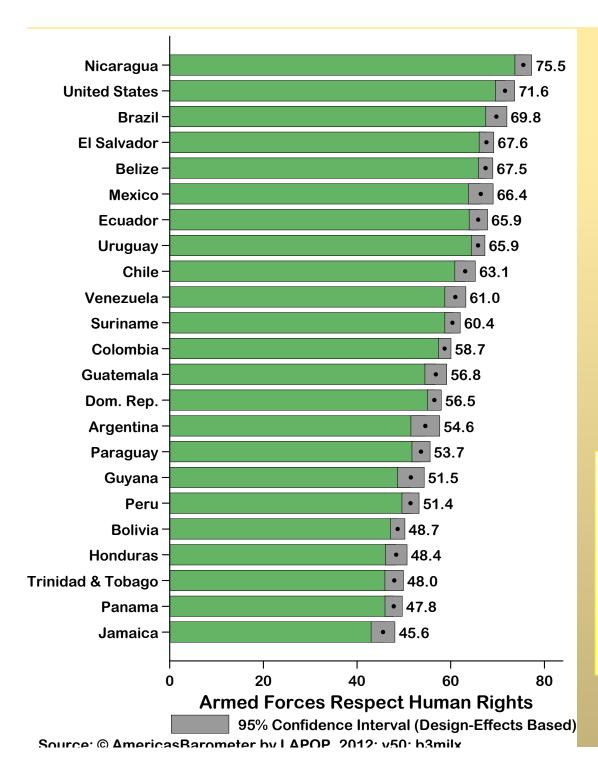


10 out of the 25 countries surveyed fall on the agreement side of their administration promoting democratic principles

N3. To what extent would you say the current administration promotes and protects democratic principles?

(Scale 1 – 7, converted to 0 – 100 scale)

## "Essential elements of representative democracy include, inter alia, respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms..."



*B3MILX.* To what extent do you believe that the [nationality] Armed Forces respect [nationality's] human rights nowadays?

(Scale 1 – 7, converted to 0 – 100 scale)

Only in 5 countries does the average citizen score on the negative end of the continuum

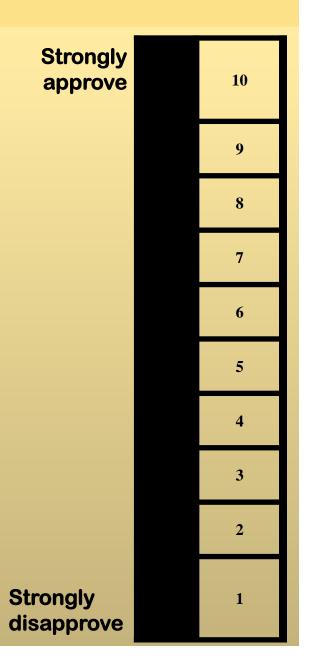
#### **Political Tolerance: "respect for freedoms"**

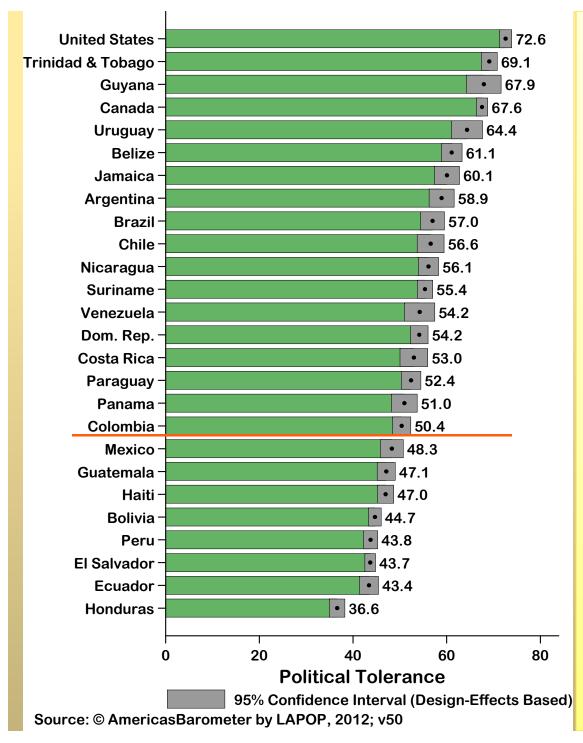
D1. There are people who only say bad things about the (country) form of government, not just the incumbent government but the system of government. How strongly do you approve or disapprove of such people's **right to vote**?

**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 (country) 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?





#### **Index of Political Tolerance:**

D1. 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 of such people's right to vote?

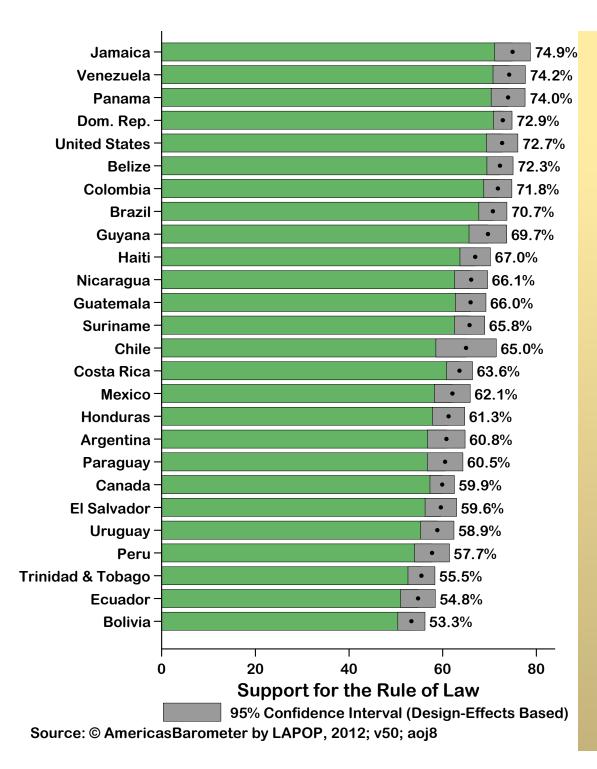
D2. How strongly do you approve or disapprove that such people be allowed to conduct peaceful demonstrations in order to express their views?

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

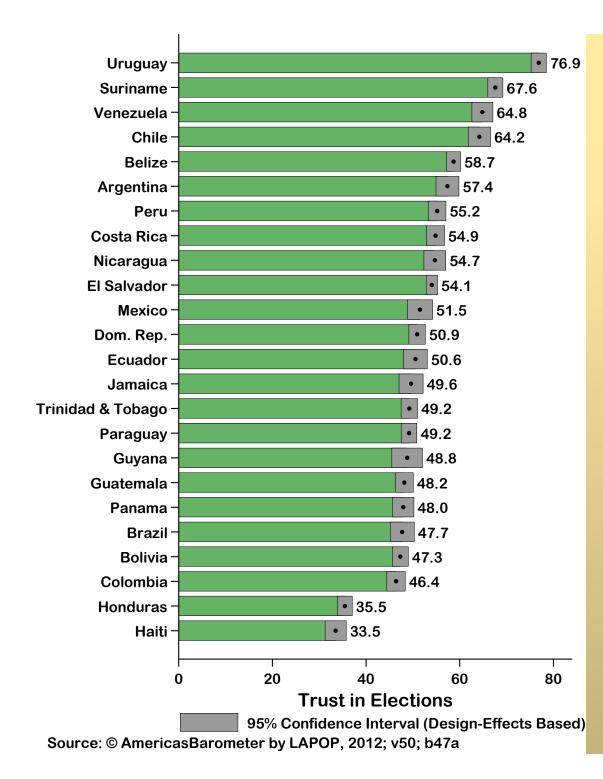
D4. How strongly do you approve or disapprove of such people appearing on television to make speeches?

## "The effective exercise of representative democracy is the basis for the rule of law..."

## "... access to and the exercise of power in accordance with the rule of law..."



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? "... the holding of periodic, free, and fair elections based on secret balloting and universal suffrage as an expression of the sovereignty of the people..."

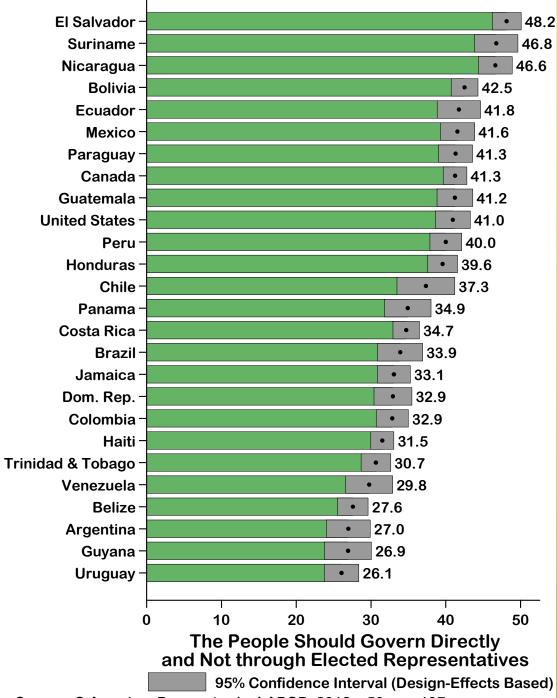


B47A. To what extent do you trust elections in this country?

