

Public confidence in Mexican Institutions Confianza pública en Instituciones Mexicanas

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<p>Recibido: Septiembre 2019 Aceptado: Diciembre 2019</p>	<p style="text-align: right;">Abstract</p> <p>Ciudad Juárez is one of the most important cities in Mexico and one of the most affected by widespread violence in the country during the period 2008-2010. The main objective of the article is to analyze the perception of citizen confidence in Mexican public institutions, collected through a survey called "trust in institutions" that was applied in Ciudad Juarez under the coordination of the academic group "Government, Politics and Society" of the Autonomous University of Chihuahua. The results of the longitudinal study presented a change in perception due to the challenge of the crisis in public security that destabilized the region since 2008, specifically the variable of violence was the determining factor in the change.</p>
<p>Palabras Clave Elecciones, candidaturas independientes, partidos políticos, ciudadanía</p> <p>Keywords Elections, Independent candidature, political parties, citizenry.</p>	<p style="text-align: right;">Resumen</p> <p>Ciudad Juárez es una de las ciudades más importantes en México y una de las más afectadas por la violencia generalizada en el país durante el periodo 2008-2010. El objetivo central del artículo es analizar la percepción de confianza de los ciudadanos en las instituciones públicas mexicanas, recabada a través de la encuesta llamada "confianza en las instituciones" que se aplicó en Ciudad Juárez bajo la coordinación del cuerpo académico Política Gobierno y Sociedad de la Universidad Autónoma de Chihuahua. Los resultados del estudio longitudinal presentaron un cambio de percepción debido al reto de la crisis en seguridad pública que desestabilizó la región desde el año 2008, en específico la variable de violencia fue la determinante en el cambio.</p>

Introduction.

The presented work in a certain way seeks to increase the awareness in the citizenry as a "do" of citizens' rights that goes beyond of just "being" citizen (IFE, 2000). Democracy is built through the exercise of the political rights, it's not enough to just list them, know them and appreciate them, it's necessary to exercise them thru citizen participation in order to consolidate a social project that is born and developed within its own community.

The citizens' trust on institutions requires that citizens get involve, and not just to value and be familiar with them, it also requires to undertake the burden of the reflected attitudes produced by their results and their social policy impact. The findings presented in this article are the product of a follow-up on the "confidence in institutions survey" continually conducted by the Autonomous University of Chihuahua since the year 2006. The Polls show in their respective time frame before, during and towards the ending the results of which is considered one of the worst public safety crisis in the entire history of city of Juarez.

Preliminary conclusions indicate distrust on government institutions such as the legislative and executive powers. The worst case of

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repudiation is towards the police force as a public institution. Social institutions are in the middle ground. Finally, the Church and schools were, and continue to be, the institutions favored with the most public confidence.

Theoretical approach

David Held used to ask in his writings "...what is the meaning of citizenship and citizen rights nowadays?" (Held, 1997: 17). Today the question has a series of riddles that perhaps not even the author ever imagined could remain valid. In other words, still in the present, the question continues to have multiple answers, evolving in time and space.

To talk about citizenship is to talk about political rights also. These two concepts are highly correlated and reciprocal; they both need each other considering that the scope of a citizenship requires the recognition of the political rights by the State. Citizenship is the formal recognition of the citizens and their rights in a society where rights and obligations of a political kind are given and exercised. Political rights are exclusive in the capacity that is granted by the citizenry and only in that capacity their exercise are permitted.

In this context, a democracy system defines the political rights and the capacity of the citizenship. According to Held (1997), there are three types of democracies, the first is called direct democracy, the second representative democracy and the third kind is called the unique party. That is to say, a democracy has and always will have several acceptations, diverse models and multiple indicators that allow its definition and evaluation as well.

The democratic development index in Mexico 2013 (IDDMEX -2013) in one of its reflections about the obtained results suggested that "the violence (continues) conditioning the rights and freedoms. "In other words, the democracy that normally warrants the exercise of political freedom and civil rights now find itself threatened by the spread of violence that provokes fear and terror as a way to gain social and political control.

