



**MAD AS HELL:
WHY ARE LATIN AMERICANS REACTING
NOW AGAINST CORRUPTION?**

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ODEBRECHT

BEYOND THE SCANDALS

**The Changing Context of
Corruption in Latin America**

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**RULE OF LAW REPORT
FEBRUARY 2017**

http://www.thedialogue.org/wp-content/uploads/2017/02/Corruption-in-Latin-America_ROL_Report_FINAL_web-PDF.pdf

This presentation

1. What has happened lately?
2. What do the figures show in LA?
3. 5 hypotheses on anti-corruption reactions in LA
4. Policy recommendations

What has happened lately?

- **Brazil**

- Embezzlement at Petrobras (*Lava Jato*), over \$2.7b in bribes
- Indictment of over 100 top politicians and business executives (including former President Lula); over 500 people under investigation.
- Odebrecht case (with ramifications in Colombia, Peru, Ecuador, El Salvador, Mexico, etc.)

- **Guatemala**

- Embezzlement at the customs agency (*La Linea*)
- Months of street demonstrations
- President Otto Perez-Molina and Vice-President Roxana Baldetti were forced to resign in 2015 and have been prosecuted

- **Chile**

- Campaign finance + tax irregularities (*Penta* and *Soquimich* cases)
- Abuse of privileged information by relatives of President Bachelet (*Caval* affair)

- **Mexico**

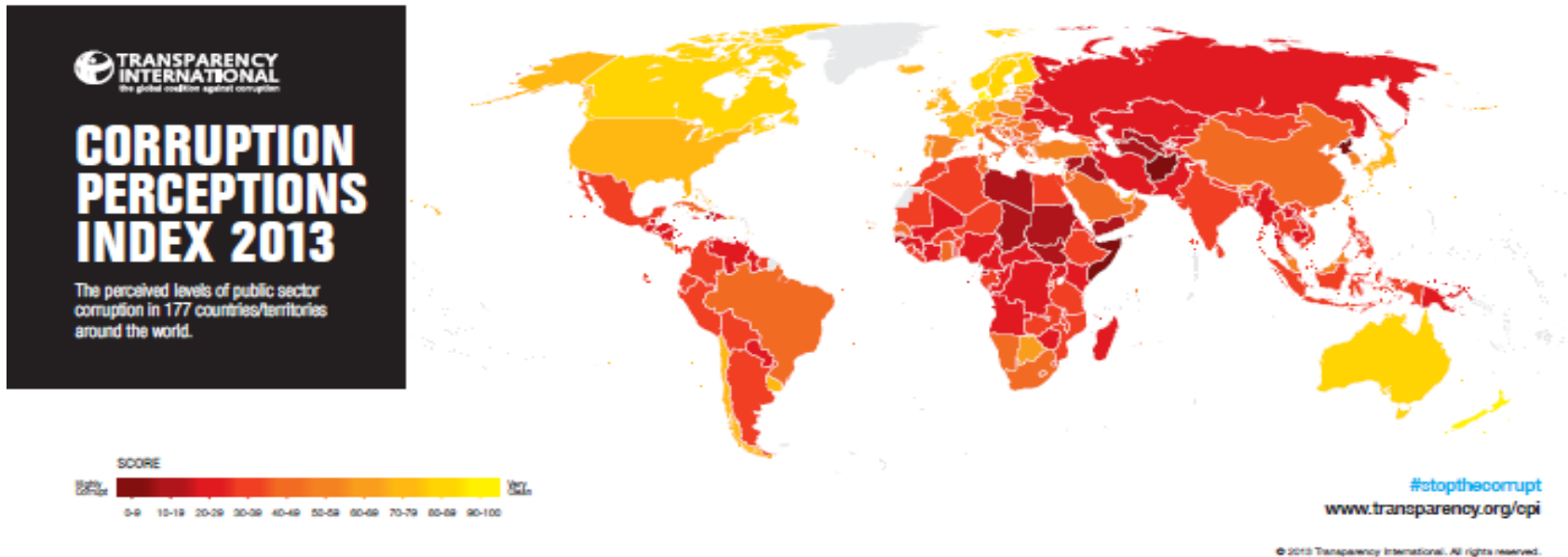
- Conflict of interest at the highest political level (*La Casa Blanca*)

- **Honduras**

- Embezzlement at the social security agency, over \$350m swindled.
- Large demonstrations
- Creation of the OAS-sponsored Support Mission Against Corruption and Impunity in Honduras

- **Etc., etc., etc.**

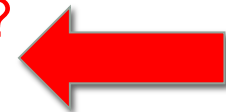
The figures for Latin America



- In 2015, 12 of the 18 countries in LA are in the bottom half of the CPI Table (177 countries)
- Uruguay (21) and Chile (23) do best.