(Scale 1 – 7, converted to 0 – 100 scale)

Honduras and Haiti have the least amount of trust in their country's election, whereas Uruguay has the highest level of trust

## "... and the separation of powers and independence of the branches of government..."



Source: © AmericasBarometer by LAPOP, 2012; v50; pop107

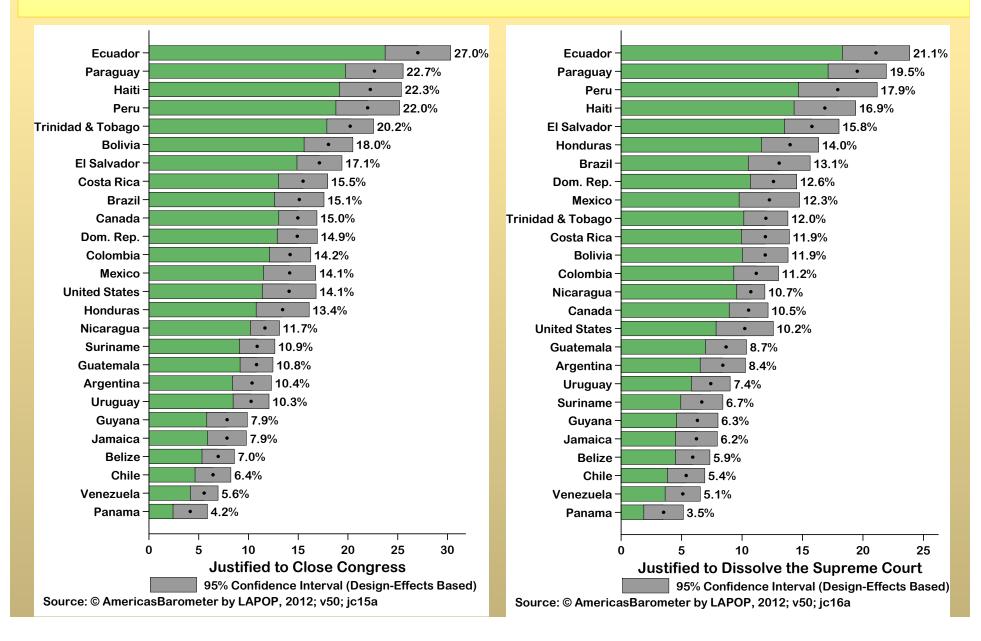
In no country is the average of citizen support direct democracy on the positive end of the continuum

POP107. The people should govern directly rather than through elected representatives. How much do you agree or disagree with that view?

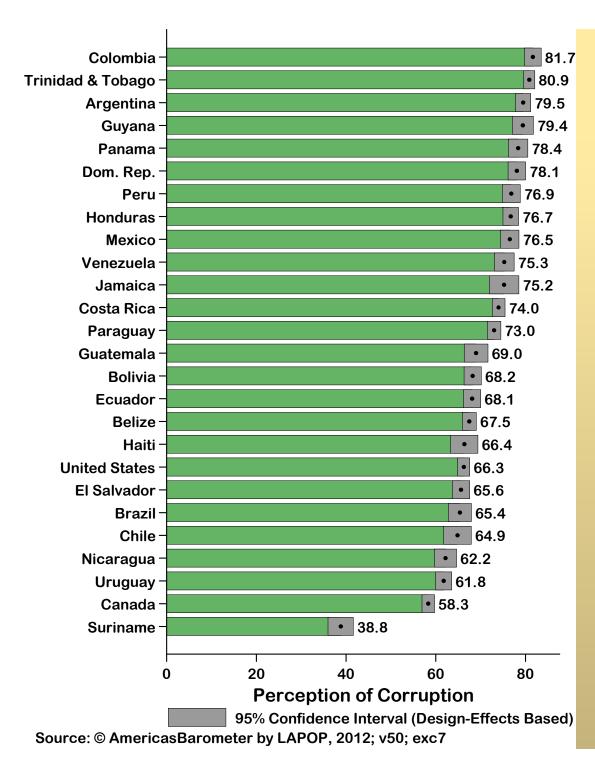
(Scale 1 – 7, converted to 0 – 100 scale)

#### JC15A. Do you believe that when the country is facing very difficult times it is justifiable for the president of the country to close the Congress/Parliament and govern without Congress/Parliament?

**JC16A.** Do you believe that when the country is facing very difficult times it is justifiable for the president of the country to dissolve the Supreme Court/Constitutional Tribunal and govern without the Supreme Court/Constitutional Tribunal?



## "Transparency in government activities, probity, responsible public administration on the part of governments."

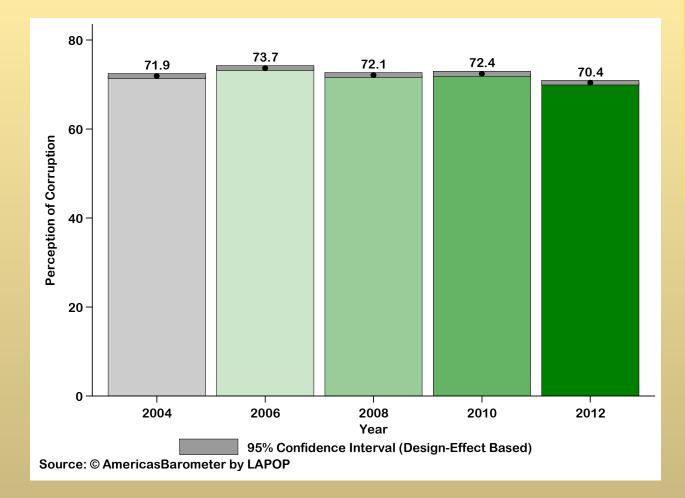


Perception of corruption is high in almost all countries

*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

## While perceptions have decreased slightly over time, politicians are still largely perceived as corrupt



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

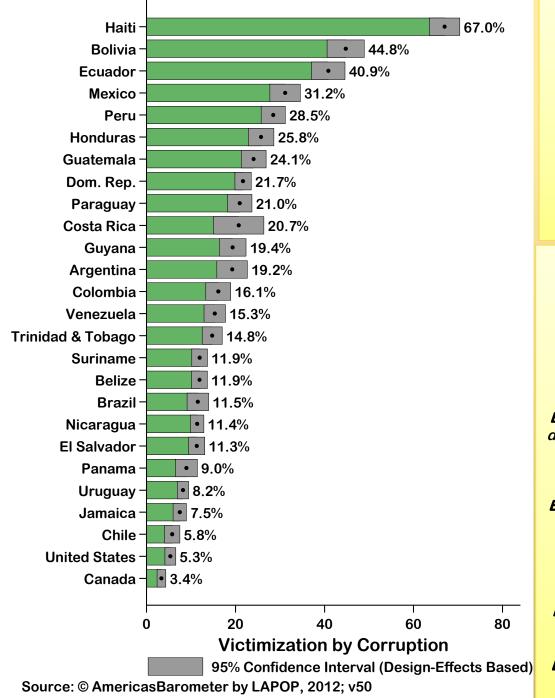
1. Very common

2. Common

3. Uncommon

4. Very uncommon

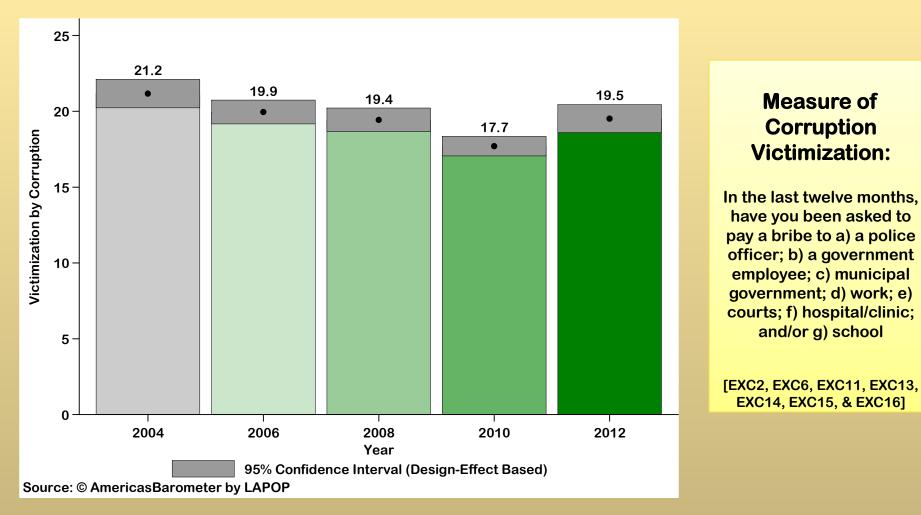
\*Trend in 10 countries in 2004



In most countries, people perceive more corruption than is actually experienced. But Haiti (at the extreme), Bolivia, and Ecuador have very high rates of corruption victimization. **Index of Corruption Victimization: EXC2**. Has a police officer asked you for a bribe in the last twelve months? **EXC6**. In the last twelve months, did any government employee ask you for a bribe? **EXC11.** In the last twelve months, to process any kind of document in your municipal government, like a permit for example, did you have to pay any money above that required by law? EXC13. In your work, have you been asked to pay a bribe in the last twelve months? **EXC14.** Did you have to pay a bribe to the courts in the last twelve months? EXC15. In order to be seen in a hospital or a clinic in the last twelve months, did you have to pay a bribe?

