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The Two Dilemmas of Democracy

Voice of the People

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Gallup International Association

2007



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TWO DILEMMAS OF DEMOCRACY

Dilemmas of "Democracy Sans Jurisdiction" and "Democracy Sans Rule of Law"

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Introduction

Has democracy triumphed over alternative political ideologies? Perhaps yes. Is it a rewarding and satisfying experience to live under democracy? The answer is mixed. When you have lived under democracy for some time, do you feel empowered and ruled by the will of the people? The majority answer is "No". It appears that the problem of democracy is not with the "Norm" but with its "practice". Hence we need to explore the variety of experiences by people who have lived under different forms of democracy for various durations.

Curiously satisfaction with democracy is not necessarily or entirely co-related with the propriety of structures and processes of democracy as measured by various democracy watchers including, and most prominently, the Freedom House. Thus a majority of the people of a host of countries who have since long achieved perfect scores on the Freedom House Political Liberties Index still feel they are "not ruled by the will of the people". Apparently the instruments of measurement do not pick up the entire democracy experience. Furthermore we are discovering that the Freedom House Index is not very sensitive to change.

Out of the 42 countries, from all parts of the world, analyzed in this paper for the period beginning the new millennium, year 2000, the Freedom House Scores changed for only 15 of them between then and now. Yet public opinion surveys showed both downward and upward shift in people's perceptions about their experience with democracy in these countries. It seems the currently used instruments to measure the health of democracy are not picking up some very important changes in the citizen's experience with democracy. These changes may be internal, such as ageing, to use a human health metaphor or, to use another metaphor, external changes such as climate or environmental changes calling for a different regimen. In each case a different set of pathology tests might be needed periodically. The available ones are not picking up the relevant reality. To be more specific we find that all of the 14 West European countries included in our study received the same score by Freedom House in 2008 as they had in the year 2000. Yet public opinion survey showed sizeable shifts in satisfaction with democracy in those countries for the same period. The level of satisfaction with democracy rose in some and fell in others. In several cases the level of satisfaction and level of disillusionment rose simultaneously, suggesting that different groups in the country were undergoing different and mutually contradictory experiences with the structures of democracy or changes in the attenuating environment.

It is evident that the instruments once designed to do the annual health check on the state of democracy have been overtaken by time and other changes in the body politic of nations. For one the focus of traditional instruments to track the health of democracy is on the whole of the state as a monolith and not its parts. They observe states rather than the citizens.

Secondly, and it is related to the first, they focus on the structures available to the citizen and not the interaction of the citizen with those structures (*of liberty and political rights*), nor with the end result which emanates from that interaction (*a feeling of being ruled by the will of the people*). Apparently the traditional tracking of the health of democracy focuses rather exclusively on the **structures** of the body-politic and ignores their **interaction** with different parts of the body or the final **outcome** on its health.

This paper looks at the health of democracy in 42 countries selected from different parts of the world and compares two readings, one taken in the year 2000¹ and the second taken in the year 2008. Our readings focus on the end result, that is how a cross-section of over 40,000 citizens in the surveyed countries felt about the outcome of democracy, defined as "being governed by the will of the people", in the year 2000 and later in 2008. Our preliminary findings are the following:

- 1- The body-politic in different countries of the world does not uniformly respond to the available structures of democracy in the country. Some individuals or groups of citizens, are **satisfied**, others are **disillusioned** while still others are **disappointed** with democracy as practiced in their countries. The proportions of these three types or clusters of responses keeps on changing from time to time, as it did in our experiment carried out during 2000-2008.
- 2- For a meaningful and policy relevant health check of democracy we must know: **a)** changes in the ratio of the three response groups **b)** the composition of each response group, so we can analyze the profile of its membership and changes over the observation period, for we might discover that while net satisfaction with democracy is the same, the type of people who were once satisfied are now disillusioned and vice versa **c)** we must also take note of any changes in the environment affecting the pattern of behaviour in the basic unit of observation, country, or across regions.
- 3- Since there is global consensus within and across nations, classes, cultural, faiths and religious groups that democracy is the best available form of government, its practice has and should become the true focus of attention [see Tables 1 & 2]. We need to periodically measure the health of democracy within and across nations. The tool-kit available for this purpose is inadequate. We need to develop a new tool-kit which should first be capable of taking a more comprehensive measurement of what is most relevant to a re-defined "health status" and secondly it should be sufficiently sensitive to pick up changes over a period of time.

¹ The fieldwork of the first survey was done in the last quarter of year 1999; and for the second in the last quarter of year 2007.

In the section which follows we shall first look at three response groups who respond differently to the experience of democracy. We shall compare them across two points in time, the year 2000 and 2008 for all of the 42 countries included in this global sample. In each case we shall carry out the analysis at global, regional and country level.

We shall then move on to what we refer to as the dilemmas of democracy. We have come to a broad conclusion at this stage that the reasons for dissatisfaction with democracy are different for countries where democracy is ageing compared to those where it is still nascent and struggling to grow. Consequently there is a brief discussion about two sets of dilemmas of democracy at the present time, each relevant to a different set of countries. Finally we return to the Methodological issues about designing a tool-kit to do a periodic health check of the practice of democracy.

We shall first turn to taking stock of how people across the globe viewed their experience with democracy at the start of the new millennium and eight years later in 2008.

TYPES OF DEMOCRATS

There are three types of citizens under democracy. We would refer to all citizens living under some form of democracy as Democrats: either Satisfied, Disillusioned or Disappointed.

The **Satisfied Democrats** are those who are satisfied with both the procedure or **Process** of democracy (*Free and Fair Elections*) and its **Outcome** (*rule by the will of the people*). In the worldwide sample representing over 40 countries across all continents this group constitutes 27% of the total [see Table 8]. The figure has changed from 29% in the year 2000.

The **Disillusioned Democrats** are those who are satisfied with the **Process** but not its **Outcome**. This group constitutes 21% of the global sample [See Table 9]. The figure has changed from 22% in the year 2000.

The **Disappointed Democrats** have little trust in either the **Process** or the **Outcome** of democracy. They constitute 46% of the global sample [see Table 10]. The figure has changed from 43% in the year 2000.

The balance which constitutes only 6% world-wide are the **Skeptics** who believe that elections in their country are not free and fair, yet they are ruled by the will of the people. However in this paper we keep our focus on the three major types of democrats together constituting 94% of the sample in 2000 & in 2008.

The above classification is achieved by computing the responses to two simple but meaningful questions from a statistically selected sample of over 40,000 men and women across the World. The first question reads: Do you feel that elections in your country are on the whole free and fair: Yes or No? The follow-up question asks: And would you say that your country is governed by the will of the people: Yes or No?² [see Tables 3-6].