Is there more corruption than ever before?
Are perceptions worse than ever before?



Corruption victimization

Table 1. Corruption victimization figures and trends in Latin America, per country, 2005-2015

Country	Latinobarometro –LB– (% of population that have heard of a corruption act) (1)				Americas Barometer –AB– (% of population that have paid a bribe in past 12 months)				Trends (2)		
	2005-2007	2008-2010	2011-2015	Variation 2005-2015	2006	2010	2014	Variation 2006-2014	LB 2005-2015	AB 2006-2014	Overall
Argentina	17.0	12.9	16.2	-0.8	n.d.	23.5	16.8	-10.6 (3)	+	+++	
Bolivia	15.6	8.2	17.2	1.6	34.6	32.3	30.2	-4.4	-	+	?
Brazil	69.4	37.7	39.3	-30.1	15.6	23.6	13.9	-1.7	+++	+	
Chile	8.6	8.6	21.6	13.0	9.4	5.2	5.3	-4.1	--	+	?
Colombia	13.1	8.8	17.7	4.6	9.7	10.4	13.6	3.9	-	-	
Costa Rica	19.8	22.5	22.2	2.4	19.3	10.1	15.5	-3.8	-	+	?
Dom. Rep.	15.7	15.1	25.3	9.6	17.7	17.5	23.3	5.6	--	--	
Ecuador	11.9	8.2	14.4	2.5	31.9	21.1	26.0	-5.9	-	++	?
El Salvador	11.0	3.8	8.3	-2.7	13.4	11.4	9.8	-3.6	+	+	
Guatemala	14.1	8.0	10.6	-3.5	18.0	21.2	20.7	2.7	+	-	?
Honduras	9.3	8.5	9.5	0.2	16.1	16.2	23.0	6.9	-	--	
Mexico	35.9	22.0	29.1	-6.8	37.1	35.0	27.2	-9.9	++	++	
Nicaragua	13.0	7.6	10.2	-2.8	18.0	12.1	14.7	-3.3	+	+	
Panamá	6.7	7.9	16.2	9.5	11.3	9.4	18.8	7.5	--	--	
Paraguay	18.1	11.7	29.2	11.1	21.7	27.1	28.1	6.4	--	--	
Peru	16.3	12.7	18.2	1.9	30.3	32.0	26.4	-3.9	-	+	?
Uruguay	12.9	10.0	14.8	1.9	7.0	7.3	6.7	-0.3	-	+	?
Venezuela	17.1	13.3	22.3	5.1	19.4	18.5	26.6	7.2	--	--	
Latin America (weighted average)	37.8	22.4	27.4	-10.4	20.1	23.8	19.1	-1.0	+++	+	

Notes: (1) Due to significant fluctuations in year-to-year figures from LB, the table includes simple averages for indicated years. (2) – negative trend <5%; -- negative trend <10%; --- negative trend >10%; + positive trend <5%; ++ positive trend <10%; +++ positive trend >10%. A green cell denotes a consistent positive trend; a red cell denotes a consistent negative trend; (?) denotes an uncertain trend. (3) 2008-2014. There is no data for 2006 in Argentina.
Sources: Latinobarometro; Americas Barometer.



