



THE POLITICAL CULTURE OF DEMOCRACY IN THE AMERICAS, 2016/17

A Comparative Study
of Democracy and Governance

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Barómetro de las Américas

The Political Culture of Democracy in the Americas, 2016/17:

A Comparative Study of Democracy and Governance

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Preface

The United States Agency for International Development (USAID) takes pride in its support of the AmericasBarometer. While its primary goal is to represent the voice of the people on a broad range of important issues, the AmericasBarometer also helps guide USAID programming and inform policymakers throughout the Latin America and Caribbean region. In numerous ways, the AmericasBarometer informs discussions over the quality and strength of democracy in the region.

USAID officers rely on the AmericasBarometer to identify priorities and guide program design. The surveys are often used in evaluations, by comparing results in selected areas with national trends and/or by comparing data across time. The AmericasBarometer alerts policymakers and international assistance agencies to potential problem areas and informs citizens about democratic values and experiences in their country as compared to other countries.

At every stage in the development of the AmericasBarometer, the team realizes another objective of the project: building capacity. In the course of the project, experienced and expert individuals in the field of survey research work alongside and transfer knowledge and skills to students, local researchers, and others. These opportunities come through discussions over the development of the core questionnaire, cross-national collaborations on sample design, training sessions for fieldwork teams and office personnel involved in the surveys, and workshops and presentations on the analysis and reporting of the public opinion data.

The AmericasBarometer is coordinated by a team at Vanderbilt University, which hosts the Latin American Public Opinion Project (LAPOP) and the researchers who devote significant portions of their time to this project. At the same time, the AmericasBarometer is a collaborative international project. In the first stage of each round, LAPOP consults with researchers across the Americas, USAID, and other project supporters to develop a core questionnaire. For each individual country survey, subject experts, local teams, and USAID officers provide suggestions for country-specific modules that are added to the core. In each country, LAPOP works with local teams to pre-test the questionnaire in order to refine the survey instrument while making sure that it is written in language(s) familiar to the average person in that country. Once the questionnaire is completed, it is programmed into software for fieldwork and each local survey team is trained according to the same exacting standards. The sample is designed and reviewed by LAPOP and local partners and programmed at this stage. At that point, local teams conduct interviews in the homes of selected respondents across the Latin America and Caribbean region. Throughout the process, LAPOP and these teams stay in constant contact to monitor quality, security, and progress. Once the data are collected, LAPOP audits and processes the files while engaging in conversations with a consortium of individuals and institutions, including USAID, over plans for the dissemination of those data, findings, and reports. A broad network of individuals across the region contributes to the reports that are developed after each round of the AmericasBarometer.

The collaborative nature of the AmericasBarometer improves the project and makes it possible. While USAID has been the largest supporter of the surveys that form the core of the AmericasBarometer, Vanderbilt University provides important ongoing support. In addition, each round of the project is supported by numerous other individuals and institutions. Thanks to this broad and generous network of supporters, the AmericasBarometer provides a public good for all those interested in understanding and improving democratic governance in the region.



USAID is grateful to the LAPOP team, who assiduously and scrupulously works to generate each round of the AmericasBarometer under the leadership of Dr. Elizabeth Zechmeister (Director), Dr. Noam Lupu (Associate Director), and Dr. Mitchell Seligson (Founder and Senior Advisor). We also extend our deep appreciation to their outstanding former and current students located at Vanderbilt and throughout the hemisphere, to the local fieldwork teams, to all those who took the time to respond to the survey, and to the many expert individuals and institutions across the region that contribute to and engage with the project.

Christopher Strom
LAC/RSD/Democracy and Human Rights
Bureau for Latin America & the Caribbean
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Prologue: Background to the Study

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The AmericasBarometer by the Latin American Public Opinion Project (LAPOP) is a unique tool for assessing the public's experiences with democratic governance. The survey permits valid comparisons across individuals, subnational and supranational regions, countries, and time, via a common core questionnaire and standardized methods. Comparative research on democratic governance is critically important to understanding today's realities, anticipating key political challenges, and identifying actionable policy solutions. Around the globe, and in the Americas, democracy is on the defensive against public disillusionment with what it has delivered. Geographically, this round marks a significant expansion of the project into the Caribbean, a region often overlooked and understudied in survey research. Methodologically, this round marks our transition to using electronic devices for fieldwork, and with this the ability to take quality control to new levels, in every country in the project. Substantively, this round of the AmericasBarometer marks the first time in the history of the project in which we detect noteworthy and troubling declines in the average citizen's support for democracy on a number of key indicators.

At the core of this report is the theme that has been the hallmark of the AmericasBarometer since its beginning in 2004: democratic governance. Using project data from 2004-2017, we present a series of assessments of the extent to which citizens across the Americas support core democratic values, perceive a sufficient supply of basic liberties, experience the rule of law, engage in political life, and support their system of government.

The 2016/17 round of the AmericasBarometer is the seventh regional survey produced by LAPOP and the largest to date, covering 29 countries across the Americas. The round began in early 2016 in seven Caribbean countries and data collection in the 29th country concluded in the spring of 2017 (see the appendix to this report for a complete listing of fieldwork dates). The full dataset for this round includes over 43,000 interviews, conducted based on national sample designs and implemented with the assistance of partners across the region.

With roots in survey research dating back to the 1970s, LAPOP has been housed at Vanderbilt University since 2004. LAPOP and the AmericasBarometer were founded by Dr. Mitchell A. Seligson, who currently serves as Senior Advisor to LAPOP. The LAPOP research organization includes eight professional staffers, two research fellows, 15 affiliated Ph.D. students, a number of

undergraduate students in various roles, and a roster of collaborators and sponsors from within Vanderbilt and across universities, NGOs, and other institutions throughout the Americas.

The AmericasBarometer consists of country surveys based on national probability samples of voting-age adults. The first set of surveys was conducted in 2004 in 11 countries; the second took place in 2006 and represented opinions from 22 countries across the region. In 2008, the project grew to include 24 countries and in 2010 and 2012 it included 26 countries from across the hemisphere. In 2014, the AmericasBarometer was implemented in 28 countries. The 2016/17 round marks the largest in scope to date, covering 29 countries across the Americas.

LAPOP makes all reports from the project, as well as all country datasets available for download from its website, www.LapopSurveys.org, free of charge to all. The availability of these reports and datasets is made possible by the project's supporters, who are acknowledged on pages that follow.

In undertaking the AmericasBarometer, our key objective is to provide a dataset that advances accurate descriptions and understandings of public opinion and behavior across the Americas. We succeed in this effort to the extent that the AmericasBarometer is of interest and relevance to citizens, NGOs, public officials and their governments, the international donor and development communities, journalists, and academics. We strive to create datasets and reports that meet the rigorous standards to which we are held by our fellow academics and professional associations, while also ensuring that these reports are accessible and valuable to those evaluating and shaping democratic governance across the Americas. Our progress in producing the 2016/17 AmericasBarometer and this particular report can be categorized into four areas: questionnaire construction, sample design, data collection, and reporting.

With respect to *questionnaire construction*, our first step in developing the 2016/17 AmericasBarometer was to develop a new core questionnaire. We believe that democracy is best understood by taking into account multiple indicators and placing those in comparative perspective. For this reason, we have maintained a common core set of questions across time and across countries. This shared content focuses on themes that have become viewed as standard for the project: political legitimacy, political tolerance, support for stable democracy, participation of civil society and social capital, the rule of law, evaluations of local governments and participation within them, crime victimization, corruption victimization, and electoral behavior. To make room for new questions, we eliminated some prior core items in the 2016/17 survey. To do so, we solicited input from partners across the region and we carefully considered the trade-off between losing a time series for one round versus making space for new content. This process resulted in a first draft of a reduced questionnaire; we then proceeded to gather input into new common content, country-specific questions, and other revisions.

To develop new common content, we solicited input from subject, country, and AmericasBarometer project experts across the Americas. A number of these individuals generously agreed to participate in a set of planning caucus advisory committees organized by topic, and these groups developed proposals for questionnaire revision. A list of these advisory committee members appears below. Based on ideas developed during this period of activity, we conducted a series of question wording and ordering experiments, with support from the Research in Individuals, Politics, & Society lab at Vanderbilt. We presented some of these results to collaborators convened in New York City for a meeting in the spring of 2016. Following discussions at that meeting and additional sponsor requests and input, we then further revised the questionnaire. All new items were piloted in qualitative pre-tests across the Americas.



Questionnaires from the project are available online at www.LapopSurveys.org and at the end of each report.

LAPOP adheres to best practices in survey methodology and also with respect to the treatment of human subjects. Thus, as another part of our process of developing study materials, we developed a common “study information sheet” and each study was reviewed and approved by the Vanderbilt University Institutional Review Board (IRB). All investigators involved in the project took and passed certified human subjects protection tests. All publicly available data for this project are de-identified, thus protecting the anonymity guaranteed to each respondent.

With respect to *sample design*, we continued our approach of applying a common strategy to facilitate comparison. LAPOP national studies are based on stratified probability samples of a typical minimum of 1,500 voting-age non-institutionalized adults in each country. In 2016, we introduced an exception to this rule with the inclusion of six countries that are part of the Organization of Eastern Caribbean States (OECS); in these cases, the sample sizes are approximately 1,000. To ensure that the surveys are both nationally representative and cost effective, we stratify countries by major sub-regions and urban/rural divides, and we use a frequency matching approach to the selection of individuals by gender and age. Detailed descriptions of all samples are available on our website.

With respect to *data collection*, we have continued to innovate and expand the use of technology in the field. For the first time, the 2016/17 round of the AmericasBarometer deployed electronic devices (tablets and phones) for data collection in 100% of the countries surveyed. The use of electronic devices for interviews and data entry in the field decreases errors, supports the use of multiple languages, and permits LAPOP to track the progress of the survey in real time, down to the timing and location of interviews (which are monitored but not recorded in public datasets in order to preserve respondents’ privacy). For the 2016/17 round, we developed and transferred to partner firms a set of quality control procedures that we call the Fieldwork Algorithm for LAPOP Control over survey Operations and Norms (FALCON ©). Via FALCON, teams working on LAPOP projects are able to verify the location of interviews within programmed geo-fences around work areas; verify interviewer identities via photos and signatures; and verify the quality of the interview via audio and timing files. FALCON allows fieldwork to be reviewed in real time, rather than after fieldwork has been completed, and this means that errors can be more effectively and efficiently remedied, resulting in higher quality data. We believe FALCON represents a revolutionary advance in technologically sophisticated and scientifically rigorous survey research, and we are committed to continuing to transfer knowledge of our advances to others.

Another innovation introduced into the 2016/17 AmericasBarometer is the LAPOP Automated Response Tracker (ART), which facilitates accurate recording of participation rates. While participation rates are useful metadata in public opinion studies, the onerous burden placed on field teams to systematically record this information can lead to errors, and incomplete or poor quality information. ART overcomes these challenges by routinizing the tracking of survey participation. By requiring enumerators to record this information electronically at the time of each contact attempt, we are able to facilitate and assure high quality data on participation rates.

Standardization is critical to the value of a comparative project, and one way we ensure that we meet this objective is by training all fieldwork teams in AmericasBarometer project protocol. Each local fieldwork team is trained by a LAPOP staffer or an experienced affiliate. Our interviewer manuals are available on our website.

Security issues in the field are a constant concern for all those who work in the field of public opinion research. Shifting patterns of crime, insecurity, and instability in certain parts of the region have brought about additional challenges to the safety of personnel working on the project. We take these issues very seriously and, as in past rounds, we worked with local teams during the course of fieldwork for the AmericasBarometer 2016/17 to develop security protocols and, in a small number of cases, to make substitutions to the original sample for locations that teams on the ground identified as especially dangerous.

Finally, with respect to *reporting*, we continued our practice of making book-length reports, infographics, and presentations based on survey data accessible and readable to the lay reader. This means that our reports make use of simple charts to the extent possible. Where the analysis is more complex, such as in the case of regression analysis, we present results in easy-to-read graphs. Authors working with LAPOP on reports for the 2016/17 round were provided a new set of code files generated by our exceptionally skilled senior data analyst, Dr. Carole Wilson, which allow them to create these graphs using Stata. The analyses in our reports are sophisticated and accurate: they take into account the complex sample design and report on the uncertainty around estimates and statistical significance. We include later in this report a note on how to interpret the output from our data analyses.

The AmericasBarometer regional and country reports represent the product of collaborations among LAPOP researchers and a set of LAPOP-affiliated experts. The regional (comparative) report focuses on general trends and findings with respect to issues in democratic governance. As in recent years, we were fortunate to work with Dr. Ryan Carlin, Dr. Gregory Love, and Dr. Matthew Singer on the regional report. Selected content from the regional report appears in our country reports. In the country reports, the focus turns toward country-specific trends and findings, yet we often refer to the comparative public opinion landscape. We do so because comparisons across countries frequently provide important insight into country-specific findings. We are grateful to the roster of experts who contributed to the 2016/17 series of country reports. In cases in which USAID commissioned the report, we solicited – and benefited from – USAID input into the selection of topics and feedback on a draft of the report. All AmericasBarometer regional and country reports can be downloaded free of charge from our website.

Each round of the AmericasBarometer involves a multi-year process and the effort of thousands of individuals across the Americas. In each country, we partner with a local firm and we further benefit from input from researchers, country experts, sponsors, and subject experts located in institutions across the Americas. This network is critical to the quality of the AmericasBarometer and its availability as a public good. On behalf of this entire team, we express our hope that the reports and data generated by this project reach and are useful to the broadest possible number of individuals interested in and working on democracy and development.



Acknowledgements

Conducting national surveys across every independent country in mainland North, Central and South America, and a significant number of countries in the Caribbean, requires extensive planning, coordination, and effort. The most important effort is that donated by the individual members of the public in the Americas, who, as survey respondents, either patiently worked with us as we pre-tested each country survey or took the time to respond to the final questionnaire. It is due to their generosity that we are able to present this study and so we begin with a heartfelt note of gratitude to each respondent to the AmericasBarometer survey.

The AmericasBarometer is made possible by core support from the United States Agency for International Development (USAID) and Vanderbilt University. We owe a debt of gratitude to both institutions. Over the course of this most recent round of the AmericasBarometer, our main contact at USAID, Vanessa Reilly, transitioned to a new position. Chris Strom stepped in as our new point of contact on the project. Both Vanessa and Chris have had a positive impact on the project, especially by amplifying its value and use as a tool for policymakers. At Vanderbilt, the Dean of the College of Arts & Science, Dr. Lauren Benton, and the Chair of the Political Science Department, Dr. David Lewis, have championed and supported the project in important ways. We gratefully acknowledge the interest and support of the staff, students, and faculty in the department of political science, the Center for Latin American Studies, the office of Sponsored Programs Administration, and the leadership at Vanderbilt. Support for selected efforts associated with the 2016/17 AmericasBarometer came from collaborations with organizations and institutions that include Ciudadanía (Bolivia), the Center for International Media Assistance (CIMA), Dartmouth University, Environics (Canada), Florida International University, the Inter-American Development Bank, the National Endowment for Democracy, the Open Society Foundation (in partnership for this project with Igarapé), the Pontificia Universidad Católica de Chile, the United Nations Development Programme, the Universidad Católica Andrés Bello (Venezuela), the University of Illinois, and at Vanderbilt University: the Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions, the Office for Equity, Diversity and Inclusion, the Research on Individuals, Politics, & Society Lab, and the Trans-Institutional Programs (TIPs) initiative (and the TIPs-Brazil project). We thank the individuals behind all of these collaborations for their work to support, shape, and sustain the AmericasBarometer. On the page that follows, we present the logos of some of the partner institutions that were core to the success of this most recent round of the AmericasBarometer.

Mexico and Central America



Andean/Southern Cone



Caribbean, U.S., and Canada





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Liz Zechmeister
Noam Lupu

Nashville, Tennessee
August 2017

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Introduction

Democracy is on the defensive in the Americas and around the world. In a number of places across the Americas, countries have been coping with security and economic crises, and scandals emanating from governments and parties. Among the mass public, skepticism is brewing over the extent to which democracy can succeed in delivering on citizens' expectations and improving the quality of their daily lives. The 2016/17 AmericasBarometer taps into this simmering frustration and permits it to be studied in comparative perspective across population subgroups, countries, and time. It also documents some notable signs of resilience. In this same vein, the survey reveals important nuances in challenges to democratic governance across a heterogeneous region. In this way, the AmericasBarometer provides a refined tool with which to make the types of diagnoses and distinctions that are so important to designing and implementing effective policy.

A core focus of the AmericasBarometer is citizens' evaluations of "democratic governance." Democratic governance refers to a system of politics and policy in which citizens' direct, indirect, and representative participation is privileged and enabled via basic freedoms, with the goal of ensuring that states are held accountable for their actions. As the United States Agency for International Development (USAID) (2013) has defined it, "Democratic governance is governance that takes place in the context of a democratic political system, which is representative of the will and interests of the people and is infused with the principles of participation, inclusion, and accountability" (p. 37). The appeal of democratic governance is derived from its potential to improve the quality of citizens' lives by facilitating efforts to decrease corruption, increase economic development (and decrease poverty), and build strong communities. The legitimacy of democratic governance hinges, at least in part, on how well it delivers on these expectations (Booth and Seligson 2009). For this reason, taking stock of its successes and short-comings requires assessing citizens' varied experiences and evaluations under democratic governance.

In this latest in a series of region-wide reports on the AmericasBarometer, we examine public support for the institutions at the core of democracy, the extent to which citizens feel their countries are succeeding in supplying the basic liberties required of democratic governance, citizens' experiences and evaluations regarding corruption and crime, their involvement with and assessments of local politics, and their general democratic orientations. To do so, we make use of data from the 2016/17 AmericasBarometer, often in combination with data from prior rounds of the study. Within the report, main findings are presented at the outset of each chapter, and in this introduction, we present a preview of these core results. While the chapters themselves provide some detail on important variation across countries, this introduction and the core of this regional report focus on average outcomes and trends within the region.

To begin, Chapter 1 considers support for the abstract concept of democracy and two of its most fundamental components: elections and parties. One of the most striking findings in this chapter is a significant decline in the extent to which the public agrees that democracy, despite its flaws, is better than any other form of government. In the Latin America and Caribbean region, support for democracy decreased by almost 9 percentage points between 2014 and 2016/17. Overall, in an average country in the region, as many as two out of five people do not express support for democracy in the abstract. Reinforcing that skepticism over the value of democracy versus other forms of rule, in 2016/17 compared to 2014, the average member of the public is more likely to support extralegal actions (i.e., coups) to remove elected leaders from office. These shifts in

support for the most basic premises of modern democracy – that the system in the abstract is ideal and that elections are the only legitimate way to alternate power – are found alongside low levels of trust in elections and declining confidence in political parties.

Basic liberties, such as freedom of the media, expression, and fundamental human rights, are critical to the public's engagement and inclusion in the democratic political system. Chapter 2 focuses on the degree to which the public perceives these basic freedoms to be restricted. As this chapter and Chapter 6 argue, restrictions in basic liberties may undermine motivations to participate and erode individuals' support for the incumbent administration and the democratic system more generally. Across the Americas as a whole, the 2016/17 AmericasBarometer finds that 44% of the mass public believes there is very little freedom of the press. Likewise, nearly half of the public perceives that there is very little freedom of expression, and a higher proportion feels there is very little freedom to express political opinions without fear. Reports of deficits in the supply of basic liberties are even greater when the focus is on human rights protection: across the Americas on average nearly two-thirds of the public states that human rights are insufficiently protected in their country. Thus, while democracy promises a set of basic freedoms, a large proportion of the public in the Americas perceives that it is falling short in this regard.

Democratic governance and public confidence in democratic institutions are stronger to the extent that public officials and politicians refrain from corrupt behaviors. The AmericasBarometer asks individuals whether a public official recently has requested a bribe, a phenomenon we call "corruption victimization" because such requests violate the right of individuals to receive fair and equal treatment by those officiating over government programs and policies. Chapter 3 documents that, in a twelve-month period in the Latin America and Caribbean region, one in five adults, on average, is asked to pay at least one bribe. This proportion has not changed much over time. While it is encouraging that corruption victimization has not increased on average in the region, the fact that neither has it declined shows us that, once it takes root, corruption is difficult to eradicate from a political system. When evaluating political leadership with respect to corruption, we see widespread cynicism: across the Americas, most individuals believe that a significant number of politicians are corrupt. Countries in which citizens report more political corruption are also those in which they report more corruption victimization, and they tend to be those in which corruption scandals have plagued the highest levels of office in recent times. By calling out these violations, the public has the potential to provide an important check on corruption's pervasiveness within the system. In fact, on average across the region, only one in five individuals believes that paying a bribe is a justifiable act. Yet, this report documents that the tendency to tolerate corruption is on the rise. Experiences with corruption may fuel discontent, but they ultimately produce a public that is more apathetic on this issue: as Chapter 3 reports, those who report more experiences with bribery and higher perceptions of political corruption are also more likely to find it justifiable.

Chapter 4 takes up the topic of security and the rule of law. Citizen insecurity negatively impacts democratic governance by undermining individuals' ability to engage in routine activities without fear of harm. It can also undermine the public's support for democracy. Unfortunately, crime, violence, and insecurity are increasing in the Latin America and Caribbean region. Considering the Americas as a whole, the data presented in Chapter 4 document a rise in the average regional crime victimization rate and in reports of insecurity. Police are at the frontlines of efforts to curb criminal activity and preserve citizen security. For the last two rounds, the AmericasBarometer has asked individuals to estimate how long it would take for police to respond to a home invasion in progress. Compared to 2014, in 2016/17 a greater percentage of citizens report it would take



over three hours for the police to respond; in other words, an increasing proportion of the public believes the police cannot or will not show up in an emergency. Those who are less wealthy and those who live in high-crime areas tend to expect lower degrees of police responsiveness. Those who live in high-crime areas are also more likely to report having been asked for a bribe by police officers. Clearly, maintaining a professional body of police officers in high-crime areas is an important policy challenge for those working to implement programs and policies related to citizen security.

As is evident in discussions about individuals' experiences with crime and the police in their neighborhoods, much of citizens' routine experiences with democratic governance is local. Chapter 5 turns our focus to citizens' engagement in local government, their evaluations of services, and the relevance of these factors for overall life satisfaction. At this level, we find some important evidence of democratic resilience. Data from the AmericasBarometer show that the regional average rate of citizen participation in local government meetings increased between 2014 and 2016/17. The increase in citizen meeting attendance is most evident in countries experiencing significant national governance challenges. This result speaks to resilience in the mass public: when facing challenging conditions, citizens often step up their engagement in efforts to improve their circumstances in those arenas in which they can act; in this case, that arena can be local politics. But even at the local level alone, there are perceived declines in service provision that might be responsible for some of this increased participation. The AmericasBarometer 2016/17 finds that, on average, citizens' evaluations of public services – roads, schools, and health clinics – have declined relative to 2014. Still, and despite the fact that these evaluations of services are correlated with life satisfaction and trust in local government, we find that life satisfaction has stayed constant and trust in local government increased slightly in the average country in the region in 2016/17.

Chapter 6 concludes the volume with an analysis of region-wide trends regarding two pillars of democracy: support for the political system and political tolerance. Over the years, LAPOP has hypothesized and found that democracy rests on firmer grounds to the extent that the following joint conditions are met: the public perceives the political system to be legitimate and it supports the right to participate of those who may hold diverging political views. On average in the Latin America and Caribbean region, the 2016/17 AmericasBarometer detects a decrease in system support. Perhaps reflective of the extent to which issues related to the rule of law (defined in terms of crime and corruption) are challenging the region, this decline was driven largely by decreased perceptions of the legitimacy of courts and the extent to which the system protects citizens' basic rights. At the same time that the region registered these declines, average political tolerance of the rights of dissenters has increased. We suspect that public frustration with the performance of the political system breeds support for the rights of those most critical of the regime to participate in politics. Given the nature of these shifts, the region as a whole has not slipped toward a set of orientations that might place democracy at risk. LAPOP views democracy at risk when large numbers of individuals in the public lack both system support and political tolerance. In an average Latin America and the Caribbean country, 28% of individuals display that high-risk orientation in their responses to our survey. In a mirror image, a nearly equal proportion of individuals in that average country report high system support and high political tolerance, a profile conducive to democratic stability. In fact, in 2016/17 this “stable democracy” democratic orientation has rebounded from the level to which it fell in 2014 (20%); it is now at 26%, a figure similar to what we found in 2012 (25%). To be sure, democracy in the region would be more robust and secure to the extent to which far more than one in four individuals expressed high support for both their political system and high levels of political tolerance. Yet, we interpret these 2016/17 findings to

suggest that, with the exception of an extreme case such as Venezuela, democratic breakdown is not a widespread prospect in the region.

Democracy in the Latin America and Caribbean region is facing a critical set of challenges, from low public trust in elections, parties, and political leadership to deficiencies in the supply of basic liberties, the rule of law, citizen security, and robust service provision. As the chapters within note, and as is evident in the AmericasBarometer datasets and the country-specific reports based on this project, experiences of individual countries vary significantly one to the other; each component of democratic values and governance described in this report, and more, can be analyzed in greater detail using these resources. Yet, overall, we can conclude that the public's continued support for democratic governance depends crucially on whether the region's political systems can deliver on its promises. While the 2016/17 AmericasBarometer identifies a number of concerning trends and outcomes in the typical citizen's experiences and evaluations of democratic governance in the region, it also finds some important signs of resilience: participation in local government has increased and democratic orientations conducive to stable democracy have shown a slight rebound. This willingness to engage and these commitments to certain core values are assets on which policymakers can draw as they identify ways to bolster and maintain democratic governance in the region.



Technical Note

The Latin American Public Opinion Project (LAPOP) is a pioneer in innovations in survey research. In the 2016/17 round of the AmericasBarometer, we made significant advances in the use of electronic devices for data collection in the field. Handheld Androids were used for data collection in all Latin America and Caribbean (LAC) countries; as always, the U.S. and Canada studies were conducted via the internet. With the exception of Haiti, where approximately 50% of interviews were conducted using paper questionnaires, all surveys were conducted using e-devices. In the 2016/17 round, we used the SurveyToGo® (STG) software (app and platform) to conduct field interviews. The use of electronic devices for interviews and data entry in the field reduces data entry errors, supports simultaneously switching among multiple languages, and permits teams to track the progress of fieldwork on a daily basis, down to the location of interviews, the correct reading of questions, and the timing of the interviews. As part of our Fieldwork Algorithm for LAPOP Control over survey Operations and Norms (FALCON ©), we have developed a series of technological advances that improve the quality of AmericasBarometer data in real time. We detail these advances below, and then we conclude with a note on our sample design for the LAC region and a listing of the fieldwork dates.

Geo-fence Module

LAPOP's Geo-fence Module ensures that interviewers are in the assigned work area through the creation of a series of circles placed around selected census segments or municipalities (which are the local level geographic areas that LAPOP typically uses as Primary Sampling Units). We use three elements to build these geo-fences: shapefiles, centroids, and radii.

LAPOP obtains shapefiles (electronic files that store locations, shapes, and attributes of geographic areas in the form of polygons) from census bureaus and/or open source websites. With these files, we use ArcGIS to calculate the GPS coordinates for each polygon's centroid. We then draw circumferences around the selected municipalities or, ideally, census segments. The Geo-fencing Module then flags all interviews conducted beyond the fences, by an automatic tool programmed into the data collection software. As soon as each interview is completed, the results upload automatically to a server via phone or Wi-Fi signal. Through this process, supervisors and interviewers are quickly notified if the interviews are in the wrong location, and appropriate steps can be taken to correct this problem.

Distance Audit Module

LAPOP's Distance Audit Module (DAM) allows us to assess interviewers' distance from the bounds of the geo-fence. Once each interview is uploaded, the team monitoring fieldwork is able to instantly determine whether an interview was carried out in the correct place, and if not, whether the violation was major or minor. The DAM returns the distance in kilometers between the interviewer's location and the closest point of the circumference around the census segment or municipality (i.e., the limit of the geo-fence). A negative number indicates that the interview was carried out within the fence's boundaries. A positive number means a wrong location.

Location Consistency Check

Some location errors occur by mistake, with interviewers carrying out interviews in the wrong place because – for example – the selected neighborhood shares a name with an area in a different location within the same country. LAPOP’s Location Consistency Check (LCC) assures that interviewers are in the right location before an interview takes place. The LCC works as follows: Fieldwork supervisors assign interviewers to work areas (such as a census segment), and the interviewer is informed of that selection. Before starting data collection on any given day, the enumerator affirms their location at the selected area. To do so, the interviewer selects the Primary Sampling Unit (municipality or neighborhood) in which they believe they are located. If they select an area that does not correspond to the selected sample location, the software immediately informs the interviewer of the problem so that it can be corrected. The LCC thus helps ensure that interviewers collect data from the location selected in the sample and not from another community with an identical or similar name.

Automatic Response Tracking

Over the course of fieldwork, LAPOP also developed and refined a new Automatic Response Tracking (ART) system to improve the tracking of response and refusal rates. ART allows interviewers to easily and accurately record non-response information in real time using their assigned e-device. We have found that this standardized and observable means of tracking refusals has greatly improved our ability to estimate accurate participation (response) rates.

Multi-Tiered Auditing

LAPOP implemented a multi-tiered quality control process for fieldwork in the 2016/17 studies. In addition to the above checks, we program the SurveyToGo software to silently record a random subset of items over the course of each interview (all interviewees are informed before the interview begins that snippets of the enumerator’s work will be recorded, for the purpose of quality control). Fieldwork teams listen to the recordings from 100% of interviews to assure that enumerators adhered to best survey practices. Auditors record the number and nature of errors using LAPOP’s Quality Assurance Chapter (QAC). Interviews with many errors are automatically cancelled and then replaced by field teams. A second level quality control team listens to a random subset of these recordings to assure the quality of interviews and the quality of field teams’ checks. This system allows us to provide quality feedback to interviewers and field supervisors in as the survey proceeds in real time, correcting errors in study implementation early in fieldwork, cancelling and replacing low-quality interviews, and giving appropriate recognition to high-quality work.

Sample

In our effort to collect the best quality data possible and produce the highest quality studies, we adopted a new sample design for the AmericasBarometer 2012 round of surveys, which was also employed in 2014 and again in 2016/17. This change in the sample design makes the sample representative by municipality type, to enable the use of the municipality as a unit of analysis for multilevel statistical analysis. Details of the sample revisions are found in the description of the 2012 AmericasBarometer surveys.



Fieldwork Dates and Sample Sizes by Country

The following table displays field dates and sample sizes for the 2016/17 AmericasBarometer studies.

Table TN.1. Fieldwork dates and sample sizes by country, 2016/17 AmericasBarometer

Country	Fieldwork Start Date	Fieldwork End Date	Sample Size
Mexico/Central America			
Mexico	January 28 th , 2017	March 23 th , 2017	1,563
Guatemala	February 16 th , 2017	May 20 th , 2017	1,546
El Salvador	October 26 th , 2016	December 1 st , 2016	1,551
Honduras	October 14 th , 2016	November 20 th , 2016	1,560
Nicaragua	September 13 th , 2016	October 19 th , 2016	1,560
Costa Rica	August 22 th , 2016	September 21 st , 2016	1,514
Panama	March 1 st , 2017	May 21 st , 2017	1,521
Andean/Southern Cone			
Colombia	August 3 rd , 2016	October 29 th , 2016	1,563
Ecuador	November 8 th , 2016	January 5 th , 2017	1,545
Peru	February 7 th , 2017	April 10 th , 2017	2,647
Bolivia	March 16 th , 2017	May 3 rd , 2017	1,691
Paraguay	October 19 th , 2016	November 24 th , 2016	1,528
Chile	March 17 th , 2017	May 30 th , 2017	1,625
Uruguay	March 11 th , 2017	May 29 th , 2017	1,515
Brazil	April 5 th , 2017	May 11 th , 2017	1,532
Venezuela	October 3 rd , 2016	January 28 th , 2017	1,558
Argentina	March 10 th , 2017	May 28 th , 2017	1,528
Caribbean			
Antigua and Barbuda	January 9 th , 2016	February 8 th , 2016	1,002
Dominica	February 3 rd , 2016	March 20 th , 2016	1,016
Grenada	January 25 th , 2016	February 18 th , 2016	1,004
Dominican Republic	October 22 nd , 2016	December 3 rd , 2016	1,518
Guyana	February 17 th , 2016	March 23 rd , 2016	1,576
Haiti	April 18 th , 2017	June 2 nd , 2017	2,221
Jamaica	February 14 th , 2017	April 15 th , 2017	1,515
St. Kitts and Nevis	January 9 th , 2016	March 14 th , 2016	1,008
St. Vincent and the Grenadines	January 19 th , 2016	February 14 th , 2016	1,017
St. Lucia	February 22 nd , 2016	March 20 th , 2016	1,019
United States and Canada			
Canada	March 24 th , 2017	April 5 th , 2017	1,511
United States	May 12 th , 2017	May 22 nd , 2017	1,500



Chapter 1.

Support for Electoral Democracy in the Americas

Mollie J. Cohen

I. Introduction

Since the Third Wave democratic transitions of the 1970s and 1980s, electoral democracy has been the status quo system of government in the Latin America and the Caribbean (LAC) region. More than 100 (mostly) free, competitive, and fair elections for executive positions have been held across the region since the 1980s, with many of them observed by the Organization of American States, international NGOs, and in-country governance organizations. In Latin America and the Caribbean, elections have become “the only game in town” (Linz and Stepan 1996) when it comes to ascension to political leadership.

Yet, scholars have recently pointed to a democratic “recession” in the developing world, and in the LAC region specifically (Diamond 2015; Puddington 2012; but see Levitsky and Way 2015). Leaders in several countries have curtailed citizens’ rights and press freedoms (see Chapter 2 of this report). A string of corruption scandals¹ across the LAC region has fueled citizens’ already-high skepticism of politicians (see Chapter 3 of this report). Presidents in Bolivia, Ecuador, and Venezuela have repeatedly sought to extend their time in office beyond established term limits (BBC 2015; *Guardian* 2016a; Sonneland 2016).

The challenge of high quality governance has, in some contexts, been exacerbated by economic slowdown and persistent criminal violence (see also Chapter 4 of this report).² For example, the scarcity of basic goods in Venezuela provoked violent street protests in 2014 (Rodríguez 2016). In 2017, the incumbent administration took arguably illegal steps to tighten the *Chavista* regime’s hold on power (BBC 2017; Rodríguez and Zechmeister 2017). Viewed by citizens as a “self-coup”, this action sparked renewed street protests. The military responded by cracking down on protestors, resulting in numerous deaths (Cawthorne and Ulmer 2017). As another example, high levels of criminal violence in Mexico, Bolivia, and much of Central America, combined with low confidence in law enforcement, have led some citizens to take the law into their own hands (Bateson 2012; Zizumbo 2017). This summary execution of suspected criminals without trial undermines the state and its monopoly on the legitimate use of force (Zizumbo 2017).

¹ Several high-impact scandals have roots in *The Panama Papers*, leaked in April 2016, which implicated politicians across the region in the largest global corruption scandal in history (see *Guardian* 2017). The *lavajato* scandal in Brazil led to the ouster of the president, the investigation of more than a hundred politicians (including her replacement), and arguably aggravated already high perceptions of corruption in Brazil. Even prior to these political bombshells, Layton (2014) made the case that mass protest participation among Brazilians in the wake of the World Cup was driven in large part by perceptions of corruption.

² In 2016/17, 59% of AmericasBarometer respondents in the “LAC-21” countries (see Footnote 11) said that the national economy has gotten worse – the poorest national economic perceptions observed since the study’s inception in 2004 and a notable increase (ten percentage points) since 2014.

In short, the gradual decay of basic liberties, episodes in which political corruption is exposed and made salient, and the economic and security crises that compound barriers to high quality governance suggest that citizens in the Americas may have good reason to be disillusioned with democracy. This chapter assesses public support for the *minimal* requirements of democracy – that is, the presence and persistence of elections as the means to select governing representatives – in the Latin America and Caribbean Region.

II. Main Findings

This chapter assesses public support for the minimal requirements of democracy in the LAC region. Some key findings are:

- Support for democracy is significantly lower in 2016/17 than in previous years. Older, wealthier, and more educated individuals express more support for democracy, on average, across the region.
- Support for executive coups has increased by five percentage points in 2016/17. Support for shutdown of the legislature is highest among the least educated, poorest, and youngest individuals.
- Trust in political parties is the lowest recorded in an AmericasBarometer study. Older, less educated, and less wealthy individuals express more trust in political parties, on average.
- Partisan affiliation has decreased by 10 percentage points in 2016/17.

III. The Basic Tenets of Electoral Democracy

This chapter examines support for tenants of minimal or electoral democracy in the LAC region.³ “Minimalist” definitions of democracy argue that the presence of competitive elections (i.e., with a true possibility of alternations in power) is sufficient to identify a democracy.⁴ For example, in his classic work, Schumpeter (1942) defines democracy as, “...that institutional arrangement for arriving at political decisions... by means of a competitive struggle for the people’s vote” (p. 260). Huntington (1991) similarly defines democracies as systems in which “powerful collective decision makers are selected through fair, honest, and periodic elections in which candidates freely compete for votes” (p. 7). Diamond (1999) calls systems with “regular, competitive, multiparty elections with universal suffrage” *electoral* democracies (a minimal level of democracy, which he contrasts with “liberal” democracies, p. 10).⁵

³ This chapter uses the terms “democracy” and “electoral democracy” interchangeably.

⁴ In contrast to this minimalist definition of democracy, “maximalist” definitions argue that the protection of civil liberties is necessary for democracy to flourish. Dahl (1971) theorized that inclusiveness, or public participation, and liberalization, or public contestation, are key features of a democracy, or “polyarchy” (p.7). Public contestation and participation include voting *as a minimum*, but also implicate a free press and citizen participation through non-electoral channels (e.g., protest). Later chapters in this report turn to the supply of civil liberties and quality governance – two key pieces of maximal definitions of democracy. This chapter focuses more narrowly on support for and attitudes around competitive elections, which all scholars agree are necessary, if not sufficient, for democracy.

⁵ Introducing participation requirements complicates the task of classifying electoral democracies. Around the world, many systems recognized as democratic have, or have had, limited access to the franchise. For



In seeking to measure “minimal” democracy, scholars often focus on the *competitiveness* of elections. Following Third Wave democratic transitions, several authoritarian states implemented elections to assuage public demand for democracy and to appease the international community’s demands to liberalize political institutions. However, elections in such contexts often take place on an uneven playing field. Entrenched incumbent rulers and dominant parties have been known to manipulate the rules of competition (e.g., by inconsistently applying electoral law for challengers versus incumbent candidates) and, in extreme cases, election outcomes (e.g., by outright fraud).^{6,7}

In short, minimal or electoral democracies are countries in which competitive elections are held, and have led (or are likely to lead) to alternation in power at the national level. In the years following Third Wave democratic transitions, the vast majority of executive elections in the LAC region have met this minimum standard of democratic competition. However, over the years and including in recent times, some presidents across the region have taken steps to consolidate power behind powerful parties and individuals. For example, presidents in Bolivia, Ecuador, Honduras, Nicaragua, and Venezuela have sought to extend or eliminate term limits (BBC 2015; *Guardian* 2016a; Sonneland 2016). Viewed in the context of minimal definitions of democracy, these steps have the potential to harm democratic governance by limiting the competitiveness of elections.

The legitimacy and integrity of elections has been repeatedly called into question in the region. In 2016, the Peruvian electoral court was accused of favoritism when it removed high-polling presidential candidates from contention for minor errors in campaign paperwork (Cohen 2016; RPP 2016). Nicaragua’s 2016 election was accompanied by accusations of fraud and an uneven playing field that favored the incumbent party; the circumstances resulted in an election boycott by the opposition (and a landslide victory for the incumbent; see Baltodano 2016). Donald Trump has called into question the integrity of U.S. elections by repeatedly stating that he lost the popular vote due to fraudulent voting during the 2016 presidential contest (BBC 2016). In Ecuador’s 2017 runoff election, the losing opposition candidate argued that the election results had been manipulated and refused to concede, leading to mass street protests (BBC 2017). Finally, in Venezuela, incumbents associated with the *Chavista* regime have been accused of limiting opposition parties’ access to campaign resources and in 2016, the government cancelled gubernatorial elections in what some viewed as an attempt to stop the opposition from gaining power (Cawthorne 2016).

example, in the United States, felons are barred from voting in many instances and in Switzerland women were not able to vote until 1971. Yet, most scholars still classify the contemporary U.S. and pre-1971 Switzerland as electoral democracies. A second complication comes from the ‘universal suffrage’ requirement: Is it sufficient that all citizens have *access* to the franchise, or must all citizens *participate* via the franchise (i.e., through the implementation of mandatory voting, see Lijphart 1999)?

⁶ Scholars have termed these systems, where elections are *held* but where the possibility of alternations in power is limited, “competitive authoritarian” regimes (see, e.g., Levitsky and Way 2010).

⁷ In particular, once they have identified the presence of elections, scholars typically ask whether two or more viable partisan options are present and whether a system has produced an alternation in power in the executive branch to identify electoral competitiveness and distinguish democracies from non-democracies (see Przeworski 1991, Przeworski et al. 2000). Przeworski et al. (2000) indicate that post-transitional regimes must include the alternation of power, and treat systems where elections are held but incumbents never lose power as authoritarian (p.27).

None of these incidents signifies the imminent downfall of democracy; yet, each serves as a reminder that electoral democracy does not always persist. Democracy has been the status quo political system in the Latin America and Caribbean region since the 1970s and 1980s, and since that time, scholars have debated whether and to what extent democracy has “consolidated” in these countries – that is, whether electoral democracy exists as “the only game in town” (Linz and Stepan 1996).⁸ At the core of democratic consolidation is the relative stability of the political system. Simply put, regimes that are “consolidated” are likely to persist in the future (Diamond 1994; Schedler 1998).⁹

The persistence of democratic institutions relies in large part on citizen attitudes. Indeed, by defining regime consolidation in terms of its status as “the only game in town,” scholars directly implicate citizens and allude to two distinct sets of attitudes. First, citizens in consolidated democracies must support democratic norms and institutions (e.g., democracy as an ideal; the peaceful transfer of power across party lines; free and fair elections). Second and equally important, citizens in consolidated democracies must *reject* replacing political leaders with means other than elections (e.g., via military coup).

The following sections assess the state of democratic consolidation in the Latin America and Caribbean region by examining citizens’ support for democracy in the abstract and their rejection of coups.

Support for Democracy in the Abstract

To what extent do individuals in the Americas believe that democracy is the best political system, and how does their support for democracy in 2016/17 compare to past years? Since its inception, the AmericasBarometer project has asked respondents across the Americas the following question assessing support for democracy¹⁰:

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?

Respondents provided an answer ranging from 1-7, with 1 signifying “strong disagreement” and 7 denoting “strong agreement.” Figure 1.1 displays the percentage of respondents in each country that reports support for democracy (values of five to seven on the seven-point scale). Responses range from a low of 48.4% in Guatemala to a high of 82.4% in Uruguay. The percentage of the public that supports democracy is highest in some of the region’s oldest and most stable democracies (Uruguay, Canada, Argentina, the United States, and Costa Rica), while support for democracy is

⁸ Discussions of “democratic consolidation” can be problematic, as they often assume that all countries transitioning from dictatorship, and indeed all countries that hold competitive elections, are moving toward “deepening” democratic quality, when this is not always the case (see, for example, Levitsky and Way 2012).

⁹ The term “democratic consolidation” has been used to describe the prevention of democratic breakdown and the degradation of democratic norms, as well as to denote the “deepening” of democracy (e.g., through the increased protection of civil and other liberties) (see Schedler 1998). As in defining electoral democracy, we define consolidation “minimally” (and, arguably, “negatively”), as the avoidance of regime breakdown.

¹⁰ This question is often referred to as a “Churchillian” question of democratic support, as it is derived from Winston Churchill’s oft-quoted speech from the House of Commons, in which he noted that, “...democracy is the worst form of Government except for all those other forms that have been tried from time to time.”

notably lower in countries that have recently experienced democratic, political or security crises (e.g., Guatemala, Paraguay, Mexico, Haiti, and Honduras).

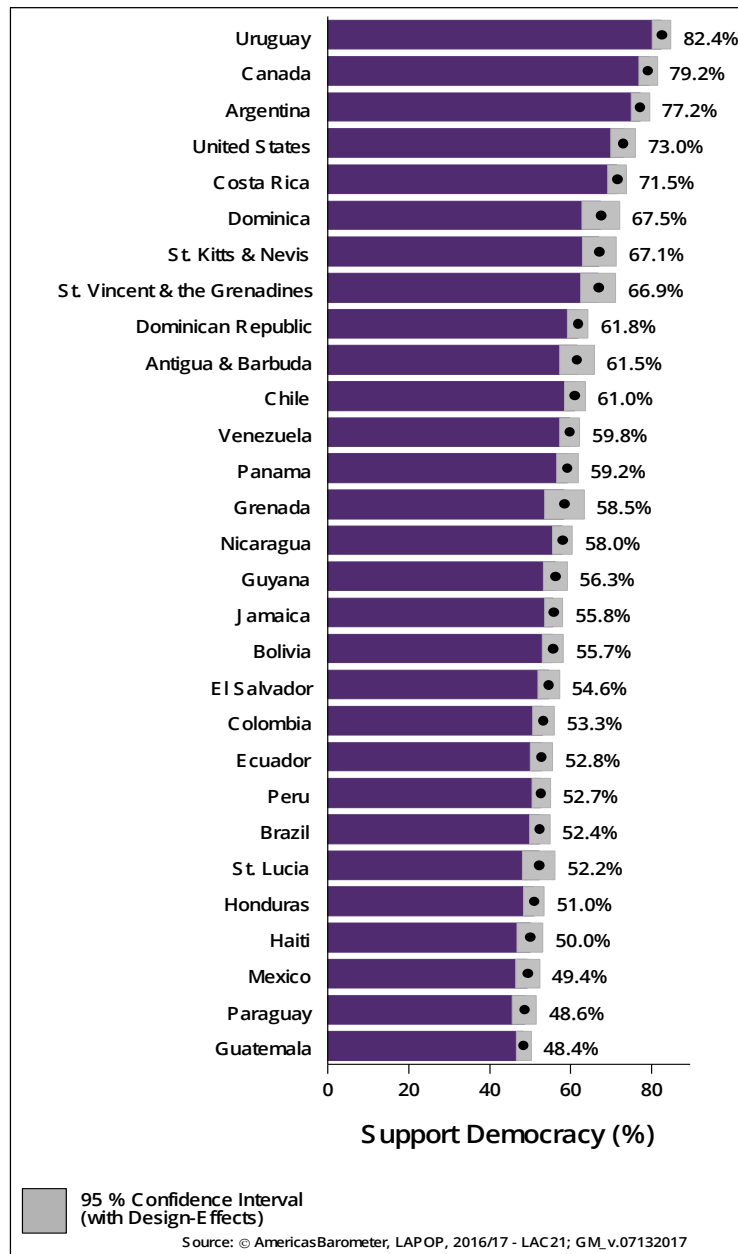


Figure 1.1. Cross-National Support for Democracy

Figure 1.2 documents the level of support for democracy in the Latin America and Caribbean region, as it has changed across time. This and all other cross-time and sub-group analyses in this chapter use data from 21 countries in the Latin America and Caribbean region – what we term the “LAC-21” region for this report.¹¹ While a majority of citizens in the Latin America and Caribbean

¹¹ Cross-time values are calculated including only those countries the AmericasBarometer has surveyed consistently since 2006: Argentina Brazil, Bolivia, Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica, the Dominican Republic, Ecuador, El Salvador, Guatemala, Guyana, Haiti, Honduras, Jamaica, Mexico, Nicaragua, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Uruguay, and Venezuela. All analyses of cross-time trends have been replicated for the subset of

region supports democracy in theory, support for democracy has declined substantially in the past two years.¹² Figure 1.2 shows that 57.8% of survey respondents in these countries indicated that they supported democracy, a sharp decline (8.6 percentage points) from the 2014 round and the lowest value ever observed in an AmericasBarometer study.

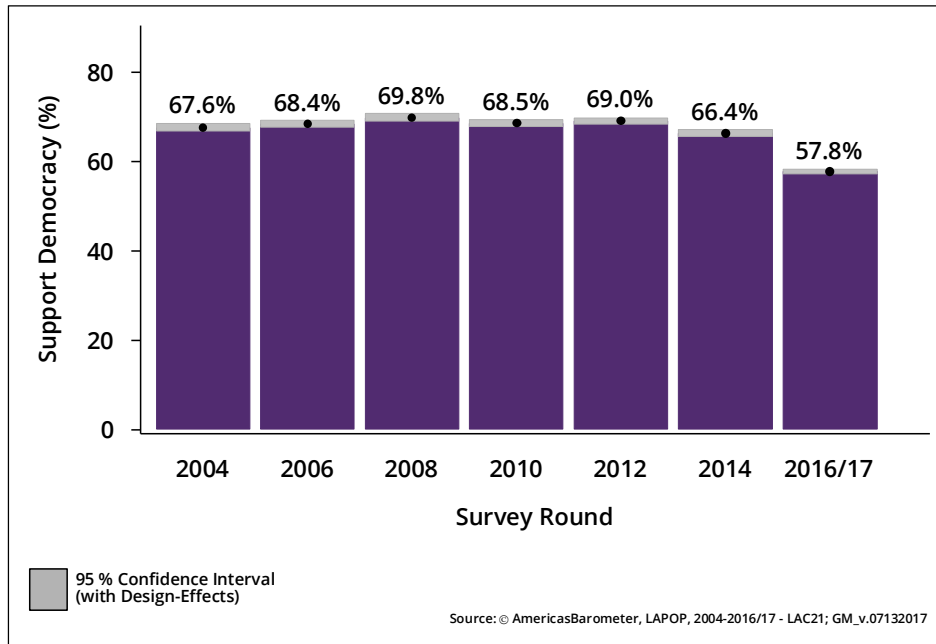


Figure 1.2. Support for Democracy over Time in the LAC-21 Region

Who is most likely to support democracy? Figure 1.3 shows statistically significant relationships between five demographic and socio-economic subgroups (education, wealth, urban/ rural residence, gender, and age) and support for democracy. In all such figures in this chapter, we only show relationships that are statistically significant with 95% confidence. If a category is excluded, this means that it does not significantly predict a particular dependent variable.

Figure 1.3 shows that, generally, the most educated and wealthiest citizens – arguably those who most benefit from the status quo system – report support for democracy at higher rates. Women are slightly less likely to report support for democracy than men, and those living in rural areas are somewhat less supportive of democracy than urban residents. As individuals get older, they are also more likely to report support for democracy: while less than 54% of those 26-35 years old support democracy, 66% of those 66 years old or older support democracy.¹³

countries included in the 2004 AmericasBarometer study (Mexico, Guatemala, Honduras, El Salvador, Nicaragua, Costa Rica, Panama, Colombia, Ecuador, and the Dominican Republic). Cross-time trends were similar across these groups of countries for all analyses shown here.

¹² This decline in support for democracy coincides, more or less, with the end of the region-wide commodity boom in the early 2000s to 2014. In recent years, prices of export goods have dropped, and economies across the region are growing substantially more sluggishly than in recent years (see, e.g., *Economist* 2014; Ullrich 2016).

¹³ Except for urban/rural residence, these relationships hold when controlling for other demographic and socio-economic characteristics. See regression results in the online appendix.

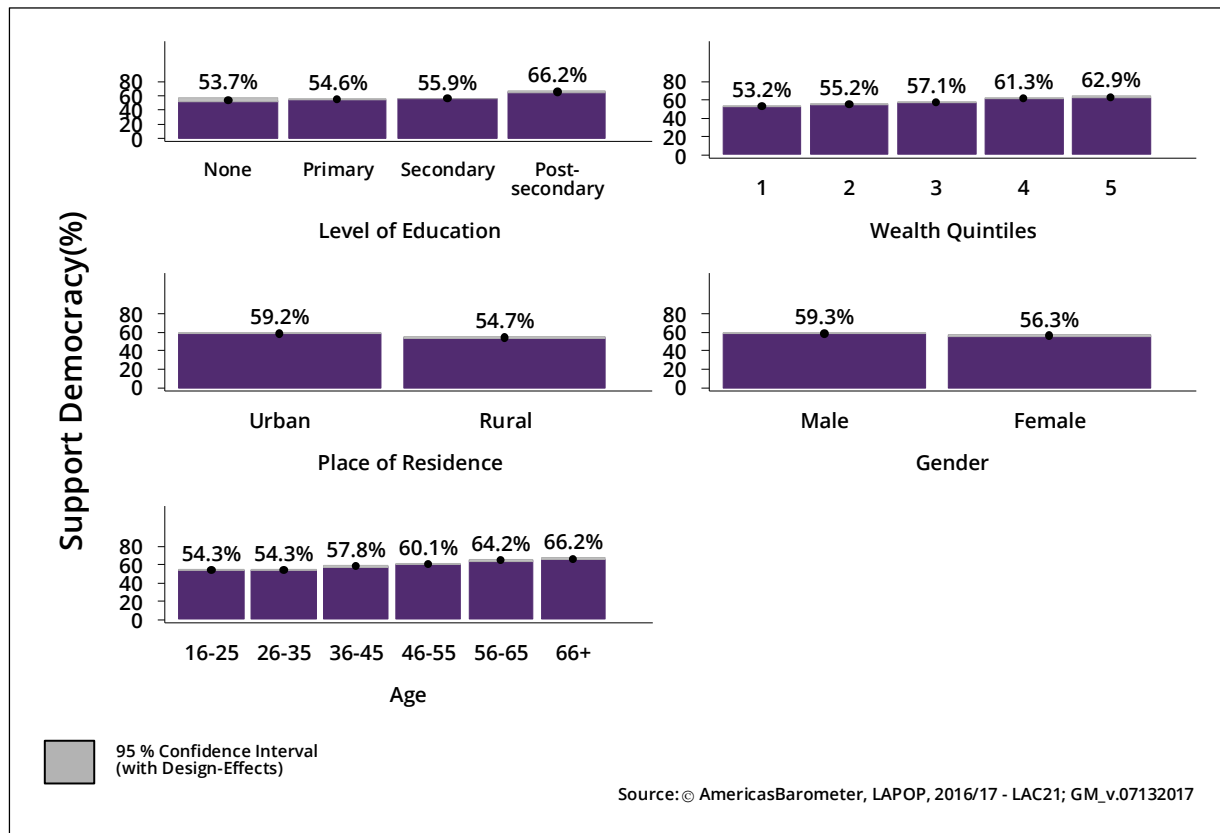


Figure 1.3. Demographic and Socio-Economic Correlates of Support for Democracy in the LAC-21 Region

Rules of the Game: Support for Coups under High Crime and Corruption

In addition to support for democracy in theory, acceptance of democracy as “the only game in town” is key to the stability and persistence of democratic governance. This means, in short, that citizens in democratic societies should not support military coups that replace the incumbent democratically elected government with military leadership. The 2016/17 AmericasBarometer includes two items that tap participants’ hypothetical willingness to support a military takeover of the government. Half of respondents received the first of the following questions, while the other half was randomly assigned to receive the second:

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]:**

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

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

Figure 1.4 shows the percentage of respondents in each country that responded that they would support a military coup under each of these circumstances. Support for military coups under high levels of crime ranges from a low of 23.3 percent in the United States to a high of 59.3% of respondents in Jamaica. Support for coups under high corruption ranges from 23% in Argentina to 53.2% in both Costa Rica and Jamaica.

More generally, levels of support for military coups are lowest in Argentina, Uruguay, the United States, and Nicaragua. Support for coups is consistently high compared to the rest of the region in Jamaica, Peru, and Mexico.

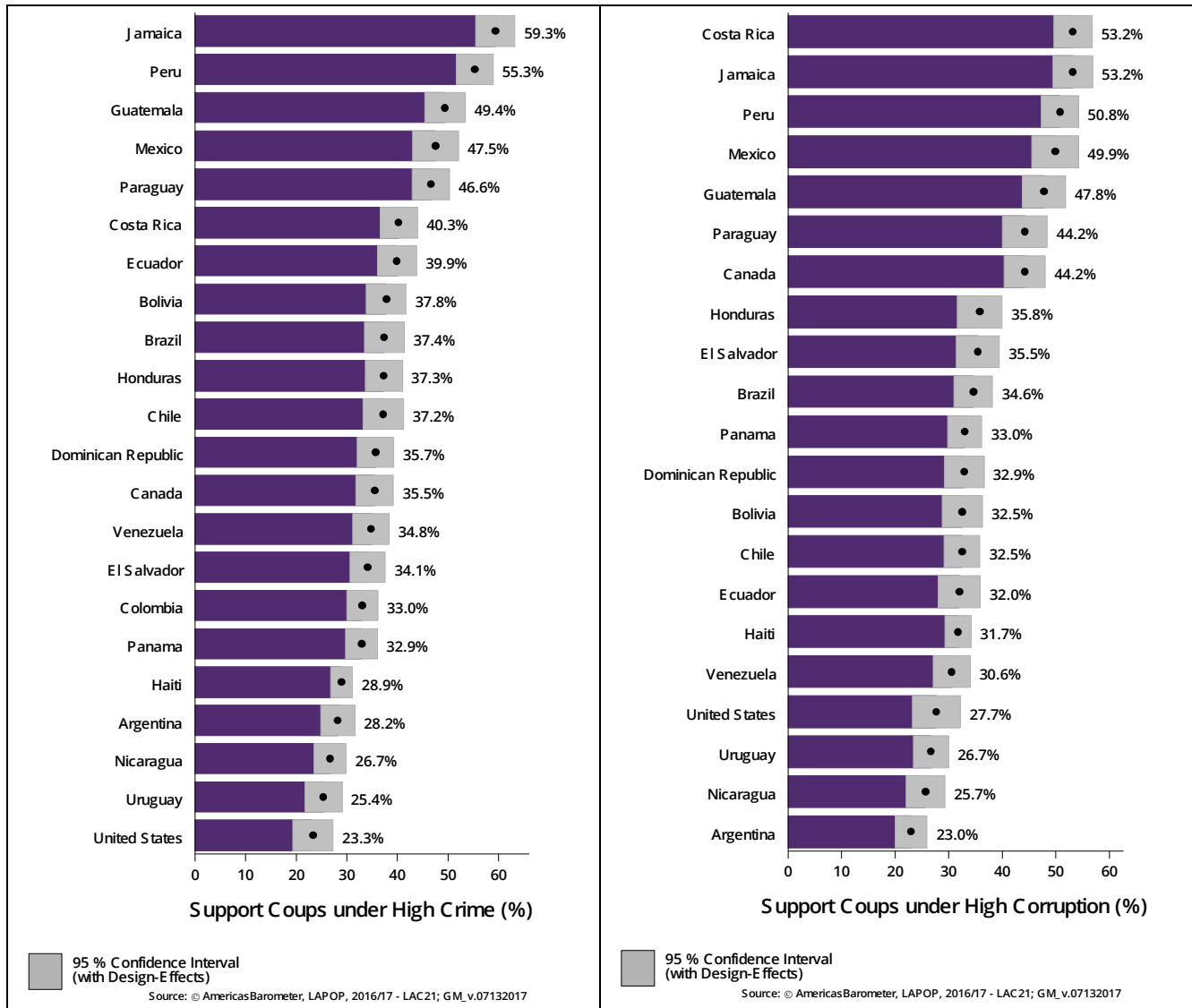


Figure 1.4. Support for Military Coups under High Crime and High Corruption

For cross-time, socio-economic, and demographic analyses, we assess support for military coups, generally, by creating an index of these two variables.¹⁴ Support for military coups in the LAC-21

¹⁴ In survey rounds when both questions were asked to all respondents, we generated an additive index, adding responses to both items and dividing through by two for each individual. In 2016/17, we proxy



countries remained stable from 2014 to 2016/17 (see Figure 1.5 below). Indeed, levels of support for military coups under hypothetical scenarios have remained relatively stable at about 38–40% of the public since 2010.

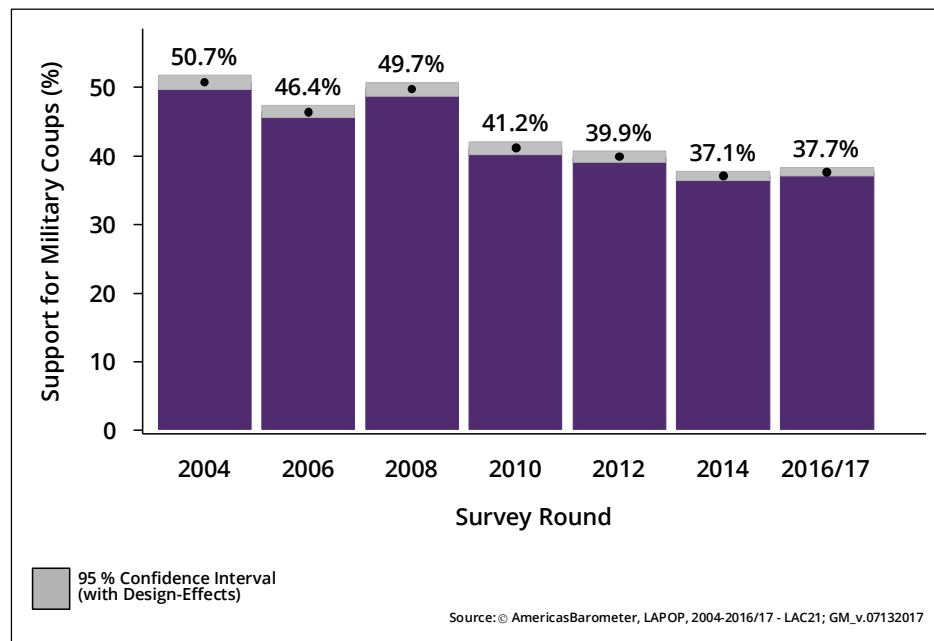


Figure 1.5. Support for Military Coups across Time in the LAC-21 Region

Figure 1.6 shows support for military coups by demographic and socio-economic subgroups. Among respondents from the LAC-21 countries, women (39%) are more likely than men (36%) to voice their support for a hypothetical coup, as are those living in rural areas (43.5%, versus 41.6% of urban residents).¹⁵ Those with post-secondary education (31%, versus 36% among those with no education) and older individuals (35%, versus 48.5% among the youngest cohort), are less likely to express support for hypothetical military coups.¹⁶

support for military coups, generally, with support for coups under either high crime or high corruption – whichever question the respondent received.

¹⁵ Because differences in support for military coups across levels of the wealth quintile variable were not statistically significant in these analyses, we do not show them here.

¹⁶ When all five variables are controlled for in a logistic regression model assessing hypothetical support for military coups, all five are significant.

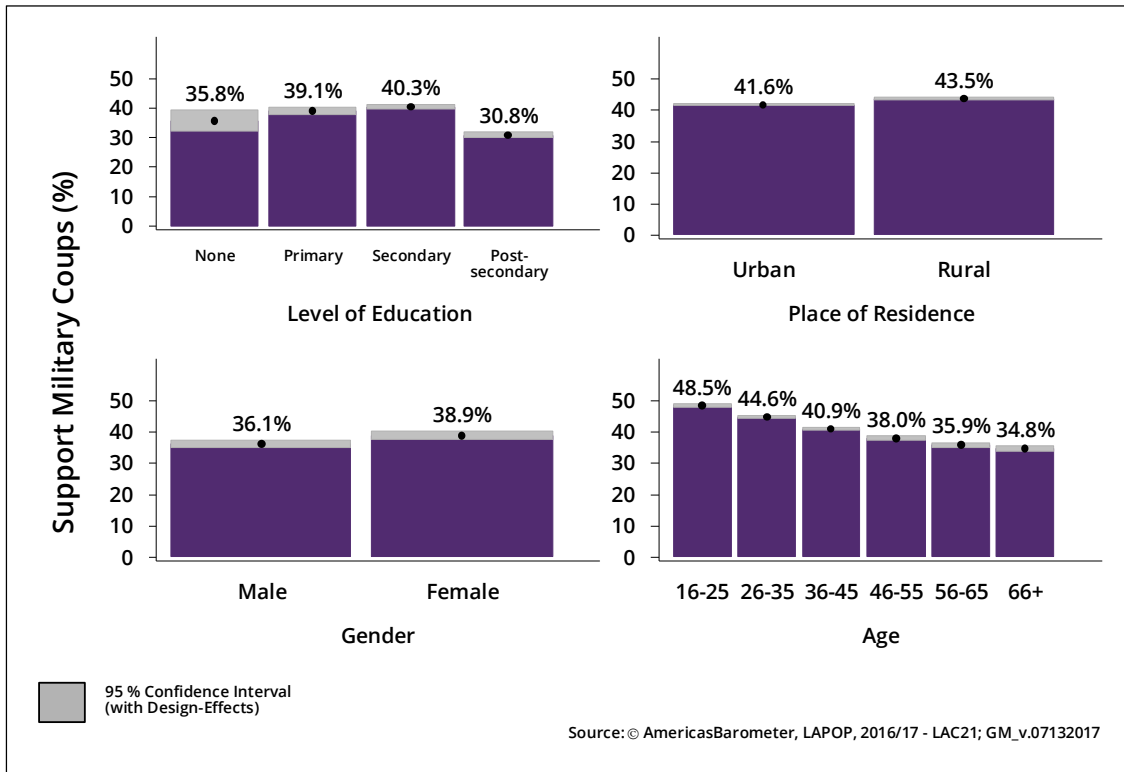


Figure 1.6. Demographic and Socio-Economic Predictors of Support for Military Coups in the LAC-21 Region

Support for Executive Coups

In addition to the questions discussed above, the AmericasBarometer in 2016/17 asked all respondents the following question, gauging support for executive coups – that is, the shutdown of legislative bodies by the executive branch:

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?
 (1) Yes, it is justified (2) No, it is not justified

Because takeovers by the executive versus the military imply action by different government actors, we analyze these questions separately. Figure 1.7 shows the distribution of support for executive coups in very difficult times across countries in the Latin America and Caribbean region in 2016/17. Support for executive coups across the region is substantially lower than support for hypothetical coups under high crime or high corruption, averaging 20.5% across the LAC-21 region. Support for executive coups is the lowest in Uruguay (8.7%) and support for executive coups is by far the highest in Peru (37.8%) – a country that experienced an executive coup in 1993.

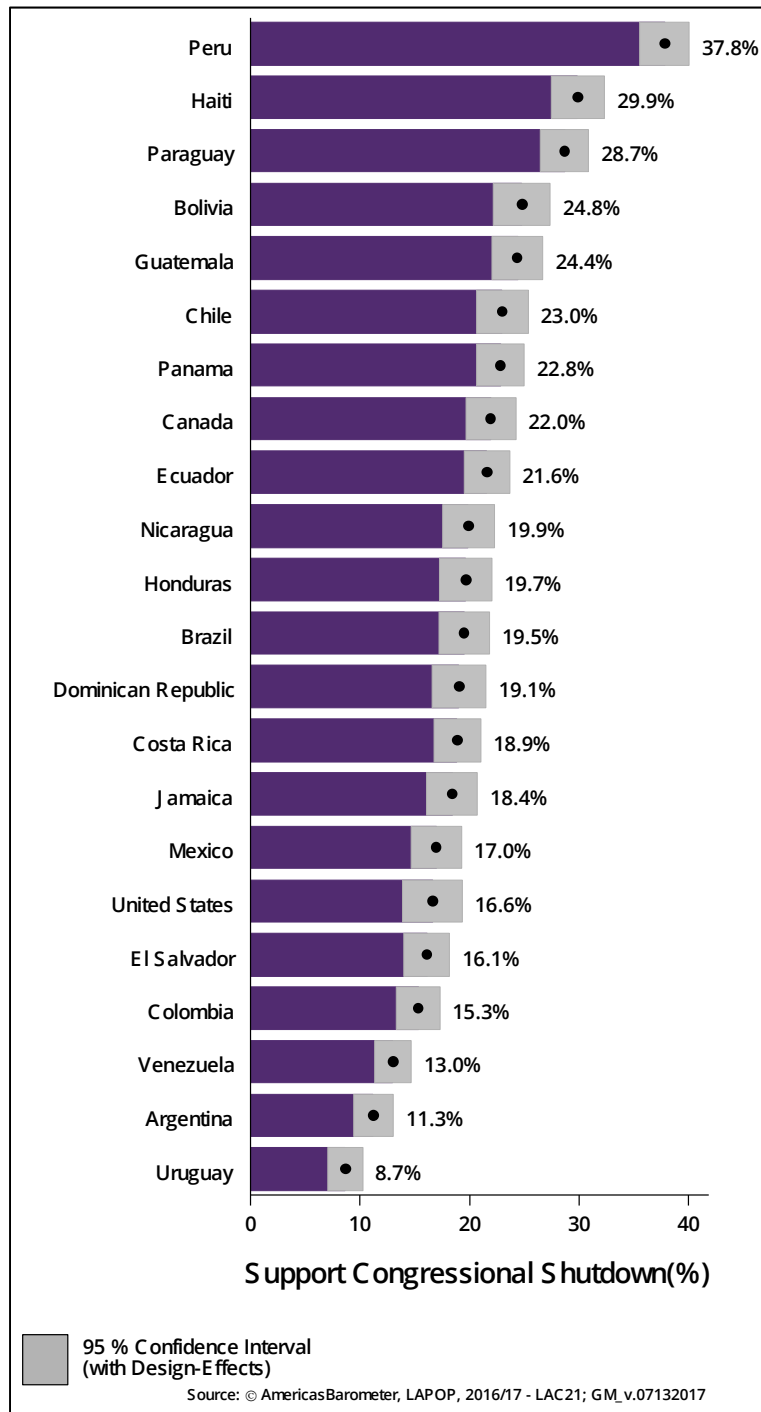


Figure 1.7. Support for Executive Coups

While support for executive coups is lower than support for military coups under high crime or high corruption, Figure 1.8 shows that levels of support for an executive shutdown of the legislature increased substantially in the 2016/17 round of the AmericasBarometer in the LAC-21 region – from 15.8% in 2014, to 20.5% in 2016/17.

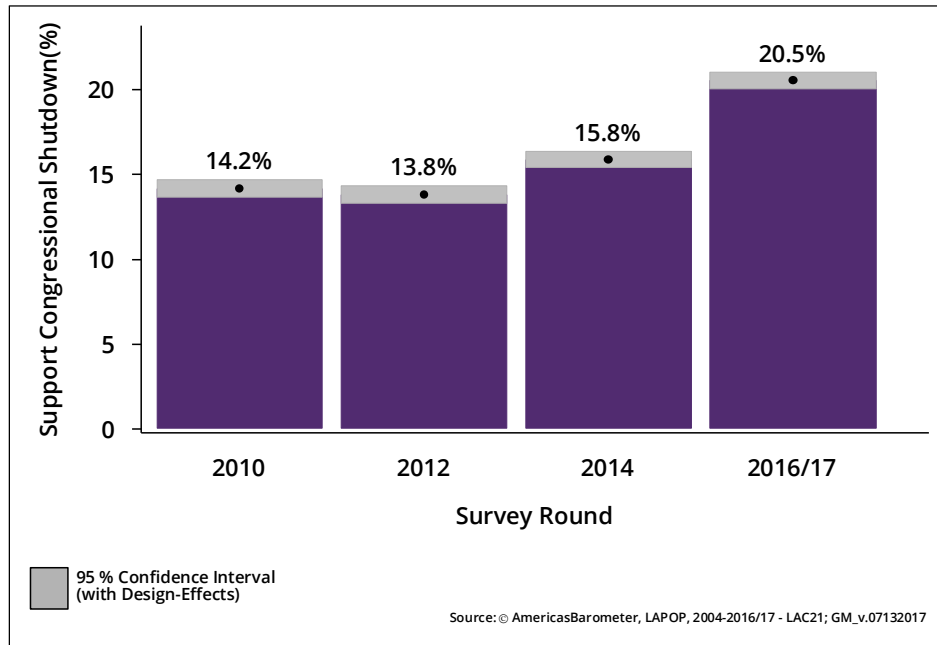


Figure 1.8. Support for Executive Coups across Time in the LAC-21 Region

Figure 1.9 shows that the demographic and socio-economic predictors of support for executive coups are similar to those found in the analysis of support for military coups: the educated (16.5%), wealthy (17.9%), and urban dwellers (20%) are significantly less likely to support executive coups than those with primary education (23%), less wealth (23%), and who live in rural areas (22%). In contrast to support for hypothetical military coups under high crime or high corruption, women are less supportive of executive coups than men, on average (19% versus 22%, respectively). Age is not a significant predictor of support for executive coups.