The respondents to these questions get distributed among four groups as explained above: The **Satisfied Democrats** (*who answer "Yes" to both questions, the first on "Free and Fair Elections", the second on "Rule by Will of People"*); the second group of **Disillusioned Democrats** (*who answer "Yes" to Free and Fair Elections, but "No" to "Rule by Will of People"*); the third group of **Disappointed Democrats** (*who answer "No" to both "Free and Fair Elections" and "Rule by Will of People"*); the fourth and relatively small group of respondents are the **Skeptic Democrats** (*who answer "No" to "Free and Fair Elections: by*

² There is still another question asking: Do you agree or disagree with the statement: Democracy may have problems but it is the best system of government? The responses to this question are the global survey are reported elsewhere in this paper [see Tables 1 & 2].

"Yes" to "Rule by Will of People"). Since the last group is rather small in number, we have restricted the rest of our analysis to the three major groups of Democrats [see Fig.1].

We shall now look at each of the three groups in some detail.

Satisfied Democrats

Despite overwhelming admiration for democracy, only a minority of citizens in the world today are satisfied with its practice. Thus only 27% in Voice of the People 2008 say: elections in my country are free and fair **and** we are ruled by the will of the people.

As one would expect the level of satisfaction with the practice of democracy varies from region to region and country to country. But this should be prefaced by mentioning that there was no region of the world where more than half of the population was satisfied with democracy.

(Among regions with a sizeable number of countries in the sample³) West Europe tops the list with 40% saying they are satisfied with the practice of democracy (as defined above). It is followed by Latin America with 36%, Asia with 24%, North America (Canada and USA): 22% and Eastern and Central Europe: 16%. We have only three countries of Africa in the sample and interestingly one of them, Ghana, is very high on satisfaction with democracy.

It is nevertheless notable that satisfaction with democracy has increased since year 2000 in some regions while it has declined in others. Latin America witnessed the highest increase in satisfaction levels from only 19% in 2000 who said they were satisfied with the outcomes of democracy to 36% in 2008. In contrast, North America comprising USA and Canada incurred the highest fall in satisfaction levels from 31% to 22%.

Within countries, Ireland had the highest satisfaction level at 72% while Bosnia had the lowest at 5%. Over the course of eight years, half of the countries studied (21 out of 42) witnessed a rise in satisfaction levels. The change was highest in Switzerland and Ghana. Both countries experienced a rise of 32% points. Conversely, the steepest fall was in Nigeria of 29% points and Luxemburg: 25% points.

³ Our sample for this time series analysis has a few limitations. While each of the studies at points in time, 2000 and 2008, had more countries of Africa, only 3 were included in both: Nigeria, Ghana and Cameroon. One of them, Ghana, shows tremendous positive change between the study period (2000-2008) thus influencing the regional results. Since the sample of Africa is limited in more than one ways: it is both small and does not encompass a cross-section of Africa, we have not highlighted it in our comparative regional analysis.

While it is obvious that the age of a democracy has little to do with changing satisfaction levels, reasons behind such sharp changes in public perception of democracy are likely to be found at the broader environmental level or at the local level, like recently conducted elections or derailment of the electoral process. The analysis of level of satisfaction with democracy and changes in it over a period of time has led us to conceive of the "Dilemmas of Democracy" which are discussed in a later section in this paper.

Disillusioned Democrats

21% of the global sample is disillusioned with the practice of democracy. These democrats feel that while procedures of democracy are executed well, in the form of free and fair elections, they fail to transform into democratic practices i.e. government by the will of the people.

While all countries have some level of disillusionment with the practice of democracy it bears understanding that substantial levels of disillusionment set in after a country has practiced democracy for some time. Thus, countries in Western Europe have the highest levels of disillusionment at 34%. They are followed by North America at 29%, then Latin America 16%, Eastern Europe 16%, and Asia 15%.

Globally there are five countries where disillusioned democrats are in majority (*Netherlands, Canada, UK, South Korea and Luxembourg*). In Netherlands disillusioned democrats form more than half of the representative sample (51%).

Looking at the data [see Table 9] we find that there has been some improvement in Western Europe during 2000-2008 on the Disillusionment scale. The number of Disillusioned democrats have declined in 12 out of 14 Western European countries included in the sample, although they have increased in 2. One can only conjecture on the reasons behind this change. It is conceivable that the disillusionment with democratic decision making was the highest at the start of new EU structures including a common currency. But as new habits get formed and as citizens of individual European countries watch their national leaders engaged in regional and global summits making compromises for power sharing comparable to national politics their disillusionment has been tempered by a few percentage points.

Additionally, the role of events surrounding 9/11 is another factor which remains to be assessed for its impact on satisfaction or disillusionment with democracy.

Disappointed Democrats

Democrats who feel disappointed with the procedures of democracy as well as its outcome form a significant majority in the world. Forty-six percent (46%) of the global sample felt that elections are not free and fair in their country and that they are not governed by the will of the people.

It seems that while older democracies suffer from the ailment of disillusion, new democracies are troubled by disappointments in the inability to implement the system and get the desired results. Noticeably none of the 10 countries with disappointment rates exceeding 50% are old democracies (*Ukraine, Cameroon, Pakistan, Russia, Bulgaria, Bosnia, Croatia, Nigeria, FYR Macedonia, Philippines*). This trend is also visible among regions. While Eastern Europe has the highest disappointment levels at 64%, Western Europe has the lowest at 23%.

Alarmingly, disappointment levels have been rising rapidly in the world with the greatest increase seen in North America (Canada and USA) of 12% points, followed by Asia with a 5% point increase and then Western Europe 4% points. Despite having the highest rate of disappointment, Eastern Europe witnessed a sharp fall between 2000 and 2008 of 10% points superceded by Latin America where the levels declined by 19% points.

While more countries have experienced a rise in disappointment (24 out of 42) there have been drastic falls as well: Peru, Russia, Ghana and Bolivia all experienced a fall of more than 20% points.

Section 2: DILEMMAS OF DEMOCRACY

This paper is part of a broader effort to bring the perspective of the "subject" (*in marketing jargon we would say the "user" or "customer"*) as an important part of evaluating public policy experiences. The founding President of Gallup International, Dr. George Gallup was very passionate on this subject and would always refer to opinion polls as part of the tool-kit of democracy. It is also an instrument to measure the extent to which a society has been successful in its quest for democracy. Given the tremendous variety of political communities in our day, their unique histories and socio-economic conditions one would expect that political liberties, representative institutions and other democratic procedures will not appear in all of them in the same shape. But while forms may differ they ought to have much greater similarity in substance. The experience of a subjective feeling of being ruled by the "will of the people" seems very central to the outcome of democracy. Personal liberties, freedom of the press, representative institutions, leadership by elections are essential procedures of democracy. Yet they would be hollow if despite them the citizen was unconvinced that he or she is ruled by "the will of the people" It is ironic that many citizens in Western Europe feel disempowered not by exercise of brute force by the state but as a result of strong bureaucratic control of national governments or increasingly institutions of regional or global governance which are too distant from the arena in which an ordinary citizen can hope to influence policy decisions or actions.⁴ The will of the people is too frail, it might seem to many, to influence big governments and big businesses and that many key decisions are being taken beyond the democratic government.