Therefore, threats to democracy are not only external but they also vary, being the violence like in the Chihuahua instance, the organized crime its worst enemy. The report, simultaneously, points out that "Chihuahua maintains the best competitiveness index in the state-society relation". Thus, that should not imply that other indicators and dimensions in the research are better or stand out more within the chihuahuan society, what symbolizes that democracies as whole, at least in the case of Mexican entities that suffer the imperfections of a democracy definition and of a "complex reality" which the institutions are not ignorant of the knowledge, identification and evaluation by the citizens. The diversification of indicators provokes differences in the conceptualization of the democracy.

If we take as a valid expression that "democracy is the only regimen that allows differences to be processed thru pacific mechanisms and an indispensable condition for integral growth" (Castanon, IDDMEX -2013:11) we should mention that institutions play an extremely important and determinant role to achieve such objective. It is obvious that the electoral process have had a positive part in the consolidation of the Mexican democracy, since they are the factor that lets a peaceful transition of power. However, political parties as agents and actors of a democracy do not enjoy recognition from the public, the society and the citizens.

The end result is that our democracy has a double moral: we recognize it as such, but we do not respect on the basis of its actors.

For the purpose of this research democracy can be defined as a government system that guarantees to its citizens the exercise of political rights with clear rules for transition of power by means of an election process.

According to this definition citizens should accept the political parties, the elected authorities and the institutions they represent. Along these institutions, there are other institutions from the state and civil society which complement the group that keeps democracy alive and all its objectives.

Citizens in their voter's capacity have always been the most important factor of any election whether it be local or federal type (Moreno, 2003). However, the potential elector is always subject to the political culture that he knows, evaluates and identifies himself with the state institutions (Almond and Verba, 1989). This political culture type, independently of the person, manifests itself thru citizenship practices which do not remain static; on the contrary, they change constantly because of the democratic transition process (Guillen, 1996). Even abstentionism as citizenship practice, reacts to a non-participation condition as a discharge of the social discontent and/or governmental action and its bureaucratic processes (Negrete, 2002).

In conclusion we should affirm, consequently that the citizen-electoral attachment is the manifestation of the political rights exercise.

A political modernization key is the transference or change in the traditional formats of the political power exercise: first of all, there is a change on the subjection relation of the citizen and the State (IFE, 2001a); second, a possibility of a multifaceted citizen participation in the areas of public and governmental action is created (IFE, 2001b); third, there is a recognition of the citizen's potential as the main actor in the diverse stages of the electoral process (IFE, 2001c); fourth, the recognition of the citizen participation as constant in the governmental action (IFE, 2000);

and finally, its formally recognized that a democracy is only possible with the citizenry undertaking, which is expressed in the exercise of political rights (2000b).

If accept Huntington's argument about the authority rationality (1991), the structures differentiation and the expansion of citizen participation, we would have an ideal society model with a high political modernization index, and an ideal citizen participation with a high degree of citizen confidence in its institutions.

Aziz (1992) recounts the changes in citizen attitude towards two electoral processes: the first one is about the electoral results in 1983 and 1986; the second is about the process in 1988 where Chihuahua presented different attitudes to a differentiated citizen mobilization. In conclusion, citizen attitudes go together with an evaluation, with knowledge, but above all, with a citizen's identification with the institutions, mainly those from the state. The citizen confidence in the institutions becomes the decisive factor in citizen participation in the different social processes in which a citizen is confronted with and who also recognizes himself as such.

In conclusion, citizen participation has a correlation between the three traditional elements of the political culture: knowledge, identity and evaluation. The more knowledge there will be a greater relationship between identity and meaningful evaluation, which should be positive in theory. On the contrary, the ignorance of the institutions and the political phenomenon will have a correlation with the low civic identity with the institutions and a low possibility of positive evaluation. That is, citizen participation will depend on the quantity and quality of the citizen political culture (Krotz and Winocur, 2007).

