



Erasmus+

# Small States Challenges to democracy

ANDORRA



UNIVERSITAT  
D'ANDORRA

Created by: Cristina Yáñez de Aldecoa

Presented by: Cristina Yáñez de Aldecoa

# Small States

## The quality of democracy in the country: Tools and indexes: (1)

Among all the indexes that measure democratic quality, Andorra has participated in the following ones:

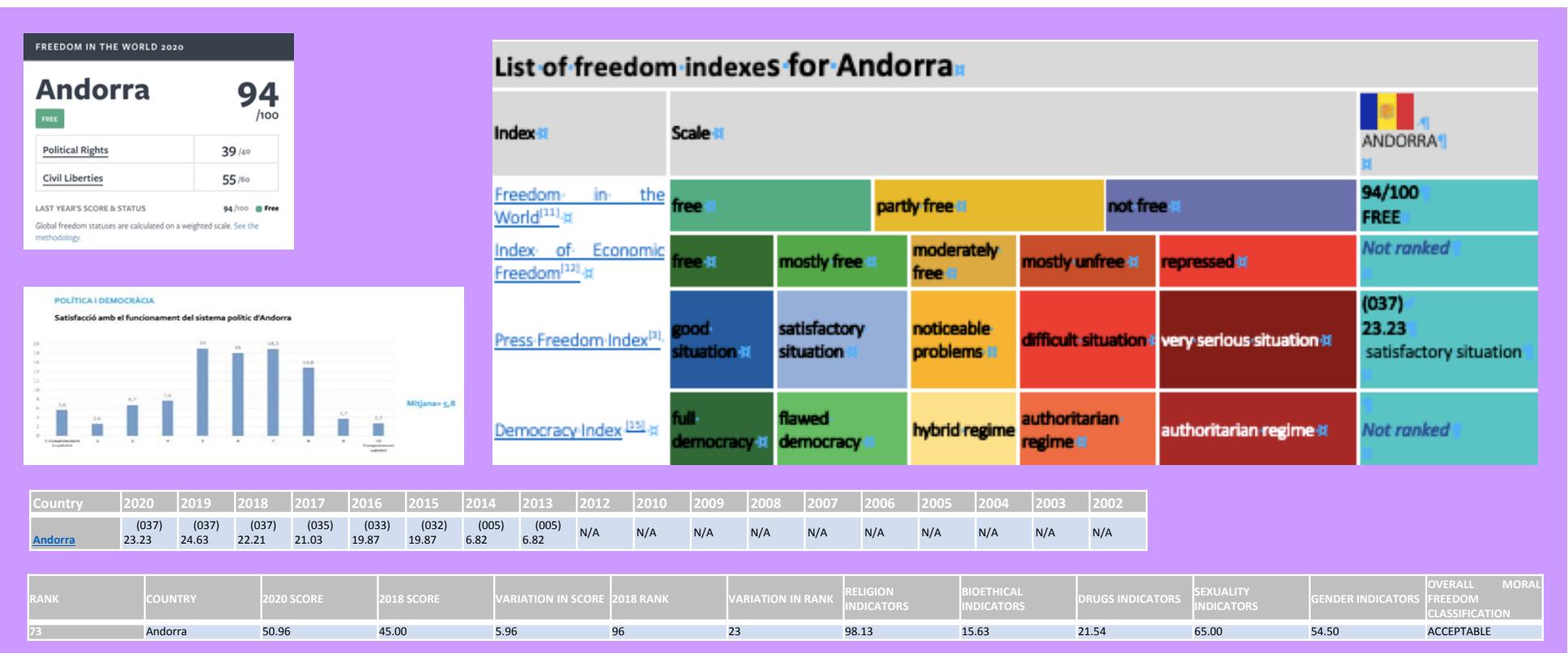
- A. [Freedom House](#) (Nations in transit)
- B. [World Security Value](#)
- C. [WEFI - World Electoral Freedom Index](#)
- D. **Press Freedom Index** ([Reporters without Borders](#))/ [Worldwide Press Freedom Index](#)
- E. [World Index of Moral Freedom](#) (Spain)

