



THE POLITICAL CULTURE OF DEMOCRACY IN ECUADOR AND IN THE AMERICAS, 2018/19: TAKING THE PULSE OF DEMOCRACY

Paolo Moncagatta
Universidad San Francisco de Quito

Arturo Moscoso Moreno
Universidad de Las Américas

Simón Pachano
Facultad Latinoamericana de Ciencias Sociales

J. Daniel Montalvo
LAPOP Director of Survey Research Operations
and Report Editor
Vanderbilt University

Elizabeth J. Zechmeister
LAPOP Director and Series Editor
Vanderbilt University





VANDERBILT®

LAPOP

AmericasBarometer
Barómetro de las Américas

50+1 grupo de
análisis político



COUNTERPART
INTERNATIONAL



The Political Culture of Democracy in Ecuador and in the Americas, 2018/19:

Taking the Pulse of Democracy

By

Paolo Moncagatta
Universidad San Francisco de Quito

Arturo Moscoso Moreno
Universidad de Las Américas

Simón Pachano
Facultad Latinoamericana de Ciencias Sociales

J. Daniel Montalvo
Director of Survey Research Operations and Report Editor
Vanderbilt University

Elizabeth J. Zechmeister, Ph.D.
LAPOP Director and Series Editor
Vanderbilt University

May 2020

This study is made possible by the support of the American People through the United States Agency for International Development (USAID). The contents of this study are the sole responsibility of the authors and LAPOP and do not necessarily reflect the views of USAID or the United States Government.

Table of Contents

List of Figures and Tables	vii
Preface.....	xi
Introduction to the 2018/19 AmericasBarometer	xiii
Acknowledgements	xv
Chapter 1. Support for Electoral Democracy in the Americas and in Ecuador	1
I. Introduction	1
II. Main Findings	4
III. Basic Tenets of Electoral Democracy	5
Support for Democracy in the Abstract	5
Rules of the Game: Tolerance of Military Coups.....	9
Tolerance of Executive Coups	12
IV. Evaluation of Democracy	15
Satisfaction with Democracy	15
V. Conclusion	18
Appendix.....	20
Chapter 2. Democratic Legitimacy in the Americas and in Ecuador	21
I. Introduction	21
II. Main Findings	23
III. System Support	24
IV. Specific Institutions and Actors	28
V. Political Tolerance	33
VI. Dimensions of Democratic Legitimacy	36
VII. Conclusion.....	39
Appendix.....	41
Chapter 3. Social Media and Political Attitudes in the Latin America and Caribbean Region .	45
I. Introduction.....	45
II. Main Findings	46
III. How Widely Used Are Social Media?	47
IV. Who Uses Social Media?	51
V. How Frequently Do They Use Social Media?	51
VI. Political Engagement on Social Media	57

VII. Social Media Use and Political Attitudes	60
VIII. Conclusion	67
Appendix.....	68
Chapter 4. The Politicization of Citizens and Ideological Polarization in Ecuador	73
I. Introduction.....	73
II. Main Findings	74
III. The Concept of Ideology: Definitions, Debates and Theoretical Discussions	75
IV. Ideological Self-Identification	79
V. Relationship between Ideological Self-Identification and Positions on Public Policies	82
VI. Possible Determinants of Ideological Self-Identification.....	84
VII. Conclusion.....	86
Appendix.....	87
Chapter 5. Clash of Ideas: 21st Century Progressivism versus Conservatism in Ecuador	89
I. Introduction.....	89
II. Key Findings	91
III. Measuring Progressivism and Conservatism in Ecuador with Data from the AmericasBarometer.....	92
Approval of Gay Rights.....	93
Support for Government Provision of Social Services to Foreigners.....	96
Support for the Idea that Men are Better Political Leaders than Women	98
Progressive and Conservative Values Over Time	99
What Factors Predict Progressivism and Conservatism in Ecuador in 2019?.....	100
Generation as a Determining Factor of Progressive and Conservative Values in Ecuador	102
Putting it all Together: A Comparative Perspective of the Ideological Positioning and Social Values of Ecuadorians in 2019	104
IV. Conclusion	106
Appendix.....	109
Chapter 6. Attitudes Towards Corruption in Ecuador	113
I. Introduction.....	113
II. Key Findings	114
III. Corruption	115
IV. Perceptions of Corruption.....	116
V. Victimization by Corruption.....	119

VI. Tolerance towards Corruption.....	123
Possible Determinants of Tolerance for Corruption	125
VII. Conclusion.....	126
Appendices.....	128
References	131
Appendices.....	141
Appendix A. Understanding Figures in this Study	143
Appendix B. Study Information Sheet.....	145
Appendix C. Questionnaire.....	147

List of Figures and Tables

Figure 1.1. State of Democracy in the LAC-18 Region	3
Figure 1.2. Cross-National Support for Democracy, 2018/19.....	6
Figure 1.3. Support for Democracy and the Level of Democracy, 2018/19	7
Figure 1.4. Support for Democracy, Ecuador 2004-2019.....	8
Figure 1.5. Support for Democracy by Age, Ecuador 2019	8
Figure 1.6. Tolerance of Military Coups under High Crime and High Corruption, 2018/19.....	10
Figure 1.7. Tolerance for Military Coups under High Crime and High Corruption, Ecuador 2004-2019	11
Figure 1.8. Demographic and Socio-Economic Predictors of Tolerance of Military Coups, Ecuador 2019.....	12
Figure 1.9. Tolerance for Executive Coups, 2018/19.....	13
Figure 1.10. Tolerance for Executive Coups, Ecuador 2010-2019	14
Figure 1.11. Demographic and Socio-Economic Predictors of Tolerance for Executive Coups, Ecuador 2019.....	14
Figure 1.12. Satisfaction with Democracy, 2018/19	16
Figure 1.13. Satisfaction with Democracy, Ecuador 2004-2019	17
Figure 1.14. Demographic and Socio-Economic Predictors of Satisfaction with Democracy, Ecuador 2019.....	18
Figure 2.1. System Support and Its Components, Ecuador 2004-2019.....	25
Figure 2.2. System Support, 2018/19	26
Figure 2.3. Changes in System Support and Recent Elections	27
Figure 2.4. Demographic and Socio-Economic Correlates of System Support, Ecuador 2019	28
Figure 2.5. Trust in Institutions in Ecuador (I), 2004-2019	29
Figure 2.6. Trust in Institutions in Ecuador (II), 2004-2019.....	30
Figure 2.7. Trust in Institutions, 2018/19.....	31
Figure 2.8. Mass Public and Expert Evaluations of Elections	32
Figure 2.9. Political Tolerance and Its Components, Ecuador 2004-2019.....	34
Figure 2.10. Political Tolerance, 2018/19	35
Figure 2.11. Demographic and Socio-Economic Correlates of Political Tolerance, Ecuador 2019.....	36
Figure 2.12. Correlates of System Support, 2018/19	38
Figure 2.13. Correlates of System Support, Ecuador 2019.....	38
Figure 2.14. Apoyo al sistema según variables de legitimidad democrática, Ecuador 2019	39
Figure 3.1. Social Media Use, the LAC Region and Ecuador, 2018/19.....	48
Figure 3.2. Overlap in Use of Social Media Platforms in the LAC Region, 2018/19	50
Figure 3.3. Frequency of Social Media Use, the LAC Region and Ecuador, 2018/19	53

Figure 3.4. Factors Associated with Social Media Use, Ecuador 2019.....	54
Figure 3.5. Social Media Use by Socio-Demographic Variables, Ecuador 2019.....	55
Figure 3.6. Factors Predicting High (vs. Low) Social Media Use, Ecuador 2019	56
Figure 3.7. Frequency of Social Media Use by Wealth, Ecuador 2019	56
Figure 3.8. Frequency Viewing Political Information on WhatsApp, Facebook, and Twitter, LAC and Ecuador, 2018/19	58
Figure 3.9. Factors Associated with Frequent Viewing of Political Information on Social Media Ecuador 2019	59
Figure 3.10. Political Information Access through Social Media by Socio-Demographic variables, Ecuador 2019	60
Figure 3.11. Tolerance Level, and Support for Democracy by Type of Social Media Use and Non-Users, LAC and Ecuador 2018/19	62
Figure 3.12. Satisfaction with Democracy by Type of Social Media User and Non-account Holders, LAC and Ecuador 2018/19	64
Figure 3.13. Trust in Institutions by Type of Social Media User and Non-account Holders in the LAC Region and Ecuador, 2018/19.....	66
Figure 4.1. Ideological Self-Identification Through Time in Ecuador	80
Figure 4.2. Ideological Self-Identification in Latin America and the Caribbean, 2018/19	82
Figure 4.3. Percentages of Those who Affirm that "The state must implement policies to reduce income inequality" by Ideological Self-Identification, Ecuador 2019	84
Figure 4.4. Maximum Effects of Predictors of Ideological Self-Identification in Ecuador 2019	85
Figure 5.1. Approval of Political Rights for Homosexuals, 2018/19	94
Figure 5.2. Approval of Same-Sex Marriage, 2018/19.....	95
Figure 5.3. Public Opinion on the Provision of Social Services to Foreigners, 2018/19.....	97
Figure 5.4. Opinion on Women's Political Leadership, 2018/19	98
Figure 5.5. Progressive and Conservative Values in Ecuador Over Time.....	99
Figure 5.6. Predictors of Progressive and Conservative Values in Ecuador, 2019	101
Figure 5.7. Generations and Progressive vs. Conservative Values	103
Figure 5.8. Social Values and Ideology in Latin America and the Caribbean, 2018/19	104
Figure 6.1. Perception of Political Corruption, Ecuador 2019	117
Figure 6.2. Perceptions of Political Corruption in Latin America and the Caribbean, 2018/19	118
Figure 6.3. Perceptions of Political Corruption, Ecuador 2019.....	119
Figure 6.4. Victimization by Corruption over Time in Ecuador.....	121
Figure 6.5. Victimization by Corruption in Latin America and the Caribbean, 2018/19	122
Figure 6.6. Tolerance towards Corruption Over Time in Ecuador	123
Figure 6.7. Tolerance of Corruption in Latin America and the Caribbean, 2018/19	124
Figure 6.8. Predictors of Tolerance of Corruption, Ecuador 2019	125

Table 3.1. Internet Access and Social Media Usage by Country, 2018/19	49
Table 3.2. Characteristics of Social Media Users, Ecuador 2019	51
Table 5.1. Generational Composition.....	103

Preface

The United States Agency for International Development (USAID) takes pride in its support of the AmericasBarometer. While its primary goal is to represent the voice of the people on important issues, the AmericasBarometer also helps guide USAID programming and inform policymakers throughout the Latin America and Caribbean region. In numerous ways, the AmericasBarometer informs discussions over the quality and strength of democracy in the region.

