

# Lecciones de los procesos exitosos de transición democrática en el siglo XXI

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Coloquio del Grupo Orinoco

19 de marzo de 2026

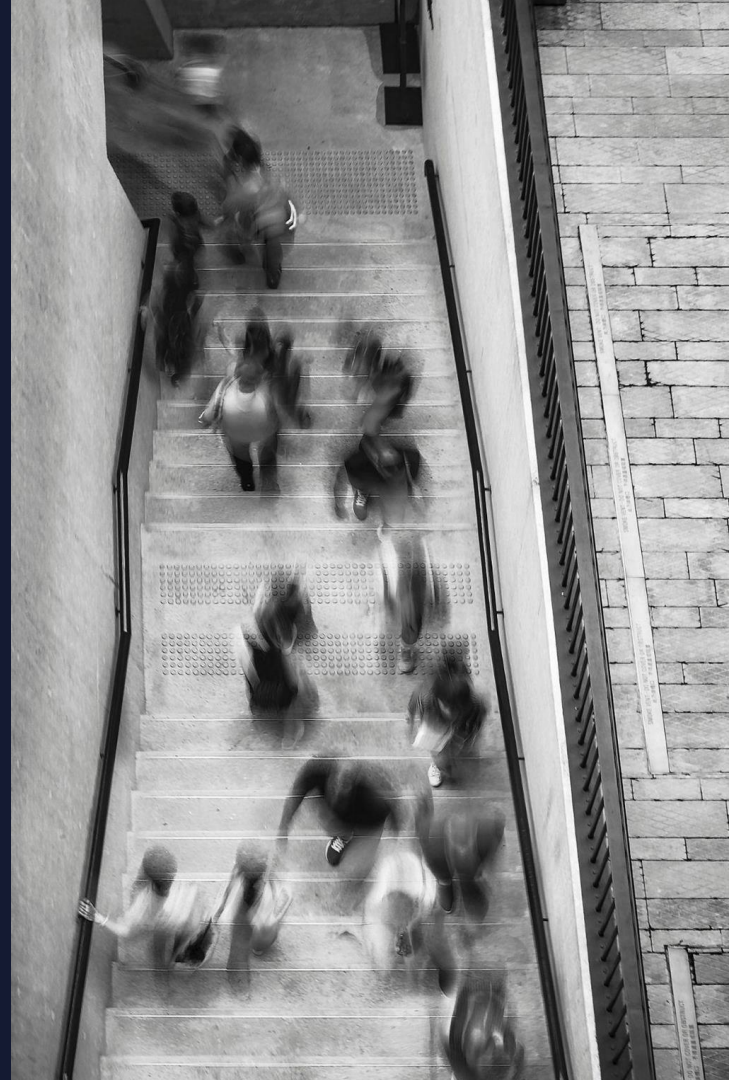


“A partir del golpe aprendimos que las ideologías siguen siendo instrumentos útiles, pero nunca más pueden llegar a ser verdades absolutas que no acepten la existencia de otras legítimas visiones del mundo”.

“La democracia es algo que se cultiva, se preserva y se hace avanzar día a día con cuidado y paciencia”.

Ricardo Lagos, 2013

Mi vida. Memorias I: De la infancia hasta la lucha contra la dictadura



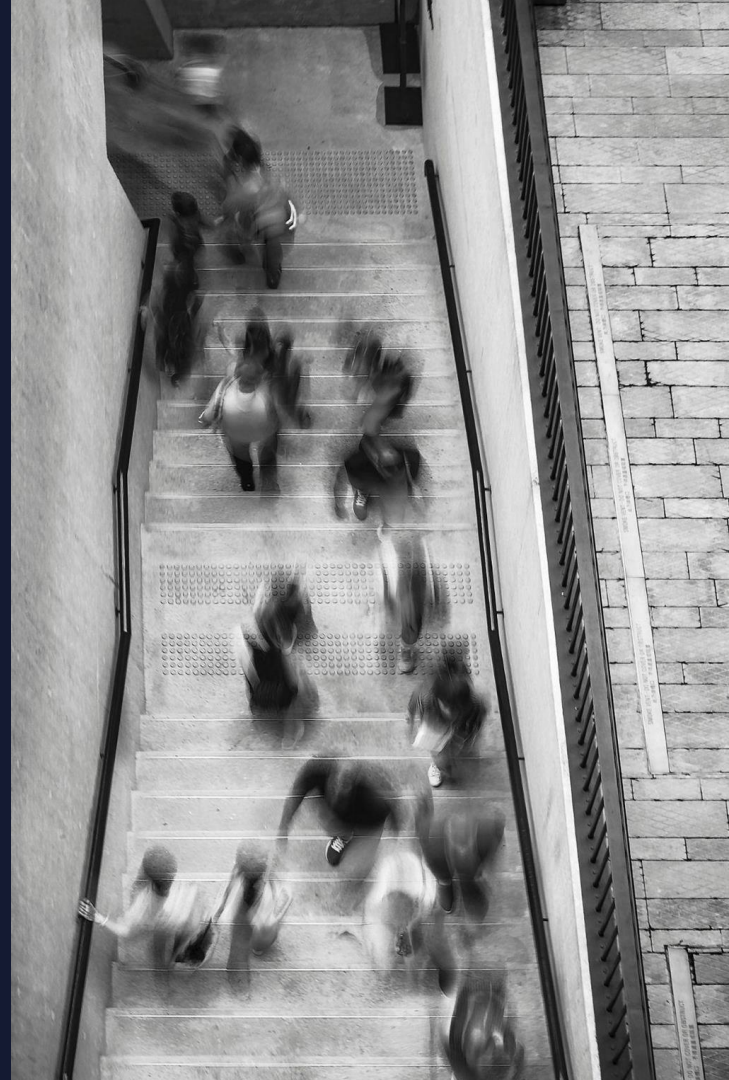
# Contenido

Calidad de las democracias

Proyecto “Variedades de Democracia”

Transiciones democráticas en el siglo XXI

Implicaciones para la transición en Venezuela



# Calidad de las democracias

Desempeño de los países: políticas públicas

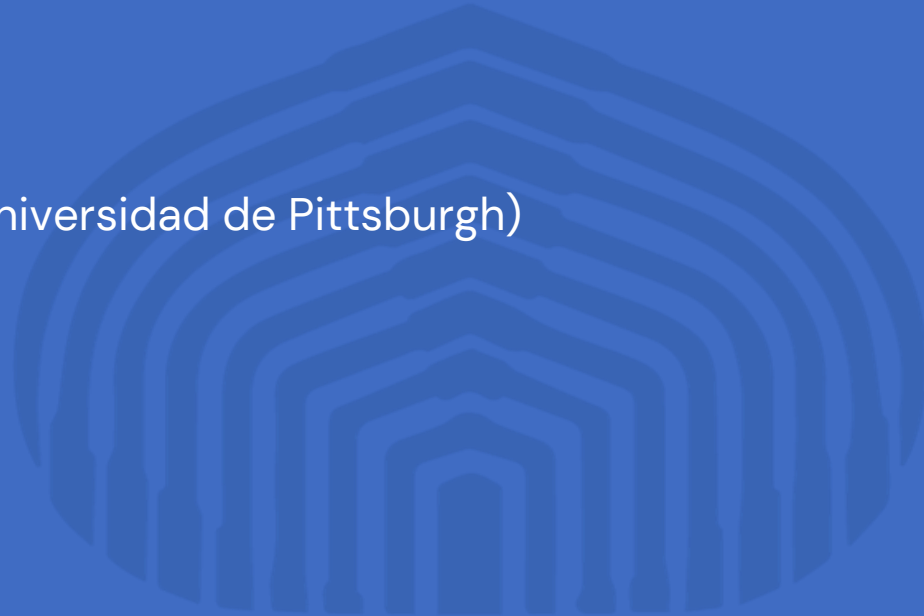
Desempeño de los gobiernos

Multiplismo crítico (William N. Dunn, Universidad de Pittsburgh)

Macro-determinantes

Calidad de las democracias

Creación de valor



# Calidad de las democracias

Comparación

Conceptualización

Metodología

Histórica

Regular



# Proyecto “Variedades de Democracia”

Proyecto global de investigación (Coppedge et al 2020: Varieties of Democracy, Measuring Two Centuries of Political Change)

Redes de investigadores

Inicio: 2007

Mediciones que reflejaran la diversidad de contextos

# Proyecto “Variedades de Democracia”

## Instituciones

National Research Council, Estados Unidos

Swedish Ministry of Foreign Affairs (2011)

Canadian International Development Agency – Danish contraparte

European Commission

University of Notre Dame (Estados Unidos)

Kellogg Institute for International Studies

Universidad de Gotemburgo (Suecia)

V-Dem Institute

# Proyecto “Variedades de Democracia”

## Conceptualización inicial

Poliarquía (Robert Dahl: 1971, 1989, 1998)

Elecciones libres, frecuentes, y transparentes

Sufragio inclusivo

Funcionarios electos

Libertad de expresión

Libertad de asociación

Fuentes alternativas de información

# Proyecto “Variedades de Democracia”

Metodología: valorativa y cuantitativa

Datos: desde 1789

Primer informe global: 2017

[www.v-dem.net](http://www.v-dem.net)

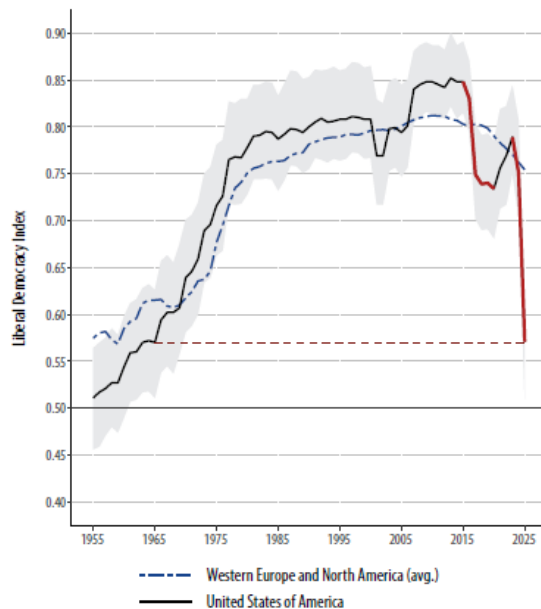
DEMOCRACY REPORT 2026  
Unraveling The Democratic Era?



