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Latin American Public Opinion Project

**LAPPOP**

Proyecto de Opinión Pública de América Latina

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



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# Measuring Public and Middle Class Attitudes to Democracy and Markets: Key Findings from the 2012 AmericasBarometer



*AmericasBarometer* by LAPOP  
*Barómetro de las Américas*

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

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

**Elizabeth J. Zechmeister, Associate Director of LAPOP &  
Associate Professor of Political Science, Vanderbilt University**

# Supporters of the AmericasBarometer



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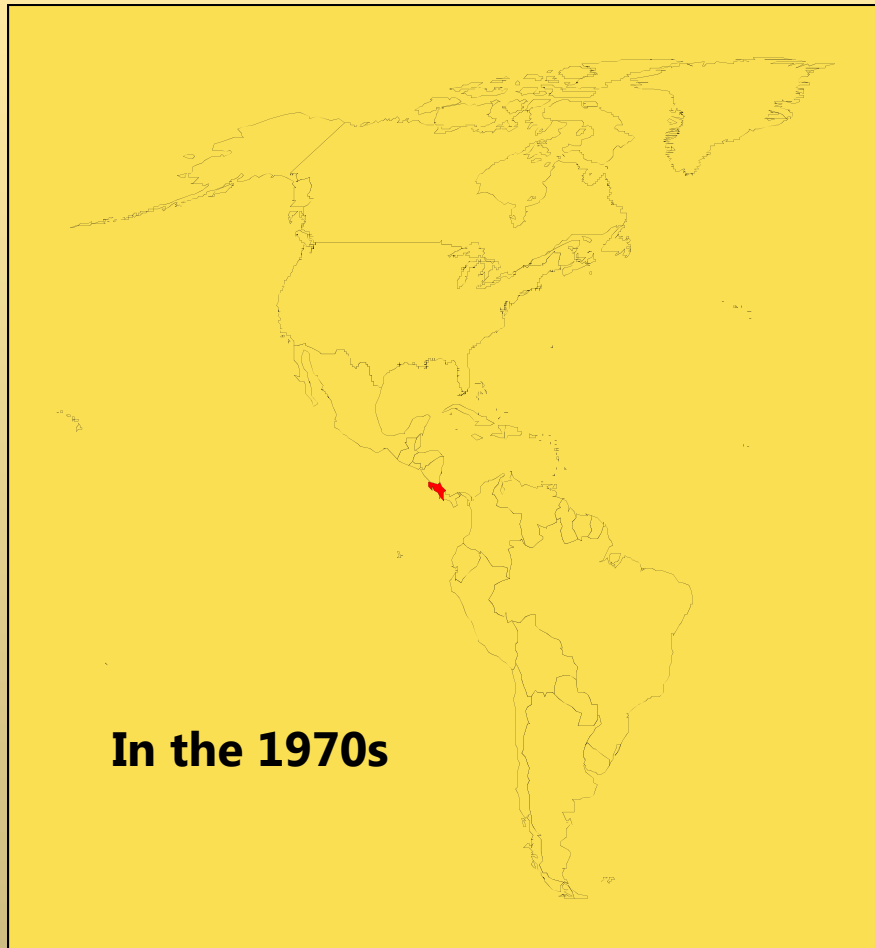
**LAPOP Central at Vanderbilt  
Unites a Consortium of Partners across the  
Americas**

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Uruguay		
Venezuela		

Costa Rica			
El Salvador			
Guatemala			
Honduras			
Mexico			
Nicaragua			
Panama			

# LAPOPOP: The Early Years





# The Americas Barometer



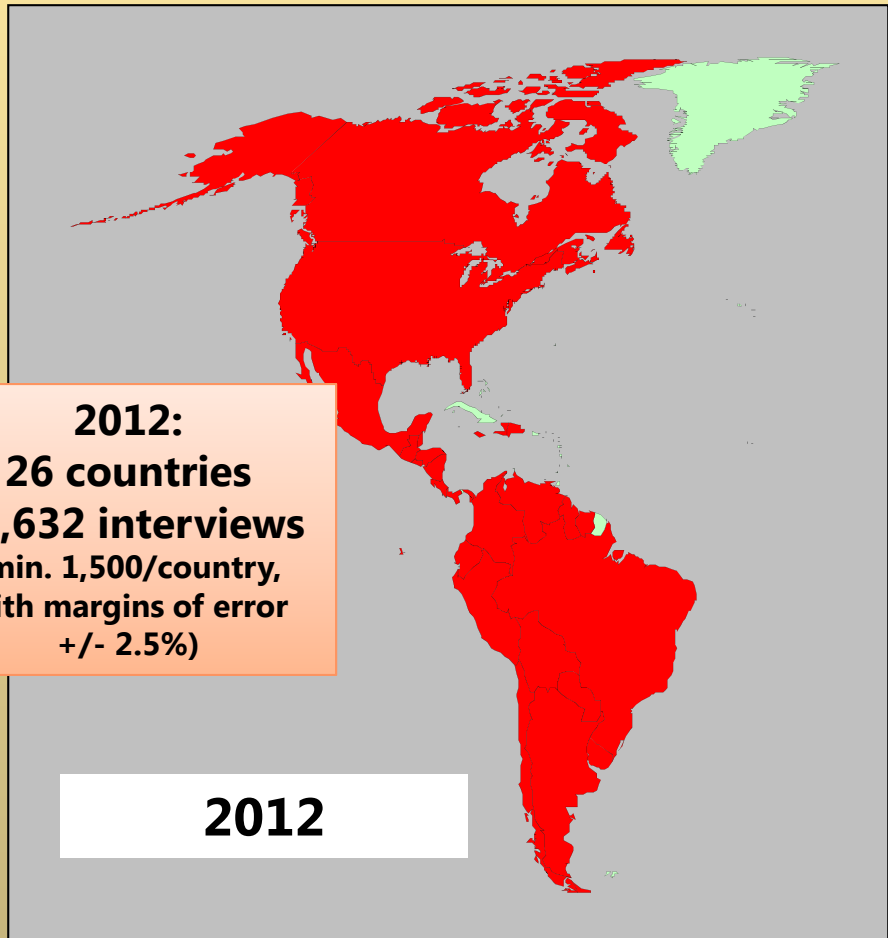
Americas Barometer  
Barómetro de las Américas by LAPOP

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

2004-2012: 178,864 Interviews



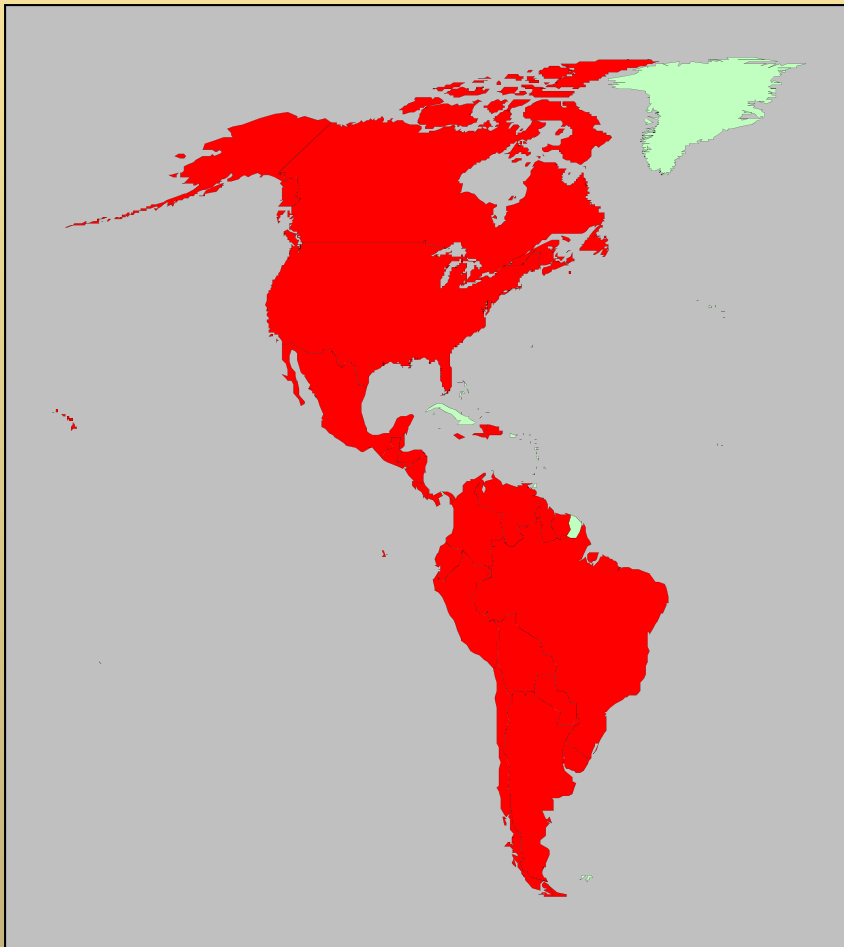
**2012:**  
**26 countries**  
**41,632 interviews**  
(min. 1,500/country,  
with margins of error  
+/- 2.5%)



# The AmericasBarometer Data Base



2004-2012: 178,864 Interviews



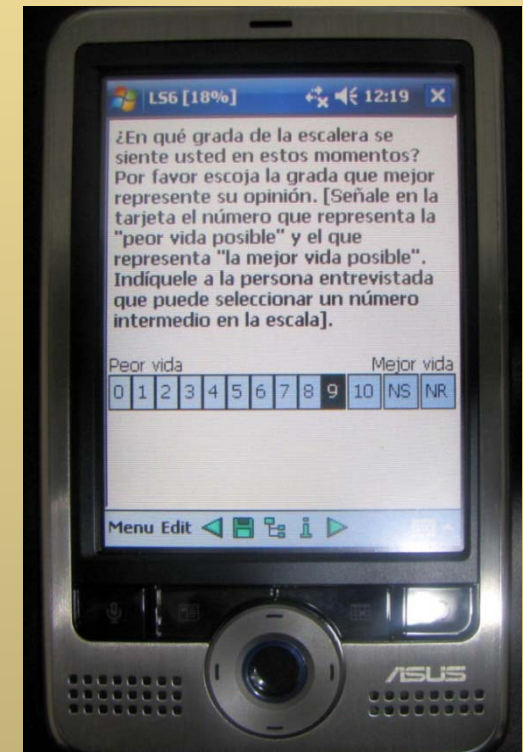
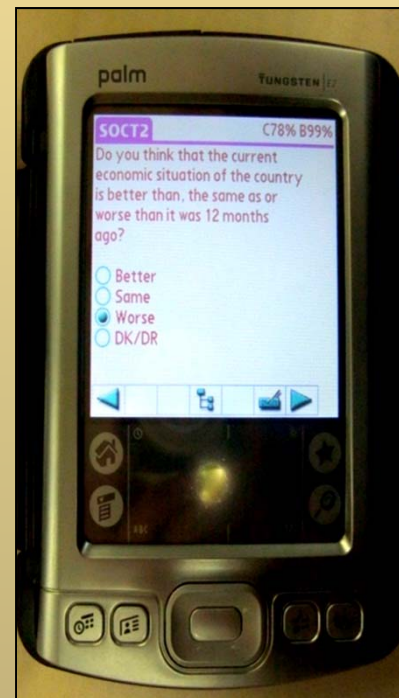
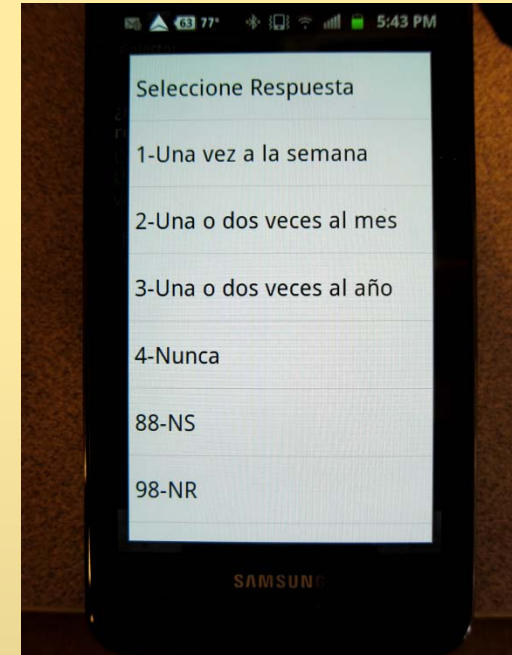
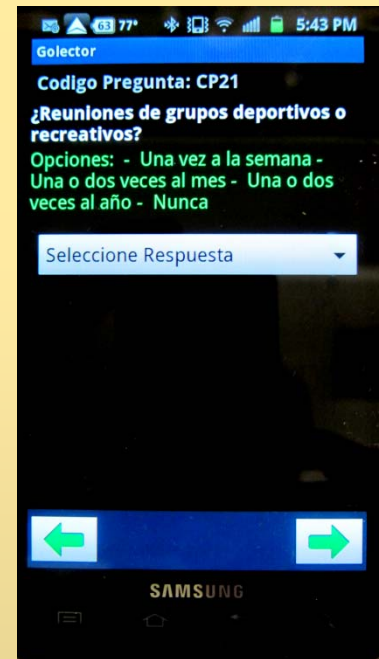
- The only household survey of the hemisphere that includes North America, Central America, South America and key nations in the Caribbean
- Sample sizes of 1,500 respondents minimum per country
- Truly nationally representative, urban centers & rural areas
- Face-to-face interviews conducted in 13 languages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

## 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





# Free Reports Available Online

## Regional Reports

The cover features the USAID logo at the top left, with the text 'FROM THE AMERICAN PEOPLE' below it. The main title is centered in white text on a dark green background. Below the title, the names of the report editors are listed. At the bottom, there are logos for 'América Encuentro', 'LAPOP', and 'Vanderbilt University'.

**USAID**  
FROM THE AMERICAN PEOPLE

**The Political Culture of Democracy in the Americas, 2012:  
Towards Equality of Opportunity**

Report Editors:  
Mitchell A. Seligson, Ph.D.  
Vanderbilt University

Amy Erica Smith, Ph.D.  
Iowa State University

Elizabeth J. Zechmeister, Ph.D.  
Vanderbilt University

América Encuentro  
LAPOP  
VANDERBILT UNIVERSITY

## Country Reports

A stack of three report covers for Bolivia. The top cover is titled 'Ciudadanía' and 'Cultura política de la democracia en Bolivia, 2012: Hacia la igualdad de oportunidades'. It lists the authors as 'Ciudadanía' and 'LAPOP'. Logos for USAID, the Bolivian government, and LAPOP are visible at the bottom.

**Ciudadanía**  
**Cultura política de la democracia en Bolivia, 2012:  
Hacia la igualdad de oportunidades**

Ciudadanía  
LAPOP

USAID  
EMBAJADA DE BOZULU  
LAPOP

A stack of three report covers for the Dominican Republic. The top cover is titled 'Cultura política de la democracia en República Dominicana, 2012: Hacia la igualdad de oportunidades'. It lists the authors as 'República Dominicana' and 'LAPOP'. Logos for USAID, the Dominican Republic government, and LAPOP are visible at the bottom.

**USAID**  
**Cultura política de la democracia en  
República Dominicana, 2012:  
Hacia la igualdad de oportunidades**

República Dominicana  
LAPOP

USAID  
GALLUP  
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LAPOP

A stack of three report covers for Nicaragua. The top cover is titled 'Cultura política de la democracia en Nicaragua, 2012: Hacia la igualdad de oportunidades'. It lists the authors as 'Nicaragua' and 'LAPOP'. Logos for USAID, the Nicaraguan government, and LAPOP are visible at the bottom.

**USAID**  
**Cultura política de la democracia en Nicaragua, 2012:  
Hacia la igualdad de oportunidades**

Nicaragua  
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# Free Access to Online Data Analysis Program in Beginner and Expert Modes

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

The screenshot shows the LAPOP website interface. At the top, there is a navigation bar with the following items: Conversatorios, Censos, Demografía, Encuestas, Recursos, Capacitación, Actividades, and Investigación. Below this, there is a section titled "The Latin American Public Opinion Project (LAPOP) Vanderbilt University". It mentions that the system is supported by USAID and Vanderbilt University. The text describes the "LAPOP's System for Online Data Analysis (SODA)" and offers two alternatives for querying databases: "BEGINNER mode" and "Expert mode". The "BEGINNER mode" description states: "The user can 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." There is a "Download" button and a small map of Latin America.

victim of any type of crime in the pa	sex		Total
	male	female	
yes	3,871 18.92	3,452 16.42	7,323 17.65
no	16,592 81.08	17,572 83.58	34,164 82.35
Total	20,463 100.00	21,024 100.00	41,487 100.00

Pearson chi2(1) = 44.5075 Pr = 0.000  
Cramér's V = 0.0328  
Kendall's tau-b = 0.0328 ASE = 0.005

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

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

TINKER FOUNDATION INC.

www.LapopSurveys.org

Latin American Public Opinion Project

LAPOP AmericasBarometer Barómetro de las Américas

HOME DATASETS DATASET USAGE SUPPORT INFORMATION ADMINISTRATOR LOGIN

Welcome

>> Search

Merged Datasets (All)

2012

2011

2010

2009

2008

2007

2006

2005

2004

Search results. [Search again](#)

Argentina	2012			
Country Director	Director e-mail	Technical Document File	Stata File	SPSS File
German Lodola	glodola@utdt.edu		<a href="#">Argentina 2012 STATA</a>	<a href="#">Argentina 2012 SPSS</a>
Name of Questionnaire Document and Language				
<a href="#">Argentina 2012 Questionnaire - Español</a>				
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 <a href="http://get.adobe.com/reader/">get.adobe.com/reader/</a> and Foxit Reader <a href="http://www.foxitsoftware.com">www.foxitsoftware.com</a> .				

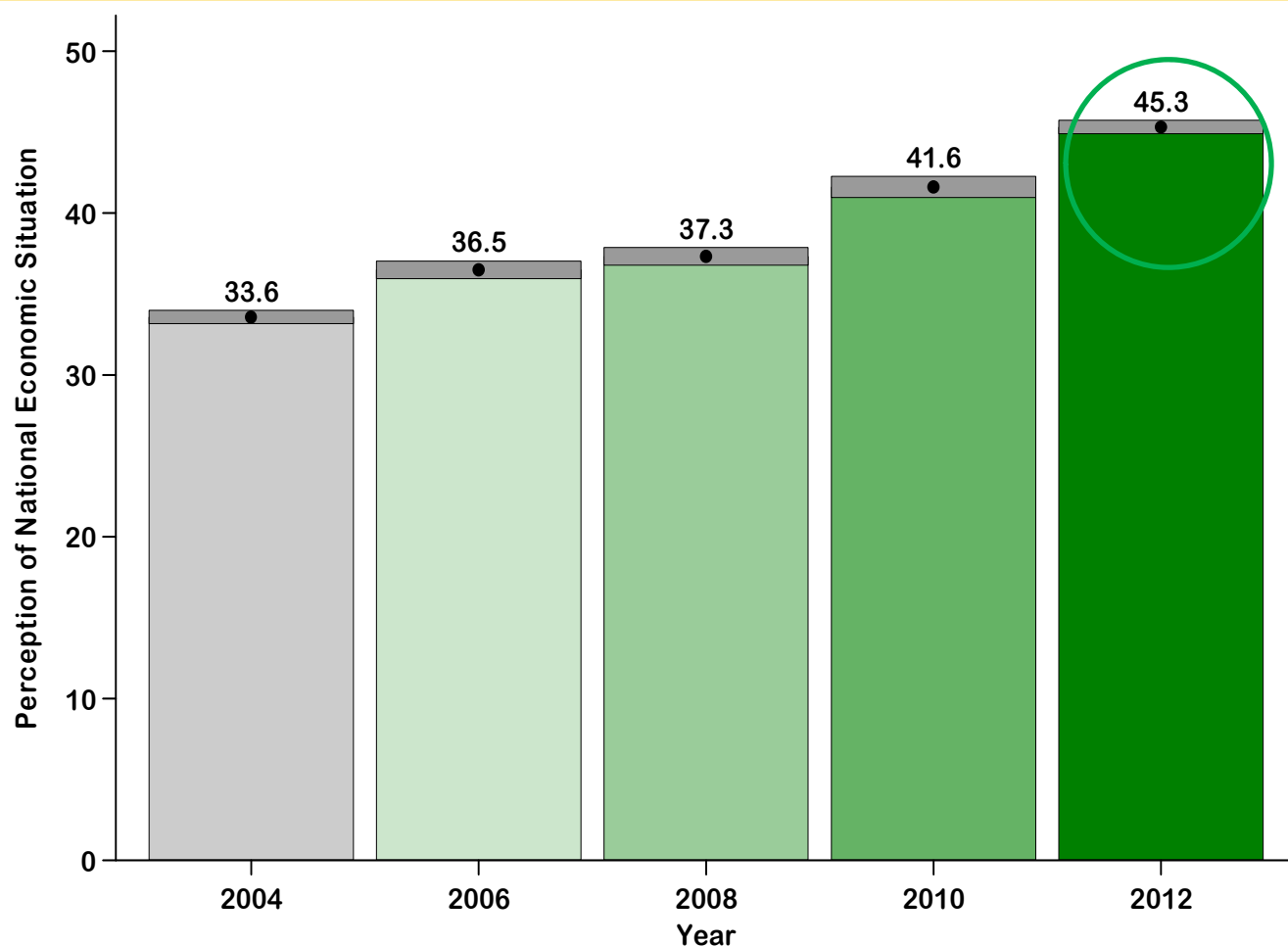
  

Belize	2012			
Country Director	Director e-mail	Technical Document File	Stata File	SPSS File
Mitchell A. Seligson	mitchell.a.seligson@vanderbilt.edu		<a href="#">Belize 2012 STATA</a>	<a href="#">Belize 2012 SPSS</a>
Name of Questionnaire Document and Language				

# **Views of the Economy in the Americas Have Improved**



# Views of the national economy were more optimistic in 2012 than in any previous round



95% Confidence Interval (Design-Effect Based)

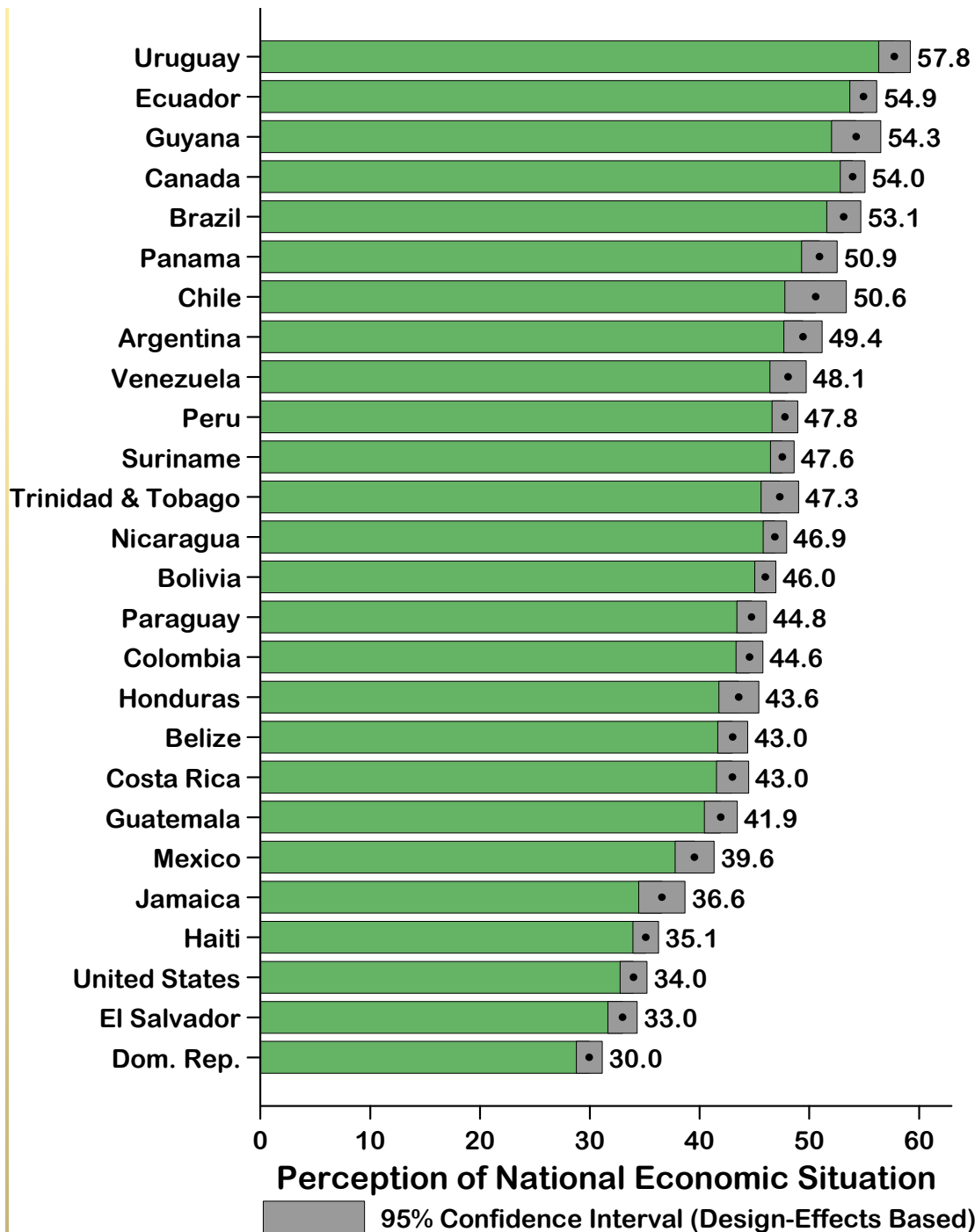
Source: © AmericasBarometer by LAPOP

**SOCT1. How would you describe the country's economic situation?**

[figure shows *mean* values on a 0-100 scale where 0=very bad and 100=very good]