Freedom House	94/100 Free
World Security Value	5.8
WEFI - World Electoral Freedom Index	70.31 (46th)
Press Freedom Index	23.23 (37th)
World Index of Moral Freedom	50.96 (73rd)

Andorra has not yet participated in indexes such as: Polity IV, V-Dem project or The Economist Intelligence Unit Democracy index

# Small States

## The quality of democracy in the country: Tools and indexes: (2)



# Small States

## The quality of democracy in the country: Tools and indexes: (3)

### • WEFI- World electoral Freedom Index

In the following table there is the ranking obtained by Andorra at WEFI 2019 sub-indices:

COUNTRY País	WEFI IMLE	PDI IDP	ASFI ILSA	PSFI ILSP	EEI IEE
Afghanistan   Afganistán	60.45	31.72	59.29	64.27	67.38
Albania	66.10	65.93	65.08	73.01	60.27
Algeria   Argelia	54.90	50.77	58.91	63.48	43.69
Andorra	70.80	80.97	66.62	77.45	64.96
Angola	60.52	44.69	64.05	73.60	49.18
Antigua and Barbuda   Antigua y Barbuda	65.20	76.90	62.11	72.18	57.39
Argentina	68.85	68.10	63.53	74.93	68.33

#### COLUMN INITIALS:

WEFI World Electoral Freedom Index. The overall ranking. How free are citizens in their capacity as electors.

PDI Political Development Index. How ready is a country to be able to achieve electoral freedom.

ASFI Active Suffrage Freedom Index. How free are a country's citizens to vote.

PSFI Passive suffrage Freedom Index. How free are a country's citizens to be voted, to form parties, etcetera.

EEI Elector Empowerment Index. How much can a country's electors influence public policy.

# Small States

## “Subjective” measures of quality of democracy (1)

**EVS- European Value Survey:** Andorra has not taken part of the EVS, and therefore, no data is existing.

**WVS-World Values Survey:** Andorra took part in the 5th (2005) and 7th (2018) wave. The results from the WVS will be used to analyzed the measures of quality of democracy.

# Small States

## “Subjective” measures of quality of democracy (2)

- Citizenry score as an average 5.8 when asking about how satisfied they are with the political system in Andorra
- The **2018 World Securities Values** graph shows that the university is the institution with the highest rating with 62.1%.
- As for the division of the three powers of the State, the one that stands out best in seventh place is the Judiciary with 46.9%, followed by the Executive in eleventh place with 41.5% and the Legislature in seventeenth place with 31.9%.
- Political parties are relegated to penultimate place with 20

### CAPITAL SOCIAL, CONFIÀNCIA I PERTINENÇA A ORGANITZACIONS

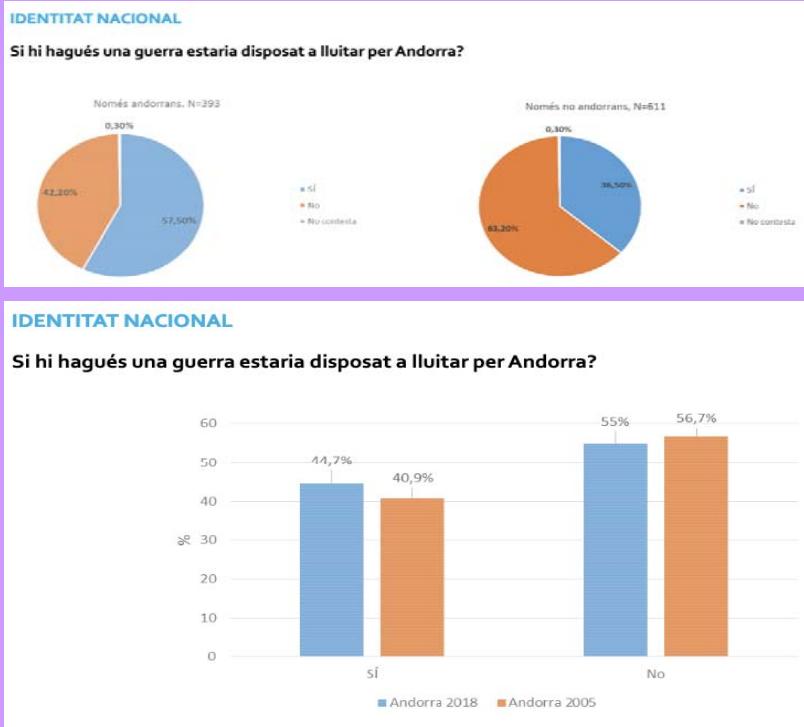
Em podria dir en cada cas el seu grau de confiança en aquestes organitzacions?



