

Special Report: The DDPC Program

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Introduction: Methodological Considerations

This report is a follow-on to the study The Political Culture of Democracy in Bolivia: 2000 that was prepared for USAID. That report dealt with the national sample of 2000, and compared it to the national sample of 1998. In a few places, especially with regard to the chapter on municipal government, that report did analyze the special DDPC samples that were drawn in 1998 and 2000. In this special report, the results of all three DDPC samples are presented: 1998, 1999 and 2000.

The reader needs to keep in mind the point made in the 1999 report on the DDPC samples, namely that the 1998 sample covered only six municipalities, while the 1999 (and now the 2000) covered nine. That is because at the time the 1998 study was being designed, the DDPC program was not yet working in more than six municipalities. The 1999 study went to considerable lengths to dissect the sample, comparing the original six municipalities with their match in 1999. Furthermore, an added complexity was that the 1998 national study contained 100 interviews in municipalities that were also part of the DDPC sample. That was done in 1998 for cost considerations. The present study makes direct comparisons of the three DDPC samples to the two national samples. In order not to make these comparisons impossibly complex, they treat the three DDPC samples as if they were all the same, and also overlook the fact that 100 of the DDPC interviews in 1998 (but not in 2000) were also countable as being part of the national sample. The advantage of following this procedure here is that comparisons can be easily made between the three DDPC samples (1998, 1999 and 2000) and with the two national samples (1998 and 2000).

The plan of analysis follows directly the main report on the national sample. That is, this special report replicates many of the analyses shown in the larger report, but the focus here is on the comparisons of the DDPC samples to each other and to the nation. The discussion of measurement and theory will not be repeated here. Interested readers can refer directly to the larger report to find that material, which is presented in the same order that it is presented in this report, with the chapter numbers repeated in each section.

Chapter I: Sample Characteristics

We first present here the basic socio-economic information on the samples, leaving ethnic comparisons to chapter V. In terms of education, Figure 1 shows the comparisons. As can be seen, the national samples (including both the 1998 and 2000 samples) average significantly higher years of formal schooling than the DDPC samples (including 1998, 1999 and 2000). This difference is a function of the fact that the DDPC samples did not include any of the major cities of Bolivia, where education levels are higher.

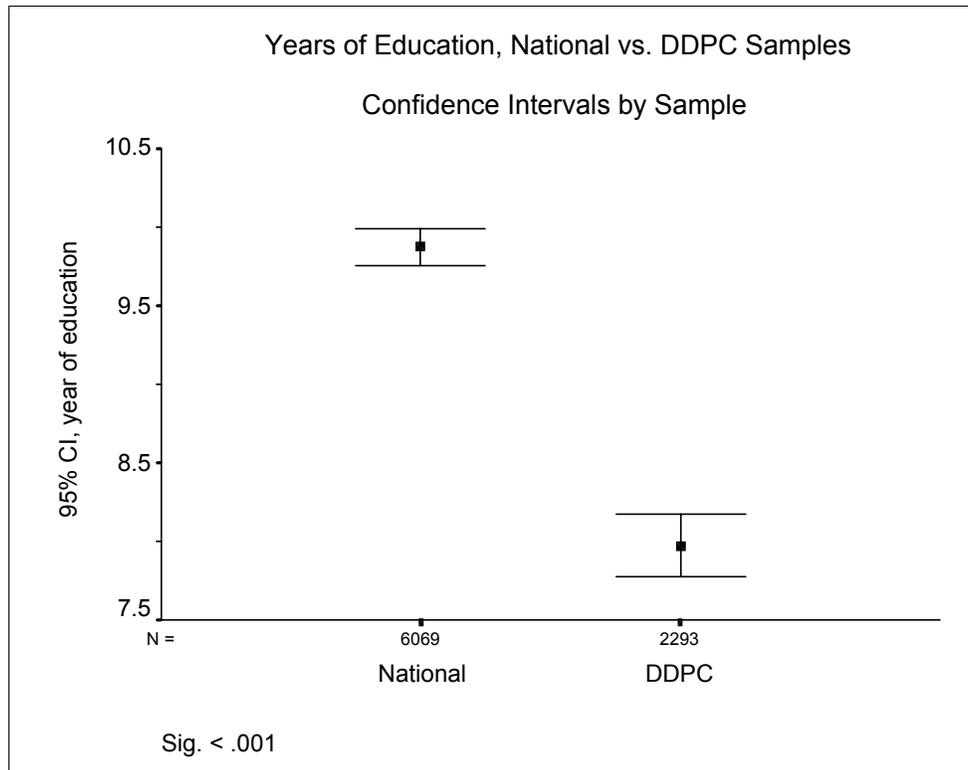


Figure 1 Years of Education, National vs. DDPC Samples: Confidence Intervals by Sample

Income also varies between the national and DDPC samples. Figure 2 shows that the DDPC samples have a significantly lower income than the national samples.

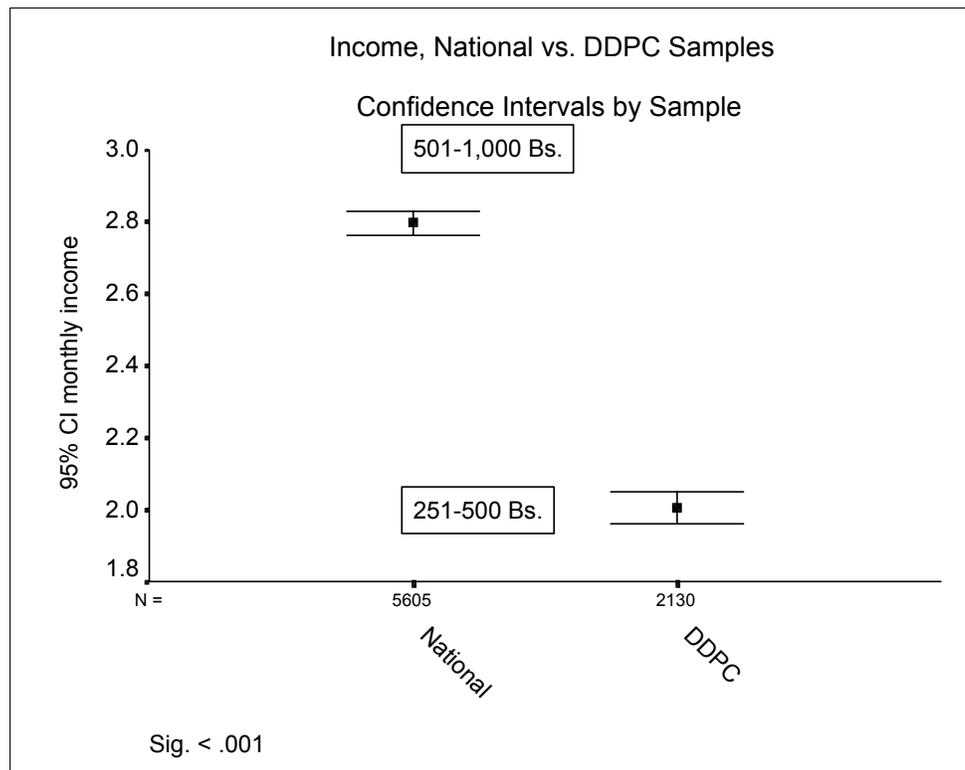


Figure 2 Income, National vs. DDPC Samples: Confidence Intervals by Sample

Chapter II: Support for Democracy

The central question in this chapter was AOJ14, measuring a preference for democracy, authoritarian rule or not having a preference for either one. This item, as noted in the main report, was not asked in 1998, but was included for the first time in the 1999 survey. Figure 3 shows the comparisons for the 1999 survey with the 2000 survey, broken down by national vs. DDPC. As can be seen, over 70% of the respondents in each of these samples preferred democracy over authoritarianism or over not caring which regime is in power. There are, however, no significant differences among the samples.

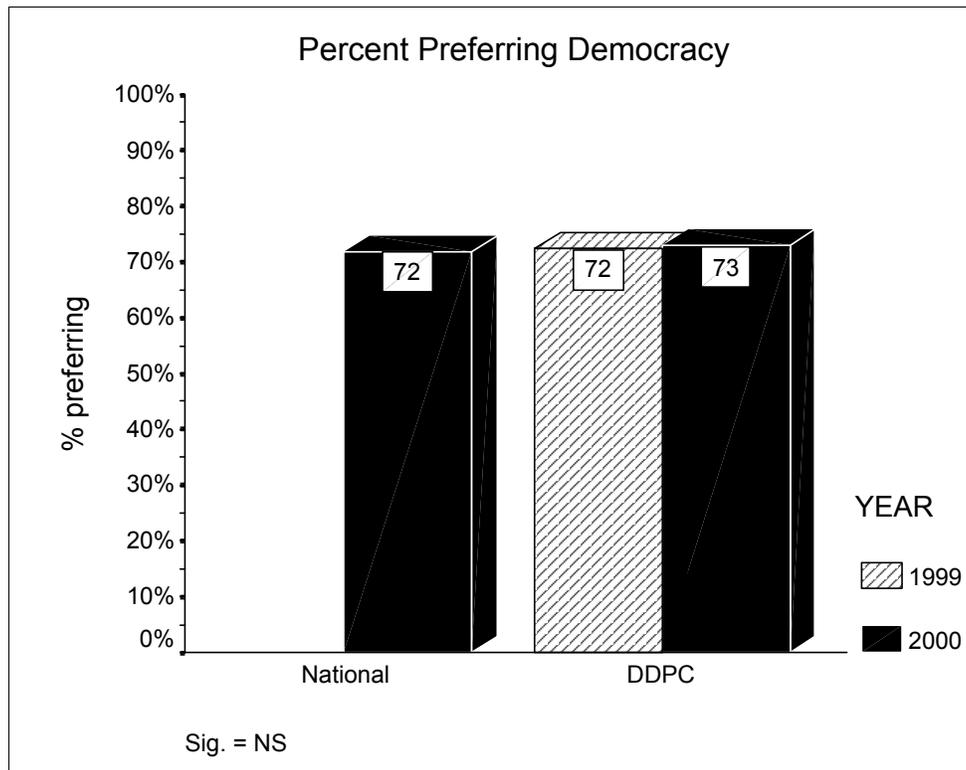


Figure 3 Percent Preferring Democracy

The question on a preference for a strong-fisted (*mano dura*) government (AOJ15) is analyzed in Figure 4. This item was asked for the first time in 2000, so data from 1998 and 1999 are excluded. As can be seen, respondents in both the national and DDPC samples overwhelmingly oppose strong-fisted rule, with higher, but not significantly higher opposition in the DDPC sample.

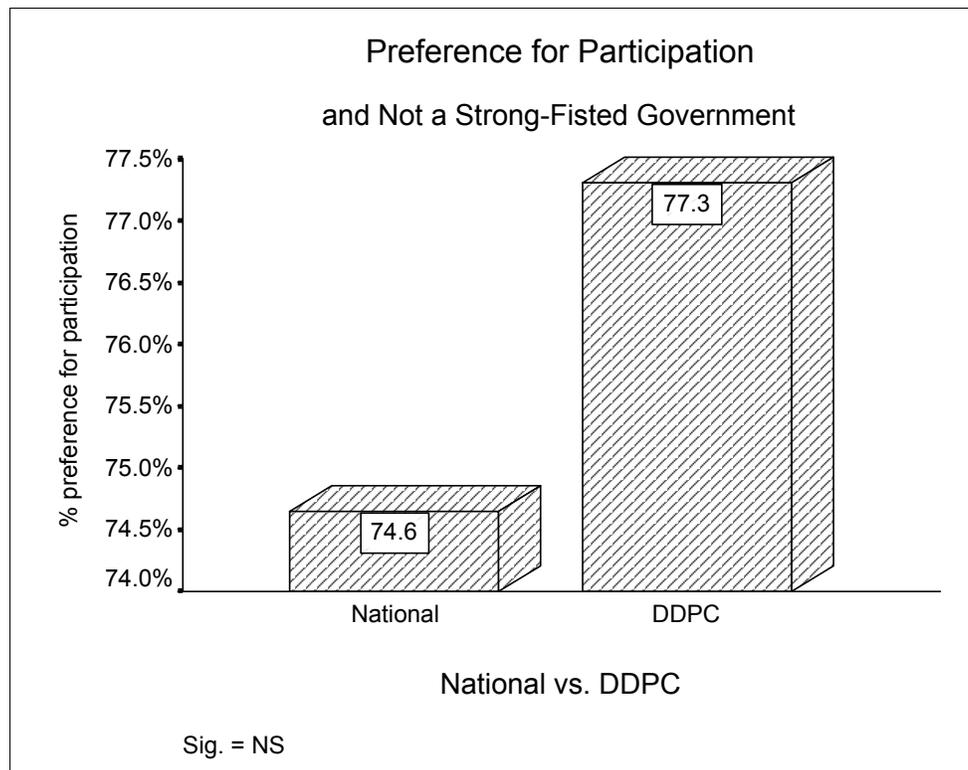


Figure 4 Preference for Participation and Not a Strong-Fisted Government

Another question in this series (AOJ11) asked about the need for a search warrant when criminal activity is suspected. This question was not asked in 1998, so comparisons are only possible for the 1999/2000 DDPC samples. Figure 5 shows the results. Both DDPC samples show stronger support for this democratic norm than does the population as a whole, but there was a decline between 1999 and 2000.

