

# Democratic Citizenship

## The Development of Democratic Principles & Norms Evidence from Comparative Survey Research

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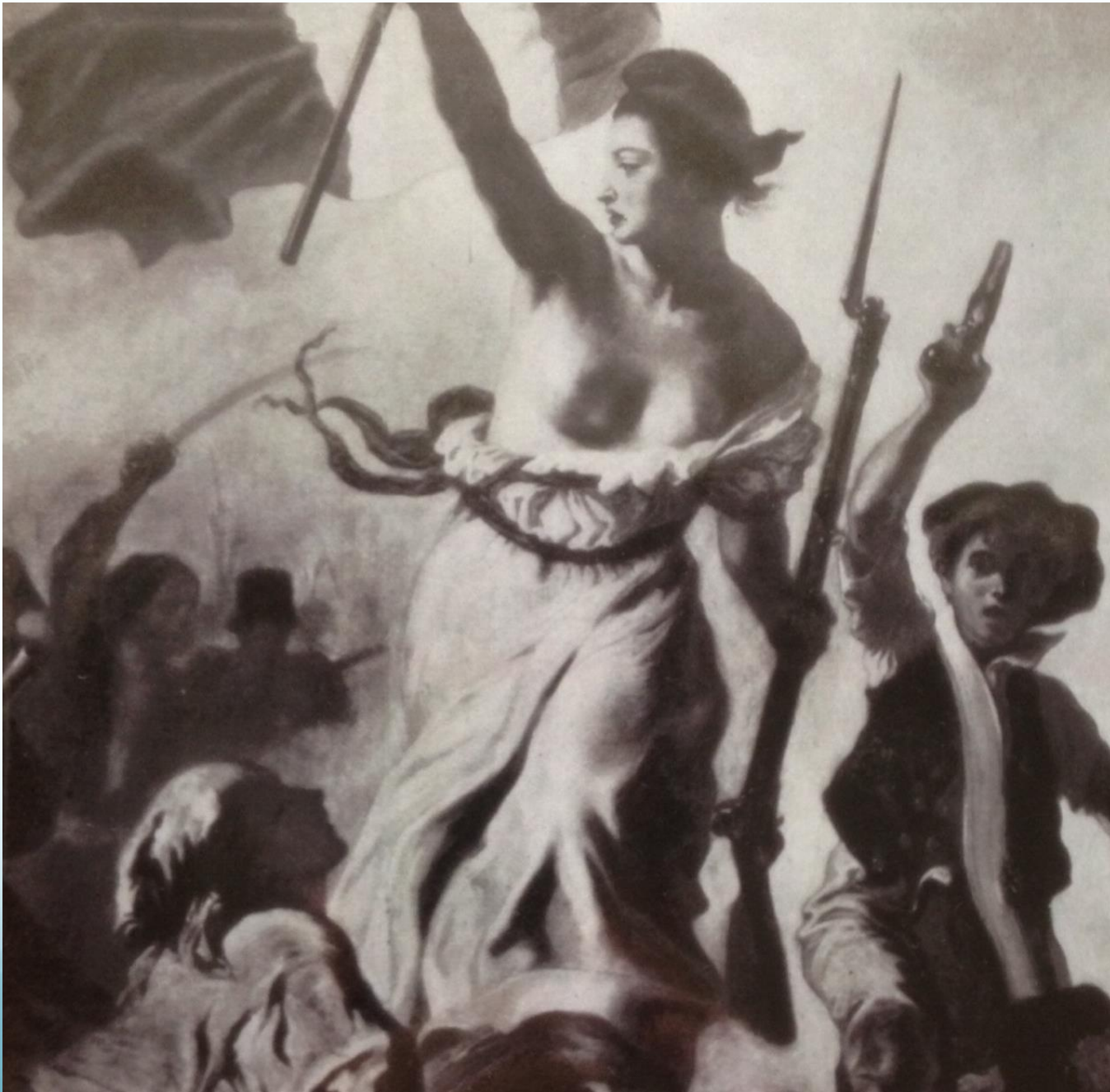
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Democracies inspire people's norms and values, who tend to internalize them to a great extent during early political socialization.

