

GLOBAL VERDICT ON DEMOCRACY¹

Admiration for Norm Disillusionment with Practice

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Background:

Democracy is one of the most widely believed and shared norms in contemporary times. In a global survey carried out by Gallup International across all continents in 2005, around 80% of the surveyed men and women considered democracy to be the best available form of governance. The admiration for democracy was shared by majorities across different cultures and religions including Christians, Muslims, Jews, Hindu and Bhuddists as well as across gender, age, education and income divides. But democracy may be interpreted and defined by different groups in different ways: **Liberal Democracy, Popular Democracy, Socialist Democracy, Asian Democracy** and so on. These are some of its political variants. Academics differ on what aspect of democracy is critical to democratic functioning : Basis for authority, the Purpose it serves or Procedures which it observes to form a government. In other words, should a political community be defined as democratic if the source of authority rests in the people; or should it be defined as democratic if its purpose is to serve the people; or that a polity may qualify to be called a democracy if the formation of government and its functioning is according to procedures which are widely known to be democratic. The majority view among academics is to regard the observance of democratic procedures being central to defining a political community as democratic. It is commonly referred to as the “Empirical” version of democracy contrasted with the “Normative” version which emphasizes either the “source of authority” or the “purpose of government” One of the reasons for greater acceptability of focusing on "procedures" rather than the “source of authority” or the "purpose" is that observance of procedures is much more clearly and precisely measurable.

¹ Gilani, Ijaz Shafi. "The Global Verdict on Democracy: Admiration for the Norm, Disillusionment with the Practice." In Voice of the People. Canada: Gallup International Association, 2006.

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The interesting aspect of these debates about democracy is that not many speak about the feelings and perceptions of the people who are so central to being the source of authority, the beneficiaries of democracy and the ultimate judge on whether the democratic procedures of forming a government are being observed. It may be quite valid to reason that one should let the people judge whether or not they are being ruled by a "democratic government". A government, one can argue, would be defined as more or less democratic depending on whether its central character, the people, perceive their government to be run by the will of the people. This may however be an extreme view point.

A balanced approach would lead us to the following path of reasoning. It may be questionable to put the entire burden of defining democracy on "perceptions of the people". However a definition which ignores the perceptions of the "central character" of democracy and its end users would be quite incomplete as well. Thus, a rating on Democracy or Political Liberties, such as the one produced annually by Freedom House of USA is a good but incomplete indicator. It depends on "judgment by the observers" or the experts to an extent that the perceptions of the actors themselves (*the people*) is largely ignored or marginalized.

The subject of this exercise is to address the lacune in the existing indicators of Democracy/Political liberties. We are proposing a method for measuring the Perceptions of Democracy among citizens of a political community and doing a comparative analysis of perceived democracy across democratic governments. One might call it the "Perceived Democracy Index", or for ease of reference to the source of data, it may be referred to as "Gallup International Perceived Democracy Index" (GIPDI). The GIPDI is not meant to substitute the Political Liberties rating by Freedom House, but to supplement it by adding a new dimension to understanding the complex phenomenon of Democracy. While the Freedom House indicator relies on "**judgment by experts**" the Gallup International indicator relies on "**perceptions of the people**". In a way it completes the picture by painting the missing part.

Our preliminary analysis suggests that we should expect a wide gap between countries's rating on the "**Judged Democracy Index**" and "**Perceived Democracy Index**". The gap between the two should provide interesting turf for creative and constructive debate.

It is conceivable that some countries with a long track record of democratic governments by way of holding elections and observing other procedures of democratic rule score rather low on "Perceived Democracy Index" and vice versa. This could happen because citizens of countries with long track record of

democracy might come to build high expectations, which are not matched by practice while certain nascent democracies (*or even undemocratic governments*) face a situation of very low expectations outperformed by rudimentary or even partial democratic advancement.

In summary the “Perceived Democracy Index” of Gallup International (GIPDI) would be a very interesting addition to the measures which help us judge the performance of a political community on the very complex concept of democratic government.

Global Views on Democracy in 2005

In part 1 of this paper we present the findings of a global survey in 2005 on three key questions regarding democracy; namely:

- Views on Democracy as a Norm or System of Government
- Views on the observance of the procedures of democracy, specifically "free and fair elections"
- Views on the desirable outcome of democracy specifically "rule by the will of people"

In each case we present the global data, regional variations for various continents and statistical tables providing information on countries included in the global sample.

In part 2 of the paper we proceed to construct an Index for measuring what we call as the "**Perceived Democracy Index**" and the "**Disillusionment with Democracy Index**".