Note: See LAPOP's comparative and country reports for country-by-country analyses [www.lapopsurveys.org](http://www.lapopsurveys.org)

\*Trend in 10 countries in 2004



Source: © AmericasBarometer by LAPOP

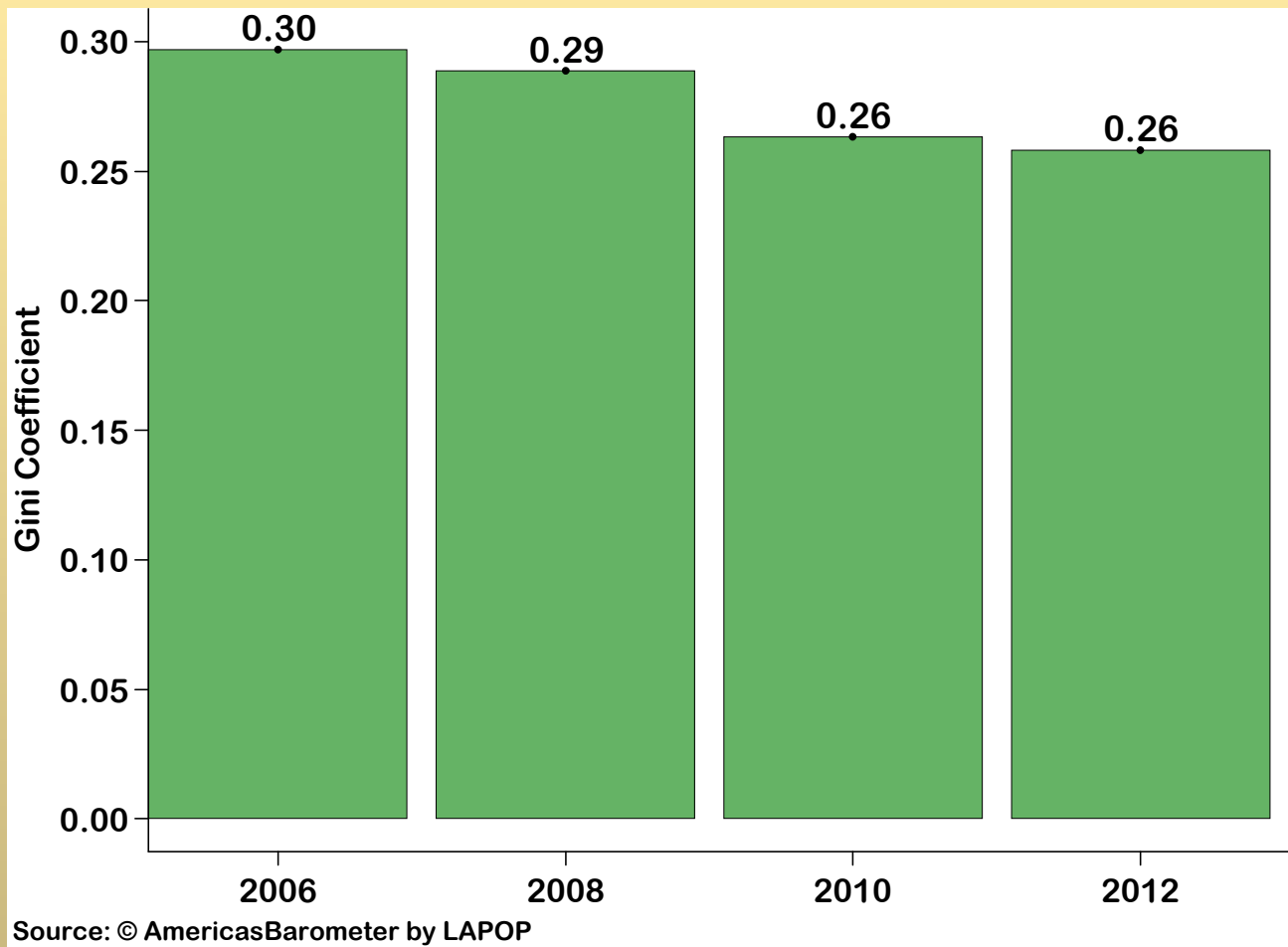
But, views vary across countries.

Respondents tend to see the national economy more positively in South America than in Mexico, Central America and the Caribbean.

[Numbers are *mean* values on 0-100 scale]

**SOCT1.** How would you describe the country's economic situation? Would you say that it is very good, good, neither good nor bad, bad or very bad?

# Wealth inequality is steadily declining: based on LAPOP's Gini coefficient of household wealth

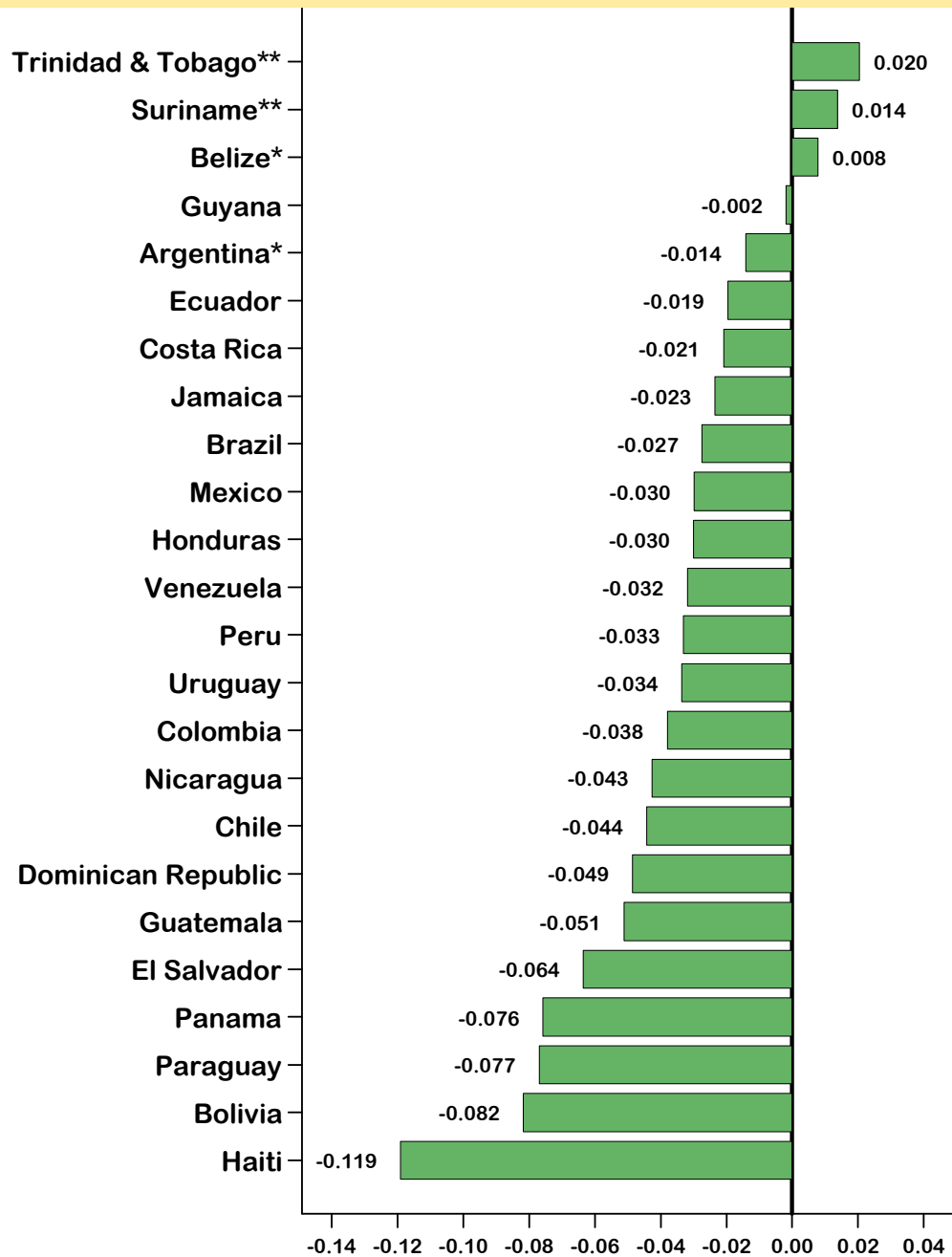


Measure based on questions about household ownership:  
TV, Refrigerator, landline, cellphone, vehicle, washing machine, microwave, motorcycle, indoor plumbing, indoor bathroom, computer

# Household wealth inequality has decreased in almost all countries

(only three countries have increased inequality)

Index based on household ownership of the following items:  
TV, Refrigerator, landline, cellphone, vehicle, washing machine, microwave, motorcycle, indoor plumbing, indoor bathroom, computer

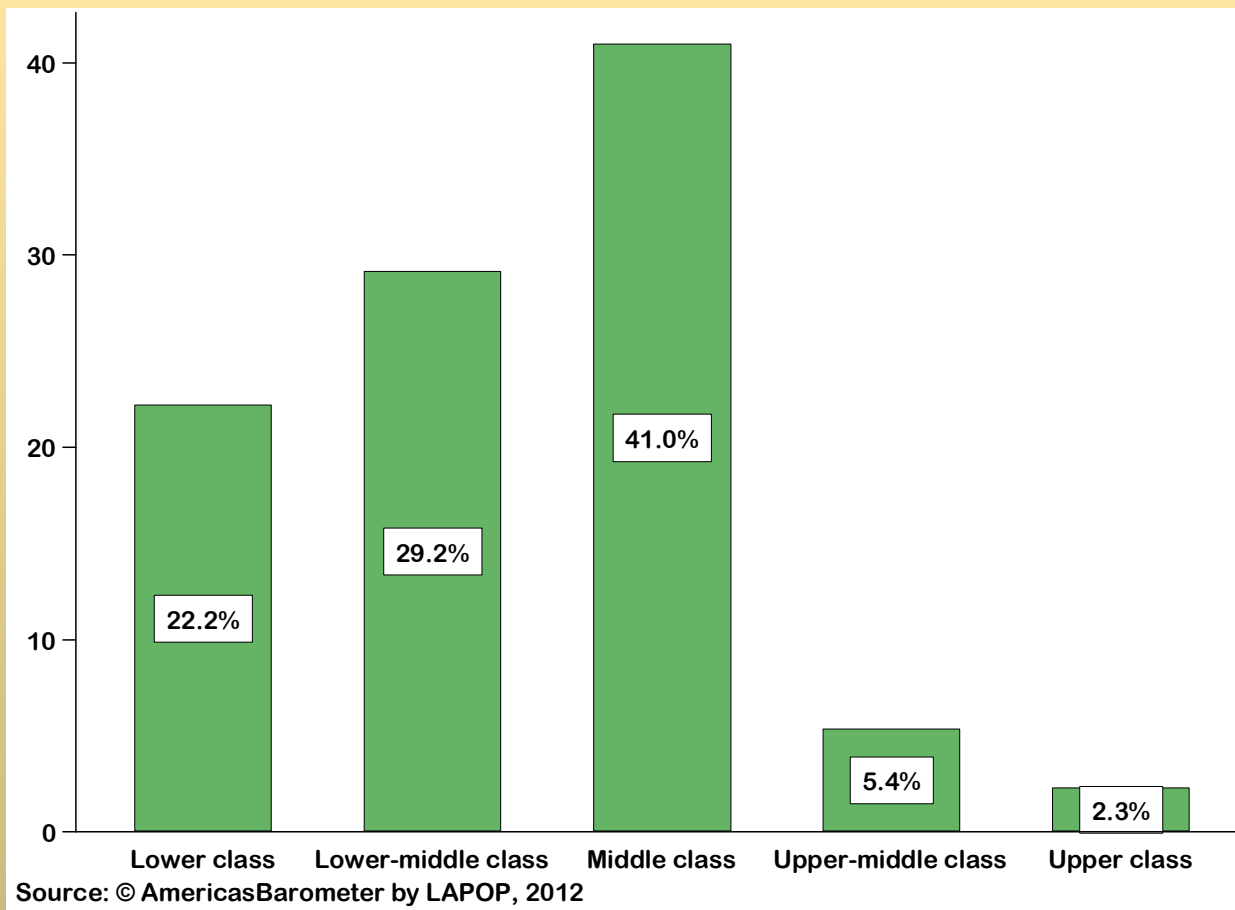


\*2008-12, \*\*2010-12

Source: © AmericasBarometer by LAPOP



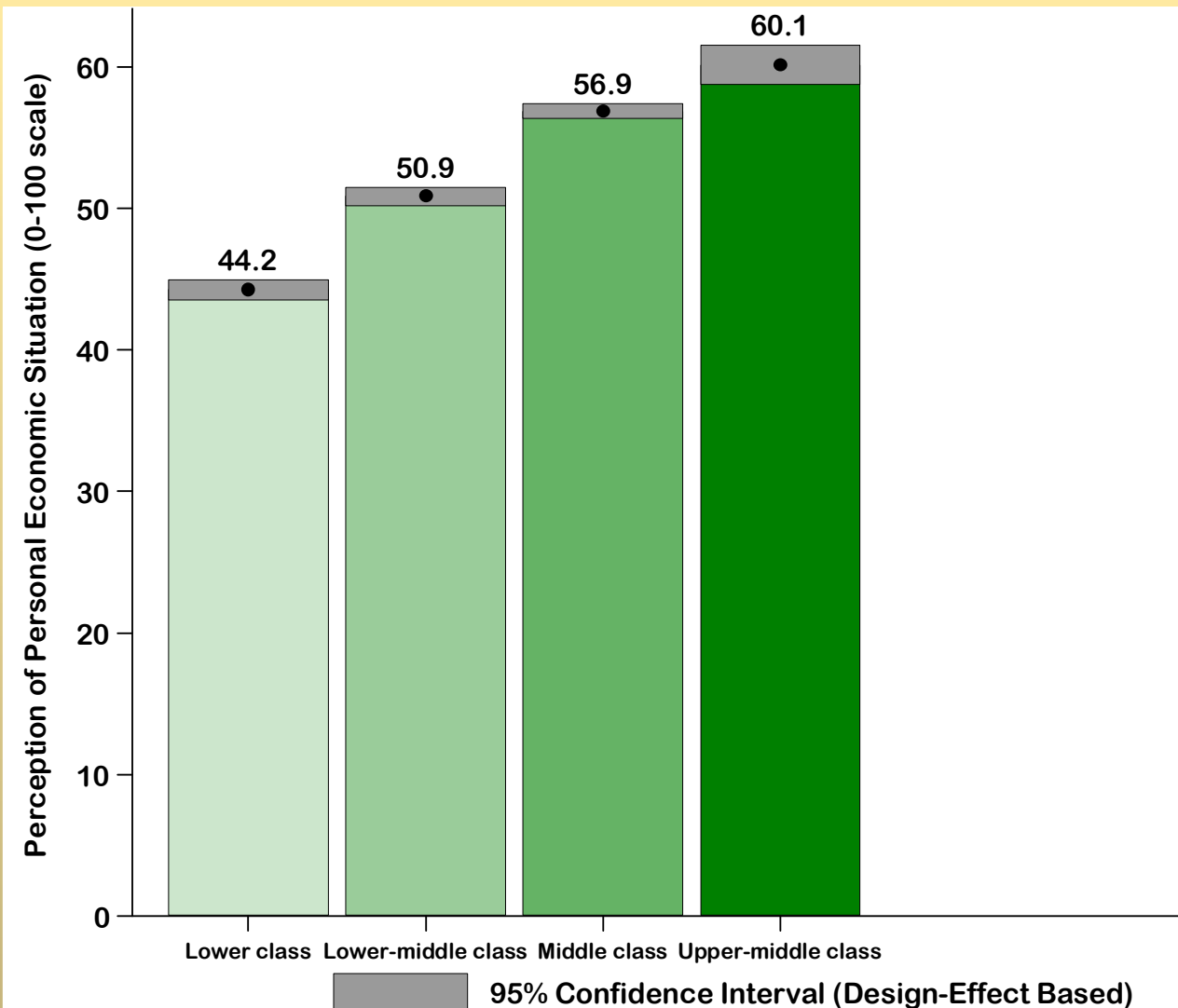
# The plurality of citizens of the Americas *perceive* themselves as belonging to the middle class



**MOV1.** Would you describe yourself as belonging to the upper class, upper middle class, middle class, lower middle class, or lower class?



# Optimism about the economy is positively related to social class self-identification



Source: © AmericasBarometer by LAPOP

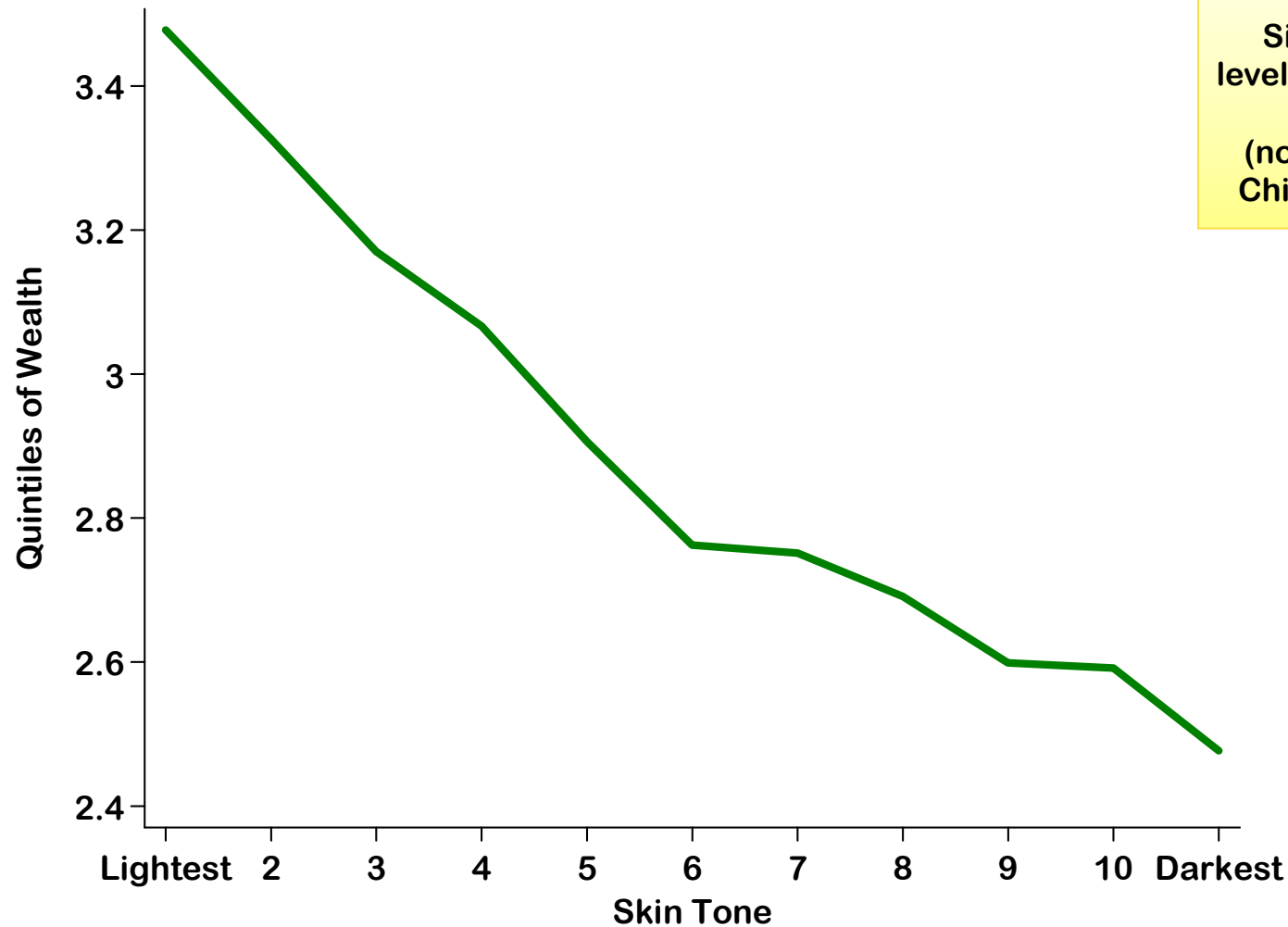
Those belonging to the middle and upper-middle classes have more positive assessments of their economic situations.