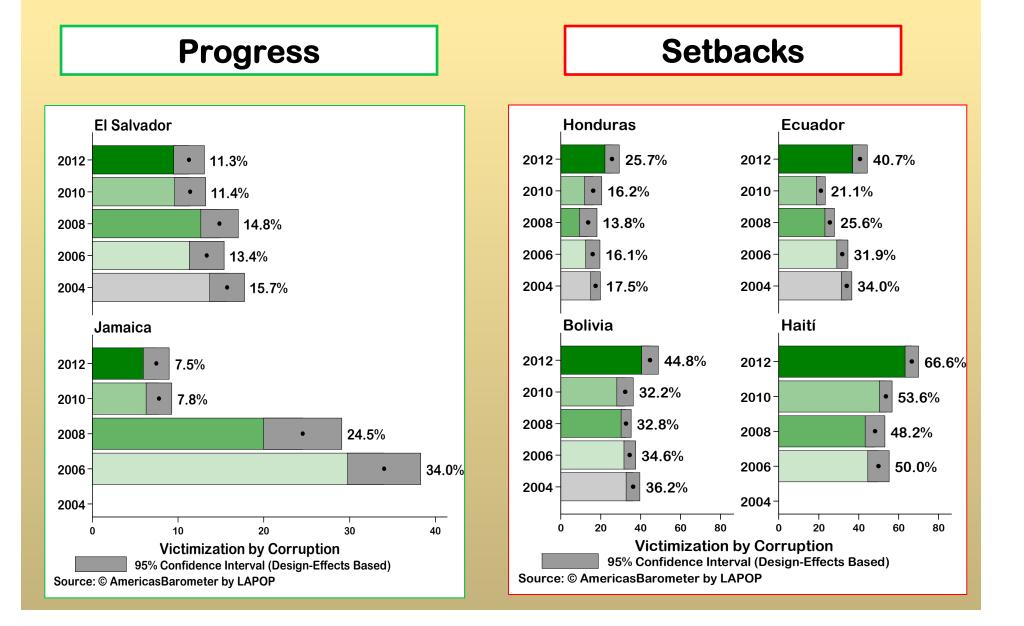
**EXC16.** Have you had to pay a bribe at school in the last twelve months?

#### The percentage of victims of corruption in 2012 is lower than in 2004 and 2006, but does not show a significant, sustained downward trend



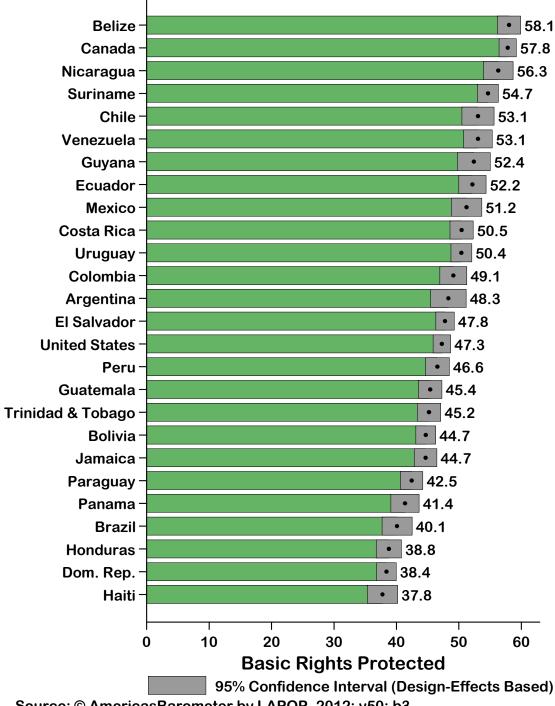
\*Trend in 10 countries in 2004

## Effectiveness in Reducing Corruption Victimization over Time Varies across Countries



# "(R)espect for social rights, and freedom of expression and of the press are essential components of the exercise of democracy."

IADC – Art. 3

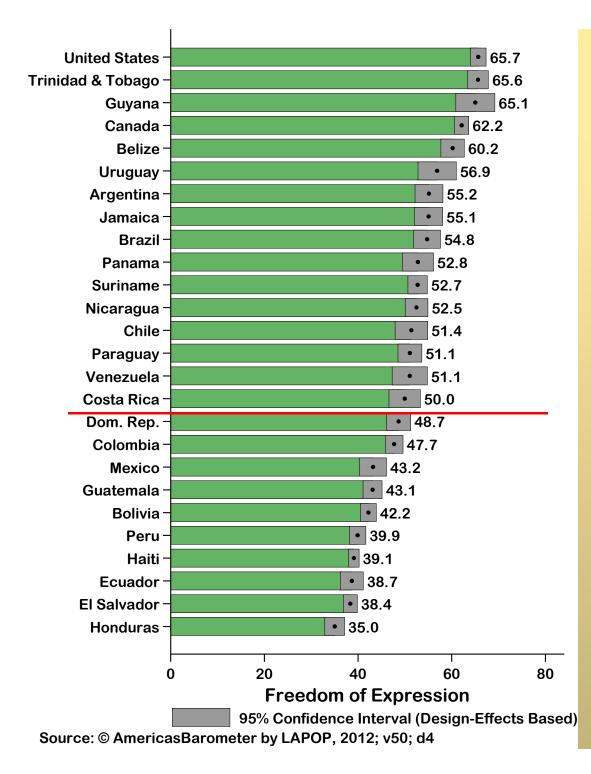


Many of the countries' citizens feel basic rights are protected; however more than half of the countries disagree

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

(Scale 1 - 7, converted to 0 - 100 scale)

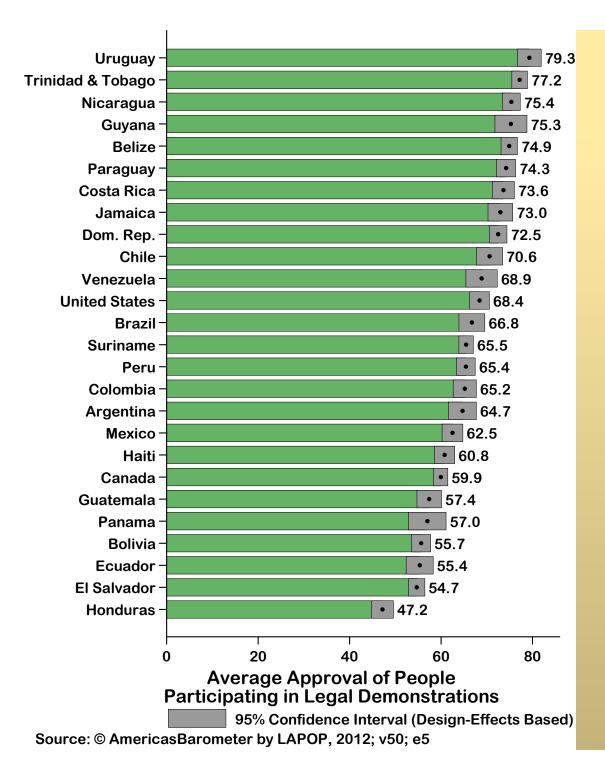
Source: © AmericasBarometer by LAPOP, 2012; v50; b3



In more than half of the countries, citizens support the freedom of expression

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

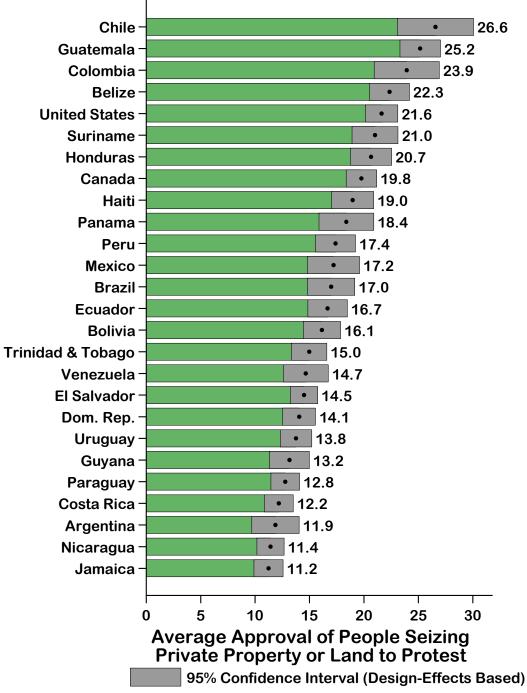
(Scale 1 – 7, converted to 0 – 100 scale)



All countries except Honduras fall on the approval side of people participating in legal demonstrations

*E5.* Of people participating in legal demonstrations. How much do you approve or disapprove?

