

VOICE OF THE PEOPLE 2005
TRENDS IN DEMOCRACY
GLOBAL SUMMARY

Democracy is alive and well, according to results from **Voice of the People 2005**, a regular Gallup International global survey, conducted across more than 65 countries and which interviewed in excess of 50,000 people between May and July 2005, and represents the views of more than 1.3 billion global citizens. A majority supports democracy as the best system of government and is satisfied with it.

But, at the same time, there is also a critical view of some qualities of democracy: half of our representative sample (48%) state that elections are not free and fair in their country, and the general feeling—in line with 2004 figures—is that rulers across the world do not follow the people's will when it comes to making decisions.

Main Findings

- Eight out of ten global citizens (79%) believe that in spite of its limitations, **democracy is the best system of government**—almost 10% more than in 2004.

In all regions at least seven out of ten of those surveyed agree with the statement.

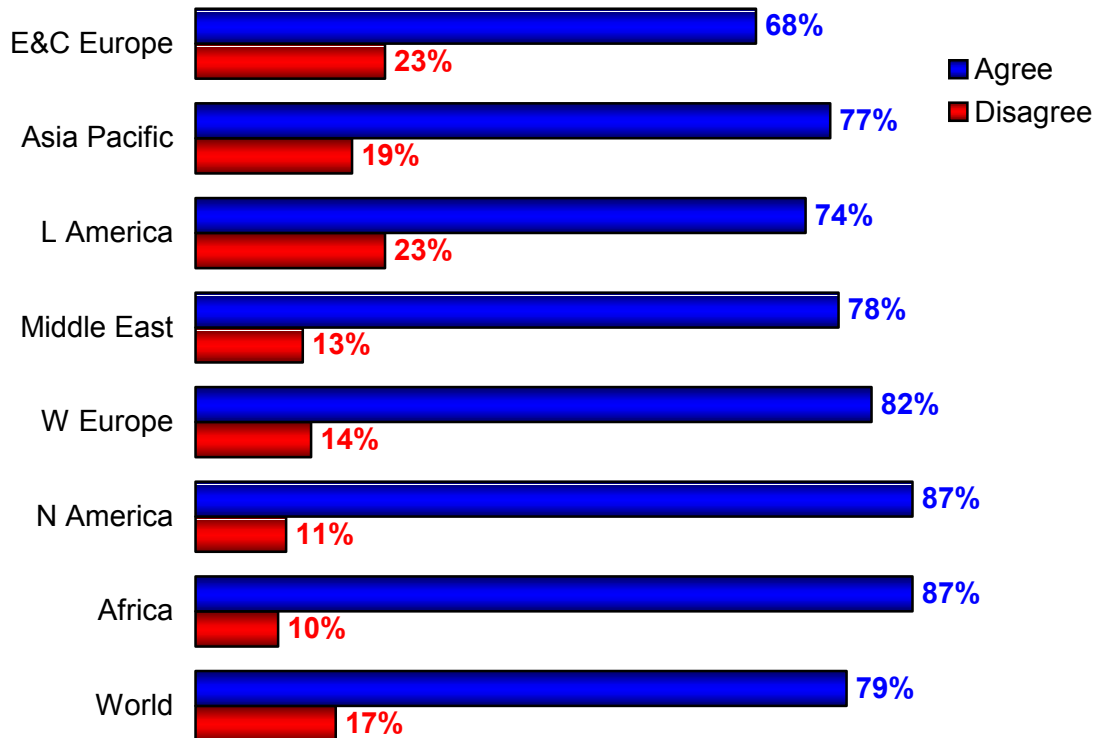
- In the world, more than six (65%) out of ten surveyed say they are **satisfied with democracy**, whilst three (31%) feel the opposite.

Only two regions, Eastern & Central Europe and Latin America divide opinions regarding satisfaction with democracy.

- Opinions are divided amongst those who believe **elections are free and fair in their countries** (47%) and those who do not (48%)—whilst in 2004, these proportions were 50% and 45% respectively.
- More than six out of ten (65%) do not feel that **their country is ruled by the will of the people**—three points more than in 2004.

A Majority in the World Agrees that Democracy is Still the Best System of Government

“Democracy may have problems but it is the best system of government”



Source: Gallup International – Voice of the People 2005
Note: Middle East includes only Israel and Turkey

Eight out of ten global citizens (79%) believe that in spite of its limitations, democracy is the best system of government. In all regions, at least seven out of ten of the surveyed agree with the statement, except 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 this 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 realises 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.