Part 1

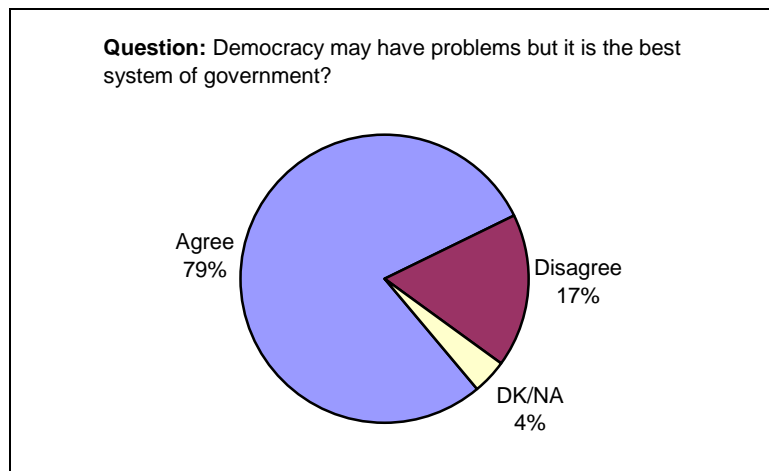
Global Views on Democracy in 2005

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- Views on Democracy as a Norm
 - Views on Procedure of Democracy
 - Views on Outcome of Democracy
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ADMIRATION FOR THE NORM OF DEMOCRACY

When asked: "Tell me whether you agree or disagree with the following statement: "Democracy may have problems but it is the best system of government", a resounding 79% across the globe expressed their agreement. Thus democracy can rightly claim to be the world's most shared and common political norm at the outset of the 21st century.

Fig. 1



The agreement on democracy as the best available form of government is shared by majorities in societies, cultures and countries which are vastly different from each other on other issues. For example 89% of Protestants, 86% of Buddhists, 80% of Catholics, 79% of Jews, 75% of Muslims and 69% of Hindus share an admiration for democracy. The figure is the lowest among Eastern Orthodox Christians, but even among them a clear majority of 67% is supportive of democracy as the best available political system. In fact, it would be interesting to look more deeply into the issue of why some 20% across the globe and as many as one third among certain groups (*for example, Eastern Orthodox*

Christianity) do not share the global admiration for democracy. But let us first analyze views towards the norm of democracy across various geographic groups.

Regional Variations:

In all but one region of the world at least seven out of ten of the surveyed agree with the statement that democracy is the best available system of government. The only exception is in Eastern and Central Europe where the figure drops slightly to just over two thirds (68%). The most positive regions were North America (87%), Africa (87%) and Western Europe (82%).

It is not surprising to find the highest agreement with the statement in the Nordic democratic strongholds of: Denmark (93%), Norway (93%) and Iceland (93%). But it is more of a surprise that there is a very high level of agreement in the African countries of Ghana (93%) and Ethiopia (93%) until one realizes that both countries held important elections recently – Ghana in December 2004 and parliamentary elections in Ethiopia in May 2005, just before interviewing for the survey started.

But in Eastern and Central Europe as a whole, there is far less agreement that democracy is the best system of Government with only two-thirds agreeing (68%), compared to the global level of 79%. Endorsement for democracy reflected in agreement with this statement is at its lowest in Bulgaria (60%), Lithuania (60%), Serbia (61%) and Russia (62%).

There is more disagreement about democracy in Latin America, but still nearly three quarters (75%) agree that democracy is the best system of Government although in Peru (60%), only six out of ten citizens questioned endorsed the statement.

In the USA, the level of agreement is high (87%) and has increased in comparison with the 2004 figure (81%). The UK (81%) shows figures in line with Western Europe's average (82%), above the percentage for the world (75%), and when compared to value for 2004, it has increased 3 points (from 78%).