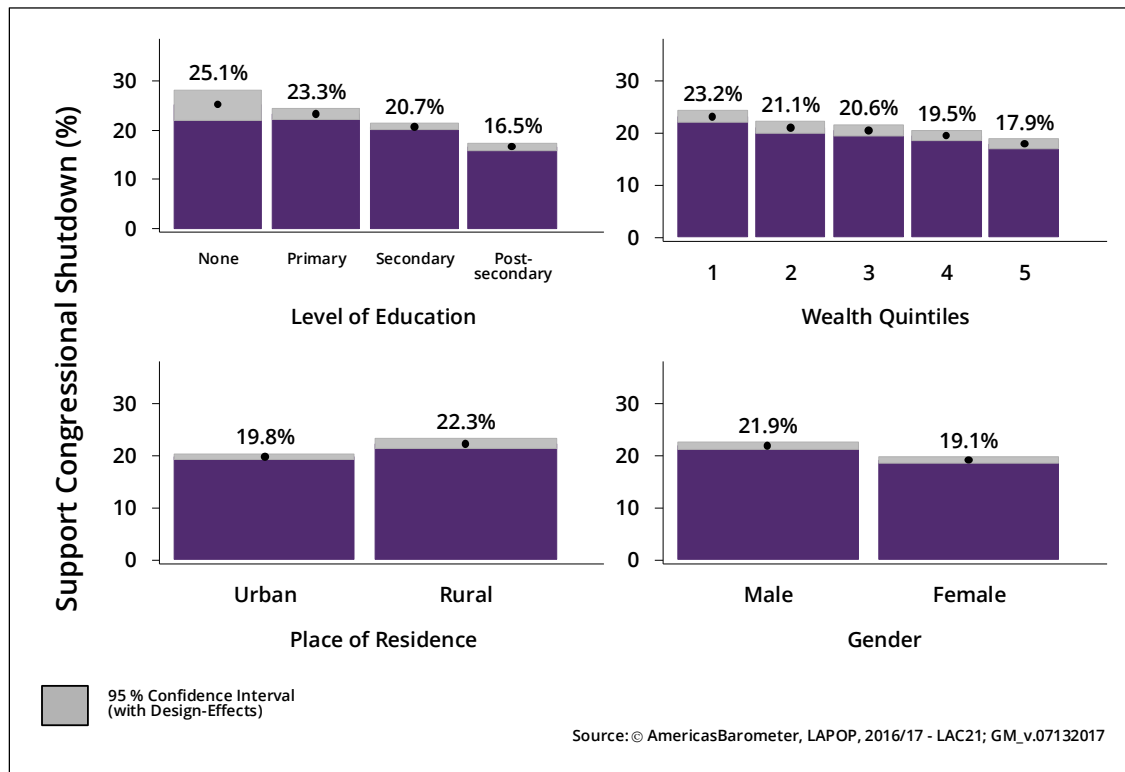


Figure 1.9. Demographic and Socio-Economic Predictors of Support for Executive Coups in the LAC-21 Region

On balance, these metrics of minimal support for democracy, support for democracy in theory and the rejection of coups, suggest declining public support for democracy in the region. Support for democracy in theory, for example, declined substantially from 2014. While levels of support for hypothetical coups are generally low and support for military coups has remained stable since 2014, support for executive coups increased by five percentage points in 2016/17. Although these figures are noteworthy, they are also hypothetical, abstract, and general. While respondents express lower support for democracy on average, or more support for hypothetical coups, it is unclear from these analyses whether this overarching displeasure is reflected in opinions about institutions as they function in respondents' national political contexts. The remainder of this chapter turns to this question.

IV. Support for Democratic Institutions: Elections and Parties

Electoral democracy relies on citizen participation through elections: voters select their representatives and straightforwardly voice their preferences at the ballot box. Public trust and participation in these institutions are therefore important for understanding citizen support for democracy as it functions in the real world and, as well, serve as a signal of citizens' commitment to democracy (a foundational piece of democratic consolidation).

Voters select who governs through their participation in competitive elections. This process permits citizens an indirect role in policy-making under electoral democracy, which occurs "...through the competition and cooperation of elected representatives." (Schmitter and Karl 1991, 76). Citizens' preferences are thus mediated through their interactions with political institutions

(e.g., elections) and actors (e.g., politicians and parties) in a democracy. Citizen trust in the electoral process as clean, competitive, and fair is therefore foundational to democracy's legitimacy.¹⁷

For voters, democratic elections are an opportunity to punish or reward outcomes from the previous term, and to signal their prospective preferences (see, e.g., Ferejohn 1986; Lewis Beck 1986; Manin, Przeworski, and Stokes 1999; Powell 2000). For elections to produce winners and electoral mandates, some portion of the public must participate in them by voting.¹⁸ Around the world, scholars have observed inequities in who participates: abstainers are often less interested in and more alienated from politics than other citizens (see Karp and Banducci 2008; Carreras and Castañeda-Angarita 2014), and those who vote are wealthier and more educated than those who abstain (Carlin, Singer and Zechmeister 2015; Carreras and Castañeda-Angarita 2014; Nadeau et al. 2017).¹⁹

In short, citizens legitimate electoral democracy by trusting in elections as a mechanism to select leaders and by participating in elections. The following sections examine citizen trust and participation in elections in Latin America and the Caribbean, with the goal of better understanding support for electoral democracy in the region.

Trust in Elections

In 2004 and every round since 2012, the AmericasBarometer has asked individuals the following question:

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

Responses range from 1-7, with 1 indicating “no trust” and 7 denoting “strong trust.” Figure 1.10 shows the percentage of individuals who trust elections (values of five to seven on the seven-point scale) in each country where the question was asked in the 2016/17 AmericasBarometer study. The percentage of respondents who report trust in elections ranges widely, from 18.5% in Haiti to 73% in Uruguay. There are no clear trends in the ranking of countries. For example, Nicaragua's 2016 election was accompanied by accusations of fraud culminating in a boycott of the election by opposition parties; yet, trust in elections is fourth from the highest in the region in that country.

¹⁷ Scholars argue that trust in elections *among the losers* is potentially more important than democratic support among winners (see, e.g., Anderson et al. 2007).

¹⁸ There is some debate as to what the ideal rate of participation is. While some argue that full participation is a normative good (see, e.g., Lijphart 1997), others (e.g., Rosema 2007; see also Schumpeter 1942) argue that low electoral participation can signal citizen satisfaction with the status quo and may yield better representative outcomes (see also Singh 2016).

¹⁹ Several Latin American countries have sought to minimize these inequities and enforce a view of voting as both a right and a duty by implementing mandatory vote laws (Fornos et al. 2004). Mandatory vote laws arguably reduce unequal participation by income, and scholars have also suggested that compulsory voting can increase citizens' *cognitive* engagement (that is, their knowledge of and interest in politics, see Carlin and Love 2015; Singh 2015; Söderlund et al. 2011). However, increased turnout across demographic subgroups does not necessarily mean increased positive participation in elections. Voters in the LAC region regularly turn out and spoil their ballots to signal their discontent with status quo politics, and levels of spoiled voting are especially high where voting is mandated (Cohen 2017; Power and Garand 2007).



In Colombia in contrast, only 24% of respondents report trust in elections, although elections have been regularly certified as clean from fraud by international observers in recent years.

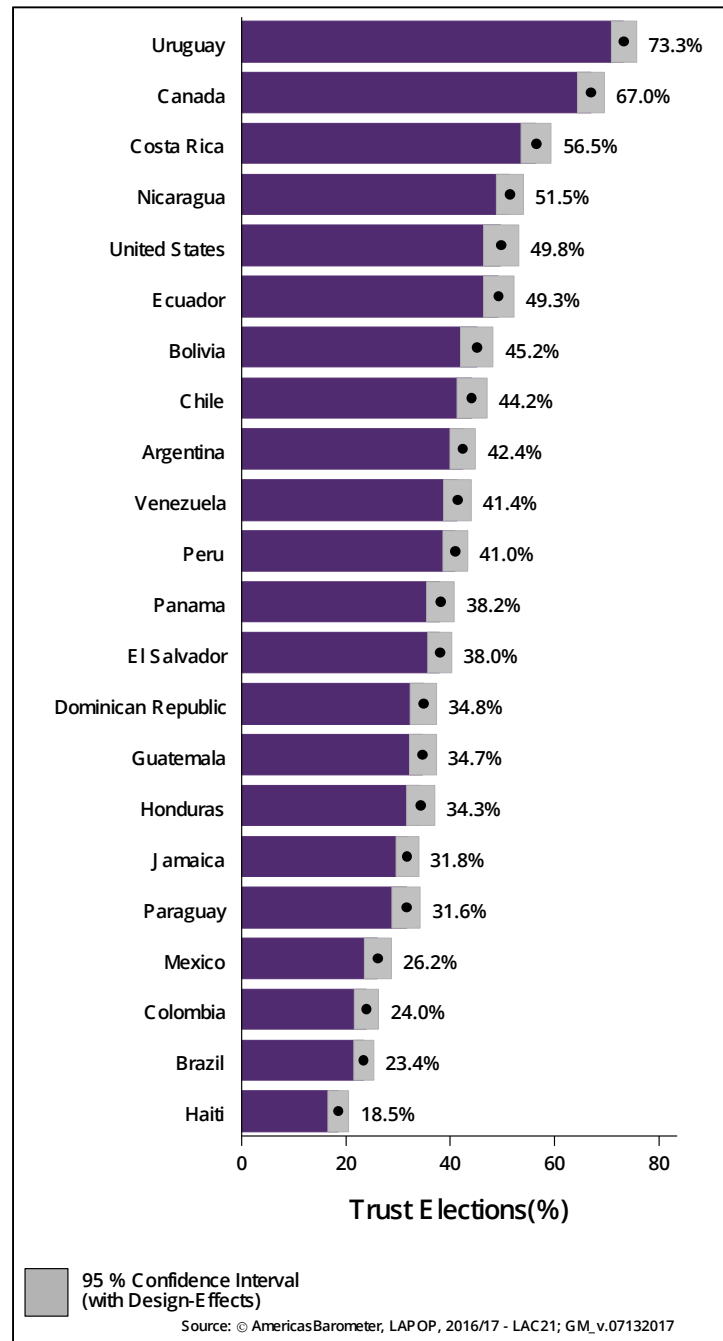


Figure 1.10. Percentage of Respondents Who Trust Elections

In the LAC-21 countries, an average of 39.1% of citizens trust elections, according to the 2016/17 round of the AmericasBarometer (see Figure 1.12). This value has not changed significantly since the 2014 round, although it is substantially lower than the trust in elections reported in 2004.²⁰

²⁰ The sharp decrease in trust in elections from 2004 to 2012 is also present when this analysis is conducted using data from only the eleven countries included in the original 2004 study.

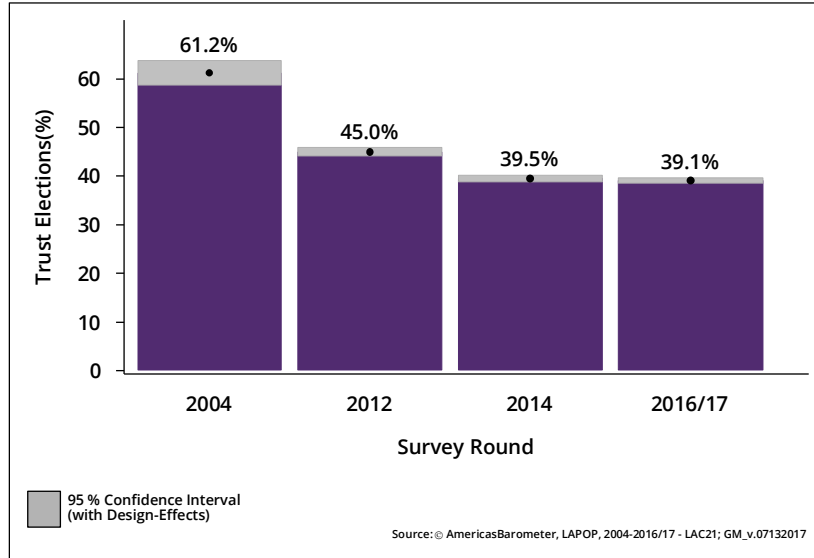


Figure 1.11. Trust in Elections over Time in the LAC-21 Region

In terms of who is most likely to trust elections, the results in Figure 1.12 show that those with more education and wealth are more skeptical of elections than those with no or primary education and those in lower wealth quintiles. Similarly, those living in rural areas and men are more likely to trust elections than urban residents and women. Trust in elections declines slightly in the years after those in which individuals first reach voting age, perhaps due to first experiences with losing contests, and increases as individuals grow older.

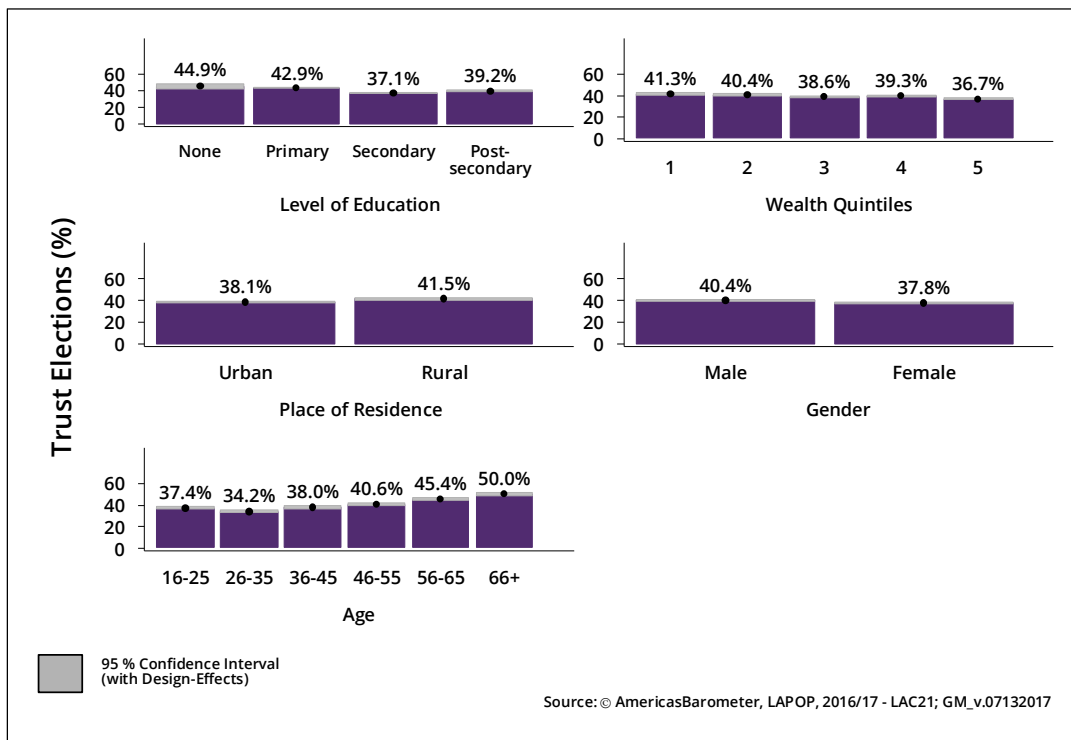


Figure 1.12. Demographic and Socio-Economic Predictors of Trust in Elections in the LAC-21 Region



Participation in Elections

In addition to supporting and trusting elections in theory, democracy requires citizen participation in elections to select winners. To measure electoral participation, the AmericasBarometer asks respondents in each country the following question:

VB2. Did you vote in the (first round of the) last **presidential elections** of (year of last presidential elections)?
(1) Voted
(2) Did not vote

Figure 1.13 shows the distribution of reported voter turnout in each of the countries in the study. Reported turnout ranges from 52.5% in the 2016 general election in Jamaica to 89.3% in Peru's 2016 general election.²¹ Unsurprisingly, reported turnout is the highest in countries where mandatory vote laws exist and are strictly enforced (Peru, Uruguay, Ecuador; see Fornos et al. 2004) and is substantially lower in countries where voting is voluntary (e.g., Chile, Jamaica, Nicaragua, Colombia).^{22,23}

²¹ As in most studies of electoral behavior, turnout is over-reported by several percentage points in the AmericasBarometer study. For example, official turnout in the first round Peruvian election in 2016 was 81.8% of eligible voters, and official turnout in the 2016 US elections was 60.2% of eligible voters. Turnout over-reporting can be caused by social desirability (voting is seen as normatively desirable, and interviewees lie to appear to be good citizens) and faulty memory (individuals do not remember what they did during the last election, so incorrectly guess that they turned out to vote).

²² Indeed, average reported turnout in the LAC-21 countries with voluntary voting is 68%, versus 80.7% in countries where mandatory vote laws exist and are enforced (see Fornos et al. 2004).

²³ On average, reported turnout in 2016/17 in the LAC-21 countries is slightly lower than turnout rates reported by AmericasBarometer participants in the 2014 round, declining from 75.3% to 72.7% of all respondents. However, it is not clear that these declines in reported turnout reflect real declines in electoral participation. Not all countries in the sample held national elections between the 2014 and 2016/17 AmericasBarometer studies. As in past rounds of the AmericasBarometer, many individuals were asked to report their voting behavior from several years prior to the survey.

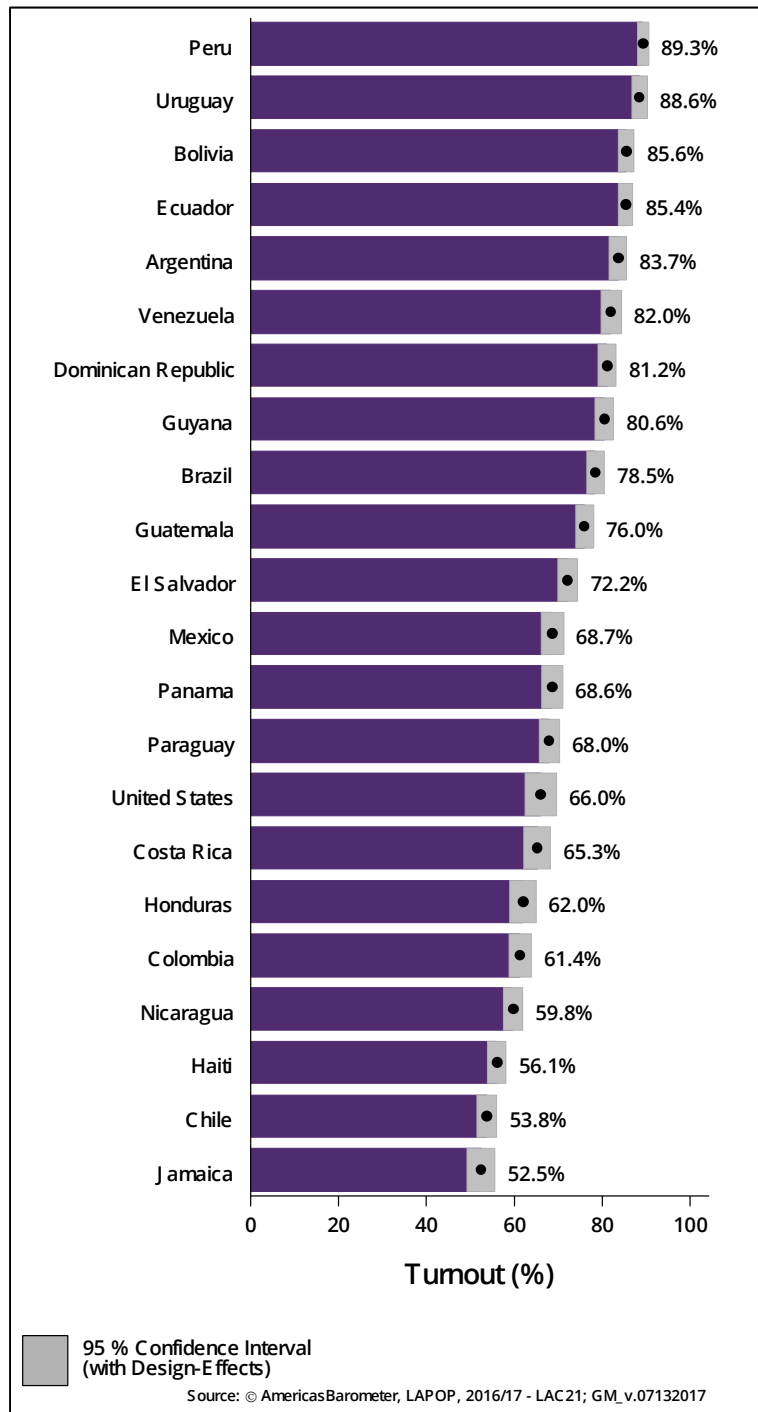


Figure 1.13. Turnout across Countries

Who participates in elections? Consistent with past studies of voter behavior, reported turnout in Latin America and the Caribbean is the highest among individuals with post-secondary education, as well as wealthier and older individuals.²⁴ However, there are some interesting patterns in Figure

²⁴ Not all study participants were eligible to vote in the country’s most recent presidential election, which accounts for much of the sizeable increase in reported turnout from the youngest age cohort to the 26-35-year-old group.

1.14. On average for the region, gender and urban residence have no significant association with turnout.²⁵

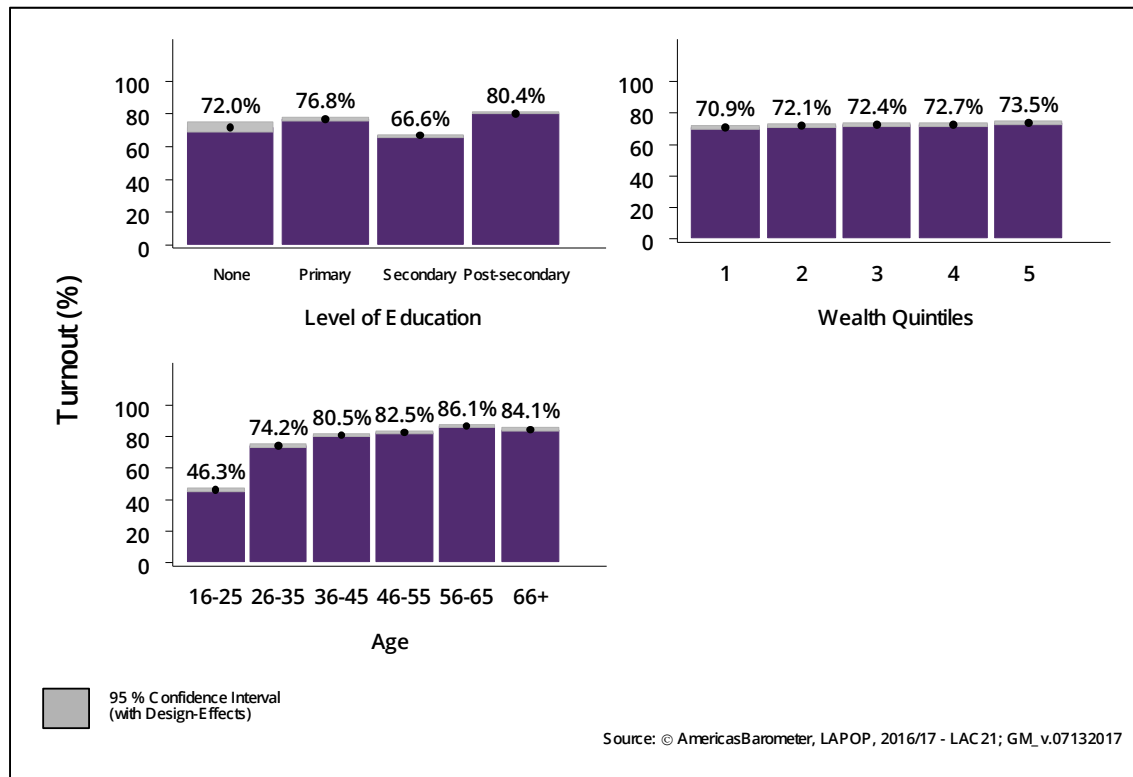


Figure 1.14. Demographic and Socio-Economic Predictors of Turnout in the LAC-21 Region

Less than 40% of respondents in the LAC-21 countries report trusting elections, which have been the status quo system for selecting leaders for well over 30 years on average across the region. This figure is somewhat disconcerting given elections' central role in democratic governance. Yet, citizens still participate in elections at high rates across the region. While turnout has decreased somewhat over time, more than 70% of voting-age individuals in the LAC-21 countries still report participating in recent presidential elections.

Trust in Political Parties

Citizens' preferences about policy are filtered not only through elections, but also through elected representatives and the political parties into which they are organized. The founders of the United States viewed the presence of "factions" as undesirable but inevitable in a republic (see Federalist No. 10). While parties are not mentioned explicitly in most countries' constitutions (Stokes 2002), scholars agree that party organizations are important for both politicians and voters. By organizing legislators into groups with similar policy preferences, parties are able to overcome coordination problems and enact legislation efficiently rather than building new coalitions for each piece of proposed legislation (Aldrich 1995). This has led some (see, e.g., Schattschneider 1967) to argue that

²⁵ The positive association between wealth and turnout is not present in all countries. While the positive relationship is statistically significant in Costa Rica, Venezuela, and Guyana, the poorest are actually significantly more likely to turn out to vote in Ecuador and Mexico.

representative democracy needs political parties, especially institutionalized parties (see Mainwaring and Scully 1995), to work.

Parties also serve an important role for citizens. By organizing politics on policy lines, parties enable voters to identify a “team” that aligns with their preferences. At their best, then, parties facilitate citizen participation in the democratic process and ensure high quality representation.

However, political parties are not always associated with positive outcomes. At their worst, strong parties divide politicians and citizens into fiercely oppositional groups, resulting in legislative gridlock. On the other hand, parties are not able to effectively organize the political space when they lack leadership and staying power. High turnover (or ‘volatility’) in the partisan options competing over time is especially relevant in some of Latin America’s weak party systems, where levels of partisan replacement over time are notably high (see, e.g., Cohen, Salles, and Zechmeister 2017; Roberts 2014). Further, the perception that politics is a dirty business and parties protect their members who engage in corruption might lead to relatively low trust in parties in an age of high salience corruption scandals (Canache and Allison 2005).

This section examines citizen interactions with political parties, specifically trust and participation in political parties in the Americas. Since 2004, the AmericasBarometer study has asked participants the following question:

B21. To what extent do you trust the political parties?

Response categories ranged from 1 to 7, with one signifying no trust and seven indicating high trust in political parties. Figure 1.15 shows the percentage of respondents that reported trusting parties (values of five and higher). The percentage of participants reporting trust in political parties ranges from 7.5% in Peru to 35% in Nicaragua.

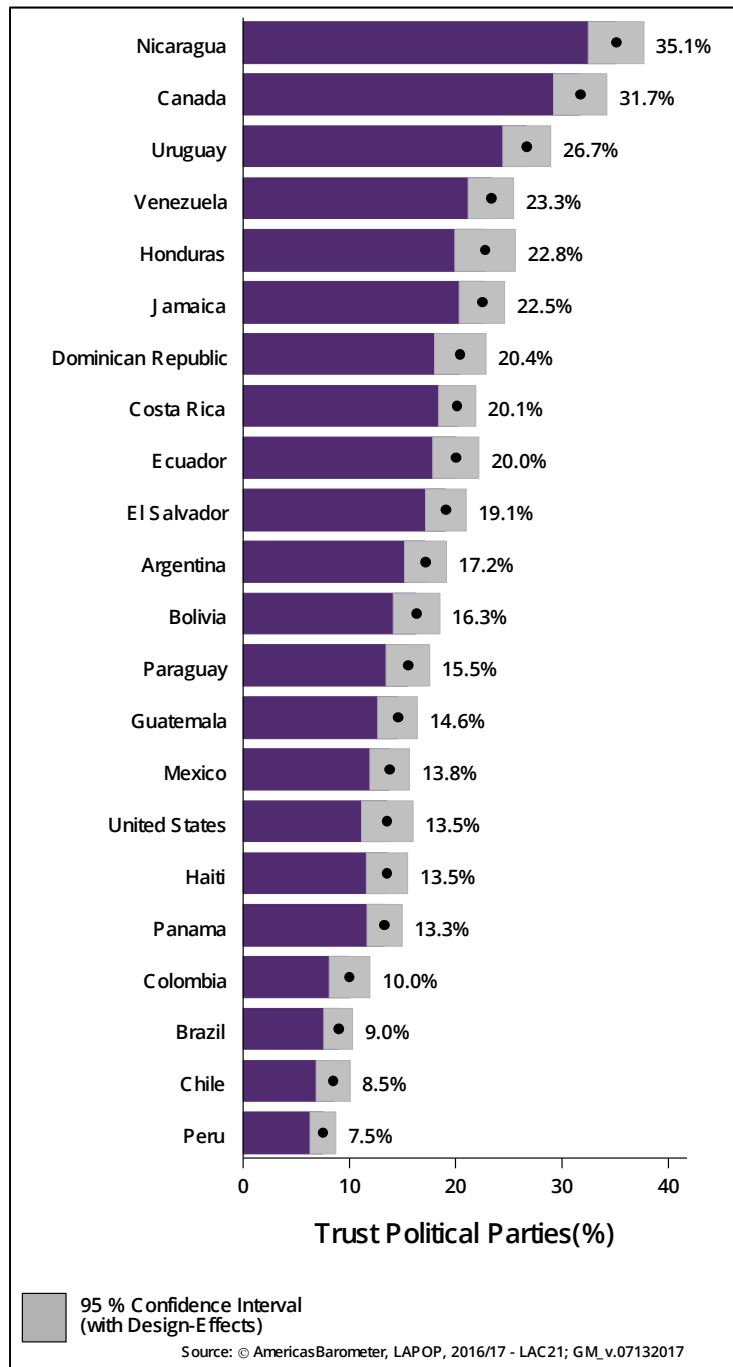


Figure 1.15. Percentage that Trusts Political Parties across Countries

Figure 1.16 shows that trust in political parties has decreased significantly across the LAC-21 countries since 2010: on average for the region, 23.7% trusted parties in 2010, whereas that value is 17.6% in the 2016/17 round. Indeed, levels of trust in political parties in the 2016/17 AmericasBarometer are the lowest observed since the study's inception. From 2014 to 2016/17, trust in parties decreased significantly, by two percentage points.

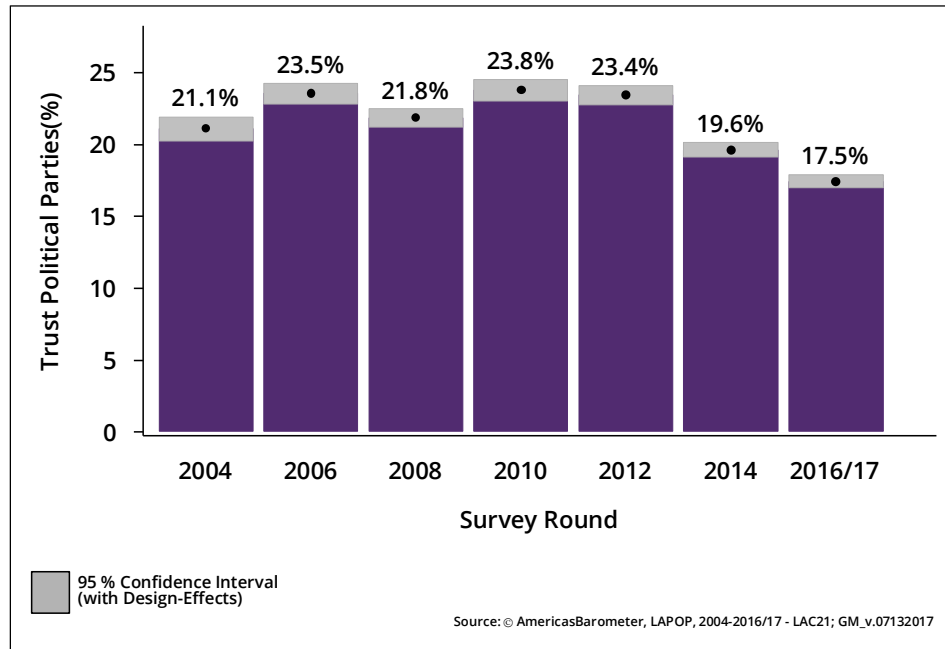


Figure 1.16. Trust in Political Parties over Time in the LAC-21 Region

With respect to who is more or less likely to trust political parties, Figure 1.17 shows that education has a strong, negative effect. Whereas 27.6% of those with no formal schooling report trusting parties, only 12.6% of those with a university education trust parties across the region. Similarly, wealthy individuals report significantly less trust in parties (14%) than the poorest participants (20.7%). Women and rural dwellers are more likely to trust parties than men and urban residents, while there appears to be a non-linear relationship between age and trust in parties, with those aged 26-55 reporting significantly less trust in parties than those 16-24 years old and those over 56 years of age.

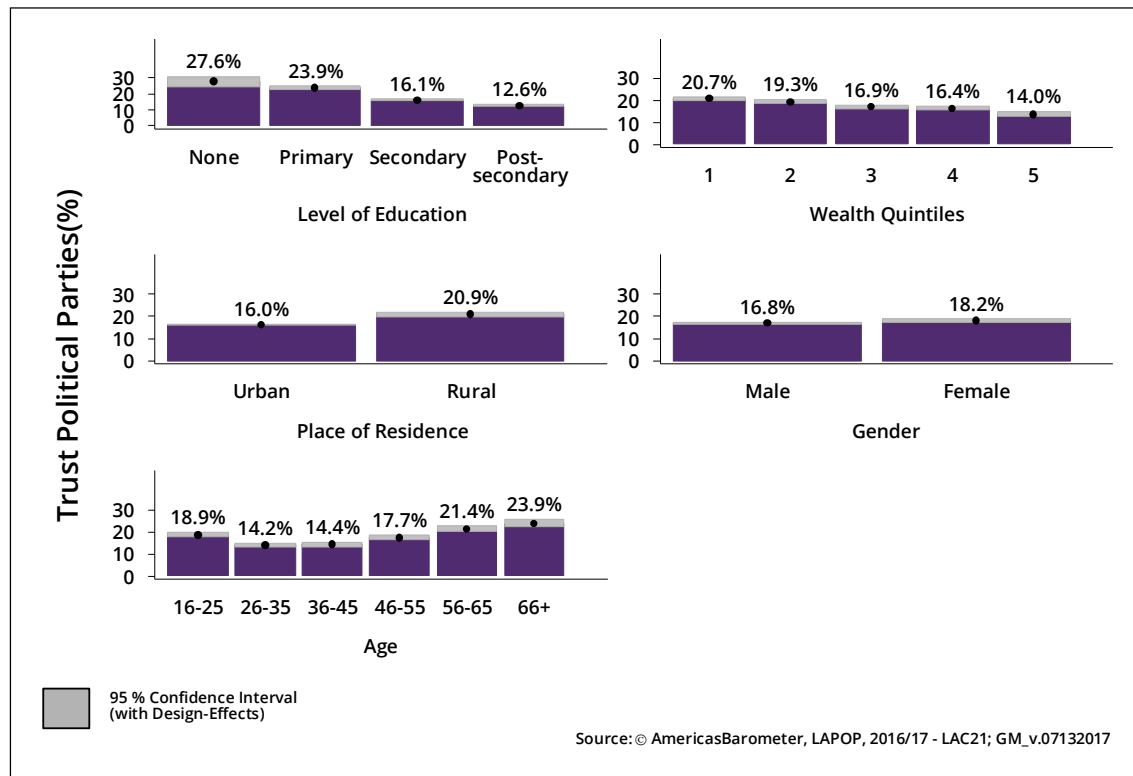


Figure 1.17. Demographic and Socio-Economic Predictors of Trust in Political Parties in the LAC-21 Region

These demographic and socio-economic predictors of trust in partisan organizations stand in stark contrast to the findings for trust and participation in elections more generally. On average, citizens in the LAC-21 countries are less than half as likely to report trusting parties than they are to report trusting in elections. While older respondents are more trusting of representative institutions generally, wealthier and more educated citizens are far more likely to trust elections generally and far less likely to trust political parties than their poorer and less educated counterparts.

Partisanship

Trust in parties is a relatively low cost expression of an individual's commitment to the party system. It is substantially easier to express support for parties in general than it is to express an identification with a partisan organization. The following section examines this higher-cost variable, attachment to a partisan organization. Since 2004, the AmericasBarometer surveys have asked respondents the following question:

VB10. Do you currently identify with a political party?

(1) Yes (2) No

Figure 1.18 shows that levels of partisanship in the Americas vary widely, from 5.9% of Guatemalans reporting partisanship to 44.4% of Uruguayans. As one might expect, levels of partisanship are highest in some of the countries where party systems are quite stable, with the same parties and

coalitions competing over time (e.g., Uruguay, the Dominican Republic) and are lowest in some countries where parties change substantially across elections (e.g., Guatemala, Peru). However, there are some notable exceptions to this rule: for example, both Chile and Mexico, two of the region’s most stable party systems, have some of the lowest rates of partisanship in the region. This may be due to citizens’ feelings of alienation from the party options and specifically the belief that the parties are too stable and do not represent the relevant spectrum of voter preferences (see, e.g., Siavelis 2009).

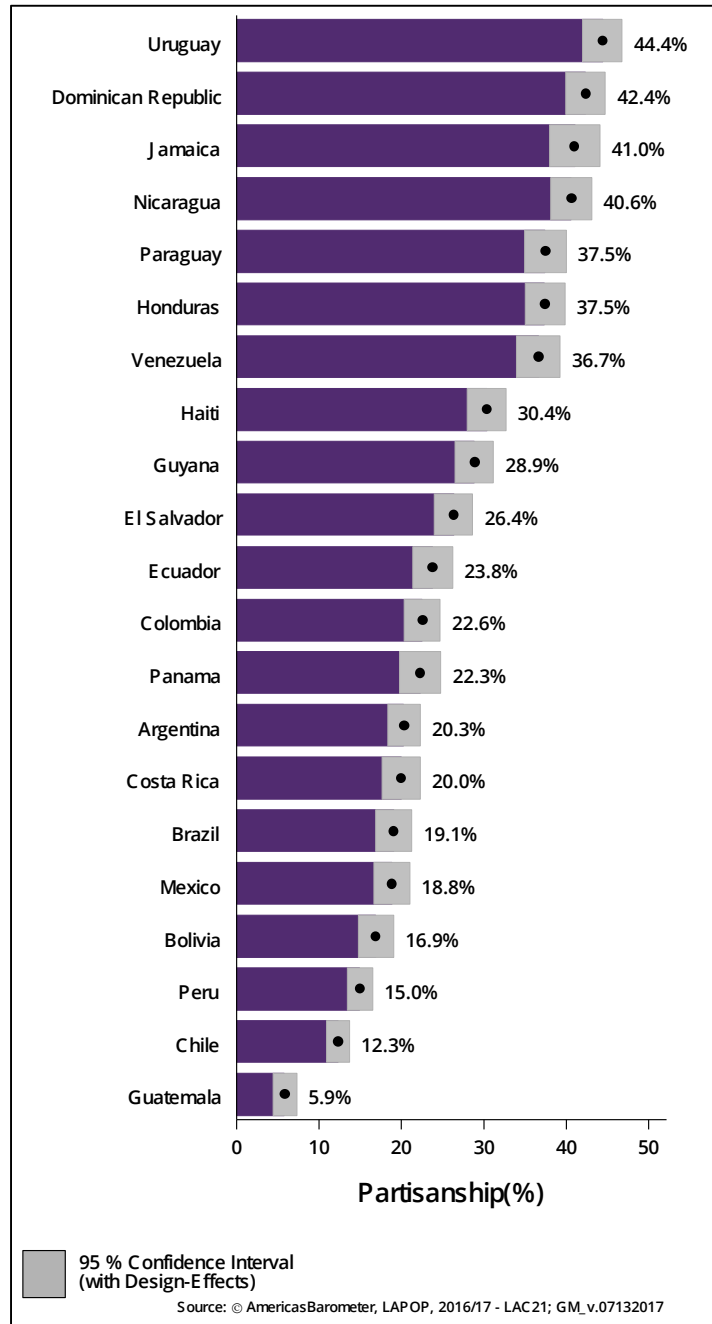


Figure 1.18. Partisanship across Countries

Figure 1.19 shows rates of partisan identification in the LAC-21 countries over time. On average, 26.7% of individuals reported belonging to a political party in the LAC-21 countries in 2016/17, nine



percentage points fewer than reported partisanship in the 2014 AmericasBarometer round, and the lowest rate of partisanship ever recorded in an AmericasBarometer study.

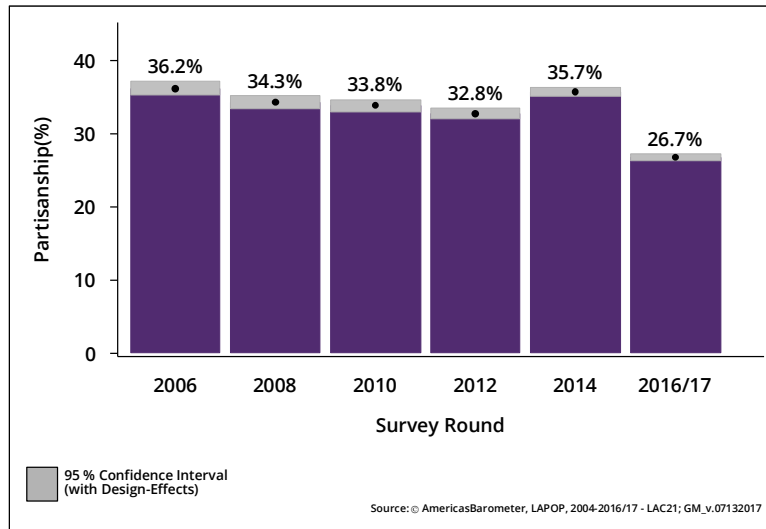


Figure 1.19. Partisanship across Time in the LAC-21 Region

Given low average levels of partisanship, who reports belonging to political parties? Figure 1.20 shows that the demographic and socio-economic features associated with partisanship in the LAC-21 countries are similar to those associated with voter turnout: wealthier and older individuals, as well as males, are more likely to hold partisan affiliations. Rural individuals are more likely to report partisanship, and those with only primary education are more likely to identify with a party than are those with secondary or post-secondary education.

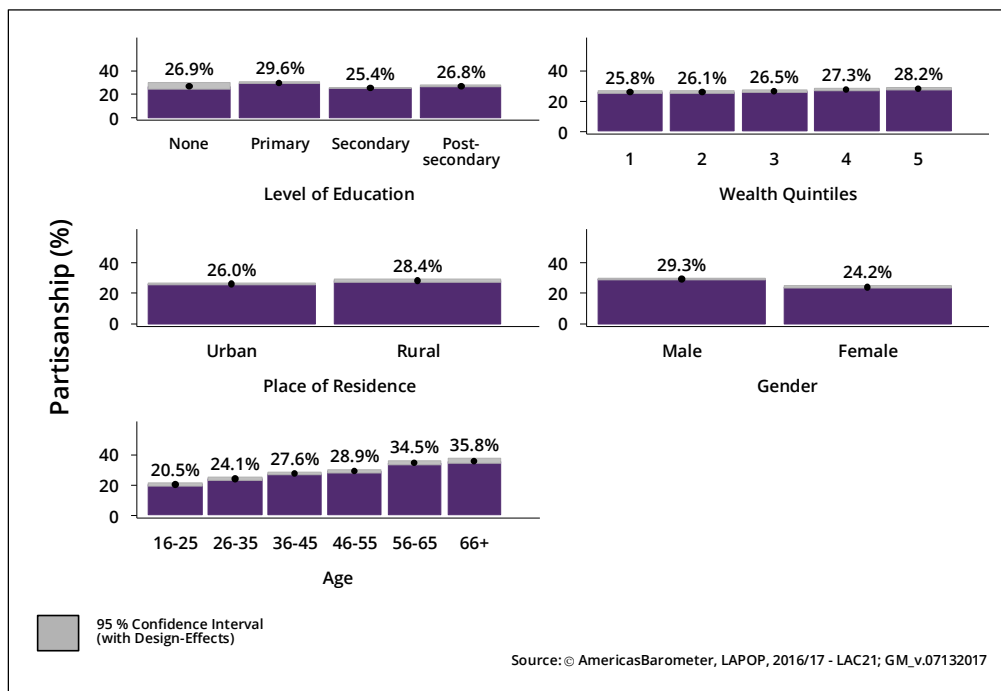


Figure 1.20. Demographic and Socio-Economic Predictors of Political Partisanship in the LAC-21 Region

V. Conclusion

How robust is support for electoral democracy in Latin America and the Caribbean in 2017? The analyses in this chapter provide some reasons to be concerned about the depth of citizens' commitment to democracy as a system for the selection of political leaders. On average across the region, support for democracy in the abstract declined precipitously in the last two years, while support for executive coups increased substantially. These downward trends in support for basic democratic values suggest that the public has become more cynical in their views of electoral democracy as an ideal.

When it comes to attitudes toward institutions that are central to representative democracy, public confidence and engagement stayed constant for some while it declined for others. Looking at the data from an optimistic perspective, we note that trust and participation in elections remained relatively stable from 2014 to 2016/17. Yet in recent years, only 2 out of 5 individuals in the Latin America and Caribbean region expressed confidence in elections. Clearly, there is room for improvement. Efforts to make such improvements might benefit from the prioritization of some countries over others: in Colombia, Brazil, and Haiti, less than 25% of the mass public reports trusting elections. Trust in political parties is even lower and, further, has been declining. In this latest round of the AmericasBarometer, fewer than 1 out of 5 individuals in the Latin American and Caribbean region reported trust in political parties. In 2016/17, the average adult in the region is substantially less willing to express an identification with a political party: whereas about 36% identified with a political party in 2014, today that figure is only 27%.

It is worth noting that low support for core democratic institutions is not the only way to measure citizen commitment to democratic values and practices. While public opinion on the indicators explored in this chapter is low and/or has declined, Chapter 6 shows that one measure of commitment to democratic values, tolerance of the rights of minority groups and viewpoints, increased in the Latin America and Caribbean region in 2016/17. This may, in fact, be a silver lining to citizen frustration with elections and the menu of options they offer: when individuals find their confidence in democracy, elections, and parties degraded, they may become more supportive of political participation by a broad swath of the public.



Chapter 2.

The Supply of Basic Liberties in the Americas

Elizabeth J. Zechmeister

I. Introduction

Access to a diversity of information, freedom of expression, and the right to participate are critical to democracy. These basic liberties are fundamental to citizens' ability to form, express, and insert their preferences into government (Dahl 1971, pp. 2-3; see also Beetham 2005, Bollen 1991, Bollen and Paxton 2000, Diamond and Morlino 2004, among others).¹ In other words, the supply and protection of civil liberties are foundational to the functioning of responsive representative democracy.

Public space for the open exchange of socio-political information has been eroding in a number of countries in the Latin American region, among other places around the world (Cooley 2015). The reasons are varied and, further, reports suggest significant differences across countries and over time. One source of information on the state of basic liberties is the Freedom House organization. Freedom House asks experts to assess the extent to which countries provide a range of civil liberties, including freedoms to voice opinions, to participate in social and political life, and to access fair treatment by public institutions.

Freedom House aggregates these basic liberties assessments into a Civil Liberties rating. Since 2004, the year LAPOP's AmericasBarometer was launched, Freedom House has downgraded the Civil Liberties ratings of seven out of 32 Latin America and Caribbean (LAC) countries.² In other words, just over one-fifth of the LAC region has witnessed a decrease in the supply of basic liberties over the last 14 years. And yet other countries in the region have not experienced this same negative trajectory with respect to their Civil Liberties score. Importantly, expert ratings are not based on the experiences of the average citizen. In fact, we know little about how the average citizen experiences and perceives the supply of basic liberties in the Americas.

The question at the core of this chapter is the following: To what extent do citizens of the region feel that their political systems fail to supply a sufficient degree of freedom of the media, of expression, of political expression, and of human rights? While this question focuses our attention on deficiencies in basic liberties, it is also possible for individuals to perceive there to be too much of a freedom, and the 2016/17 AmericasBarometer anticipated this by allowing individuals to respond in this way. These data are presented in some figures in the chapter, but the principal focus here is on the extent to which the public finds there to be a deficit in the supply of basic freedoms. As an additional analysis at the end of the chapter, we examine the extent to which

¹ There are many other positive externalities of a free media and freedom of expression; see discussion in Färdigh (2013).

² Source: Freedom House. Analysis is based on subtracting the average Civil Liberties rating for each country across 2004-2005 from the average rating across 2016-2017. The countries whose Civil Liberties ratings were downgraded in 2016-17 related to 2004-05 are the Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Guyana, Honduras, Mexico, Nicaragua, and Venezuela. Eight countries' ratings improved across this time span: Brazil, Colombia, Costa Rica, Cuba, Haiti, St. Kitts & Nevis, St. Lucia, and St. Vincent & the Grenadines.

perceiving deficiencies in the supply of basic liberties (negatively) predicts presidential approval, electoral support for the incumbent, and individuals' inclination to participate in elections.

II. Main Findings

Analyses in this chapter reveal that many in the mass public in the Americas perceive significant deficiencies in the supply of basic liberties, from freedom of the press to the right to express opinions without fear to the protection of human rights. The chapter also documents significant variation across countries, individuals, and time. In a penultimate section, the chapter documents a robust negative relationship between perceptions of deficits in the supply of basic liberties and support for the incumbent administration. Not only are democracies stronger to the extent that governments oversee more open political spaces and more extensive liberties, but so too are the governments themselves. The main findings from the analyses in this chapter can be summarized as follows:

- On average, 44% of individuals in the Americas believe there is very little freedom of the press.
- The extent to which citizens perceive there to be a deficit with respect to freedom of the press varies significantly across countries; these country results correlate strongly with expert ratings regarding lack of freedom of the press.
- Trust in the media has decreased in the region over time; in 2016/17, in the average country, only about 1 in 2 individuals trusts the media.
- Nearly half the public in the Americas believes there is very little freedom of expression in their country; just over half believes there is very little freedom of political expression.
- Concerns about deficiencies in the protection of human rights are even higher: on average across the region, nearly two-thirds of the public feels there is very little protection of human rights.
- To the degree that individuals perceive deficiencies in the supply of basic liberties, they express lower approval of the president, lower likelihood of voting for the incumbent, and greater inclination to abstain or cast a null ballot.

What kinds of individuals perceive there to be serious limitations in the degree to which basic liberties are supplied? Among other findings, the analyses in this report document that:

- Those who are younger are more likely to report that there is very little freedom of the press, very little freedom of political expression, and very little protection of human rights.
- Those who have less wealth are more likely to report that there are deficiencies in the supply of freedom of the press, freedom of political expression, and protection of human rights.
- Those with more education are more likely to report very little freedom of political expression.
- Women are more likely than men to report that there is an insufficient protection of human rights in their country.



III. The Media

Freedom of the press has declined around the world over the last ten years. By 2016 only 31% of the world's countries were characterized by the Freedom House organization as having a “free” press (Freedom House 2017).³ The Americas are faring better than the global average: of 35 countries ranked by the Freedom House, 16 (46%) have “free” media environments.

However, freedom of the press is restricted (rated by the Freedom House as only “partly free”) in 14 LAC countries (Antigua & Barbuda, Guyana, El Salvador, Panama, the Dominican Republic, Peru, Argentina, Brazil, Haiti, Bolivia, Nicaragua, Colombia, Guatemala, and Paraguay), while in five countries – Mexico, Ecuador, Honduras, Venezuela, and Cuba – the press is categorized as “not free” (Freedom House 2017). Moreover, across the Americas, concerns about the concentration of media ownership have become salient (see, e.g., Mendel, Castillejo, and Gómez 2017). In addition, in March 2017, the Inter American Press Association denounced a spectrum of hostilities, ranging from harassment to murder, toward those working to generate and distribute media in the region.⁴ Journalists have experienced alarming levels of violence, including homicide, especially in Brazil, Colombia, Guatemala, Honduras, and Mexico.⁵ Populist leaders have threatened and targeted critical members of the press in countries such as Bolivia, Ecuador, Nicaragua, and Venezuela.⁶

Supply of Freedom of the Press

The 2016/17 round of the AmericasBarometer included several questions about citizens' perceptions of the media. One question asked about the extent to which there is very little, enough (sufficient), or too much freedom of the press.⁷ The wording was as follows:

	Very little	Enough	Too much
LIB1. Do you believe that nowadays in the country we have very little, enough or too much freedom of press?	1	2	3

On average across the Americas, 44% of the public reports that there is very little freedom of the press, 24% believes there is too much, and 32% of the public is content with the amount of freedom

³ The Freedom House categorizes countries' freedom of the press levels as “free”, “partly free”, or “not free” based on input provided by analysts who score countries on 23 questions that fall into three categories that capture the legal, political, and economic environment (see freedomhouse.org/report/freedom-press-2017-methodology).

⁴ www.clarin.com/mundo/sip-denuncio-amenazas-hostigamiento-prensa-america-latina_0_BlakCElpg.html

⁵ cpj.org/killed/

⁶ www.washingtonpost.com/world/americas/in-tiny-ecuador-populist-president-restrains-press/2012/01/23/gIQAHBmQNQ_story.html?utm_term=.70b0c54a5d8e; cpj.org/2017/04/journalists-covering-venezuela-protests-harassed-a.php; freedomhouse.org/report/freedom-press/2016/nicaragua; see also Freedom House (2017).

⁷ The question was not asked in the six OECS countries included in the 2016/17 AmericasBarometer or in Guyana.

accorded to the press.⁸ These proportions vary significantly across countries, as shown in Figure 2.1. In Canada, only 11% report that there is very little freedom of the press; nearly three out of every four individuals (74%) feel there is a sufficient amount of freedom of the press. At the other end of the figure are nine countries in which one out of every two individuals, or more, reports very little freedom of the press: El Salvador, Bolivia, Panama, Guatemala, Colombia, Mexico, Ecuador, Honduras, and Venezuela. In the latter case, Venezuela, 67% of the mass public perceives there to be very little freedom of the press.

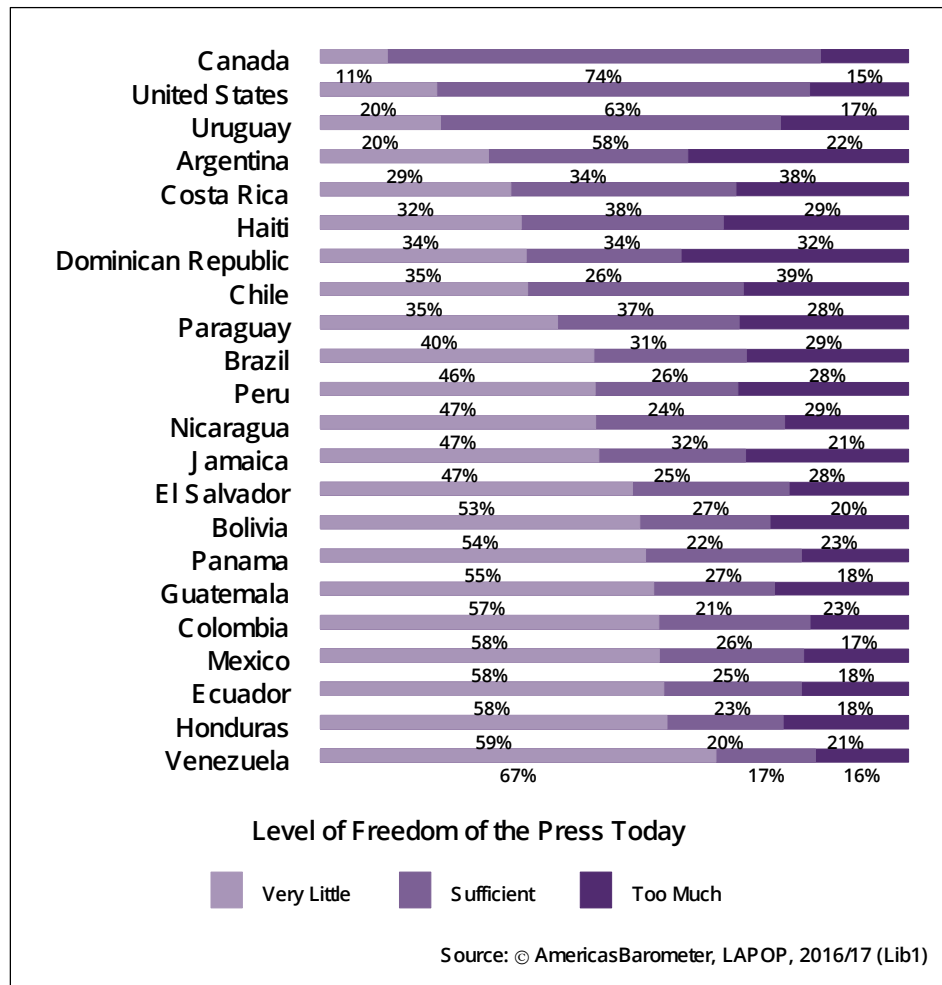


Figure 2.1. Assessments of Freedom of the Press, 2016/17

To what extent do the mass public’s perceptions correspond to expert ratings of the objective media environment in each country? This question is important to ask, because it is not a given that assessments made by scholars or other practitioners will match citizens’ perceptions of the quality of democracy (Pinto, Magalhaes, and Sousa, 2012). To test for expert-citizen correspondence, we examine the relationship between the percentage of citizens who indicate there is a deficit with respect to freedom of the press (reported in Figure 2.1) and the Freedom House freedom of the press rating for each country (data from Freedom House 2017; higher values indicate lower levels of freedom of the press). As Figure 2.2 shows, public perceptions concerning

⁸ Excluding the U.S. and Canada, across only those Latin American and Caribbean countries in which the question was asked, the mean proportion that reports there is very little, sufficient, or too much freedom of the press is 47%, 29%, and 25% (numbers do not add to 100 due to rounding).

limits on the supply of freedom of the press tend to correspond fairly well to expert assessments of the extent to which freedom of the press is limited. The correlation between the two measures is moderately high: 0.76.

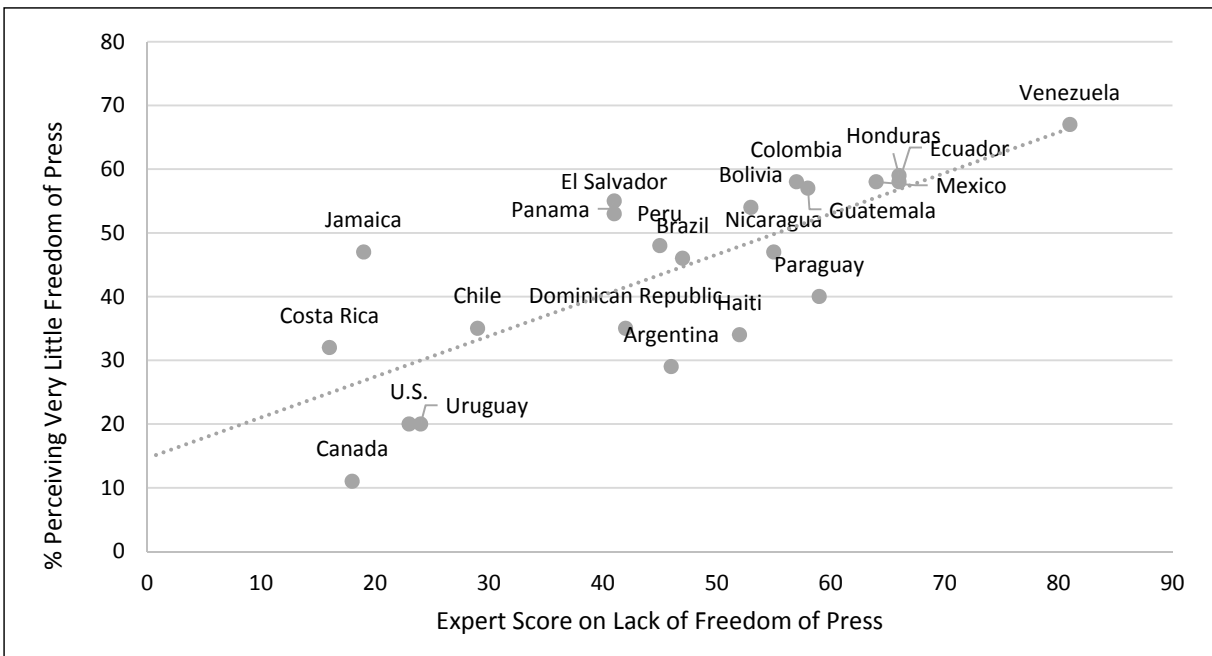


Figure 2.2. Correspondence between Expert Ratings and Proportion of Individuals Reporting Very Little Freedom of the Press in the Americas

Who is more likely to perceive there to be an insufficient degree of freedom of the press? To answer this question, we analyze the extent to which there are differences in the proportion of individuals who report “very little” supply of freedom of the media, by core demographic and socio-economic subgroups: gender (female versus male), urban (vs. rural) residency, age, education, and wealth. As is the case throughout this chapter, only statistically significant differences are depicted in graphs; if one of these five demographic and socio-economic factors is not shown in a graph, it is not a statistically significant predictor. Further, throughout the chapter all subgroup analyses are conducted on data from “LAC-21” countries, which are the focus of much of the content in this volume.⁹

As Figure 2.3 shows, place of residence, age, education, and wealth are correlated with the tendency to report that there is very little freedom of the press in the LAC region.¹⁰ Those living in

⁹ For the report as a whole, the LAC-21 countries are: Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica, the Dominican Republic, Ecuador, El Salvador, Guatemala, Guyana, Haiti, Honduras, Jamaica, Mexico, Nicaragua, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Uruguay, and Venezuela. As an exception in this chapter, Guyana is not included in analyses of 2016/17 data because the questions analyzed in this chapter were not included in the survey in that country.

¹⁰ On average across the Latin America and Caribbean region, there is no significant difference (at $p < 0.05$) by gender in views regarding deficiencies in freedom of the press. The results presented in Figure 2.3 hold in regression analysis that simultaneously predicts the likelihood of reporting very little freedom of the press with the five demographic and socio-economic characteristics (gender, place of residence, education, age, and wealth); results from this regression analysis are available in the online appendix.

rural areas (49.1%) tend somewhat more than those living in urban areas (45.6%) to feel there is very little freedom of the press. The minority of individuals who have no education tend more often to report that there is very little freedom of the press: while approximately 46–47% of those with primary or greater education report very little freedom of the press, 51.9% of those with no education do the same. As the figure shows, those who are younger are significantly more likely to report that there is very little freedom of the press, compared to those who are older. Finally, those with lower levels of wealth are slightly more likely to report that there is very little freedom of the press.

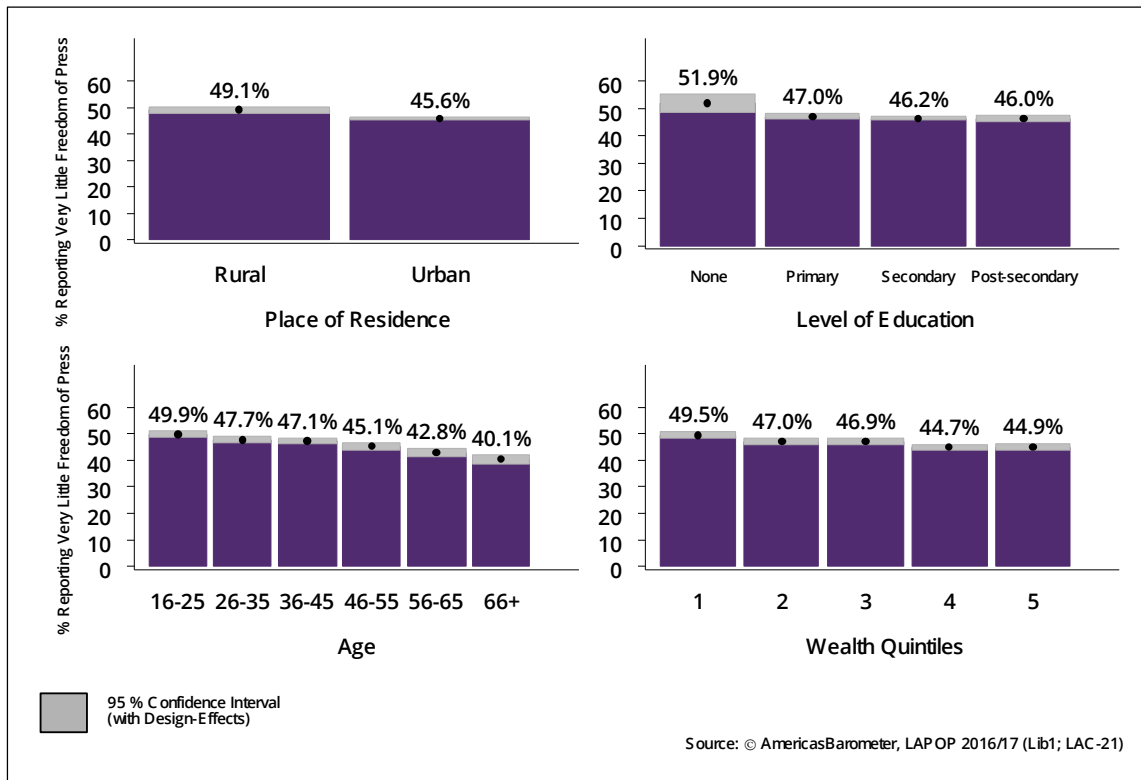


Figure 2.3. Demographic and Socio-Economic Predictors of Perceiving Very Little Freedom of the Press in the LAC-21 Region

Trust in the Media

From 2004 to present day, AmericasBarometer surveys have asked about trust in the media using the question reproduced below. Respondents answered on a 1-7 scale where 1 indicates “not at all” and 7 indicates “a lot”. For the sake of the analyses here, those who responded with a 5, 6, or 7 are coded as trusting, and those who give a response at the mid-point of 4 or lower are coded as not trusting the mass media.

B37. To what extent do you trust the mass media?

Figure 2.4 shows the percentage of individuals in each country who trust in the media, according to data from the 2016/17 AmericasBarometer. Trust in the media is highest in Nicaragua, the Dominican Republic, Paraguay, and Costa Rica, and lowest in Haiti, Jamaica, Colombia, and the



United States. At the individual level across the Americas as a whole, there is only a weak connection between trust in the media and belief that there is very little freedom of the press (Pearson's correlation=-0.04). This suggests that low levels of supply of freedom of the press do not necessarily erode or otherwise correspond to public confidence in the media. It may be that, in many cases, citizens do not see the press as complicit in closing media space.

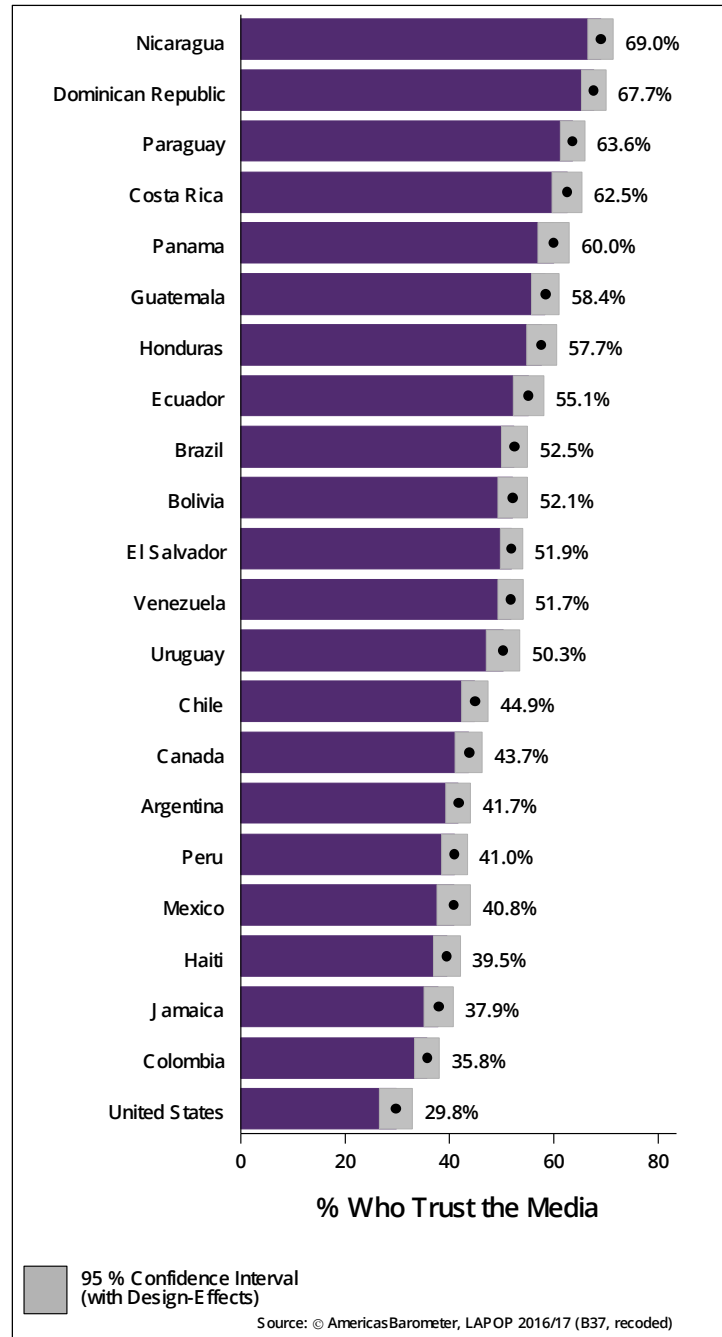


Figure 2.4. Trust in the Media by Country, 2016/17

What has happened to trust in the media over time in the region? To answer this question, Figure 2.5 displays the average proportion of individuals in the LAC-21 countries who trust in the media across all rounds of the AmericasBarometer since 2004. Because the question was not asked as



part of the core questionnaire in 2014/15, that round is not included. Trust in the media in the region as a whole has declined over time. Whereas in 2004, nearly two out of every three persons (65.7%) expressed trust in the media, today just over one out of every two individuals expresses trust in the media in the Latin America and Caribbean region.¹¹

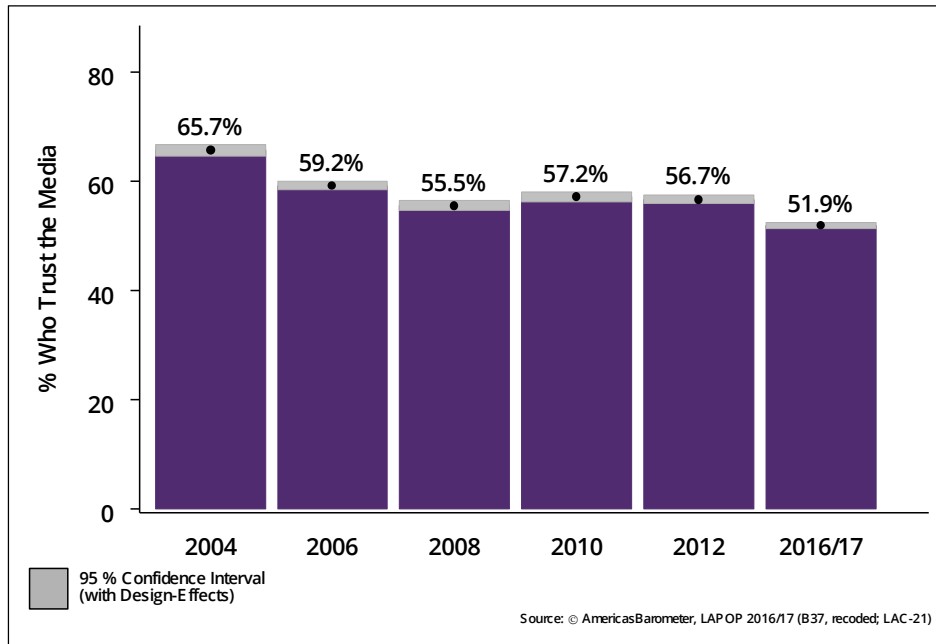


Figure 2.5. Trust in the Media over Time in the LAC-21 Region

IV. Freedom to Express Opinions

Another fundamental freedom is that of individual expression. In the 2016/17 AmericasBarometer, respondents were asked to evaluate whether there is very little, enough, or too much freedom of expression in the country.¹² The question was asked about both freedom of expression in general and about freedom of political expression, as follows:

	Very little	Enough	Too much
LIB2B. And freedom of expression. Do we have very little, enough or too much?	1	2	3
LIB2C. And freedom to express political views without fear. Do we have very little, enough or too much?	1	2	3

The next two sub-sections present results on these two measures. Once again, the discussion is focused around understanding to what degree and among whom are there perceptions of a deficit of liberty.