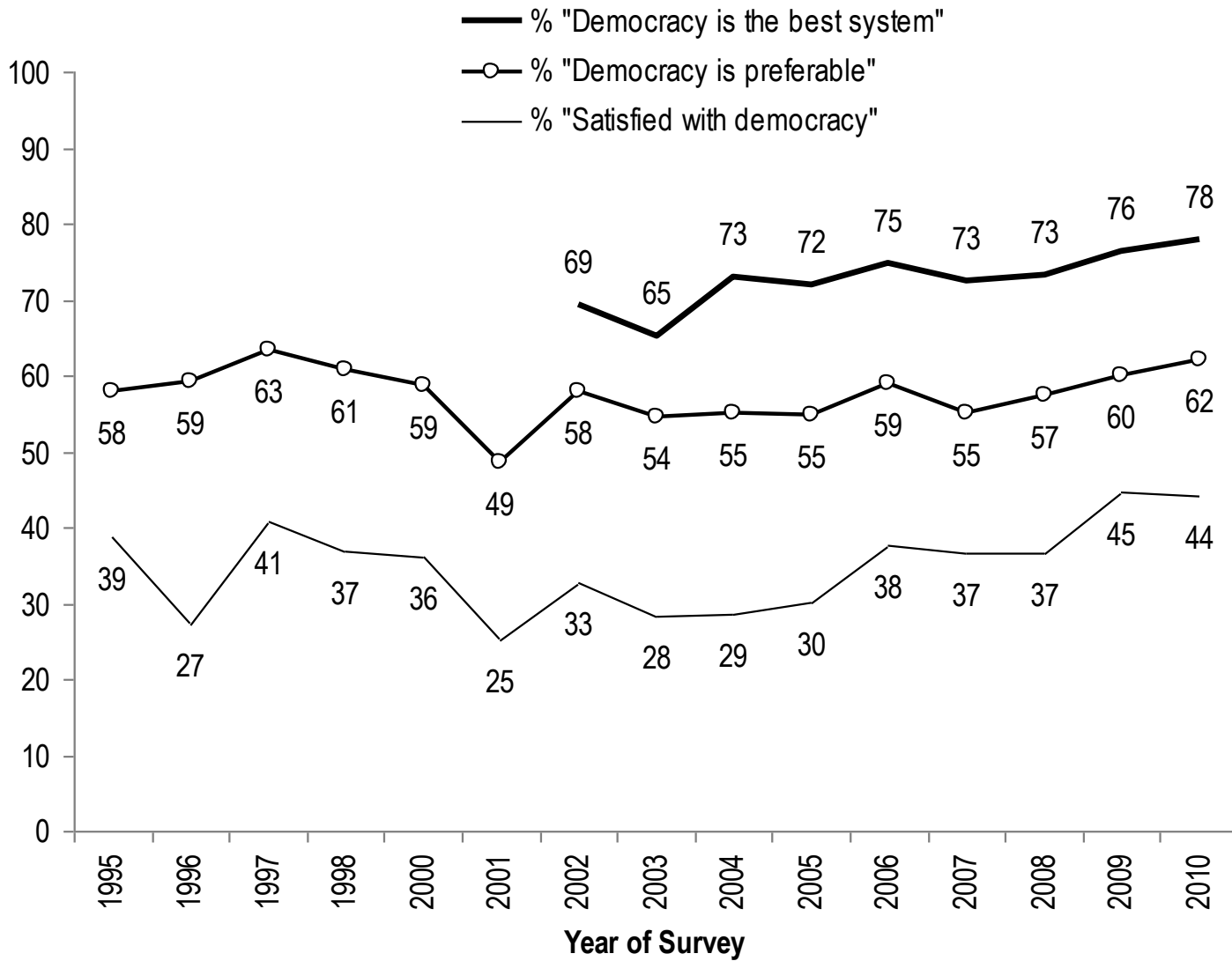
# Growing up democratic

- Are generations that were politically socialized under democracy more supportive of democratic rule than those who grew up under authoritarian regimes? (Democratic learning)
- Departing point: Yes, they should be.
- Presentation based on a book chapter by Alejandro Moreno and Marta Lagos for the Post-Authoritarian Generations Project (Denemark, Niemi, Mattes, eds.)

# Latinobarometer

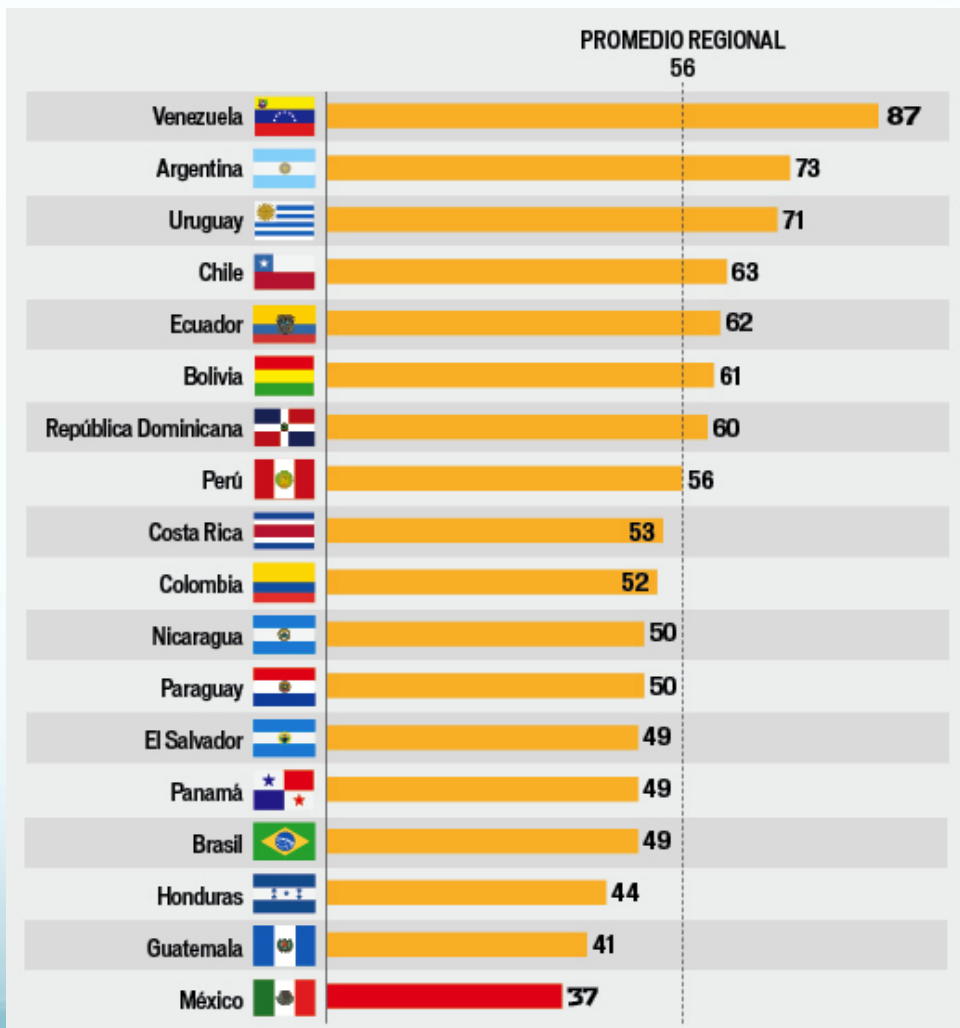
- Empirical evidence from annual\* national representative surveys in 18 countries in Latin America and the Caribbean, 1995-2010
- National samples of 1,000 to 1,200 adults
- Face to face interviews
- Longest times series on public opinion data in the Latin American region ([www.latinobarometro.org](http://www.latinobarometro.org))

