The (Too-Low but) Rising Quality of Democracy in Brazil and Chile?

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DRAFT

Preamble: on Low-Quality (and Messy) and Crummy (but Clean) Democracies

My task was to assess the quality of democracy in Brazil and another Latin American country of my choosing. Since I have studied Brazil for a quarter century now, I can hardly quarrel with the choice made by the organizers of this conference. But in the interest of full disclosure, I should note that had I begun with a comparison of, say, Colombia and Venezuela or even Guatemala, the answer to the principal question of this conference -- is the quality of democracy improving or being subverted -- would unequivocally fall on the side of subversion. When the question is applied to the cases of Brazil and Chile, the answer is neither obvious nor overdetermined.

Indeed, there is a reading of democracy in both these countries that is not optimistic. In a recent assessment of the nature of Brazil's democratic regime, Kurt Weyland characterized Brazil's democracy as "low quality." He bases this characterization on Brazil's gross level of inequality and the incapacity of Brazilian civil society effectively to demand that government redress inequality. He goes on to argue that it is precisely because Brazil's democracy is of "low quality" that it can survive so well. Mass poverty and egregious social inequality do not translate into open political contention because people make few demands, or few demands that can be met by government. Although political participation is today more widespread, independent, and active than it has ever been in Brazil – 66 percent of Brazilian survey respondents (a percentage that is significantly higher than that of Spain) reported membership in voluntary associations (McDonough, Shin, and Moisés, 1998), Weyland contends that Brazilian civil society is fragmented in ways that make coordinated, class-based action in favor of redistributive policies difficult. He sees parties as lacking firm links with social groups, which "disables the main institutional mechanism that could in principle advance bottom-up pressure for a systemic transformation," the labor movement as divided between the more radical CUT and the more moderate Força Sindical, which mitigates class conflict, and the popular sectors as divided and weakened by pronounced organizational fragmentation. As a result, the potential supporters of an

authoritarian order are satisfied to let democracy ride, and the deficient quality of democratic in Brazil bolsters the regime stability and works to democracy's advantage. As he puts it, "democratic quality and stability stand in an inverse relationship in Brazil."

Chile, by contrast, by some measures appears to be one of the highest quality democracies in Latin America. It is exemplary in the transparency and effectiveness of government. Yet, support for democracy is not as high as in Uruguay and Costa Rica: in 2001, only 45 percent of Chileans unambiguously supported democracy as preferable to any other kind of government, and 19 percent of the population responded that in certain circumstances, an authoritarian government can be preferable to a democratic one. Moreover, inequality is quite high – its Gini index is the third highest in Latin America (only Brazil and Colombia are higher), and the share of income controlled by the top 10 percent of the population is the fourth highest, behind Brazil, Colombia, and Guatemala (Table 1). Sensing public disquiet with the nature of their democratic regime, low levels of youth voter registration, and the silencing of debate on the legacies of the authoritarian regime, Alexander Wilde, then Ford Foundation Program officer in Santiago, in a conversation in 1998 characterized Chilean democracy as a "crummy democracy." To be fair, since then, and particularly since the house arrest in Britain of former dictator General Augusto Pinochet, Chile has made great strides in confronting its authoritarian past. Evidence that these gains have been real is demonstrated more fully below, but here we should just note that both public support for democracy and Freedom House scores improved in 2002 and 2003, respectively. Nonetheless, there is still a sense in which the technocratic determination of the distribution of public resources has diminished the capacity of democratic *governments* – as expression of temporary majorities – to respond to various social and political interests. Chile's democracy, in other words, may be crummy, but it is clean.

There is another reading of these democracies. Brazil's democracy can be alternately viewed as a "rising quality' democracy. Brazilians last year elected a former metalworker president in an election that did not otherwise show any signs of rejecting the political class per se – turnover

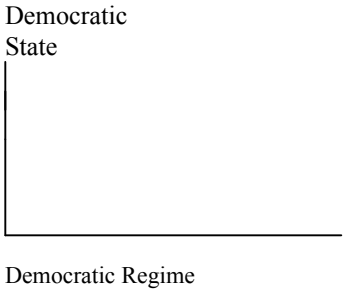
rates in the legislative elections were very similar to the past, and while the PT gained some seats, the partisan balance in the legislature was not palpably upset. Gubernatorial elections, moreover, confirmed the stature of PSDB and PFL governors. The presidential transition was exemplary, and the PT government's finance minister Antonio Palocci committed the government to generating a 4.25 percent primary fiscal surplus. In fact, the general tenor in Brazil is one of great pride in Brazilian democracy. In Chile, similarly, public debate has broadened on previously taboo subjects, and the next presidential elections promise to be as competitive as the last. The brighter story I will tell in this paper is of two democracies that are seriously flawed, but in which the quality of democracy is improving. If we believe in contagion effects, and if my answers are right, then perhaps these cases, beginning from very different starting points, can be harbingers of a more promising democratic future for Latin America than most reports of doom today announce.

I chose to compare Brazil with Chile because I reasoned that it was not particularly useful for the purposes of this conference to dwell on cases in which democracy is seriously challenged, especially when those reasons are relatively sui generis. Thus, Peru, a country that escaped a guerrilla insurgency, and Colombia, a country that has not yet done so, in which the rule of law and the protection of political and civil rights is a fiction (wracked as it is by guerrilla and paramilitary violence), would serve no broader, more instructive purposes. Similarly, very small countries with very short democratic traditions, such as El Salvador and Guatemala, to name two countries with what I would characterize as very different rates of success in establishing a decent democracy, really did not seem well suited to illuminate the Brazilian case. At the other end of the spectrum, Uruguay and Costa Rica, which do appear to have stable, high quality democracies, presented too stark a contrast. The temptation would have been inevitable to downgrade Brazil by comparison, without even so much as a nuanced analysis. Chile held out the most interesting promise of a country that had a strong democratic tradition, but one with more question marks than Uruguay and Costa Rica.

Unlike Mexico and Argentina -- the other likely cases for comparison -- Chile also provided an important contrast along four of five of the dimensions we are examining in this conference, and in this sense, this comparison opened up important possibilities for understanding the relationship among these dimensions. Although I have become convinced by the methodology texts that I have been teaching in my graduate seminars that we cannot, by virtue of a two-country comparison, draw causal inferences about what makes democracy good and strong, I nonetheless believe that we can examine two cases against the backdrop of the wider region in which they are situated -- which I do in this paper-- and even against the other cases represented in this conference.

Avoiding the temptation to attribute causal import to the presence or absence of single factors across these two cases, it is nonetheless interesting to think about Brazil and Chile as two countries that present different strengths and weaknesses, and that may represent two political systems moving toward improved democracy from different starting points. Chile today ranks especially highly in the rule of law, control of corruption, transparency of governance, and protection of civil and political rights. It is not, however, seen as responsive and vibrant a democracy as its history might recommend, and inequality remains a stubborn problem. Brazil, on the other hand, is a country that has shown great difficulty in protecting civil rights and imposing the rule of law evenly for its citizens, that has grappled with corruption and the transparency of governance, but in which mechanisms of political representation and responsiveness are growing stronger. As I shall show, political parties have become more programmatic and cohesive, and they have staked out clear positions on salient issues at the same time that civil society is becoming better organized. The transmission of the presidential sash from one elected president to another from a radically different political party and class background has been widely heralded, and earned Brazil a Freedom House upgrade from “partly free” in 2002 to “free” in 2003. Perhaps in no other Latin American country was as much enthusiasm generated through a process unambiguously identifiable as democratic among the

mass public. If we envision the quality of democracy along two dimensions, a y-axis signifying the "democraticness" of the state, and an x-axis for the "democraticness" of the regime, we would place Chile high on the y axis and Brazil low on the y axis, but reasonably well along on the x axis. Both need to move to the upper right hand quadrant of the figure, in the same way that democracies needed to advance on both the dimensions of contestation and participation in Dahl's classic move toward polyarchy:



The organizers of this conference have made a salutary effort to make more systematic the grumblings in our field for many years that an electoral democracy, one that satisfies Schumpeter's definition of regular, periodic elections for the country's most important officeholders, is not necessarily a high quality democracy. We tend to assume that democracies that are not high quality can limp along for a very long time – because they very often do – but when they break down, we ex post facto assume that the reason they broke down was because they not high quality and hence their citizens did not defend them before demagogues and putschists. We have thus been handed the opportunity to compare countries systematically along five dimensions that together capture the ways in which citizens experience their democracy.