¹¹ The pattern of results across time for the region is similar if the sample is restricted to only those countries included in the 2004 wave of the AmericasBarometer, though the decrease in 2016/17 is not as steep.

¹² As with all questions in the LIB series, the question was not asked in the six OECS countries or in Guyana.



Perceptions of Freedom to Express Opinions in General

Nearly half the public in the Americas (49%) believes there is very little freedom of expression in their country. On the other hand, 34% report that there is a sufficient degree of freedom of expression, and 17% say there is too much.¹³ Of course, these averages mask significant cross-national variation.

Figure 2.6 shows the proportion of individuals who give each assessment – very little, sufficient, or too much – for each country in which the question was asked in the 2016/17 AmericasBarometer. As with freedom of the media, the least amount of concern regarding “very little” freedom is found in Canada, where just 14% report that there is a deficit with respect to freedom of expression in the country. Once again, perceptions of deficits in liberty are also comparatively low in the United States and Uruguay: 19% and 23%, respectively, feel that there is very little freedom of expression. In contrast, in 12 countries, more than 50% of people report that there is very little freedom of expression: Panama, Peru, Brazil, Colombia, Jamaica, Ecuador, Mexico, El Salvador, Bolivia, Guatemala, Venezuela, and Honduras.

¹³ These values are calculated including the U.S. and Canada; for the LAC region (the LAC-21, minus Guyana), 52% of individuals report very little, 31% report sufficient, and 17% report too much freedom of expression.

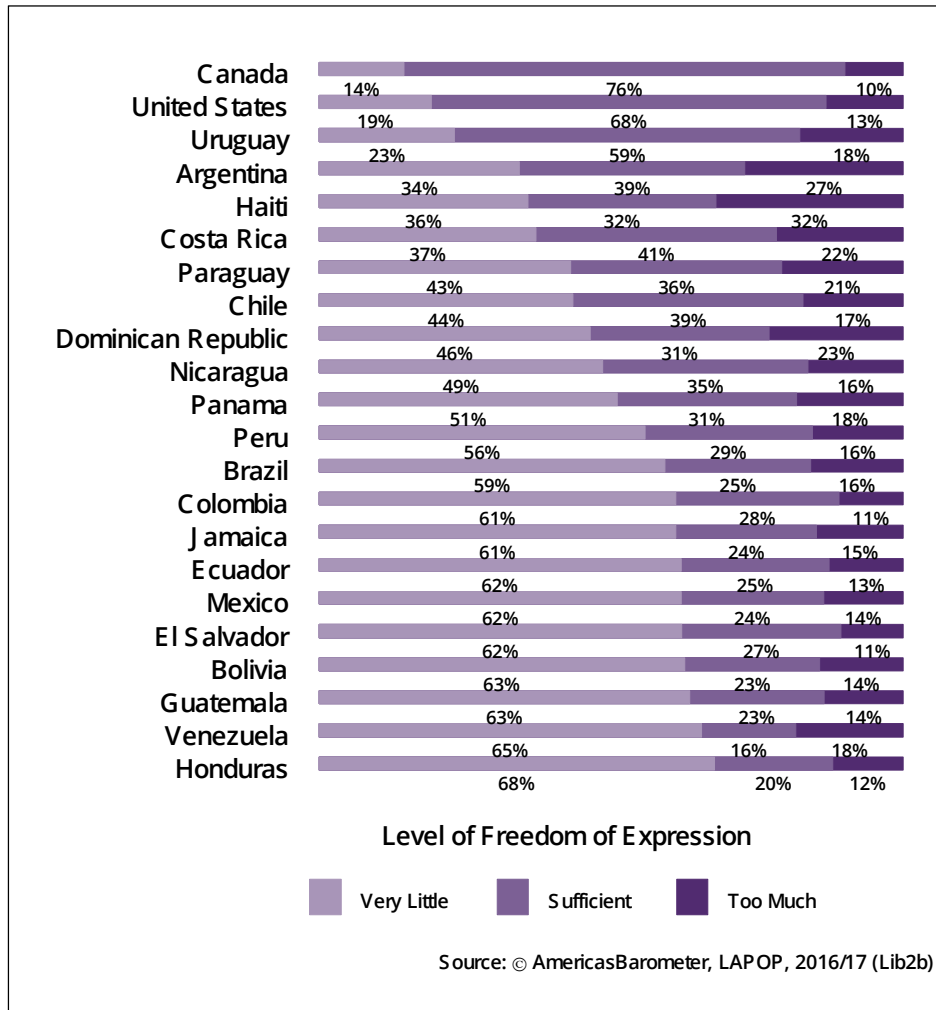


Figure 2.6. Assessments of Freedom of Expression, 2016/17

Perceptions of Freedom to Express Political Opinions

Freedom to express political opinions is particularly important in a democracy. The 2016/17 AmericasBarometer therefore asked a second question about whether citizens feel free to express political opinions without fear.¹⁴ On average across all of the Americas, 54% believe that there is very little freedom of political expression in the Americas, while 32% believe there is sufficient and 14% believe there is too much of this type of liberty.¹⁵ Figure 2.7 presents the regional average values for the public’s assessment of the amount of freedom of general expression and freedom of political expression. As the figure shows, the public reports, on average, less freedom to express political opinions without fear (54%), in comparison to general opinion expression (49%).

¹⁴ The question was not asked in the six OECS countries or in Guyana.

¹⁵ If the U.S. and Canada are excluded, the figures for the LAC-21 region (minus Guyana) for very little, sufficient, and too much freedom of political expression are 57%, 28%, and 15%, respectively.

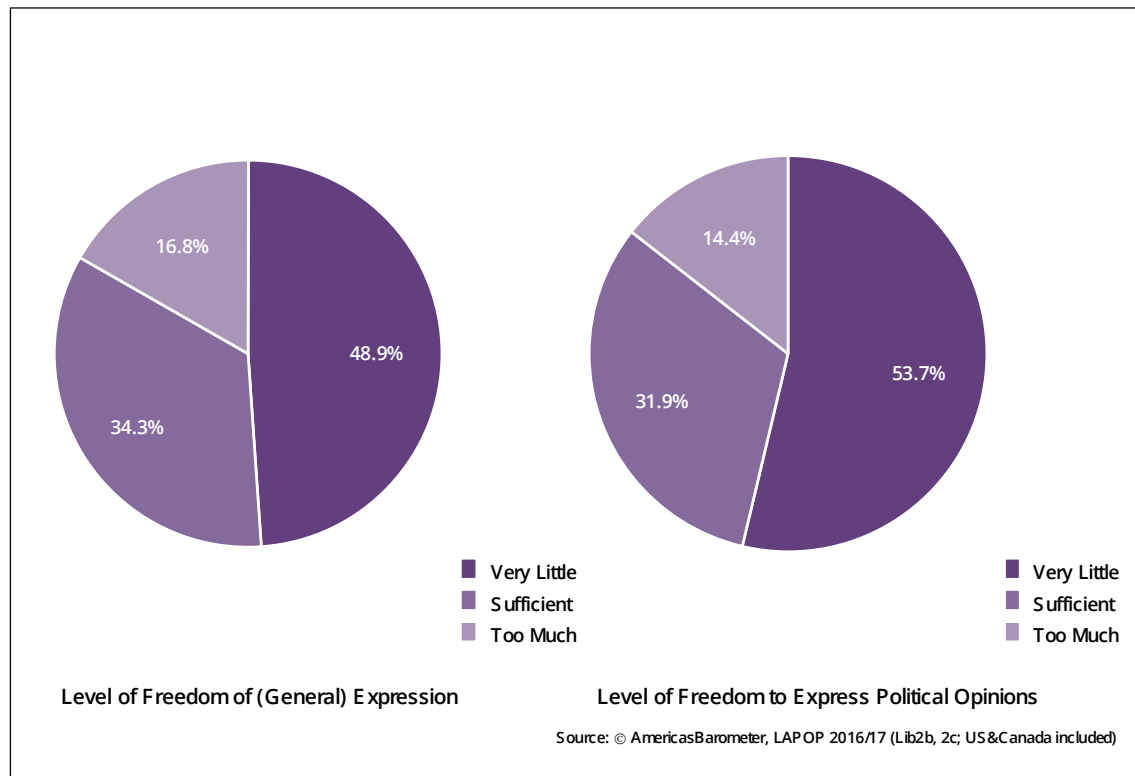


Figure 2.7. The Supply of Freedoms of Expression in the Americas, 2016/17

Figure 2.8 shows the proportion of individuals in each country who report that there is very little, sufficient, or too much freedom to express political opinions. Not surprisingly, there is some similarity to what we found in analyzing the general expression measure. For example, once again, reports of very little freedom are lowest in Canada, the United States, and Uruguay. In 13 countries, more than 1 out of 2 (that is, more than 50%) of individuals report that there is a deficit of freedom to express political opinions without fear: Panama, Nicaragua, Peru, Brazil, Venezuela, Jamaica, Honduras, Ecuador, Bolivia, El Salvador, Guatemala, Mexico, and Colombia. It is noteworthy that Mexico, Colombia, and Guatemala are three of the countries that have experienced extraordinarily high levels of threats and violence (including homicide) targeted at individuals associated with the media.¹⁶

¹⁶ See, e.g., freedomhouse.org/article/persecution-and-prosecution-journalists-under-threat-latin-america

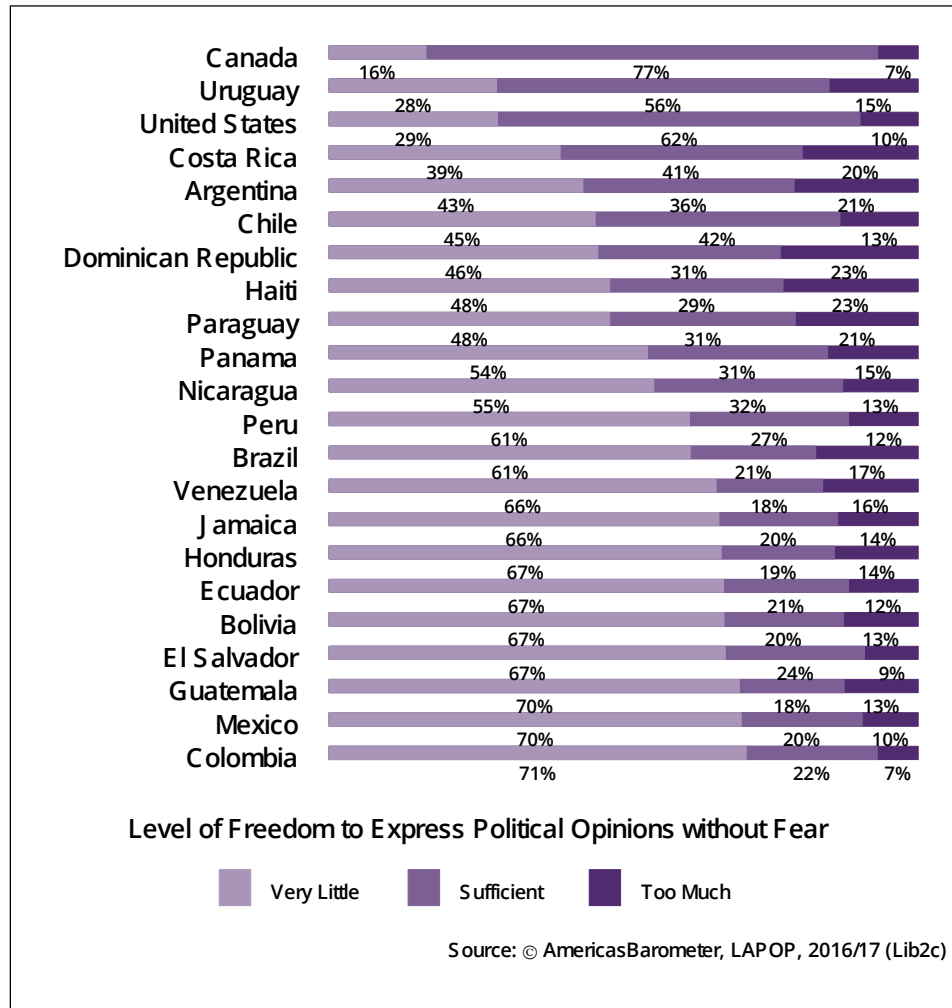


Figure 2.8. Assessments of Freedom of Political Expression, 2016/17

Are some individuals more likely than others to express that there is an insufficient degree of freedom to express political views without fear? Analysis of the data reveals significant differences by gender, level of education, age, and wealth.¹⁷ Figure 2.9 displays these results. Across the Latin America and Caribbean region, on average, women are more likely than men to report that there is a deficit of freedom to express political opinions without fear: 59.0% of women report very little freedom of political expression vs. 54.8% of men. Considering education levels, on average for the region, those who have secondary education are somewhat more likely to report that there is very little freedom of political expression compared to all others. As the lower right chart in Figure 2.9 shows, those who are less wealthy are marginally more likely to report that there is very little freedom of political expression compared to those who are wealthier. Finally, those who are younger are significantly more likely to report that there is very little freedom of political expression than those who are older.¹⁸

¹⁷ We do not find significant results for a test of urban (vs. rural) place of residence as a predictor of this variable.

¹⁸ The results presented in Figure 2.9 hold in regression analysis that predicts the likelihood of reporting very little freedom of political expression with the five demographic and socio-economic characteristics

Of the subgroup variables examined here, age exerts the substantively strongest effect on the likelihood of reporting very little freedom of political expression. On average in the Latin America and Caribbean region, 63.1% of those who are 25 or under report that there is very little freedom of political expression, whereas only 45.6% of those who are 66 or older feel the same.

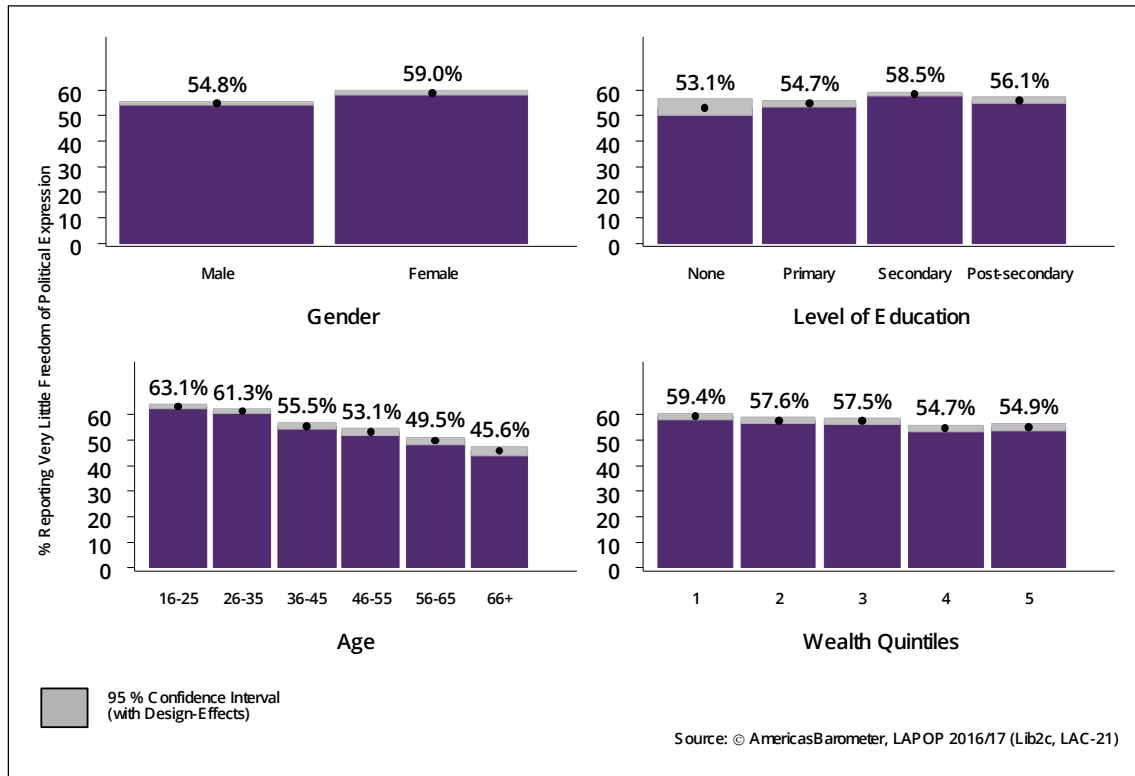


Figure 2.9. Demographic and Socio-Economic Predictors of Reporting Very Little Freedom of Expression in the LAC-21 Region

V. Human Rights

While concerns about deficiencies in levels of freedom of the press and of expression are elevated in the Americas, data from the 2016/17 AmericasBarometer reveal that concerns about human rights are even more pronounced. To gauge the public's assessment of the supply of human rights protection, individuals were asked the following question:

	Very little	Enough	Too much
LIB4. Human rights protection. Do we have very little, enough or too much?	1	2	3

Across the Americas, on average, 64% of the mass public reports that there is very little protection of human rights in their country. Put differently, nearly two out of every three individuals in the

(gender, place of residence, education, age, and wealth); results from this regression analysis are available in the online appendix.

Americas believes that general human rights are insufficiently protected in their country. Only 27% report that there is a sufficient level of protection of human rights, and just 9% report that there is too much protection of human rights.¹⁹

Figure 2.10 shows the results for each country on this measure. In Canada, only 19% of individuals report that there is very little protection of human rights in the country. The United States and Uruguay are next, with 37% and 45% respectively reporting very little in terms of protection of human rights. While these three countries have clustered in the lower end in similar graphs presented earlier in this chapter, these values nonetheless underscore the fact that far fewer individuals – in general – report that there is a sufficient amount of protection of human rights. In the vast majority of cases (all but four countries), more than 50% of the population reports that there is a deficit in human rights protection in their country.

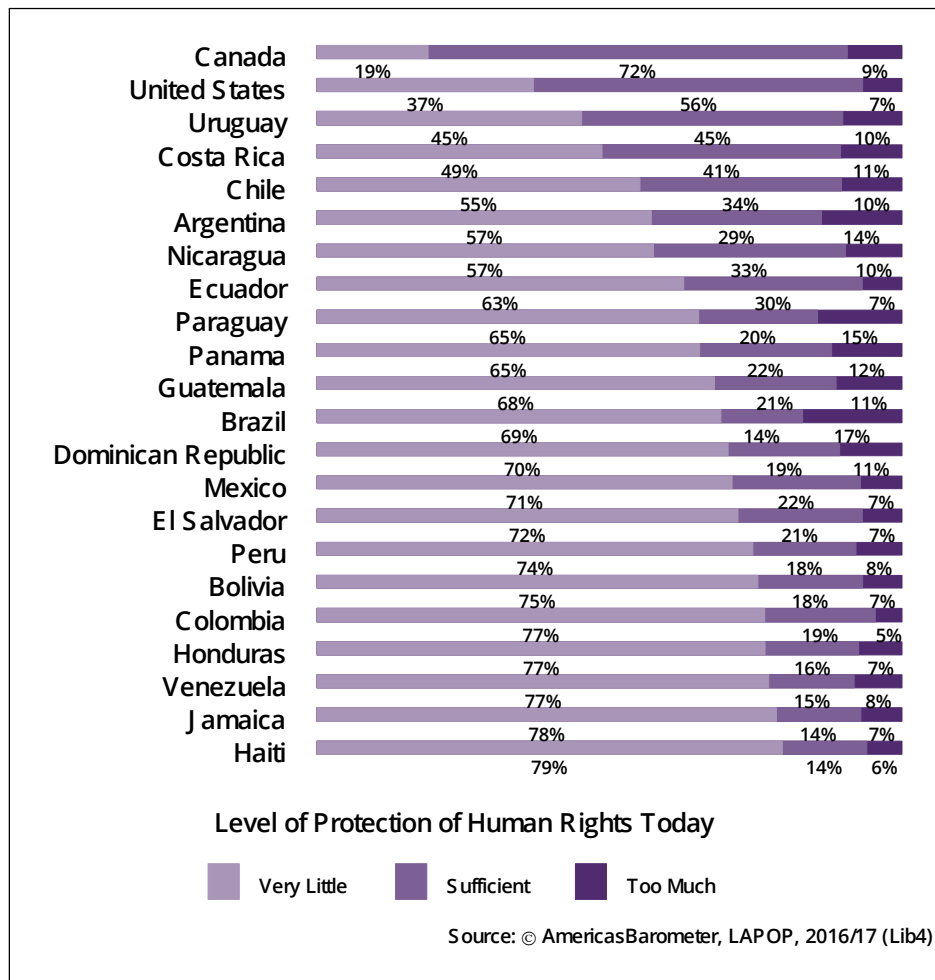


Figure 2.10. Assessments of Protection of Human Rights, 2016/17

¹⁹ If the U.S. and Canada are excluded, the values in the LAC-21 region (minus Guyana) for the percent believing there is very little, sufficient, or too much protection of human rights are 67%, 23%, and 9% (values do not add to 100 due to rounding).

Figure 2.11 presents statistically significant differences by key subgroups in Latin America and the Caribbean.²⁰ On average for the region, women (at 70%) are more likely to state that there is very little protection of human rights, compared to men (64.4%). Those with primary and secondary education are marginally more likely to report that there is a deficit with respect to protection of human rights, but the difference is only statistically significant when comparing either of those groups to those with post-secondary education. Those with less wealth are more likely to report that there is very little in terms of human rights protection in their country, a pattern similar to results for wealth subgroup analyses presented earlier in this chapter. Finally, the results for age show a curvilinear relationship between age cohorts and views on the supply of protection of human rights: those who are aged 26 to 55 are more likely to say that there is very little in terms of protection of human rights, in comparison to those who are 25 or under, to those who are 56-65, or, especially, to those who are 66 or older.

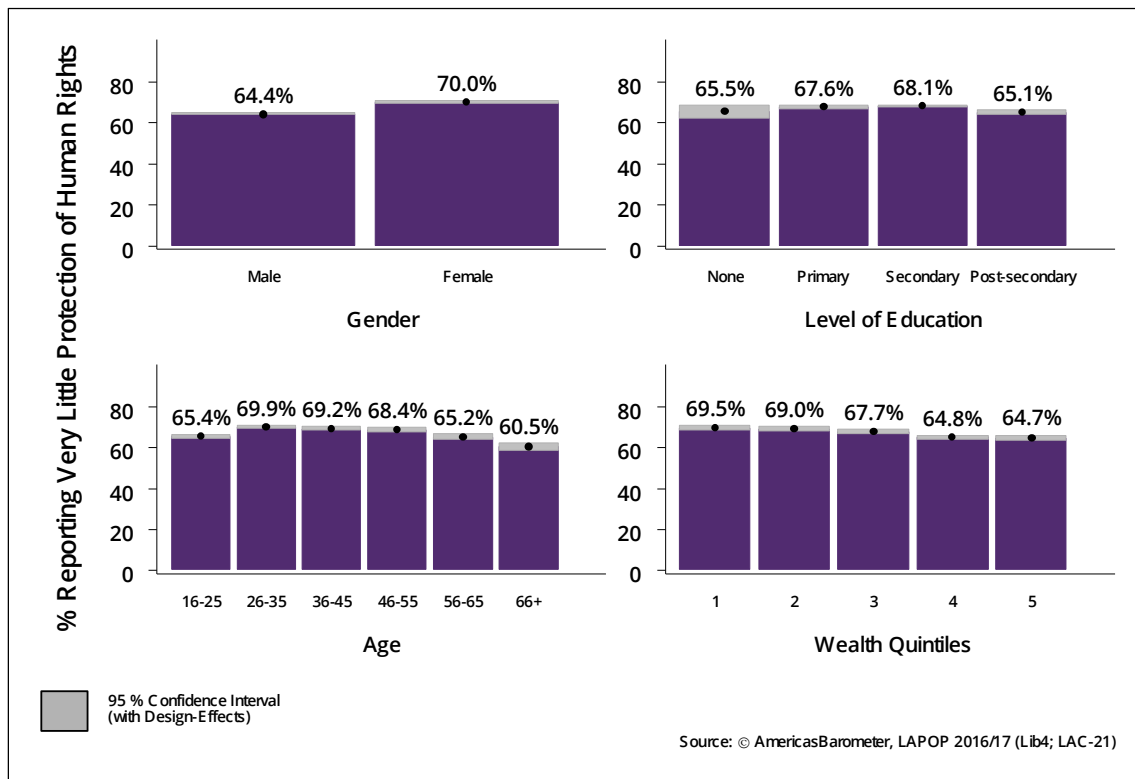


Figure 2.11. Demographic and Socio-Economic Predictors of Reporting Very Little Protection of Human Rights in the LAC-21 Region

²⁰ Within the Latin America and Caribbean region, those in rural areas are marginally more likely than those in urban areas (68.1% vs. 66.8%) likely to report that there is very little protection of human rights; however, the test of statistical significance does not reach below the 0.05 cut-off used in this report ($p=0.062$). The results presented in Figure 2.11 hold in regression analysis that predicts the likelihood of reporting very little protection of human rights with the five demographic and socio-economic characteristics (gender, place of residence, education, age, and wealth); results from this regression analysis are available in the online appendix.

VI. Deficit of Basic Liberties Index

Large numbers of individuals across the Americas express concern that there is very little in the supply of basic liberties, from freedom of the press to freedoms of expression to the protection of human rights. At the same time, there is significant variation across countries. In some countries, a minority expresses concern that there is a deficit of a given freedom, while in others it is an overwhelming majority. In this section, the public's assessments regarding the supply of liberties are condensed into a summary "basic liberties deficit" index. Continuing the focus on those who report that there is an undersupply of liberty, this index is generated by adding together – at the individual level – reports that there is "very little" (versus any other response) for each of the four basic liberties measures.²¹ Those additive scores are then scaled on the index to run from 0 to 100, where 100 indicates that an individual responded that there is "very little" in the supply of all 4 basic liberties examined in this chapter – media, general expression, political expression, and human rights protection. At the other end of the index, a score of zero indicates that an individual did not report that there is very little of any of these basic liberties. Figure 2.12 shows the mean scores for each country on this summary index.

²¹ The construction of this index is justified by the fact that the measures "hang" together well; the alpha statistic is 0.69 for the four dichotomous measures for the pooled data including the U.S. and Canada.

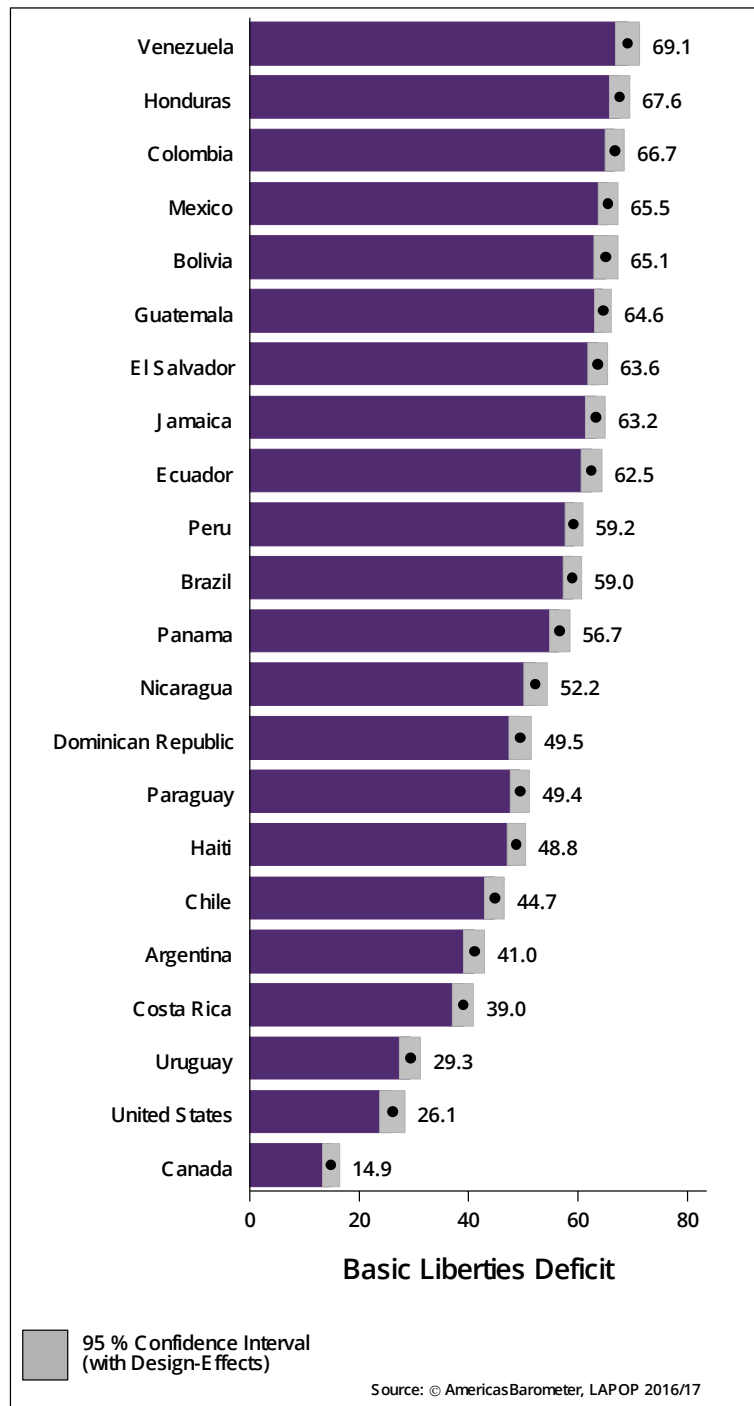


Figure 2.12. Basic Liberties Deficit Score, 2016/17

The “Basic Liberties Deficit” Index captures the degree to which a country’s populace is discontent (perceives very little) with respect to the supply of basic liberties. The scores in Figure 2.12 range from a low of 14.9 degrees in Canada to a high 69.1 degrees in Venezuela. In the majority of countries – Nicaragua, Panama, Brazil, Peru, Ecuador, Jamaica, El Salvador, Guatemala, Bolivia, Mexico, Colombia, Honduras, and Venezuela – the mean degree of perceived inadequacy in the supply of basic liberties is above the mid-point (>50) on the 0 to 100 scale.

Does a deficiency in the supply of basic liberties have consequences for individuals' assessments of the government and their engagement in politics? Mishler and Rose (2001) argue and find evidence that the supply of liberties is related to regime support, so there is reason to expect such a connection here. The creation of the Basic Liberties Deficit index permits individual-level analysis of the extent to which deficiencies in the supply of basic liberties are, in this case, related to presidential approval and voting intentions. Later, in Chapter 6 of this report, we examine the relationship between this index and broader democratic orientations.

Deficits in basic liberties are strongly (and negatively) related to executive approval. Figure 2.13 shows, for the Latin America and Caribbean region, a line graph of the relationship between the Basic Liberties Deficit Index and Executive Approval. The figure documents that perceptions of deficiencies in the supply of basic liberties are strongly and negatively related to presidential approval. Moving from perceiving there to be no deficiencies (a minimum score on the summary index) to deficiencies across all four types of liberties predicts a decrease of over 15 units of executive approval.²²

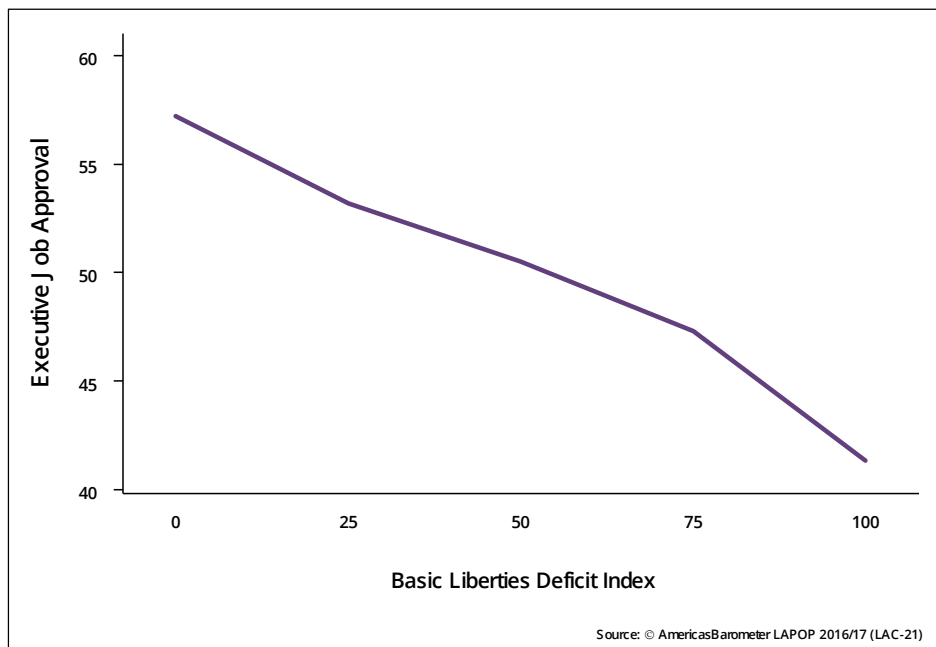


Figure 2.13. Basic Liberties Deficit and Executive Approval

If perceiving widespread deficits in basic liberties affects executive approval, we might also expect this to predict vote intentions (see Power and Garand 2007). The AmericasBarometer asks respondents for their vote intention, if an election were held that week. The principal options, which are analyzed here, are to not vote (i.e., abstain), to vote for a candidate associated with the incumbent, to vote for an opposition candidate, or to nullify/invalidate the vote. Because this variable has four outcome categories, it is appropriate to analyze it using a multinomial logistic regression. Figure 2.14 presents the change in predicted probabilities for the independent variables included in this analysis – the five demographic and socio-economic variables assessed throughout this chapter and the basic liberties deficit measure – from the regression analysis.

²² These results, and those for vote intention, hold in regression analysis that controls for individual characteristics (gender, place of residence, education, age, and wealth); results from this regression analysis are available in the online appendix.

Country dummy variables are included in the analysis to control for country-specific effects, but these are not shown for the sake of parsimony. For each variable on the y-axis, the figure shows the predicted change in the probability of observing each outcome – abstain, vote incumbent, vote opposition, nullify vote.²³

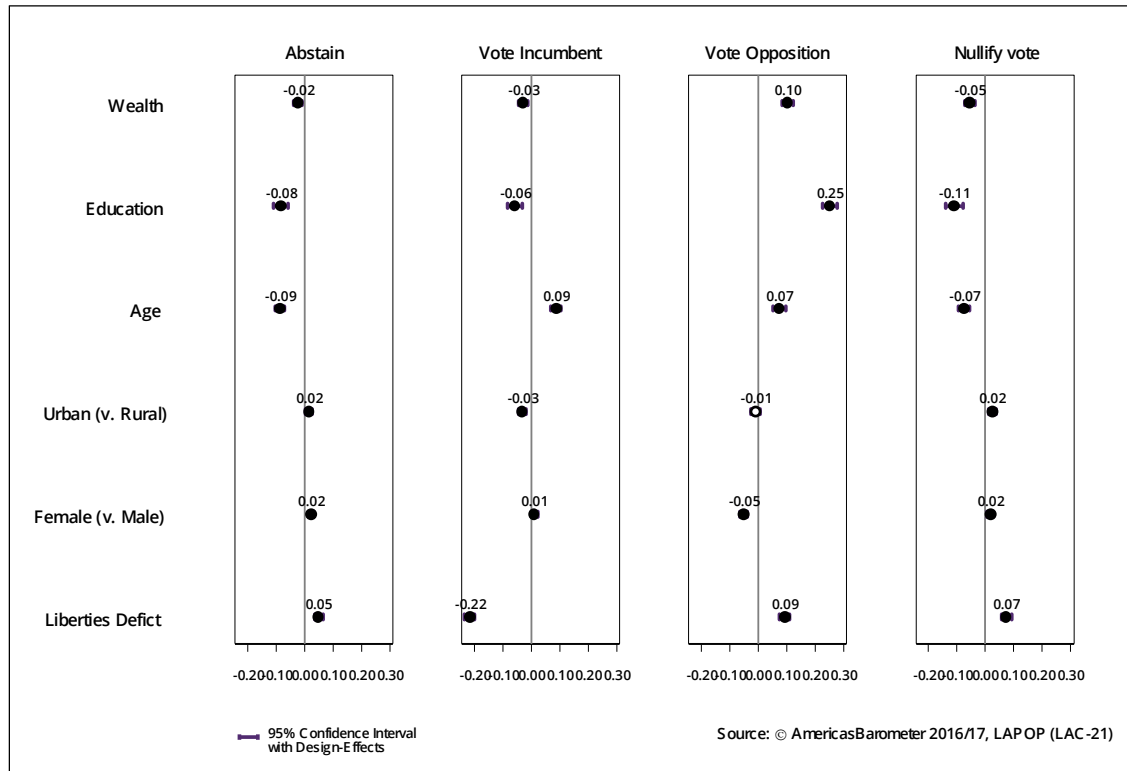


Figure 2.14. Basic Liberties Deficit and Vote Intention

Figure 2.14 documents that, compared to those who perceive no deficit, those who perceive a maximum degree of deficit with respect to the provision of basic liberties are 22 percentage points less likely to vote for a candidate associated with the incumbent. Those who perceive there to be very little freedom of the press, freedom of expression, freedom of political experience, and human rights protection are five percentage points more likely to abstain, nine percentage points more likely to vote for the opposition, and seven percentage points more likely to nullify their vote than are those who perceive there to be sufficient or too much liberty. Perceiving significant and widespread deficiencies in the supply of basic freedoms tends to push individuals away from supporting the incumbent. Some of those who select not to support the incumbent express an intention to support the opposition, while others report that they will refrain from casting a (valid) vote.

²³ All other variables are held constant at their means as each probability is predicted. The complete multinomial logistic regression output is available in the online appendix.

VII. Conclusion

The public perceives significant deficits in the supply of basic liberties across the Americas. The citizens' perspective mirrors expert ratings: reality on the ground is much as it is described by those who are tracking the extent to which basic liberties – freedom of the media, of expression, and general human rights – are respected in the Americas. This was noted within the chapter, when comparing the public's assessments of deficiencies in the supply of freedom of the press and the Freedom House's scores on the same topic (see Figure 2.2). This conclusion also holds when considering the broader Basic Liberties Deficit Index (a 0-100 measure of the mass public's assessment of the extent to which basic liberties are under-supplied). The Basic Liberties Deficit Index and the Freedom House's Civil Liberty Rating (where higher scores reflect lower amounts of liberty) for the countries analyzed in this chapter are robustly connected; the Pearson's correlation between the two is 0.73.

As this chapter has documented, there is significant variation in citizens' experiences with the supply of basic liberties across countries and across sub-groups. With respect to countries, there are some countries in which the mean on the Basic Liberties Deficit Index is quite low; among these countries are Canada, the United States, Uruguay, and Costa Rica (see Figure 2.12). On the other hand, the public reports widespread deficiencies in the supply of basic liberties in a number of countries, including Bolivia, Mexico, Colombia, Honduras, and Venezuela. When considering subgroups, the youngest cohort is substantially more likely to feel there is an insufficient supply of freedom of the press and of expression.

Deficiencies in the supply of basic liberties matter. An adequate supply of basic liberties is necessary for citizens to deliberate and engage in politics. As citizen engagement in politics is fundamental to modern representative democracy (see the discussion in Chapter 1 of this report), so too are civil liberties critical to democracy. Deficits in the supply of basic liberties matter because they affect individuals' evaluations of the political system and their willingness to engage in it (see, e.g., Mishler and Rose 2001). As this chapter has demonstrated, those who perceive higher deficits in the supply of basic liberties report more negative evaluations of the executive and are more likely to report an intention to vote against the incumbent, or to withdraw from casting a valid ballot altogether. The more a government succeeds in maintaining open political spaces, the more positive are citizens' orientations toward it.

It may also be that perceptions of *too much* liberty matter. As noted at the start of this chapter, a detailed analysis of those who report that an over-supply of any particular type of freedom is not within the scope of this chapter's core objectives. However, it is important to keep in mind that, in a number of cases, there are non-trivial minorities in the public who express concern that there is too much of a particular liberty. One might wonder whether these perspectives represent a threat to the full exercise of democratic rights by others in the country. To address this question, we examined the extent to which the tendency to report that there is "too much" of a particular freedom is associated with lower degrees of tolerance for the rights of regime critics to participate in politics.²⁴ In brief, in three of the four cases (freedom of the press, freedom of expression, and

²⁴ The political tolerance measure is an additive index based on the degree to which individuals disapprove or approve of the right of regime critics to exercise the right to vote, the right to participate in peaceful demonstrations, the right to run for office, and the right to make speeches (see Chapter 6 of this report). This index served as the dependent variable in four regression analyses. In each, we predicted political tolerance with the gender, urban (vs. rural) place of residence, education, age, wealth, country dummy



freedom of political expression), the analyses reveal that those who perceive too much freedom are distinctly less tolerant than those who perceive there to be a sufficient amount of that freedom.²⁵ In short, there is reason to be concerned not only about the degree to which the public perceives deficits in the supply of basic liberties, but also with respect to the proportion of the public that believes there is too much freedom.

variables, and dummies variables for those who said there was “too little” and those who said there was “too much” of a given freedom (the comparison category is those who responded “sufficient”). The analyses are available in the online appendix.

²⁵ Interestingly, those who perceive there to be too little freedom of expression (general or political) are also less tolerant as well, but only at the slimmest of margins, compared to those who report that there is a sufficient supply of that liberty. In short, while statistically significant, there is not a substantial difference between those who report very little and those who report sufficient freedom of expression in these analyses.



Chapter 3.

Corruption in the Americas

Noam Lupu

I. Introduction

Many of the countries in the Americas consistently rank among the most corrupt in the world, according to Transparency International's well-known Corruption Perceptions Index. According to 2016 figures, on a scale that places better-performing countries at the top, Latin America lags behind the more developed economies of North America and Western and Central Europe, ranks comparably to Eastern Europe, Central Asia, and East Asia, and ranks only slightly better than Sub-Saharan Africa and the Middle East and North Africa. Within the region, there is also a great deal of variation: countries like Chile and Uruguay rank near France and the U.S., while others like Haiti and Venezuela rank near the bottom beside Iraq and the Republic of Congo.

It is well known that government corruption has negative political, economic, and even social consequences. When public officials misuse public resources for personal gain, they take those resources away from public programs. When government bureaucrats demand bribes for performing services, they may make it difficult for some citizens to access those services. When politicians provide policies in exchange for particularistic benefits, they undermine democratic representation. Indeed, scholars have shown that corruption reduces growth and overall wealth, hinders economic investment, increases economic inequality, and undermines social capital (e.g., Gupta, Davoodi, and Alonso-Terme 2002; Méon and Sekkat 2005; Rothstein and Uslaner 2005; Ugur 2014).¹

Corruption can also damage public perceptions about democracy and governing institutions. Studies have shown that both personal experiences with corruption – being asked by a public official to pay a bribe – and general perceptions of political corruption undermine trust in political institutions, reduce political engagement, and drive down satisfaction with democracy (Bohn 2012; Chong et al. 2015; Hakhverdian and Mayne 2012; Salzman and Ramsey 2013; Seligson 2002, 2006). Of course, corruption also undermines the rule of law and egalitarian principles (Fried, Lagunes, and Venkataramani 2010; Rose-Ackerman 1999). The negative consequences of corruption, in other words, are well-documented.

This chapter finds that citizens in the Americas are frequently the victims of corruption, and more and more are aware of political corruption in their country. Nevertheless, when respondents to the AmericasBarometer were asked the most serious problem facing their country, corruption ranked fourth, after crime and economic issues.² Rather, they prioritize those problems – security and economic concerns – that affect them more tangibly and more personally.

The vast majority of citizens in the Americas still do not condone corruption, even many of those who think that political corruption is widespread or who were victims of corruption. But tolerance

¹ For a useful review of this research, see Olken and Pande (2012).

² The question is A4, which asked, “In your opinion, what is the most serious problem faced by the country?”

for corruption in the region is increasing. Corruption remains a major problem in the Americas that may have major consequences for democracy and political institutions if governments do not undertake serious efforts to restrain and prevent it.

II. Main Findings

With respect to what citizens think about corruption, the main findings in the 2016/17 round of the AmericasBarometer are as follows:

- In the average country, one in five individuals is the victim of corruption in any given year.
- The regional prevalence of corruption victimization has changed remarkably little since the AmericasBarometer began in 2004.
- The vast majority of citizens of the Americas think that political corruption is widespread.
- The view that corruption is widespread is highest in countries that have had recent corruption scandals involving major political figures – often implicating recent presidents – and is by far lowest in Canada.
- In countries with higher rates of corruption victimization, citizens tend to think that political corruption is widespread.
- In the average country in the Americas, one in five individuals thinks that paying a bribe is justified.
- Corruption tolerance has been steadily increasing in the Americas since 2010.

What kinds of individuals experience different levels of corruption victimization, perceive different levels of corruption victimization, and hold different views with respect to tolerating corruption? The analyses in this chapter suggest the following:

- Older, wealthier, more educated, and male respondents were more likely to report having been asked to pay a bribe.
- Victims of corruption are substantially more likely to think that political corruption is widespread.
- Those individuals most exposed to corruption and most aware of it are also most tolerant of it.

III. Corruption Victimization

The AmericasBarometer survey allows us to measure individuals' personal experiences with corruption – that is, whether they themselves have been the victims of corruption. The survey focuses on whether the respondent has been asked to pay a bribe in the prior twelve months, a very concrete form of corruption within a specified timeframe. This structure avoids the typical ambiguity of questions about corruption victimization. The survey also asks this question with regard to different public officials: police officers, government employees, military officials, local



government officials, court officials, and officials at work, schools, or hospitals or clinics. Specifically, the questions were:

	N/A Did not try or did not have contact	No	Yes
Now we want to talk about your personal experience with things that happen in everyday life...			
EXC2. Has a police officer asked you for a bribe in the last twelve months?		0	1
EXC6. In the last twelve months, did any government employee ask you for a bribe?		0	1
[DO NOT ASK IN BAHAMAS, COSTA RICA AND HAITI; IN PANAMA, USE "FUERZA PÚBLICA"] EXC20. In the last twelve months, did any soldier or military officer ask you for a bribe?		0	1
EXC11. In the last twelve months, did you have any official dealings in the municipality/local government? If the answer is No → mark 999999 If it is Yes→ ask the following: 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?	999999	0	1
EXC13. Do you work? If the answer is No → mark 999999 If it is Yes→ ask the following: In your work, have you been asked to pay a bribe in the last twelve months?	999999	0	1
EXC14. In the last twelve months, have you had any dealings with the courts? If the answer is No → mark 999999 If it is Yes→ ask the following: Did you have to pay a bribe to the courts in the last twelve months?	999999	0	1
EXC15. Have you used any public health services in the last twelve months? If the answer is No → mark 999999 If it is Yes→ ask the following: In order to be seen in a hospital or a clinic in the last twelve months, did you have to pay a bribe?	999999	0	1

	N/A Did not try or did not have contact	No	Yes
<p>EXC16. Have you had a child in school in the last twelve months? If the answer is No → mark 999999 If it is Yes → ask the following: Have you had to pay a bribe at school in the last twelve months?</p>	999999	0	1

Note that the module asks individuals whether they were asked to pay a bribe and not whether they in fact paid one. This is because respondents are far more likely to lie if asked whether they paid a bribe, since paying bribes is illegal in most contexts. Given how difficult it is to elicit truthful responses to such sensitive questions, especially in face-to-face surveys (Tourangeau and Yan 2007), the AmericasBarometer module focuses on whether respondents were asked to pay a bribe, a far less sensitive issue.

To measure overall corruption victimization, we build a summary index that takes a value of 1 if the respondent was asked to pay any bribe and a value of 0 if the respondent reported not having been asked to pay a bribe by any government official. Figure 3.1 reports the proportion of respondents in 2016/17 who were asked to pay a bribe by at least one government official. In the full sample of the 2016/17 AmericasBarometer, 17.3% reported having been asked to pay a bribe. In the LAC-21 region,³ that figure rises to 20.6%. In the average Latin America and Caribbean country, one in five individuals was asked to pay a bribe in the year leading up to the survey.

³ The LAC-21 countries are Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, El Salvador, Guatemala, Guyana, Haiti, Honduras, Jamaica, Mexico, Nicaragua, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Uruguay, and Venezuela.

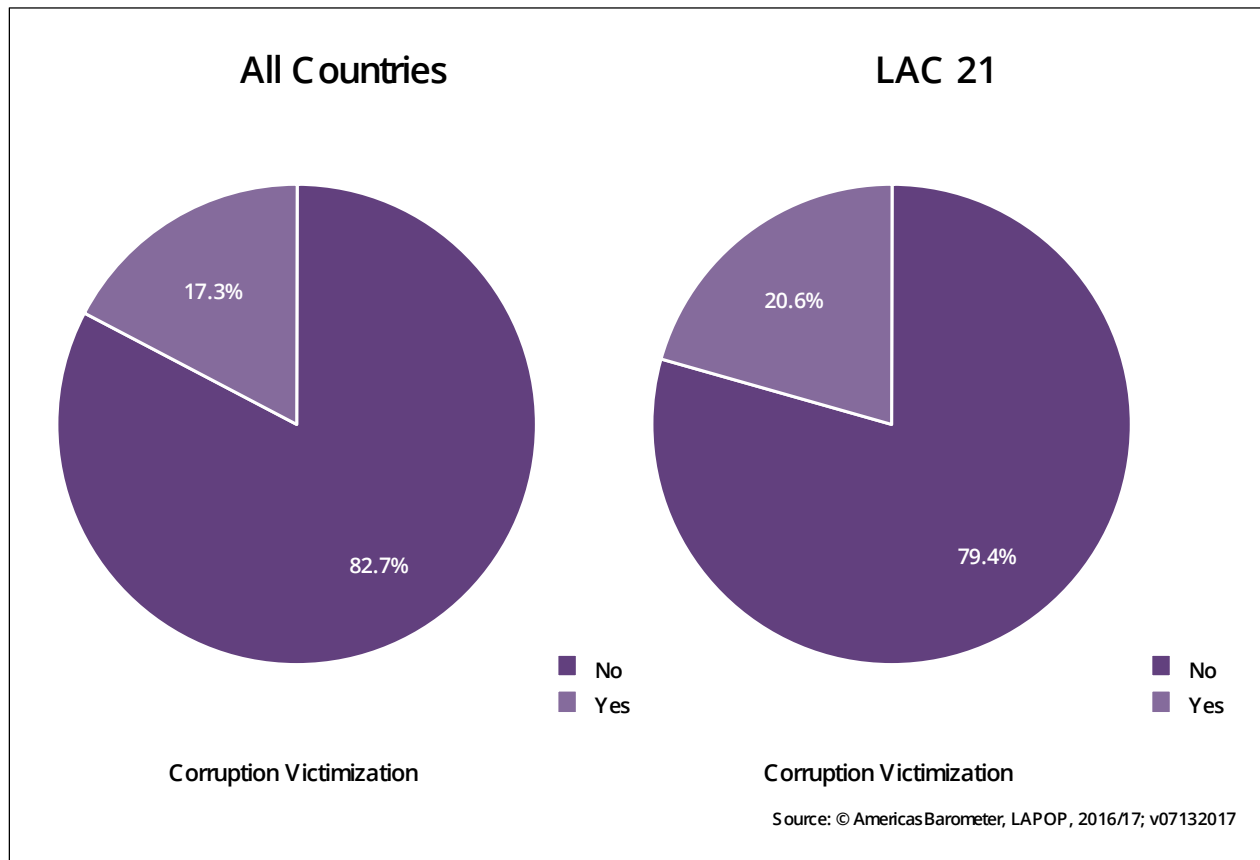


Figure 3.1. Corruption Victimization, 2016/17

What kinds of bribes were these individuals asked to pay? Figure 3.2 presents how frequently respondents to the AmericasBarometer reported having been asked for a bribe by different public officials. The bars on the left report the overall proportion who responded affirmatively. In some cases, though, these figures likely underestimate the level of corruption victimization: if some respondents have no school-age children and therefore no interaction with school officials, they are very unlikely to have been asked to pay a bribe in this setting. The right-hand bars in Figure 3.2 therefore show the proportion of respondents who reported having been asked to pay a bribe from among those who said they had some interaction with each type of official.

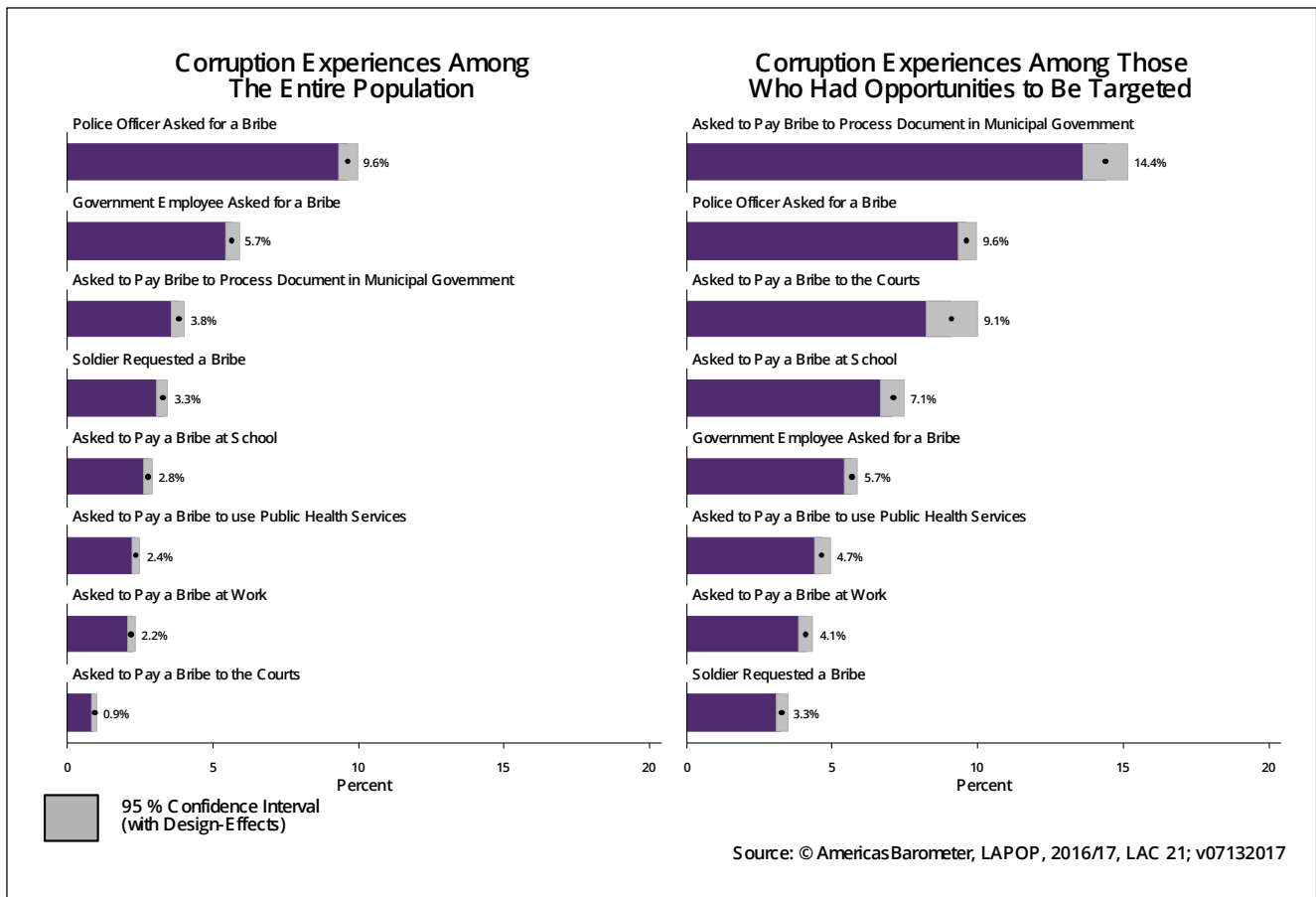


Figure 3.2. Corruption Experiences in the LAC-21 Region, 2016/17

Among the entire population, the most frequent context for corruption victimization is an interaction with a police officer. Nearly one in ten respondents in the LAC-21 countries reported having been asked to pay a bribe to police. The proportions of respondents asked to pay a bribe to health, school, or judicial officials appears, in comparison, quite small among the entire respondent population.

However, our perspective changes if we focus only on those respondents who had some interaction with each type of public official. Here, the predominant context for corruption victimization becomes municipal government, where citizens were asked to pay a bribe to grease the wheels in processing some document they needed. Over 14% of respondents who said they had some interaction with their municipal government in the year prior to the survey said they were asked to pay a bribe. Moreover, the proportion of respondents asked to pay a bribe by courts rises dramatically (to 9.1%), as do the figures for health (to 4.7%) and school officials (to 7.1%).

How do these figures compare to past findings? Figure 3.3 compares corruption victimization in the LAC-21 countries since the AmericasBarometer began in 2004. Generally speaking, there seems to be only marginal variation over time in the prevalence of corruption victimization. In the average country in the Americas, roughly one in five individuals is the victim of corruption in any given year.

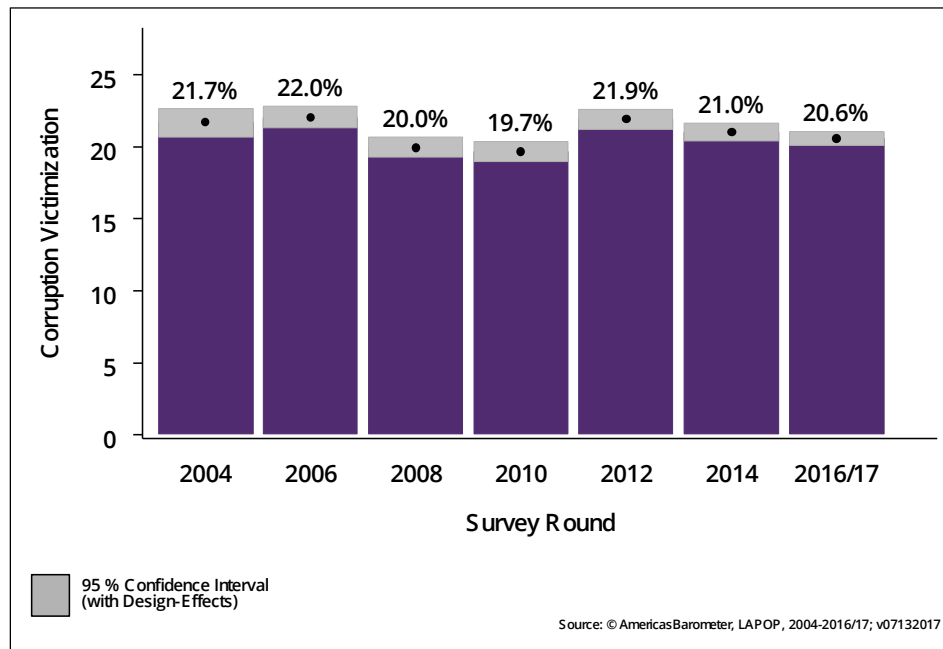


Figure 3.3. Corruption Victimization over Time in the LAC-21 Region

Of course, the average figure betrays a great deal of variation across countries. As Figure 3.4 shows, in some countries – like Bolivia, Haiti and Paraguay – 30–40% of survey respondents reported having been asked to pay a bribe in the prior year.⁴ In others, especially the OECS countries, Chile, and Uruguay, the proportion who reported having been victims of corruption are in the single digits. When it comes to corruption victimization, the countries in the Americas vary quite dramatically, even if over time the region as a whole looks stable.

⁴ These questions were not asked in Canada and the United States in the 2016/17 AmericasBarometer.

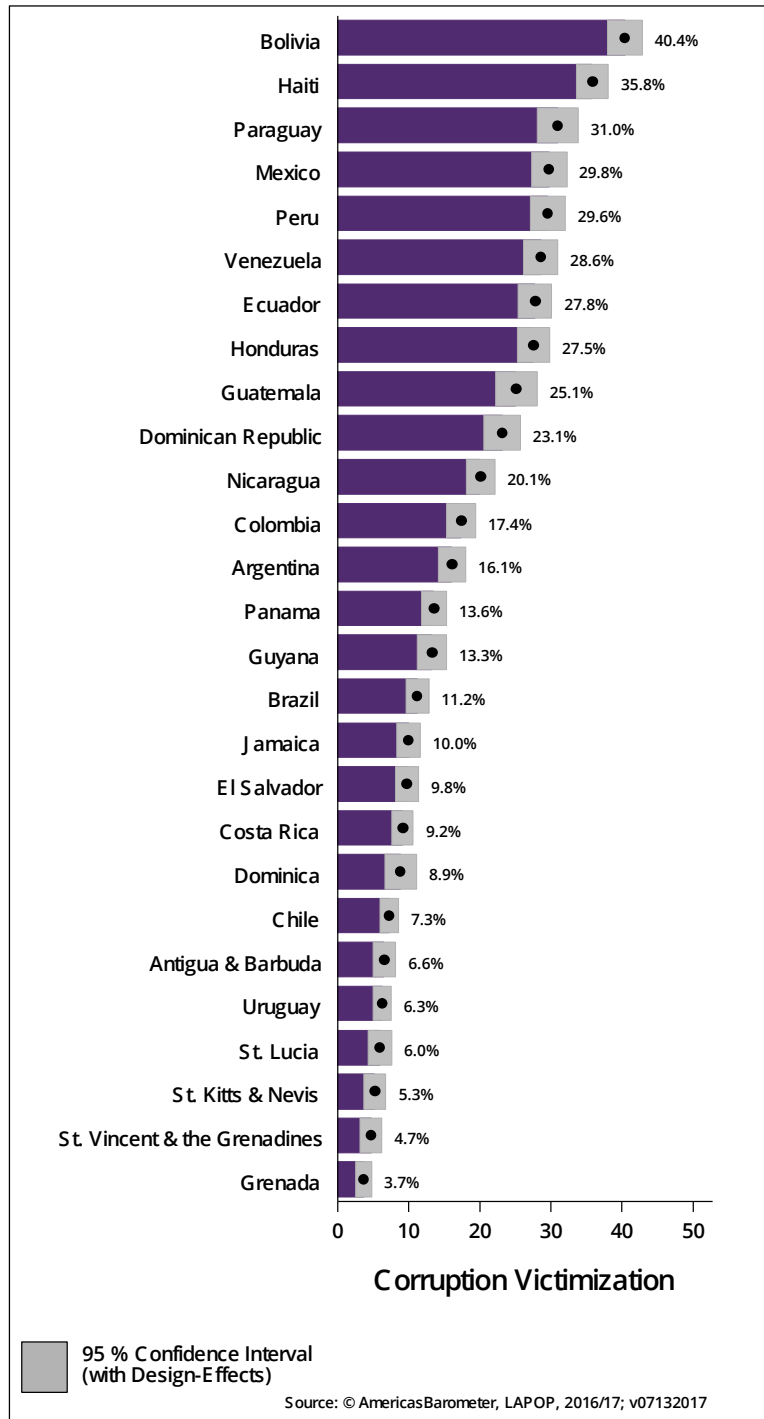


Figure 3.4. Corruption Victimization by Country, 2016/17

Even within these varied countries, there are systematic differences across individuals when it comes to being the victim of corruption. Figure 3.5 reports the results of a logistic regression that models the relationship between corruption victimization and a series of six demographic and socio-economic variables: age, gender, education, wealth, skin tone, and whether the individuals lives in an urban or rural area.⁵ The figure reports the predicted probability of corruption

⁵ Coefficient estimates for these and other regression analyses below are reported in the online appendix.

victimization associated with changing each independent variable from its minimum to its maximum value. In addition to these variables, corruption victimization may also be the consequence of more frequent interaction with public officials.

Figure 3.2 above noted that the proportion of people who are victims of corruption changes dramatically when we focus only on those who have contact with those public officials. Individuals who have more children are likely to have more frequent contact with school and health officials, so we include a measure of the number of children in a respondent's household.⁶ In addition, respondents in households that receive government assistance may have to interact with government officials to receive their assistance, putting them more frequently in situations where they may be asked to pay a bribe. The analysis thus also includes a measure of whether the respondent lives in a household that received government assistance, not including pensions or social security.⁷

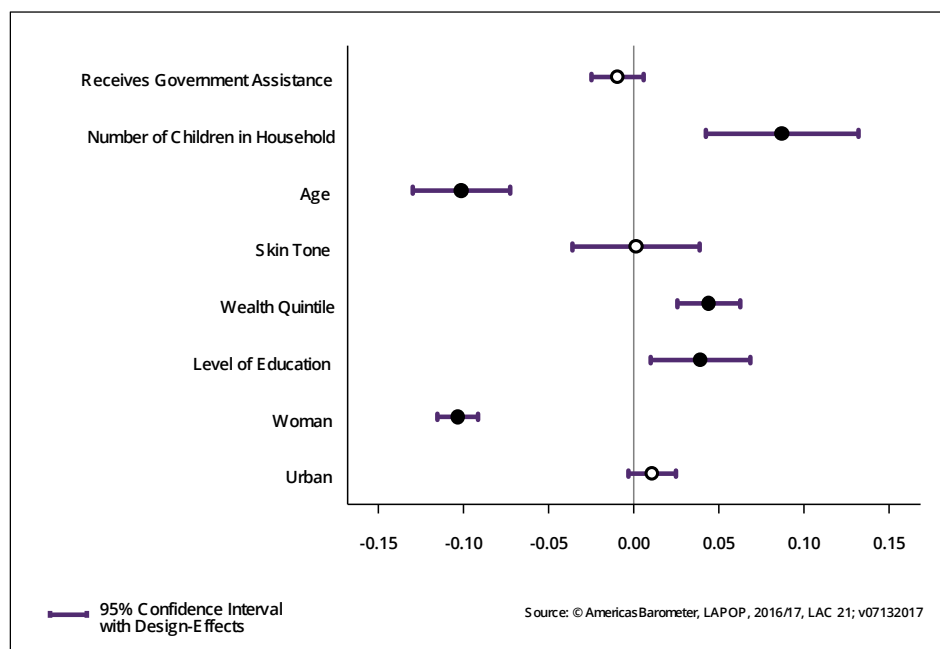


Figure 3.5. Predictors of Corruption Victimization in the LAC-21 Region, 2016/17

The analysis shows that younger, wealthier, more educated, and male respondents were more likely to report having been asked to pay a bribe in the year prior to the survey. Skin tone and whether an individual lives in an urban or rural area seem unrelated to corruption victimization. As expected, respondents with more children in their household were substantially more likely to report having been asked to pay a bribe. A maximal increase in the number of children raises the likelihood of being asked to pay a bribe by nearly 10 percentage points. On the other hand, living

⁶ Specifically, question Q12Bn asked, “How many children under the age of 13 live in this household?” Because this variable is not normally distributed, we use logged values in our analyses.

⁷ The variable takes the value of 1 if the respondent responded affirmatively to either question WF1, “Do you or someone in your household receive regular assistance in the form of money, food, or products from the government, not including pensions/social security?” or question CCT1B, “Now, talking specifically about Conditional Cash Transfers, are you or someone in your house a beneficiary of this program?”



in a household that received government assistance seems to be unrelated to corruption victimization.

IV. Corruption Perceptions

Citizens in the Americas are frequently asked to pay bribes. But this is not the only form of corruption that exists in the region. Corruption scandals have recently engulfed the presidents or former presidents in Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Mexico, and Peru, and many more allegations and investigations have been leveled against other high-level government officials in the region (Carlin, Love, and Martínez-Gallardo 2015). These kinds of scandals often attract far more media attention than day-to-day corruption victimization via bribes.

The AmericasBarometer survey asked individuals not only about their own experiences being asked to pay a bribe, but also about their perceptions about corruption among politicians.⁸ Specifically, respondents were asked:

EXC7NEW. Thinking of the politicians of [country]... how many of them do you believe are involved in corruption?
(1) None (2) Less than half of them (3) Half of them (4) More than half of them
(5) All

The average citizen in the Americas perceives corruption to be very prevalent among politicians (Figure 3.6). Only 17.1% of respondents thought that fewer than half of the politicians in their country are involved in corruption, and only a tiny 2.7% thought none are corrupt. Instead, a sizable majority of respondents (60.9%) thought more than half of the politicians in their country are involved in corruption. If we include all respondents who thought at least half of their politicians are corrupt, that figure rises to 82.9%.⁹

⁸ This question was not asked in the OECS countries.

⁹ Prior AmericasBarometer surveys asked a slightly different question – about how common corruption is – so the response distributions are not directly comparable. But in 2014, 80% of respondents said they thought corruption among public officials was “common” or “very common,” a figure quite close to the proportion in 2016/17 who said they thought at least half of the politicians in their country are involved in corruption.

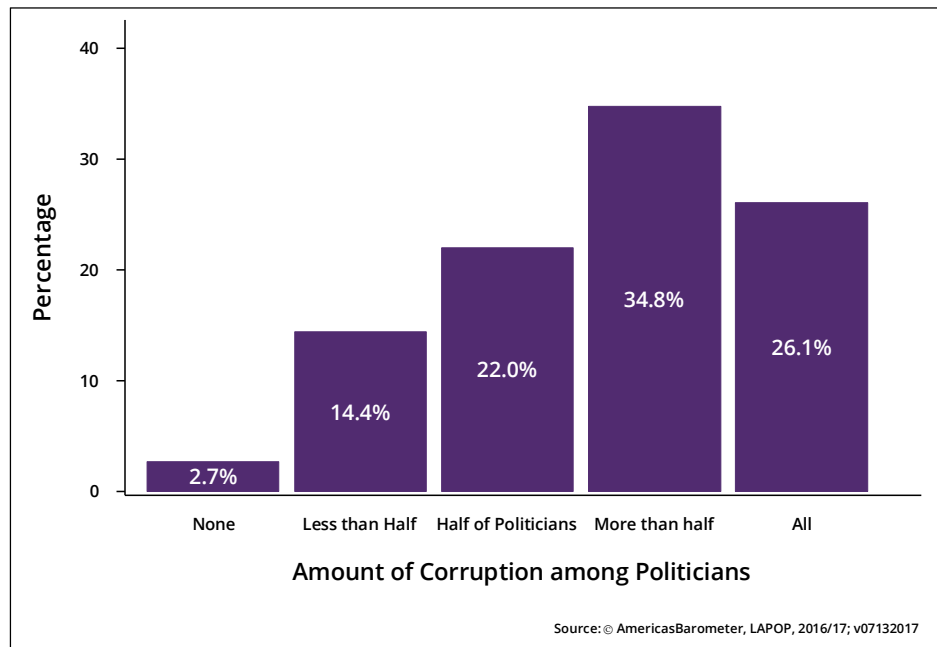


Figure 3.6. Corruption Perceptions in the Americas, 2016/17

Although most citizens of the Americas think that political corruption is widespread, there is also quite a lot of variation across the countries. Figure 3.7 shows the proportion of people in each country who believe that more than half or all politicians in their country are involved in corruption. In most countries in the region, more than half believe that most politicians are corrupt. The country with the lowest perception of political corruption, by far, is Canada. In Costa Rica, Nicaragua, Uruguay, and the United States, the perception that most politicians are corrupt is widespread, but does not quite reach a majority of survey respondents.