(Scale 1 – 7, converted to 0 – 100 scale)

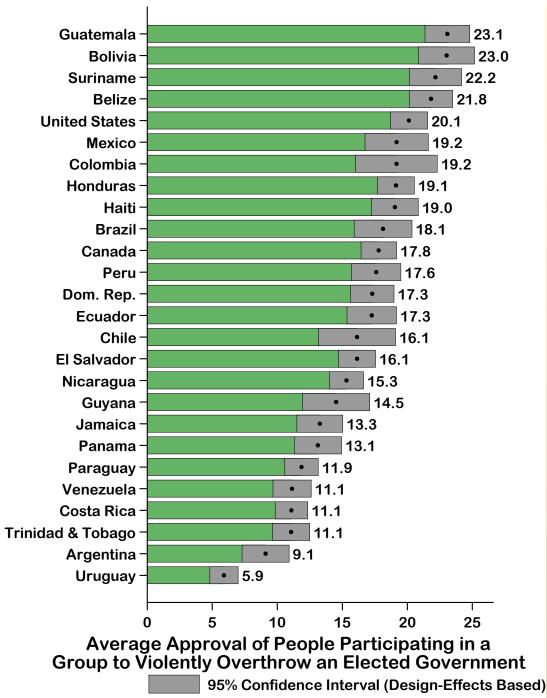


The limits of free expression: The citizens of the Americas feel private property should not be seized in order to protest

*E14.* Of people seizing private property or land in order to protest. How much do you approve or disapprove?

(Scale 1 – 7, converted to 0 - 100 scale)

Source: © AmericasBarometer by LAPOP, 2012; v50; e14

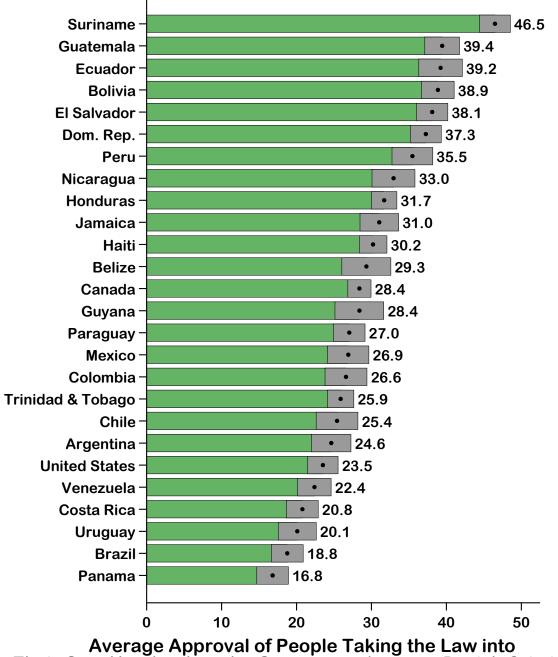


Source: © AmericasBarometer by LAPOP, 2012; v50; e3

Limits to free expression: The citizens of the Americas do not support groups violently overthrowing an elected government, especially citizens of Uruguay

*E3.* Of people participating in a group working to violently overthrow an elected government. How much do you approve or disapprove?

(Scale 1 – 7, converted to 0 – 100 scale)



Average Approval of People Taking the Law into Their Own Hands when the Governmet does not Punish Criminals 95% Confidence Interval (Design-Effects Based) Source: © AmericasBarometer by LAPOP, 2012; v50; e16 There are mixed feelings about people taking the law into their own hands, but generally speaking most countries fall towards the disagree side; yet disturbingly high support in some countries

*E16.* Of people taking the law into their own hands when the government does not punish criminals. How much do you approve or disapprove?

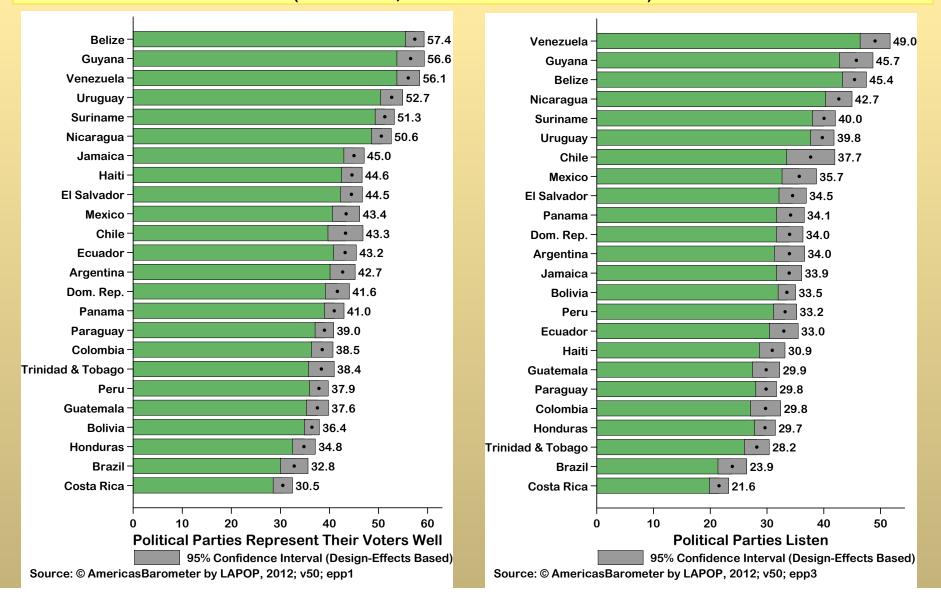
(Scale 1 – 7, converted to 0 – 100 scale)

"The strengthening of political parties and other political organizations is a priority for democracy."

IADC – Art. 5

# EPP1. Thinking about political parties in general, to what extent do [nationality] political parties represent their voters well?

**EPP3.** To what extent do political parties listen to people like you? (Scale 1 – 7, converted to 0 – 100 scale)

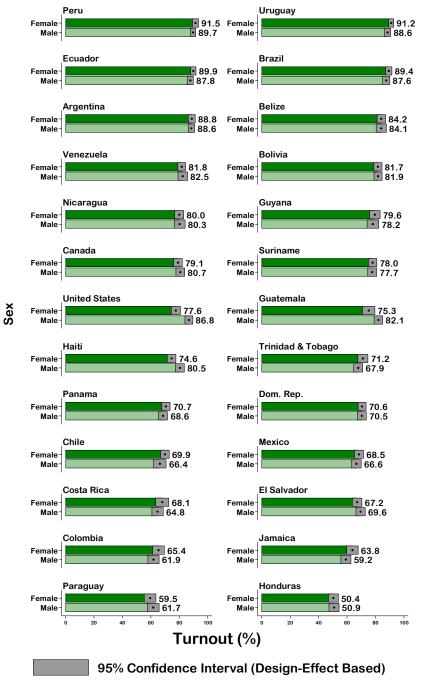


"It is the right and responsibility of all citizens to participate in decisions relating to their own development."

IADC – Art. 6

"States shall promote the full and equal participation of women in the political structures of their countries as a fundamental element in the promotion and exercise of a democratic culture."

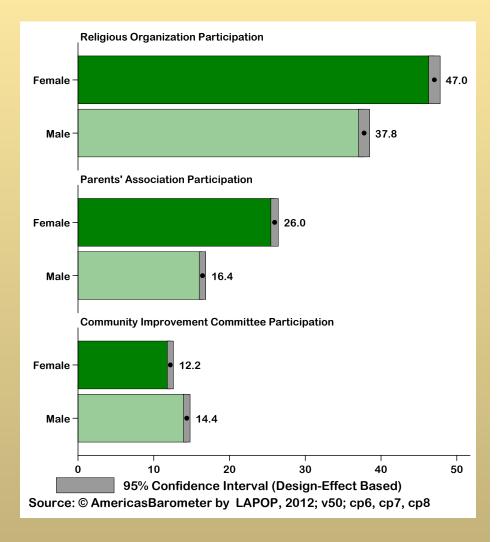
IADC – Art. 28



Source: © AmericasBarometer by LAPOP, 2012; v50; vb2

### **By Gender:**

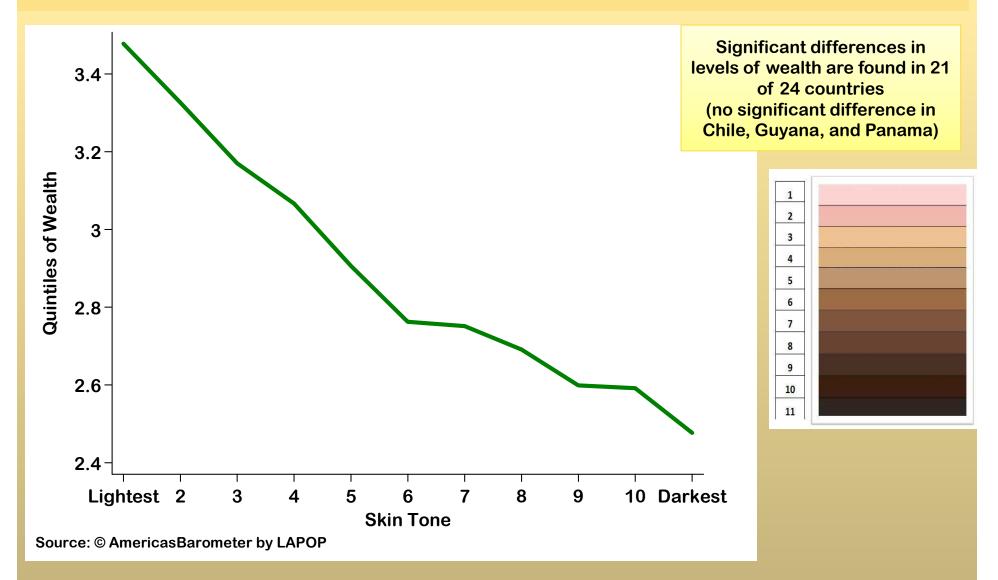
- Voter turnout in elections
- Community participation