In the remainder of the paper, I attempt to analyze the Latin American cases along these dimensions. First I describe existing indicators of the performance of these countries in such areas as freedom and rights, or where these do not readily exist, I attempt to develop my own indicators. But I violate the editors' order. First, I examine Rule of Law and Freedom and Rights together, in an attempt to say something about the equality of citizenship – or what Guillermo O'Donnell means when he speaks about democratizing the *state*. Following from this, I examine

the dimension of equality, which, following Rueschemeyer, I understand as the conditions that facilitate or hinder the exercise of *political* equality. Of course inequality is an outgrowth and an indicator of the quality of democracy as well as one of its determinants. I agree with David Beetham that equality of civil and political rights does not mean that there must be an equality of economic and social condition (which Philippe Schmitter would find, rightfully, to be too stringent a qualification). These three, in practice, are very difficult to disentangle. Is campaign finance an example of the equal application of the law or a condition of political equality? Are policing practices an important window into the fair and effective application of the rule of law, or an example of the state infringement of civil liberties, and even the unequal infringement of political rights? Is collective action a right (certainly all the authors would agree that in a democracy, the right to political association must be guaranteed) or is it a condition of political equality to level the playing field of political competition? Next, I examine in both cases the dimensions of accountability and responsiveness, which I take to say something about the quality of the democratic *regime*. The simple argument I wish to develop is that *a democratic state is not enough to have a high quality democracy, and a democratic regime can at least partially compensate for slow progress toward democratizing the state.* I cannot resist a broader comparison to make the point that where all of these indicators are problematic – in countries such as Guatemala – democracy is far weaker, and perhaps imperiled, and the countries at the brighter extreme in Latin America – Uruguay and Costa Rica – are stronger on more dimensions than is Chile.

An Excursus: What do people think of their democracies, and why?

In their 1996 book, Juan Linz and Al Stepan (Linz and Stepan, 1996: 222) identify as "perplexing" the low and generally declining citizen support for democracy, especially given the historic strength of Chilean democracy. They report (from Latinobarometro data) that the percentage of respondents that expressed themselves as "very satisfied" or "satisfied" with

democracy declined from 75 percent in August 1990 to 37 percent in August 1993, and that the percentage who said that "democracy is fully installed" also fell, from 25 percent in October 1991 to 16 percent in October 1993 (Linz and Stepan, 1996: 217-18). Since Chileans believed that democracy was as efficacious in solving problems as their counterparts in Argentina and Uruguay -- where public support for democracy was far higher -- and that on a series of indicators Chileans were more satisfied with the quality of their democracy than the Argentines (levels of corruption, access to television, "cleanness" of elections, standard of living in relation to that of parents, and direction of levels of poverty), Linz and Stepan (1996: 223-34) concluded that this puzzle could be explained by "the *incompleteness* of the Chilean transition, the correspondingly different place of the military in Chilean and Argentine society in the mid-1990s, and the constraints under which Chilean democracy had been operating.

Since that time, public support for democracy in Chile has hardly recovered, and in Brazil, it is now the lowest in Latin America (Table 2). In the years from 1996 to 2000 a rising percentage of Chileans (from 54 to 57 percent) agreed that democracy was preferable to any other kind of government, but only 45 percent agreed in 2001 and 50 percent in 2002. In other words, 12 years after the return to democracy in Chile, only half of the population could agree with the superiority of democracy as a form of government. The good news is that the percentage agreeing that in certain circumstances an authoritarian government could be preferable to a democratic one fell from 19 percent in 2001 (a level that had been steady since at least 1996) to 14 percent in 2002. In Brazil, public support for democracy fell to a low of 30 percent in 2001 (only Salvadorans supported their democracy in lower numbers), and recovered, but only slightly, to 37 percent in 2002 (when this *was* the lowest rate in Latin America). It is anything but clear how to interpret these data.[1] But nevertheless, they introduce our problem: whether citizens are satisfied, whether they have trust in institutions, and whether they perceive their democracies as crime-ridden, corrupt, responsive, and accountable ultimately matters more for the future of democracy than any objective evaluation of these dimensions.

A. AN EVALUATION OF THE QUALITY OF DEMOCRACY ON FIVE DIMENSIONS

I. How democratic is the state?

Rule of law.

Ideally, the law should be both effective and, as Guillermo O'Donnell usefully reminds us in his paper for this conference, fairly applied by relevant state institutions. In Brazil, the application of the law is hardly consistent across equivalent cases. To cite just one example of what everyone in Brazil and who has ever visited Brazil knows, black defendants in cases of violent crimes tried in São Paulo courts are more likely to be held in custody pending trial, to rely on public defenders, to be convicted, and to be severely punished than their white counterparts (Adorno, 1995: 54–55, 62–63). The corollary of this, as O'Donnell tells us, is that the privileged manage to exempt themselves from the law. He repeats the vivid and memorable statement of former president Getúlio Vargas, "For my friends, everything; for my enemies, the law."

We might think of the rule of law in two ways: first, the transgression or upholding of the law by the state agencies that are charged with enforcing the law, and second, the effective and fair application of the law to the public domain (the behavior of elected and other public officials) and the private realm, that is, the streets. With respect to this second dimension, I highlight two aspects of the law -- corruption and crime rates.

When state institutions transgress the law they are charged with upholding, we have, in practice, an infringement on rights, the subject of my next section. It is, nonetheless, worth detaining ourselves for a moment here to highlight that in Brazil, the state itself is violent. In post-1985 Brazil, most state violence has not been directed against groups and individuals making political claims, but rather, much of it has targeted the poor, the socially marginal, and the nonwhite (Pereira, 2000: 217-18). Pereira characterizes the effective insulation of the military, the police, intelligence agencies, and prison services as giving rise to a "coercive state within the state."

One reason that state violence has continued is that there was lacking precisely the sorts of enforcement mechanisms that the authors of various thematic papers in this conference have highlighted. Only in 1996 did the civilian government pass a law that took all cases of intentional homicide by military police (the police on the streets, as opposed to the civilian police, who investigate crimes) against civilians out of the jurisdiction of military courts, where justice was slow and impunity common, and put them into courts of civilian judges and juries (Pereira, 2000: 232).

To report these details for any casual observer of Brazil is to belabor the obvious. The key question is whether things are getting better or worse. It is generally acknowledged that in the past decade, the murder rate in Brazil has doubled, and the judicial system is overwhelmed (there are only 7,000 judges for a population of nearly 170 million). Tony Pereira (Pereira, 2000: 217-18) alleges that both relative and absolute levels of state violence seem to have increased under democracy. Yet, he also reports that military police killings fell from 1,450 in 1992 to 402 in 1993, 519 in 1994, 618 in 1995, 398 in 1996, 435 in 1997, and 204 in the first 5 months of 1998. He attributes the drop to new training in human rights and community policing (Pereira, 2000: 234).

Corruption in Chile and Brazil.

The Global Governance Project of the World Bank measured both the rule of law and the control of corruption around the globe in 2000-01, based on surveys of 15 polls and surveys (including those conducted by Freedom House, the Economist Intelligence Unit, Gallup International, Latinobarometro, and Standard and Poor's DRI McGraw Hill. Chile easily outperformed Brazil in both categories. On a scale of from -2.5 to 2.5, Chile earned a score of 1.19 for the rule of law and 1.4 for control of corruption, whereas Brazil scored a -.26 on the rule of law and -.02 on control of corruption (Table 3). To put these figures in a broader context, Chile by far had the highest score on both counts in Latin America, and the estimates for Chile far exceed even those scores provided for Costa Rica and Uruguay. After the three traditionally

strong democratic states, Brazil ranks fourth in control of corruption, and fifth (behind Argentina) in the application of the rule of law. If we consider the surveys conducted by the NGO Transparency International, the picture is essentially the same: Chile is the least corrupt country in Latin America, or at least, it is perceived to be. On a "corruption perception index" of 1-10, with 10 being the cleanest and 1 the most corrupt, in 2002 Chile scored a 7.5.[2] At this level, Chile was the 17th cleanest country of 102 surveyed; in 16th place was the USA, with a score of 7.7, and in that year, seven of ten countries surveyed scored less than 5.

In what direction are the trends moving? Chile steadily scores as a country in which perceptions of corruption among politicians and public officials are low: its score has hovered at 7.4 in 2000 and 7.5 in 2001, after having dipped to 6.9, 6.8, 6.05, and 6.80 in 1999, 1998, 1997, and 1996, respectively. In 1995, Chile had earned a score of 7.94. Brazil started out in 1995 from a much lower base of 2.7. But it has registered steady improvement since, to 4.1 in 1999. It fell only slightly to 3.9 in 2000 and then recovered to a level of 4.0 in 2001 and 2002. This placed Brazil at 45th in the world; the only Latin American countries in the TI survey to be perceived as less corrupt, other than Chile, were Uruguay and Costa Rica, which again, is consistent with the World Bank data.

Crime in Brazil and Chile. Are ordinary people aware of this unequal application of the law, and if so, does it matter? Again, I call on the O'Donnell paper to recount an illuminating note that might have escaped your notice: in a survey of 800 residents of metropolitan São Paulo conducted in December 1992, 93 percent of respondents answered "no" to a question asking if the law was applied equally in Brazil. Does it matter? I believe that it does. In a recent work about the breakdown of democracy in interwar Europe, Nancy Bermeo contends that what distinguishes the surviving democracies from those that collapsed is not rampant inflation and economic depression but among other variables the crime rate. Her data show that from 1920 to 1938 in democracies that broke down, homicides occurred at three times the rate of the surviving democracies. Against this backdrop, if it sobering that estimates for Latin American homicide

rates range from 20 (provided by the Pan American Health Organization) to 30 per 100,000, compared to 7 per 100,000 in the U.S. and 2 per 100,000 in the United Kingdom, Spain, and Switzerland (as cited in Seligson, forthcoming). In 1992, the homicide rate in Brazil was 18 per 100,000; from 1990-1995, there were registered 3,000 deaths from collective civilian-military violence (Almond, Powell, Strom, and Dalton, 2004: 145-46).