**Despite Positive Economic Trends:  
Economic Inequalities Persist,  
Underwritten by Discriminatory  
Attitudes**

# Those with Darker Skin Tones are Less Wealthy

Significant differences in levels of wealth are found in 21 of 24 countries (no significant difference in Chile, Guyana, and Panama)

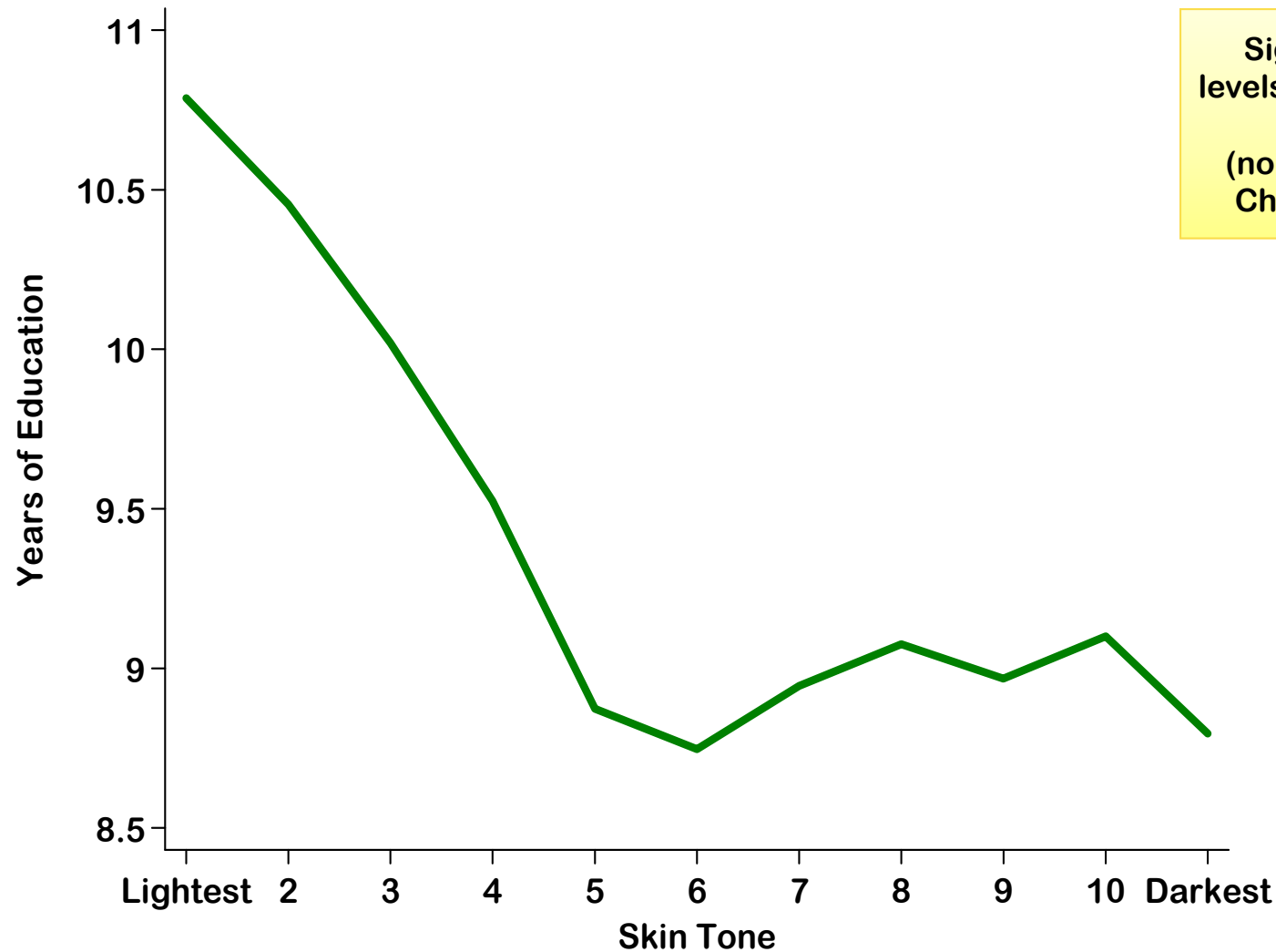


Source: © AmericasBarometer by LAPOP





# Those with Darker Skin Tones have Lower Levels of Education

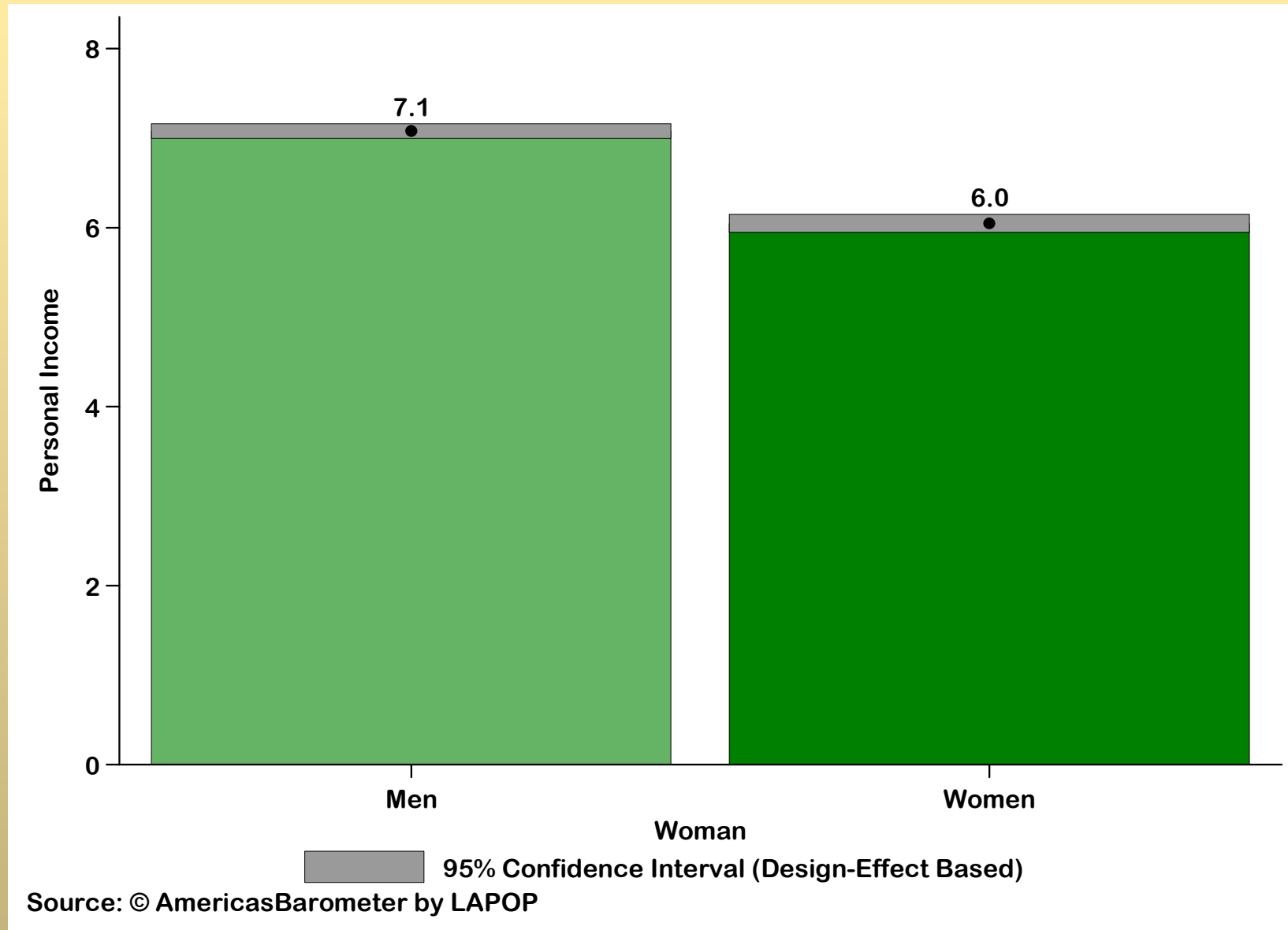


Significant differences in levels of wealth are found in 21 of 24 countries (no significant difference in Chile, Guyana, and Belize)

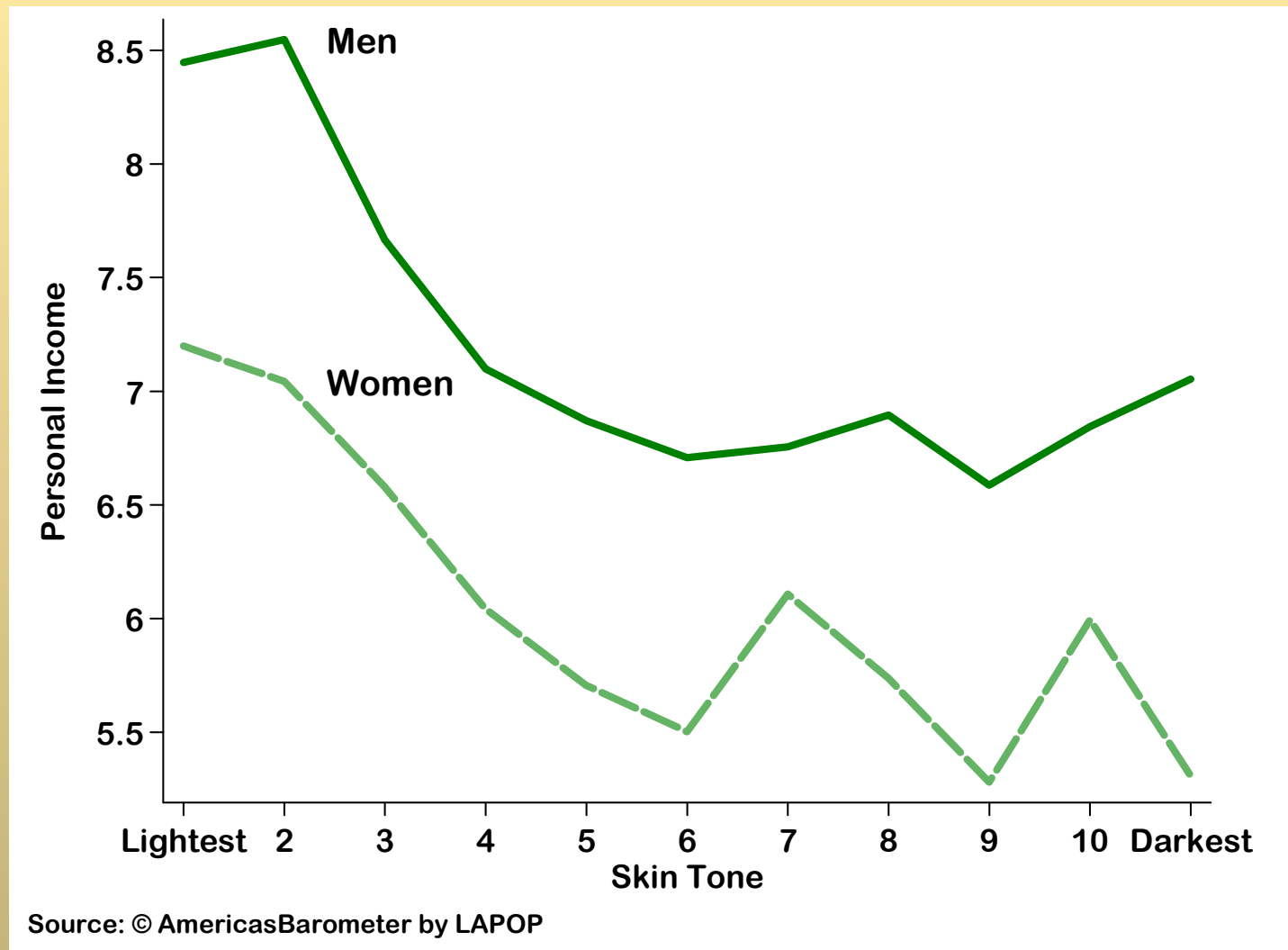


Source: © AmericasBarometer by LAPOP

# On average, in the Americas, women have lower incomes



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

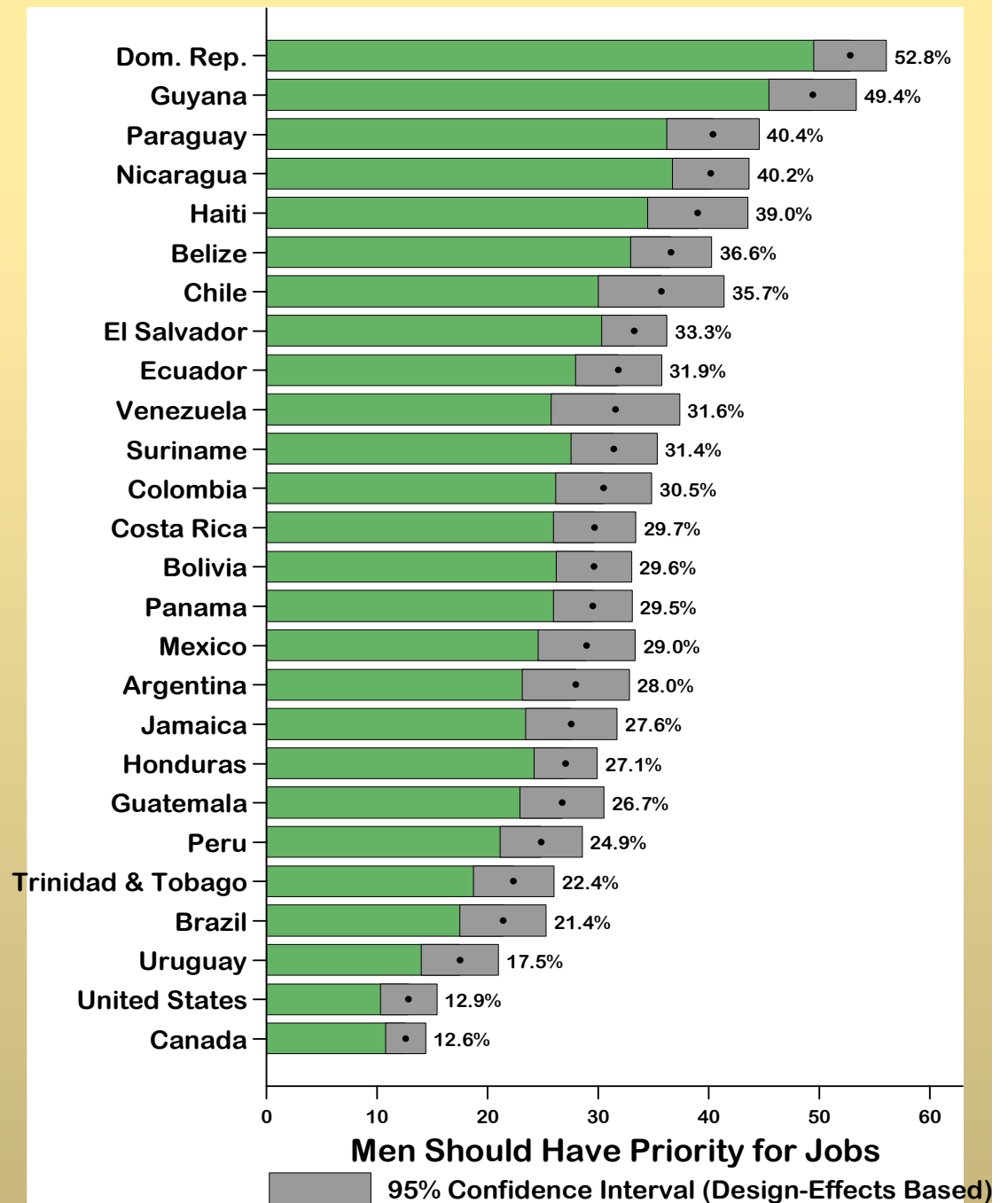


**Machista attitudes continue to give priority to men in the labor market.**

**On average across the Americas, approximately 1 out of 3 individuals favor prioritizing men in the workplace.**

**Figure shows percentage of respondents who agree with the following:**

**GEN1. Some say that when there is not enough work, men should have a greater right to jobs than women. To what extent do you agree or disagree?**



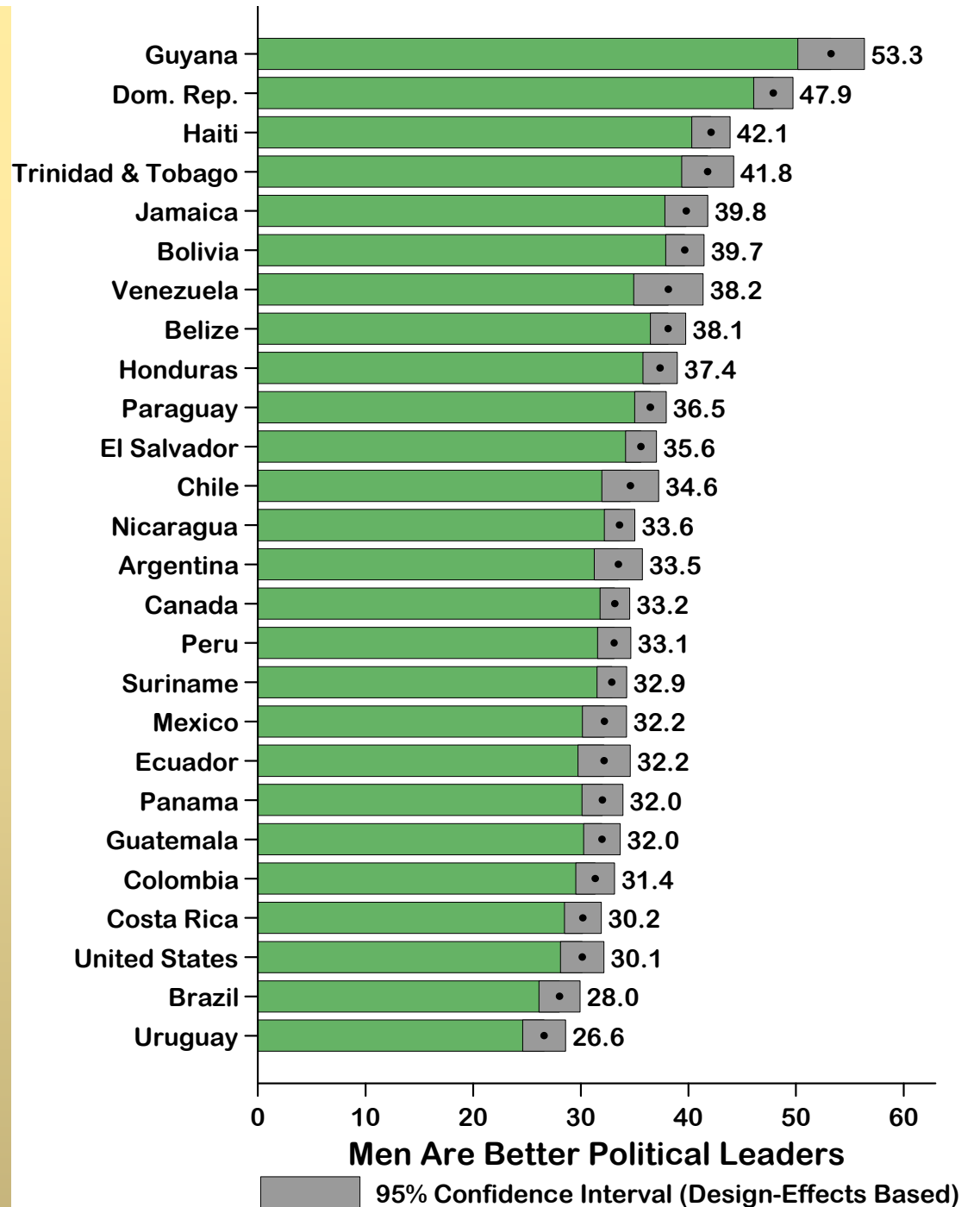
Source: © AmericasBarometer by LAPOP



## Machista attitudes continue to cede political leadership roles to men.

[Numbers are *mean* values on 0-100 scale]

**VB50.** Some say that in general, men are better political leaders than women. Do you strongly agree, agree, disagree or strongly disagree?

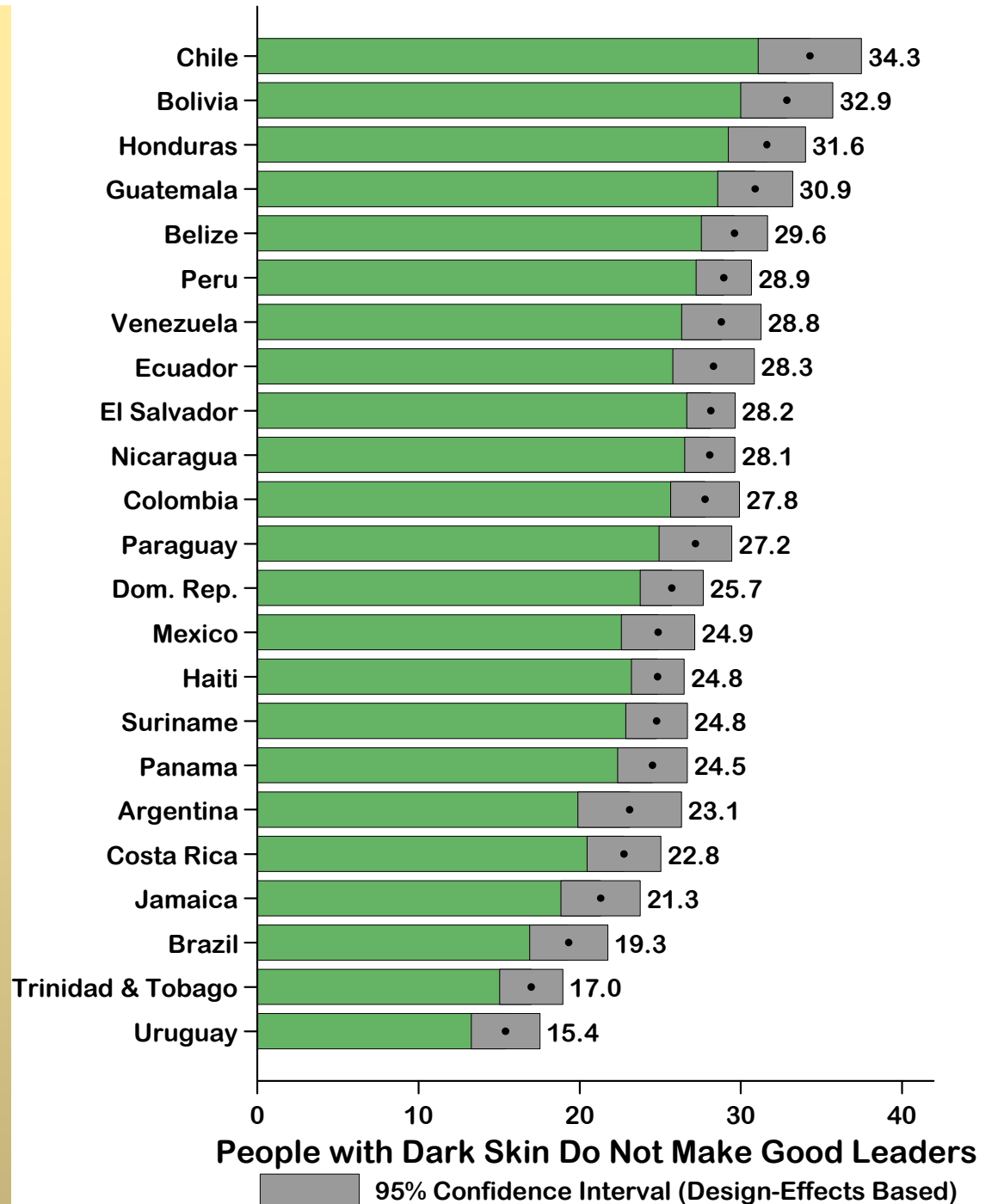


Source: © AmericasBarometer by LAPOP

**Discriminatory attitudes also persist with respect to support for political leadership by those with darker skin tone.**

[Numbers are *mean* values on 0-100 scale]

**VB53. Some say that in general, people with dark skin are not good political leaders. Do you strongly agree, agree, disagree, or strongly disagree?**



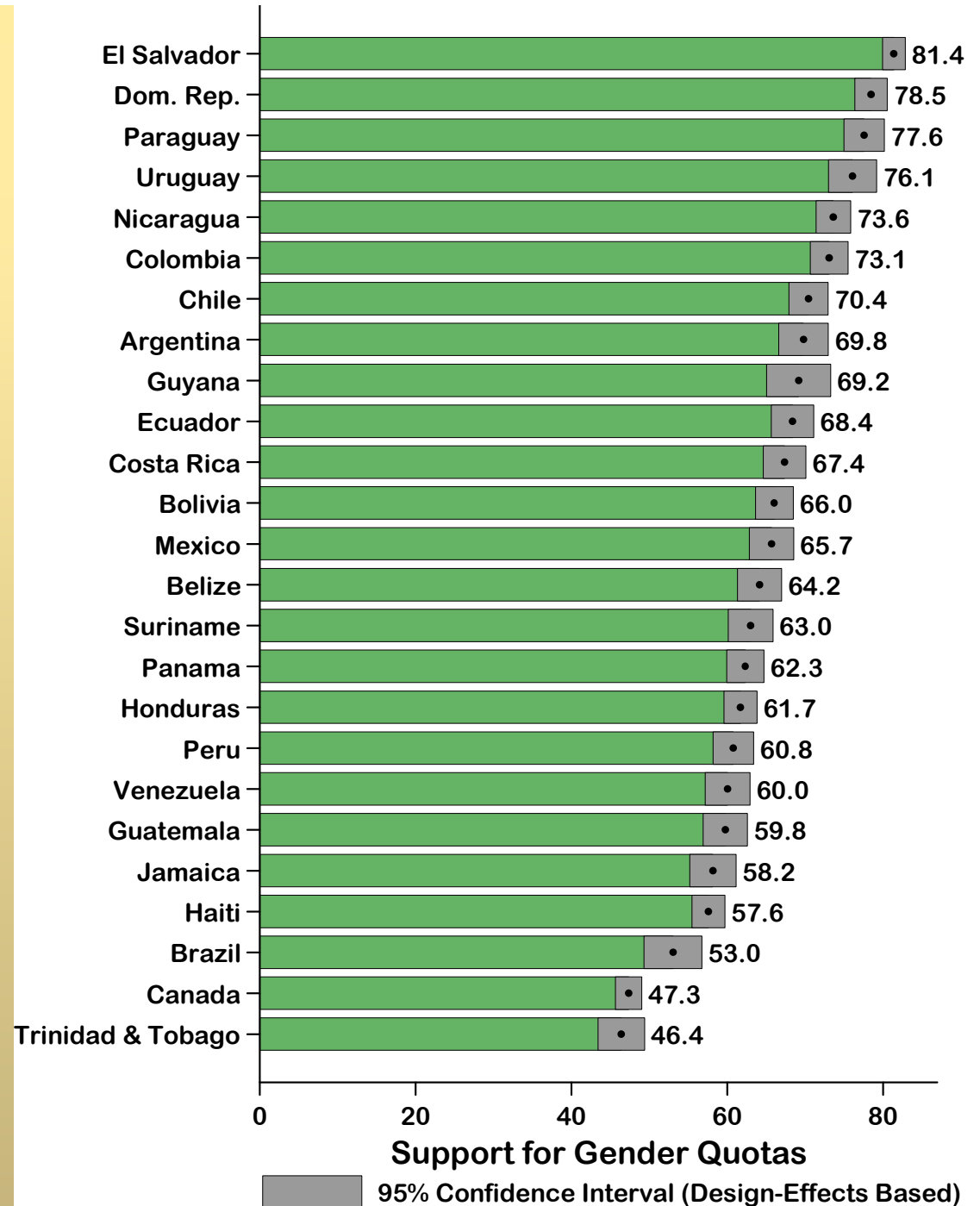
Source: © AmericasBarometer by LAPOP

However, we find strong support for policies that remove barriers to inequalities.