At the top end, the view that corruption is widespread is most widely held in Brazil. This is unsurprising given the rash of high-profile corruption scandals in Brazil (see Melo 2016), including the massive Odebrecht corruption scandal involving many prominent political figures and the corruption scandal at the state oil company, Petrobras, that led to the impeachment of President Dilma Rousseff in August 2016 and implicated both former President Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva and Rousseff's successor, Michel Temer. But the perception of widespread corruption is held by most respondents across a large number of countries, even those in which recent presidents have not been implicated in major corruption scandals, such as Colombia. Even in the absence of such high-profile scandals, most citizens of the Americas believe most of their elected representatives are corrupt.

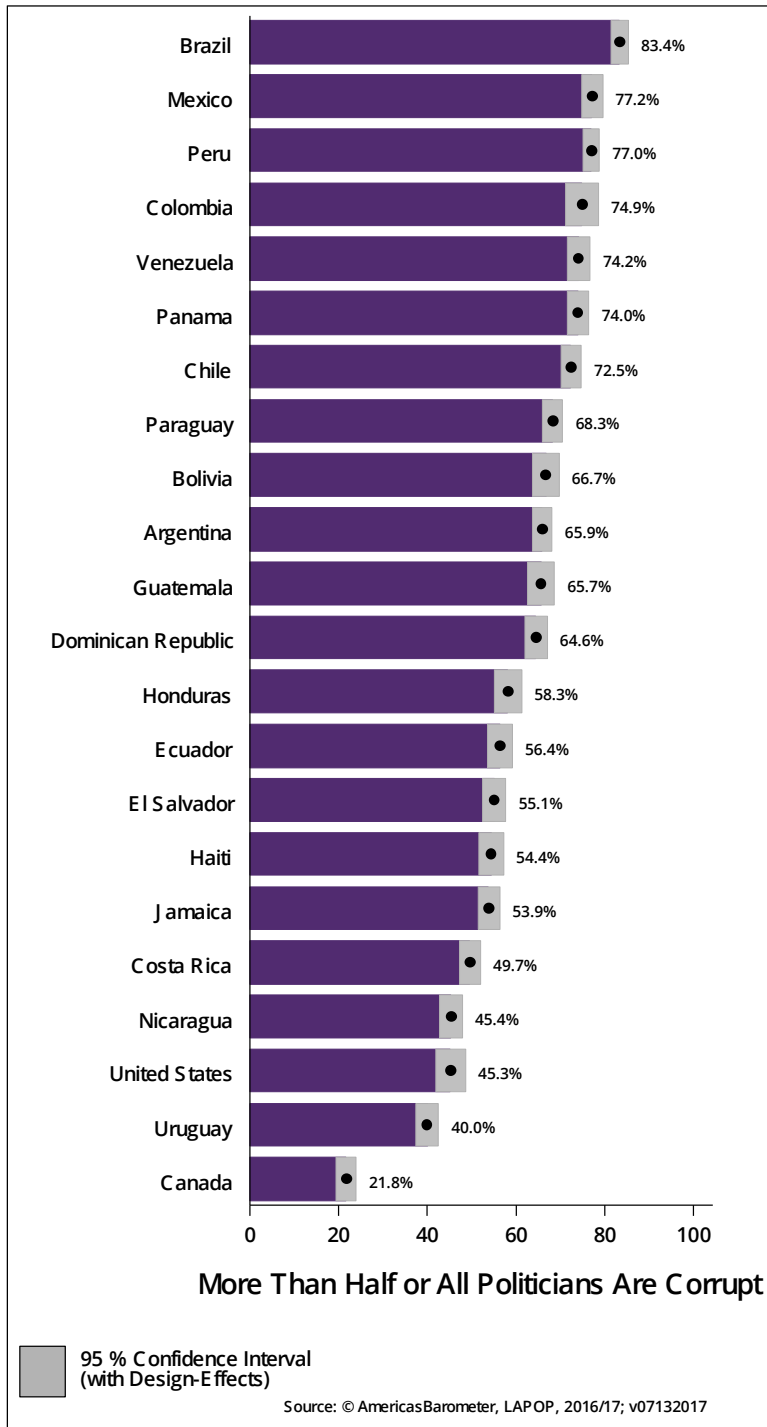


Figure 3.7. Corruption Perceptions by Country, 2016/17

Are the countries where these perceptions of corruption are widespread also the countries where more respondents said they were asked to pay a bribe (as in Figure 3.4 above)? For each country in which both sets of questions were asked, Figure 3.8 plots the proportion of respondents who reported having been asked to pay a bribe (corruption victimization) against the proportion of respondents who thought that most or all politicians in their country are involved in corruption. Although there is a positive correlation between the two variables, it is somewhat weak. Perceptions of corruption are less widespread in countries like Bolivia and Haiti than we would expect given



how frequently people in those countries are asked to pay bribes. Conversely, perceptions of corruption are far more widespread in Brazil and Chile than one might expect given how relatively infrequent bribe-taking appears to be in those countries.

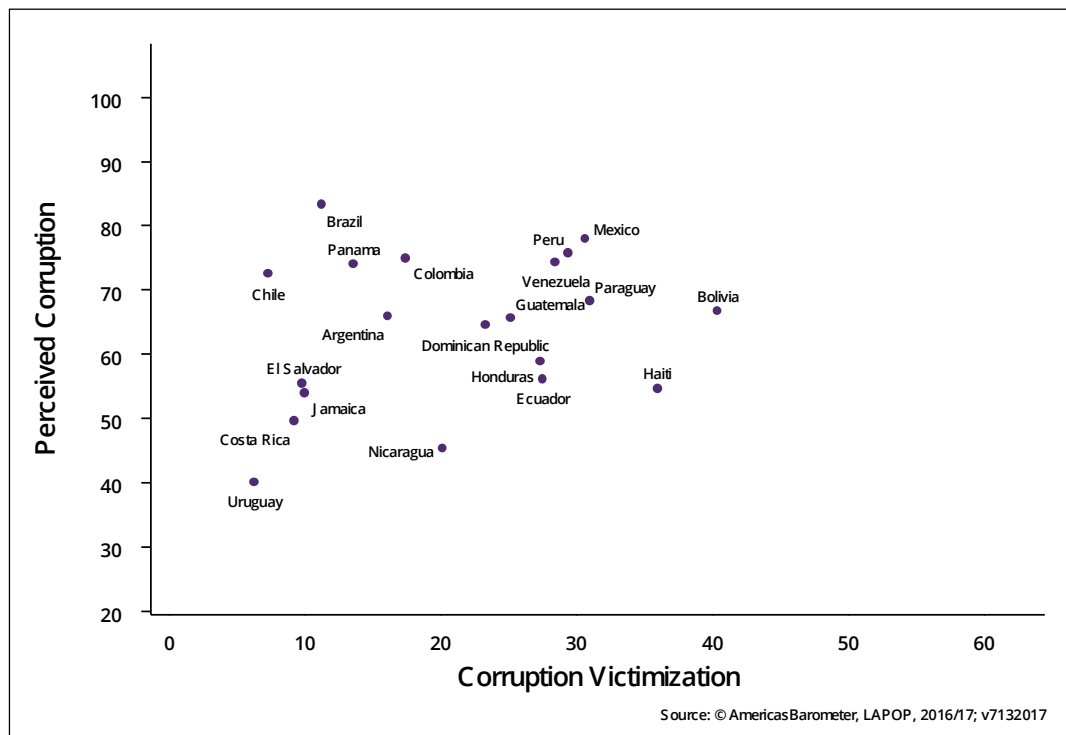


Figure 3.8. Corruption Victimization and Corruption Perceptions in the Americas, 2016/17

One reason for the weak relationship between corruption victimization and corruption perceptions may be that other factors also inform corruption perceptions, including high-profile scandals. Recent presidential corruption scandals may explain why Brazilians and Chileans perceive corruption to be far more widespread than are everyday types of corruption experiences. At the same, respondents may be paying bribes to individuals who are not directly associated with the governments, such as employers or teachers. This is particularly common in Haiti, which helps to explain why Haitians perceive less political corruption than we might expect given how frequently they are asked to pay a bribe.

Still, when we look within countries, those of who report having been asked to pay a bribe are substantially more likely to think that political corruption is widespread (see also Bohn 2012). Figure 3.9 reports the results of a logistic regression analysis of corruption perceptions. The dependent variable in the model again simply identifies those respondents who said that either “more than half” or “all” politicians in their country are involved in corruption. Again, the analysis includes dummy variables for each country, meaning that the results explain variation among respondents within each country rather than across countries.¹⁰ The model also controls for whether someone in the respondent’s household receives government assistance, the number of children in the household, and six demographic and socio-economic characteristics.

¹⁰ The independent variables are all standardized to range from 0 to 1, and the coefficient estimates are available in the online appendix.

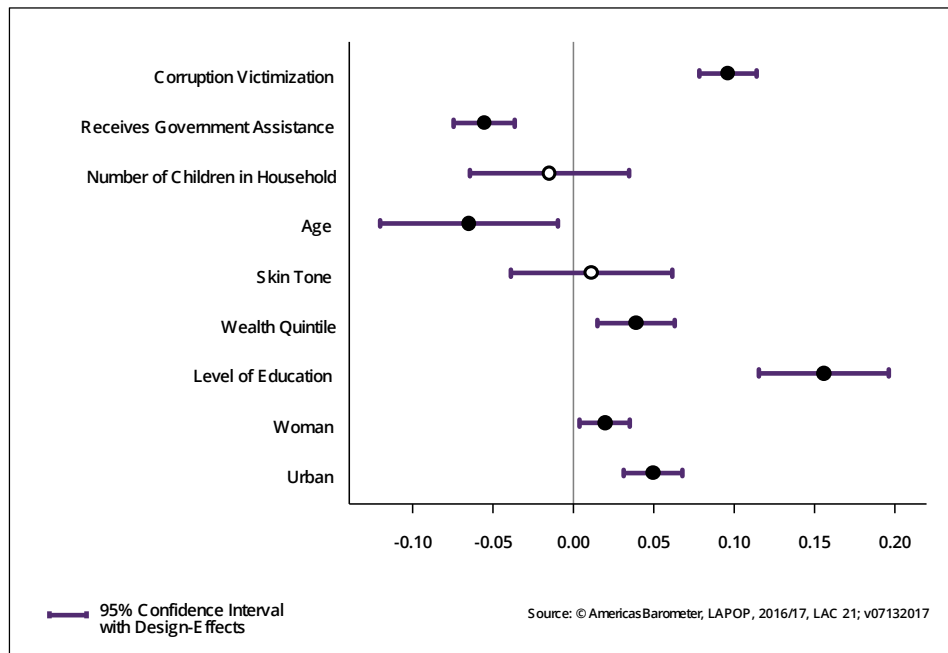


Figure 3.9. Predictors of Corruption Perceptions in the LAC-21 Region, 2016/17

At the individual level, there is a strong relationship between corruption victimization and corruption perceptions. Those respondents who said they had been asked for a bribe in the prior twelve months are nearly 10 percentage points more likely to say that most politicians in their country are involved in corruption. While the relationship between experiences and perception is weak in the aggregate, experiences correlate strongly with perceptions at the individual level.

Regardless of their personal victimization with respect to corruption, certain types of respondents also perceive higher levels of political corruption. Those whose household received government assistance are less likely to think that political corruption is widespread. Younger, wealthier, more educated, and urban respondents, as well as women, are more likely to think that most politicians in their country are corrupt. The relationship between education and corruption perceptions is particularly notable: a maximal change in the level of education makes a respondent roughly 15 percentage points more likely to think that political corruption is widespread. This may be because more educated individuals pay more attention to media reports of corruption scandals and are better informed (Arnold 2012; Winters and Weitz-Shapiro 2013).

V. Corruption Tolerance

According to the 2016/17 AmericasBarometer, both corruption victimization and corruption perceptions are high in the Americas. Is that simply because corruption has become a way of life in the region? Recent studies suggest that individuals become accustomed to corruption as a normal way of doing business or that they are willing to tolerate corruption when economic conditions are good or when their preferred party is in office (Anduiza, Gallego, and Muñoz 2013; Carlin 2013; Dreher and Gassebner 2013; Hakhverdian and Mayne 2012; Méon and Weill 2010; Zechmeister and Zizumbo-Colunga 2013). Are citizens so accustomed to paying bribes and seeing high-profile corruption scandals in the news that they have become inured to its consequences?

The AmericasBarometer survey asked respondents about their tolerance for corruption, again focusing on bribes:

EXC18. Do you think given the ways things are, sometimes paying a bribe is justified?
 (0) No (1) Yes

Somewhat reassuringly, the vast majority of citizens in the Americas disapprove of corruption. Figure 3.10 shows responses to the question on corruption averaged across all of the countries in the 2016/17 round (left-side of figure) and just the LAC-21 countries (right-side of figure). Across all the countries in the region, 19% of the public believes that paying a bribe is justified – a proportion similar to the proportion of respondents who reported being asked to pay a bribe (see Figure 3.1). Among just the LAC-21 countries, that figure rises slightly to 20.5%. While it is reassuring that most respondents are not tolerant of corruption, it is at the same time concerning that one in five citizens in the Americas are willing to tolerate corruption.

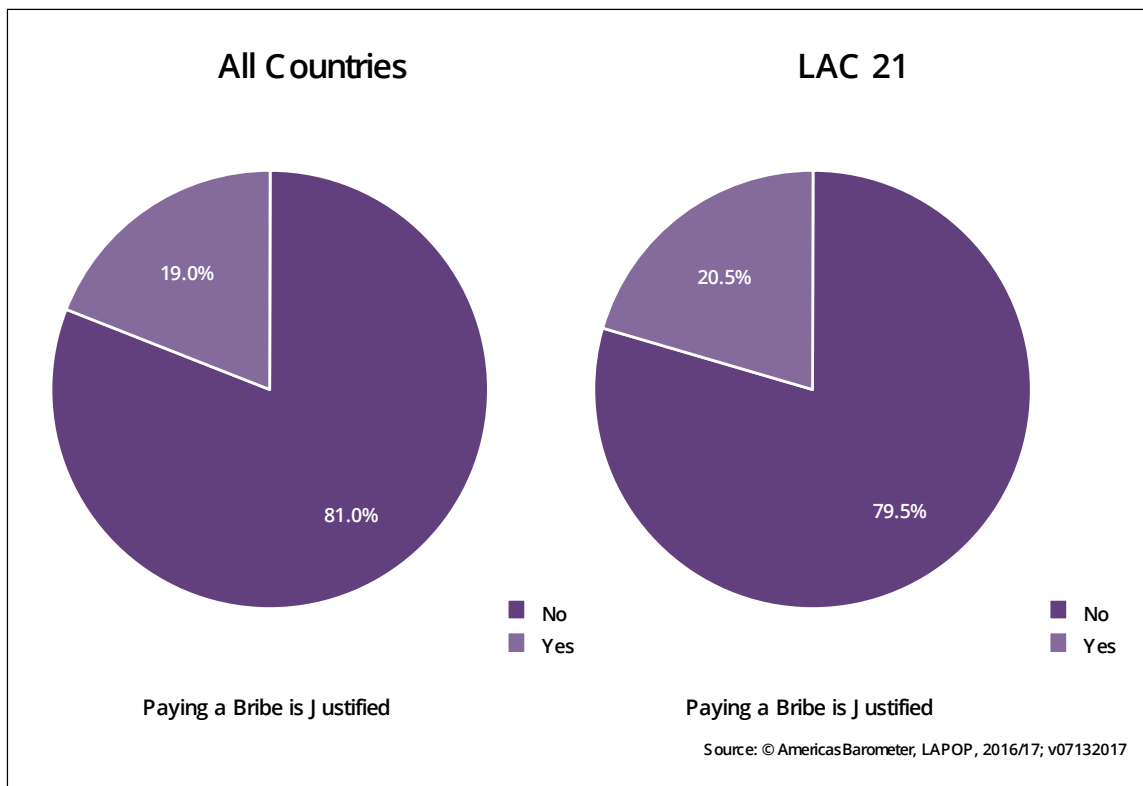


Figure 3.10. Corruption Tolerance, 2016/17

This proportion represents an increase over the 2014 round of the AmericasBarometer. In fact, as Figure 3.11 shows, corruption tolerance has been steadily increasing in the region since its lowest point in the 2010 round of the survey. Although the 2016/17 figure does not reach the highest level, seen in 2006, more and more citizens in the Americas seem to tolerate corruption in recent years.

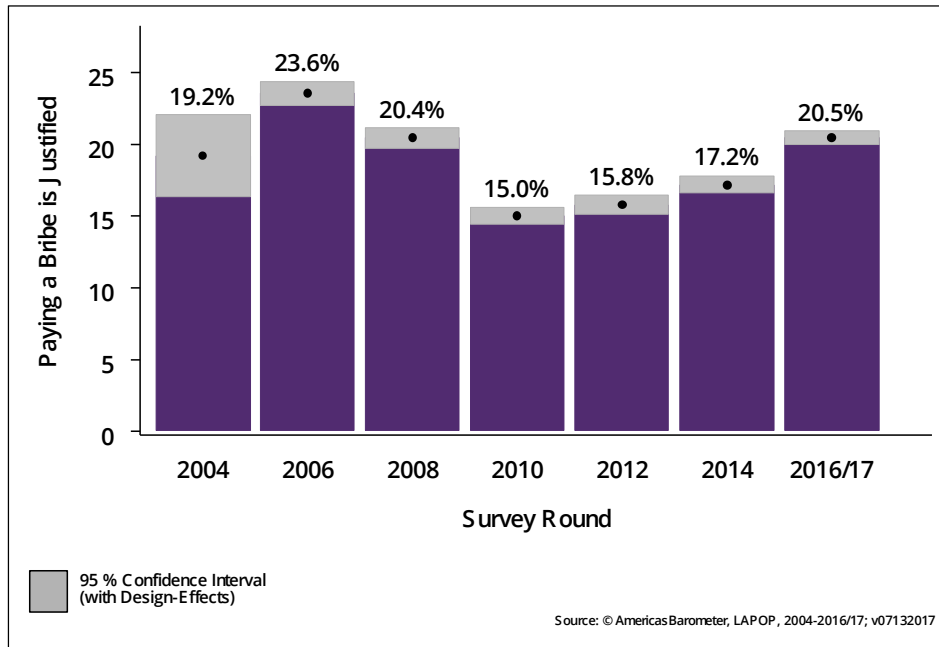


Figure 3.11. Corruption Tolerance over Time in the LAC-21 Region

Again, though, these average responses mask a great deal of variation across the Americas. Figure 3.12 shows the proportion of respondents who believe that paying a bribe is justified in each country in which the question was asked in the 2016/17 round. Haiti stands out as a country with exceptionally high rates of corruption tolerance, with more than one-third of Haitians saying that paying a bribe is justifiable. A number of other countries exhibit rates of corruption tolerance above the regional average, including the Dominican Republic, Ecuador, and Jamaica. At the other end of the spectrum, respondents in several countries are far less tolerant of corruption than the regional average, including Argentina, Canada, and Uruguay, where only one in ten respondents think paying a bribe is justifiable.

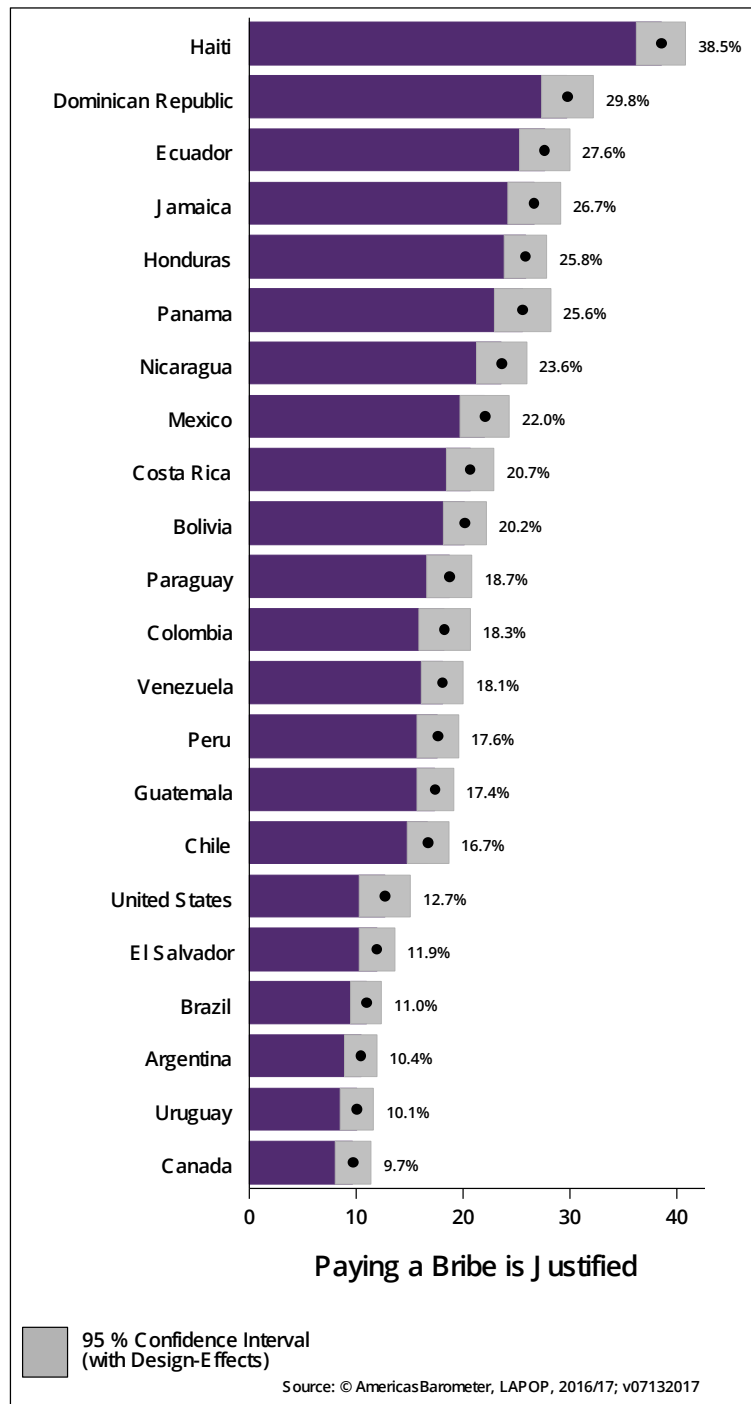


Figure 3.12. Corruption Tolerance by Country, 2016/17

Which individuals are most likely to be tolerant of corruption within these varied countries? Figure 3.13 presents the results of a logistic regression model that relates corruption tolerance with demographic and socio-economic variables as well as the measures of corruption victimization and corruption perceptions discussed above. As the figure shows, older, wealthier, and male respondents are significantly more likely to be tolerant of corruption. Respondents with more children in their household – who are more likely to be asked for a bribe by public officials (see Figure 3.5) – are also more tolerant of paying bribes. Skin tone, education, whether the respondent

lives in an urban or rural area, and whether the respondent's household receives government assistance all seem to be unrelated with corruption tolerance.

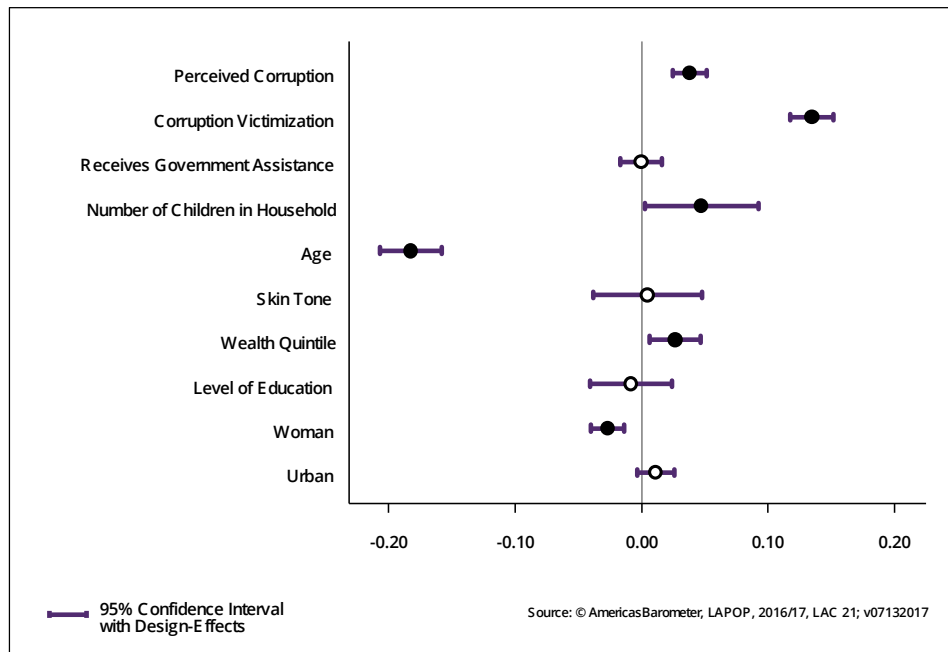


Figure 3.13. Predictors of Corruption Tolerance in the LAC-21 Region, 2016/17

Interestingly, individuals who had been asked to pay a bribe in the year prior to the AmericasBarometer survey are nearly 15 percentage points more likely to say that paying a bribe is justified. Moreover, those who believe that political corruption is widespread are also more likely to tolerate corruption. In other words, those most exposed to corruption and most aware of it are also most tolerant of it. This suggests that corruption indeed desensitizes citizens. The more corruption is seen as common practice, the more people learn to accept it as business as usual. This troubling phenomenon could mean a self-fulfilling prophecy when it comes to corruption (see Corbacho et al. 2016): as corruption increases, the public pressure to fight it may wane. Widespread corruption may thus help to undermine anti-corruption efforts.

Still, we should be sanguine about these findings. Corruption victimization and corruption perceptions seem to increase tolerance, but still the majority of victims of corruption and those who think it widespread do condemn it.

VI. Conclusion

Corruption remains widespread in the Americas. Data from the 2016/17 round of the AmericasBarometer reveal that in the average country in the region, one in five individuals was asked to pay a bribe in the year prior to the survey. This figure has been remarkably stable over time. But recent events in Latin America in particular have made corruption a salient political issue. Indeed, more and more citizens in the Americas think that corruption is very widespread among the politicians in their countries. In the average country in the region, over 60% think that



a majority of politicians is corrupt. The public perception that politics is teeming with corruption is both widespread and growing.

Most citizens in the Americas continue to condemn corruption. However, the proportion who tolerate corruption has been steadily growing since 2010. Those who are themselves the victims of corruption or who think that political corruption is widespread are substantially more likely to tolerate it. This worrying finding suggests that corruption may become a self-fulfilling prophecy: as more and more citizens perceive that corruption is more widespread, they also become more likely to condone it. Governments in the region must work to curtail and prevent corruption not only in order to forestall entering this vicious cycle, but also because of corruption's negative consequences for important political, economic, and social outcomes.



Chapter 4.

Crime, Violence, and the Police in the Americas

Matthew M. Singer

I. Introduction

Crime and violence are an epidemic in the Americas. Although only 9% of the world's population lives in Latin America and the Caribbean, 33% of the homicides that took place worldwide in 2015 were committed in the region (Jaitman 2017, 1).¹ Other types of crimes such as robberies, assaults, and kidnappings have become common in many countries as well (UNDP 2013).

The failure to control crime brings with it severe economic costs (e.g. Cullen and Levitt 1999; Di Tella et al. 2010; Gaviria 2002; Islam 2014; Londoño and Guerrero 1999; Pearlman 2014; Robles et al. 2013; Soares 2006). A recent study by the Inter-American Development Bank estimated that the direct and indirect costs² of crime in Latin America total nearly 3% of GDP in the average country, with those costs exceeding 6% of GDP in the most violent Central American countries (Jaitman 2017). This same study estimated that combined government spending on fighting crime and prosecuting and punishing criminals across the region totaled between 44 and 70 billion dollars in 2014, a figure comparable to the GDP of Uruguay.

Beyond its economic costs, crime also has political costs. Leaders who fail to prevent crime or address insecurity lose support in the polls (Ley 2017; Romero et al. 2016) and at the ballot box (Pérez 2015). Yet fighting crime typically requires that political leaders coordinate with actors at different levels of government and across various bureaucracies, which means that high crime rates reflect poorly on multiple state actors. Rising crime can undermine public support for police forces and courts (Malone 2010), reduce satisfaction with democratic institutions (Ceobanu et al. 2011), and even undermine support for democracy itself (Fernandez and Kuenzi 2010; Pérez 2003; Salinas and Booth 2011). High levels of violence can also lead voters to support centralizing power in authoritarian leaders who promise to fight criminal elements, even at the expense of civil liberties and liberal democracy (Merolla and Zechmeister 2009). Data from the 2016/17 AmericasBarometer suggest that people who have been victimized by crime or who feel unsafe are somewhat more likely to fit an attitudinal profile characterized by comparatively lower system support but elevated political tolerance, which is conducive to “unstable democracy” (see Carlin, Chapter 6 of this report).

In light of the economic, social, and political costs associated with crime, this chapter explores how citizens perceive the security situation in the Americas using data from the 2016/17 AmericasBarometer. These data identify several concerning outcomes with respect to the state of democratic governance in the region. Specifically, average levels of reported crime victimization and neighborhood insecurity have increased since the previous survey in 2014. While these increases were particularly large in countries like Venezuela, the deteriorating security situation

¹ See also Igarapé's Homicide Monitor databank at <https://homicide.igarape.org.br/>.

² These costs include the direct losses of property and wages, as well as the indirect costs of private expenditures on security, and government expenditures on police and incarceration efforts.

is widespread across the hemisphere. Roughly half of the countries in the study saw reported crime victimization significantly increase; in no country in the region has the number of crime victims significantly decreased.

II. Main Findings

This chapter is divided into two main parts, with the first tracking trends in crime victimization and insecurity and the second looking at how individuals see state performance when it comes to responding to crime. Some of the specific findings from this chapter are as follows:

- Reported crime victimization on average in the hemisphere is greater in 2016/17 than in previous AmericasBarometer rounds, with significant increases in 11 of the 23 countries with cross-time data. Averaging across the 29 countries included in the 2016/17 round, roughly 20% of individuals reported being a recent crime victim.
- While more people feel safe in their neighborhood than feel unsafe on average, reported feelings of insecurity are higher in 2016/17 than in previous years.
- Crime victimization tends to be higher among those living in urban areas, men, educated individuals, and younger respondents.
- Feelings of neighborhood insecurity are highest among those living in urban areas, women, middle-aged respondents, and the poor and less educated. The largest increases in insecurity compared to previous survey rounds occurred among the poorest respondents.
- Most respondents believe the police would respond to a call for help in less than an hour, but compared to the 2014 AmericasBarometer, in the 2016/17 round more individuals believe it would take more than three hours for the police to arrive. Poor individuals and those who live in high-crime areas are less confident that police would respond quickly to a call for help.
- While most individuals were not asked by police officers to pay a bribe in the year preceding the 2016/17 survey, the number of reported police extortions is significantly higher than in previous survey rounds. Victims are more likely to be wealthy and to live in urban areas. Those in high-crime or insecure areas are also more likely to report that police officers asked them to pay a bribe.
- Most respondents express low confidence that the justice system would punish the guilty actors if they were victimized. Pessimism about the criminal justice system is highest for those living in urban areas, for the wealthy, and for those who are crime victims, feel insecure, or have been asked to pay a bribe. Yet, a handful of countries saw increasing confidence in the justice system.



III. Crime Victimization and Insecurity

Crime Victimization

The AmericasBarometer asks respondents whether they have been the victim of any type of crime over the prior year. The question is as follows:³

VIC1EXT. Now, changing the subject, 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?

(1) Yes (2) No

Across all 29 countries in the 2016/17 round of the AmericasBarometer, roughly 20% of respondents in an average country report that they were the victim of a crime in the 12 months before the survey (Figure 4.1).⁴ Yet as Figure 4.2 documents below, there are significant regional differences in crime victimization. In particular, the six English-speaking East Caribbean states included in the 2016/17 AmericasBarometer round have significantly lower levels of reported crime victimization than do the other countries in this sample, as do the United States and Canada. The right-hand panel in Figure 4.1 presents the region average for just 21 Latin America and Caribbean (in this report, the “LAC-21”) countries.⁵ With the U.S., Canada, and the OECS countries excluded, the average crime rate for the region increases to 23.7%: in other words, nearly one out of every four individuals in the LAC-21 region reported have been the victim of a crime in the year prior to the 2016/17 AmericasBarometer survey.

³ The wording of this question changes slightly over time. Hinton et al. (2014, 15) discuss these differences and conclude that some of the variation in crime victimization rates recorded by the AmericasBarometer pre-2009 versus post-2009 are due to question wording differences. However, because the question wording was identical from 2004-2008 and 2010-2014, differences in observed crime rates cannot be attributed to differences in the question wording. To avoid this issue, in the country-specific analyses of trends that follow, this chapter compares average reported crime victimization levels by country in the 2016/17 round to those in the 2010-2014 rounds.

⁴ The figures weight all countries equally, so Figure 4.1 illustrates the crime victimization rate in an average country in the sample.

⁵ The 18 Latin American countries are Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica, the Dominican Republic, Ecuador, El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras, Mexico, Nicaragua, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Uruguay, and Venezuela. In this report we group these 18 countries with Guyana, Haiti, and Jamaica, which have also appeared in previous rounds, as the “LAC-21” sample. This restricted sample is used to describe changes over time in order to ensure that changes across survey waves do not reflect changes in the sample composition. We also explore the individual-level correlates of crime victimization within this restricted sample so that the findings in this AmericasBarometer report can be easily compared to the findings in previous rounds. Respondent evaluations of crime and police outcomes in the OECS are analyzed in a separate LAPOP report.

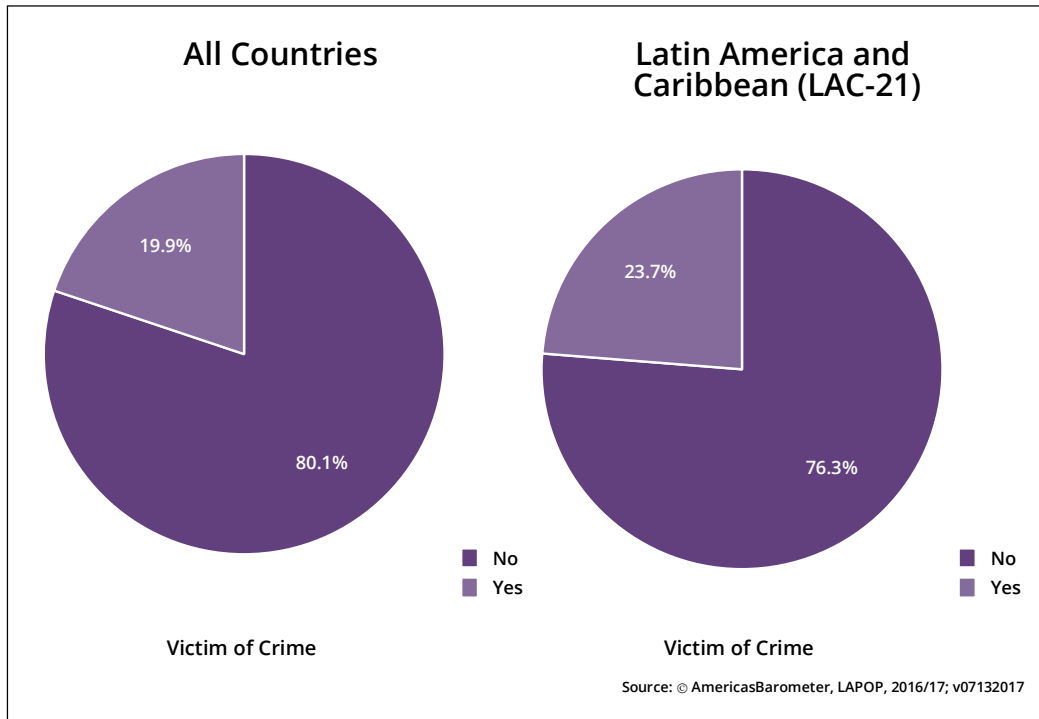


Figure 4.1. Reported Crime Victimization Rates in the Americas, 2016/17

The regional averages, whether for the 29 countries included in the 2016/17 round or the LAC-21 region, mask substantial differences in crime victimization rates across countries (Figure 4.2). As already alluded to above, six of the nine countries with the lowest crime victimization levels in 2016/17 are in the English-speaking Eastern Caribbean. Crime victimization levels are also significantly lower in Jamaica and Canada than they are in any Latin American country. Venezuela, by contrast, stands out as having significantly more individuals reporting being a recent crime victim than in any other country in the 2016/17 AmericasBarometer. Two out of every five Venezuelans reported that they were a crime victim in the last year. Peru, Mexico, and Ecuador are the only other countries where more than 30% of individuals reported having been a recent crime victim. Panama and Nicaragua, in contrast, are the only two Latin American countries where the reported crime victimization rate was less than 20% in 2016/17.

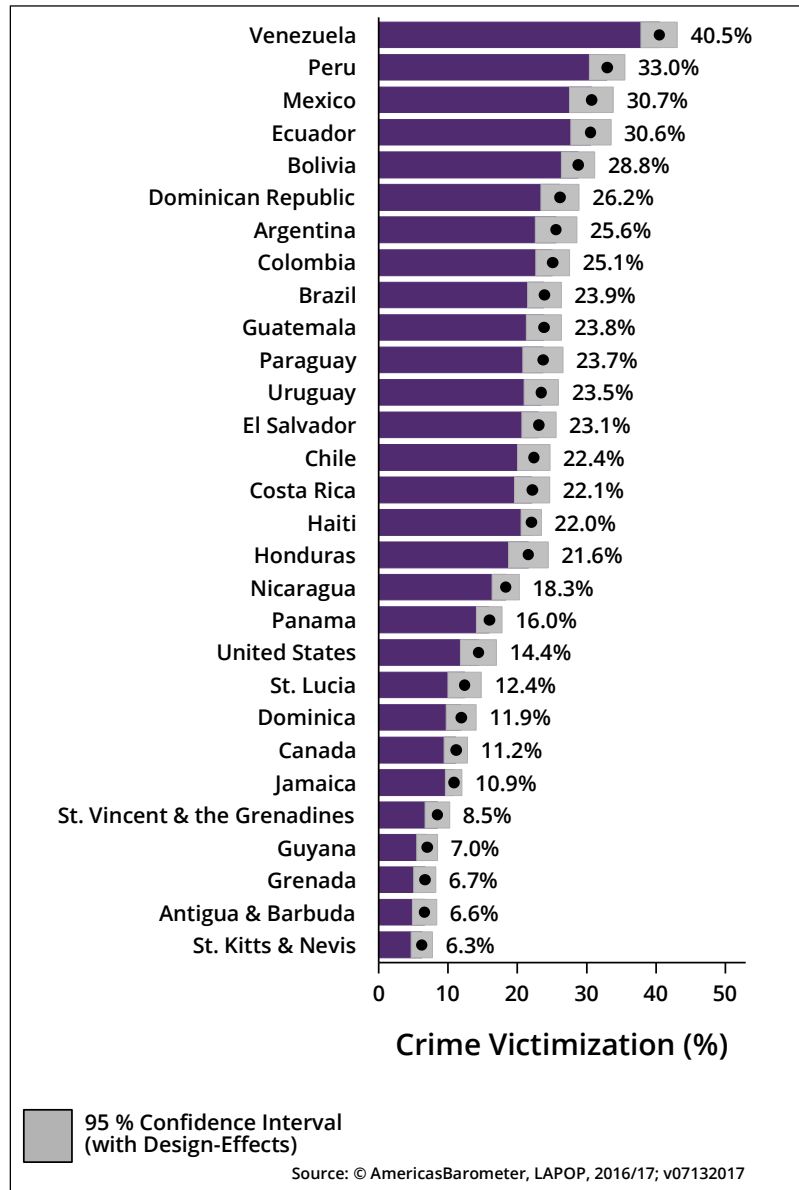


Figure 4.2. Crime Victimization Rates by Country, 2016/17

Reported levels of crime victimization are generally higher in South America than in Central America. Previous rounds of the AmericasBarometer found that the crimes that most often underlie responses to this question are robberies and burglaries, which previous rounds of the AmericasBarometer suggest are more common in South America than in Central America (Singer et al. 2012; Hinton et al. 2014). Violent crime, by contrast, is much more common in Central America, Mexico, and Venezuela than in the rest of South America. Data collected by the United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC) shows that murder rates tend to be higher in Central America and in Venezuela than in other countries in the hemisphere,⁶ and survey data from the 2014 round of the AmericasBarometer suggest that respondents in these countries were more likely to report that murders occurred in their neighborhood than were respondents in other countries (Hinton et al. 2014, 24). Yet the data here by necessity excludes individuals who have been victimized by violent homicides. We explore trends in reported murders in respondents'

⁶ <https://data.unodc.org>

neighborhoods in a subset of countries where fear of homicides is particularly salient in Box 4.1 below.

Several countries have seen significant increases in reported victimization rates in recent years. Reported crime rates have skyrocketed in Venezuela: Crime victimization in the 2016/17 round increased by 17 percentage points compared to the average crime victimization rate in the 2010–2014 rounds of the survey.⁷ As a result, Venezuela had the highest percentage of respondents in 2016/17 who reported being crime victims (Figure 4.2). The reported crime victimization rates in Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica, the Dominican Republic, Haiti, Honduras, Jamaica, Mexico, Panama, and Paraguay were also significantly higher in 2016/17 than in previous survey rounds. In total, 12 of the 21 Latin American and Caribbean countries for which we have data from previous survey rounds had crime victimization rates that significantly diverged from their previous average. No country in the sample reported a significant drop in crime victimization relative to their recent average over the same period. The average crime victimization rate in the 2016/17 AmericasBarometer is thus significantly and substantially higher than in any previous round (Figure 4.3).

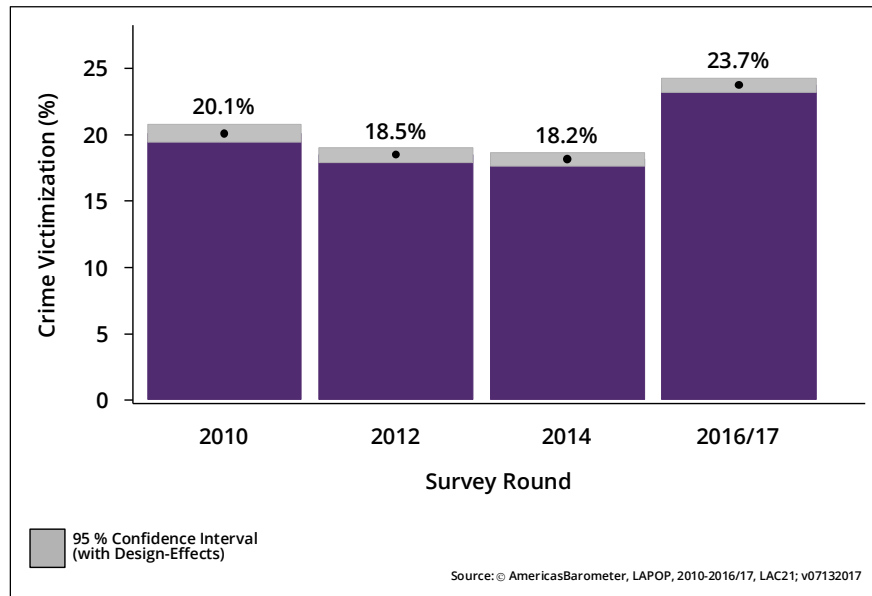


Figure 4.3. Crime Victimization Rates over Time in the LAC-21 Region

While the survey data show that crime victimization rates are high and increasing in much of the region, groups differ in their likelihood of being victimized. In particular, crime victims tend to be male and young, tend to live in urban (vs. rural) areas, and are more likely to be educated (Figure 4.4).⁸ Those who report being crime victims are also more likely to be in the richest quintile than in the bottom three quintiles, although the differences by wealth group are small compared to the

⁷ The comparisons in this chapter are generally over the 2006–2016/17 period because the 2004 AmericasBarometer was limited to 11 countries. The data on crime victimization are compared with reference to the 2010–2014 period during which the question wording has been constant.

⁸ A multivariate analysis with country-fixed effects confirms that these differences are statistically significant at conventional levels (see the online appendix).

differences across education levels.⁹ The recent increase in reported crime victimization is also relatively constant across levels of wealth: further analyses included in the online appendix to the report show that all wealth quintiles saw the crime victimization rate increase by between 4.8 and 7 percentage points. These patterns exist for crime victimization in general; we expect that these patterns would differ if we could isolate violent crimes from non-violent ones, as violent crimes are more likely to have poor victims than are crimes targeting property (Bergman 2006). Nonetheless these data suggest that education and wealth are not sufficient to insulate individuals from being crime victims. Instead, they place individuals in positions in which they are more likely to be targeted as crime victims.

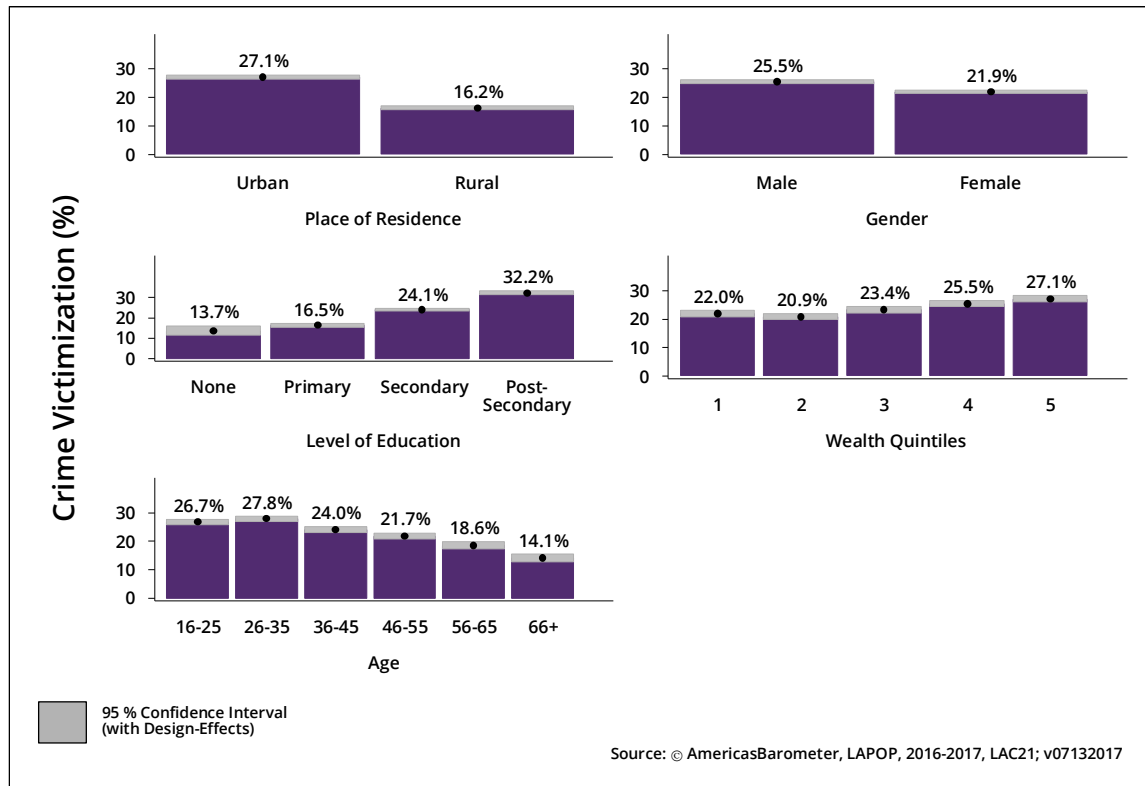


Figure 4.4. Crime Victimization by Demographic and Socio-Economic Subgroups in the LAC-21 Region

Neighborhood Insecurity

The AmericasBarometer data suggest that crime victimization is increasing in many parts of the hemisphere. This raises the possibility that respondents will report feeling increasingly unsafe as they go about their daily lives. The AmericasBarometer has a question designed to measure general feelings of insecurity:

⁹ Multivariate analysis suggests, however, that these differences become insignificant when other variables are controlled for (see online appendix). Skin tone is not associated with victimization across the hemisphere.

AOJ11. Speaking of the neighborhood where you live and thinking of the possibility of being assaulted or robbed, do you feel very safe, somewhat safe, somewhat unsafe or very unsafe?
 (1) Very safe (2) Somewhat safe (3) Somewhat unsafe (4) Very unsafe

While crime is increasing in the hemisphere, most individuals in the Americas are not crime victims in an average year (Figure 4.1) even in the countries where crime is most common (Figure 4.2). Thus, it is not surprising that on average the proportion of people who report feeling very or somewhat safe is larger than is the number who feel very or somewhat unsafe (Figure 4.5). Most people feel secure even in the LAC-21 sample where crime rates are higher. Yet only 3 out of 10 respondents in an average country report that they feel *very* safe in their neighborhoods, suggesting that many people do not feel entirely at ease when it comes to evaluations of their safety. The proportion of individuals who feel very unsafe in their neighborhood in 2016/17 is also higher than in any previous round of the AmericasBarometer (Figure 4.6). As crime becomes more common in the region, fear of crime is growing.

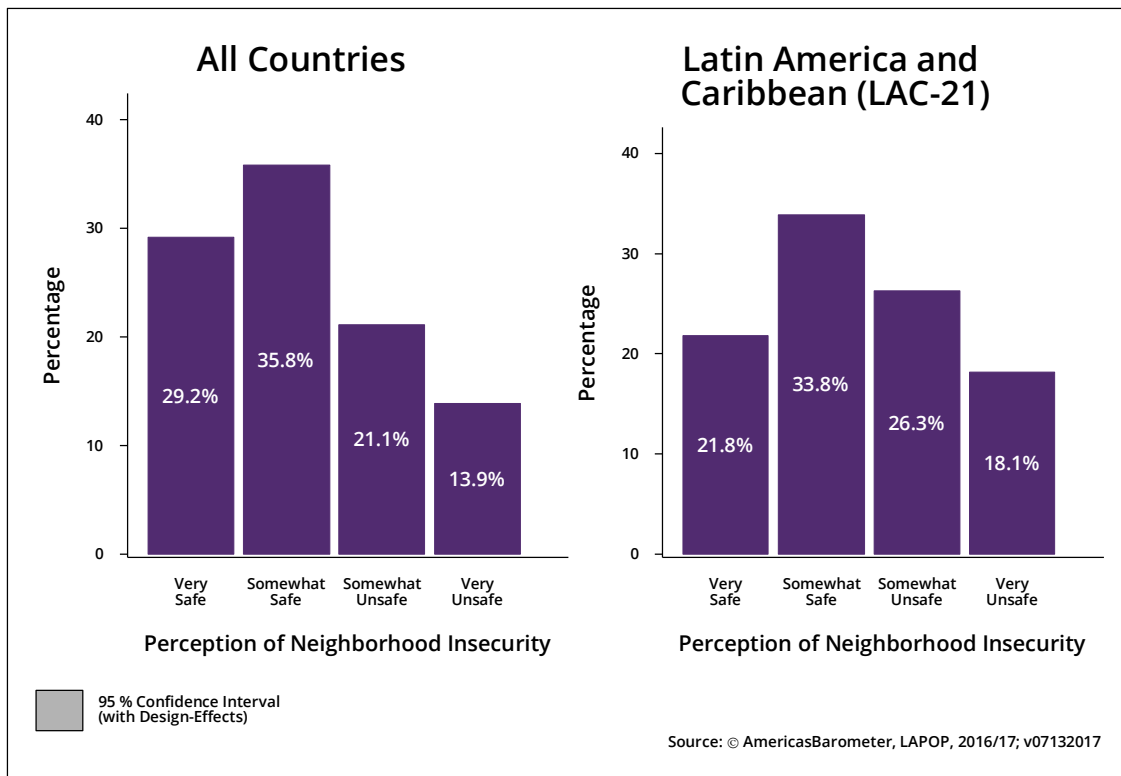


Figure 4.5. Insecurity in the Americas, 2016/17

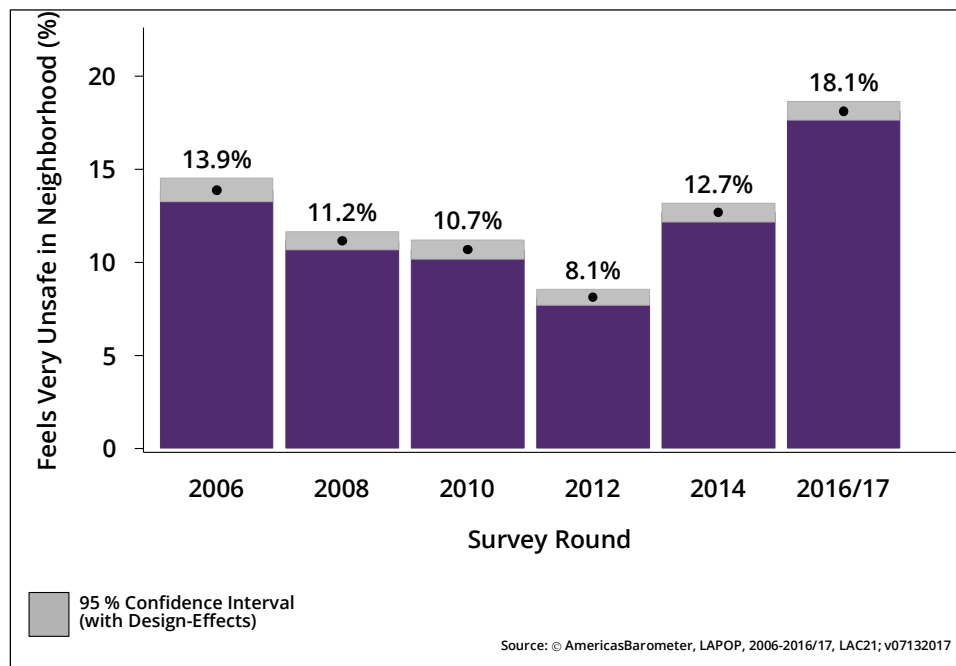


Figure 4.6. Percentage Who Feel Very Unsafe over Time in the LAC-21 Region

In most countries, fear of crime increased in 2016/17. Figure 4.7 compares, for each country, the proportion of individuals who feel very unsafe in 2016/17 to the average proportion who reported feeling unsafe across the 2006 to 2014 rounds of the AmericasBarometer. Mirroring results for crime victimization, the highest levels of insecurity are in Venezuela, which has significantly higher levels of insecurity than any other country in the 2016/17 survey. Current (2016/17) high levels of insecurity in Brazil, the Dominican Republic, and Venezuela also reflect large increases compared to their recent averages. The percentage of individuals in Venezuela who feel very unsafe in 2016/17, for example, is 20 percentage points higher than its average over the 2006–2014 survey rounds. The percentage of the public feeling very unsafe also increased by more than 10 percentage points in Colombia, Haiti, and Paraguay. Other countries saw smaller increases in insecurity, such that 15 out of the LAC-21 countries are significantly above their recent averages in 2016/17. The Eastern Caribbean states, the United States, and Canada in contrast have particularly low levels of very insecure respondents. Nicaragua and Costa Rica are the only two Latin American countries where less than 10% of individuals feel very unsafe in their neighborhood, and Nicaragua is the only country in the sample where the proportion of very insecure respondents in 2016/17 is significantly lower than its average in previous rounds of the survey.

Levels of insecurity also differ significantly across groups. Part of this difference reflects differences in crime exposure (Figure 4.8). On average for the 2016/17 AmericasBarometer, 29.4% of crime victims feel more unsafe in their neighborhoods, versus 14.6% of non-victims. Moreover, those who live in high crime areas report feeling less safe. The right-hand panel in Figure 4.8 divides the sample according to the proportion of respondents in their region who reported being a crime victim in the prior 12 months, with higher values representing living in high-crime regions.¹⁰ Even within these highly aggregated regional agglomerations (each country is divided

¹⁰ Regional crime rates are estimated at the primary strata level in the AmericasBarometer dataset because the survey is representative at this level.

into 4-12 regions), individuals who live in areas where crime is rare feel safer than those in high crime regions,¹¹ likely because living in a high-crime region generates fear of being a crime victim. Individuals who live in urban areas also feel less safe than do those who live in rural areas (Figure 4.9).

Yet, interestingly, several groups who are comparatively more likely to be crime victims (per Figure 4.4) do not report feeling more insecure: men, wealthier individuals, and young respondents all report comparatively low levels of insecurity. The divergence between crime victimization and feelings of insecurity could reflect differences in how groups experience crime. Previous rounds of the AmericasBarometer show that women, poor people, and the elderly are more likely to be victimized in their home or neighborhood while wealthy individuals, men, and young respondents are more likely to be victimized away from home (Singer et al. 2012, 142-148). Furthermore, while wealth increases the extent to which individuals are targets of crime in their daily lives away from home, wealth also provides access to resources that allows individuals to generate security in their neighborhoods and homes in ways that poorer individuals cannot. Differences in insecurity over time by wealth quintile demonstrate how wealth allows individuals to feel insulated from the threat of crime. As crime has increased across all quintiles (see Figure 4.4 above), so too have feelings of insecurity increased across all wealth quintiles. Yet analyses in the online appendix show that the share of the poorest quintile that feels very unsafe increased by nearly 9 percentage points between 2014 and 2016/17, while the share of individuals in the two wealthiest quintiles who felt very insecure only increased by 3 percentage points over the same period. While all wealth groups have faced increased risks of being crime victims, the wealthy are much less likely to reporting feeling very unsafe in their homes in the context of deterioration in overall citizen safety.

¹¹ These regional differences in estimated crime victimization are associated with higher levels of insecurity even in models that control for country-specific differences (see online appendix).

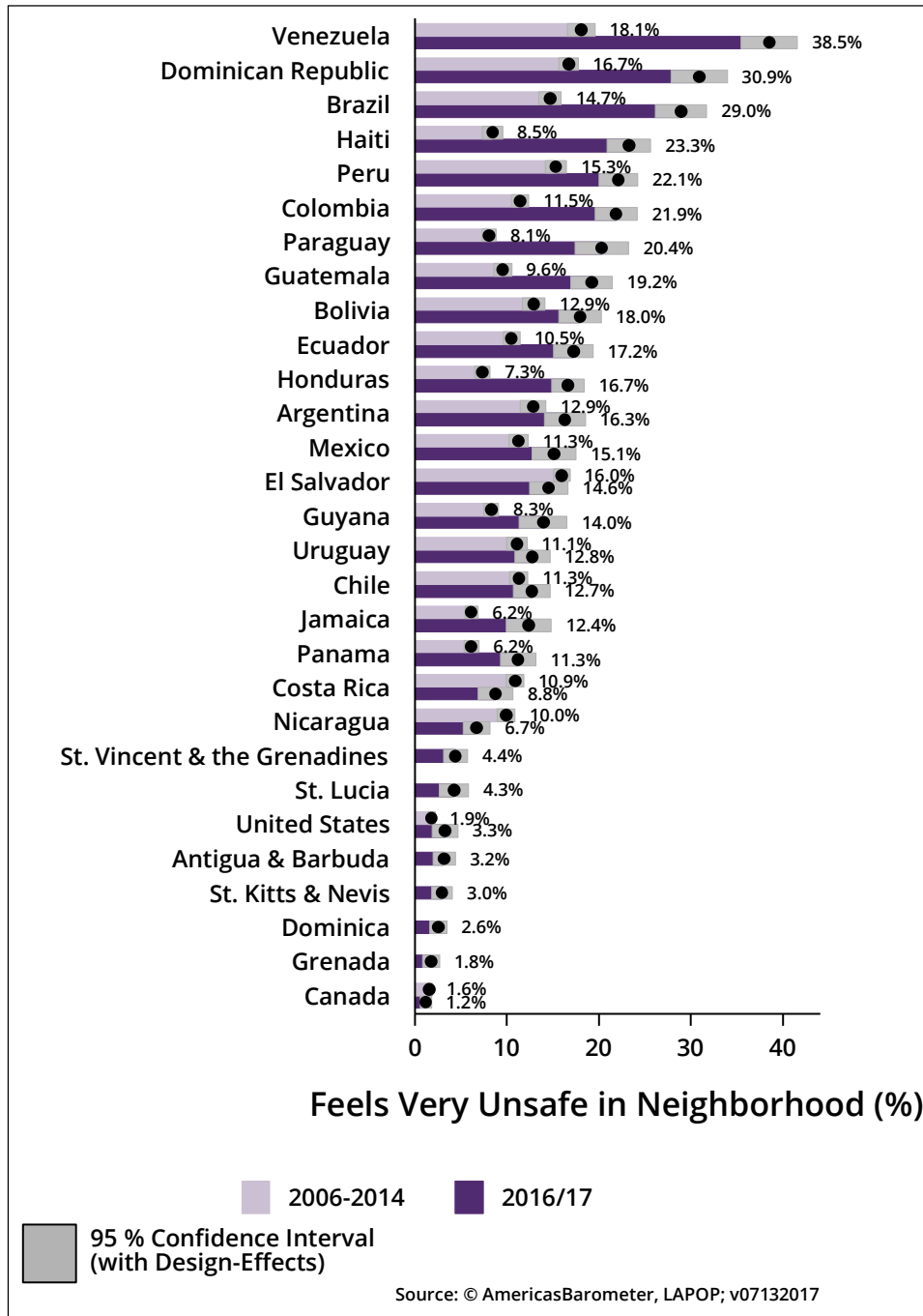


Figure 4.7. Percentage of Very Insecure Individuals by Country, 2006-2014 vs. 2016/17

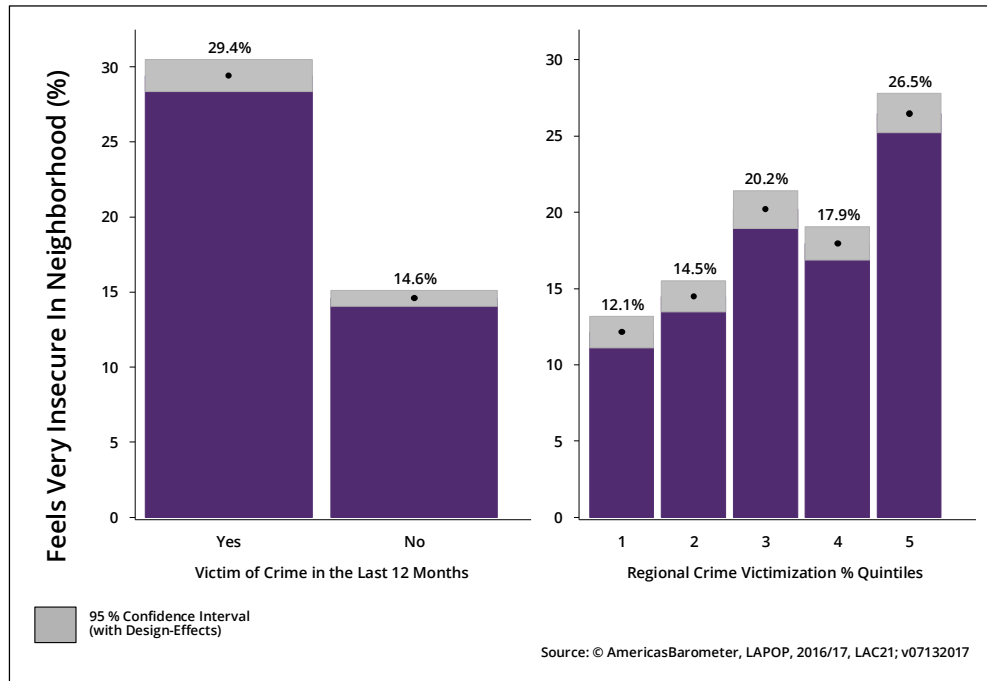


Figure 4.8. Proportion Reporting High Insecurity by Crime Victimization in the LAC-21 Region, 2016/17

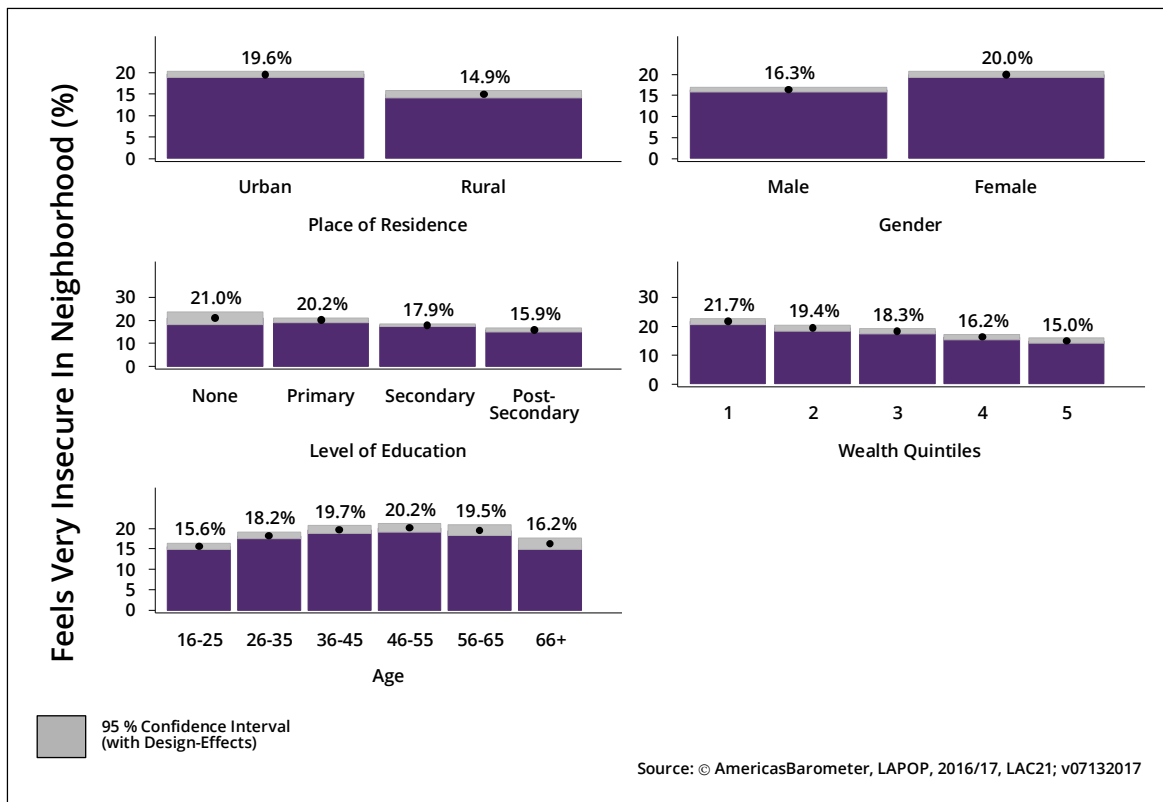


Figure 4.9. Feelings of High Insecurity across Demographic and Socio-Economic Subgroups in the LAC-21 Region, 2016/17



IV. Evaluations of the Police and Justice System in the Americas

The 2016/17 AmericasBarometer documents rising crime victimization and feelings of insecurity in many countries in the hemisphere. The failure of these states to protect and establish citizen security raises the possibility that citizens will have negative experiences with the police and lower levels of confidence that the justice system will function well and meet victims' needs. In this section, we look at how individuals these days evaluate these aspects of the justice system.

Police Responsiveness

Beginning with the 2014 AmericasBarometer round, the survey asks individuals to evaluate the likely amount of time it would take for a response if they had to call the police to their home to report a crime in progress. The question is worded as follows:

INFRA3. Suppose someone enters your home to burglarize it and you call the police. How long do you think it would take the police to arrive at your house on a typical day around noon? **[Read alternatives]**

- (1) Less than 10 minutes
- (2) Between 10 and 30 minutes
- (3) More than 30 minutes and up to an hour
- (4) More than an hour and up to three hours
- (5) More than three hours
- (6) **[DON'T READ]** There are no police/they would never arrive

In 2016/17, a majority of respondents reported that the police would arrive at their home in less than an hour (Figure 4.10), with the most common response being that the police would be there within half an hour.

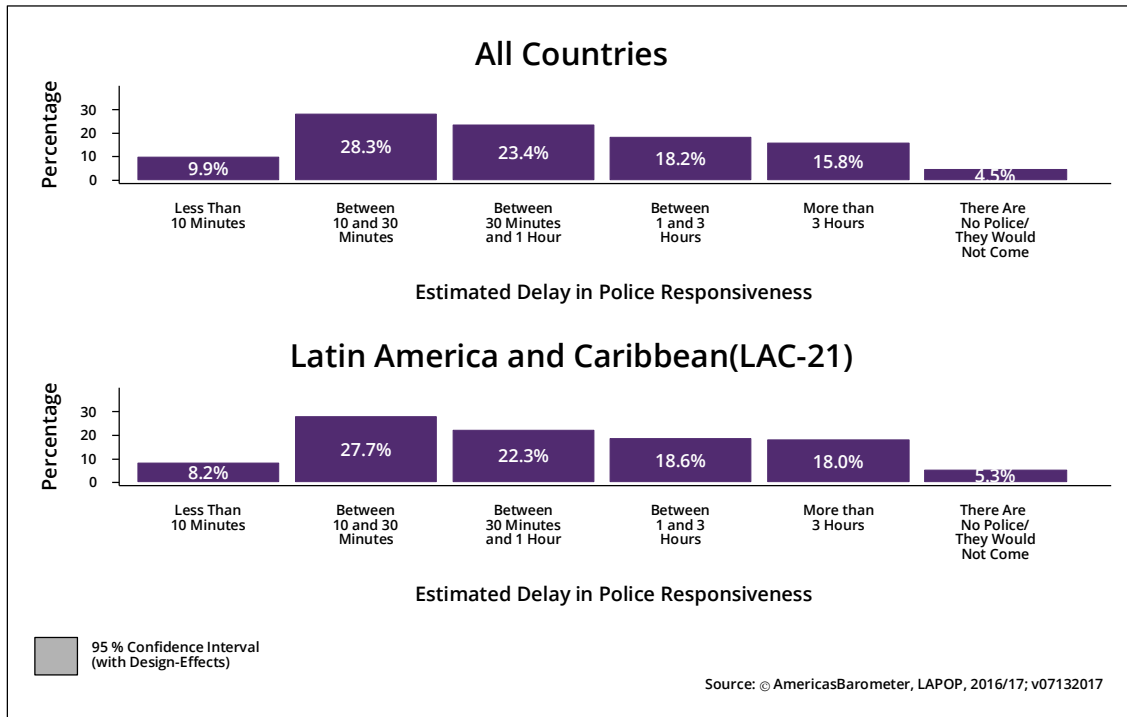


Figure 4.10. Anticipated Police Response Time, 2016/17

Yet, more than 20% of respondents across all countries surveyed believe that the police would take more than 3 hours to respond or would not come at all. Anticipated police responses are slightly slower in the LAC-21 sample, but the differences are minimal.