No region-wide trend towards deterioration

Corruption perception

Table 3. Perception of corruption figures and trends in Latin America, per country, 2005-2014

Country	Corruption Perception Index (1)				WGI - Control of corruption (2)				Trends (3)		
	2005	2010	2014	Variation 2005-2014	2005	2010	2014	Variation 2005-2014	CPI 2005-2014	WGI 2005-2014	Overall
Argentina	2.8	2.9	3.4	0.6	-0.431	-0.414	-0.580	-0.149	+	-	?
Bolivia	2.5	2.8	3.5	1.0	-0.762	-0.442	-0.640	0.122	+	+	
Brazil	3.7	3.7	4.3	0.6	-0.170	-0.001	-0.378	-0.208	+	-	?
Chile	7.3	7.2	7.3	0.0	1.453	1.486	1.477	0.024	=	+	?
Colombia	4.0	3.5	3.7	-0.3	-0.117	-0.409	-0.394	-0.277	-	-	
Costa Rica	4.2	5.3	5.4	1.2	0.386	0.648	0.729	0.343	+	+	
Dom. Rep.	3.0	3.0	3.2	0.2	-0.590	-0.808	-0.790	-0.200	+	-	?
Ecuador	2.4	2.5	3.3	0.9	-0.750	-0.861	-0.817	-0.067	+	-	?
El Salvador	4.2	3.6	3.9	-0.3	-0.416	-0.234	-0.390	0.026	-	+	?
Guatemala	2.5	3.2	3.2	0.7	-0.632	-0.481	-0.699	-0.067	+	-	?
Honduras	2.3	2.4	2.9	0.6	-0.742	-0.866	-0.786	-0.044	+	-	?
Mexico	3.5	3.1	3.5	0.0	-0.280	-0.370	-0.733	-0.453	=	-	?
Nicaragua	2.7	2.5	2.8	0.1	-0.606	-0.773	-0.885	-0.278	+	-	?
Panama	3.5	3.6	3.7	0.2	-0.377	-0.352	-0.355	0.022	+	+	
Paraguay	1.9	2.2	2.4	0.5	-1.406	-0.742	-1.000	0.406	+	+	
Peru	3.5	3.5	3.8	0.3	-0.360	-0.250	-0.592	-0.232	+	-	?
Uruguay	5.9	6.9	7.3	1.4	1.040	1.245	1.352	0.312	+	+	
Venezuela	2.3	2.0	1.9	-0.4	-0.957	-1.207	-1.382	-0.426	-	-	
Latin America (simple average)	3.5	3.6	3.9	0.4	-0.318	-0.268	-0.381	-0.064	+	-	?

Notes: (1) On a scale 0 (most corrupt) – 10 (least corrupt). (2) On a scale from -2.5 (lowest scored) to 2.5 (highest score). (3) + positive trend; - negative trend. A green cell denotes a consistent positive trend; a red cell denotes a consistent negative trend; (?) denotes an uncertain trend.

Sources: CPI: Transparency International; WGI Control of Corruption: World Bank.



No region-wide trend towards deterioration

Opinions about corruption

- 2006: 1 in 4 citizens in the Americas believed that paying a bribe was justified in some circumstances
- 2014: 1 in 6 citizens thought the same (LAPOP, 2014)
- Even if corruption victimization and perception levels have not changed dramatically, *opinions* about corruption are changing rapidly, becoming less tolerant.

Five hypotheses about the recent anti-corruption reactions in LA

1. The perception of unfairness
2. The increase in public sector transparency
3. Changes in patterns of access to information
4. The economic downturn
5. The expansion of the middle class

Perception of unfairness I

Table 12. Inequality, perceptions of unfairness, corruption and regime legitimacy in Latin America, per country, 2010 - 2015