Our global poll shows that in the eyes of their own citizens, democracies are seen as flawed not only by nascent and young but also by mature democracies. However the reasons causing them to believe so might be different. After careful reading of data in the democracy surveys we have identified the reasons separately for the two types of democracies and titled them as Two Dilemmas of Democracy. The first one applies mostly to Mature Democracies, the second to the new and young Democracies.

Dilemma of Relevance: Democracy Sans "Jurisdiction"

When Power flows "Beyond the Nation-state"

What is subject to democracy has been devalued in importance. Many of the decisions that fall under democratic control are no longer central to the day-to-day life of a citizen and

⁴ Further details are available in the analysis of GIA Millennium Survey (year 2000) carried out by Gallup International Association. See www.gallup-international.com

conversely decisions on things which 'matter' are made in forums outside the jurisdiction of democracy. Functions once performed by "local government" and even "national governments" have been relocated elsewhere. Large utility companies, franchises, developers and a host of huge and distant, often transnational, organizations have taken over activities once performed by local or national state organizations. These are outside the jurisdiction of "democracy" as we know it. The crucial choices have grown to be highly technocratic, the scope of their application and hence the relevant trade-offs and compromises are transnational. As a consequence decisions are made at the level of "corporations" and international or transnational forums and "summits". The "city hall" as a metaphor is deserted while corporate headquarters and international organizations have stolen all the glory. Power has been relocated outside the jurisdiction of democracy.

The "Erosion of Sovereignty" and "Relocation of Power"⁵ appear to be the key drivers behind a remarkable sense of disillusionment with democracy in its present state in both the old and mature, economically advanced democracies and the new and nascent economically disadvantaged democracies. The nature of erosion of sovereignty and its understanding by the relevant populations may differ in different types of countries, but it is more than one facet of the same phenomenon. Thus when 34% in Western Europe, 29% in North America and 24% in Japan say they are not ruled by the will of the people, despite free and fair elections, they articulate a deeper sense of having been deprived of the "soul" of democracy despite the "body" that remains un-harmed.

The story in the new and nascent democracies of East and Central Europe on the one hand and the societies of Latin America, Asia and Africa which struggled with military rule, dictatorship and authoritarian governments in the last century is of a slightly different variety, and to that we shall now turn.

Dilemma of Basics: Democracy Sans Rule of Law

When competitive politics remains untamed by the force of law

It is disappointing to know that pluralities in almost all countries in the sample outside Western Europe, North America and Japan say that elections in their country are not free and fair. That is a clear indication that these countries are deficient on the very basics of democracy, namely, rule of law. It is a negative commentary not only on elections but the overall state of governance in the country. If law could be breached under the search-light of a major event and in the presence of the entire population as participants and spectators, the state of justice in most day to day transactions is highly likely to be equally, if not more

⁵ More details on this are available in the author's paper: Ijaz Shafi Gilani, Globalization is Erosion of Sovereignty and Relocation of Power, Islamabad (2007)

flawed. Now democracy as we understand it is a branch or variety of government within the broader dichotomy of government by Personal writ and government by law. It is conceivable to have a monarchy under rule of law or even a dictatorship under rule of law, as much as democracy (*although to many repugantly or with reservations*). But the reverse of it is not a theoretical possibility. Thus, you can have rule of law without democracy, but not democracy without rule of law. Admittedly there are departures from this rather clear theoretical position. And that is the dilemma. It is most pronounced in nascent and young democracies. More than 50% of respondents in 10 countries from a total of 25 young democracies in the sample say elections in their country are not free and fair. Around 64% in Eastern and Central Europe, 37% in Latin America and 52% Asian say that their elections are not free and fair and they are not ruled by the will of the people. They are faced with the dilemma of "democracy sans rule of law". They fail to meet the basic test of democracy, i.e. "effective rule of law".

The Democracy Index: A Measurement of Perceptions

The **Democracy Index** seeks to enrich existing measures by providing a significant but largely ignored indicator of democracy/political liberties: **public perceptions of democracy**. The Index provides a simple but meaningful measure of how society judges the performance of its own polity based on two indicators, public perceptions about procedures of democracy and perceptions about the desirable outcome of democracy

The Index is based on the findings of **The Voice of the People™**, an annual survey conducted in more than 60 countries, covering all continents of the globe. The Democracy Index covers 42 countries for which data is available for the years 2000 and 2008. In each country, a sample of approximately 1000 scientifically selected citizens is asked: “Do you feel that elections in your country are free and fair?” and “Would you say that your country is governed by the will of the people?” Based on the answers, all of the 42 countries are divided into the three groups previously identified: Countries where a majority is “**satisfied**” with the electoral process and the outcome; countries where a majority feels “**disillusioned**” i.e. satisfied with the process but not the outcome; and countries where a majority is “**disappointed**” both with the procedures and the outcome.

Each group is rank ordered by the level of its attribute starting from satisfied countries, moving from highest to lowest; disillusioned countries, moving from lowest to highest; and finally disappointed countries moving from lowest to highest.

Once on this spectrum the countries are partitioned into 7 groups containing 6 countries in each group. The group at the top gets the highest satisfaction rating of 1; the group on the bottom gets the most disappointed rating of 7 [see Table 7, see Fig. 2 &3].

Countries with the highest rating are ones where citizens are the most satisfied with both the democratic procedures as well as their outcome. Countries with the lowest rating of 7 are ones where citizens are highly despondent with democratic processes and do not feel they translate into rule by will of the people.

The Voice of the People Democracy Index is highly sensitive to change in perceptions of democracy. A fall in rating from 3 to 5 reflects growing dissatisfaction with the procedures and outcome of democracy while a rise shows improvement in views.

CONCLUSION:

It is important to note the separate nature of the two dilemmas of democracy because they un-tie two knots: the first that the problem of flawed democracy is not restricted to the economically impoverished or young democracies: it also exists in mature democracies, albeit for different reasons, which explains the second knot. We shall explore this below.

Mature democracies are not plagued by the absence of rule of law. Their problem is that the value of democracy has diminished since power has relocated from the domain where democracy worked, and moved to domains where governance is in a pre-democratic stage. By this we mean institutions and arenas such as the IMF, WTO, World Bank, European Union and a host of other regimes and quasi-regimes of global governance, on the one hand and the vast world of corporate governance on the other. Power which once rested in democratic arenas of mature democracies has relocated elsewhere to extra-democratic arenas, causing an emptiness in the democratic experience of its citizens. That explains the high number of disillusioned democrats in mature democracies, i.e., people who say: despite free and fair elections we are not ruled by the will of the people.

The dilemma in the young and nascent democracies is slightly different. They experience the twin problem of "deficiency in rule of law" and "diminishing power in their own political jurisdiction." They are losing their power to world bodies or other super/mega-states such as the United States, EU or China. In many instances this relocation owes itself to unequal power relationship outside any legally sanctioned arrangement. This type of mega-state interference expresses itself at election times as well as other political decision-making. The young democracies are subjected to two rather formidable forces, domestic forces which aspire to wield power legitimated by democracy, with or without observing the law of the land; and global forces which aspire to relocate power away from local domains, with or without observing the law of the land.