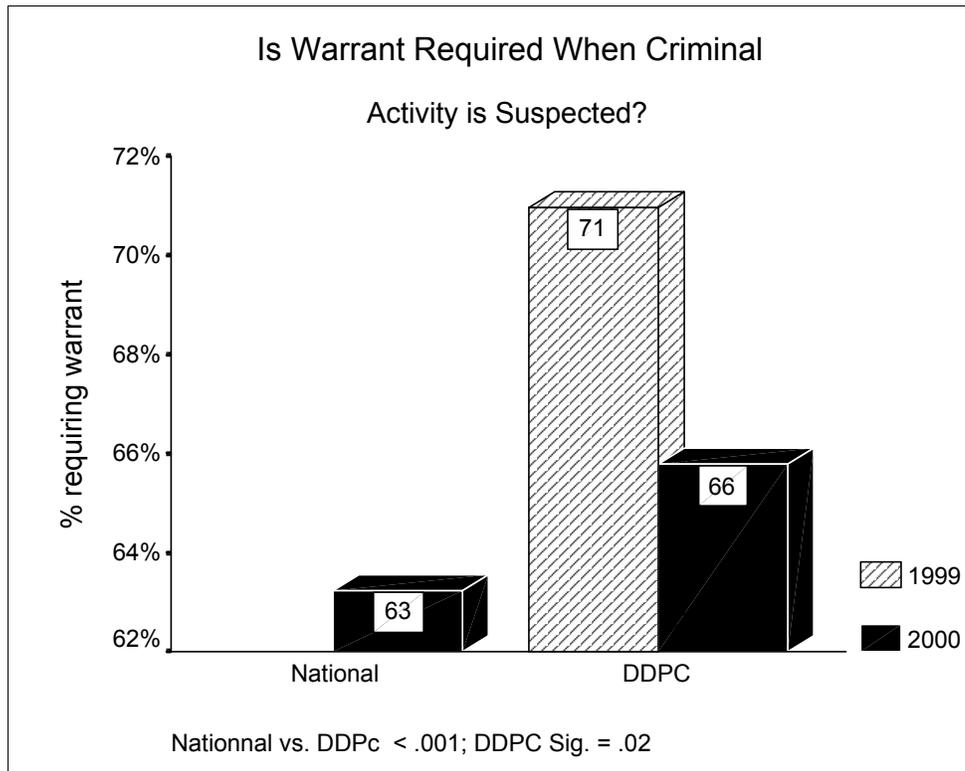


Figure 5 Is Warrant Required When Criminal Activity is Suspected?

The final item in this series is AOJ12, which asks about the trade-off of order vs. liberty. Figure 6 shows the results. In the 1999 survey, the DDPC sample was significantly more likely to prefer liberty over order compared to the 2000 DDPC sample. By 2000, the DDPC and national samples were identical. Nonetheless, in all cases, majorities prefer liberty to order.

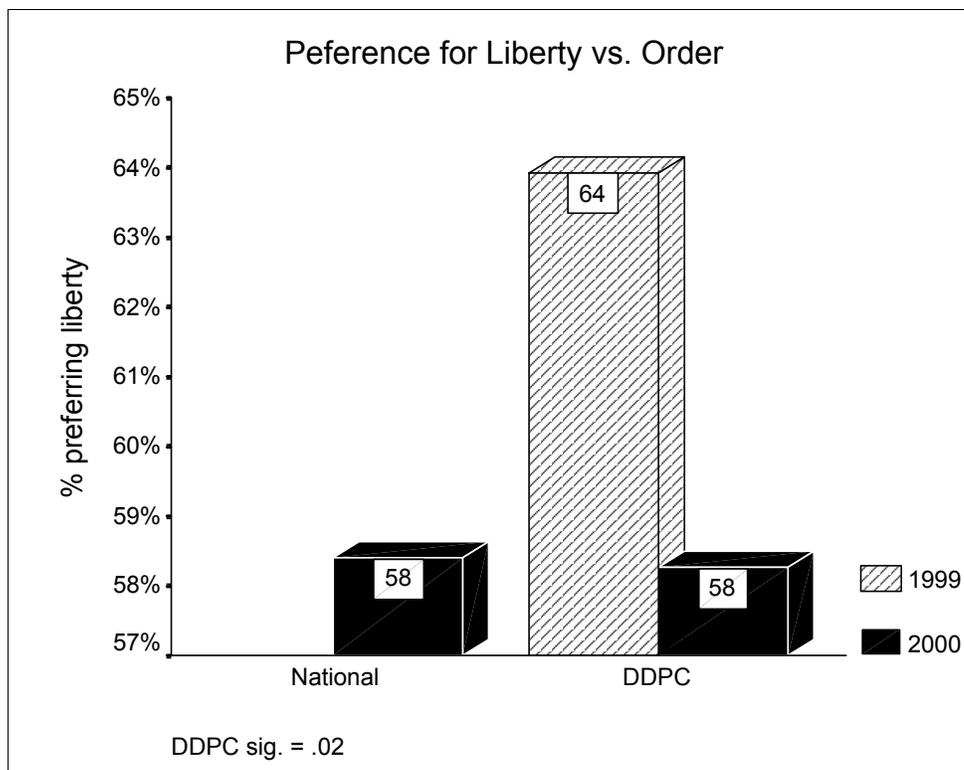


Figure 6 Preference for Liberty vs. Order

Chapter III: System Support and Tolerance

We now turn to system support, focusing on the five-item core index described in detail in the main report. Figure 7 shows the results. Two findings stand out. First, the DDPC samples as a group have significantly higher system support than does the nation as a whole. In the two years for which the information is directly comparable, system support was higher in 1998 and 2000 for the DDPC sample than for the nation. Second, there is minor variation among the DDPC sample years that are not statistically significant. Overall, in absolute terms, the variation in system support is quite small in these comparisons.

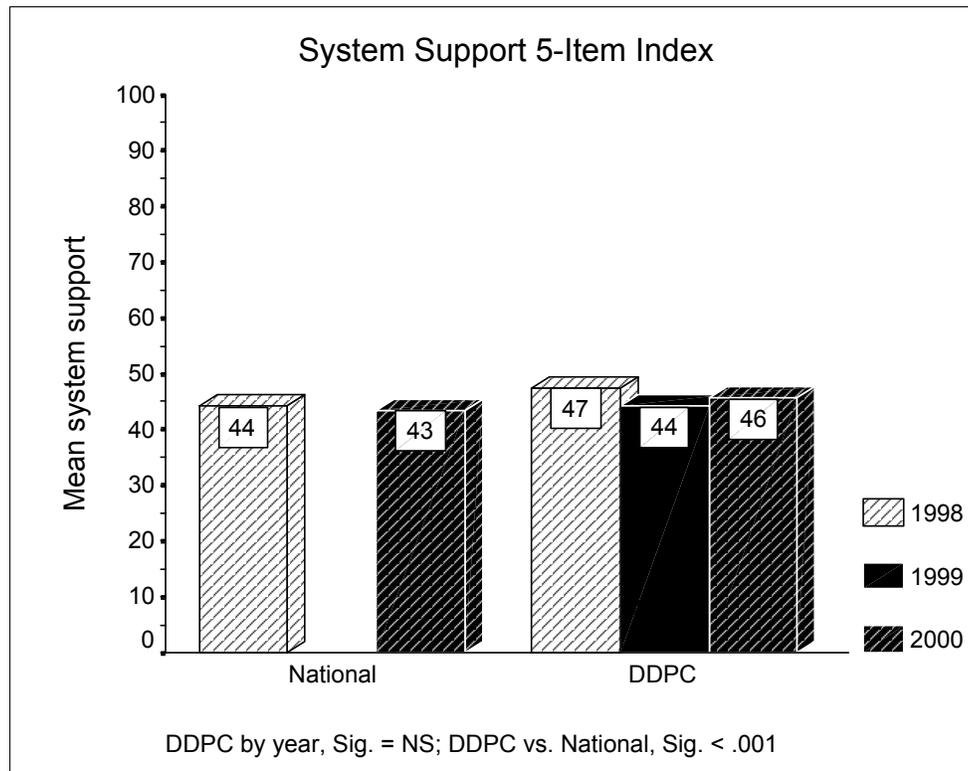


Figure 7 System Support: 5-Item Index

The survey included many other system support items. Figure 8 shows the result for the main national political institutions for the DDPC samples. As can be seen, there is only minor variation over the three years of the survey.

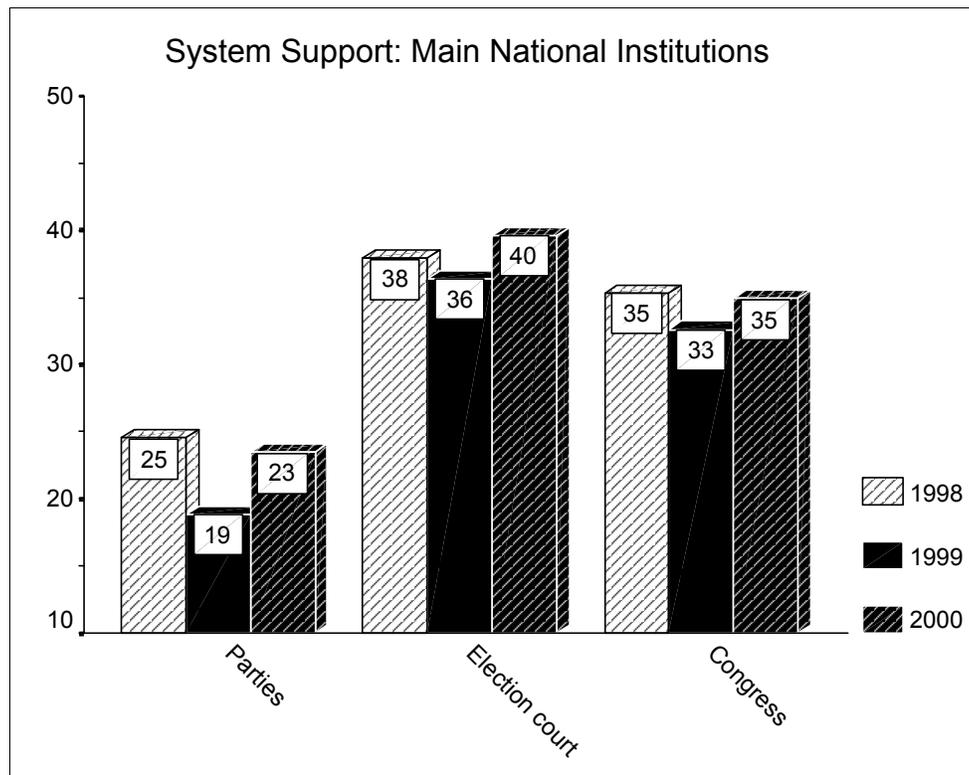


Figure 8 System Support: Main National Institutions

Figure 9 shows these same results, but in the context of the national samples. The low support for parties stands out here, but in 2000, the national and DDPC samples showed identical levels of support on this question.

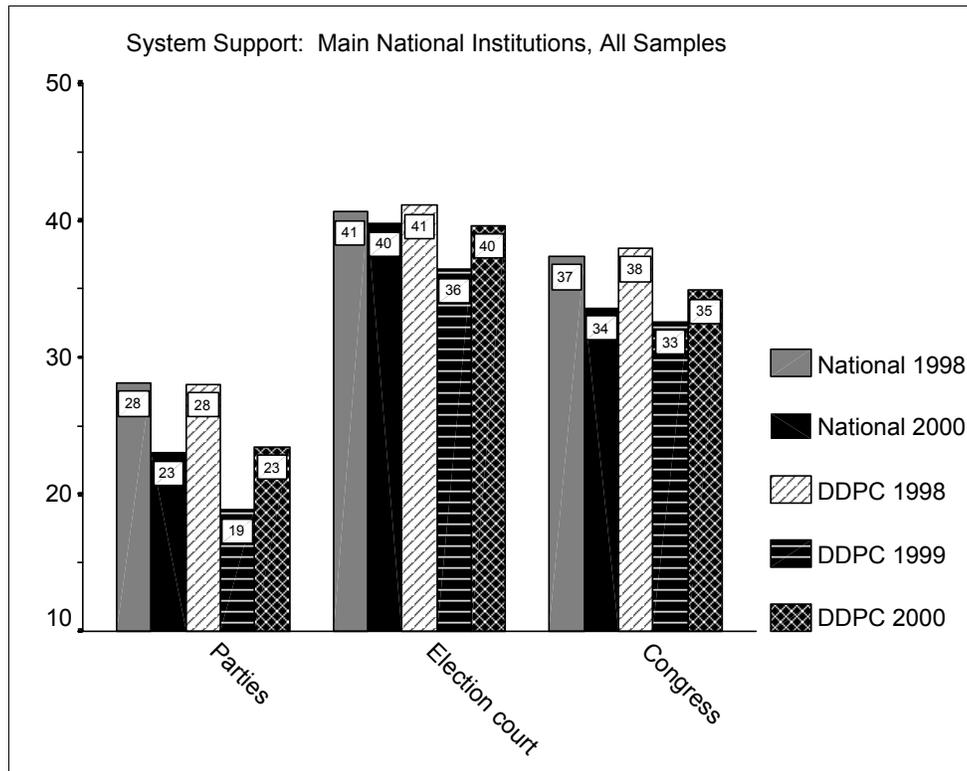


Figure 9 System Support: Main National Institutions, All Samples

A broader range of institutions, focusing on the judiciary, is shown in Figure 10, which focuses on the DDPC samples alone.