Country	Income Inequality 2010-13 (Gini Index)	Perception of Unfairness					Perception of Corruption (1)		% of population satisfied with democracy	
		% of population that considers income distribution unjust in their countries			% population that believes the government rules in favor of powerful interests		Average 2010-14	Variation 2010-14	Average 2011-15	Variation 2011-2015
		Average 2010-15	Country Range	Variation 2010-15	Average 2010-15	Variation 2010-15				
Argentina	44.1	77.5	Mid	-9.7	73.2	-4.5	79.0	0.4	54.3	-4
Bolivia	51.5	60.9	Lower	-18.9	54.1	-15.1	70.1	-0.2	38.0	20
Brazil	53.7	81.6	Higher	16.1	69.5	40.3	65.3	0.4	28.0	-16
Chile	51.5	89.4	Higher	5.3	71.9	19.8	66.0	-3.2	37.7	11
Colombia	54.7	84.1	Higher	1.8	72.9	14.1	79.8	1.6	27.0	1
Costa Rica	49.7	75.4	Mid	8.5	74.3	17.6	75.3	-4.0	41.7	2
Dom. Rep.	46.5	79.8	Higher	-14.4	80.9	-4.5	77.3	-1.3	44.0	21
Ecuador	48.0	48.7	Lower	-20.4	47.0	-5.9	68.7	-9.8	56.0	11
El Salvador	45.1	72.3	Mid	-2.9	70.4	3.1	66.0	3.1	33.3	-6
Guatemala	54.2	74.7	Mid	-7.2	71.7	9.4	71.6	-5.3	26.3	4
Honduras	57.2	77.9	Mid	-1.3	80.4	2.2	71.5	-3.1	27.0	5
Mexico	48.2	80.4	Higher	-2.6	78.4	3.2	76.0	-1.2	21.0	-4
Nicaragua	43.1	55.8	Lower	-9.4	51.1	-11.2	65.2	-1.6	46.0	10
Panama	51.9	61.7	Lower	-4.6	67.9	11.1	74.7	-6.8	45.3	-16
Paraguay	50.2	79.2	Higher	4.0	80.8	14.1	76.4	-0.6	29.3	-15
Peru	46.7	78.8	Higher	-3.3	79.1	0.8	78.2	-1.2	26.7	-7
Uruguay	43.3	64.5	Lower	-5.7	36.5	17.0	62.1	0.3	74.7	-2
Venezuela	44.8	69.8	Lower	14.7	55.1	16.3	77.1	3.9	39.0	-15
Latin America		72.5	--	-2.8	67.7	7.0	72.3	-2.2	38.3	-2

Notes: (1) Index 0-100 (max) elaborated by AmericasBarometer. Data does not include information for Brazil, Chile and Costa Rica in 2014. Averages for these countries are based solely on 2010-12.

Sources: Income inequality: UNDP (2013, 2015); Perception of unfairness & satisfaction with democracy: Latinobarometro; Perception of corruption: AmericasBarometer

Perception of unfairness II

Table 13. Inequality, perceptions of unfairness, corruption and regime legitimacy in Latin America, per groups of countries, 2010-2015

Country range (1)	Income inequality 2010-13 (Gini Index)	Perception of unfairness				Perception of corruption		% of population satisfied with democracy	
		% of population that considers income distribution unjust in their countries		% population that believes the government rules in favor of powerful interests					
		Average 2010-15	Variation 2010-15	Average 2010-15	Variation 2010-15	Average 2010-14	Variation 2010-14	Average 2011-15	Variation 2011-15
Lower	47.1	58.9	-7.4	52.6	2.0	69.7	-3.4	49.8	1.3
Mid	50.0	75.6	-2.5	74.0	5.6	72.7	-1.8	36.5	0.2
Higher	50.2	81.9	1.0	76.2	12.5	74.1	-0.8	30.5	-1.3

Note: (1) Country range grouped on the basis of the percentage of population that perceives income distribution as unjust, using the 2010-15 average. Lower: Ecuador, Nicaragua, Bolivia, Venezuela, Panama, Uruguay; Middle: El Salvador, Guatemala, Costa Rica, Argentina, Honduras; Higher: Peru, Paraguay, Dominican Republic, Mexico, Brazil, Colombia, Chile.

Sources: Authors' own elaboration based on Table 12.

More transparency: A new normative edifice I

Table 6. Key anti-corruption measures adopted in Latin America, per country, 1990-2015