How do crime and corruption rank as priorities for government action in Brazil and Chile? In Brazil in 2002, corruption was cited as only the sixth most important problem facing the new Lula government, behind unemployment, health, drugs, public security, and inflation (Table 4). In Chile, crime was ranked as the third most important problem facing the Lagos government in July 2003 (Table 5). Crime, and drugs, have been consistently seen as important by Chileans: in both May-June 1995 and June-July 1997, Chileans ranks crime as the second most important problem for government authorities, and the related issue of drug consumption and drug-related violence as third and sixth most important, respectively.

Freedom and Rights.

I rely for indicators of the protection of political freedom and civil rights the annual Freedom House surveys, *Freedom in the World.* These categories correspond to David Beetham's distinction between civil and political rights. In Table 6, I present the separate and combined scores (political rights and civil liberties) for Brazil and Chile in Latin American perspective for the past 30 years. In 2003, both were classified as free, and generally, both have been moving in a freer direction in this decade, but their scores have been consistently lower than Costa Rica.

It is a great paradox of Brazil's democratization that the state has been more prone to sponsor violence and less able to guarantee civil liberties than during all but the most repressive years of military rule in the 1970s. In the first years after the transition to civilian rule – 1985-1988 – Brazil received a score of "2" from Freedom House on civil liberties (on its 7 point scale where 1

represents the 'most free'). In the 1990s, both political freedom and civil liberties had eroded to the point that in 1993, Brazilians were no longer classified as "free," but only as "partly free."

There are many reasons why the Brazilian state so weakly guarantees political rights and civil liberties. Torture, especially against poor criminal suspects, is routine; extrajudicial killings by the police are disguised as shootouts with dangerous criminals; and violence against women and children is common (Pereira, 2000; Pinheiro, 1997; Freedom House, 2003; Brinks, forthcoming). Freedom House has reported that "Brazil's police are among the world's most violence and corrupt," and that "human rights, particularly those of socially marginalized groups, are violated with impunity on a massive scale." In June 2001, 27 police officers in Rio de Janeiro were accused of being involved in kidnapping rings, and also in 2001, Amnesty International joined the charge that Brazil's police resort to torture to extract confessions from prisoners. If the treatment of prisoners is a guide for judging whether a state effectively guarantees the rights of its citizens, Brazil would fail miserably. The prison system, with 200,000 incarcerated (nearly half in São Paulo), is overwhelmed.[3] At the extreme, regular police and penal system forces have massacred prison inmates. In October 1992, in the most spectacular of these incidents, 111 prisoners were killed in the Carandiru prison in São Paulo (Pereira, 2000: 229-30).

The judicial system has generally failed to produce convictions for the hired assassins of street children interfering with commerce (seven children were the victims of a massacre in 1993 at the Candelária Cathedral in Rio de Janeiro), and for the military police and paramilitary groups implicated in rural massacres and otherwise brutally intimidating landless workers (in 1999, the first three of the 150 people on trial for the 1996 massacre by the military police of 19 landless peasants in the state of Pará were absolved). According to the Pastoral Land Commission of the Catholic Church, from 1964 to 1992 there were 1,730 killings of peasants, rural workers, trade union leaders, and lawyers as well as religious people serving in advisory capacities in rural and labor conflicts; of these, only 30 cases were brought to trial, and there were only 18 convictions (Pinheiro, 1997: 272). Where the judicial system did produce a conviction, as for instance in the

case of the murder of rubber tapper leader Chico Mendes, local officials permitted the escape from prison of those convicted.

Since reestablishing democratic rule, Brazil has actually seen an erosion of human rights and civil liberties. The continuing failure of the judicial system to convict those implicated in the massacre of society's weak contributes to a sense of impunity. In Brazil, the people often take the law into their own hands, with hundreds of reported lynchings and mob executions, and the police force, who lack training and are systematically underpaid (at the lower ranks, salaries start at the minimum wage of $72 a month), also participates in violence and torture in the normal course of conducting its business.

(Chile - add background, transition to democracy, Pinochet's arrest). In a March 1991 poll, 63.4 percent of respondents believed that the publication of the Rettig Report would be beneficial for Chile, and only 20.1 percent felt it would be harmful (13.5 percent were not sure or did not know, and 3 percent did not answer) (CEP, 1991).

On the whole, Chile is a fairly free society today. Workers may form unions without prior authorization as well as join existing unions (today approximately 12 percent of Chile's 5.7 million workers belong to unions). The media operate without constraints, although, Freedom House reports, some self-censorship continues. On October 30, 2002, the Senate approved a bill eliminating censorship of films in Chile. President Lagos created a "historical truth and new deal commission" to consider the needs of the communities of Chile's Mapuche Indians, who represent two-thirds of the country's 1.2 million indigenous people (10 percent of the total population) and who have become increasingly vocal about their rights to ancestral lands that the government and private industry seek to develop. As in Brazil, prisons are antiquated and overcrowded, with facilities nationally running at about 163 percent of capacity.

In 2003, Freedom House upgraded Chile's civil liberties rating from 2 to 1 for what it called "President Ricardo Lagos's adroit handling of Chile's still thorny civil-military relationship." The head of the air force resigned after the service's senior officer was accused of hiding details

about human rights abuses during the Pinochet dictatorship. "This affair allowed Lagos to reopen contentious constitutional issues concerning civilian primacy over the armed forces and came amidst a series of court actions against military human rights offenders." Among those court actions was the defense mounted by Professor Felipe Agüero in response to the charge brought by a former naval officer whom Agüero named as his torturer for defamation of character.

Freedom House says little about the status of women in Chile – apart from mention of the appointment of five women to his 16-member cabinet as well as the charge "violence and discrimination against women and violence against children remain problems." But we should at least discuss the question of whether divorce is a civil right. Chile is one of three countries in the world to ban divorce. Family law codes were revised relatively recently to allow women to share in marital property (Htun, 2003).

II. How Equal is Society and the Polity?

Dietrich Rueschemeyer reminds us that *political equality* is affected directly by social and economic inequality, and indirectly, in that dominant groups can shape the views, values, and preferences of subordinate groups. There is no indicator that more graphically threatens the quality of democracy in Brazil, Chile, and indeed, all of Latin America than the legacy and condition of extreme inequality. In this section, I attempt to portray the extent of economic and social inequality in gross quantitative and other terms, and then, to begin to make sense of what it means for *political* equality and inequality.

Brazil. Brazil's distribution of personal income is grossly unequal. The share of the national income captured by the richest 10 percent of the population climbed steadily from 40 percent in 1960 to 47 percent in 1970, 61 percent in 1980, and 52 percent in 1989, when the poorest 20 percent received only 2 percent. In 1995, the share of the wealthiest 10 percent had dropped slightly to 48 percent, and the worsening of the Gini coefficient abated after reading a high of .64 in 1980. In 1999, the coefficient had dropped to .60, still the third highest in the world behind

South Africa and Malawi. By the ratio between the average income of the wealthiest 10 percent and the poorest 40 percent, as well as between the wealthiest and poorest 20 percent of the population, Brazil is the most unequal country in the world.

Inequality is reproduced across regions, which have developed unevenly. The nine states comprising the desperately poor and drought-plagued Northeast now contain 28 percent of Brazil's population, but in 1999, contributed only 13 percent of the gross domestic product and 10 percent of the nation's social security contributions. The four states of the Southeast, by contrast, are home to 43 percent of the population and generate two-thirds of the social security contributions and close to three-fifths of the national economic activity and wealth. In 2000, 47 percent of the adult population in the Northeast had had less than three years of school (18 percent had had less than one year), twice the rate of the more developed states of the South (Paraná, Santa Catarina, and Rio Grande do Sul) and Southeast and one and one-half the national average. The infant mortality rate in the Northeast, which dropped dramatically from the very high level of 88 in 1990 to half that – 44 – in 2000, stubbornly remained at more than twice the level of the Southeast and South.

Brazilian society is also stratified by color as well as by class and region. We can assume that its population of color, divided officially into several gross and imperfect racial categories ("black," *parda* or *mulata* [of mixed black and white blood], *mestiça* or *mameluca* [of white and Indian blood], *cafuza* [of black and Indian blood], and simply "Indians"), constitutes just about half of the population (according to the 2000 census, blacks represent 6 percent of the population and pardos 39 percent), and as much as two-thirds in the Northeast. Black Brazilians are more likely to be poor, to suffer harsh treatment at the hands of the police, and to find their promotions blocked in public and private life. Brazilians of color are more than twice as likely to be illiterate and apt to earn less than half as much as their white counterparts. While blacks constitute over 40 percent of the population, they account for 60 percent of those gaining the monthly minimum wage. In 1998, male black workers earned 46 percent the average monthly income of white, male

workers, and female black workers, 40 percent.[4] As we have seen, racial discrimination, moreover, extends beyond the marketplace into the judicial system. Like the black population, Brazil's Indians, too, have been seriously disadvantaged from the establishment of the Portuguese colony to the present. Portuguese settlers and their descendents coveted Indian labor, lands, and more recently, natural resources located on Indian lands—timber and minerals. They have also most ominously threatened the very survival of Indian culture through various schemes to promote the integration of Indians into Brazilian society. It was not until 1988 that the collective rights of Indians—including to hold lands necessary for production, preservation of the environment, and for their physical and cultural reproduction—were constitutionally guaranteed.[5] (**are they enforced?**)

The relevant question is not *whether* such gross inequality is consequential for politics, but *how*. We were invited to discuss qualitative as well as quantitative data in our papers. I cannot resist recounting, now third-hand, the following information about the existence of modern-day slavery in Brazil. In the rural areas, it is reported, at least 90,000 people have at some time been enslaved in the 25-year period up to the early to mid-1990s. People are "hired" to work and are brought to a work site, after which they are informed that they are indebted for their transportation and food during transport. The workers are not paid wages and are threatened with death if they attempt to escape (Pinheiro, 1997: 270).