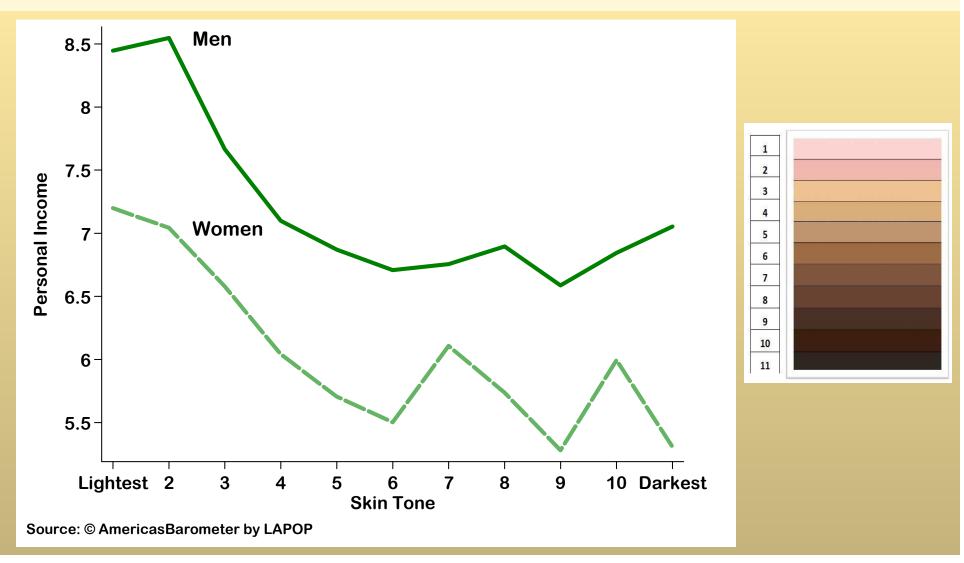
"The elimination of all forms of discrimination, especially gender, ethnic and race discrimination, as well as diverse forms of intolerance."

IADC – Art. 9

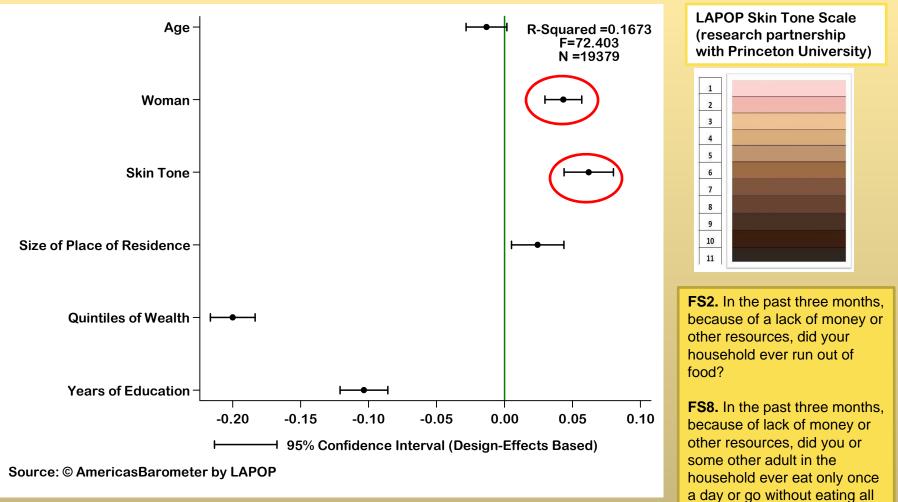
## Those with Darker Skin Tones are Less Wealthy



## On average, in the Americas, women and those with darker skin tones have lower personal incomes



## Women and those with Darker Skin are More Vulnerable to Food Insecurity, even after Controlling for Other Factors

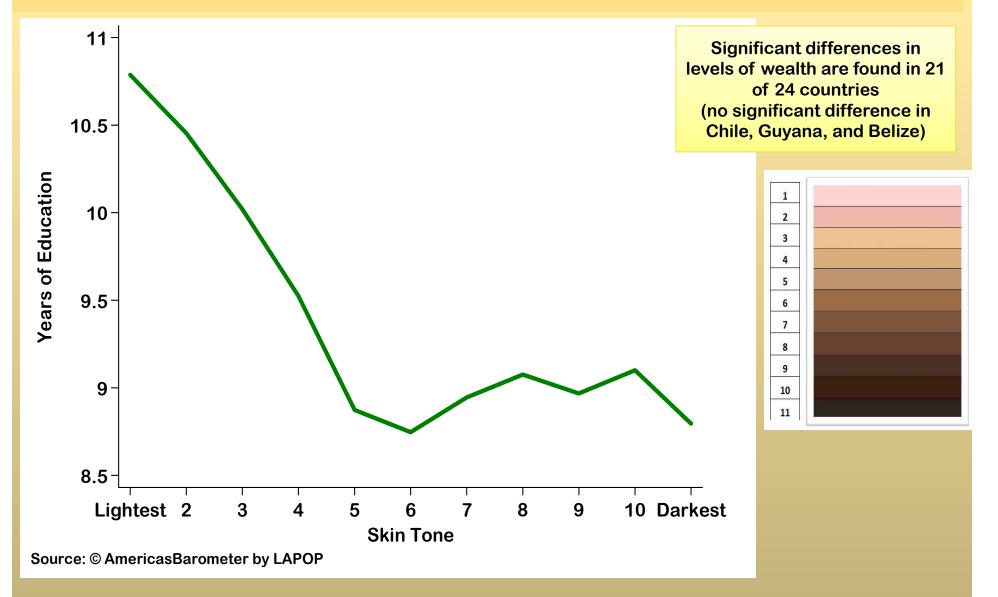


dav?

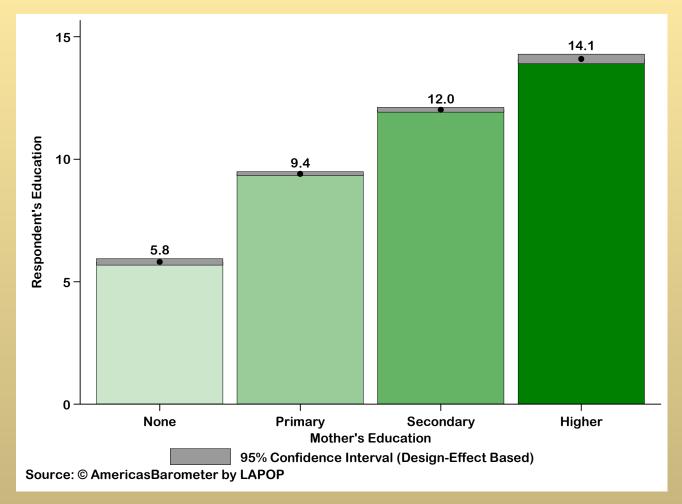
"(I)t is essential that a quality education be available to all, including girls and women, rural inhabitants, and minorities."

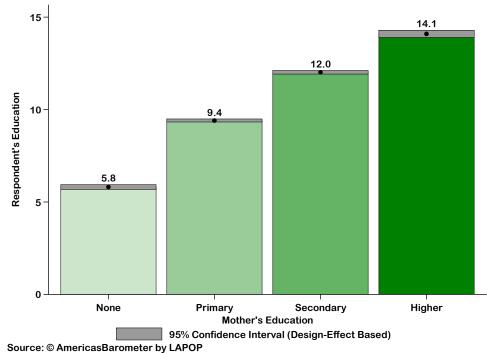
IADC – Art. 16

## Those with Darker Skin Tones have Lower Levels of Education



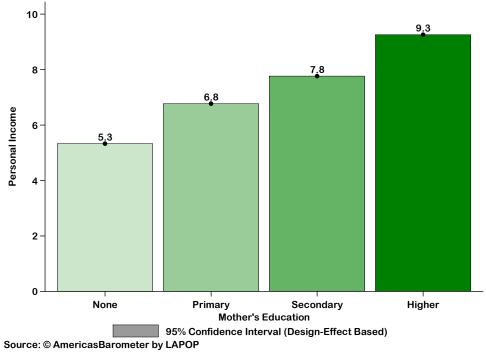
## Across the Americas, mother's educational attainment strongly determines her children's' chances for higher levels of educational attainment





There appears to be a clear intergenerational transfer of social and economic status in the Americas.

Mother's educational attainment has a large influence on adult respondent outcomes.