# Small States

## “Subjective” measures of quality of democracy (3)

### Comparative Study of Electoral System

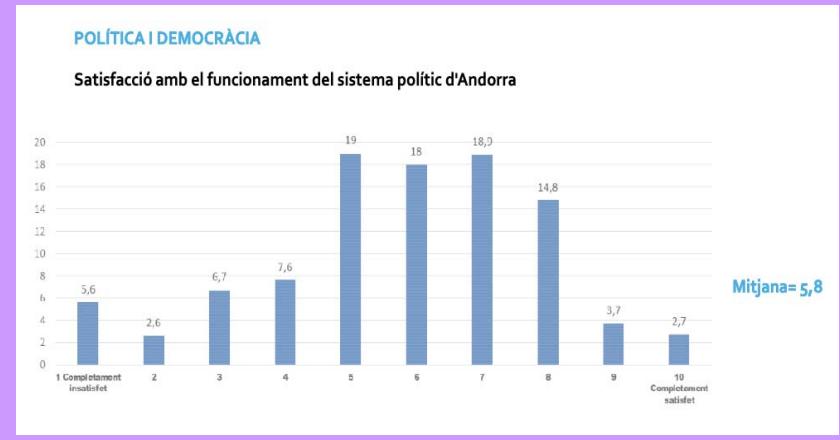
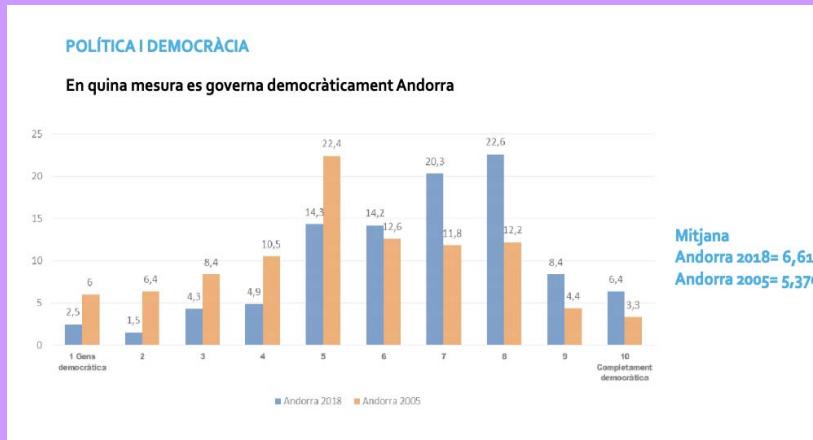


- Two out of ten (22.6%) citizens from Andorra consider **having a strong leader** who does not consider parliament or call elections (**dictatorship**), as a good way to govern the country
- 96% believe that it is **best to have a democratic political system** and 60% would endorse a technocratic government.
- **National identity**, among Andorran respondents **91.3%** consider themselves very or quite proud of the country while only **7% little** or nothing.
- This high sentiment leads to state that **in the event of a war**, **44.7% would be willing to fight for Andorra** and 55% would not. Participation in the war is divided between nationals (57.5%) and resident (63.2%) who would not take up arms.