## 5 | In Focus: Autocratization in the USA

- Under Trump's presidency, the level of democracy in the USA has fallen back to the same level as in 1965.
- Yet the situation is fundamentally different than during the Civil Rights era. In 2025, the derailment of democracy is marked by executive overreach undermining the rule of law, along with far-reaching suppression and intimidation of media and dissenting voices.
- The speed with which American democracy is currently dismantled is unprecedented in modern history.
- Legislative Constraints – the worst affected aspect of democracy – is losing one-third of its value in 2025 and reaching its lowest point in over 100 years.
- Civil Rights and Equality before the Law are also rapidly declining, falling to late 1960s levels.
- Freedom of Expression is now at its lowest level since the end of WWII.
- Electoral components of democracy remain stable. Election-specific indicators are re-assessed only in electoral years, and the 2025 scores are based on the quality of the 2024 elections.

FIGURE 22. USA VS. REGIONAL AVERAGE, 1955–2025



**Caída de 33 puestos (24 a 57) en el valor del Índice de Democracia Liberal (IDL)**

Figure 22 compares the LDI level in the USA from 1955 to 2025 to the regional average for Western Europe and North America. Confidence intervals are indicated by the grey shaded area, while periods of democratic decline under Trump 1.0 and Trump 2.0 are marked in red. The dotted horizontal line traces the 2025 level back in time.

# V-Dem is a unique approach to measuring democracy employing state-of-the-art methodology.

Varieties of Democracy (V-Dem) produces the largest global dataset on democracy with over 32 million data points for 202 countries and territories from 1789 to 2025. Involving over 4,200 scholars and other country experts, V-Dem measures over 600 different attributes of democracy.

DISCLAIMER: The views and opinions expressed in the *Democracy Report* do not reflect an official position of the larger V-Dem Project, the V-Dem Steering Committee, or the V-Dem Institute. Authors are responsible for the content.

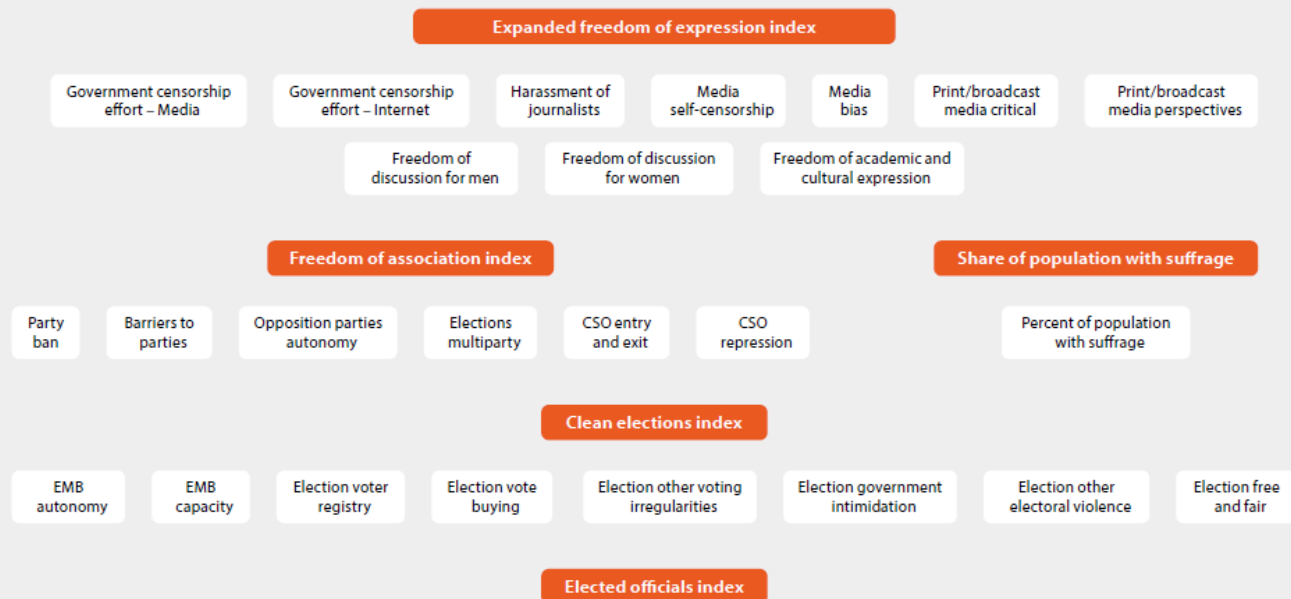


# The Electoral Democracy Index

For several decades, scholars and practitioners alike depicted democracy in the world as though the extant measures really captured what is meant by the concept "electoral democracy". Yet, we have all known that they did not. V-Dem is the first systematic effort to measure the *de facto* existence of all the institutions in Robert Dahl's famous articulation of "polyarchy" as electoral democracy.

The V-Dem Electoral Democracy Index (EDI) captures not only the extent to which regimes hold clean, free and fair elections, but also their actual freedom of expression, alternative sources of information and association, as well as male and female suffrage and the degree to which government policy is vested in elected political officials.

FIGURE A2. THE V-DEM ELECTORAL DEMOCRACY INDEX (EDI)

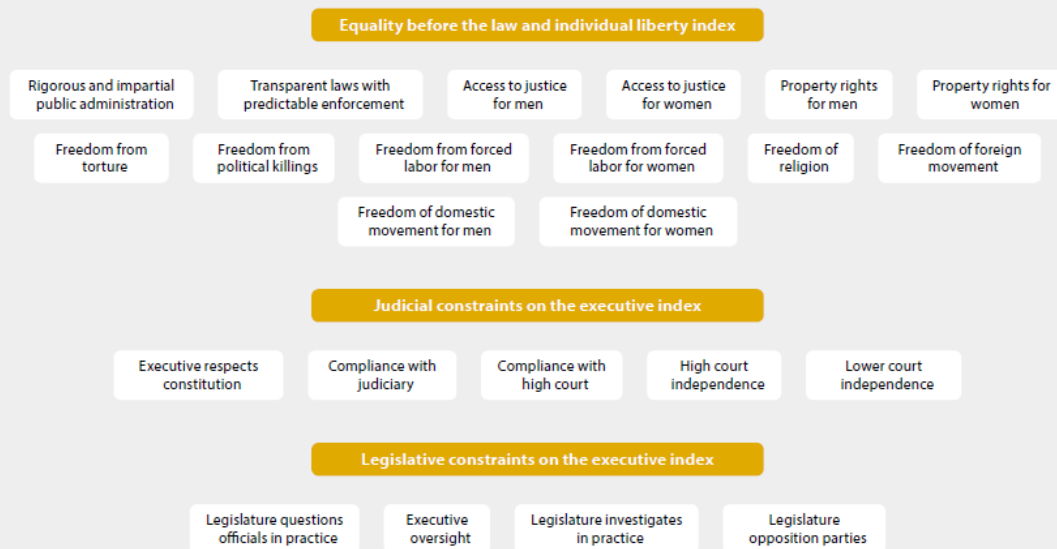


## The Liberal Component Index

In V-Dem's conceptual scheme the liberal principle of democracy embodies the importance of protecting individual and minority rights against both the tyranny of the state and the tyranny of the majority. It also captures the "horizontal" methods of accountability between more or less equally standing institutions that ensure the effective checks and balances between institutions and in particular limit the exercise of executive power. This is achieved by strong rule of law and constitutionally protected civil liberties,

independent judiciary and strong parliament that are able to hold the executive to account and limit its powers. The three indices that capture these dimensions are: the equality before the law and individual liberties (v2xcl\_rol), judicial constraints on the executive (v2x\_jucon), and legislative constraints on the executive (v2xlg\_legcon). Taken together they measure the V-Dem Liberal Component Index (v2x\_liberal).

**FIGURE A3. THE V-DEM LIBERAL COMPONENT INDEX (LCI)**



**TABLE A2. COUNTRY SCORES FOR THE LIBERAL DEMOCRACY INDEX (LDI) AND ALL COMPONENTS INDICES, 2025**

↑ Indicates that the country's score has improved over the past 10 years, substantially and at a statistically significant level

↓ Indicates that the country's score has decreased over the past 10 years, substantially and at a statistically significant level

SD+/- reports the standard deviation to indicate the level of uncertainty

COUNTRY	LIBERAL DEMOCRACY INDEX (LDI)			ELECTORAL DEMOCRACY INDEX (EDI)			LIBERAL COMPONENT INDEX (LCI)			EGALITARIAN COMPONENT INDEX (ECI)			PARTICIPATORY COMPONENT INDEX (PCI)			DELIBERATIVE COMPONENT INDEX (DCI)						
	RANK	SCORE	SD+/-	RANK	SCORE	SD+/-	RANK	SCORE	SD+/-	RANK	SCORE	SD+/-	RANK	SCORE	SD+/-	RANK	SCORE	SD+/-				
Denmark	1	0.88	0.039	1	0.91	0.035	1	0.98	0.014	1	0.97	0.025	7	0.71	0.019	5	0.96	0.037				
Sweden	2	0.85	0.043	4	0.89	0.040	2	0.98	0.015	11	0.9	0.048	14	0.65	0.025	10	0.93	0.053				
Norway	3	0.85	0.043	2	0.89	0.039	6	0.96	0.019	2	0.96	0.029	15	0.65	0.019	1	0.99	0.018				
Switzerland	4	0.84	0.047	7	0.88	0.042	3	0.97	0.019	6	0.94	0.038	1	0.88	0.017	2	0.98	0.019				
Estonia	5	0.84	0.046	5	0.89	0.041	8	0.95	0.024	9	0.92	0.047	30	0.63	0.034	36	0.84	0.082				
Ireland	6	0.82	0.046	6	0.89	0.041	15	0.93	0.029	24	0.87	0.057	31	0.63	0.038	17	0.91	0.056				
Costa Rica	7	0.81	0.046	10	0.86	0.042	9	0.95	0.022	17	0.88	0.055	26	0.64	0.039	13	0.92	0.054				
Finland	8	0.81	0.052	12	0.85	0.048	5	0.96	0.019	33	0.81	0.064	↓	27	0.64	0.029	20	0.9	0.063			
France	9	0.80	0.051	9	0.86	0.045	14	0.94	0.027	32	0.81	0.065	↓	32	0.63	0.041	9	0.93	0.053			
Belgium	10	0.79	0.047	3	0.89	0.038	28	0.89	0.042	7	0.93	0.039	16	0.65	0.027	30	0.86	0.073				
Czechia	11	0.79	0.051	13	0.85	0.046	10	0.95	0.026	10	0.91	0.048	51	0.59	0.047	45	0.81	0.089				
Australia	12	0.79	0.050	15	0.84	0.046	7	0.96	0.023	26	0.85	0.057	6	0.73	0.028	↑	11	0.93	0.051			
Uruguay	13	0.79	0.048	11	0.86	0.043	16	0.93	0.032	42	0.77	0.077	2	0.81	0.043	12	0.93	0.058				
New Zealand	14	0.79	0.050	14	0.85	0.045	13	0.94	0.030	27	0.85	0.064	42	0.61	0.056	↓	69	0.72	0.111			
Germany	15	0.78	0.049	21	0.83	0.047	4	0.97	0.019	5	0.94	0.035	10	0.66	0.016	3	0.98	0.022				
Chile	16	0.78	0.050	18	0.84	0.047	11	0.95	0.023	55	0.73	0.081	36	0.62	0.048	8	0.93	0.048				
Luxembourg	17	0.78	0.053	8	0.87	0.045	27	0.89	0.044	3	0.95	0.041	75	0.56	0.070	↓	4	0.97	0.031			
Netherlands	18	0.77	0.049	20	0.83	0.045	12	0.94	0.025	14	0.89	0.051	50	0.59	0.047	18	0.9	0.067				
Austria	19	0.76	0.051	17	0.84	0.046	19	0.91	0.035	25	0.86	0.057	29	0.63	0.036	↓	29	0.87	0.070			
Latvia	20	0.75	0.053	19	0.83	0.047	23	0.91	0.040	21	0.87	0.054	11	0.66	0.034	↓	49	0.81	0.092			
Spain	21	0.74	0.051	22	0.82	0.045	20	0.91	0.040	30	0.84	0.064	28	0.64	0.033	39	0.83	0.09				
South Korea	22	0.74	0.056	↑	25	0.82	0.053	↑	18	0.91	0.034	23	0.87	0.059	44	0.61	0.043	7	0.94	0.048	↑	
Canada	23	0.74	0.053	16	0.84	0.047	31	0.87	0.044	62	0.7	0.080	25	0.64	0.027	52	0.79	0.100				
Japan	24	0.73	0.051	24	0.82	0.047	24	0.9	0.038	4	0.94	0.036	67	0.56	0.052	21	0.9	0.058				
Iceland	25	0.72	0.055	26	0.81	0.051	26	0.9	0.042	8	0.92	0.047	18	0.65	0.037	27	0.88	0.072				
Portugal	26	0.72	0.054	↓	23	0.82	0.050	33	0.87	0.041	↓	61	0.7	0.082	↓	62	0.57	0.054	↓	37	0.84	0.083
Lithuania	27	0.71	0.058	30	0.79	0.058	17	0.92	0.031	20	0.88	0.050	9	0.67	0.045	34	0.84	0.084				