Prospects for Stable Democracy: Strikingly Divergent Trends across the Americas (with a special focus on Honduras, Costa Rica, and Venezuela)

# LAPOP has developed and validated a "leading indicator" of democratic stability

	Tolerance of Political Opposition		
Legitimacy (System Support)	High	Low	
High	Stable Democracy	Authoritarian Stability	
Low	Unstable Democracy	Democracy at Risk	





AmericasBarometer Insights: 2009 Special Report on Honduras Predicting Coups? Democratic Vulnerabilities, The AmericasBarometer and The 2009 Honduran Crisis

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

ong 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 yery 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. Solignen and Einshech Zechmeister with administrative, technical, and intellemal support from the LAPO group at Vanderbilt. The opinions expressed in this study are those of the authors and do not necessarily reflect these of USAD. We thank Susan Berk-Solignen for her comments on an carlier draft of this pape

© 2009, Latin American Public Opinion Project, "Insights" series Page 1 of 6 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 Insight's 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, Zelava 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

# Legitimacy (system support)

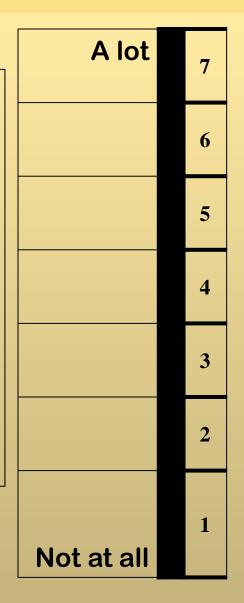
**B1.** To what extent do you think the courts in (country) guarantee a fair trial?

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

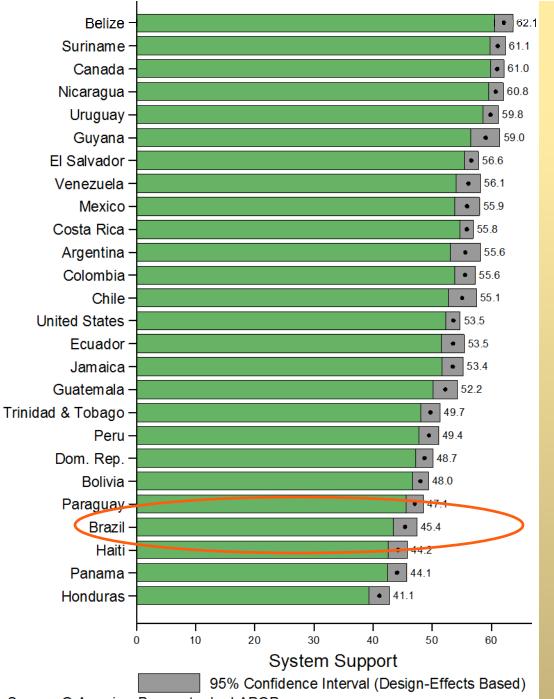
**B3.** To what extent do you think that citizens' basic rights are well protected by the political system of (country)?

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

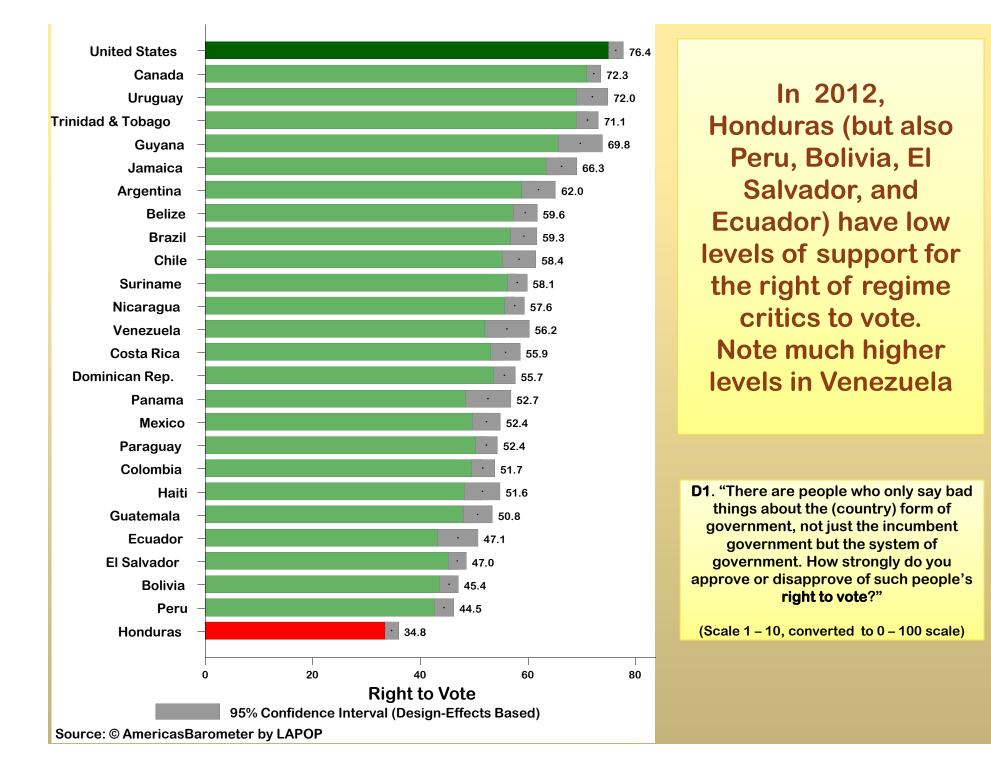
**B6.** To what extent do you think that one should support the political system of (country)?

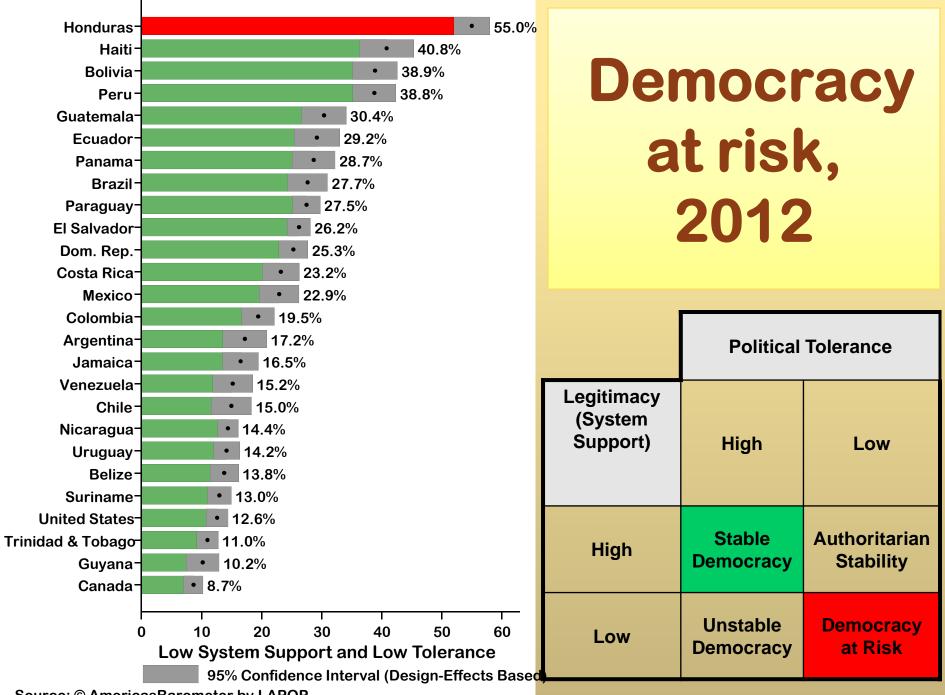


Legitimacy (system support): 5-item scale



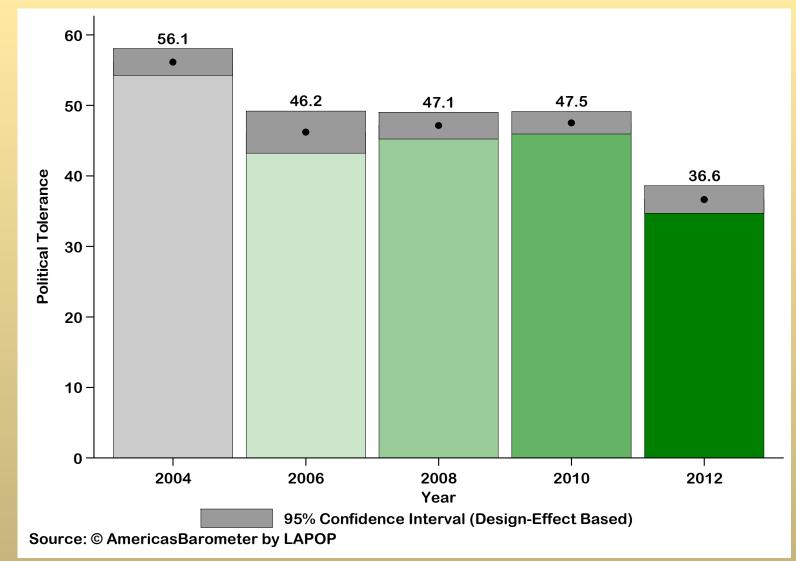
Source: © AmericasBarometer by LAPOP





Source: © AmericasBarometer by LAPOP

## Part of the story in Honduras: Decline in political tolerance 2004 – 2012



#### Honduras 'no longer functioning' after plunging over fiscal cliff By Alberto Arce, The Associated Press

January 26, 2013, 2:14 pm

NBCNews.com



Jorge Cabrera / Reuters

A woman shows a placard to riot police during a protest outside the National Congress in Tegucigalpa on Thursday. Thousands of teachers and activists of the National Front of Popular Resistance marched.