USAID relies on the AmericasBarometer to inform strategy development, guide program design, and in evaluating the context in which we work in the region. The AmericasBarometer alerts policymakers and international assistance agencies to key challenges and informs citizens about democratic values and experiences in their country, as compared to other countries. As a ‘barometer’, the project gives important insights on long term trends that can identify democratic backsliding and highlight upswings in norms and attitudes for further study.

At every stage of AmericasBarometer, the team realizes another objective of the project: building capacity. In the course of the project, experienced and expert individuals in the field of survey research work alongside and transfer knowledge and skills to students, local researchers, and others. These opportunities come through discussions over the development of the core questionnaire, cross-national collaborations on sample design, training sessions for fieldwork teams and office personnel involved in the surveys, and workshops and presentations on the analysis and reporting of the public opinion data.

The AmericasBarometer is coordinated by a team at Vanderbilt University, which hosts the LAPOP research center and core team. At the same time, the AmericasBarometer is a collaborative international project. In the first stage of each round, LAPOP consults with researchers across the Americas, USAID, and other project supporters to develop a core questionnaire. For each individual country survey, subject experts, local teams, and USAID officers provide suggestions for country-specific modules that are added to the core. In each country, LAPOP works with local teams to pre-test the questionnaire in order to refine the survey instrument while making sure that it is written in language(s) familiar to the average person in that country. Once the questionnaire is completed, it is programmed into software and each local survey team is trained according to the same exacting standards. Samples are designed and reviewed by LAPOP and local partners. As data collection proceeds, LAPOP and the local teams stay in close contact to monitor quality, security, and progress. Once the data are collected, LAPOP audits and processes the files while engaging in conversations with a consortium of individuals and institutions, including USAID, over plans for the dissemination of those data, findings, and reports. A large network of individuals across the region contributes to the reports that are developed after each round of the AmericasBarometer.

The collaborative nature of the AmericasBarometer improves the project and makes it possible. While USAID has been the largest supporter of the surveys that form the core of the AmericasBarometer, Vanderbilt University provides important ongoing support. In addition, each round of the project is supported by numerous other individuals and institutions. Thanks to this

broad and generous network of supporters, the AmericasBarometer covers the Americas and provides a public good for all those interested in understanding and improving democratic governance in the region.

USAID is grateful to the LAPOP team, who assiduously and scrupulously works to generate each round of the AmericasBarometer, currently under the leadership of Dr. Elizabeth Zechmeister (Director) and Dr. Noam Lupu (Associate Director). We also extend our deep appreciation to their outstanding former and current students located at Vanderbilt and throughout the hemisphere, to the local fieldwork teams, to all those who took the time to respond to the survey, and to the many expert individuals and institutions across the region that contribute to and engage with the project.

Stephanie Molina
Democracy and Human Rights Team
Office of Regional Sustainable Development
Bureau for Latin America & the Caribbean
U.S. Agency for International Development

Introduction to the 2018/19 AmericasBarometer

Elizabeth J. Zechmeister and Noam Lupu

The pulse of democracy in the region remains weak. Citizen support for democracy is critical to sustaining free and fair systems and bolstering against democratic backsliding. Yet support for democracy declined in the last round of the AmericasBarometer (2016/17) and remains low in this round, fielded between late 2018 and early 2019. Public satisfaction with how democracy is performing has also declined, while support for executive coups (i.e., the executive shuttering congress) has continued to grow. Political legitimacy – the extent to which the public views their country's basic core institutions and processes as worthy of respect and confidence – remains below the midpoint in the average country in the Americas.

In the midst of this milieu of doubt regarding the value of democracy and the capacity of political institutions, social media are on the rise. Globally and in the Latin America and Caribbean region, analysts are asking whether social media on the whole help or hinder democratic processes and democracy itself. Findings from the AmericasBarometer's new social media module allow us to see how widespread social media are, and who uses them (the younger, the more urban, and the more educated). They also allow us to see distinctions among the political attitudes held by those who use social media frequently. In brief, frequent social media users tend to adhere more to core democratic values but also tend to be more disaffected in their satisfaction with democracy and their confidence in core political institutions.

The AmericasBarometer by LAPOP is a unique tool for assessing the public's experiences with democratic governance. The survey permits valid comparisons across individuals, subnational and supranational regions, countries, and time, via a common core questionnaire and standardized methods. Comparative research on democratic governance is critically important to understanding today's realities, anticipating key political challenges, and identifying actionable policy solutions.

The 2018/19 AmericasBarometer represents the 8th round of this project. The questionnaire contains a common core that allows us to assess the extent to which citizens support democratic values, perceive a sufficient supply of basic liberties, experience the rule of law, engage in political life, support their system of government, use social media, and more.

Fieldwork for the latest round of the AmericasBarometer began in late 2018 and continued into the summer of 2019. At this time, 20 countries are included in the round. For the first time since their initial inclusion in the AmericasBarometer, we selected not to conduct surveys in Venezuela and Haiti due to instability and related concerns about interviewer safety. We will revisit this decision as circumstances change. For now, the full dataset for this round includes over 31,050 interviews, conducted across urban and rural settings and implemented with the assistance of partners and fieldwork organizations across the Americas.

Questionnaire content reflects input from a wide range of project sponsors and stakeholders. The surveys were pretested in each country via cognitive interviews and programmed into Survey to Go software for fieldwork. The samples are nationally representative and also programmed into the e-instrument. All fieldwork teams used e-devices for fieldwork and were trained in the project's protocols and in quality control. To monitor quality, we applied LAPOP's FALCON (Fieldwork Algorithm for LAPOP Control over survey Operations and Norms). All interviews were audited at least once to ensure the following: that interviewers were in the sampled location, enumerators were those who attended training, questions were read correctly, interview protocols were followed, and contact attempts were recorded efficiently and accurately. All datasets were audited and processed by our team. The data and project reports are publicly and freely available at the project website (www.lapopsurveys.org).

Each round of the AmericasBarometer involves a multi-year process and the effort of thousands of individuals across the Americas. In each country, we partner with a local fieldwork organization and we further benefit from input from researchers, country experts, sponsors, and subject experts located in institutions across the Americas. This network is critical to the quality of the AmericasBarometer and its availability as a public good. On behalf of this entire team, we express our hope that the reports and data generated by this project reach and are useful to the broadest possible number of individuals interested in and working to improve democracy and development across the Americas.

Dr. Elizabeth J. Zechmeister is Cornelius Vanderbilt Professor of Political Science at Vanderbilt University and Director of LAPOP. Dr. Noam Lupu is Associate Professor of Political Science at Vanderbilt University and Associate Director of LAPOP.

Acknowledgements

Conducting national surveys across the Americas requires extensive planning, coordination, and effort. We thank all the members of the public who took the time to assist with pretests and to respond to the final questionnaire. We are grateful for their generosity and willingness to share their beliefs and experiences. Just as important to recognize are our partner survey organizations and fieldwork teams, whose unflagging efforts have been crucial to the success of this project. The fieldwork in Ecuador this round 2018/19 was carried out by our partner institution CEDATOS. We are grateful to them for their entire time and work on this project.

The AmericasBarometer is made possible by core support from the United States Agency for International Development (USAID) and Vanderbilt University. Over the course of the 2018/19 round of the AmericasBarometer, we benefited from leadership and guidance offered by Stephanie Molina, Chris Strom, and Madeline Williams. At Vanderbilt, the Dean of the College of Arts and Science, Dr. John Geer, and the Chair of the Political Science Department, Dr. Alan Wiseman, have championed and supported the project in important ways. We gratefully acknowledge the interest and support of the staff, students, and faculty in the Department of Political Science, the Center for Latin American Studies, the Office of Sponsored Programs Administration, and the leadership at Vanderbilt. Support for selected efforts associated with the 2018/19 AmericasBarometer came from collaborations with organizations and institutions that include Ciudadanía (Bolivia), Environics (Canada), Florida International University, the Inter-American Development Bank, the World Bank, the University of Southern California, and at Vanderbilt University: the Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions and the Trans-Institutional Programs (TIPs) initiative.

We thank the “LAPOP Central” team who collectively has put in tens of thousands of hours of work into this project, adroitly employing new skills and conscientiously keeping an eye on the smallest of details. For this round, these exceptional individuals included, in alphabetical order, Rubí Arana, Dr. Fernanda Boidi, Dr. Oscar Castorena, Dr. Jonathan Hiskey, Sebastián Larrea, Dr. Daniel Montalvo, Georgina Pizzolitto, Dr. Camilo Plata, Alexa Rains, Maita Schade, and Dr. Carole Wilson. We remain grateful as always to Tonya Mills, who manages all financial aspects of this project. We also owe thanks to Heather Selke for her help on various administrative aspects of the project. We are grateful, as well, to Eduardo Marenco, working from his home in Nicaragua, who assisted in a number of ways with our Central America fieldwork.

