

The Report on the Development of Democracy in Latin America

Brief to the Secretary General of the United Nations

February 2004

The Regional Bureau for Latin America and the Caribbean of the United Nations Development Program (UNDP-RBLAC) is completing a Report on the Development of Democracy in Latin America. The preparation of this Report was a commitment assumed by the UNDP-RBLAC in the 2nd framework of regional cooperation for Latin America and the Caribbean, approved by the executive board of the UNDP in November 2001 (DP/RCF/RLA/2). To this end, the UNDP-RBLAC put together an independent team of consultants, based in Buenos Aires, and started the Project on Democratic Development in Latin America (PRODDAL, for its acronym in Spanish) that has been charged with preparing this Report.

This memorandum addresses the Report's aims and potential risks, its value added, its core messages, its structure, and the road ahead and lessons learned from the experience of preparing the Report. In addition, this memorandum has various appendixes that offer an abridged table of contents, the key index presented in the Report, a list of peers that reviewed the project's theoretical framework, and the main partnerships and alliances established by the project.

I. The Aims and Potential Risks of the Report

This new Report has two broad aims. First, it is part of the effort of the UNDP-RBLAC to contribute to the work of the UN and the UNDP on democracy. It follows up on the call to "promote democracy and strengthen the rule of law" outlined in chapter V of the United Nations Millennium Declaration (A/RES/55/2) and echoes the Secretary General's September 2003 assessment that "there are still enormous gaps to be filled" with regard to meeting this challenge (A/58/323). Moreover, it builds upon and extends the prior work of the UNDP to draw attention to, and offer information on, the situation concerning human rights and democracy in developing societies in the 2000 and 2002 editions of the Human Development Report.

Second, this Report is part of the UNDP-RBLAC's effort to foster debate about democracy in Latin America and, in the process, strengthen partnerships with other national and international actors that are committed to democracy in the region. This is part of an overall attempt to strengthen UNDP's role as a promoter of democratic governability and to respond to changing conditions in the Latin American region. Over the last twenty-five years, Latin America has made significant strides toward democracy. Yet these democracies are facing severe and still not fully understood problems and challenges. This Report is a central element in the UNDP-RBLAC's strategy to strengthen democratic governability in the region.

This undertaking is being carried out in a context in which different international actors are committed to the development of the region and many of the initiatives to strengthen democracy are emerging from regional and governmental mechanisms. Thus, the UNDP's Executive Board has approved RBLAC's strategy to promote a debate on democracy in Latin America.

In taking the initiative to prepare a Report on the Development of Democracy in Latin America, the UNDP-RBLAC has assumed certain risks. But it has done so with full awareness of the risks involved and thus addressed them with a profound sense of responsibility. The main risks that are foreseen are associated with the Report's treatment of a politically sensitive topic; its adoption of a

concept of democracy that includes the political, civil and social dimensions of citizenship; and its presentation of data on a range of aspects of democracy, including an Electoral Democracy Index.

The key steps taken to preempt as best as possible these threats are as follows:

