

# Survey of Constitutional Culture Argentina: An Anomic Society

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# SURVEY OF CONSTITUTIONAL CULTURE

## ARGENTINA: AN ANOMIC SOCIETY



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## CONTENTS

### Introduction

Antonio María HERNÁNDEZ

Daniel ZOVATTO

## FIRST PART

### Preliminary considerations

Antonio María HERNÁNDEZ

- I. The concept of anomy
- II. The concept of culture of the constitution
- III. Violation of the laws in Argentina
- IV. The origin of this project

### Theoretical and methodological considerations

Manuel MORA Y ARAUJO

- I. Research plan
- II. Enforcement of law-based order in Argentina
- III. Methodological aspects
- IV. Topics studied

### Profile of the population polled

Manuel MORA Y ARAUJO

## SECOND PART

### Chapter I

#### Perceptions about the model of society, rights and values

Daniel ZOVATTO

- I. The model of society
- II. Rights
- III. Obedience and respect for the law
- IV. Social problems and immorality
- V. Restrictions on people's behavior
- VI. Extent of individual autonomy before the law
- VII. The value of responsibility
- VIII. Freedom of the press
- IX. Tolerance

## Chapter II

Perceptions of democracy, values, regulations, representation and power

Daniel ZOVATTO

- I. Democracy as a form of government
- II. Values of democracy
- III. Rules of democracy
- IV. Political leadership
- V. Level of information: media usage

## Chapter III

Extent of knowledge about the institutions

Antonio María HERNÁNDEZ

- I. Knowledge of institutional functions
- II. Perception of the Presidency of the nation
- III. Perceptions of the national Congress
- IV. Perceptions of the Judiciary and the justice system

## Chapter IV

Perceptions of the law and the Constitution

Antonio María HERNÁNDEZ

- I. Lack of respect for the law
- II. Knowledge of the Constitution

## THIRD PART

### Conclusions and proposals

Antonio María HERNÁNDEZ

Daniel ZOVATTO

Manuel MORA Y ARAUJO

- I. Conclusions
- II. Proposals

### Questionnaire

## APPENDIX OF STATISTICS

Table 8. When you think you are right, are you willing to go against the stipulations of the law?

Table 28. How much do you agree with the statement “There are times when it is necessary to disobey the law”?

Table 40. How much do you agree or disagree with the statement “It is hard to obey the law when many people do not”?

Table 42. From what you have seen, who violates the laws most?

Table 50. In your opinion, should or shouldn't the government control the press?

Table 62. How would you rate the Judiciary's response level?

Table 63. How independent do you believe judges are to make their own decisions?

Table 64. How independent do you believe judges in the Supreme Court are to make their own decisions?

Table 68. Generally speaking, would you say that Argentina is a country where the laws and the Constitution are respected, or is it a country that lives most of the time disregarding the law?

Table 69. With which of these statements do you agree most? : “The Argentine people respect the laws and the Constitution” or “The Argentine people are rather disobedient/transgressors.”

Table 71. How important do you believe the national Constitution is?

Table 73. How well do you think the national Constitution is obeyed in Argentina?

Table 75. How well do you think you know the national Constitution?

Table 80. Do you know in which year the national Constitution was enacted?

Table 82. Do you know in which year the last reform to the national Constitution was made?

Table 87. Some people think the national Constitution should be reformed because it no longer fits the reality of the country. Others, to the contrary, believe it should be left as it is. Which of the following statements do you most agree with?

Table 90. In the event that the national Constitution is reformed, should the political parties participate to change/reform the national Constitution?

Table 98. Which of the following statements do you think the majority of people most agree with?

Table 99. In your opinion, which is preferable?: A democracy over any other form of government or, in some circumstances, might a non-democratic government be better?

Table 100. To strengthen democracy, which is more important?

Table 101. In your opinion, what is the most important goal to achieve in a society?

Table 132. To what extent do matters discussed in the national Congress interest you?

Table 134. To what extent do you agree or disagree with the statement “Members of Congress make decisions thinking of the population”?

Table 135. To what extent do you agree that the national Congress frequently grant special powers to the Executive Branch?

Table 136. What is your opinion of the idea of the president enacting necessity and urgency laws instead of sending draft bills to the national Congress?

Bibliography

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## INTRODUCTION

Antonio María HERNÁNDEZ  
Daniel ZOVATTO

This book by the Asociación Argentina de Derecho Constitucional (AADC) and International IDEA about the culture surrounding the Constitution in Argentina focuses on analyzing the Argentine society's attitudes, perceptions and values with regard to fundamental law and legality. It is the result of the combined efforts of doctoral Professor Antonio María Hernández, representing the AADC; Doctor Daniel Zovatto, regional director for Latin America with International IDEA; and Manuel Mora y Araujo, representing Ipsos-Mora y Araujo.

The survey method was based on a similar survey made in Mexico by specialists at the Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, which we adapted to our reality. In the preface of the book *Cultura de la Constitución en México* (by Concha Cantú, Fix-Fierro, Flores and Valadés, Mexico, UNAM, 2004), which served as a reference for this book, mention was made of the high value that respondents placed on the Constitution, public ignorance about it, the lack of credibility and trust in institutions, public protest over the problems of public safety and violence, etcetera. In this sense, despite important differences, Argentina presents a problematic situation similar to the one observed in Mexico regarding the conflictive relations between law and society.

The work we are presenting in this book is interdisciplinary—legal, political and sociological—and was written based on a national opinion poll unprecedented in Argentina. Its immediate objective is to ponder one of the most serious problems in our country, i.e., infringement of the laws and the Constitution, and to invite in-depth reflection and discussion to seek full enforcement of the constitutional and democratic rule of law. There is also a subsequent objective, which is to analyze this matter in Latin America comparatively, inasmuch as this will form part of other similar studies to be conducted in the future.

As with the Mexican report, this study aims to reveal how much Argentine people know about their Constitution, specifically, and about law in general. In this sense, *a)* it explores citizens' rights and their observance, the people who pass them on and the areas in which they are reproduced; *b)* it pinpoints the opinions, values and beliefs that frame the legal culture and its relationship with the political culture; *c)* it analyzes attitudes toward democracy and its values, as well as perceptions of power, types of representation and institutional performance as elements of the political system; and *d)* it studies the main factors contributing to the Argentine people's perceptions, attitudes, and values regarding their Constitution.

The contents of the book are organized in three sections. The first is a general overview, containing preliminary, theoretical, and methodological considerations and the profile of the population polled. The second section contains four chapters analyzing the opinion poll with regard to: *a)* perceptions of the model of society, rights, and values; *b)* perceptions of democracy and its values, regulations, representation, and power; *c)* extent of knowledge about institutions, and *d)* attitudes, opinions, and perceptions about the Constitution. The third section presents conclusions and proposals, adding suggestions for promoting change

in the current state of affairs in this aspect in the country. The CD accompanying this book includes further statistics with all the documentation relevant to the poll.

This study is intended for experts on constitutional matters, for people with legislative and public-policy decision-making power, for judges, for civilians, the media, and the general public. For precisely this reason, and to facilitate easy reading and distribution, we have chosen a straightforward, simple style of writing.

On behalf of the Asociación Argentina de Derecho Constitucional and International IDEA, we express our belief that this book will help raise the level of our political and legal culture and consolidate the values of rule of law and constitutional democracy. We see it as a springboard, an ongoing project to be expanded upon and updated regularly so that it retains validity, and we sincerely hope that it triggers discussion and more in-depth study of such a crucial subject.

The authors wish to thank Doctor Diego Valadés, director of the UNAM's Instituto de Investigaciones Jurídicas [Juridical Research Institute], and his team, for the valuable support ever since this project began. Also, Luciana Grandi, of Ipsos-Mora y Araujo, for coordinating the poll that served as a database for this book; and Ileana Aguilar for her dedicated editing of this study.

## FIRST PART PRELIMINARY CONSIDERATIONS

Antonio María HERNÁNDEZ

In the wake of a poll on the culture of the Constitution we analyze here some basic concepts that spawned this book, along with its title. The book purports to study in greater depth one of the most serious recurring stumbling blocks of our reality, which is the conflictive relationship between society and norms, especially juridical norms.

It has been a joint endeavor of the Asociación Argentina de Derecho Constitucional and International IDEA. The Association, over which we preside, is an institution that concentrates more than 450 teachers of public law—especially constitutional law and provincial and municipal public law. Its tasks include a commitment to teaching civics that defer to the highest principles of our constitutional democracy. International IDEA is an international inter-governmental organization that has the participation of more than twenty countries from five continents. Headquartered in Stockholm, Sweden, its mission is to promote and develop sustainable democracy worldwide.

This interdisciplinary effort, unprecedented in our country, seeks to formulate a tight diagnosis for such an urgent subject, and at the same time come up with concrete proposals to try to raise the quality of our institutions and achieve an authentic “constitutional feeling.” In regard to the concepts, we will focus on two that we think are fundamental: “anomy” and “culture of the Constitution”.

### I. THE CONCEPT OF ANOMY

Our idea of anomy is “failure to obey juridical, moral and social norms,” says Carlos Santiago Nino in his well-known written work *Un país al margen de la ley* [A Lawbreaking Country].<sup>1</sup>

The term originates from the Greek *anomos*, meaning “lawless,” and was used 25 centuries ago by Herodotus of Halicarnaso (484-406 B.C.) in his *History of the Medical Wars* between Greeks and Persians.<sup>2</sup> The well-known historian considered that anomy could be social or individual. The latter he divided into three meanings: *a*) when an individual person is violent, terrible and has no positive human qualities; *b*) when referring to a breach of religious norms, and *c*) when social mores are not respected. It is a question, then, of an ignorance of rules of conduct, as Professor Chamorro Greca de Prado well concludes.<sup>3</sup> The concept of anomy was later used by Thucydes and Plato, and there are references to it in the Old and New Testament, in Judaism and Hellenism.<sup>4</sup> Later, the term would be used in legal texts in 1635 by the English lawyer William Lambarde to infer a lack of norms or

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<sup>1</sup> Nino, Carlos Santiago, *Un país al margen de la ley. Estudio de la anomia como componente del subdesarrollo argentino* [A Lawbreaking country. A study of anomy as a component of under-development in Argentina], Buenos Aires, Emecé, 1992.

<sup>2</sup> As mentioned by Doctor Hilda Eva Chamorro Greca de Prado, professor *emeritus* of the Universidad Nacional de Córdoba, in her speech on her incorporation into Cordoba’s National Academy of Law and Social Sciences as a numbered academic. The speech, titled “El concepto de anomia, una visión en nuestro país” [The anomy concept, a perception in our country], was made on May 3, 2005. Thus far unpublished, it is due to appear in the Academy’s *Anales*.

<sup>3</sup> See Chamorro Greca del Prado, Hilda Eva, aforementioned unpublished lecture, p. 1, note 1, where she claims this to be a broad concept that gradually changed over time.

<sup>4</sup> Thucydes, teacher of Pericles, referred to the term in his work *History of the War of the Peloponese*; and Plato in *The Republic*, where he assigned it the meaning of anarchy and intemperance. *Cfr.* Aforementioned conference, pp. 2-4.

laws, until the word acquired its final connotation through the thoughts of the father of French sociology Emile Durkheim in his books *About the Division of Social Work* (1893) and *The Suicide* (1897). Nevertheless, the sociologist from Cordoba, Chamorro Greca de Prado,<sup>5</sup> concurring with Anthony Giddens, maintains that it was Jean Marie Guyau who re-introduced the term. Durkheim thought that anomy or the weakening of norms emerged with a greater division of labor and could reach the point of disorganizing society. Similarly, to that phenomenon he also attributes the production of a certain type of “anomic” suicides resulting from the social impact on the behavior of individuals.<sup>6</sup> This French author’s influence was later felt in United States sociology through Elton Mayo, Talcott Parsons and Robert K. Merton.<sup>7</sup>

In 1968, Parsons said, when citing Durkheim’s work, that anomy had become one of the few core concepts of contemporary social science.<sup>8</sup> Whereas Merton maintains that:

- a) Anomy does not imply a lack of norms, because every society, no matter how rudimentary, has a more or less systemized, more or less integrated set of rules, mores, customs and juridical norms.
- b) A minimal degree of law infringement in a legal system cannot be considered anomy.
- c) There are levels and types of anomy. “Simple” anomy is the state of confusion of a group or society subjected to antagonism in a system of values, which results in a certain amount of uneasiness and the sensation of separation from the group.
- d) “Acute” anomy is extreme deterioration and disintegration of a system of values, resulting in marked anxieties.
- e) Anomy can apply more to some sectors of the population than others.
- f) Socially divergent or deviated behavior results from anomy.<sup>9</sup>

The concept of anomy continues being used by modern sociology and other disciplines,<sup>10</sup> sufficiently substantiating our reference to it in this survey.

## II. THE CONCEPT OF CULTURE OF THE CONSTITUTION

We owe the most in-depth studies on connecting the dots between culture and Constitution to the German professor Peter Häberle.<sup>11</sup> The author sustains that the “Constitution is not

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<sup>5</sup> Chamorro Greca de Prado, Hilda Eva. Her aforementioned unpublished lecture, p. 6, mentions Giddens and his work *Capitalism and Modern Social Theory*, Cambridge University Press, 1971, in which he refers to the following books by Guyau: *Sketch of a Morality Without Obligation or Sanction* (1885) and *The non Religion of the Future* (1887), again using the term anomy.

<sup>6</sup> Cfr. Chamorro Greca de Prado, Hilda Eva, *cit.*, pp. 7 and 8.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 8. The author mentions as representatives of U.S. sociology Elton Mayo and his book *Problemas humanos de una civilización industrial* [Human Problems of an Industrial Civilization], Buenos Aires, Nueva Visión, 1956; Talcott Parsons and his *La estructura de la acción social* [The Structure of Social Action], Madrid, Guadarrama, 1968, and *El sistema social* [The Social System], Madrid, Alianza Editorial, 1988; and Robert K. Merton with *Teoría y estructura sociales* [Social Theory and Structure], Mexico, Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1964.

<sup>8</sup> Cfr. Chamorro Greca de Prado, Hilda Eva, *cit.*, p. 9.

<sup>9</sup> Cfr. *ibidem*, pp. 9-11, based on Robert K. Merton’s book *Teoría y estructura sociales* [Social Theory and Structure], Mexico, Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1964.

<sup>10</sup> On the anomy concept, we also emphasize Carlos Santiago Nino’s book *Un país al margen de la ley* [A Lawbreaking Country], to which we shall later refer.

<sup>11</sup> In particular to his work *Teoría de la Constitución, como ciencia de la cultura* [Theory of the Constitution as the Science of a Culture], translation and introduction by Emilio Mikunda, Madrid, Tecnos, 2000. In the original edition, in 1982 in Berlin, Germany, titled *Verfassungslehre als Kulturwissenschaft*, Duncker & Humblot, the distinguished lawyer condenses his thinking into ten theses.

limited to just being a set of legal texts or a mere collection of laws, but that it expresses a certain degree of cultural development, a means of an entire people's personal self-representation, a mirror of their cultural legacy and the bedrock of their hopes and desires."<sup>12</sup> And he adds "...the juridical reality of every constitutional State is only a fragment of the reality of every living Constitution which, throughout its entire text and context, is only one of that State's cultural expressions. That is why the actual texts of a Constitution must be literally "cultivated" (the noun culture comes from the Latin verb *cultivare*) in order to become an authentic Constitution."<sup>13</sup>

So the eminent lawyer defines constitutional culture as "the sum of attitudes and ideas, subjective experiences, scales of values, subjective expectations and the corresponding objective actions both at the personal level of a citizen and his associations, as well as at the level of government entities and any other institution related to the Constitution."<sup>14</sup>

Logically, then, this survey is targeted at finding out citizens' attitudes, perceptions and values regarding the fundamental law and legality in general, to determine what our culture of the constitution is like.

### III. VIOLATION OF THE LAWS IN ARGENTINA

People have pointed to the anomy problem in our country from different perspectives,<sup>15</sup> but we shall concentrate especially on those who have done so from the legal viewpoint.

In his well-known book *La ciudad indiana* [Indian City], focused on research of our history in the 17th and 18th centuries, Juan Agustín García, professor of the Law Faculty at the Universidad de Buenos Aires, indicated that one of the four sentiments of that era was "contempt or disregard for the Law."<sup>16</sup>

In reference to the Law in colonial times, he said:

...theoretical law was admirable for its charitable benevolence; the royal letters patent recommended good treatment, education and conversion of the Indians. But, alas, all over Hispanic America consultation of written law is the least important and illustrative: the Law, good or bad, grows and develops from the ground up, amid conflict of passions and interests, and protecting the most powerful inhabitants. Generally despicable, biased and cruel, it is propelled by ignominious sentiments and fierce self-interests.<sup>17</sup>

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<sup>12</sup> Häberle, Peter, *op. cit.*, above-mentioned footnote, p. 34.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 35.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibidem*, pp. 36 and 37.

<sup>15</sup> Noteworthy among our most representative literary works is *Martín Fierro*, by José Hernández, in which references are made to unjust laws—that benefit the rich and powerful—to the need to befriend judges, and to "native cleverness," in an outstanding story about the life of a gaucho at odds with society and its laws in the 19<sup>th</sup> century. And in Argentine folk music, no one can ignore the trenchant lyrics of Enrique Santos Discépolo's tango "Cambalache," that constitutes a sociological description and appraisal of the breakdown of our laws and values in the 20<sup>th</sup> century.

<sup>16</sup> García, Juan Agustín, *La ciudad indiana* [Indian City], 2nd edition, Buenos Aires, Ángel Estrada y Cia. Editores, 1909. José Manuel Estrada raised this sharp observation at the beginning of the book: "If we could truly know the ins and outs of the colonial society, we would solve three quarters of the problems that weigh us down." The first reference to contempt for the Law being a national sentiment is included in the preface of the book, p. 7.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibidem*, chapter on "Las campañas" [Campaigns], pp. 34 and 35.

Besides pointing out the arbitrariness of councils in their regulation of trade and monopolies, he mentioned paternalism as another characteristic, which forced the population to depend on a monarch viewed as an “incarnation of Providence on earth”<sup>18</sup> García described the practice of the all-embracing power of the colonial authorities, with no rights for the gaucho, which kindled...

deep within the Gaucho soul a feeling of contempt for the Law: in his imagination the Law is the symbol of arbitrariness, the use of capricious and discretionary brute force, incarnated in a bossy, somewhat cruel, greedy extortionate official, a “petty mayor”... always willing to bend justice in favor of the prestigious hacienda owner with connections in the capital... He knows he has no rights, that is, he has the clear impression that his welfare, his things, his family are minutiae that the official machine tramples over without the slightest concern.”<sup>19</sup>

Later the author wrote of the struggle that began in the colonial era between the individual and the Government: “...it reached a peak with the caudillos, troops of mounted rebels and anarchy, a supreme victory for individualism.”<sup>20</sup> In conclusion, he indicated that the essential traits of our political law are “...the predominance of the classical State-providence concept, political centralization, inferior and subordinate role of assemblies; and in the population, accentuating and fortifying those traits, a disregard for the law converted into instinct, into a motive for free will.” He followed by saying: “One can state, without fear of falling into a paradox, that the country has not come out of the old regime.” We end this brief recollection of his thoughts with a sentence we also believe to be decidedly and disturbingly contemporary: “Now, as before, higher-learning studies have dropped off, especially law studies! Does that make it a bad thing, for heaven’s sake, to broadcast the Law?”<sup>21</sup>

Undoubtedly the best study of anomy made in our country is that of Carlos Santiago Nino, law professor at the Universidad Nacional de Buenos Aires, in his book *Un país al margen de la ley* [A Lawbreaking Country].<sup>22</sup> Using an interdisciplinary perspective, Nino demonstrated with irrefutable intellectual brilliance why Argentina had a lawless history and how that also produced our under-development.<sup>23</sup> The book’s main thesis purported to show how anomy in itself worked to produce deficiency.<sup>24</sup>

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<sup>18</sup> *Ibidem*, chapter on “*La administración de la ciudad*,” [Administration of the City], p. 151. The author claims that town councils were a “sad parody of the Castilian councils destroyed by Charles V after Villamar (p. 157), and that councilors were appointed by their outgoing predecessors, with approval from the governor, who also sometimes appointed them.” (p. 164). In addition, the author compares them with those of the United States, underscoring the contrast with a reality evidenced by constitutional letters and political practices that showed an eager defense of ideals, interests and government itself.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibidem*, in the chapter on “*El proletariado en las campañas*” [The proletariat in the campaigns], pp. 262 and 263.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibidem*, in the chapter on “*La administración de la capital*” [Administration of the capital], pp. 298 and 299.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibidem*, “*Conclusión*” [Conclusion], pp. 365 and 366.