Burkina Faso	141	0.10	0.018	↓	165	0.13	0.017	↓	128	0.34	0.067	↓	108	0.34	0.080	↓	134	0.34	0.091	↓	103	0.14	0.080	↓
Iran	142	0.10	0.018		156	0.16	0.017		135	0.32	0.062		115	0.5	0.092		173	0.1	0.05		146	0.28	0.121	↓
CAR	143	0.10	0.022	↓	120	0.29	0.031		153	0.21	0.061	↓	169	0.24	0.078	↓	146	0.29	0.065		144	0.29	0.126	
Vietnam	144	0.10	0.019		161	0.15	0.018		132	0.33	0.069		107	0.55	0.097		74	0.56	0.056		88	0.62	0.120	
Ethiopia	145	0.10	0.020		130	0.26	0.031		150	0.23	0.056		135	0.43	0.094		139	0.32	0.067		112	0.52	0.127	
Haiti	146	0.10	0.016	↓	136	0.24	0.017	↓	148	0.24	0.051	↓	176	0.17	0.069		141	0.31	0.060	↓	102	0.56	0.125	
Libya	147	0.10	0.020	↓	141	0.19	0.019	↓	142	0.28	0.068	↓	145	0.36	0.089		149	0.24	0.066	↓	35	0.84	0.093	↑
Eswatini	148	0.10	0.020		169	0.13	0.016		134	0.32	0.074		167	0.25	0.081		131	0.37	0.067		156	0.2	0.099	
Guinea	149	0.10	0.020	↓	144	0.19	0.019	↓	143	0.27	0.067		123	0.46	0.090		132	0.36	0.078	↓	150	0.27	0.118	
Guinea-Bissau	150	0.10	0.016	↓	132	0.25	0.019	↓	152	0.22	0.051	↓	122	0.47	0.089		136	0.33	0.057		140	0.32	0.117	
Qatar	151	0.09	0.016		178	0.03	0.005		127	0.35	0.065		142	0.39	0.067		171	0.13	0.044		121	0.47	0.134	
Rwanda	152	0.09	0.020		142	0.19	0.020		147	0.25	0.066	↓	112	0.51	0.100		127	0.39	0.092	↓	101	0.57	0.123	
El Salvador	153	0.09	0.017	↓	113	0.32	0.039	↓	163	0.14	0.041	↓	168	0.25	0.078		133	0.35	0.091	↓	151	0.25	0.112	↓
Uzbekistan	154	0.08	0.014		138	0.22	0.022	↑	156	0.19	0.042	↑	130	0.44	0.092		155	0.2	0.056	↑	123	0.45	0.122	↑
UAE	155	0.08	0.016		172	0.1	0.017		145	0.26	0.058		128	0.44	0.073		176	0.09	0.056		143	0.29	0.116	
South Sudan	156	0.06	0.016		166	0.13	0.013		154	0.2	0.058		178	0.08	0.048		168	0.14	0.066		170	0.1	0.076	
Bahrain	157	0.06	0.013		162	0.14	0.017		155	0.19	0.047		133	0.43	0.074		160	0.16	0.069		157	0.18	0.083	
Chad	158	0.06	0.014		135	0.24	0.026		169	0.11	0.042		174	0.18	0.071		135	0.34	0.068		141	0.32	0.117	
Burundi	159	0.06	0.014		145	0.18	0.017		160	0.15	0.046		161	0.28	0.081		115	0.44	0.074		160	0.17	0.092	
Palestine/Gaza	160	0.06	0.015		168	0.13	0.018		158	0.18	0.055		141	0.4	0.091		151	0.22	0.082		165	0.13	0.084	
Cuba	161	0.06	0.012		148	0.18	0.015		162	0.15	0.040		52	0.74	0.077		169	0.13	0.047		145	0.29	0.111	
Russia	162	0.06	0.011	↓	152	0.17	0.013	↓	161	0.15	0.039	↓	136	0.41	0.084		126	0.39	0.057		162	0.16	0.084	↓
Syria	163	0.05	0.014		170	0.13	0.013		159	0.17	0.051	↑	132	0.43	0.097	↑	157	0.18	0.068		97	0.59	0.136	↑
Azerbaijan	164	0.05	0.011		151	0.17	0.014		165	0.13	0.037		143	0.39	0.082		175	0.10	0.036		172	0.07	0.054	
Cambodia	165	0.05	0.011	↓	146	0.18	0.015	↓	167	0.12	0.038	↓	171	0.23	0.075		162	0.15	0.066		153	0.22	0.091	
Equatorial Guinea	166	0.05	0.012		150	0.17	0.014		168	0.11	0.041		152	0.33	0.084		177	0.09	0.043		169	0.11	0.064	
Saudi Arabia	167	0.05	0.013		179	0.02	0.006		157	0.18	0.051		127	0.45	0.084		174	0.10	0.056		147	0.28	0.117	
Tajikistan	168	0.04	0.011		157	0.16	0.012		170	0.11	0.039		175	0.17	0.066		159	0.16	0.056		166	0.12	0.067	
Yemen	169	0.04	0.012		171	0.13	0.015	↓	166	0.12	0.043		177	0.09	0.045		150	0.23	0.062		168	0.11	0.070	
Venezuela	170	0.04	0.009	↓	147	0.18	0.014	↓	172	0.09	0.030	↓	172	0.22	0.084	↓	110	0.46	0.063		178	0.02	0.023	↓
China	171	0.04	0.011		175	0.07	0.004		164	0.14	0.041		160	0.29	0.081		172	0.12	0.055		152	0.23	0.103	↓
Belarus	172	0.04	0.009	↓	155	0.16	0.014	↓	173	0.09	0.030	↓	44	0.77	0.074		165	0.14	0.047		173	0.06	0.053	↓
Sudan	173	0.03	0.010		167	0.13	0.016	↓	171	0.09	0.035		166	0.25	0.085		163	0.15	0.064		175	0.04	0.046	
Turkmenistan	174	0.03	0.009		160	0.15	0.009		174	0.08	0.032		162	0.27	0.075		178	0.08	0.041		174	0.06	0.048	
Nicaragua	175	0.02	0.005	↓	159	0.15	0.010	↓	178	0.02	0.016	↓	164	0.26	0.078		142	0.31	0.049	↓	179	0.02	0.020	↓
Afghanistan	176	0.02	0.008	↓	176	0.07	0.003	↓	175	0.06	0.032	↓	179	0.05	0.032	↓	156	0.18	0.026	↓	176	0.03	0.036	↓
Myanmar	177	0.01	0.005	↓	174	0.08	0.007	↓	176	0.04	0.019	↓	173	0.2	0.076	↓	166	0.14	0.079	↓	167	0.12	0.070	↓
North Korea	178	0.01	0.007		173	0.08	0.010		177	0.03	0.027		149	0.34	0.085		164	0.15	0.034		177	0.02	0.024	
Eritrea	179	0.01	0.003		177	0.07	0.003		179	0.02	0.013		137	0.41	0.103		179	0.02	0.019		171	0.08	0.053	