Table 1

Global Perceptions on Democracy as a System of Government

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

	Agree	Disagree	DK/NA		Agree	Disagree	D/NA
World	79%	17%	4%				
Western Europe	82%	14%	4%	Latin America	74%	23%	3%
Austria	79%	10%	12	Argentina	83%	14%	3%
Denmark	93%	6%	1%	Bolivia	72%	27%	1%
Spain	85%	12%	3%	Colombia	80%	18%	2%
Finland	84%	7%	10%	Costa Rica (CRI)	84%	13%	2%
France	79%	13%	8%	Dominican Republic	76%	21%	2%
Germany	79%	20%	1%	Ecuador	76%	21%	4%
Greece	92%	8%	0%	Guatemala	64%	35%	2%
Iceland	93%	3%	5%	Mexico	68%	29%	3%
Italy	82%	14%	4%	Nicaragua	73%	25%	2%
Netherland	82%	8%	10%	Panama	77%	21%	2%
Norway	93%	5%	2%	Paraguay	82%	16%	2%
Portugal	84%	9%	6%	Peru	60%	35%	5%
Republic of Ireland	84%	14%	2%	Uruguay	92%	6%	1%
Switzerland	89%	9%	2%	Venezuela	87%	12%	1%
UK	81%	15%	4%	Asia Pacific	77%	19%	4%
Eastern and Central Europe	68%	23%	9%	Hong Kong	73%	25%	2%
Bulgaria	60%	23%	17%	India	69%	30%	1%
Bosnia and Herzegovina	74%	23%	3%	Indonesia	90%	8%	2%
Croatia	68%	26%	5%	Japan	86%	11%	3%
Czech Republic	80%	13%	7%	Korea	69%	27%	4%
Kosovo	85%	5%	10%	Malaysia	80%	12%	8%
Lithuania	60%	25%	15%	Pakistan	67%	16%	17%
Macedonia	69%	21%	10%	Philippines	70%	29%	0%
Moldova	75%	16%	9%	Taiwan	72%	23%	5%
Poland	84%	10%	6%	Thailand	87%	10%	2%
Romania	80%	7%	13%	Africa	87%	10%	3%
Russia	62%	31%	7%	Cameroon	85%	11%	4%
Serbia	61%	28%	11%	Ethiopia	93%	5%	2%
Ukraine	65%	19%	16%	Ghana	93%	5%	1%
Middle East	78%	13%	9%	Kenya	82%	9%	9%
Israel	84%	15%	2%	Nigeria	88%	11%	0%
Turkey	77%	13%	10%	South Africa	85%	12%	3%
North America	87%	11%	1%	Sengeal	77%	10%	12%
Canada	85%	12%	3%	Togo	86%	9%	5%
USA	87%	11%	1%				

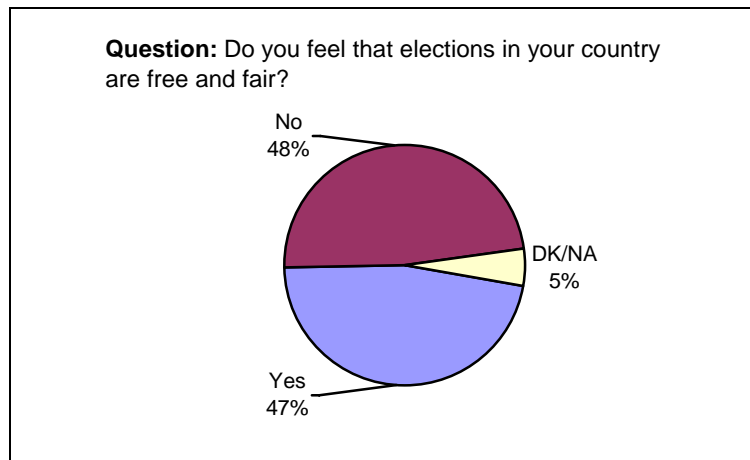
Source: Gallup International – Voice of the People 2005

Note: Middle East includes only Isreal and Turkey

SKEPTICISM ABOUT THE PROCESS OF DEMOCRACY

Globally views are sharply divided on whether the process of democracy meets its necessary requirements and that elections are held freely and fairly. Only 47% of the surveyed population in 65 countries believe that in their country elections are held freely and fairly. An equal number (48%) disagrees and expresses strong skepticism about free and fair elections.

Fig. 2



Regional Variations:

Thus while there is overwhelming admiration for the norm of democracy, there is considerable skepticism about rightly observing the required practices of democracy. Interestingly skepticism about free and fair elections is not restricted to new democracies and developing countries alone. For example, nearly half (44%) of the electorate in USA believe elections are NOT held freely and fairly. But USA seems to be an exception because on the whole skepticism figures are generally high in developing countries and new democracies, while it is low in Western Europe and other older democracies. For example skepticism about free and fair elections is only 10% in Denmark, 13% in France and 12% Portugal; while the comparable figure is 89% for Nigeria, 67% for India and 74% for Russia. The table ahead is very revealing for different regions of the world and their constituent countries included in the survey.

We shall now take a quick look at variations in views across various regions of the world.

Countries in Western Europe are the least skeptical about free and fair elections as 67% of their population believes elections in their country are generally free and fair. The figure for North America, both USA and Canada, is notably lower than Western Europe and stands at 55%. The only two countries from Middle East included in the survey (Turkey and Israel) show a similar result at 55%. Confidence in free and fair elections is considerably lower in the rest of the world as shown in the table above.