- Engaging in consultations and dialogue with government officials. The Report's contents have been communicated to government leaders and their ambassadors to the UN, in a number of settings. And all UNDP offices in the 18 countries included in the Report have signed the project documents and been kept well informed on the development of this project. Thus, ample preparatory work has been done to avoid that any key actors will be surprised by the Report and to ensure that its contents will be adequately explained in each national context.
- Avoiding judgments of governments and policy prescriptions. The Report stresses that the state of democracy does not hinge solely on the actions of the government, thus clarifying that any deficiencies with regard to the state of democracy should not be associated directly with any standing government. The data presented in the Report is aggregated for the whole region in most cases, thus avoiding rankings of countries. Finally, the Report steers clear of offering specific policy advice, limiting itself to offering ideas designed to foster a debate. In line with the values and principles espoused by the Report, it insists that the task of elaborating policies is seen as the responsibility of citizens within each country and their respective states.
- Giving voice to a range of actors and perspectives. In the process of preparing the Report a range of seminars were held with political leaders, representatives of international organizations, members of civil society organizations, and academic specialists. At these meetings, the Report's core contents and messages were discussed and valuable suggestions offered in these meetings have been incorporated into the text.
To further add to the voices represented in the Report, and hence to enhance its credibility, a more formal step was taken by inviting a range of distinguished figures to write articles on different aspects of democracy some of which are included, in abridged form, in the text. The contributors include important institutional partners of the UNDP-RBLAC, such as the heads of the Organization of American States (OAS), the Inter-American Development Bank (IDB), the Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean (ECLAC), and the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD). Moreover, they include renowned public figures as the former president of Brazil, Fernando Cardoso; the former prime minister of Spain, Felipe Gonzalez, and Nobel prize winner Joseph Stiglitz. These contributions will be published in a separate book that is not a part of the Report.
- Emphasizing scholarly standards and impartiality. The Report has been subjected to a rigorous process of peer-review, at various stages in its preparation, so as to ensure a product that lives up to the high standards of modern scholarship. Throughout the text, great care has been placed in assuring that the information and analyses it presents are fair and balanced, and that its arguments are supported by the information that is offered and existing scholarship.
- Reader's Groups. Various groups of readers have been put together within UNDP to review the contents of the Report. These groups have included staff from the Office of the Administrator, Office of Communications of the Administrator, Human

Development Report Office, Bureau for Development Policy, Evaluation Unit, RBLAC Resident Representatives, RBLAC staff, and external consultants and advisors.

- Preparation by a team of independent consultants. Finally, following the model of the UNDP's Human Development Report, the preparation of the Report was conducted by an independent team of consultants and not by the UNDP office itself.

II. The Value Added

The Report makes substantial contributions to the knowledge about, and efforts to strengthen, democracy in Latin America in three distinct ways:

- by adopting a broad concept of democracy, that seeks to alter the terms of debate about democracy in Latin America by highlighting the virtues of a more holistic understanding of democracy.
- by presenting new, and diverse types of, data, that serve as an indispensable resource for debates about the current state of democracy and about pro-democratic reforms. In addition, UNDP's project produced 18 country studies on the transition to democracy in each of those countries. This information is contained in a matrix.
- by offering a substantive analysis of democracy, that draws on the diverse types of data and a process of consultation and research, and that addresses three questions: What is the state of democracy? How strong is the support for democracy? What are the priorities for a new debate on democratic reforms?

The value added of the Report in each of these three areas can be summarized as follows:

1. A Broad Concept of Democracy. The Report puts forth a broad concept of democracy that places emphasis on elections but goes beyond a strictly electoral conception of democracy by anchoring its analysis in the notion of citizenship and, more specifically, the view that citizens enjoy basic political, civil and social rights. Democracy is conceptualized as a form of organization of power that rests on a political regime, but goes far beyond the regime; it is a system that regulates and acts on the disparities and conflicts that arise as a result of power inequalities in a society. The impact of this reconceptualization is quite striking. Rather than focus attention exclusively on the electoral process and consider this process in isolation of other key aspects of citizenship, it highlights the multiple dimensions of citizenship and the mutual interdependence among these dimensions. In a nutshell, seeing citizenship as consisting of distinct yet normatively interconnected dimensions is a key step toward conceiving human beings in a more holistic fashion.

This approach to democracy is consistent with the Secretary General's view that "elections are not isolated events but part of a holistic process" (A/58/323). It also mirrors the UNDP Administrator's view that "free and fair elections are necessary, but they are not sufficient" and that "we are seriously selling democracy short when we celebrate elections as proof of a democracy being in place" (Message by Mark Malloch Brown, Center for Global Development, Washington, DC, October 21, 2002). Finally, this approach is, in essence, an adaptation of the human development paradigm that has been the UNDP's trademark of late. But it is quite novel in the context of current debates within Latin America.