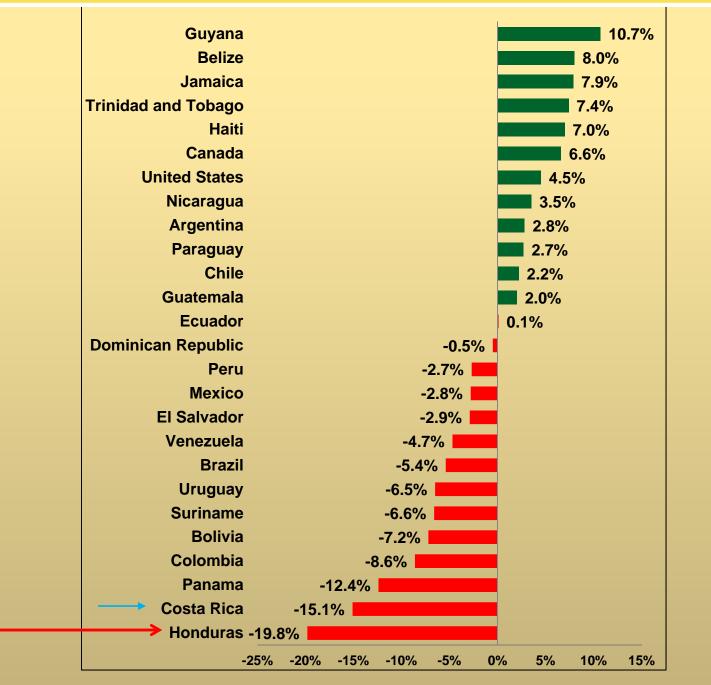
TEGUCIGALPA, Honduras — Street surveillance cameras in one of the world's most dangerous cities were turned off last week because Honduras' government hasn't paid millions of

dollars it owes. The operator that runs them is now threatening to suspend police radio service as well.

Teachers have been demonstrating almost every day because they haven't been paid in six months, while doctors complain about the shortage of essential medicines, gauze, needles and latex gloves.

This Central American country has been on the brink of bankruptcy for months, as lawmakers put off passing a budget necessary to pay for basic government services. Honduras is also grappling with \$5 billion in foreign debt, a figure equivalent to last year's entire government budget.

#### Support for Stable Democracy: Changes between 2010 and 2012



#### Protestas y escándalos acosan al gobierno de Chinchilla en Costa Rica

#### AFP

#### online@laestrella.com.pa

iSíguenos en Twitter! @EstrellaOnline Hazte Fan! Facebook.com/EstrellaOnlinePma What accounts for the declines in **Costa Rica? Loss of legitimacy** 

🚔 🖃

#### ESCÁNDALOS DE CORRUPCIÓN GENERAN PESIMISMO EN EL CONSUMIDOR

Escrito por Cristian Leandro Córdoba Jueves 31 de Mayo de 2012 00:00

Según informe de la Escuela de Estadística de la UCR

Aumenta la apatía sobre políticas económicas de Laura Chinchilla

Las familias costarricenses no están contentas con las políticas económicas de la administración Chinchilla Miranda ya que, a pesar del crecimiento de la producción, le pasan la factura por los últimos escándalos de corrupción.

En la edición 34 del Indicador de la Confianza de los Consumidores, elaborado por la Escuela de Estadística de la Universidad de Costa Rica (UCR), se evidencia un aumento del pesimismo sobre el futuro de la economía.

2012-07-31 - 10:48:00 PM - Agricultores, empleados de telecomunicaciones y comunida reclaman mejoras en el sistema de salud protagonizan esta semana en Costa Rica prot contra el gobierno de Laura Chinchilla, agobiado por escándalos y casos de corrupción la popularidad en picada. Miles de trabajadores protestan contra la

Ataviados con sombreros y gorras, miles de agricultores corrupción en Costa Rica demandar al Congreso una reforma que reduzca sustanc consideran excesivo y ruinoso para las pequeñas empre

Viernes 4 de Mavo de 2012, 02:08 pm

#### Denuncian por corrupción a dirigentes del partido de Gobierno en Costa Rica



Integrantes del Partido Liberación Nacional (PLN) están presuntamente implicados en escándalos de corrupción, señaló el Tribunal Supremo de Elecciones de Costa Rica (Foto:Archivo)

0		
1	0	0

Los presuntos implicados están siendo investigados por cobrar 800 mil dólares en contratos simulados de alguiler de autos. El Tribunal Supremo de Elecciones en Costa Rica reveló una información en la que compromete a funcionarios del gobierno.

corrupción", "alto al desmantelamiento del Estado", "que los banqueros crisis", eran algunas de las consignas de los manifestantes

#### Globo

Unas 5.000 personas, en su mayoría educadores y trabajadores de la salud, marcharon este martes por una de las principales avenidas de la capital costarricense para expresar su repudio a la corrupción en el gobierno y exigir mejoras salariales, constató un periodista de la AFP.

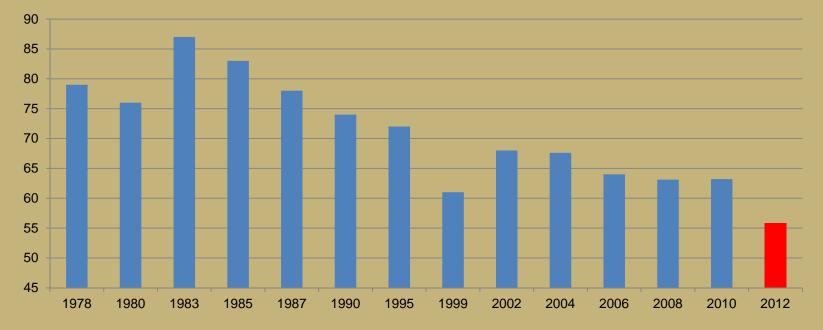
"Alto a la corrupción", "alto al desmantelamiento del Estado", "que los banqueros paguen la crisis", eran algunas de las consignas de los manifestantes, que recorrieron la Avenida Segunda de San José desde el sector oeste hasta el edificio del Congreso, en el centro de la ciudad.

La protesta fue convocada por la Asociación de Profesores de Segunda Enseñanza (APSE), la Unión de Empleados de la Caja del Seguro Social (UNDECA) y otras organizaciones sociales.

El Tribunal Supremo de Elecciones (TSE) de Costa Rica solicitó a la Fiscalía del país investigar a 90 dirigentes del Partido Liberación Nacional (PLN) luego de concluir que el partido de Gobierno le cobró al Estado, dentro de sus gastos de campaña, 800 mil dólares por contratos aparentemente simulados de alquiler de carros

## **Trouble in Paradise?**

The Decline in System Support in Costa Rica: 1978-2012



In 2012 the Americas Barometer shows that Costa Rica has declined to its lowest system support levels in 34 years.

While Costa Rica remains in the upper-tier of "Stable Democracies," it is clearly trending downward.

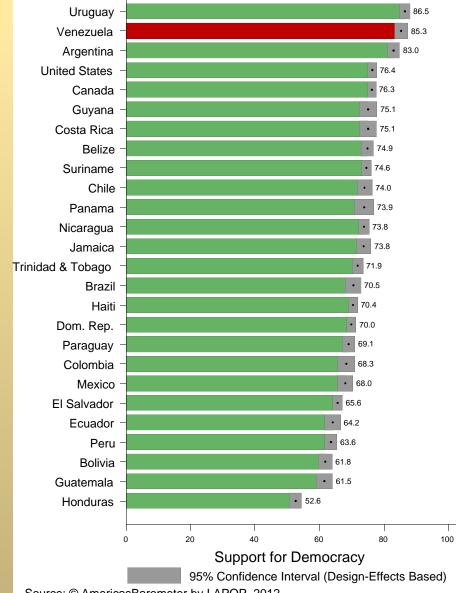
# Will Political Stability Break Down in Venezuela?

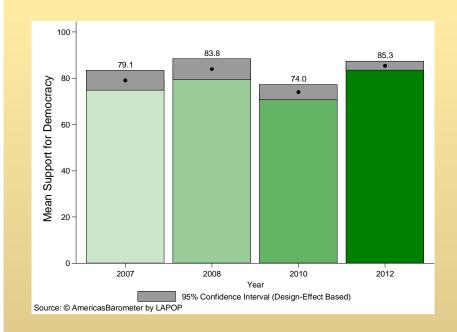






## Abstract Support for Democracy has Been Consistently High in Venezuela





ING4. Changing the subject again, 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? (1-6 disagree/agree scale transformed into a 0-100 scale

Source: © AmericasBarometer by LAPOP, 2012

## Enhancing Citizen Sense of Political Efficacy: The Big Chávez Story

## THE CIVIC CULTURE

Political Attitudes and Democracy in Five Nations

Gabriel A. Almond Sidney Verba Since the publication in 1963 of *The Civic Culture* political scientists have seen political efficacy at the core of a system of values that lead to stable democracy.

Initially referred to as "citizen competence" it was the focus of six of the thirteen chapters of the book.

"Subjective political competence" defined: citizens *believe* they can exert influence governmental decision-making.

A key distinguishing feature of the political culture of the U.S. and the UK vs. Mexico and Italy in1959 was the greater sense of subjective political competence in the former.