Our findings show certain notable differences in views on free and fair elections across age, income and religious segments. However closer scrutiny shows that these difference are mainly explained by the differences across regions as their root. For example the older population (above 50) has a higher percentage of those saying elections in their country are free and fair. However the difference is spurious in nature since both Western Europe and North American have a markedly higher proportion of older people in their population and both of them have a higher than average score on free and fair elections. The same logic explains higher figure for saying they experienced free and fair elections among upper income segments and among those believing in Protestant Christianity.

Table 2

Global Perceptions on Free and Fair Elections

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

	Yes	No	DK/NA
World	47%	48%	5%
Western Europe	67%	30%	4%
Austria	66%	14%	20%
Denmark	90%	10%	1%
Spain	64%	31%	5%
Finland	79%	13%	8%
France	69%	25%	6%
Germany	73%	25%	2%
Greece	63%	37%	1%
Iceland	73%	23%	4%
Italy	46%	52%	2%
Netherlands	75%	17%	7%
Norway	76%	18%	6%
Portugal	81%	12%	6%
Republic of Ireland	73%	23%	3%
Switzerland	79%	17%	4%
UK	70%	28%	2%
Eastern and Central Europe	33%	58%	9%
Bulgaria	31%	43%	26%
Bosnia and Herzegovina	28%	68%	4%
Croatia	41%	55%	5%
Czech Republic	63%	26%	10%
Kosovo	74%	16%	10%
Lithuania	33%	58%	9%
Macedonia	26%	67%	7%
Moldova	43%	49%	8%
Poland	44%	39%	16%
Romania	63%	18%	19%
Russia	22%	74%	4%
Serbia	31%	50%	19%
Ukraine	34%	54%	12%
Middle East	55%	35%	9%
Israel	65%	35%	
Turkey	54%	35%	10%
North America	55%	43%	2%
Canada	66%	31%	3%
USA	54%	44%	2%
Latin America	34%	61%	4%
Argentina	47%	44%	9%
Bolivia	16%	80%	4%
Colombia	36%	61%	4%
Costa Rica (CRI)	52%	43%	5%
Dominican Republic	58%	40%	2%
Ecuador	37%	56%	7%
Guatemala	53%	44%	3%
Mexico	23%	74%	2%
Nicaragua	31%	68%	1%
Panama	63%	34%	2%
Paraguay	24%	71%	5%
Peru	28%	68%	4%
Uruguay	83%	12%	5%
Venezuela	54%	42%	4%
Asia Pacific	40%	55%	5%
Hong Kong	49%	46%	5%
India	32%	67%	1%
Indonesia	73%	25%	2%
Japan	46%	53%	1%
Korea	49%	43%	8%
Malaysia	76%	16%	8%
Pakistan	21%	50%	29%
Philippines	19%	80%	1%
Singapore	69%	18%	13%
Taiwan	45%	51%	4%
Thailand	49%	47%	4%
Africa	34%	59%	7%
Cameroon	31%	61%	8%
Ethiopia	22%	64%	14%
Ghana	67%	27%	6%
Kenya	63%	27%	10%
Nigeria	9%	89%	3%
South Africa	57%	11%	33%
Senegal	76%	19%	5%
Togo	21%	63%	16%

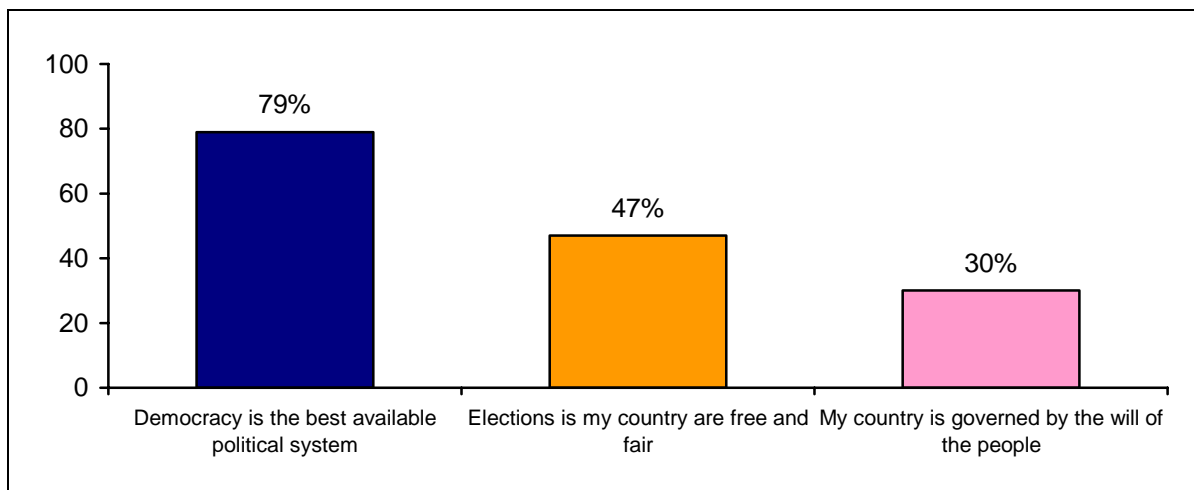
Source: Gallup International – Voice of the People 2005