International organizations, multilateral banks and the academic literature focused on Latin America have tended to focus on citizenship rights in fairly narrow terms and rarely considered the

links among the various dimensions of citizenship. A lot of attention has been given to elections, the rule of law, and poverty and inequality. But usually the treatment of these issues is quite restricted. For example, much of the discussion about the rule of law in the end turns on the predictability of transactions from the perspective of business interests rather than the broader question of the equality of all citizens. And the connections among the issues are rarely explored. Indeed, inasmuch as relationships are considered, these are understood strictly as entailing causal effects that do not tackle the normative significance of interconnections. The combined force of this way of approaching democracy has meant that in public debates about Latin America, democracy is equated with elections to a large extent and the link between the electoral process and other desirable goals are ignored.

In sum, the Report on Democratic Development in Latin America represents an advance compared to the current state of the art. Indeed, its value added in this regard is that it will be the first region-wide analysis of democracy that focuses squarely on the political, civil and social dimensions of citizenship and that will draw attention to the interconnections among these dimensions. In this way, the Report attempts to link the debate about democracy with that on human development.

2. New, and Diverse Types of, Data. This Report also presents a wealth of data, which consistently cover all of continental Latin America and the Dominican Republic, 18 countries in all. More specifically, three distinct types of information are presented.

- Indicators and indices on the political, civil and social dimensions of citizenship, and a range of other contextual variables. This data set has information on roughly 200 variables and offers, in many instances, series spanning the 1990-2002 period. In addition, it includes a new Electoral Democracy Index.
- Leaders' views of democracy. These data were collected through interviews, conducted throughout 2002 and 2003, with 231 political, economic, social and intellectual leaders from Latin America. The list of interviewees includes 32 sitting or former presidents.
- Citizens' perceptions of democracy. These data were generated through a survey of 18,643 individuals conducted in May 2002. The survey, which was conducted by Latinobarometer, includes roughly thirty questions especially designed for the Report. It also includes a new Democratic Support Index.

The state of the art in matters of measures of democracy is in flux. After a long period in which practically only academics and NGOs collected data on political and civil rights, there has been a surge of interest in these data. Thus, currently there are various initiatives, several within the UN system, to develop governance indicators, and a range of organizations, including the World Bank, have begun to generate their own indicators and carry out their own surveys on democratic governance. But we still lack a well-established and broadly accepted way of measuring political and civil rights and there are glaring gaps in terms of the kind of information that is available.

The value added of the Report's effort to generate data is thus three fold. First, it introduced a range of rich and diverse data that, in some instances, are unprecedented. For example, as far as we know, there has never before been a set of interviews that covers such a broad span of the top political leadership of Latin America. Second, it compiles and organizes existing data. Third, it carries out both of these tasks according to current methodological conventions in matters of measurement. Indeed, the generation of the data has been the responsibility of experienced researchers and been

subjected to review by expert statisticians and some of the most respected methodologists working on democracy.

3. A Substantive Analysis of Democracy. Finally, the Report makes a contribution by offering a substantive analysis of democracy focused on three questions: What is the state of democracy? How strong is the support for democracy? What are the priorities for a debate on democratic reforms? There are certainly many analyses of democracy in Latin America. However, the Report goes beyond the current state of the art in two ways. First, its value added is given by the comprehensiveness of the analysis. No existing study offers a discussion of citizenship that encompasses its political, civil and social dimensions; that addresses the issue of citizenship support for democracy; and that promotes a reframing of terms of the debate on pro-democracy reforms. Second, a valuable contribution is made by capitalizing on the new data generated for the Report, offering an analysis that innovatively seeks to integrate various types of data (indicators, interviews with leaders, survey of citizens), also drawing on insights gleaned from the larger literature.

III. The Core Messages of the Report

The Report's messages that flow from this analysis can be summarized as follows:

The Concept of Democracy

- Democracy should be understood in terms of the political, civil and social dimensions of citizenship. That is, it should be seen in terms that go beyond the electoral process. Considering each of these dimensions, and their interconnection, is essential to an adequately comprehension of human development and its conditions.