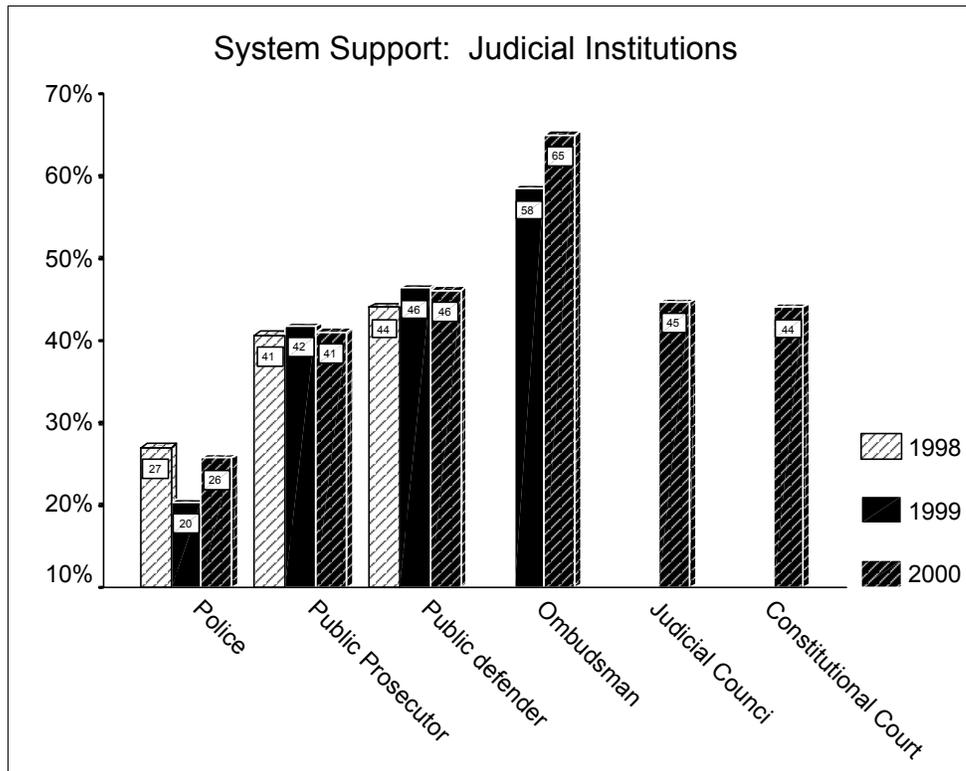


Figure 10 System Support: Judicial Institutions

Figure 11 shows the same results, but this time for all of the samples in the data set. The only important difference appears in the evaluation of the police, which especially in 1999 is lower in the DDPC areas than in the nation as a whole. But, by 2000, this difference had largely disappeared. In the other areas of support for the judicial institutions, few differences emerge among the samples.

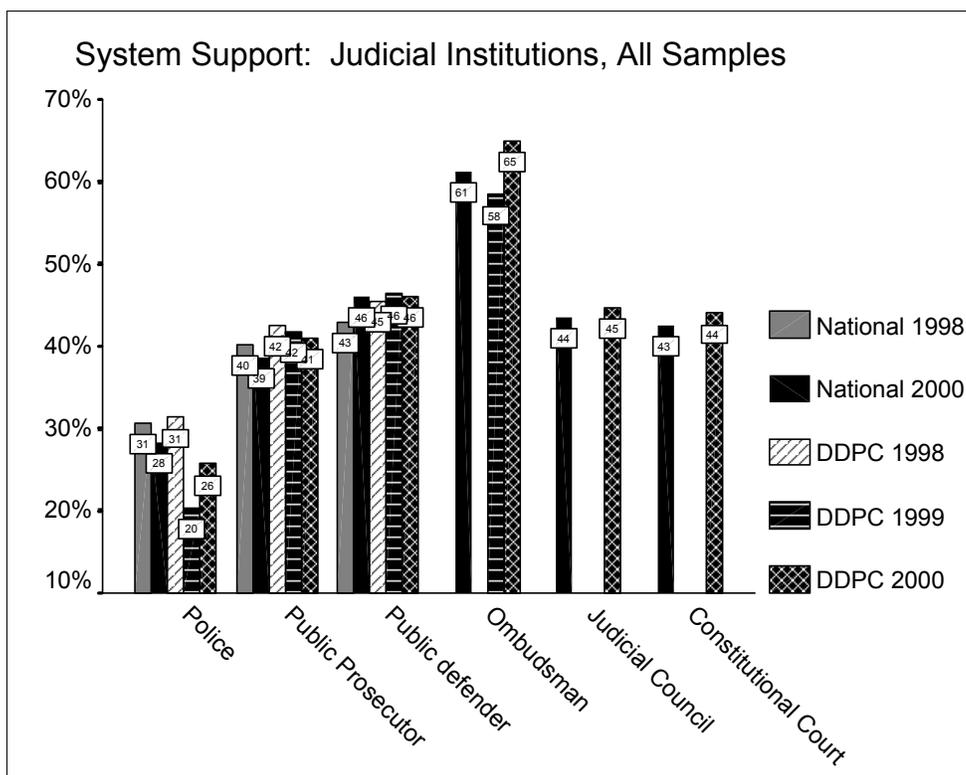


Figure 11 System Support: Judicial Institutions, All Samples

We also asked a series of support questions for other institutions. These are shown in Figure 12, including feelings about the President of the country, an individual rather than an institution. As in many other studies in the University of Pittsburgh series, the Catholic Church has the highest level of support. Journalist in Bolivia also do quite well, with little difference from year-to-year. Presidential popularity in the DDPC sample for 1998 is very close to that of the nation in that year and when presidential popularity dropped in the 2000 national sample, the same pattern is observed in the DDPC sample. Support for unions is somewhat higher in the DDPC samples than in the nation.

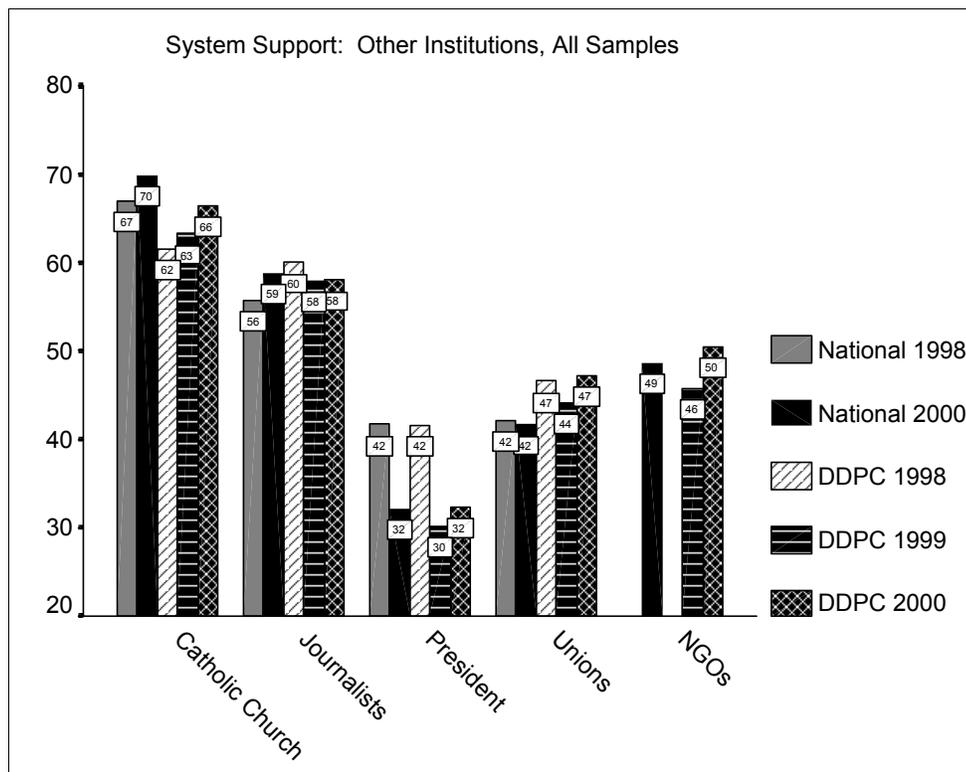


Figure 12 System Support: Other Institutions, All Samples

For the purposes of the DDPC project, system support for the various municipal institutions are of particular interest. Figure 13 shows the results. Trust in local government is about the same in the DDPC samples as in the nation as a whole, but trust in the indigenous authority is far higher in the DDPC samples than in the nation. Moreover, trust in the vigilance committees is higher than in the nation in two of the three DDPC samples, including the 2000 samples, as it is for the OTBs.

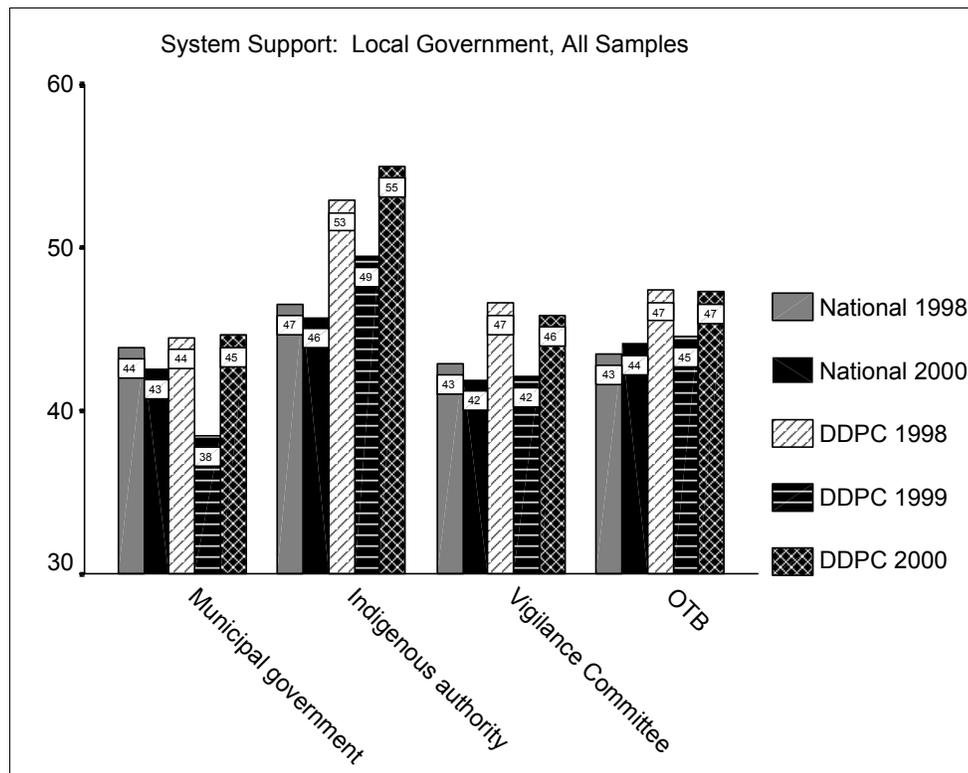


Figure 13 System Support: Local Government, All Samples

Given the importance of these comparisons, statistical significant information is helpful, even if the chart itself is quite complex. Figure 14 shows these confidence intervals. The major standout is the significantly higher support for the indigenous authority in the DDPC samples. The Vigilance Committee also is significantly more trusted in the DDPC samples than in the nation as a whole.

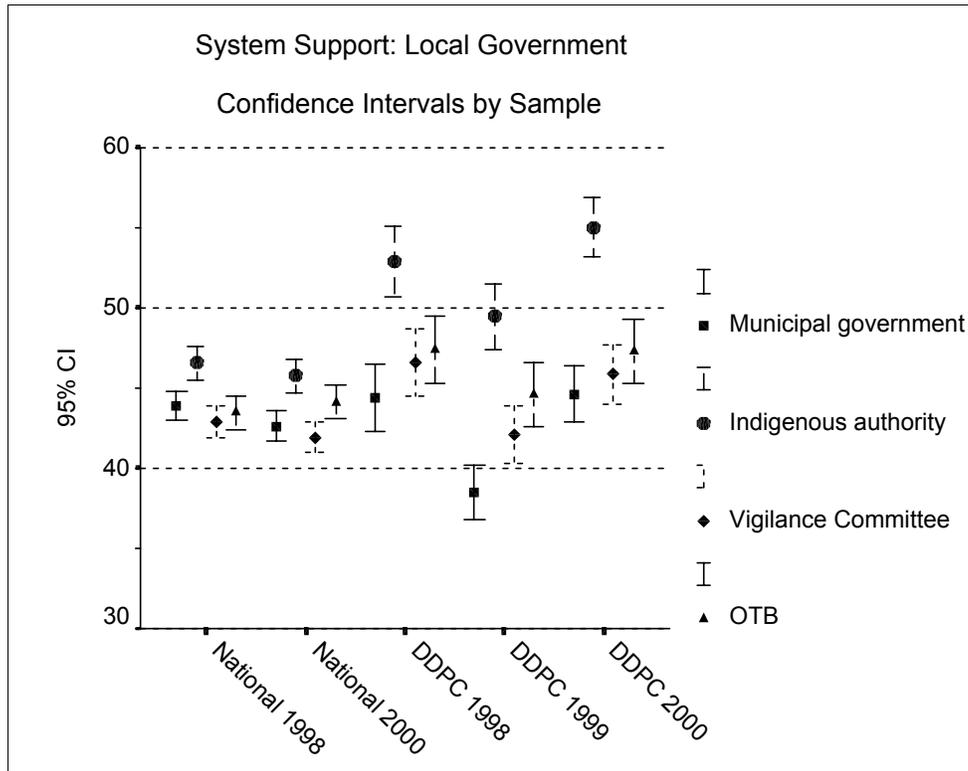


Figure 14 System Support: Local Government, Confidence Intervals by Sample

Political tolerance results are shown in Figure 15. In the main report it was noted that tolerance increased significantly between 1998-2000. The same pattern is found among the DDPC respondents.

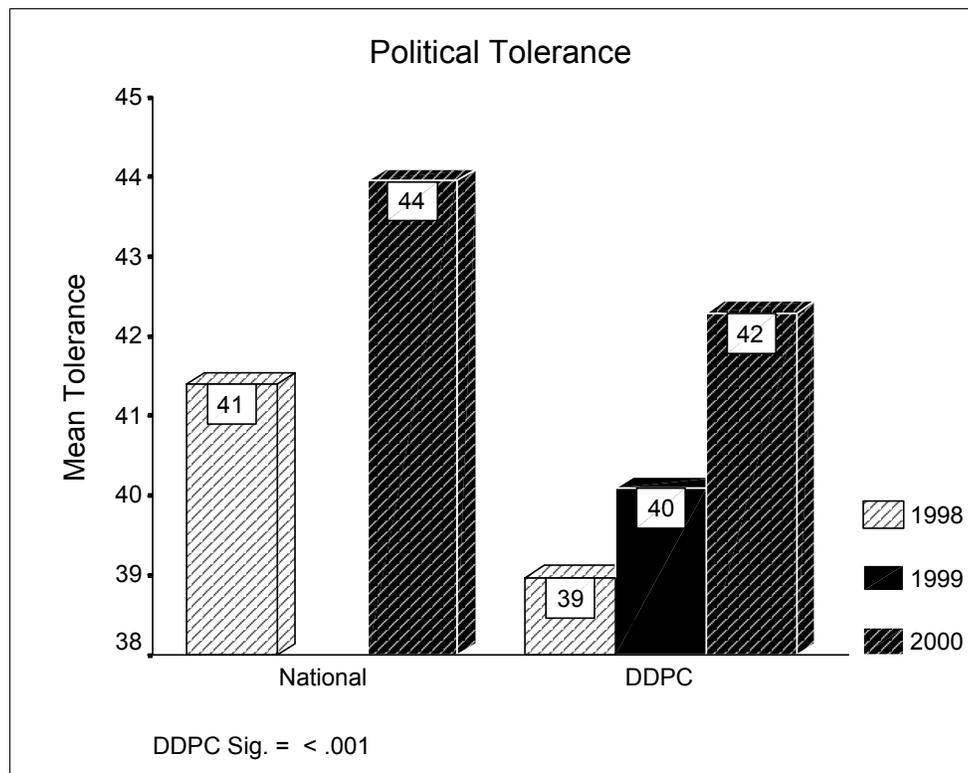


Figure 15 Political Tolerance

Given the importance of this finding, it is useful to highlight its statistical significance. Figure 16 shows the results. The national increase in 2000 is significant when compared to the national data in 1998. The DDPC samples also show a significant increase with the 2000 sample being significantly higher than the 1998 sample, but *insignificantly* lower than the 2000 national sample.