# Small States

## “Subjective” measures of quality of democracy (4)

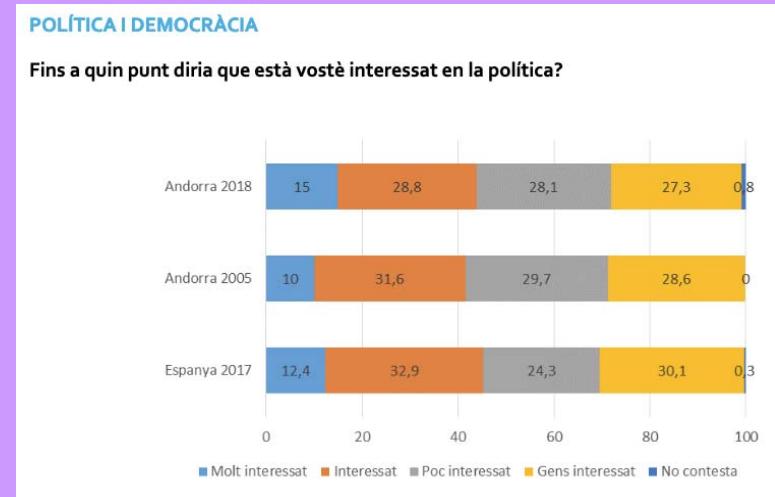
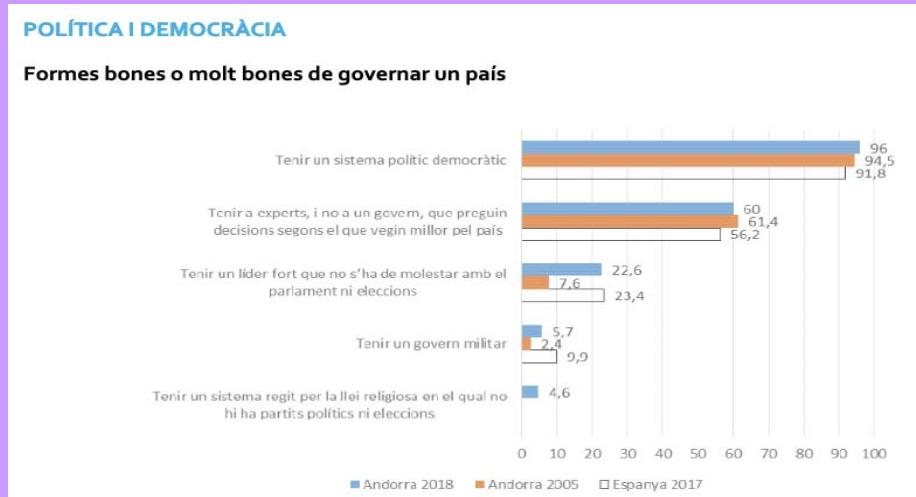
### Comparative Study of Electoral System



# Small States

## “Subjective” measures of quality of democracy (5)

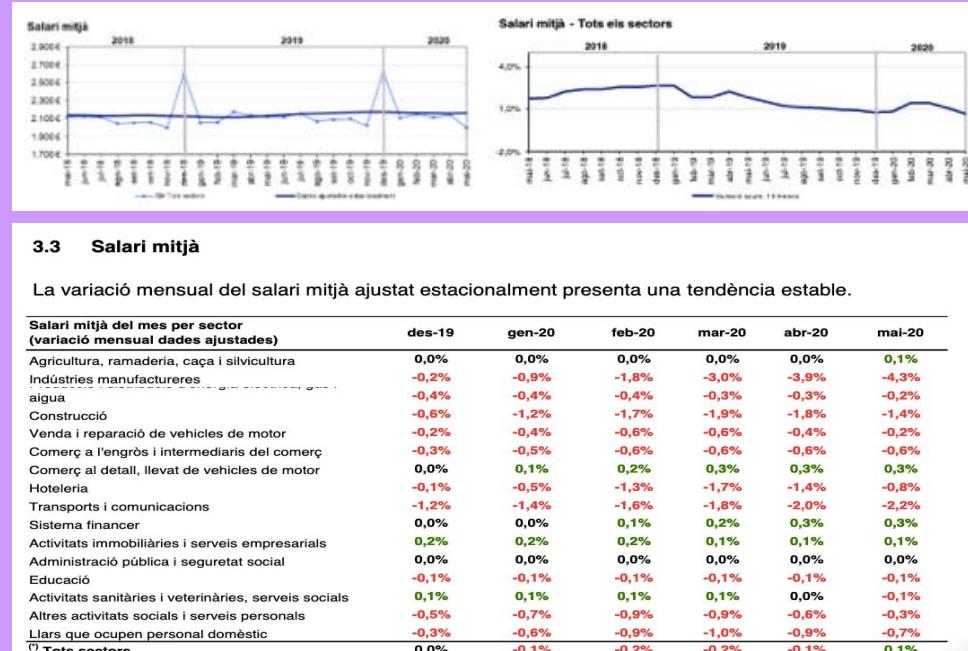
- Comparative Study of Electoral System



# Small States Social cleavages (1)

- What kind of political/social cleavage exist in the country?