We take seriously the opportunity to develop new research capacities and train top-notch new scholars in the field of public opinion research. In turn, we benefit immensely from the intellect and efforts contributed by our students. Supporting the 2018/19 AmericasBarometer was a terrific group of young scholars. This includes the following undergraduate research assistants and Fellows: Grace Adcox, Allison Booher, Anaïs Boyer-Chammard, Alexa Bussmann, Haley Feuerman, Sarah Graves, Hannah Hagan, Bianca Herlory, Victoria Herring, Darby Howard, Maria Loaiza, Miriam Mars, Brielle Morton, Sael Soni, Joy Stewart, and Elsa Young. It also includes several individuals who successfully completed their dissertations recently: Dr. Oscar Castorena, Dr. Gui Russo, and Dr. Sheahan Virgin. Others among our graduate students continue to work energetically on courses and dissertations while engaging in discussions and work related to the

project: Kaitlen Cassell, Claire Evans, Rachael Firestone, Meg Frost, SangEun Kim, Sebastian Meyer, Daniela Osorio Michel, Emily Noh, Mariana Ramírez Bustamante, Facundo Salles Kobilanski, Laura Sellers, Bryce Williams-Tuggle, and Adam Wolsky.

Critical to the project's success was the cooperation of the many individuals and institutions in the countries we studied, as well as experts in these countries. The list of experts to whom we owe thanks is extensive. Among the many who shared subject and country expertise for this round, we would like to acknowledge Leticia Alcaráz, Dr. George Avelino, Dr. Dinorah Azpuru, Dr. Julio Carrión, Dr. Ricardo Córdova, Dr. José Miguel Cruz, Dr. Rosario Espinal, Dr. Miguel García, Dr. François Gelineau, Dr. Jonathan Hiskey, Balford Lewis, Dr. Germán Lodola, Dr. Juan Pablo Luna, Dr. Jana Morgan, Dr. Keith Neuman, Dr. Pablo Parás, Dr. Rosario Queirolo, Dr. Juan Carlos Rodríguez-Raga, Dr. Gui Russo, and Patricia Zarate. To craft the 2018/19 AmericasBarometer questionnaire, we applied an open consultation model, in which we invited proposals and input from the political science community and other researchers. We appreciate all the excellent ideas that were submitted and worked to include as many as possible. We are grateful to all who participated in this process. We also express our gratitude to Dr. Mitchell Seligson for founding the AmericasBarometer project and for all the many ways his expert advice benefited this latest round of the survey.

To all of these individuals, and those whose names we may have inadvertently omitted, we offer our sincere gratitude. We could not achieve the scope, quality, and impact of the AmericasBarometer project without your support.

Liz Zechmeister
Noam Lupu

Nashville, Tennessee
August 2019

Chapter 1.

Support for Electoral Democracy in the Americas and in Ecuador¹

Oscar Castorena² and Sarah L. Graves³ with Georgina Pizzolitto^{4,5}

I. Introduction

Electoral democracy is the predominant framework for politics in Latin America and the Caribbean (LAC). The principal threats to this system of government have changed over time. Immediately following the Third Wave of democratization of the 1970s and 1980s, observers worried about a new military seizure of power or a return to dictatorial rule. In contrast, contemporary concerns for democracy in the region focus on various forms of democratic backsliding, such as overreach by powerful executives⁶ and the deinstitutionalization of democratic politics and society.⁷

Within this context, some worry about the development and persistence of electoral authoritarian regimes that feature regular elections marred by manipulation of votes or harassment of the opposition⁸. Related, scholars have suggested that a democratic “recession” or wave of autocratization is underway⁹, including within the LAC region.¹⁰

The LAC region has seen backsliding caused by, and permitting, disregard for the rule of law, among other factors. In the region, instances of backsliding are often accompanied by revelations

¹ The AmericasBarometer survey in Ecuador is nationally representative of all adults of voting age. Data collection took place between January 22 and March 29, 209. During this period, 1,533 citizens or permanent residents in Ecuador who were 16 years of age and older were surveyed. The interviews were face to face, at the place of residence of the respondents, who were selected through a stratified multi-stage sample with sex and age quotas at the household level. For more information and technical data of the study, consult: www.vanderbilt.edu/lapop/.

² Oscar Castorena is a Ph.D. in Political Science at Vanderbilt University and an associate researcher at LAPOP.

³ Sarah L. Graves is a student at Hanover College in Indiana and a Fellow of Leadership Alliance at LAPOP during the summer of 2019.

⁴ Georgina Pizzolitto has a master's degree in Economics and International Development Economics. She is coordinator of special studies at LAPOP.

⁵ Some text in this chapter is taken, with permission, from a previous report published by LAPOP (Cohen 2017). We thank Mollie Cohen for her effort in that earlier project and for her permission to build on that work.

⁶ Bermeo 2016.

⁷ Morgan 2018.

⁸ Levitsky and Way 2010.

⁹ Diamond and Plattner 2015, Lührmann and Lindberg 2019.

¹⁰ Almagro 2019; Goldfrank 2017; but see Van Dyck 2017.

of corruption or “an escalation of authoritarian tendencies, populism, and violence”.^{11 12} Recent presidents in a number of countries, such as Peru, Nicaragua, and Guatemala, have sought to weaken the other branches of government and the capacity of international organizations to keep them in check.¹³ Further complicating democratic consolidation and maintenance is the fact that countries in the region are grappling with problems such as economic hardship and crime. For example, transnational organized crime groups in Mexico and several Central American countries have exacerbated corruption, insecurity and violence.¹⁴ These problems of insecurity as well as economic downturns, cast as failures of democratic regimes, can create the fertile conditions for the rise of authoritarian alternatives.

Figure 1.1 provides an overview of the state of democracy in the Latin America and Caribbean region as interpreted through indices (ratings) from the V-Dem project¹⁵ and Freedom House, which rely on expert evaluations.¹⁶ The data in these projects complement the public opinion surveys analyzed in the remainder of the report. Along with each country’s latest score, the figure also plots the score from two years prior.^{17 18} This provides a sense of the recent change in electoral democracy in each country. There is notable variation across countries in the advance and retreat of democracy in this relatively short two-year period. While the ratings are created using different methodologies, they point to similar conclusions.¹⁹ According to both measures, the highest quality democracies in the region are Costa Rica, Uruguay, and Chile. At the other extreme, Nicaragua, Honduras, and Guatemala rank at the bottom. Ecuador is in the middle of the scale in both indices.

Ecuador had the largest improvement in V-Dem’s electoral democracy index of the 18 countries included here and was also one of the three countries to see an improvement in Freedom House’s

¹¹ Peru’s president resigned in March just ahead of a vote on impeachment on corruption charges. In Nicaragua, widespread protests against the government of President Daniel Ortega were suppressed violently, with over 300 people killed. In Guatemala, efforts by President Jimmy Morales to undermine and expel the U.N.-backed International Commission against Impunity in Guatemala (CICIG) prompted widespread protests and expressions of international concern.

¹² Almagro 2019, p.6.

¹³ Sullivan et al. 2019 p.5.

¹⁴ Sullivan et al., 2019 p.1.

¹⁵ Coppedge et al. 2019

¹⁶ For more information on the methodologies of the V-Dem and Freedom House scores, see <https://www.v-dem.net/en/reference/version-9-apr-2019/> and <https://freedomhouse.org/report/methodology-freedom-world-2018>.

¹⁷ Freedom House provides ratings for each country in its annual *Freedom in the World* report. These ratings are based on the previous calendar year such that the 2019 ratings reflect events in 2018 and so on. Therefore, the V-Dem and Freedom House scores summarized in Figure 1.1 cover the same period.

¹⁸ The left panel of Figure 1.1 shows the values of the V-DEM Electoral Democracy Index for the years 2016 (squares) and 2018 (circles). The differences between the years, for each country, are represented by arrows. This arrow is red if there was a decline in the index between years, and green if the democratic indicator shows improvement. Similarly, the Freedom House data presented in the right panel show ratings for 2017 (squares) and 2019 (circles). Green and red arrows are also used to indicate improvement or decline, respectively, in the democratic indicator for each country. When there is no colored arrow, the values of the two measures are exactly the same (circles and squares are superimposed), indicating no trend.

¹⁹ The ratings provided by Freedom House are originally coded such that a value of one represents the most free and a value of seven represents the least free. We reverse the coding here so as to facilitate comparison with other democracy measures.

freedom rating. In early 2017, a referendum saw Ecuadorians vote to bring back presidential term limits, placing constraints on executive power. At the other end of the spectrum, Nicaragua experienced the largest decline in democracy, according to both the Freedom House and V-Dem measures.²⁰ Nicaragua's democratic backsliding is evident – among other ways – in its holding of hundreds of political prisoners, arrested by paramilitary forces controlled by the Ortega government, for protesting against the regime. This type of capture and detention of citizens as political prisoners undermines basic human rights that should be guaranteed to citizens in a democratic system.²¹