Country	International standards			National laws and policies								Social accountability measures	
	OAS IAC Ratified	UNCAC Ratified	Open Government Partnership	Auditing agency		Asset disclosure requirement	Access to public information	Public procurement	E-Government policy	Money laundering legislation	Campaign finance regulation	Transparency International	
				Most recent constitutional norm	Organic Law							Organization started	TI chapter established
Argentina	1997	2006	2012	1994	-	1999/2013	2003	2001	2005	2000	2009	1989	1993
Bolivia	1997	2005	-	2009	-	1999/2012	2005	2009	2011/2014	1997	2010	2001	2001 (3)
Brazil	2002	2005	2011	1988	1992	1992/2005	2011	1993	2011	1998	1997	2000	2000 (3)
Chile	1998	2006	2011	1980	1964	2006	2008	2003	2007/2010	2003	2005	1998	2000
Colombia	1998	2006	2011	1991	1993	1995/2004	2014	2012	2008	2000	2011	1998	1998
Costa Rica	1997	2007	2012	1949	1994	2004	2012	1995	2006	2002	2009	n/a	n/a
Dom. Rep.	1999	2006	2011	1966	2004	2014	2004	2012	2004	2002	1997	1993	2005
Ecuador	1997	2005	-	2008	2002	2003/2008	2004	2008	2003	2005	2009	1989	n/a (3)
El Salvador	1998	2004	2011	1983	1995	1959 (2)	2012	2014	2004	2000	2009/2013	1992	2007
Guatemala	2001	2006	2011	1985	2002	2002/2005	2008	1992	2004	2001	2007	1996	2006
Honduras	1998	2005	2011	1964	2002	1999/2004	2008	2001	2014	2002	2004	1998	2012
Mexico	1997	2004	2011	1999 (1)	2000	2002	2006	2009	2013	1996	2008/2014	1999	1999
Nicaragua	1999	2006	-	1987	2009	2002	2007	2010	2010	2008	2000	1996	n/a
Panama	1998	2005	2012	1983 (1)	1984	1999	2002	2006	2010	2015	2006	1995	1996
Paraguay	1996	2005	2011	1992	1994	2013	2014	2007	2013	1997	1996	1998	2009 (3)
Peru	1997	2004	2011	1993	2002	2001/2014	2002	2014	2005	2002	2005	2001	2003
Uruguay	1998	2007	2011	1996	1997	1998/2008	2008	2012	2006	2004	2009	1995	2004 (4)
Venezuela	1997	2009	-	2000	2001	2003/2014	-	2008	2001/2013	2005	2010	2004	2004

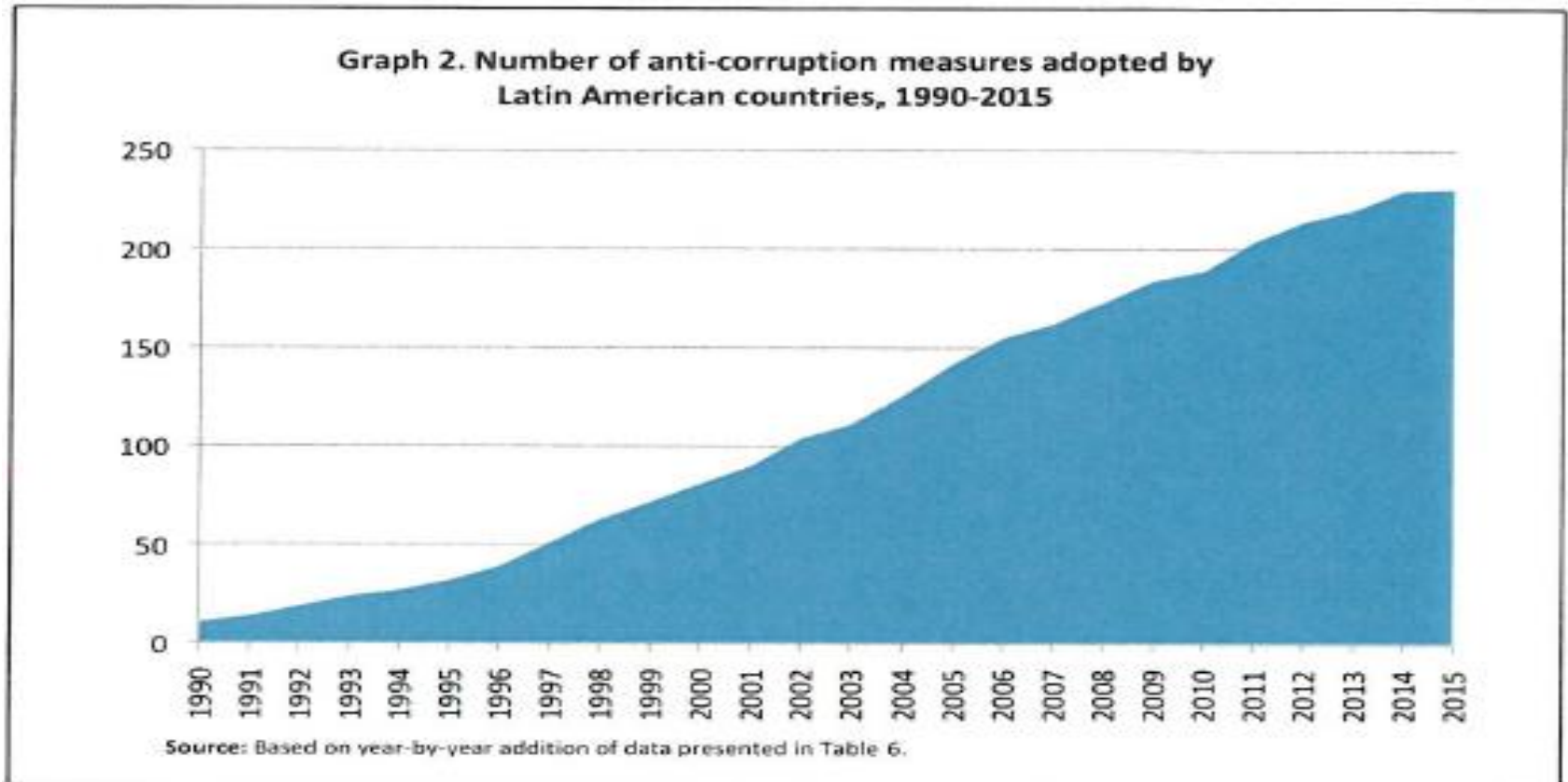
Notes: (1) Amendment to the Constitution of Mexico (1917) and Panama (1972); (2) El Salvador's asset disclosure legislation was established in 1959 and reaffirmed in the 1983 Constitution; (3) Transparency International chapters were dissolved in Bolivia (2005), Brazil (2007), Ecuador (2009) and Paraguay (2009); (4) Uruguay Transparente is not a formal TI Chapter, but a TI contact and participant of its Latin American network.