As can be seen in the table and graphs below, from December 2019 onwards until May 2020, the monthly variation of the seasonally adjusted average wage shows a stable trend.



# Small States Social cleavages (2)

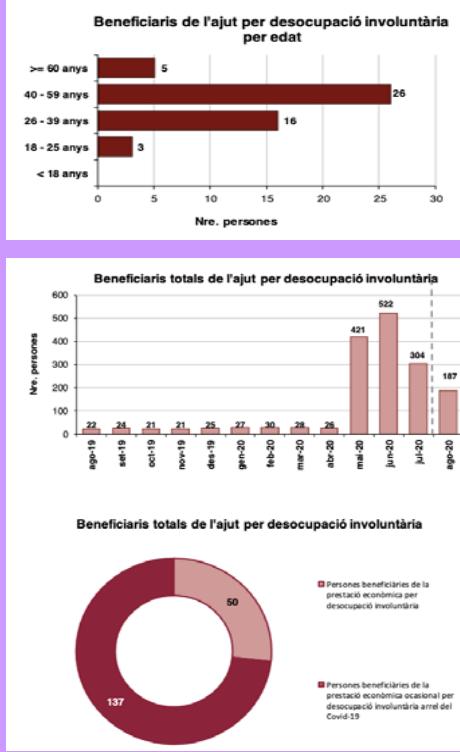
## The nature of the cleavage

- Data on Employees and average salary** by sector of activity of the CASS, in February 2020 the number of employees stood at 45,096, while in June 2020 it presents a decrease -6,279 workers standing at 38,817 salaried workers, which represents a decrease of 13.92% of employees.
- Average salary** set in February 2020 (just before confinement) at €2,241.88, in June 2020 it fell by €-177.97 to €1,963.91, which means a loss of a -8.30%

Assalariats i salari mitjà per sector d'activitat	FEBRER 2020		JUNY 2020	
	Nombre assalariats <sup>(1)</sup>	Salari mitjà mensual	Nombre assalariats <sup>(1)</sup>	Salari mitjà mensual
A - AGRICULTURA RAMADERIA CAÇA I SILVICULTURA.	132	1.556,51 €	157	1.517,71 €
C - INDÚSTRIES EXTRACTIVES.	1	1.546,20 €	1	12.294,99 €
D - INDÚSTRIES MANUFACTURERES.	1.658	2.176,18 €	1.731	1.895,46 €
E - PRODUCCIÓ I DISTRIBUCIÓ D'ENERGIA ELÈCTRICA.	175	2.851,68 €	173	4.409,08 €
F - CONSTRUCCIÓ.	3.682	2.103,74 €	3.805	2.146,72 €
G - COMERÇ I REPARACIÓ DE VEHICLES DE MOTOR.	9.707	1.818,88 €	9.108	1.623,34 €
H - HOTELERIA.	6.766	1.598,32 €	3.793	941,26 €
I - TRANSPORT, EMMAGAZEMATGE I COMUNICACIÓNS.	1.467	2.706,39 €	1.315	1.944,76 €
J - SISTEMA FINANCER.	1.770	5.938,13 €	1.791	4.237,37 €
K - ACTIVITATS IMMOBILIÀRIES I DE LLOGUER.	6.371	2.000,68 €	5.710	1.895,05 €
L - ADMINISTRACIÓ PÚBLICA DEFENSA I SEGURETAT SOCIAL <sup>(3)</sup>	4.586	2.550,87 €	4.635	2.484,18 €
M - EDUCACIÓ.	646	2.091,72 €	635	2.095,49 €
N - ACTIVITATS SANITÀRIES I VETERINÀRIES.	2.397	2.232,87 €	2.407	2.171,23 €
O - ALTRES ACTIVITATS SOCIALS I DE SERVEIS PRESTATS.	4.571	1.873,62 €	2.365	1.851,72 €
P - LLARS QUE OCUPEN PERSONAL DOMÈSTIC.	923	1.368,18 €	946	1.324,34 €
Q - ORGANISMES EXTRATERRITORIALS.	13	2.381,72 €	13	3.395,33 €
W - RÈGIMS ESPECIALS <sup>(2)</sup>	41	1.031,99 €	20	273,21 €
Y - TREBALL DOMÈSTIC A LA COMUNITAT.	190	1.306,45 €	212	1.220,75 €
SECTOR ACTIVITAT	45.096	2.141,88 €	38.817	1.963,91 €