The State of Democracy

- Over the last 25 years all Latin American countries included in the study have made significant advances with regard to the political regime, that is, the mode of access to top government offices. The Electoral Democracy Index (EDI), a partial measure of the democratic regime that ranges from 0 to 1, rose from 0.28 in 1977 to 0.69 in 1985 and 0.86 in 1990, reaching a level of 2002 in 0.93.
- In spite of these gains, in some extreme instances, democratic regimes have been threatened. The stability of democracy is still a matter of concern for Latin America.
- Even where free and fair elections have been institutionalized, government policies do not reflect voters' interests in the ways democratic theory suggests they should. The translation of citizen interests through the institutions of democracy into public policy is hindered, among other things, due to weaknesses of political parties. In many countries, these critical actors are in a state of disarray and are not able to channel participation and voice popular demands. In some instances, a tense relationship exists between parties and various actors of civil society, which are seen as representing narrow interests.
- Citizen demands do not always get translated into public policy also due to restrictions on the ability of elected officials to make publicly binding decisions. Though Latin American countries have relatively strong presidential systems, in most of the region presidents are severely constrained by de facto powers or "the powers that be" (*poderes fácticos*) and external actors. In particular, powerful business interests, frequently operating in conjunction with the mass media, have a greater influence on decision

making than voters and their elected representatives. Additionally, external actors, such as the IMF and the US, are major forces in domestic affairs.

- Civil rights are recognized legally in most cases, but serious failings are evident concerning the effective respect of these legal guarantees. The legal equality of women, indigenous groups and minorities is curtailed in many countries. Violations of human rights have declined and changed in nature. Currently, the rights to life, physical integrity and security are violated due to actions of state agents acting independently of elected officials and the spread of social violence. Access to the justice system is frequently biased against poor and weak groups. And the freedom of the press is restricted in some cases.
- Social rights are legally recognized in many countries, though not to the same extent as political and civil rights, and some significant advances have been made over the last two decades in a majority of countries in the areas of education, health and the reduction of poverty. But poverty levels remain very high—in 2002 43.4 per cent of Latin Americans live under the line of poverty. Latin America continues to be the region in the world with the highest levels of inequality, which places severe limits on the possibility of reducing poverty. Finally, Latin America faces severe challenges in the area of joblessness, and informal and precarious forms of employment.
- Overall, though Latin American countries display some gains with regard to the political civil and social dimensions of citizenship, significant deficits are found in all three of these dimensions. Moreover, a significant number of citizens suffer overlapping exclusions in more than one of these three dimensions of citizenship.

The Support for Democracy

- A majority of citizens do not support democracy unequivocally. Nearly half (48.1 percent) of the citizens that prefer democracy to other forms of government also prefer economic development to democracy, and a similar percentage (44.9 percent) of these citizens would support an authoritarian government that resolved their economic problems.
- A measure of citizen support of democracy that combines their attitudes toward democracy, democratic institutions, the exercise of power and development, yields the conclusion that even though more citizens support democracy than not, a majority of Latin American citizens do not support democracy. A 43.3 percent have democratic attitudes, a 30.3 percent holds ambivalent positions, and a 26.2 percent hold non-democratic views.
- The support for democracy does not vary considerably across income groups and partisan positions. But lower levels of support are associated with lower levels of education, lower prospects of social mobility and lack of trust in democratic institutions and politicians.

Reframing the Debate on Democratic Reforms

In order to move from a democracy whose subject is the voter to a democracy whose subject is the citizen, the Report proposes a set of criteria to reframe the debate along four main axes: politics, statehood, the economy and globalization.

- Politics, the first condition for democratic development. The Report proposes to move from a debate currently centered on political institutions and practices to one that also includes the question of the contents of politics and the construction of democratic power. Enhancing the debate on democracy should take into account:
 - i) The construction of a range of substantive options, establishing them as the axis of public discussion. They should include how to build up democratic power in the face of national and international “de facto” powers; how to broaden the power of the State to improve democracy; how to generate diversity in the organization of the economy, and how to achieve autonomy in the face of growing globalization.
 - ii) The expansion of the public arena for deliberation, so that citizens might participate effectively in politics, building bridges between civil society, political parties and the State.
 - iii) The reform of political parties in order to better capacitate them to have a role in elaborating projects that respond to citizens’ demands and interests.