<sup>22</sup> Nino, Carlos Santiago, *op. cit.*, note 1.

<sup>23</sup> Nino said: “This trend towards anomy, or more specifically towards lawlessness, largely involves factors marked as pivotal for explaining the involution of Argentina’s development, not to mention their having a separate causative effect” (*ibidem*, p. 24). He maintained that anomy in Argentina was quite easy to perceive as it gradually arose from the massive violation of human rights in the 1970s through government terrorism and left-wing terrorism. But he also mentioned a less dramatic case: that of the society’s external image projected during transit in streets and highways, in the cleanliness of public places or in urban aesthetics (p. 25). Then, after referring to other aspects like corruption or the involution of economic growth, he mentioned political instability in these terms: “Such political instability culminated in the *coups d’etat* which obviously marked the height of Argentine lawbreaking. But there are other more indirect ways in which political instability was related with lawbreaking: the electoral frauds, like those practiced prior to the Sáenz Peña Law and during the infamous decade; also, the electoral proscriptions such as the one that occurred first with the radicalism of that same decade, and again with Peronism from 1958 to 1973. The abuse of federal interventions, the president’s usurpation of Congress’s



Quoting Jon Elster's idea that "laws are the cement of society," he maintained that laws "make the integrity and subsistence of societies possible," and therefore "lawlessness and anomy in general affect social productivity, at least in a capitalist system," as Max Weber showed.<sup>25</sup>

Furthermore, he introduced a new assessment of anomy to explain the Argentine case; he named it "dumb," because disregard for laws was affecting values like security and the ability to make forecasts, and was producing a deficient collective action.<sup>26</sup>

With stinging precision he then referred to anomy in the institutional and social life of our country, to laws that are like tools for cooperation. To escape from the anomy trap he was proposing a process of public discussion and education of the masses to promote loyalty to the Law.<sup>27</sup> Finally, Nino described anomy as antidemocratic because it involves violation of laws that must be sanctioned by a majority ruling after a debating process. And in our case it meant a deficiency in the materialization of democracy by insinuating the existence of pockets of authoritarianism.<sup>28</sup>

In our book *Las emergencias y el orden constitucional* [Emergencies and Constitutional Order] we hold the thesis that throughout history emergency institutions have usually been used to violate the constitutional system, republican order and the enforcement of human rights.<sup>29</sup>

In the initial words of that book we say:

Over the last few months, we Argentines have lived through a tremendous crisis that has shaken the structure of all aspects of national life. Faced with this situation, we have been thinking for quite some time that we need to look inside ourselves to see what we are like, both individually and as a society, so as to understand how one of the countries with the greatest prospects at the beginning of the 20th century could end up in the embarrassing situation we now find ourselves. And then, after formulating a diagnosis, we must try to plan a different future more in keeping with the projects and dreams we initially had as a country.

We are convinced that such a formidable task will take humility, decisiveness and exemplary ethics to change individual and mass behavior and values. Consequently, education, science and technology must become key instruments for this process, in tune with the information age we live in.

Taking into account our responsibility as constitutional law professors and lawyers committed to defending the affected individual rights of , we consider that the best action

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faculties, the manipulation of justice, abusive martial law, seriously affected the partisan legitimacy of Argentina's political system and, consequently, also contributed to society's weak support for it— a prerequisite for its subversion by force." (p. 28).

<sup>24</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 28

<sup>25</sup> *Ibidem*, pp. 31 and 32. He quoted Max Weber in his book *La ética protestante y el espíritu del capitalismo* [Protestant Ethics and the Spirit of Capitalism], where he says: "...modern, rational industrial capitalism needs both the technical means for job calculation, as well as foreseeable rights and an administration guided by formal regulations. Without this, adventurous, commercial, speculative capitalism, not to mention every kind of political capitalism, is indeed possible; but private commercial industry with fixed capital and safe calculation is impossible."

<sup>26</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 40.

<sup>27</sup> *Ibidem*, chapters 2, 3, 5 and 6, respectively. We particularly recommend reading them.

<sup>28</sup> *Cfr. Ibidem*, "Epilogo" [Epilogue], p. 272.

<sup>29</sup> Hernández, Antonio María, *Las emergencias y el orden constitucional* [Emergencies and Constitutional Order], in its two editions: Buenos Aires, Rubinzal-Culzoni, 2002, and 2nd extended edition, Mexico, Rubinzal-Culzoni Editores, UNAM, Instituto de Investigaciones Jurídicas, 2003, with prologue by Diego Valadés.

we can take in this painful situation is to contribute to the study and discussion of one of the problems that harms us the most: anomy.

Not long ago, in a remarkable must-read book titled *Un país al margen de la ley* [A Lawbreaking Country], Carlos S. Nino clearly showed—using a mixture of law, philosophy and sociology—why Argentina is a country with a pronounced general proclivity for lawlessness and why it was one cause of our under-development.

Now, with the same intention he had, but from a more juridical-constitutional perspective, this essay of ours will focus on analyzing emergency processes and constitutional order, to try to demonstrate from this standpoint how and why our rule of law decayed during our institutional history, and how we can make changes now and in the future to permanently uphold the values of the constitutional and democratic rule of law.

We are convinced that, while this particular experience cannot be applied to other Latin American countries, it can, however, be said that emergency situations and constitutional order in general have been common to our constitutional realities, bringing about similar outcomes as far as the unrestricted enforcement of the rule of law is concerned.<sup>30</sup>

#### IV. THE ORIGIN OF THIS PROJECT

The 7th Latin American Congress of Constitutional Law, held in Mexico City in February, 2003, featured the presentation of the book *Cultura de la Constitución en México. Una encuesta nacional de actitudes, percepciones y valores* [Constitution Culture in Mexico. A national poll of attitudes, perceptions and values] by its authors Hugo A. Concha Cantú, Héctor Fix-Fierro, Julia Flores and Diego Valadés.<sup>31</sup>

Among the book's preliminary considerations, Valadés says:

With this poll, the Juridical Research Institute hopes to contribute further data and analysis to the institutional development of Mexico.

...To shrink the gap between society and Constitution requires not only overcoming the legal and political problems that led up to that situation. We must also understand that the relationship between Constitution and society is a cultural phenomenon. It is precisely in that direction where we wanted to head our poll.<sup>32</sup>

That was when this distinguished Mexican lawyer came up with the idea of extending the study to other countries in Latin America to be able to make a comparative analysis of such an important matter, based on the findings to be published by the Institute. So, as president

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<sup>30</sup> *Cfr. Ibidem*, pp. 1 and 2 of the 2nd edition. This section analyzes the emergency situations in the institutional history of our country via a study of the emergency measures pre-planned by the Constitution, such as federal intervention, martial law, urgent decrees of necessity and legislative delegation; as well as of banned institutes like those under Article 29, and emergency institutes not foreseen by the Constitution. Special consideration is given to the non-constitutional nature of the financing and banking “*corralito*.” It is suggested that emergencies be subordinated to the constitutional order to prevent deterioration of our rule of law.

<sup>31</sup> Published jointly by the Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, the Tribunal Judicial de la Federación [Federal Judicial Electoral Tribunal] and the Comisión Federal de Mejora Regulatoria [Federal Commission of Better Regulations], through the UNAM's Instituto de Investigaciones Jurídicas [Juridical Research Institute], directed by Diego Valadés. All the authors are teachers and researchers at said university.

<sup>32</sup> *La cultura de la Constitución en México*, “Consideraciones preliminares” [The Constitution Culture in México, “Preliminary considerations”], p. XV.

of the Argentine Association of Constitutional Law, we pledged to try to carry through this important project with the support of our executive committee.

We immediately invited the prestigious institution International IDEA to join us, with the intervention of its regional director for Latin America the eminent political analyst Doctor Daniel Zovatto. Without him we would not have been able to undertake this initiative, and I extend to him my sincere personal gratitude and on behalf of our Association.

Subsequently, we had Ipsos-Mora y Araujo conduct the poll, given their ample experience in that field. The sociologist Manuel Mora y Araujo directed the job under the valued coordination of Luciana Grandi.

As explained further on, the project and the poll adhere to the procedure used in Mexico, with adjustments to fit our reality.

## THEORETICAL AND METHODOLOGICAL CONSIDERATIONS

Manuel MORA Y ARAUJO

### I. RESEARCH PLAN

This research explores the Argentine people's attitudes, perceptions and values with regard to the Law, the Constitution and the political system. It is an investigation into the images people have in their minds about institutions and different aspects of reality. Public opinion is part of the political reality, but not all. Depending on the viewpoint taken, it can either play a central role or a more peripheral one. From the sociological perspective, public opinion—a combination of a population's perceptions, beliefs, images and expectations—plays a key role because it constitutes a conditioning factor for the function of institutions. It is common knowledge that the result of an election which consecrates a democratic government is heavily conditioned by public opinion—in fact, candidates address their electoral campaigns to it—, and that macroeconomic variables crucial to every society, like inflation, the degree of monetization or consumer spending, are largely influenced by public opinion. Similarly, the legitimacy and effectiveness of juridical institutions and laws depend, to some extent, on public opinion.

In this project we have researched how much the public knows about institutions; what they know about the national Constitution and what importance they attribute to it; their evaluation of democracy as a form of government; their opinions about the functioning of the National Congress; and what value they place on compliance with laws. First of all, the survey seeks precise data on these aspects and to underscore their most important revelations. Secondly, it aims to extract conclusions about the consequences they will have on the political and institutional reality of Argentina.

From a conceptual standpoint, we see the relationship between citizens and the law in two different planes. The first is where the citizen sees the law as something given to him; the law is, one might say, part of his environment. The second concerns the use the citizen thinks he can make of the law, either to his own ends, or to oppose it or to dodge it. Socialization starts in the first plane, when the individual—whether at home, at school or in other environments where he has developed as a citizen since his childhood—incorporates norms and social definitions of legality. But then socialization leads each individual to a complex learning process of the use of norms, which includes perceptions of group responses to his own actions, learning behavioral modes and weighing chances to fully adapt himself to the group, challenge it or adapt to it reserving degrees of innovation, creativity or defiance. In this way, society builds a *juridical culture*, both inside the professional community and outside of it, established in the ensemble of its members.

We know that experts and the Judiciary have theoretic and doctrinal debates in keeping with these considerations. Our focus is interdisciplinary, that is, juridical, political and sociological. In this perspective, both positive law and social norms are on the *supply side* of the social space. The citizens, with their stock of information, perceptions, beliefs and expectations, represent the *demand side*.

Social life is the exercising of relations of exchange and power between both sides. In the positive law plane, supply offers no greater options; laws are not proposals, but mandates. But actually, the government's ability to ensure compliance with the law is neither total nor constant; so it does in fact offer options, and these are a central aspect in socialization. Every person is acquainted with the content of laws to some extent, as well as the criteria about the chances and risks of obeying or violating them. And finally, every person is familiar with criteria on the usefulness or convenience of respecting the law and keeping a close watch on other people's compliance with the law .

In the social norms plane there is no formalization of regulatory principles, so that the ability to ensure compliance with those norms depends entirely on the cohesion of social groups. On that plane, on the demand side options are perceived, and the group and its members are valued and judged based on personal expectations.

Every citizen, every person responds to the stimuli he receives in life based on the combination of two basic elements: his predispositions—everything he learned and which formed his moral, emotional and cognitive structure—and his perception of the stimulus: what he understands, registers and deciphers of its content. The sociological perspective leads us to try to understand what the predominant predispositions in society are, and how its members, the citizens, perceive and register regulatory stimuli. This perspective necessarily sees all things legal and institutional as a continuous flow, moved by its own dynamic and conditioned by that of societies.

This study is the first step on the road to explore those aspects. We try to identify traits in the Argentine society, both in the plane of those predispositions—or people's values and attitudes—as well as in the plane of perceptions, available data and valuable judgments on the performance of different social actors. We believe that, with this focus, we are close to a diagnosis which, zooming in on problems with the law and institutions, can shed some light into other basic troubles in Argentina.

## II. ENFORCEMENT OF LAW-BASED ORDER IN ARGENTINA

The factors influencing the legal culture of any society are many, and under no circumstances do we aspire to systematically cover them in this study. Cultural traditions as well as political culture and other characteristics of society all come into play. A social order centered on the rule of law opposes two other typical situations: on the one hand, an authoritative or corporative order, and on the other, an order based on strong social ties where informal rules prevail. Law, authority and social capital can be considered the pillars of three alternative models of social order.

In the specific case of Argentina, as in the whole of Latin America, the Hispanic tradition possibly played an important role, but added to that was the impact of mass immigration from the end of the 19th century. The wave of migrants who populated Argentina and radically transformed the society were not the bearers of a law-oriented tradition from highly institutionalized societies. To the contrary, they came from authoritarian societies. Even so, their assimilation into Argentina was highly successful. That, together with the great social mobility that prevailed during the first half of the 20th century, made it easy for the main immigrant groups to form mutual associations and social organizations to protect and serve their members. The result, we think, was to boost the sense of intra-group belonging and little commitment to the public order in force in society as a whole.

On the other hand, legal culture everywhere is closely entwined with political culture. Argentina has suffered an institutional weakness at the hands of government and in the democratic system, which reflects in a Judiciary demeaned by scant social credibility and a fairly generalized perception of highly politicized government.

Consequently, due to different factors, the country developed all through last century along lines closer to the patterns of an order with authoritative and corporative components than an order bound by the rule of law or by a high capacity for accumulation of social capital. In the last two decades, the country has been governed by democratic rules which society endorses by consensus. But this has not been enough to set up a reliable judicial order. Our study suggests that society has become aware of that failing and is building high hopes in that direction. At the same time, our research allows us to identify and, to some degree, quantify negative aspects.

### III. METHODOLOGICAL ASPECTS

The purpose of this research project is basically comparison-oriented. For this reason, we have used a data-collecting tool—a questionnaire—essentially similar, as previously mentioned, to the one used in Mexico, with small adaptations to the idiomatic customs and realities of our country.

The focus is basically quantitative. We worked with a probability sample of the population so that estimated statistics for the distribution of each variable can be generalized for all the population studied. Moreover, constructed variables like “ordinal” scales were used, which allow numbers to be assigned to the different values or responses to each variable; in this manner, it is possible to use data-analyzing statistical tools.

In some cases, for exploratory purposes, we also used questions with open answers.

As for the sample, we used standards that are widely accepted in this type of research (and which are displayed in the paragraph on sample design). Interviews were conducted in the country’s large cities, assuring an adequate representation.

### IV. TOPICS STUDIED

The poll contains ten main topics. The first is the degree of knowledge about institutions. The questions are strictly cognitive; they refer to different functions of Congress, the Executive Branch or justice.

In the second topic the questions are about confidence in others—in general—in the community and in different areas or institutional officials.

The third topic is the law. Here, we explored perceptions on respect for the law on a nationwide scale, and at both a provincial and personal level. We examined the reasons for either observance or violation of the law, and the perception regarding its universal application. We enquired about the image of social actors or groups being greater violators of the laws. Finally, we explored sentiments of protection against abuse of power.

The fourth topic refers to justice procedures. Here we study different matters related with standards for serving justice in different criminal situations.

The fifth topic is the national Constitution. We want to know people’s knowledge of the Constitution, the importance and meaning they attribute to it, the extent to which it is

applied, as well as the rights that are most violated. We also asked how the country should proceed in order to reform the national Constitution.

The sixth topic is the National Congress. The explored areas are: interest in matters dealt with by Congress; perception of compliance with laws passed by Congress; and special powers and essential emergency decrees.

The seventh topic is the Judiciary. We measured values regarding the application of justice and the image of the independence of judges and the Supreme Court. We also enquired about people's view on the administration of justice.

In the eighth topic we measured the population's values with regard to a democratic government system. We also asked about the legitimacy of the majority decisions. One question refers to the type of political leadership preferred.

The ninth topic refers to the model of society. We explore values of the different attributes of a desirable society, and of the Argentine society in particular: respect for rights, respect for the Law, individual autonomy and limits on people's behavior, freedom of the press, tolerance and responsibility.

Finally, in the tenth topic, we measured socio-demographic variables and exposure to the media.

## PROFILE OF THE POPULATION POLLED

Manuel MORA Y ARAUJO

For the purposes of this survey, we took a sample of 1,000 cases of Argentines over the age of 18 in the country's largest cities (covering 46% of the national population). The sample included 480 cases in the metropolitan area of Buenos Aires, 120 in Rosario, 120 in Córdoba, 100 in San Miguel de Tucumán, 100 in Mendoza and 80 in the city of Mar del Plata.

We also used a probability sampling in the second, third and fourth selections stages, as well as multistage selection, using vis-à-vis methodology. To obtain a balanced sample, we resorted to age and gender quotas.

Of the 1,000 people polled, 50% were men and 50% women. As for age, we followed the actual age distribution obtained from the 2001 census. 27% were between 18 and 29 years old, 28% between 30 and 44, 27% between 45 and 59 and 18% over 60.

The sample covers the Argentine population residing in the country's principal urban areas—cities of more than 500,000 inhabitants—. Strictly speaking, this sample represents about half of the national population. Going by routine projections in samples of the Argentine people, fully verified in numerous investigations, the results can be generalized to the urban population, including residents in cities with a population of more than 100,000. The results cannot be generalized to the population of smaller locations (which represent a third of the total population). However, it is plausible to assume that a sampling with greater coverage would not produce substantially different results from the ones presented here.

The social-economic level in Argentina is shown through a set of questions combining material household possessions with variables of education and occupation of a household's main provider. The social-economic index level seeks to be an empiric and quantitative reflection of the population's distribution in a unique underlying dimension of social status. That underlying dimension represents a continuum that encompasses power, prestige and material opportunities.

This set of questions to define which level a household belongs to was designed in 1996 by the Asociación Argentina de Marketing,<sup>33</sup> and is currently being discussed and redefined by marketing researchers and public opinion.

The socioeconomic index level in Argentina includes: *a)* education level of a household's main breadwinner (hereinafter called PSH); *b)* A PSH's occupational level, and *c)* material possessions in the home.

The education level measures the highest educational degree achieved by the PSH in terms of formal education cycles: primary, secondary, high school, preparatory school, university, graduate.

The occupational level measures the standing in terms of job position hierarchy. Types of occupation are divided into two large groups: self-employed, and employees. The first category covers autonomous workers and employers of personnel in very small firms, while

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<sup>33</sup> Asociación Argentina de Marketing, *Índice de nivel socioeconómico argentino* [Argentine socioeconomic index level], 1996, Buenos Aires, 1998.



the second covers every job, from domestic employment all the way up to managing directors, both in the public sector and private enterprise. The index assigns points directly related with a PSH's job type ranking.

Material possessions consist of an index that includes the following items: remote-control TV, refrigerator with freezer, automatic washing machine, clothes dryer, video equipment, independent freezer, air conditioning, telephone, personal computer, PSH's credit card and automobile. The index assigns a point count for every item, except automobile, and a separate point count for possession of an automobile.