The percentage of individuals who report that police response is three hours or longer is slightly higher in 2016/17 than it was in 2014 (Figure 4.11). In most countries in the hemisphere, anticipated police response times are similar across 2016/17 and 2014 (Figure 4.12). As in 2014, Venezuela has the greatest proportion of its public who believes the police would take 3 hours or more to come to their house following report of a crime. The share of pessimistic respondents in Venezuela in 2016/17 is significantly larger than any other country in the sample, and anticipated police response times in Haiti and Nicaragua significantly exceed all the rest of the countries. Anticipated police response times are fastest in the United States, Canada, and Uruguay. Still, anticipated police response times changed significantly in several countries across recent years. Respondents in Honduras and Peru are significantly less likely to report this very long delay in response in 2016/17 than in 2014. Respondents in Panama and Costa Rica, in contrast, are significantly more likely to respond that police forces would take more than three hours to arrive after a crime.

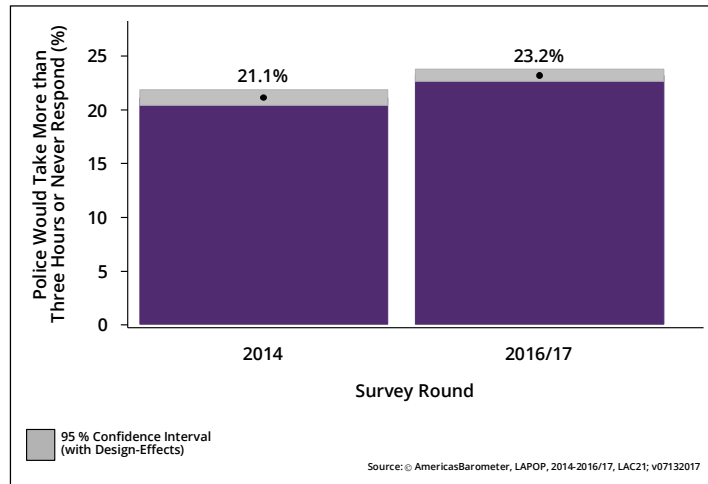


Figure 4.11. Anticipated Police Response Times in 2014 and 2016/17

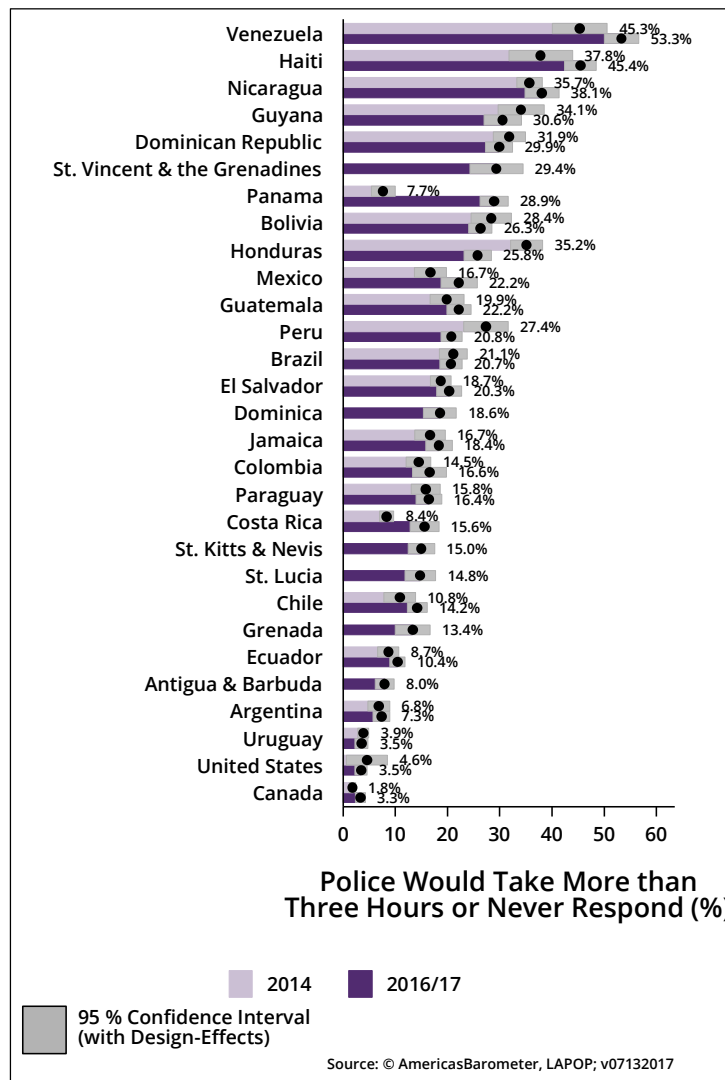


Figure 4.12. Percent Reporting Very Slow (or No) Police Response, 2014 vs. 2016/17

Perceived response times differ within countries as well as across them. Crime and insecurity are lower in rural areas, but so too is the perceived ability of police to respond to reported crimes when they occur. Women and middle-aged respondents are more pessimistic about police response times, while education is not correlated with this variable when other factors are controlled for (per analyses reported in the online appendix to this report). These differences exist even when we control for reported crime victimization levels and perceived neighborhood insecurity. The largest individual-level differences are found across levels of wealth: wealthy individuals have greater confidence that the police will come quickly to their home when needed than do poor individuals (Figure 4.13).

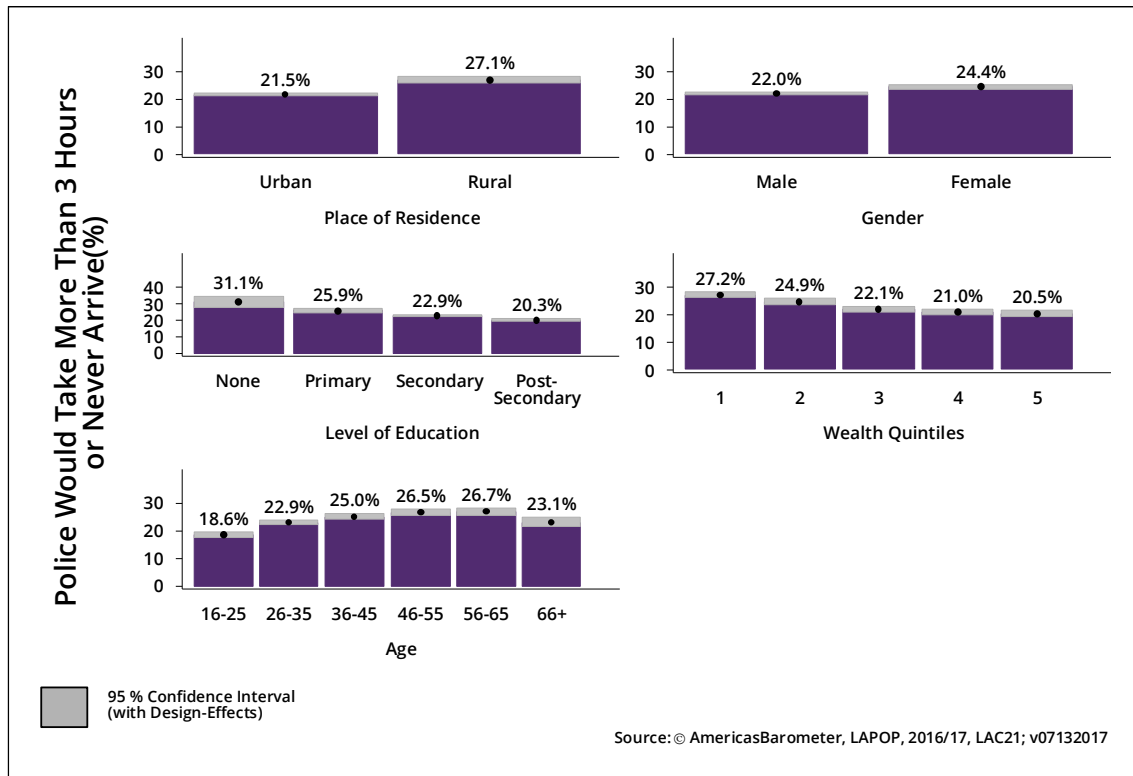


Figure 4.13. Reports of Very Slow Police Response by Demographic and Socio-Economic Subgroups in the LAC-21 Region, 2016/17

Expectations regarding police response times are also connected to experiences with crime. Individuals who believe that their neighborhood is unsafe are much more pessimistic that the police would come quickly to their home if a crime occurred (Figure 4.14). Further analyses (reported in the online appendix to this report) confirm that perceived police response times are slower in subnational regions where large numbers of respondents report being crime victims and where the average level of insecurity is high. Moving beyond these factors, individuals who are crime victims themselves are more likely to believe that the police would respond slowly if called.¹² Taken together, these results suggest that individuals who live in very insecure places or who have been crime victims may be more likely to have had negative experiences with the police that leave them less confident that the police will come and help them if they need it. Differences across wealth levels and perceived neighborhood security further suggest inequalities in how the police

¹² These differences exist even when controlling for levels of perceived neighborhood insecurity.

respond to different segments of the society, with many of the most vulnerable lacking confidence that police will respond quickly when called.

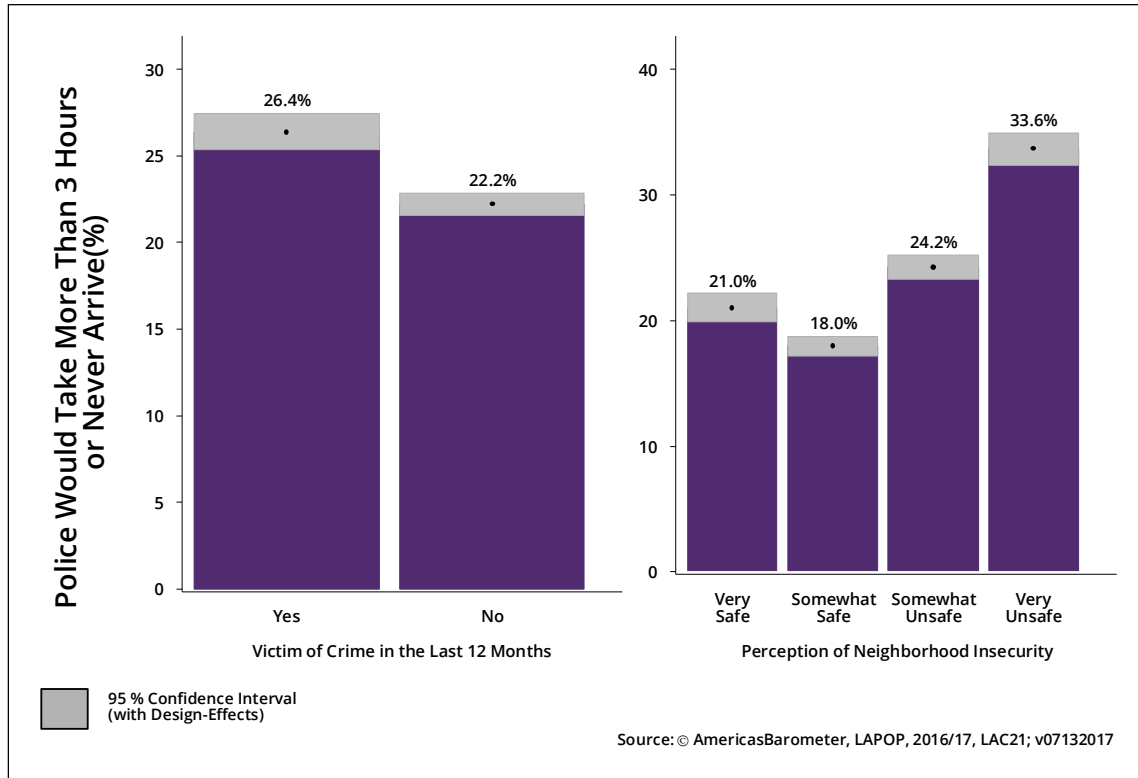


Figure 4.14. Differences in Anticipated Police Response Times by Crime Victimization and Insecurity in the LAC-21 Region, 2016/17

Bribe Solicitation by the Police

An additional concern with police is that some may use their authority as an opportunity to extract bribes from those they are supposed to protect and serve. While the AmericasBarometer survey cannot tell us what proportion of citizen-police interactions involve a bribe, it does contain a question asking respondents whether a police officer recently asked them for a bribe:

EXC2. Has a police officer asked you for a bribe in the last twelve months?
 (0) No (1) Yes

On average, most individuals are not subjected to experiences in which they are asked to pay a bribe to a police officer in the year prior. Yet nearly 1 in 10 respondents reported having a recent corrupt interaction with a law enforcement official (Figure 4.15). As the figure shows, that percentage is slightly higher (12%) in the LAC-21 countries.

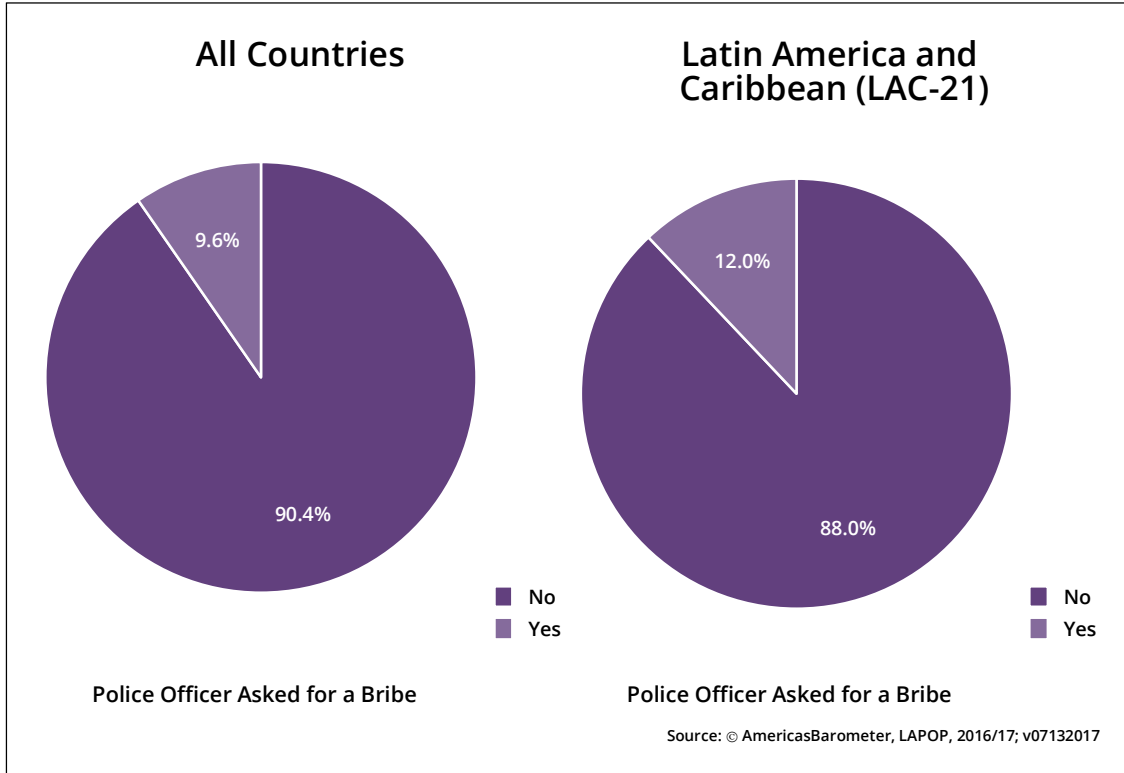


Figure 4.15. Police Officer Asked for a Bribe, 2016/17

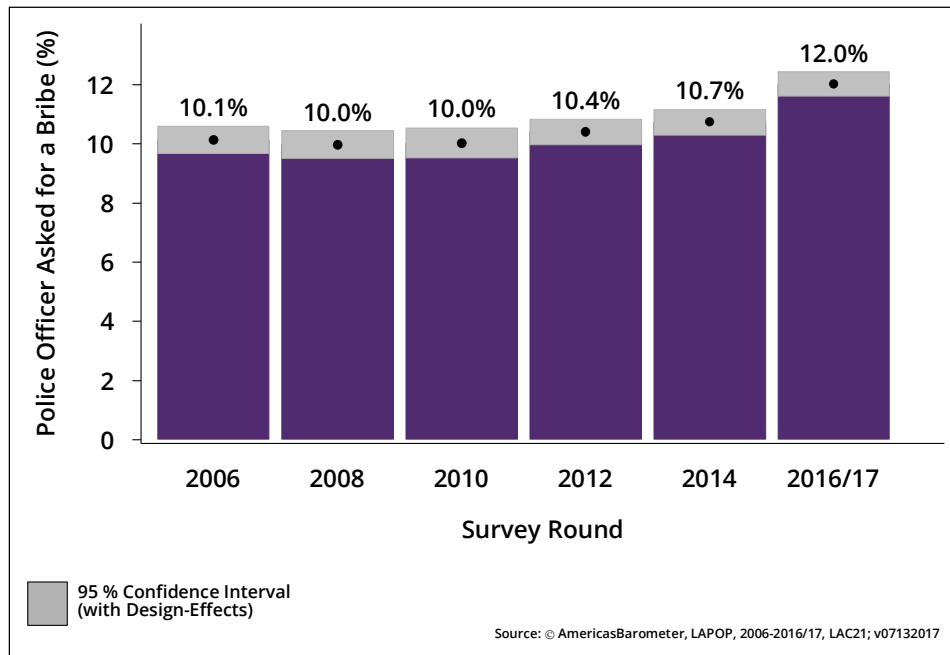


Figure 4.16. Percentage Saying Police Officer Asked for a Bribe in the LAC-21 Region, over Time

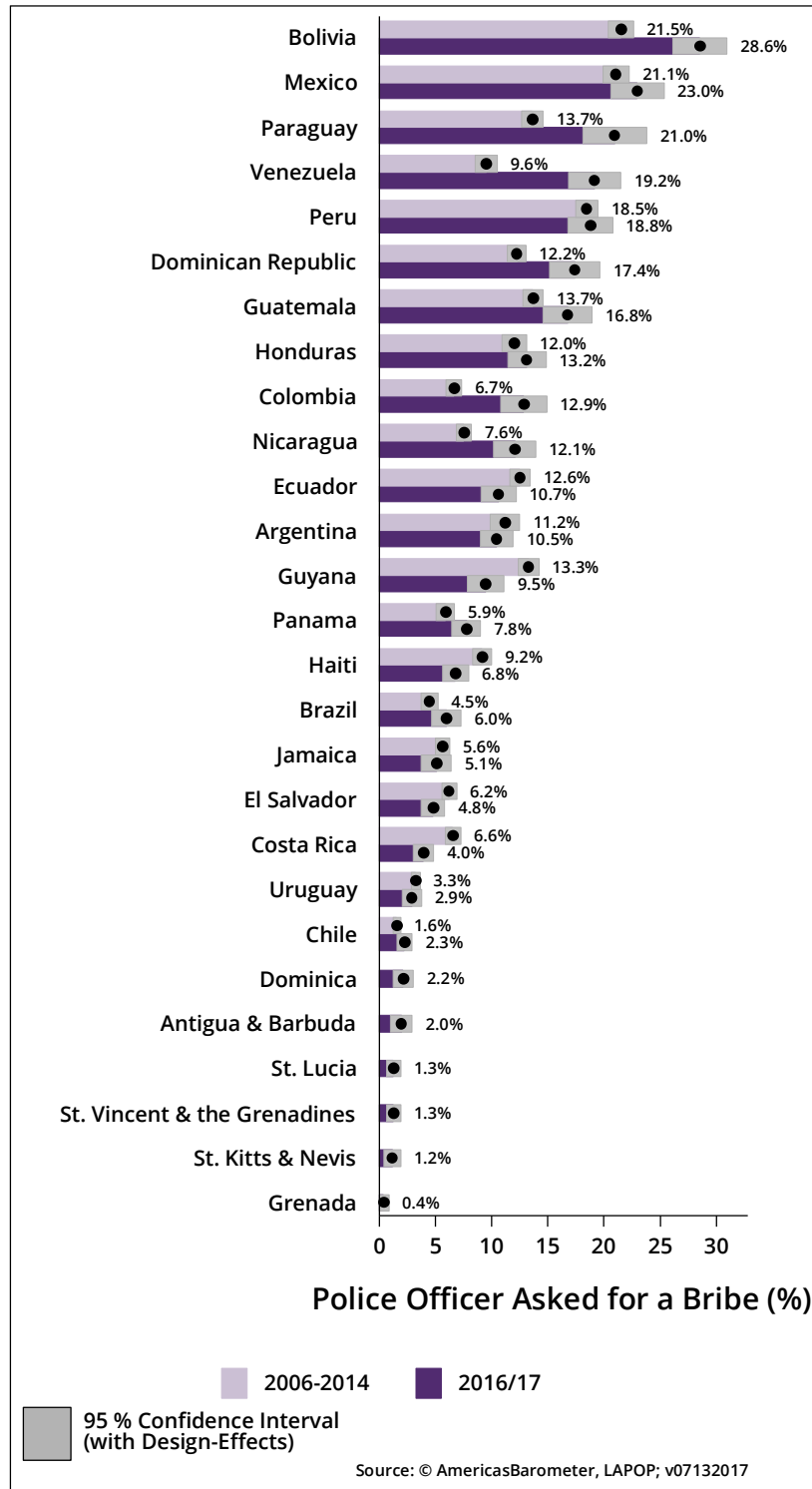


Figure 4.17. Percent Reporting Police Corruption by Country, Average for Prior Rounds vs. 2016/17

The proportion of individuals who reported being asked for a bribe by a police officer is significantly higher than in previous years, suggesting that in many countries police corruption is increasing (Figure 4.16). Reports of police corruption are significantly higher in 2016/17 than in previous rounds in Bolivia, Colombia, the Dominican Republic, Guatemala, Nicaragua, Paraguay,

and Venezuela (Figure 4.17). Reported police corruption is higher in Bolivia in 2016/17 than in any other country, with Mexico, Paraguay, Venezuela, Peru, the Dominican Republic, and Guatemala having significantly higher levels of police bribery than the other countries in the round. Yet the data also suggest that police corruption is decreasing in some countries. Indeed, the reported frequency of police bribery solicitations in Guyana, Haiti, and Costa Rica is lower in the 2016/17 AmericasBarometer than recent averages in these countries. Individuals in the OECS countries and in Chile and Uruguay are the least likely to say that police officers recently had asked them for a bribe.

Police officers tend to target for bribes those with whom they have the most frequent interactions and those who have the most to pay. Figure 4.4 showed that crime victims tend more often to be urban, male, young, educated, and wealthy. The same factors are associated with being targeted by police for payment of a bribe (Figure 4.18).¹³ Moreover, the combination of being a crime victim and feeling insecure in one’s neighborhood is associated with being asked to pay a bribe (Figure 4.19). In particular, more than one in four crime victims in an average LAC-21 country were asked to pay a bribe to police officer in the last year. Wealthy crime victims were especially likely to be asked to pay a bribe: over 30% of crime victims in the wealthiest quintile reported being asked for a bribe compared to 19% in the poorest wealth segment.

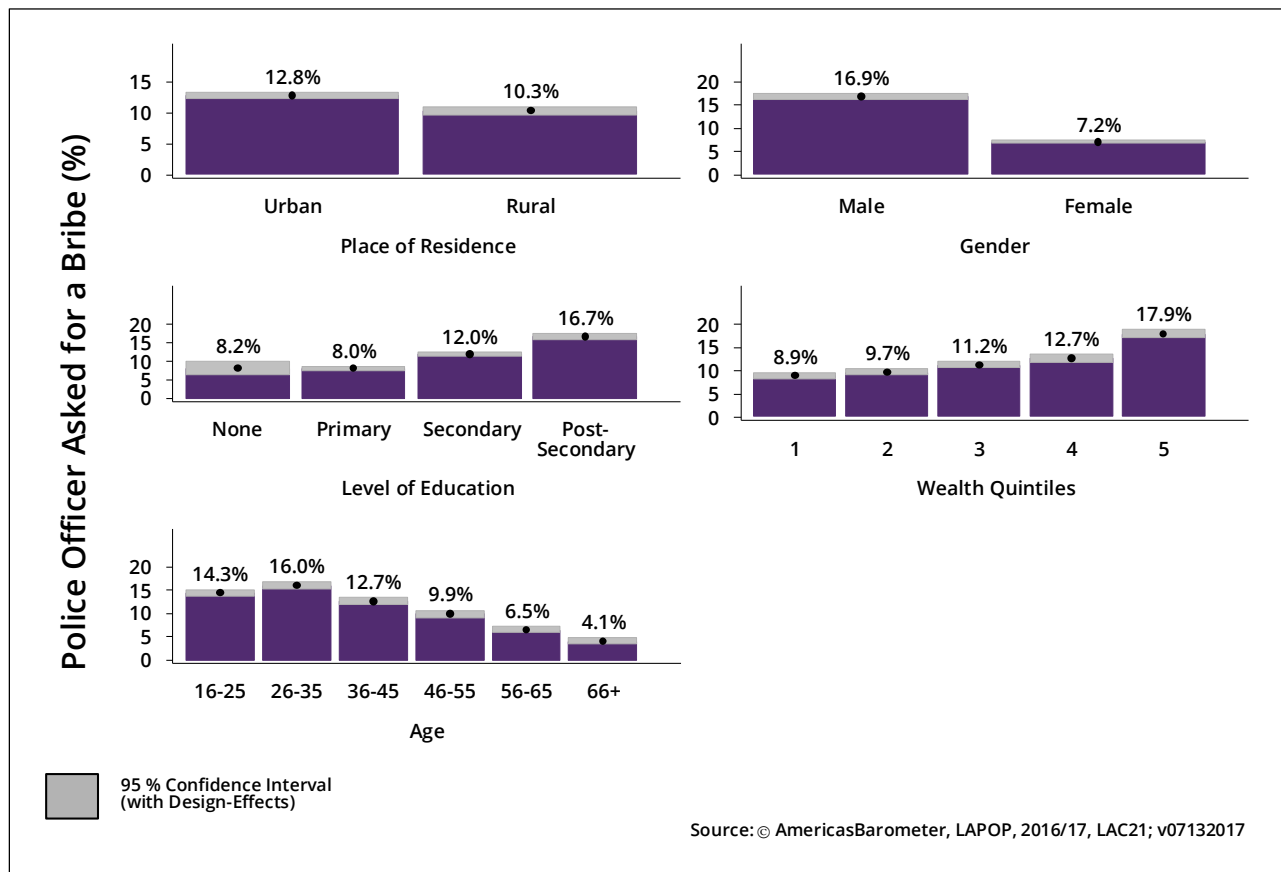


Figure 4.18. Reported Police Corruption across Demographic and Socio-Economic Subgroups in the LAC-21 Region, 2016/17

¹³ See online appendix for multivariate analyses that confirm these patterns.

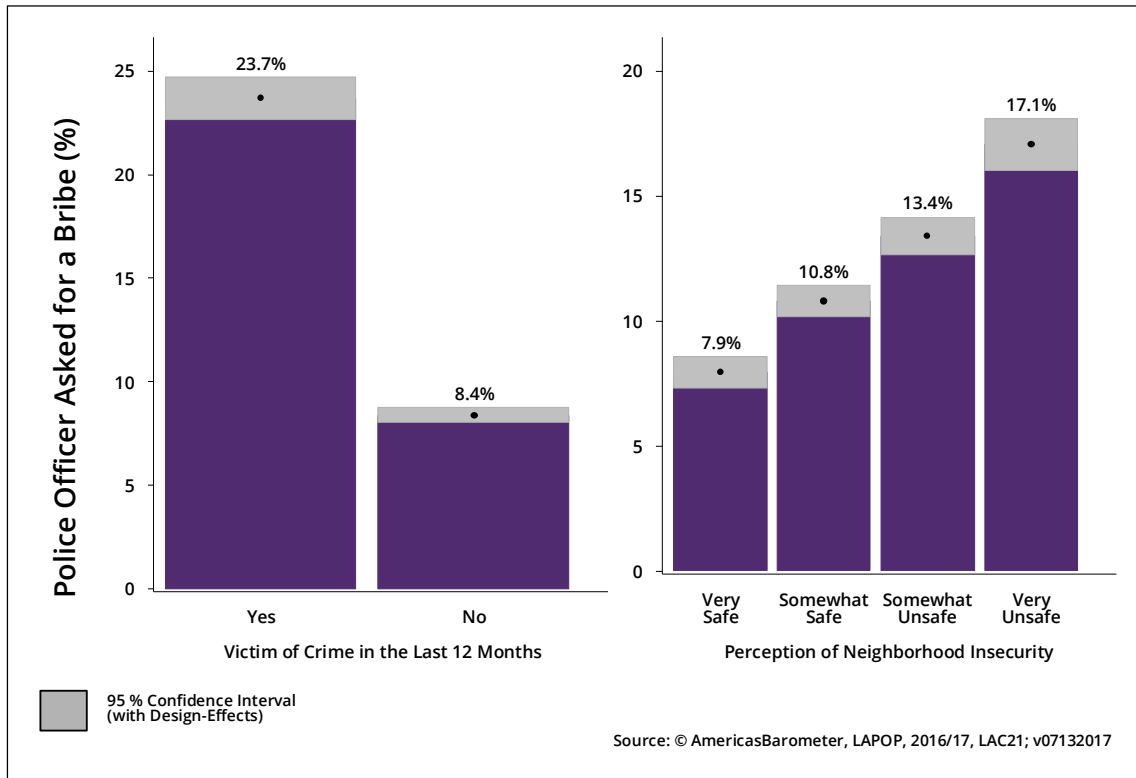


Figure 4.19. Reported Police Corruption by Crime Victimization and Insecurity in the LAC-21 Region, 2016/17

Confidence that Criminals will be Caught and Punished

The 2016/17 AmericasBarometer provides evidence that for much of the hemisphere, crime and insecurity are growing as threats. As more people fear being crime victims, how confident are they that their attackers would be punished? The survey directly asked individuals to assess the capacity of the criminal justice system to apprehend and punish criminals, by way of the following question:

AOJ12. If you were a victim of a robbery or assault how much faith do you have that the judicial system would punish the guilty? [Read alternatives]
 (1) A lot (2) Some (3) Little (4) None

In general, few individuals are confident that the justice system would be able to punish their assailant; the most common level of confidence is “none”, followed by “a little” (Figure 4.20). On average for the region, less than 20% of respondents are very confident that the justice system would work as designed. Pessimism is even higher in the LAC-21 countries, with 34.9% of participants reporting no confidence that the judiciary would publish criminals. In 19 of the 29 countries in the 2016/17 AmericasBarometer, the majority of the public expresses little or no confidence that their attacker would be punished (Figure 4.22).

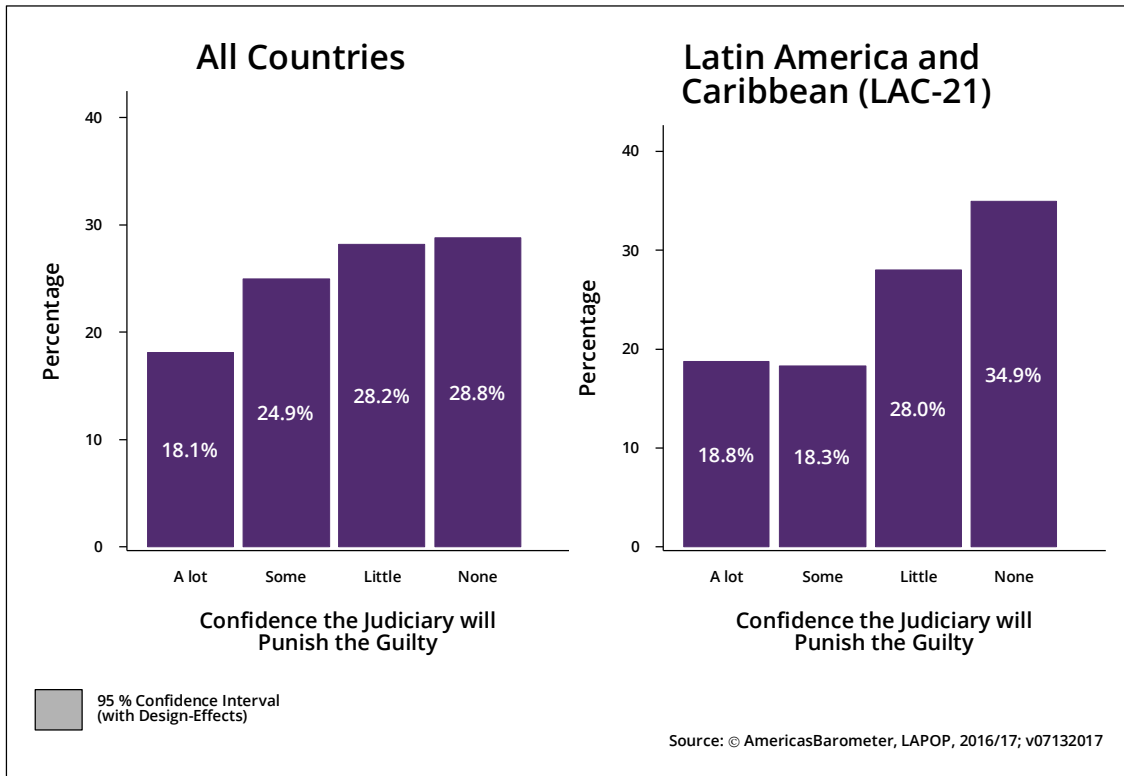


Figure 4.20. Confidence that the Judiciary Would Punish the Guilty, 2016/17

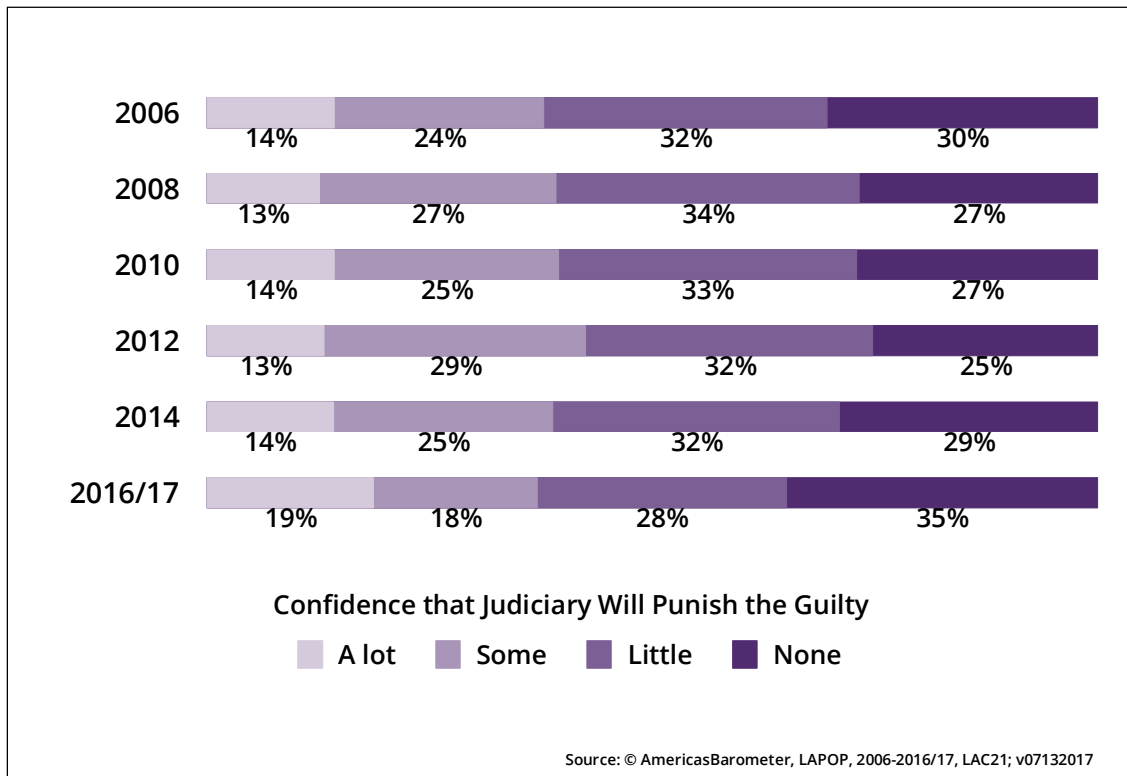


Figure 4.21. Confidence that the Judiciary Would Punish the Guilty over Time in the LAC-21 Region

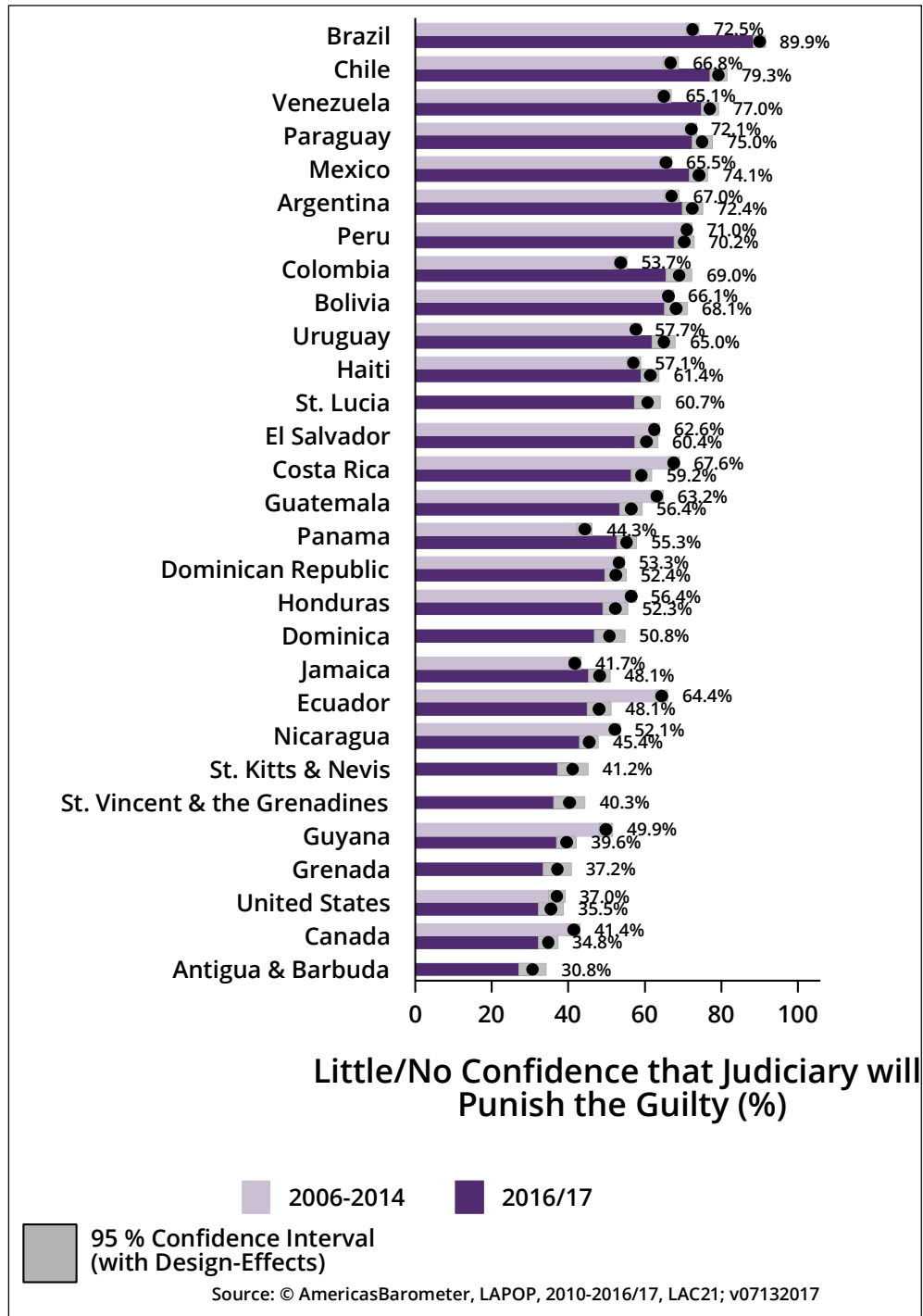


Figure 4.22. Confidence that the Judiciary Would Punish the Guilty by Country, Average for Prior Rounds vs. 2016/17

While most respondents in 2016/17 are not very confident in the justice system, the 2016/17 AmericasBarometer round captured shifts in both extreme optimism and pessimism about the ability of justice systems to catch and punish criminals. The proportion of the public with no confidence that the criminal would be punished is at its highest level in 2016/17 (Figure 4.21). This is the first round of the AmericasBarometer in which “no confidence” that the criminal would be punished appears as the most common answer. Yet the proportion of respondents who are very

confident in the justice system in this round of the AmericasBarometer is also higher than it has been at any previous time in the survey project's history.

The increases in both high and low confidence reflect divergent dynamics across countries (Figure 4.22). In several countries, the proportion of individuals with little or no confidence that the judiciary would punish their attacker increased significantly compared to their historical average. Brazil had already seen a large increase in pessimism about the justice system's response to crime in the 2014 AmericasBarometer (the percentage of respondents with little or no confidence increased by 12 points between the 2012 and 2014 rounds), but the proportion of individuals with little or no confidence increased in 2016/17 by another 9 percentage points. Other significant increases in pessimism occurred in Argentina, Chile, Colombia, Haiti, Jamaica, Mexico, Panama, Uruguay, and Venezuela. Yet Canada, Costa Rica, Ecuador, Guatemala, Guyana, and Nicaragua all saw significant increases in the number of people who had a lot or some confidence that their attackers would be caught and punished. These represent either new gains (Costa Rica, Guatemala, and Guyana) or continuations of recent positive trends (Canada and Ecuador).

Public belief that criminals would be punished differs across levels of wealth and education, with the wealthiest and most educated respondents in an average country being the least convinced that the judiciary would actually punish their attackers (Figure 4.23). These individuals are more confident that the police would respond quickly if they called them, but express little confidence that the perpetrator would actually be punished were police to come. Confidence that the judicial system will punish the guilty is also lower among those living in urban areas.

Underlying some of these differences across groups is crime victims' pessimism that criminals will be caught and punished (Figure 4.24). Individuals who do not feel secure in their neighborhood or who live in areas where the number of crime victims is high are also less confident that criminals will be punished (see analysis in the online appendix). Thus, as crime has risen in many parts of the hemisphere, citizens in affected areas are less confident that the judicial system can do anything to stop it. Moreover, individuals who have been solicited to pay a bribe by a police officer are also substantially less confident in the justice system's ability to punish the guilty. The data thus suggest that as crime increases and police corruption goes unchecked, citizens' trust that the rule of law will be applied properly declines.

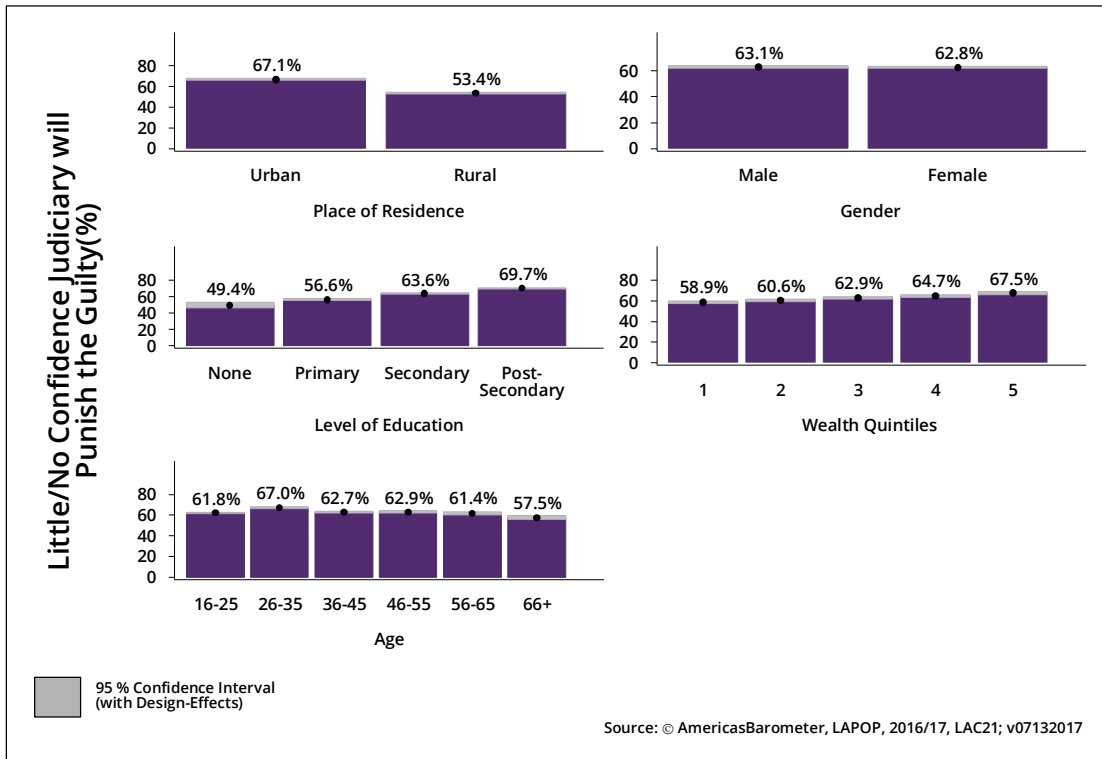


Figure 4.23. Variation by Demographic and Socio-Economic Subgroups in Confidence that the Justice System Would Punish the Guilty in the LAC-21 Region, 2016/17

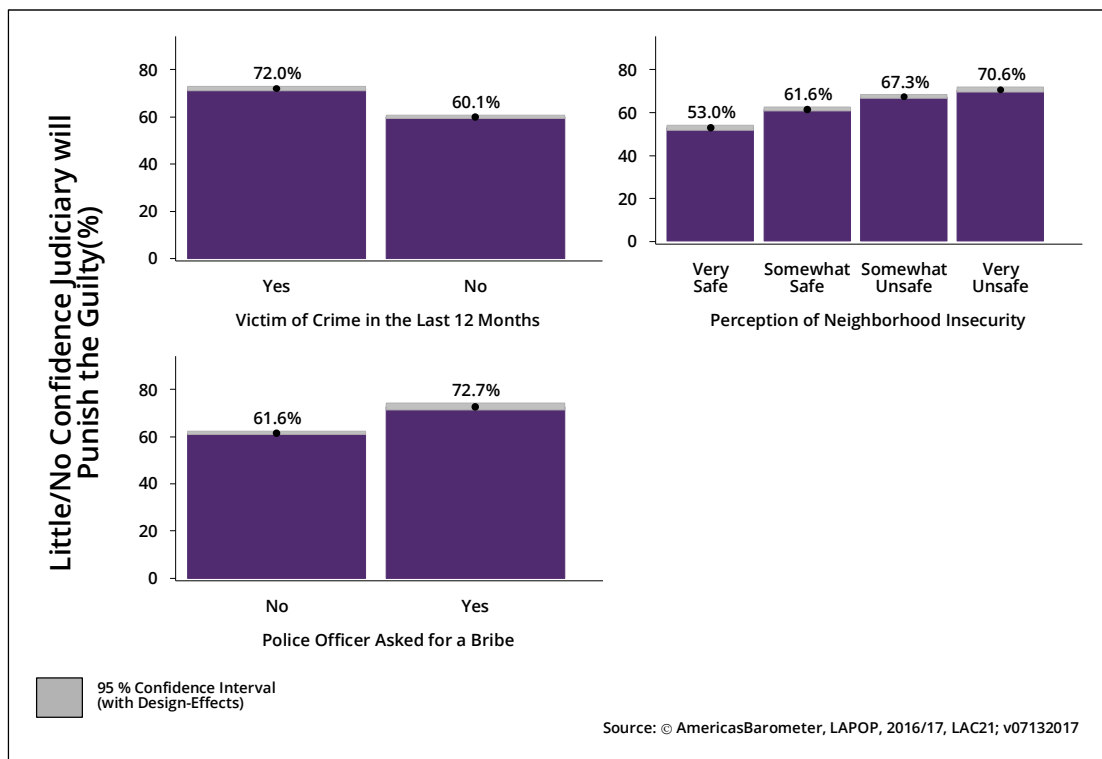


Figure 4.24. Crime Exposure and Confidence that the Justice System Would Punish the Guilty, 2016/17

V. Conclusion

The 2016/17 AmericasBarometer brings into sharp relief the overarching threat of crime and violence in many countries within the Latin America and Caribbean region. One in five individuals in an average country were crime victims in the last year, while one in three feels somewhat or very unsafe in their neighborhood. The AmericasBarometer also demonstrates a lack of citizen satisfaction with how the justice system responds to these challenges. Thirty-eight percent of the public, on average, says that if they called the police to report a crime it would take more than an hour for the police to respond and twenty percent believe it would take more than three hours, if they came at all. More than half of individuals, on average for the region, have little or no confidence that the justice system would ultimately end up punishing a hypothetical criminal. Finally, 10% of people in an average country surveyed within the 2016/17 AmericasBarometer report that the police asked them for a bribe in the last year. Negative and declining attitudes towards the justice system often reflect real experiences, as those who were crime victims or feel unsafe in their neighborhoods are most likely to report that the police will be slow, that the justice system is ineffective, and that the police target them for bribes.

An emerging literature suggests that these failures to prevent crime and reduce insecurity have negative effects on public support for incumbent political parties (Ley 2017; Pérez 2015; Romero et al. 2016). Yet the effects are not limited to incumbent actors developing anti-crime policies but instead spill over to citizens' views of the political system more broadly. In particular, system support is generally lower among crime victims and those who live in insecure areas. Figure 4.25 illustrates that pattern. System support is also lower among those who believe that the police would be slow in responding to a crime at their house, who were asked by the police to pay a bribe, and who do not believe that the justice system can punish the guilty. These patterns are significant even when controlling for crime victimization, perceived insecurity, and demographic factors (see the online appendix to the report). If citizens feel unsafe or recognize that the state is unable to respond to calls for help, enforce the law, or prevent police corruption, then satisfaction with existing institutions is likely to weaken.

The 2016/17 AmericasBarometer shows that crime and insecurity in the LAC region are not only common but are getting worse in many countries. Crime victimization rates, perceived neighborhood insecurity, pessimism about police response time, reports of police bribery, and pessimism that the judiciary would punish the guilty are all significantly higher in 2016/17 than they were in 2014 in the LAC-21 countries. Taken together, these data present a picture of citizenries who frequently feel that state efforts to fight crime and enforce the law are failing.

Yet these trends differ significantly across countries and within them. Looking across countries, crime and insecurity are above their recent averages in the majority of the countries, but the increase has been larger in some countries than in others. Venezuela stands out in particular as a case where insecurity is spiraling into crisis. It has the highest reported crime victimization and neighborhood insecurity scores in the hemisphere, the slowest perceived police response, and among the highest police bribery rates and levels of pessimism about the ability of the justice system to punish criminals. All of these failings are significant deviations from previous survey rounds. For example, in no prior round did the reported crime victimization rate in Venezuela surpass 25%; in contrast, in 2016/17 more than 40% of Venezuelan respondents reported being crime victims. While Mexico, Peru, Bolivia, the Dominican Republic, and Brazil also have had poor performance on this and other indicators, the scope of the insecurity problem in Venezuela and

the size of the departure from recent levels in that country are troubling. The OECS countries stand out, in comparison, for their low crime and insecurity rates compared to the rest of the hemisphere.

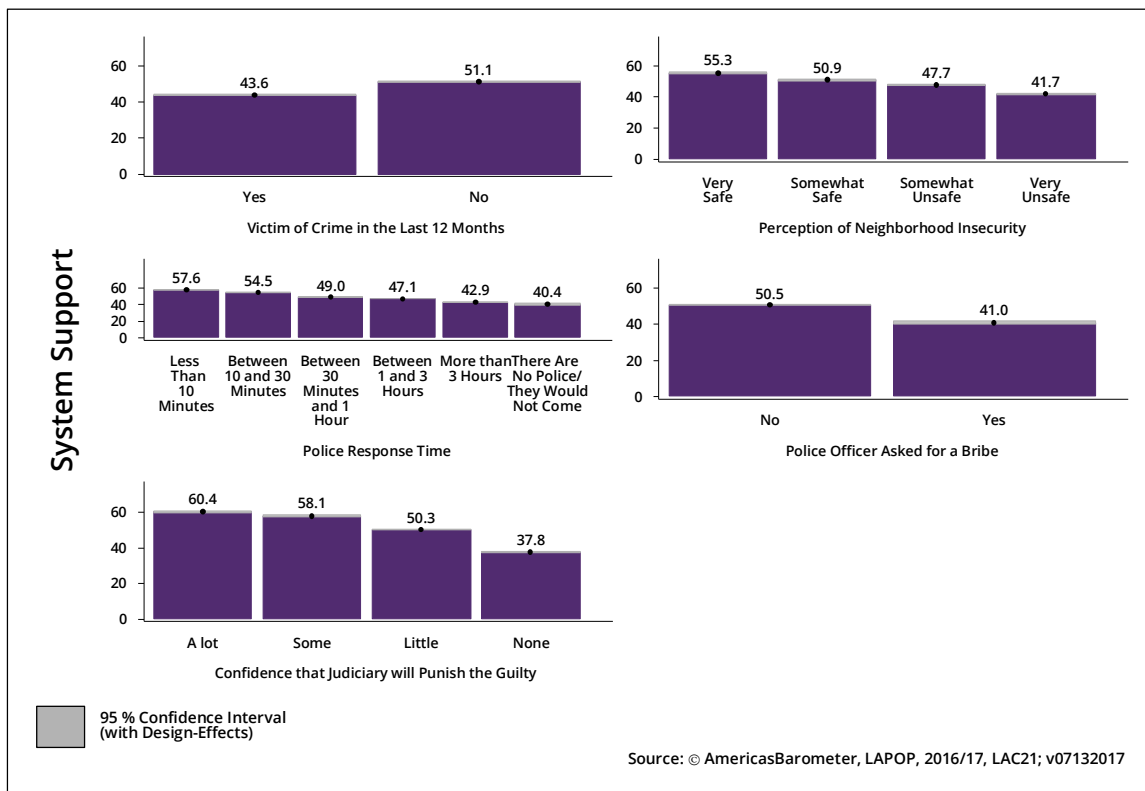


Figure 4.25. System Support Differs by Crime Victimization, Insecurity, and Evaluations of Justice System Performance in the LAC-21 Region

Significant changes in selected indicators of state performance are also observed in a handful of cases throughout this chapter. These differences across countries and within them over time suggest that there is room for improved policy design to reduce insecurity and strengthen the state's responses such that the police will be more honest and respond more quickly, and the justice system will have more success in capturing and convicting criminals.

Looking within countries, groups differ in their exposure to the threat of violence and their access to the justice system. The most consistent pattern in these data is that crime and policing differ significantly between urban and rural areas. Individuals who live in urban areas have more access to police who will respond quickly, but they also have more crime, feel more insecure, experience more police corruption, and have less confidence that criminals will be punished. Rural areas are not immune from crime and insecurity, but it is in urban areas where crime problems are most pronounced in 2016/17.

The relationship between security and wealth is more complicated. The wealthy are just as likely to be crime victims as are the poor, and the recent increase in crime victimization rates hit the wealthiest just as hard as it has hit the poor. This suggests that there are limits to how well wealth can insulate individuals from experiencing violence. Yet wealthy individuals feel safer in their neighborhoods than do poor individuals and report that the police would respond relatively quickly if they were called to their homes after a crime. The recent increase in perceived insecurity

has also been more pronounced among the poor than the wealthy. The wealthy also tend to perceive more flaws in the state response to crime, as they are more likely to report police extortion and to express doubt that the state can actually punish criminals. Wealth does not protect individuals from the negative effects of crime, but it changes how respondents experience it and how they interact with the state.

Box 4.1. Prevalence of Homicides in Individuals' Neighborhoods

There are more homicides per capita in Latin America and the Caribbean than in any other region, but traditional survey measures about crime victimization do not capture direct exposure to this form of violence. Beginning in 2014 the AmericasBarometer added a question asking about whether homicides occurred in respondents' neighborhoods, followed by a question about how often those murders occurred:

VICBAR7. Have there been any murders in the last 12 months in your neighborhood? (1) Yes (2) No
VICBAR7F How many times did this occur: once a week, once or twice a month, once or twice a year? (1) Once a week (2) Once or twice a month (3) Once or twice a year

In the 2014 AmericasBarometer round this question was asked of the entire sample (See Hinton et al. 2014, 24). In the 2016/17 round, this question was asked in a subset of countries in which this form of violence was particularly salient: Brazil, El Salvador, Guatemala, Guyana, Honduras, Mexico, and Venezuela. In these countries, we can thus look at trends in perceived homicides across the two rounds. Interpretation of the data is complicated by the fact that recall of events like homicides is affected both by the frequency with which they occur and by their salience. The question also asks about murders in respondents' neighborhoods, which means that countries where murders occur in diverse locations will have higher reported levels of homicides than countries where homicides are concentrated geographically. In sum, these data measure perceptions of homicide-related violence in respondents' personal lives, not necessarily the amount of violence in a country.

In 2016/17, murders were seen as a frequent part of life in many neighborhoods in these countries. Roughly two in five people in these seven countries reported that a murder had occurred in their neighborhood in the last year (Figure B4.1). Of those individuals who reported a murder had occurred, half estimated that there had been one or two murders in the last year, whereas the rest estimated that the murders occurred monthly or more frequently.

The perceived frequency of homicides differs significantly across countries (Figure B4.2). These differences do not reflect official homicide rates, as El Salvador and Honduras have per capita homicide rates that far surpass those in Brazil and Mexico and that are higher than the homicide rate in Venezuela. Yet violence is so common and salient in Brazil and Venezuela that nearly two-thirds of respondents in those two countries said that murders occurred in their neighborhood in the past year. This is a sharp increase from the 51% of Brazilians reporting that a murder occurred in their neighborhood in 2014 – the highest rate reported in the hemisphere in that round. Respondents in Central American nations reported fewer homicides in their neighborhoods and even in Guyana, the country with the lowest reported neighborhood homicide rate, more than 1 in 8 respondents (13.3%) could recall a murder in their neighborhood.

The data also suggest that experiencing (having awareness of proximity to) murders is becoming increasingly common in these seven countries: On average, the share of individuals reporting a murder in their neighborhood has increased by more than 10 percentage points since 2014 (Figure B4.2).

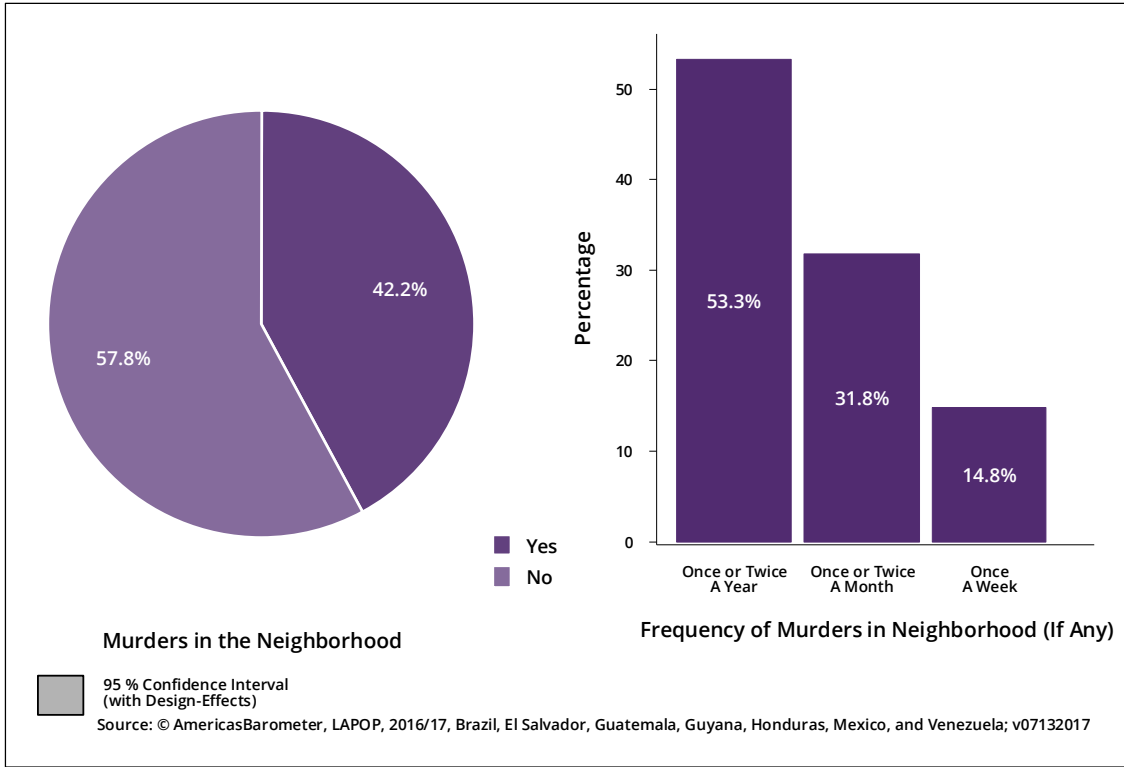


Figure B4.1. Murders in the Neighborhood in Selected Countries, 2016/17

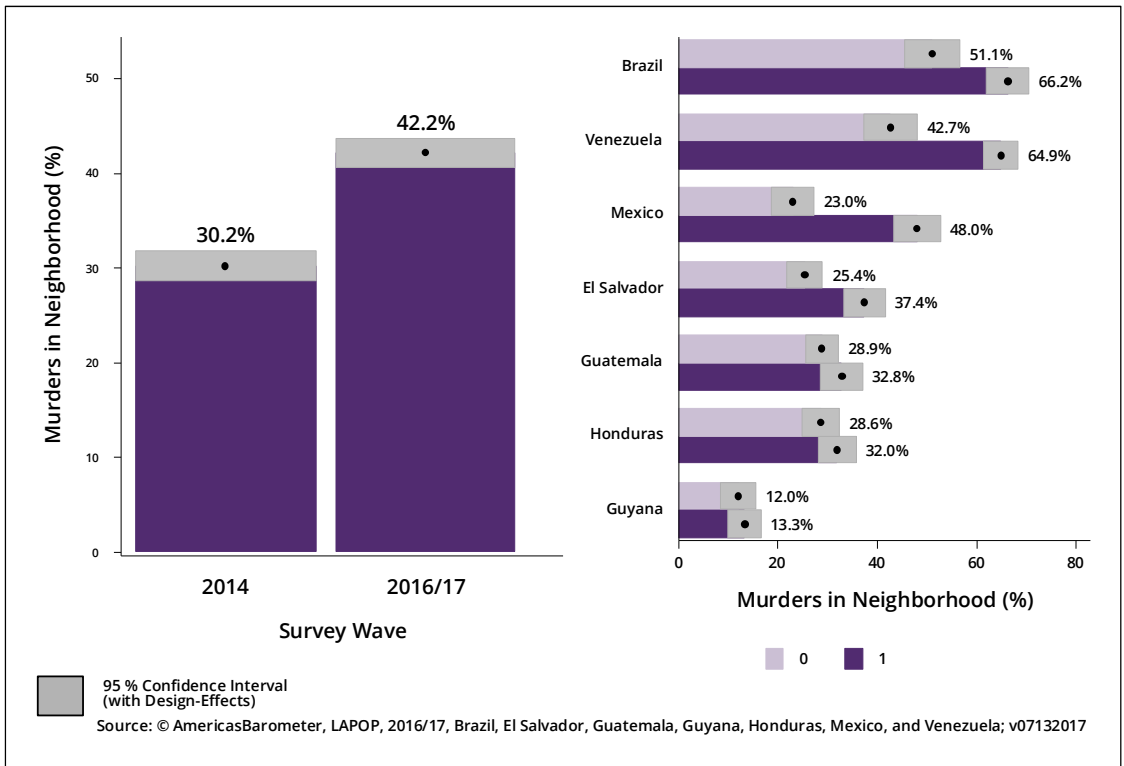


Figure B4.2. Trends in Reporting Neighborhood Murders over Time, 2014-2016/17

The largest increases occurred in Venezuela and Mexico, where the number of individuals reporting murders in their neighborhood increased by more than 20 percentage points. Significant increases also occurred in Brazil (15%) and El Salvador (12%). The remaining three countries saw levels of reported violence that were unchanged; however, in no country did perceived neighborhood violence decrease between the 2014 and 2016/17 rounds.

Consistent with the other findings in this chapter, there is a large difference in reported murders across neighborhoods in urban and rural areas (Figure B4.3). Yet even in rural areas, nearly 25% of individuals in these countries reported that a murder occurred near where they live. Although cities are more dangerous than is the countryside, no area is fully insulated. Women and men both notice murders at the same rate, but older respondents perceive fewer homicides than younger respondents. There are no statistically significant differences in reported neighborhood murders across wealth quintiles: While the rich feel more secure in their neighborhoods in these countries (Figure 4.9 above), wealth is not sufficient to insulate Latin American and Caribbean residents from extreme violence in their neighborhoods.¹

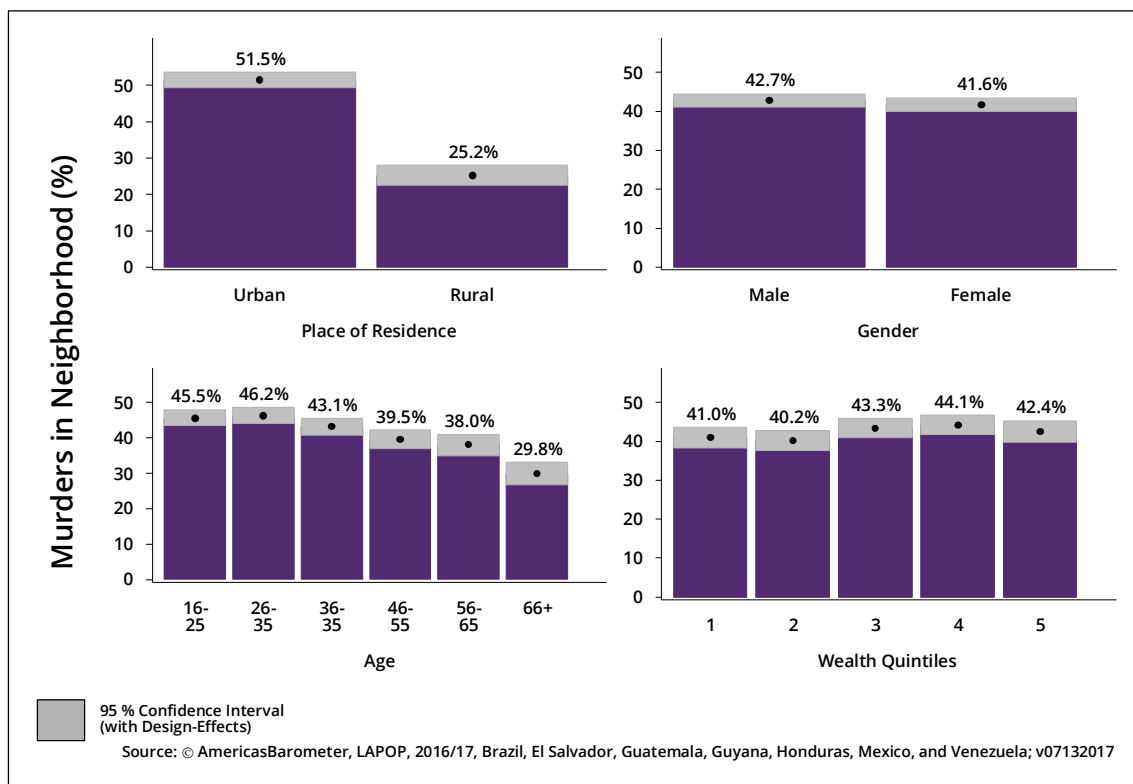


Figure B4.3. Demographic and Socio-Economic Predictors of Reporting Murders in Neighborhood, 2016/17

¹There is similarly no significant relationship between wealth and neighborhood homicide awareness in analysis that controls for other demographic features. In raw data not presented in Figure B4.3, more educated respondents are more likely to report that murders occurred in their neighborhood, but that pattern disappears once urban/rural differences are controlled for, suggesting that the higher reported murder awareness for the most educated respondents reflects their concentration in urban areas.



Chapter 5.

Democracy, Performance, and Local Government in the Americas

Gregory J. Love

I. Introduction

Citizen interactions with the state occur most frequently through the representatives and officials of local, rather than national or even regional, governments. This can be with members of town councils, public school teachers, local police officers, public health clinics, or myriad other services and regulations controlled by local governments. Consequently, local government performance, responsiveness, and trustworthiness are central factors in the legitimacy of the political system and may influence general life satisfaction. Because the performance of local services influences citizens' quality of life, it has been a focus of policymakers for decades. With recognition of the importance of local government, international organizations and national governments have funneled resources and political effort into fiscal and political decentralization. Over the past 30 years, there has been a consistent and at times effective push for countries throughout the region to shift resources and responsibilities from national bureaucracies to local governments.¹ Yet, the results of such efforts are unclear, the efficacy uncertain, and their impacts hotly debated.

To assess the role of local governments in consolidating democracy, facilitating political efficacy, securing people's lives, and contributing to life satisfaction, this chapter examines a series of questions from the 2016/17 round of the AmericasBarometer related to citizens' views of their local government and its services and community participation in the Americas. How often does the public interact with local government? How well do individuals evaluate the performance of government? What are the trends over the past decade in evaluations of local government and services? How does the perceived performance of local government shape how satisfied individuals are with their lives? And what factors predict people's trust in their local government?

A core premise motivating this chapter is that local government can effectively shape citizens' attitudes towards democracy as a whole, a point supported in Chapter 6. The next section identifies this chapter's main findings with respect to citizens' assessments of and participation in local government and services.

¹ While the local level of government is often where citizens interact directly with the state, the power of local governments varies substantially within and across the countries of the hemisphere. Some local authorities have significant resources, lawmaking prerogatives, and administrative power, while others have little political and fiscal autonomy. Moreover, local governments may be more or less democratic (see, e.g., Benton 2012).

II. Main Findings

This chapter examines four key aspects of citizen engagement with local government measured by the AmericasBarometer survey. The first is participation in local government affairs and community activities. The key findings are:

- In 2016/17, region-average citizen participation in local government meetings reached new highs, with numerous countries seeing increased participation in local government. Venezuela, in particular, has seen a dramatic increase in citizen participation.

A second section of the chapter focuses on evaluations of local services. We find that:

- Overall, evaluations of public services in the hemisphere have continuously declined since 2010.
- Venezuela, Haiti, and the Dominican Republic saw notable declines in satisfaction with public services in 2016/17.
- Perceptions of the economy, security, and corruption victimization are major predictors of satisfaction with services.

A third section of the chapter looks at respondent life satisfaction, where we document that:

- Average levels of reported life satisfaction have remained stable since 2004.
- Venezuela and Paraguay are exceptions, showing marked declines since 2014.
- Satisfaction with local services is the strongest predictor of life satisfaction, with economic, security, and corruption factors also significant.

The final section of the chapter looks at citizen trust in local governments. This section finds that:

- Average trust in local government in the region rebounded slightly from a low in 2014 but remains below 2010 levels.
- Evaluations of local services are strongly correlated with trust in local government.
- Being a victim of corruption is negatively related to trust in local government.