- A State for democracy: The need for a new statehood: The existing debate has been centered almost exclusively on modernizing public bureaucracies, public spending and limiting state intervention in the economy. The Report proposes a debate centered on the power of the State to democratize, including how to give the State the power to act universally, to spread its norms and policies throughout its territory as well as throughout society. Reframing the terms of the debate should consider the central issues of the efficiency, efficacy and credibility of a State for the nation:
 - i) The effective reach of public power throughout the territory and for all inhabitants, as a necessary condition for ensuring the universal applicability of citizens’ rights.
 - ii) The way in which the State guarantees the effective monopoly of legitimate force.
 - iii) Representation of the cultural, religious, ethnic and gender diversity within the nation.
 - iv) Responsibility, transparency, accountability and institutional quality.

- An Economy for democracy: Encouraging diversity to give citizens real choices. This implies moving from the vision of democracy and its institutions as a source of restrictions on economic growth and the expansion of the market to a debate on the possible diversity in economic organization as a crucial matter for electoral choice. In Latin America, the deficits in social citizenship are so severe that they constitute threat to the stability of democracy in the region. Democratic sustainability depends to a large extent on how these deficits are resolved. To do so, the debate on the economy, and on diverse ways in which markets can be regulated, should be brought into a public agenda and made subject to citizens’ preferences. Economics is a matter for democracy because on it depends the development of social citizenship and because it creates and changes power relations.

- Power and democratic policies in globalization. The current debate on globalization is based on two extremes: globalization seen as the source of all the answers to problems, or globalization understood as the origin of all our woes. The Report proposes a debate on how to expand the margins of autonomous power in a world that combines globalization with the presence of a single hegemonic power. This debate should guide the efforts towards a utopia: an International Democratic System of Rights. Given

globalization, how much say in substantive choices can citizens and State? What possibility exists that what has been decided is actually carried out? A discussion on globalization must include a debate about its political and military nature, the way it limits diversity and strongly limits the power of the State. Thus, it should address:

- i) Latin American countries' ability to develop the regional capacity for integration and negotiation to enhance their autonomy in a globalized world.
- ii) The formulation—in light of September 11—of Latin American countries' own criteria to guide their choices to respond to terrorism effectively, avoiding the risk of weakening their democracies.
- iii) The struggle for an International Democratic System of Rights based on the notion that behavior is ruled by norms intended to preserve equal rights for all, individuals and States.

IV. The Road Ahead and Lessons Learned

The Report on Democratic Development in Latin America is an initiative that is part of the UNDP-RBLAC's work in the area of democratic governability and that constitutes a solid foundation for further initiatives in this area. In the short term, the UNDP-RBLAC has plans for a series of activities geared to promoting a debate about the Report. These include:

- Workshops and seminars. Following the publication of the Report, workshops and seminars will be held to continue discussions and further strengthen these networks that were build in the course of the meetings and consultations that were held in the process of preparation of the Report. As part of this plan, the UNDP-RBLAC has established a partnership with the European Union (EU) to distribute the Report.
- A media plan. A plan has been devised to ensure the widespread dissemination and public debate of the Report and its ideas.

Finally, the experience of preparing this Report has yielded some important lessons. As with the Human Development Reports, the team in charge of producing the Report has faced many difficulties gathering the sort of data needed to analyze their subject matter. In addition, some important limitations of content in preparing a region-wide Report became apparent. One of the most important gaps, given the concept of democracy adopted by the Report, is that we were unable to dedicate sufficient attention to the issue of the relationship between social citizenship and the economy. Other issues that we were unable to treat in sufficient detail or that we practically entirely overlooked are: the problems of corruption, decentralization and local government, women, and indigenous groups. These shortcomings are practically inevitable in the first Report, which has been a valuable learning experience. Nonetheless, we are aware of these gaps and plan to address them in future work.