Note: Middle East includes only Israel and Turkey

DISILLUSIONMENT WITH THE OUTCOME OF DEMOCRACY

It should be a matter of great alarm for those concerned with the future of democracy that while 79% of global population polled in the Gallup International survey held the democratic political system in admiration and 47% assessed elections in their countries to be free and fair, only 30% believed that they were successful in tasting the desirable outcome or the fruit of democracy, that it, rule by the will of the people.

This enormous gap between the norm and practice of democracy is perhaps its greatest challenge or crisis in our day.



In response to the questions: "Would you say your country is governed by the will of the people?" Only 30% at a global level gave a "yes" answer while 60% gave a "No" answer. There were however certain regional variations. But, interestingly skepticism about rule by the will of the people was not restricted to new or recent democracies.

Regional Variations:

There is no region in the world where more than 40% claim they experience rule by the will of the people. The highest score is in North America (USA and Canada) at 37% and the lowest in Eastern and Central Europe at 22%.

In the case of Western Europe the total score is close to the global average at 31%, but there is wide variation of sentiments on this issue within the region.

For example the Scandinavian countries score rather high, with Denmark at 57% and Norway at 54%. Spain (62%), Portugal (40%) and Ireland (42%) also score high. But the figures for France (25%) and UK (30%) are notably low. The most alarming figures are for Germany where only 18% believe they experience rule by the will of the people and Netherlands where the figure is the lowest in Western Europe and stands at only 15%. The interesting finding is that most of the same countries score very high when it comes to perceptions about "free and fair" elections in their political systems. The gap between these two perceptions, that is high on free and fair elections and low on rule by the will of the people leads us to the hypothesis that many mature democracies in the world are undergoing a deep disillusionment about the ability of "democracy" to deliver "rule by the will of the people".

Nevertheless they consider it the best available political system. We return to this theme at other places in this paper. As for Western Europe, there are significant intra region variations in other regions as well. However disillusionment with democracy is very pronounced in Central and Eastern Europe as well as Latin America. There are nevertheless exceptions within each region which provide an optimistic response. The pattern seems to be that many countries in the early days of their experience with democracy or democratic struggle feel rather hopeful about "rule by the will of people", but turn "pessimistic" when ongoing realities fail to match their expectations.

Table 3

Global Perceptions About Rule by the Will of the People

Question: Would you say that your country is governed by the Will of People?

	Yes	No	DK/NA
World	30%	65%	5%
Western Europe	31%	65%	3%
Austria	38%	41%	21%
Denmark	57%	40%	3%
Spain	62%	35%	3%
Finland	42%	43%	15%
France	26%	71%	3%
Germany	18%	81%	1%
Greece	35%	64%	1%
Iceland	43%	47%	10%
Italy	28%	72%	1%
Netherland	15%	75%	10%
Norway	54%	40%	6%
Portugal	40%	53%	6%
Republic of Ireland	42%	55%	3%
Switzerland	55%	41%	4%
UK	30%	66%	4%
Eastern and Central Europe	22%	71%	7%
Bulgaria	15%	71%	14%
Bosnia and Herzegovina	13%	85%	2%
Croatia	15%	83%	2%
Czech Republic	34%	54%	12%
Kosovo	46%	44%	10%
Lithuania	23%	67%	10%
Macedonia	11%	86%	4%
Moldova	31%	58%	10%
Poland	17%	71%	12%
Romania	45%	37%	18%
Russia	18%	80%	2%
Serbia	20%	69%	11%
Ukraine	26%	61%	12%
Middle East	36%	55%	9%
Israel	49%	50%	1%
Turkey	35%	56%	9%
North America	37%	60%	3%
Canada	36%	60%	4%
USA	37%	60%	3%
Latin America	28%	69%	3%
Argentina	33%	59%	8%
Bolivia	25%	72%	4%
Colombia	30%	67%	3%
Costa Rica (CRI)	25%	72%	3%
Dominican Republic	50%	48%	2%
Ecuador	44%	52%	4%
Guatemala	43%	55%	2%
Mexico	20%	79%	1%
Nicaragua	18%	81%	1%
Panama	24%	75%	2%
Paraguay	23%	74%	3%
Peru	25%	73%	2%
Uruguay	54%	39%	7%
Venezuela	50%	48%	2%
Asia Pacific	29%	65%	6%
Hong Kong	46%	48%	5%
India	22%	77%	1%
Indonesia	38%	59%	3%
Japan	29%	69%	2%
Korea	13%	79%	7%
Malaysia	71%	19%	10%
Pakistan	25%	42%	33%
Philippines	29%	71%	1%
Singapore	47%	38%	14%
Taiwan	43%	49%	8%
Thailand	37%	56%	7%
Africa	34%	61%	5%
Cameroon	33%	60%	6%
Ethiopia	19%	70%	11%
Ghana	69%	28%	3%
Kenya	38%	51%	10%
Nigeria	18%	82%	0%
South Africa	53%	19%	27%
Sengeal	59%	34%	7%
Togo	23%	66%	12%