The rest of the chapter focuses on these four main aspects of local government interaction, public services, life satisfaction, and trust in local government. First, we look at how and how often citizens in the Americas interact with their local governments and work to improve their community. The section examines patterns and trends within the Americas as well as over the past fourteen years of the AmericasBarometer. We then turn to citizens' evaluations of local services (roads, schools, and health care) along with the individual-level factors related to citizen evaluations of these services. Next, we examine patterns of life satisfaction in the region and the local and national factors that shape life satisfaction. Finally, we look at levels of trust in municipalities over time and in select countries, as well as its individual-level correlates. The chapter concludes by discussing the relations among interaction with, support for, and evaluations of local government.



III. Local Government, Participation, Institutional Trust, and Democracy

While decentralization has occurred in many developing countries, it is especially pronounced in Latin America and the Caribbean (Rondinelli, Nellis, and Cheema 1983). It has occurred simultaneously with the Third Wave of democratization in the hemisphere (Huntington 1991), fostering an environment of both strengthened local governments and widespread adoption of democratic procedures for representation at the local level. However, there is significant variation in the success and extent of decentralization and subnational democratization in the Americas (Benton 2012).

Research on the efficacy of decentralization and local democratic governance reaches mixed conclusions. Some authors argue that increased decentralization yielded positive outcomes for governance and democracy, while others find little effect. Faguet's (2008) study of Bolivia's 1994 decentralization process shows it changed local and national investment patterns in ways that benefited municipalities with the greatest needs in education, sanitation, and agriculture. Akai and Sakata's (2002) findings also show that fiscal decentralization in the United States had a positive impact on economic growth. Moreover, Fisman and Gatti's (2002) cross-country research finds that fiscal decentralization in government expenditures leads to lower corruption.

However, others argue that decentralization does not always produce efficient or democratic results and can be problematic when local governments and communities are ill-prepared. Bardhan (2002) warns that local governments in developing countries are often controlled by elites who take advantage of institutions and frustrate service delivery and development. Willis, Garman, and Haggard (1999) show that in Mexico, decentralizing administrative power and expanding subnational taxing capacity led to the deterioration of services and to increasing inequality in poorer states. Galiani, Gertler, and Schargrodsky (2005) find that while decentralization improved Argentine secondary student performance overall, performance declined in schools in poor areas and in provinces with weak technical capabilities. Moreover, as Van Cott (2008) argues, the success of local democracy often depends on whether the decentralization process was bottom-up or top-down, as well as the presence of effective mayoral leadership, party cohesiveness, and a supportive civil society. Relatedly, Falletti (2010) argues that the nature and extent of decentralization is due to the territorial and partisan interests of elites at the time reforms are implemented. In sum, the extant literature is mixed with regard to the effectiveness of decentralization in the region.

Local government performance may also affect trust in democratic institutions and support for democratic norms. Since many citizens only interact with government at the local level, those experiences may be central to shaping democratic attitudes. In this chapter and the next, we look at these linkages because a significant proportion of citizens may rely on experiences with local government when evaluating democracy and democratic institutions. In a study of Bolivia, Hiskey and Seligson (2003) show that decentralization can improve system support, but also that relying on local government performance as a basis of evaluation of the system in general can become a problem when local institutions do not perform well. Weitz-Shapiro (2008) also finds that Argentine citizens rely on evaluations of local government to assess democracy as a whole. According to her study, citizens distinguish between different dimensions of local government performance; perceptions of local corruption affect satisfaction with democracy, but perceptions of bureaucratic efficiency do not. And using 2010 AmericasBarometer data, Jones-West (2011) finds



that citizens who have more contact with and who are more satisfied with local government are more likely to hold democratic values.

If local government performance and participation are central to democratic legitimacy, as we argue, then inclusion at the local level of minorities and women is crucial, especially to the degree this affects representation and the quality of democracy. A pivotal question in this realm is whether decentralization can improve the representation of groups that are historically marginalized, such as women and racial or ethnic minorities. Scholarship on this topic usually views local institutions as channels through which minorities can express their interests (Hirschmann 1970). Moreover, local public officials may be better than national officials at aggregating and articulating minority preferences, effectively enhancing minority representation (Hayek 1945). If decentralization contributes to minority representation, it may also lead to increased levels of systems support and satisfaction with democracy, especially among minority groups (Jones-West 2011).

Nonetheless, existing research has produced mixed results (see Pape 2008, 2009). Patterson (2002) finds that the decentralization of electoral laws in Senegal in 1996 led to an increase in the proportion of women participating in local politics, but not to more women-friendly policies. Jones-West (2001) shows that recent decentralization in Latin America has not increased minority inclusion or access to local government. The 2014 AmericasBarometer report found no relationship between, on the one hand, gender and skin tone (a proxy for minority status in many countries) and, on the other hand, which individuals made demands on local officials. However, the 2012 report did find significant linkages between trust in the local government and gender (positive) and darker skin tones (negative). In this chapter, with new data, we reexamine the linkages that have developed among local governments and women and minorities.

In the next section, we examine citizens' participation in local politics in the Americas. We focus on a measure of direct participation: *attending town meetings*. We compare the extent to which citizens from different countries participate in local politics through these formal channels, and we compare the cross-national results from 2016/17 with those from previous rounds. In particular, we examine recent trends in local government participation with a focus on national-level changes between the 2014 and 2016/17 rounds of the AmericasBarometer.

We note that previous work using the AmericasBarometer surveys, including the 2012 and 2104 regional reports, has examined in detail some of these phenomena, and that research stands as an additional resource for those interested in these topics (see, e.g., Montalvo 2009a, 2009b, 2010).

IV. Local-Level Participation

The 2016/17 AmericasBarometer included a question that measures citizens' engagement with the local political system as follows:

Now let's talk about your local municipality...
NP1. Have you attended a town meeting, city council meeting or other meeting in the past 12 months? (1) Yes (2) No

Local Meeting Attendance

How has participation in municipal meetings evolved in recent years? Using all countries that asked the question in 2016/17, Figure 5.1 shows levels of local participation in the LAC-21 countries since 2004.^{2,3} The 2016/17 round shows a dramatic increase in local meeting attendance, reaching a new high in the dataset. Approximately 13% of citizens attended a local government meeting in the 12 months prior to the most recent survey. Prior to 2016/17, there had been two waves of decline in local meeting attendance, first from 2004 to 2008 and then from 2010 to 2014.

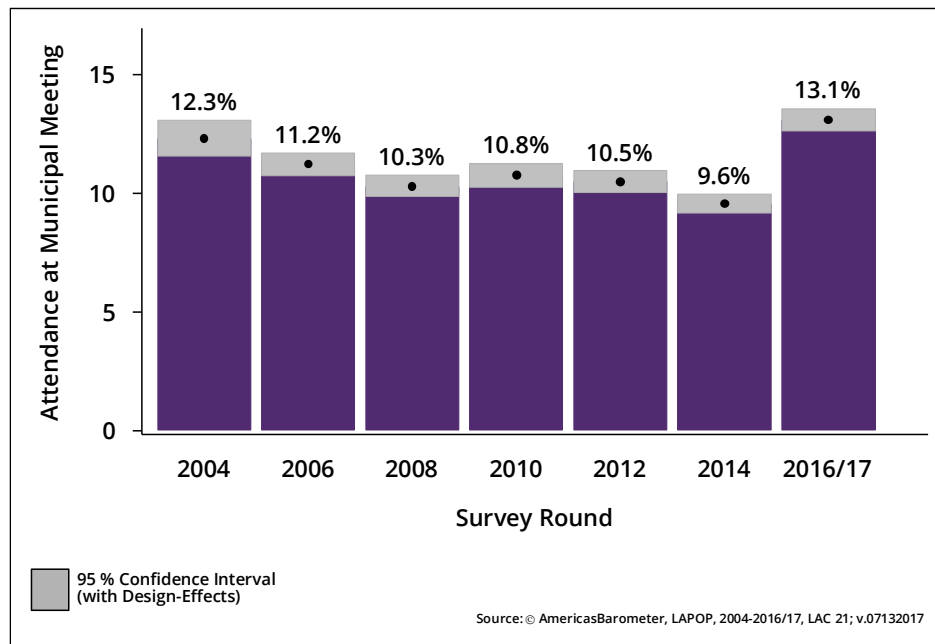


Figure 5.1. Municipal Meeting Participation in the LAC-21 Countries, 2004-2016/17

Figure 5.2 uses the 2016/17 AmericasBarometer data to display, for each country, the percentage of citizens in each country of the Americas who report having attended a local meeting in the past year.⁴ We see wide variation in the rates of citizen participation in municipal meetings across countries. While in past rounds Haiti often had the highest participation rate, Venezuela now tops the list, followed by the Dominican Republic and Brazil. These rates are likely related to political and economic unrest within countries. Venezuela and Brazil, in particular, have seen substantial increases in political strife over the past 24 months. Haiti's fall from the top of the list to the middle also may represent a return to normalcy amidst the recovery and reconstruction following the massive destruction caused by the 2010 earthquake. As in past rounds, Costa Rica, Panama, and Mexico have some of the lowest participation rates. Participation rates do not appear to be directly

² Figure 5.1, and all the over-time figures presented in the chapter (unless otherwise noted), include the countries of Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, El Salvador, Guatemala, Guyana, Haiti, Honduras, Jamaica, Mexico, Nicaragua, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Uruguay, Venezuela (the LAC-21).

³ Following LAPOP conventions, all countries in the region are weighted equally, regardless of their population size.

⁴ Figures displaying cross-national results include all countries for which data are available for all time periods.

tied to the level of decentralization in a country. While Panama and Costa Rica are both unitary systems, and thus are more likely to have weaker and less consequential local governments, Mexico has a strong and extensive federal system. Some of Latin America's strongest federal systems (Brazil and Mexico) rate either at the top or bottom third in terms of local-level participation. Somewhat surprisingly, this indicates no consistent relationship between formal political federalism and the rate of municipal meeting attendance.

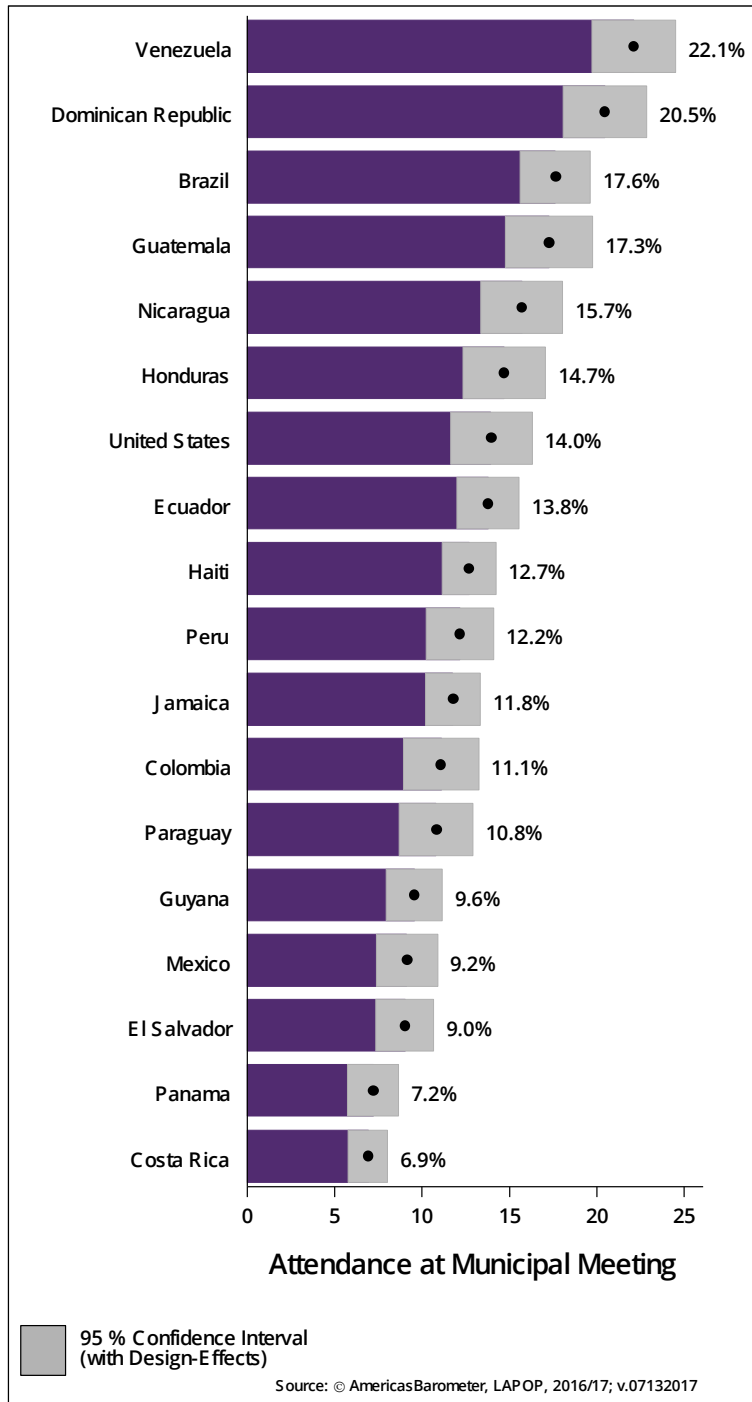


Figure 5.2. Municipal Meeting Participation, 2016/17

Figure 5.3 shows the change in local meeting attendance by country from the 2014 round to the 2016/17 round. This figure allows us to see the countries that are driving the regional average rise in local meeting participation. Venezuela, the Dominican Republic, and Brazil have seen a dramatic increase in attendance at local government meetings. As mentioned above, this increase in specific countries and on average across the region, may be linked to increased domestic political instability and conflict—highlighted by a significant number of protests in Venezuela and Brazil.

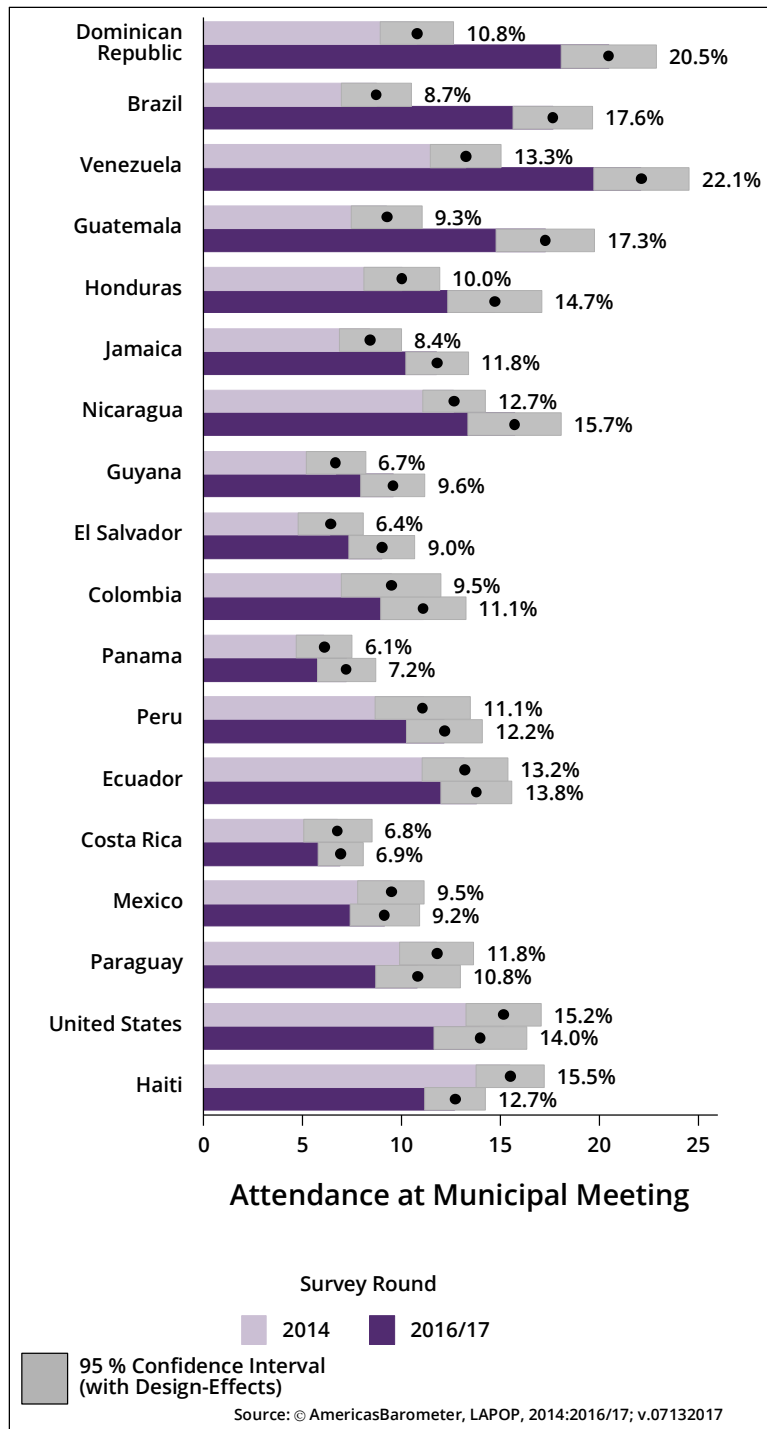


Figure 5.3. Municipal Meeting Participation, 2014-2016/17

V. Satisfaction with Local Services and Life Satisfaction

As in previous rounds, the 2016/17 AmericasBarometer included a number of questions to assess the extent to which citizens are satisfied with the services of their local government and their lives in general. To tap satisfaction with local government services, the 2016/17 round included three questions first introduced in the 2012 AmericasBarometer survey:

SD2NEW2. And thinking about this city/area where you live, are you very satisfied, satisfied, dissatisfied, or very dissatisfied with the condition of the streets, roads, and highways?

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

SD3NEW2. And the quality of public schools? [Probe: are you very satisfied, satisfied, dissatisfied, or very dissatisfied?]

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

SD6NEW2. And the quality of public medical and health services? [Probe: are you very satisfied, satisfied, dissatisfied, or very dissatisfied?]

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

Also included in the 2016/17 round of the AmericasBarometer is a question measuring life satisfaction that has been asked by LAPOP in a number of countries since 2004. The question, displayed below, asks citizens how satisfied they are with their lives with answers on a 4-point scale ranging from “Very satisfied” to “Very dissatisfied”.

LS3. To begin, in general how satisfied are you with your life? Would you say that you are:

[Read options]

- (1) Very satisfied (2) Somewhat satisfied (3) Somewhat dissatisfied
(4) Very dissatisfied

Satisfaction with Local Services

Since not all local services are equally easy to provide or equally assessed by citizens, respondents may evaluate some aspects of local service delivery more highly than others. Because of this variance in the types and value of key services, the AmericasBarometer asks about three different services often linked to local communities: roads, schools, and public healthcare. In the next three figures, we examine levels of satisfaction in the Americas with the provision of services in these key areas.⁵ Figure 5.4 shows satisfaction with roads and highways. Responses have been rescaled to run from 0 to 100 degrees of satisfaction; on this scale, 0 represents the least satisfaction and

⁵ We recognize that formal responsibility for this type of service provision may come from varying levels of government across the countries in the Americas. Note in this chapter that at times we refer to analyses of cross-time trends that, for sake of parsimony, are not presented in graphs within the chapter; all AmericasBarometer data are available online for additional consultation.

100 represents the most satisfaction. Across the region, we find moderate levels of satisfaction with road infrastructure. Residents in several Caribbean and Andean countries hold particularly dim views of their road infrastructure. Levels of satisfaction with roads for most countries were stable between the 2014 and 2016/17 rounds, with the exception of Venezuela and Panama. The rising political, economic, and security crises in Venezuela are taking their toll on service provision. Panama, on the other hand, appears to be in less dire straits. The country went from an above-average score for the region to a rating closer to the regional average.

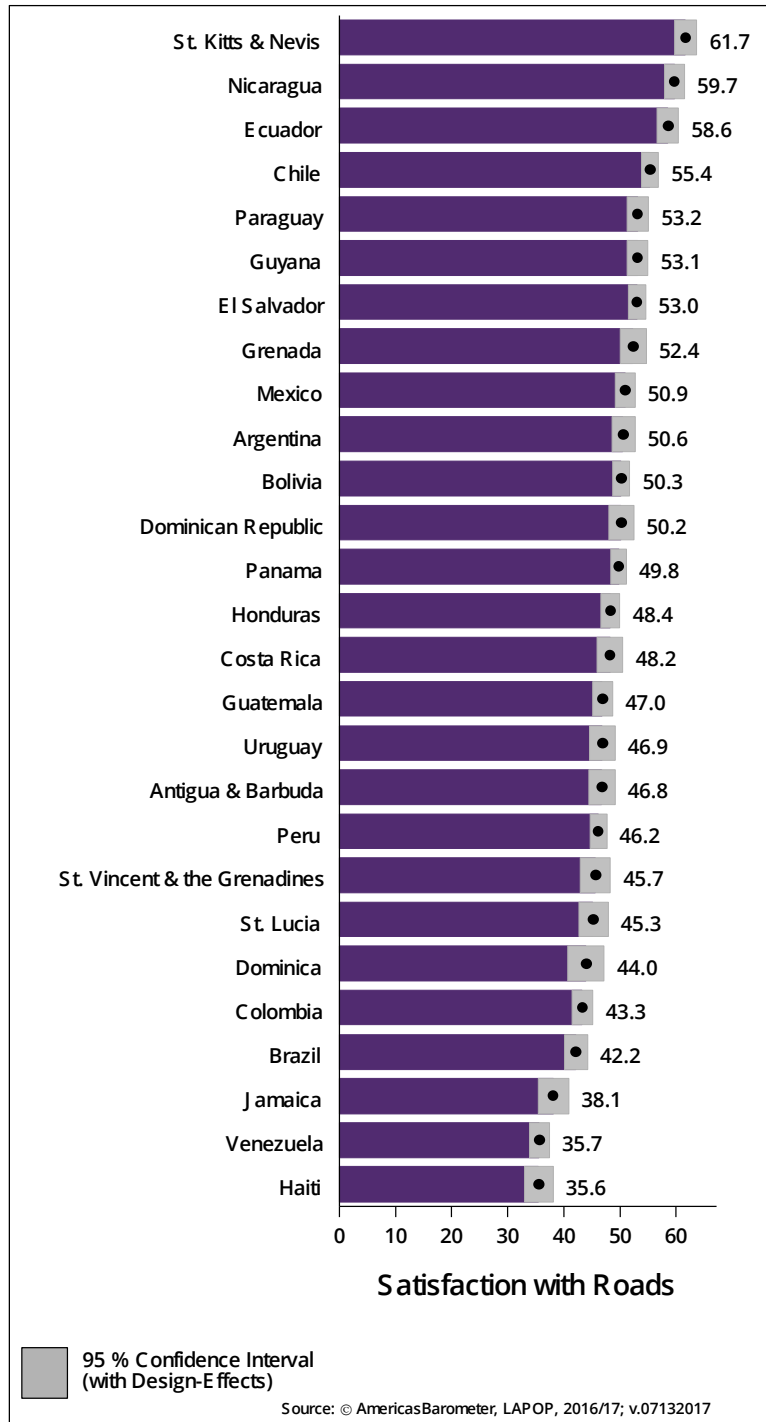


Figure 5.4. Satisfaction with Roads, 2016/17

Figure 5.5 examines satisfaction with public schools. Similar to what we find for roads and public health, there are no clear patterns between national wealth and satisfaction with schools; some of the poorest countries are near the top (Nicaragua, Dominican Republic) and wealthier countries (Chile, Argentina) closer to the bottom of the list. This pattern may be the result of greater resources producing greater expectations. Looking at a few key countries unearths some interesting results. For example, Chile is one of the wealthiest and most stable countries in the region but has low levels of satisfaction with education. This dissatisfaction may be a key driver and expression of long-running education protests and reform efforts in the country. Whether this dissatisfaction is the cause or consequence of the protests, we cannot say. We also want to point out Venezuela’s decline—it is now only second to Haiti for the lowest satisfaction with public education, a dramatic fall for a country substantially wealthier than many in the region.

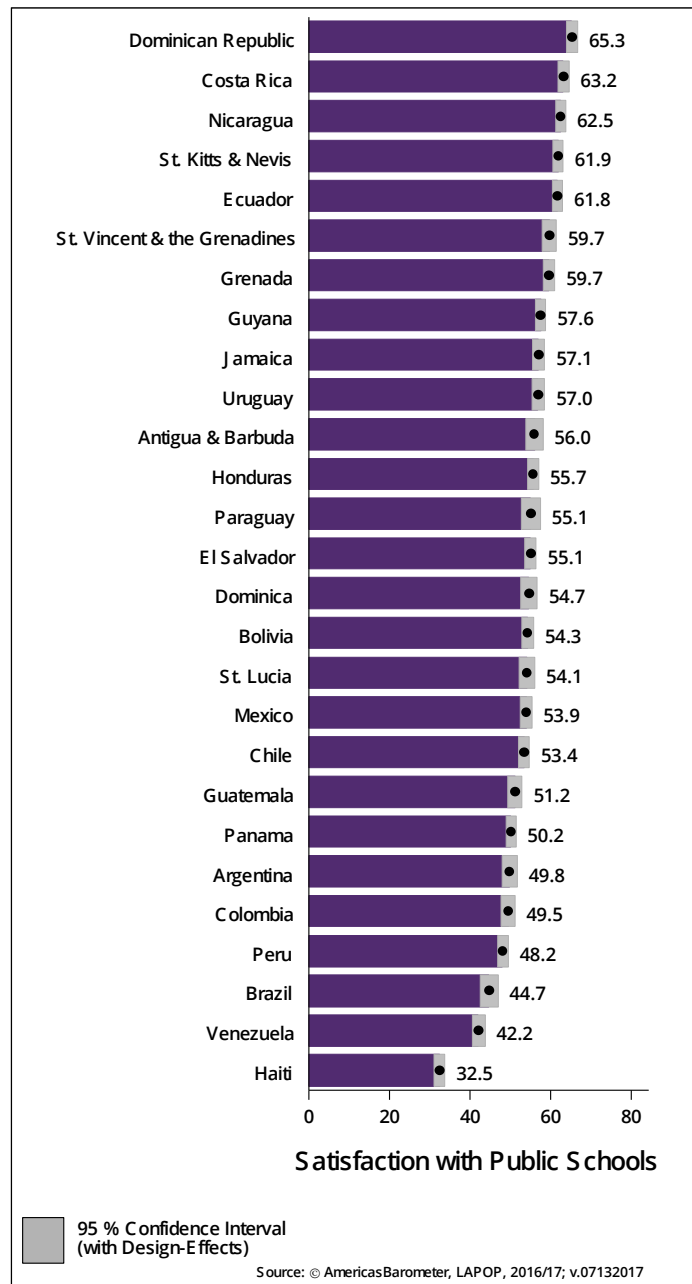


Figure 5.5. Satisfaction with Public Schools, 2016/17



Finally, Figure 5.6 shows levels of satisfaction with public health services. Though most countries average between 40 and 54 degrees, no country scores are particularly high, and five countries are rated quite poorly: Brazil, Chile, Colombia, and Haiti. Chile, often viewed as an economic and political model for the region, receives significantly lower evaluations than similarly wealthy countries (17 degrees lower than Uruguay). Like those of public schools, evaluations of public health services have declined dramatically in Venezuela (52.1 degrees in 2012, 42.3 degrees in 2014, and now 29.4 in 2016/17), adding more evidence that the governance crisis in Venezuela is taking a dramatic toll on public evaluations of government performance. Of the poor performing countries, three (Brazil, Colombia, and Haiti) experienced the Zika crisis, further straining public health systems.

Additionally, as the graphs tend to indicate (and as was seen in 2014), citizens' evaluations of educational services are more closely correlated with their evaluations of health services ($r = 0.43$) than the quality of roads ($r = 0.34$); health services is also more weakly correlated ($r = 0.3$) with roads than education. While all three are key indicators of local government performance, it appears that citizens evaluate hard infrastructure, like roads, differently than the more complex services of the welfare state, such as healthcare and education. Overall, however, the three measures appear to tap one general sentiment regarding the allocation of public services.

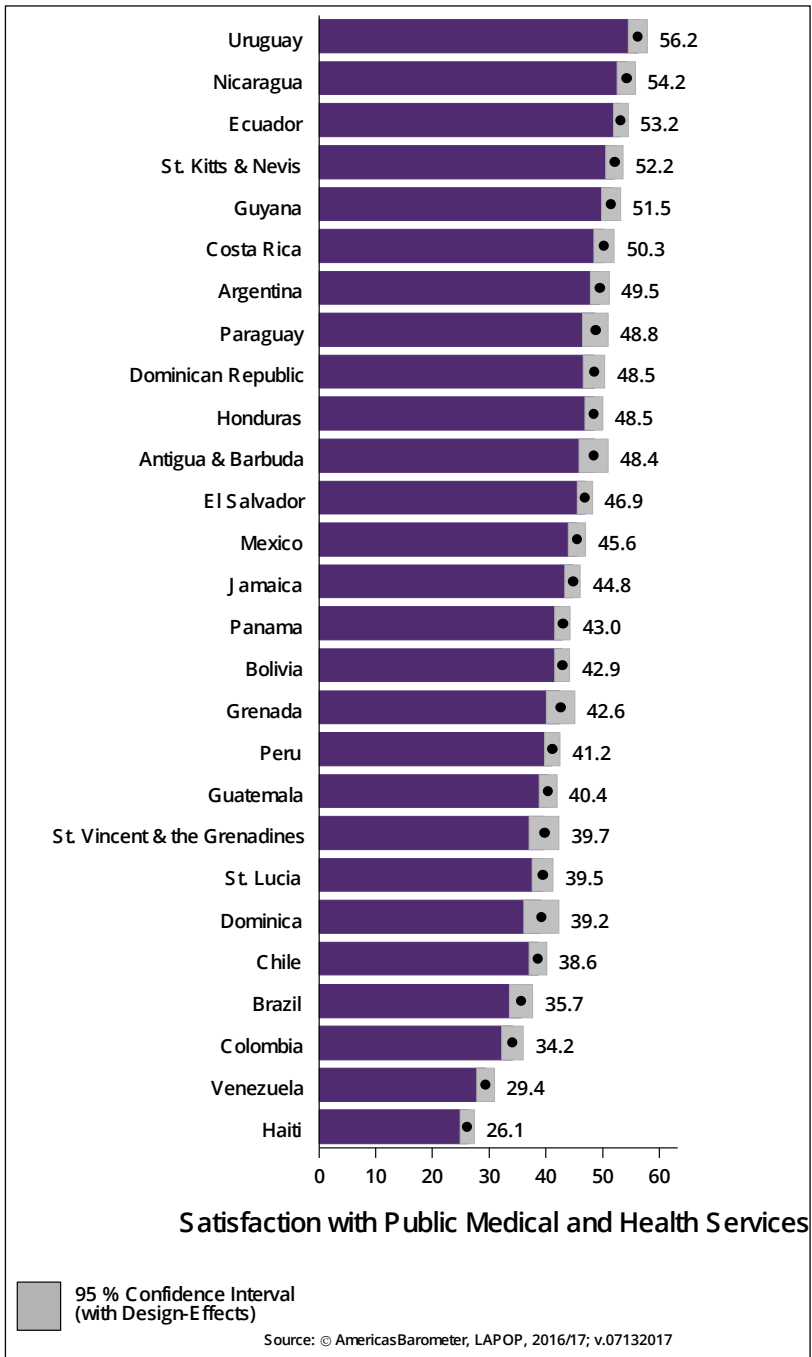


Figure 5.6. Satisfaction with Public Health Services, 2016/17

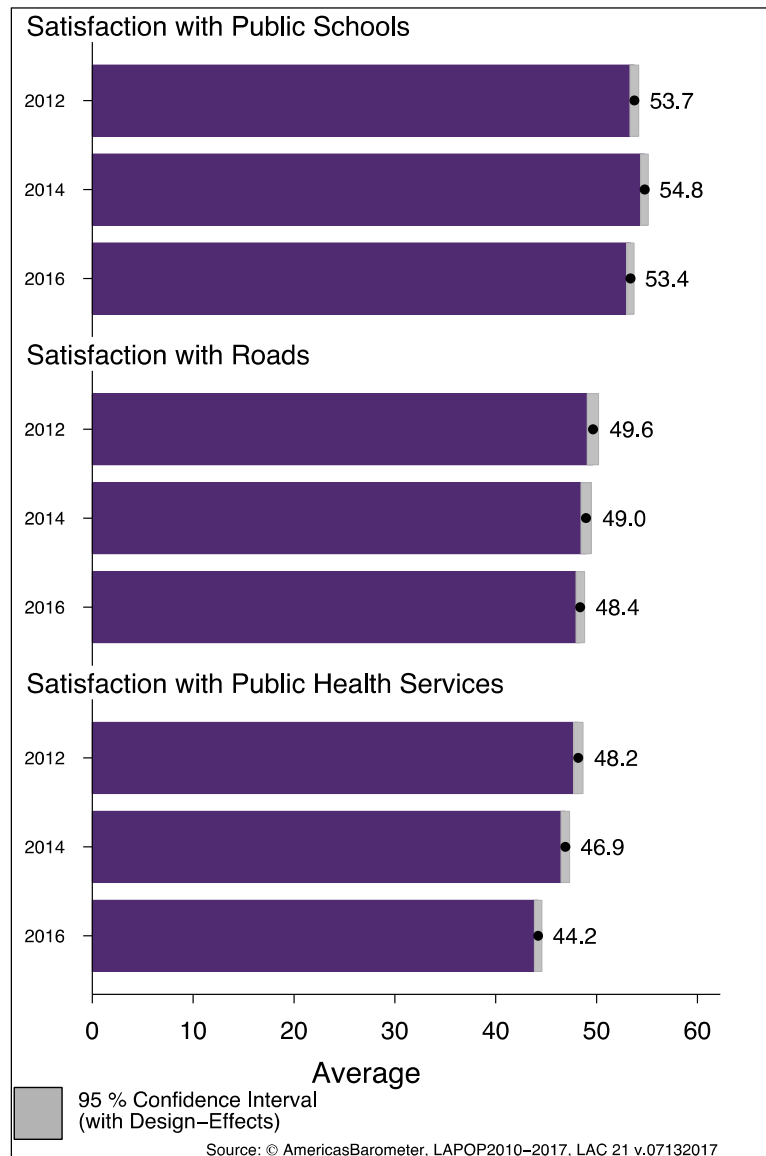


Figure 5.7. Trends in Satisfaction with Three Types of Services in the LAC-21 Countries, 2012-2016/17

Comparisons of average satisfaction with the three types of services across the 2012, 2014, and 2016/17 rounds show mixed trends (Figure 5.7). With regard to public schools and public roads, respondents in the Americas in 2016/17 rated them about the same as they did in 2012 and 2014; however, evaluations of public health services are significantly lower in 2016/17 compared to 2014 and 2012.

Since the 2016/17 round of the AmericasBarometer does not include a generic question asking people their evaluations of general local services, we create an additive scale using the questions regarding roads, schools, and public healthcare.⁶ In the 2012 and 2014 rounds of the AmericaBarometer, this scale was significantly correlated with a general services question ($r = 0.3$).

⁶ A principal component analysis of these three variables (SD2NEW, SD3NEW, SD6NEW) indicates that the three questions tap a single concept regarding public services. Cronbach's alpha statistic for an additive scale of the three variables is a moderate 0.62.

Figure 5.8 displays the average scores for this scale (0-100 degrees) across the countries in which the questions were asked. Unsurprisingly, Haiti and Venezuela report the lowest levels of satisfaction with service provision, while Nicaragua and St. Kitts & Nevis report the highest levels of satisfaction with public services.

Figure 5.9 displays individual country-level changes in satisfaction with local services between the 2014 and 2016/17 rounds of the AmericasBarometer. As has been highlighted throughout the report, several countries have seen fairly dramatic declines in satisfaction with government performance, particularly in Venezuela, Haiti, and Panama. While nearly all countries saw declines or no change in satisfaction with local services, Honduras and Nicaragua had slight increases in public evaluations of services.

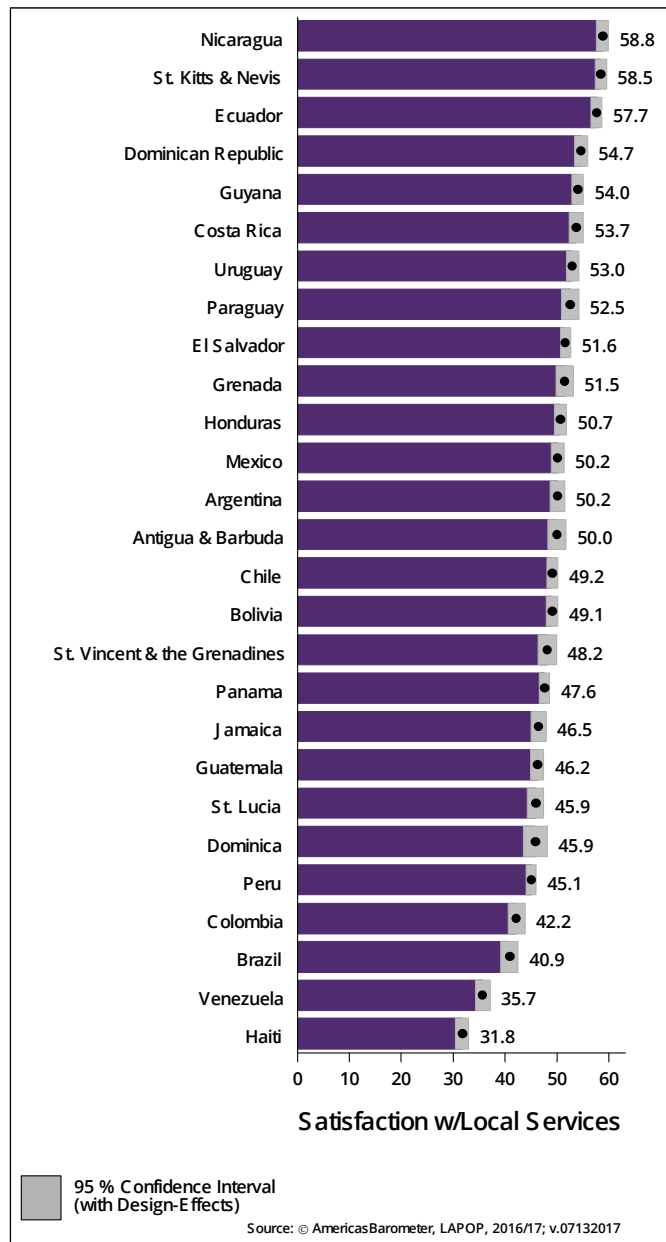


Figure 5.8. Satisfaction with Local Services (Additive Scale), 2016/17

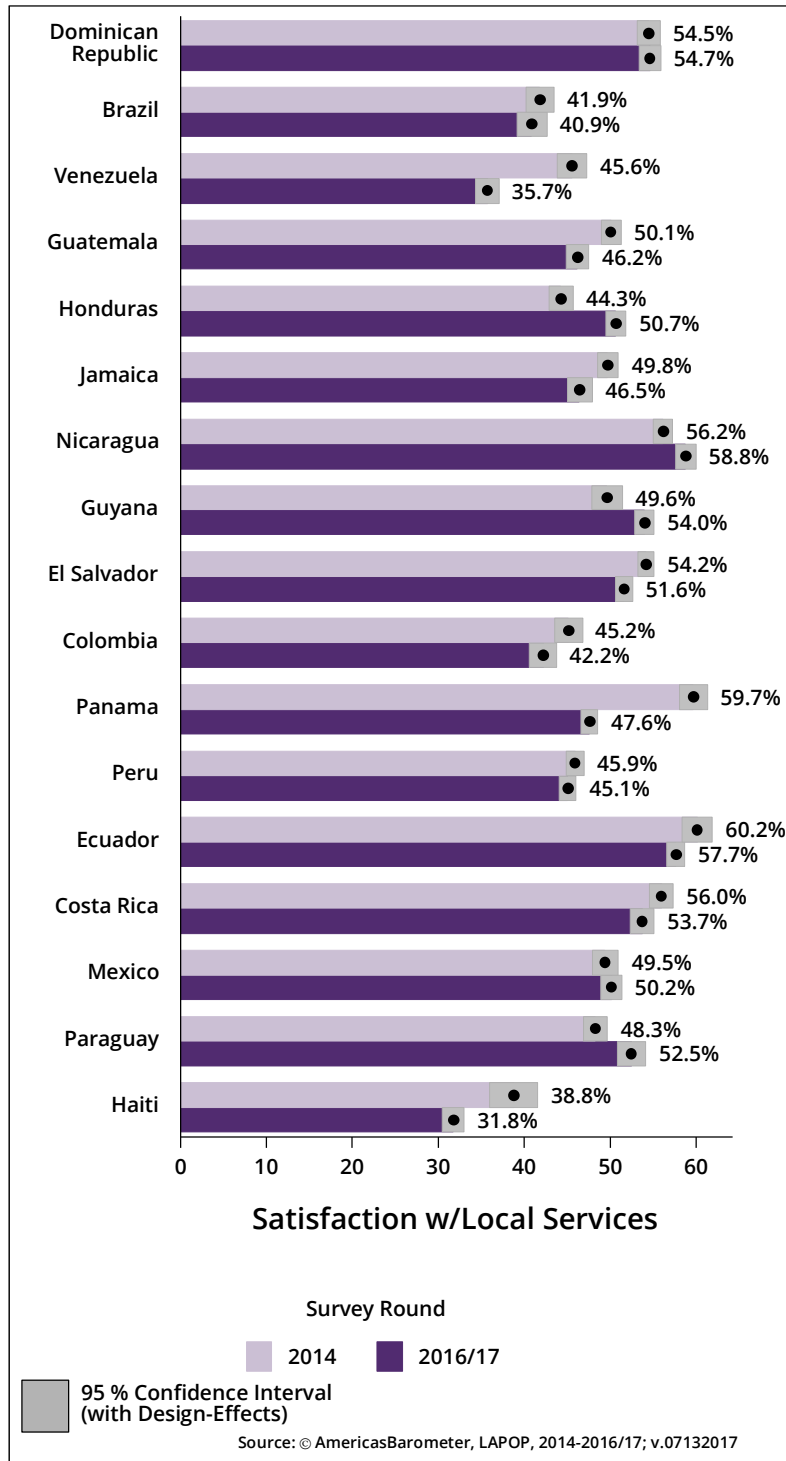


Figure 5.9. Change in Local Services Assessments, 2014-2016/17

To examine the individual factors and events that affect general evaluations of local services (Local Services Scale) we use linear regression with country-fixed effects using the LAC-21 sample of

countries.⁷ Figure 5.10 shows that people in more marginalized positions in society rate their municipality services the lowest. Specifically, those with lower levels of education and less wealth view services more poorly. Likewise, those with higher levels of perceived physical insecurity rate local services lower while those who see national economic conditions as improving rate services higher.⁸ Of particular note is the result for corruption victims. People who report having been asked for a bribe rate services significantly lower, and the 2016/17 round of the AmericasBarometer also shows that interacting with local government services (e.g., schools, hospitals, police, etc.) makes someone more likely to be asked for a bribe. That is, those who use public services find themselves in situations (interacting with corrupt officials) that dim their views of public services.

We also find that if an individual is active in local government (by attending meetings), she is more likely to have a positive view of services. Thus, the nature of interactions with local government seems to matter with regard to views of local services. The findings support this conclusion: proactive involvement improves perceptions, but corrupt interactions with officials dim views of services.

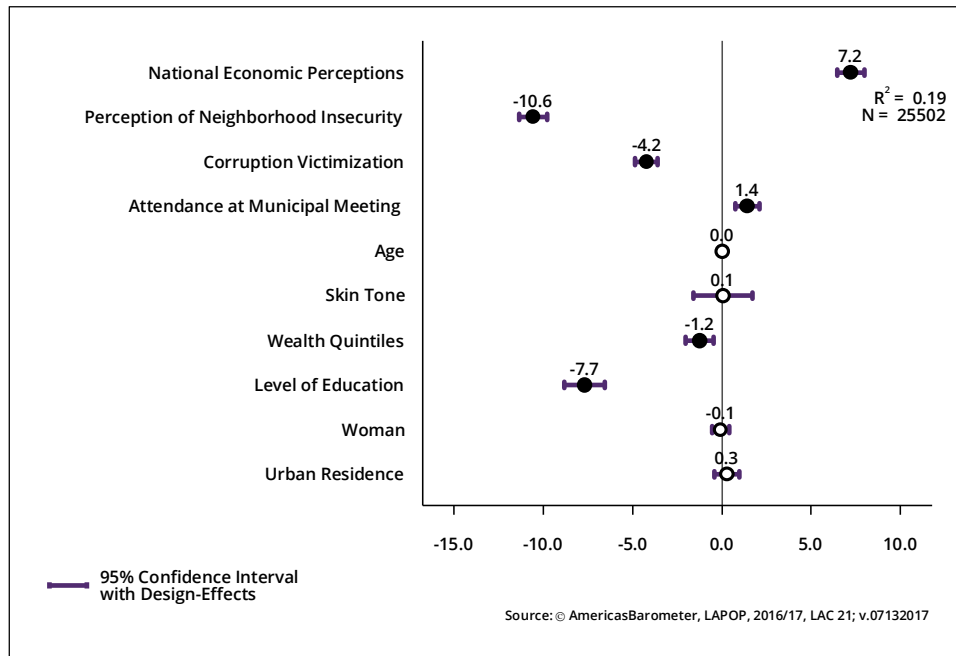


Figure 5.10. Determinants of Satisfaction with Local Services in the LAC-21 Region, 2016/17

⁷ Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, El Salvador, Guatemala, Guyana, Haiti, Honduras, Jamaica, Mexico, Nicaragua, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Uruguay, Venezuela.

⁸ The question on perceived neighborhood insecurity, AOJ11, asked, “Speaking of the neighborhood where you live and thinking of the possibility of being assaulted or robbed, do you feel very safe, somewhat safe, somewhat unsafe or very unsafe?” Responses used 4-point scale from “Very safe” to “Very unsafe.” The question on national economic perceptions, SOCT2, asked, “Do you think that the country’s current economic situation is better than, the same as or worse than it was 12 months ago?” The questions on corruption victimization are described in Chapter 3.



Life Satisfaction

Research has shown that life satisfaction is related, in part, to material resources and security (e.g., Easterlin 1995; Tella and MacCulloch 2008). Corral (2011) shows that in the Americas, both individual wealth and aggregate factors, such as GDP per capita, affect life satisfaction. This section looks at trends in life satisfaction in the Americas and the relationship between perceptions of local services and life satisfaction.⁹

Since 2004, the AmericasBarometer has asked citizens in varying countries to rate their general level of satisfaction with their lives using the LS3 question listed at the start of the section. The measure is recoded 0-100 in all of the figures and analyses below.

Figure 5.11 shows the level of life satisfaction in countries across the hemisphere. Most countries show fairly high average levels of life satisfaction, with scores between 70 and 84 degrees. Haiti is the obvious outlier in the hemisphere with a score 14.5 degrees lower than the next lowest country, Jamaica. In contrast to previous studies, we find no evidence that national wealth is linked to average life satisfaction in a country. This is highlighted with the United States being near the bottom of the chart and some of the poorest countries in Latin America (Guatemala and Nicaragua) near the top.

⁹ Life satisfaction and various happiness measures often correlate highly at both the aggregate and individual level (Schyns 1998); thus, one can be viewed as a substitute for the other.

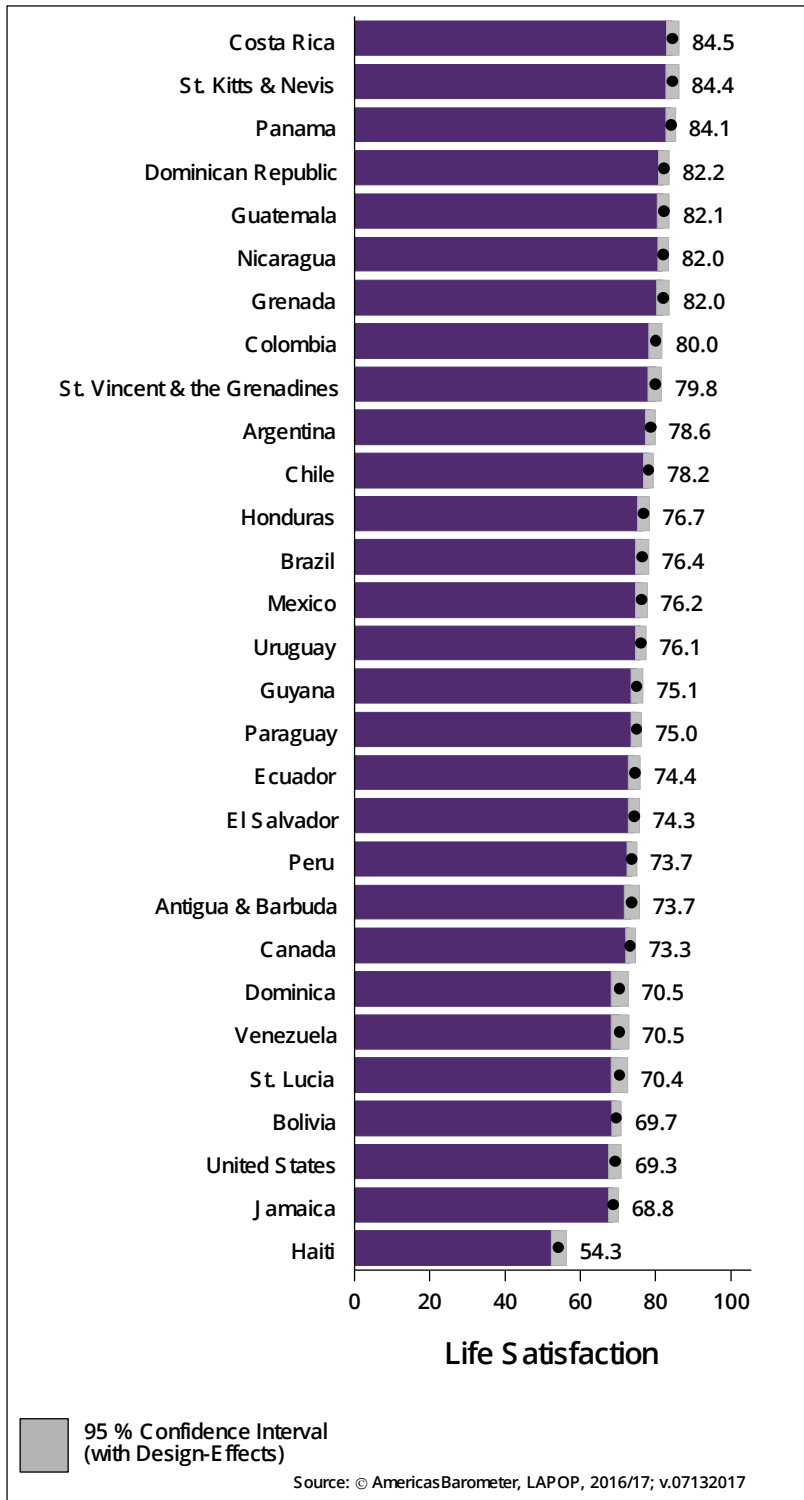


Figure 5.11. Life Satisfaction, 2016/17

Figure 5.12 shows average levels of life satisfaction in the region across rounds of the AmericasBarometer since 2004. There is substantial stability in how satisfied citizens in the Americas are with their lives. Since 2012, there has been no statistically significant change in average life satisfaction.

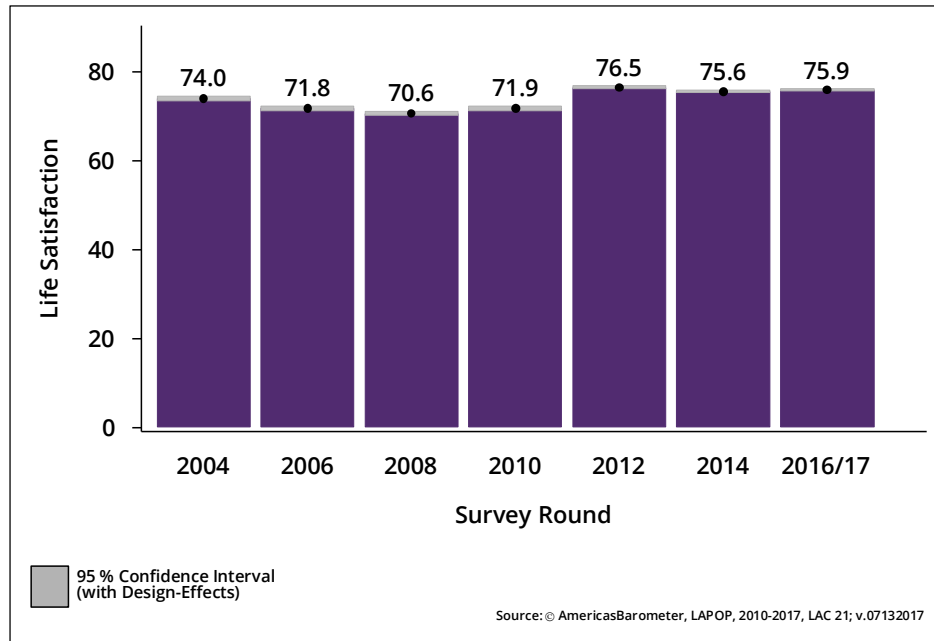


Figure 5.12. Trends in Life Satisfaction in the LAC-21 Region, 2004-2016/17

While the regional average has been remarkably stable, a number of countries saw significant declines in life satisfaction between the 2014 and 2016/17 rounds of the AmericasBarometer. Figure 5.13 shows that life satisfaction has substantially declined between the two rounds in one obvious case, Venezuela. It also declined, though to a lesser extent, in Paraguay and Brazil. On the other hand, several other countries, including Guatemala and the Dominican Republic, show increases in life satisfaction in 2016/17.

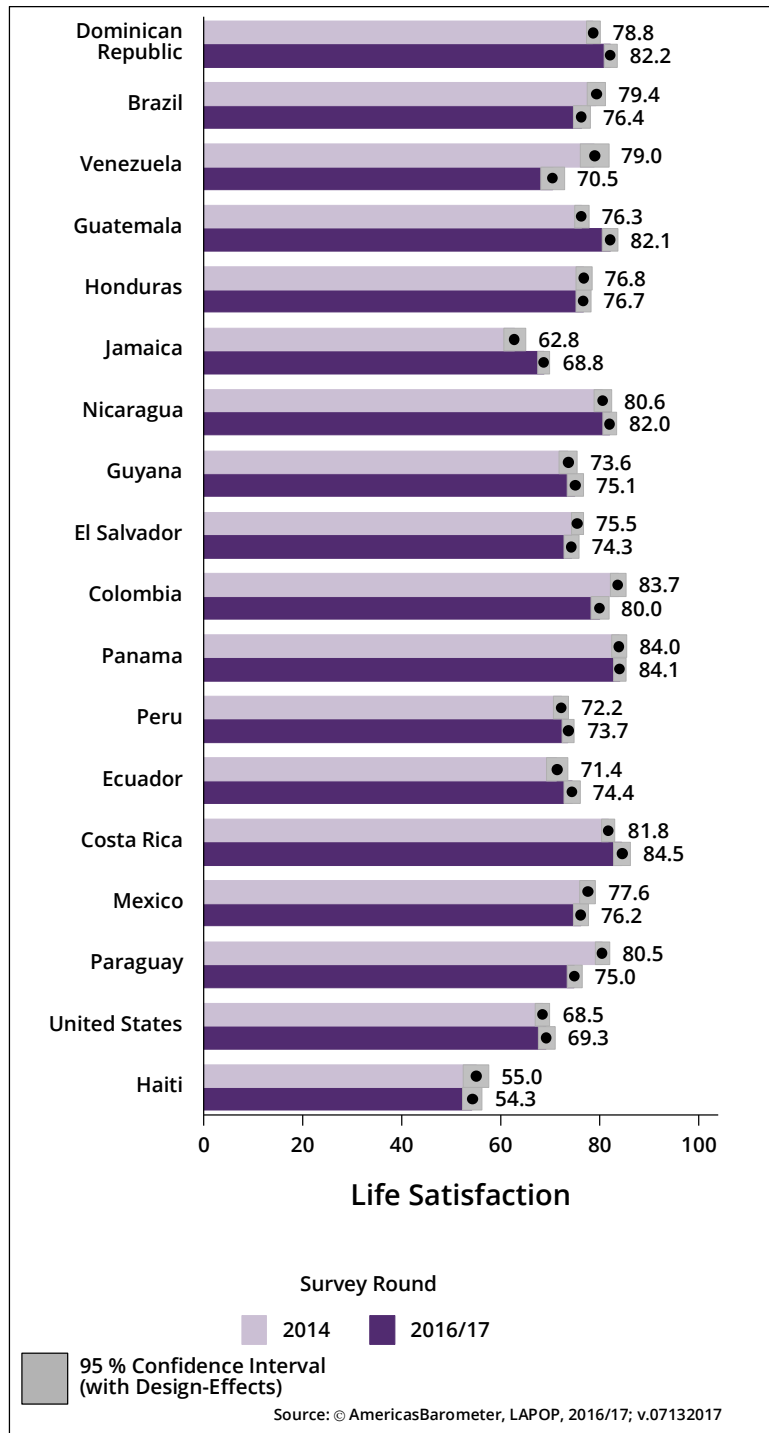


Figure 5.13. Changes in Life Satisfaction, 2014-2016/17

Finally, we look at factors that predict an individual’s level of life satisfaction using linear regression and the LAC-21 sample. As above, all variables in the model are recoded to range from 0 to 1 (with 1 indicating “more of” the variable) except for the dependent variable (life satisfaction), which is kept on a 0-100 scale. The results in Figure 5.14 show the maximum predicted effect of each independent variable and, in so doing, highlight the importance of satisfaction with

government services in explaining general life satisfaction: its effect is substantially larger than that of any of the other factors considered. In addition to satisfaction with local services, greater wealth, education, better national economic perceptions, and youth increases life satisfaction. Those who feel their neighborhood is more insecure, have been asked for a bribe, have darker skin tones, or are older express lower levels of life satisfaction.

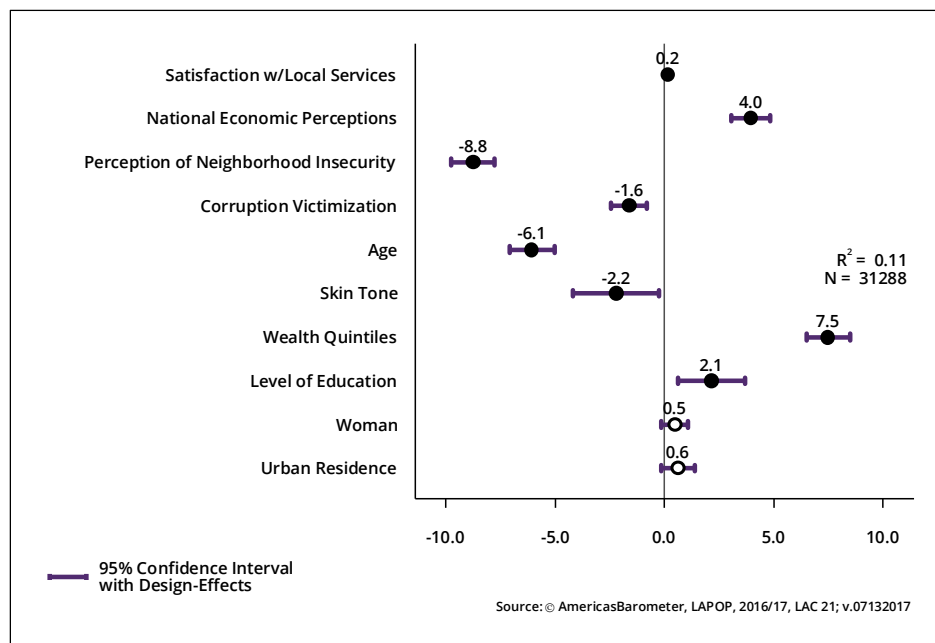


Figure 5.14. Determinants of Life Satisfaction in the LAC-21 Region, 2016/17

Trust in Local Government

As in previous rounds of the AmericasBarometer, the 2016/17 survey asked citizens not only whether they were satisfied with local government, but also whether they trusted local government. This question aims to tap more long-standing, abstract attitudes towards local government than questions about satisfaction with services or participation in government meetings. The survey prompt asks individuals to respond to the following question using a 7-point scale, where 1 means “not at all” and 7 means “a lot”:

B32. To what extent do you trust the local or municipal government?

In Figure 5.15, we look at regional average trust in local governments since 2004; again, the question has been rescaled to range from 0 to 100. The 2016/17 round of the AmericasBarometer shows a modest rebound in trust in local government in the LAC-21 countries.¹⁰ On average, the

¹⁰ While it appears that 2004 was a high point, the peak is a function of a smaller number of countries included in that round. If we restrict the sample to only those countries that had been included since 2006, the general trend for trust in local governments remained steady for six years before taking a significant decline in 2012 and 2014. As in Figure 5.15, trust in local government rebounded significantly in 2016/17 in the original 11 countries.

public now has a similar level of trust in local government to that observed in 2006, despite the continuing security crisis and other challenges confronting the region.

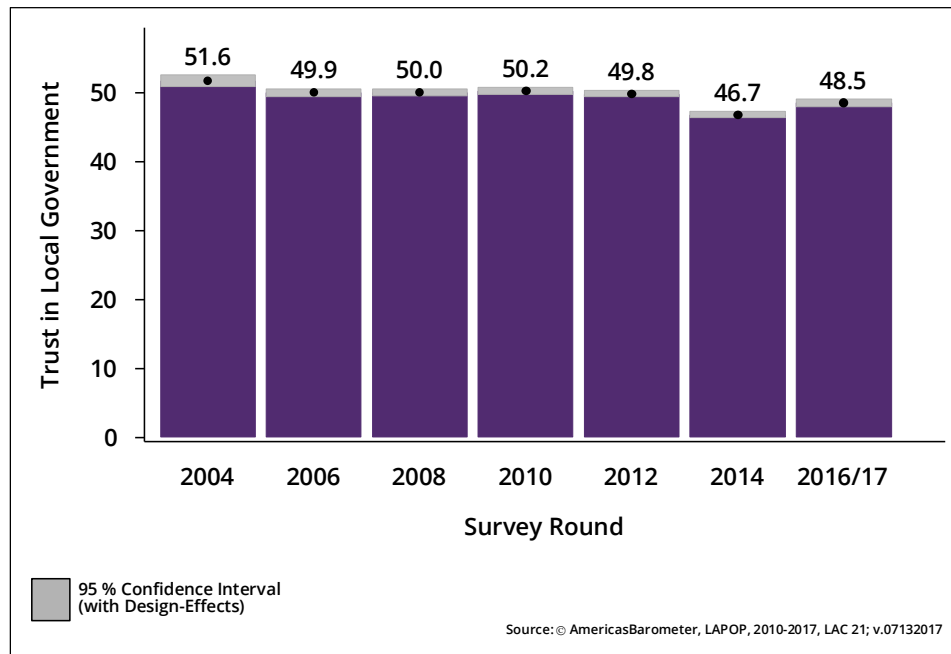


Figure 5.15. Trust in Local Government in the LAC-21 Region, 2004-2016/17

While the average level of trust in local government rebounded in the region, trust in local government varies across countries. Figure 5.16 presents average levels of trust in local government across the Americas. Overall, Venezuela (56.3), Chile (55.4), Canada (54.6), and the U.S. (51.8) show similarly high average levels of trust in local governments. The result for Venezuela is surprising considering citizens' low assessments of public services often provided by local levels of government. Respondents in Haiti, Peru, Panama, and Brazil reported the lowest mean levels of trust in local government.

Comparing the results in Figure 5.8 to those in Figure 5.16 reveals a possible link between trust in local government and satisfaction with local services across countries. For example, Nicaraguans are satisfied with their local services and also express high levels of trust for municipal governments. Across the LAC-21 sample, the individual-level measures of trust and satisfaction with local services are significantly, though modestly, correlated ($r = 0.31$).

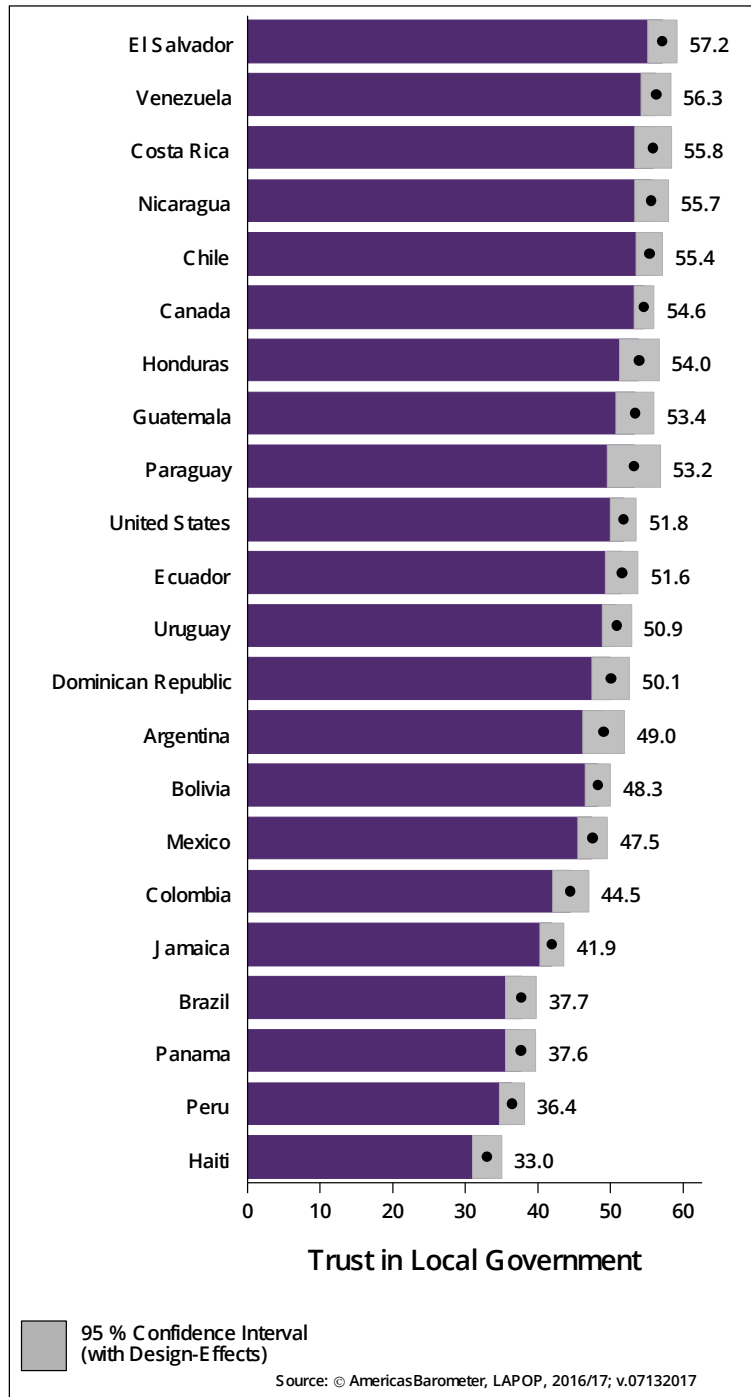


Figure 5.16. Trust in Local Government, 2016/17

While Figure 5.15 shows a rise in trust in local governments across the LAC-21 countries from 2014, not all countries saw rising levels of trust. Figure 5.17 shows trust in local government in the 2014 and 2016/17 rounds of the AmericasBarometer. The figure highlights that the regional rise in trust in local government appears to be driven mostly by five countries: Venezuela (which had seen a substantial drop in 2014), Guatemala, Jamaica, Costa Rica, and the Dominican Republic. Running counter to the average upward trend for the region, two countries saw significant and substantial declines in trust in local government: Haiti and Panama.

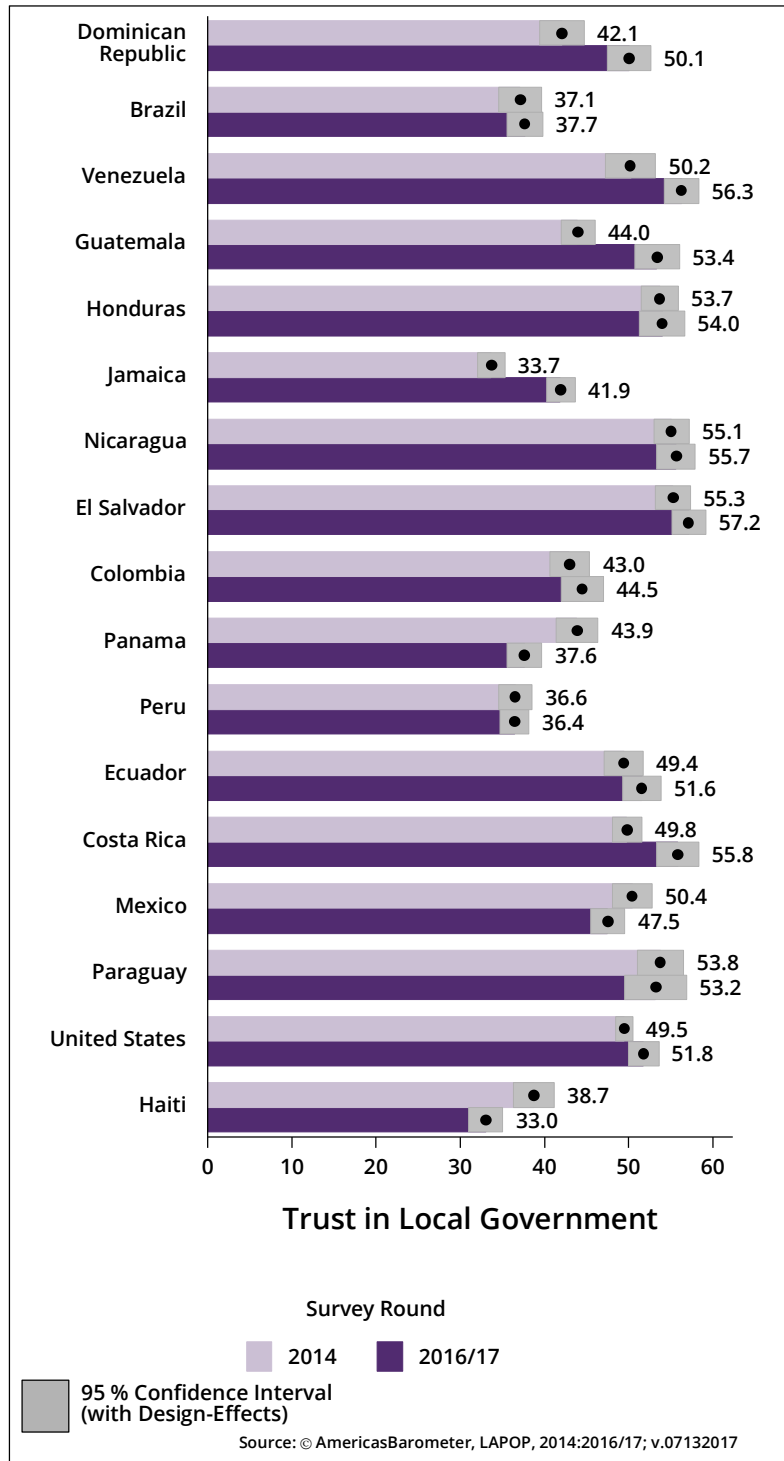


Figure 5.17. Changes in Degrees of Local Government Trust in the Americas, 2014-2016/17

Finally, we look at the factors that might shape how much an individual trusts their local government. Again, using linear regression with country-fixed effects and the LAC-21 sample, we test to see if satisfaction with local services, evaluations of national economics, neighborhood insecurity, corruption, or interaction with local government predict levels of local political trust. As before, all explanatory variables are recoded to be 0-1 while trust in local government remains

on a 0-100 scale. Figure 5.18 indicates the most important factor shaping citizens' trust in local government is their perceptions of municipal services. The effect of satisfaction with local services on trust in local government is dramatically larger than the effect of any other variable in the model. The estimated effect of being satisfied with local services is nearly four times larger than the next largest effect in the model, national economic perceptions.