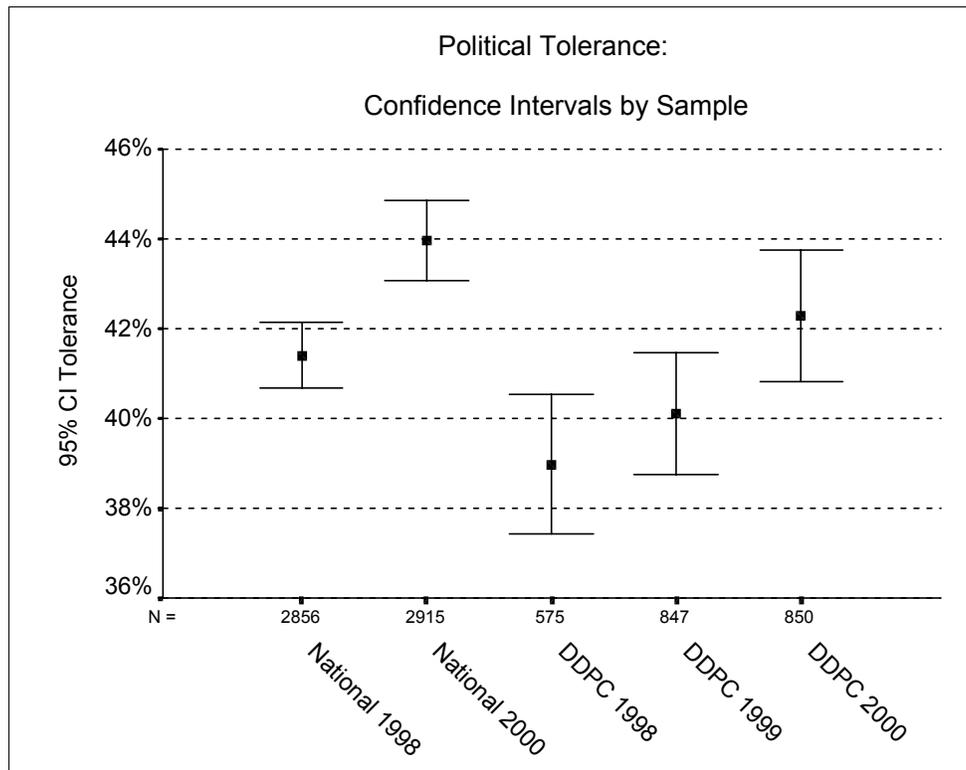


Figure 16 Political Tolerance:
Confidence Intervals by Sample

The combination of system support and tolerance provides a measure of support for stable democracy. In the main report, we compared Bolivia to other countries. Here, we compare the national sample to the DDPC samples. Figure 17 shows the results. It is important to observe that the DDPC samples, which in 1998 were lower than the national average, have now increased to above the national average.

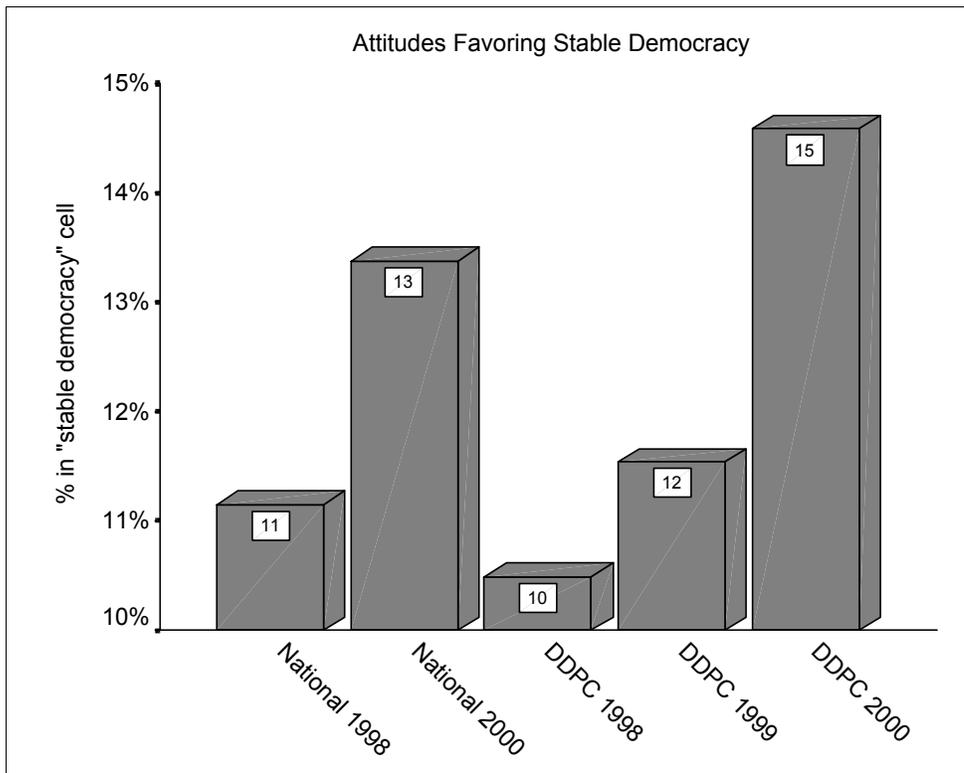


Figure 17 Attitudes Favoring Stable Democracy

These findings seem to show a clear trend, but the confidence interval data need to be consulted as well. Figure 18 shows the results. The 2000 DDPC is higher than the national average, but not significantly so.

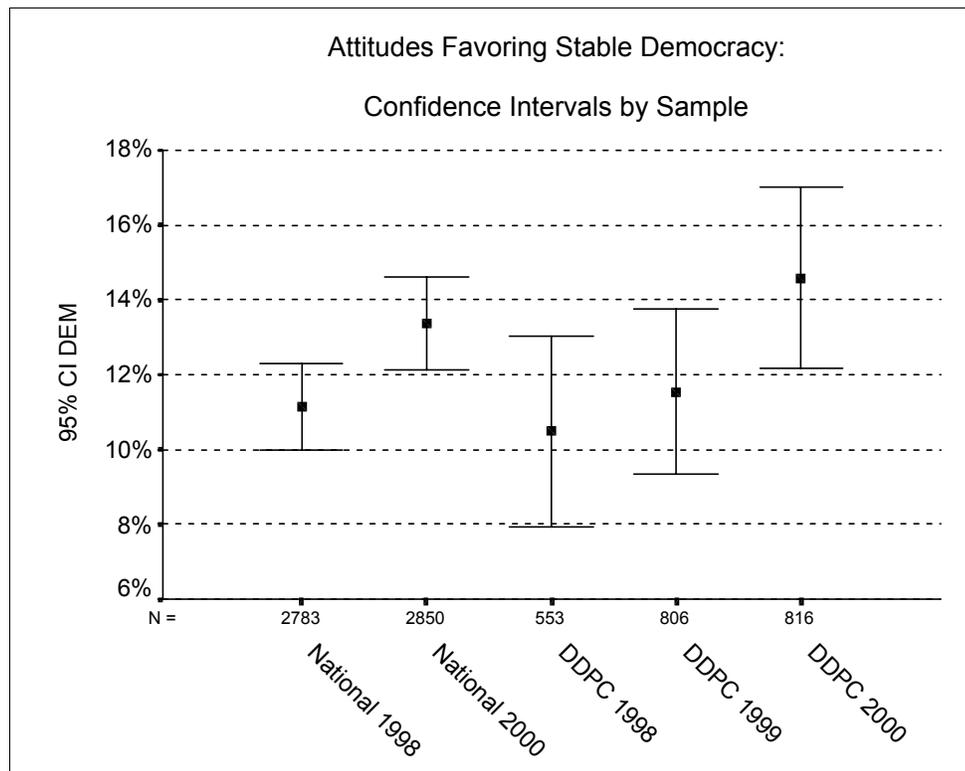


Figure 18 Attitudes Favoring Stable Democracy:
Confidence Intervals by Sample

Chapter IV: Corruption and System Support

The focus of chapter IV in the main report was on the linkages between corruption victimization and declines in system support. There is no reason to repeat that analysis for the DDPC subset. In this section we focus instead on corruption levels within the DDPC samples vs. the nation as a whole.

Figure 19 shows the three DDPC samples and the nine measures of corruption. Note that the terminology for judicial corruption (i.e., the “courts” item) changed in 2000, as explained in the main report, a factor that contributed strongly to the increase reported in the 2000 survey. The notable changes are a decline in public employees soliciting bribes in 2000 compared to prior years, but an increase in police bribe solicitation.

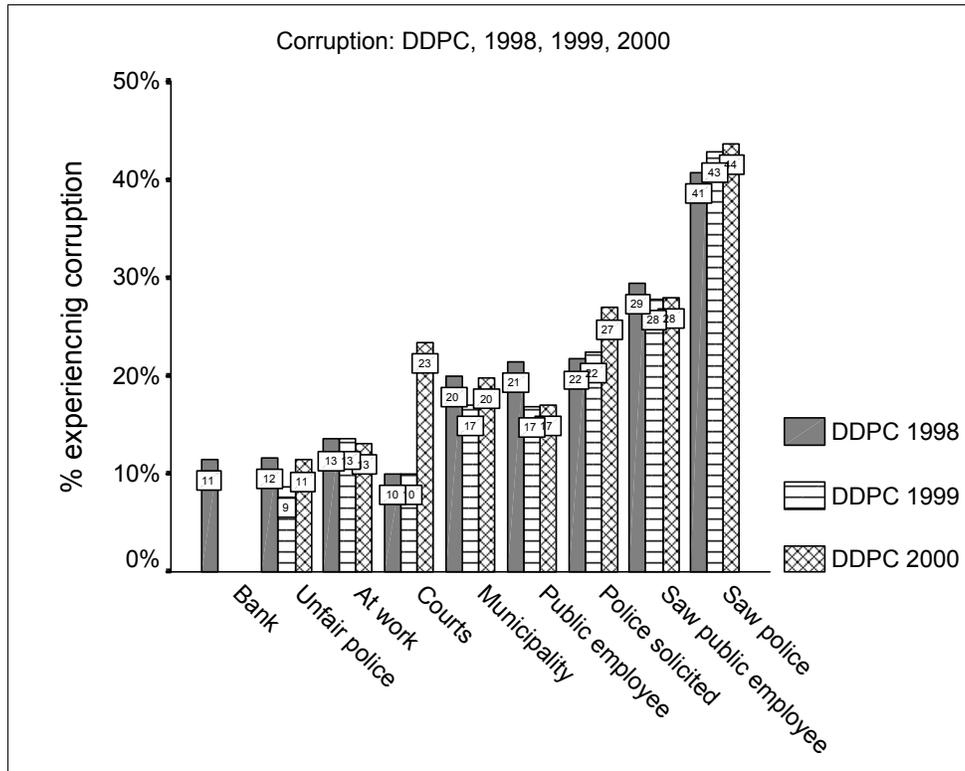


Figure 19 Corruption: DDPC, 1988, 1999, 2000

Comparisons with the national data involve a complex chart because of the large number of corruption items and the five sets of samples. Examination of the data, however, revealed that most of the variables showed little difference between the national data and the DDPC data. A few variables are worth highlighting, however. These are shown in Figure 20. Municipal corruption is slightly higher in the nation as a whole than it is in the DDPC areas. Similarly, respondent observation of police and public employee corruption are higher in the nation than in the DDPC areas.

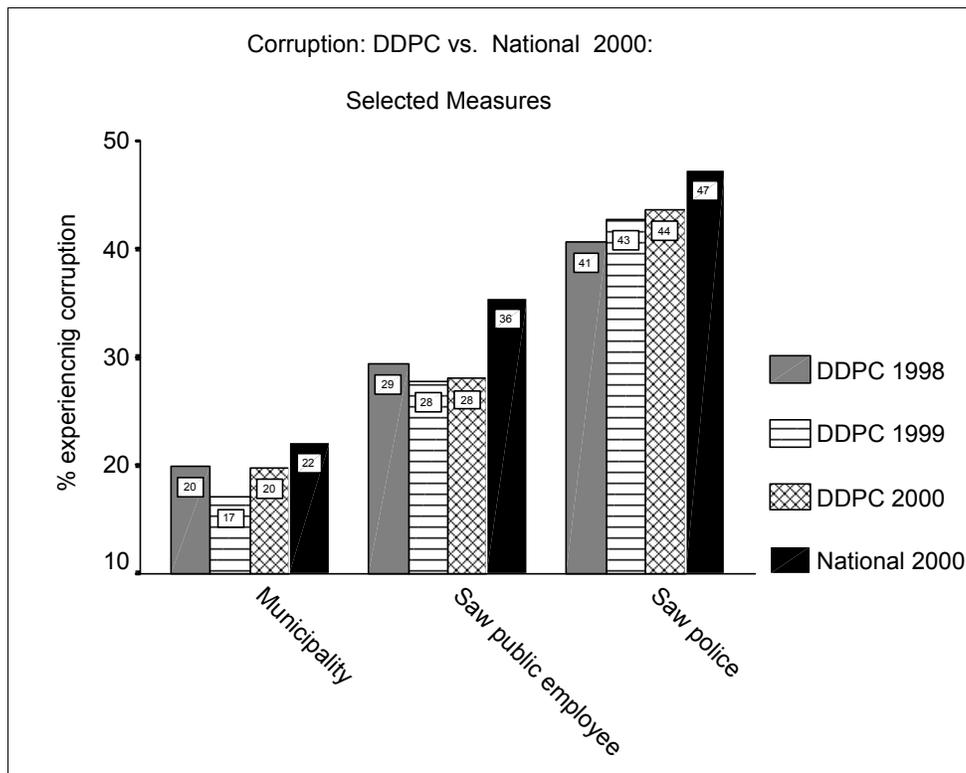


Figure 20 Corruption: DDPC vs. National 2000, Selected Measures

The draft version of the main report contained a table giving breakdowns by municipality of corruption experience. That table was deleted from the public version of the report in order to avoid any difficulties with individual municipalities. It is reproduced here for the record. Readers should note very carefully the confidence intervals shown in the table. The very small sample sizes in most municipalities produce very wide confidence intervals.