In his paper, David Beetham encourages us to examine the nature of campaign finance as a right. Campaign finance is an obvious area in which to raise the question of whether economic inequalities are shaping political representation, or whether the political field is insulated from economic disadvantage. These data are not available for Chile, though anecdotal evidence suggests that this is a huge problem (Ignacio Walker's accounts). Since 1993, they have, however, been available for Brazil. David Samuels (2001) has found that in the 1994 and 1998 general elections, most campaign finance in Brazil comes not from individuals (as it does in the United States), but from business sources, especially banks and construction companies. This

effect is most pronounced in presidential races (97 percent of contributions in the 1994 presidential race and 94 percent in 1998 were corporate), but also still true in gubernatorial (85 percent corporate in 1994 and 69 percent in 1998) and senatorial races (9 and 43 percent), and still true, though to a lesser extent, in the federal deputy elections (62 and 57 percent, respectively). While one might suspect, therefore, that these entities exercise undue influence over policy, Samuels finds that an "extortion" model fits better the story of campaign finance in Brazil. That is, public officials can 'extort' firms to donate to their campaigns, or effectively punish them through denial of contracts or business. Nonetheless, leftist candidates have extremely limited access to such financing. In the presidential races of 1994 and 1998, for example, Fernando Henrique Cardoso raised $41.4 and $37.1 million, respectively; by contrast, Lula raised only $1.7 and $1.9 million (Samuels, 2001: 31). More generally, candidates from the PT each raised about 10 percent of the amount from businesses that candidates from non-leftist parties did in 1994, and on average, leftist candidates (including those of the PT, PDT, and other Left parties) each raised only about 15 percent of the amount from business that candidates from non-leftist parties did in both elections (Samuels, 2001: 39). Overall, leftist candidates accrued only about 7 percent of all corporate contributions, but 45 percent of what non-leftists did from individuals.

A second, obvious area highlighted by Rueschemeyer is the means of communication. What about the control of newspapers and broadcast media outlets? In Brazil, there is a certain concentration of the television share in the Globo network. Radio and television station licenses have in the past been given out by the Minister of Communications to his political allies (this was especially true when the infamous Bahian politician Antonio Carlos Magalhães held this portfolio).

Chile

(add material on worsening of inequality under the dictatorship, numbers in the informal sector, exacerbation of poverty in 1970s and 1980s; under Concertación governments in the 1990s, poverty declined along with rebounding growth rates, but inequality still problematic)

(no information on campaign finance; add something on means of communication)

Once again, are these societies becoming more or less equal? Are governments in Brazil and Chile taking steps to curb the poverty that subverts participation, and the wealth and income inequality that spills over into the political realm? The Gini coefficient has improved slightly in Brazil in recent years, but perhaps not enough to matter. But there is a bright spot: education reforms in Brazil, which was real and palpable in the eight years of the Cardoso administration (1995-2002) hold some promise. Between 1991 and 1999, school enrollment among 7 to 14-year-olds rose from 86 to 97 percent, and from 1994 to 2001, the number of students in primary school rose from 31.1 to 35.3 million (a 13.5 percent increase) and in secondary school, from 4.4 to 8.4 million (an increase of 90 percent). From 1991 to 2000, the proportion of adults who had not completed three years of schooling had dropped from 41 to 31 percent. This trend can only be salutary for the ability of Brazilians to exercise the full rights and responsibilities of citizenship.

The election of Lula in itself is a dramatic statement on the part of tens of millions of Brazil's electors for a more equal society. Apart from a war on hunger (*Fome Zero*), the administration's immediate response has disappointed many of its supporters hoping for more radical change. More importantly, have steps been taken to level the playing field by strengthening politically the economically disadvantaged? Have there been efforts to reform campaign finance? To encourage the collective organization of the interests of subordinate classes? Next, I turn to the role of collective action in the accountability and responsiveness of democratic regimes.

III. How Democratic is the Regime? Accountability and Responsiveness

Following Philippe Schmitter, I have clustered my analysis of accountability and responsiveness, and I, too, have connected these two dimensions of the quality of democracy to

the notion of representation. In this paper, I have considered the roles of citizens, representatives, and rulers, and I have attempted to assess some of the measures of successful and failed accountability. I have, for the moment, punted on the virtues and the merits of spatial (vertical versus horizontal accountability) versus temporal metaphors. Following Bing Powell, I attempt to draw a connection between the preferences of citizens and the responsiveness of democratic regimes and governments.

How do Brazil and Chile stack up? The Global Governance Project of the World Bank to which I referred above has also ranked countries on the dimension of "voice and accountability." On this measure, Chile scored a .63, only slightly higher than Brazil's .53, and substantially lower than Costa Rica (1.37) and Uruguay (1.08). Brazil's score was identical to that of Argentina (.53), and considerably better than El Salvador (.21) and Mexico (.12), the next best Latin American performers (refer back to Table 2). How should we interpret these data? To me, accountability can mean two very different things. It can mean accountability in government policy-making in the sense that money is accounted for, and the criteria for the distribution and evaluation of the delivery of public services is clear. Chile scores high on this dimension, and in Brazil, suffice it to say that there is room for improvement. But in another sense, Brazil is not doing so badly. The argument that I make here is that Brazilian democracy has improved substantially in the past 15 years in responding to citizen preferences, not so much by implementing technically clean programs, but by representing a wider range of programmatic alternatives to voters in elections, and in doing so, has also enhanced its own accountability. It is precisely this dimension that has been more restrained in Chile since the transition to democracy in 1990.

I proceed by first focusing on Schmitter's component of citizen involvement. When democracy is accountable, citizens are involved through participation, attention, and obligation. Failed accountability, on the other hand, results in indifference as well as abstention and resentment.

Brazil. There has been a striking increase in citizen participation in politics that has continued for the past thirty years. Brazilian citizens are participating more than ever more in politics. Brazilian citizens tend to register and turn out to vote (Table 7), and when they choose to protest, they usually do so by spoiling their ballots, not by abstaining from the process. It is true that voting is mandatory, but nonetheless, turnout rates are robust in cross-national perspective.

Brazilian citizens also participate in other ways. With the demise of the authoritarian regime, citizens participated in the process of drafting the new constitution by proposing 168 popular initiative amendments (each of which required at least 30,000 signatures), especially in the areas of economic and political rights. Two agrarian reform amendments alone received nearly 1.2 million signatures (Hochstetler, 2000: 172). By 1993, only about one third of Brazilians did *not* belong to a voluntary association; one fifth belonged to three or more. While many of these associations were not formally political (most common were grassroots communities, athletic clubs, labor unions, political parties, and neighborhood associations), nearly half of Brazilians in one national survey reported dedicating sufficient time to talking about politics with other people, attending meetings or political rallies, or working for a party or candidate to earn the classification of "high political participation." Moreover, 27 percent claimed to have signed a petition or list of demands, 24 percent to have taken part in a demonstration, and 19 percent to have participated in a strike, authorized or wildcat (McDonough, Shin, and Moisés, 1998: 946, 924, 944). Today there are 540 neighborhood associations in the southern city of Porto Alegre alone (up from 180 in 1986) and 51 housing cooperatives that did not exist a decade earlier (Baiocchi, 2001: 55).

Civic participation in Porto Alegre, the capital of the southern state of Rio Grande do Sul, has engendered a most interesting experiment in "accountable governance" that merits our attention here: participatory budgeting. In 1989 the PT administration launched participatory budgeting as an experiment in local government, and this practice has since been copied in over 140 cities and six states in Brazil as well as in several cities around the rest of the world. Participatory

budgeting is a process in which hundreds of thousands of citizens meet in a series of open, public assemblies before the legislative budget cycle begins to establish investment priorities (Baiocchi, 2001; Schneider and Goldfrank). Participants elect regional delegates, who in turn elect state budget councilors; both sets of delegates negotiate the budget document with state bureaucrats. The process includes an evaluation of the previous year's spending and a continuous monitoring of investment priorities.