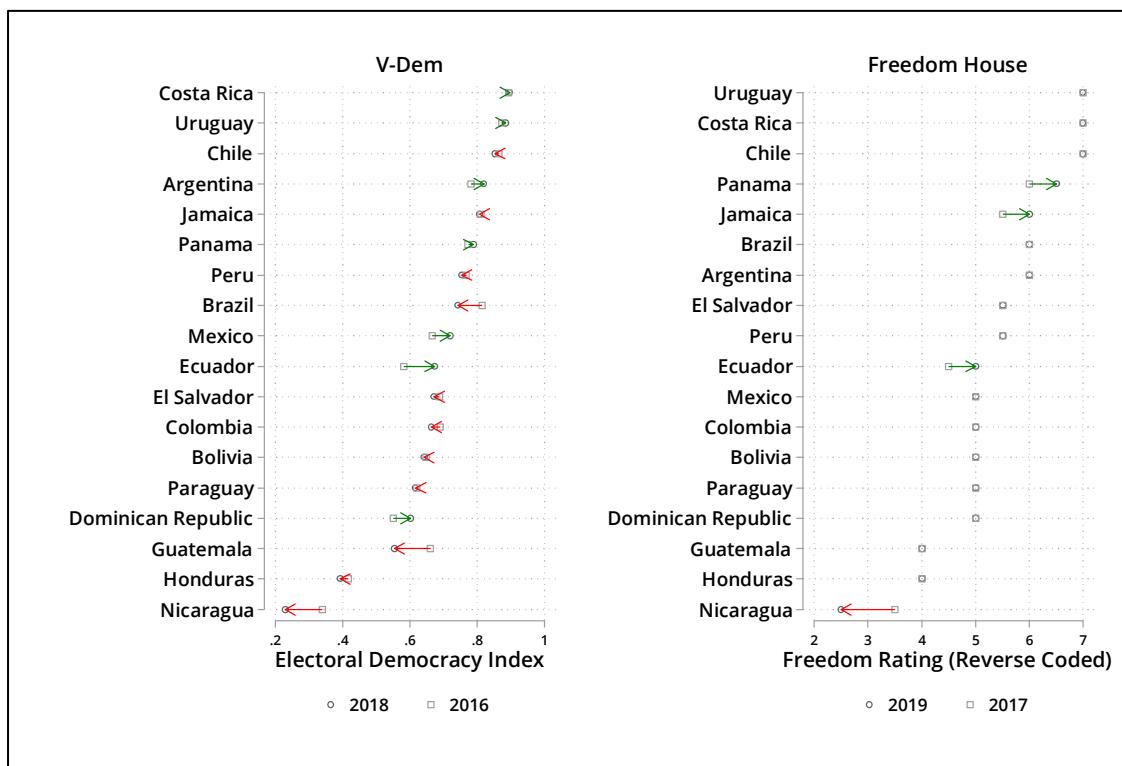


Figure 1.1. State of Democracy in the LAC-18 Region

A central question for scholars and policymakers concerns the factors behind democratic consolidation and, likewise, behind democratic backsliding. Theoretical work in political science holds that the endurance and quality of democratic governments rests, in part, on the political attitudes of their citizens. Without popular support, democratic regimes in crisis are more prone to experience breakdowns or democratic backsliding.²²

Recent empirical work has found evidence for a causal relationship between citizens' opinions and the endurance of democracy in a country.²³ That is, the mass public's support for democracy has

²⁰ Another country experiencing notable declines in democracy, but not included in the 18 countries studied in this report, was Venezuela. The decision not to include Venezuela in the 2018/19 round of the AmericasBarometer survey was influenced by the levels of insecurity associated with the country's political and economic instability, which complicated fieldwork in the 2016/17 round.

²¹ Almagro 2019.

²² Lipset 1959, Easton 1965.

²³ Claassen 2019.

a positive effect on the resilience and nature of democracy. We use this insight, that citizens' attitudes and beliefs about democracy are consequential for democracy's endurance and growth, as the starting point for this report's assessment of public support for democracy in general and public evaluations of democracy in practice in the LAC region.

II. Main Findings

A summary of this report's key findings is as follows:

- Despite the increase in the rating that the experts of V-Dem and Freedom House give to Ecuadorian democracy in 2018, the country fails to recover the level of support for democracy among the public that it had before 2016. While in 2014 66.7% of Ecuadorians thought that democracy was the best form of government, in 2019 that percentage fell to 54.4% (similar to the 53.0% that reported supporting democracy in 2016). Young people between 16 and 25 years of age support democracy to a lesser extent than people in the range of 46 to 55 years of age.
- The idea that the military take power through a coup when there is a lot of crime or a lot of corruption has the support of an important part of the citizenry. In 2019, 50.4% of Ecuadorians justify a military coup when there is a lot of crime, while 43.3% justify it when there is a lot of corruption. In both cases, this justification has increased compared to 2014. Young people between 16 and 25 years of age, people with secondary education and people in the third quintile of wealth are the ones that most support military coups d'état.
- Support for the idea that the president can dissolve the National Assembly when the country faces very difficult times increased 2.2 percentage points in 2019 in Ecuador compared to 2016. In this case, young people between 16 and 35 years of age support in lower proportion a possible closure of the National Assembly by the president.
- The satisfaction of Ecuadorians with the way democracy works in Ecuador decreased 13.4 percentage points in 2019 compared to 2016 and 30.1 percentage points compared to 2014. These levels of decrease in satisfaction with democracy are the most pronounced since that the AmericasBarometer began its studies in Ecuador. There are fewer people in the richest quintiles (3-5) satisfied with the functioning of democracy than in quintiles 1 and 2. Likewise, there are fewer satisfied people in the group between 36 and 45 years of age and with education higher.

III. Basic Tenets of Electoral Democracy

While there exist multiple conceptualizations and definitions of democracy,²⁴ this report focuses on *electoral democracy*. In his classic work, Schumpeter provides a definition of electoral democracy as a system “for arriving at political decisions in which individuals acquire the power to decide by means of a competitive struggle for the people’s vote”.²⁵ While other definitions provide more comprehensive conceptualizations with additional dimensions,²⁶ this minimalist definition addresses the most basic tenet of democracy: rule by competitively elected leaders. This definition also directly relates to the principal threats that have challenged democratic government in the contemporary LAC region. The first is the risk that unelected actors, such as the military, seize political power from elected officials. The second is the risk that executives go beyond their mandate and seek to rule unilaterally, undermining congresses elected by the people to legislate.

The following sections assess the state of public support for electoral democracy in the LAC region as well as the extent to which the public tolerates or rejects military and executive coups.

Support for Democracy in the Abstract

To what extent do individuals in the Latin America and the Caribbean region believe that democracy is the best political system, and how does their support for democracy in 2018/19 compare to past years? Since its inception, the AmericasBarometer project has asked respondents across the Americas the following question to assess support for democracy:²⁷

ING4. Changing the subject again, democracy may have problems, but it is better than any other form of government. To what extent do you agree or disagree with this statement?

Respondents provide an answer ranging from 1-7, with 1 signifying “strongly disagree” and 7 denoting “strongly agree.” We consider responses on the agree side of the scale, that is values of 5-7, to indicate support for democracy.

Figure 1.2 displays the percent of individuals in each country that expresses support for democracy in 2018/19.²⁸ Support for democracy ranges from a low of 45% in Honduras to a high of 76.2% in Uruguay. The percent of the public that supports democracy is highest in some of the region’s most stable democracies (Uruguay, Costa Rica). Support for democracy is lowest in Guatemala and

²⁴ Diamond 1999.

²⁵ Schumpeter 1942, p.260.

²⁶ See Dahl 1971.

²⁷This question is often referred to as a “Churchillian” question of democratic support, as it is derived from Winston Churchill’s oft-quoted speech from the House of Commons, in which he noted that, “...democracy is the worst form of Government except for all those other forms that have been tried from time to time (Churchill 1947).”

²⁸ See Annex A, “Explanation of the Graphs in this Study” for a description of how to read this and other graphs in the report.

Honduras. In Ecuador, 54.4% support democracy as the best form of government, which places the country at a medium level, below El Salvador and on par with Panama.

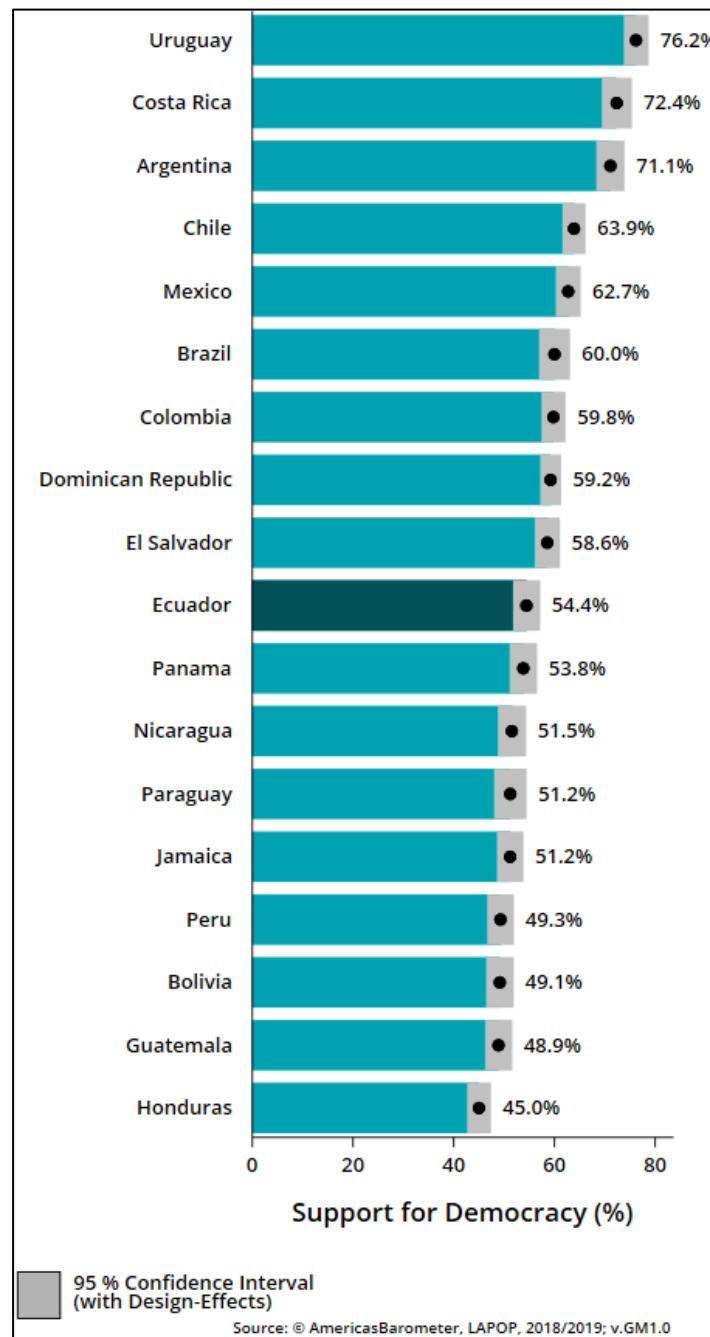


Figure 1.2. Cross-National Support for Democracy, 2018/19

Figure 1.3 displays the relationship between the percentage of citizens in each country who strongly support democracy and that country's score in V-Dem's electoral democracy index. Generally, there is a positive relationship between the two measures (Pearson's correlation = .64). That is, although the analysis here is descriptive and not a test of a causal relationship, the pattern

is consistent with previous research that identifies public support as a critical ingredient for the vitality of democracy.²⁹