Similarly, the possibility of a high voter turnout that expresses public confidence will depend on a high partisan identification and a positive evaluation of candidates, political parties and the same electoral process. Finally, it has already been mentioned that there is a direct relationship between citizen participation and political rights (Borunda, 2007) of contemporary Mexico which have evolved as theoretically supported by the links in Mexican democratic consolidation (See: Colección de los Eslabones de la democracia, IFE).

Methodology.

The Citizen Trust in Institutions Survey had as its origin an application in 2006 where we wanted to know the proximity of the results of surveys that were applied and speak of a trust and distrust of the citizen in the country. Immediately, the question of research was raised. How much do the citizens trust in the institutions at the border? More specifically, the question focused on the municipality of Juarez.

Confidence levels varied in each of the versions, from 90% and up to 95%. The margin of error was between 3.5 and up to 4.5, since it has the collaboration of students in the fields of Applied Research, University and Knowledge and Political Science. In all cases, the surveys were face-to-face, in shopping centers, in front of citizens of legal age and with a voter's credential.

The climate of insecurity that was perceived and lived in Ciudad Juarez caused that the non-response rate in the year of 2010 had its historical maximum and this made it difficult to collect the applied sample. In 2009, it was not possible to go out and raise the study because for security reasons it was not wanted to expose the students to a mishap that could happen, besides it was complicated by the violence that was in the region and made the citizens do not go outside as usual.

In the years of 2012 and 2013 it was practically count on the participation of the students in the surveying, however, it could already be done in 2014 and 2016. In 2015, the survey is not scheduled for logistical reasons. The ten years of the study, have been well accepted by the media and social actors, which causes a personal satisfaction to continue doing this study and diagnose how the citizen evaluates the main public and private institutions.

The results have been published in the social media, in the corresponding year; however, a very complete study was presented in 2014 at the Autonomous University of Baja California in the sixth International Congress of Sociology. Today we add another year to the study and the results obtained are analyzed from a different perspective although with a theoretical framework that supports the progress of the research equal to that of the occasion and that is presented with the purpose of incorporating comments on the work to be published in an academic journal or as a book chapter on the subject.

Results.

The survey we have applied in the last 10 years shows a longitudinal study with variants that can be easily explained in a single table. On the one hand, the year 2010 represents the most serious of the falls in citizen confidence in the institutions. On the other hand, the confidence of citizens in the presidential figure is the one that falls the most.

Table 1. Average ratings in citizen confidence

Institution	Average rating							AVERAGE
	2006	2007	2008	2010	2011	2014	2016	
Universities	7.7	7.9	8.1	7.52	8.5	8.07	7.87	7.96
Doctors	7.53	7.9	7.7	7.72	8.3	7.99	7.53	7.81
Teachers	7.15	7.5	7.3	7.4	7.86	7.4	7.09	7.39
Church	6.81	7.3	7.1	6.61	7.35	7.17	6.46	6.97
Radio Stations	7.37	7.3	7	6.52	7	6.39	6.55	6.88
Social Media	7	7	6.9	6.69	6.9	6.14	6.36	6.71

Table 1 cont.