Source: Gallup International – Voice of the People 2005

Note: Middle East includes only Isreal and Turkey

Part 2

INDEX FOR CROSS-NATIONAL AND TIME SERIES MEASUREMENT OF PERCEPTIONS ABOUT DEMOCRACY

In Part 1 we presented the results of our 2005 survey results on key indicators of democracy. In Part 2 we shall build two indices which might capture current perceptions about the state of democracy across nations as well as provide a measure for tracking each nation's perceptions on democracy in their own country from year to year, that is, a time series data on felt or perceived democracy. In other words we shall propose indices for **cross-national** and **time series measurement**, and then assign to each country values for year 2005.

Perceived Democracy Index

Methodology:

We have designed a simple but meaningful index of democracy by taking an average of perceptions about the Procedure of Democracy that is, perceptions about whether elections in the respondent's country were held freely and fairly and perceptions about the desirable outcome of democracy, that is rule by the will of the people. This Index provides a fairly robust measure of how a society judges the performance of its own polity on these two indicators, that is, the observance of the electoral procedure of democracy (*free and fair elections*) and performance on the outcome of democracy (*rule by the will of people*). A mean of the two is taken as the Perceived Democracy Index.

For standardizing the rating on a scale, we have designed a 7 point scale with equal intervals. The 7 point scale makes it comparable to the Freedom House Political Liberties scale which rates the Political liberties on a 7 point scale wherein 1 means the highest level of liberties and 7 means the lowest level. Thus in our case we give a rating of 1 to countries falling in the top 7th of the scores achieved in the given year and 7 to those following in the bottom. Others fall accordingly in between them.

Rating for 2005

As the Ratings show the average for the world stands at 4 on a scale of 1-7 (*High to Low*). The Highest Performance score is in Europe at a rating of 3, North America and Middle East (*represented by Turkey and Israel only*) stand at 4, while other regions fare relatively poorly with Asia Pacific, Latin America and Africa at 5 and Eastern and Central Europe at an Index rating close to the bottom at 6. As for individual countries Denmark and Switzerland stand on top at a score of 1 among the nature democracies. Aside from them there are notably high ratings in every continent, the reasons for whose high performance should provide an interesting subject for deliberation and discussion. These include Malaysia in Asia, Uruguay in Latin America, Ghana and Senegal in Africa all of which have a rating of 1. As the Table shows we have also provided a comparative table of Freedom House ratings on Political Liberties. The comparison we hope will be instructive and provide further guidelines for a comprehensive understanding of the phenomenon of democracy and political freedoms.

Table 4

Gallup International – Perceived Democracy Index (Rating for 2005) GIPDI

	Percent of population saying		Perceived democracy score (Mean of 1 and 2)	Rating of Gallup International perceived democracy index	(For comparison) Rating of Freedom House political liberties index
	Elections in my country are held Freely and Fairly (1)	The rule in my country is by the will of the people (2)			
World	47%	30%	39	4	
Western Europe	67%	31%	49	3	
Austria	66%	38%	52	3	1
Denmark	90%	57%	74	1	1
Spain	64%	62%	63	2	1
Finland	79%	42%	60	2	1
France	69%	26%	47	4	1
Germany	73%	18%	45	4	1
Greece	63%	35%	49	3	1
Iceland	73%	43%	58	2	1
Italy	46%	28%	37	5	1
Netherland	75%	15%	45	4	1
Norway	76%	54%	65	2	1
Portugal	81%	40%	61	2	1
Republic of Ireland	73%	42%	58	2	1
Switzerland	79%	55%	67	1	7
UK	70%	30%	50	3	1