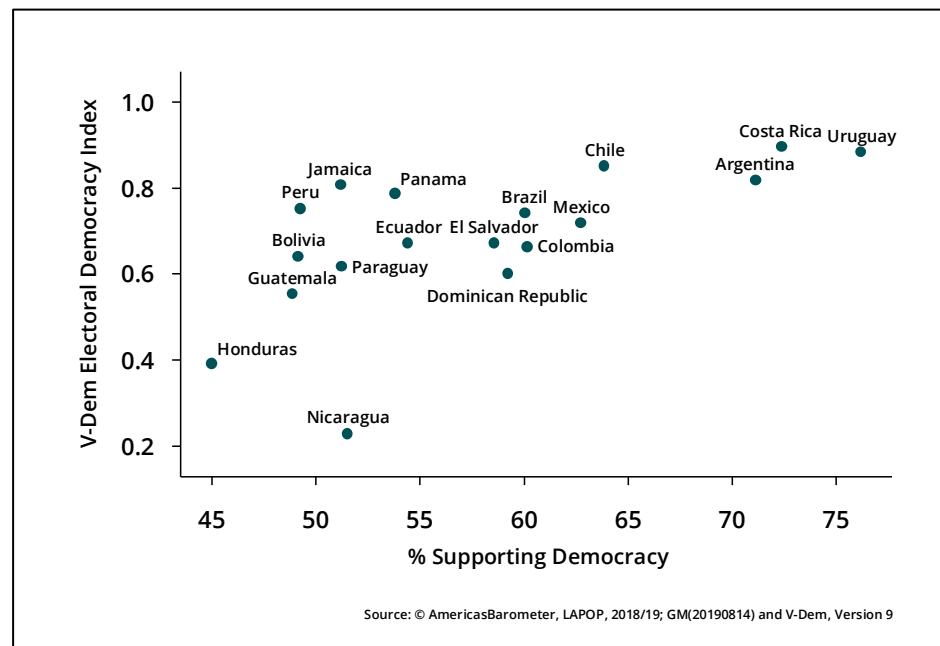
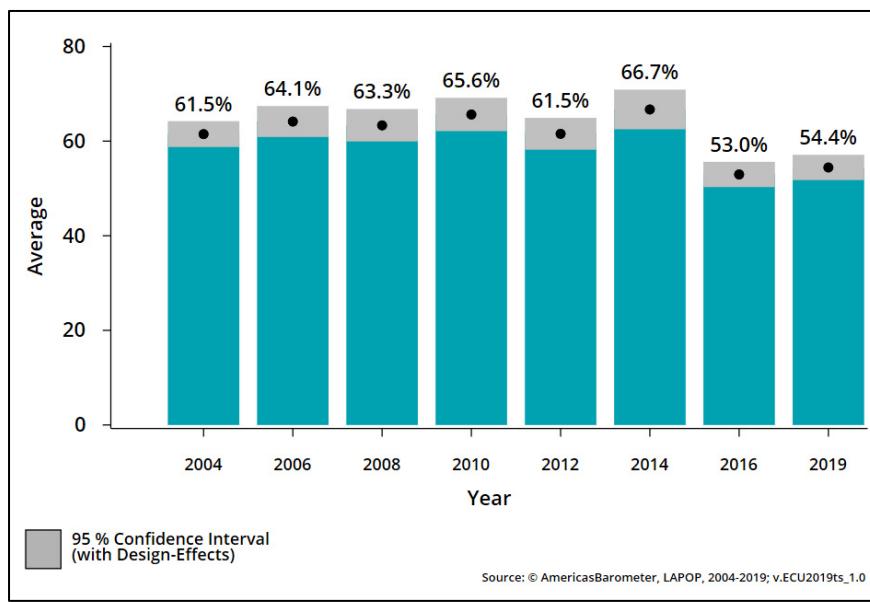


Figure 1.3. Support for Democracy and the Level of Democracy, 2018/19

On average a majority (57.7%) of citizens in Latin America and the Caribbean region indicated support for democracy in the 2018/19 round of the AmericasBarometer. This level of support is similar to that recorded in the 2016/17 round, when support for democracy registered a significant and worrying decline in the region, compared to previous years.

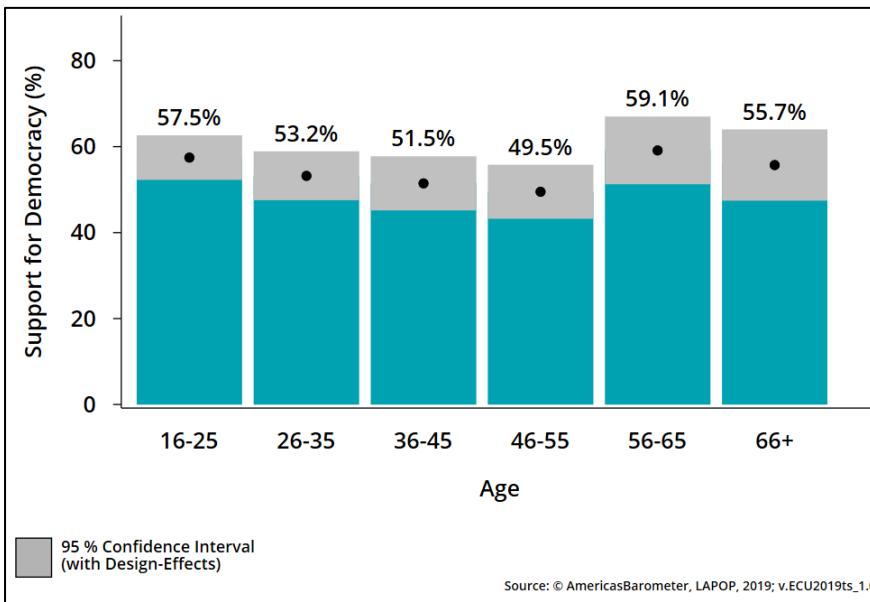
The level of support for democracy over time in Ecuador is shown in Figure 1.4. Although the majority of Ecuadorians have supported democracy since the beginning of the measurement (2004), the percentage that recognizes that democracy is the best form of government decreased to its lowest historical level in 2016 (53.0%) and had a slight improvement in 2019 (54.4%). From 2004 to 2019, the reduction in support for the idea that democracy is the best form of government is 7.1 percentage points in Ecuador; a statistically significant reduction compared to pre-2016 rounds.

²⁹ Claassen 2019.

**Figure 1.4. Support for Democracy, Ecuador 2004-2019**

Who is most likely to support democracy? Figure 1.5 shows the demographic variable (age) and support for democracy in Ecuador in 2019. This is the only statistically significant relationship. In all such figures of demographic and socio-economic correlates in this report, we only show relationships that are statistically significant with 95% confidence. If a socio-demographic variable is excluded from the figure, this means we did not find significant differences in a particular dependent variable across the values of that socio-demographic variable.

Figure 1.5 shows that, in general, people in the 16 to 25-year-old group report more support for democracy than those in the 46 to 55-year-old group. The rest of the differences beyond age groups are not statistically significant.

**Figure 1.5. Support for Democracy by Age, Ecuador 2019**

Rules of the Game: Tolerance of Military Coups

In addition to support for democracy in the abstract, acceptance of the basic rules of electoral democracy as “the only game in town” is key to stability and persistence of democratic governance.³⁰ This means, in short, that citizens in democratic societies should not tolerate military coups that replace the incumbent democratically elected government with military leadership.

The 2018/19 AmericasBarometer includes two items that tap willingness to tolerate a military takeover of the government. A randomly drawn half of respondents received the first of the following questions, while the other half was randomly assigned to receive the second:

Now, changing the subject. Some people say that under some circumstances it would be justified for the military of this country to take power by a coup d'état (military coup). In your opinion would a military coup be justified under the following circumstances? [Read the options after each question]:

	A military take-over of the state would be justified	A military take-over of the state would not be justified
JC10. When there is a lot of crime.	1	2
JC13. When there is a lot of corruption.	1	2

Figure 1.6 shows the percentage of respondents that said that they would find a military coup justifiable under each of these circumstances. We consider those who express this view to be “tolerant” of military coups under particular circumstances. Tolerance for military coups under conditions of high crime ranges from a low of 23% in Uruguay to a high of 65% in Jamaica. Tolerance for coups under high corruption ranges from 23.8% in Uruguay to a high of 58.3% in Jamaica.

More generally, levels of tolerance for military coups are lowest in Uruguay, Colombia, Panama, Argentina, Chile, and El Salvador. Tolerance for coups is the highest in Jamaica, Peru, Ecuador, Mexico, Honduras, and Guatemala. In Ecuador, 50.4% of the population tolerates military coups under high crime, which places the country at the highest levels in the region, only below Jamaica, but on par with Peru. On the other hand, 43.3% of Ecuadorians tolerate military coups under high levels of corruption, placing the country in third place in the regional ranking, below Jamaica and Peru, but on a par with Honduras.