TV networks	7.22	7.2	6.8	6.48	6.5	5.54	5.93	6.52
Journalists	7.07	6.9	6.6	6.14	6.6	6.01	6.06	6.48
Newspapers	6.83	6.7	6.4	6.04	6.5	5.93	6	6.34
Banks	6.64	6.7	6.3	6.04	6.9	6.53	6.66	6.54
Social	6.35	6.2	6.1	5.49	6.95	6.27	6.26	6.23
Organizations								
Entrepreneurs	6.04	6	5.8	5.36	6.64	5.62	5.91	5.91
Army	6.92	6.9	6.4	3.71	5.7	5.32	5.37	5.76
TRIFE	6.31	6.5	7.2	4.98	5.68	5.22	5.63	5.93
IFE/INE	6.4	6	5.9	4.73	6.46	5.78	5.9	5.88
CNDH	6.24	6.1	5.6	5.12	6.42	6.21	6.12	5.97
Judges	5.8	5.7	5.6	4.39	5.69	5.62	5.42	5.46
The Supreme	5.93	5.5	5.5	3.88	5.4	5.26	5.13	5.23
Court								
Labor Unions	5.58	5.3	4.9	4.32	5.04	4.55	4.92	4.94
Senators	5.12	4.7	4.8	3.18	4.28	3.81	4.13	4.29
Deputies	5.08	4.9	4.5	3.24	4.07	3.72	3.95	4.21
Political Parties	4.86	4.7	4.1	3.14	4.55	3.87	4.28	4.21
Police	4.81	4.6	3.8	2.85	4.12	4.02	4.3	4.07
Governor	6.59	6.7	6.4	3.84	5.45	4.75	4.43	5.45
Republic	6.08	6	5.6	3.1	4.66	4.16	3.7	4.76
President								
The Mayor	5.98	5.8	5.1	3.04	4.58	4.47	4.54	4.79
AVERAGE	6.36	6.31	6.06	5.06	6.08	5.61	5.63	5.87

Source: Self made

Ciudad Juarez represents in this sense a thermometer on the trustworthiness of institutions in Mexico as a case in which the variants are notorious for the documented violence that the border lived during the past six years. The studies carried out over these ten years (seven statistical surveys), have provided bases to establish a differentiated typology of the different organizations in the country and specifically in their evaluation by citizens.

The first grouping of institutions would be made up of entities that have nothing to do with the governmental sphere and whose average obtained in the measurements would be "very high". That is, they do not belong in the collective imagination as an extension of the established powers. This group is in the highest score of the averages of the established evaluations. The universities

are located in the first place, followed by doctors, teachers, the church, the media and television networks. Since its first application, (the questionnaire) the results showed a tendency that is difficult to change over time.

Within the small statistical variances that were shown, coincidentally there was a decrease in the result of continuous way of the "television networks". Within the classification of institutions according to their results, the first working documents produced showed three types "high", "medium - intermediate" and "low" citizen confidence. However, for this collection of results that encompass the seven measurements, we have found that the typology is insufficient and requires greater qualitative precision.

For which it is proposed to reclassify in "very high" and "very low", as components that allow a greater conceptual precision of institutions that are being object of a social analysis. If we accept this new recategorization, the television networks would have a "medium - intermediate" rating since it would not reach above the score of 6.0, which shows the collapse that as an institution has. The aforementioned evaluations are the average obtained from all the applications and the surveys carried out.

The universities as category of analysis had in the ten years the highest score, however, the exception occurred in the year 2010 when they went to a second place below the evaluation to the doctors. With these exceptions, the cycle of the institutions with the highest level of approval is closed, which places them as "very high" and whose behavior should be the same in the next evaluation that is carried out.

From there, a subdivision of the institutions was built as the most favored and whose metric was "high" by obtaining between 6 and 6.5 on average. A satisfactory approval and whose summary also had the same regular behavior as the institutions that preceded it. In this group, the following entities stood out in descending order: journalists, newspapers, banks and social organizations. Highlight in this part that the role of the social media are highly evaluated already as "very high" or "high" thing that does not happen as we will see later with government figures.

The third segment of the analysis is the organizations to which we could say medium in the evaluation. Although they do not significantly stand out above 6, they do not have ratings below 5. The businessmen, the army, the Federal Electoral Court, the Federal Electoral Institute / National Electoral Institute, the National Human Rights Commission, the judges, the governor and the Supreme Court of Justice are in this range.