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	Percent of population saying		Perceived democracy score (Mean of 1 and 2)	Rating of Gallup International perceived democracy index	(For comparison) Rating of Freedom House political liberties index
	Elections in my country are held Freely and Fairly (1)	The rule in my country is by the will of the people (2)			
Eastern and Central Europe	33%	22%	28	6	
Bulgaria	31%	15%	23	6	1
Bosnia and Herzegovina	28%	13%	21	7	4
Croatia	41%	15%	28	6	2
Czech Republic	63%	34%	49	3	1
Kosovo	74%	46%	60	2	
Lithuania	33%	23%	28	6	2
Macedonia	26%	11%	18	7	3
Moldova	43%	31%	37	5	3
Poland	44%	17%	31	5	1
Romania	63%	45%	54	3	3
Russia	22%	18%	20	7	6
Serbia	31%	20%	25	6	3
Ukraine	34%	26%	30	6	4
Middle East	55%	36%	46	4	
Israel	65%	49%	57	3	1
Turkey	54%	35%	45	4	3
North America	55%	37%	46	4	
Canada	66%	36%	51	3	1
USA	54%	37%	45	4	1
Latin America	34%	28%	31	5	
Argentina	47%	33%	40	4	2
Bolivia	16%	25%	20	7	3
Colombia	36%	30%	33	5	4
Costa Rica (CRI)	52%	25%	39	4	1
Dominican Republic	58%	50%	54	3	2
Ecuador	37%	44%	41	4	3
Guatemala	53%	43%	48	3	4
Mexico	23%	20%	22	6	2
Nicaragua	31%	18%	25	6	3
Panama	63%	24%	43	4	1
Paraguay	24%	23%	24	6	3
Peru	28%	25%	27	6	2
Uruguay	83%	54%	69	1	1
Venezuela	54%	50%	52	3	3
Asia Pacific	40%	29%	35	5	
Hong Kong	49%	46%	48	3	
India	32%	22%	27	6	2
Indonesia	73%	38%	55	3	3
Japan	46%	29%	37	5	1
Korea	49%	13%	31	5	
Malaysia	76%	71%	73	1	4
Pakistan	21%	25%	23	6	6
Philippines	19%	29%	24	6	2
Singapore	69%	47%	58	2	5
Taiwan	45%	43%	44	4	2
Thailand	49%	37%	43	4	2

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	Percent of population saying		Perceived democracy score (Mean of 1 and 2)	Rating of Gallup International perceived democracy index	(For comparison) Rating of Freedom House political liberties index
	Elections in my country are held Freely and Fairly (1)	The rule in my country is by the will of the people (2)			
Africa	34%	34%	34	5	
Cameroon	31%	33%	32	5	6
Ethiopia	22%	19%	20	7	5
Ghana	67%	69%	68	1	2
Kenya	63%	38%	51	3	3
Nigeria	9%	18%	13	7	3
Sengeal	76%	59%	67	1	6
South Africa	57%	53%	55	3	2
Togo	21%	23%	22	6	6

Source: Gallup International – Voice of the People 2005

Note1: Middle East includes only Isreal and Turkey

Note:2 The following countries have a negative score Bolivia (-9), Ecuador (-7), Pakistan (-4), Philippines (-10), Cameroon (-2), Ghana (-2), Nigeria (-9) and Togo (-1)

Index of Disillusionment with Democracy

Methodology:

We measure disillusionment with democracy by taking the difference between perceptions about Procedure of democracy (*free and fair election*) and perceptions about outcome (*rule by the will of the people*) as the level of disillusionment with democracy might be very high in societies with the longer practice of democracy.

For comparison on a scale we use of 7 point scale with a rating of 1 for countries falling among the top 7th in terms of the disillusionment score in a given year and 7 to those falling at the bottom 7th. Others are assigned a rating accordingly.

On this particular scale some countries have a negative score showing that the number of people who say they are ruled by the will of the people is greater than those who believe they experience free and fair elections. For the purpose of this exercise they will be excluded from the rating and mentioned separately.

Rating for 2005

The ratings come up with the interesting finding that globally Disillusionment with democracy is rather low at a rating of 6 on a scale of 1-7 (High to Low). But it is relatively high in Western Europe, notably in Germany, Netherlands and to an extent in the UK. We hope that further analysis of these data and the underlying framework of reasoning will generate an interesting and meaningful discussion.