³⁰ Linz and Stepan (1996) use the phrase “the only game in town” to refer to the consolidation of democracy. With respect to the role of public opinion, they state, “Attitudinally, a democratic regime is consolidated when a strong majority of public opinion, even in the midst of major economic problems and deep dissatisfaction with incumbents, holds the belief that democratic procedures and institutions are the most appropriate way to govern collective life, and when support for antisystem alternatives is quite small or more-or-less isolated from prodemocratic forces (16).”

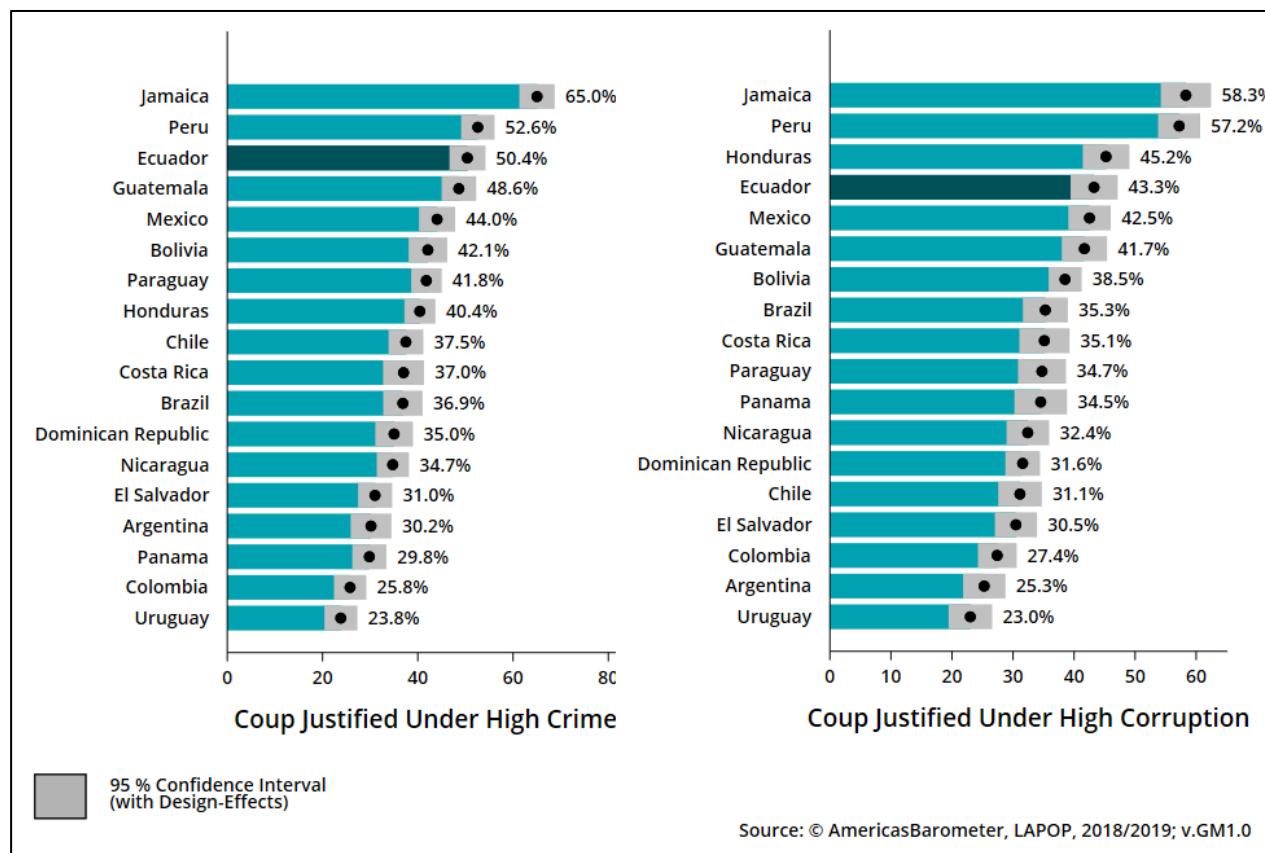


Figure 1.6. Tolerance of Military Coups under High Crime and High Corruption, 2018/19

Figure 1.7 shows cross-time change in tolerance for military coups in Ecuador. Levels of tolerance for military coups under high crime have decreased from 64.4% in 2004 to 50.4% in 2019, with a historical minimum of 28.4% in 2014. Meanwhile levels of support for military coups under high corruption have marginally decreased from 57.3% in 2004 to 43.3% in 2019. In both cases, tolerance is lower in recent years compared to a decade or more prior (2004-2008). In both cases, tolerance for military coups is lower in recent years compared to more than a decade ago, however, in the last round, a considerable rebound can be seen in both cases.

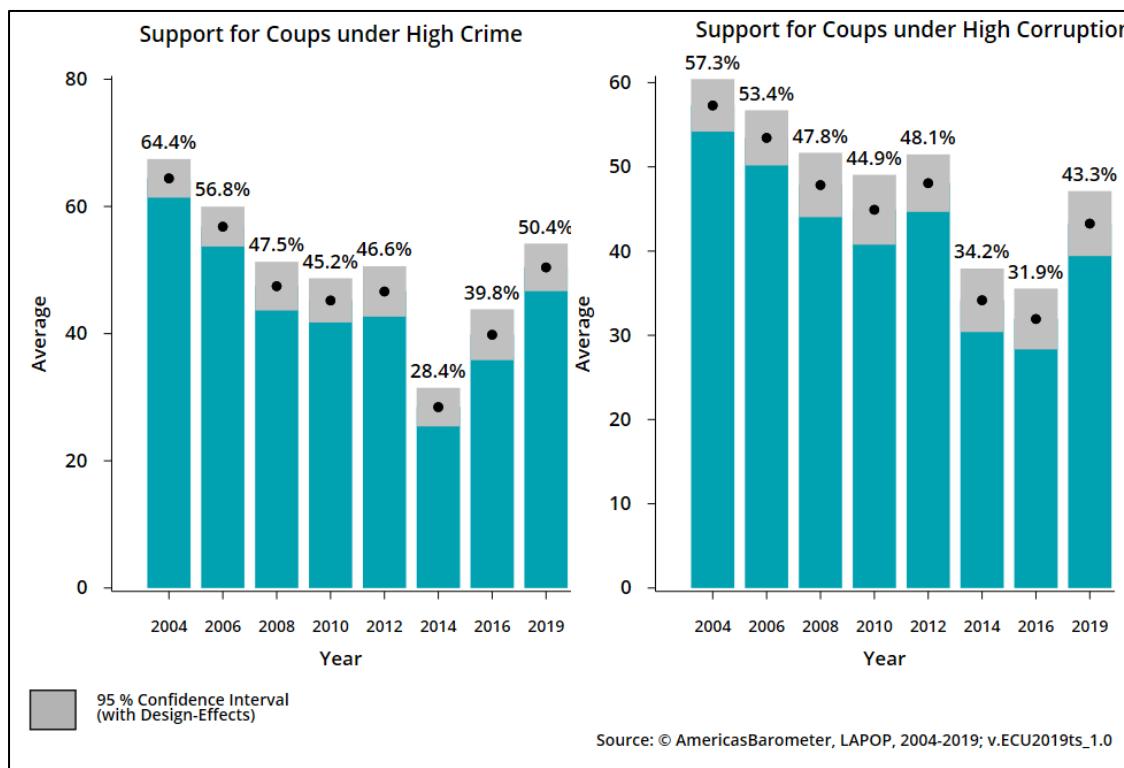


Figure 1.7. Tolerance for Military Coups under High Crime and High Corruption, Ecuador 2004-2019

Figure 1.8 shows tolerance for military coups by demographic and socio-economic subgroups. For the sake of parsimony, we present results only for tolerance of coups in contexts of high crime, because the relationships between socio-demographic categories and tolerance of coups under high corruption are substantively similar to those reported here. In Ecuador, young people between 16 and 25 years of age are more likely to express tolerance for a hypothetical military coup than all other age groups, with the exception of people between 26 and 35 years of age. Likewise, those between the ages of 26 and 35 are more tolerant of military coups than their older counterparts, with the exception of those between the ages of 46 and 55. Finally, those between 46 and 55 years of age approve of coups more than those who are 66 or older. On the other hand, those who have a secondary education level tolerate military coups to a greater extent than those who have a higher education level. Finally, people in the third wealth quintile are more likely to tolerate a military coup than people in the fifth wealth level. The rest of the differences are not statistically significant.