Democracy in the 21st Century:

In the view of this author Political Democracy is at a crossroads at the start of the 21st century. It has won universal admiration as a norm but there is disillusionment and disappointment with its practice. Some of its passionate admirers are disappointed because the practice in their countries does not meet the basic requirement of rule of law, others are disillusioned by the impotence of democratic structures in their jurisdiction because the "power" whose harnessing and sharing was its prized skill has relocated to jurisdictions which are either in a pre-democratic" or "pre-rule of law" stage. For democracy to sustain its admiration it needs to seed itself in the new frontiers of "corporate", "transnational" and global governance. And while it is best known for its skills in power sharing arrangements, Democracy needs to reinvigorate and reinvent itself in the 21st century.

Table 1

Global Perceptions on Democracy as a System of Government (Year 2008)

Question: Democracy may have problems but it is the best system of Government?

	Agree	Disagree	DK/NA		Agree	Disagree	D/NA
WORLD	79%	16%	5%				
North America	85%	13%	0%	Poland	70%	15%	15%
Canada	88%	8%	4%	Romania	78%	11%	11%
USA	86%	14%	0%	Russia	64%	31%	5%
Western Europe	86%	10%	4%	Ukraine	60%	25%	15%
Austria	79%	11%	10%	Latin America	81%	15%	4%
Denmark	91%	6%	3%	Argentina	86%	10%	4%
Finland	87%	6%	7%	Bolivia	84%	14%	2%
France	89%	6%	9%	Colombia	81%	17%	1%
Iceland	90%	4%	6%	Dominican Republic	80%	15%	5%
Ireland	89%	10%	1%	Ecuador	78%	18%	5%
Italy	81%	15%	5%	Peru	72%	17%	11%
Luxembourg	88%	8%	4%	Asia	75%	18%	6%
Netherlands	87%	4%	9%	Hong Kong	75%	20%	5%
Norway	94%	3%	3%	Japan	84%	14%	2%
Spain	91%	8%	1%	Korea	74%	24%	2%
Sweden	83%	2%	5%	Malaysia	85%	5%	10%
Switzerland	91%	6%	3%	Pakistan	68%	22%	11%
UK	80%	17%	3%	Philippines	72%	28%	0%
Eastern and Central Europe	66%	25%	9%	Singapore	80%	13%	8%
Bosnia and Herzegovina	66%	24%	10%	Turkey	76%	10%	14%
Bulgaria	63%	26%	11%	Africa	84%	10%	6%
Croatia	80%	15%	5%	Cameroon	85%	13%	3%
Czech Republic	81%	12%	8%	Ghana	92%	5%	2%
Macedonia	79%	16%	6%	Nigeria	83%	10%	6%

Source: Gallup International – Voice of the People 2008

Table 2

Democracy May Have Problems but it is the Best System of Government

Question: Please tell me whether you agree or disagree with the following statements:
Democracy may have problems but it is the best system of government?

	Agree %	Disagree %	Refusals/ Don't Know %	Proportion in Sample (%)
GLOBAL AVERAGE	79%	16%	5%	100%
Religion-wise				
Christian				
Protestant	88%	9%	3%	11%
Catholic	81%	14%	4%	26%
Orthodox	64%	29%	7%	10%
Other Christian	81%	16%	3%	8%
Muslim	74%	16%	10%	19%
Buddhist	82%	15%	2%	6%
Hindu	85%	7%	8%	0.4%
Jewish	93%	6%	1%	0.6%
Other	77%	20%	3%	3%
No Religion	82%	15%	3%	13%
Refuse/ DK	70%	20%	9%	3%
Gender-wise				
Male	81%	15%	4%	50%
Female	77%	17%	7%	50%
Age-wise				
Under 30	77%	18%	6%	29%
30 – 50	79%	16%	5%	42%
51 – 65	80%	15%	5%	18%
65 +	80%	14%	6%	10%
DK/NA	79%	9%	12%	0%
Education-wise				
No education/ only basic education	73%	16%	11%	17%
Secondary school	77%	18%	5%	50%
High level education (e.g university)	85%	13%	2%	32%
DK/NA	75%	14%	11%	1%

Source: Gallup International – Voice of the People 2008

Table 3

Global Perceptions About Rule by the Will of the People
(Year 2000)

Question: Would you say that your country is governed by the will of the people?

	Agree	Disagree	DK/NA		Agree	Disagree	D/NA
WORLD	32%	60%	8%				
North America	36%	63%	3%	Poland	21%	64%	15%
Canada	39%	57%	4%	Romania	22%	60%	19%
USA	34%	63%	2%	Russia	3%	94%	3%
Western Europe	37%	56%	6%	Ukraine	12%	79%	8%
Austria	33%	48%	18%	Latin America	25%	71%	4%
Denmark	38%	56%	6%	Argentina	25%	69%	6%
Finland	33%	51%	16%	Bolivia	27%	72%	1%
France	38%	60%	2%	Colombia	16%	82%	2%
Iceland	40%	53%	7%	Dominican Republic	30%	66%	4%
Ireland	50%	35%	14%	Ecuador	29%	69%	2%
Italy	31%	62%	7%	Peru	36%	59%	5%
Luxembourg	56%	36%	8%	Asia	31%	54%	16%
Netherlands	45%	44%	11%	Hong Kong	38%	56%	6%
Norway	52%	40%	8%	Japan	22%	47%	31%
Spain	51%	37%	11%	Korea	19%	76%	6%
Sweden	38%	47%	4%	Malaysia	77%	18%	5%
Switzerland	41%	53%	7%	Pakistan	20%	61%	19%
UK	28%	69%	2%	Philippines	53%	43%	4%
Eastern and Central Europe	11%	81%	8%	Singapore	50%	32%	18%
Bosnia and Herzegovina	23%	63%	14%	Turkey	31%	62%	7%
Bulgaria	20%	61%	20%	Africa	57%	41%	2%
Croatia	17%	73%	10%	Cameroon	21%	74%	5%
Czech Republic	36%	61%	2%	Ghana	46%	51%	3%
Macedonia	29%	64%	7%	Nigeria	63%	36%	2%

Source: Gallup International – Voice of the People 2000

Table 4

Perceptions on Free and Fair Elections, by Region and Country (Year 2000)

Question: Do you feel that elections in your country are free and fair?