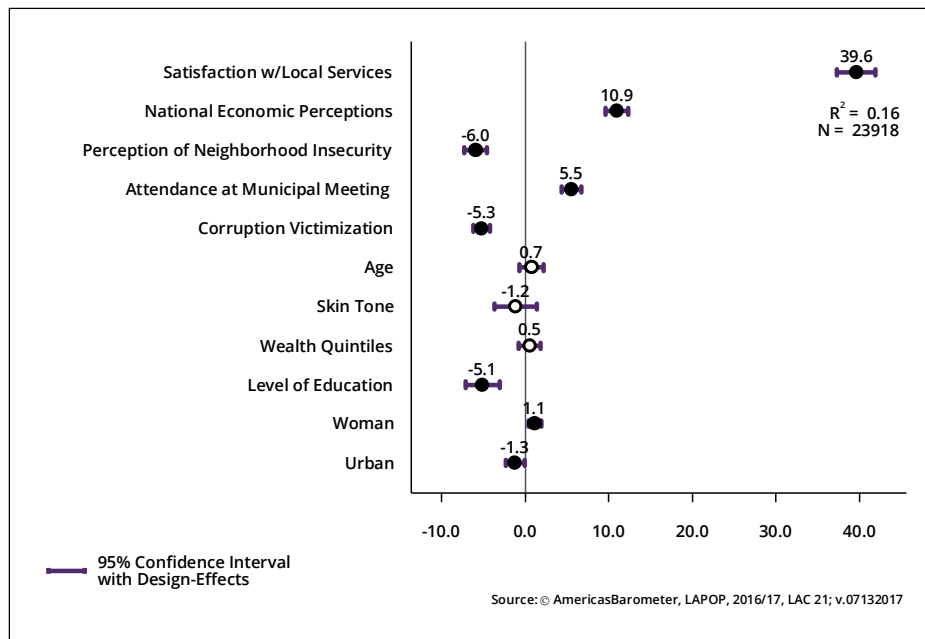


Figure 5.18. Determinants of Trust in Local Government in the LAC-21 Region, 2016/17

The other variable specific to local government, attending municipal meetings, also exhibits a positive relationship with trust in the local government, but its coefficient is only about one-eighth the size of the coefficient for evaluation of services.

As in previous rounds of the AmericasBarometer, we find that the more positive one's view of the national economic outlook, the greater the level of trust in the local government. While economic outlook is positively correlated with trust in local government, individual-level factors associated with more advanced economies are not. People with higher levels of educational attainment and those who live in urban areas are somewhat less trusting of their local governments. Citizens who have been asked for a bribe and those who feel their neighborhoods are less safe express less trust in local government.

As in 2014, we find that skin tone is not related to trust in local government.¹¹ On average for the region, people of darker skin tones, often (although not always) minorities in the hemisphere, trust local governments at rates similar to citizens with lighter skin. But this does not mean that skin tone has no bearing on how people feel about their local governments. As Figure 5.10 illustrates, the poorest in society tend to have the lowest evaluations of services—a crucial predictor of trust in local government. Likewise, those individuals who live in more insecure, often poor, neighborhoods are less trusting of their local governments and are also less satisfied with its services. In short, if decentralization and local government reforms were designed to help

¹¹ Excluding the Caribbean countries and Guyana does not change the skin tone result.

enfranchise the traditionally disenfranchised (e.g., those with darker skin tone), the evidence is decidedly mixed.

The result for perception of insecurity is particularly interesting because it occurs at a time when citizens of the Americas have reached a new high in average level of perceived insecurity since 2004 and following a low point (greater security) in 2012 (see also Chapter 4 of this volume).

A common thread in the results predicting trust in local government (Figure 5.18) and life satisfaction (Figure 5.14) is the exceptionally strong predictive power of satisfaction with local services. Figure 5.19 shows the average life satisfaction and trust in local government across the range of the scale for satisfaction with local services. The solid line shows the average life satisfaction across the range of satisfaction with local services; the dotted line shows average trust in government for given levels of satisfaction with local services. The figure highlights the clear and strong positive relationship between these two key variables for democracy and the provision of local services.

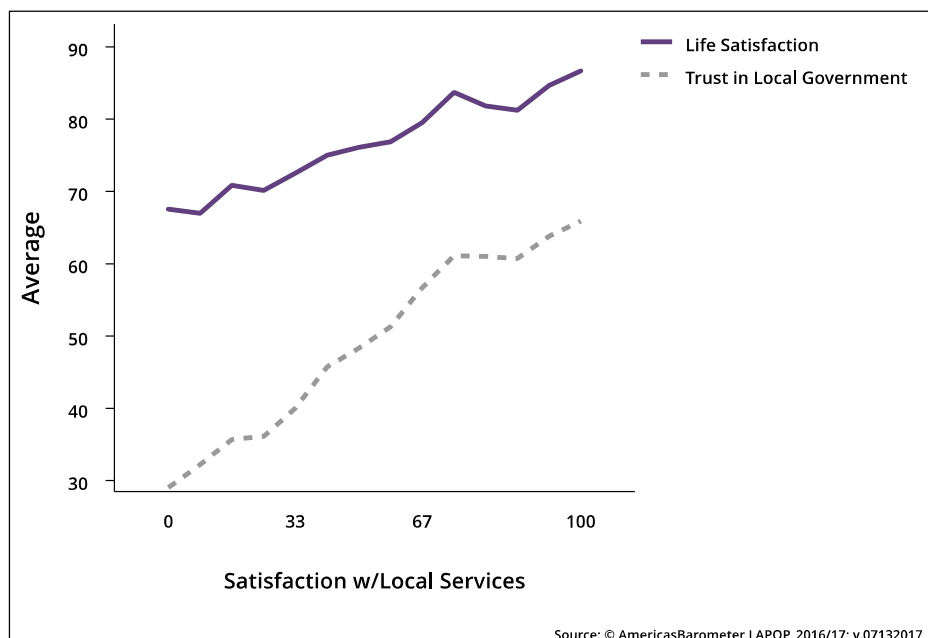


Figure 5.19. Local Services Predicting Life Satisfaction and Trust in Local Government in the Americas

VI. Conclusion

The 2016/17 round of the AmericasBarometer shows two diverging trends with regards to citizens' interactions with local government in the Americas. On the one hand, we observe a marked uptick in the number of people attending local government meetings and increased trust in local government. A potential explanation for this is hinted at by the ongoing crisis in Venezuela. As national politics becomes more contested and confrontational, citizens may become more politically engaged in their communities and feel more proximate to their local governments. This is both hopeful, as it indicates greater engagement at the level of government most proximate to



citizens, and worrisome, since it is occurring because national-level crises in democratic governance are driving the engagement.

Although the overall level of citizen participation in local government rebounded from 2014, there are significant differences across countries in the region. Venezuela now has the highest level of participation, with more than one in five adults (22%) having attended a town meeting in the 12 months prior to the survey. Costa Ricans are at the lower end, with only 6.9% of citizens reporting having attended a meeting. Venezuela's rise to the top of the list is particularly dramatic, since in 2014 only 13% of respondents said they had attended a meeting. Likewise, the Dominican Republic saw a dramatic rise in participation, increasing from 11% to 21%.

Turning to local government performance, many people continue to view municipal services as neither good nor bad. In the region as a whole, there is a small but significant decline in satisfaction with local services, driven in part by declines in satisfaction with public healthcare. This is somewhat concerning given the Zika crisis and other health challenges faced by many countries in the region. Despite the need for a comprehensive response to these public health issues, the public's evaluations of public health systems appear to be declining.

Overall, in a few countries people give particularly low scores (e.g., Haiti, Brazil, Jamaica) or high scores (e.g., Panama and Canada) for public services, but in most countries the average citizen gives services a middling score, around the midpoint of the scale. This finding holds for both the three specific areas (public health care, public school, and roads) and for the aggregate scale generated from those areas. In short, perceptions of local government continue to be mediocre: local governments are not completely failing to meet the needs of their residents but are often viewed as doing an inadequate job. If anything, satisfaction with services has recently declined slightly.

We also show throughout the chapter the importance of local services for both trust in local government and life satisfaction. Satisfaction with local services is the strongest predictor, by several orders of magnitude, of both life satisfaction and trust in local government. This provides evidence that how well the government performs in meeting the expectations of its citizens is crucial for both perceived quality of life and building credible democratic institutions. This indicates that the recent decline, albeit small, in satisfaction with services may be an indicator for future reductions in life satisfaction or trust in local government.

When examining overall life satisfaction in the Americas, we find generally positive evaluations. In most countries, citizens are fairly satisfied with their lives. Haiti, unfortunately, is a notable exception. Seven years after the devastating 2010 earthquake and subsequent Cholera outbreak, Haitians remain substantially less satisfied with life than citizens from any other nation in the hemisphere. Life satisfaction in Haiti is nearly 15 degrees lower than in the next lowest country, Jamaica.

Turning to trust in local government, after a new low in citizens' trust in local government in 2014, the 2016/17 round of the AmericasBarometer detects a rebound in trust in local government. This regional rise in trust appears to be driven by trust increases in Venezuela, Guatemala, Jamaica, Costa Rica, and the Dominican Republic. Countering this trend, trust declined in Haiti and Panama. For Haiti, this decline comes after increases in the previous two rounds of the survey. As in previous rounds of the AmericasBarometer, Haiti, Brazil, Peru and Jamaica have some of the lowest levels of trust in local governments.

When looking at what factors are linked to high institutional trust, we see trust in local government is significantly associated with the perceived performance of the government (via services) and whether or not they directly take part in local government meetings. In particular, satisfaction with local services is the dominant predictor of trust in local government, much more so than socioeconomic factors, assessments of economic or security conditions, or corruption. That is not to say these do not matter. Results from regression models show that trust in local government is related to experience with corruption, perceptions of insecurity, and perceived negative economic outlooks along with socioeconomic factors such as gender, education, age, and urban vs. rural locality.

Individuals' most common interaction with the state occurs at the local level, such as with public schools, clinics, police, and the many facets of municipal government. Thus, it is possible that experiences with this most proximate level of democratic governance shape individuals' orientations toward democracy in general. This line of discussion is continued in the following chapter.



Chapter 6.

Democratic Orientations in the Americas

Ryan E. Carlin

I. Introduction

Plato's *Republic* posed a question with which philosophers and political scientists still grapple: what makes democracy stable? One ingredient in democracy's success is its ability to generate legitimacy while giving its detractors a political voice. Yet if mass support for the democratic system begins to slip, political instability could result. This chapter provides a time-lapsed photo of democratic legitimacy and political tolerance among the citizens of the Americas from 2006 to 2017, and analyzes the factors that shape these attitudes and the democratic orientations that they undergird.

Because it captures the relationship between citizens and state institutions, legitimacy plays a defining role in the study of political culture (Almond and Verba 1963; Diamond 1999). LAPOP defines political legitimacy in terms of citizen support for the political system. Political legitimacy or "system support" has two central dimensions: diffuse and specific support (Easton 1975). While specific support concerns citizen evaluations of incumbent authorities, diffuse system support refers to a generalized attachment to the more abstract objects that the political system and its institutions represent. LAPOP's measure of system support (operationalized through AmericasBarometer survey data) captures the diffuse dimension of support that is central to democratic survival (Booth and Seligson 2009).

Democratic legitimacy is a product of both contextual and individual factors. Among contextual explanations, one perspective holds that certain cultures grant democratic institutions greater legitimacy. According to this view, Latin America's corporatist institutions disadvantage democracy (Wiarda 2003). For other scholars, economic development heavily influences citizens' attitudes about the political system (Almond and Verba 1963; Inglehart 1988; Lipset 1963). Economic development often increases education, which typically correlates with the expression of democratic values in Latin America (Booth and Seligson 2009; Carlin 2006; Carlin and Singer 2011). Still others argue that the institutional features that make electoral defeat more palatable, e.g. that make legislative representation more proportional, can bolster system support, especially among election losers (Anderson et al. 2005). Interestingly, institutional configurations in the Latin American region seem to yield election winners who are less supportive of democratic rules of the game (Carlin and Singer 2011; Singer forthcoming). Since most contextual factors are fairly static or slow moving, mean levels of diffuse support for the political system are often theorized to be stable in the short run.

Perceptions of legitimacy, however, may not always be static within and across individuals. Citizens' experiences with the system may change frequently, and can partially determine the degree of legitimacy citizens accord to the democratic system. In particular, economic hardship, greater personal insecurity, and poor governance can all undermine the legitimacy citizens grant democracy (Booth and Seligson 2009; Bratton and Mattes 2001; Duch 1995; Evans and Whitefield 1995; Morris 2008; Salinas and Booth 2011; Seligson 2002, 2006). Indeed, recent

AmericasBarometer reports have linked perceptions of and experience with economic outcomes, the integrity of state officials, and the security situation to citizens' evaluations of the political system (Carlin et al. 2014).

Political tolerance is a second major component of political culture. Since broadly inclusive citizenship is a hallmark of democracy (Dahl 1971), political toleration is a central pillar of democratic quality and survival. In line with previous LAPOP research, political tolerance is defined as “the respect by citizens for the political rights of others, especially those with whom they may disagree.” Intolerance has nefarious effects on the quality of democracy, as well. Among both the mass public and elites, it is linked to support for policies that constrain individual freedoms (Gibson 1988, 1995, 1998, 2008).

What shapes political tolerance? At the macro level, more developed countries have generally more tolerant citizenries (Inglehart and Welzel 2005; Peffley and Rohrschneider 2003), while also tending to display more tolerance on specific issues such as same-sex marriage (Lodola and Corral 2010). External threats and security crises as well as levels of democratization are also related to tolerance. At the micro-level, scholars point to many factors including perceptions of high levels of threat (Marcus, Neuman and MacKuen 2000; Merolla and Zechmeister 2009), authoritarian personality (Altemeyer 2007), gender (Golebiowska 1999), and religion (Stouffer 1955).

Legitimacy and tolerance are, therefore, core elements of democratic culture. These attitudes combine to make unique profiles of democratic orientations. To understand how such orientations influence democratic stability, some scholars use the imagery of a reservoir: extended periods of strong performance raise levels of pro-democracy orientations high enough so that in hard times the regime can draw on these reserves to sustain itself. In such circumstances, democracy takes on inherent value and mass democratic orientations prove robust to economic shocks and short downturns in performance (Easton 1975; Lipset 1963). But few Latin American and Caribbean democracies have enjoyed long uninterrupted periods of prosperity and good governance. Thus, the region's pro-democracy reservoirs are likely shallow and may tend to ebb and flow with performance. This report, like others before it, seeks to track the depth of democratic orientations in the Americas over time, gauge their breadth across countries in the region, and analyze how citizens' specific experiences with democratic institutions shape their orientations to democracy.

II. Main Findings

This chapter documents two types of evidence. First, it reports on over-time trends and cross-national patterns in the Americas. Some key findings include:

- Support for the political system dropped on average in 2016/17 for the LAC-21 countries.¹ Components tapping beliefs about the legitimacy of courts and rights protection deteriorated most. Several cases exhibit great volatility over time.

¹ As in prior chapters, the LAC-21 countries are those countries in the Latin America and Caribbean region that have been included in the AmericasBarometer project since 2008: Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica, the Dominican Republic, Ecuador, El Salvador, Guatemala, Guyana, Haiti, Honduras, Jamaica, Mexico, Nicaragua, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Uruguay, and Venezuela.



- Political tolerance rose in 2016/17 in the LAC-21 countries, both overall and across each of its components. Major volatility is detected over time in several cases.
- Orientations conducive to authoritarian stability decreased most substantially; orientations conducive to democratic stability increased on average in the LAC-21 region in 2016/17 compared to 2014, returning to levels seen in 2012.

Second, this chapter considers how citizens' perceptions of and experience with political institutions shape their democratic orientations. The evidence is consistent with the following conclusions:

- Of the factors studied in this report, trust in political parties and trust in elections are the most powerful predictors of individuals' democratic orientations – particularly those conducive to stable democracy.
- Citizens' judgements of local government influence democratic orientations. Trust in local governments matters, in particular, for orientations that place democracy at risk. Satisfaction with local government services matters most for orientations linked to unstable democracy.
- The extent to which citizens feel their demands for basic political liberties are inadequately met shapes their democratic orientations.
- Perceptions of and experiences with corruption have only modest relevance with respect to citizens' democratic orientations.

The rest of the chapter unfolds as follows. Section III explores Support for the Political System, Political Tolerance, and how they combine to form four distinct profiles of Democratic Orientations: *Stable Democracy*, *Authoritarian Stability*, *Unstable Democracy*, and *Democracy at Risk*. For each, it reports trends from 2006 to 2016/17 and levels across the region in 2016/17. Section IV use regression analysis to probe what kinds of citizens are most likely to hold the four Democratic Orientations. Its goal is to compare the predictive leverage of factors that figure prominently in previous chapters of this report. Section V concludes with a discussion of the main findings and their implications.

III. Democratic Orientations across the Region and over Time

Stable democracies need citizens who support their institutions and respect the rights of, i.e. tolerate, dissenters. In other words, legitimacy/system support and political tolerance influence democratic stability. The ways in which this and previous LAPOP studies expect system support and tolerance, in combination, to affect stable democracy are summarized in Figure 6.1. If the majority in a country shows high system support as well as high tolerance, democracy should be stable, i.e. “consolidated.” Conditions in which the citizenry has high system support but low tolerance do not bode well for democracy and, at the extreme, could support a more authoritarian model. A third possibility is an unstable democracy, where the majority exhibits high political tolerance but accords political institutions low legitimacy; these cases might see some instability but critiques of the system are grounded in a commitment to core democratic values. Finally, if the majority is intolerant and unsupportive of democratic institutions, democracy may be at risk of degradation or even breakdown.

Figure 6.1. The Relationship between System Support and Political Tolerance

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

Notably, this conceptualization has empirical support. For example, data from the 2004 and 2008 AmericasBarometer studies identified serious warning signs of political instability in Honduras just before the military forces unconstitutionally exiled then president Zelaya to Costa Rica (Booth and Seligson 2009; Pérez, Booth, and Seligson 2010). Before analyzing these attitudes in combination, let us examine the two dimensions – support for the political system and political tolerance – separately.

Support for the Political System

Booth and Seligson (2009) proposed a general way of looking at public support for the political system by measuring “system support” – a summary belief in the legitimacy of political institutions in a country and overall levels of support for how the political system is organized. It is measured using an index² created from the mean of responses to the following questions from the AmericasBarometer survey:

I am going to ask you a series of questions. I am going to ask you that you use the numbers provided in the ladder to answer. Remember, you can use any number.
B1. To what extent do you think the courts in (country) guarantee a fair trial? (Read: If you think the courts do not ensure justice <u>at all</u> , choose number 1; if you think the courts ensure justice a lot, choose number 7 or choose a point in between the two.)
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)?

Responses to each question are based on a 7-point scale, running from 1 (“not at all”) to 7 (“a lot”). Following the LAPOP standard, the resulting index is rescaled from 0 to 100, so that 0 represents very low support for the political system, and 100 represents very high support. Responses for each component are also rescaled from 0 to 100 for presentation.

Figure 6.2 compares levels of the system support index and its five components since 2006. On the whole, system support in the LAC-21 region in 2016/17 is down almost four degrees from its

² Cronbach’s alpha for an additive scale of the five variables is very high ($\alpha = .81$) and principal components analysis indicates that they measure a single dimension.

2010 peak.³ The most dramatic downward trends are observed for beliefs that the courts guarantee a fair trial and that the political system respects citizens' basic rights. Thus, as in 2014, the protection of rights via the judiciary poses a major hurdle to political support in the hemisphere. Although citizens' respect for political institutions and feeling that they *should* support the political system have been fairly static, their overall pride in the system has slightly waned in 2016/17.

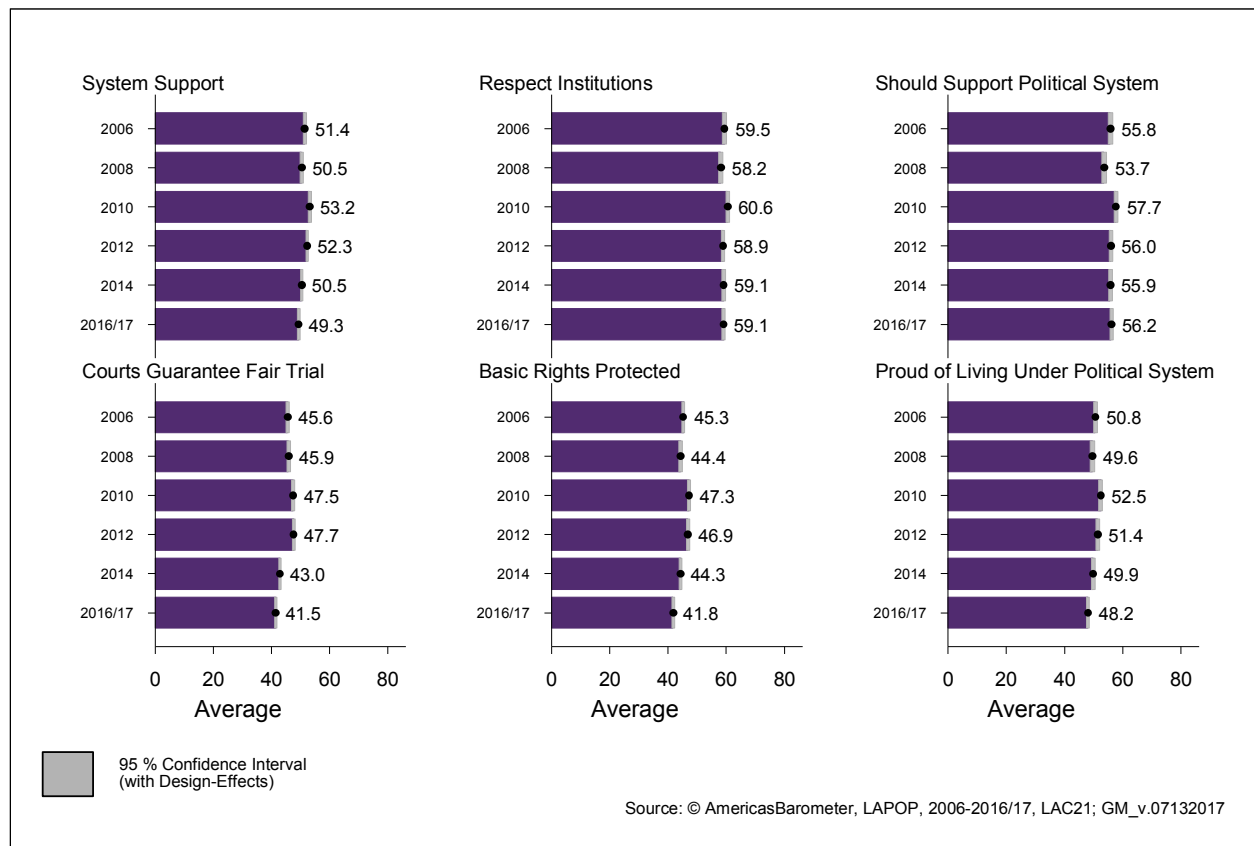


Figure 6.2. System Support and Its Components in the LAC-21 Region, 2006-2016/17

How does support for the political system vary within the Americas today? Figure 6.3 presents levels of system support in the 2016/17 AmericasBarometer study. System support is highest in Guyana (65.5 degrees) followed by Nicaragua, Canada, and Costa Rica (62-63 degrees) and, for the third round running, lowest in Brazil (34.1 degrees). At 53.7 degrees, the United States hovers above the regional average (49.7).

Because system support is meant to tap the inherent value citizens place in democratic institutions, it should be fairly stable over time. For the sake of parsimony, we do not present graphs of the cross-time results for individual countries; however, we do comment on some findings from this analysis here. In a few cases, we observed considerable shifts in 2016/17. In Guyana system support soared (+18 degrees) to a decade high. Nicaragua's strong showing (62.8 degrees) in 2016/17 marked the peak of decade-long upswing to +17.5 degrees over 2006 levels (45.3 degrees). Both Jamaica (+5.9 degrees) and Guatemala (+4.6 degrees) registered modest gains

³ If we restrict the comparison to the 11 countries continuously in the AmericasBarometer since 2004, the decline is only 1.9 degrees.

since 2014. Very few countries suffered major declines in system support; the largest were in Chile (-7.9 degrees) and Mexico (-6.5 degrees).

Noteworthy are four cases featuring relatively recent constitutional crises. Venezuela’s besieged system dipped below 40 degrees of support for the first time since the AmericasBarometer has been tracking it. This marks a 16-degree decrease since 2012. Support for the Honduran system is down 12.5 degrees compared to levels in the 2010 AmericasBarometer, fielded after then President Zelaya’s forcible removal from office. Wracked by corruption and an impeachment, Brazil has lost 15.9 degrees of system support since 2010. Stalled plans to replace Chile’s authoritarian-era constitution and widespread campaign finance scandals may help account for the 7.9-degree drop since 2014, but a wider lens shows a steady decline of 14.9 degrees since 2010.



Figure 6.3. System Support in the Americas, 2016/17



Political Tolerance

High levels of support for the political system do not guarantee the quality and survival of liberal democratic institutions. Liberal democracy also requires citizens to accept the principles of open democratic competition and tolerance of dissent. Thus, the AmericasBarometer measures political tolerance toward those citizens who object to the political system. This index is composed of the following four items:

- D1.** There are people who only say bad things about the [country's] 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**? Please read me the number from the scale [1-10 scale]: *[Probe: To what degree?]*
- D2.** How strongly do you approve or disapprove that such people be allowed **to conduct peaceful demonstrations** in order to express their views? Please read me the number.
- D3.** Still thinking of those who only say bad things about the [country's] 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**?

As with standard LAPOP indices, each respondent's mean (average) reported response to these four questions is calculated and then rescaled so that the resulting variable runs from 0 to 100, where 0 represents very low tolerance and 100 represents very high tolerance. Responses for each component have also been rescaled from 0 to 100 for presentation below.⁴

Figure 6.5 displays the regional means on the political tolerance index in each round of the AmericasBarometer since 2006. Though relatively static from 2008 to 2012, regional levels of political tolerance declined in 2014. In 2016/17, however, political tolerance rebounded overall as did each component of the index. Tolerance of political dissidents' rights to take part in peaceful demonstrations (+8.4) and to vote (+6) rallied strongest. A similar story emerges from an analysis (not shown) of the sub-sample of countries surveyed continuously since 2004.

⁴ Cronbach's alpha for an additive scale of the four variables is very high (.84) and principal components analysis indicates that they measure a single dimension.

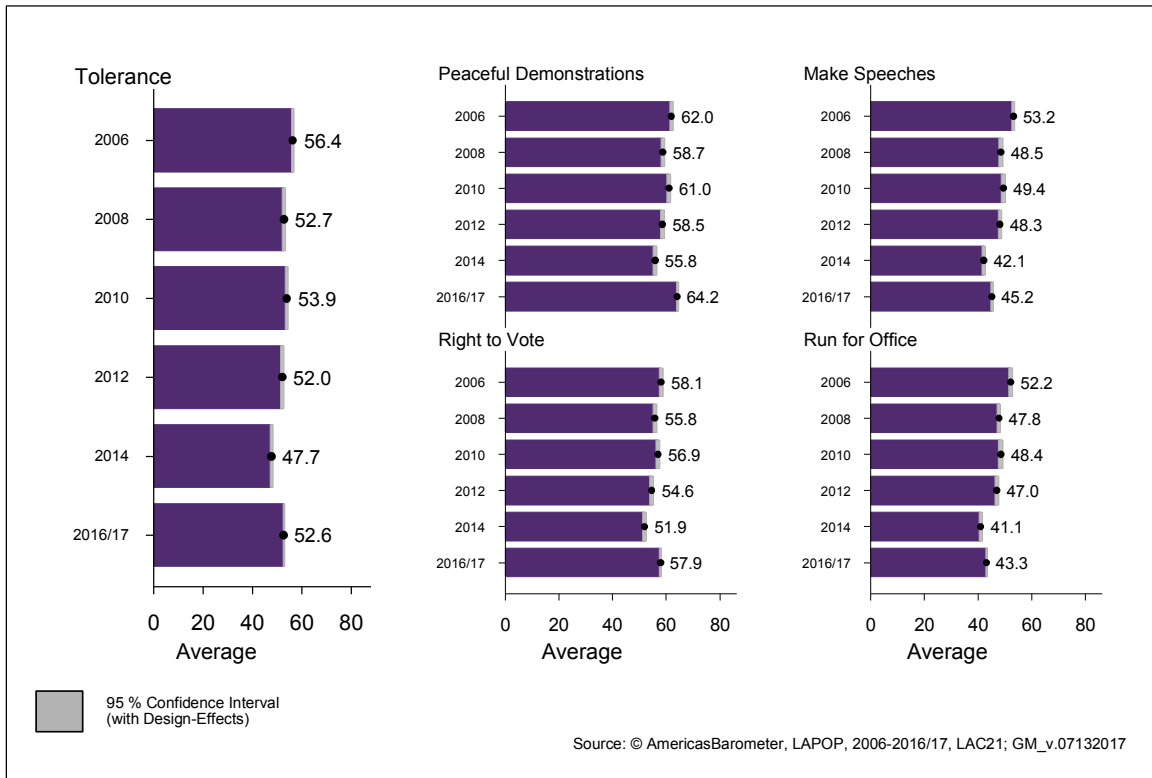


Figure 6.4. Political Tolerance and Its Components in the LAC-21 Region, 2006-2016/17

The cross-national distribution of tolerance of political dissent in the region can be appreciated in Figure 6.5, which maps countries by mean score on the index from the 2016/17 AmericasBarometer. Tolerance is greatest in Canada and the United States (69.8 and 69.2 degrees on the 0-100 scale, respectively) and lowest in Peru and Colombia (47.6 and 45.4 degrees, respectively).

How stable is political tolerance? While theoretically it should be quite stable, in actuality tolerance has changed drastically since 2014 in multiple countries. Guatemala posted the highest bounce in tolerance (+21.2 degrees). Robust gains were also made in Bolivia (+8.7 degrees), Ecuador (+8.2), Honduras (+7.6), Costa Rica (+7.3), Mexico (+7.1), Nicaragua (+6.3), El Salvador (+5.6), and the Dominican Republic (+5.3). Most other publics became only somewhat more tolerant.

Losses were fairly localized; the largest occurred in Venezuela (-6.6 degrees) and Argentina (-5.6 degrees). Yet the composition of the losses in these cases differed. In Venezuela, only support for dissidents making peaceful protests held steady, while all other tolerance components fell. Each form of tolerance has shown volatility across rounds since 2006. In Argentina, however, the recent decline owes largely to lowered tolerance towards dissidents running for office and making speeches. But the political tolerance index has fallen in each reading since 2006 for an overall drop of 18.5 degrees.

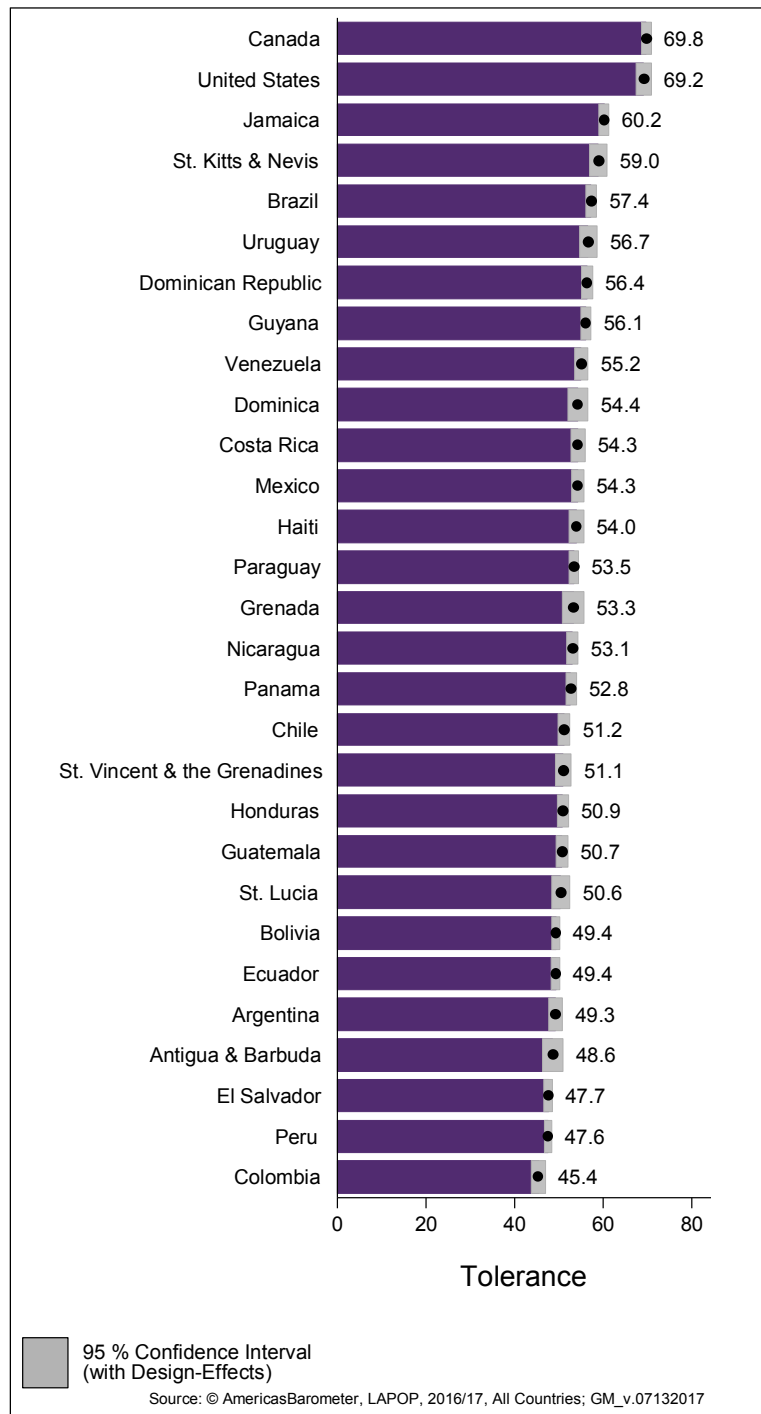


Figure 6.5. Political Tolerance in the Americas, 2016/17

Ancillary analyses (not shown) examine two potentially relevant country groupings. First are countries with active high-profile dissident groups or actors currently seeking to enter political life as legitimate actors, namely Colombia, Peru, Mexico, and Paraguay.⁵ In these contexts levels

⁵ These included Colombia (FARC/Fuerzas Armadas Revolucionarias de Colombia and ELN/Ejército de Liberación Nacional), Peru (Shining Path/Sendero Luminoso), Mexico (EPR/Ejército Popular Revolucionario and FAR-LP/Fuerzas Armadas Revolucionarias de Liberación del Pueblo), and Paraguay (EPP/Ejército del Pueblo Paraguayo).

of political tolerance are more than 3 degrees lower than the regional average for all countries. Second are countries in the Northern Triangle – Guatemala, El Salvador, and Honduras – which drug trafficking gangs have made one of the world’s most violent places. Political tolerance in these countries is 7 degrees lower than the regional average. We will return to the question of how violence and crime influence democratic orientations in the analyses at the end of this chapter.

Political tolerance appears no more stable than system support in the Americas from 2014 to 2016/17. Unlike system support, however, tolerance has risen on average in the region since 2014.

Orientations Conducive to Democratic Stability

To identify the orientations theorized to bolster democracy, the data from the system support and political tolerance indices outlined in the previous two sections are combined. Individuals who score above 50 (the midpoint) on both scales are considered to have attitudes conducive to *Stable Democracy*. Those who score below 50 (the midpoint) on both scales are considered to hold orientations that place *Democracy at Risk*. Individuals with high political tolerance but low system support have orientations that favor *Unstable Democracy*. Lastly, individuals with high system support but low tolerance are said to foster *Authoritarian Stability*.

How prevalent are these orientations in the Americas? Figure 6.6 reports regional trends from 2006 to 2016/17 for the LAC-21 region. Happily, *Stable Democracy* orientations are the modal profile in the Americas in 2016/17, up 5 points from their 2014 low. Present levels of *Democracy at Risk* are similar to those 2014. The ranks of those with *Unstable Democracy* orientations grew by 5 percentage points. The *Authoritarian Stability* profile dropped 8 points from its 2014 high. The cross-national distribution of these orientations is shown in Figure 6.7.

With respect to the profile of orientations that favors *Stable Democracy* – high system support and high political tolerance – the snapshot in Figure 6.7 flags an outlier: Canada. At 61%, Canada leads the region in *Stable Democracy* orientations. Next highest are Guyana (45%), the United States (43%), and Costa Rica (40%). At 13% and 15%, respectively, Brazil and Venezuela have the lowest percentages of citizens with orientations favorable to democratic stability.

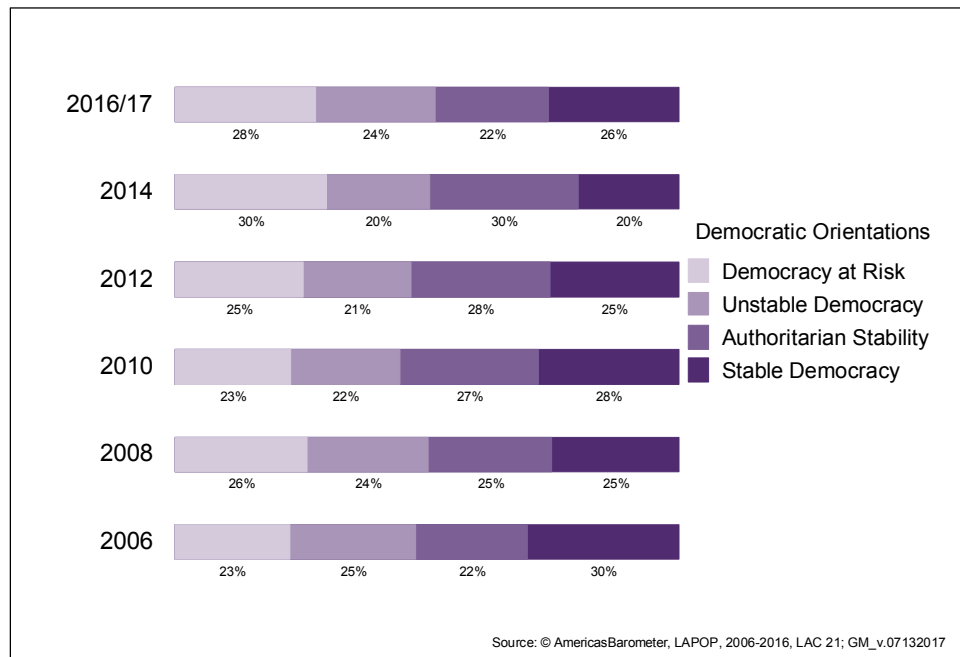


Figure 6.6. Democratic Orientations over Time in the LAC-21 Region, 2006-2016/17

Once again, when the data are examined over time for each individual country (in analyses not presented in graphs here for the sake of brevity), we uncover dramatic changes across democratic orientations from 2014 to 2016/17 in a handful of countries. The ranks of those with *Stable Democracy* profiles in Guatemala quadrupled from 7% to 29%, while those with *Unstable Democracy* profiles, i.e. political tolerance coupled with low system support, were cut in half. Guyana and Jamaica show similar dynamics.⁶ Chile saw the percentage of citizens with *Stable Democracy* orientations fall 12 points to 17% while the percentage with *Democracy at Risk* attitudes, i.e. low political tolerance and low system support, rose 11 points to 35%. *Stable Democrats* grew 11 and 8 points, respectively, to new highs in Bolivia and Ecuador. In the United States, *Stable Democrats* rose 6 percentage points but remain 21 points below 2006 levels (64%).

⁶ The *Stable Democracy* profile rebounded from 17.5% of Guyanese respondents in 2014 to 44.9%, and the *Unstable Democracy* profile shed 18 points to 12%. In Jamaica, *Stable Democracy* doubled as *Unstable Democracy* dropped 6 percentage points.

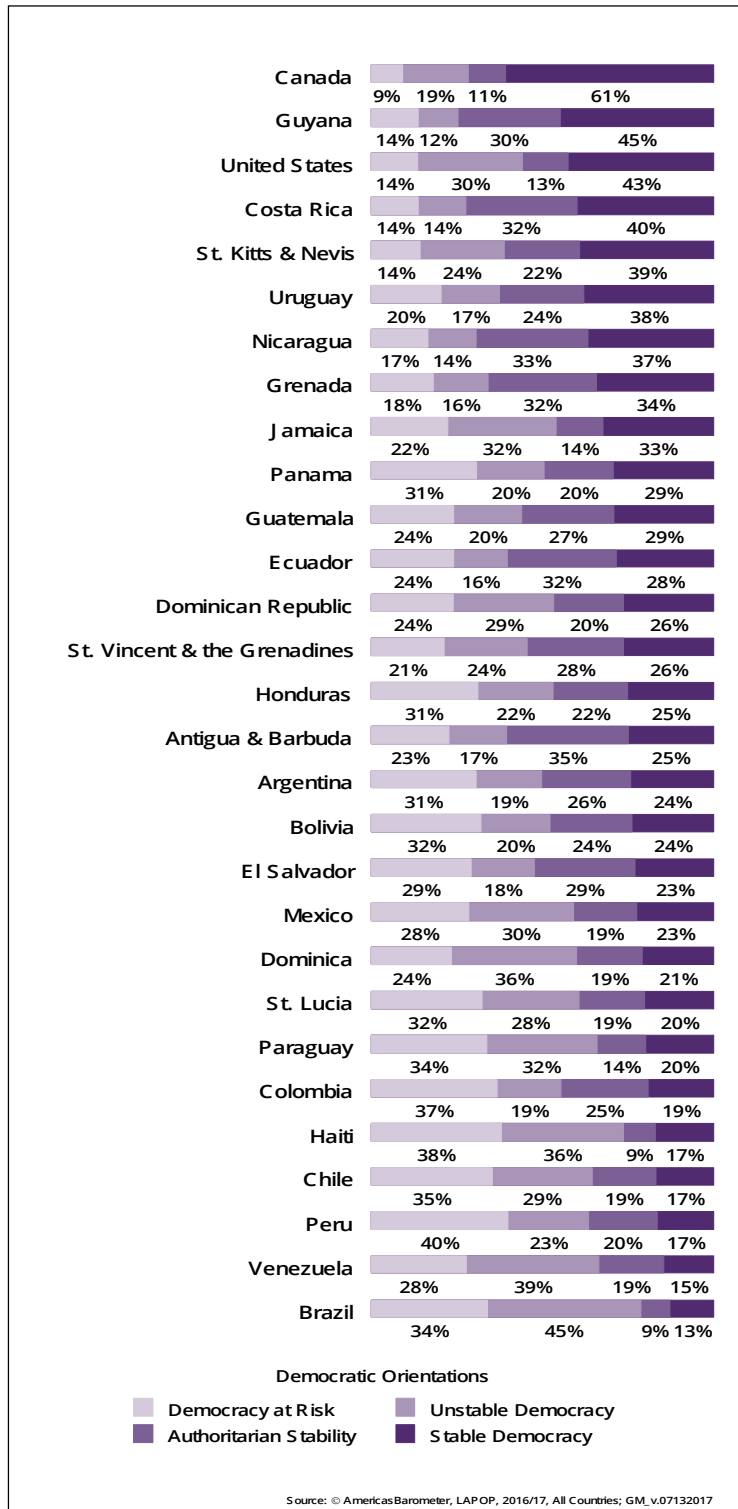


Figure 6.7. Democratic Orientations in the Americas, 2016/17

If we look at the interplay between *Stable Democracy* – the profile most supportive of democratic stability – and *Democracy at Risk* – the profile most threatening to democratic stability –, two patterns emerge. First, in some cases *Stable Democracy* orientations have grown and *Democracy at Risk* orientations have dwindled. In Honduras, for example, we find that the percentage of



individuals with *Stable Democracy* orientations has more than tripled its 2012 level while, at the same time, the proportion of individuals with orientations that put *Democracy at Risk* was more than halved. Similar if less exaggerated patterns are seen Costa Rica, Nicaragua, Ecuador, Peru, Paraguay, and the Dominican Republic.⁷

A second pattern is less heartening to democracy's champions. Namely, *Democracy at Risk* orientations are gaining ground over *Stable Democracy* orientations in handful of countries. For example, the percentage of Venezuelans who fit the *Democracy at Risk* profile has nearly doubled since 2012. *Stable Democrats*, by contrast, now make up just 15% of the population, down from 43% in 2006. Parallel, if less pronounced, dynamics have played out in Mexico and in Colombia since 2010.⁸

In short, although the political culture supporting democracy may have thickened in several countries of the hemisphere, it has thinned substantially in others. We next explore why by analyzing how individuals' experience under and judgements of political institutions shape their democratic orientations.

IV. Citizens, State Institutions, and Democratic Orientations

What kinds of citizens are most likely to hold attitudes conducive to stable democracy? As mentioned above, diffuse democratic orientations are considered deep-seated and, thus, quite stable in the short run. However, in the comparatively young democracies of Latin America and the Caribbean, citizens' perceptions of and experiences with the institutions of the democratic state may still be crucial predictors of democratic orientations. So which factors are most important to understanding individuals' democratic orientations in the 2016/17 AmericasBarometer?

To answer this question, we use fixed-effects multinomial logistic regression to model the four democratic orientations described above as a function of key variables from previous chapters. These include trust in political parties and trust in elections from Chapter 1; perceived deficit of democratic liberties from Chapter 2; corruption victimization, corruption perceptions, and corruption tolerance from Chapter 3; crime victimization and feelings of insecurity from Chapter 4; and satisfaction with local government services and trust in local government from Chapter 5. The models also control for the five standard socio-economic and demographic variables (gender, age, wealth, education, city size). Analyses include all Latin America and Caribbean region countries in the 2016/17 AmericasBarometer except for those from the Organization of Eastern Caribbean States and Guyana, where some of the questions were not asked.⁹

⁷ These cases also show a lowered prevalence of *Authoritarian Stability* attitudes and rising levels of *Unstable Democracy* attitude profiles, i.e. those who are politically tolerant but have withdrawn support for the system.

⁸ Over the decade 2006 to 2016/17, the percentage of Mexicans with an *Authoritarian Stability* attitude profile shrunk from 29.2% to 18.5%. However, *Stable Democracy* attitudes in Mexico fell gradually from 41.1% to 22.6%, *Democracy at Risk* attitudes rose steadily from 13.4% to 28.3%, and *Unstable Democracy* attitudes grew from 16.6% to 30.5%.

⁹ Full results available in the online appendix. The questions and coding used to measure the independent variables in this analysis are described in the preceding chapters.

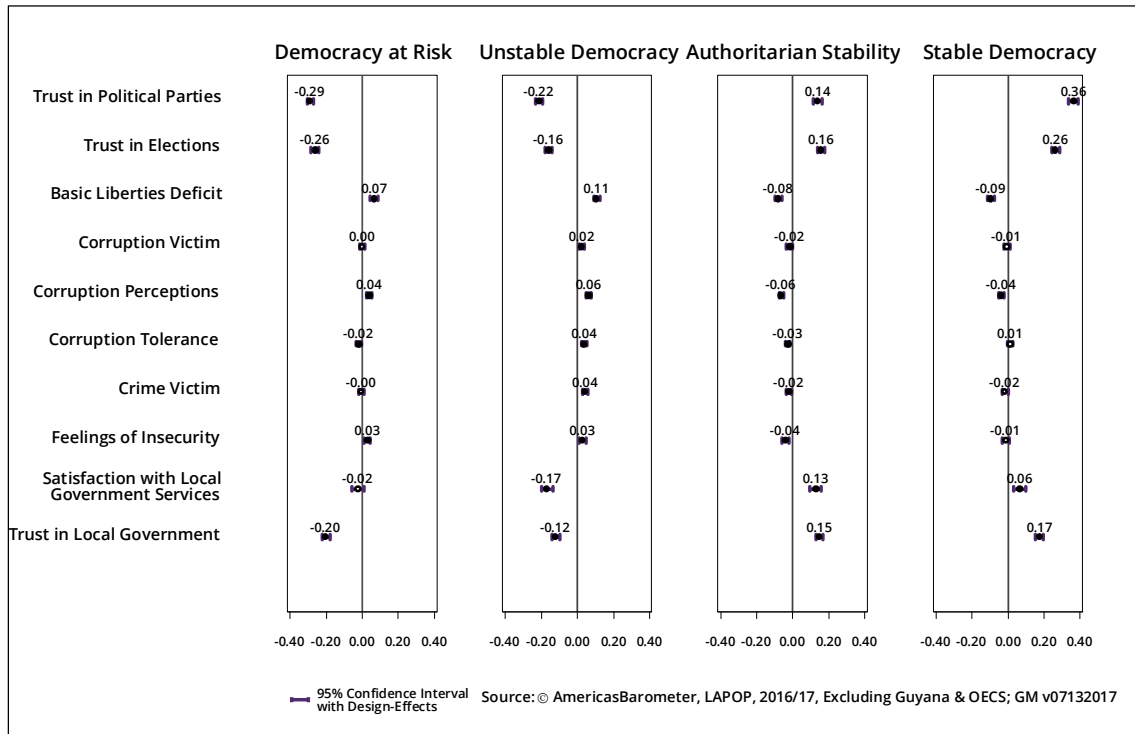


Figure 6.8. Maximal Effects of Predictors of Democratic Attitude Profiles in the Americas, 2016/17

Figure 6.8 reports the changes in the predicted probability of observing each of the four profiles when we simulate a change of each variable from its minimum value to its maximum value while holding all other variables constant at their means. Such “maximal effects” allow us to compare the relative impact of factors this report has identified as crucial to understanding opinions towards democratic governance.

Let us contrast the first pair of diametrically opposed orientations: *Stable Democracy* (far right column in the figure) – which blends high levels of system support with high levels of political tolerance – and *Democracy at Risk* (far left column in the figure) – which couples low levels of system support and low levels of political tolerance. As Figure 6.8 suggests, the correlates of these profiles are mirror images of each other. For instance, increasing trust in political parties from none to a lot makes one 36 percentage points more likely to hold orientations that augur in favor of *Stable Democracy* and 29 percentage points less likely to hold orientations that put *Democracy at Risk*. We see similar, if slightly weaker, effects when it comes to the maximal effects of trust in elections and trust in local government. By the same token, when individuals perceive a deficit in basic democratic liberties, it boosts their chances of holding *Democracy at Risk* orientations by 7 percentage points and lowers their chances of holding *Stable Democracy* orientations. Maximal effects of corruption perceptions raise the probability of observing *Democracy at Risk* orientations by 4 percentage points and lower the probability of observing *Stable Democracy* orientations by the same margin. This pattern is replicated with other variables in the analysis.

Now let us contrast a second pair of opposing orientations: *Unstable Democracy* – combining low system support with high political tolerance – and *Authoritarian Stability* – melding high system support and low political tolerance. Figure 6.8 suggests the drivers of these orientation profiles, again, mirror each other in key ways. Political trust matters a great deal for both orientations.



Bolstering trust – in political parties, elections, and local governments – bolsters the chances of espousing *Authoritarian Stability* orientations and undercuts the chances of espousing *Unstable Democracy* orientations. But evaluations of local government services matter as well. Indeed citizens who are most satisfied with local services are 17 percentage points less likely than citizens least satisfied to evince orientations conducive to *Unstable Democracy* and 13 percentage points more apt to evince orientations conducive to *Authoritarian Stability*. Satisfaction with local services, therefore, is far more indicative of these two orientations than for *Democracy at Risk* and *Stable Democracy* orientations. A perceived deficit of basic liberties appears to have its strongest legitimacy implications for *Unstable Democracy*.

Overall, how citizens evaluate, perceive, and experience their governing institutions shapes their democratic orientations and, in turn, the regime's stability. Our analysis underscores the importance of trust in political parties and elections – institutions tasked with aggregating citizens' political preferences and translating them into democratic representation. Additionally, it highlights the local connection. How highly citizens trust their local governments and rate their services heavily shapes their democratic orientations. Furthermore, the extent to which citizens feel the state supplies basic democratic rights helps determine their democratic orientations. Finally, we note citizens' experiences with and views of corruption and security wield limited predictive power over democratic orientations. Their maximal effects are roughly on par with those of the control variables (≤ 0.06). As past reports have shown, however, these factors are often correlated with system support and political tolerance when analyzed separately (Carlin et al. 2012, 2014).

V. Conclusion

Democracy's future in the Americas hinges on mass support for its institutions and the inclusive nature of democratic citizenship. When citizens broadly view the system as legitimate and tolerate even its most ardent detractors, democracy can achieve remarkable stability. But when this cultural foundation erodes, democracy's fate is less certain. Chapter 1 tracked noteworthy decay, on average in the region, in support for democracy in the abstract and in trust in and attachment to political parties. These outcomes are concerning, yet the set of attitudes that matter for democratic quality and stability is broader. It is also important to track legitimacy, political tolerance, and democratic orientations in the Americas, to compare them across countries, and, most crucially, to understand how citizens' interaction with state institutions shapes democratic orientations. This chapter sought to do just that. Now let us review our findings and ponder what they might mean for democracy's defenders and policymakers in this hemisphere.

A straightforward message from the over-time analyses is that system support and political tolerance do not necessarily trend together. Nor even do all components of these indices. Recall that overall system support fell largely due to flagging faith that courts guarantee a fair trial and that the system protects citizens' basic rights. Yet respect for regime was stable and normative commitments to them increased. Such diverging dynamics can have political implications. In this instance, robust respect for and commitment to democratic institutions can anchor the system if reformers seek to craft policies to improve the justice system. Pairing this conclusion with rising tolerance for public dissent, policymakers may, indeed, find fertile ground for their reforms.

Another noteworthy message this chapter communicates is that democratic legitimacy and political tolerance exhibit volatility in the Americas. Brief analyses of specific cases here suggest

this volatility reflects the real-time processes of democratization and de-democratization. As mentioned, scholars have used AmericasBarometer data to argue that low levels of legitimacy can be bellwethers of democratic instability (Booth and Seligson 2009; Pérez, Booth and Seligson 2010). Beyond specific levels, however, short-term *volatility* in system support, political tolerance, and/or democratic orientations may also have important implications – positive and negative – for democracy. This is an open question that can only be answered with consistently repeated measurement. Monitoring mass democratic sentiment cross-nationally and over time, a core mandate of the AmericasBarometer, is therefore crucial to understanding democratic stability.

Finally, this chapter's findings have implications for political actors in the region. Political parties, elections, and local government are some of the institutions with which citizens have the most contact. Citizens' trust in these institutions are the three strongest predictors of their democratic orientations. The strength of this relationship makes the findings presented in earlier chapters on declining confidence in parties and low trust in local government particularly relevant; though regional average orientations toward democratic stability have ticked upward, this outcome rests on tenuous grounds. This places a lot of responsibility on the shoulders of the actors who inhabit these institutions. It is thus incumbent upon party leaders to show themselves to be capable, honest, and responsive to citizens (Carlin 2014). Beyond those actors who can influence electoral commissions and other institutions that shape the conduct of elections, raising political knowledge, fostering interpersonal trust, and reaching out to those who voted for the losing candidates can boost trust in elections (Layton 2010) – and political actors can be protagonists of all three. And as Chapter 5 of this report indicates, local politicians may earn greater trust not only by providing better services, but also by reducing neighborhood insecurity, rooting out corruption, and getting citizens engaged in local politics. Finally, while political actors surely have their parts to play in cultivating democratic culture, citizens have parts, as well. Becoming and staying informed and acting to hold politicians and state institutions accountable remain key duties of democratic citizenship, without which we should not expect the status quo to change for the better.

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Appendices



Appendix A. Design Effects

Accuracy of the Findings

Two types of errors affect all surveys: non-sampling and sampling errors. Non-sampling errors are usually made during questionnaire design, data collection, and processing. These errors can be mitigated by using a valid and reliable measuring instrument, adequately training fieldwork personnel, supervising and monitoring fieldwork, and using appropriate software for data collection and processing. Non-sampling errors are difficult to quantify, although comparing the sample results with those of the population is one way to assess whether these errors have generated biases that might reduce or even invalidate the representativeness of the sample. The use of electronic handheld devices in AmericasBarometer fieldwork helps reduce non-sampling errors by providing the capacity to monitor the implementation of the survey in real and quasi-real time. Through geo-fencing, for example, we are able to determine whether interviews are conducted in the correct geographic area. Additionally, by eliminating the separate process of data entry (necessary when interviews are recorded on paper and then are transferred to an electronic medium), we eliminate the inevitable errors that this activity generates. Perhaps most importantly, with paper questionnaires computer-based consistency checks can only be run several weeks after the data are collected. Correcting errors post hoc is difficult or impossible given the separation in time and space between the moment an interview is conducted on paper and the later time at which the problem is detected.

Sampling errors, on the other hand, are a product of the design itself, a product of chance, and the inevitable result of the process of surveying a sample and not the entire population. All modern survey research relies on drawing a sample from the population and therefore all such surveys suffer from sampling errors. When a sample is drawn, this sample is actually one of many possible samples that could have been selected from the population. The variability that exists across all these possible samples is the sampling error, which we could measure if all these samples were available. However, that is impossible, since short of interviewing the entire national sample (for example, some 200 million Brazilians), the number of samples that could be drawn is infinite. In practice, sampling error is estimated over the variance obtained from the sample itself. To estimate the sampling error of a statistic (average, percentage, or ratio), we calculate the standard error, which is the square root of the population variance of the statistic. This allows us to measure how close the statistic is to the result that would have been obtained if the entire population were interviewed under the same conditions.

To calculate this error, it is important to consider the specific (complex) design through which the sample was drawn. The design effect (DEFT) in the formula below indicates the efficiency of the design used in relation to an unrestricted random sampling design (URS). A value of 1 indicates that the standard error (SE) obtained for both designs (the complex and the URS) is equal; that is, in this case the complex sampling is as efficient as the URS with the same-sized sample. If the value is greater than 1, the complex sampling produces a SE greater than that obtained with a URS.

$$DEFT = SE_{complex} / SE_{URS}$$

Table DE.1 shows, for each of 6 measures from the survey instrument, the value of the statistic in question (average or percentage) and the design effect (DEFT) that we calculate for the 2016/17

round of the AmericasBarometer. The table also reports the design effects of the 2014 round for the same variables. The SEs were estimated using Stata 12 software. Extreme values, when they are encountered, come from a high degree of homogeneity within each cluster. In other words, in these cases there is an important spatial segregation of people according to their socioeconomic condition, which reduces the efficiency of cluster sampling (one aspect of the complex design) to measure these characteristics/attitudes.

It is worth noting that, in the case of a standard survey in which a complex design is applied to draw the sample, the sampling error is usually 10% to 40% greater than that which would have been obtained with unrestricted (and extremely costly) random sampling. In general, for a well-designed study, the design effect usually ranges from 1 to 3. In the case of the 2016/17 AmericasBarometer, the typical sampling error is lower. For example, in the case of Costa Rica, the Support for Democracy (Ing4r) has a sampling error of 1.18. This means that the 95% confidence interval (1.96 times the SE) for the average of this variable (74.19) goes from 72.56 to 75.86. According to the DEFT of the table, this interval is 18% greater than that which would have been obtained with a URS (see Table DE.1). In short, we are pleased to report that the design effects in our 29-country, hemisphere-wide survey are very low. Only rarely do we find (in the table below) design effects above 1.5. Further, in most cases the design effects in the 2016/17 round of surveys are systematically lower than the prior (2014) round.

Table DE.1. Design effects, 2016/17 AmericasBarometer Survey

Country	Ing4r				it1r			
	2016/2017			2014 Round	2016/2017			2014 Round
	Average	Std. Error	DEFT	DEFT	Average	Std. Error	DEFT	DEFT
Mexico	56.60	0.91	1.20	1.66	53.34	1.14	1.46	1.55
Guatemala	56.68	0.71	1.00	1.47	59.44	1.02	1.20	1.27
El Salvador	60.02	0.76	1.09	0.99	60.18	1.06	1.21	1.28
Honduras	57.25	0.75	0.92	1.37	63.25	0.94	1.07	1.41
Nicaragua	62.19	0.77	1.04	0.97	60.38	0.87	0.99	1.30
Costa Rica	71.92	0.83	1.18	1.63	65.79	1.34	1.68	1.75
Panama	62.71	0.87	1.13	1.51	54.10	0.94	1.15	1.56
Colombia	59.88	0.76	1.04	1.46	59.70	1.25	1.54	1.61
Ecuador	58.63	0.87	1.25	1.93	55.17	0.90	1.10	1.62
Bolivia	61.01	0.72	1.09	1.68	47.50	0.85	1.16	2.21
Peru	59.16	0.72	1.40	1.63	48.31	0.82	1.43	1.33
Paraguay	56.33	0.75	0.99	1.08	63.03	1.11	1.36	1.17
Chile	64.65	0.82	1.11	1.81	59.88	0.94	1.25	1.91
Uruguay	81.44	0.92	1.43	1.30	66.42	1.03	1.45	1.54
Brazil	58.45	0.77	0.95	1.69	46.71	0.91	1.12	1.45
Venezuela	64.47	0.91	1.04	2.49	52.95	0.93	1.15	1.68
Argentina	77.65	0.79	1.13	1.33	64.02	0.95	1.28	1.69
Dominican Rep.	64.30	0.89	1.13	1.21	56.51	0.90	1.00	1.28
Haiti	57.60	1.14	1.53	1.49	40.73	1.02	1.43	1.86
Jamaica	61.06	0.79	0.96	1.63	53.65	0.99	1.25	1.36
Guyana	61.54	1.03	1.15	1.54	64.54	0.97	1.30	1.66
Grenada	67.58	1.48	1.62	-	62.27	1.25	1.53	-
St. Lucia	60.46	1.18	1.25	-	56.28	0.90	1.04	-
Dominica	69.14	1.60	1.54	-	55.77	1.24	1.43	-
Antigua and Barbuda	65.53	1.20	1.44	-	69.41	0.97	1.32	-
St. Vincent and the Grenadines	69.56	1.46	1.55	-	58.92	1.09	1.26	-
St. Kitts and Nevis	72.11	1.33	1.46	-	67.16	1.00	1.30	-
United States	73.74	0.91	1.32	1.35	62.92	0.74	1.30	1.38
Canada	75.54	0.63	1.09	1.06	68.93	0.58	1.09	1.09

Table DE.1. Design effects, 2016/17 AmericasBarometer Survey (cont.)

Country	corvic				PSA5			
	2016/2017			2014 Round	2016/2017			2014 Round
	Average	Std. Error	DEFT	DEFT	Average	Std. Error	DEFT	DEFT
Mexico	29.76	1.26	1.09	1.24	45.51	0.82	1.34	1.60
Guatemala	25.13	1.49	1.35	1.18	53.57	0.55	1.01	1.45
El Salvador	9.76	0.84	1.11	1.05	51.20	0.69	1.17	1.05
Honduras	27.54	1.15	1.02	1.44	47.95	0.77	1.26	1.38
Nicaragua	20.14	1.03	1.02	1.07	62.84	0.64	1.11	1.29
Costa Rica	9.18	0.78	1.05	1.41	62.23	0.64	1.14	1.28
Panama	13.55	0.90	1.02	1.83	49.87	0.68	1.16	1.65
Colombia	17.40	1.05	1.09	1.42	47.57	0.68	1.20	1.44
Ecuador	27.78	1.24	1.09	1.62	55.30	0.65	1.18	1.68
Bolivia	40.37	1.25	1.05	2.02	49.69	0.81	1.49	2.26
Peru	29.57	1.25	1.40	1.33	43.93	0.53	1.34	1.76
Paraguay	30.96	1.46	1.24	1.29	42.38	0.86	1.48	1.43
Chile	7.27	0.67	1.04	1.58	42.66	0.55	1.00	1.89
Uruguay	6.27	0.65	1.05	1.04	56.65	0.64	1.06	1.19
Brazil	11.23	0.82	1.01	1.55	34.05	0.69	1.21	1.74
Venezuela	28.57	1.24	1.08	1.70	39.92	0.88	1.25	1.72
Argentina	16.12	0.98	1.04	1.51	49.95	0.63	1.11	1.54
Dominican Rep.	23.15	1.30	1.20	1.08	48.96	0.78	1.22	1.25
Haiti	35.83	1.16	1.14	1.47	37.71	0.75	1.44	2.13
Jamaica	9.97	0.84	1.09	1.09	48.37	0.63	1.01	1.13
Guyana	13.26	1.06	1.22	1.28	65.46	0.70	1.20	1.72
Grenada	3.69	0.58	0.97	-	58.16	0.95	1.50	-
St. Lucia	5.99	0.85	1.14	-	44.90	0.75	1.05	-
Dominica	8.86	1.13	1.27	-	43.93	1.40	1.66	-
Antigua and Barbuda	6.59	0.84	1.06	-	56.31	0.99	1.45	-
St. Vincent and the Grenadines	4.72	0.78	1.18	-	54.97	1.13	1.44	-
St. Kitts and Nevis	5.26	0.80	1.13	-	57.39	1.06	1.40	-
United States	-	-	-	1.54	53.68	0.76	1.31	1.40
Canada	-	-	-	1.05	62.27	0.58	1.08	1.07

Table DE.1. Design effects, 2016/17 AmericasBarometer Survey (cont.)

Country	tol				mlr			
	2016/2017		2014 Round DEFT	2014 Round DEFT	2016/2017		2014 Round DEFT	2014 Round DEFT
	Average	Std. Error			Average	Std. Error		
Mexico	54.25	0.72	1.16	1.62	31.02	0.96	1.49	1.44
Guatemala	50.75	0.67	1.22	1.28	49.49	0.82	1.29	1.60
El Salvador	47.66	0.51	0.95	0.98	48.00	0.83	1.17	0.83
Honduras	50.92	0.62	1.02	1.25	57.76	0.85	1.16	1.02
Nicaragua	53.11	0.66	1.12	1.41	68.88	0.69	1.18	1.04
Costa Rica	54.34	0.82	1.32	1.99	40.10	0.88	1.38	1.13
Panama	52.79	0.63	1.16	1.82	40.11	0.75	1.07	1.46
Colombia	45.41	0.85	1.33	1.41	43.07	1.10	1.55	1.43
Ecuador	49.36	0.52	0.96	1.92	62.94	0.81	1.27	1.45
Bolivia	49.38	0.51	1.00	2.78	59.02	0.87	1.58	1.99
Peru	47.60	0.46	1.18	1.85	49.56	0.51	1.26	1.20
Paraguay	53.47	0.59	0.98	1.57	47.42	0.94	1.25	1.42
Chile	51.20	0.73	1.14	1.94	46.00	0.67	1.15	1.68
Uruguay	56.73	1.07	1.50	1.62	55.29	0.66	1.05	0.93
Brazil	57.35	0.64	1.01	1.89	29.91	0.78	1.11	1.45
Venezuela	55.15	0.77	1.18	2.02	31.22	1.03	1.36	1.54
Argentina	49.29	0.81	1.15	1.65	44.39	0.80	1.09	1.25
Dominican Rep.	56.43	0.63	1.03	1.08	69.23	0.74	1.19	1.34
Haiti	53.99	0.84	1.41	1.76	55.11	0.57	0.98	1.65
Jamaica	60.25	0.60	1.03	2.04	58.09	0.89	1.24	1.47
Guyana	56.12	0.60	0.96	2.24	72.76	1.25	1.78	1.95
Grenada	60.74	1.22	1.59	-	59.49	1.15	1.43	-
St. Lucia	58.08	1.11	1.43	-	47.82	1.13	1.20	-
Dominica	63.35	1.33	1.62	-	46.41	1.91	1.81	-
Antigua and Barbuda	55.41	1.33	1.68	-	58.75	1.21	1.39	-
St. Vincent and the Grenadines	61.07	1.12	1.52	-	60.36	1.42	1.46	-
St. Kitts and Nevis	68.40	1.25	1.54	-	59.09	1.55	1.65	-
United States	69.20	0.91	1.34	1.36	40.59	1.22	1.27	1.34
Canada	69.85	0.58	1.07	1.08	54.56	0.80	1.08	1.09

For more information on the sample within each country, please see the country reports and technical information sheets on the LAPOP website, www.LapopSurveys.org.



Appendix B. Understanding Figures in this Study

AmericasBarometer data are based on national probability samples of respondents drawn from each country; naturally, all samples produce results that contain a margin of error. It is important for the reader to understand that each data point (for example, a country's average trust in political parties) has a confidence interval, expressed in terms of a range surrounding that point. Most graphs in this study show a 95% confidence interval that takes into account the fact that our samples are “complex” (i.e., stratified and clustered). In bar charts, this confidence interval appears as a grey block, whereas in figures presenting the results of regression models it appears as a horizontal bracket. The dot in the center of a confidence interval depicts the estimated mean (in bar charts) or coefficient (in regression charts). The numbers next to each bar in the bar charts represent the estimated mean values (the dots). When two estimated points have confidence intervals that overlap to a large degree, the difference between the two values is typically not statistically significant; conversely, where two confidence intervals in bar graphs do not overlap, the reader can be very confident that those differences are statistically significant with 95% confidence. To help interpret bar graphs, chapter authors will frequently indicate in the text whether a difference is statistically significant or not.

Graphs that show regression results include a vertical line at zero. When a variable's estimated (standardized) coefficient falls to the left of this line, this indicates that the variable has a negative relationship with the dependent variable (i.e., the attitude, behavior, or trait we seek to explain); when the (standardized) coefficient falls to the right, it has a positive relationship. We can be 95% confident that the relationship is statistically significant when the confidence interval does not overlap the vertical line at zero.

On occasion, analyses and graphs in this report present “region-average” findings. LAPOP's standard is to treat countries as units of analysis and, thus, we weight countries equally in the calculation of region averages.

The dataset used for the analyses in this report was a preliminary version of the cross-time, cross-national merge of the 2004-2017 AmericasBarometer surveys. Finalized versions of each survey represented in the dataset are available for free download on the project's website at www.LapopSurveys.org.



Appendix C. Study Information Sheet

This is the standard study information sheet, which was modified by research teams within each country.



July 2016

Dear Sir/Ma'am:

You have been selected at random to participate in a study of public opinion on behalf of [local partner if applies]. The project is supported by USAID and Vanderbilt University.

The interview will last approximately 45 minutes.

The objective of the study is to learn your opinions about different aspects of the way things are in [country]. Even though we cannot offer you any specific benefit, we do plan to make general findings available to the media and researchers.

Although you have been selected to participate, Sir/Ma'am, your participation in the study is voluntary. You can decline to answer any question or end the interview at any time. The replies that you give will be kept confidential and anonymous. For quality control purposes, sections of the interview may be recorded.

If you have any questions about the study, please do not hesitate to contact XXX at xxx-xxxx, or at the email XXX.

We are leaving this sheet with you in case you want to refer to it.

Are you willing to participate?