# Small States

## Social cleavages (3)

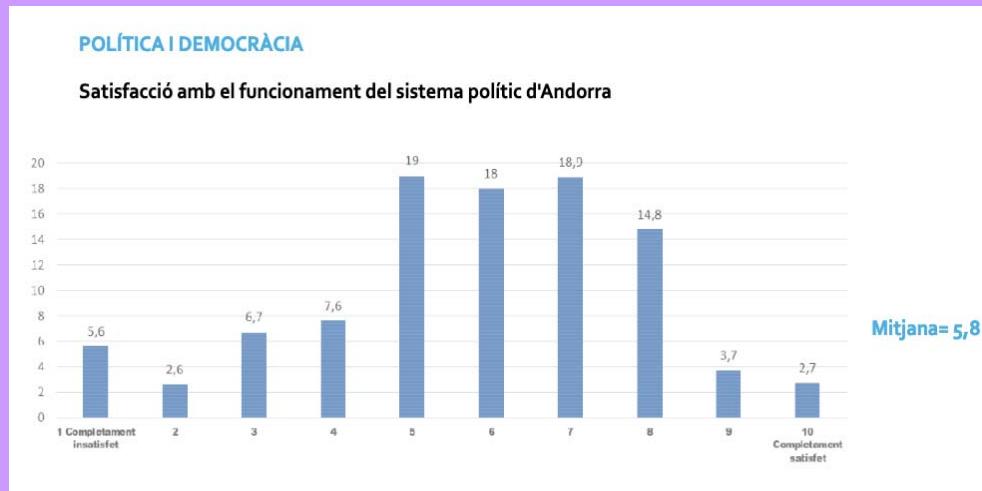


- Number of people receiving the economic benefit for involuntary unemployment is 187, -46.3% less than the previous month (304 people) and + 750.0% compared to August of the previous year (22 people).
- 50 correspond to the benefit decreed by the Government, which represents a + 127.3% with respect to the data for August 2019 (22 people).
- In August 2020, there were 137 people receiving occasional economic benefits for involuntary unemployment under COVID-19, down -38.5% in July. The total amount of these occasional benefits for the month of August is € 125,579.06.

# Small States

## Mobilisation of anti-democracy sentiment

- What is the topic that mobilizes anti-democracy sentiment? (corruption, elitism, globalisation, lack of control, environment)
- How is it “institutionalized”?
- What is its potential for mobilisation?



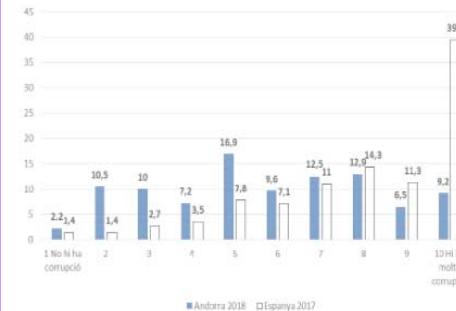
- **6.6 out of 10 on the fact that Andorra is governed democratically**, an average that rises from **5.3**, 13 years ago, and puts a **5.8** on the satisfaction of the functioning of the Andorran political system.
- Two out of ten (22.6%) see it as a good way to govern the country to **have a strong leader** who does not consider parliament or call elections; that is, a **dictatorship**.
- **in the event of a war, 44.7% would be willing to fight for Andorra** and 55% would not.

# Small States Corruption and inefficiency

- Perception of population regarding "corruption" in Andorra, in the **World Values Survey**, 2018 the average is 5.8%.
- Door-to-door reporting on election programs is often seen as an opportunity for politicians to get closer to the citizenry.
- In some cases, there is also some reluctance, specifically 41.4%, in which there is the perception that the candidates have other intentions, such as "buying" the votes or persuading the person to vote, and this generates some distrust in the purpose of this system.