Fuente: V-Dem

## SHARE OF WORLD POPULATION LIVING IN DEMOCRACIES



2005:  
**50%**



2025:  
**26%**

## SHARE OF WORLD POPULATION LIVING IN LIBERAL DEMOCRACIES



2005:  
**17%**

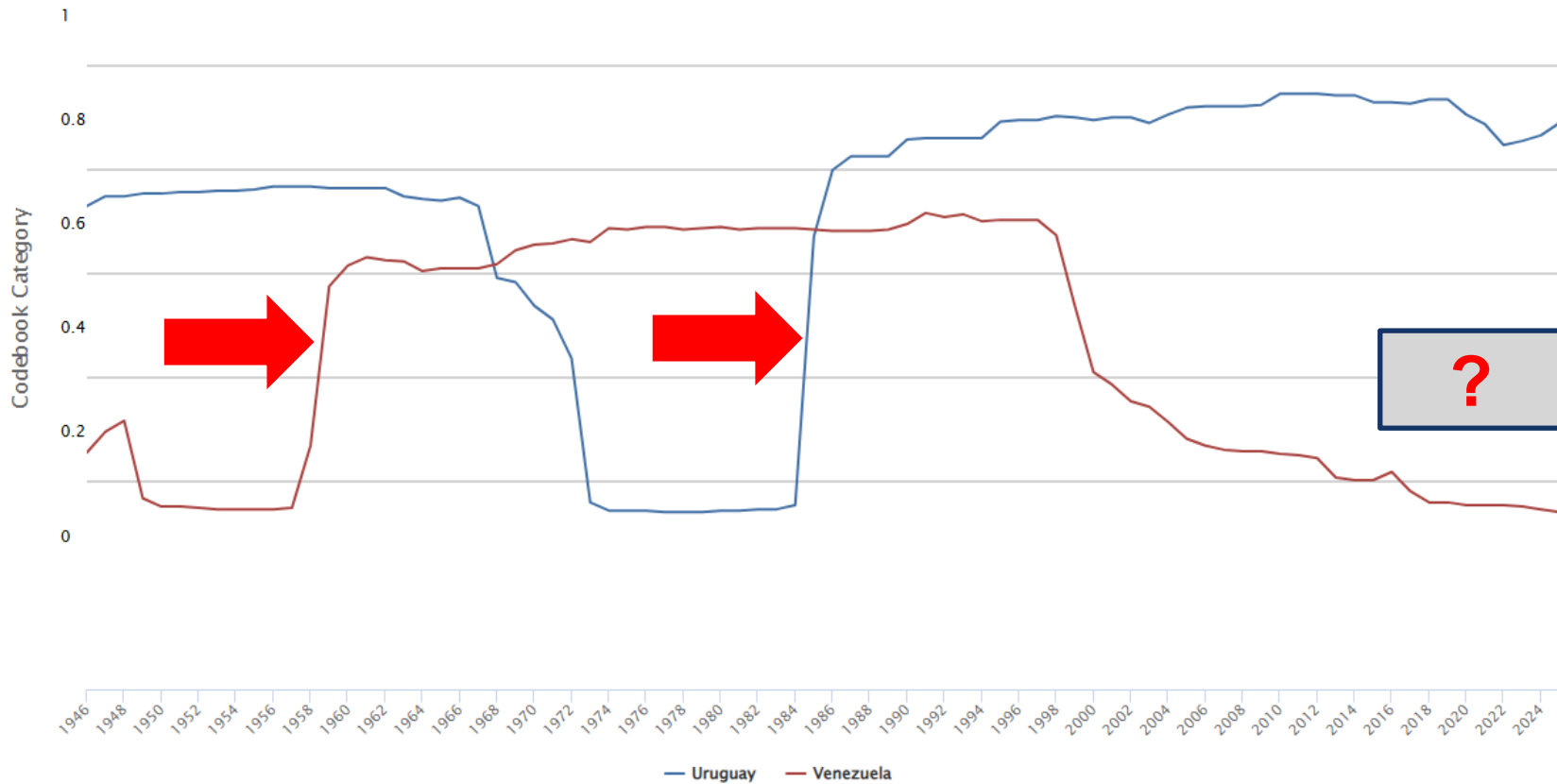


2025:  
**7%**

Fuente: V-Dem

# Transiciones exitosas a la democracia

# Liberal Democracy Index



Fuente: V-Dem

<https://marinojgonzalez.blogspot.com/search/label/Transiciones%20democr%C3%A1ticas%20en%20el%20siglo%20XXI>

# Transiciones exitosas a la democracia

Inductivo

Siglo XXI

Autocracias a principios de siglo (IDL  $\leq$  0,3)

Criterio de éxito: 0,5 (en algún momento del período) y  
al menos 0,5 en 2023

# Transiciones exitosas a la democracia

## Transiciones no exitosas:

Liberia, Túnez (África)

Kosovo, Serbia, Georgia (Europa)

Armenia, Bhutan (Asia)

## Transiciones exitosas:

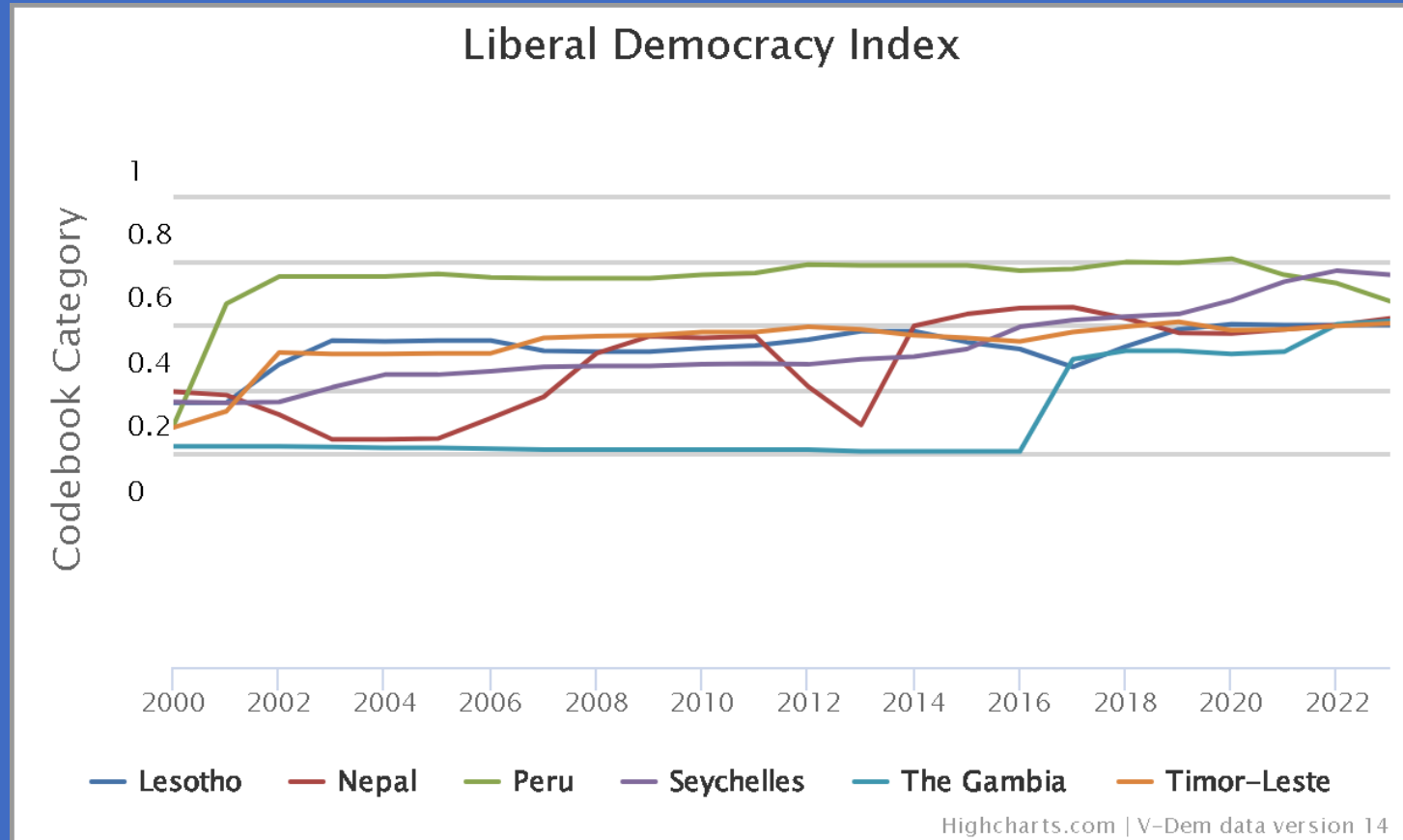
Lesoto, Seychelles, Gambia (África)

Perú (América del Sur)

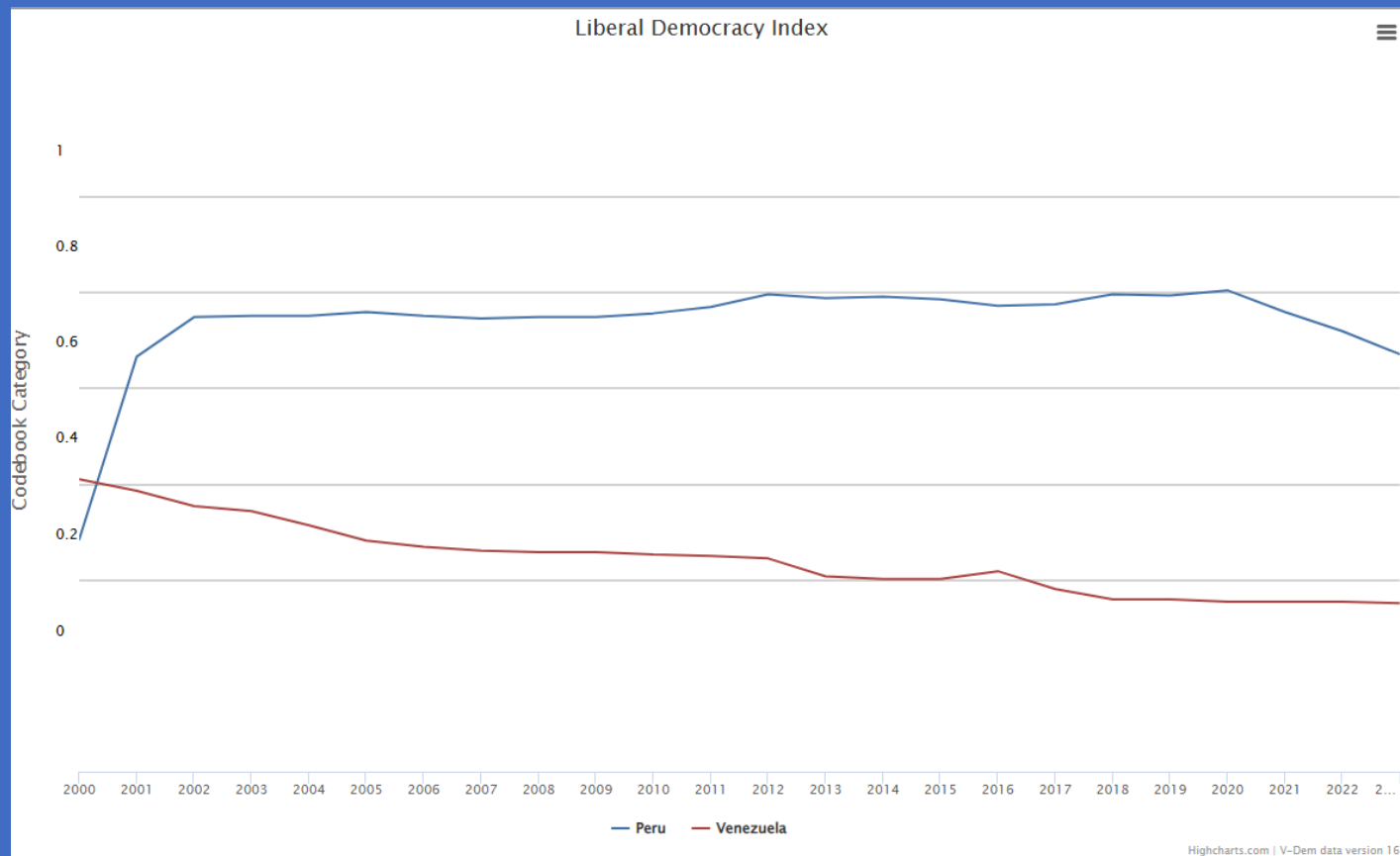
Nepal, Timor Oriental (Asia)