Appendix D. Questionnaire

AmericasBarometer 2017 Master Questionnaire Version # 18.0

		LOGO OF LOCAL PARTNER INSTITUTION TO BE INSERTED HERE
		

LAPOP: Country, 2017

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PAIS. Country:				
01. Mexico	02. Guatemala	03. El Salvador	04. Honduras	05. Nicaragua
06. Costa Rica	07. Panama	08. Colombia	09. Ecuador	10. Bolivia
11. Peru	12. Paraguay	13. Chile	14. Uruguay	15. Brazil
16. Venezuela	17. Argentina	21. Dom. Rep.	22. Haiti	23. Jamaica
24. Guyana	25. Trinidad & Tobago	26. Belize	40. United States	41. Canada
27. Suriname	28. Bahamas	29. Barbados	30. Grenada	31. Saint Lucia
32. Dominica	33. Antigua and Barbuda	34. Saint Vincent and the Grenadines	35. Saint Kitts and Nevis	
IDNUM. Questionnaire number [assigned at the office]				
ESTRATOPRI: Insert a complete list of the names of the strata here				
ESTRATOSEC. Size of the Municipality [voting age population according to the census; modify for each country, using the appropriate number of strata and population ranges]: (1) Large (more than 100,000) (2) Medium (between 25,000-100,000) (3) Small (< 25,000)				
UPM [Primary Sampling Unit, normally identical to "MUNICIPIO"]: _____				
PROV. Province (or department, state; Jamaica = county): _____				
MUNICIPIO. County (or municipality or "cantón" or parish or city hall, in the sample this is the UPM): _____				
XXXDISTRITO. District (or constituency, this is always a division of the Primary Sampling Unit (UPM): _____				
XXXSEGMENTO. Census Segment [official census code]: _____				
XXXSEC. Sector [optional]: _____				
CLUSTER. [Final sampling unit, or sampling point]: _____ [Every cluster must have 6 interviews; use the official census code]				
UR. (1) Urban (2) Rural [Use country's census definition]				
TAMANO. Size of place: (1) National Capital (Metropolitan area) (2) Large City (3) Medium City (4) Small City (5) Rural Area				
IDIOMAQ. Questionnaire language: (2) English [Insert other languages used] (1) Spanish (2) English (3) Portuguese (12) Dutch (13) Sranantongo (14) Kreyòl (1002) Quechua (1003) Aymara (1202) Spanish/Guaraní (4101) French				
Start time: ____ : ____				
FECHA. Date Day: ____ Month: ____ Year: 2016/17				

Do you live in this home?

Yes → continue

No → Thank the respondent and end the interview

Are you a [nationality] citizen or permanent resident of [country]?

Yes → continue

No → Thank the respondent and end the interview

How old are you? [Only continue if they are at least 18 years old, or 16 in Argentina, Brazil, Ecuador and Nicaragua]

Yes → continue

No → Thank the respondent and end the interview

ATTENTION: It is compulsory to always read the STUDY INFORMATION SHEET and obtain consent before starting the interview.

Q1. Sex [Record but DO NOT ask]: (1) Male (2) Female	
Q2Y. In what year were you born? _____ year (888888) Don't know [DON'T READ] (988888) No answer [DON'T READ] [NOTE: in Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, Guatemala, Haiti, Jamaica, Mexico, Panama, Peru, and Uruguay, the following questions was used:	
Q2. How old are you? _____ years [RECORD AGE IN YEARS COMPLETED. Age cannot be less than 18 years, or 16 years for Argentina and Brazil]	
LS3. To begin, in general how satisfied are you with your life? Would you say that you are: [Read alternatives] (1) Very satisfied (2) Somewhat satisfied (3) Somewhat dissatisfied (4) Very dissatisfied (888888) Don't know [DON'T READ] (988888) No answer [DON'T READ]	

A4. In your opinion, what is the most serious problem faced by the country? [DO NOT read alternatives; Accept only ONE answer]			
Armed conflict	30	Inequality	58
Bad government	15	Inflation, high prices	02
Corruption	13	Kidnappings	31
Credit, lack of	09	Land to farm, lack of	07
Crime	05	Malnutrition	23
Discrimination	25	Migration	16
Drug addiction; consumption of drugs	11	Politicians	59
Drug trafficking	12	Popular protests (strikes, blocking roads, work stoppages, etc.)	06
Economy, problems with, crisis of	01	Population explosion	20
Education, lack of, poor quality	21	Poverty	04
Electricity, lack of	24	Roads in poor condition	18
Environment	10	Security (lack of)	27
External debt	26	Terrorism	33
Forced displacement of persons	32	Transportation, problems of	60
Gangs	14	Unemployment	03
Health services, lack of	22	Violence	57
Housing	55	War against terrorism	17
Human rights, violations of	56	Water, lack of	19
Impunity	61	Other	70
Don't know	888888	No answer	988888



[Add only in countries that use Android and that use more than one language]
A4L. [Record but don't ask] Which language was used in the answer to the last question (A4)?
 (1) Spanish
[USE CODES FROM IDIOMAQ]

SOCT2. Do you think that the country's current economic situation is better than, the same as or worse than it was **12 months ago**?
 (1) Better (2) Same (3) Worse
 (888888) Don't know **[DON'T READ]** (988888) No answer **[DON'T READ]**

IDIO2. Do you think that **your** economic situation is better than, the same as, or worse than it was **12 months ago**?
 (1) Better (2) Same (3) Worse
 (888888) Don't know **[DON'T READ]** (988888) No answer **[DON'T READ]**

Now, let's talk about your local municipality...

NP1. Have you attended a town meeting, city council meeting or other meeting in the past 12 months?
 (1) Yes (2) No
 (888888) Don't know **[DON'T READ]** (988888) No answer **[DON'T READ]**

I am going to read you a list of groups and organizations. Please tell me if you attend meetings of these organizations at least once a week, once or twice a month, once or twice a year, or never. **[Repeat "once a week," "once or twice a month," "once or twice a year," or "never" to help the interviewee]**

	Once a week	Once or twice a month	Once or twice a year	Never	Don't know [DON'T READ]	No answer [DON'T READ]	Inapplicable [DON'T READ]
CP6. Meetings of any religious organization? Do you attend them...	1	2	3	4	888888	988888	
CP7. Meetings of a parents' association at school? Do you attend them...	1	2	3	4	888888	988888	
CP8. Meetings of a community improvement committee or association? Do you attend them...	1	2	3	4	888888	988888	
CP13. Meetings of a political party or political organization? Do you attend them...	1	2	3	4	888888	988888	
CP20. [WOMEN ONLY] Meetings of associations or groups of women or home makers? Do you attend them...	1	2	3	4	888888	988888	999999

IT1. And 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
 (888888) Don't know **[DON'T READ]** (988888) No answer **[DON'T READ]**

[GIVE CARD "A" TO THE INTERVIEWEE]

L1. [Use L1B in United States, Trinidad & Tobago, and Guyana]
 Now, to change the subject.... On this card there is a 1-10 scale that goes from left to right. The number one means left and 10 means right. Nowadays, when we speak of political leanings, we talk of those on the left and those on the right. In other words, some people sympathize more with the left and others with the right. According to the meaning that the terms "left" and "right" have for you, and thinking of your own political leanings, where would you place yourself on this scale? Tell me the number.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	Don't know [DON'T READ] (888888)	No answer [DON'T READ] (988888)
Left										Right	

[GIVE CARD "A"]

L1B. [For the United States, Trinidad & Tobago, and Guyana] (Liberal-Conservative Scale)
 Now, to change the subject... On this card there is a 1-10 scale that goes from liberal to conservative. One means liberal and 10 means conservative. Nowadays, when we speak of political leanings, we talk of liberals and conservatives. In other words, some people sympathize more with the liberals and others with the conservatives. According to the meaning that the terms "liberals" and "conservatives" have for you, and thinking of your own political leanings, where would you place yourself on this scale?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	Don't know [DON'T READ] (888888)	No answer [DON'T READ] (988888)
Liberal										Conservative	

[TAKE BACK CARD "A"]

PROT3. In the **last 12 months**, have you participated in a demonstration or protest march?
 (1) Yes (2) No
 (888888) Don't know [DON'T READ] (988888) No answer [DON'T READ]

QUESTIONNAIRE A

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... [Read alternatives]: [Customize for Costa Rica (Fuerza Pública), Panama (Fuerza Pública de Panamá), and Haiti (Police Nationale d'Haïti)]

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	Don't know [DON'T READ] (888888)	No answer [DON'T READ] (988888)	Inapplicable [DON'T READ] (999999)
--	--	--	--	---------------------------------------	--

QUESTIONNAIRE B

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... [Read alternatives]: [Customize for Costa Rica (Fuerza Pública), Panama (Fuerza Pública de Panamá), and Haiti (Police Nationale d'Haïti)]

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	Don't know [DON'T READ] (888888)	No answer [DON'T READ] (988888)	Inapplicable [DON'T READ] (999999)
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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?	(1) Yes, it is justified	(2) No, it is not justified	Don't know [DON'T READ] (888888)	No answer [DON'T READ] (988888)
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VIC1EXT. Now, changing the subject, 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? (1) Yes [Continue] (2) No [Skip to ARM2] (888888) Don't know [DON'T READ] [Skip to ARM2] (988888) No answer [DON'T READ] [Skip to ARM2]

VIC1EXTA. How many times have you been a crime victim during the last 12 months? _____ [Fill in number] _____ [HIGHEST NUMBER ACCEPTED: 20] (888888) Don't know [DON'T READ] (988888) No answer [DON'T READ] (999999) Inapplicable [DON'T READ]

[ASK ONLY IN EL SALVADOR, GUATEMALA, AND HONDURAS] ARM2. If you could, would you have your own firearm for protection? (1) Yes (2) No (888888) Don't know [DON'T READ] (988888) No answer [DON'T READ]
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Out of fear of being a crime victim, in the last 12 months						
	Yes	No	Don't Know [DON'T READ]	No answer [DON'T READ]	Inapplicable [DON'T READ]	
[ASK ONLY IN EL SALVADOR, GUATEMALA, COSTA RICA, NICARAGUA, HONDURAS AND PANAMA] VIC71. Have you avoided leaving your home by yourself at night?	(1) Yes	(0) No	888888	988888		
[ASK ONLY IN EL SALVADOR, GUATEMALA, COSTA RICA, NICARAGUA, HONDURAS AND PANAMA] VIC72. Have you avoided using public transportation?	(1) Yes	(0) No	888888	988888	999999 (does not use public transportation)	
[ASK ONLY IN EL SALVADOR, GUATEMALA, AND HONDURAS] VIC73. Have you avoided leaving your home unoccupied during the night?	(1) Yes	(0) No	888888	988888		
[ASK ONLY IN EL SALVADOR, GUATEMALA, AND HONDURAS,] VIC40A. Have you avoided buying things that you like because they may get stolen?	(1) Yes	(0) No	888888	988888		

<p>[ASK ONLY EL SALVADOR, GUATEMALA, COSTA RICA, NICARAGUA, HONDURAS AND PANAMA,]</p> <p>VIC74. Have you prevented children from your home from playing in the street?</p>	(1) Yes	(0) No	888888	988888	999999 (there are no kids in the home)	
<p>[ASK ONLY IN EL SALVADOR, GUATEMALA, AND HONDURAS]</p> <p>FEAR6FA. Still thinking of the past 12 months, have you prevented your children from going to school out of fear for their safety?</p>	(1) Yes	(0) No	888888	988888	999999 (does not have children)	
<p>[ASK ONLY IN EL SALVADOR, GUATEMALA, AND HONDURAS]</p> <p>VIC41. Have you limited the places where you go for recreation?</p>	(1) Yes	(0) No	888888	988888		
<p>[ASK ONLY IN EL SALVADOR, GUATEMALA, COSTA RICA, NICARAGUA, HONDURAS AND PANAMA]</p> <p>VIC43. Have you felt the need to move to a different neighborhood out of fear of crime?</p>	(1) Yes	(0) No	888888	988888		
<p>[ASK ONLY IN EL SALVADOR, GUATEMALA, AND HONDURAS]</p> <p>VIC45N. In the last twelve months, have you changed your job or place of study out of fear of crime? [If does not work or study mark 999999]</p>	(1) Yes	(0) No	888888	988888	999999 (does not work/ study)	
<p>[ASK ONLY IN EL SALVADOR, GUATEMALA, AND HONDURAS]</p> <p>VICBAR4A. Have you or someone from your immediate family (children, spouse) been the victim of extortion or blackmail in the last 12 months?</p>	(1) Yes	(0) No	888888	988888		
<p>AOJ11. Speaking of the neighborhood where you live and thinking of the possibility of being assaulted or robbed, do you feel very safe, somewhat safe, somewhat unsafe or very unsafe? (1) Very safe (2) Somewhat safe (3) Somewhat unsafe (4) Very unsafe (888888) Don't know [DON'T READ] (988888) No answer [DON'T READ]</p>						
<p>AOJ12. If you were a victim of a robbery or assault how much faith do you have that the judicial system would punish the guilty? [Read alternatives] (1) A lot (2) Some (3) Little (4) None (888888) Don't know [DON'T READ] (988888) No answer [DON'T READ]</p>						

[GIVE CARD "B" TO THE INTERVIEWEE]



On this card there is a ladder with steps numbered 1 to 7, where 1 is the lowest step and means NOT AT ALL and 7 the highest and means A LOT. For example, if I asked you to what extent do you like watching television, if you don't like watching it at all, you would choose a score of 1, and if, in contrast, you like watching television a lot, you would indicate the number 7 to me. If your opinion is between not at all and a lot, you would choose an intermediate score. So, to what extent do you like watching television? Read me the number. **[Make sure that the respondent understands correctly].**

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	888888	988888
Not at all						A lot	Don't know [DON'T READ]	No Answer [DON'T READ]

Note down a number 1-7, or 888888 Don't know and 988888 No answer

I am going to ask you a series of questions. I am going to ask that you use the numbers provided in the ladder to answer. Remember, you can use any number.

B1. To what extent do you think the courts in (country) guarantee a fair trial? (**Read:** If you think the courts do not ensure justice at all, choose number 1; if you think the courts ensure justice a lot, choose number 7, or choose a point in between the two.)

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)?

B43. To what extent are you proud of being (nationality corresponding to country)?

B12. To what extent do you trust the Armed Forces? **[Not in Bahamas, Costa Rica or Haiti]**
[For Panama use: PANB12. To what extent do you trust the Servicio Nacional de Fronteras?)

B13. To what extent do you trust the National Congress?

B18. To what extent do you trust the National Police?

B21. To what extent do you trust the political parties?

B21A. To what extent do you trust the President/Prime Minister?

B32. To what extent do you trust the local or municipal government?

B37. To what extent do you trust the mass media?

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

Using the same 1 to 7 scale, where 1 is "Not at all" and 7 is "A lot"....

**(888888)
Don't know
(988888)
No answer
[DON'T
READ]**

[Only in some countries]

PR3DN. If in your neighborhood one of your neighbors decides to build or renovate a house without a license or permit, How likely is it that they would be punished by the authorities?

[Only in some countries]

PR3EN. If someone in your neighborhood decides to build or renovate a house, how likely do you think it is that they would be asked to pay a bribe to get a license or permit, or to ignore the construction altogether?

[TAKE BACK CARD "B"]

M1. Speaking in general of the current administration, how would you rate the job performance of President NAME CURRENT PRESIDENT? **[Read alternatives]**

(1) Very good (2) Good (3) Neither good nor bad (fair) (4) Bad (5) Very bad (888888)
Don't know **[DON'T READ]** (988888) No answer **[DON'T READ]**

M2. Now speaking of Congress/Parliament, and thinking of members/senators and representatives as a whole, without considering the political parties to which they belong, do you believe that the members/senators and representatives of Congress/Parliament are performing their jobs: very well, well, neither well nor poorly, poorly, or very poorly?
 (1) Very well (2) Well (3) Neither well nor poorly (4) Poorly
 (5) Very poorly
 (888888) Don't know [DON'T READ] (988888) No answer [DON'T READ]

And thinking about this city/area where you live...
SD2NEW2. Are you very satisfied, satisfied, **dissatisfied**, or very **dissatisfied** with the condition of the streets, roads, and highways?
 (1) Very satisfied (2) Satisfied
 (3) Dissatisfied (4) Very dissatisfied
 (888888) Don't know [DON'T READ] (988888) No answer [DON'T READ] (999999)
 Inapplicable (Does not use) [DON'T READ]

SD3NEW2. And with the quality of public schools? Are you... [Read alternatives]
 (1) Very satisfied (2) Satisfied
 (3) Dissatisfied (4) Very dissatisfied
 (888888) Don't know [DON'T READ] (988888) No answer [DON'T READ] (999999)
 Inapplicable (Does not use) [DON'T READ]

SD6NEW2. And with the quality of public medical and health services? Are you... [Read alternatives]
 (1) Very satisfied (2) Satisfied
 (3) Dissatisfied (4) Very dissatisfied
 (888888) Don't know [DON'T READ] (988888) No answer [DON'T READ] (999999)
 Inapplicable (Does not use) [DON'T READ]

INFRA3. Suppose someone enters your home to burglarize it and you call the police. How long do you think it would take the police to arrive at your house on a typical day around noon? [Read alternatives]
 (1) Less than 10 minutes
 (2) Between 10 and 30 minutes
 (3) More than 30 minutes and up to an hour
 (4) More than an hour and up to three hours
 (5) More than three hours
 (6) [DON'T READ] There are no police/they would never arrive
 (888888) Don't know [DON'T READ]
 (988888) No answer [DON'T READ]

INFRA3. Suppose you are in your house and you experience a very serious injury and need immediate medical attention. How long do you think it would take you, by the fastest means, to get to the nearest medical center or hospital (public or private)? [Read alternatives]
 (1) Less than 10 minutes
 (2) Between 10 and 30 minutes
 (3) More than 30 minutes and up to an hour
 (4) More than an hour and up to three hours
 (5) More than three hours
 (6) [DON'T READ] There is no such service available / I wouldn't go to one
 (888888) Don't know [DON'T READ]
 (988888) No answer [DON'T READ]

[GIVE CARD "C" TO THE INTERVIEWEE]

Now we will use a ladder where 1 means "strongly disagree" and 7 means "strongly agree." A number in between 1 and 7 represents an intermediate score.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	888888	988888	
Strongly disagree						Strongly agree		Don't know [DON'T READ]	No answer [DON'T READ]

[Note down 1-7, 888888 = Don't know, 988888=No answer]

Now I am going to read some statements. Please tell me to what extent you agree or disagree with the following statements.

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?

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?

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?

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

EFF2. You feel that you understand the most important political issues of this country. How much do you agree or disagree with this statement?

AOJ22NEW. To reduce crime in a country like ours, punishment of criminals must be increased. To what extent do you agree or disagree with this statement?

And changing the subject...

[Continue using Card "C"]

[1-7, 888888= Don't know 988888= No answer]

MEDIA3. Information reported by the [country] news media is an accurate representation of the different viewpoints that exist in [country]. To what extent do you agree or disagree with this statement?

MEDIA4. The [country] news media are controlled by a few big corporations/economic groups. To what extent do you agree or disagree with this statement?

TEST A. Set 1

[Continue using Card "C"]

[Note down 1-7, 888888= Don't know, 988888 = No answer, 999999= Inapplicable]

DST1B1. The government should spend more money to enforce building codes/norms/regulations to make homes safer from natural disasters, even if it means spending less on other programs... How much do you agree or disagree with this statement?

[TAKE BACK CARD "C"]

DRK11. How likely do you think it is that you or someone in your immediate family here in [country] could be killed or seriously injured in a natural disaster, such as floods, earthquakes, or hurricanes/landslides/tornados/storms, in the next 25 years? Do you think it is... **[Read alternatives]**

(1) Not likely (2) A little likely (3) Somewhat likely (4) Very likely

(888888) Don't know **[DON'T READ]**

(988888) No answer **[DON'T READ]**

(999999) Inapplicable **[DON'T READ]**

[NOTE: a slightly different wording was used in Colombia, Costa Rica, and Nicaragua. Check country questionnaires for specific wording]

[GIVE CARD "N" TO THE INTERVIEWEE]

Now, we are going to use this new card

[Note down 1-7, 888888= Don't know, 988888 = No answer, 999999= Inapplicable]

ENV1C1. Some people believe that protecting the environment should be given priority over economic growth, while others believe that growing the economy should be prioritized over environmental protection. On a 1 to 7 scale where 1 means that the environment should be the highest priority, and 7 means the economic growth should be the highest priority, where would you place yourself?

[TAKE BACK CARD "N"]

ENV2B1. If nothing is done to reduce climate change in the future, how serious of a problem do you think it will be for [country]? **[Read alternatives]**
 (1) Very Serious
 (2) Somewhat Serious
 (3) Not so serious
 (4) Not serious at all
 (888888) Don't know **[DON'T READ]**
 (988888) No answer **[DON'T READ]**
 (999999) Inapplicable **[DON'T READ]**

TEST A. Set 2

[TAKE BACK CARD "C"]

[GIVE CARD "N" TO THE INTERVIEWEW]

We are going to use this new card...

[Note down 1-7, 888888= Don't know, 988888 = No answer, 999999= Inapplicable]

ENV1C2. Some people believe that protecting the environment should be given priority over economic growth, while others believe that growing the economy should be prioritized over environmental protection. On a 1 to 7 scale where 1 means that the environment should be the highest priority, and 7 means the economic growth should be the highest priority, where would you place yourself?

[TAKE BACK CARD "N"]

ENV2B2. If nothing is done to reduce climate change in the future, how serious of a problem do you think it will be for [country]? **[Read alternatives]**
 (1) Very Serious
 (2) Somewhat Serious
 (3) Not so serious
 (4) Not serious at all
 (888888) Don't know **[DON'T READ]**
 (988888) No answer **[DON'T READ]**
 (999999) Inapplicable **[DON'T READ]**

[GIVE CARD "C" TO THE INTERVIEWEE]

We will use this card again; it goes from 1 "strongly disagree" to 7 "strongly agree"

[Note down 1-7, 888888= Don't know, 988888 = No answer, 999999= Inapplicable]

DST1B2. The government should spend more money to enforce building codes/norms/regulations to make homes safer from natural disasters, even if it means spending less on other programs... How much do you agree or disagree with this statement?

[TAKE BACK CARD "C"]

DRK12. How likely do you think it is that you or someone in your immediate family here in [country] could be killed or seriously injured in a natural disaster, such as floods, earthquakes, or hurricanes/landslides/tornados/storms, in the next 25 years? Do you think it is...?

[Read alternatives]

(1) Not likely (2) A little likely (3) Somewhat likely (4) Very likely

(888888) Don't know **[DON'T READ]**

(988888) No answer **[DON'T READ]**

(999999) Inapplicable **[DON'T READ]**

[NOTE: a slightly different wording was used in Colombia, Costa Rica, and Nicaragua. Check country questionnaires for specific wording]



<p>PN4. In general, would you say that you are very satisfied, satisfied, dissatisfied or very dissatisfied with the way democracy works in (country)?</p> <p>(1) Very satisfied (2) Satisfied (3) Dissatisfied (4) Very dissatisfied (888888) Don't know [DON'T READ] (988888) No answer [DON'T READ]</p>	
<p>W14A. And now, thinking about other topics. Do you think it's justified to interrupt a pregnancy, that is, to have an abortion, when the mother's health is in danger?</p> <p>(1) Yes, justified (2) No, not justified (888888) Don't know [DON'T READ] (988888) No answer [DON'T READ]</p>	

[GIVE CARD "D" TO THE INTERVIEWEE]

Now we are going to use another card. The new card has a 10-point ladder, which goes from 1 to 10, where 1 means that you *strongly disapprove* and 10 means that you *strongly approve*. I am going to read you a list of some actions that people can take to achieve their political goals and objectives. Please tell me how strongly you would approve or disapprove...

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	888888 Don't know [DON'T READ]	988888 No Answer [DON'T READ]
Strongly disapprove										Strongly approve	

[Note down 1-10, 888888= Don't know, 988888= No answer]

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

D1. There are people who only say bad things about the (country) form of government, not just the current (incumbent) government but the system of government. How strongly do you approve or disapprove of such people's **right to vote**? Please read me the number from the scale: **[Probe: To what degree?]**

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

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**?

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**?

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

[TAKE BACK CARD "D"]

	Very little	Enough	Too much	Don't know [DON'T READ]	No answer [DON'T READ]	
LIB1. Do you believe that nowadays in the country we have very little, enough or too much freedom of press?	1	2	3	888888	988888	
LIB2B. And freedom of expression. Do we have very little, enough or too much?	1	2	3	888888	988888	
LIB2C. And freedom to express political views without fear. Do we have very little, enough or too much?	1	2	3	888888	988888	
LIB4. Human rights protection. Do we have very little, enough or too much?	1	2	3	888888	988888	

	N/A Did not try or did not have contact	No	Yes	Don't know [DON'T READ]	No answer [DON'T READ]
Now we want to talk about your personal experience with things that happen in everyday life...					
EXC2. Has a police officer asked you for a bribe in the last twelve months?		0	1	888888	988888
EXC6. In the last twelve months, did any government employee ask you for a bribe?		0	1	888888	988888
[DO NOT ASK IN BAHAMAS, COSTA RICA AND HAITI; IN PANAMA, USE "FUERZA PÚBLICA"] EXC20. In the last twelve months, did any soldier or military officer ask you for a bribe?		0	1	888888	988888
EXC11. In the last twelve months, did you have any official dealings in the municipality/local government? If the answer is No → mark 999999 If it is Yes→ ask the following: 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?	999999	0	1	888888	988888
EXC13. Do you work? If the answer is No → mark 999999 If it is Yes→ ask the following: In your work, have you been asked to pay a bribe in the last twelve months?	999999	0	1	888888	988888
EXC14. In the last twelve months, have you had any dealings with the courts? If the answer is No → mark 999999 If it is Yes→ ask the following: Did you have to pay a bribe to the courts in the last twelve months?	999999	0	1	8888888	988888
EXC15. Have you used any public health services in the last twelve months? If the answer is No → mark 999999 If it is Yes→ ask the following: In order to be seen in a hospital or a clinic in the last twelve months, did you have to pay a bribe?	999999	0	1	888888	988888
EXC16. Have you had a child in school in the last twelve months? If the answer is No → mark 999999 If it is Yes→ ask the following: Have you had to pay a bribe at school in the last twelve months?	999999	0	1	888888	988888
EXC18. Do you think given the way things are, sometimes paying a bribe is justified?		0	1	888888	988888
EXC7NEW. Thinking of the politicians of [country]... how many of them do you believe are involved in corruption? [Read alternatives] (1) None (2) Less than half of them (3) Half of them (4) More than half of them (5) All (888888) Don't know [DON'T READ] (988888) No answer [DON'T READ]					



Thinking about your experiences or what you have heard...

<p>[ASK ONLY IN VENEZUELA, BRAZIL, MÉXICO, EL SALVADOR, GUATEMALA, AND HONDURAS] VICBAR7. Have there been any murders in the last 12 months in your neighborhood? (1) Yes [Continue] (2) No [Skip to FEAR11] (888888) Don't know [DON'T READ] [Skip to FEAR11] (988888) No answer [DON'T READ] [Skip to FEAR11]</p>	
<p>[ASK ONLY IN VENEZUELA, BRAZIL, MÉXICO, EL SALVADOR, GUATEMALA, AND HONDURAS] VICBAR7F How many times did this occur: once a week, once or twice a month, once or twice a year? (1) Once a week (2) Once or twice a month (3) Once or twice a year (888888) Don't know [DON'T READ] (988888) No answer [DON'T READ] (999999) Inapplicable [DON'T READ]</p>	
<p>[ASK ONLY IN VENEZUELA, BRAZIL, MÉXICO, EL SALVADOR, GUATEMALA, AND HONDURAS] FEAR11. Thinking of your daily life, how much fear do you have being a direct victim of homicide? Do you feel a lot of fear, some fear, little fear or not fear at all? (1) A lot of fear (2) Some fear (3) Little fear (4) No fear at all (888888) Don't know [DON'T READ] (988888) No answer [DON'T READ]</p>	
<p>[ASK ONLY IN VENEZUELA, BRAZIL, MÉXICO, EL SALVADOR, GUATEMALA, AND HONDURAS] CAPITAL1. Are you in favor or against capital punishment for those guilty of murder? (1) In favor (2) Against (888888) Don't know [DON'T READ] (988888) No answer [DON'T READ]</p>	
<p>[ASK ONLY IN VENEZUELA, BRAZIL, MÉXICO, EL SALVADOR, GUATEMALA, AND HONDURAS] IGA1. In your opinion, who should take the lead in reducing homicide in this country? [Read alternatives] (1) The national/central government (2) The municipality (3) The businessmen (4) The citizens (888888) Don't know [DON'T READ] (988888) No answer [DON'T READ]</p>	
<p>[ASK ONLY IN VENEZUELA, BRASIL, MÉXICO, EL SALVADOR, GUATEMALA, AND HONDURAS] IGAAOJ22. In your opinion, to reduce homicide in this country is it more important that the government invests in (1) Preventive measures such as educational opportunities and jobs for people, (2) or in increasing punishment for criminals? (888888) Don't know [DON'T READ] (988888) No answer [DON'T READ]</p>	
<p>VB1. Are you registered to vote? [El Salvador, Costa Rica, Honduras, Nicaragua, Panama, Haiti: Do you have an Identity Card/National Identification Card? For Peru: Do you have DNI?] (1) Yes (2) No (3) Being processed (888888) Don't know [DON'T READ] (988888) No answer [DON'T READ]</p>	
<p>[DO NOT ASK IN BAHAMAS, COSTA RICA, PANAMÁ, PERÚ, HONDURAS, NICARAGUA, AND EL SALVADOR, HAITI] INF1. Do you have a national identification card? (1) Yes (2) No (888888) Don't know [DON'T READ] (988888) No answer [DON'T READ]</p>	
<p>VB2. Did you vote in the last presidential elections of (year of last presidential elections)? [IN COUNTRIES WITH TWO ROUNDS, ASK ABOUT THE FIRST] (1) Voted [Continue] (2) Did not vote [Skip to VB10] (888888) Don't know [DON'T READ] [Skip to VB10] (988888) No answer [DON'T READ] [Skip to VB10]</p>	

<p>VB3N. Who did you vote for in the last presidential election of 2008? [DO NOT read alternatives] [IN COUNTRIES WITH TWO ROUNDS, ASK ABOUT THE FIRST] [ATTENTION, CODE “(77) OTHER” SHOULD ALSO BE PRECEDED BY COUNTRY CODE] (00) None (Blank ballot) (97) None (null ballot) (X01) INSERT CANDIDATE NAME AND NAME OF PARTY OR COALITION (X02) (X03) Replace X for the country code (XX77) Other (888888) Don't know [DON'T READ] (988888) No answer [DON'T READ] (999999) Inapplicable (Didn't vote) [DON'T READ]</p>	
<p>VB10. Do you currently identify with a political party? (1) Yes [Continue] (2) No [Skip to POL1] (888888) Don't know [DON'T READ] [Skip to POL1] (988888) No answer [DON'T READ] [Skip to POL1]</p>	
<p>VB11. Which political party do you identify with? [DO NOT read alternatives] [ATTENTION, CODE “(77) OTHER” SHOULD ALSO BE PRECEDED BY COUNTRY CODE] (X01) [WRITE DOWN THE NAMES OF CURRENT POLITICAL PARTIES] (X02) (X03) [Replace X with Country Code] (XX77) Other (888888) Don't know [DON'T READ] (988888) No answer [DON'T READ] (999999) Inapplicable [DON'T READ]</p>	
<p>POL1. How much interest do you have in politics: a lot, some, little or none? (1) A lot (2) Some (3) Little (4) None (888888) Don't know [DON'T READ] (988888) No answer [DON'T READ]</p>	
<p>VB20. If the next presidential elections were being held this week, what would you do? [Read alternatives] (1) Wouldn't vote (2) Would vote for the current (incumbent) candidate or party (3) Would vote for a candidate or party different from the current administration (4) Would go to vote but would leave the ballot blank or would purposely cancel my vote (888888) Don't know [DON'T READ] (988888) No answer [DON'T READ]</p>	
<p>[ASK ONLY IN BOLIVIA, GUATEMALA AND PERU] At any point in your life, have you experienced discrimination - not been allowed to do something, been bothered, or made to feel inferior - in any of the following situations as a result of the color of your skin?</p>	
<p>DIS7A. At school? (1) Yes (2) No (888888) Don't know [DON'T READ] (988888) No answer [DON'T READ]</p>	
<p>DIS8A. At work, have you ever experienced discrimination due to the color of your skin? (1) Yes (2) No (888888) Don't know [DON'T READ] (988888) No answer [DON'T READ]</p>	
<p>DIS9A. And have you ever experienced discrimination in the street or in a public place due to the color of your skin? (1) Yes (2) No (888888) Don't know [DON'T READ] (988888) No answer [DON'T READ]</p>	

DIS10A. Have you ever experienced discrimination by the police due to the color of your skin?

(1) Yes

(2) No

(888888) Don't know [DON'T READ]

(988888) No answer [DON'T READ]

DIS11A. And on the part of any public official - have you experienced discrimination at any point in your life due to the color of your skin?

(1) Yes

(2) No

(888888) Don't know [DON'T READ]

(988888) No answer [DON'T READ]

[GIVE CARD "H" TO THE INTERVIEWEE] [Note that Card H requires customization by country]

Now, changing the topic...

FOR5N. In your opinion, which of the following countries ought to be the model for the future development of **our country**? [Read alternatives]

(1) China

(3) India

(5) Singapore

(7) South Korea

(11) [Exclude in Venezuela] Venezuela, or

(13) [DON'T READ] None/we ought to follow our own model

(14) [DON'T READ] Other

(888888) Don't know [DON'T READ]

(988888) No answer [DON'T READ]

(2) Japan

(4) United States

(6) Russia

(10) [Exclude in Brazil] Brazil

(12) [Exclude in Mexico] Mexico

[TAKE BACK CARD "H"]

TEST B. Set 1

Now, I would like to ask you how much you trust **the governments** of some countries. For each country, tell me if in your opinion it is very trustworthy, somewhat trustworthy, not very trustworthy, or not at all trustworthy, or if you don't have an opinion.

	Very trustworthy	Somewhat trustworthy	Not very trustworthy	Not at all trustworthy	Don't know/ No opinion	No answer [DON'T READ]	Inapplicable [DON'T READ]
MIL10A1. The government of China. In your opinion, is it very trustworthy, somewhat trustworthy, not very trustworthy, or not at all trustworthy, or do you not have an opinion?	1	2	3	4	888888	988888	999999
MIL10E1. The government of the United States. In your opinion, is it very trustworthy, somewhat trustworthy, not very trustworthy, or not at all trustworthy, or do you not have an opinion?	1	2	3	4	888888	988888	999999

Now, talking about international organizations...

MIL10OAS1. The OAS, Organization of the American States. In your opinion, is it very trustworthy, somewhat trustworthy, not very trustworthy, or not at all trustworthy, or do you not have an opinion?	1	2	3	4	888888	988888	999999
MIL10UN1. The UN, United Nations. In your opinion, is it very trustworthy, somewhat trustworthy, not very trustworthy, or not at all trustworthy, or do you not have an opinion?	1	2	3	4	888888	988888	999999

TEST B. Set 2

Now, I would like to ask you how much you trust **some international organizations**. For each of them, please tell me if in your opinion it is very trustworthy, somewhat trustworthy, not very trustworthy, or not at all trustworthy, or if you don't have an opinion.

	Very trustworthy	Somewhat trustworthy	Not very trustworthy	Not at all trustworthy	Don't know/ No opinion	No answer [DON'T READ]	Inapplicable [DON'T READ]
MIL10OAS2. The OAS, Organization of the American States. In your opinion, is it very trustworthy, somewhat trustworthy, not very trustworthy, or not at all trustworthy, or do you not have an opinion?	1	2	3	4	888888	988888	999999
MIL10UN2. The UN, United Nations. In your opinion, is it very trustworthy, somewhat trustworthy, not very trustworthy, or not at all trustworthy, or do you not have an opinion?	1	2	3	4	888888	988888	999999

Let's talk now about the governments of some countries...

MIL10A2. The government of China. In your opinion, is it very trustworthy, somewhat trustworthy, not very trustworthy, or not at all trustworthy, or do you not have an opinion?	1	2	3	4	888888	988888	999999
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MIL10E2. The government of the United States. In your opinion, is it very trustworthy, somewhat trustworthy, not very trustworthy, or not at all trustworthy, or do you not have an opinion?	1	2	3	4	888888	988888	999999
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Changing the topic. Now, we are going to talk about construction codes/norms/regulations for construction of houses and buildings.

[Ask in all 2017 countries, except for Guatemala, Jamaica, Canada and the US]

CCQ1. According to what you know or have heard, are there construction codes/norms/regulations in your city/area?

(1) Yes **[Continue]**

(2) No **[Skip to CCQ3]**

(888888) Don't know **[DON'T READ]** **[Skip to CCQ3]**

(988888) No answer **[DON'T READ]** **[Skip to CCQ3]**

CCQ2. And also according to what you have seen or heard, would you say those codes/norms/regulations are applied?

[Read alternatives]

(1) Always

(2) Almost always

(3) Sometimes

(4) Rarely

(5) Never

(888888) Don't know **[DON'T READ]**

(988888) No answer **[DON'T READ]**

(999999) Inapplicable **[DON'T READ]**

CCQ3. Are there codes/norms/regulations that regulate the use of the soil or the land in this city/area where you live?

(1) Yes **[Continue]**

(2) No **[Skip to WF1]**

(888888) Don't know **[DON'T READ]** **[Skip to WF1]**

(988888) No answer **[DON'T READ]** **[Skip to WF1]**

CCQ4. And also according to what you have seen and heard, would you say those codes/norms/regulations are applied

[Read alternatives]

(1) Always

(2) Almost always

(3) Sometimes

(4) Rarely

(5) Never

(888888) Don't know **[DON'T READ]**

(988888) No answer **[DON'T READ]**

(999999) Inapplicable **[DON'T READ]**

WF1. Do you or someone in your household receive regular assistance in the form of money, food, or products from the government, not including pensions/social security?

(1) Yes (2) No

(888888) Don't know **[DON'T READ]** (988888) No answer **[DON'T READ]**

[Only in countries with CCT programs]

CCT1B. Now, talking specifically about Conditional Cash Transfers, are you or someone in your house a beneficiary of this program?

(1) Yes (2) No

(888888) Don't know **[DON'T READ]** (988888) No answer **[DON'T READ]**

[Use card "ED" for back-up only. Do NOT show card to the interviewee.]

ED. How many years of schooling have you completed?

_____ Year _____ (primary, secondary, university, post-secondary not university) = _____ total number of years **[Use the table below for the code]**

	1 ^o	2 ^o	3 ^o	4 ^o	5 ^o	6 ^o
None	0 [Skip to ED2]					
Primary	1 [Skip to ED2A]	2 [Skip to ED2A]	3 [Skip to ED2A]	4 [Skip to ED2A]	5 [Skip to ED2A]	6 [Skip to ED2A]
Secondary	7 [Skip to ED2B]	8 [Skip to ED2B]	9 [Skip to ED2B]	10 [Skip to ED2B]	11 [Skip to ED2B]	12 [Skip to ED2B]
University	13 [Skip to ED2B]	14 [Skip to ED2B]	15 [Skip to ED2B]	16 [Skip to ED2B]	17 [Skip to ED2B]	18+ [Skip to ED2B]
Post-secondary, not university	13 [Skip to ED2B]	14 [Skip to ED2B]	15 [Skip to ED2B]			
Don't know [DON'T READ]	888888 [Skip to ED2]					
No answer [DON'T READ]	988888 [Skip to ED2]					

[ASK JUST IN ECUADOR, CHILE, AND URUGUAY]

ED2A. Thinking about your elementary education, did you attend a public school, a private school, or both?

- (1) Public **[Skip to ED2]**
- (2) Private **[Skip to ED2]**
- (3) Both **[Skip to ED2]**
- (888888) Don't know **[DON'T READ] [Skip to ED2]**
- (988888) No answer **[DON'T READ] [Skip to ED2]**
- (999999) Inapplicable **[DON'T READ] [Skip to ED2]**

[ASK JUST IN ECUADOR, CHILE, AND URUGUAY]

ED2B. Thinking about your secondary education (middle and high school) did you attend a public school, a private school, or both?

- (1) Public
- (2) Private
- (3) Both
- (888888) Don't know **[DON'T READ]**
- (988888) No answer **[DON'T READ]**
- (999999) Inapplicable **[DON'T READ]**



<p>ED2. And what educational level did your mother/mom complete? [DO NOT read alternatives] (00) None (01) Primary incomplete (02) Primary complete (03) Secondary incomplete (04) Secondary complete (05) Technical school/Associate degree incomplete (06) Technical school/Associate degree complete (07) University (bachelor's degree or higher) incomplete (08) University (bachelor's degree or higher) complete (888888) Don't know [DON'T READ] (988888) No answer [DON'T READ]</p>	
<p>Q5A. How often do you attend religious services? [Read alternatives] (1) More than once per week (2) Once per week (3) Once a month (4) Once or twice a year (5) Never or almost never (888888) Don't know [DON'T READ] (988888) Don't answer [DON'T READ]</p>	
<p>Q5B. Could you please tell me: how important is religion in your life? [Read alternatives] (1) Very important (2) Somewhat important (3) Not very important (4) Not at all important (888888) Don't know [DON'T READ] (988888) Don't answer [DON'T READ]</p>	
<p>[Use card "Q3C" for back-up only. Do NOT show card to the interviewee.] Q3C. What is your religion, if any? [DO NOT read alternatives] [If the respondent says that he/she has no religion, probe to see if he/she should be located in option 4 or 11] [If interviewer says "Christian" or "Evangelical", probe to verify if he is catholic (option 1), Pentecostal (option 5) or non-pentecostal evangelical (option 2). If he is unsure, select (2)]. [ADD THE CORRESPONDING CODES IN BRAZIL, SURINAM AND CANADA] (01) Catholic (02) Protestant, Mainline Protestant or Protestant non-Evangelical (Christian; Calvinist; Lutheran; Methodist; Presbyterian; Disciple of Christ; Anglican; Episcopalian; Moravian). (03) Non-Christian Eastern Religions (Islam; Buddhist; Hinduism; Taoist; Confucianism; Baha'i). (05) Evangelical and Pentecostal (Evangelical; Pentecostals; Church of God; Assemblies of God; Universal Church of the Kingdom of God; International Church of the Foursquare Gospel; Christ Pentecostal Church; Christian Congregation; Mennonite; Brethren; Christian Reformed Church; Charismatic non-Catholic; Light of World; Baptist; Nazarene; Salvation Army; Adventist; Seventh-Day Adventist; Sara Nossa Terra). (06) LDS (Mormon). (07) Traditional Religions or Native Religions (Santería, Candomblé, Voodoo, Rastafarian, Mayan Traditional Religion; Umbanda; Maria Lonza; Inti; Kardecista, Santo Daime, Esoterica). (10) Jewish (Orthodox; Conservative; Reform). (12) Jehovah's Witness. (04) None (Believes in a Supreme Entity but does not belong to any religion) (11) Agnostic, atheist (Does not believe in God). (1501) Espírita Kardecista (2701) Muslim (2702) Hindu (4113) Muslim (4114) Greek Orthodox / Eastern Orthodox (77) Other (888888) Don't know [DON'T READ] (988888) No answer [DON'T READ]</p>	

<p>OCUP4A. How do you mainly spend your time? Are you currently [Read alternatives]</p> <p>(1) Working? [Continue] (2) Not working, but have a job? [Continue] (3) Actively looking for a job? [Skip to Q10NEW] (4) A student? [Skip to Q10NEW] (5) Taking care of the home? [Skip to Q10NEW] (6) Retired, a pensioner or permanently disabled to work [Skip to Q10G] (7) Not working and not looking for a job? [Skip to Q10NEW] (888888) Don't know [DON'T READ] [Skip to Q10NEW] (988888) No answer [DON'T READ] [Skip to Q10NEW]</p>	
<p>OCUP1A. In this job are you: [Read alternatives]</p> <p>(1) A salaried employee of the government or an independent state-owned enterprise? (2) A salaried employee in the private sector? (3) Owner or partner in a business? (4) Self-employed? (5) Unpaid worker? (888888) Don't know [DON'T READ] (988888) No answer [DON'T READ] (999999) Inapplicable [DON'T READ]</p>	

[GIVE CARD "F TO THE INTERVIEWEE"]

<p>[ASK ONLY IF RESPONDENT IS WORKING OR IS RETIRED/DISABLED/ON PENSION (VERIFY OCUP4A)]</p> <p>Q10G. In this card there are several income ranges. Can you tell me into which of the following ranges fits the income you personally earn each month in your work or retirement or pension, without taking into account the income of other members of the home? [If the respondent does not understand, ask: How much do you alone earn, in your salary or pension, without counting the income of the other members of your household, remittances, or other income?] [Update with information provided by team leaders] [17 categories based on the currency and distribution of the country]</p> <p>(00) No income (01) Less than \$25 (02) \$26- \$50 (03) \$51-\$100 (04) \$101-\$150 (05) \$151-\$200 (06) \$201-\$300 (07) \$301-\$400 (08) \$401-500 (09) \$501-\$750 (10) More than \$751 (11) xxxx (12) xxxx (13) xxxx (14) xxxx (15) xxxx (16) xxxx (888888) Don't know [DON'T READ] (988888) No answer [DON'T READ] (999999) Inapplicable (not working and not retired) [DON'T READ]</p>	
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<p>Q10NEW. And into which of the following ranges does the total monthly income of this household fit, including remittances from abroad and the income of all the working adults and children? [If the interviewee does not get it, ask: “Which is the total monthly income in your household?”] [Update with information provided by team leaders]</p> <p>(00) No income (01) Less than \$25 (02) Between \$26- \$50 (03) \$51-\$100 (04) \$101-\$150 (05) \$151-\$200 (06) \$201-\$300 (07) \$301-\$400 (08) \$401-500 (09) \$501-\$750 (10) More than \$750 (11) xxxx (12) xxxx (13) xxxx (14) xxxx (15) xxxx (16) xxxx (888888) Don't know [DON'T READ] (988888) No answer [DON'T READ]</p>	
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[TAKE BACK CARD “F”]

<p>Q10A. [IF THERE ARE SPACE CONSTRAINTS IN THE QUESTIONNAIRE, DON'T ASK IN: COSTA RICA, PANAMA, COLOMBIA, PERU, CHILE, URUGUAY, BRAZIL, VENEZUELA, ARGENTINA] Do you or someone else living in your household receive remittances (financial support), that is, economic assistance from abroad? (1) Yes (2) No (888888) Don't know [DON'T READ] (988888) No answer [DON'T READ]</p>	
<p>Q14. Do you have any intention of going to live or work in another country in the next three years? (1) Yes (2) No (888888) Don't know [DON'T READ] (988888) No answer [DON'T READ]</p>	
<p>[ASK ONLY IN EL SALVADOR, GUATEMALA, AND HONDURAS]</p>	
<p>Q14A. In the last 12 months, have you considered emigrating from your country due to insecurity? (1) Yes (2) No (888888) Don't know [DON'T READ] (988888) No answer [DON'T READ]</p>	
<p>Q10D. The salary that you receive and total household income: [Read alternatives] (1) Is good enough for you and you can save from it (2) Is just enough for you, so that you do not have major problems (3) Is not enough for you and you are stretched (4) Is not enough for you and you are having a hard time (888888) Don't know [DON'T READ] (988888) No answer [DON'T READ]</p>	
<p>Q10E. Over the past two years, has the income of your household: [Read alternatives] (1) Increased? (2) Remained the same? (3) Decreased? (888888) Don't know [DON'T READ] (988888) No answer [DON'T READ]</p>	
<p>Q11n. What is your marital status? [Read alternatives] (1) Single (2) Married (3) Common law marriage (Living together) (4) Divorced (5) Separated (6) Widowed (7) Civil union [Remove if it does not exist in the country] (888888) Don't know [DON'T READ] (988888) No answer [DON'T READ]</p>	

<p>Q12C. How many people in total live in this household at this time? _____ (888888) Don't know [DON'T READ] (988888) No answer [DON'T READ]</p>	
<p>Q12Bn. How many children under the age of 13 live in this household? _____ 00 = none, (888888) Don't know [DON'T READ] (988888) No answer [DON'T READ]</p>	
<p>Q12. Do you have children? How many? [Include all respondent's children] _____ [HIGHEST NUMBER ACCEPTED: 20] [Continue] (00 = none) [Skip to VAC1] (888888) Don't know [DON'T READ] [Continue] (988888) No answer [DON'T READ] [Continue]</p>	
<p>How many sons and how many daughters do you have? Q12M [Write down total number of sons] _____ Q12F [Write down total number of daughters] _____ (888888) Don't know [DON'T READ] (988888) No answer [DON'T READ] (99999) Inapplicable (does not have children) [DON'T READ]</p>	
<p>[ASK IN ALL 2017 COUNTRIES, EXCEPT US AND CANADA. IN CHILE REPLACE IT BY EXPERIMENT] VAC1. Thinking about mothers, fathers, or caregivers of children that you know in this neighborhood/community, do you know if they care that their children are up to date on vaccines? (1) Yes (2) No (888888) Don't know [DON'T READ] (988888) No answer [DON'T READ]</p>	
<p>ETID. Do you consider yourself white, mestizo, indigenous, black, mulatto, or of another race? [If respondent says Afro-country, mark (4) Black] [CUSTOMIZE RESPONSE CATEGORIES BY COUNTRY] (1) White (2) Mestizo (3) Indigenous (4) Black (5) Mulatto (7) Other (888888) Don't know [DON'T READ] (988888) No answer [DON'T READ]</p>	
<p>WWW1. Talking about other things, how often do you use the internet? [Read alternatives] (1) Daily (2) A few times a week (3) A few times a month (4) Rarely (5) Never (888888) Don't know [DON'T READ] (988888) No answer [DON'T READ]</p>	
<p>GI0. About how often do you pay attention to the news, whether on TV, the radio, newspapers or the internet? [Read alternatives]: (1) Daily (2) A few times a week (3) A few times a month (4) Rarely (5) Never (888888) Don't know [DON'T READ] (988888) No answer [DON'T READ]</p>	
<p>PR1. Is the home in which you reside... [Read alternatives] (1) Rented (2) Owned [If respondent has doubts, say "paid off completely or being paid for in regular mortgage payments"] (3) Borrowed or shared (4) Another situation (888888) Don't know [DON'T READ] (988888) No answer [DON'T READ]</p>	

To conclude, could you tell me if you have the following in your house: **[Read out all items]**

R3. Refrigerator	(0) No	(1) Yes	Don't know [DON'T READ] (888888)	No answer [DON'T READ] (988888)		
R4. Landline/residential telephone (not cellular)	(0) No	(1) Yes	Don't know [DON'T READ] (888888)	No answer [DON'T READ] (988888)		
R4A. Cellular telephone. (Accept smartphone)	(0) No	(1) Yes	Don't know [DON'T READ] (888888)	No answer [DON'T READ] (988888)		
R5. Vehicle/car. How many? [If the interviewee does not say how many, mark "one."]	(0) No	(1) One	(2) Two	(3) Three or more	Don't know [DON'T READ] (888888)	No answer [DON'T READ] (988888)
R6. Washing machine	(0) No	(1) Yes	Don't know [DON'T READ] (888888)	No answer [DON'T READ] (988888)		
R7. Microwave oven	(0) No	(1) Yes	Don't know [DON'T READ] (888888)	No answer [DON'T READ] (988888)		
R8. Motorcycle	(0) No	(1) Yes	Don't know [DON'T READ] (888888)	No answer [DON'T READ] (988888)		
R12. Drinking water line/pipe to the house	(0) No	(1) Yes	Don't know [DON'T READ] (888888)	No answer [DON'T READ] (988888)		
R14. Indoor bathroom/toilet/WC	(0) No	(1) Yes	Don't know [DON'T READ] (888888)	No answer [DON'T READ] (988888)		
R15. Computer (Accept tablet, iPad)	(0) No	(1) Yes	Don't know [DON'T READ] (888888)	No answer [DON'T READ] (988888)		
R18. Internet from your home (included phone or tablet)	(0) No	(1) Yes	Don't know [DON'T READ] (888888)	No answer [DON'T READ] (988888)		
R1. Television	(0) No [Skip to FORMATQ]	(1) Yes [Continue]	Don't know [DON'T READ] (888888)	No answer [DON'T READ] (988888)		
R16. Flat panel TV	(0) No	(1) Yes	Don't know [DON'T READ] (888888)	No answer [DON'T READ] (988888)	Inapplicable [DON'T READ] (999999)	

These are all the questions I have. Thank you very much for your cooperation.

<p>FORMATQ. Please indicate the format in which THIS specific questionnaire was completed.</p> <p>(1) Paper (2) ADGYS (3) Windows PDA (4) STG</p>	
<p>COLORR. [When the interview is complete, WITHOUT asking, please use the color chart and circle the number that most closely corresponds to the color of the face of the respondent]</p> <p>_____</p> <p>(97) Could not be classified [Mark (97) only if, for some reason, you could not see the face of the respondent]</p> <p>Time interview ended _____ : _____</p>	

[When the interview is complete, WITHOUT asking, please complete the following questions]

CONOCIM. Using the scale shown below, please rate your perception about the level of political knowledge of the interviewee.
 (1) Very high (2) High (3) Neither high or low (4) Low (5) Very low

PHYSICAL DISORDER To what extent would you say the area around the interviewee's home is affected by...?	Not at all	Little	Somewhat	Very much
IAREA1. Garbage in the street or the sidewalk	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
IAREA2. Potholes in the street	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
IAREA3. Households with bars/railings in windows (includes metal fences, barbwire and similar items)	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)

SOCIAL DISORDER To what extent would you say the area around the interviewee's home is affected by...?	Not at all	Little	Somewhat	Very much
IAREA4. Youth or kids in the streets with nothing to do, wandering around	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
[ONLY IN HONDURAS, GUATEMALA AND EL SALVADOR] IAREA5. , Graffiti or marks drawn by gangs on the walls	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
IAREA6. People drunk or under the influence of drugs in the streets	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
IAREA7. People arguing in a violent or aggressive manner in the street (talking loudly, with anger)	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)

TI. Duration of interview [<i>minutes, see page # 1</i>] _____	
INTID. Interviewer ID number: _____	
SEXI. Note interviewer's sex: (1) Male (2) Female	
COLORI. Using the color chart, note the color that comes closest to your own color.	

I swear that this interview was carried out with the person indicated above.
 Interviewer's signature _____ Date ____ / ____ / ____

Field supervisor's signature _____

Comments: _____

[Not for PDA/Android use] Signature of the person who entered the data _____

[Not for PDA/Android use] Signature of the person who verified the data _____



Card A (L1)

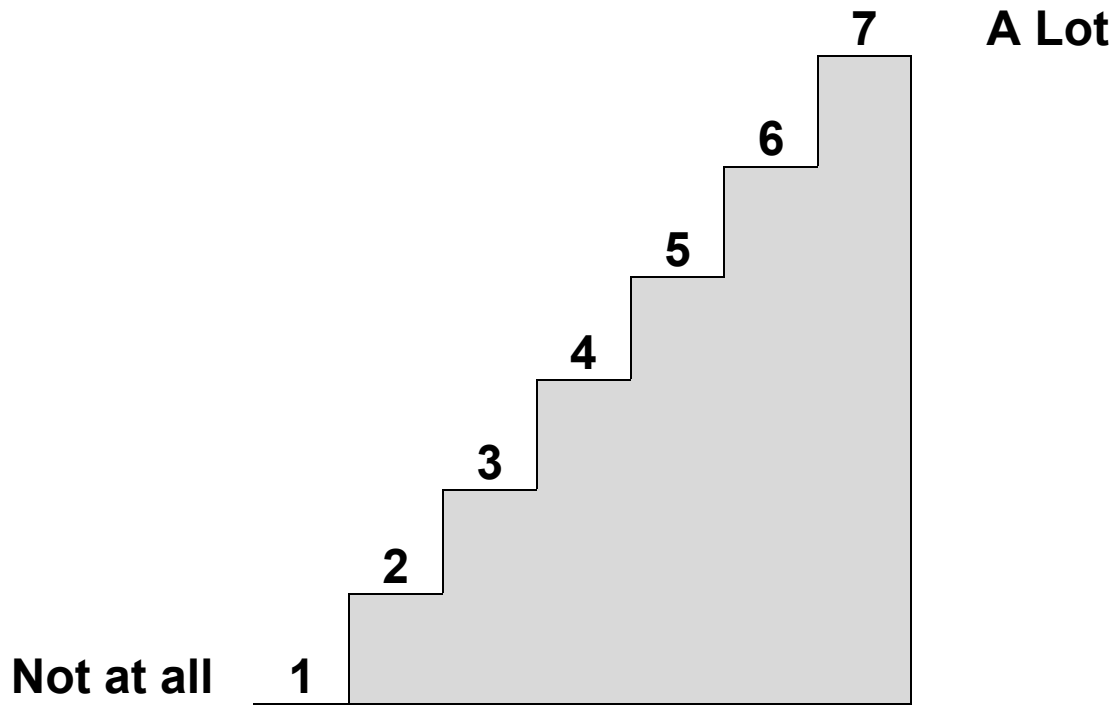
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Left					Right				

Card A (L1B)

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Liberal					Conservative				

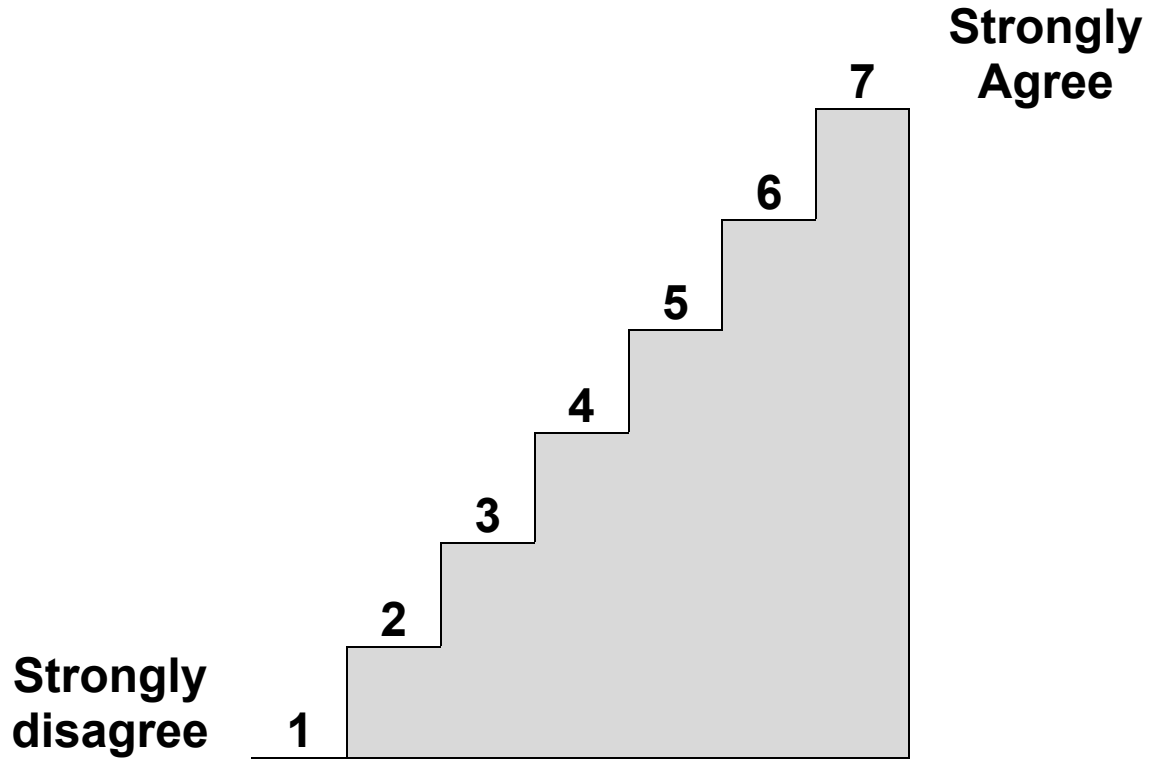


Card B





Card C



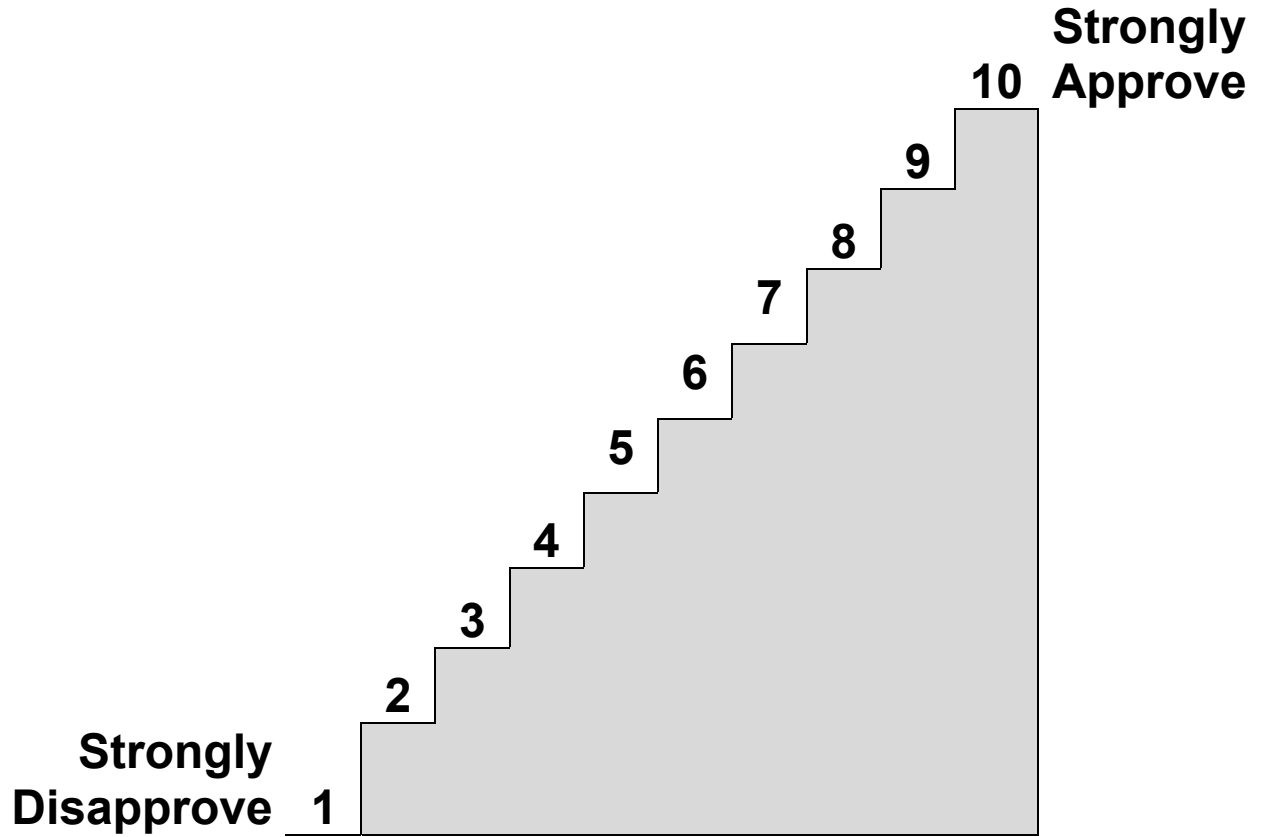


Card N

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Environment is priority					Economic growth is priority	



Card D





Card H

[CUSTOMIZE FOR EACH COUNTRY]

Brazil

China

South Korea

United States

India

Japan

Mexico

Russia

Singapore

Venezuela



Card F

- (00) No income
- (01) Less than \$25
- (02) \$26- \$50
- (03) \$51-\$100
- (04) \$101-\$150
- (05) \$151-\$200
- (06) \$201-\$300
- (07) \$301-\$400
- (08) \$401-500
- (09) \$501-\$750
- (10) More than \$751
- (11) Xxxx
- (12) Xxxx
- (13) Xxxx
- (14) Xxxx
- (15) Xxxx
- (16) Xxxx



Card ED

[Do NOT show to interviewee]

ED. How many years of schooling have you completed?
 _____ Year _____ (primary, secondary, university, post-secondary not university) =
 _____ total number of years **[Use the table below for the code]**

	1 ⁰	2 ⁰	3 ⁰	4 ⁰	5 ⁰	6 ⁰	
None	0						
Primary	1	2	3	4	5	6	
Secondary	7	8	9	10	11	12	
University	13	14	15	16	17	18+	
Post-secondary, not university	13	14	15				
Don't know [DON'T READ]	888888						
No answer [DON'T READ]	988888						



Card Q3C

[Do NOT show to interviewee]

Q3C. What is your religion, if any? [DO NOT read alternatives]

[If the respondent says that he/she has no religion, probe to see if he/she should be located in option 4 or 11]

[If interviewer says “Christian” or “Evangelical”, probe to verify if he is catholic (option 1), Pentecostal (option 5) or non-pentecostal evangelical (option 2). If he is unsure, select (2)].

(01) Catholic

(02) Protestant, Mainline Protestant or Protestant non-Evangelical (Christian; Calvinist; Lutheran; Methodist; Presbyterian; Disciple of Christ; Anglican; Episcopalian; Moravian).

(03) Non-Christian Eastern Religions (Islam; Buddhist; Hinduism; Taoist; Confucianism; Baha'i).

(05) Evangelical and Pentecostal (Evangelical; Pentecostals; Church of God; Assemblies of God; Universal Church of the Kingdom of God; International Church of the Foursquare Gospel; Christ Pentecostal Church; Christian Congregation; Mennonite; Brethren; Christian Reformed Church; Charismatic non-Catholic; Light of World; Baptist; Nazarene; Salvation Army; Adventist; Seventh-Day Adventist; Sara Nossa Terra).

(06) LDS (Mormon).

(07) Traditional Religions or Native Religions (Santería, Candomblé, Voodoo, Rastafarian, Mayan Traditional Religion; Umbanda; Maria Lonza; Inti; Kardecista, Santo Daime, Esoterica).

(10) Jewish (Orthodox; Conservative; Reform).

(12) Jehovah's Witness.

(04) None (Believes in a Supreme Entity but does not belong to any religion)

(11) Agnostic, atheist (Does not believe in God).

(1501) Espírita Kardecista

(2701) Muslim

(2702) Hindu

(4113) Musulim

(4114) Greek Orthodox / Eastern Orthodox

(77) Other

(888888) Don't know **[DON'T READ]**

(988888) No answer **[DON'T READ]**



Color Palette





Appendix E. Author Bios

Dr. Ryan E. Carlin is Associate Professor of Political Science, Director of the Center for Human Rights and Democracy, and Affiliate of the Global Studies Institute at Georgia State University. His research interests include comparative political behavior and public opinion. His research has been funded by the US National Science Foundation, US Agency for International Development, World Bank, and the Ford and Mellon Foundations. He co-edited *The Latin American Voter* (University of Michigan Press), and has recently published articles in *The Journal of Politics*, *British Journal of Political Science*, *Comparative Political Studies*, *Comparative Politics*, *Political Behavior*, and *Political Psychology*.

Dr. Mollie J. Cohen is a postdoctoral research fellow at the Latin American Public Opinion Project. She studies voter behavior, political representation, and public health. Her research has been funded by the U.S. National Science Foundation, and her work appears in *Research and Politics* and *Political Behavior*.

Dr. Gregory J. Love is Associate Professor of Political Science at the University of Mississippi and his research focuses on political behavior and Latin American politics. His work has appeared in numerous journals and books including the *British Journal of Political Science*, *Political Behavior*, and *Comparative Political Studies*. Dr. Love's work has been supported by the U.S. National Science Foundation, Mellon Foundation and the Centre for Social Conflict and Cohesion Studies (Chile).

Dr. Noam Lupu is Associate Professor of Political Science at Vanderbilt University and Associate Director of the Latin American Public Opinion Project. He studies comparative political behavior and representation. His book, *Party Brands in Crisis* (Cambridge University Press, 2016), explores how diluting party brands eroded partisan attachments in Latin America and facilitated the collapse of established parties. His research has appeared in *American Journal of Political Science*, *American Political Science Review*, *Comparative Political Studies*, *Journal of Politics*, and *World Politics*, among other outlets.

Dr. Matthew Singer is an Associate Professor of Political Science at the University of Connecticut. His research focuses on how policy outcomes shape public opinion towards government leaders and support for democratic principles and institutions. He is the coeditor of *The Latin American Voter: Pursuing Representation and Accountability in Challenging Contexts* and the author of numerous journal articles. Information about his research can be found at <http://polisci.uconn.edu/person/matthew-singer/>.

Dr. Elizabeth J. Zechmeister is Cornelius Vanderbilt Professor of Political Science and Director of the LAPOP research institute at Vanderbilt University. She is author of *Democracy at Risk: How Terrorist Threats Affect the Public* (University of Chicago Press, 2009) and *Latin American Party Systems* (Cambridge University Press, 2010). She is co-editor of *The Latin American Voter: Pursuing Representation and Accountability in Challenging Contexts* (University of Michigan Press, 2015). She has published over 20 articles in academic journals, has received numerous research grants from external funding agencies, including the U.S. National Science Foundation, and has been awarded the *Jeffrey Nordhaus Award for Excellence in Undergraduate Teaching* and the *Award for Excellence in Graduate Teaching* at Vanderbilt.

The AmericasBarometer

The AmericasBarometer is a regional survey carried out by the Latin American Public Opinion Project (LAPOP). LAPOP has deep roots in the Latin America and Caribbean region, via public opinion research that dates back over four decades. Its headquarters are at Vanderbilt University, in the United States. The AmericasBarometer is possible due to the activities and support of a consortium of institutions located across the Americas. To carry out each round of the survey, LAPOP partners with local individuals, firms, universities, development organizations, and others in 34 countries in the Western Hemisphere. These efforts have three core purposes: to produce objective, non-partisan, and scientifically sound studies of public opinion; to build capacity and strengthen international relations; and to disseminate important findings regarding citizens' experiences with, assessments of, and commitment to democratic forms of government.

Since 2004, the AmericasBarometer has received generous support from the United States Agency for International Development (USAID) and Vanderbilt University. Other institutions that have contributed to multiple rounds of the survey project include Ciudadanía, Environics, the Inter-American Development Bank, the Tinker Foundation, and the United Nations Development Programme. The project has also benefited from grants from the U.S. National Science Foundation (NSF), the National Center for Research in Brazil (CNPq), and the Open Society Foundation. Collaborations with university partners who sponsor items on the survey also sustain the project. In this most recent round, those contributors included Dartmouth, Florida International University, the University of Illinois, the Pontificia Universidad Católica de Chile, the Universidad Católica Andrés Bello in Venezuela, and several centers at Vanderbilt University.

The 2016/17 AmericasBarometer was carried out via face-to-face interviews in 27 countries across the Latin America and Caribbean region, and via the internet in Canada and the U.S. All samples are designed to be nationally representative of voting-age adults and electronic devices were used for data entry in all countries. In all, more than 43,000 individuals were interviewed in this latest round of the survey. The complete 2004-2016/17 AmericasBarometer dataset contains responses from over 250,000 individuals across the region. Common core modules, standardized techniques, and rigorous quality control procedures permit valid comparisons across individuals, subgroups, certain subnational areas, countries, supra-regions, and time.

AmericasBarometer data and reports are available for free download from the project website: www.LapopSurveys.org Datasets from the project can also be accessed via "data repositories" and subscribing institutions at universities across the Americas. Through such open access practices and these collaborations, LAPOP works to contribute to the pursuit of excellence in public opinion research and ongoing discussions over how programs and policies related to democratic governance can improve the quality of life for individuals in the Americas and beyond.

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