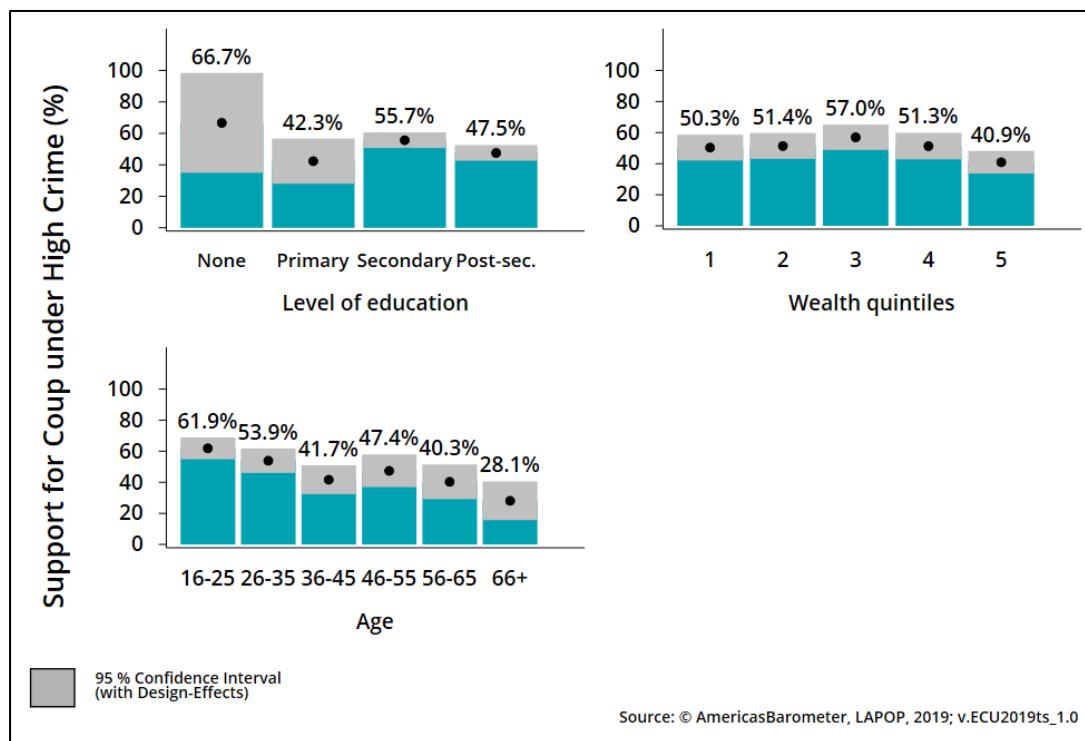


Figure 1.8. Demographic and Socio-Economic Predictors of Tolerance of Military Coups, Ecuador 2019

Tolerance of Executive Coups

The AmericasBarometer in 2018/19 asked all respondents the following question, to gauge tolerance of executive coups – that is, the shutdown of legislative bodies by the executive branch:

	Yes, it is justified	No, it is not justified
JC15A. Do you believe that when the country is facing very difficult times it is justifiable for the president of the country to close the Congress/Parliament and govern without Congress/Parliament?	1	2

Figure 1.9 shows the distribution of tolerance for executive coups in very difficult times across countries in the LAC region in 2018/19. Tolerance for executive coups across the region is generally lower than tolerance for coups by the military under conditions of high crime or corruption. The variation in tolerance for executive coups across countries is notable, the lowest being in Uruguay (9.2%) and highest in Peru (58.9%). Ecuador is at an intermediate level with respect to tolerance for the dissolution of the legislature. In the country, 24% of the population says that in very difficult times the president would be justified in dissolving the National Assembly.

Not only is the Peruvian case an outlier in terms of average tolerance for executive coups, it also registered the largest increase in the measure from the 2016/17 round of the AmericasBarometer

(21.1 percentage points.). This dramatic shift in the public's tolerance for unilateral assertions of power by the executive reflects recent political developments in the country.³¹

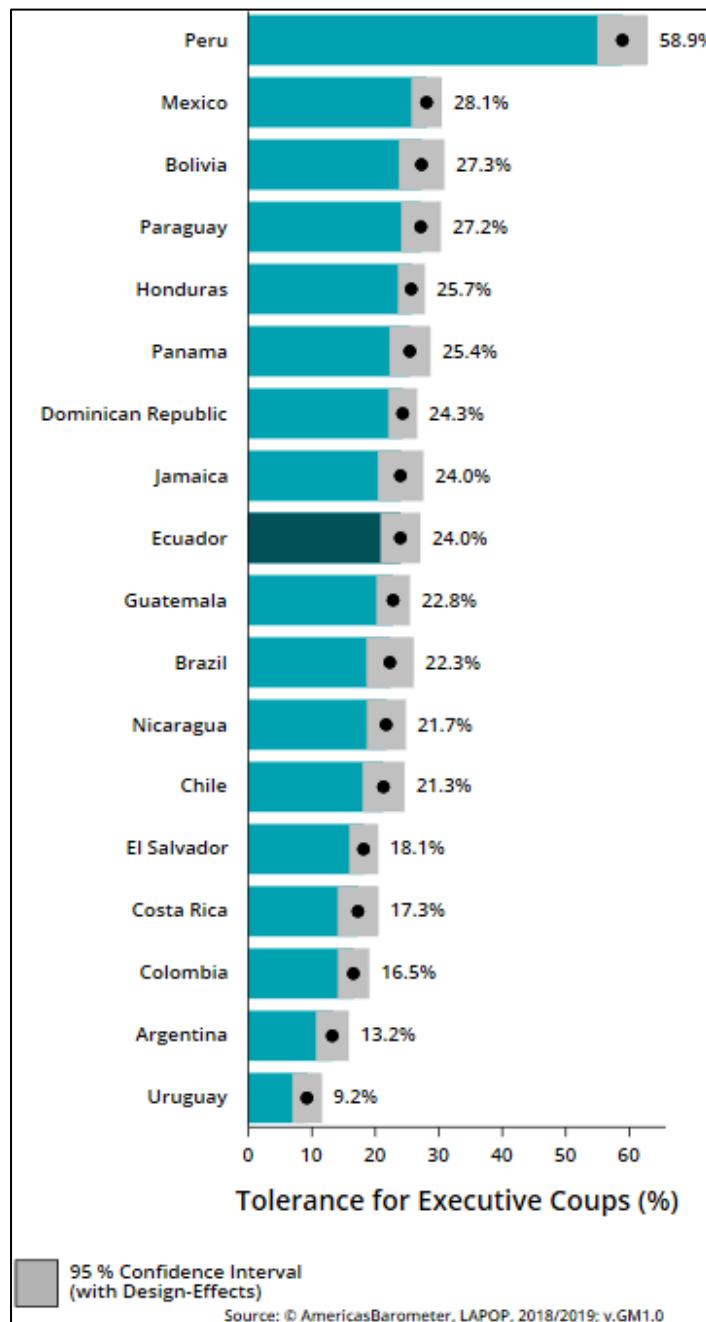


Figure 1.9. Tolerance for Executive Coup (%), 2018/19

While tolerance for executive coups is lower than tolerance for military coups under high crime or high corruption, Figure 1.10 shows that levels of tolerance for an executive shutdown of the legislature increased in the 2019 round of the AmericasBarometer in Ecuador from 21.8% to 24%, and this the second highest percentage observed in the AmericasBarometer survey since 2010.

³¹ See Ramírez Bustamante and Zechmeister 2019.

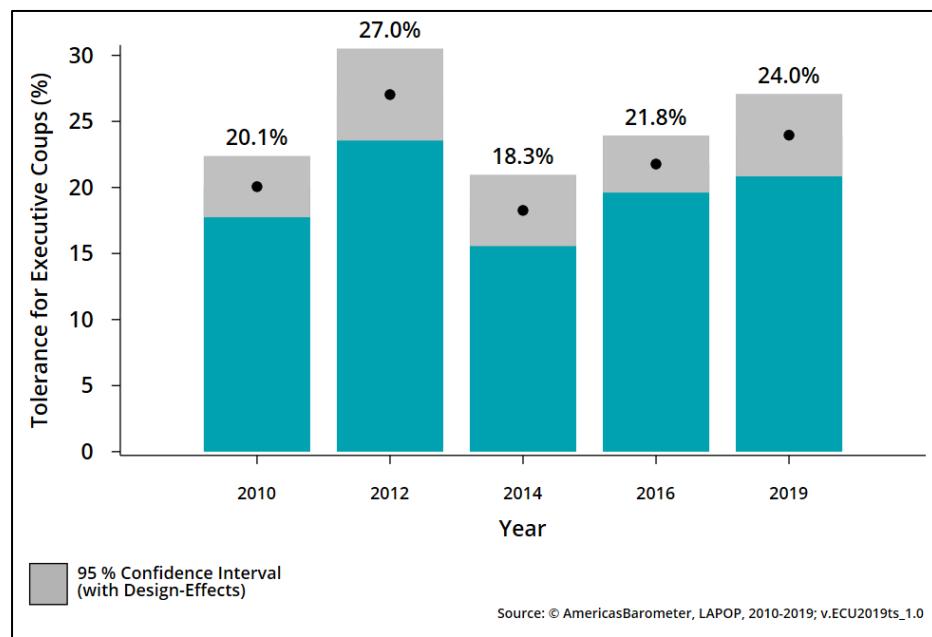


Figure 1.10. Tolerance for Executive Coups, Ecuador 2010-2019

Figure 1.11 shows the only two statistically significant relationships: young people, especially between 16 and 35 years of age, are less likely to tolerate the dissolution of the legislature than the rest of Ecuadorians. On the other hand, people with no level of education are more likely to tolerate the dissolution of the legislature compared to other people. There are no significant differences in the tolerance to dissolution of the legislature between the cohorts of gender, place of residence and wealth.