# SUPPORT FOR DEMOCRACY



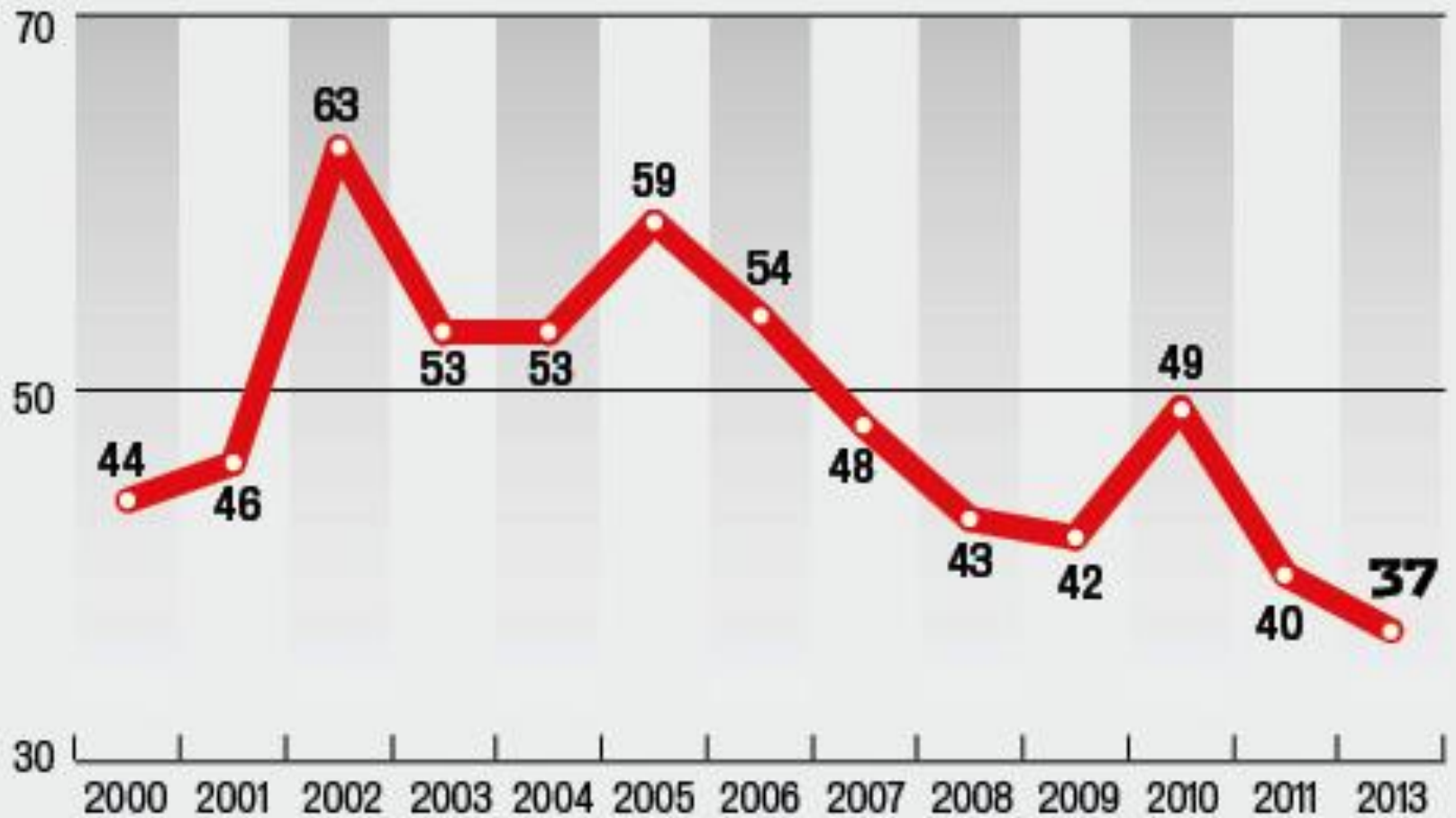
# SUPPORT FOR DEMOCRACY – LATIN AMERICA

% of publics who say “Democracy is preferable to any other form of government” (LB surveys)