Each variable in the index has a different point range assigned to it. The normal sum of these points is 100, and for every home the index is the sum of the points the PSH obtains for each variable. Once the total point count is calculated, the corresponding divisions are made. Homes that obtained between 1 and 13 points rank as the absolute bottom on the index (E) (in our terminology, which would be the "low-low" level). Between 14 and 26 points, the household is classified as "inferior low" (D2) (in our terminology, "low level"), and between 27 and 34 points as "upper low" (D1) (in our terminology, "middle low.") The C3 households are those of the "low middle" class (in our terminology, "middle") covering between 35 and 47 points, while the "typical middle class" (C2) (in our terminology, "high") ranges from 48 to 62 points. Finally, the highest levels—C1 and AB—apply to point ranges of 63 to 92 and 93 to 100, respectively.

In the sample used, 11% belong to the "high" socioeconomic level (AB/C1), 46% to the socioeconomic "middle-class" (C2/C3) and 43% to the "low" socioeconomic level (D/E). A dynamic picture of this structure records two processes of change evolving in recent years:

An increase in the size of the low segment as a result of the dropping mobility of the lower middle classes, and

A growing trend towards heterogeneity within the middle class.

Little remains of the middle-class Argentina of the past who accounted for 75% of the population, and whose differences in income or education used not to be enough to produce major inequalities in lifestyles and opportunities.

Argentina is closer to the more fragmented model of society, in which opportunities to access modern resources and more competitive labor markets are becoming increasingly disparate.

## SECOND PART

### CHAPTER I PERCEPTIONS ABOUT THE MODEL OF SOCIETY, RIGHTS AND VALUES

Daniel ZOVATTO

#### I. THE MODEL OF SOCIETY

In defining the model of society preferred by people participating in the poll, respect for the law tops the list of essentials. Placing second is the eradication of inequality, followed by a solution to the scourge of delinquency.

To the question: *“In your opinion, what is the most important goal to achieve in a society?”* 69% answered that first and foremost is ensuring enforcement and respect for the law; 56% indicated that it was important for society to have fewer differences between the rich and the poor; while 50% gave priority to achieving a delinquency-free society. Only 17% mentioned that a democratic society should be the primary goal.

It might be natural to assume, initially, given the unsatisfied material needs of a large part of the population, that the demand to live in a more egalitarian society would be the citizens' main concern. Issues over impunity and discriminatory use of legislation, however, have made equality in law enforcement the population's chief complaint. It should also be stressed that a high percentage (83%) do not associate enforcement and respect for the law with democracy, but with issues concerning their safety, making this the people's primary concern.

An analysis of results based on participants' level of schooling shows that those with more advanced levels of education tend to place more importance on law enforcement and social justice, and less importance on delinquency. Participants with less schooling not only stress those same two variables, but also that of a delinquency-free society. The importance of having a more democratic society generally received fewer votes, particularly from people in the lower schooling category, the youngest age group and at the lowest socioeconomic levels.

An analysis of the results based on gender showed that men are more concerned about having a society in which laws are enforced and respected than in a delinquency-free, more democratic society; whereas women tend to favor the latter two options.

#### II. RIGHTS

Citizens in a democratic State enjoy rights guaranteed and protected through instruments used to enforce their observance. These instruments are found in the Constitution and legislation.

Table I. From what you have seen, in our country to what degree can one....?

	Always	Sometimes	Never
Have the religion one wishes	91%	8%	1%
Vote for the party one wishes	80%	16%	1%
Meet with whomever one wishes	79%	16%	1%
Associate with whomever one wishes	71%	22%	3%
Study what one wishes	59%	34%	3%
Express what one thinks	42%	48%	4%
Work in whatever field one wishes	25%	52%	14%

Obviously, people recognize that wide religious and political rights are already in place. They also recognize that they enjoy a high degree of freedom for meeting and association. We find, however, more dissent when it comes to their opinion about their satisfaction with the degree of freedom of expression and work that they have. For freedom of expression, 42% say that in Argentina people can always express whatever they wish, while 48% say “only sometimes.” Men (46%) recognize the existence of freedom of expression more than women (38%).

As for educational opportunities, 59% think that the right to study whatever one wishes is always respected, whereas 34% opine that this is the case “only sometimes.” On the whole, this perception is shared by the more educated sectors with a higher socioeconomic status.

With regard to freedom to work in whatever one wishes, only 25% claim that this is “always” the case in the country; 52% say “sometimes,” and 14% say “never.”

Analysis of the poll data reveals that political rights (voting for the party one wishes, meeting and associating with whomever one wishes) are more often answered affirmatively by older, better-educated people with a higher socioeconomic status. In virtually every instance, satisfaction with rights increases proportionally with age; it is the youngest members of society who are the most discontent with their enjoyment of full rights in the country.

Analysis according to geographic location shows that people in large metropolitan areas recognize freedom of expression and meeting. In provincial cities, on the other hand, more people recognize the enjoyment of religious freedom and studying whatever one wishes.

### III. OBEDIENCE AND RESPECT FOR THE LAW

Perception of the law as an abstract universal value is extremely positive, and its importance obvious in the eyes of Argentine society. There is a clear tendency to support legality, obedience and respect for legislation. That being said, a large majority of Argentines (83% “very much in agreement” and “in agreement”) consider that obedience and respect for authority are the most important values for a child to learn. This consensus strengthens along with age but diminishes as the level of education increases. An analysis of data according to age range shows that Argentines older than 60 approve of that statement in a greater proportion, accounting for 91% of the positive opinions.

Varying opinions are also seen at different educational levels. The need to instill children with obedience and respect for authority is more important for people who have not finished secondary school (89%) than for those who have gone through high school and beyond, as well as those who assign it less importance (74%). Also, the lower the socioeconomic level, the higher the awareness of the importance of instilling those values on children.

Only 13% disagreed with the importance of this transmission of values. Those most in disagreement were the youngest age groups, those with more schooling, and higher socioeconomic status.

#### IV. Social Problems and Immorality

The moral issues are ever-present in the minds of citizens. In fact, among the different variables analyzed, Argentines are extremely concerned about honesty, transparency, and morality.

Asked whether they believed that most social problems would be resolved if the country could rid itself of immoral people, 67% of the people interviewed said yes, 26% did not agree, 5% disagreed more emphatically and 4% either gave no answer or did not know what to say.

An analysis of these responses according to the respondents’ levels of schooling and socioeconomic status shows that people with the most formal education and economic resources disagree most with the notion that social problems will be resolved with the disappearance of immoral people. To the contrary, though not by a large margin of difference, the lower the formal education and the fewer the economic resources, the more people agree with the importance of ousting immoral people to solve the country’s social problems.

#### V. RESTRICTIONS ON PEOPLE’S BEHAVIOR

The Argentine people think that the family must assume most of the responsibility for controlling people’s behavior, more so than the law and the government, giving the family nucleus a predominant role in terms of control.

This conclusion was reached from responses to the question: *In your opinion, who should be responsible for limiting people’s behavior?* As a first option, 55% of the people polled said the family, 29% said the law and 9% the government. Given that the poll offered three answer options, the overall total of all responses confirmed the importance of the family when it comes to limiting people’s conduct. The family accounted for 72% of responses, the law 63%, the government 31% and the Church 10%, among others.

From the overall total of responses, the family appears to be even more important as a behavioral restrainer among women (77%) than among men (67%). There is a sizeable difference among those who believe that the law should place limits, when comparing the responses according to educational level, because the law is far more important to people with more schooling (70%) than to those who did not complete secondary-school studies (58%), and more important even to those with more financial resources.

At low-schooling levels, low-income levels and in the heartland of the country, more people mention the government as an important actor when it comes to placing restrictions. Assigning this role to the Church grows at the very lowest levels of the social ladder and in provincial cities.

## VI. EXTENT OF INDIVIDUAL AUTONOMY BEFORE THE LAW

Our research delved into this topic, asking whether or not the respondent was willing to go against stipulations of the law if he felt he was in the right. Whether for convenience sake or personal conviction, it would be desirable for the law and legislative institutions to place limits on any action by an individual.

Hence, the fact that 38% of the Argentines polled claim they are willing to go against what the law stipulates might mean less positive forms of autonomy for society: for example, that the law might be disregarded as a binding structure for a large segment of the population, or that these proponents of individual-autonomy have the social or material means to avoid paying the established penalties if they are caught violating the law.

It might also mean, however, a greater capacity to criticize authority, given prevailing perceptions concerning shortcomings, low credibility, and corruption associated with the operation of many security institutions, attorney activities and administration of justice.

The image of Argentina as an individualistic society with little teamwork spirit or scant collective ties, and limited observance of social norms, is widespread. Undoubtedly, it is a stereotype owing more to social prejudice than to some systematic proof of cultural features. It does, nevertheless, represent a potential point of departure for a more systematic understanding of this phenomenon.

The stereotype assumes the “typical” Argentine to be an individualist in a more negative than positive sense. It is more negative because of a disproportionate focus on the self in lieu of a higher appreciation for creativity and innovation. Consequently, if we accept this stereotype as an initial hypothesis from which to work, an obvious conclusion would be to assume poor compliance with the law and other social cohesion-related characteristics.

Our study sought comprehension of such traits using a set of questions in keeping with the following general formula: “*When you think you are right, are you willing to go against....?*” This general formula was applied to the law, the Church, parents, spouses, colleagues, or friends.

In each case, the trend toward independent, individual behavior is very high, with the exception of the law, for which fewer assertions of autonomy are made.

Table 2. Are you willing to go against...?

	%
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The law	38
The Church	64
Your parents	69
Your spouse	72
Your friends	76

In virtually every case there was an upward trend in the proportion of people who limit themselves among groups of older individuals and at the lower end of the socioeconomic scale.

In an initial calculation, these data suggest that the propensity of Argentines to limit themselves for the sake of informal groups is very low, but it is also relatively low among people who say they are willing to limit themselves because of or for the sake of the law. In the case of informal social relationships, not even do parents appear to constitute a sufficiently influential basis for opinion. The Church, which presumably wields more authority over the opinions of parishioners, is not influential either: two thirds of the people polled opposed the stance of the Church. Law prompts a higher level of self-limitation, since the ratio of those who assert their autonomy against is as low as 38%.

The analysis of the population reveals that males (40%), and those 30 to 40 (44%) are most likely to oppose the law. Of those who said they were not willing to defy the law, people over 60 and women are the most compliant. Performance of the education variable suggests that, the lower the level of education, the greater the tendency to oppose the law.

## VII. THE VALUE OF RESPONSIBILITY

The value of responsibility was analyzed from the perspective of attitudes, opinions and, perceptions about public property, as well as respect for the codes for harmonious social living. To this end, we posed the question: *“How much do you agree or disagree with the following statements ?”*:

People treat public areas and property with respect. Fourteen percent (14%) of respondents agreed with this statement; 69% disagreed with it; 16% vehemently disagreed, and 1% did not answer. The fact that citizens recognize public property and spaces as belonging to everyone implies responsibility for that property, and responses seem to indicate that this sense of social responsibility is lacking among Argentine citizens.

*People respect standards that are required for harmonious social living.* Here also, the results reveal that current levels of citizen responsibility are failing to yield good grades for social co-existence. In fact, 86% of the respondents disagreed or hotly disagreed with this statement. Only 14% agreed with this perception.

*People in Argentina respect one another.* 90% disagreed with this statement, while 10% agreed.

*In our society there is a consensus on what is good and what is bad.* Only 18% of the people polled agreed with this statement. Seventy-nine percent (79%) disagreed; 2% did not know, and 1% did not respond.

Responses indicate that Argentine people are generally aware that little responsibility exists in the country as far as treating public property and areas is concerned, as well as basic standards for social harmony and mutual respect. Also, there is hardly any agreement on what is right or wrong. Consequently, citizens have no sense of unity and responsibility.

## VIII. FREEDOM OF THE PRESS

Since freedom of the press is a fundamental value of the democratic system, the Argentines' position with regard to how much control the government should have over the press is important. To the question "*In your opinion, should the government control the press or not?*," 53% were against any control, 40% in favor, and 6% concurred with allowing control on a conditional basis.

Of the 53% against any form of government control of the press, most are citizens with a high degree of schooling and better socioeconomic status. Conversely, those stating that the government should have control over the press, most are people with lesser levels of formal education and a low socioeconomic level. The majority of women incline to be in favor of government control over the press.

## IX. TOLERANCE

Tolerance has been deemed one of the key components of democratic principles because it means the observance of a basic norm of democratic life, which consists of free expression of ideas and the acknowledgment of differences.

A country may be considered very tolerant if it acknowledges the importance granting the community the right to express its own opinions, and acknowledges differences. So the rules of democratic life indicate that tolerance and respect for other people's rights are essential values for a society. Disrespect for citizens' rights on account of their sexual preference, level of education, financial situation, etc., is not expected of a society with democratic values. We evaluated the responses of those interviewed as to whether their rights might have been infringed on account of their financial situation, education level, the neighborhood they live in, age, gender, skin color, birthplace or sexual preference.

The responses obtained reflect high levels of tolerance among Argentines and a respect for citizens' rights. Financial situation (37%) and education level (24%) are variables that appear to be influential regarding disrespect for people's rights, a perception upheld mainly by lower-income sectors with little schooling.<sup>34</sup> A third influential variable among these same sectors, was residential neighborhood (19%).

Age and gender are, in descending order, follow in the ranking of the most important reasons for which people exhibit some kind of disrespect, albeit to a lesser degree: 16% and 10%, respectively.

Importantly, data from the 2004 Latinobarometer show that, like Argentines, 39% of all Latin American people think that being poor is the main reason why they are not treated equally, and secondly for lacking sufficient education (15%).

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<sup>34</sup> Coinciding with these data, the document *Aportes para el desarrollo humano de la Argentina de 2002* [Input for human development in Argentina 2002], prepared by the United Nations Development Program, indicates that the chief perception among Argentines is that their rights are breached mainly because of their financial and social condition.

## CHAPTER II PERCEPTIONS OF DEMOCRACY, VALUES, REGULATIONS, REPRESENTATION, AND POWER

Daniel ZOVATTO

### I. Democracy as a Form of Government

In Argentina, we find ample support for democracy as a desirable form of government. There is disparity, however, among people's aspirations—basically regarding their economic and social welfare—and the results that the system actually yields for them. As the document *Aportes para el desarrollo humano de la Argentina* [Input for human development in Argentina], prepared by the United Nations Development Program (PNUD), says, most of the Argentine people tend to think of democracy more in social rather than political terms, but they are definitely sticking by it.<sup>35</sup>

#### 1. *Supporting democracy*

Although democracy is deemed the best form of government, events in Argentina over recent years, especially on the economic front, have spurred higher expectations regarding consideration given to problems regarding the population's socioeconomic welfare. There is also the idea that it would be worth bolstering the democratic regime with a few institutional adjustments that could make it viable and durable.

Democracy seems to be securely riveted to the cultural patterns of the Argentine people. Asked "*With which of the following statements do you agree most?*," 72% of the people polled said that democracy is preferable to any other form of government; 24% said that "in some circumstances a non-democratic government may be better;" 2% said "six of one, half a dozen of the other;" 1% said none of the above, and 2% professed not to know, or gave no answer.

The data do not reveal any significant age-related differences in the appraisal of democracy. In fact, values recorded for the variable *preference for democracy* are similar among all age groups, increasing somewhat with age. An analysis of the results going by economic position show greater acceptance of democracy among the upper classes (84%) as compared to the lower classes (64%).

A positive opinion of democracy rises along with schooling levels (83% among university graduates and above, compared to 64% of those who have not even completed secondary school). Likewise, support for a non-democratic government in some circumstances is higher among those with less schooling (30%), compared to those who have more academic training (15%).

Analysis of the data from a geographic perspective reveals less enthusiasm for democracy in provincial cities: 67% prefer it over any other form of government, 10% less than in

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<sup>35</sup> According to this report, 63% of Argentines think of democracy as guaranteeing people's welfare with jobs, health and education. Voting and freedom of opinion are secondary.



large metropolitan areas (77%). Similarly, support levels for a non-democratic government are greater in the provincial cities of the country: 29%, as opposed to 18% in metropolitan area.

A comparison of data gathered in this poll with those recorded by the Latinobarometer for the 1996-2004 period shows that democracy in Argentina is strongly linked to public discourse and public opinion. The average obtained by the Latinobarometer for the period was 68%, very close to the 72% recorded in our poll, and much higher than the Latin American average over the same period (57%).

Another observation made was that respondents in our poll consider their support for democracy to be on the same level as what society **generally** perceives overall. So, when asked “*Which of the following statements do you think most people agree with more?*,” 71% said that most people think “*democracy is preferable to any other form of government,*” while 24% said that most people believe that “*in some circumstances a non-democratic government may be better.*” Moreover, 3% maintained that “*people think it’s six of one and half a dozen of the other,*” 1% said none of the above and 2% admitted that they did not know.

To sum up, in Argentina a solid majority support democracy as a government system, along with its problems, of course, but as its preferred option.<sup>36</sup> And, as mentioned before, the population’s biggest demand is that their economic and social rights be honored.

## 2. Strengthening democracy

In Argentina, conventional wisdom dictates that corruption, impunity, injustice, and unequal protection under the law prevail in the workings of public institutions. It comes, then, as no surprise that observance of the law along with honesty and accountability on the part of politicians are what Argentines consider the most crucial factors in building a stronger democracy.

To evaluate this variable, one of our poll questions asked: “*What is the most important factor for strengthening democracy?*”

Most of the responses given were: enforcement and observance of the law (40%); honesty on the part of the government (33%); citizen insistence that their rulers be accountable to society (22%); only 5%, however, made the assertion that the president and legislators must maintain a good working relationship with one another.

Clearly, honest law enforcement and more transparent governments seem to be the people’s chief essential demands for strengthening democracy, followed by accountability, which is closely linked with honest rulers and controlling functions. In Argentina, civilian oversight of the work performed by civil-society organizations has most likely exerted a positive influence on public opinion concerning their need to hold their elected officials accountable.

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<sup>36</sup> Data in the 2004 Latinobarometer show that 81% of the Argentine people believe in the concept of Churchillian democracy: best government system, albeit still with its problems.

## II. VALUES OF DEMOCRACY

### *Trust*

In recent years, different academic sectors have once again focused their attention on the importance of trust between individuals and “social capital” for governments to work effectively, and for economic and social development.<sup>37</sup> The efficient operation of markets, state institutions and other types of social rapport demand the existence of the possibility of having, on a regular basis, mutually beneficial transactions between individuals and groups without the need to rely on outside agents excessively. Hopefully, higher levels of trust will breed greater cooperation on social projects and stimulate civic organization and participation in community activities. Also, more trust should not only facilitate the participation of citizens in politics and in community social and economic activities, but trigger greater cooperation within bureaucratic and representative institutions as well, thus enabling them to do a better job of working in the public interest.

Trust is, then, crucial for institutionalizing social relations, because it ensures safety and the ability to predict the actions of others. In this sense, trust in others has become a key factor for the analysis of socialization processes and the creation of social networks, that is to say, for building stable day-to-day relationships and a sense of safety around others.

Something similar occurs with the relationship between citizens and institutions. Institutions become trustworthy by instituting stable, predictable and fair rules. By observing them, citizens help improve institutional efficiency all the more.

The results of the poll show that the Argentine people tend to have a great deal of faith in groups close to home, but little in institutions and social groups operating in organized society.

### *A. Interpersonal trust*

When asked about the degree of interpersonal trust at a micro level (place of residence), six out of every ten Argentines (60%) say they trust people. This degree of trust and view of companionship is directly proportional to social standing, age, and education level.

However, 34% disagree, and 4% adamantly disagree about whether people can be trusted. Results in this group are quite uniform when analyzed from the standpoint of socioeconomic level, education, gender or geographic location. Where a definite difference appears is in analysis based on age in that the youngest populations are the least trusting of others.