Appendix I. An Abridged Table of Contents

Report on Democratic Development in Latin America

Chapter 1. The Development of Democracy in Latin America

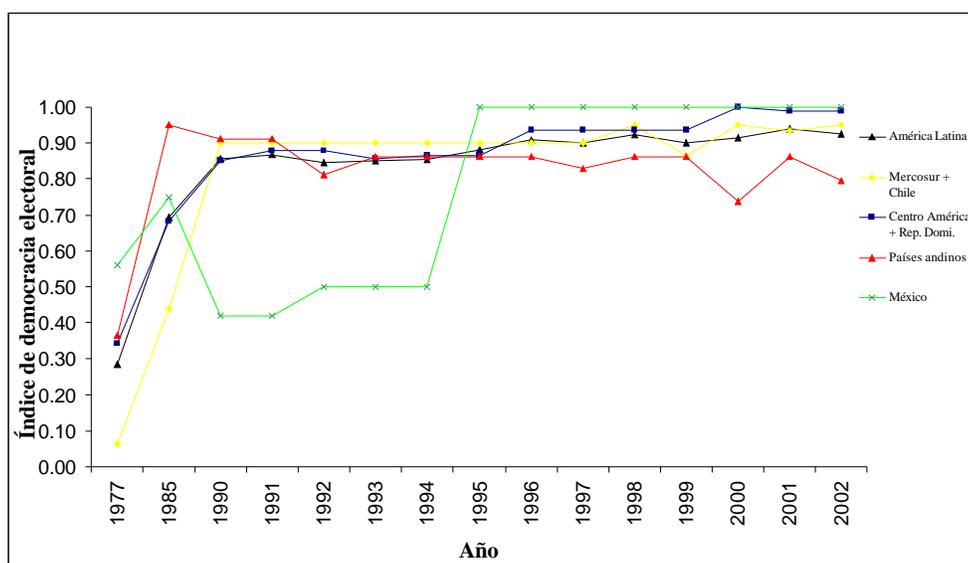
Chapter 2. The Empirical Bases

Chapter 3. Reframing the Debate on Democratic Reforms

Annex. Methodological notes

Appendix II.

Graph 1: The Electoral Democracy Index (EDI),
Latin America, by Region, 1977-2002



Appendix III. List of Peers that Reviewed the Project's Theoretical Framework.

1. Ackerman, Bruce. Sterling Professor of Law and Political Science, Yale Law School, U.S.A.
2. Alarcón Olguín, Víctor, Coordinador Licenciatura en Ciencia Política Universidad Autónoma Metropolitana – México
3. Arato, Andrew, Professor of Political & Social Theory at the Graduate Faculty of Political & Social Science, New School University, U.S.A.
4. Boschi, Renato, Profesor Political Sciences, Instituto Universitario de Pesquisas do Rio de Janeiro, Brazil
5. Calderón, Fernando. Coordinator UNDP Human Development Report on Bolivia
6. Castañeda, Jorge. Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mexico
7. Conaghan, Catherine. Associate Director, Centre for the Study of Democracy, Queen's University, Canada
8. Cotler, Julio. Professor Instituto de Estudios Politicos, Peru
9. Dahl, Roberto. Professor Political Science, Yale University, U.S.A.
10. Diamond, Larry Senior Fellow Stanford University & Co-Editor of the International Forum for Democratic Studies of the National Endowment for Democracy, Washington DC
11. Garretón, Manuel Antonio. Profesor Universidad de Chile
12. Held, David Great Britain Graham Wallace Professor of Political Science, London School of Economics and Political Science
13. Inglehart, Ronald. Program Director, Center for Political Studies, Institute for Social Research, University of Michigan
14. Linz, Juan. Sterling Professor Emeritus of Political and Social Science, Yale University, U.S.A.
15. McCoy, Jennifer. Carter Center / Professor Georgia State University, U.S.A.
16. Méndez, Juan. Professor of Law and Director, Center for Civil and Human Rights, Notre Dame Law School U.S.A.
17. Moreira Cardoso, Adalberto. Director de Pesquisas do Instituto Universitario de Pesquisas do Rio de Janeiro, Brazil
18. Nun, José. Professor Instituto de Altos Estudios Sociales, Universidad Nacional de San Martín, Argentina
19. Pinto, Celi. Programa de Pos-Graduacao em Ciencia Política, Universidade Federal do Rio Grande do Sul, Brazil
20. Rosanvallon, Pierre. Professor, Collège de France & Ecole des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales, Paris
21. Tavares de Almeida, Maria Hermínia. Profesora Titular, Departamento de Ciencia Política, Universidade de São Paulo, Brazil
22. Touraine, Alain. Professor, Ecole des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales, Paris
23. Whitehead, Laurence. Official Fellow in Politics, Nuffield College, Oxford University