Table I. Corruption by Municipality: National Sample, 2000

		N	Mean of Corruption Victimization scale	95% Confidence Interval for Mean	
Department				Lower Bound	Upper Bound
La Paz	CALACOTO	20	17.9	8.7	27.0
	CARANAVI	20	21.0	9.5	32.4
	EL ALTO	99	24.0	18.7	29.2
	LA PAZ	183	35.8	32.0	39.5
	PUERTO CARABUCO	20	21.4	9.8	33.0
	QUIME	20	40.7	24.6	56.8
	TIPUANI	20	17.1	7.3	27.0
	VIACHA	20	23.6	12.2	34.9
	Total	402	29.2	26.6	31.8
Santa Cruz	ABAPO	20	11.7	3.3	20.1
	ASCENSION DE GUARAYOS	20	10.7	2.3	19.1
	CAMIRI	20	17.1	6.4	27.9
	MONTERO	41	16.0	9.0	23.0
	PALOMETAS	20	4.3	-1.9	10.5
	PUERTO SUAREZ	20	14.3	5.3	23.2
	ROBORE	20	15.0	2.8	27.2
	SAN IGNACIO	20	15.0	6.5	23.5
	SAN JULIAN	20	11.4	3.7	19.1
	SANTA CRUZ	199	31.1	27.5	34.7
Total	400	22.1	19.7	24.5	
Cochabamba	AIQUILE	20	16.5	7.3	25.8
	ARBIETO	20	16.1	4.7	27.4
	ARQUE	17	13.4	0.3	26.6
	BOLIVAR	20	17.9	8.2	27.5
	CAPINOTA	20	15.0	2.6	27.4
	CHIMORE	20	16.3	3.2	29.4
	COCHABAMBA	145	35.3	30.6	40.0
	MOROCHATA	20	15.4	7.1	23.6
	QUILLACOLLO	38	37.6	27.5	47.7
	QUIROGA	20	12.1	0.8	23.5
	SIPE SIPE	20	15.0	6.2	23.8
	VACAS	20	9.3	0.8	17.8
	VILLA TUNARI	20	18.6	8.4	28.8
	Total	400	24.5	21.8	27.2
	Oruro	BELEN DE ANDAMARCA	20	21.4	10.5
CHIPAYA		20	13.6	3.5	23.6
HUANUNI		30	31.0	18.8	43.1
ORURO		188	35.2	31.4	39.0
SALINAS DE GARCIA MENDOZA		20	26.5	14.2	38.8
TOLEDO		20	27.1	13.8	40.5
Total		298	31.3	28.2	34.4
Chuquisaca	ALCALA	20	5.0	-0.9	10.9
	AZURDUY	20	11.4	3.7	19.1
	LAS CARRERAS	20	22.9	9.1	36.6
	MACHARETI	20	9.3	2.3	16.2
	MENDOZA	20	10.7	3.9	17.5
	MONTEAGUDO	20	10.0	2.8	17.2
	POROMA	20	26.4	13.4	39.5
	PRESTO	20	8.6	1.9	15.2
	SAN LUCAS	20	28.6	13.7	43.4
	SUCRE	100	23.6	19.0	28.2
	ZUDAÑEZ	20	15.0	6.7	23.3
Total	300	17.7	15.2	20.3	
Potosí	ATOCHA	20	22.1	10.2	34.1
	LLICA	20	21.4	11.1	31.7
	OTAVI	20	22.1	11.2	33.1
	PORCO	20	31.4	16.3	46.6
	POTOSI	60	30.5	23.6	37.4
	SAN AGUSTIN	20	19.3	7.4	31.2
	SAN PABLO DE LIPEZ	20	25.7	13.1	38.3
THOLAPAMPA	20	17.9	6.6	29.1	

		N	Mean of Corruption Victimization scale	95% Confidence Interval for Mean		
Pando	TINQUIPAYA	20	30.0	17.9	42.1	
	TUPIZA	20	12.9	3.9	21.8	
	UYUNI	20	37.9	24.8	50.9	
	VILLAZON	20	29.8	13.8	45.7	
	YURA	20	25.0	12.0	38.0	
	Total	300	25.8	22.8	28.8	
	BELLA VISTA	20	23.5	10.3	36.7	
	COBIJA	101	18.0	14.0	22.0	
	CONQUISTA	20	35.5	18.1	52.8	
	FILADELFIA	18	32.8	17.9	47.7	
	GONZALO MORENO	20	5.0	-0.4	10.4	
	NACEBE	20	12.0	4.3	19.7	
	PORVENIR	19	27.3	14.2	40.4	
	PUERTO RICO	20	31.4	18.2	44.5	
	SAN IGNACIO	20	19.5	9.7	29.2	
	SANTA ROSA	20	23.0	12.5	33.5	
	SENA	19	20.6	7.7	33.4	
Total	297	21.3	18.4	24.1		
Tarija	BERMEJO	20	29.3	14.0	44.5	
	PADCAYA	20	18.1	8.6	27.6	
	PALMAR GRANDE	20	15.7	7.3	24.1	
	PALOS BLANCOS	20	16.4	6.9	26.0	
	SACHAPERAS	20	12.1	2.9	21.4	
	SELLA	20	17.9	6.6	29.1	
	TAIGUATI	20	12.4	4.3	20.4	
	TARIJA	98	28.3	23.1	33.5	
	VILLA MONTES	20	13.6	5.3	21.8	
	YACUIBA	40	22.9	14.3	31.4	
	Total	298	21.5	18.7	24.3	
	El Beni	GUAYARAMERIN	40	18.6	11.0	26.2
		LORETO	20	20.7	10.2	31.2
MAGDALENA		20	12.9	3.4	22.3	
RIBERALTA		60	16.9	11.6	22.2	
RURRENABAQUE		20	27.9	19.3	36.4	
SAN BORJA		20	19.3	10.3	28.3	
SAN IGNACIO		20	12.1	2.6	21.7	
SANTA ANA DE YACUMA		20	12.1	4.5	19.7	
SANTA ROSA		20	23.6	14.0	33.1	
TRINIDAD		60	18.8	12.6	25.1	
Total		300	18.2	15.8	20.6	

We can also examine corruption within the DDPC samples at the level of the municipality. To minimize the width of the confidence intervals, in this table we have combined all three years of surveys. This provides a more reliable measure than any one year would provide. Figure 21 shows the results. Yocalla is the standout for low levels of corruption. The next three municipalities in the figure are lower than the remaining five, but not significantly lower.

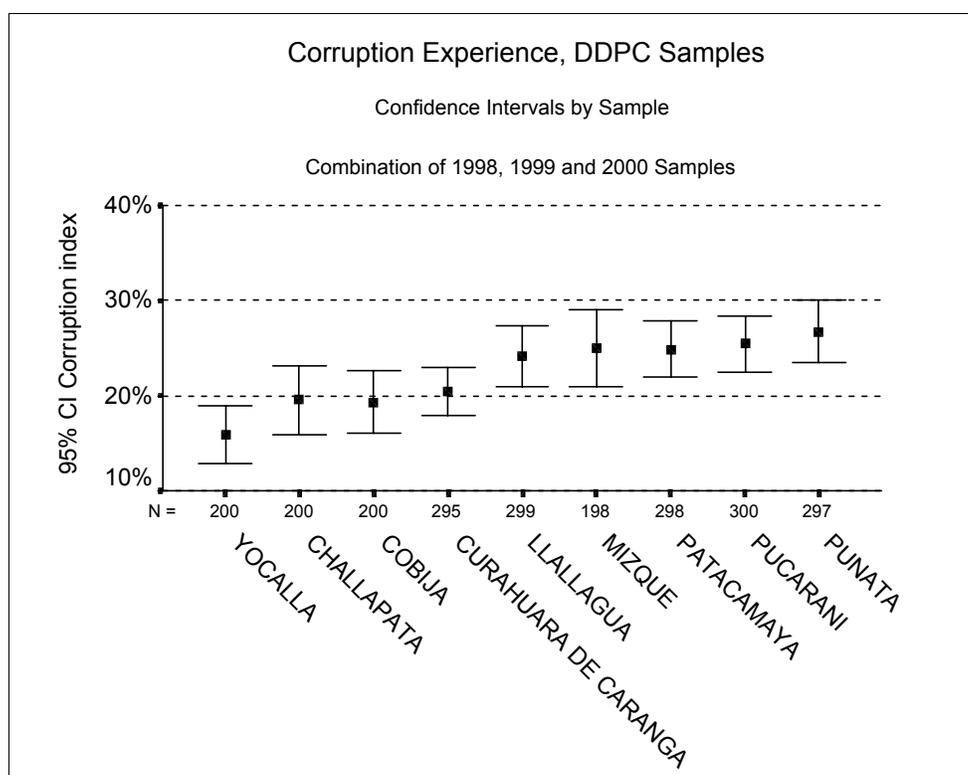


Figure 21 Corruption Experience, DDPC Samples: Confidence Intervals by Sample, Combination of 1998, 1999 and 2000 Samples

Chapter V: Ethnicity and Democracy

This chapter in the main report analyzes the impact of ethnicity on democratic beliefs. Patterns found in the national sample are reproduced in the DDPC samples. The task in this special report is to show in what ways the DDPC samples differ from the national samples. Once again, in order to maximize sample size, and thus minimize confidence interval size, the three years of results are used here. Figure 22 shows the results. The samples differ in that the national sample contains a much larger proportion of respondents who identify as white, whereas the DDPC samples have a larger percentage identifying as Indian.

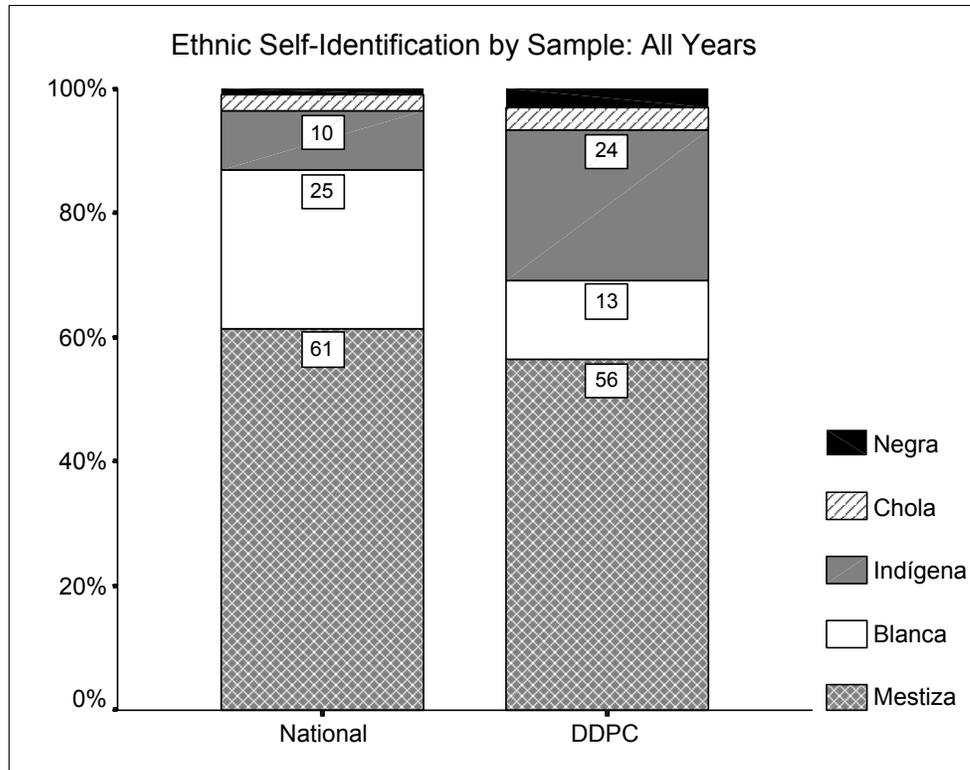


Figure 22 Ethnic Self-Identification by Sample: All Years

The other major marker of ethnicity used in the study was dress. Figure 23 shows the comparison of the national samples vs. the DDPC samples on this variable. The proportion of the respondents in the DDPC samples who wear Indian dress far exceeds that of the nation as a whole.