By establishing criteria for allocating resources to districts that weight the lack of the specific public service, the total population of the district, and how the district prioritized the specific service, participatory budgeting breaks Brazil's notorious clientelistic pattern of distributing public resources. The percentage of the public budget available for investment rose from 2 percent in 1989 to 20 percent in 1994, and municipal services such as running water and sewage coverage has been extended to 98 percent of all residencies in the city (up from 75 and 46, respectively). Participatory budgeting, a creation of a leftist local government, has earned high marks from international agencies for enhancing the transparency of the budgeting process and for more broadly creating institutions of good governance. Participatory budgeting has also been praised by students of democracy for its salutary effect on encouraging popular participation, strengthening civil society, and ultimately, enhancing democracy in Brazil.

(add data on [dis]satisfaction with government, trust in institutions)

Chile. **(*voter registration, youth registration)***A second measure of participation is what we can term "interest in politics." We have a valuable opportunity to observe fluctuations in levels of what we might call "interest in politics" by Chileans in the past 10 years. Public opinion polls have asked a series of questions about citizen involvement in politics (Table 8). At the lower levels (such as the frequency with which respondents watch political programming on television and read news about politics), we find that interest first fell dramatically after the first election after the transition to democracy (between December 1993 and May-June 1995, the percentage of respondents claiming never to watch political programming more than doubled from 23 to 48

percent, and rose again to over 51 percent in June-July 1997. The trend is the same with those who read news about politics: whereas over 20 percent of respondents claimed to do so frequently in December 1993, 18 months later that number was halved, and in June-July 1997, only 7.6 percent of respondents frequently read about politics in newspapers. Moreover, there was also a sharp increase in the percentage of respondents who never speak with family and friends about politics, from 44.6 and 48.7 percent, respectively, in December 1993 to 66.5 and 67.0 percent, respectively, in June-July 1997. Only a very small percentage of Chileans ever try to convince someone of their political position (approximately 12 percent did so sometimes in 2002 and 2003 and 3.5 percent frequently) or work for a party or candidate (6 percent did so sometimes and 1.5 percent did so frequently). Levels of interest in politics recovered somewhat in 2002 and 2003, with the percentage of those who watch political programs on TV or read about politics in newspapers rising,

What of the accountability of representatives and rulers? How do representatives in Brazil and Chile mobilize their followers, compete for office, and induce compliance among their constituents for government policies? Do we see evidence of obstruction and resistance? And what of rulers? Are they accessible, do they deliberate, are they ***responsive?*** I attempt to operationalize these questions on the premise that what matters is that elites represent a broad range of interests and, in elections lies a still fundamentally important mechanism of democratic accountability. On this dimension, Brazil has been improving, and Chile still needs to.

Bing Powell's paper shows the enormous complexity of measuring the connection between the preferences of citizens and government policies (minus the bad accidents and good fortunes of international commodity prices, international financial crises, bureaucratic capability, and so forth). I agree that we want to see policy responsiveness – not necessarily outcomes (given different starting points) – but even then, should responsiveness be measured by spending levels or in some other way? After pointing out all these problems, he tells us that he hopes we can find a way out of his pessimism. Only the arrogant would dismiss all his concerns, and I wish I could

take comfort from matching government formation to citizen preference along a left-right scale as a solution to the dilemma. Unfortunately, I cannot. I cannot myself discern whether eliminating life-time job tenure for public employees, for example, is a "right' policy or a "left" policy. How could a Brazilian citizen with a third-grade education?

One solution might be to choose a policy area in which the policy outcome does not depend on a range of variables (as does bringing down the rate of inflation or especially generating growth, jobs, and good wages; clean air and water; or good schools; access to quality health care; or reducing the rate of crime). One such area is social policy, and in particular, the (lack of a) divorce law in Chile. A second might be political reform - elimination of the designated senators and civil-military relations. In these areas, there are fewer accidents such as earthquakes, El Nino, or international financial contagion waiting to happen. If there is a mismatch, then, between public preferences and public policy, we could crudely assume that either the party of government betrayed their electoral mandate, or, that some other veto player in the system is preventing the alignment of public policy with public preferences.

Chile is one of three countries in the world that do have permit legal divorce. One reason that this might be so, of course, is because electors (the median voter) in a Catholic country may not want divorce to be legal (such an argument could plausibly be made about the lack of legal abortion in Chile, despite the frequent termination of pregnancies in Chile). Yet, in fact, roughly three-quarters of Chileans over time have favored a divorce law. In 1995, 74 percent of respondents in a national poll favored a divorce law "in some cases," whereas 26 were opposed in all cases. Of those who favored a divorce law in some cases, 97 percent believed the law should authorize a divorce when both spouses agreed to a divorce, 83 percent when only one asked for a divorce and the couple were separated, and 96 percent if one spouse mistreated the other (CEP, 1995: 9). In 2002, in response to a slightly different question, 22.7 percent of respondents agreed strongly, and 53.8 percent agreed (for a total of 76.5 percent) with the statement, "divorce is

generally the best solution when a couple is incapable of resolving their marital problems" (CEP, 2002: 6).

(add a few sentences on civil-military relations and designated senators)

Another possibility is to match evaluations of government performance in those areas identified as salient within public opinion polls.

A third way is to show that a *range* of policy alternatives should at least be made available, especially given the multidimensionality of policy (and therefore the inadequacy of the median voter theorem). And in this specific sense, I would claim that the range of policy alternatives are far broader today in Brazil than in Chile, and that this difference is very significant to the quality of democracy in both countries – again – to why they may be moving in different, if not opposite directions. Wide policy differences, in other words, are a good thing for a high-quality democracy.

But first, we need to establish that party programs mean something, and that citizens know what parties stand for, particularly given the history of parties in Brazil that have had weak roots in the electorate, that have suffered very high levels of representatives switching party affiliation, and in many, politicians cultivating a personal, not a party, vote. During the dictatorship, and specifically in the years of the two-party system from 1965 to 1979, citizens associated the ARENA party with the government, and the opposition MDB with the opposition to authoritarianism. Since the transition to democracy and especially in the 1990s, my answer is that Brazilian parties *are* growing stronger, and in this fact itself lies evidence of a rising quality of Brazilian democracy. On a range of objective indicators -- declining rates of electoral volatility, rising Rice indexes of party cohesion in legislative voting (and more sophisticated measures such as John Carey's weighted unity index), and declining rates of party switching, Brazilian parties are stronger than in the past (Table 9). Moreover, my own surveys of the Brazilian survey shows that the opinions of *legislators* on a wide range of key economic and social policy issues clusters at least as much as do their counterparts in Chile (Table 10).

Our stereotypes of Chilean and Brazilian parties would lead us to believe that policy differences were historically wide in Chile and narrow in Brazil, if they were cohesive at all in Brazil. The justification for this is, of course, that although there were military coups in both countries, in Chile, *political parties* with significant shares of the vote (and not just small revolutionary movements like the MIR) exhibited vast differences over how the economy and society should be organized. In Brazil, by contrast, although the PTB was pushing the boundaries of permissible positions in 1963-64, generally, politics was much less polarized at the level of the party elites and mass publics. The tails of politics might have been just as long, but the distribution very different.

We have seen that Brazilian parties exhibited a greater cohesiveness over policy in the 1990s than in earlier years. What of the distance between parties? I conducted surveys of the Chilean and Brazilian legislatures in 1998 and 1999-00, respectively, with a response rate of 31 percent in Chile and 25 percent in Brazil.[6] A casual reading of the stated evaluations of legislators of market-oriented initiatives and areas of reform suggests that in Chile, (1) partisan differences are sharper over some specific economic and political reforms than over others; (2) partisan differences are less sharp over the more ideological dimension of economic liberalism; and (3) partisan differences are quite narrow on the issue of the relationship of economic reforms to democratic consolidation. In Brazil, representatives of the governing PSDB and the opposition PT were deeply divided over the salutory effects of market-oriented reforms on democracy.

In order to ascertain systematically the current partisan distance on economic reform initiatives and economic and social policy, I ordered the 14 specific economic reform initiatives in Chile and 10 in Brazil according to their degree of divisiveness (Table 11). I applied the Sani and Sartori (1991) measure -- developed to gauge ideological distance between parties -- to the distance in the positions on these parties with respect to these issues. This involved calculating

the distance between the parties, and then, dividing by the maximum spread (4) (-2 to 2). In Chile, because although there are five major parties but two clear electoral blocs, I calculated the issue distance between the governing coalition (Concertación) and the rightist opposition. In Brazil, there were also 5 major parties and two sets of assorted parties on the left and right, but four of the five major parties at the time of my survey were loosely allied in the governing coalition and represented 70 percent of the vote, as opposed to the approximately half of the Chilean vote represented by the PS/PPD/PDC Concertación bloc. In order to approximate comparability to the distance between the parties of the Chilean Concertación on the one hand and the combined parties of the Brazilian Right on the other, I separately calculated the difference between the combined PT and other left and the PSDB and the PFL, on the logic that the PFL was a closer governing ally than other coalition members. I also present the spread between the PSDB and the PT, on the logic that this was the choice essentially acted upon by voters in the 2002 presidential election. Of course, these scores represent the preferences of legislators, not actual policy, but nonetheless they are still illuminating.