As for levels of solidarity, 78% agreed with the statement: “here where... lives, if a person is in trouble, someone is always willing to help.”

Analysis of this variable also shows that sectors with the most schooling and better financial situation are the ones that largely agree with this statement. However, variations were insignificant among the various segments polled.

Gender-based analysis shows that women agree more than men that, when they are in trouble, someone is always there to help.

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<sup>37</sup> Putnam, Robert D., *Making Democracy Work*, Princeton University Press, 1998, pp. 686 -693.

Deep-rooted community values were detected among the population polled, because seven out of every ten (70%) professed sharing the values of their community and stressed a personal need for recognition by their community as a mainstay of their identity (69%). This perception was more commonly held among adults than young people, and is notably more important in middle-class sectors with an intermediate-level education. Moreover, the importance of belonging to a community for building individual identity is more prevalent in the country's provincial cities.

*B. Trust in politicians and social actors*

Trust in institutions depends, first of all, on one political asset: equal treatment for all. Public trust in institutions grows to the same extent that democracy produces political assets. Other trust-inspiring factors are keeping promises and accountability. In Argentina, institutions and politicians exhibit low levels of confidence, underscoring the lack of credibility enjoyed there by political parties and Congress.

When ascertaining levels of public trust in a number of social actors and institutions, those associated with knowledge and learning stand out: public universities and teachers (71 and 72% trust, scoring 7 and above on a scale of 1 to 10). Figuring in second group are the president of Argentina, followed by the organizations and institutions that in some way function as mediators (non-government organizations, the media, ombudsman), registering between 41 and 45% trust (scores of 7 and above on a scale of 1 to 10). In a third group, with values ranging from 20 to 38% are merchants, the Church, industrialists, the army, the Judiciary in general, and Electoral Judiciary in particular.

Registering trust levels of 11 to 14% are institutions such as Congress, the police, unions, public administration, and the Supreme Court (scores of 7 and above). Finally, at the rock bottom with a 4% trust level, are the political parties.

Meager levels of trust in the parties are nothing new in Argentina. Several studies have revealed that political parties are seen as institutions rather indifferent to the common good, dishonest, aloof, closed off from society and out of touch with reality.<sup>38</sup> This pitiful measure of credibility is not limited to Argentine political parties alone, since its last-place ranking for trust in institutions is consistent with recent trends in Latin America, i.e., 18% region-wide in 2004, according to data from the Latinobarometer.

Trust in Institutions

	Average	Mentions of 7 and more
	X	%
Public universities	7.33	72
Teachers	7.28	71

<sup>38</sup> Report mentioned on p. 32.

President of the Republic	6.05	45
Non-government organizations	5.94	45
The media	5.84	41
Ombudsman	5.68	42
Merchants	5.60	34
The Church	5.27	38
Industrialists	5.03	25
Army	4.80	29
The Judiciary	4.64	20
The Electoral judiciary	4.33	20
National Supreme Court	4.21	14
Public administration	4.14	14
Congress	4.80	12
Police	3.90	14
Unions	3.08	11
Political parties	2.86	4

### III. RULES OF DEMOCRACY

#### *Majority rule*

Democratic systems are governed by majority rule. This rule assumes the citizens' ability to put the public interest before their own personal interests. Hence, it is essential to determine the extent to which the respondents polled believe in the importance of honoring the decisions of the majority rather than following their own interests, conduct conceivably construed as respect for the majority and, therefore, attributable to civic "virtue."

Analysis of the results indicates that 71% of the Argentine people are predisposed to obeying decisions made by the majority, even if they do not share them. This attitude tends to rise at the highest levels of social status and among adults, suggesting that advanced financial standing and age are pro-democracy factors. Another discovery relevant to the analysis is that men and residents of metropolitan areas are more willing to observe majority rule.

Twenty three percent said that if they do not agree with a decision, they will not obey it; young people constitute the sector most willing to disobey the law. In fact, 30% of the population between 18 and 29 years of age stated that if they disapprove of a decision made by the majority, they will refuse to obey it.

#### IV. POLITICAL LEADERSHIP

Latin America has been routinely prone to strong heads of state that often promote personality cults regarding politics and government action. Nevertheless, democratic institutions require adherence to legislation and procedures over and above individual choice. The leader figure is restricted to the characteristics established in legislation. In other words, democracy consists largely of government by rule of law rather than by that of public figures.

The population polled has preferred legislation over charisma. In fact, the majority indicated its preference for a leader who abides by the law, even if not by an overwhelming majority (68%), against a minority (20%) stating a preference for a leader that would be powerful even if not very law-abiding. 7% expressed no preference for either of the two options, and 4% gave no response at all, or professed not to know.

Further analysis of results again showed that the sectors with the most schooling and highest financial status were more pro legality. From the age standpoint, people of all age ranges uniformly expressed a reasonable degree of support for the rule of law.

Responses regarding leadership assigned priority to legality, which coincides with those of the model society yearned for by the Argentine people (69% favor a law-abiding model). It logically follows that a population longing for a law-abiding society respectful of the rule of law would seek out leaders who are accordingly law-abiding too. Thus, opinions on authority and its legitimacy go hand in hand with a rational view of a law-abiding power rather than of a charismatic leader.

To complement this view, the PNUD's *Aportes para el desarrollo humano de la Argentina* [Input for Human Development in Argentina] in 2002 indicates that the most privileged people, both financially and socially, are also the most inclined to defend democracy and reject the option of an authoritarian government, albeit more efficient.

#### V. LEVEL OF INFORMATION: MEDIA USAGE

In the process of developing values, elements of a people's immediate environment and social codes are not the only ones that are important. The media too has become a means for acquiring knowledge and forming ideas and opinions.

The media, with their ability to broadcast and instill values, have entered into direct competition with traditional socializing institutions such as the family, school and the Church. Today, the media are cultural shrines to informing, entertaining, educating, manipulating and molding public opinion. Consequently, they have somewhat undermined the preeminence of traditional institutions as the sole means of dictating norms and socially desirable standards.<sup>39</sup>

The level of information available to the public is a fundamental variable in social and political analysis. Access to information allows an individual to compare his reality with that of others (including those that are remote geographically and culturally), and critically

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<sup>39</sup> Concha Cantú, H. et al., *Cultura de la Constitución en México. Una encuesta nacional de actitudes, percepciones y valores* [Constitutional Culture in Mexico. A national poll on attitudes, perceptions and values], Mexico, Tribunal Electoral del Poder Judicial de la Federación-Comisión Federal de Mejora Regulatoria-UNAM, Instituto de Investigaciones Jurídicas, 2004, p. 18.

evaluate them. This is essential to finding out what society knows and thinks, and to determine levels of consumption and public exposure to the media.

In Argentina, television is the most popular medium when it comes to informing oneself about political topics. 87% of citizens prefer television, 51% prefer radio and 47% prefer newspapers.

Television has penetrated the entire population fairly evenly, with no great distinctions for gender, educational level, socioeconomic situation or age. The analysis of how much time people spend in front of a TV set shows that 82% of TV watchers do so frequently.

Older people with more schooling and better financial status appear to be radio listeners, but the differences shown are not very significant. 81% of listeners stated that they tune in frequently.

On the other hand, reading newspapers and logging on to the Internet do indeed register big differences among the Argentine people. These differences are not due to age, geographic location or gender, but to education level and socioeconomic status. The data we obtained about newspaper readers indicate that the sectors with most schooling and better financial status turn frequently to this source of information (63%).

The younger sectors, in metropolitan areas and with higher levels of schooling and socioeconomic status, are the principal users of the Internet for information, although such use is much lower (10%) than television, radio and newspapers. 67% of the people who said they log on to the Internet for information claimed to do so frequently.

A study of people's trust in the media indicates that television is the information source that enjoys the most credibility among the Argentine people (52%), followed by radio (21%) and newspapers (15%).

Television ranks unquestionably as the most popular medium for information, without underestimating a relatively strong presence by radio. This confirms a universal reality: the media are today vital socializing agencies. The media tend to substitute traditional public forums of discussion and formation, and Argentina is no exception in this socialization process.

CHAPTER III  
EXTENT OF KNOWLEDGE ABOUT INSTITUTIONS

Antonio María HERNÁNDEZ

I. KNOWLEDGE OF INSTITUTIONAL FUNCTIONS

In Argentina, the level of knowledge about functions performed by the most important institutions in the country is satisfactory. Even so, the low levels of “no reply” recorded in this set of questions is surprising.

The table on the next page shows that the highest levels of knowledge about functions performed by the different institutions have to do with judges (judging delinquency), the Electoral Judiciary (organization of elections), Ombudsman (protection of people’s rights) and a few functions of the national Congress (approving government expenses, and taxes). It is important to point out that a certain amount of confusion about the functions of the different institutions is evident. For example, although 69% of respondents correctly attribute the job of organizing elections to the Electoral Judiciary, a no-small 19% erroneously attribute this job to the Congress, and 7% to the president. We also see that the population credits the job of directing the economy mainly to the president (64%), while 26% attribute this job to Congress. The protection of people’s rights is attributed more to the Ombudsman than to the judges.

Argentina: Knowledge of Institutional Functions

	Ombudsman	The Electoral Judiciary	Nation’s President	National Congress	Judges	Other	Not known	No answer
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Judge delinquents	7	4	4	4	84	1	2	1
Organize elections	2	69	7	19	2	2	5	1
Approve government expenses	5	2	26	64	1	3	5	1
Protect people’s rights	63	2	12	11	22	3	4	2
Approve taxes	4	2	26	61	2	3	8	1
Direct the economy	2	1	64	26	1	7	6	2
Approve international treaties	1	1	62	33	1	2	9	1

## II. PERCEPTION OF THE PRESIDENCY OF THE NATION

There is a noted tendency to attribute various functions in different areas to the president, some of them out of his reach, such as approving taxes and international treaties. This is understandable because many people identify the figure of the president as responsible for “everything” to do with governing in the broadest sense of the word (decision, administration and implementation), and they have no clear idea of the boundaries regarding institutional responsibilities.

There is a tendency among the lowest levels of society and among young people to attribute more functions to the president in the areas of taxes, treaties and expenses. This tendency is also seen in the heartland.

In foreign affairs a kind of overlapping is detected between the President’s and Congress’s functions because, even if the latter is responsible for approving international treaties, 62% attribute that job to the president, who in turn has the job of signing them and ratifying them.

Generally speaking, the percentage of correct responses increases among more educated people and among the middle and upper classes of the social ladder.

This perception confirms what has been observed in this respect throughout history, that is, a “hyper-presidentialism” that has violated the balance of powers inherent in our constitutional system.

It should also be understood that this confusion about the functions of the president and Congress springs from the growing performance of legislative functions by the former through emergency measures, such as delegated legislation or emergency decrees.

## III. PERCEPTION OF THE NATIONAL CONGRESS

As observed in the analysis on the level of trust in institutions and political actors, the level of trust that the national Congress inspires among citizens is very low (12% in grades of 7 and more, on a scale of 1 to 10). This stems from an alarming lack of interest in matters discussed there and disbelief regarding the motivations behind its work.

In fact, interest in projects and initiatives discussed in the national Congress is low (35%). Sixty-three percent care little or nothing for what is discussed there. Moreover, 93% think that decisions are made in Congress without any thought for the people.

We also learned from the data that more than half of the people polled have no interest in the activities of Congress. That is evident from their perception of legislators’ performance; the little credibility of congress people and senators (or representatives) among the population, and the low levels of interest in politics. The attitude is of concern for two reasons: first, the primary source for laws in Argentina is in legislation, and second, Congress exercises important measures of control that are part of a democracy. So, to the extent that citizens have no interest in Congress’s activities, their detachment from government processes guarantees low levels of political control among government agencies.

Despite these perceptions, 69% of respondents stated that laws made by Congress should be obeyed, even if they oppose people’s way of thinking. This idea grows in proportion to financial level and education, and with the age scale, and it is also more prevalent among men and residents of the metropolitan area.



The high levels of mistrust towards Congress are not exclusive to Argentines. On the contrary, in Latin America indicators of confidence in this institution oscillate between 44% (highest recorded) and 8% (lowest recorded), according to data from the Latinobarometer 2004. A majority of the countries in the region show little confidence in their Congresses, notably Ecuador, Peru and Bolivia, with the lowest indicators.

As to Congress granting special powers to the President through delegated legislation, 42% of the people polled disagree, plus another 15% who disagree very strongly. They constitute a significant majority over the 23% who agree and only 1% who agree very strongly. On this point, 11% did not answer and 8% did not know.

On the subject of the President enacting necessity and urgency laws, a majority, 53%, disagree, while 31% consider it good or very good, 10% do not answer and 8% do not know.

These last two aspects tell us that there is a growing awareness in the country about excessive intrusion by the president in the performance of legislative functions, given that the legislative delegations of Congress and necessity and urgency laws draw a clearly negative opinion from the majority of people.

#### IV. PERCEPTIONS OF THE JUDICIARY AND THE JUSTICE SYSTEM

##### 1. *Lack of confidence in the judges*

On a scale of 1 to 10 to measure confidence in judges, common judges received a vote of 4.64 points, those belonging to the Electoral Judiciary 4.33, and those in the Supreme Court 4.21. The data show a marked mistrust in these judicial officials.

To the above statistic, we can add the observations stated in the chapter about law infringement, where 41% of the people polled perceive that judges are the most frequent violators of the laws.

These data from the poll are particularly serious and relevant in terms of the smooth functioning of the republican system, because independence and correct operation of the judicial system is one of the fundamental bases of our political and constitutional regime.

##### 2. *Lack of independence of lower judges*

Most of the people polled (51%) perceive that lower-ranking judges are not very (38%) or not at all (13%) independent, compared with 40% who think the opposite (28% maintain they are fairly independent, and 12% totally independent). Eight percent said they did not know and 1% did not answer.

The highest indicators about the judges' lack of independence come from older age groups, residents in the metropolitan area and those with a higher educational level.

##### 3. *Lack of independence of judges of the Supreme Court*

In this case, the perception about lack of independence is greater than for that of the lower judges, because 35% claimed they are not very independent and 17% said they are

not at all independent, compared with 27% who consider them fairly independent, and 11%, completely independent. Nine percent say they did not know and 1% did not reply. The largest percentage of people to view judges as not very independent is in the 45 to 49-year-old age group, while those who stated they are not at all independent are residents in the metropolitan area and males.

As for the question as to whether the present Court is more independent than the previous one, the people polled insisted on maintaining their majority criteria about the judges' virtual lack or total lack of independence (30% and 14% respectively). Thirty percent consider them fairly independent and 9% fully independent.

#### *4. The deficiency in the Judiciary*

Most of the people polled (71%) have not had contact with the Judiciary in recent years. Of the 28% who have, 73% rated the Judiciary's response as average (41%) and poor (32%), compared to 25% who rated it as good (21%) and very good (4%). So the conclusion of the majority underscores the deficient functioning of the Judiciary.

#### *5. Appraisals of justice*

To the question about the chances of winning a lawsuit against the national government, 67% said the chances are few (46%) or none (21%), while 27% thought the opposite is true. Seven percent did not know or did not answer. The results confirmed a majority perception of the Judiciary being neither independent nor efficient.

The question of whether or not it is worthwhile going to court to file a lawsuit received an affirmative answer by 56%, a negative reply by 36%, with 8% of people unsure. These data are worrisome, especially the negative reply (38% of the negative replies came from young people).

Finally, to the question of what is worse in the eyes of society: incarcerating an innocent person or allowing a guilty person to remain free, 42% chose the first alternative, 48% the second, while 6% replied that it depends on the circumstances.

In the first answer, closer to liberal standards characteristic of the rule of law, the highest percentages were seen in older age groups, in people living in the metropolitan area and people with a higher education. To the contrary, the second reply, inclining more to repressive standards, came from groups of young people, from residents of provincial cities, from women and from people with a lower education.

#### *6. Appraisals of judicial proceedings*

On the subject of the death penalty, 45% of the people polled disagree with it and 12% disagree very strongly. These data contrast with the 39% who declared themselves in favor of that penalty. The highest percentage for the former opinion came from more educated people.

As to whether it is preferable for a citizen to shoot someone who committed a crime instead of letting him/her escape, 50% disagreed and 8% strongly disagreed about shooting a perpetrator, while 35% approved the citizen's option of defending himself in such a situation.

The sentence "*It is hard to obey the law when many people do not*" received 53% of concurring opinions and 9% strongly concurring opinions, compared with 36% opposing opinions.

Finally, the question about the police holding people while a crime is being investigated, even without sufficient evidence, showed that 55% of the people polled agree and 15% strongly agree that they should be held, while only 21% disagreed and 4% disagreed strongly. The highest percentage to agree with this measure came from the oldest participants.

These figures are worrying inasmuch as they indicate a conformity with more repressive views that imply cutting back on individual rights and guarantees. The data must be analyzed in the context of a society that admits to its transgressions, to not being very law abiding, not trusting public institutions, while perceiving that the government and others also fail to obey the law.

## CHAPTER IV PERCEPTIONS OF THE LAW AND THE CONSTITUTION

Antonio María HERNÁNDEZ

### I. LACK OF RESPECT FOR THE LAW

#### 1. *Argentina, the Argentine people and the law*

In our country perceptions of no respect for the law run high. In fact, only 11% of the people polled estimate that the laws and the Constitution are respected, while 86% maintain that Argentines disregard the law most of the time .

Moreover, it can be said that only 8% of citizens respect the laws and the Constitution, given that 88% rate themselves as transgressors.

These basic conclusions are common to all sectors polled, because no great difference is evident in the opinions of the different groups going by age, residence, gender or education. What *is* evident, though, is that the awareness of this problem is greater among young people and among those with less education. Curiously enough, while 86% of those with high-school education and higher think that Argentines are transgressors, that percentage rises to 90% among those who have not completed secondary school.

#### 2. *Compliance with the law*

Despite the above-mentioned figures, when asked to what extent the different social actors abide by the law, a majority of people (82%) claim that they do, and instead accuse the rest of the people of failing to do so (only 32% credit them with obeying the law). This perception is even bleaker for the national government, because only 22% see it as law-abiding. Worse still is the opinion of provincial governments, claimed to respect the law by only 19% of respondents.

Again there is a difference between the 18-to-29-year age group and the 60 and over group with regard to compliance with the law ; the former amounted to 77%, the latter reached 89%. A similar behavior is seen when considering the gender variable: male 80%, female 85%.

As for the national or federal government and respect for the law, the perception is not uniform over the different groups. Only 17% of young people between 18 and 29 estimate the government respects the law, while 27% of people over 60 do. An average of 22% comes from intermediate groups of 30 to 44 years (22%) and 45 to 59 years (23%). Neither is there uniformity in the perceptions by those who live in the metropolitan area (21%) and provincial cities (23%), who credit the government with a greater respect for the law.

This same conclusion on groups is observed in provincial governments and respect for the law, with an average of 19%. While the percentage of young people estimating compliance with the law reaches 15%, older people raise that percentage to 22%. And in the metropolitan area this perception reaches 14%, in the provincial cities 21%.

Respondents' impressions about provincial governments and the law also vary, depending on the cities where the poll was conducted. While an average of 19% was seen in the cities of Buenos Aires, San Miguel de Tucumán and Mar del Plata, there are two capitals with a perception of higher respect for the law: Mendoza 25% and Córdoba 23%. In other cities it is less: 18% in Rosario and only 12% in the metropolitan area.

### 3. *Reasons why the law is obeyed*

In this question, 44% of the people polled replied that they respect the law because it is a moral duty, 37% because it benefits everyone, 9% in order not to harm family and friends, 8% to avoid punishment and 1% in order not to be criticized by others.

In the first answer by percentage there was no uniformity among the different groups, because while 41% of young people say they obey the law, the same answer by the over-sixty-year-olds reached 51%. In the metropolitan area the figure was 42%, in the heartland, 47%. Using the gender variable, men registered 42% and women 47%. These figures show a greater proportion of respect for the law for moral reasons among older people, residents in the heartland and women.