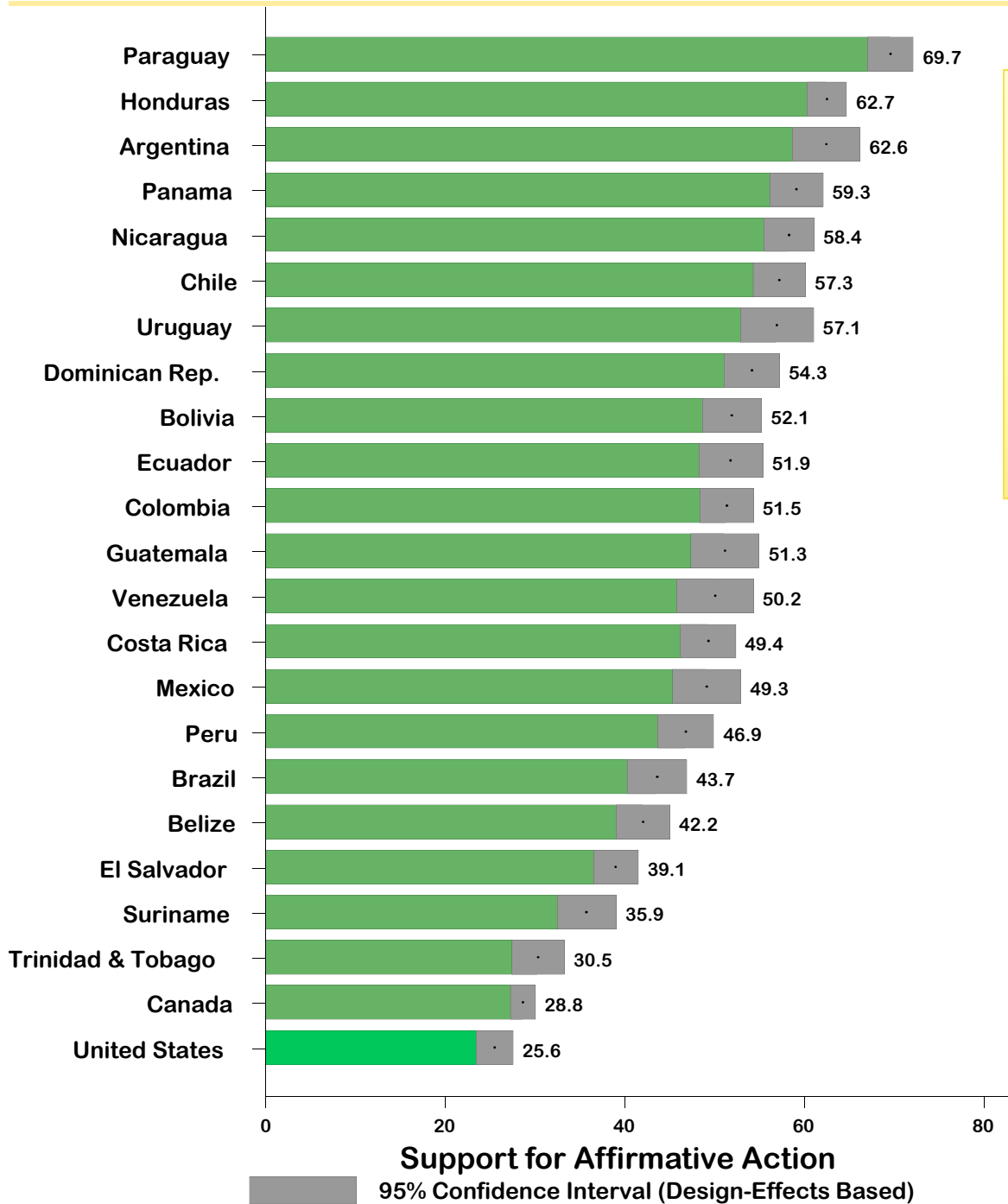
For example, strikingly high levels of support for gender quotas in most countries.

[Numbers are *mean* values on 0-100 scale]

**GEN6.** The state ought to require that political parties reserve some space on their lists of candidates for women, even if they have to exclude some men. How much do you agree or disagree?



Source: © AmericasBarometer by LAPOP



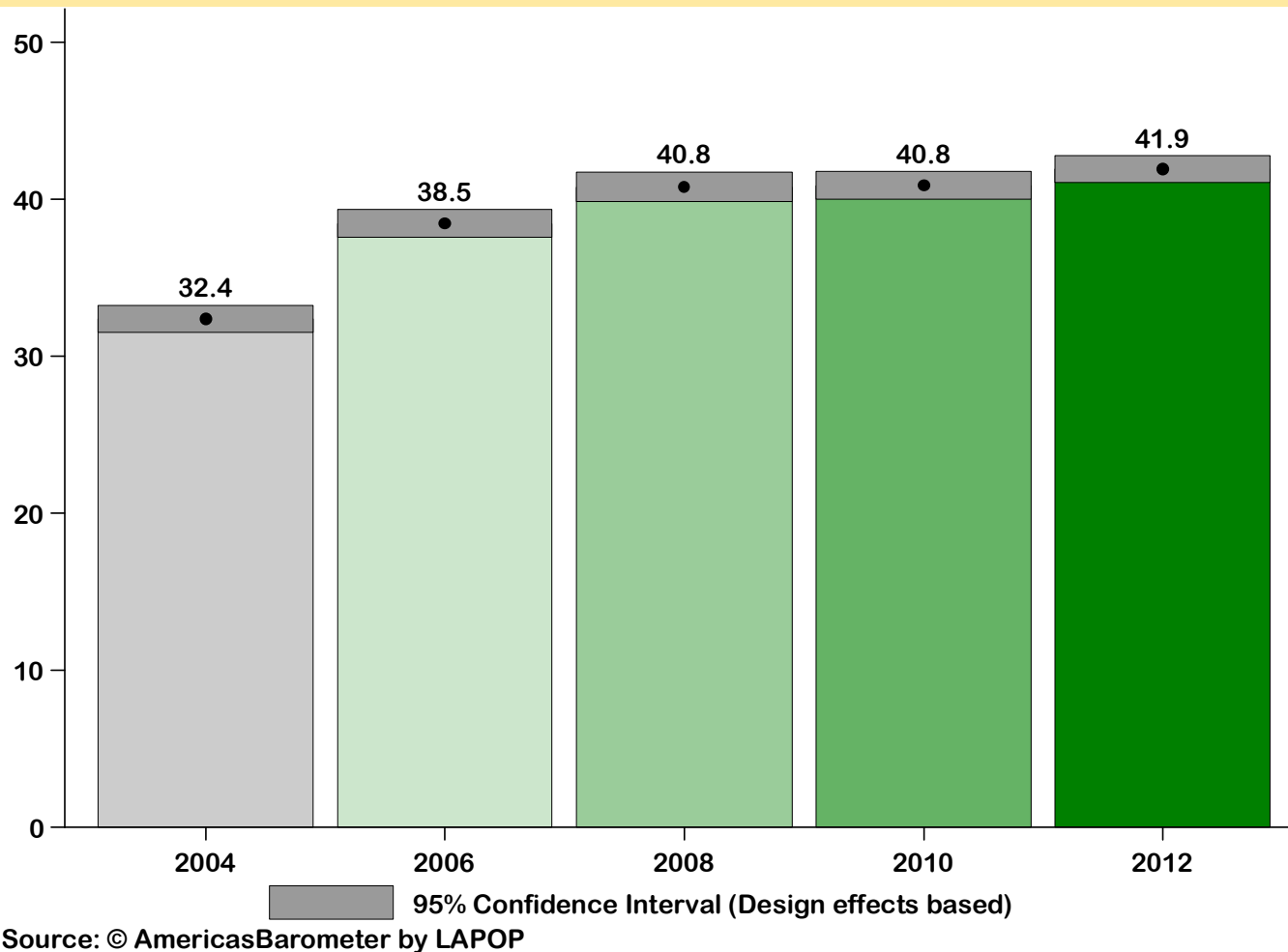
Source: © AmericasBarometer by LAPOP

**And, many respondents express support for race-based affirmative action.**

[Numbers are *mean* values on 0-100 scale]

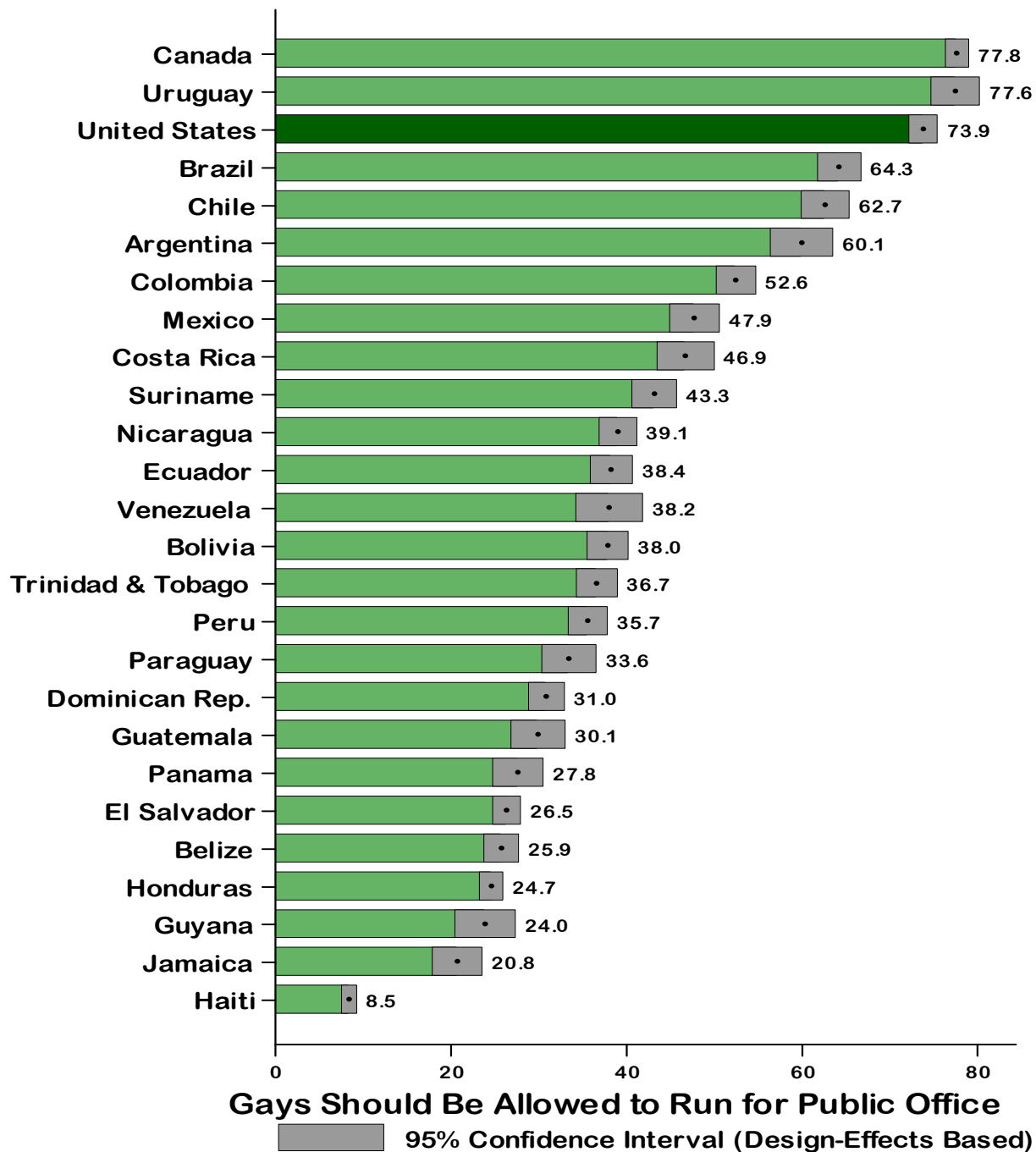
**RAC2A. Universities ought to set aside openings for students [with darker skin/who are racial or ethnic minorities], even if that means excluding other students. How much do you agree or disagree?**

## And, time-series evidence points to increased political tolerance: support for the rights of gay individuals increased 2004-2012



**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?**

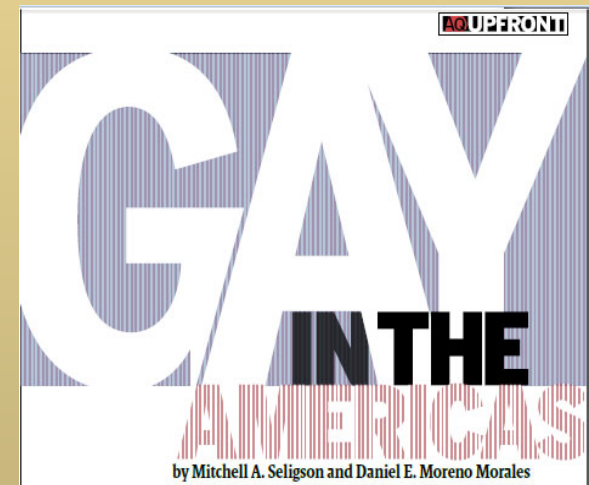
[Graph shows mean values on 0-100 scale; trend is comparable if only original 2004 countries are included]



Source: © AmericasBarometer by LAPOP

**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?”**

(Scale 1 – 10, converted to 0 – 100 scale)





## D6. How strongly do you approve or disapprove of same-sex couples may have the right to marry?

[Graph shows mean values on 0-100 scale]


  
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■ AQ WEB EXCLUSIVE

### Latin America's Support for Same-Sex Marriage

JULY 22, 2010  
 BY GERMÁN LODOLA AND MARGARITA CORRAL

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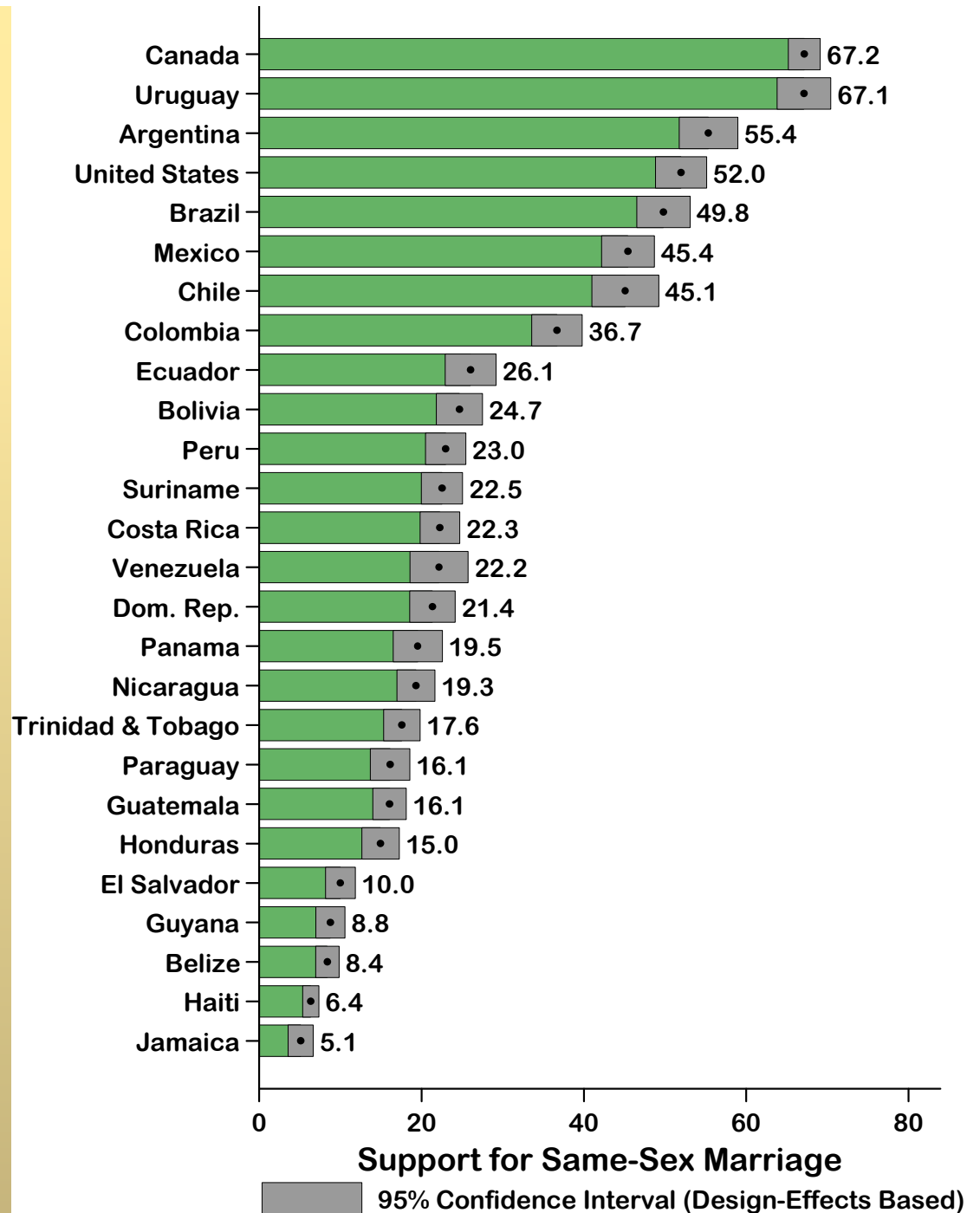
**Argentina is the region's first country to legalize gay marriage, but tolerance is not as high across countries. Here's why.**

---

Joining South Africa, Canada and seven European countries, Argentina has now extended the full rights of marriage to gays and lesbians nationwide. The law, signed by President Cristina Fernández de Kirchner on July 21, 2010, means that civil registries can now process marriage licenses for gay couples with the first ceremony set for August 13 in Buenos Aires.

But gay marriage is also the subject of intense discussion across the Americas. Disputes are marked by sharply conflicting opinions among citizens, social organizations, religious groups, the highly influential Catholic Church, and policymakers. In Latin America, these debates have led to outcomes that vary sharply across countries.

Same-sex marriage is constitutionally banned in Honduras (2005), El Salvador (2009) and the Dominican Republic (2009). In Bolivia, the new Constitution (2009) limits legally

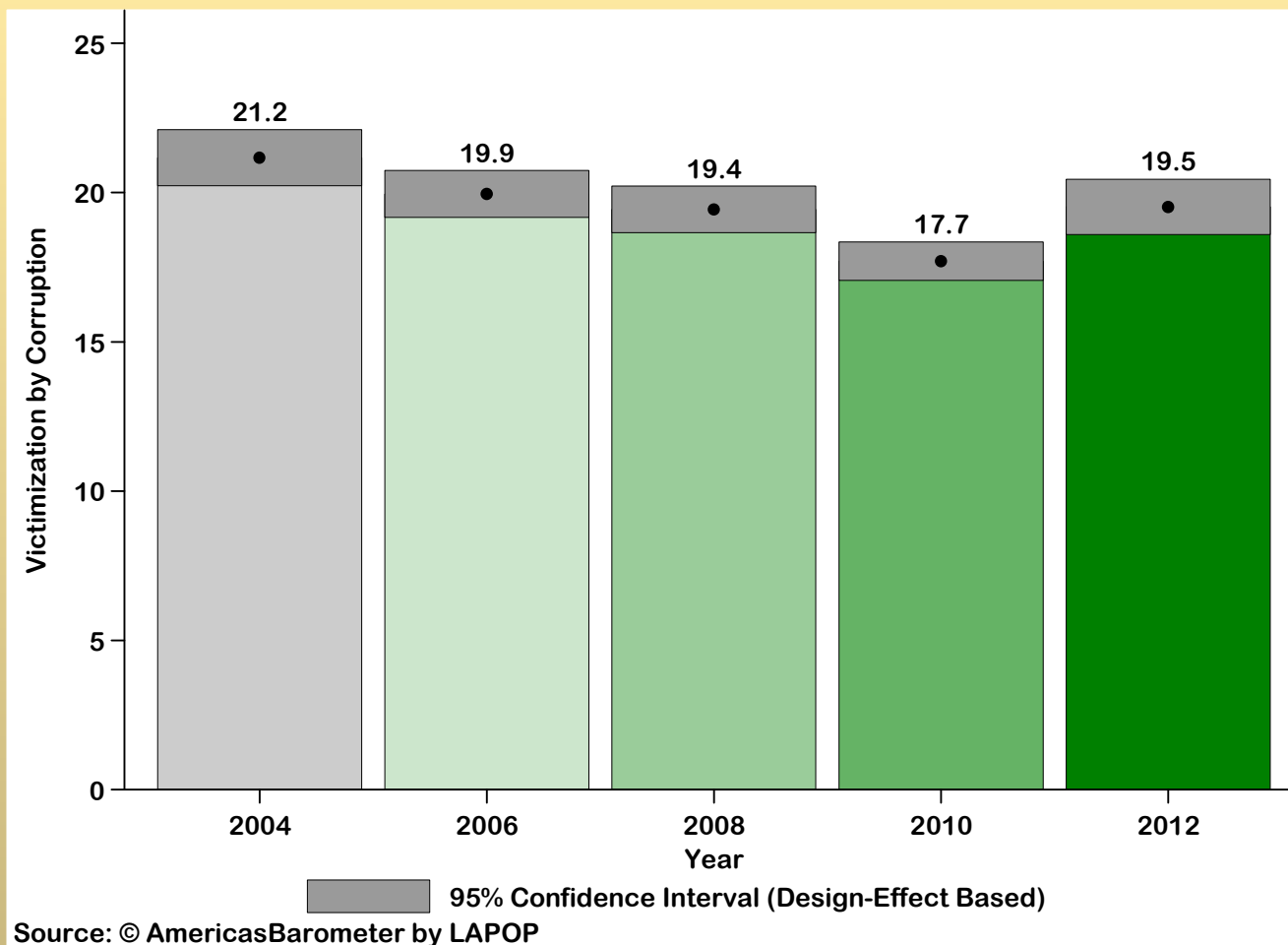


Source: © AmericasBarometer by LAPOP

**Corruption Remains a Vexing Problem:  
Break-through LAPOP Research\* finds  
Presidents Lack Incentives to Fight  
Corruption when Economic  
Performance is Good**

**\*Zechmeister & Zizumbo-Colunga. 2013. The Varying Political Toll of Corruption in Good versus Bad Economic Times. *Comparative Political Studies*.**