On the whole, we find that there is a greater gap in 5 of 10 areas in Brazil than in *any* area in Chile (and in 8 of 10 between the PSDB and the PT). The three most divisive issues in Chile were the 1993 tax reform, the proposal to eliminate designated senators, and the 1991 labor legislation. There were nine policy areas in which there was a difference of less than .38 (the policy generating the most agreement in Brazil), and in the five remaining areas, a difference of from .38 to .57. In Brazil, there were also five areas in this range (.38 to .57), but in the five others, the difference was greater than .60. In other words, policy differences were indeed wider in Brazil, by any measure, than they were in Chile. Although we cannot know for certain what those differences would have been in each country a decade ago, we have strong reason to suspect that policy differences have narrowed in Chile, and broadened in Brazil, since militaries governed those countries.

What is the nature of these emerging issue cleavages, and their relationship to political ideology? Ideological placement of others, or self-placement, is at best a crude substitute for positions on a range of issues, some of which may be more salient at any moment in time as a cleavage of politics than others. Nevertheless, we may establish three points. First, the self-placement of Brazilian legislators on a 10-point Left-Right scale (with 1 representing the extreme Left and 10 the far Right) suggests levels of ideological polarization comparable to those of Chile, which in the past was believed to be polarized to an exaggerated degree. In the 1998 survey, the average location of representatives of Chile's Socialist Party (the left-most party by reputation) was 3.00, and for representatives of the Independent Democratic Union (the farthest right party), 7.25, which yields a "difference score" of .47.[7] The difference score for identification by all respondents, .64, was even less than Brazil's score in each of the three years for which Power provides data (.77 in 1990, .70 in 1993, and .72 in 1997).

Second, according to Power's surveys (Mainwaring, Meneguello, and Power, 2000: 184-85) of the Brazilian Congress, levels of ideological polarization were fairly consistent in the years from 1990 to 1997. In 1997, the difference score between the ideological self-placement of members of the left-most party of the political spectrum, the Workers' Party, and that of the right-most party, the Party of the Liberal Front, was .42, and for all legislators participating in the survey, .72. These percentages are actually down slightly from 1990 (when they were .45 and .77, respectively), but up from 1993 (when they were .36 and .70).

Third, while we might expect the PT to oppose economic reform and the PPB (the party of Delfim Netto) to support it, the degree of support for reform does *not* neatly conform to ideological placement and self-placement of the legislators. The PSDB (like the formerly populist Peronists), supported market initiatives to a greater degree than other parties to its right, most notably, the PFL. In the years from 1990 to 1997, the PSDB moved from a placement on the ideological scale by all members of Congress who responded to Power's survey of 3.95 to 5.86, and a self-placement by members of its delegation from 3.52 to 4.81. Such a shift marks a

greater ideological movement than the Brazilian average. One could even hypothesize that support or opposition to some aspects of state reform could depend on the perceived ability of parties to compete in the electoral arena with a sharply diminished patronage warchest.

Public preferences - issue salience, L-R dimension, IBOPE, CEP data (critiques of Latinobarometro - link to issues

Why this is so is *not* due, I argue, simply to the electoral system, though it is tempting to think so given the change that Chile's electoral system has undergone. Chile moved from a proportional system to a binomial system after the dictatorship. Since 1989, deputies have been elected in one of 60, two-member districts. The ballot structure provides for open lists; voters indicate a preference for one candidate within a list of up to two candidates; all votes for candidates within each list are pooled together the determine the distribution of seats among lists, and seats are allocated to those candidates from seat-winning lists in the order of their individual vote totals. But the influence of party leaders may be stronger than that which might be suggested by an open-list system. Both candidates on a list can be selected only if their list more than doubles the vote total of the second-place list – otherwise, the top candidate from each of the first two lists is elected. The electoral law has forced political parties that are coalition partners to negotiate a common list of candidates in each district prior to the election.

Brazil - open list PR, high DM, a nightmare for legislative cohesion, F & L show, delegates reasonably discipline on voting (also, Carey, weighted party unity votes)

Tradeoff – representativeness versus governability. Chilean socialists (Lagos), feel a return to PR would be a good thing. Many Christian Democratic members of the coalition and well-intentioned foreign observers (like my colleague Scott Mainwaring) think this would be a bad thing because it would eliminate what they feel has diminished the dangerous levels of political polarization that destabilized Chilean democracy in the past. Whether it is a good thing or a bad thing is, I think, not what we in this conference should be debating. The relevant question is whether or not the tradeoff is a valid way of approaching the problem. I have come to think that

it is. Governability has been enhanced in Chile, as has stability. But representativeness has probably been diminished.

Empirical indicators should be qualitative and quantitative (use public opinion survey data when appropriate and available) - Assess historical trends of improvement and/or subversion over time along each of these dimensions

B. AN EXPLANATION FOR THE IMPROVING QUALITY OF DEMOCRACY

I now turn my attention to answering the question of why Chile and Brazil exhibit the level and characteristics of the quality (or subversion of quality) of democracy described in the first part of this paper. I offer two explanations. First, I think that market-oriented reforms are not eroding democracy, but changing its nature, in ways that are not self-evident. Before proceeding, I have to establish some common vocabulary about neoliberalism, market-oriented reforms, and economic liberalization. I use the latter two interchangeably, but not the former. Following John Sheahan (199), I think of neoliberalism as akin to the Pinochet program. But this is different from how a social democrat, a Fernando Henrique Cardoso as well as a Lula, might reform the economy while still paring the state's role in it. The PT may have a project of reducing state payrolls for the cronies of politicians who cannot compete electorally on any other basis but gross patronage and state contracts, in order to invest in health and nutrition as the Cardoso government did in education. The Argentine Peronists coined the phrase "Hood Robin," to suggest that state intervention that they thought cast themselves in the role of Robin Hood -- stealing from the rich to give to the poor -- in fact worked in the opposite direction. The Peronists in power might not have been so successful as they had hoped (there is plenty of evidence that Carlos Menem rewarded himself and his friends with privatization schemes), but the concept might yet have some validity. Whether liberal economics can bring about greater equality, where one draws the line normatively, is to up everyone here, but this is not my most important point. I think there is an empirical point. I think that economic liberalization has shaped political representation in the

region. I think that the deregulation of labor markets will undermine corporatism -- which is, after all, the state regulation of interest representation (which David Beetham admonishes us about as a violation of rights), and the diminution of state regulatory, distributive, and productive resources is changing the nature of the personal vote. Disputes about how to liberalize, what and how to privatize, and how to reregulate, moreover, are creating new cleavages of politics that will have a salutary effect on the representation of preferences. I am fairly certain of this with respect to Brazil. I am less confident about Chile, where economic liberalization took place in the closed spaces of a dictatorship. But even there, I think that that process shaped the technocratic quality of Chile's democracy. I think the automatic formula that make Chile's government wonderfully clean, transparent, and its policy accountable in one respect, also perhaps diminish its representativeness and its accountability in another sense. Perhaps for this reason, Chileans just don't plain appreciate their otherwise high quality democracy.

My second point is fuzzier and certainly not so scientific. I think that there is a march toward greater democracy. Brazil is changing, and has been quite palpably since I began studying it a quarter century ago. And I think Chile will too. The nature of their authoritarian legacies is different, easier to shake off in the case of Brazil. But Pinochet is neutralized. When a dictator is deposed but lingers in the wings, it has a different effect on people than when he is seen as broken. There are hints that the Chilean right is moving on -- the Army chief, Lavin -- and this is a good thing. Perhaps the Concertación will fragment, but for me, a government of the Right might not be my preference but I don't think it would be the most horrible thing that could happen to Chile. What would be worse is if Chile becomes ungovernable, but I don't see that happening.

CONCLUSIONS

It is always a challenge, in any gathering such as this one, when talking about democracy in Latin America, not to be either overly critical of the quality of democracy – applying a standard

that Philippe Schmitter would call irreal – or denying upward trends, on the one hand, or to give a pass to democracies that are such virtually in name only. Against the backdrop of gross inequality, the absence of the rule of law, police torture, paramilitary bands in the jungle, and prison massacres in Brazil, and women who barely can hold a checking account in their own name in Chile, on a continent in which it was always okay to kill an Indian - to say that these are high quality democracies is not the point. The point is, are they flat, rising, or in decline? And how do these dimensions relate to each other.

I have attempted to show that Chilean democracy is of a higher quality today than 10 years ago, when it was peppered by what Manuel Antonio Garreton called "authoritarian enclaves," and by some measures, it is of higher quality than Brazil. But progress in guaranteeing some rights and removing the military as veto player has also been accompanied by slow progress in advancing the rights of women and the inability to remove the veto of the designated senators. More central to the arguments advanced in this paper, accountability and responsiveness, or simply put, political representation, is too weak for a once proud democracy.

Brazilian democracy, by contrast, is messy. Brazil still struggles with corruption, though it has improved, the rule of law is highly uneven, to state the matter in its most positive form, and inequality is egregious that debates about reform of policing practices and campaign finance can hardly proceed quickly enough. Still, I argue that political representation in Brazil, once so weak, is improving, and in this, there is reason to be optimistic.