	Agree	Disagree	DK/NA		Agree	Disagree	D/NA
WORLD	48%	44%	8%				
North America	62%	36%	2%	Poland	49%	27%	24%
Canada	75%	22%	3%	Romania	47%	30%	23%
USA	60%	38%	2%	Russia	9%	83%	8%
Western Europe	74%	21%	5%	Ukraine	13%	68%	18%
Austria	63%	18%	19%	Latin America	35%	59%	6%
Denmark	84%	14%	2%	Argentina	34%	56%	11%
Finland	81%	10%	9%	Bolivia	38%	61%	2%
France	52%	17%	2%	Colombia	27%	70%	2%
Iceland	79%	16%	5%	Dominican Republic	58%	35%	6%
Ireland	67%	19%	13%	Ecuador	43%	53%	3%
Italy	58%	35%	6%	Peru	38%	56%	6%
Luxembourg	82%	12%	6%	Asia	39%	48%	14%
Netherlands	88%	5%	7%	Hong Kong	67%	27%	6%
Norway	83%	11%	6%	Japan	42%	34%	24%
Spain	73%	20%	7%	Korea	41%	53%	6%
Sweden	84%	13%	3%	Malaysia	71%	18%	10%
Switzerland	72%	20%	8%	Pakistan	24%	59%	17%
UK	79%	19%	2%	Philippines	45%	51%	4%
Eastern and Central Europe	23%	64%	14%	Singapore	75%	12%	13%
Bosnia and Herzegovina	35%	47%	18%	Turkey	40%	53%	7%
Bulgaria	42%	29%	29%	Africa	54%	43%	3%
Croatia	31%	52%	17%	Cameroon	18%	76%	5%
Czech Republic	74%	22%	3%	Ghana	43%	48%	9%
Macedonia	52%	35%	13%	Nigeria	60%	38%	2%

Source: Gallup International – Voice of the People 2000

Table 5

Global Perceptions About Rule by the Will of the People
(Year 2008)

Question: Would you say that your country is governed by the will of the people?

	Agree	Disagree	DK/NA		Agree	Disagree	D/NA
WORLD	30%	63%	7%				
North America	26%	74%	1%				
Canada	28%	67%	5%	Poland	23%	53%	24%
USA	26%	74%	0%	Romania	29%	54%	16%
Western Europe	41%	55%	4%	Russia	18%	78%	3%
Austria	37%	46%	17%	Ukraine	9%	83%	8%
Denmark	53%	40%	7%	Latin America	44%	52%	5%
Finland	41%	46%	13%	Argentina	45%	48%	7%
France	45%	52%	4%	Bolivia	55%	43%	2%
Iceland	57%	34%	8%	Colombia	35%	62%	3%
Ireland	73%	26%	1%	Dominican Republic	48%	51%	1%
Italy	26%	72%	2%	Ecuador	52%	45%	3%
Luxembourg	33%	59%	8%	Peru	48%	46%	6%
Netherlands	32%	61%	8%	Asia	30%	61%	9%
Norway	50%	44%	5%	Hong Kong	57%	43%	0%
Spain	51%	44%	4%	Japan	29%	70%	1%
Sweden	49%	45%	6%	Korea	19%	75%	6%
Switzerland	66%	25%	8%	Malaysia	66%	25%	9%
UK	36%	61%	3%	Pakistan	17%	66%	18%
Eastern and Central Europe	18%	73%	9%	Philippines	42%	57%	1%
Bosnia and Herzegovina	5%	90%	4%	Singapore	47%	42%	11%
Bulgaria	13%	74%	13%	Turkey	38%	46%	16%
Croatia	19%	76%	5%	Africa	34%	52%	14%
Czech Republic	41%	46%	13%	Cameroon	14%	83%	3%
Macedonia	24%	67%	9%	Ghana	73%	23%	4%
				Nigeria	31%	53%	16%

Source: Gallup International – Voice of the People 2008

Table 6

Perceptions on Free and Fair Elections, by Region and Country (Year 2008)

Question: Do you feel that elections in your country are free and fair?

	Agree	Disagree	DK/ NA		Agree	Disagree	D/NA
WORLD	44%	49%	7%				
North America	51%	48%	0%	Poland	41%	37%	21%
Canada	74%	22%	5%	Romania	45%	31%	23%
USA	49%	51%	0%	Russia	28%	69%	3%
Western Europe	71%	25%	4%	Ukraine	13%	76%	11%
Austria	65%	18%	17%	Latin America	49%	44%	7%
Denmark	86%	10%	3%	Argentina	53%	36%	11%
Finland	77%	16%	6%	Bolivia	65%	26%	9%
France	79%	18%	3%	Colombia	35%	60%	5%
Iceland	72%	21%	6%	Dominican Republic	66%	32%	3%
Ireland	89%	10%	0%	Ecuador	63%	33%	4%
Italy	51%	46%	4%	Peru	49%	43%	9%
Luxembourg	67%	28%	5%	Asia	36%	55%	10%
Netherlands	80%	13%	7%	Hong Kong	51%	49%	0%
Norway	76%	18%	6%	Japan	50%	49%	1%
Spain	70%	27%	3%	Korea	55%	37%	7%
Sweden	86%	11%	3%	Malaysia	76%	16%	8%
Switzerland	78%	15%	6%	Pakistan	13%	67%	19%
UK	79%	20%	2%	Philippines	22%	77%	1%
Eastern and Central Europe	30%	60%	10%	Singapore	64%	26%	11%
Bosnia and Herzegovina	41%	54%	5%	Turkey	44%	39%	17%
Bulgaria	33%	46%	21%	Africa	32%	54%	14%
Croatia	38%	53%	9%	Cameroon	11%	84%	5%
Czech Republic	63%	23%	14%	Ghana	73%	22%	5%
Macedonia	40%	51%	9%	Nigeria	28%	55%	16%

Source: Gallup International – Voice of the People 2008

Fig.1

Types of Democrats

Are there **Free and Fair Elections**
in your country?

		Yes	No
Is there Rule by the Will of the People?	Yes	Satisfied Democrats	Skeptics
	No	Disillusioned Democrats	Disappointed Democrats

Table 7

Country Ranking on Democracy Index

Greens: (Countries where Majority is **Type A**); **Yellows:** (Countries where Majority is **Type B**); **Reds:** (Countries where Majority is **Type C**)