In the second answer, again there was no uniformity in the percentage of the different groups. The data show greater community conscientiousness for common good—obeying the law is presumed to benefit everyone—by the 45-to-59-year-old age group, residents in the metropolitan area and who have completed high school studies or higher. In fact, while 34% of young people evaluated the common benefit, 42% of the 45-to-59-year-old group did so. Residents of the metropolitan area showed 40%, compared to 33% in the provincial cities. People with unfinished secondary-school or high-school studies showed 35%, while those with high-school studies and higher showed 41%.

Regarding the third percentage of replies—obeying the law so as not to harm family and friends (9%)—7% came from the metropolitan area, compared to 11% from the provincial cities. And for the fourth percentage—obeying the law so as to avoid punishment (8%)—the figure rises to 13% in the youth sector.

### 4. *Exceptions in law enforcement*

The sentence "*There are times when it is necessary to disobey the law*" triggered 48% of responses of disagreement and 8% very much in disagreement, but it is important to note that there were 36% of affirmative responses and 5% very much in agreement. That means that 41% of the people polled admitted disobeying the laws at certain times.

Notable among the people who disagreed were 45-to-59-year-olds, residents in provincial cities and women.

The sentence "*Breaking the law isn't so bad; the bad part is getting caught*," brought in 60% of responses of disagreement and 26% very much in disagreement, and showed the highest percentages in the same groups as for the previous question. What did stand out as degrading were the figures of 10% in agreement and 2% very much in agreement with this statement, coming mainly from the youngest sectors.

### 5. *Universal enforcement of the law*

Attempts were made to analyze this crucial topic by asking the following question: “*In your opinion, is it fair or unfair to enforce the law strictly if a person.....?*” The different suppositions completing the question were: sells drugs, pollutes the environment, batters a family member, drives through a red light, illegally hooks up to a power line to steal electricity, consumes drugs, and fails to pay taxes.

The general observation was that there were high percentages in favor of strict law enforcement in the cases of drug sales (95%), pollution of the environment (91%), battering a family member (91%) and driving through a red light (82%), while for the other suppositions the percentages dropped: stealing electricity (67%), consuming drugs (64%) and failing to pay taxes (63%). Opinions were similar throughout the different groups interviewed.

Nevertheless the percentage is greater among women when it comes to enforcing the law strictly in the case of battering a family member; while in the case of drug consumption, the percentage is lower among young people, those residing in the metropolitan area and who have more education.

So there is evidence of an attitude that coincides with the lack of respect for the law previously observed in the first questions in the poll.

### 6. *Lawbreaking*

In this aspect, the results of the poll are of great concern, because it is evident that the biggest lawbreakers—in total responses—are, in descending order: first, politicians, with 74%; second, the police, with 56%; third, public officials, with 49%; fourth, the judges, with 41%; fifth, the general population, with 27%; sixth, lawyers, with 19%, and seventh, everyone, with 5%.

The perception that politicians and the police break the law increases among the youngest sector of the population, whereas men and people with higher education mention politicians in the greatest percentage. The metropolitan area and in mid-level age groups reflect a higher percentage of people who believe that public officials break the law more frequently.

Older people, residents in provincial cities and men are the groups that show the highest percentage of people who think lawyers break the law.

### 7. *Protection against abuses of authority*

In this important question, the perception of 90% of the people polled is that people are insufficiently protected against abuses of government authority. This extremely high percentage rises even to 92% among young people, residents in provincial cities and people with more education.

## II. KNOWLEDGE OF THE CONSTITUTION

### 1. *The significance of the national Constitution*

A majority of respondents replied spontaneously to the question, and the accumulation of responses indicated preferentially these concepts: “that which rules the country, society and

living together” (20), “the absolute maximum instrument” (19), “something that must be obeyed” (16) and “a set of norms, regulations, laws” (14). To a lesser degree, other responses were “rights and obligations” (11), “a book that nobody wants to obey or law that nobody wants to obey” (5), “a government measure” (2), “do not know” (13) and “no answer” (3).

This makes us conclude that the perception of the significance of the Constitution is only barely relative in the country, because a considerable number of replies reveal no knowledge of it.

## *2. The importance of the national Constitution*

A total of 89% considered it very important (52%) and important (37%), compared with 11% who attributed little (8%) or no importance (2%) to it, or who did not know (1%). Older people, residents in provincial cities and with a higher education are the sectors who assign the most importance to the Constitution.

## *3. Compliance with the national Constitution*

A large percentage of the population (85%) perceives non-compliance with the Constitution (19% no compliance , 66% little compliance ). This is a general conviction among the different groups polled. To the contrary, only 13% think the Constitution is obeyed fairly enough (11%) or to a high degree (2%).

## *4. The most violated constitutional rights*

The respondents’ perception of the most violated rights, going by total mentions, and in descending order, are: first, the right to work (65); second, to learn (28); third, to complain, go on strike or hold protests (20); fourth, to move around and circulate freely (17); fifth, to teach (14); sixth, free press and freedom of expression (10); seventh, to do business and own property (7 each); eighth, to have any religion (2) and ninth, to associate with whomever one wishes (1).

The highest percentage of opinions about violations of the right to work is seen in the metropolitan area, but this concern is common to all groups.

The highest percentage of opinions about violations of the right to learn is seen in the metropolitan area, in women and in people with higher education.

The highest percentage of opinions about violations of the right to complain is seen in among young people and residents in provincial cities.

The highest percentage of opinions about violations of the right to travel around freely is seen in the metropolitan area and in people over 60. Finally, people with higher education are the most concerned about violations to property rights.

## *5. Knowledge of the national Constitution*

Practically 77% of the people polled have no knowledge of the national Constitution according to the sum of those who know little (62%) or nothing (15%) about it. On the other hand, 22% declare their knowledge of it ranges between fair (19%) and very good (3%). A greater proportion of senior citizens (23%) and those with a better education (34%) claim to have a fair knowledge of the Constitution.

The highest indicators of poor knowledge of the Constitution are seen in young people and those between 45 and 59 years of age, in residents of provincial cities and in people who have not completed secondary school studies.

The highest percentages of people claiming to know nothing of the Constitution are those who have less education. Here, it is evident that the extent of knowledge of the Constitution is closely linked to educational levels.

To the question asking in which year the national Constitution was enacted, only 28% of the responses were correct, with a large gap between the less-educated group (only 14% correct responses) and people with high-school and higher-learning diplomas (51%).

The question regarding the year of the last constitutional reform drew 30% of correct responses showing, as in the previous case, a big difference between the group of non-completed secondary school studies (18%) and the better educated group (48%).

The question about changes incorporated into the last reform also produced a disappointing result in the overall responses, because on 69 occasions the answer was “do not know” and on 4 there was no answer. Among those who answered about some of the topics, 16 mentioned presidential re-election; 4, the duration of mandates; 3, the labor reform; 1, children’s rights; 1, international human rights treaties; 1, the education law; 1, one additional senator; 1, the electoral college reform for direct vote by president and vice-president; and 1, other reforms.

#### *6. Dissemination of the national Constitution*

The question about who first talked to you about the national Constitution drew the answer “in school” (85% of responses) and “at home” (9%), which reaffirms the importance of civic education.

To the question about where you hear the Constitution talked about today, there were 68 mentions of the media, followed by 40, in school; 20, in the home; 14, in the workplace; 3, in church; and 12, nowhere.

The responses mentioning school are more numerous among young people, women and people with more education.

#### *7. Reform of the Constitution*

56% of the people polled replied that the Constitution should be reformed, whereas 30% said it should be left the way it is, and 13% professed not to know. The groups more inclined towards reform are young people between 18 and 29, residents in the heartland, women and people who have completed a secondary school education.

Among the group who claimed to know nothing about the Constitution, responses to the question about reform reached 53% in agreement. To the question about who should participate to reform the Constitution, 88% said the citizens, 66% the indigenous population, 65% non-government organizations, 63% Congress, 62% the government, 61% the president, 40% the political parties and 39% church representatives. Surprisingly, 55% of the people polled oppose the idea of political parties participating in the reform, followed by 54% opposing participation by representatives of the different churches.

To the question about whether people unfamiliar with laws should participate in the reform, 50% approve, compared to 41% who do not and 7% who replied “to some extent.” The first opinion garners its biggest support from people with a higher education level, while the opposite opinion has the support of people with a lesser education.



Finally, noticeable here too is the high level of unfamiliarity with the Constitution mentioned previously.

#### *8. Unfamiliarity with provincial Constitutions*

Even more notorious is the degree of unfamiliarity with the provincial Constitutions, which reaches 91% among people who know little (48%) or nothing (43%) about them and the 2% who do not even answer. A scant 7% claims to know them fairly well (6%) and very well (1%).

There is a sizeable different between the indicators of zero or little knowledge in the city of Buenos Aires, in the metropolitan area and in Rosario, when compared with Córdoba, San Miguel de Tucumán or Mar del Plata. The former reveal far less familiarity with the provincial Constitutions. For example, 48% of respondents in Buenos Aires, 50% of those in Gran Buenos Aires and 60% of those in Rosario claim to have no knowledge, in sharp contrast with the 25% in Mar del Plata, 30% in Córdoba or the 31% in Mendoza.

#### *9. Unfamiliarity with the Municipal Charter of Córdoba*

The poll conducted in the city of Córdoba (it being the only one of the cities polled that has its own Charter) also revealed a high degree of unfamiliarity with this law (86%) according to the overall total among those who professed to know little (32%) or nothing (54%) about it, and the 8% who did not know or did not answer the question. Only a meager 6% claimed to know it fairly well (3%) and very well (3%).

## THIRD PART CONCLUSIONS AND PROPOSALS

Antonio María HERNÁNDEZ  
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### I. CONCLUSIONS

Data from this study produced some good news and some bad news. On the positive side is the high appreciation that the majority of the people polled have of the Constitution, and that respect for the law emerged as the Argentine people's most sought after goal. Enforcement of and respect for the laws are also seen as the most crucial factor for strengthening democracy, along with honest, transparent, accountable governments.

Yet, the study also revealed some brutally honest and disturbing news, including a poor knowledge of the Constitution and great disrespect for the law. Eighty-six percent (86%) of the population polled thinks that Argentina disregards the law most of the time. Particularly serious is the fact that politicians, in the first place, (74%), followed by the police (56%), public officials (49%) and judges (41%) are perceived as the primary violators of the law. Another unpleasant surprise is that 88% of respondents polled consider Argentines disobedient lawbreakers—even though the majority do not rate themselves as such.

In short, the opinion held among most Argentines about our society is that of a social and institutional order where neither the citizens nor the authorities obey and observe the law, and where the government neither imposes nor ensures its enforcement. . This perception extends to the national Constitution and is linked to the prevailing low level of trust in government institutions. It is the picture of an *anomic* society.

These data highlight the great paradox that describes today's Argentine society. On the one hand, there is an enormous demand for legality, great respect for the Constitution and a demand for leaders capable of obeying legislation. But on the other hand, there is a society who knows little about their Constitution and obeys it even less, who self-label themselves for the most part as transgressors, and who, instead of assuming the responsibility for their own transgressions, prefer to pass the buck on to "others." This is a society in which 41% think that at times it is necessary to disobey the law, where 38% claim that if they think they are right they are willing to go against the law, and 23% are not willing to obey a decision that they do not like, albeit made by the majority.

There is also a demand for equality, no small matter, inasmuch as the credibility of the institutions depends largely on this demand being met. In this sense, the poll brings to light another worrisome piece of information, i.w., lack of trust in institutions, especially Congress and the political parties.

Particularly serious is the high level of mistrust of the Judiciary, which grows accordingly from lower-level judges on up to the national Supreme Court. The Judiciary is a cornerstone in any republican system. However, two decades after the birth of democracy, long delays on the part of the Judiciary, difficulties in accessing it, its deteriorating infrastructure, its lack of independence, and suspicions of corruption hanging

over some of its members, have increased citizen mistrust of this authority and, at the same time, stirred up a strong impression of impunity.

We find the knowledge of institutional functions to be at an acceptable level, albeit not without a certain amount of confusion, especially regarding the duties of Congress and of the nation's president, to the detriment of the former and the benefit of the latter. That is a reflection of Argentine hyper-presidentialism, which has systematically upset the balance of powers provided for in the national Constitution, even during these two most recent decades of democratic governments.

One of the most important assets achieved over the last 22 years of democratic life in Argentina is that the Argentine people value and support democracy. Data from the poll leave no doubt about that, and are consistent with many other studies. At the same time, levels of discontent run high with regard to how well our democracy is working. Compared to the rest of Latin America, and according to data from the Latinobarometer 2004, Argentina registers one of the highest levels of support for democracy (72%), yet simultaneously, little satisfaction with its performance. There is a large percentage of "unsatisfied democrats" (34%), but this does not denote a majority in support of military governments or other types of non-democratic systems.

Unfortunately, this support for democracy has not been accompanied by a progressive consolidation of a democratic republican regime and the rule of law. Conversely, we have traveled in the other direction. Democracy's chief attributes—citizens' control of government power, balance of powers, transparency and the openly public performance of government affairs—continue to be weak or non-existent.

We have likewise failed to galvanize the rule of law, that is "...the subordination of all powers to the rule of law, from the lowest level to the very highest" (Norberto Bobbio). On the contrary, in light of the poll data, we concede a contradiction between laws and beliefs. The citizenry does not believe in the lawmakers (representatives in congress) or in those who implement the laws (rulers) or in those who interpret and enforce them (the Judiciary); and at times it is unclear as to precisely who is responsible for each of these functions.

Hence, it is imperative to bridge today's gap separating society from its Constitution and its laws. Surmounting juridical and political obstacles alone, however, is not enough to accomplish this. It is also necessary to make headway in a society's juridical culture, understood, in the words of Diego Valadés, as "...the combination of ideas, convictions, perceptions, traditions and behaviors predominant in a community at a certain time in connection with the organization, functioning, effects and evolution of institutions."

The Argentine people are aware that a minimal sense of responsibility exists with regard to the treatment of public property and spaces, basic rules for community living, mutual respect and uniformity about what is right and what is wrong. As a result, there is no sense of unity and responsibility among the population.

Neither is there a solid defense of freedom of the press, a *sine qua non* for any democratic and republican system because, even though 53% are against government control of the press, a very high 40% is in favor.

Attitudes towards the death penalty, the arrest without a warrant, or vigilanteism are equally disturbing inasmuch as they indicate a conformity with more repressive positions amounting to a curtailment in individual rights and guarantees. These results should be analyzed in the context of a society that admits to breaking the rules and having little

respect for the law, a society that does not trust public institutions and perceives that government and others as lawbreakers.

Regarding interpersonal trust, a key issue in the generation of social capital, the Argentine people tend to place great trust in groups in their immediate vicinity (the community in the area where they live) and very little in the institutions and social actors in organized society. On the local level (place of residence), six out of every ten Argentines (60%) say they have confidence in people. This degree of confidence and the perception of comradeship increases the higher a person's age, education and ranking on the social ladder; conversely, the youngest members of the population are those who have least confidence in others.

Regrettably, and just as is the case in other countries, better schooling, better income, or belonging to younger age groups are not always factors that offset social practices or conceptions about legality hostile to building a more tolerant, plural, open-society environment. On many topics, it is the young people who show they know the least and adhere to or observe the law or the Constitution the least.

This state of anomy calls for urgent reforms aimed at developing and firmly establishing a true "culture of legality" in the Argentine society. However, we must be aware that we cannot advance down the road of legal reforms without duly observing said reforms. To do so would not only frustrate the population all the more, but also risk exacerbating already low levels of credibility and legitimacy of the main institutions.

We face, then, a deeply complex problem with no simple solutions over short term. Quite the opposite; its solution requires a long-term integral, ongoing strategy. This is a problem that cannot be solved by a ministry, or a body of inspectors, or a better-prepared, more highly motivated police force, or by improving any partial issue aspect of the many that comprise this phenomenon.

We must realize that the responsibility is a shared one, and that it is not just up to the rulers—on whose shoulders obviously much of the responsibility falls—, but also to the citizens. We must be frank enough and courageous enough to accept this diagnosis and admit that, as the poll confirms, we Argentines are habitual violators of the laws in force; we are very competent at quickly discovering how to violate them and how to dodge punishment. We do not pay taxes as we should, we do not obey traffic regulations, we are always ready to slip a bribe, we look for exemptions of all kinds and have a very weak sense of community, etcetera. Hence, the anomic or illegal antics of Argentine society fan out into an astonishingly vast web.

We are a country known worldwide for admiring a goal scored "by the hand of God," for a Congress that applauds and celebrates the declaration of default, for poor enforcement of law and order, for extremely dangerous driving on our roads, for relentless corruption scandals and high levels of impunity. It is not a question of exaggerating the significance of isolated deeds and symbols that can surely be explained in their own context. But shall not we progress very far either if we do not admit that these deeds are manifestations of a recurrent pattern (a "dumb" anomy, in the words of Carlos S. Nino), which definitely explains why we are a society with one of the lowest performances in the concert of nations. Summing up, the anomy that burdens us is not just anti-democratic, it is also a leading cause of our underdevelopment.

Three angles can be used to tackle this problem: diagnosis, analysis of the consequences and an analysis of what can be done. The diagnosis has been covered in the

study presented here, and opens the door for analyzing the consequences and implications, and the formulation of proposals. Below is a preliminary list of some proposals, more along the lines of initiating a dialogue than suggesting a systematic approach. We the authors would be more than satisfied to at least manage to promote public analysis and debate of this critical aspect of Argentine reality.

## II. PROPOSALS

From everything analyzed thus far, the logical main objective would be to achieve full enforcement of the national Constitution and the laws, to ensure that our republican institutions function properly in accordance with the constitutional and democratic rule of law.

This implies full enforcement of citizens' rights, obligations and guarantees, and an adequate system of checks and balances among authorities.

In this sense, and without wishing to list too many items, we recommend the following actions:

- 1) Strengthen the actions of the national Congress and other legislative bodies for an effective performance of their legislative duties and political control of executive agencies. This implies doing away with emergency legislation and the abusive practices of emergency and necessity decrees and delegated legislation.
- 2) Guarantee effective independence of judges vis-à-vis political authorities and other pressure or interest groups, and introduce a thorough amendment of judicial procedures.
- 3) Promote in-depth civic, democratic education at every level of education. No one can ignore the advice of the great Austrian lawyer Hans Kelsen, when he said that the first obligation of democracy was education for it. This implies revising study plans at different levels, both in the National Education Ministry as well as in the provinces and municipalities.
- 4) Set up a commission in each chamber of Congress, as well as in the provincial legislatures and deliberating councils, to ensure an adequate tracking and control of compliance with approved laws.
- 5) Ensure that the right to access information is effectively enforced, so that the government is not only more transparent, but also that the society participates more fully and is better informed.
- 6) Move forward with political reform, on issues dealing with the electoral system, democratization, modernization, and the strengthening of political parties, focusing particularly on political financing. Promote the formation and training of political party leaders in inter-disciplinary studies, including political science, constitutional law, public provincial law, municipal law, administrative law, Argentine history, and constitutional history. There should be strict adherence to Article 38 of the national Constitution which provides for the assignment of funds to political parties for this purpose.

- 7) Ensure full enforcement of freedom of the Press and freedom of expression. Ensure support from the media, public and private, so that they conduct a pedagogical campaign emphasizing the importance of the Constitution, the law and the institutions.
- 8) Set up, in the historic city of Santa Fe, the seat of our first Constitutional Congress, a national Constitution Center for the conservation, dissemination, and study of our Constitution. A noted example of such a move is the Center of the United States Constitution recently inaugurated in Philadelphia.
- 9) Demand knowledge of the Constitution on examinations for people competing for jobs in public office, as well as for granting the Argentine citizenship.
- 10) Modify the study plans of law faculties to include the teaching of provincial public law and municipal law, because a greater in-depth knowledge of provincial Constitutions and municipal charters is essential.