Sources: International Agreements: OAS (2016a), UN (2016), Open Government Partnership (2016). National Laws & Policies: Santiso (2009), World Bank (2006), OAS (2016b), SELA (2015), REDGEALC (2016), GAFILAT (2016), IDEA International (2016) & web-based research. Social Accountability: Transparency International (2016) & web-based research.

More transparency: A new normative edifice II

- International conventions / agreements
 - OAS Inter-American Convention Against Corruption (all countries)
 - UN Convention Against Corruption (all countries)
 - Open Government Partnership (all countries minus 4)
- National laws and policies
 - Auditing institutions (recent upgrades in virtually all countries)
 - Access to public information rules (all countries minus 1)
 - Asset disclosure requirements (all countries minus 1)
 - Campaign finance regulations (all countries)
 - + Fiscal transparency laws, anti-money laundering laws, plea bargain powers, etc., etc.

More transparency: Considerable normative progress III



Considerable progress! But...
Implementation problems, hypocrisy, poor evaluation of effects

More transparency IV

Table 7. Measures of transparency in public sector in Latin America, per country, 2006-2016

Country	Transparency of Government Policymaking (1)			Open Budget Index (2)			Trends		
	2006-2009	2013-2016	Variation 2006-09 / 2013-16	2006-2008	2012-2015	Variation 2006-08 / 2012-15	Transparency in Govt. Policymaking	Open Budget Index	Overall (3)
Argentina	2.73	2.99	0.26	47.9	54.6	6.7	+	+	
Bolivia	2.73	3.59	0.86	13.6	14.4	0.8	+	+	
Brazil	3.42	3.35	-0.07	74.1	75.0	1.0	-	+	?
Chile	5.03	5.00	-0.03	72.1	62.2	-9.9	-	-	
Colombia	4.34	3.93	-0.41	58.7	57.6	-1.2	-	-	
Costa Rica	3.92	4.35	0.43	45.0	52.0	6.9	+	+	
Dom. Rep.	3.72	4.18	0.46	11.7	39.9	28.2	+	+	
Ecuador	2.77	2.50	-0.27	35.3	40.4	5.1	-	+	?
El Salvador	4.25	3.53	-0.72	32.6	48.2	15.6	-	+	?
Guatemala	3.92	4.38	0.46	46.2	48.3	2.2	+	+	
Honduras	3.83	3.99	0.16	24.8	48.1	23.2	+	+	
Mexico	3.93	4.05	0.12	52.3	63.6	11.2	+	+	
Nicaragua	3.31	3.63	0.32	19.7	44.1	24.4	+	+	
Panama	4.11	4.43	0.32	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	+	n.a.	?
Paraguay	2.89	3.95	1.06	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	+	n.a.	?
Peru	3.80	3.85	0.05	71.7	65.9	-5.8	+	-	?
Uruguay	4.00	4.74	0.74	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	+	n.a.	?
Venezuela	2.48	2.25	-0.23	35.5	22.4	-13.1	-	-	
Latin America	3.62	3.82	0.20	42.1	49.1	7.0	+	+	