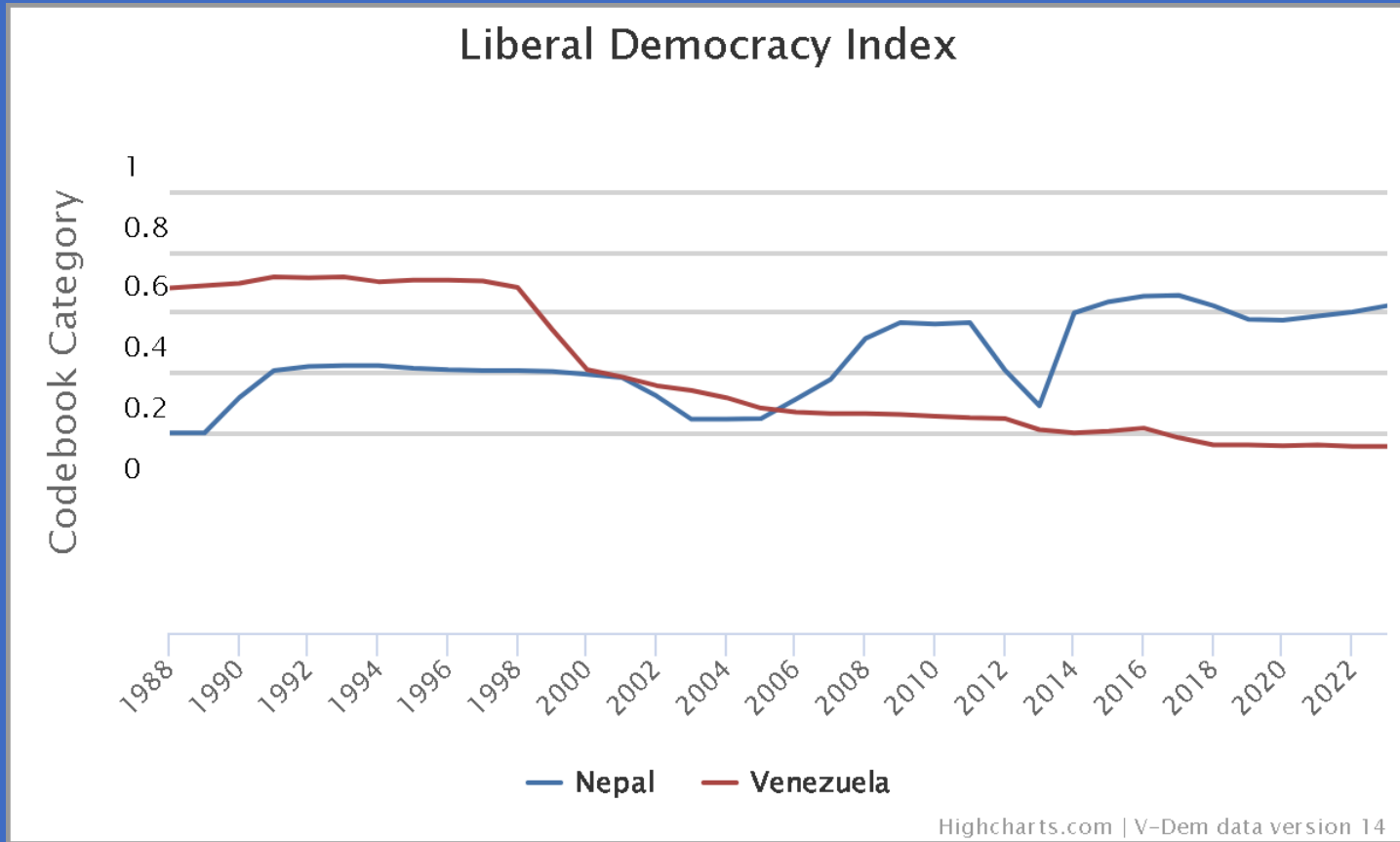


# Transiciones exitosas a la democracia

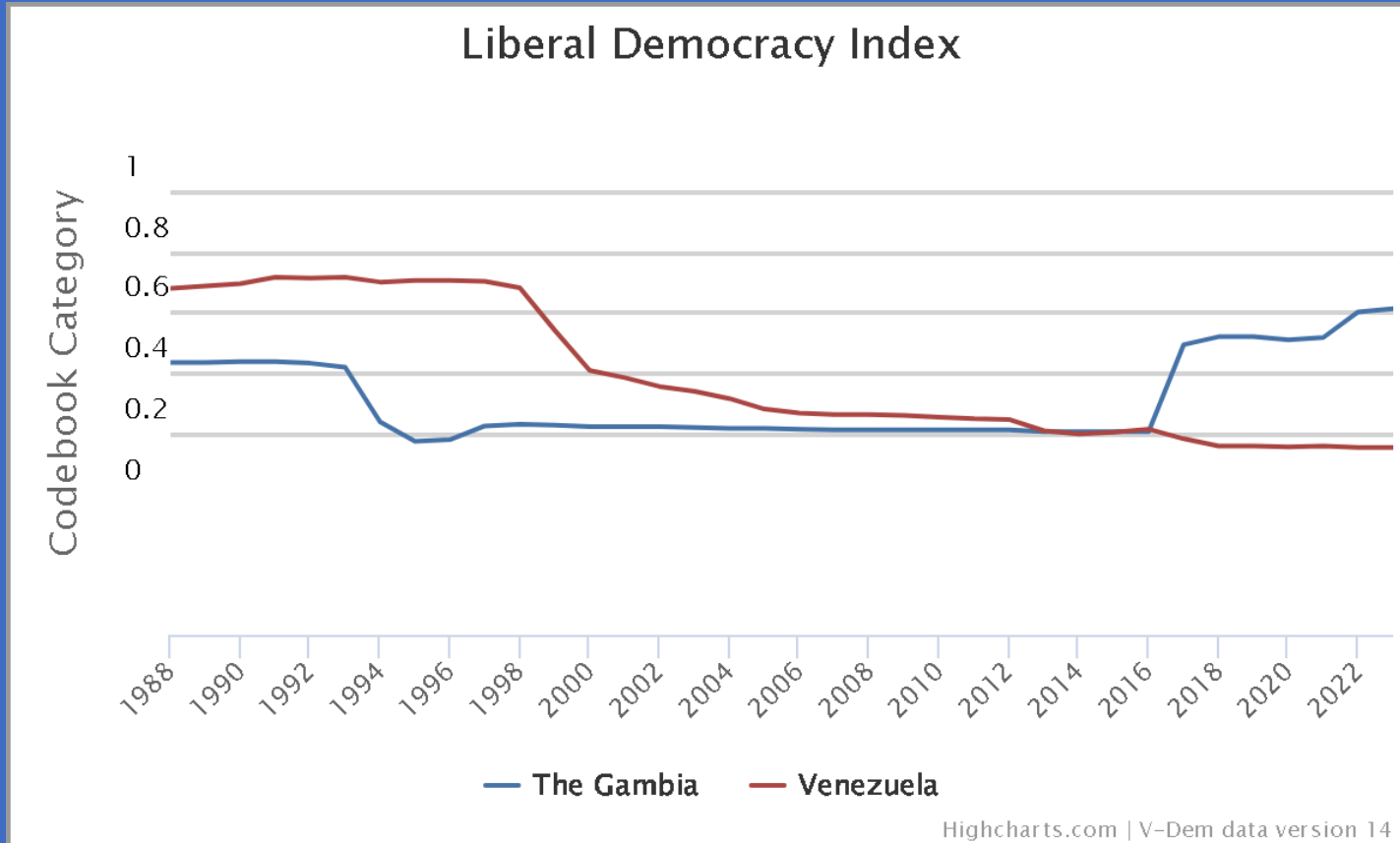


# Perú

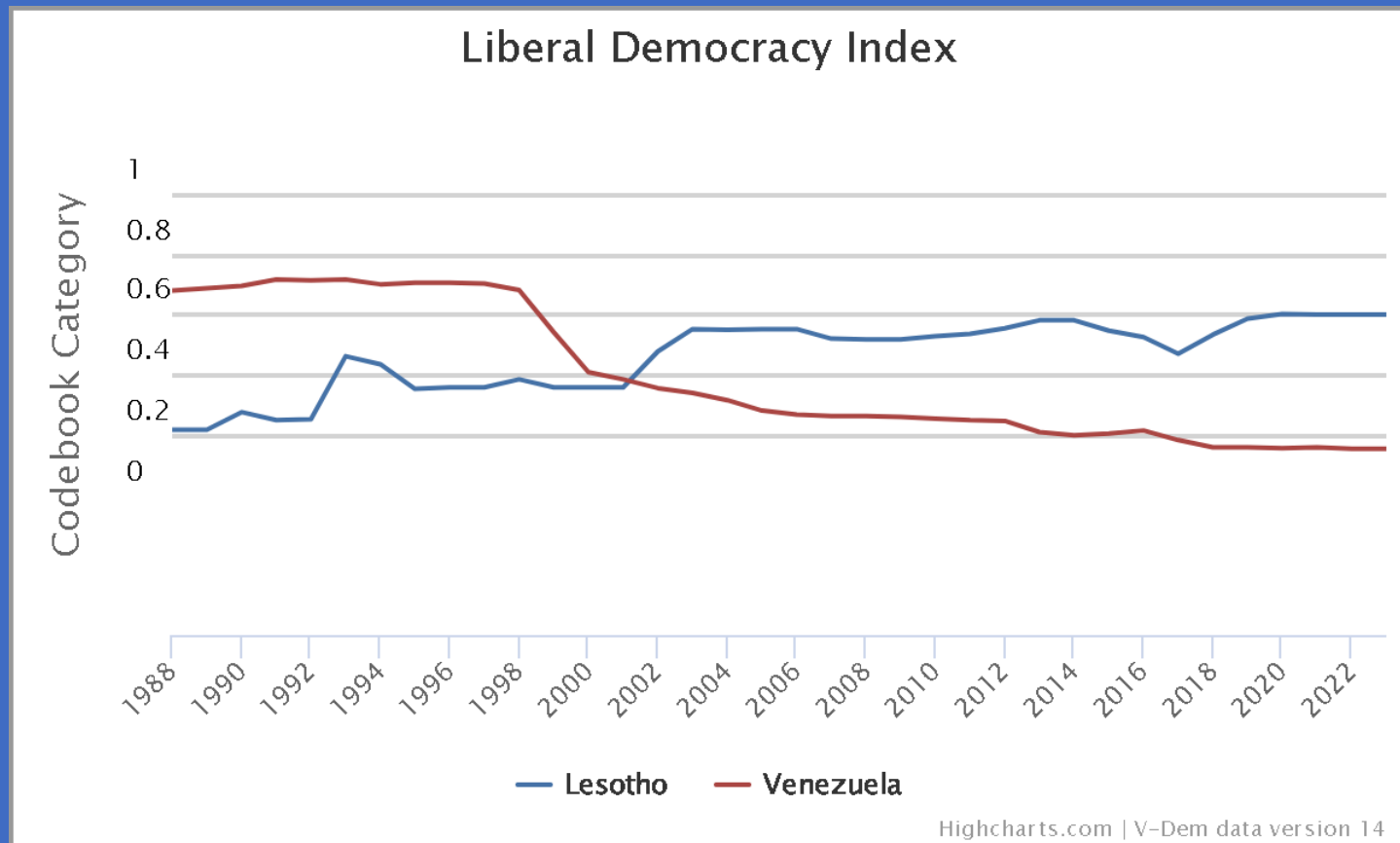




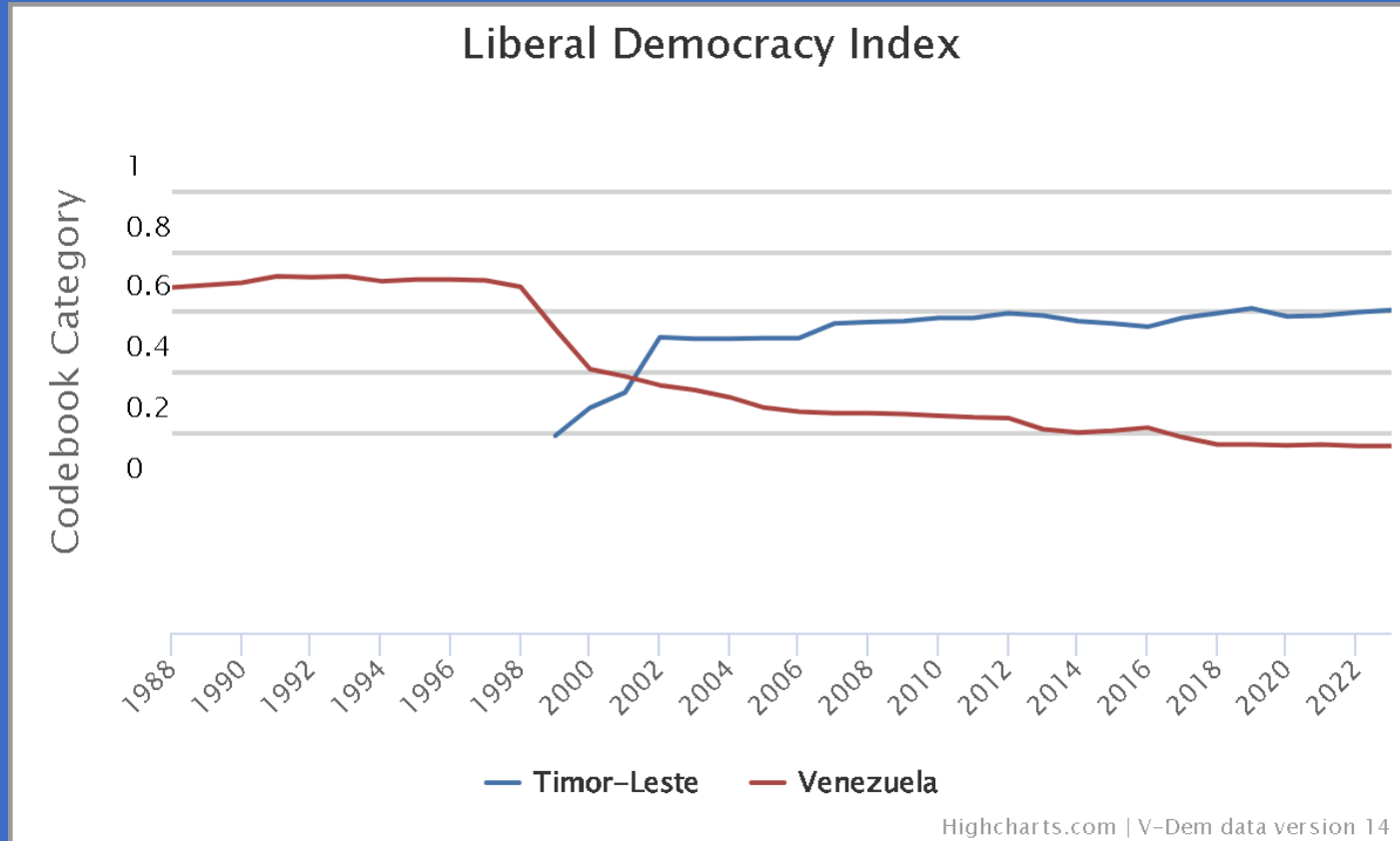
# Gambia



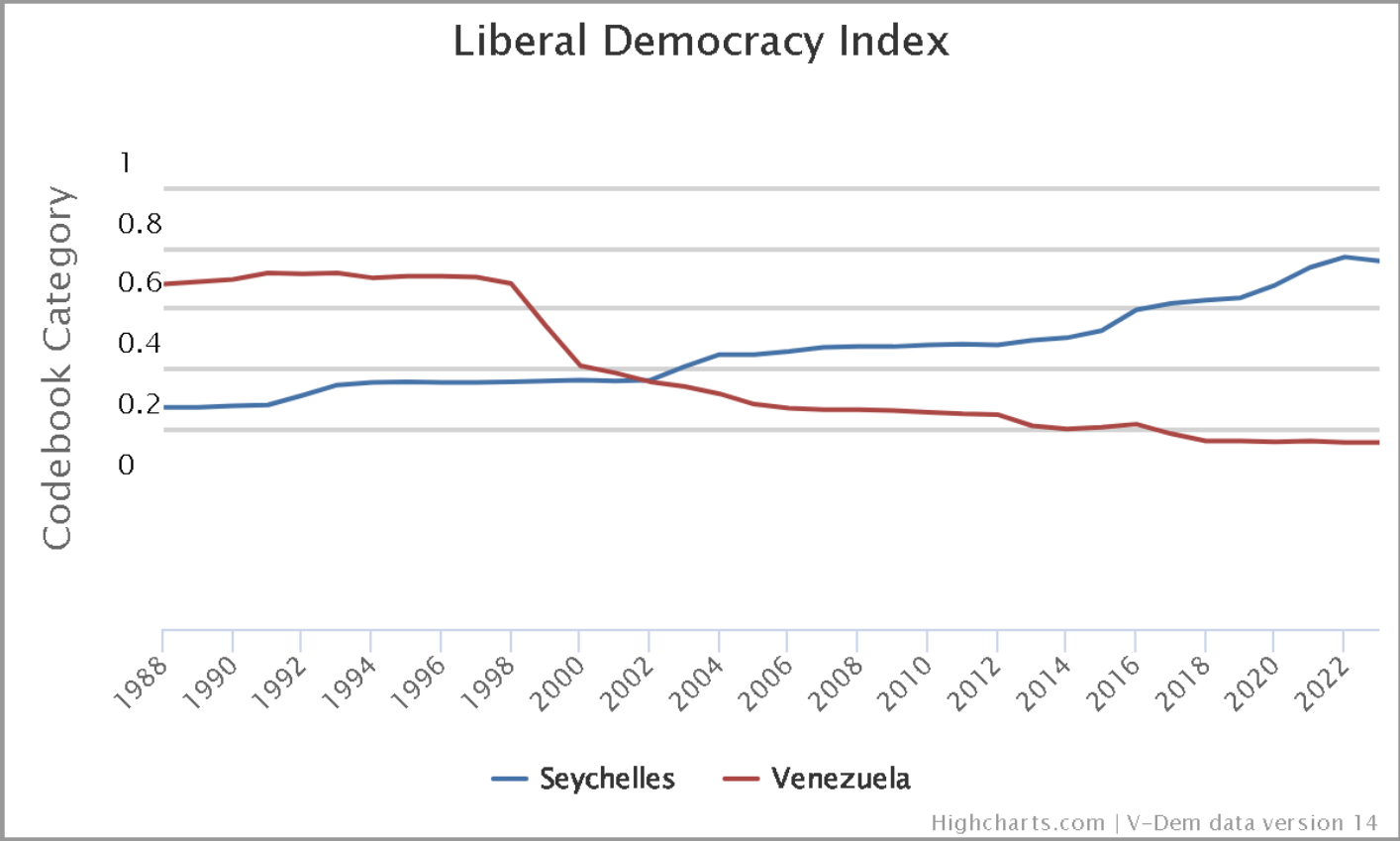
# Lesoto



# Timor Oriental



# Seychelles



# Balance

Análisis de la evolución de las transiciones democráticas

Documentos de instituciones interesadas en las democracias

Publicaciones especializadas

Limitaciones para el análisis



# Lecciones: factores

Demanda de la población por la democracia

Alianza política por la democracia

Perú: partidos políticos

Nepal: más organizaciones de la sociedad civil



# Lecciones: factores

Coyuntura + institucionalidad => catalizadora de la transición

Perú: renuncia + oposición en el Congreso

Nepal: supresión del Legislativo + expresión de la oposición

Timor Oriental: referéndum por independencia + Naciones Unidas

Gambia: desconocimiento de elecciones + presión internacional

Lesoto, Seychelles: cambios en el sistema electoral

# Lecciones: factores

Alianza amplia de actores internacionales

Perú: Mesa de Diálogo (OEA)