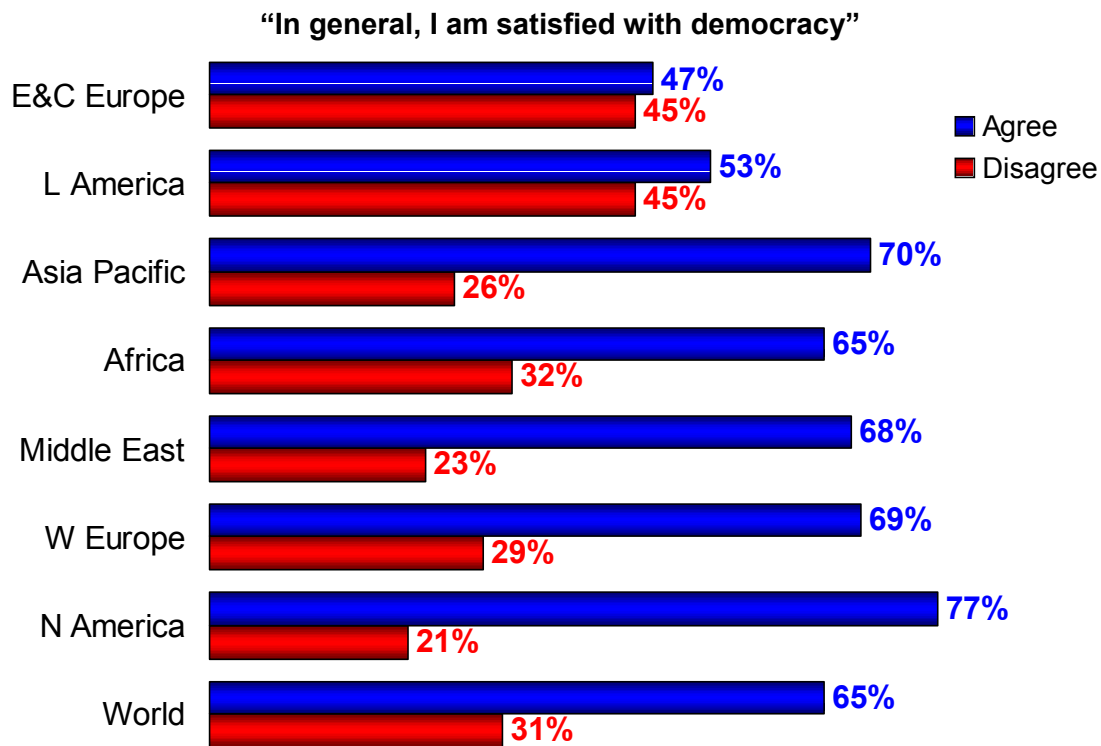
But in Eastern and Central Europe as a whole, there is far less agreement that democracy is the best system of Government with only two-thirds agreeing (68%), compared to the

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 (74%) 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%).

Satisfaction with Democracy



Source: Gallup International Association – Voice of the People 2005
Notice: Middle East includes only Israel and Turkey

In the world, two thirds of global citizens (65%) say they are satisfied with democracy, leaving just less than one in three (31%) who feel the opposite.

Satisfaction with democracy is at its strongest in North America (77%) where more than three quarters agreed with the statement. In the other regions, more than six out of ten in Western Europe (69%), Middle East (68%), Africa (65%) and Asia Pacific (70%) are also satisfied with democracy.