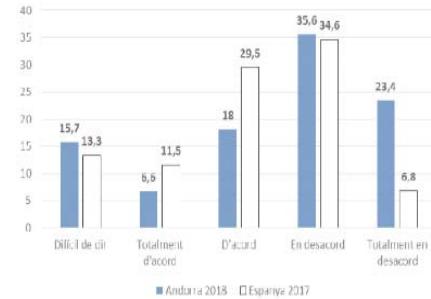
## CORRUPCIÓ

Corrupció a Andorra



Mitjana  
Andorra 2018=5,801  
Espanya 2017=7,96

Les dones són menys corruptes que els homes?

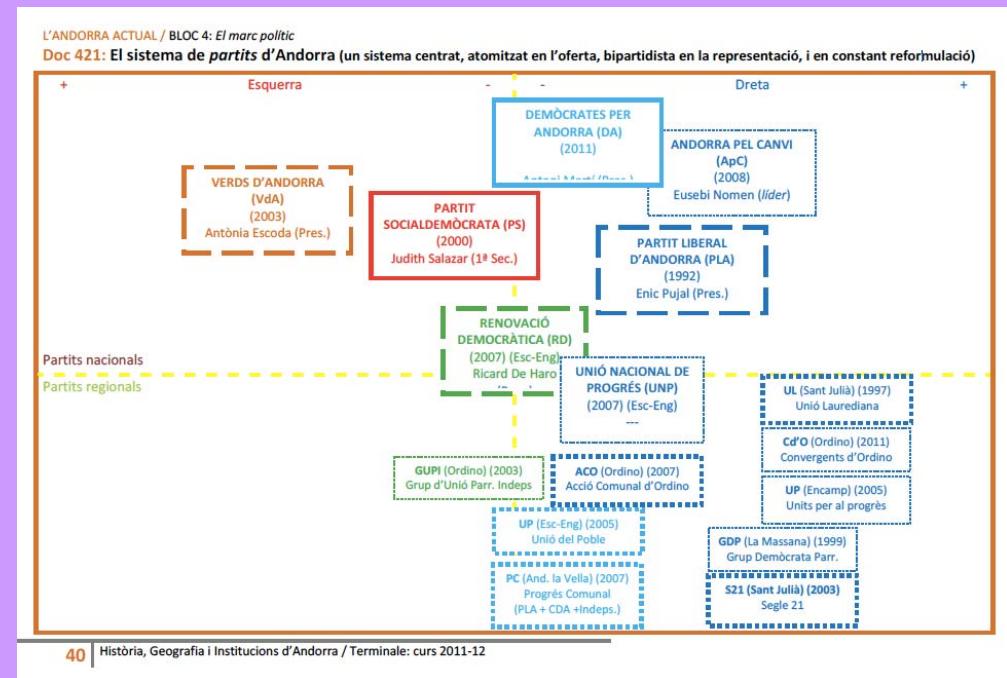


# Small States Populism

- Populism, understood as the political trend that seeks to attract the popular classes, is an undocumented phenomenon in Andorra.
- None of the reports, surveys and research designed from Andorra to measure the quality of democracy and the degree of satisfaction of the population in relation to political management, considers "populism" as one of the items in the various surveys.
- Therefore, there is no data that can illustrate this phenomenon in Andorra

# Small States Extremism and extremist parties (1)

- Extremism has not yet been discussed in depth in Andorra.
- The following figure shows the distribution of Andorra's political parties: a centered system, atomized in its offer and bipartisan in representation.
- Most of the Andorran political parties are concentrated in the center-right spectrum.



# Small States Extremism and extremist parties (2)

- 2020 Political Survey in the Principality, had one single question in which respondents are asked about their tendency, affinity or political ideology: extreme left, or extreme right, left, right, center-left, or center-right.
- In the answers it differs between nationals and residents.
- While in the first group 1.1% are manifested as supporters of the far left, the group of residents increases considerably to 2.0%. As for far-right supporters, in the group of nationals we find 0.7%, while the group of residents is 1.2% who express their affinity for far-right policies.