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Table 1. Inequality in Brazil, Chile, and Latin America

Country	Gini Index Scores	Share of income of top 10 percent
Brazil	**60.7**	**48.0**
Colombia	57.1	46.1
Chile	**56.7**	**45.6**
Guatemala	55.8	46.0
Mexico	53.1	41.7
El Salvador	52.2	39.5
Venezuela	49.5	36.5
Peru	46.2	35.4
Costa Rica	45.9	34.6
Bolivia	44.7	32.0
Uruguay	42.3	32.7

Table 2. Support for Democracy

	Support for Democracy*					Support for Authoritarianism**				
Country	1996	2000	2001	2002	Change since 1996	1996	2000	2001	2002	Change since 1996
Uruguay	80	84	79	78	-2	9	9	10	10	1
Costa Rica	80	83	71	77	-3	7	6	8	8	1
Chile	**54**	**57**	**45**	**50**	**-4**	**19**	**19**	**19**	**14**	**-5**
Argentina	71	71	58	65	-6	15	16	21	17	2
Brazil	**50**	**39**	**30**	**37**	**-13**	**24**	**24**	**18**	**15**	**-9**
Mexico	53	45	46	63	10	23	34	35	20	-3
Bolivia	64	62	54	56	-8	17	13	17	20	3
El Salvador	56	63	25	40	-16	12	10	10	16	4
Guatemala	51	45	33	45	-6	21	21	21	12	-9
Colombia	60	50	36	39	-21	20	23	16	11	-9
Peru	63	64	62	57	-6	13	13	12	16	3
Venezuela	62	61	57	75	13	19	24	20	12	-7

Source: Latinobarometro.

Q: “Which of the following statements do you agree with the most?” (%)

*”Democracy is preferable to any other kind of government.”

**”In certain circumstances, an authoritarian government can be preferable to a democratic one.”

Table 3. Governance Indicators, 2000-01*

Country	Voice and accountability	Political stability	Government effectiveness	Regulatory quality	Rule of law	Control of corruption	Sum
Chile	**.63**	**.87**	**1.13**	**1.1**	**1.19**	**1.4**	**6.32**
Costa Rica	1.37	1.08	.74	.88	.61	.87	5.55
Uruguay	1.08	1.05	.61	.95	.63	.71	5.03
Argentina	.57	.55	.18	.25	.22	-.36	1.41
Brazil	**.53**	**.47**	**-.27**	**.13**	**-.26**	**-.02**	**.58**
El Salvador	.21	.62	-.25	.94	-.65	-.33	.54
Mexico	.12	.06	.28	.58	-.41	-.28	.35
Peru	.15	-.23	-.35	.36	-.53	-.04	-.64
Bolivia	.27	-.61	-.47	.66	-.41	-.72	-1.28
Venezuela	-.34	-.33	-.81	-.3	-.81	-.59	-3.18
Guatemala	-.33	-.77	-.63	.16	-1.0	-.69	-3.26
Colombia	-.41	-1.36	-.38	.02	-.77	-.39	-3.29

Source: World Bank, Global Governance Project.

*Estimates between –2.5 and 2.5, based on 15 surveys.

Table 4. Brazil: Social Bases of Issue Salience, 2002 (three most important problems facing country)

	Unemp-loyment	Health	Drugs	Public security	Inflation	Corruption	Education	Income concentration
Gender								
Male	59	39	37	42	24	20	17	5
Female	67	42	45	28	23	14	15	4
Age								
16-24	75	37	42	32	23	15	18	4
25-34	65	41	37	37	25	16	17	5
35-49	60	44	40	36	24	16	17	4
More than 50	54	40	46	34	20	16	11	3
Education								
Some elementary**	59	43	48	31	22	13	11	2
Complete elementary**	63	41	43	32	20	14	13	3
Secondary	70	39	35	38	27	21	20	5
College	55	32	23	50	21	25	34	18
Region								
North/Center West	66	43	34	36	25	18	16	4
Northeast	69	36	46	35	27	15	14	2
Southeast	63	42	36	32	22	18	18	5
South	51	42	54	41	17	17	14	7
County type/size								
Capital	65	44	29	38	19	18	23	5
Periphery	63	40	35	36	19	19	17	6
Interior	63	39	48	33	26	16	13	4
Up to 20,000	64	39	48	30	28	16	12	3
20,000 to 100,000	64	37	47	34	23	16	11	5
More than 100,000	62	44	34	38	20	18	21	5
Household Income								
Less than 1 min. salary	73	38	42	27	26	14	11	3
1 to 2 min. salaries	65	43	45	31	21	13	15	3
2-5 min. salaries	61	44	42	41	24	17	15	3
5 to 10 min. salaries	60	35	37	47	18	23	22	8
More than 10 min. salaries	54	34	27	35	24	26	28	14
Brazilian average	**63**	**41**	**41**	**35**	**23**	**17**	**16**	**4**

IBOPE, OPP 570/December 2002. N-2000.

Table 5. Chile: Issue Salience, 1989 to 2003

Three most important problems (percentage)	June 1989	May 1991	Dec. 1993	May-June 1995	June-July 1997	Dec. 2002	July 2003
Employment	40.0	27.3	26.9	28	28.8	50.9	48.0
Poverty	29.9	26.0	39.9	50	49.8	43.8	41.4
Crime	21.5	64.0	49.8	42	34.9	36.7	40.5
Health	50.7	38.8	50.8	30	33.5	39.8	37.5
Education	43.7	26.9	40.3	27	25.7	24.9	28.5
Wages	41.3	36.0	32.0	24	28.8	27.5	26.1
Drugs	--	--	--	30	24.1	21.9	21.9
Housing	20.5	22.2	19.8	16	17.8	10.0	13.5
Corruption	--	--	5.3	12	17.5	12.6	11.1
Judicial System	--	--	--	--	7.2	9.5	8.1
Inflation	19.8	13.8	8.7	19	13.6	6.5	8.1
Human Rights	22.9	14.8	7.4	8	6.8	4.6	5.4
Environment	--	10.9	8.2	10	3.1	3.8	3.6
Constitutional Reforms	--	--	--	--	2.5	4.3	3.3
Infrastructure	--	--	--		3.6	1.8	2.1
Terrorism	--	14.6	7.5	3	--	--	--
Protests	9.3	3.7	2.9				
Don't know/no response	--	--	--	--	1.4	1.4	.9

Source: Centro de Estudios Públicos, Estudio Nacional de Opinión Pública, Junio-Julio 2003; Diciembre 2002, Agosto 1997, Agosto 1995, Diciembre 1993, Junio 1991.

Question: What are the three problems to which the government should dedicate its greatest attention to solve?

Table 6. Civil and Political Rights, Brazil and Chile: 1973-2003

Year	Brazil			Chile		
	Political rights	Civil liberties	Total	Political rights	Civil liberties	Total
1973	5	5	10	1	2	3
1974	5	5	10	7	5	12
1975	4	4	8	7	5	12
1976	4	5	9	7	5	12
1977	4	5	9	7	5	12
1978	4	5	9	7	5	12
1979	4	4	8	6	5	11
1980	4	3	7	6	5	11
1981	4	3	7	6	5	11
1982	4	3	7	6	5	11
1983	3	3	6	6	5	11
1984	3	3	6	6	5	11
1985	3	3	6	6	5	11
1986	3	2	5	6	5	11
1987	2	2	4	6	5	11
1988	2	2	4	6	5	11
1989	2	3	5	5	4	9
1990	2	2	4	4	3	7
1991	2	3	5	2	2	4
1992	2	3	5	2	2	4
1993	2	3	5	2	2	4
1994	3	4	7	2	2	4
1995	2	4	6	2	2	4
1996	2	4	6	2	2	4
1997	2	4	6	2	2	4
1998	3	4	7	2	2	4
1999	3	4	7	3	2	5
2000	3	4	7	2	2	4
2001	3	3	6	2	2	4
2002	3	3	6	2	2	4
2003	2	3	5	2	1	3

Source: Freedom House, *Freedom in the World 2003.*

Table 7. Voting Turnout (percent of registered voters), Presidential Elections

Country	1999-2002	1993-1998	1988-1994	Trend
Chile	**91**	**91**	**95**	**-4**
Costa Rica	60	70	81	-21
Uruguay	92	91	85	+7
Argentina	79	81	85	-6
Brazil	**80**	**79**	**85**	**-5**
Mexico	64	79	50	+14
Bolivia	72	71	72	-
El Salvador	39	46	55	-16
Guatemala	40	37	45	-5
Colombia	43	45	36	+7
Peru	82	73	80	-2
Venezuela	57	58	82	-25

Source:

Table 8. Chile: Citizen Interest in Politics, 1993-2003

Q: How often do you or have you:

	December 1993	May-June 1995	June-July 1997	December 2002	June-July 2003
Watch political programming on TV?					
Never	23.2	48	51.4	40.9	41.0
Sometimes	55.5	43	39.4	46.2	47.7
Frequently	21.1	9	8.3	12.3	11.1
Read news about politics?					
Never	42.2	57	59.4	48.3	49.4
Sometimes	37.3	34	32.1	37.3	38.0
Frequently	20.4	10	7.6	13.5	12.3
Speak with family about politics?					
Never	44.6	66	66.5	56.7	59.5
Sometimes	37.3	27	27.4	31.8	30.7
Frequently	18.1	7	5.1	10.5	9.4
Speak with friends about politics?					
Never	48.7	68	67.0	61.4	62.5
Sometimes	32.4	26	27.0	27.8	28.8
Frequently	18.7	6	5.1	10.0	8.5
Try to convince someone of your political position?					
Never			88.8	83.5	84.1
Sometimes			8.4	12.2	12.1
Frequently			1.9	3.5	3.5
Work for a party or candidate?					
Never			91.0	91.5	91.5
Sometimes			6.9	6.2	6.6
Frequently			1.0	1.4	1.4