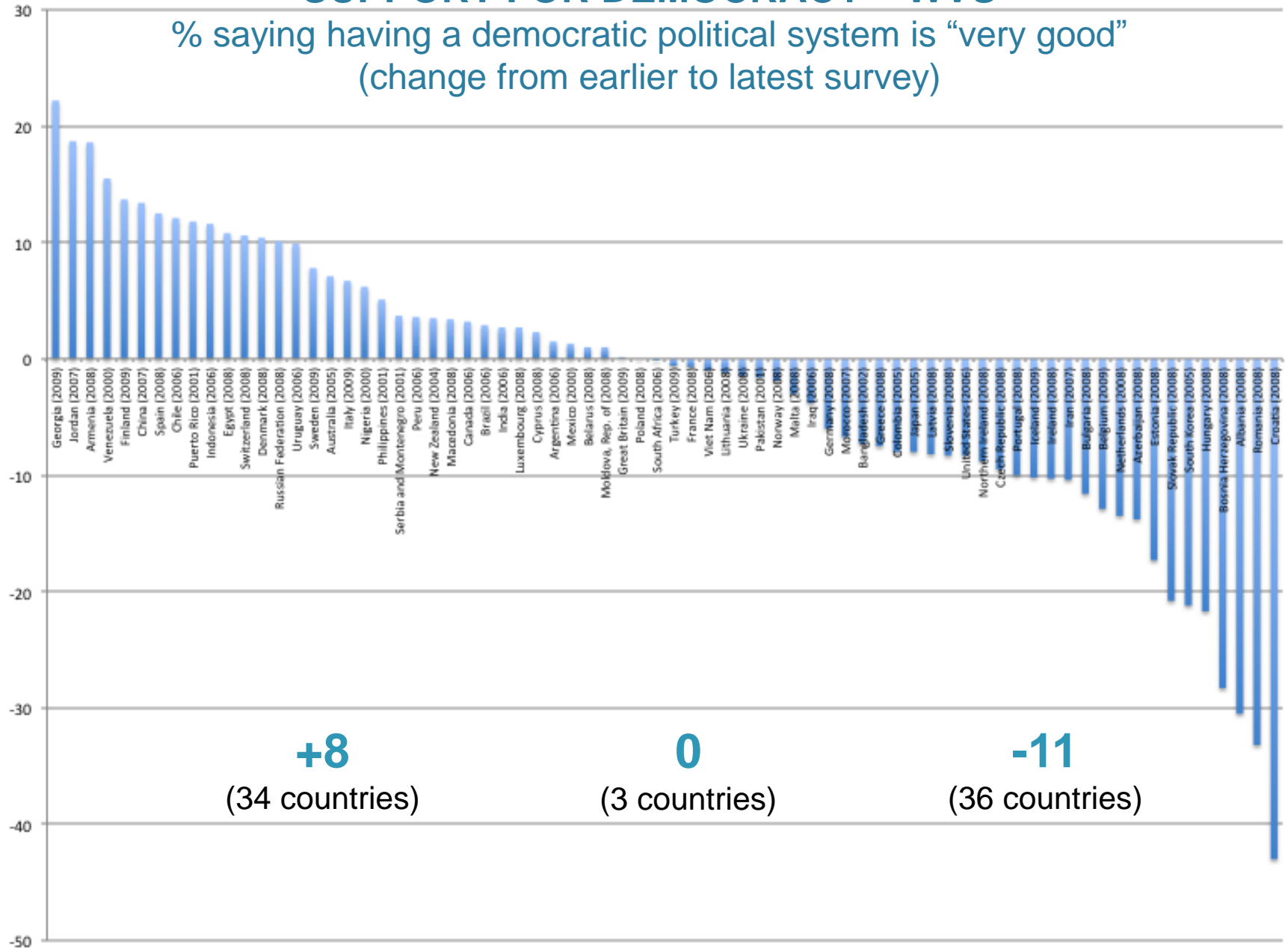
## SUPPORT FOR DEMOCRACY – MEXICO

% of Mexicans who say “Democracy is preferable to any other form of government” (LB surveys)