Appendix IV. Main Partnerships and Alliances

Inter-American Development Bank

During a meeting in Washington, a project presentation was made by Elena Martínez and Dante Caputo to IDB President Enrique Iglesias and relevant staff. IDB Officers Edmundo Jarquín, Fernando Carrillo and Mark Payne participated in project meetings. They will participate in the analysis of key project products.

Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean (ECLAC)

A meeting was held in Buenos Aires with the participation of José Antonio Ocampo, ECLAC Executive Secretary, and Dante Caputo. José Antonio Ocampo and ECLAC Officers Manuel Marfán, and Rebeca Gryspan participated in project meetings. ECLAC will participate in key project discussions and will elaborate a document on Democracy and Market in Latin America.

International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance (IDEA International)

A Memorandum of Understanding was signed by IDEA International and the project. IDEA will provide data, expertise and its network of contacts and information in Latin America, and will contribute to the analysis of key project products, with the participation of Daniel Zovatto.

Cátedra Latinoamericana Julio Cortázar – University of Guadalajara, México

A Memorandum of Understanding was signed by Dr. Raúl Padilla, Director of the Cátedra Latinoamericana Julio Cortázar and the project, to organize a meeting on Democracy and Market in Latin America, in Guadalajara, on November 2002. They will also promote the debate on the project contents and outputs in Mexico among key political, academic and social actors.

Club de Madrid

A Memorandum of Understanding was signed by Dr. Antonio Alvarez Couceiro, Secretary General of the Club de Madrid and the project, to promote high level debate on the project contents and outputs.

Kim Campbell - Vice-President of the Club the Madrid and ex Prime Minister of Canada, Diego Hidalgo Benefactor and President of the Fundación para las Relaciones Internacionales y el Diálogo Exterior (Fundación Fride)- also participated in the conversations.

As part of the agreed activities Julio María Sanguinetti (ex President of Uruguay) attended the project meeting held recently in Chile.

European Union

The European Union offered to co-finance the regional, sub-regional and national discussions around the ideas to be presented by the first Report on Democratic Development in Latin America.

Fundación Chile 21

A Memorandum of Understanding was signed by Carlos Ominami – National Senator of Chile and President of the Fundación Chile 21- and the project to organize a meeting on Democracy and Economy in Zapallar, Chile, which was held on 23 and 24 August 2002.

Fundación Círculo de Montevideo

A Memorandum of Understanding was signed by Julio María Sanguinetti on behalf of the Fundación Círculo de Montevideo and the project, to promote the debate on the project content and outputs with Latin-American ex Presidents and politicians.

Inter-American Dialogue

The Inter-American Dialogue offered a platform for discussion on the main challenges faced by Latin American democracies.

RID: Red Interamericana para la Democracia

Collaboration involved the joint organizations of meetings on different themes related to Democracy and Civil Society in Latin America.

University of Bologna – Buenos Aires

A Memorandum of Understanding was signed by Giorgio Alberti, Director of the University of Bologna in Buenos Aires, to provide relevant information and participate in the debate.

Transparencia (Peru)

A Memorandum of Understanding was signed by Transparencia Perú and the project to organize the Forum on State, Civil Society and Democracy in the Americas, in Lima