Sources: CEP, 1993, 1995, 1997, 2002, 2003

Table 9. Brazil's Weak Parties, Then and Now

Measure	**1982-1990**	**1990-2002**
Fragmentation (effective number of parties, lower chamber)[a]		
1982	2.39	
1986	2.83	
1990		8.65
1994		8.13
2002		8.38
Electoral volatility, Pederson Index, Chamber of Deputies:[b]		
1982-86	48.6	
1986-90	45.2	
1990-94[c]		21.1
1994-98[c]		15.9
1998-02		15.0
Party switching		
1987-90 (48th)	197/503[d]	
1990-94 (49th)	260/503[d]	198/503[e]
1995-98 (50th)		169/513[e]
1998-01 (51st)		92/513
Party cohesion in legislature: Rice index:[f]		
1986-90	68	
1995-98		80
Weighted party unity (1989-98)		.75

Sources: Figures for party fragmentation (1982-1994), electoral volatility (1982-1994), and party switching (1987-1994) are from Scott Mainwaring, *Rethinking Party Systems in the Third Wave of Democratization: The Case of Brazil* (Stanford University Press, 1999), pp. 128, 108; Rice index figures (1986-90, 1995-98) are calculated from Argelina Cheibub Figueiredo and Fernando Limongi, *Executivo e Legislativo na nova orden constitucional* (Rio de Janeiro, FGV: 1999), p. 112, and weighted party unity scores are from John Carey, "Getting Their Way or Getting in the Way? Presidents and Party Unity in Legislative Voting," paper prepared for the American Political Science Association Meeting, 2002 (July 29, 2002 draft); Figures for party fragmentation (2002), electoral volatility (1994-98, 1998-02), and party switching (1998-01) are based on my calculations.

[a]The effective number of parties is calculated by squaring each party's share of the seats (or vote), summing the squares, and dividing one by this sum.

[b]The Pederson Index of electoral volatility is calculated by adding the net change in percentage of votes (or seats) gained or lost by each party from one election to the next, then dividing by two.

[c]Mainwaring's calculation of 21.1 is based on counting the PPR as the successor party to the PDS. By this same logic, if we treat the PPB as the successor party of the PP [and the PPR], the rate for 1994-98 would be 12.5.

[d]These figures are not precisely comparable to the other figures for party switching; the figure for 1987 to 1990 represents the number of *net switches,* and the figures for 1990-94, calculated by David Samuels, counted multiple switches by the same deputy.

[e]These figures are from Scott Desposato (personal communication).

[f]The Rice Index represents the difference between the percentage of party members voting yes and the percentage of party members voting no averaged over the votes in a particular congress.

Table 10. Party cohesion on major economic policy issues: Brazil vs. Chile
(standard deviation, averaged across areas)

Party	Market-oriented initiatives[1]	Impact of major market reforms[2]	Evaluation of economic/ social policy[3]	Ideal role of state in the economy[4]	Market reforms and democracy[5]	**Average**
Brazil						
PT	.75	.70	.66	.80	.81	**.73**
Other Left	1.40	1.13	.77	1.07	.92	**1.10**
PMDB	1.42	1.01	1.08	.93	.94	**1.17**
PSDB	.89	.62	.93	.94	.95	**.87**
PFL	1.49	1.1	1.0	1.03	.88	**1.18**
PPB	1.16	.91	.92	.91	.67	**1.01**
Other Right	1.46	.94	.95	.93	.96	**1.14**
Chile						
PS	.49	.73	.83	1.01	.85	**.72**
PPD	.54	.64	.78	.64	.84	**.65**
PDC	.59	.59	.73	.75	.73	**.66**
Concertación	.62	.64	.76	.77	.77	**.70**
RN	.94	.74	1.01	1.01	.74	**.94**
UDI	1.16	.68	.51	1.13	1.50	**.92**
Right	1.08	.90	.94	1.11	.90	**1.02**

[1]Q: "Independently of the position of your party, what was your personal opinion with respect to the following issues proposed by the federal government (total opposition, partial opposition, indifferent, partial support, total support): Fund for Fiscal Stabilization; relaxation of monopolies (petroleum, energy, telecommunications); change in the definition of a national capital enterprise; privatization of the Rio Doce Valley Mining Company; establishment and renewal of the CPMF; end of job tenure for public servants; social security reform of 1998; temporary labor contract; introduction of a value-added tax; sanctions against states that violate the Camata Law. "Total opposition" to the proposal was scored a –2, indifference a 0, and "total support" a 2.

[2]Q: "How would you classify the effect of the following federal government policies on the country (very negative, negative, neutral, positive, very positive): trade liberalization; privatization of federal enterprises; privatization of state government enterprises; flexibilization of labor legislation; social security reform; public administration reform? A response of "very negative" was scored a –2 and "very positive" a 2.

[3]Q: "What is your evaluation of federal government policies in the following areas since 1995 (very negative, negative, neutral, positive, very positive): elementary and secondary education; higher education; health care; poverty alleviation; combating unemployment; combating corruption; wage policy; agrarian reform? A response of "very negative" was scored a –2, and "very positive" a 2.

[4]Q: "In comparison with its actual role, what do you think is the ideal role of the state in the following areas (much less significant; less significant; the same; more significant; much more significant): production, regulation of the financial sector; regulation of electric and water rates; environmental protection; promoting competition in domestic markets; providing social services (health, education); industrial promotion." A response of "much less significant" was scored a –2, and "much more significant" a 2.

[5]Q: "How would you classify the impact of the economic reforms implemented in the 1990s on the process of democratic consolidation in (your country)? They have (been indispensable for; facilitated; had little impact; limited; harmed) the process of democratic consolidation." A response of "indispensable" was scored a 2 and "harmful" a -2.

Table 11. Partisan Policy Distance Compared: Brazil, Chile, Argentina

Brazil	Distance between		Chile	Distance between
Policy Area	PSDB-PFL and PT-Other Left	PSDB and PT	Policy Area	Concertación and Right
Stabilization Fund (FSE)	**.72**	.79	1993 tax reform	**.57**
Temporary labor	**.70**	.76	Elimination of designated senators	**.56**
Social Security reform (1998)	**.70**	.71	1991 labor legislation	**.55**
CVRD Privatization	**.67**	.72	Mercosur	**.44**
Job tenure for public servants	**.64**	.66	Isapres	**.42**
Financial transactions tax (CPMF)	**.57**	.70	Docente	**.37**
Monopolies	**.54**	.80	"Ley Aylwin"	**.27**
Lei Camata	**.48**	.56	Consumer law	**.25**
National capital	**.38**	.70	Native Forest	**.24**
Value-added Tax (IVA)	**.38**	.41	Environmental Law	**.22**
			Codelco	**.15**
			empresas sanitarias	**.11**
			Electrical Services	**.07**
			Emporchi	**.03**

Source: Authors' surveys

NOTES

[1] More Venezuelans expressed support for democracy (75 percent) than citizens in any other country (except Uruguay and Costa Rica), despite the fact that arguably, democracy in Venezuela was most threatened.

[2] The CPI is a poll of polls, reflecting the perceptions of business people and country analysts, both resident and non-resident.

[3] Pinheiro (1997: 270) cites a figure from the early 1990s of 126,000 prisoners being held in jails built to hold 51,000.

[4]Whereas white women (who earn 79 cents on the dollar that white men earn) suffer discrimination "only" at the stage of determining salary remuneration, black men suffer various types of discrimination. They, too, earn from 5 to 20 percent less for the same employment, but additionally lose another 10 percent by working in more poorly compensated segments of the labor market, and more because of inferior educational opportunities. Black women suffer even more discrimination, although their situation has improved somewhat since the late 1980s, whereas that of black men has not (Suarez Dillon Soares, 2000).

[5] In contrast to the huge population of African descent, today Brazil has more than 200 Indian groups, but these groups together have less than a quarter of a million members. More than three-quarters of Brazil's tribes have less than 1,000 members, and only one, the Guaraní, has more than 20,000. Most are located in the Amazon region (Marés de Souza, Jr., 1994: 213-21, 230-31).

[6] In both countries, graduate assistants delivered an original, 16-page questionnaire to the office of every member of Congress. Members were invited to participate through a cover letter as well as personal visits by the graduate students. This procedure yielded a response rate of approximately 31 percent in Chile (51/165), but after a disappointing response rate in Brazil, Brazilian students from the University of Brasília followed up with personal interviews. Though the final response rate in Brazil was lower than in Chile -- 25 percent (151/594) in Brazil, this sample is fairly representative of the legislatures by party and region.

[7]This measure is derived by calculating the (absolute) difference between the mean self-classification of the extreme parties divided by the theoretical maximum, which in the case of the standard left-right scale is 9. This measure follows that developed by Sani and Sartori (1991), and recounted by Martínez Rodríguez (1998: 61).