Notes: (1) This index measures on a scale of 1-7 (best) the results to the survey question: In your country, how easy is it for businesses to obtain information about changes in government policies and regulations affecting their activities? (2) This index measures on a scale of 0-100 (best) 3 aspects of how governments are managing public finances: budget transparency (the amount, level of detail, and timeliness of budget information governments are making publically available), budget participation (the opportunities governments are providing to civil society and the general public to engage in decisions about how public resources are raised and spent), and budget oversight (the capacity and authority of formal institutions –such as legislatures and supreme audit institutions—to understand and influence how public resources are being raised and spent). (3) A green cell denotes a consistent positive trend; a red cell denotes a consistent negative trend; (?) denotes an uncertain trend.

Sources: Transparency of Government Policymaking: Global Competitiveness Report, World Economic Forum; Open Budget Index: International Budget Partnership.

The rise of Internet and social media I

Table 8. News sources for Latin American population, per country, 2005-2011

Country	% of population that watches news on TV at least once a week			% of population that listens to news on radio at least once a week			% of population that read newspapers at least once a week			% of population that get their news from the Internet		
	2005	2011	Variation 2005-11 (1)	2005	2011	Variation 2005-11 (1)	2005	2011	Variation 2005-11 (1)	2008	2015	Variation 2008-15 (1)
Argentina	89.4	74.3	-15.1	69.2	49.9	-19.3	56.7	44.5	-12.2	36	48	12
Bolivia	71.3	80.4	9.1	70.0	64.0	-6.0	34.5	44.2	9.7	25	26	1
Brazil	81.1	70.2	-10.9	56.9	37.8	-19.1	34.8	38.7	3.9	28	28 (2)	0
Chile	91.4	75.5	-15.9	54.3	42.3	-12.1	55.8	38.3	-17.5	35	57	22
Colombia	84.8	69.0	-15.8	45.9	41.2	-4.7	27.9	31.2	3.3	27	37	10
Costa Rica	81.7	57.5	-24.2	22.9	19.9	-3.0	37.7	37.5	-0.2	19	40	21
Dom Rep.	65.2	76.9	11.7	46.3	50.1	3.8	38.8	52.4	13.6	20	25	5
Ecuador	83.4	82.8	-0.7	45.8	39.3	-6.5	45.8	59.7	13.9	16	42	26
El Salvador	67.1	76.0	8.9	29.2	45.3	16.1	32.5	48.1	15.6	12	15	3
Guatemala	79.9	59.5	-20.4	49.1	41.2	-7.9	69.9	43.2	-26.7	10	18	8
Honduras	55.6	52.1	-3.5	57.6	38.4	-19.2	36.7	22.3	-14.4	9	10	1
Mexico	89.3	59.9	-29.4	48.7	29.7	-19.0	56.3	28.3	-28.0	26	22 (2)	-4
Nicaragua	73.6	58.2	-15.4	42.4	41.5	-0.9	25.9	18.8	-7.1	11	15	4
Panama	78.0	83.6	5.6	49.6	43.6	-6.0	52.9	52.8	-0.1	19	25	6
Paraguay	73.3	78.3	5.1	64.0	51.8	-12.3	30.8	43.3	12.5	14	25	11
Peru	78.1	82.7	4.6	66.3	69.3	3.1	47.7	64.8	17.1	32	34	2
Uruguay	87.3	69.8	-17.5	74.8	50.7	-24.1	31.3	28.6	-2.7	25	52	27
Venezuela	76.7	79.7	3.0	59.7	46.1	-13.6	63.9	73.6	9.7	38	45	7
Latin America	78.6	71.8	-6.8	53.6	44.9	-8.8	43.4	43.0	-0.4	23	29	6

Notes: (1) A green cell denotes a positive trend; a red cell denotes a negative trend. (2) 2011.