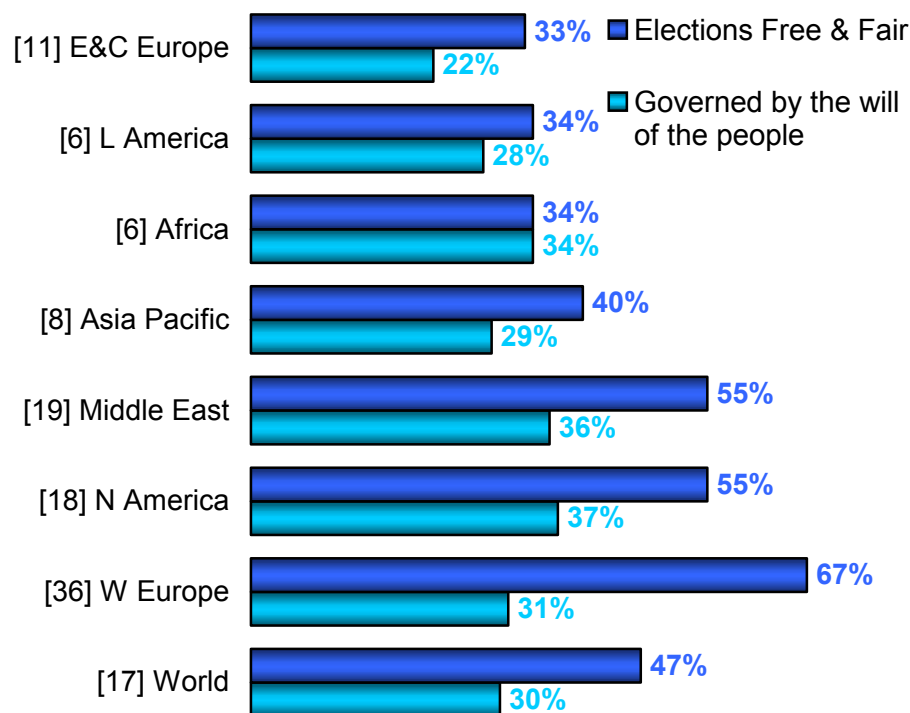
But in two regions, Eastern & Central Europe and Latin America, opinions are more sharply divided. In the former Communist bloc 47% agree they are satisfied with democracy but an almost equal percentage 45% disagree. Similarly, in Latin America, 53% agree and 45% disagree.

Amidst the only nine countries that are dissatisfied with democracy and have agreement values below 50%, seven of them are from Eastern & Central Europe: Bulgaria (33%), Bosnia-Herzegovina (35%), Serbia (37%), Russia (39%), Ukraine (44%), Lithuania (46%) and Macedonia (48%) —the remaining countries are Peru (31%) and Mexico (46%).

Political Stability

“Do you feel that elections in your country are free and fair?”

“Would you say that your country is governed by the will of the people?”



Source: Gallup International – Voice of the People 2005

Note: Middle East includes only Israel and Turkey.

The gap between both series is indicated in brackets.

Just less than half (47%) of those surveyed across the world believe elections are free and fair in their countries, whilst virtually the same proportion (48%) feels the opposite. And as to whether their country is ruled by the will of the people, less than a third agrees (30%) whilst two thirds (65%) disagrees.

In Asia Pacific (55%), Africa (59%), Latin America (61%) and Eastern & Central Europe (58%), more than half of the respondents think elections are **not** free and fair. Also in these same regions—with the exception of Africa (34%)— the percentage of people who think their country is ruled by the will of the people is very low: less than one in three (30%) believes this.

Again Denmark (90%) is the country that more strongly feels that **elections are free and fair**, while Nigeria (89%) is the one that more strongly feels the opposite—these same two countries were also top and bottom of the democracy league in 2004.

It is notable to find that the “yes” figure for USA (54%) has fallen considerably with respect to 2004 (67%). The UK (70%) is significantly above the world average (47%) and in line with the average for Western Europe (67%), although the figure has again fallen with respect to 2004 by eight points (from 78%).

As to being **ruled by the will of the people**, Malaysia (71%) and Ghana (69%) are the countries that agree the most, whilst Macedonia (86%) and Bosnia-Herzegovina (85%) show the most negative percentages. It is mentionable that Malaysia and Ghana are significantly above in the list of the eleven countries that have “yes” percentages above 50%, followed by Spain (62%), South Africa (59%) and Denmark (57%). Again, there has been a decline in the USA on this issue: in 2004 52% agreed their country was governed by the will of the people but in 2005 this figure is only 37%. The UK (30%) is in line with the world’s (27%) and Western Europe’s average (31%), but has also decreased slightly with respect to the value for 2004 (36%).

The Political Stability Matrix & Index

The Political Stability Matrix

		Governed by the will of the people	
		Yes	No
Elections are free and fair	Yes	The Pillars of Democracy	The Disillusioned
	No	The Outsiders	The Malcontents

Source: Gallup International– Voice of the People 2005

Over repeated surveys, we have analysed in depth the possible combinations of responses to these two questions:

“Are elections in your country free and fair?” and “Is your country governed by the will of the people?”