Year: 2000						Year: 2008						
Majority in the country is		% share of Different Types of Democrats			Index		Majority in the country is		% share of Different Types of Democrats			Index
		Type A	Type B	Type C					Type A	Type B	Type C	
Democrat Type A Satisfied	Malaysia	71	9	10	1	Democrat Type A Satisfied	Ireland	72	18	8	1	
	Luxembourg	60	28	11	1		Switzerland	71	13	14	1	
	Singapore	59	27	11	1		Malaysia	68	15	12	1	
	Ireland	57	20	20	1		Ghana	67	10	13	1	
	Spain	55	25	16	1		Iceland	59	18	18	1	
	Norway	55	33	10	1		Denmark	57	32	10	1	
	Nigeria	54	7	30	2		Sweden	52	37	10	2	
	Netherlands	53	41	6	2		Norway	52	28	17	2	
	Iceland	43	39	16	2		Ecuador	49	17	28	2	
	Austria	43	34	21	2		Bolivia	48	24	19	2	
Democrat Type B Disillusioned	Hong Kong	39	33	26	2	Spain	48	23	23	2		
	Switzerland	39	39	18	2	Singapore	47	23	23	2		
	Philippines	35	12	33	3	Finland	47	34	17	3		
	Dominican	25	38	32	3	Austria	47	29	23	3		
	Canada	38	39	20	3	Czech Republic	46	27	25	3		
	Czech Republic	35	43	20	3	France	44	37	16	3		
	France	37	46	15	3	Argentina	43	16	35	3		
	Denmark	39	46	13	3	Peru	41	12	36	3		
	Sweden	40	46	12	4	Dominican Republic	41	26	25	4		
	Finland	41	46	12	4	Hong Kong	39	12	31	4		
Democrat Type C Disappointed	UK	28	53	18	4	Luxembourg	35	36	28	4		
	Italy	29	33	33	4	South Korea	18	41	38	4		
	USA	30	31	34	4	UK	35	45	18	4		
	Poland	27	35	36	4	Canada	29	48	22	4		
	FYR Macedonia	29	31	37	5	Netherlands	35	51	14	5		
	Romania	28	31	39	5	Romania	34	25	38	5		
	Ghana	35	12	42	5	Turkey	39	14	41	5		
	Bulgaria	28	27	44	5	Italy	22	31	42	5		
	Japan	30	22	44	5	Poland	24	27	42	5		
	Ecuador	20	25	45	5	Japan	26	24	46	5		
Democrat Type C Disappointed	Turkey	26	17	49	6	USA	22	27	47	6		
	South Korea	15	27	52	6	Colombia	21	16	48	6		
	Argentina	18	19	54	6	Philippines	16	6	52	6		
	Bolivia	21	17	55	6	FYR Macedonia	24	20	53	6		
	Peru	36	5	57	6	Nigeria	25	9	55	6		
	Bosnia and	26	15	58	6	Bosnia and	5	38	56	6		
	Croatia	18	17	63	7	Croatia	17	23	56	7		
	Pakistan	17	11	64	7	Bulgaria	16	23	60	7		
	Colombia	9	18	66	7	Russia	15	14	67	7		
	Cameroon	18	1	77	7	Pakistan	13	4	77	7		
Ukraine	8	7	80	7	Cameroon	7	4	82	7			
Russia	2	7	90	7	Ukraine	6	8	83	7			

*In each country, the three types of democrats have been color-coded: Green for "Satisfied", Yellow for "Disillusioned" and Red for "Disappointed". For each country the three types have been placed in a row in descending order, from the largest democrat type to the smallest. For example in 2000, the largest group of democrats in Malaysia was Satisfied (71%), followed by Disappointed (10%) and then Disillusioned (9). In 2000, that largest group in USA was Disappointed Democrats (34%) followed by Disillusioned (31%) and then Satisfied (30%).

Table 8
Satisfaction with Democracy

	Gain/Loss in Satisfaction Levels (2000-2008)	VOP 2000*	VOP 2008	Change in GIA index (2000 to 2008)	Change in Freedom House Index* (2000 to 2008)
	PERCENTAGE of respondents			RATINGS	
	%	%	%	<i>(Plus means improvement in ratings; Minus means a deterioration in ratings)</i>	
	(b-a)	(a)	(b)	(2000 minus 2008)	(2000 minus 2008)
WORLD	-2%	29%	27%	-	-
Western Europe	+2%	38%	40%	-	-
Switzerland	+32	39	71	+1 2 to 1	No Change 1
Denmark	+18	39	57	+2 3 to 1	No Change 1
Iceland	+16	43	59	+1 2 to 1	No Change 1
Ireland	+15	57	72	No Change 1	No Change 1
Sweden	+12	40	52	+2 4 to 2	No Change 1
UK	+7	28	35	No Change 4	No Change 1
France	+7	37	44	No Change 3	No Change 1
Finland	+6	41	47	+1 4 to 3	No Change 1
Austria	+4	43	47	-1 2 to 3	No Change 1
Norway	-3	55	52	-1 1 to 2	No Change 1
Spain	-7	55	48	-1 1 to 2	No Change 1
Italy	-7	29	22	-1 4 to 5	No Change 1
Netherlands	-18	53	35	-3 2 to 5	No Change 1
Luxembourg	-25	60	35	-3 1 to 4	No Change 1
Eastern & Central Europe	+6%	10%	16%	-	-
Russia	+13	2	15	No Change 7	-1 5 to 6
Czech Rep	+11	35	46	No Change 3	No Change 1
Romania	+6	28	34	No Change 5	No Change 2
Croatia	-1	18	17	No Change 7	No Change 2
Ukraine	-2	8	6	No Change 7	+1 4 to 3
Poland	-3	27	24	-1 4 to 5	No Change 1
FYR Macedonia	-5	29	24	-1 5 to 6	+1 4 to 3
Bulgaria	-12	28	16	No Change 6	+1 2 to 1

Bosnia	-21	26	5	-2 5 to 7	+1 5 to 4
North America	-9%	31%	22%	-	-
USA	-8	30	22	-2 4 to 6	No Change 1
Canada	-9	38	29	-1 3 to 4	No Change 1
Latin America	+17%	19%	36%	-	-
Ecuador	+29	20	49	+3 5 to 2	No Change 3
Bolivia	+27	21	48	+4 6 to 2	-2 1 to 3
Argentina	+25	18	43	+3 6 to 3	-1 1 to 2
Dominican Rep	+16	25	41	-1 3 to 4	No Change 2
Colombia	+12	9	21	+1 7 to 6	+1 4 to 3
Peru	+5	36	41	+3 6 to 3	+1 3 to 2
Asia	-4%	28%	24%	-	-
Turkey	+13	26	39	+1 6 to 5	+1 4 to 3
South Korea	+3	15	18	+2 6 to 4	+1 2 to 1
Hong Kong	0	39	39	-2 2 to 4	<i>FH ratings Not Available</i>
Malaysia	-3	71	68	No Change 1	+1 5 to 4
Japan	-4	30	26	No Change 5	No Change -1
Pakistan	-4	17	13	No Change 7	No Change 6
Singapore	-12	59	47	-1 1 to 2	No Change 5
Philippines	-19	35	16	-3 3 to 6	-2 2 to 4
Africa	-20%	49%	29%	-	-
Ghana	+32	35	67	+4 5 to 1	+1 2 to 1
Cameroon	-11	18	7	No Change 7	+1 7 to 6
Nigeria	-29	54	25	-4 2 to 6	No Change 4

* Freedom House Index includes only the ratings for Political Liberties; the Data used here is from the 2000-01 Report (for year 2000) and the latest 2008 Report (for year 2007).