**IPSOS – Mora y Araujo**  
**Project 0093\_04 – November, 2004**

1. Poll number

1-3

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Name of the interviewer \_\_\_\_\_

Date of the interview \_\_\_\_\_

2. Sampling site and quotas

City of Buenos Aires	1
Gran Buenos Aires	2
Rosario	3
Córdoba	4
S. M. De Tucumán	5
Mendoza	6
Mar del Plata	7

4

3. Zone. State address where interview was conducted

Address \_\_\_\_\_

5-6

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Name of respondent \_\_\_\_\_

5. Could you tell me your age?

7-8

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6. Gender

Male	1
Female	2

9

### PERCEPTIONS OF THE CONSTITUTION

**Interviewer:** ¡Good morning! (afternoon). We are from Ipsos Mora y Araujo. We are doing a study, and you can freely express your opinion about the country and the laws. The information you give us is confidential and will be used exclusively for statistical purposes. Your opinion is very important and useful to us.

¡Thank you!

#### Situation of the Country

7. ¿What do you think .....will be like in a year's time?

Better, the same, worse, doesn't know, No answer

	Better	The same	Worse	Doesn't know	No answer		
A) Argentina	1	2	3	8	9		10
B) Personal situation	1	2	3	8	9		11

#### Level of information/ Exposure to the media

8.1 Through which media do you usually keep yourself informed about political topics?

8.2. To those who reply they do, ¿how often do you read .... / watch .... / listen to ... to get information?

	YES	NO	Doesn't know/No reply		Very frequently	Frequently	Occasionally	Rarely	Never/Not reply	
a) TELEVISIÓN	1	2	9	209	1	2	3	4	9	12
b) RADIO	1	2	9	210	1	2	3	4	9	13
c) NEWSPAPER	1	2	9	211	1	2	3	4	9	14
d) MAGAZINES	1	2	9	212	1	2	3	4	9	15
e) INTERNET	1	2	9	213	1	2	3	4	9	16

9. ¿Which of the media do you think is most reliable to inform about political topics?

1) TV 2) Radio 3) Newspapers 4) Magazines 5) internet 6) others 9) doesn't know/No reply

17

**Now, I'm going to ask you some questions about different topics**

10. ¿Who carries out the following functions? **(SHOW CARD 1. ACCEPT UP TO THREE ANSWER PER TOPIC)**

	Ombuds man	Electoral Judiciary	Nation's President	National Congress	Judges	Other	Does n't know	No answer	
A) Judging delinquents	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(7)	(8)	(9)	18
B) Organizing elections	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(7)	(8)	(9)	19
C) Approving government expenses	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(7)	(8)	(9)	20
D) Protecting people's rights	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(7)	(8)	(9)	21
E) Approving taxes	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(7)	(8)	(9)	22
F) Directing the economy	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(7)	(8)	(9)	23
G) Approving international treaties	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(7)	(8)	(9)	24

**With regard to the values of society.....**

11. In your opinion, ¿who should set the limits to people's behavior? **(READ OPTIONS 1 TO 4 ROTATE. ACCEPT UP TO 2 OPTIONS)**

The Church	(01)					
The family	(02)	1° _____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>		25-26
The law	(03)					
The government	(04)	2° _____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>		27-28
Nobody <b>(don't read)</b>	(05)					
Others <b>(don't read)</b> _____						
Do not know	(98)					
No answer	(99)					

12. When you think you are right, are you or are you not willing to go against....? **(READ OPTIONS 1 and 2)**

	Willing	Not willing	Depends <b>(don't read)</b>	Doesn't know	No answer	
a) What your parents think	(1)	(2)	(3)	(8)	(9)	29
b) What your spouse or partner thinks	(1)	(2)	(3)	(8)	(9)	30
c) What the Church or your religion dictates	(1)	(2)	(3)	(8)	(9)	31
d) What the law stipulates	(1)	(2)	(3)	(8)	(9)	32
e) What your friends/peers think	(1)	(2)	(3)	(8)	(9)	33

13. ¿How much do you agree or disagree with the following statements?: **(READ OPTIONS 1 to 4)**

	Highly agree	Agree	Disagree	Highly disagree	Doesn't Know	No Answer	
a) People generally treat public places and property respectfully	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(8)	(9)	34
b) People respect regulations required for harmonious social living	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(8)	(9)	35
c) People in Argentina respect each other	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(8)	(9)	36
d) In our society there is a consensus on what is good and what is bad	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(8)	(9)	37



14. ¿In your opinion, should the government control the press, or not? (READ OPTIONS 1 and 2)

The government should control the press	(1)	
The government should not control the press	(2)	
Depends (don't read)	(3)	38
Other (don't read)	(4)	
Doesn't know	(8)	
No answer	(9)	

### Now we are going to talk about laws

15. Generally speaking..... ¿Would you say that .....? (READ OPTIONS 1 and 2)

Argentina is a country where the laws and the Constitution are respected	(1)	
Argentina is a country that disregards the law most of the time	(2)	214
Doesn't know	(8)	
No answer	(9)	

16. ¿With which of the statements do you agree most? (READ OPTIONS 1 and 2)

#### Generally speaking.....

The Argentine people respects laws and the Constitution	(1)	
The Argentine people tend to be disobedient and transgressors	(2)	215
Doesn't know	(8)	
No answer	(9)	

17. Why do you respect and obey the laws? (SHOW CARD 2)

Because obeying the law benefits us all	(01)	<input type="checkbox"/>	39
So as not to be criticized by others	(02)		
Because it is a moral duty	(03)		
So as not to harm my family and friends	(04)		
To avoid punishment	(05)		
Other (sp) .....			
Doesn't know	(98)		
No answer	(99)		

18. On a scale of 0 to 10, where 0 means "no respect at all" and 10 means "lots of respect",

To what extent would you say that.....respects the law?

	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	Doesn't know	No answer	
a) The national government	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	98	99	41
b) The provincial government *	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	98	99	43

\* In the city of Buenos Aires, ask about the city government

19.- On a scale of 0 to 10, where 0 means "not respect at all" and 10 means "lots of respect"

To what extent do you respect the law? And to what extent do others respect it?

	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	Doesn't know	No answer	
a) You	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	98	99	45
b) Others	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	98	99	47

20. How much do you agree or disagree with the following statements (READ OPTIONS 1 to 4)

	Highly agree	Agree	Disagree	Highly disagree	Doesn't know	No answer	
A) "There are times when is necessary to disobey the law "	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(8)	(9)	49
B) "Violating the law is not so bad, what is bad is getting caught"	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(8)	(9)	50

21. In your opinion, is it fair or unfair that the law be strictly enforced if a person..... ?  
**(READ OPTIONS 1 and 4)**

	Fair	Partly fair (don't read)	Partly unfair (don't read)	Unfair	Depends on the case (don't read)	Doesn't know	No answer	
a) Drives through a red light	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(8)	(9)	51
b) Fails to pay taxes	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(8)	(9)	52
c) Batters a family member	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(8)	(9)	53
d) Sells drugs	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(8)	(9)	54
e) Steals electricity by hooking up to power line	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(8)	(9)	55
f) Consumes drugs	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(8)	(9)	56
g) Pollutes the environment	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(8)	(9)	57

22. If the police suspect that a person committed a serious crime, but do not have sufficient proof., to what extent do you agree they should hold him/her while they find out what really happened?

Strongly agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly disagree	Doesn't know	No answer	
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(8)	(9)	58

**Now, changing the subject, I am going to ask questions about the Constitution:**

23. ¿What does the national Constitution mean for you ? SPONTANEOUS. IN DETAIL

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

Not know (98) No answer (99)


59-60  
61-62  
63-64

24. How important do you believe the national Constitution is ?  
**(READ OPTIONS 1 to 4)**

- Very important (1)
- Important (2)
- Not very important (3)
- Not important at all (4)
- Doesn't know (8)
- No answer (9)

65

25. ¿How well do you think the national Constitution is obeyed in Argentina?  
**(READ OPTIONS 1 to 4)**

- Very well (1)
- Fairly well (2)
- Not very well (3)
- Not at all (4)
- Doesn't know (8)
- No answer (9)

66

26. On the subject of rights, which would you say are the most frequently violated constitutional rights in Argentina?  
**(SHOW CARD 3 and ACCEPT UP TO 2 OPTIONS)**

- working (01)
- trading (02)
- circulating/moving around freely (03)
- making request to the authorities/ filing complaints/ staging strikes/protests (04)
- having freedom of the press/ expression (05)
- owning properties (06)
- having freedom of association (07)
- having freedom of religion/cult (08)
- teaching (09)
- learning (10)
- Others (doesn't read)..... (98)
- Doesn't know (98)
- No answer (99)


216-219

27. How well do you consider that you know the ...? **(READ OPTIONS 1 to 4)**

	Very well	Fairly well	Very little	Not at all	Doesn't know	No answer	
a) National Constitution	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(8)	(9)	67
b) Constitution in your province *	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(8)	(9)	68
c) Municipal Charter <b>(only in Córdoba)</b>	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(8)	(9)	69

\* In the city of Buenos Aires ask about the Constitution of the city of Buenos Aires

28. Do you know in which year the national Constitution was enacted?

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70-73

Doesn't know	No answer
98	99

29. Do you know in which year the last reform to the national Constitution was made?

--	--	--	--

74-77

Doesn't know	No answer
98	99

30. Do you know any of the matters or changes incorporated into the last reform to the national Constitution?  
SPONTANEOUS

78-79

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Doesn't know (98)  
No answer (99)

80-81

31. Who spoke to you about the national Constitution first? **(READ OPTIONS 1 and 2)**

- In school (1)  
At home (2)  
No one **(don't read)** (3)  
Others **(don't read)** (4)  
Doesn't know (8)  
No answer (9)

82

32. Where do you hear discussions about the Constitution the most?

**(INTERVIEWER: READ OPTIONS FROM 1 to 5. ACCEPT UP TO THREE ANSWERS)**

- At home (1) 1<sup>st</sup> option \_\_\_\_\_   
At school (2) \_\_\_\_\_   
In the workplace (3) 2<sup>nd</sup> option \_\_\_\_\_   
In Church (4) \_\_\_\_\_   
In the media (5) 3<sup>rd</sup> option \_\_\_\_\_   
Nowhere **(sp)** (6) \_\_\_\_\_   
Others **(sp)** (7) \_\_\_\_\_   
Doesn't know (8)  
No answer (9)

83

84

85

33. Some people believe the national Constitution needs to be reformed because it no longer fits the reality of the country. Others, to the contrary, believe it should be left as it. Which of the following statements do you most agree with? **(READ OPTIONS 1 and 2)**

- It should be reformed (1)  
It should be left as it is (2)  
Doesn't know (8)  
No answer (9)

86

34. In the event that the national Constitution is reformed, who do you believe should participate to change/ reform it?  
**(SHOW CARD 4)**

	Yes	No	Doesn't know	No answer	
A) Congress	(1)	(2)	(8)	(9)	87
B) The political parties	(1)	(2)	(8)	(9)	88
C) The government	(1)	(2)	(8)	(9)	89
D) The citizens	(1)	(2)	(8)	(9)	90
E) The representatives of the different churches	(1)	(2)	(8)	(9)	91
F) The president	(1)	(2)	(8)	(9)	92
G) Non-governmental organizations (NGOs)	(1)	(2)	(8)	(9)	93
H) The indigenous communities	(1)	(2)	(8)	(9)	94
Others ( <b>don't read</b> )					95
I) Which? <input type="text"/>	(1)	(2)	(8)	(9)	97

35. Should people who know nothing about laws be allowed to have an opinion on changes to the national Constitution, or not? **(READ OPTIONS 1 and 2)**

Yes they should	(1)		
No they should not	(2)		
Yes, to some extent ( <b>don't read</b> )	(3)		
Doesn't know	(8)		98
No answer	(9)		

#### On the subject of justice and procedures

36. How much do you agree or disagree with the following statements? **(INTERVIEWER: READ OPTIONS 1 to 4)**

	Strongly agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly disagree	Doesn't know	No answer	
A) A person convicted of homicide should receive the death penalty	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(8)	(9)	99
B) It is preferable for a citizen to shoot someone who committed a crime than allow him/her to escape.	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(8)	(9)	100
C) It is difficult to obey the law when so many people do not	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(8)	(9)	101

#### And thinking about your community

37. How much do you agree or disagree with the following statements? |  
**Here where... lives (INTERVIEWER: READ OPTIONS 1 to 4)**

	Strongly agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly disagree	Doesn't know	No answer	
a) People can usually be trusted	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(8)	(9)	102
b) If a person is in trouble, there is always someone willing to help	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(8)	(9)	103

38. How much do you agree or disagree with the following statements? **(INTERVIEWER: READ OPTIONS 1 to 4)**

	Strongly agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly disagree	Doesn't know	No answer	
a) The people in my community have values similar to my own.	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(8)	(9)	104
b) In my opinion being a member	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(8)	(9)	105

of my community is important in order to know who I am							
--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--

### Changing the subject a little...

39. How much do you agree or disagree with the following statements? (INTERVIEWER: READ OPTIONS 1 to 4)

	Strongly agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly disagree	Doesn't know	No answer	
a) Respect and obedience to the authorities are <u>the most important values</u> that a child should learn.	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(8)	(9)	106
b) Most social problems would be solved if the country could be rid of immoral people	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(8)	(9)	107

40. From what you have seen, are people sufficiently protected against government abuse, or not? (READ OPTIONS 1 and 2)

Sufficiently protected	(1)					
Insufficiently protected	(2)					
It depends ( <b>don't read</b> )	(3)		108			
Doesn't know	(8)					
No answer	(9)					

41. From what you have heard or experienced, is it worthwhile, or not, going to court to file a lawsuit? (READ OPTIONS 1 and 2)

Yes it is worthwhile	(1)				
No it is not worthwhile	(2)				
Yes, it is worthwhile to some extent ( <b>don't read</b> )	(3)				
Doesn't know	(8)		109		
No answer	(9)				

42. In filing a lawsuit against the government, what chance do you think a person would have to win a suit against the national government: a good chance, fair chance, little chance or no chance?

Good	(1)			
Fair	(2)			
Little	(3)			
No	(4)		110	
Doesn't know	(8)			
No answer	(9)			

### And thinking about democracy...

43. With which of the following statements do you think that the majority of people agree with? (READ OPTIONS 1 and 2)

Democracy is preferable to any other form of government	(1)			
In some circumstances, a non-democratic government may be better	(2)			
People don't care which ( <b>don't read</b> )	(3)		111	
Neither of the above ( <b>don't read</b> )	(4)			
Doesn't know	(8)			
No answer	(9)			

44. And in your opinion, which is preferable? (READ OPTIONS 1 and 2)

Democracy over any other form of government	(1)
In some circumstances, a non-democratic government may be better	(2)

I don't care which (**don't read**) (3) 112  
 Neither of the above (**don't read**) (4)  
 Doesn't know (8)  
 No answer (9)

45. For democracy to grow stronger, what is more important? (**SHOW CARD 5**).

That the president and the legislators have a good relationship (01)  
 That the laws be enforced and obeyed. (02) 

--	--

 113  
 That citizens demand the government be accountable to society (03)  
 That the government be honest (04)  
 Other (**don't read**)...  
 Doesn't know (98)  
 No answer (99)

46. In your opinion, what is the most important thing to achieve in a society? (**SHOW CARD 6**) And the second most important?

A society where the laws are enforced and obeyed (01) 1st option \_\_\_\_\_ 

--	--

 115  
 A society without delinquency (02)  
 A more democratic society (03) 2nd option \_\_\_\_\_ 

--	--

 117  
 A society where there are fewer differences between rich and poor (04)  
 Other (**don't read**) \_\_\_\_\_  
 Doesn't know (98)  
 No answer (99)

47. With which of the following statements do you agree most? (**READ OPTIONS 1 and 2**)

I would prefer a strong leader even if he were not very respectful of the law (1)  
 I would prefer a leader who were respectful of the law even if he were not very strong (2) 119  
 Neither (**don't read**) (3)  
 Doesn't know (8)  
 No answer (9)

48. If a decision has been made by the majority of people.....? (**READ OPTIONS 1 and 2**)

You obey it even if you do not like it. (1)  
 You do not obey it if you do not like it. (2)  
 Neither (**don't read**) (3)  
 Doesn't know (8) 120  
 No answer (9)

**Thinking about the national Congress...**

49. To what extent are you interested in matters discussed in the national Congress? (**READ OPTIONS 1 to 4**)

A lot of interest (1)  
 A fair amount (2)  
 Little (3) 121  
 None (4)  
 Doesn't know (8)  
 No answer (9)

50. How much do you agree with the following statement? (**INTERVIEWER: READ OPTIONS 1 to 4**)

	Strongly agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly disagree	Doesn't know	No answer	
People should obey the laws enacted by Congress, even if they go against their way of thinking	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(8)	(9)	122

51. How often do you think that...? (**INTERVIEWER: READ OPTIONS 1 to 4**)

	Very	Fairly	Seldom	Never	Doesn't	No	
--	------	--------	--------	-------	---------	----	--

	often	often			know	answer	
Members of Congress make decisions thinking about the population	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(8)	(9)	123

52. To what extent do you agree that the national Congress grant frequent special powers to the Executive Branch? (INTERVIEWER: READ OPTIONS 1 to 4)

Strongly agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly disagree	Doesn't know	No answer	
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(8)	(9)	124

53. What do you think about the president enacting necessity and urgency decrees instead of sending a draft bill to the national Congress? (INTERVIEWER: READ OPTIONS 1 to 4)

Very good	Good	Acceptable	Bad	Doesn't know	Doesn't know enough to express an opinion	
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(8)	(9)	125

### Talking about trust in institutions and social groups...

54. On a scale of 0 to 10, where 0 is "I have no trust at all" and 10 is "I have lots of trust," how much do you trust in....? (READ OPTIONS ONE BY ONE)

	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	Doesn't know	No answer	
a) Police	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	98	99	126
b) Teachers	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	98	99	128
c) The media	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	98	99	130
d) President of the Republic	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	98	99	132
e) The church	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	98	99	134
f) Industrialists	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	98	99	136
g) National Supreme Court	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	98	99	138
h) Non-government organizations	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	98	99	140
i) Unions	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	98	99	142
j) Congress	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	98	99	144
k) Electoral Judiciary	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	98	99	146
l) Political parties	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	98	99	148
m) Business people	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	98	99	150
n) Ombudsman	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	98	99	152
o) Public universities	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	98	99	154
p) The Judiciary	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	98	99	156
q) The Army	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	98	99	158
r) Public administration	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	98	99	160

55. From what you have seen, in our country to what extent can one...? (READ OPTIONS 1 to 3)

	Always	Sometimes	Never	Depends	Doesn't know	No answer	
a) Express one's opinion	(1)	(2)	(3)	(5)	(8)	(9)	162
b) Vote for the party one wishes	(1)	(2)	(3)	(5)	(8)	(9)	163
c) Have the religion one wishes	(1)	(2)	(3)	(5)	(8)	(9)	164
d) Study whatever one wishes	(1)	(2)	(3)	(5)	(8)	(9)	165
e) Work in whatever one wishes	(1)	(2)	(3)	(5)	(8)	(9)	166
f) Meet with whomever one wishes	(1)	(2)	(3)	(5)	(8)	(9)	167
g) Associate with whomever one wishes	(1)	(2)	(3)	(5)	(8)	(9)	168

### Finally...

56. Have you personally ever felt that your rights have not been respected due to...? (READ OPTIONS 1 to 3)

	Yes	Yes to some extent	No	Doesn't know	No answer	
a) Your financial situation	(1)	(2)	(3)	(8)	(9)	169
b) Your level of education	(1)	(2)	(3)	(8)	(9)	170

c) The district or place where you live	(1)	(2)	(3)	(8)	(9)	171
d) Your gender	(1)	(2)	(3)	(8)	(9)	172
e) Your skin color	(1)	(2)	(3)	(8)	(9)	173
f) The fact that you come from a certain part of the country	(1)	(2)	(3)	(8)	(9)	174
g) Your age	(1)	(2)	(3)	(8)	(9)	175
h) Your sexual preference	(1)	(2)	(3)	(8)	(9)	176

57. What is worse for society...? **(READ OPTIONS 1 and 2)**

Incarcerating an innocent person	(1)		
Allowing a guilty person to remain free	(2)		177
Depends	(3)		
Doesn't know	(8)		
No answer	(9)		

58. From what you have seen, who violates the laws most? **(SHOW CARD 7 AND ACCEPT 3 ANSWERS)**

The population	(01)				
Politicians	(02)	1st option _____	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	178
Judges	(03)				
Lawyers	(04)	2nd option _____	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	180
Officials	(05)				
Police	(06)	3rd opción _____	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	182
None <b>(sp)</b>	(07)				
All <b>(sp)</b>	(08)				
Other <b>(sp)</b> _____					
Doesn't know	(98)				
No answer	(99)				

59. How independent do you think judges are to make their own decisions? **(READ OPTIONS 1 to 4)**

Completely independent	(1)		
Fairly independent	(2)		
Not very independent	(3)		
Not at all independent	(4)		184
Doesn't know	(8)		
No answer	(9)		

60. How independent do you think Supreme Court judges are to make their own decisions? **(READ OPTIONS 1 to 4)**

Completely independent	(1)		
Fairly independent	(2)		
Not very independent	(3)		
Not at all independent	(4)		185
Doesn't know	(8)		
No answer	(9)		

#### Thinking about changes in the Supreme Court...

61. How much more independent of the political power do you think the current Supreme Court is than the previous one? **(READ OPTIONS 1 to 4)**

Completely independent	(1)		
Fairly independent	(2)		
Not very independent	(3)		
Not at all independent	(4)		186
Doesn't know	(8)		
No answer	(9)		

62. In recent years, have you had to turn to the Judiciary for some reason?

Yes	(1)		
No	(2)		187
Doesn't know	(8)		
No answer	(9)		



To those who answered "yes" to the previous question:

63. How would you rate the Judiciary's response level?

Very good	Good	Average	Bad	Doesn't know	No answer	
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(8)	(9)	188

### Sociodemographic data

FINALLY I AM GOING TO ASK YOU SOME QUESTIONS FOR STATISTICAL PURPOSES.