Four categories are established—as shown in the chart above: The Pillars of Democracy, the Disillusioned, the Malcontents and the Outsiders. In this way, we can measure support for democracy – both the process and the outcome.

The strongest supporters - **the Pillars of Democracy** - believe elections are free and fair AND the country is governed by the will of the people. **The Disillusioned** acknowledge that elections are free and fair but do not think the will of the people governs the country. For **the Malcontents**, neither does the democratic system work (i.e. elections are NOT free and fair) nor does the result – they do not believe the country is governed by the will of the people. Finally, the smallest group – **the Outsiders** believe elections are NOT free and fair, but finally the country is governed by the will of the people.

The Political Stability Matrix 2005

		Governed by the will of the people	
		Yes	No
Elections are free and fair	Yes	The Pillars of Democracy W Europe: 29 E & C Europe: 20 Africa: 26 North America: 32 Latin America: 19 Middle East: 35 Asia Pacific: 23 The World: 26	The Disillusioned W Europe: 40 E & C Europe: 16 Africa: 10 North America: 24 Latin America: 16 Middle East: 25 Asia Pacific: 19 The World: 23
	No	The Outsiders W Europe: 4 E & C Europe: 4 Africa: 10 North America: 7 Latin America: 9 Middle East: 5 Asia Pacific: 8 The World: 6	The Malcontents W Europe: 27 E & C Europe: 61 Africa: 55 North America: 38 Latin America: 55 Middle East: 35 Asia Pacific: 50 The World: 45

Source: Gallup International– Voice of the People 2005
 Note: Middle East includes only Israel and Turkey

We started measuring attitudes to democracy using this analysis in late 1999, since when there has been a steady decline in the strongest supporters of democracy – the Pillars. In 1999, this group of ardent democrats accounted for 32% of the world’s population as measured in our survey. In the current 2005 study, they are only 26% - a significant drop of 6 percentage points. Meanwhile, the least enthusiastic group for democracy – the Malcontents has grown correspondingly, since our early measurements. In 1999, Malcontents were 38% of the total global population; today they have grown to 45%. The other two groups have not changed significantly.

If we take a look at how the results for 2005 compare with 2004, we see the continuation of this trend. The world figure for The Pillars of Democracy (26) in 2005 has experienced a slight fall of 3 points from 29 in 2004. The number of Malcontents (45) has grown 4 points from 41 in 2004, whilst The Disillusioned and The Outsiders figures did not change significantly.

The most notable falls since last year in The Pillars of Democracy are found in **North America** (down 15 points) followed by **Western Europe** (down 9 points). And across regions, the most significant rises of Malcontents are found in the same regions: North America (up 15 points), Western Europe and Middle East (both up by 9 points), and Asia Pacific (up 7 points).

Full details of changes across regions with respect to 2004 are shown below.

The Political Stability Matrix 2005
Difference with 2004

		Governed by the will of the people	
		Yes	No
Elections are free and fair	Yes	The Pillars of Democracy W Europe: - 9 E & C Europe: + 6 Africa: + 5 North America: - 15 Latin America: + 2 Middle East: - 14 Asia Pacific: - 2 The World: - 3	The Disillusioned W Europe: - 2 E & C Europe: + 1 Africa: -3 North America: No Change Latin America: -2 Middle East: + 4 Asia Pacific: - 1 The World: - 1
	No	The Outsiders W Europe: + 2 E & C Europe: -1 Africa: + 4 North America: No Change Latin America: No Change Middle East: + 1 Asia Pacific: - 3 The World: - 1	The Malcontents W Europe: + 9 E & C Europe: - 5 Africa: - 5 North America: +15 Latin America: - 1 Middle East: + 9 Asia Pacific: + 7 The World: + 4

Source: Gallup International – Voice of the People 2005 – 2004
Note: Middle East includes only Israel and Turkey

The Political Stability Index

The four categories can be combined into an aggregated analysis to provide An Index of the Political Stability that ranges between 100 and – 100 and is calculated in the following way:

Pillars of Democracy + Disillusioned – Malcontents = “Political Stability Index”