Source: Gallup International – Voice of the People 2000, 2008

Table 9

Disillusionment with Democracy

	Gain/Loss in Disillusionment Levels (2000-2008)	VOP 2000*	VOP 2008	Change in GIA index (2000 to 2008)	Change in Freedom House Index* (2000 to 2008)
	PERCENTAGE of respondents			RATINGS (Plus means <i>improvement</i> in ratings; Minus means a <i>deterioration</i> in ratings)	
	%	%	%	(2000 minus 2008)	(2000 minus 2008)
	(b-a)	(a)	(b)		
WORLD	-1%	22%	21%	-	-
Western Europe	-7%	41%	34%		
Netherlands	+10	41	51	-3 2 to 5	No Change 1
Luxembourg	+8	28	36	-3 1 to 4	No Change 1
Ireland	-2	20	18	No Change 1	No Change 1
Italy	-2	33	31	-1 4 to 5	No Change 1
Spain	-2	25	23	-1 1 to 2	No Change 1
Austria	-5	34	29	-1 2 to 3	No Change 1
Norway	-5	33	28	-1 1 to 2	No Change 1
UK	-8	53	45	No Change 4	No Change 1
France	-9	46	37	No Change 3	No Change 1
Sweden	-9	46	37	+2 4 to 2	No Change 1
Finland	-12	46	34	+1 4 to 3	No Change 1
Denmark	-14	46	32	+2 3 to 1	No Change 1
Iceland	-21	39	18	+1 2 to 1	No Change 1
Switzerland	-26	39	13	+1 2 to 1	No Change 1
Eastern & Central Europe	2%	14%	16%		
Bosnia	+23	15	38	No Change 6	+1 5 to 4
Russia	+7	7	14	No Change 7	-1 5 to 6
Croatia	+6	17	23	No Change 7	No Change 2
Ukraine	+1	7	8	No Change 7	+1 4 to 3
Bulgaria	-4	27	23	-2 5 to 7	+1 2 to 1
Romania	-6	31	25	No Change 5	No Change 2
Poland	-8	35	27	-1 4 to 5	No Change 1
FYR Macedonia	-11	31	20	-1 5 to 6	+1 4 to 3
Czech Rep	-16	43	27	No Change 3	No Change 1
North America	-3%	32%	29%		
Canada	+9	39	48	-1	No Change

				3 to 4	1
USA	-4	31	27	-2 4 to 6	No Change 1
Latin America	-1%	18%	17%		
Bolivia	+7	17	24	+4 6 to 2	-2 1 to 3
Peru	+7	5	12	+3 6 to 3	+1 3 to 2
Colombia	-2	18	16	+1 7 to 6	+1 4 to 3
Argentina	-3	19	16	+3 6 to 3	-1 1 to 2
Ecuador	-8	25	17	+3 5 to 2	No Change 3
Dominican Rep	-12	38	26	-1 3 to 4	No Change 2
Asia	-1%	16%	15%		
South Korea	+14	27	41	+2 6 to 4	+1 2 to 1
Malaysia	+6	9	15	No Change 1	+1 5 to 4
Japan	+2	22	24	No Change 5	No Change -1
Turkey	-3	17	14	+1 6 to 5	+1 4 to 3
Singapore	-4	27	23	-1 1 to 2	No Change 5
Philippines	-6	12	6	-3 3 to 6	-2 2 to 4
Pakistan	-7	11	4	No Change 7	No Change 6
Hong Kong	-21	33	12	-2 2 to 4	<i>FH ratings Not Available</i>
Africa	+2%	7%	9%		
Cameroon	+3	1	4	No Change 7	+1 7 to 6
Nigeria	+2	7	9	-4 2 to 6	No Change 4
Ghana	-2	12	10	+4 5 to 1	+1 2 to 1

* Freedom House Index includes only the ratings for Political Liberties; the Data used here is from the 2000-01 Report (for year 2000) and the latest 2008 Report (for year 2007).

Source: Gallup International – Voice of the People 2000, 2008

Table 10

Disappointment with Democracy

	Gain/Loss in Disappointment Levels (2000-2008)	VOP 2000*	VOP 2008	Change in Index (2000 to 2008)	Change in Freedom House Index* (2000 to 2008)
	PERCENTAGE of respondents			RATINGS	
	%	%	%	<i>(Plus means improvement in ratings; Minus means a deterioration in ratings)</i>	
	(b-a)	(a)	(b)	(2000 minus 2008)	(2000 minus 2008)
World	+3%	43%	46%	-	-
Western Europe	+4%	19%	23%		
Luxembourg	+17	11	28	-3 1 to 4	No Change 1
Italy	+9	33	42	-1 4 to 5	No Change 1
Netherlands	+8	6	14	-3 2 to 5	No Change 1
Norway	+7	10	17	-1 1 to 2	No Change 1
Spain	+7	16	23	-1 1 to 2	No Change 1
Finland	+5	12	17	+1 4 to 3	No Change 1
Austria	+2	21	23	-1 2 to 3	No Change 1
Iceland	+2	16	18	+1 2 to 1	No Change 1
France	+1	15	16	No Change 3	No Change 1
UK	0	18	18	No Change 4	No Change 1
Sweden	-2	12	10	+2 4 to 2	No Change 1
Denmark	-3	13	10	+2 3 to 1	No Change 1
Switzerland	-4	18	14	+1 2 to 1	No Change 1
Ireland	-12	20	8	No Change 1	No Change 1
Eastern & Central Europe	-10%	74%	64%		
Bulgaria	+16	44	60	-2 5 to 7	+1 2 to 1
FYR Macedonia	+16	37	53	-1 5 to 6	+1 4 to 3
Poland	+6	36	42	-1 4 to 5	No Change 1
Czech Rep	+5	20	25	No Change 3	No Change 1
Ukraine	+3	80	83	No Change 7	+1 4 to 3
Romania	-1	39	38	No Change 5	No Change 2
Bosnia	-2	58	56	No Change 6	+1 5 to 4
Croatia	-7	63	56	No Change 7	No Change 2
Russia	-23	90	67	No Change 7	-1 5 to 6
North America	+12%	33%	45%		

USA	+13	34	47	-1 3 to 4	No Change 1
Canada	+2	20	22	-2 4 to 6	No Change 1
Latin America	-19%	56%	37%		
Dominican Rep	-7	32	25	-1 3 to 4	No Change 2
Ecuador	-17	45	28	+3 5 to 2	No Change 3
Colombia	-18	66	48	+1 7 to 6	+1 4 to 3
Argentina	-19	54	35	+3 6 to 3	-1 1 to 2
Peru	-21	57	36	+3 6 to 3	+1 3 to 2
Bolivia	-36	55	19	+4 6 to 2	-2 1 to 3
Asia	+5%	47%	52%		
Philippines	+19	33	52	-3 3 to 6	-2 2 to 4
Pakistan	+13	64	77	No Change 7	No Change 6
Singapore	+12	11	23	-1 1 to 2	No Change 5
Hong Kong	+5	26	31	-2 2 to 4	Not Available
Japan	+2	44	46	No Change 5	No Change -1
Malaysia	+2	10	12	No Change 1	+1 5 to 4
Turkey	-8	49	41	+1 6 to 5	+1 4 to 3
South Korea	-14	52	38	+2 6 to 4	+1 2 to 1
Africa	+17%	35%	52%		
Nigeria	+25	30	55	-4 2 to 6	No Change 4
Cameroon	+5	77	82	No Change 7	+1 7 to 6
Ghana	-29	42	13	+4 5 to 1	+1 2 to 1

* Freedom House Index includes only the ratings for Political Liberties; the Data used here is from the 2000-01 Report (for year 2000) and the latest 2008 Report (for year 2007).