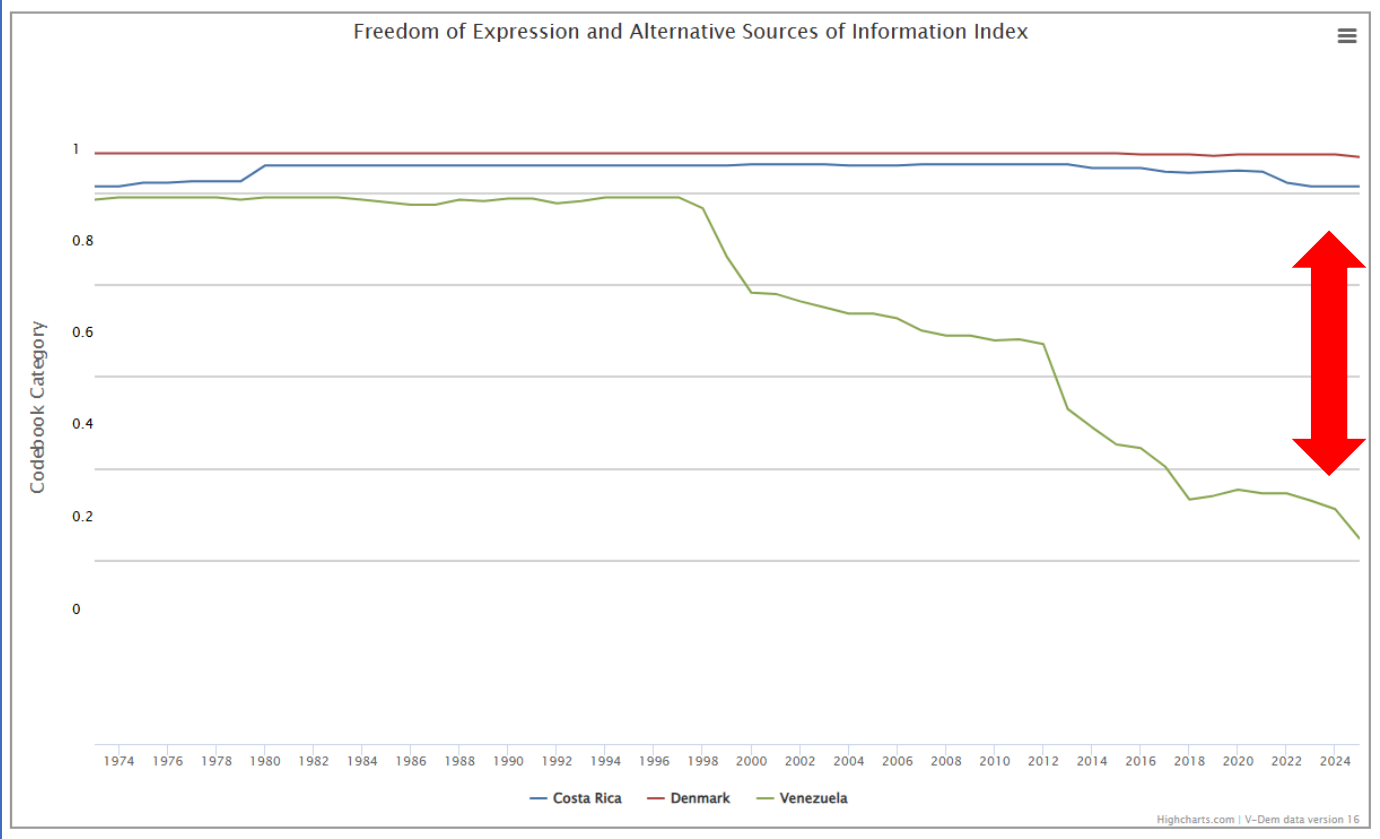
Gambia: Comunidad Económica de África Occidental