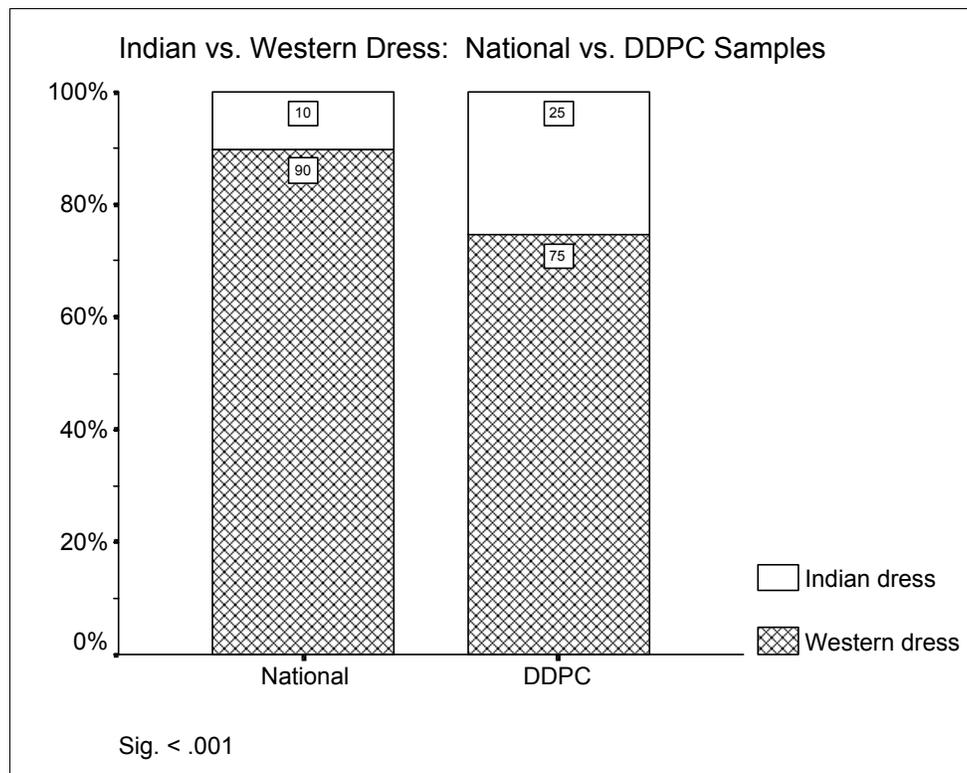


Figure 23 Indian vs. Western Dress: National vs. DDPC Samples

Chapter VI: Support for Anti-Democratic Measures

We measured support for anti-democratic measures by first looking at conditions under which a coup would be justified. The individual items were summed to form an overall scale of justification for a coup. Comparisons among the samples are found in Figure 24. As can be seen, there is no significant difference among the samples.

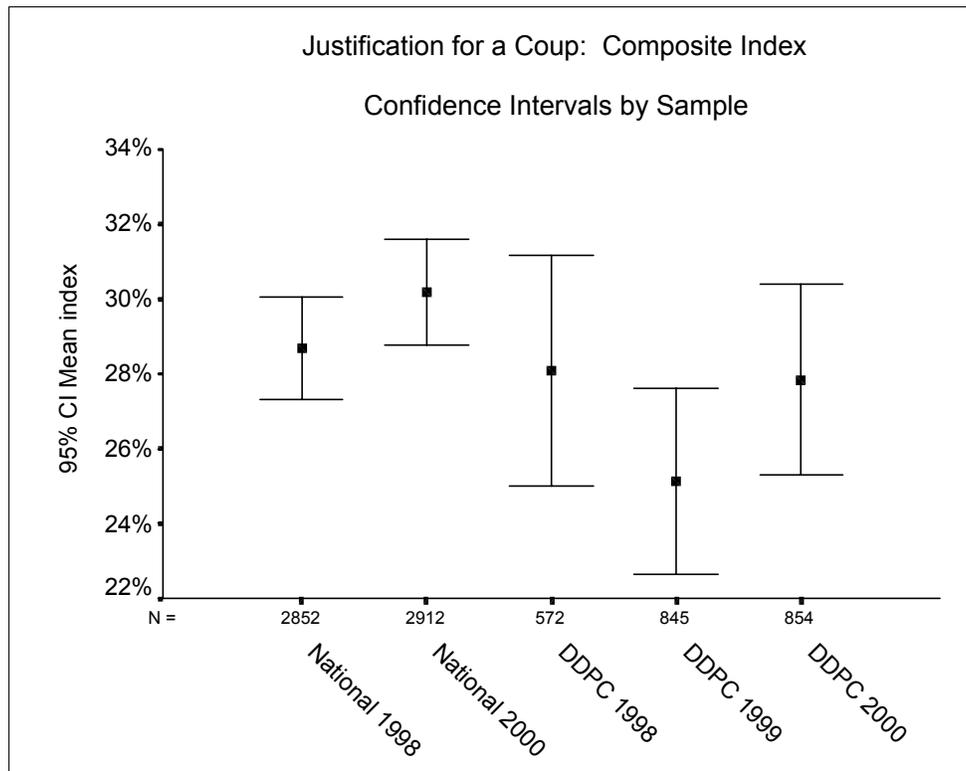


Figure 24 Justification for a Coup: Composite Index, Confidence Intervals by Sample

We also asked if the protests in April of 2000 justified a coup. As can be seen in Figure 25, there is no significant difference between the 2000 national sample and the DDPC 2000 sample.

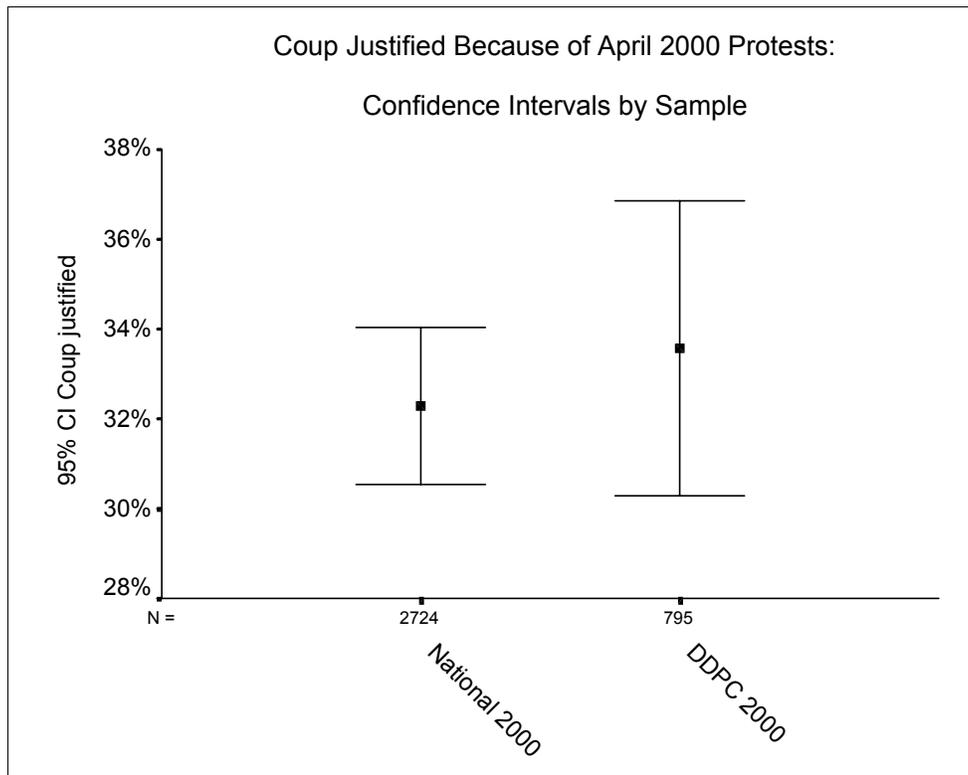


Figure 25 Coup Justified Because of April 2000 Protests:
Confidence Intervals by Sample

The survey also included a series of items on support for civil disobedience. The scale ranged from 1-10, with 10 being the strongest approval score. Figure 26 shows the results.

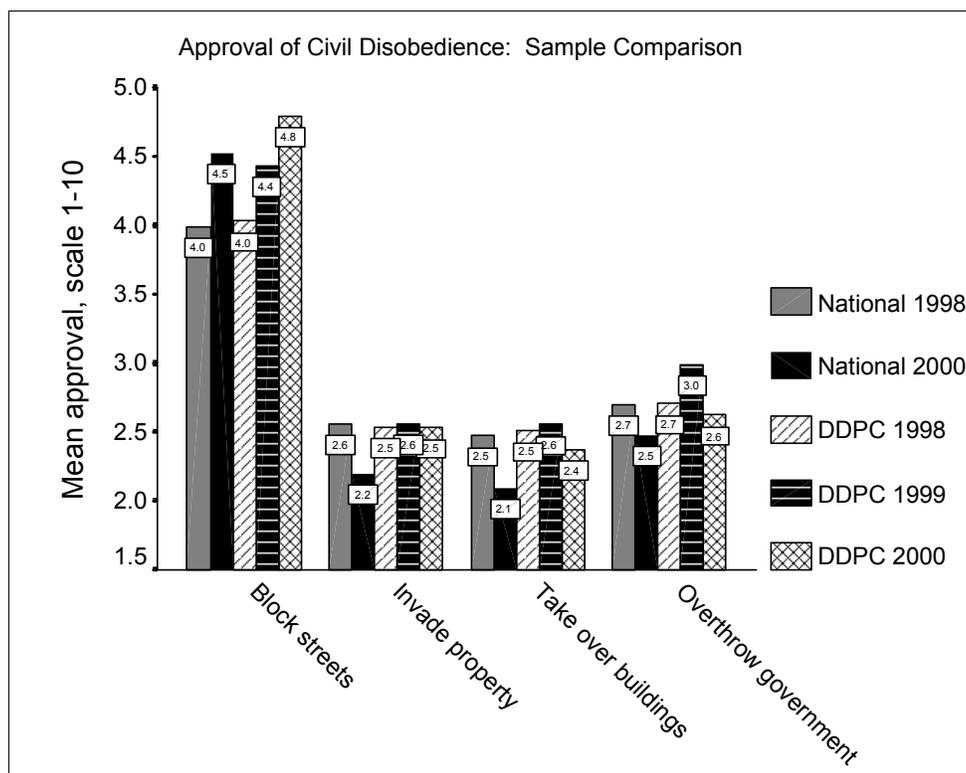


Figure 26 Approval of Civil Disobedience: Sample Comparison

Chapter VII: The Rule of Law and Democracy

Support for the rule of law was measured by a four-item series, AOJ10-13. In the main report, we compared support in Bolivia to other countries in Latin America on these items. The items were not included in the 1998 survey, but were included in the 2000 survey as well as the 1999 DDPC sample. Figure 27 shows the results. For the question on breaking or obeying the rules (AOJ10), there are no differences between the DDPC samples and the population as a whole. But for the other three items, some differences emerge. For example, in the DDPC 1999 sample the support for the need for a warrant (AOJ11) is significantly higher than for the national population. By 2000, however, the DDPC sample had declined on this item, placing it at essentially the same level as the national sample. There is also a decline between 1999 and 2000 on the liberty vs. order question (AOJ12), but the difference is not significant. Finally, the item measuring sense of security (AOJ13) is higher in the DDPC 1999 and 2000 surveys than the national 2000 survey, and also increases between 1999 and 2000 to a level that is just on the line of being a significant increase between 1999 and 2000.

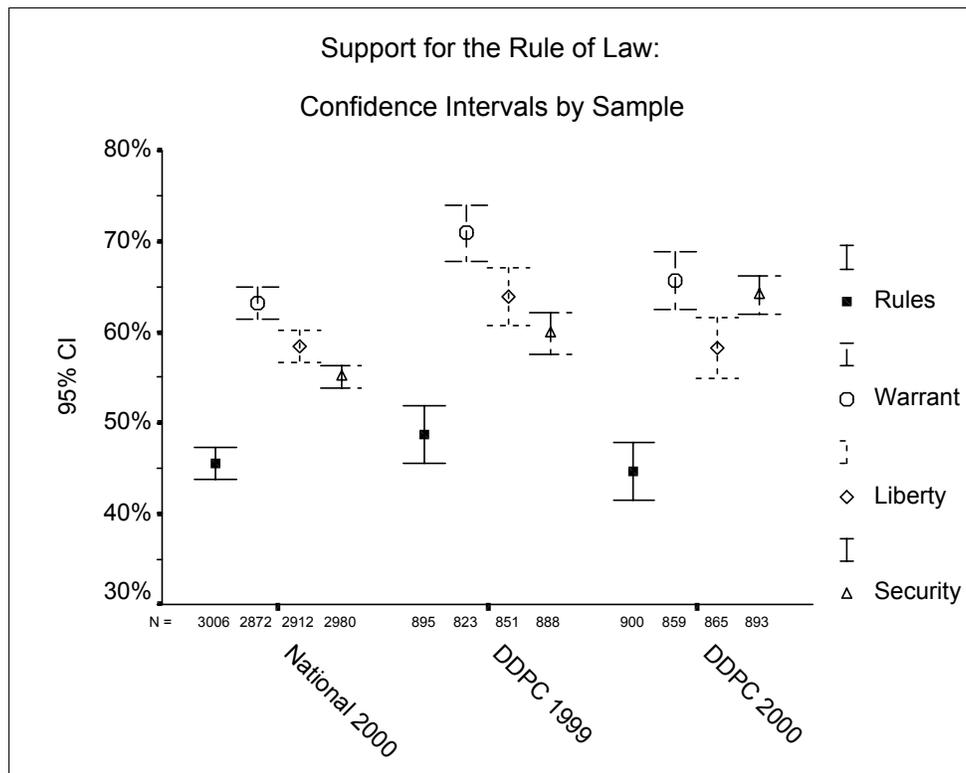


Figure 27 Support for the Rule of Law:
Confidence Intervals by Sample

Crime victimization (AOJ3) was examined in the main report for the 2000 sample. Here we can compare all of the samples. Figure 28 shows the results. Victimization declined slightly between 1998 and 2000 in the national sample, but the drop is not significant. There is also some variation within the three DDPC samples, but none of that variation is significant, and variation is within the national parameters.