9. Quan es parla de política normalment s'utilitzen les expressions esquerra i dreta. Vosté com es defineix: d'extrema esquerra, esquerra, centre esquerra, centre, centre dreta, dreta o extrema dreta?

	frequències	Percentatges
Total	800	100
Extrema esquerra	9	1,1
Esquerra	122	15,2
Centre esquerra	147	18,4
Centre	134	16,8
Centre dreta	128	16,0
Dreta	58	7,3
Extrema dreta	6	0,7
Apolitic/a	47	5,8
Indecis/a	37	4,6
Altres respostes	37	4,6
No sap	58	7,3
No contesta	18	2,3

Altres respostes

	frequències	Percentatges
Total	37	4,6
Depèn de les persones, temes	10	1,2
No es considera de cap, neutral	16	2,1
Liberal	3	0,4
Independent	2	0,2
Socialista	1	0,1
Anarquista	1	0,1
Socioliberal, esquerra capitalista	1	0,1
Altres	3	0,4

9. Quan es parla de política normalment s'utilitzen les expressions esquerra i dreta. Vosté com es defineix: d'extrema esquerra, esquerra, centre esquerra, centre, centre dreta, dreta o extrema dreta?

	frequències	Percentatges
Total	400	100
Extrema esquerra	8	2,0
Esquerra	75	18,8
Centre esquerra	50	12,6
Centre	74	18,5
Centre dreta	59	14,8
Dreta	34	8,4
Extrema dreta	5	1,2
Apolitic/a	36	8,9
Indecis/a	14	3,4
Altres respostes	14	3,5
No sap	25	6,2
No contesta	7	1,7

Altres respostes

	frequències	Percentatges
Total	14	100
Depèn de les persones, temes	5	1,3
No es considera de cap, neutral	5	1,3
Socioliberal, esquerra capitalista,	1	0,3
Independent	1	0,2
Demòcrata	1	0,2
Altres respostes	1	0,2

# Small States Democracy and COVID-19

The crisis arising from COVID-19 and the general delay caused by the pandemic will affect the timetable for reaching the Andorra-Monaco-San Marino association agreement with the EU. The will of the current government is to reach a consensus and a state pact with all political forces.

Regarding the CRES Political Survey of 2020, in relation to the assessment of the population of the management of the Government of Andorra of the pandemic of COVID-19, 54.4% of the population assess the management between an 8 and 9 out of 10

5. En general, com qualificaria la gestió del Govern de la pandemia de la COVID-19, en una escala del 0 (molt dolenta) a 10 (molt bona)?

Total	freqüències	Percentatges
	400	100
0	0	0,0
1	0	0,0
2	0	0,0
3	2	0,6
4	5	1,4
5	14	3,4
6	15	3,6
7	52	13,1
8	129	32,2
9	89	22,2
10	86	21,6
No sap	0	0,0
No contesta	8	2,0
Mitjana	8,270	
Desviació	1,415	

# Small States Prospects of democracy (1)

Basic documents to draw Andorra's roadmap for the next decade:

- National strategic plan for the implementation of the **2030 Agenda in Andorra**
- **Horizon 23.** This action plan of the Executive until 2023 is adapted to the new scenario that emerged after the health crisis caused by COVID-19. It includes a total of 77 actions divided into 20 initiatives, framed in three pillars: that of welfare and social cohesion, that of economy and innovation, and that of alliances for change.

## Six major current challenges for democracy

1. The difficulties in developing a democratic civic education
2. The role of social media
3. Populism that does not respond to the complexity of social reality
4. The dichotomy between emotion and rationality
5. The post-truth
6. Limits on freedom of expression.

# Small States Prospects of democracy (2)

**Observatory's survey in Andorra**, the surveys assess in order of importance the three aspects that should be improved in Andorra at present:

1. Concern for the price of housing, the high standard of living or low wages (27% of respondents compared to 51% in the last half year);
2. The economy, trade and tourism (16%)
3. Social benefits, pensions or health (15% by 20% in the previous observatory)
4. Politics and public administrations (12%).
5. Infrastructure and car parks (10%). %
6. Problems related to COVID-19 (9%).