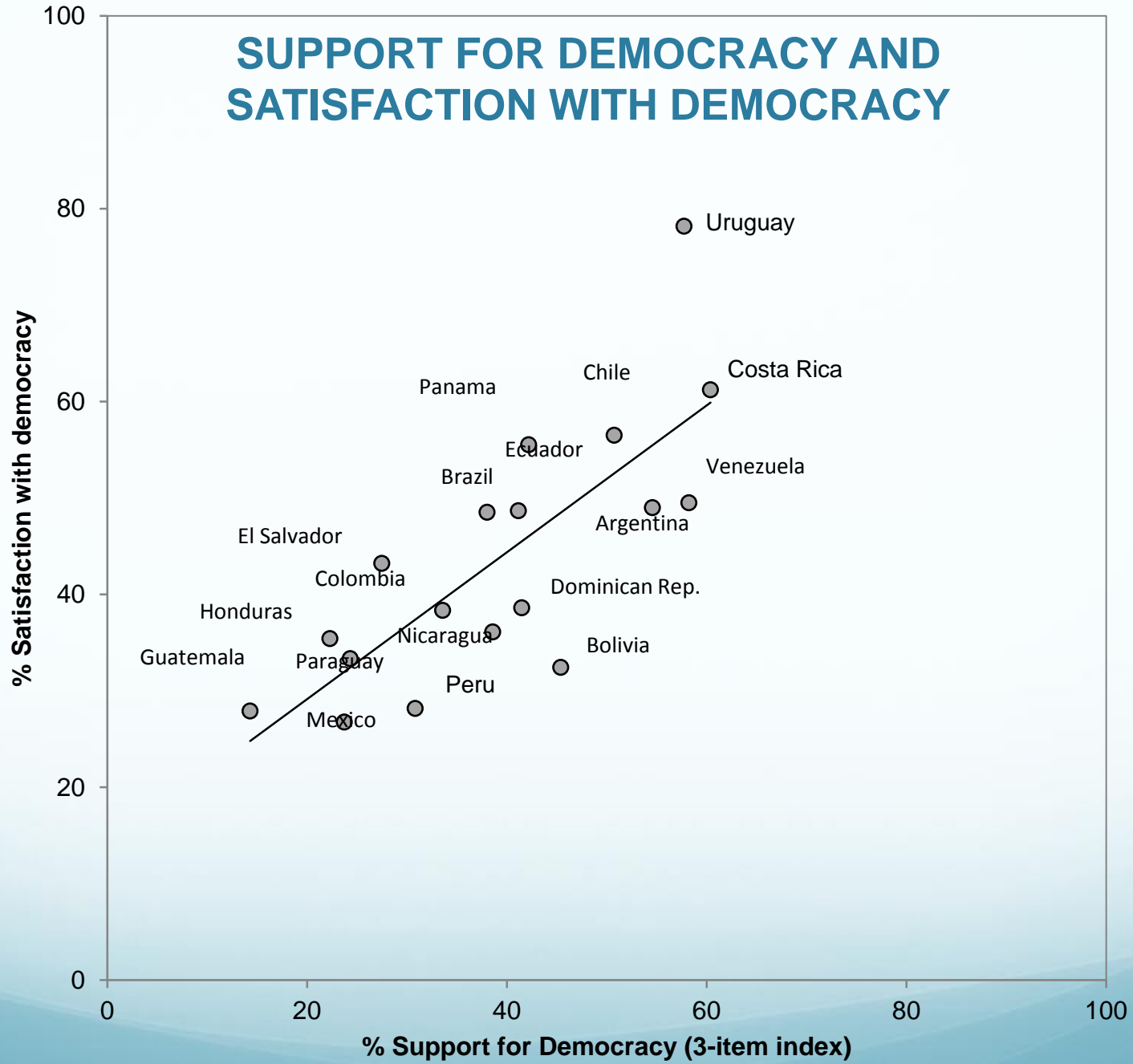
# SUPPORT FOR DEMOCRACY – WVS

% saying having a democratic political system is “very good”  
(change from earlier to latest survey)