Source: Gallup International – Voice of the People 2000, 2008

Table 11

Comparison of Change: Share of Democrat Types
(% change in Types during 2000-2008)

**THIS TABLE SHOW % POINTS BY WHICH EACH TYPE HAS RISEN (+) OR
FALLEN (-) DURING THE PERIOD**

	Gain/Loss in Satisfaction Levels (Democrat: Type A)	Gain/Loss in Disillusionment Levels (Democrat: Type B)	Gain/Loss in Disappointment Levels (Democrat: Type C)
	(%)	(%)	(%)
WORLD	-2%	-1%	+3%
Western Europe	+2%	-7%	+4%
Austria	+4	-5	+2
Denmark	+18	-14	-3
Finland	+6	-12	+5
France	+7	-9	+1
Iceland	+16	-21	+2
Ireland	+15	-2	-12
Italy	-7	-2	+9
Luxembourg	-25	+8	+17
Netherlands	-18	+10	+8
Norway	-3	-5	+7
Spain	-7	-2	+7
Sweden	+12	-9	-2
Switzerland	+32	-26	-4
UK	+7	-8	0
Eastern & Central	+6%	+2%	-10%
Bosnia	-21	+23	-2
Bulgaria	-12	-4	+16
Croatia	-1	+6	-7
Czech Rep	+11	-16	+5
FYR Macedonia	-5	-11	+16
Poland	-3	-8	+6
Romania	+6	-6	-1
Russia	+13	+7	-23
Ukraine	-2	+1	+3
North America	-9%	-3%	+12%
Canada	-9	+9	+2
USA	-8	-4	+13
Latin America	+17%	-1%	-19%
Argentina	+25	-3	-19
Bolivia	+27	+7	-36
Colombia	+12	-2	-18
Dominican Rep	+16	-12	-7
Ecuador	+29	-8	-17
Peru	+5	+7	-21
Asia	-4%	-1%	+5%
Hong Kong	0	-21	+5
Japan	-4	+2	+2
Malaysia	-3	+6	+2
Pakistan	-4	-7	+13
Philippines	-19	-6	+19

Singapore	-12	-4	+12
South Korea	+3	+14	-14
Turkey	+13	-3	-8
Africa	-20%	+2%	+17%
Cameroon	-11	+3	+5
Ghana	+32	-2	-29
Nigeria	-29	+2	+25

Source: Gallup International – Voice of the People 2000, 2008

Note: 1- **Skeptics: When Additions (+) and Reductions (-) do not add up in the Table** above the balance is explained by the rise or fall in the group of Skeptics. But since skeptics in the total sample are around 5-6%, these figures are generally low and do not affect the overall argument.

2- **Weights: All figures for Regions and the World are based on weighted averages** meaning that when country level results are added up they are weighted according to the share of country's population in the total population of the 42 countries surveyed for this study.

Fig.2

GIA Democracy Spectrum (year 2000)

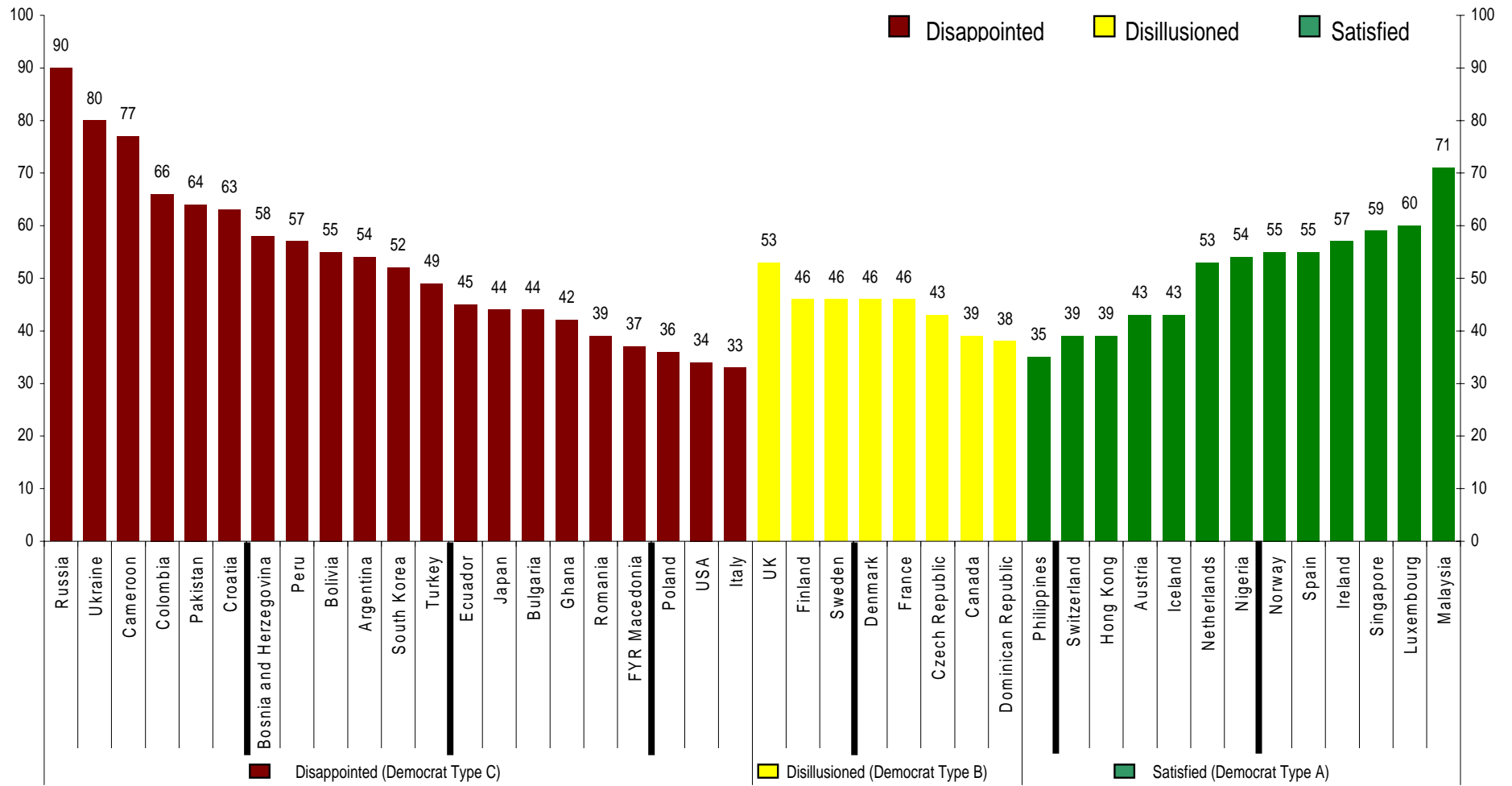


Fig.3

GIA Democracy Spectrum (year 2008)