Table 5

Gallup International – Disillusionment with Democracy Index (Rating for 2005) GIPDI

	Percent of population saying		Score on Disillusionment with Democracy	Gallup Rating on Disillusionment with Democracy Index
	Elections in my country are held Freely and Fairly (1)	The rule in my country is by the will of the people (2)		
World	47%	30%	17	6
Western Europe	67%	31%	36	3
Austria	66%	38%	28	4
Denmark	90%	57%	32	4
Spain	64%	62%	2	7
Finland	79%	42%	37	3
France	69%	26%	43	3
Germany	73%	18%	54	1
Greece	63%	35%	28	4
Iceland	73%	43%	30	4
Italy	46%	28%	18	6
Netherlands	75%	15%	60	1
Norway	76%	54%	22	5
Portugal	81%	40%	41	3
Republic of Ireland	73%	42%	31	4
Switzerland	79%	55%	24	5
UK	70%	30%	39	3
Eastern and Central Europe	33%	22%	11	6
Bulgaria	31%	15%	16	6
Bosnia and Herzegovina	28%	13%	15	6
Croatia	41%	15%	26	5
Czech Republic	63%	34%	29	4
Kosovo	74%	46%	28	4
Lithuania	33%	23%	10	6
Macedonia	26%	11%	15	6
Moldova	43%	31%	11	6
Poland	44%	17%	27	4
Romania	63%	45%	18	6
Russia	22%	18%	4	7
Serbia	31%	20%	11	6
Ukraine	34%	26%	8	7

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	Percent of population saying		Score on Disillusionment with Democracy	Gallup Rating on Disillusionment with Democracy Index
	Elections in my country are held Freely and Fairly (1)	The rule in my country is by the will of the people (2)		
Middle East	55%	36%	19	6
Israel	65%	49%	16	6
Turkey	54%	35%	20	5
North America	55%	37%	18	6
Canada	66%	36%	30	4
USA	54%	37%	16	6
Latin America	34%	28%	5	7
Argentina	47%	33%	14	6
Bolivia	16%	25%	-9	-
Colombia	36%	30%	5	7
Costa Rica (CRI)	52%	25%	27	4
Dominican Republic	58%	50%	8	7
Ecuador	37%	44%	-7	-
Guatemala	53%	43%	10	6
Mexico	23%	20%	3	7
Nicaragua	31%	18%	12	6
Panama	63%	24%	40	3
Paraguay	24%	23%	1	7
Peru	28%	25%	3	7
Uruguay	83%	54%	29	4
Venezuela	54%	50%	4	7
Asia Pacific	40%	29%	11	6
Hong Kong	49%	46%	2	7
India	32%	22%	10	6
Indonesia	73%	38%	35	4
Japan	46%	29%	17	6
Korea	49%	13%	36	3
Malaysia	76%	71%	5	7
Pakistan	21%	25%	-4	-
Philippines	19%	29%	-10	-
Singapore	69%	47%	22	5
Taiwan	45%	43%	3	7
Thailand	49%	37%	12	6
Africa	34%	34%	0	-
Cameroon	31%	33%	-2	-
Ethiopia	22%	19%	3	7
Ghana	67%	69%	-2	-
Kenya	63%	38%	25	5
Nigeria	9%	18%	-9	-
Sengeal	76%	59%	17	6
South Africa	57%	53%	3	7
Togo	21%	23%	-1	-

Source: Gallup International – Voice of the People 2005

Note1: Middle East includes only Isreal and Turkey

Note 2: The following countries have a negative score Bolivia (-9), Ecuador (-7), Pakistan (-4), Philippines (-10), Cameroon (-2), Ghana (-2), Nigeria (-9) and Togo (-1)

CONCLUSION

The gap in perceptions about the inability to achieve the desirable outcome of democracy (*rule by the will of the people*) despite going through its rites and procedure (*free and fair elections*) reflects the degree of disillusionment with democracy. Countries with a wide gap are sharply divided between the two perceptions that elections are free and fair and that they are not experiencing rule by the will of the people.

Our data show that disillusionment with democracy is particularly characteristic of societies which have experienced democracy for a long time and where government structures have increasingly become complex leading them to turn to technocratic rather than politically negotiated decision making.

In more recent years, decisions on several aspects of life have sneaked away their way to institutions managed globally rather than nationally. Since democracy is so far restricted to national boundaries, globalization and the role of new institutions including global business seems to pinch away a sense of participation from nationals of mature democracies who had a prior exposure to playing a greater role in deciding their own fate. Thus their sense of disillusionment is greater than citizens of countries where participation in decision making was restricted due to local and foreign encroachment even prior to enhanced globalization of economic and social interaction.

The subject of "crisis of democracy" has been taken up by a large number of academic writers including the critical school represented most prominently on this issue by Jurgen Habermas. However no data are so far available on a global scale. The Gallup International Index on Perceptions About Democracy and Index on Disillusionment with Democracy can therefore make a valuable contribution to this debate.