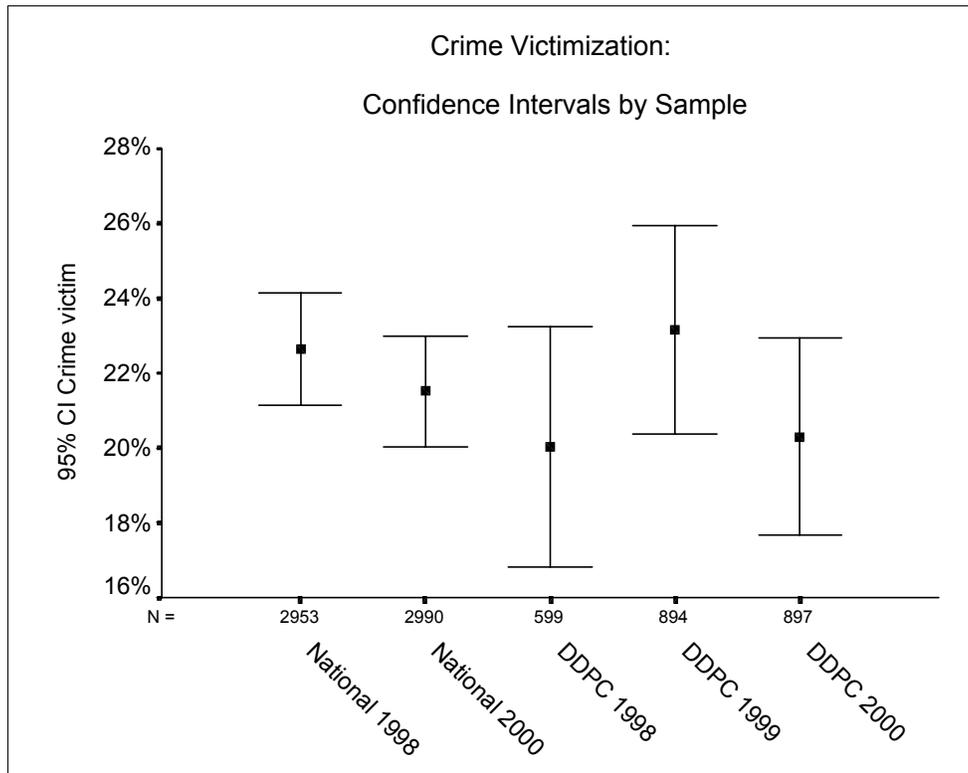


Figure 28 Crime Victimization: Confidence Intervals by Sample

In the main report, a graph is shown indicating the extent to which respondents had heard of the new criminal law code. The comparison there was among the DDPC samples alone, since this item was not asked in the 1998 national sample. Here we analyze the responses to AOJ8 for all three samples (national 2000, and DDPC 1999 and 2000). Figure 29 shows the results. The initial findings of a very sharp increase in knowledge between 1999 and 2000 is confirmed in this chart, a difference that is clearly statistically significant. In addition, we note that the DDPC samples, which are more rural and less well educated than the national population, have a lower level of awareness than the nation as a whole. In the main report, we showed that the urban/rural distinction and education had a major impact on awareness of the new penal code. Finally, the national level of awareness is 49%.

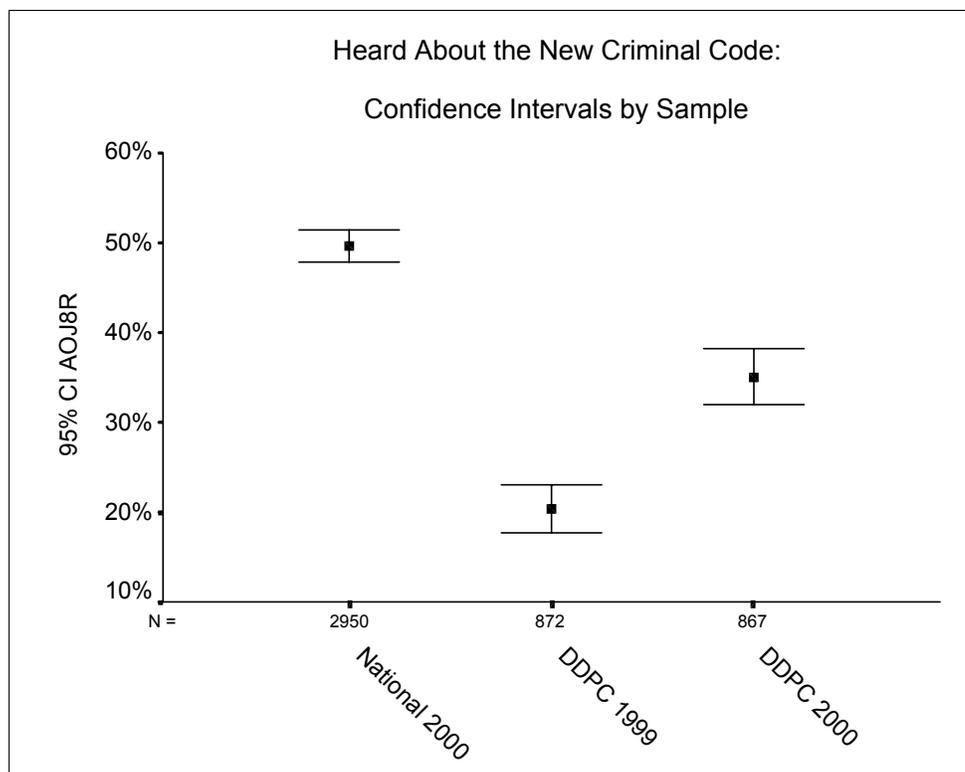


Figure 29 Heard about the New Criminal Code: Confidence Intervals by Sample

We also asked about support for the citizen judge provision of the code (AOJ9). Figure 30 shows the results. As can be seen, support is very far into the positive end of the 0-100 continuum. Support in 1999 in the DDPC was lower than in 2000. The national sample of 2000 is higher than the 1998 DDPC, but not significantly more so than the 2000 DDPC sample.

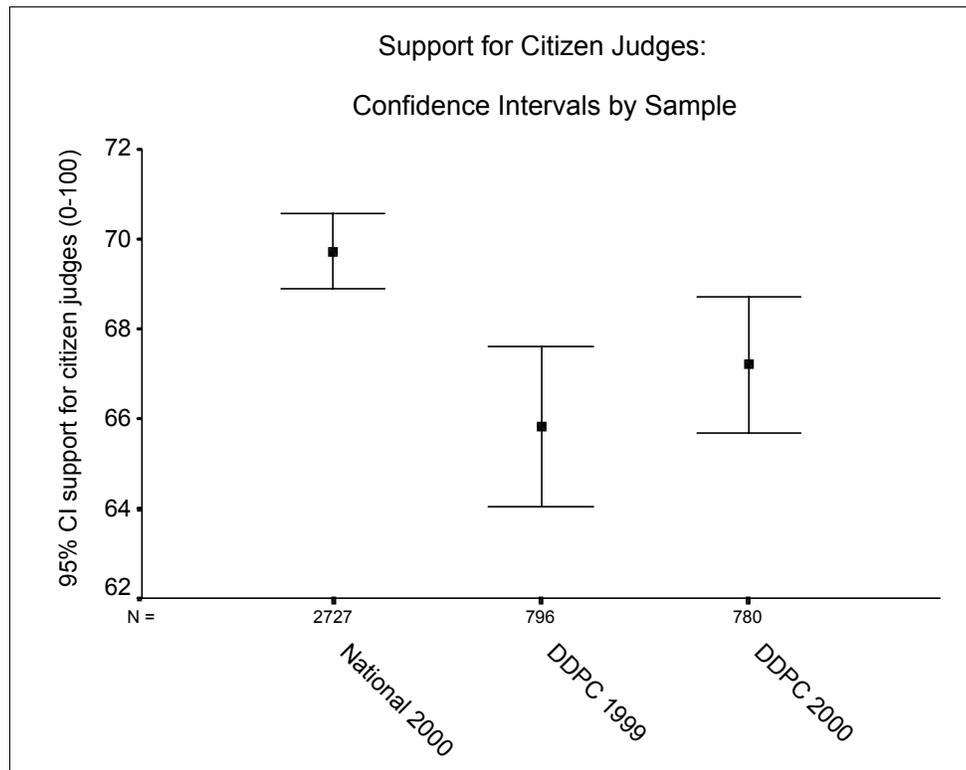


Figure 30 Support for Citizen Judges:
Confidence Intervals by Sample

We also carried out an evaluation of citizen perception of the police. Question AOJ1 asks about how difficult or easy it is to report a crime. It is here that we see some major progress in the DDPC areas, as is shown in Figure 31. In 1998, the DDPC sample was indistinguishable from the national sample, and in 2000, although the national sample increased in ease of reporting, the difference was not significant. The DDPC samples, however, have shown steady and significant increases in ease of reporting a crime.

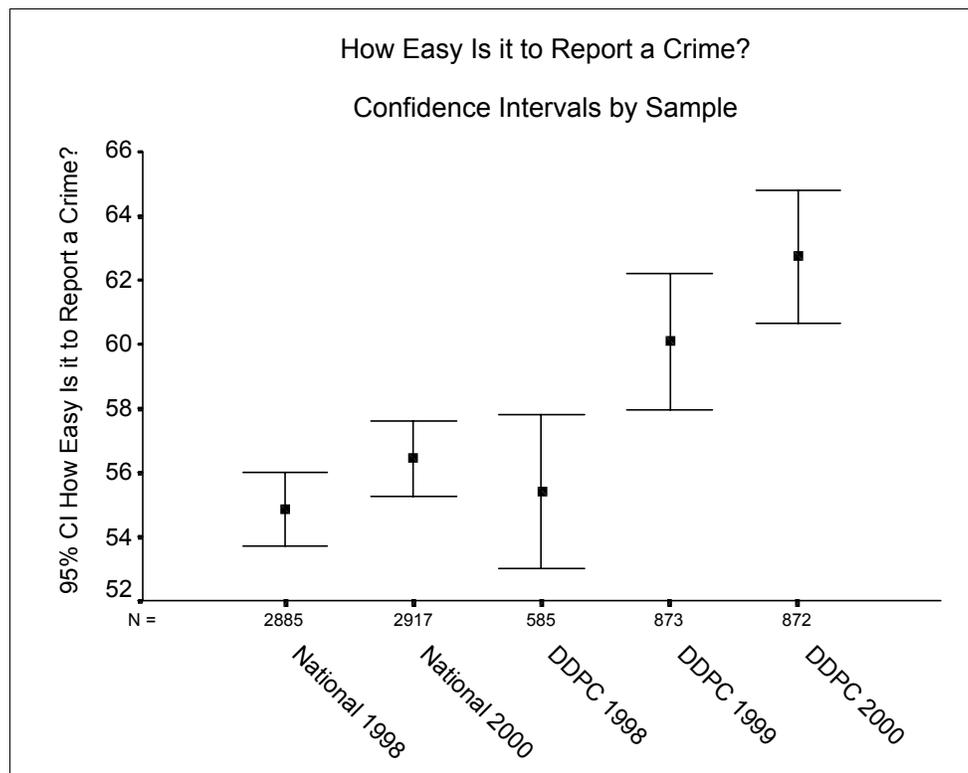


Figure 31 How Easy Is It to Report a Crime?
Confidence Intervals by Sample

We also asked about treatment in the court system (AOJ2). Figure 32 shows the result. The higher the result, the more likely the respondent was to feel justly treated. As can be seen, the average for all samples is well below 50. The DDPC samples have been consistently higher than the national sample data since 1999, but the difference is not significant.

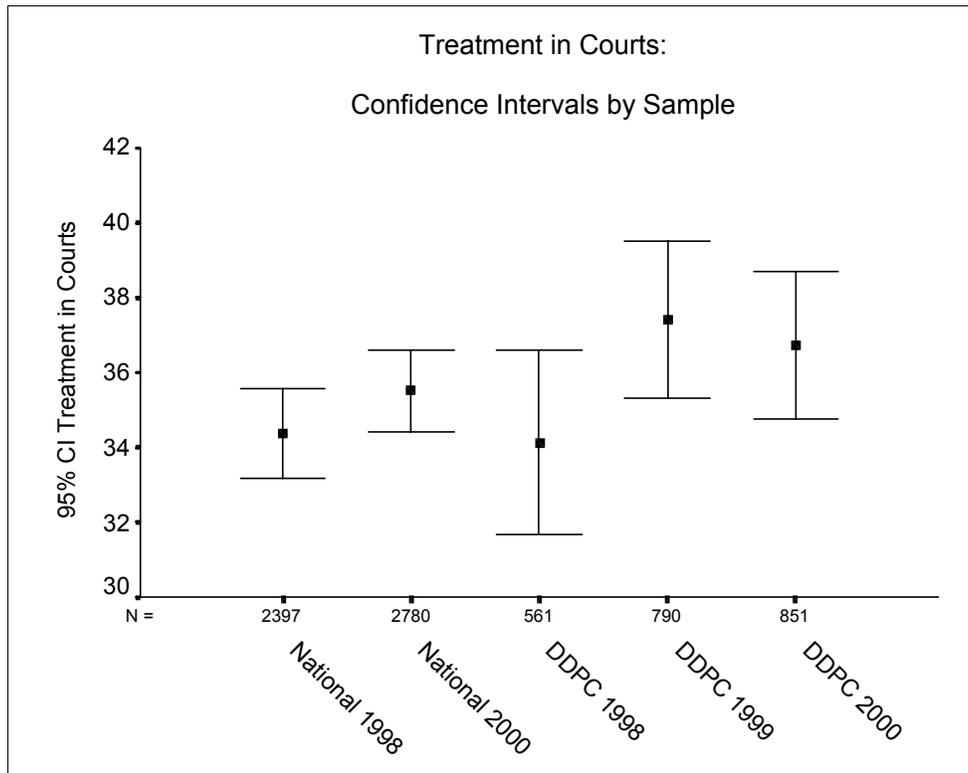


Figure 32 Treatment in Courts:
Confidence Intervals by Sample

Reporting of crime was found not to be common in the national samples. But, as we can see from Figure 33, it is far more common in the DDPC areas.