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



### Measure of Corruption Victimization:

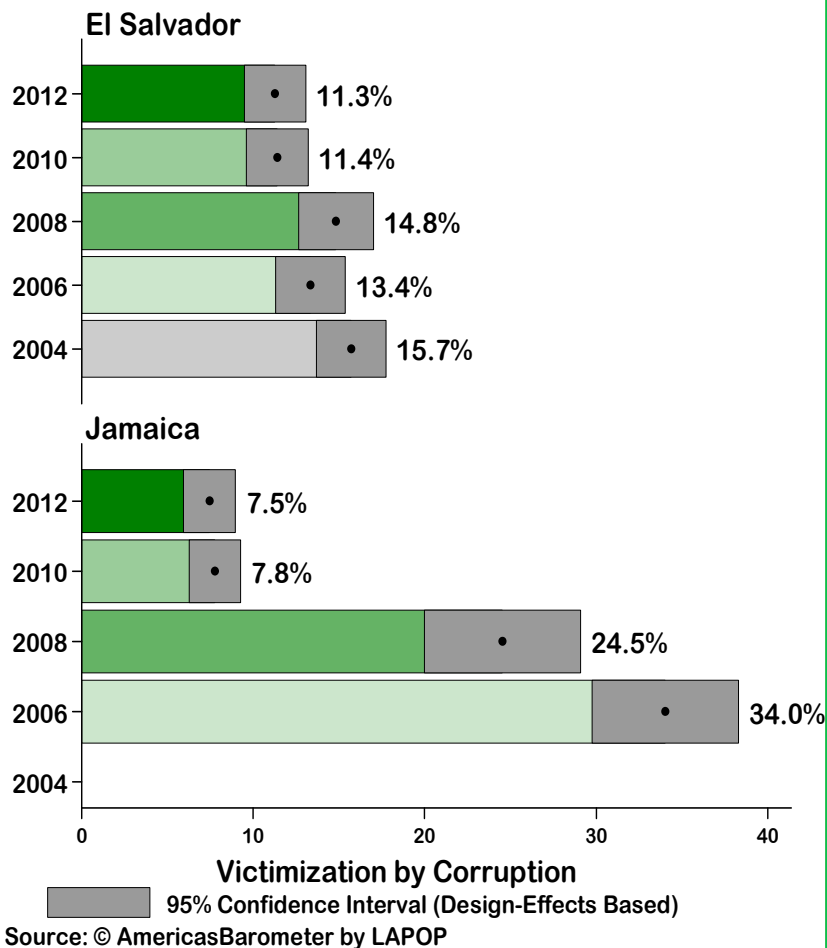
In the last twelve months, have you been asked to pay a bribe to a) a police officer; b) a government employee; c) municipal government; d) work; e) courts; f) hospital/clinic; and/or g) school

[EXC2, EXC6, EXC11, EXC13, EXC14, EXC15, & EXC16]

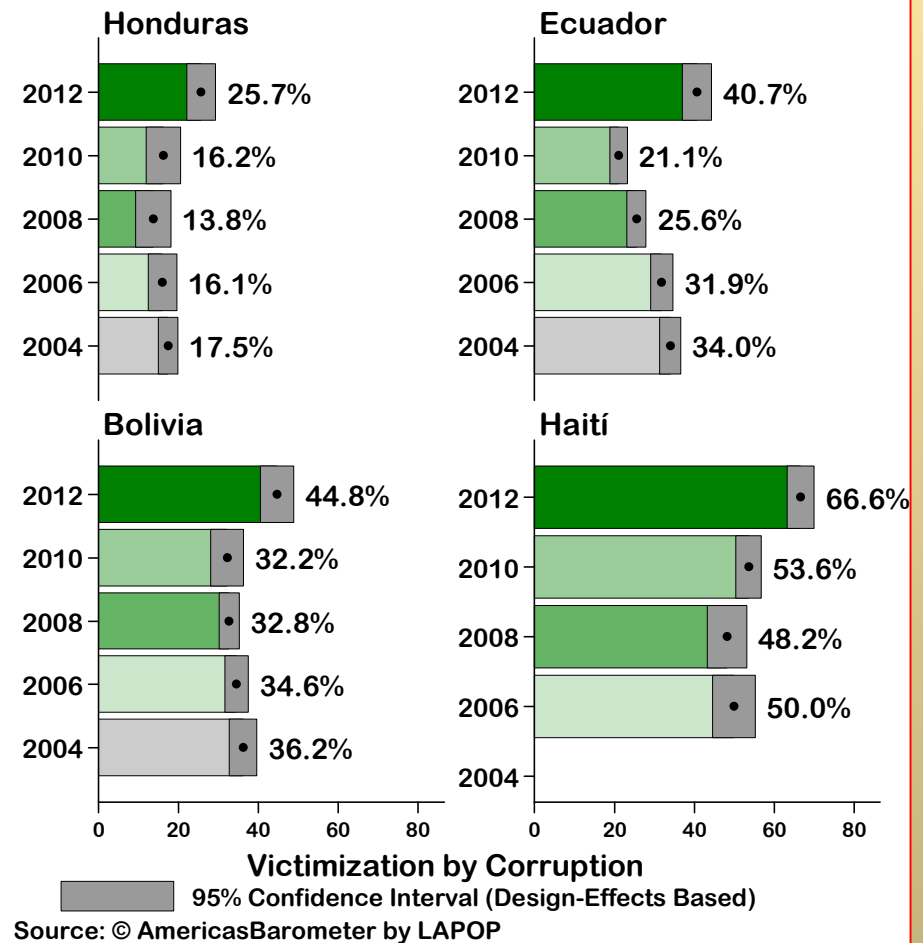
\*Trend in 10 countries in 2004

# Trends in Reducing Corruption Victimization Vary by Countries

## Progress



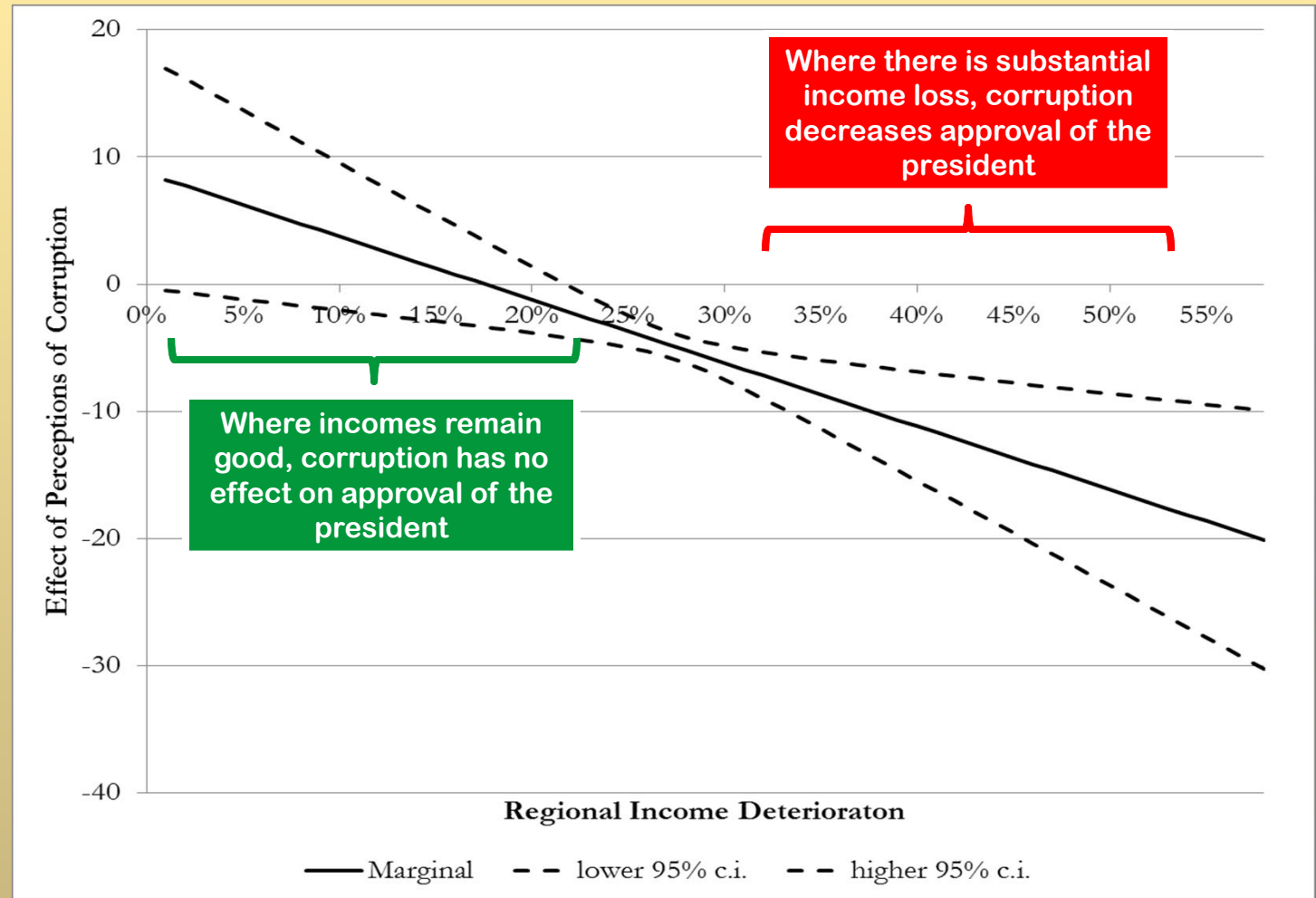
## Setbacks



# New LAPOP Research\* shows that Executives are Not Held Accountable for Corruption When Economic Performance is Good

In **good** economic regions, executive approval is not affected by corruption.

Conversely, in **bad** performing regions, corruption lowers presidential approval.



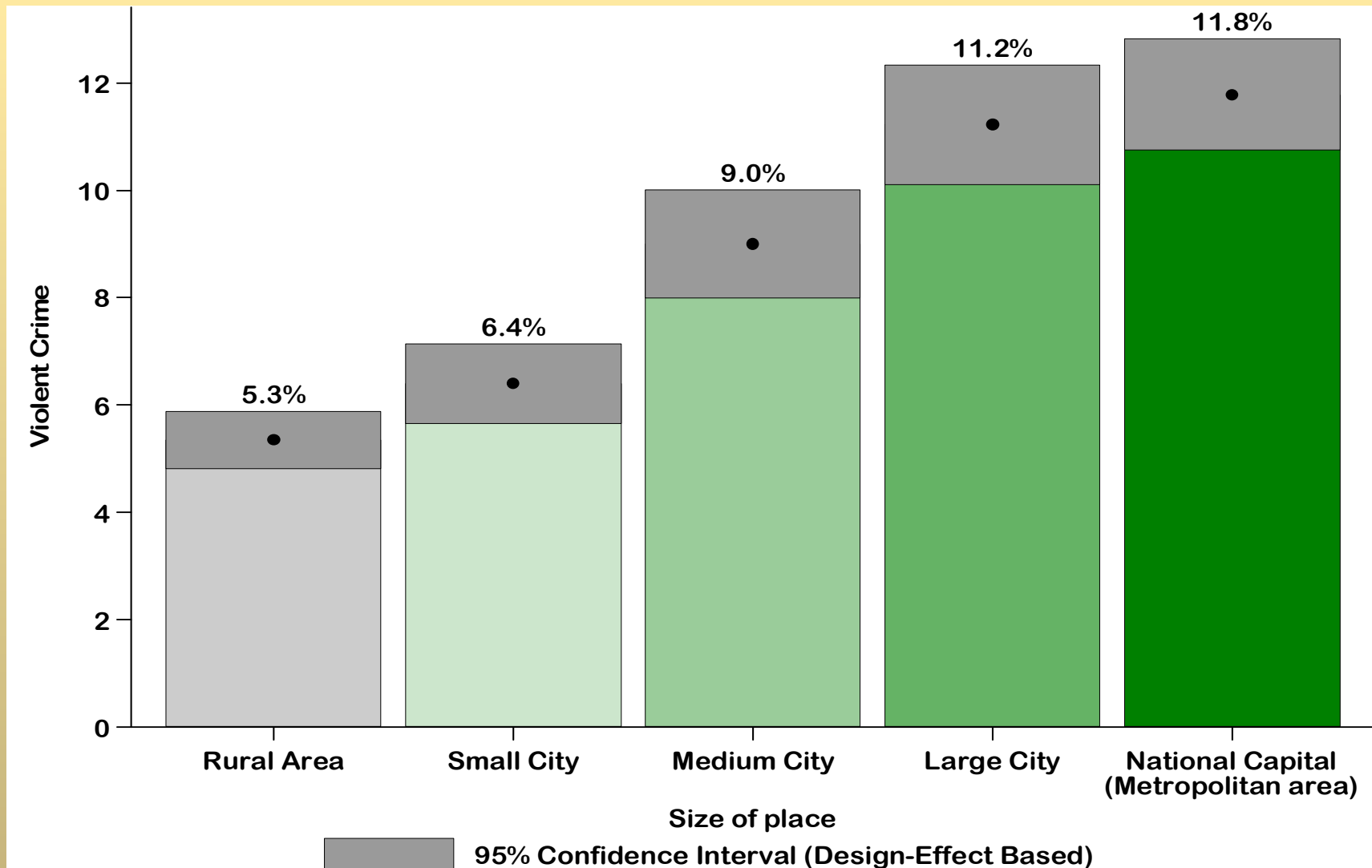
\*Result based on research forthcoming in a leading field journal: *Comparative Political Studies*

**Urban Crime Rates are Deeply  
Troubling:  
The AmericasBarometer allows us  
to drill-down to explore patterns**

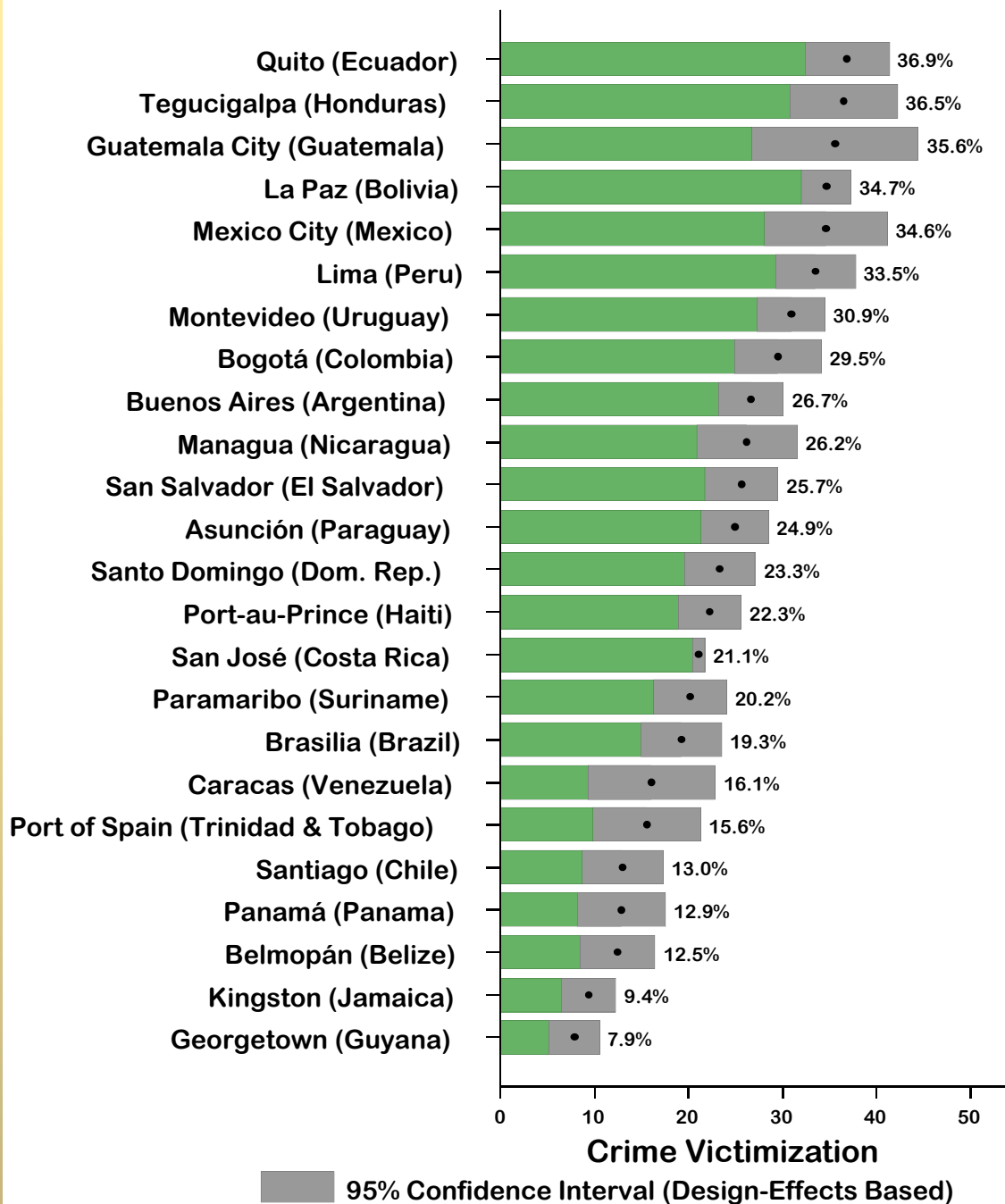


# Violent Crime Victimization Varies by Size of Place

Patterns in 24 countries



Source: © AmericasBarometer by LAPOP



Source: © AmericasBarometer by LAPOP

## Citizen-Reported Crime Victimization varies across the national capitals

(national crime rates are highly skewed by national level of urbanization)

### Among the capitals...

Quito, Tegucigalpa and Guatemala City have the highest crime victimization

**VIC1EXT.** Have you been a victim of any type of crime in the past 12 months? That is, have you been a victim of robbery, burglary, assault, fraud, blackmail, extortion, violent threats or **any other type** of crime in the past 12 months?

## La ciudad de Quito es más golpeada por la delincuencia

Publicado el 24/Julio/2011 | 00:22

Opinión de Diario HOY

Dentro del creciente azote delictivo que sufre el país, en Quito se han tornado más frecuentes los delitos contra la propiedad: entre enero y junio de este año, se han registrado 2 731 de ellos, según cifras que difundió ayer diario El Comercio. Robos y asaltos en domicilios, empresas, entidades públicas, centros educativos exhiben cifras bastante más altas en ese lapso en el primer semestre del año precedente.

Una mayoría de ciudadanos puede contar entre los miembros de sus familia o amistades cercanas a alguna víctima de la delincuencia: cada vez son más frecuentes los relatos de bandas de asaltantes que ingresan a los domicilios particulares, amenazan con armas de fuego, ofenden, vejan y se llevan joyas, dinero, electrodomésticos y otros bienes. La violencia y audacia es cada vez mayor y siembra incertidumbre. El jueves pasado, individuos armados desvalijaron a más una treintena de clientes en una pizzería en el norte de Quito, recorrieron mesa por mesa y despojaron de objetos de valor a las atemorizadas víctimas. Es decir, ahora, ni la presencia de público en los locales comerciales, ni de las familias en los domicilios arredra a los delincuentes. Las víctimas no solo lo son por el perjuicio de perder sus bienes, sino por el riesgo para sus vidas, la experiencia de indefensión, el temor y la furia del maltrato, la ofensa y el daño.

Frente a esta evidente realidad de deterioro de las seguridad ciudadana, no hay respuesta eficiente de las autoridades. ¿No es posible contar con una planificada vigilancia policial que identifique los

## Un hombre fue asesinado en La Marín



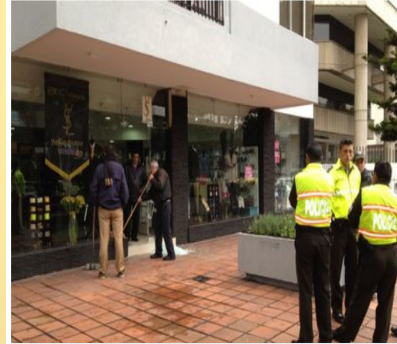
Personal de Criminalística de la Policía levantaba las evidencias de asesinato de un hombre, registrado en La Marín, centro de Quito, el lunes 29 de octubre de 2012. Foto: EL COMERCIO

• TIEMPO DE LECTURA: 0' 42" • NO. DE PALABRAS: 100

• Redacción Seguridad • 13:15 • Lunes 29/10/2012

**Cuatro desconocidos asesinaron esta mañana a un hombre que**

## Desconocidos roban local comercial en el norte de Quito



Robo en un local comercial en el norte de Quito

• TIEMPO DE LECTURA: 0' 34" • NO. DE PALABRAS: 85

• Redacción Seguridad • 08:23 • Miércoles 14/11/2012

En medio de la molestia, el dueño de un local comercial contó cómo desconocidos asaltaron su local comercial, en el norte de Quito.