# SUPPORT FOR DEMOCRACY AND SATISFACTION WITH DEMOCRACY



# Multivariate analysis

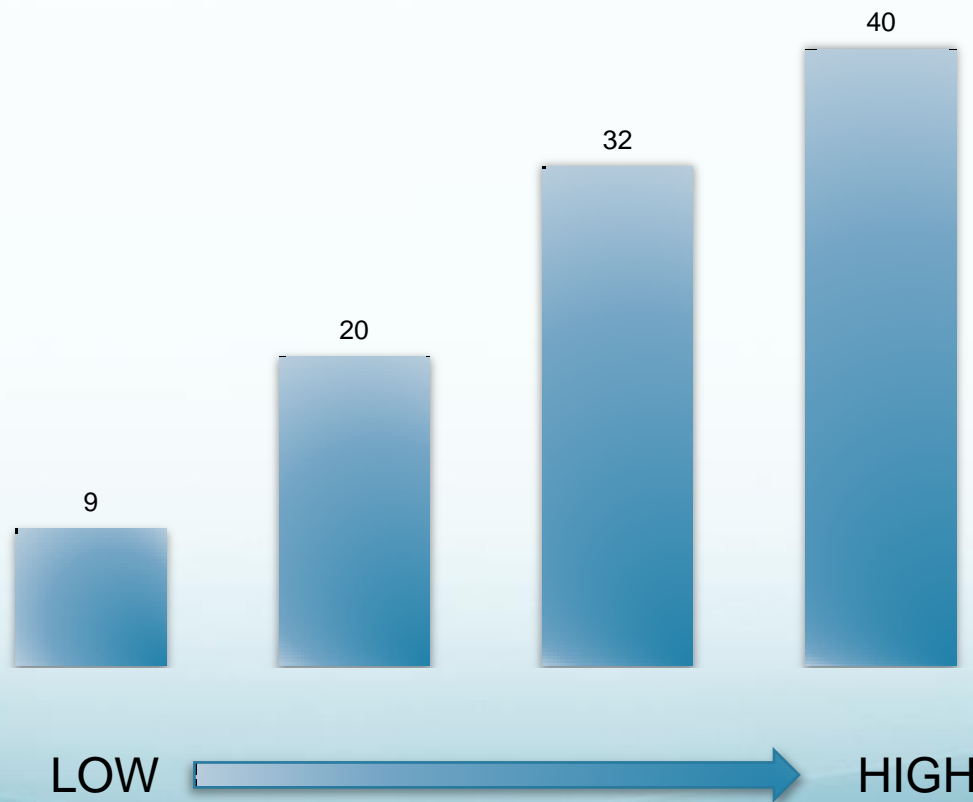
## Dependent variables

- Support for democracy (3-item index)
- Support for liberal democracy (4-item index)
- Satisfaction with democracy (1 item)

# Support for democracy

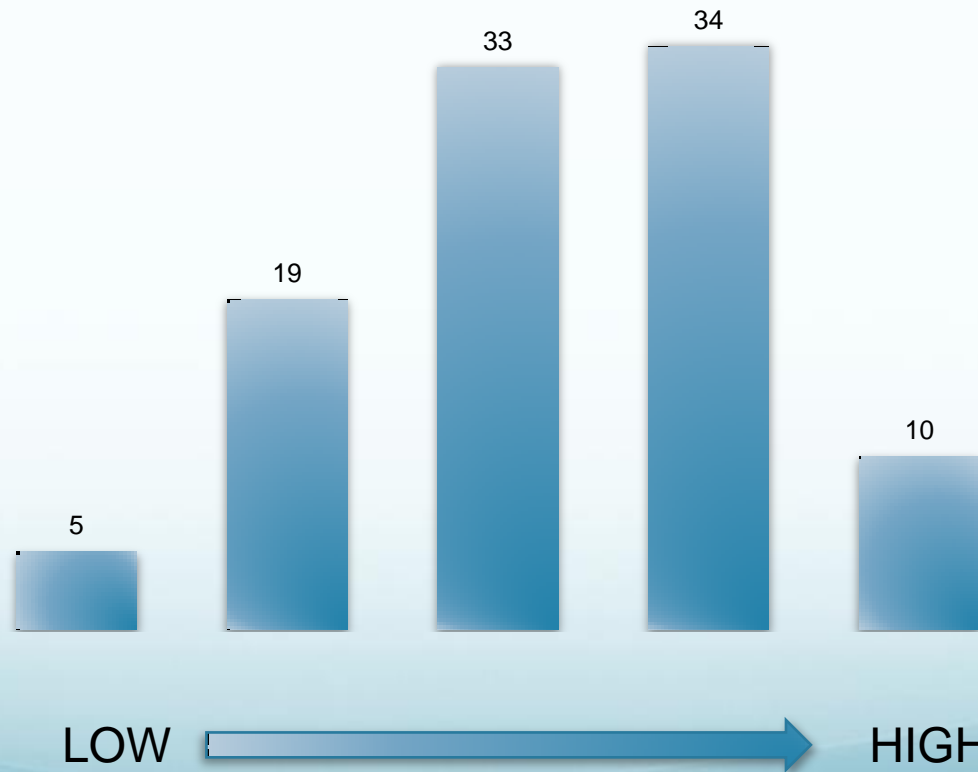
Democracy is preferable / Democracy is the best system / Rejection of military rule

(0-3 scale)