From this group of entities, stands out the National Human Rights Commission that manages to reposition itself in 2016 and even if we only took that year it would be among the institutions with "high" evaluation since it obtained an evaluation of 6.12 and

despite that in the general average it did not reach above 6.0, its turn makes it one of the revelations in the public confidence. The other case of study would be the figure of the governor who in the average of all the evaluations obtained a 5.45 and in the year 2016 (when there was an electoral process to renew the position) he had a 4.43. In this context, the media have much to do with the role of local bodies such as the State Human Rights Commission, which, although they are not asked, it is easy to confuse them with the areas of competence to which they refer. In this context, when referring to the social media, it is because of the dissemination role they have of the different scenarios that we face and because of the publicity and propaganda they broadcast. For example, in Ciudad Juárez Chihuahua, there are 46 open television channels, ranging from news channels, channels in English and / or Spanish, channels with national coverage and strictly local content channels.

Thus, it is not possible to ignore the role of socializing that has a medium such as television in a city where social inequalities are perceived and where access to pay television is not an impediment for citizens to inform themselves of politics and that the spectrum of television through the indicated channels is broad and covers all sectors of society. If we combine this data (the number of open signal channels) and add to the number of radio stations that have a similar content (religious, news, musical entertainment and magazine) we could establish that it is a community where there are no more media and that the AM frequencies and of F.M are 100% saturated causing an object of study for the disciplinary field of the communication and even for the formation of the public opinion.

Returning to the subject of evaluations, we would enter the analysis of institutions with a "low" profile by the citizen evaluation: Trade unions, president of the republic and municipal president. From these three entities, the presidential figure has been hit the hardest. Indicated as the lowest in all the measurements, in 2016 it had only a 3.7 that is only surpassed in 2010 (when the effect of violence was harder on the public perception) with a 3.1, that is, in the fourth year of government (Felipe Calderón Hinojosa first and later Enrique Peña Nieto) that have had their lowest evaluations. From that group who is the best evaluated is the figure of the trade union.

We would conclude the analysis of the table presented with the category of "lowest" citizen evaluation. In it are those responsible for safeguarding the constitution, who make the laws, who should be promoting the rule of law, who seek public power in a peaceful manner and even an institution that must ensure the personal protection of the individual.

Senators, deputies, political parties and the police make up the lowest sphere of public trust. The work of Casar (2016: 31) can explain through the index that developed the perception of Mexicans

regarding these institutions marked as very corrupt institutions (in the citizen perception). One of the characteristics of these institutions has been that in the evaluations carried out they have always occupied the lowest levels of trust.

In them, there are repetitively minor or barely outstanding evaluations of 4.0, which mean that they are always in the eye of the hurricane as unreliable institutions.

Conclusions

The conclusions we can reach in this approach allow us to establish that an evaluation has a reference to the type of question that is asked. The example of this work shows that there is no public trust in public institutions and those that have a certain level of confidence are social and private organizations. Trust does not mean that there is a qualification to the performance of its function but to the credibility of the actors that participate in it. Within the field of study of political science, opinion studies such as this have two types of input, which is intended to answer as a research question and the type of response obtained that depends on what the questioned citizen understands.

On a scale of 0 to 10, as in the school where 0 is nothing and 10 is a lot, how much do you trust in...? The answers obtained during these applications and over ten years give us a clear and segmented picture of which according to the political circumstances of the moment in which it is applied. Thus, for example, the years of 2008 to 2010 had as a reference the generalized violence. The years 2006 and 2012 were based on federal electoral processes. While 2007, 2010, 2013 and 2016 there were electoral processes at the municipal and state levels.

These external agents influence the citizen's perception. They make it more fickle, that accompanied by the influence of the media build candidates or destroy them as a paradigm of science itself. Exposing yourself to the media can attract positive or negative fame. The case of the study of corruption throws on the one hand a similarity between those who are considered as very corrupt entities and the similarity with the "very low" citizen confidence.

According to their results, universities and doctors have the highest scores while they are the deputies and then the police who have the lowest esteem of citizens. The results show then trends and in them, of the 26 evaluated institutions, there were no statistical jumps that broke the established rules from the beginning. That is, the scores obtained were "stable". The continuity that can be given to this questionnaire on public trust should look for those external indicators that alter it such as violence, an electoral process, the critical accusations of a press differentiated from the official discourse and even the very signs of corruption that are endorsed as a "cultural" issue to all Mexicans.

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