Source: Latinobarometro.

41% of the population in LA has a Facebook account; Youtube / Google+ >25%

The rise of Internet and social media II

Table 10. Press freedom index in Latin America, per country, 2005-2014 (1)

Pais	2005	2010	2014	Variation 2005-14 (2)
Argentina	45	51	51	6
Bolivia	33	46	47	14
Brazil	39	44	45	6
Chile	26	29	31	5
Colombia	61	56	55	-6
Costa Rica	18	18	17	-1
Dom. Rep.	37	40	42	5
Ecuador	41	52	64	23
El Salvador	43	42	39	-4
Guatemala	58	59	60	2
Honduras	52	61	68	16
Mexico	48	62	63	15
Nicaragua	44	47	52	8
Panama	43	44	49	6
Paraguay	57	60	59	2
Peru	39	43	47	8
Uruguay	28	25	24	-4
Venezuela	72	76	81	9
Latin America	43.6	47.5	49.7	6

Notes: (1) Index ranges from 0 (complete press freedom) to 100 (no press freedom). (2) A green cell denotes a positive trend (less points, more press freedom); a red cell denotes a negative trend (more points, less press freedom).

Source: Freedom House.

Press is *not* freer than ever in LA

The rise of the Internet and social media II

- More information in the public domain
- Faster circulation of information
- Lower costs for collective action
 - Social movements without visible leaders
 - 90% of participants of 2013 demonstrations in Brazil received their information from social media

Economic downturn I

Table 16. Presidential approval rates in Latin America, 2010-2015 (%)

Do you approve or disapprove of the administration led by President (name)?				
	2010	2011	2013	2015
Approve	56.2	53.6	43.4	47.1
Disapprove	36.9	37.2	39.6	45.7
Balance (approve-disapprove)	19.3	16.4	3.8	1.4

Source: Latinobarometro.



Strong region-wide anti-incumbent sentiment

Table 17. Trust in public institutions in Latin America, 2010-2015 (%)

How much trust do you have in this institution?												
	Government				Congress				The State			
	2010	2011	2013	2015	2010	2011	2013	2015	2010	2011	2013	2015
A lot	11.7	10.6	11.1	9.5	6.3	5.4	6.1	6.1	8.4	7.1	9.3	7.8
Some	31.3	29.8	23.9	23.5	27.0	26.3	19.6	20.6	32.4	30.7	28.5	26.6
A little	32.2	35.0	28.0	33.3	35.9	38.2	28.9	35.8	34.7	37.9	30.5	37.1
None	23.4	23.6	24.7	31.7	26.5	26.5	31.8	34.5	20.6	21.3	19.1	25.5
Balance (a lot - none)	-11.7	-13.0	-13.6	-22.2	-20.2	-21.1	-25.7	-27.9	-12.2	-14.2	-9.8	-18.0

Source: Latinobarometro.

Economic downturn II

- “There is strong reason to believe that individuals are more punitive of perceived corruption under bad economic times.”
(Zechmeister & Zizumbo-Colunga, 2013)
- Latin Americans are *generally* angry with incumbents; corruption scandals provide a powerful narrative to mobilize that anger.

A final note on hypotheses

- It is the *convergence* of all these factors that matters
- What has happened?
 - Dishonest acts have become easier to uncover and disseminate
 - Social attitudes in the face of them are more unforgiving than ever before

Some policy recommendations

1. Focus on normative / institutional transformations
2. Pick vulnerable areas but pay attention to the whole
 - Police, courts, local governments (petty corruption) + public procurement, tax collection / evasion, campaign finance (grand corruption)
 - Create an *eco-system* of protection of integrity
3. Invest in democratizing access to ICTs
4. Adopt pro-equity policies

Thank you.