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TARINGA! 0

Herramientas

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4907 lecturas

Etiquetas

QUITO,

INSEGURIDAD,

DELINCUENCIA,

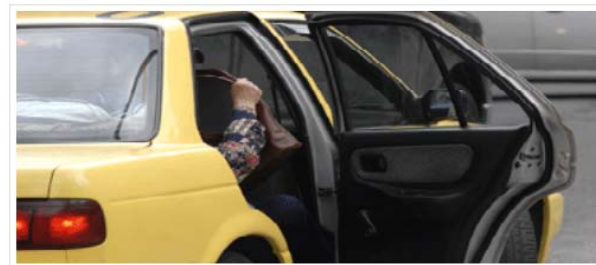
ROBO



ROBO QUITO - YouTube.wmv

## Secuestro express: las víctimas narran su vía crucis en un taxi

Publicado el 12/Noviembre/2012 | 08:56

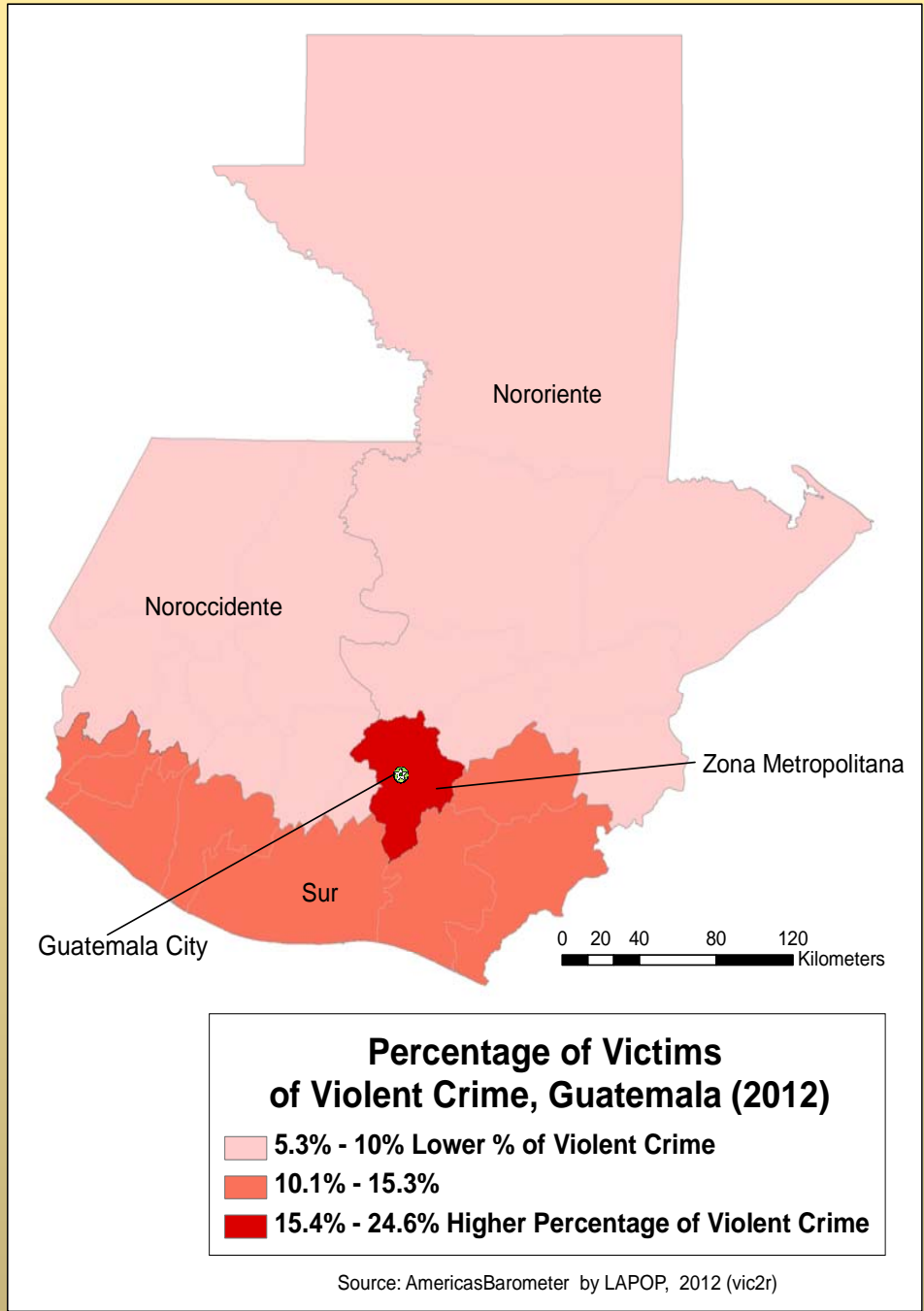


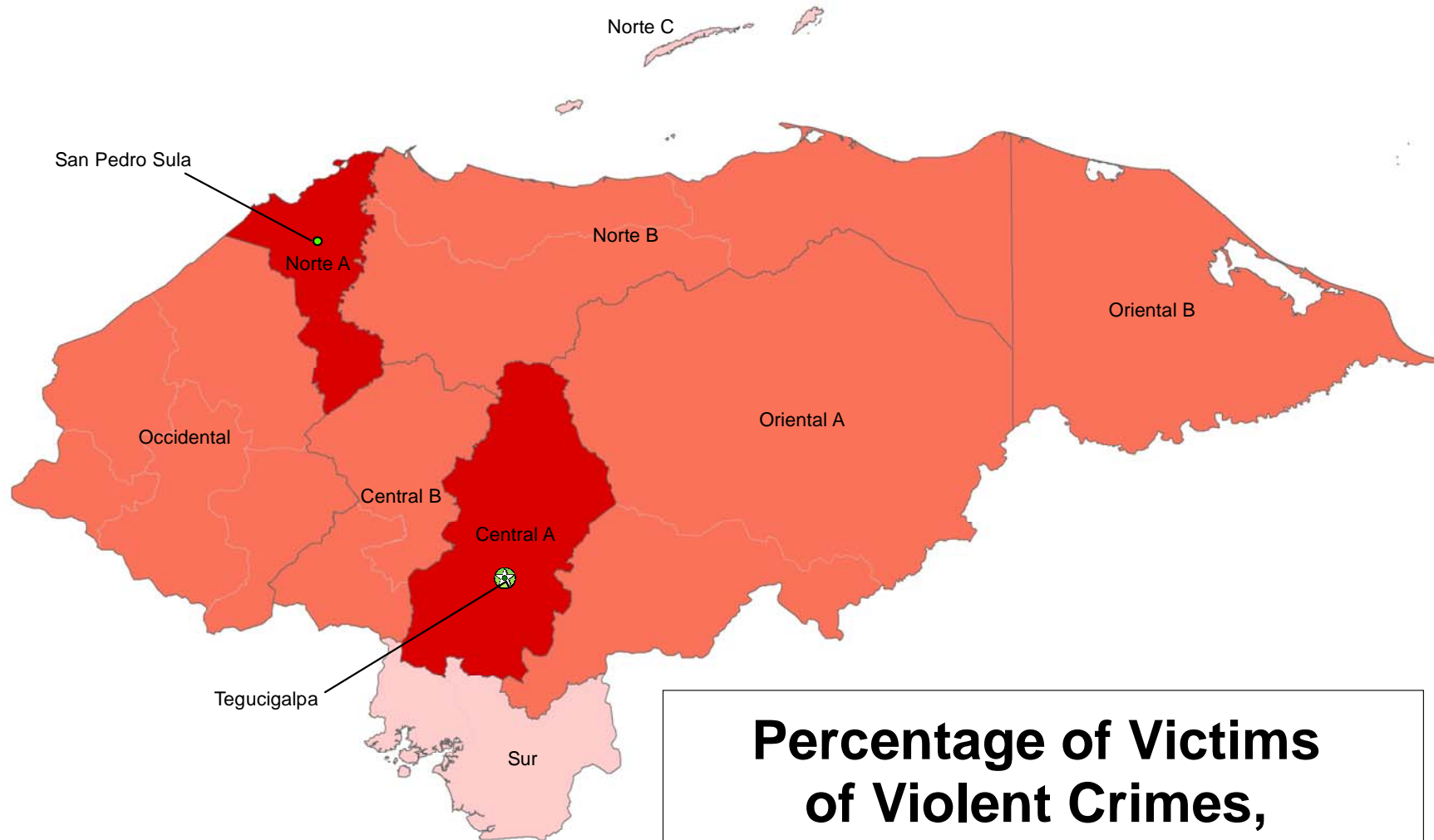
En promedio, 1189 delitos contra las personas se registran al mes desde enero pasado. El 33% de los robos ocurrió dentro de un vehículo

Una de las modalidades de robo dentro de los automotores en Quito es el secuestro express. Paúl L. lo sabe y de sobra. En lo que va del año, él ha sido

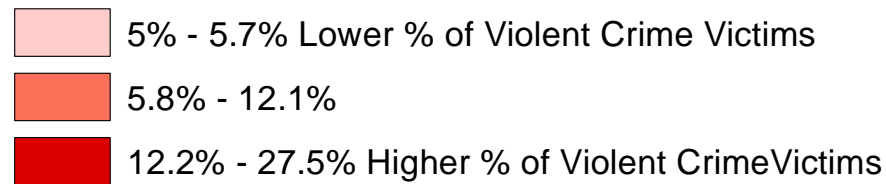
víctima de esta modalidad en dos ocasiones. La última sucedió hace una semana.

Paúl, se dirigía a su casa, en el norte de Quito, acompañado de su esposa. "Durante el trayecto - dijo Paúl- el conductor no mencionó una palabra. Todo empezó cuando le iba a pagar por la carrera". Según Paúl, dos delincuentes salieron de la cajuela del vehículo. "Sentimos un sacudón





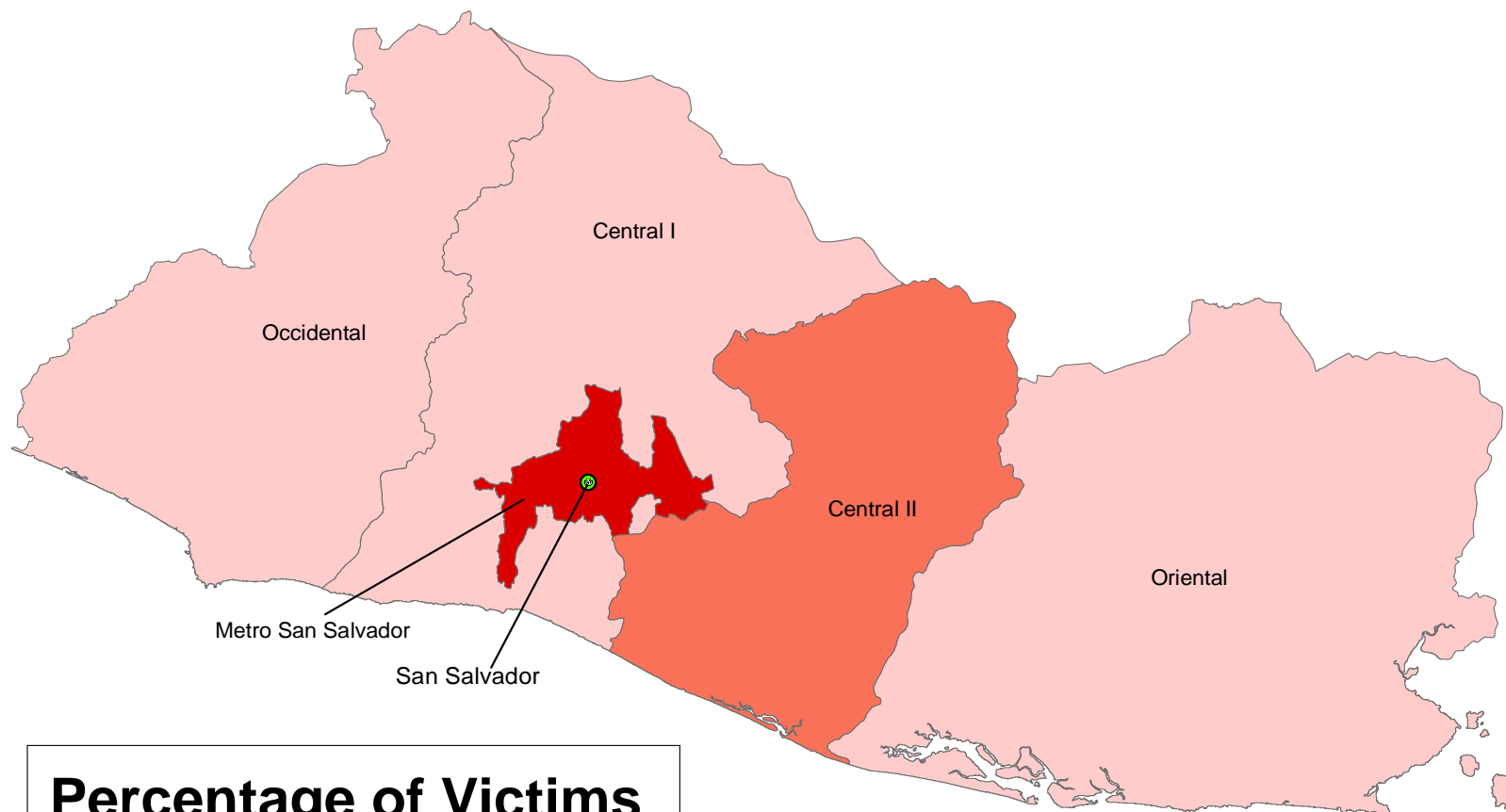
## Percentage of Victims of Violent Crimes, Honduras (2012)



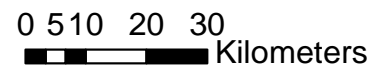
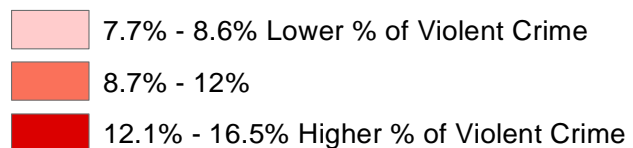
0 25 50 100 150 Kilometers

Source: AmericasBarometer by LAPOP, 2012 (vic2r).





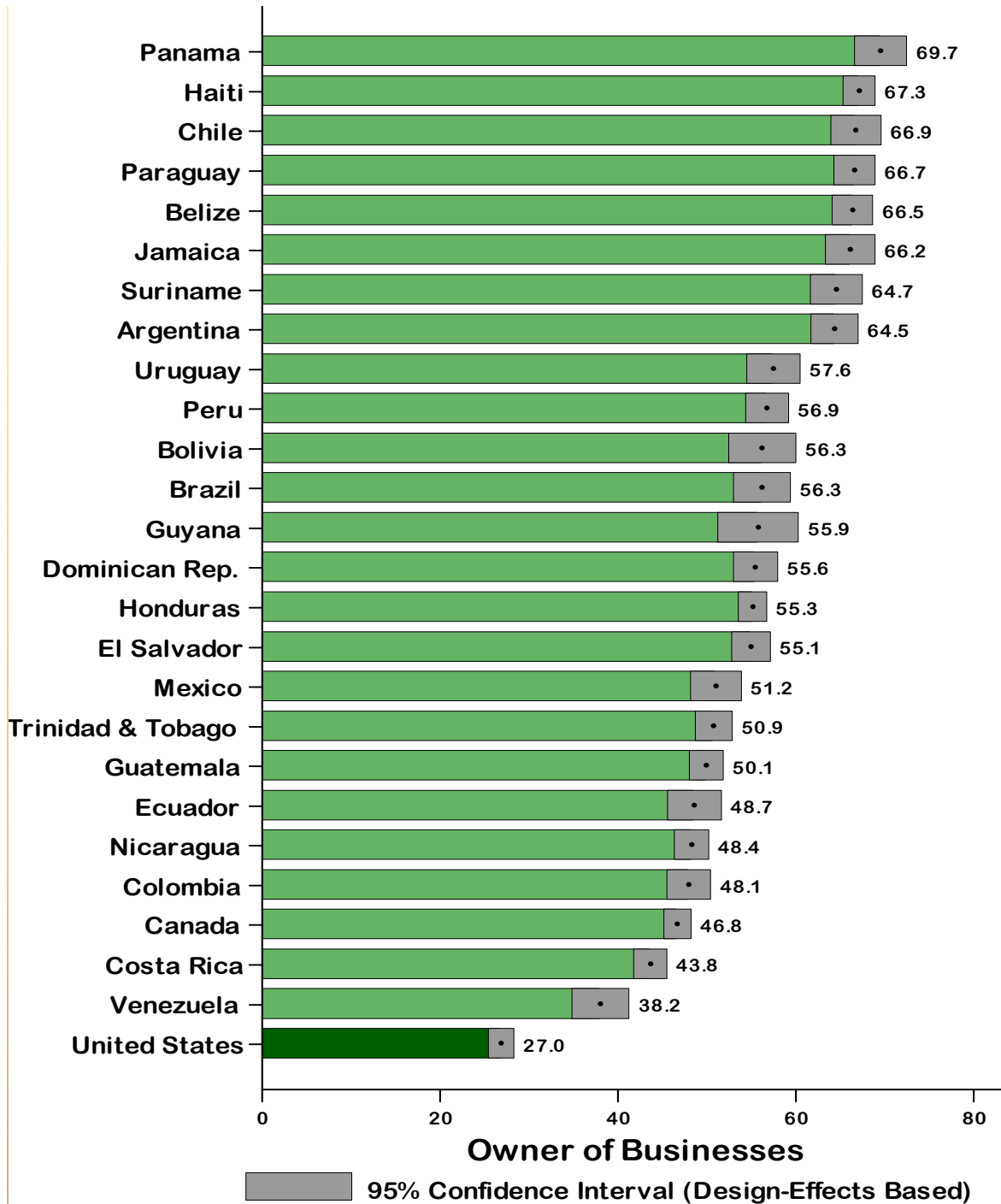
## Percentage of Victims of Violent Crime, El Salvador, 2012



Source: AmericasBarometer by LAPOP, 2012 vic2r)



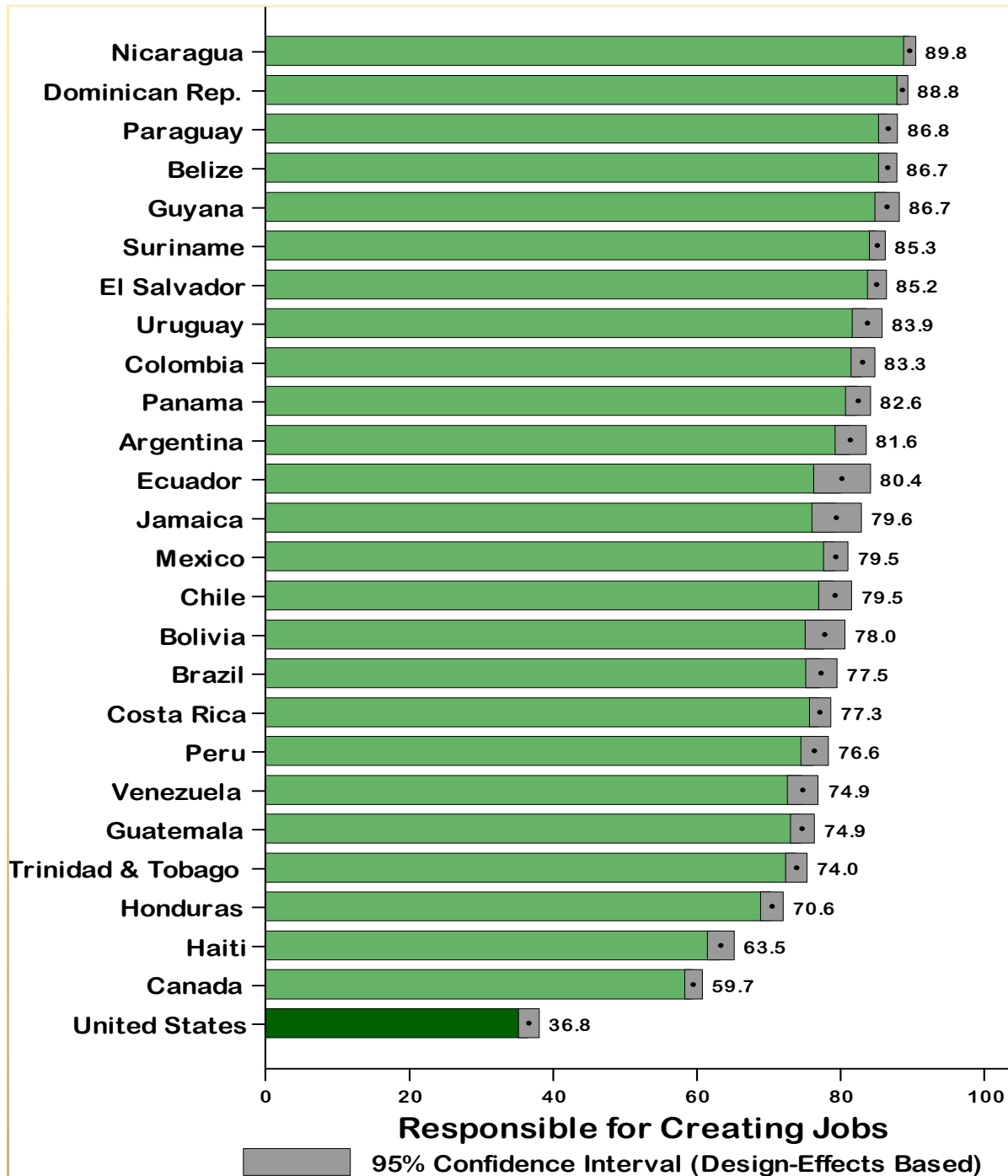
**The Role of the State in Solving  
Problems:  
Consensus among most people is  
on a central role for the State  
(The U.S. is the Major Outlier)**



Source: © AmericasBarometer by LAPOP

**ROS1. The (Country) 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?**

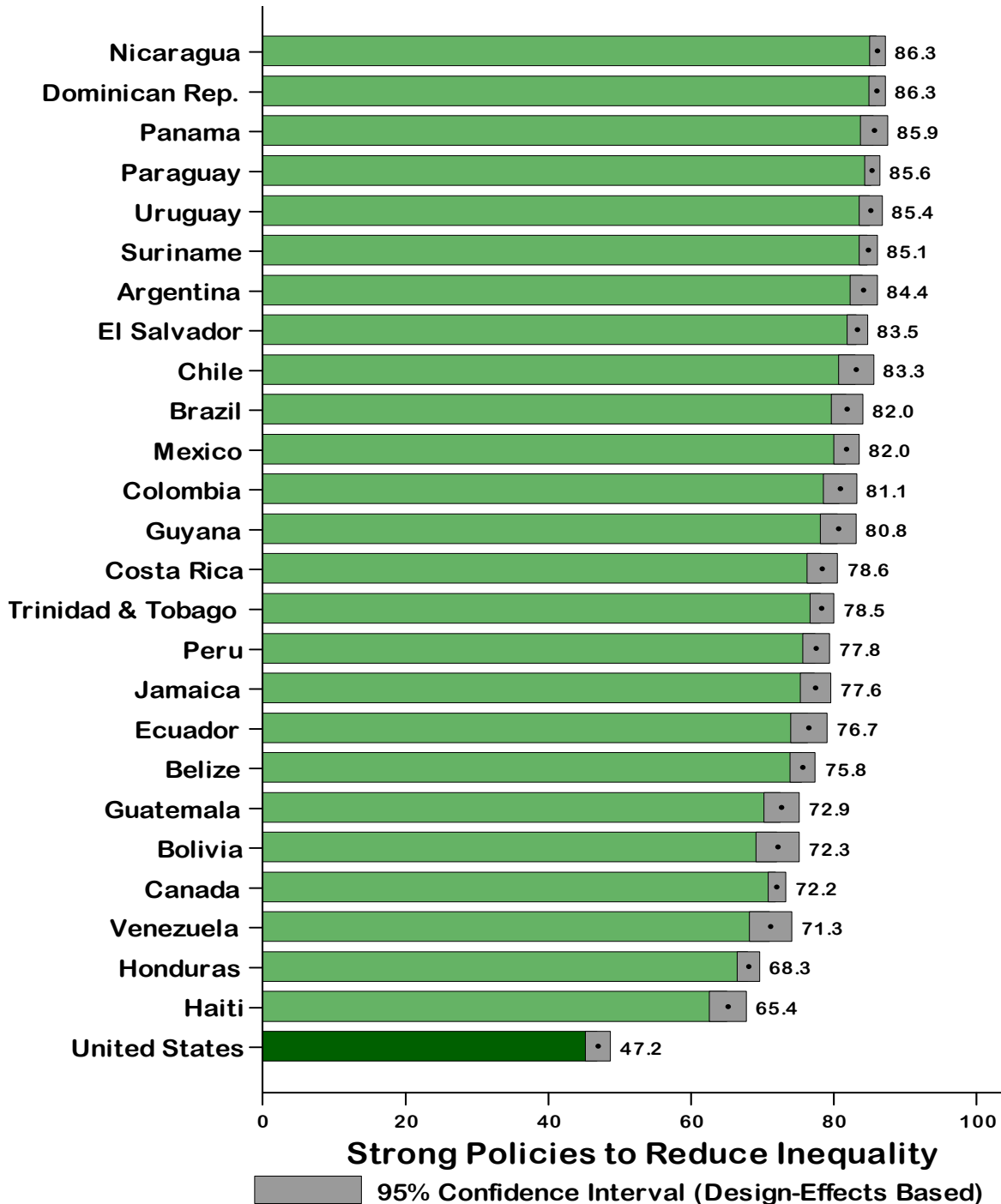
(Scale 1 – 7, converted to 0 – 100 scale)



Source: © AmericasBarometer by LAPOP

**ROS3. The (Country) government, more than the private sector, should be primarily responsible for creating jobs. To what extent do you agree or disagree with this statement?**

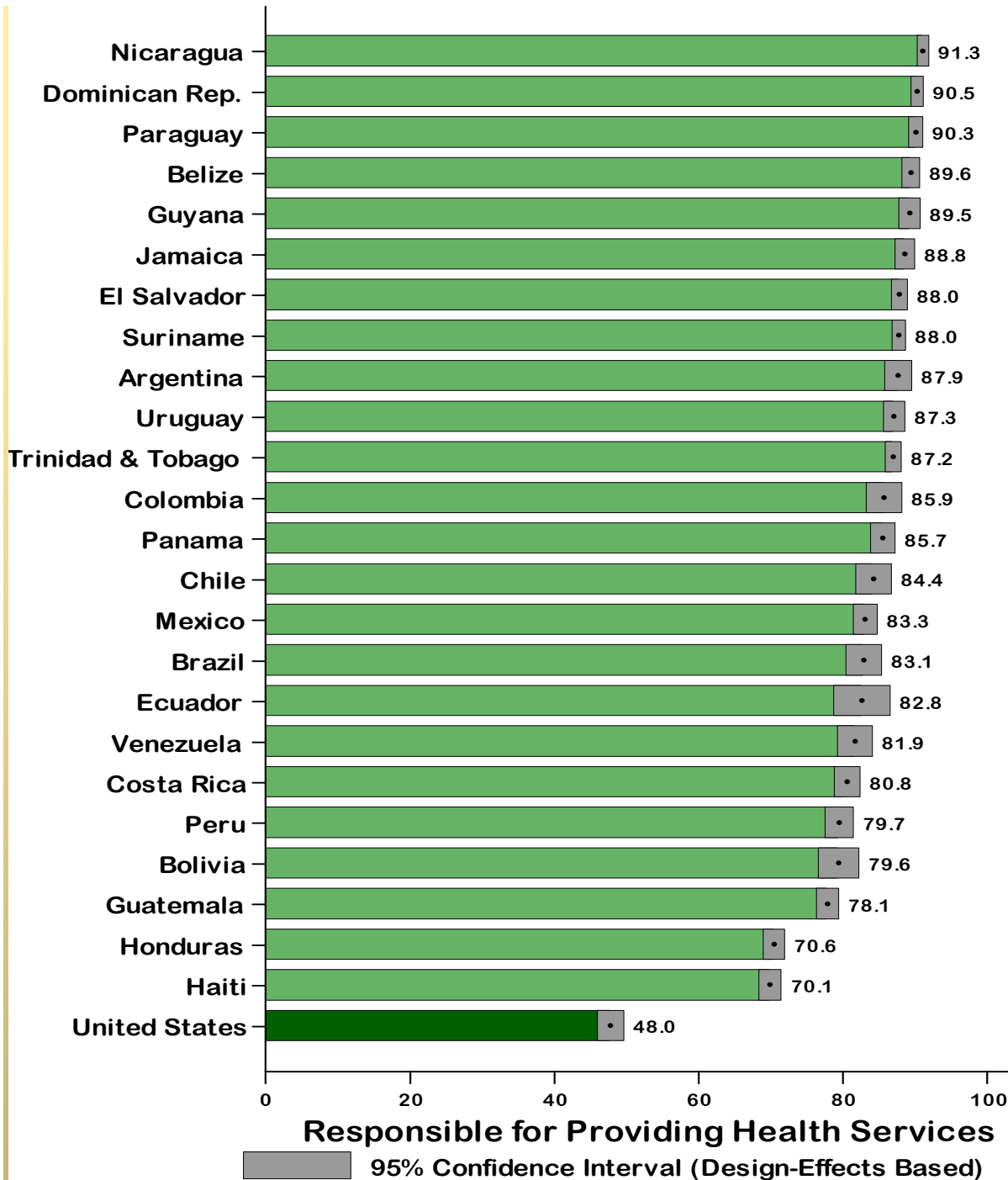
(Scale 1 – 7, converted to 0 – 100 scale)



Source: © AmericasBarometer by LAPOP

**ROS4. The (Country) government should implement strong policies to reduce income inequality between the rich and the poor. To what extent do you agree or disagree with this statement?**

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



**ROS6. The (Country) government, more than the private sector should be primarily responsible for providing health care services. How much do you agree or disagree with this statement?**

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

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

# LAPPOP has developed and validated a “leading indicator” of democratic stability

	<b>Tolerance to the right of opposition (political tolerance)</b>	
<b>Legitimacy (System Support)</b>	<b>High</b>	<b>Low</b>
<b>High</b>	<b>Stable Democracy</b>	<b>Authoritarian Stability</b>
<b>Low</b>	<b>Unstable Democracy</b>	<b>Democracy at Risk</b>



*AmericasBarometer Insights: 2009<sup>1</sup>*  
*Special Report on Honduras*  
**Predicting Coups? Democratic Vulnerabilities, The AmericasBarometer and The 2009 Honduran Crisis**

By Mitchell A. Seligson  
[m.seligson@vanderbilt.edu](mailto:m.seligson@vanderbilt.edu)  
 Vanderbilt University  
 and John A. Booth  
[jbooth@unt.edu](mailto:jbooth@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 tornadoic winds, or what hour the storms will come. Social scientists are in the same boat:

<sup>1</sup> The Insights Series is co-edited by Professors Mitchell A. Seligson and Elisabeth Zechmeister with administrative, technical, and logistical support from the LAPPOP 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 Reinhold-Seligen for her comments on an earlier draft of this paper.