Political Stability Index				
Region	PSI 2005	PSI 2004	PSI 2003	2005 vs 2004
Western Europe	42	62	49	– 20
Middle East	26	45	44	– 19
North America ▼	18	47	29	– 29 ▼
The World	5	12	14	– 7
Africa	– 19	– 25	– 44	+ 6
Latin America	– 20	– 21	– 2	+ 1
Asia Pacific	– 8	2	3	– 10
Eastern & Central Europe ▲	– 25	– 37	– 39	+ 12 ▲

▲ **Biggest Increase**

▼ **Biggest Decrease**

Source: Gallup International – Voice of the People 2005 – 2003

Note: Middle East includes only Israel and Turkey

It is significant to find that there are only three regions- Western Europe, Middle East and North America - above the World’s PSI value, which itself has fallen 7 points since last year. The rest of the regions are significantly below this value. As previously mentioned, this has been the trend since 1999, and the PSI values across regions continue to present wide variations.

As to variations regarding 2005, the world (– 7) has experienced a strong fall in its index value. Regionally, only Eastern & Central Europe (+ 12) and Africa (+ 6) have experienced improvements, and whilst Latin America (+ 1) has shown almost no change, the rest of the regions surveyed presented significant falls in their Political Stability Index (PSI) figures.

North America (– 29) has evidenced the most significant reduction, followed by Western Europe (– 20) and Middle East (– 19).

Of all countries surveyed, again in 2005 Denmark repeated its 2004 performance with the highest PSI value (83), whilst Nigeria has the lowest (– 71). The USA (16) has experienced a strong fall in its PSI value: down 28 points with respect to its 2004 PSI of 44. The UK (45) also registered a downward movement —only less pronounced— of 16 points from its PSI of 61 in 2004.

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The Voice of the People Survey

Gallup International's unique survey Voice of the People interviews more than 50,000 people in more than 65 countries around the world, representing the views and attitudes of more than 1.3 billion global citizens. Fieldwork was conducted between May and July 2005.

Gallup International

Registered in Zurich as a verein (Association), Gallup International was established in 1947 by George H Gallup and his European colleagues. It currently has member agencies in 60 countries across the world, conducting market and opinion research in more than 100 countries.

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Email: GallupInternational@Btconnect.com

For further information on any individual country results, please see contact information overleaf:

Country	Contact	E-mail	Company	Mode	Sample Type	Size	Fieldwork Dates
Argentina	Ricardo Hermelo Constanza Cilley	ricardo.hermelo@tns-gallup.com.ar constanza.cilley@tns-gallup.com.ar	TNS Gallup Argentina	Face-to-face	National	1000	4 th week of May
Austria	Ingrid Lusk	i.lusk@gallup.at	Gallup Austria	Face-to-face	National	668	May 31 – June 16
Bolivia	Luis Alberto Quiroga	Proyectos@encuestas-estudios.com	Encuestas & Estudios	Face-to-face	Urban	519	June 10 – June 25
Bosnia and Herzegovina	Aida Hadziavdic- Begovic	Aida.hadziavdic@mib.ba	Mareco Index Bosnia	Telephone	National	500	June 6 – June 10
Bulgaria	Antón Valkovski	A.valkovski@bbss-gallup.com	TNS BBSS	Face-to-face	National	1024	July 5 – July 12
Cameroon	Simplice Ngampou	Sngampou@rms-africa.com	RMS Cameroon	Face-to-face	Main cities	500	June 4 – June 6
Canada	Anne-Marie Marois	Ammarois@legermarketing.com	Leger Marketing	Telephone	National	1001	June 6 – June 15
Colombia	Carlos Lemoine	Clemoine@cncol.com	Centro Nacional de Consultoria	Face-to-face and telephone	Urban	500	July 8 – July 13
Costa Rica*	Hugo Mendieta	Hmendieta@apinvestigacion.com	API Sigma Dos	Telephone	Urban	500	May 23 – June 2
Croatia	Dragan Bagic, Mirna Cvitan	Drgan.bagic@puls.hr, mirna.cvitan@puls.hr	Puls	Telephone	National	600	June 1 – June 20
Czech Republic	Jan Trojacek	Trojacek@mareco.cz	Mareco	Face-to-face	National	500	June 14 – June 27
Denmark	Claus Bo Hansen	Claus.Bo.Hansen@tns-gallup.dk	TNS Gallup Denmark	Telephone	National	500	June 8 – June 16
Dominican Republic*	Leonard Kemp	Sigmados@verizon.net.do	Sigma Dos Republica Dominicana	Face-to-face	Urban	806	July 12 – July 16
Ecuador	Carlos A. Cordova, Tatiana Salan	Carlos.cordova@cedatos.com, tatiana.salan@cedatos.com	Cedatos	Face-to-face	Main cities	500	June 27 – July 1
Ethiopia*	Margit Cleveland	Mccleveland@rms-africa.com	Research & Marketing Services	Face-to-face	Capital City	510	June 15 – June 21
Finland	Mika Kiiski	Mika.kiiski@tns-gallup.fi	TNS Gallup Finland	Telephone and Telepanel	National	1289	June 17 – June 22
France	Guillaume Rainsard	guillaume.rainsard@tns-sofres.com	TNS France	Face-to-face	National	1003	June 21 – June 22
Germany	Johannes Huxoll	Johannes.huxoll@tns-emnid.com	TNS Emnid	Telephone	National	500	June 21 – June 29
Ghana*	Steve Ayo Amale	Aamale@rms-africa.com	Research & Marketing Services Ltd.	Face-to-face	Urban	1005	June 10 – June 18
Greece	Ero Papadopoulou	ero.papadopoulou@tnsicap.gr	TNS ICAP	Telephone	National	500	June 2 – June 15
Guatemala*	Jorge Fernández	Multivexsa@intelnett.com	Multivex Sigma Dos Guatemala	Face-to-face	Urban	500	June 18 – June 20
Hong Kong	Ellen Tops	Ellen.tops@tns-global.com	TNS Hong Kong	Telephone	National	500	June 10 – June 19
Iceland	Ásdís G. Ragnarsdóttir	Asdisg@gallup.is	IMG Gallup	Telephone	National	1200	June 29 – July 26
India	Sharmistha Das	Sharmistha.das@tns-global.com	TNS India	Face-to-face	Main cities	1063	June 1 – June 9
Indonesia	Pipit Andriany	Pipit.Andriany@tns-global.com	TNS Indonesia	Face-to-face	Main city	500	July 21 – July 27
Republic of Ireland	Patricia Kelly	Patricia.Kelly@imsl.ie	Millward Brown IMS	Telephone	National	500	May 18 – June 2
Israel	Tamar Fuchs	Tamar.fuchs@tns-teleseker.com	TNS Teleseker	Telephone	National	501	June 29 – June 30