Seychelles: importancia estratégica

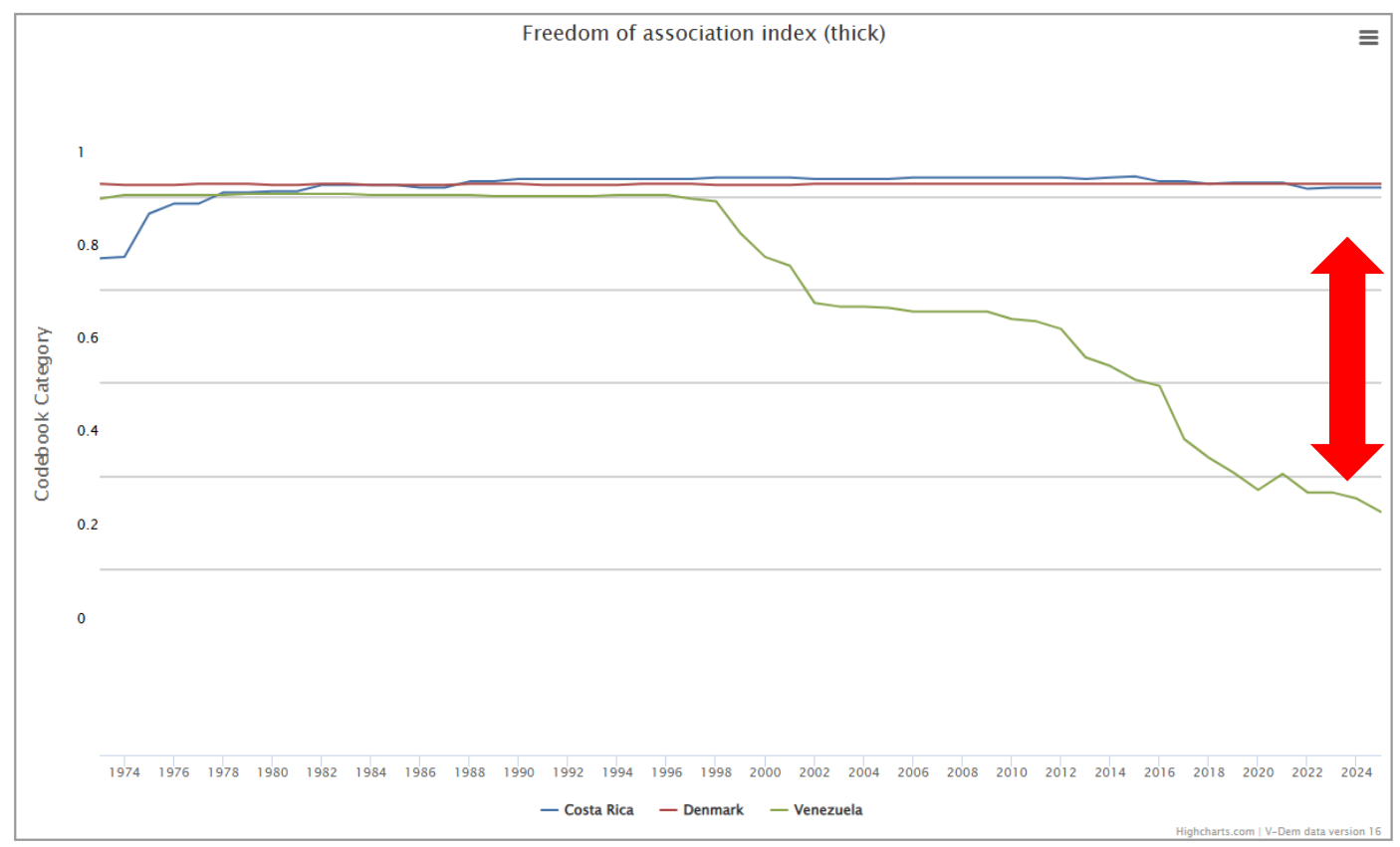


# Transición inclusiva en Venezuela

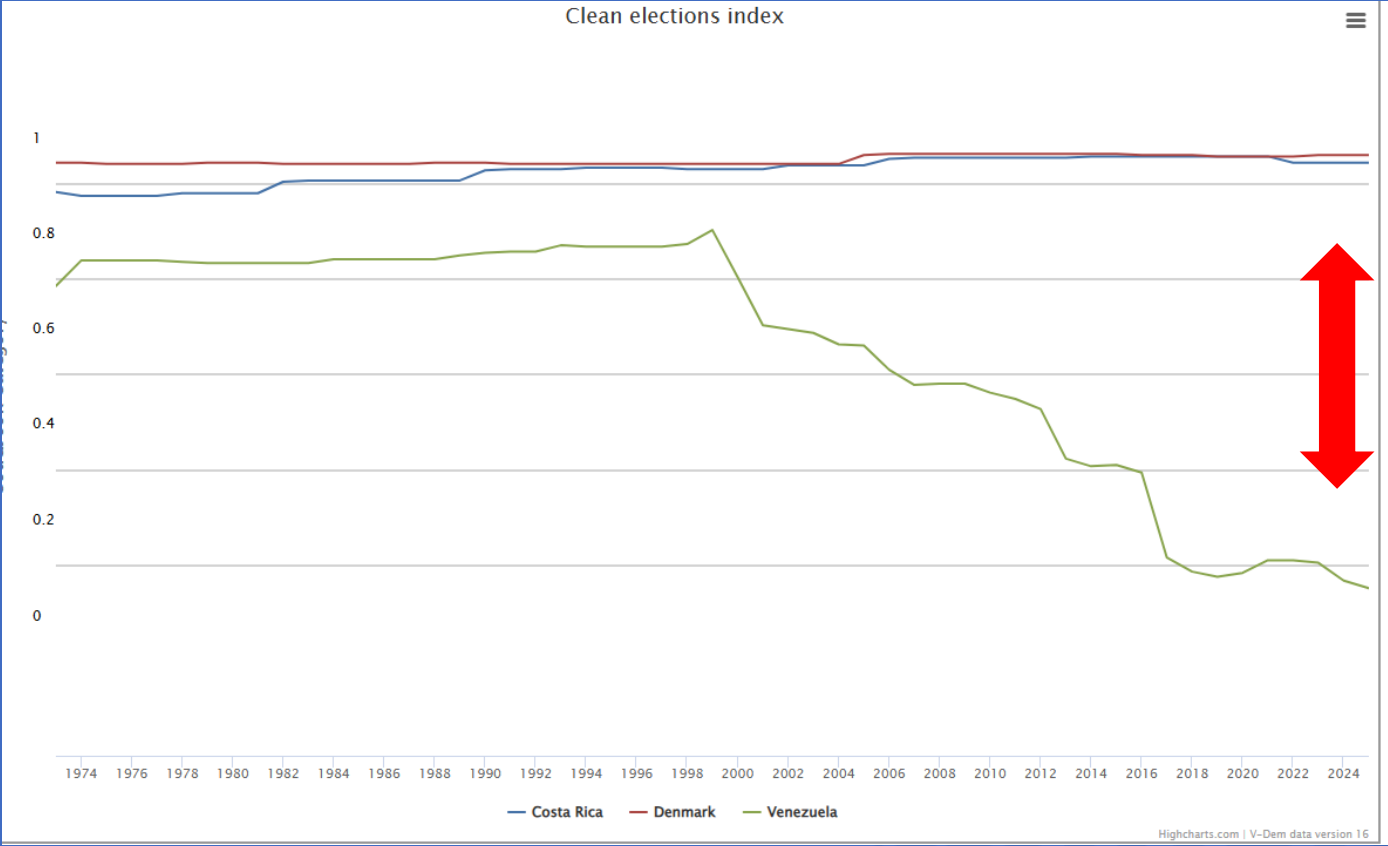
# Brecha de libertad de expresión



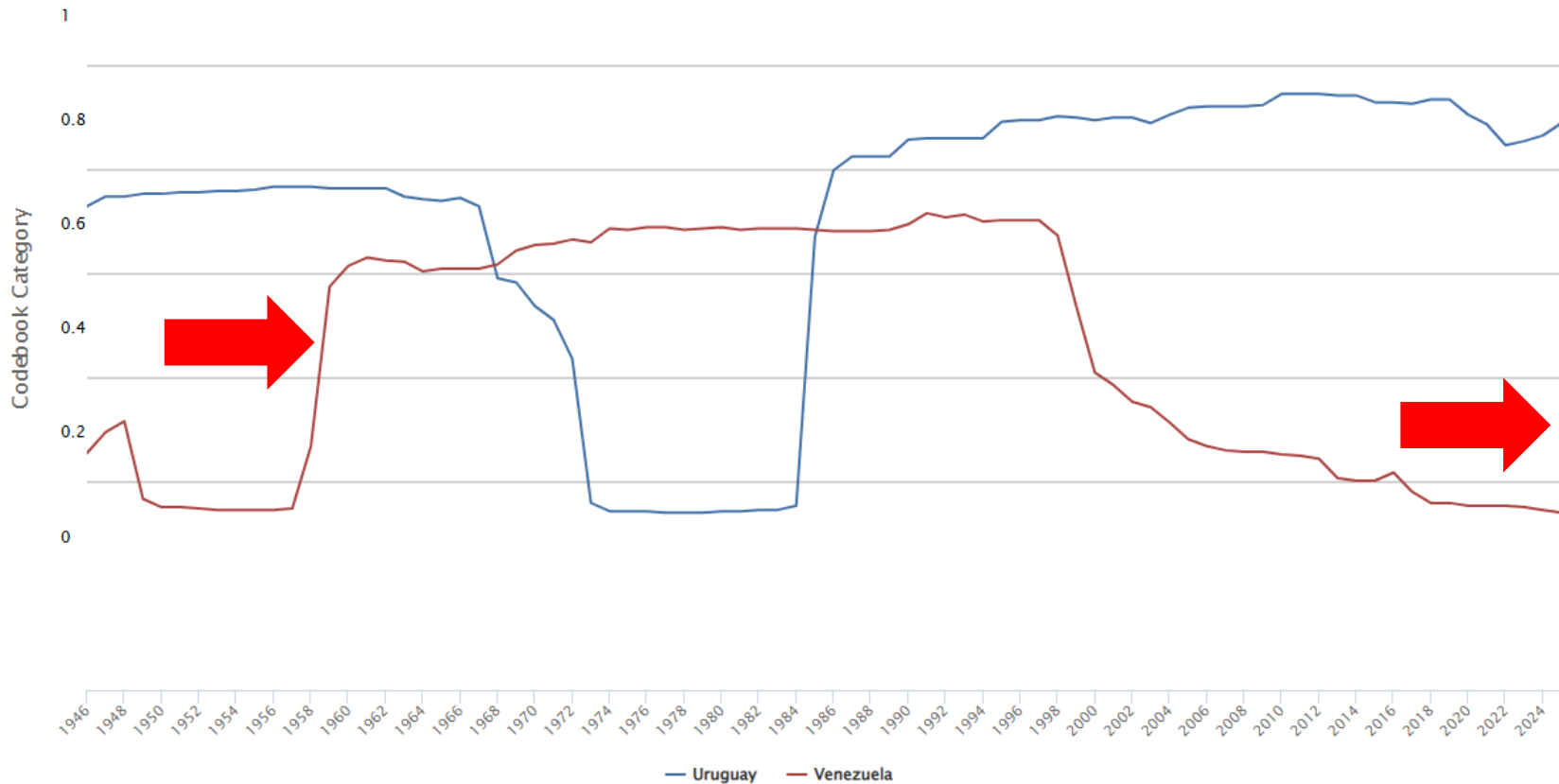
# Brecha de libertad de asociación



# Brecha de elecciones transparentes



# Liberal Democracy Index



Fuente: V-Dem

# Redemocratización de 1958

Experiencia democrática (aprendizaje, no repetir)

Cese de la autocracia (23 de enero de 1958)

Acuerdo político (Pacto de Puntofijo)

Acuerdo sobre el Programa Mínimo (común) de Gobierno

Elecciones generales (diciembre de 1958)



# Desafíos para la redemocratización

Persistencia de la autocracia (permanecer)

Demanda de la población por la democracia (dinámica)

Unidad política: Pacto de gobernabilidad

Alcanzar el acuerdo por la democracia plena

Objetivo conceptual, político, estratégico, y de políticas públicas

# Desafíos para la redemocratización

Coyuntura + institucionalidad => catalizadora de la transición

Promover la coyuntura → condiciones para elecciones

Pacto de Gobernabilidad

Acuerdo político

Acuerdo para gobernar

Exigencias

Derechos políticos

Libertad de expresión

Libertad de asociación

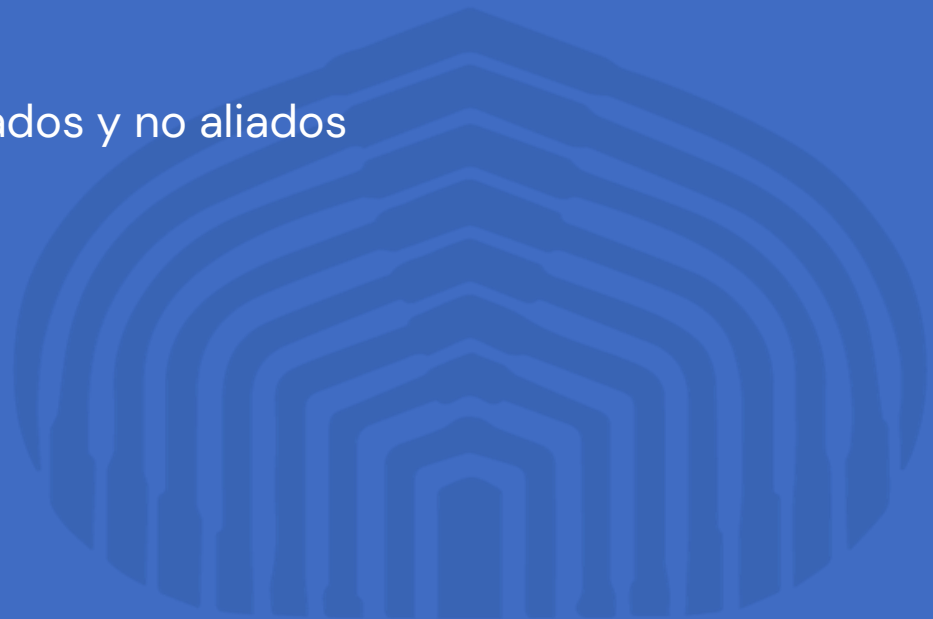
Elecciones libres y transparentes

# Desafíos para la redemocratización

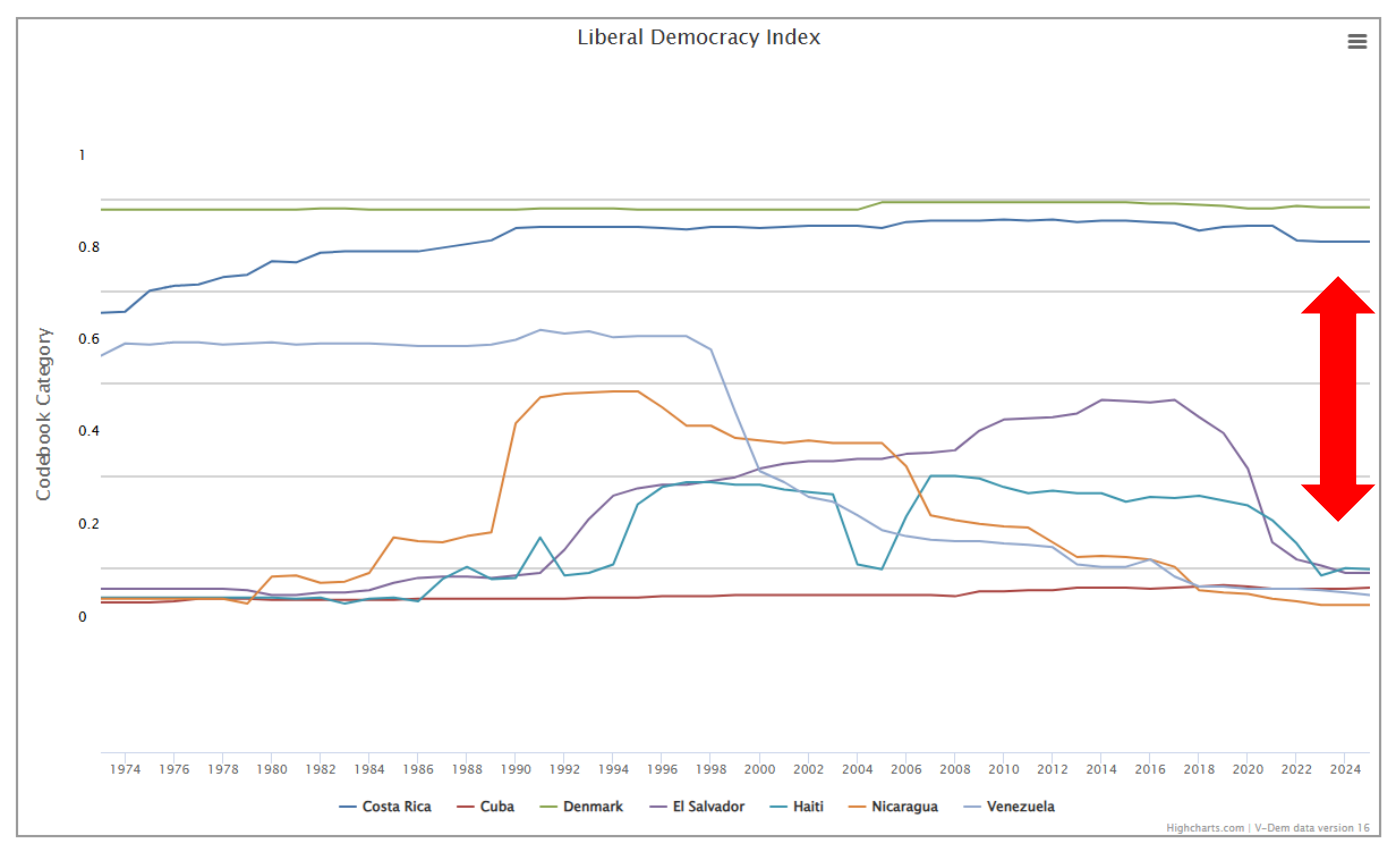
Alianzas amplias de actores internacionales

Control por parte de Estados Unidos (autocratización)

Impacto en otros actores aliados y no aliados



# Brecha de democracia plena



# Comentarios finales

Exigencias para la redemocratización

Secuencia de acuerdos

Dentro de la oposición

Con el gobierno y sus sectores de apoyo

1958: 22 meses

Travesía:

Éxitos tempranos

Éxitos sostenidos



Gracias