300- WHAT IS THE LAST EDUCATION LEVEL YOU REACHED?

189-0

(1)	None
(2)	Primary unfinished
(3)	Primary completed
(4)	Secondary unfinished
(5)	Secondary completed
(6)	High school unfinished
(7)	High school completed
(8)	University unfinished
(9)	University completed
(10)	Graduate
(99)	Doesn't know/No answer

301. WHAT IS THE LAST EDUCATION LEVEL REACHED BY THE HEAD OF THE FAMILY/MAIN BREADWINNER (PSH)?

191/2

(1)	None
(2)	Primary unfinished
(3)	Primary completed
(4)	Secondary unfinished
(5)	Secondary completed
(6)	High school unfinished
(7)	High school completed
(8)	University unfinished
(9)	University completed
(10)	Graduate
(99)	Doesn't know/No answer

306- WHAT IS/WAS THE BREADWINNER'S/FAMILY HEAD'S JOB? IS/WAS HE/SHE SELF-EMPLOYED OR WORKS/WORKED AS AN EMPLOYEE?

Works or worked	SCORE	
	Work	Worked
<b>SELF-EMPLOYED</b>		
<b>*AUTONOMOUS</b>		
Workshop worker	4	3
Not skilled worker	11	7
Trader without staff	18	12
Technician, artisan, skilled worker	24	16
<b>Independent professional</b>	30	20
Others.	17	11
<b>*EMPLOYEEER</b>		
Partner/owner of establishment		
Farming, & animal husbandry		
Commerce, services firm, etc		
How many employees are you/were in charge of?		
- 1 to 5	30	20
- 6 to 20	36	24
- 21 and more	40	27
- No answer	35	23
<b>Person with independent means</b>	20	13
Housewife/student	0	0

Works or worked	SCORE	
	Work	Worked
<b>EMPLOYEE</b>		
Domestic employee	7	5
Family worker W/O pay	13	9
Unskilled worker	9	6
Skilled manual worker	17	11
Technician/overseer	24	16
Untitiled employee(administrative, Technician, business		
- In the government	12	8
- Private enterprise	17	11
Intermediate lidership (teachers wit without command posts , middle Level positions		
Administrative, technical personnel , or in charge of businesses ,etc		
in the government	19	13
= private ent.	24	16
<b>Managers</b>		
- In the govermet	26	17
- Private enterprise	30	20
<b>High executives/directors</b>		
- In the govermet	28	19
- Private enterprise	37	25

DO YOU HAVE THE FOLLOWING ITEMS IN YOUR HOME? (WHETHER THEY BELONG TO YOU OR TO OTHER FAMILY MEMBERS).

<b>307</b>	Television	(1) Color with remote control (or both) (4) ) Color with remote control (or both) (2) Only black and white	(3) Doesn't have	(9) No answer
<b>308</b>	VCR	(1) Yes	(3) Doesn't have	(9) No answer
<b>309</b>	Washing machine	(1) Automatic with spin-dry (2) No spin-dry (4) Non-automatic with spin-dry	(3) Doesn't have	((9) No answer
<b>310</b>	Refrigerator	(1) With freezer (2) Without freezer	(3) Doesn't have	(9) No answer
<b>311</b>	Independent Freezer	(1) Yes	(3) Doesn't have	(9) No answer
<b>312</b>	Credit card	(1) Yes, family head (2) Yes, other members	(3) Doesn't have	(9) No answer
<b>313</b>	Air conditioning	(1) Yes	3) Doesn't have	(9) No answer
<b>314</b>	Clothes dryer	1) Yes	(3) Doesn't have	9) No answer
<b>315</b>	Fixed telephone	(1) Yes	3) Doesn't have	(9) No answer
<b>316</b>	Personal computer	(1) Yes	3) Doesn't have	(9) No answer



317 How many assets do you have?.....

Score assets

317		
-----	--	--

If the person has.....	
0-1 asset	0 points
2-3	1 point
4	2 points
5	3 points
6	6 points
7	8 points
8	10 points
9	12 points
10	14 points

322 Do you own an automobile?

(Do not consider utility autos)

(9) No answer

(3) Has no automobile

(1) Has one automobile

(2) Has two automobiles

Score: 0

Auto 1

Model	SIZE OF THE AUTOMOBILE				
	Large	Medium Large	Medium Medium	Medium Compact	Compact
2002 to 2004	10	9	8	7	6
1999 to 2001	9	8	7	6	5
1995 to 1998	7	6	6	4	3
1990 to 1994	5	4	3	2	2
1989 or older	1	1	1	1	1

Auto1 + Auto2

323

--	--

Auto 2

Model	SIZE OF THE AUTOMOBILE				
	Large	Medium Large	Medium Medium	Medium Compact	Compact
2002 to 2004	10	9	8	7	6
1999 to 2001	9	8	7	6	5
1995 to 1998	7	6	6	4	3
1990 to 1994	5	4	3	2	2
1989 or older	1	1	1	1	1

Has no 2nd automobile: 0 points

**TABLE 8. When you think you are right, are you willing to go against the stipulations of the law?**

Total base of people polled (1000)

	Total	Age				Simple location		Education			Socioeconomic level		
		18-29 years	30-44 years	45-59 years	60 years and older	Metropolitan Area	Provincial cities	Up to unfinished secondary	Completed secondary school/unfinished high school	High school completed and more	ABC1 (High)	C2/C3 (Medium)	D/E (Low)
<b>BASE:</b>	<b>1000</b>	<b>269</b>	<b>284</b>	<b>269</b>	<b>178</b>	<b>480</b>	<b>520</b>	<b>437</b>	<b>298</b>	<b>265</b>	<b>110</b>	<b>460</b>	<b>430</b>
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Willing	38	41	44	37	25	38	38	41	39	31	35	40	37
Not willing	46	45	41	46	58	47	46	45	44	51	48	45	47
Depends	14	12	13	16	15	13	14	12	14	17	14	14	13
Doesn't know	2	3	2	1	1	1	2	1	2	2	3	1	2
No answer	1	-	-	1	2	1	-	-	1	-	-	-	1

**TABLE 28. HOW MUCH DO YOU AGREE WITH THE STATEMENT: “THERE ARE TIMES WHEN IT IS NECESSARY TO DISOBEY THE LAW”?**

Total base of people polled (1000)

	Total	Age				Simple location		Education			Socioeconomic level		
		18-29 years	30-44 years	45-59 years	60 years and more	Metropolitan Area	Provincial cities	Up to secondary	Completed secondary school/unfinished high school	High school completed and more	ABC1 (High)	C2/C3 (Medium)	D/E (Low)
<b>BASE:</b>	<b>1000</b>	<b>269</b>	<b>284</b>	<b>269</b>	<b>178</b>	<b>480</b>	<b>520</b>	<b>437</b>	<b>298</b>	<b>265</b>	<b>110</b>	<b>460</b>	<b>430</b>
	<b>%</b>	<b>%</b>	<b>%</b>	<b>%</b>	<b>%</b>	<b>%</b>	<b>%</b>	<b>%</b>	<b>%</b>	<b>%</b>	<b>%</b>	<b>%</b>	<b>%</b>
Strongly agrees	5	6	6	4	4	6	6	3	6	5	5	5	
Agrees	36	43	39	30	29	39	33	33	40	36	35	38	34
Disagrees	48	42	46	56	50	43	53	51	46	46	50	45	51
Strongly disagrees	8	6	5	9	13	11	5	7	8	9	7	8	7
Doesn't know	2	1	4	2	2	2	2	2	2	3	4	2	2
No answer	1	1	1	-	2	1	1	1	1	-	-	1	1

**TABLE 40. HOW MUCH DO YOU AGREE OR DISAGREE WITH THE STATEMENT: “IT IS HARD TO OBEY THE LAW WHEN MANY PEOPLE DO NOT”?**

Total base of people polled (1000)

	Total	Age				Sample location		Education			Socioeconomic level		
		18-29 years	30-44 years	45-59 years	60 years and older	Metropolitan area	Provincial cities	Up to unfinished secondary school	Completed secondary school/unfinished high school	High school completed and more	ABC1 (High)	C2/C3 (Medium)	D/E (Low)
<b>BASE:</b>	<b>1000</b> %	<b>269</b> %	<b>284</b> %	<b>269</b> %	<b>178</b> %	<b>480</b> %	<b>520</b> %	<b>437</b> %	<b>298</b> %	<b>265</b> %	<b>110</b> %	<b>460</b> %	<b>430</b> %
Strongly agrees	9	10	8	9	10	11	8	11	6	8	5	9	10
Agrees	53	54	52	54	49	53	53	54	53	50	51	50	56
Disagrees	31	29	34	32	28	28	33	27	33	35	38	33	26
Strongly disagree	5	4	5	3	10	6	4	3	5	6	3	6	4
Doesn't know	2	1	1	2	2	1	2	3	1	-	1	1	3
No answer	1	1	1	-	1	1	1	1	1	-	2	1	1

**TABLE 42. FROM WHAT YOU HAVE SEEN, WHO VIOLATES THE LAWS MOST?  
TOTAL MENTIONS**

Total base of people polled (1000)

	Total	Age				Sample location		Education			Socioeconomic level		
		18-29 years	30-44 years	45-59 years	60 years and older	Metropolitan area	Provincial cities	Up to unfinished secondary school	Completed secondary school/unfinished high school	High school completed and more	ABC1 (High)	C2/C3 (Medium)	D/E (Low)
<b>BASE:</b>	<b>1000</b> %	<b>269</b> %	<b>284</b> %	<b>269</b> %	<b>178</b> %	<b>480</b> %	<b>520</b> %	<b>437</b> %	<b>298</b> %	<b>265</b> %	<b>110</b> %	<b>460</b> %	<b>430</b> %
Politicians	74	78	74	73	71	74	75	74	73	77	78	72	76
Police	56	62	56	57	43	57	55	53	58	58	54	57	55
Officials	49	43	55	49	48	51	47	45	53	50	49	54	43
Judges	41	37	42	43	39	40	41	47	36	35	34	38	45
Population	27	30	27	25	27	25	29	26	29	26	24	29	26
Lawyers	19	14	19	20	28	16	23	22	17	18	16	19	20
Everyone	5	4	5	4	8	5	5	5	4	6	6	5	5

**TABLE 50. IN YOUR OPINION, SHOULD OR SHOULDN'T THE GOVERNMENT CONTROL THE PRESS?**

Total base of people polled (1000)

	Total	Age				Sample location		Education			Socioeconomic level		
		18-29 years	30-44 years	45-59 years	60 years and older	Metropolitan area	Provincial cities	Up to unfinished secondary school	Completed secondary school/unfinished high school	High school completed and more	ABC1 (High)	C2/C3 (Medium)	D/E (Low)
<b>BASE:</b>	<b>1000</b>	<b>269</b>	<b>284</b>	<b>269</b>	<b>178</b>	<b>480</b>	<b>520</b>	<b>437</b>	<b>298</b>	<b>265</b>	<b>110</b>	<b>460</b>	<b>430</b>
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
The government should control the press	40	41	39	39	42	36	44	51	41	22	20	35	50
The government should not control the press	53	54	53	53	52	57	49	41	53	72	72	59	41
Depends	6	4	7	6	6	6	5	6	5	5	6	5	7
Doesn't know	1	1	1	1	-	-	1	1	-	1	2	-	1



**TABLE 62. HOW WOULD YOU RATE THE JUDICIARY’S RESPONSE LEVEL?  
(AMONG THOSE WHO HAVE EXPERIENCED EXPOSURE TO IT)**

Base (282)

	Total	Age				Sample location		Education			Socioeconomic level		
		18-29 years	30-44 years	45-59 years	60 years and older	Metropolitan area	Provincial cities	Up to unfinished secondary school	Completed secondary school/unfinished high school	High school completed and more	ABC1 (High)	C2/C3 (Medium)	D/E (Low)
<b>BASE:</b>	<b>282</b> <b>%</b>	<b>60</b> <b>%</b>	<b>82</b> <b>%</b>	<b>96</b> <b>%</b>	<b>44</b> <b>%</b>	<b>132</b> <b>%</b>	<b>150</b> <b>%</b>	<b>122</b> <b>%</b>	<b>90</b> <b>%</b>	<b>70</b> <b>%</b>	<b>30</b> <b>%</b>	<b>132</b> <b>%</b>	<b>120</b> <b>%</b>
Very good	4	3	4	3	7	3	5	2	7	3	-	5	3
Good	21	25	22	23	11	20	22	20	18	29	30	20	21
Average	41	37	41	43	45	38	45	43	47	33	50	38	43
Bad	32	35	30	30	36	37	28	34	29	34	20	36	32
Doesn't know	1	-	2	1	-	2	1	2	-	1	-	2	1

**TABLE 63. HOW INDEPENDENT DO YOU BELIEVE JUDGES ARE TO MAKE THEIR OWN DECISIONS?**

Total base of people polled (1000)

	Total	Age				Sample location		Education			Socioeconomic level		
		18-29 years	30-44 years	45-59 years	60 years and older	Metropolitan area	Provincial cities	Up to unfinished secondary school	Completed secondary school/unfinished high school	High school completed and more	ABC1 (High)	C2/C3 (Medium)	D/E (Low)
<b>BASE:</b>	<b>1000</b> %	<b>269</b> %	<b>284</b> %	<b>269</b> %	<b>178</b> %	<b>480</b> %	<b>520</b> %	<b>437</b> %	<b>298</b> %	<b>265</b> %	<b>110</b> %	<b>460</b> %	<b>430</b> %
Completely independent	12	13	11	9	13	10	13	13	10	11	9	10	13
Fairly independent	28	29	30	31	22	27	30	24	31	33	30	33	23
Rarely independent	38	36	38	41	38	40	36	36	41	39	35	39	38
Never independent	13	13	12	13	14	17	9	14	10	14	15	13	13
Doesn't know	8	9	8	6	11	5	11	12	8	2	11	5	11
No answer	1	-	1	-	2	-	1	1	1	1	-	1	1

**TABLE 64. HOW INDEPENDENT DO YOU BELIEVE JUDGES IN THE SUPREME COURT ARE TO MAKE THEIR OWN DECISIONS?**

Total base of people polled (1000)

	Total	Age				Sample location		Education			Socioeconomic level		
		18-29 years	30-44 years	45-59 years	60 years and older	Metropolitan area	Provincial cities	Up to unfinished secondary school	Completed secondary school/unfinished high school	High school completed and more	ABC1 (High)	C2/C3 (Medium)	D/E (Low)
<b>BASE:</b>	<b>1000</b> %	<b>269</b> %	<b>284</b> %	<b>269</b> %	<b>178</b> %	<b>480</b> %	<b>520</b> %	<b>437</b> %	<b>298</b> %	<b>265</b> %	<b>110</b> %	<b>460</b> %	<b>430</b> %
Completely independent	11	14	9	10	13	10	13	13	8	12	12	11	12
Fairly independent	27	26	30	25	24	28	25	23	29	29	22	31	23
Rarely independent	35	34	35	41	29	35	36	31	39	38	36	38	32
Never independent	17	15	17	17	19	21	13	19	14	17	17	15	18
Doesn't know	9	10	8	6	12	5	13	13	9	3	12	5	13
No answer	1	-	2	1	2	1	1	2	1	1	1	1	2

**TABLE 68. GENERALLY SPEAKING, WOULD YOU SAY THAT ARGENTINA IS A COUNTRY WHERE THE LAWS AND THE CONSTITUTION ARE RESPECTED, OR IS IT A COUNTRY THAT DISREGARDS THE LAW MOST OF THE TIME?**

Total base of people polled (1000)

	Total	Age				Sample location		Education			Socioeconomic level		
		18-29 years	30-44 years	45-59 years	60 years and older	Metropolitan area	Provincial cities	Up to unfinished secondary school	Completed secondary school/unfinished high school	High school completed and more	ABC1 (High)	C2/C3 (Medium)	D/E (Low)
<b>BASE:</b>	<b>1000</b> %	<b>269</b> %	<b>284</b> %	<b>269</b> %	<b>178</b> %	<b>480</b> %	<b>520</b> %	<b>437</b> %	<b>298</b> %	<b>265</b> %	<b>110</b> %	<b>460</b> %	<b>430</b> %
Argentina is a country where the laws and the Constitution are respected	11	8	11	14	11	9	13	9	11	14	10	12	10
Argentina is a country that disregards the law most of the time	86	87	86	84	84	87	84	87	86	82	85	84	87
Doesn't know	3	3	2	1	3	3	2	3	2	2	2	3	3
No answer	1	1	1	-	2	1	1	-	1	2	3	1	-

**TABLE 69. WITH WHICH OF THESE STATEMENTS DO YOU AGREE MOST? : “THE ARGENTINE PEOPLE RESPECT THE LAWS AND THE CONSTITUTION” OR “THE ARGENTINE PEOPLE TEND TO BE DISOBEDIENT/TRANSGRESSORS”**

Total base of people polled (1000)