# Support for liberal democracy

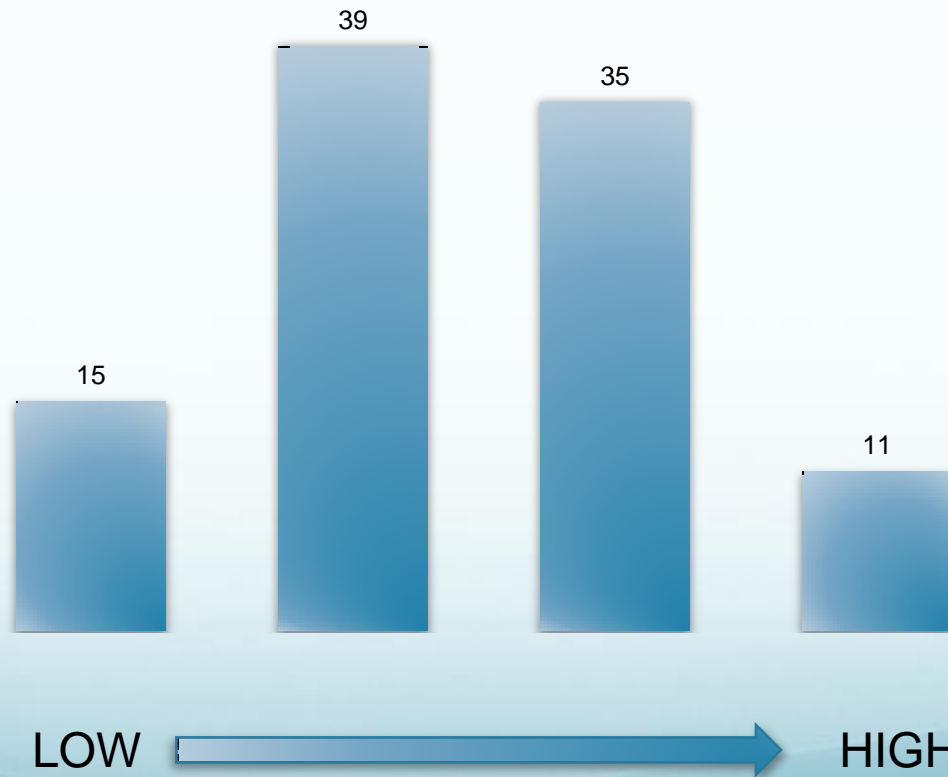
Support for free media / Rejection of media control by the government / Rejection of illegal government actions / Perceptions of equal treatment before the law (0-4 scale)



# Satisfaction with democracy

How satisfied are you with the way democracy is functioning in the country?

(0-3 scale)



# Multivariate analysis

## Independent variables

- Democratic Cohort
- Education
  
- Economy (Performance evaluations)
- Country Progress (Performance evaluations)
- Market Support (ideological affinities)
  
- Crime (Victimization)
- Discrimination
- Corruption



TABLE I.1. *Classification of Latin American Political Regimes, 1945–2003*

Country	Year	Regime	Country	Year	Regime		
Argentina	1945	A	Guatemala	1945–1953	S		
	1946–1950	S		1954–1985	A		
	1951–1957	A		1986–2003	S		
	Bolivia	1958–1961	S	Haiti	1945–2003	A	
		1962	A		Honduras	1945–1956	A
		1963–1965	S	1957–1962		S	
		1966–1972	A	1963–1981		A	
		1973–1974	D	1982–2003		S	
		1975	S	Mexico		1945–1987	A
		1976–1982	A		1988–1999	S	
1983–2003		D	2000–2003		D		
Brazil		1945	A	Nicaragua	1945–1983	A	
		1946–1963	D		1984–2003	S	
	1964–1984	A	Panama	1945–1947	S		
	1985–2003	D		1948–1955	A		
Chile	1945–1972	D		1956–1967	S		
	1973–1989	A	1968–1989	A			
	1990–2003	D	1990–1993	S			
	Colombia	1945–1948	S	Paraguay	1994–2003	D	
		1949–1957	A		1945–1988	A	
1958–1973		S	1989–2003		S		
1974–1989	D	Peru	1945–1947		S		
1990–2003	S		1948–1955		A		
Costa Rica	1945–1948		S	1956–1961	S		
	1949–2003	D	1962	A			
	Cuba	1945–1951	S	1963–1967	D		
		1952–2003	A	1968–1979	A		
		Dominican Republic	1945–1965	A	1980–1982	D	
1966–1973	S		1983–1984	S			
1974–1977	A		1985–1987	D			
1978–1993	D		1988–1991	S			
1994–1995	S		1992–1994	A			
Ecuador	1945–1965	A	Uruguay	1995–2000	S		
	1966–1973	S		2001–2003	D		
	1974–1977	A		1945–1972	D		
	El Salvador	1978–1993	D	Venezuela	1973–1984	A	
		1994–1995	S		1985–2003	D	
		1996–2003	D		1945	A	
		Argentina	1945–1947		A	1946	S
			1948–1962		S	1947	D
			1963–1967	A	1948–1957	A	
		Bolivia	1968–1969	S	1958–1998	D	
1970–1978			A	1999	S		
1979–1999			D	2000–2001	D		
2000			S	2002–2003	S		
2001–2003	D						
Brazil	1945–1983		A				
	1984–1991		S				
	1992–2003		D				

Key: D, democratic; S, semidemocratic; A, authoritarian.

Note: The year of a regime transition is coded as belonging to the new regime.

Source: Mainwaring et al. (2001), updated.