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 (Tellock 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 LAPPOP 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



# 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)?

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

# 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?

**Strongly  
approve**

10

9

8

7

6

5

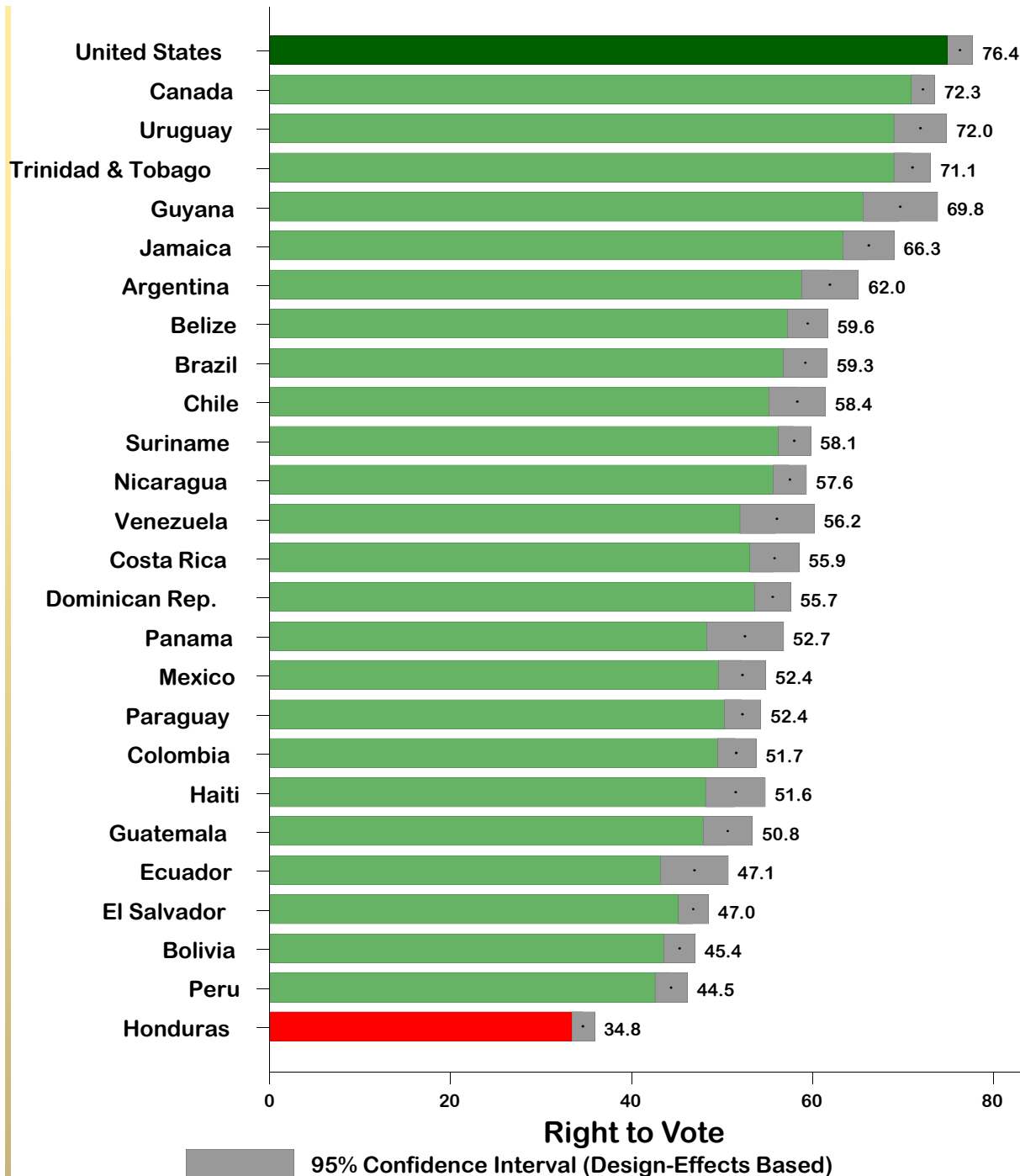
4

3

2

1

**Strongly  
disapprove**

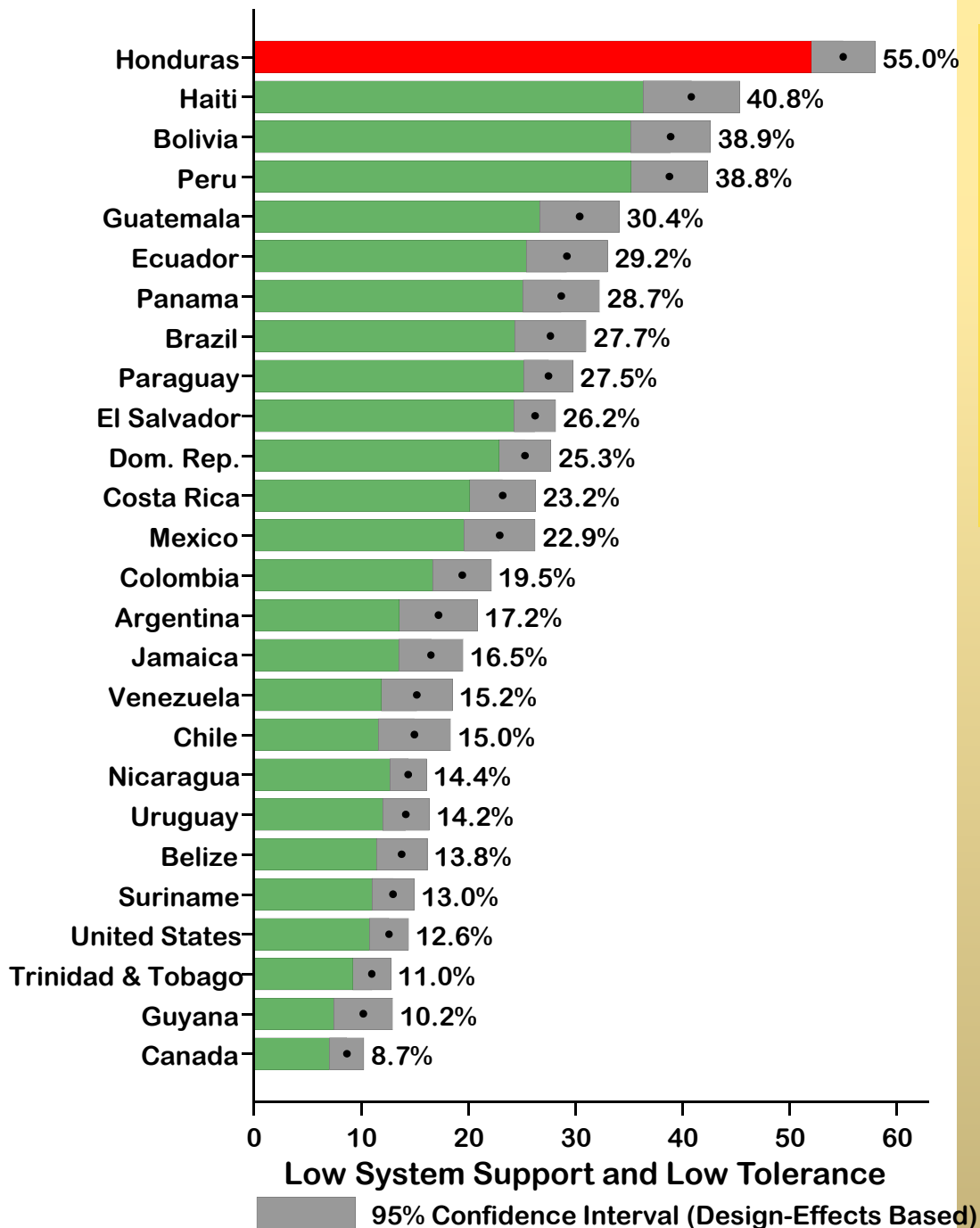


Source: © AmericasBarometer by LAPOP

**In 2012, Honduras (but also Peru, Bolivia, El Salvador, and Ecuador) have low levels of support for the right of regime critics to vote. Note much higher levels in Venezuela**

**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?”**

(Scale 1 – 10, converted to 0 – 100 scale)

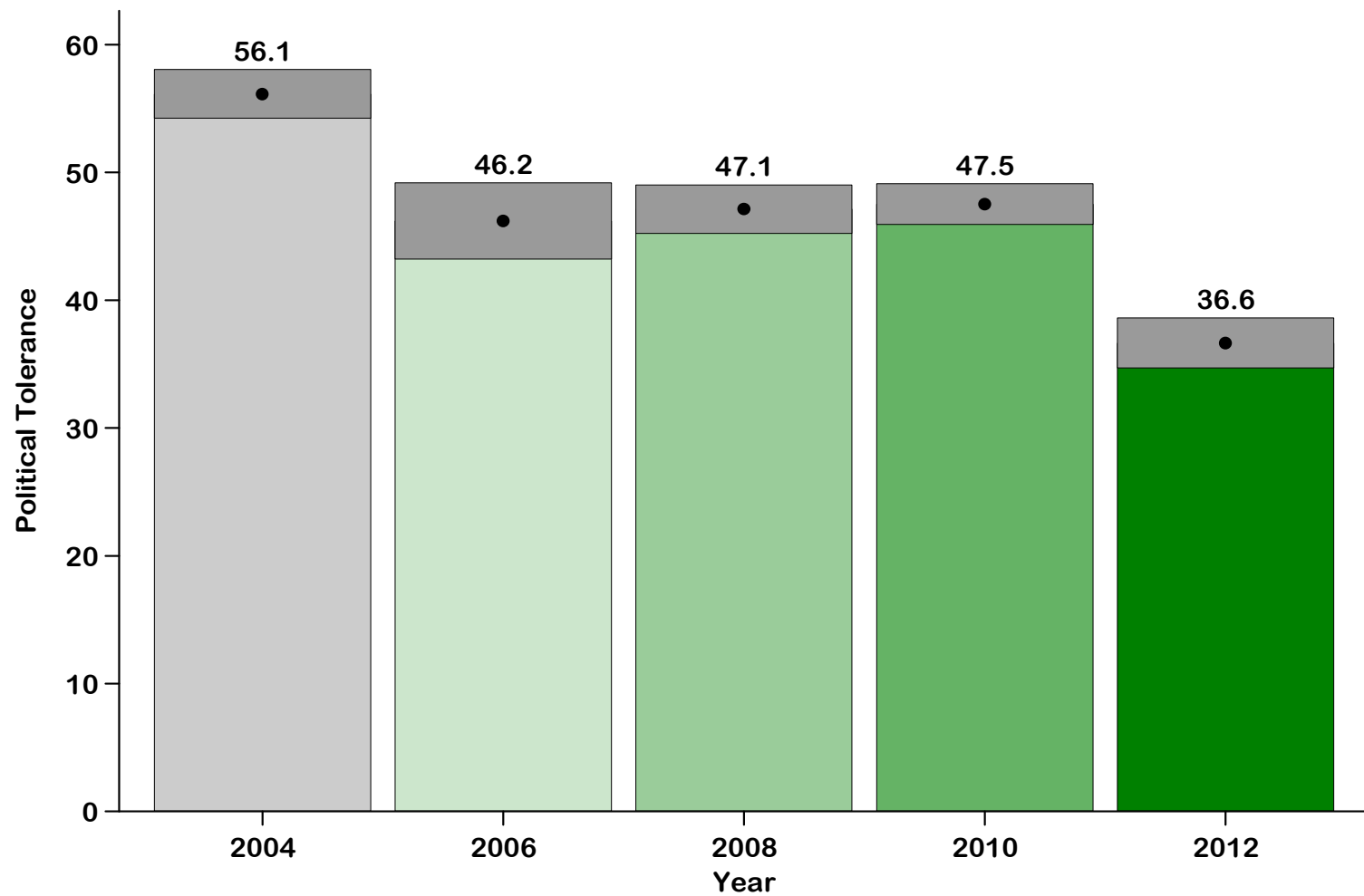


# Democracy at risk, 2012

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

Source: © AmericasBarometer by LAPOP

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



95% Confidence Interval (Design-Effect Based)

Source: © AmericasBarometer by LAPOP

## 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.

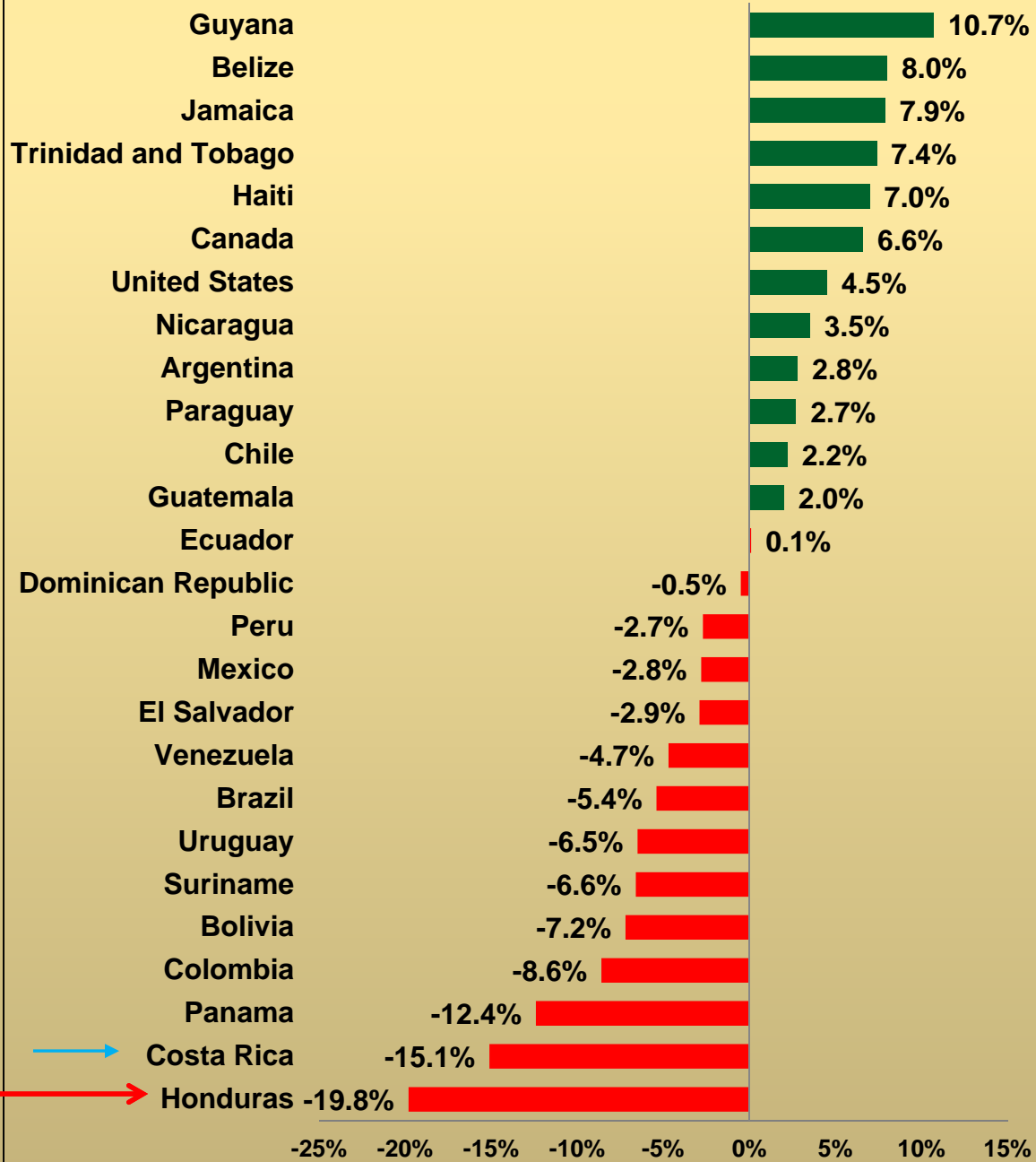
TEGUCIGALPA, Honduras — Street surveillance cameras in one of the world's most dangerous cities were turned off last week because Honduras' government hasn't paid millions of

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](mailto:online@laestrella.com.pa)

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**2012-07-31 – 10:48:00 PM** – Agricultores, empleados de telecomunicaciones y comunidades reclaman mejoras en el sistema de salud protagonizan esta semana en Costa Rica protestas contra el gobierno de Laura Chinchilla, agobiado por escándalos y casos de corrupción que han disminuido la popularidad en picada.

Ataviados con sombreros y gorras, miles de agricultores demandar al Congreso una reforma que reduzca sustancialmente los impuestos, consideran excesivo y ruinoso para las pequeñas empresas

Viernes 4 de Mayo 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)

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.

## 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.



## Miles de trabajadores protestan contra la corrupción en Costa Rica

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

Globo

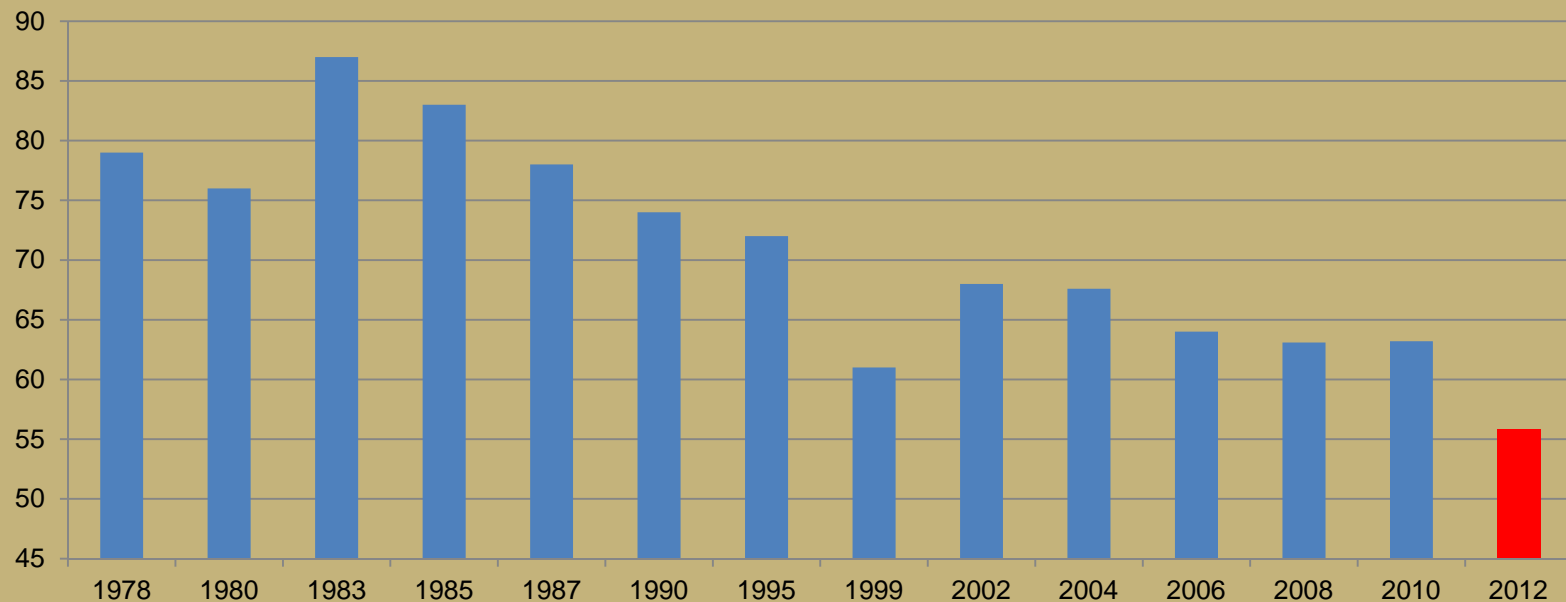
Unas 5.000 personas, en su mayoría educadores y trabajadores de la salud, marcharon este martes por una de las principales avenidas de la capital costarricense para expresar su repudio a la corrupción en el gobierno y exigir mejoras salariales, constató un periodista de la AFP.

"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.