Country	Contact	E-mail	Company	Mode	Sample Type	Size	Fieldwork Dates
Italy	Paolo Colombo	paolo.colombo@doxa.it	Doxa Italy	Telephone	National	502	July 28 – August 1
Japan	Kiyoshi Nishimura	Nisimura@nrc.co.jp	Nippon Research Center	Self-administered questionnaires	National	1212	June 2 – June 13
Kenya	Maggie Ireri	maggie@steadman-group.com	Steadman Research Services International	Face-to-face	National	2219	July 1 – July 9
Korea	Hwanhee Lee	Hhlee@gallup.co.kr	Gallup Korea	Face-to-face	National	1515	May 20 – June 3
Kosovo*	Assen Blagoev	A.Blagoev@gallup-bbss.com	BBSS Index Kosovo	Face-to-face	Albanian plus sub-population	1023	May 26 – June 1
Lithuania*	Dainius Derkintis	Mindaugas.Degutis@tns-global.com Dainius.Derkintis@tns-global.com	TNS Gallup	Face-to-face	National	511	June 21 – June 30
Luxembourg	Marc Thiltgen	Marc.thiltgen@ilres.com	Ilres	Telephone	National	582	June 24 – July 3
Macedonia	Elida Medarovska	E.medarovska@brima-gallup.com.mk	Brima	Face-to-face	National	1008	June 17 – June 24
Malaysia	Hafeez Amin	Hafeez.amin@tns-global.com	TNS Malaysia	Face-to-face and telephone	Urban	1250	May 30 – June 26
Mexico	Ramón Chaidez	Ramon.chaidez@tns-gallup.com.mx	TNS Gallup Mexico	Face-to-face	Urban	700	June 24 – June 29
Moldova	Igor Munteanu Ion Jigau	cbs_axa@yahoo.com	CBS Axa	Face-to-face	National	509	June 24 – June 28
Netherlands	Hanneke Sjerps and Wiene Klasema	Hanneke.sjerps@tns-nipo.com Wiene.Klasema@tns-nipo.com	TNS NIPO	Face-to-face	National	549	June 9 – June 21
Nicaragua*	Hugo Mendieta	Hmendieta@apinvestigacion.com	API Sigma Dos	Face-to-face	Urban	500	May 23 – June 2
Nigeria	Pradipta Mitra	Pkmitra@rms-africa.com	Research & Marketing Services Limited	Face-to-face	Main cities	500	June 11 – June 20
Norway	Ole Fredrik Ugland	Olefredrik.ugland@tns-gallup.no	TNS Gallup Norway	Web-survey	National	510	June 1 – June 16
Pakistan	Ijaz Shafi Gillani	isb@gallup.com.pk	Gallup Pakistan	Face-to-face	Urban	843	June 1 – June 20
Panama*	Humberto Gonzalez Max del Cid	psicomer@pty.com psmcorreo@cwpanama.net	PSM Sigma Dos Panama	Telephone	Main city	500	June 6 – June 14
Paraguay*	Marlene Heinrich.	Cam@pla.net.py	CAM Research	Face-to-face	Main city	500	June 1 – June 25
Perú	Gustavo Yrala	Gyrala@datum.com.pe	Datum Internacional	Face-to-face	National	1112	June 11 – June 20
Philippines	Angel Almojuela	Angel.almojuela@asiaresearch.com.ph	Asia Research Organization	Telephone	National	1000	May 30 – June 19
Poland	Marek Fudala	Marek.fudala@mareco.pl	Mareco Polska	Face-to-face	National	908	June 14 – June 24
Portugal	Ana Firmino	Ana.firmino@tns-global.com	TNS Euroteste	Telephone	National	520	June 22 – June 28
Romania	Andrei Musetescu	Andrei.musetescu@tns-global.com	Csop	Face-to-face	National	1058	May 27 – June 5
Russia	Victor Pratushevich	Pratushevich.V@rmh.ru	ROMIR	Face-to-face	National	1006	May 18 – May 24
Senegal*	Erckman Togna	Etogna@rms-africa.com.	RMS-Senegal	Face-to-face	Urban	508	June 20 – June 23
Serbia	Sladjana Brakus	sladja@mediumindex.co.yu	TNS Medium Gallup	Face-to-face	National	1004	May 26 – June 1
Singapore	Petra Curbach	Petra.Curbach@tns-global.com	TNS Singapore	Telephone	National	502	July 4 – July 17

Country	Contact	E-mail	Company	Mode	Sample Type	Size	Fieldwork Dates
Spain	Rosa Doncel	rosad@sigmados.com	Sigma Dos International	Face-to-face	National	500	July 25 – August 2
South Africa	Mari Harris	marih@markinor.co.za	Markinor	Face-to-face	Urban	2000	June 9 – July 4
Switzerland	Barbara Spillmann	Barbara.spillmann@isopublic.ch	ISOPUBLIC	Telephone	National	500	June 1 – June 4
Taiwan	Kevin Meyer	Kevinmeyer@ort.com.tw	Opinion Research Taiwan	Telephone	National	500	June 16 – June 20
Thailand	Kulchat Wuttigate	kulchat.wuttigate@tns-global.com	TNS Thailand	Telephone	Urban	1000	July 19 – July 31
Togo*	Steve Ayo Amale	Aamale@rms-africa.com	Research & Marketing Services	Face-to-face	Main cities	488	June 28 – June 29
Turkey	Bengi Özboyacı	Bengi.ozboyaci@tns-global.com	TNS Piar	Face-to-face	National	2036	June 9 – July 1
UK	Emma Phillips	Emma.phillips@tns-global.com	TNS UK	Telephone	National	1031	June 3 – June 5
Ukraine	Alla Vlasyuk	Alla.vlasyuk@tns-global.com.ua.	TNS Ukraine	Face-to-face	National	1200	June 1 – June 7
Uruguay	José Luis Soto	marketing@adinet.com.uy	Sigma Dos Uruguay	Telephone	Main city	537	May 30 – June 24
USA	Jane Cutler	Jane.cutler@tns-global.com	TNS Intersearch	Telephone	National	504	June 29 – July 3
Venezuela	Romel Romero	Romel@sigmados-international.com	Sigma Dos Venezuela	Face-to-face	Main city	500	June 9 – June 24

*These are not Members of Gallup International Association but reliable companies that we have worked with in these countries.

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