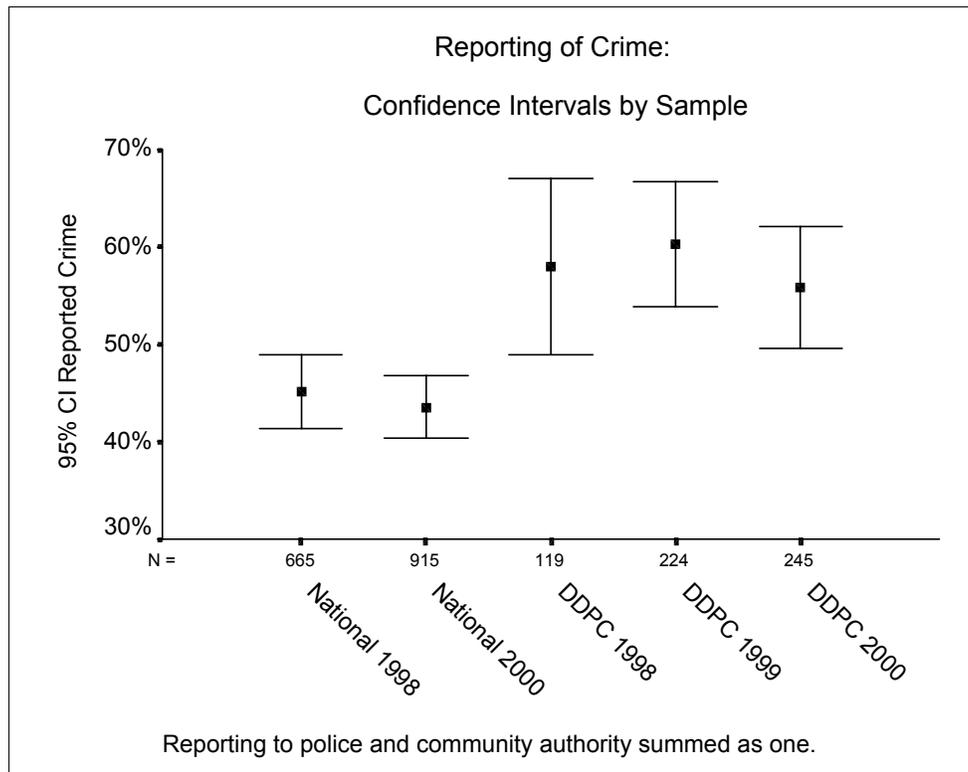


Figure 33 Reporting of Crime:
Confidence Intervals by Sample

Treatment by the public prosecutor (AOJ7) was also measured. Figure 34 shows the results. The DDPC samples have a more favorable view than the nation as a whole, although this difference has been shrinking in the more recent samples.

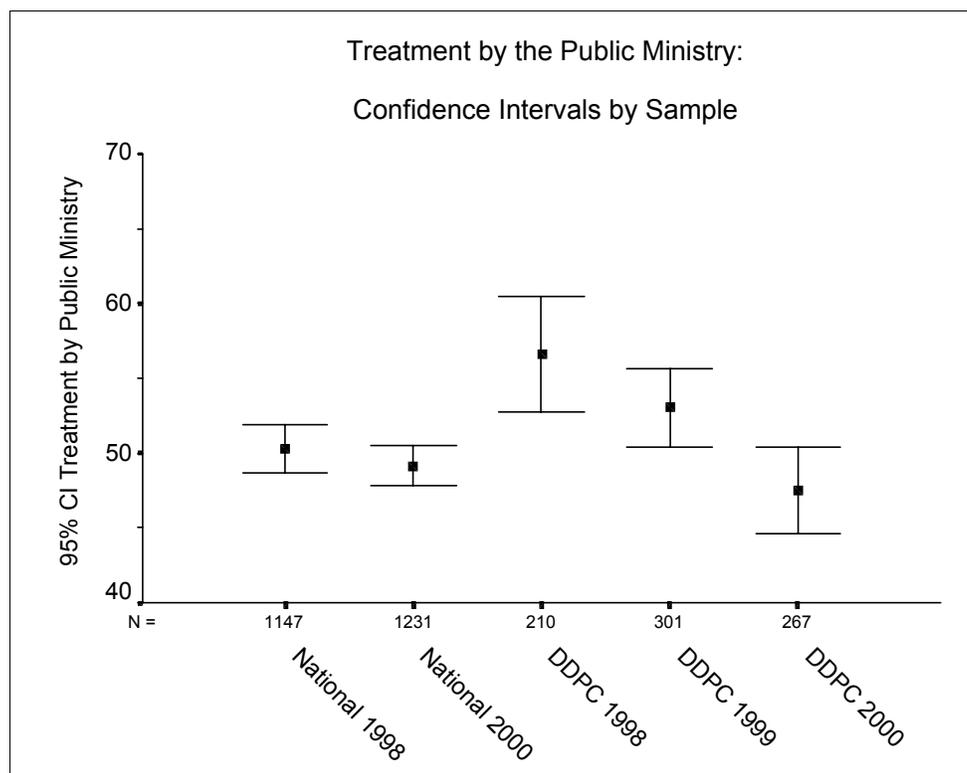


Figure 34 Treatment by the Public Ministry:
Confidence Intervals by Sample

Chapter VIII: Local Government

The main report covers this ground, and therefore there are no additional comparisons to be reported here.

Chapter IX. Women and Democracy

The main report contains a number of comparisons of males versus females. Chapter IX in that report examines a number of issues related to discrimination against women. In this section we examine these differences at the level of the DDPC samples.

We first analyze perception of discrimination against women (DM1). Figure 35 shows the comparison of the various samples. As can be seen, the 1998 and 1999 DDPC samples were somewhat higher in terms of perception of discrimination against women

than the national population, but by 2000, the national and DDPC samples did not diverge significantly.

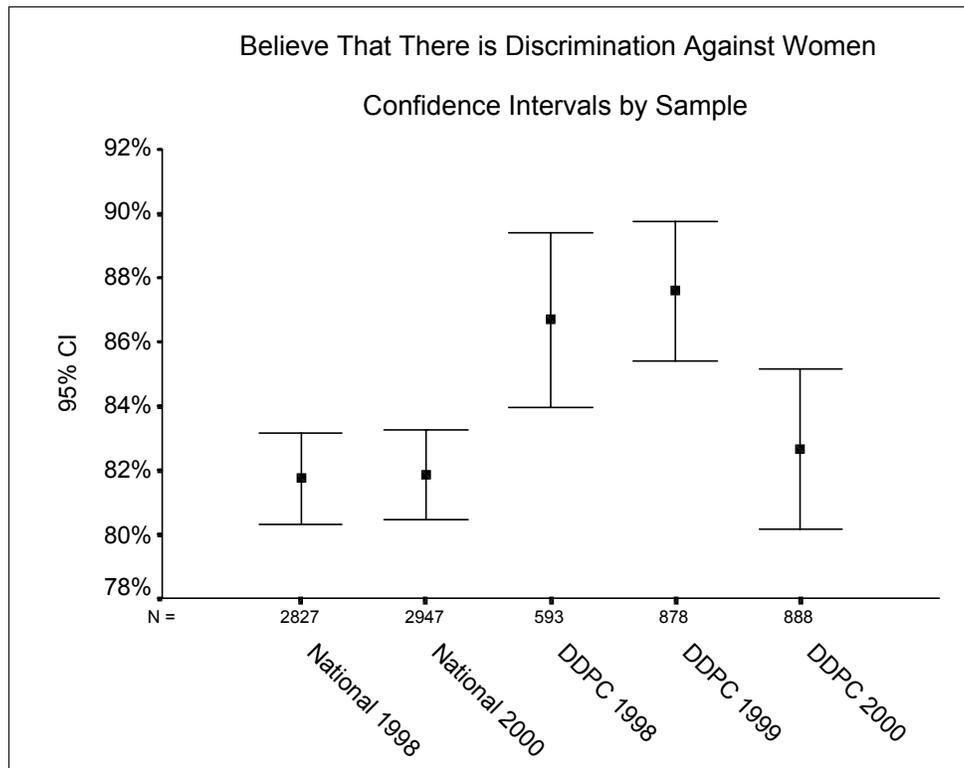


Figure 35 Believe That There Is Discrimination against Women: Confidence Intervals by Sample

The next item in this series (DM2) asks how serious is the discrimination. This item was not asked to those who said that there was no discrimination against women, so the results focus exclusively on those who think that there is discrimination. Figure 36 shows the results. The national samples and the first two DDPC samples do not vary significantly on this score. However, the 1999 DDPC scores show an increase, and the 2000 DDPC is significantly higher than the other samples.

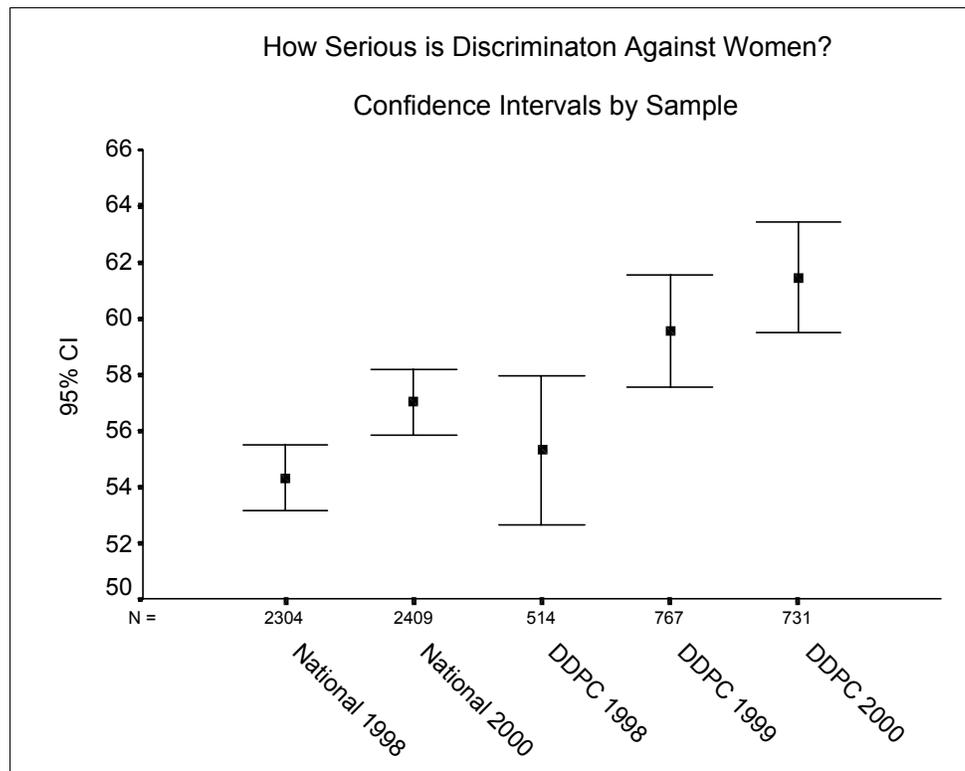


Figure 36 How Serious Is Discrimination against Women?
Confidence Intervals by Sample

The third item in the series (DM3) asks if women have equal opportunities to obtain employment as do men. Figure 37 shows the results. Note that the national results are slightly different from those reported in the main report (here there is no significant difference between 1998 and 2000) because in the analysis being presented in this chapter a portion of the 1998 sample (in Pando) is counted as part of the DDPC sample. Although there is some fluctuation among the DDPC samples, they do not differ significantly from the national samples. Only the 1999 DDPC sample is significantly lower than the other two DDPC samples, but even that sample is within the national sample parameters.

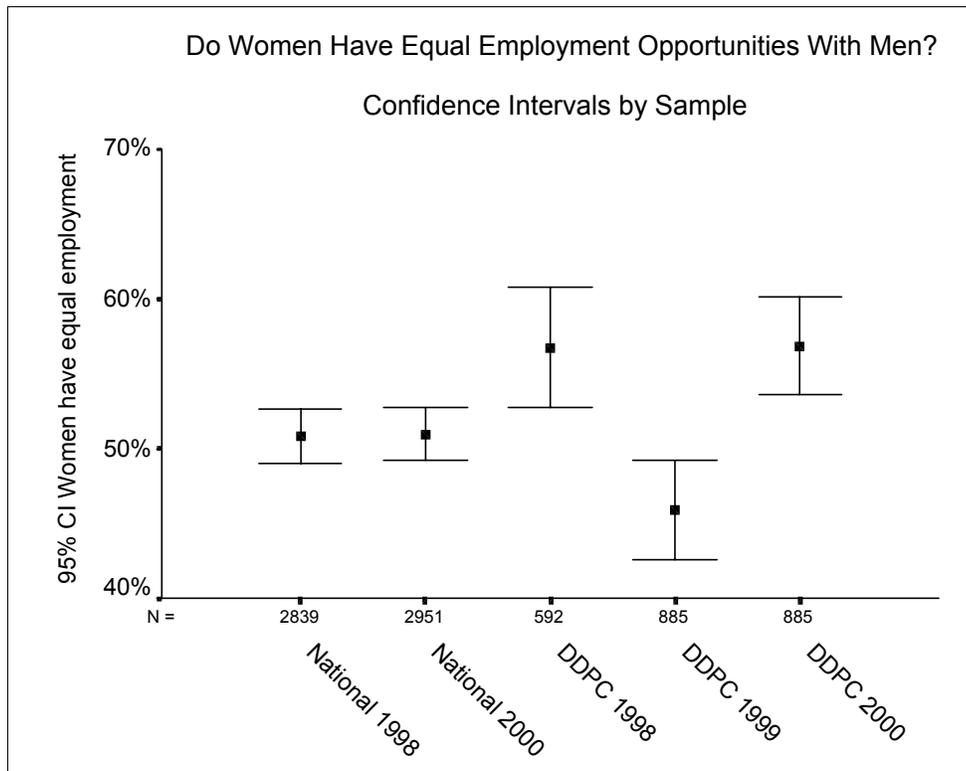


Figure 37 Do Women Have Equal Employment Opportunities with Men? Confidence Intervals by Sample

Conclusions

This special report has reviewed many of the variables analyzed in the main report, but the focus here is on the DDPC samples. In the main report, some of the DDPC results were covered, and those findings are not replicated here. For the most part, the DDPC samples do not appear to be substantially different from the nation as a whole on the key democracy measures under study.