Brazil

1945

A

1946-1963

D

1964-1984

A

1985-2003

D

Chile

1945-1972

D

1973-1989

A

1990-2003

D



# Generational Cohorts

- Political socialization: 14-22 years of age
- Cohorts: political period minus 18 years (average)

# Support for democracy

	B	S.E.	t	Sig.
Democratic Cohort	.22	(.01)	16.3	.000
Education	.08	(.01)	13.9	.000
Economy	.04	(.00)	8.1	.000
Country Progress	.18	(.02)	12.0	.000
Market Support	.12	(.01)	17.7	.000
Crime	-.04	(.02)	-1.7	.084
Discrimination	-.11	(.02)	-6.8	.000
Corruption	-.09	(.02)	-4.2	.000
Constant	1.25	(.03)	42.2	.000
Adjusted R <sup>2</sup>	.08			

Source: Latinobarometro 2010, 18 countries. Authors' calculations.  
 Number of cases in the analysis: 20,038

# Country classification

- Continuously democratic (v.g. Costa Rica)
- Re-democratized (v.g. Brazil, Chile, Uruguay)
- Democratized (v.g. Mexico)
- Semi-democratic (v.g. Guatemala, Nicaragua, Paraguay)

# Support for democracy

	B	S.E.	t	Sig.	B	S.E.	t	Sig.
Democratic Cohort	.22	(.01)	16.3	.000	.12	(.02)	7.8	.000
Education	.08	(.01)	13.9	.000	.07	(.01)	11.7	.000
Economy	.04	(.00)	8.1	.000	.03	(.01)	7.3	.000
Country Progress	.18	(.02)	12.0	.000	.18	(.02)	11.8	.000
Market Support	.12	(.01)	17.7	.000	.12	(.01)	17.9	.000
Crime	-.04	(.02)	-1.7	.084	-.02	(.02)	-.9	.381
Discrimination	-.11	(.02)	-6.8	.000	-.11	(.02)	-6.6	.000
Corruption	-.09	(.02)	-4.2	.000	-.08	(.02)	-4.1	.000
Democratic (1950s)					.41	(.02)	17.1	.000
Re-democratization					.21	(.02)	9.3	.000
Democratization					.24	(.02)	11.8	.000
Constant	1.25	(.03)	42.2	.000	1.14	(.03)	37.1	.000
Adjusted R <sup>2</sup>	.08				.09			

Source: Latinobarometro 2010, 18 countries. Authors' calculations.

Number of cases in the analysis: 20,038

# Support for liberal democracy

	B	S.E.	t	Sig.	B	S.E.	t	Sig.
Democratic Cohort	.04	.01	2.71	.007	-.02	.02	-1.29	.198
Education	.16	.01	26.33	.000	.15	.01	24.49	.000
Economy	-.04	.01	-7.72	.000	-.05	.01	-9.73	.000
Country Progress	.06	.02	3.76	.000	.05	.02	2.82	.005
Market Support	.03	.01	4.50	.000	.04	.01	5.31	.000
Crime	-.01	.02	-.59	.557	.01	.02	.34	.737
Discrimination	-.06	.02	-3.26	.001	-.07	.02	-3.86	.000
Corruption	.02	.02	.97	.333	.02	.02	.87	.383
Democratic (1950s)					.17	.03	6.68	.000
Re-democratization					.27	.03	1.79	.000
Democratization					.06	.02	2.73	.006
Constant	1.91	.03	59.97	.000	1.91	.03	57.56	.000
Adjusted R <sup>2</sup>	.04				.05			

# Satisfaction with democracy

	B	S.E.	t	Sig.	B	S.E.	t	Sig.
Democratic Cohort	0.10	0.01	8.26	0.000	0.07	0.01	5.54	0.000
Education	-0.03	0.01	-5.65	0.000	-0.03	0.01	-6.21	0.000
Economy	0.15	0.00	39.33	0.000	0.15	0.00	38.89	0.000
Country Progress	0.32	0.01	24.52	0.000	0.32	0.01	24.65	0.000
Market Support	0.04	0.01	6.87	0.000	0.04	0.01	6.75	0.000
Crime	-0.02	0.02	-1.20	0.230	-0.02	0.02	-1.01	0.313
Discrimination	-0.13	0.01	-9.08	0.000	-0.13	0.01	-8.75	0.000
Corruption	-0.07	0.02	-3.83	0.000	-0.07	0.02	-3.81	0.000
Democratic (1950s)					0.14	0.02	6.74	0.000
Re-democratization					0.02	0.02	1.09	0.275
Democratization					0.05	0.02	2.84	0.005
Constant	1.43	0.03	54.72	0.000	1.40	0.03	51.27	0.000
Adjusted R <sup>2</sup>	.18				.18			

# Country by country analysis of generational cohorts

Country	Support for democracy	Support for liberal democracy	Satisfaction with democracy
Argentina	-		+
Bolivia			-
Brasil			
Brasil older cohort		+	
Brasil younger cohort			-
Colombia	+		
Costa Rica			
C. Rica older cohort			
C. Rica younger cohort			
Chile			
Chile older cohort			
Chile younger cohort			
Dominican Republic	+		
Dom. Rep. older cohort	+		
Dom. Rep. younger cohort			
Ecuador		++	
El Salvador			
Guatemala (semidem)			
Honduras (semidem)		-	
Mexico	--		
Nicaragua (semidem)			+
Panama	--		
Paraguay (semidem)	-	--	
Peru			
Uruguay			
Uruguay older cohort		+	
Uruguay younger cohort	-	-	
Venezuela			-

# Conclusions

- Democratic socialization has a positive impact on support for democracy but this varies from country to country.
- Early periods of democratic socialization have a higher impact than later ones.
- Younger generations not necessarily more supportive of democracy.
- Education is a strong influence on support for democracy (paradox with more highly educated younger generations)