	Total	Age				Sample location		Education			Socioeconomic level		
		18-29 years	30-44 years	45-59 years	60 years and older	Metropolitan area	Provincial cities	Up to unfinished secondary school	Completed secondary school/unfinished high school	High school completed and more	ABC1 (High)	C2/C3 (Medium)	D/E (Low)
<b>BASE:</b>	<b>1000</b>	<b>269</b>	<b>284</b>	<b>269</b>	<b>178</b>	<b>480</b>	<b>520</b>	<b>437</b>	<b>298</b>	<b>265</b>	<b>110</b>	<b>460</b>	<b>430</b>
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
The Argentine people respect the laws and the Constitution	8	7	8	11	7	7	9	7	7	12	10	9	7
The Argentine people tend to be disobedient/lawbreaking	88	89	88	87	89	88	89	90	89	86	88	87	90
Doesn't know	3	1	4	1	4	4	1	3	2	1	-	3	3
No answer	1	3	-	1	-	1	1	-	2	2	2	1	-

**TABLE 71. HOW IMPORTANT DO YOU BELIEVE THE NATIONAL CONSTITUTION IS?**

Total base of people polled (1000)

	Total	Age				Sample location		Education			Socioeconomic level		
		18-29 years	30-44 years	45-59 years	60 years and older	Metropolitan area	Provincial cities	Up to unfinished secondary school	Completed secondary school/unfinished high school	High school completed and more	ABC1 (High)	C2/C3 (Medium)	D/E (Low)
<b>BASE:</b>	<b>1000</b>	<b>269</b>	<b>284</b>	<b>269</b>	<b>178</b>	<b>480</b>	<b>520</b>	<b>437</b>	<b>298</b>	<b>265</b>	<b>110</b>	<b>460</b>	<b>430</b>
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Very important	52	46	48	55	63	50	54	44	46	72	61	56	46
Important	37	40	39	36	30	36	38	41	45	23	32	36	40
Not very important	8	10	10	5	4	10	5	9	7	5	6	7	8
Not at all important	1	2	2	1	-	2	1	2	2	-	-	1	2
Doesn't know	2	2	1	2	2	2	2	4	-	-	1	-	4
No answer	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

**TABLE 73. HOW WELL DO YOU THINK THE NATIONAL CONSTITUTION IS OBEYED IN ARGENTINA?**

Total base of people polled (1000)

	Total	Age				Sample location		Education			Socioeconomic level		
		18-29 years	30-44 years	45-59 years	60 years and older	Metropolitan area	Provincial cities	Up to unfinished secondary school	Completed secondary school/unfinished high school	High school completed and more	ABC1 (High)	C2/C3 (Medium)	D/E (Low)
<b>BASE:</b>	<b>1000</b> %	<b>269</b> %	<b>284</b> %	<b>269</b> %	<b>178</b> %	<b>480</b> %	<b>520</b> %	<b>437</b> %	<b>298</b> %	<b>265</b> %	<b>110</b> %	<b>460</b> %	<b>430</b> %
Very well	2	1	3	3	2	2	3	1	2	-	2	3	
Fairly well	11	10	9	12	13	9	13	8	10	17	14	13	8
Poorly	66	65	68	65	63	66	65	63	70	66	71	67	63
Not at all	19	21	17	18	19	19	18	22	18	13	14	17	21
Doesn't know	2	2	2	2	3	3	2	4	1	2	2	-	5

**TABLE 75. HOW WELL DO YOU THINK YOU KNOW THE NATIONAL CONSTITUTION?**

Total base of people polled (1000)

	Total	Age				Sample location		Education			Socioeconomic level		
		18-29 years	30-44 years	45-59 years	60 years and older	Metropolitan area	Provincial cities	Up to unfinished secondary school	Completed secondary school/unfinished high school	High school completed and more	ABC1 (High)	C2/C3 (Medium)	D/E (Low)
<b>BASE:</b>	<b>1000</b> %	<b>269</b> %	<b>284</b> %	<b>269</b> %	<b>178</b> %	<b>480</b> %	<b>520</b> %	<b>437</b> %	<b>298</b> %	<b>265</b> %	<b>110</b> %	<b>460</b> %	<b>430</b> %
Very well	3	3	2	4	4	5	2	1	3	7	5	5	1
Fairly well	19	14	24	17	23	19	20	10	20	34	25	25	12
Not very well	62	67	57	67	58	59	65	65	64	56	61	61	64
Nothing at all	15	16	17	12	15	18	13	24	12	3	9	10	22
Doesn't know	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
No answer	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-



**TABLE 80. DO YOU KNOW IN WHICH YEAR THE NATIONAL CONSTITUTION WAS ENACTED?  
COLLECTIVE RESPONSES**

Total base of people polled (1000)

	Total	Age				Sample location		Education			Socioeconomic level		
		18-29 years	30-44 years	45-59 years	60 years and older	Metropolitan area	Provincial cities	Up to unfinished secondary school	Completed secondary school/unfinished high school	High school completed and more	ABC1 (High)	C2/C3 (Medium)	D/E (Low)
<b>BASE:</b>	<b>1000</b>	<b>269</b>	<b>284</b>	<b>269</b>	<b>178</b>	<b>480</b>	<b>520</b>	<b>437</b>	<b>298</b>	<b>265</b>	<b>110</b>	<b>460</b>	<b>430</b>
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Correct responses	28	25	25	31	34	26	30	14	28	51	48	33	18
Incorrect responses	11	12	13	8	13	12	11	8	12	17	10	13	10
Doesn't know	60	63	62	60	51	61	58	77	59	32	42	53	72
No answer	1	1	-	1	1	-	1	1	1	1	-	1	1

**TABLE 82. DO YOU KNOW WHAT YEAR THE LAST REFORM TO THE NATIONAL CONSTITUTION WAS MADE?  
COLLECTIVE RESPONSES**

Total base of people polled (1000)

	Total	Age				Sample location		Education			Socioeconomic level		
		18-29 years	30-44 years	45-59 years	60 years and older	Metropolitan area	Provincial cities	Up to unfinished secondary school	Completed secondary school/unfinished high school	High school completed and more	ABC1 (High)	C2/C3 (Medium)	D/E (Low)
<b>BASE:</b>	<b>1000</b>	<b>269</b>	<b>284</b>	<b>269</b>	<b>178</b>	<b>480</b>	<b>520</b>	<b>437</b>	<b>298</b>	<b>265</b>	<b>110</b>	<b>460</b>	<b>430</b>
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Correct responses	30	31	29	32	26	25	34	18	31	48	42	37	19
Incorrect responses	17	15	20	16	19	22	13	14	17	22	18	21	13
Doesn't know	52	52	51	51	54	53	52	68	50	29	40	41	67
No answer	1	1	-	1	1	-	1	-	2	-	-	1	1

**TABLE 87. SOME PEOPLE THINK THE NATIONAL CONSTITUTION SHOULD BE REFORMED BECAUSE IT NO LONGER FITS THE REALITY OF THE COUNTRY. OTHERS, TO THE CONTRARY, BELIEVE IT SHOULD BE LEFT AS IT IS. WHICH OF THE FOLLOWING STATEMENTS DO YOU MOST AGREE WITH?**

Total base of people polled (1000)

	Total	Age				Sample location		Education			Socioeconomic level		
		18-29 years	30-44 years	45-59 years	60 years and older	Metropolitan area	Provincial cities	Up to unfinished secondary school	Completed secondary school/unfinished high school	High school completed and more	ABC1 (High)	C2/C3 (Medium)	D/E (Low)
<b>BASE:</b>	<b>1000</b>	<b>269</b>	<b>284</b>	<b>269</b>	<b>178</b>	<b>480</b>	<b>520</b>	<b>437</b>	<b>298</b>	<b>265</b>	<b>110</b>	<b>460</b>	<b>430</b>
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
It should be reformed	56	58	57	56	49	54	57	55	59	52	50	57	56
It should be left as it is	30	25	29	33	37	34	27	28	28	36	36	31	28
Doesn't know	13	16	13	10	14	11	15	16	12	10	14	10	16
No answer	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	-	1	1	-	2	-

**TABLE 90. IN THE EVENT THAT THE NATIONAL CONSTITUTION IS REFORMED, SHOULD THE POLITICAL PARTIES PARTICIPATE TO CHANGE/REFORM THE NATIONAL CONSTITUTION?**

Total base of people polled (1000)

	Total	Age				Sample location		Education			Socioeconomic level		
		18-29 years	30-44 years	45-59 years	60 years and older	Metropolitan area	Provincial cities	Up to unfinished secondary school	Completed secondary school/unfinished high school	High school completed and more	ABC1 (High)	C2/C3 (Medium)	D/E (Low)
<b>BASE:</b>	<b>1000</b> %	<b>269</b> %	<b>284</b> %	<b>269</b> %	<b>178</b> %	<b>480</b> %	<b>520</b> %	<b>437</b> %	<b>298</b> %	<b>265</b> %	<b>110</b> %	<b>460</b> %	<b>430</b> %
Yes	40	35	39	44	46	39	41	40	38	44	46	38	41
No	55	60	57	52	48	57	53	54	58	54	47	58	53
Doesn't know	3	4	3	1	5	2	4	4	2	2	6	2	3
No answer	2	1	2	2	1	2	1	2	2	1	-	1	3

**TABLE 98. WHICH OF THE FOLLOWING STATEMENTS DO YOU THINK THE MAJORITY OF PEOPLE MOST AGREE WITH?**

Total base of people polled (1000)

	Total	Age				Sample location		Education			Socioeconomic level		
		18-29 years	30-44 years	45-59 years	60 years and older	Metropolitan area	Provincial cities	Up to secondary school unfinished	Completed secondary school/unfinished high school	High school completed and more	ABC1 (High)	C2/C3 (Medium)	D/E (Low)
<b>BASE:</b>	<b>1000</b> %	<b>269</b> %	<b>284</b> %	<b>269</b> %	<b>178</b> %	<b>480</b> %	<b>520</b> %	<b>437</b> %	<b>298</b> %	<b>265</b> %	<b>110</b> %	<b>460</b> %	<b>430</b> %
Democracy is preferable to any other form of government	71	68	71	72	74	76	67	62	75	80	81	75	64
In some circumstances a non-democratic government may be better	24	26	23	25	20	19	28	30	20	17	15	22	28
People don't mind which	3	2	3	1	4	3	3	4	3	1	1	2	4
None of the above	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	-	-	-	1
Doesn't know	2	2	2	1	1	1	2	2	1	1	3	-	2
No answer	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

**TABLE 99. IN YOUR OPINION, WHICH IS PREFERABLE?: DEMOCRACY ABOVE ANY OTHER FORM OF GOVERNMENT OR, IN SOME CIRCUMSTANCES, MIGHT A NON-DEMOCRATIC GOVERNMENT BE BETTER?**

Total base of people polled (1000)

	Total	Age				Sample location		Education			Socioeconomic level		
		18-29 years	30-44 years	45-59 years	60 years and older	Metropolitan area	Provincial cities	Up to unfinished secondary school	Completed secondary school/unfinished high school	High school completed and more	ABC1 (High)	C2/C3 (Medium)	D/E (Low)
<b>BASE:</b>	<b>1000</b>	<b>269</b>	<b>284</b>	<b>269</b>	<b>178</b>	<b>480</b>	<b>520</b>	<b>437</b>	<b>298</b>	<b>265</b>	<b>110</b>	<b>460</b>	<b>430</b>
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Democracy above any other form of government	72	68	71	73	77	77	67	64	73	83	84	76	64
In some circumstances a non-democratic government might be better	24	26	25	24	19	18	29	30	23	15	15	22	28
I don't mind which	2	2	1	1	2	1	2	2	2	-	-	1	3
None of the above	1	1	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	-	1	2
Doesn't know	1	2	1	-	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	-	2
No answer	1	1	1	1	-	1	1	2	-	-	1	1	1

**TABLE 100. TO STRENGTHEN DEMOCRACY, WHICH IS MORE IMPORTANT?**

Total base of people polled (1000)

	Total	Age				Sample location		Education			Socioeconomic level		
		18-29 years	30-44 years	45-59 years	60 years and older	Metropolitan area	Provincial cities	Up to unfinished secondary school	Completed secondary school/unfinished high school	High school completed and more	ABC1 (High)	C2/C3 (Medium)	D/E (Low)
<b>BASE:</b>	<b>1000</b> %	<b>269</b> %	<b>284</b> %	<b>269</b> %	<b>178</b> %	<b>480</b> %	<b>520</b> %	<b>437</b> %	<b>298</b> %	<b>265</b> %	<b>110</b> %	<b>460</b> %	<b>430</b> %
That the laws be enforced and respected	40	44	36	40	41	43	38	38	39	44	45	40	39
That the government be honest	33	30	36	32	31	31	34	38	32	24	28	31	35
That citizens demand that the government be accountable to society	22	22	22	20	24	20	23	18	21	29	22	23	20
That the president and the legislators have a good relationship	5	2	6	6	4	6	4	5	6	3	5	4	5

**TABLE 101. IN YOUR OPINION, WHAT IS THE MOST IMPORTANT GOAL TO ACHIEVE IN A SOCIETY?  
COLLECTIVE RESPONSES**

Total base of people polled (1000)

	Total	Age				Sample location		Education			Socioeconomic level		
		18-29 years	30-44 years	45-59 years	60 years and older	Metropolitan area	Provincial cities	Up to unfinished secondary school	Completed secondary school/unfinished high school	High school completed and more	ABC1 (High)	C2/C3 (Medium)	D/E (Low)
<b>BASE:</b>	<b>1000</b>	<b>269</b>	<b>284</b>	<b>269</b>	<b>178</b>	<b>480</b>	<b>520</b>	<b>437</b>	<b>298</b>	<b>265</b>	<b>110</b>	<b>460</b>	<b>430</b>
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
A society where the laws are enforced and respected	69	70	71	68	67	72	66	63	75	72	72	72	65
A society where there are fewer differences between rich and poor	56	57	59	55	51	50	61	56	51	60	58	55	56
A delinquency-free society	50	50	49	51	51	51	49	56	53	37	39	45	58
A more democratic society	17	14	16	18	21	16	18	14	14	25	22	21	12



**TABLE 132. TO WHAT EXTENT DO MATTERS DISCUSSED IN THE NATIONAL CONGRESS INTEREST YOU?**

Total base of people polled (1000)

	Total	Age				Sample location		Education			Socioeconomic level		
		18-29 years	30-44 years	45-59 years	60 years and older	Metropolitan area	Provincial cities	Up to secondary school/unfinished school	Completed secondary school/finished high school	High school completed and more	ABC1 (High)	C2/C3 (Medium)	D/E (Low)
<b>BASE:</b>	<b>1000</b>	<b>269</b>	<b>284</b>	<b>269</b>	<b>178</b>	<b>480</b>	<b>520</b>	<b>437</b>	<b>298</b>	<b>265</b>	<b>110</b>	<b>460</b>	<b>430</b>
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Very much	10	6	9	14	13	10	10	9	10	14	12	13	8
A fair amount	25	20	25	28	28	23	27	19	22	38	34	28	20
Very little	46	55	46	40	40	47	45	44	53	42	41	45	48
Not at all	17	17	20	15	16	18	17	26	14	7	14	14	22
Doesn't know	1	1	1	2	1	1	1	2	1	-	-	-	3
No answer	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

**TABLE 134. TO WHAT EXTENT DO YOU AGREE OR DISAGREE WITH THE STATEMENT “MEMBERS OF CONGRESS MAKE DECISIONS THINKING OF THE POPULATION”**

Total base of people polled (1000)

	Total	Age				Sample location		Education			Socioeconomic level		
		18-29 years	30-44 years	45-59 years	60 years and older	Metropolitan area	Provincial cities	Up to unfinished secondary school	Completed secondary school/unfinished high school	High school completed and more	ABC1 (High)	C2/C3 (Medium)	D/E (Low)
<b>BASE:</b>	<b>1000</b>	<b>269</b>	<b>284</b>	<b>269</b>	<b>178</b>	<b>480</b>	<b>520</b>	<b>437</b>	<b>298</b>	<b>265</b>	<b>110</b>	<b>460</b>	<b>430</b>
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Very much	1	1	-	2	1	1	2	1	-	-	-	1	2
A fair amount	5	6	3	5	5	4	5	2	6	6	6	4	5
Very little	55	55	54	53	58	54	56	48	61	58	57	59	50
Not at all	38	36	43	38	34	39	37	43	34	35	35	35	42
Doesn't know	1	1	1	1	2	1	2	2	1	1	1	1	2
No answer	-	1	-	-	1	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-

**TABLE 135. TO WHAT EXTENT DO YOU AGREE THAT THE NATIONAL CONGRESS FREQUENTLY GRANT SPECIAL POWERS TO THE EXECUTIVE BRANCH?**

Total base of people polled (1000)

	Total	Age				Sample location		Education			Socioeconomic level		
		18-29 years	30-44 years	45-59 years	60 years and older	Metropolitan area	Provincial cities	Up to secondary school	Completed secondary school/unfinished high school	High school completed and more	ABC1 (High)	C2/C3 (Medium)	D/E (Low)
<b>BASE:</b>	<b>1000</b>	<b>269</b>	<b>284</b>	<b>269</b>	<b>178</b>	<b>480</b>	<b>520</b>	<b>437</b>	<b>298</b>	<b>265</b>	<b>110</b>	<b>460</b>	<b>430</b>
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Strongly agrees	1	1	1	1	2	2	-	2	-	1	-	1	1
Agrees	23	26	23	22	22	23	24	25	24	20	15	25	24
Disagrees	42	38	45	42	41	42	41	35	43	51	47	45	37
Strongly disagrees	15	11	16	18	15	19	12	13	14	18	25	16	11
Does n't know	8	9	9	8	6	6	10	10	8	5	5	6	11
Doesn't know enough to form an opinion	11	15	7	9	15	9	13	15	10	5	7	7	16

**TABLE 136. WHAT IS YOUR OPINION OF THE IDEA OF THE PRESIDENT ENACTING NECESSITY AND URGENCY LAWS INSTEAD OF SENDING DRAFT BILLS TO THE NATIONAL CONGRESS?**

Total base of people polled (1000)

	Total	Age				Sample location		Education			Socioeconomic level		
		18-29 years	30-44 years	45-59 years	60 years and older	Metropolitan area	Provincial cities	Up to secondary school/unfinished school	Completed secondary school/finished high school	High school completed and more	ABC1 (High)	C2/C3 (Medium)	D/E (Low)
<b>BASE:</b>	<b>1000</b>	<b>269</b>	<b>284</b>	<b>269</b>	<b>178</b>	<b>480</b>	<b>520</b>	<b>437</b>	<b>298</b>	<b>265</b>	<b>110</b>	<b>460</b>	<b>430</b>
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Very good	6	6	6	4	8	8	4	8	6	3	3	5	8
Good	25	27	23	26	22	29	21	26	27	20	25	25	25
Average	32	33	36	30	28	31	34	26	34	40	31	36	28
Bad	21	12	22	25	25	22	19	17	19	28	28	24	15
Doesn't know	7	7	6	7	6	5	8	9	4	5	6	4	10
Doesn't know enough to form an opinion	10	15	7	8	11	7	13	14	9	5	7	7	15



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This book analyzes the Argentine people's perceptions, attitudes and values with regard to fundamental law and legality. It explores the citizens' rights and how well they are respected, the actors who transmit them and the places where those are reproduced. It examines the opinions, values and beliefs that surround a culture of legality and its relationship with political culture. It analyzes people's attitudes towards democracy and its merits, as well as their perceptions of power, types of representation, performance of institutions and facets of the political system. It also looks at the main factors to influence the Argentine population's perceptions, attitudes and values with regard to their Constitution.

The content of this book is arranged in three parts. The *first part* focuses on the general presentation and includes preliminary, theoretical and methodological considerations, along with a profile of the population polled. The *second* one comprises four chapters that use the poll results to study perceptions about the model of society, rights and values, democracy and its merits, rules, representation and power. This section also examines the degree of people's knowledge of institutions and their opinions about the Constitution. The *third* part features conclusions and proposals, with suggestions that promote the changing of the current reality of this aspect in Argentina.