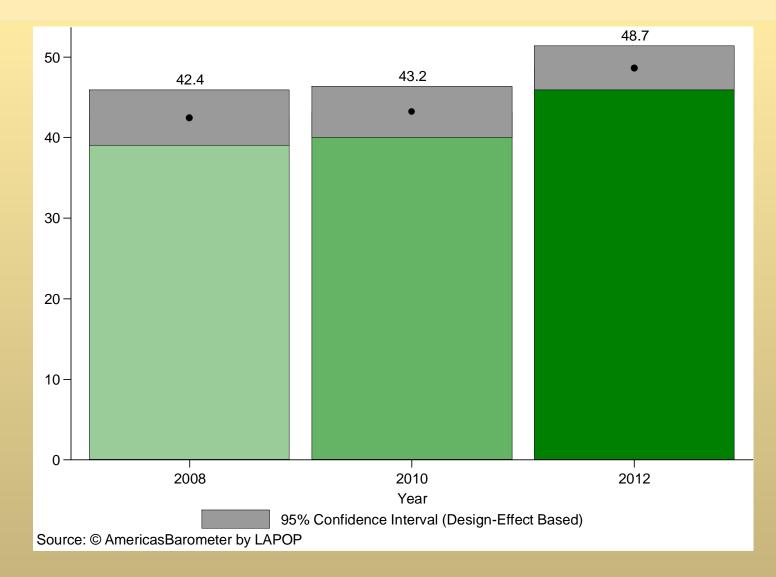


- When people feel that their views are being heard, political scientists today refer to this as "External Political Efficacy."
- Venezuelans under Chávez have the highest average efficiency of any country.
- Results are dramatically higher than pre-Chávez days (e.g., Canache survey 1995: 92% expressed low external efficacy)

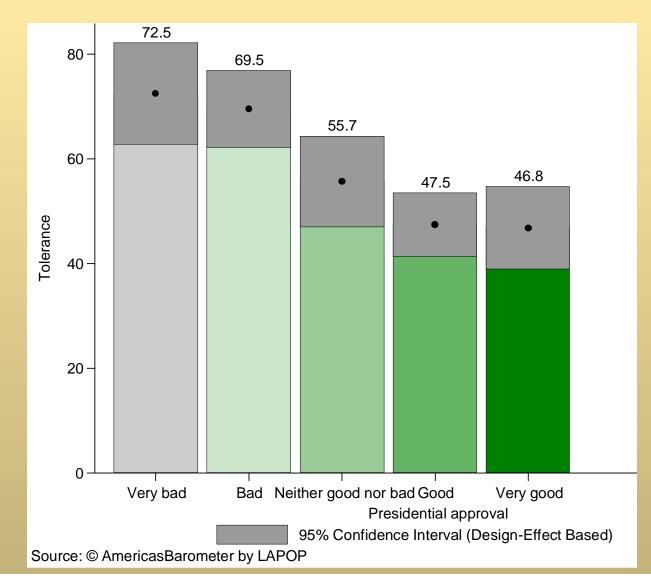
EFF1. "Those who govern this country are interested in what people like you think. How much do you agree or disagree with this statement?"

(Scale 1 – 7, converted to 0 – 100 scale)

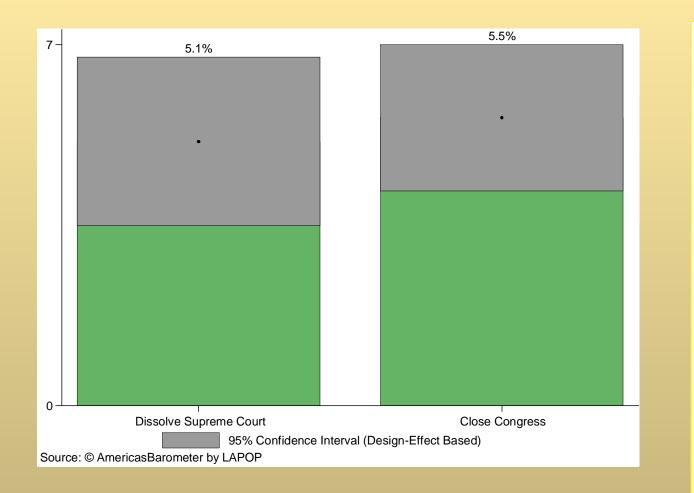
## Moreover, External Efficacy has Increased Somewhat from 2008 to 2012



Political Tolerance is Closely Tied to Support for Chávez: Better evaluations are associated with lower tolerance of opposition rights

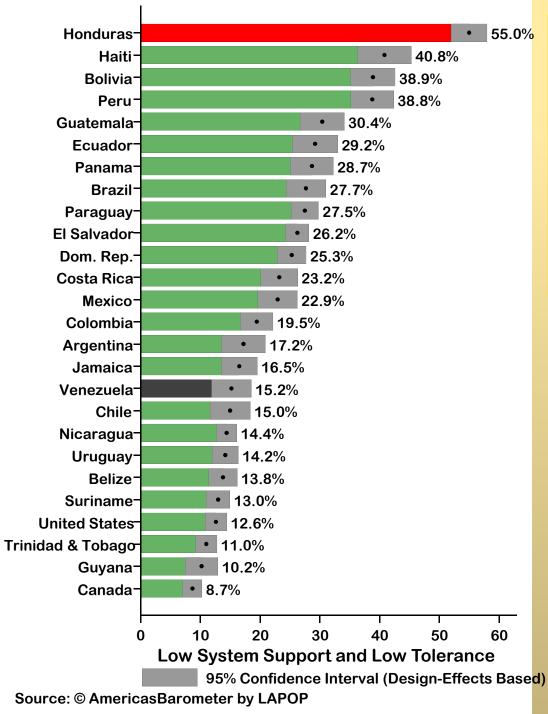


# Very Few Believe a Presidential Self-Coup in Venezuela Would Be Justified



JC15A. Do you believe that when the country is facing very difficult times it is justifiable for the president of the country to close the National Assembly and govern without it? JC16A. (same intro) ...dissolve the Supreme Court and govern without it?

Figure shows percentage who say "yes, it is justifiable."

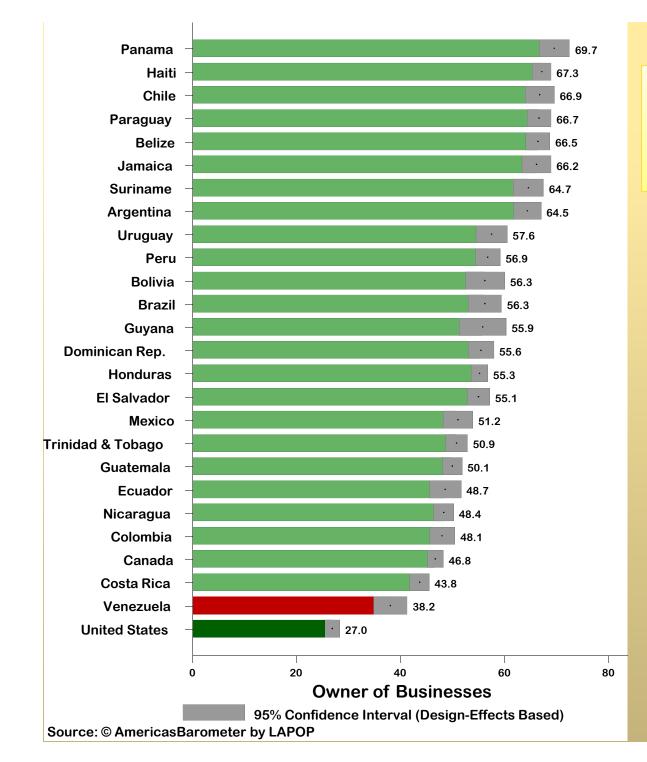


Only a relatively small proportion of Venezuelans fall into the "democracy at risk cell", 2012 data

	Political Tolerance	
Legitimacy (System Support)	High	Low
High	Stable Democracy	Authoritarian Stability
Low	Unstable Democracy	Democracy at Risk

# Yet, "authoritarian stability" is the largest cell in the table

	Political Tolerance	
Legitimacy (System Support)	High	Low
High	Stable Democracy 24.5%	Authoritarian Stability 36.7%
Low	Unstable Democracy 23.6%	Democracy at Risk 15.2%

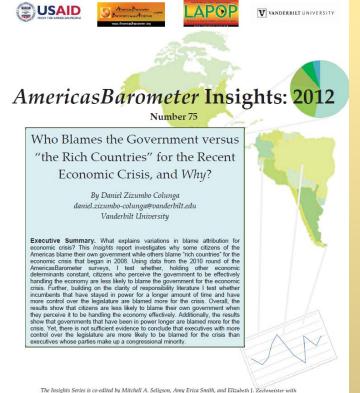


#### Venezuelans seem to have liked Chávez more than they like his socialist policies

ROS1. The Venezuelan\* government, instead of the private sector, should own the most important enterprises and industries of the country. How much do you agree or disagree with this statement?

(Scale 1 – 7, converted to 0 – 100 scale)

\*Country noted in question changes by country of survey.



The Insights Series is co-edited by Mitchell A. Seligson, Arny Erica Smith, and Elizabeth J. Zechneelster wi administrative, technical, and intellectual support from the LAPOP group at Vanderbilt. <u>intrus AmericasBarometer arg</u>

# Subscribe to LAPOP's *Insights* Series by Email:

insight@mail.americasbarometer.org







www.AmericasBarometer.org



## www.AmericasBarometer.org

Find us at: www.lapopsurveys.org

Follow us at 🈏 @Lapop\_Barometro