# Trouble in Paradise?

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

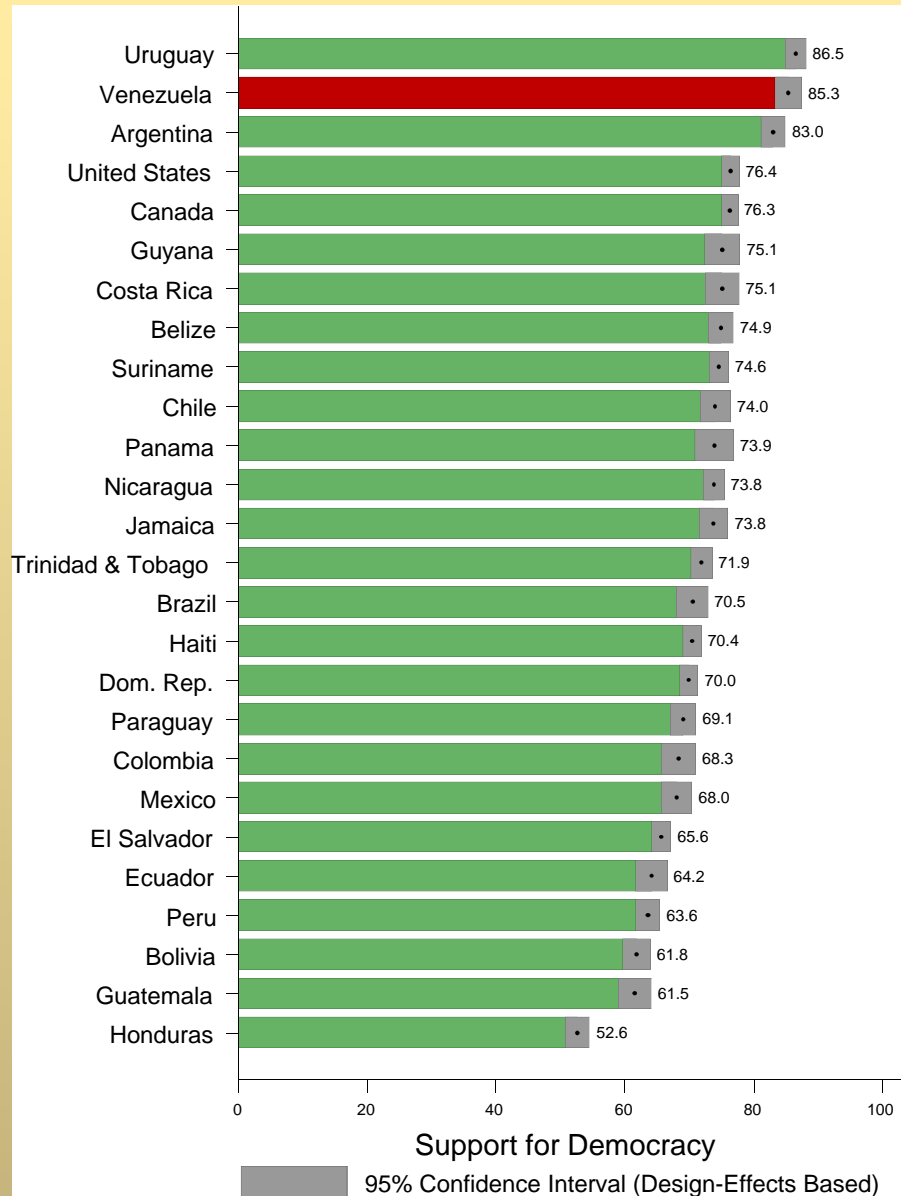


In 2012 the Americas Barometer shows that Costa Rica has hit its lowest system support levels in 34 years.

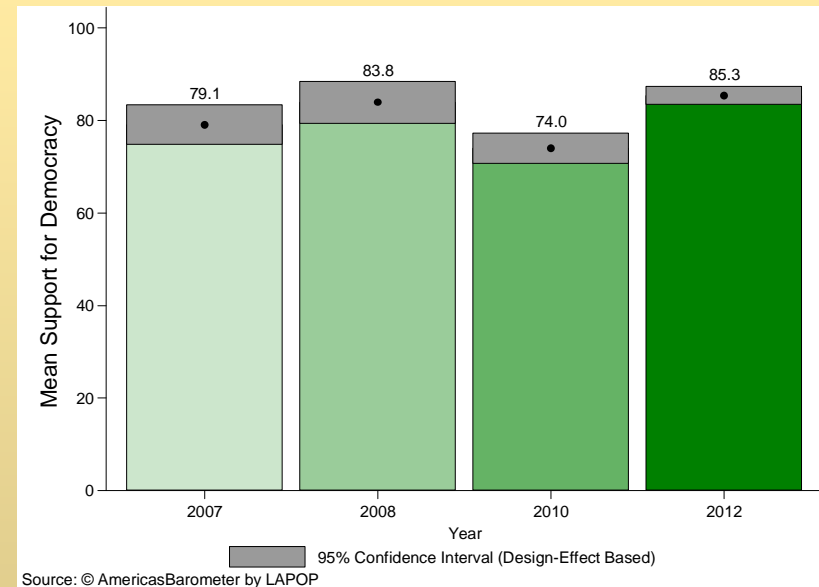
While Costa Rica remains in the upper-tier of “Stable Democracies,” it is clearly trending downward.

# Will Political Stability Break Down in Venezuela?

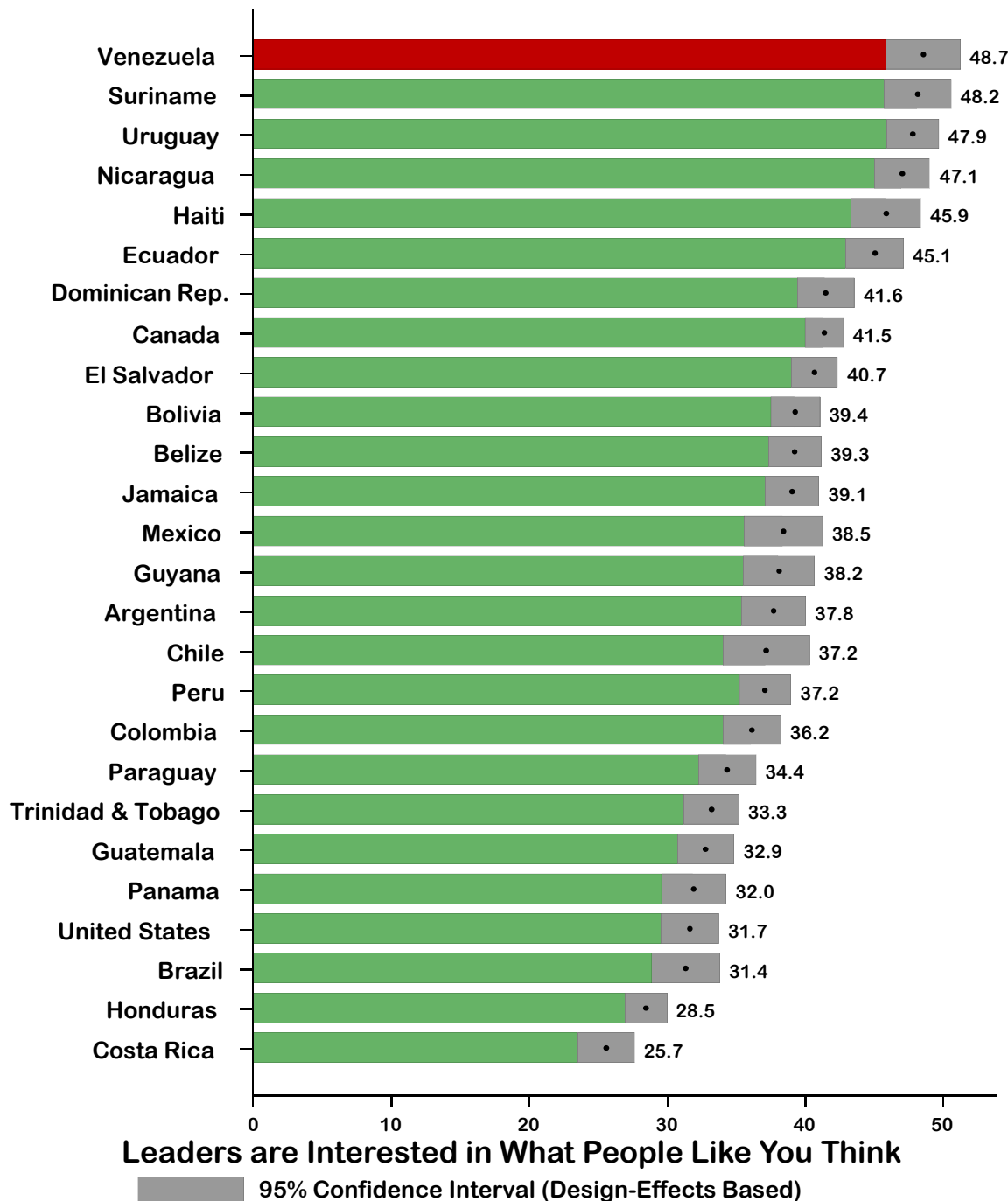
# Support for Democracy in the Abstract Has Been Consistently High in Venezuela



Source: © AmericasBarometer by LAPOP, 2012



**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)**



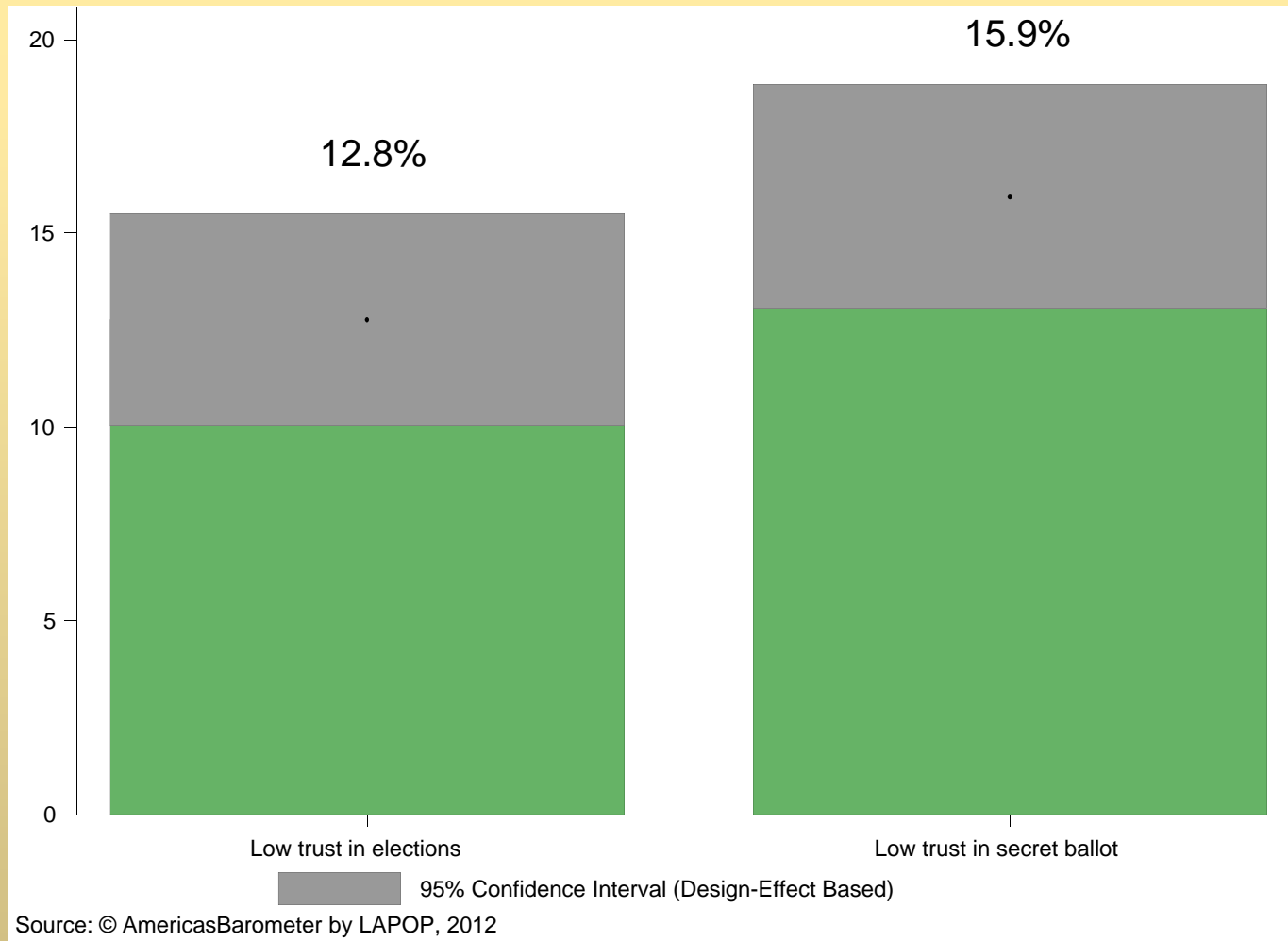
Source: © AmericasBarometer by LAPOP

**External Political Efficacy in Venezuela under Chávez is the highest of any country, dramatically higher than pre-Chávez days (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)

# Few express low trust in the electoral process itself



**VENB51. ...trust that the electoral results reflect the actual votes in Venezuela?**

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

Not at all

A lot

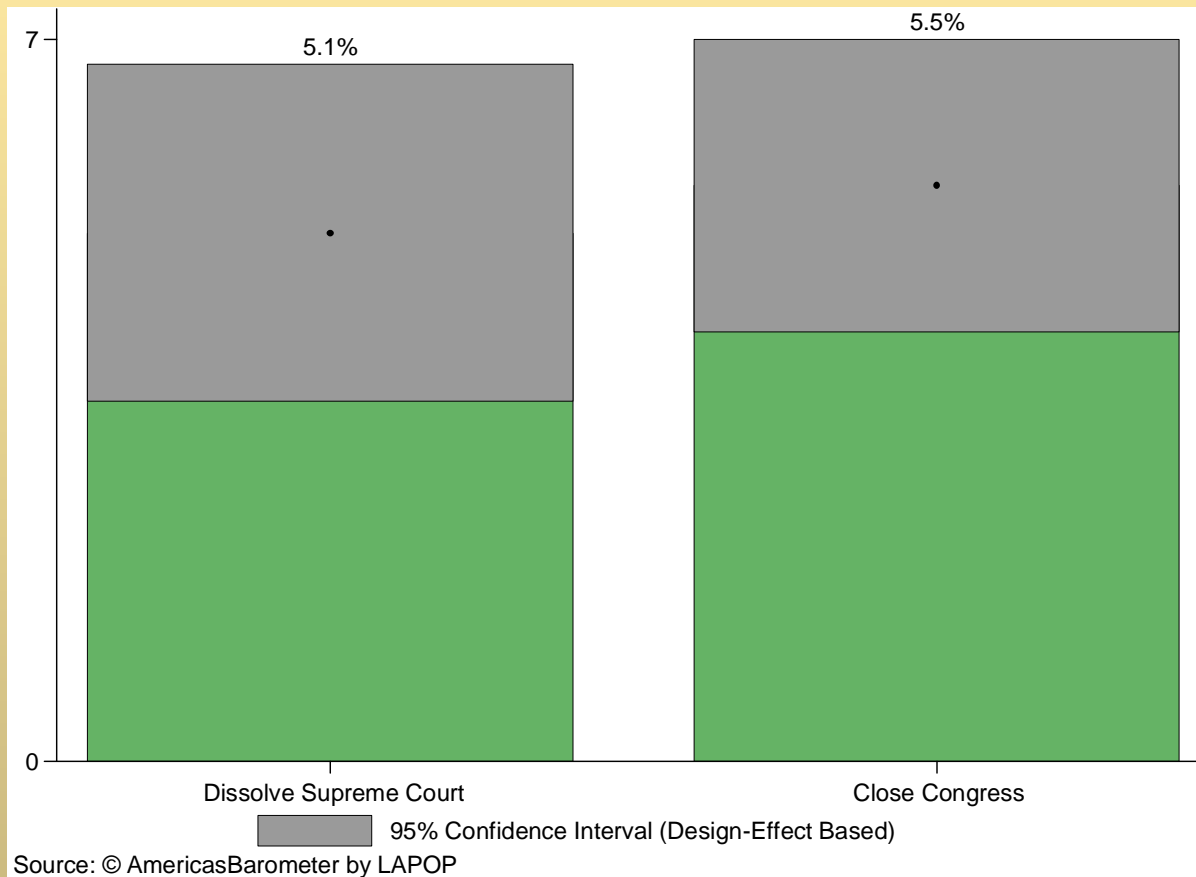
**VENB11. ...trust that the vote is secret in Venezuela?**

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

Not at all

A lot

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



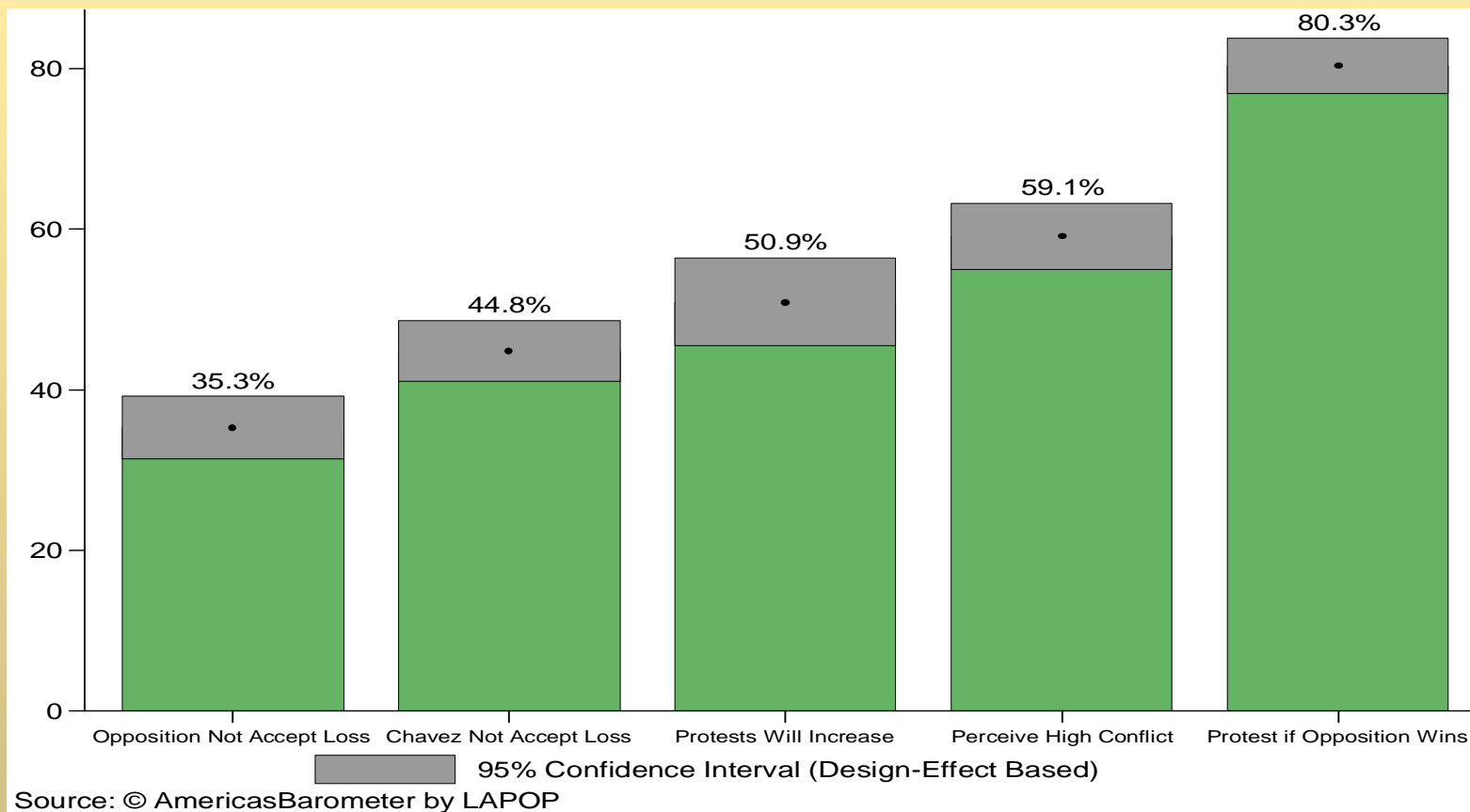
**JC15A.** Do you believe that when the country is facing very difficult times it is justifiable for the president of the country to close the National Assembly and govern without it?

**JC16A.** (same intro)  
...dissolve the Supreme Court and govern without it?

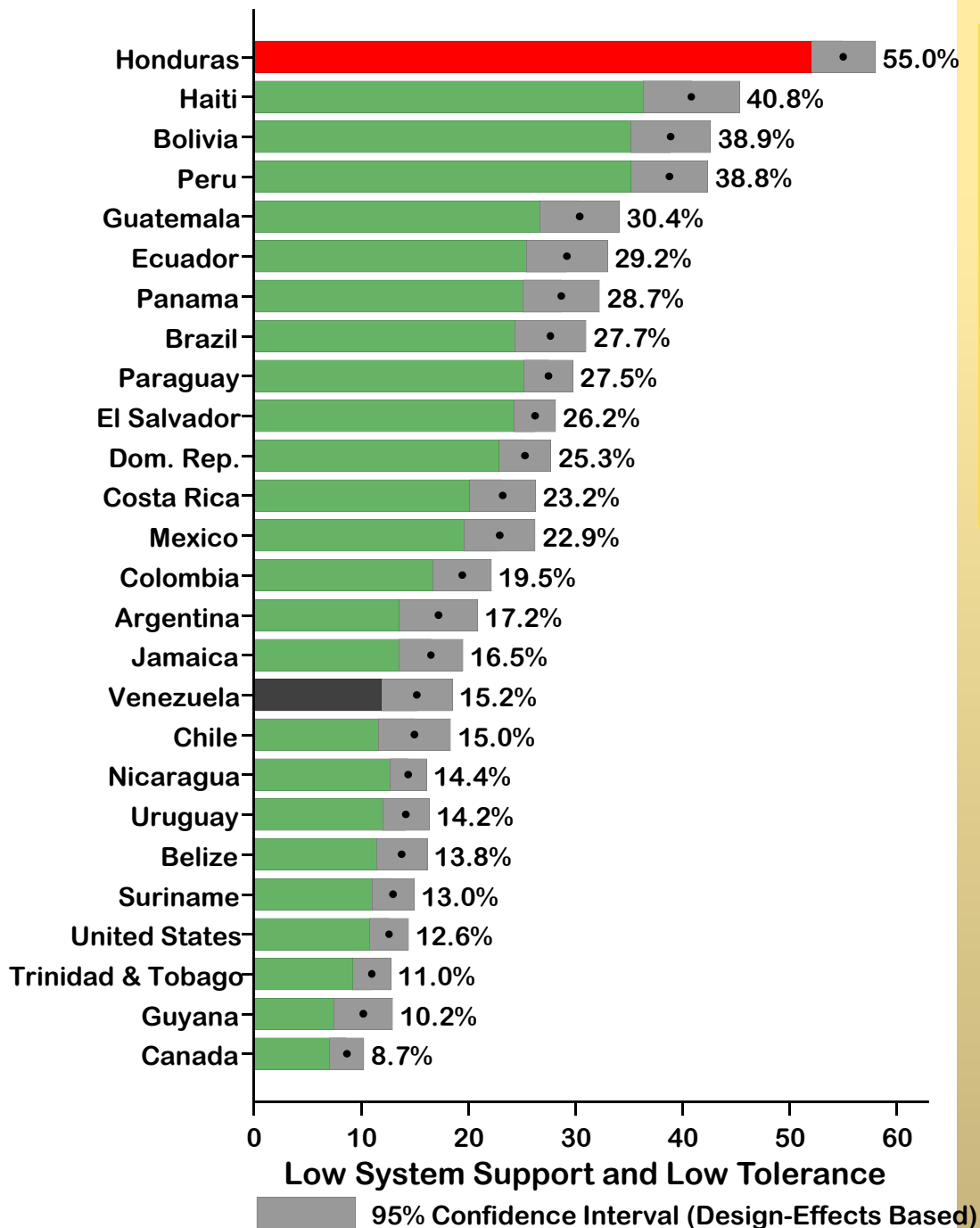
Figure shows percentage who say "yes, it is justifiable."



# However, there is moderate to high concern about Unrest and Transitions



**Graph based on: VENVB11.** If the opposition candidate in the next presidential elections were to lose, do you believe the opposition would accept the election results? Yes / **No**; **VENVB12.** And do you believe President Chávez would accept the results in case that he were to lose the next presidential election? Yes / **No**; **VENPROT11.** Do you believe that over the next few months social and political conflict will **increase**, stay the same, or decrease?; **VENPROT10.** Do you believe that the current level of social and political conflict in Venezuela is very low, low, neither low nor high, **high**, or **very high**?; **VENVB16.** If the



Using the LAPOP predictive model, democracy is at low risk of breakdown in Venezuela, 2012 data

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

Source: © AmericasBarometer by LAPOP

**Yet, “authoritarian stability” is the largest cell in the table**

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

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