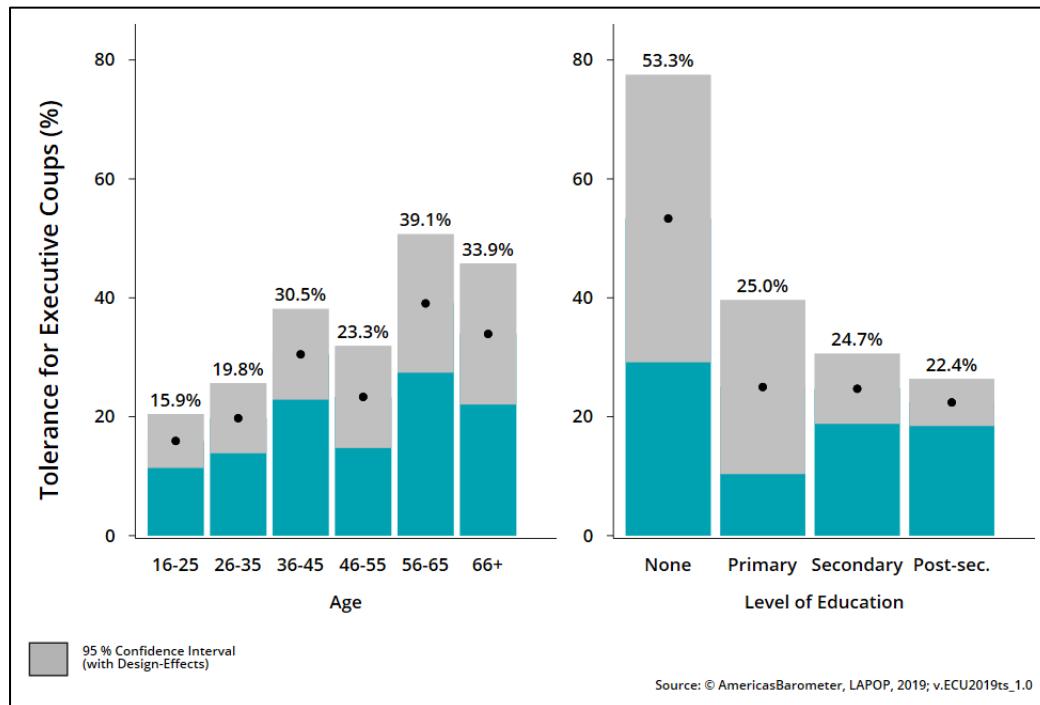


Figure 1.11. Demographic and Socio-Economic Predictors of Tolerance for Executive Coups, Ecuador 2019

On summary, these metrics of middling support for democracy and non-trivial levels of tolerance for coups that sideline democratically elected officials provide reasons to be concerned about the state of public support for electoral democracy in the region and Ecuador. The remainder of this report turns to the question of respondents feel about the way that democracy is functioning in their particular national context.

IV. Evaluation of Democracy

Electoral democracy rests on a stronger foundation to the degree that citizens are satisfied with how their democracy is performing in practice. It is also important to consider whether citizens believe their system is a democracy, or whether they feel the system has slid too far away from that ideal to warrant the label. In general, satisfaction with democracy and the condition of democracy in the political system are important for understanding citizen support for democracy, serve as a foundation of citizens' commitment to democracy (a fundamental component for democratic consolidation).

Satisfaction with democracy “is an indicator of support for the performance of the democratic regime” (Linde and Eckman 2003, p. 399). In other words, it is a measure of the evaluations made by the people of the political regime (Klingeman 1999). Satisfaction falls under the concept of “specific” support, based on its “relationship to members’ satisfaction about the perceived outputs and performance of the political authorities of the system they belong to” (Easton 1975, p. 437). Specific support is “possible only under conditions in which the culture permits the members to entertain the notion that the authorities can be held responsible for what happens in the society...” and “... when these [perceived benefits or satisfactions] decline or cease, support will do likewise” (Easton 1975, pp. 438-9). In short, levels of satisfaction are mediated by interactions with political authorities and institutions.

Electoral democracy is more legitimate, in the eyes of the public, to the extent there is a high degree of satisfaction with democracy and to the extent that citizens perceive their system to be a democracy.

The following sections examine satisfaction with democracy and assessments of the democratic status of political systems in Latin America and the Caribbean, with the goal of better understanding specific support for electoral democracy in the region and in Ecuador.

Satisfaction with Democracy

Since its inception, the AmericasBarometer has asked respondents across the Americas the following question about satisfaction with democracy:

PN4. In general, would you say that you are very satisfied, satisfied, dissatisfied or very dissatisfied with the way democracy works in [country]?

Respondents provide an answer ranging from 1-4, with 1 signifying “very satisfied” and 4 signifying “very dissatisfied.” In the analyses that follow, we grouped the data, so that responses of “very dissatisfied” are “dissatisfied” are coded together as dissatisfaction, and responses of “very satisfied” and “satisfied” are coded together as satisfaction.

Figure 1.12 displays the percentage of respondents in each country that reports satisfaction with democracy. The percentage of citizens who are satisfied with democracy ranges widely, from 26.1% in Panama to 59.5% in Uruguay (the only country that exceeds 50%). Ecuador is among the countries with an intermediate percentage of people satisfied with democracy (38.7%). The average percentage for the entire LAC-18 region in the 2018/19 round of the AmericasBarometer is 39.6%.

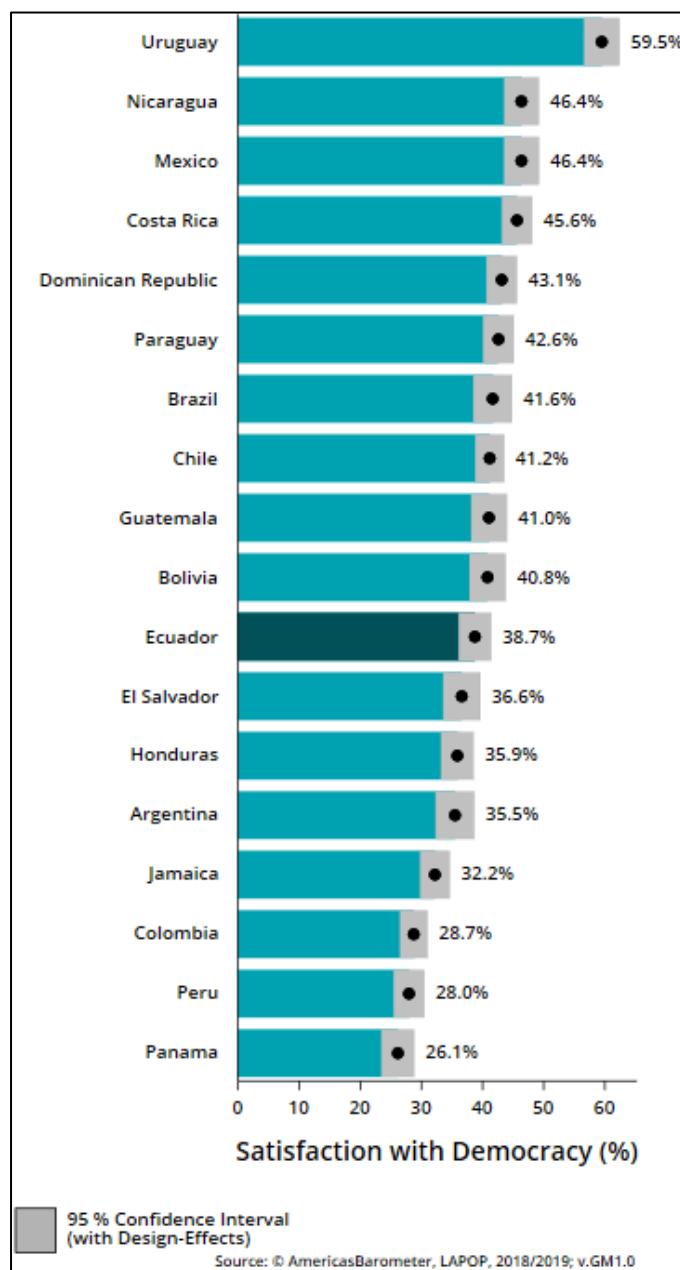


Figure 1.12. Satisfaction with Democracy, 2018/19

In Figure 1.13 shows the percentage of Ecuadorians satisfied with democracy over time. The percentage in the 2019 round (38.7%) is a lot lower than the one reported in the 2016 round (52.1%), and represents the lowest level reported since 2008, when 56.1% of Ecuadorians were satisfied with democracy. The highest level was observed in 2014 at 68.8%.

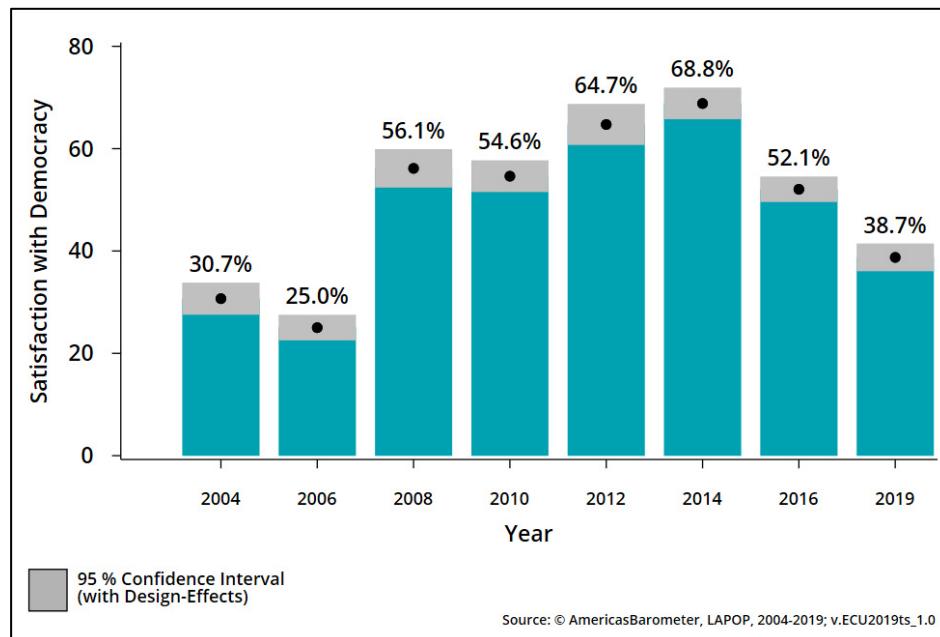


Figure 1.13. Satisfaction with Democracy, Ecuador 2004-2019

Figure 1.14 illustrates the differences in the percentage of people who are satisfied with the functioning of democracy according to their socioeconomic characteristics. In 2019, adults (36 - 45 years old) are less satisfied with the functioning of democracy than young people (16 - 35 years old) or older adults (56+). People with lower levels of wealth (quintiles 1 and 2) are more satisfied with the functioning of democracy than people with higher levels of wealth (quintiles 3 - 5). This satisfaction is also reflected in a greater number among people with a secondary education level compared to those with a higher education level in Ecuador.

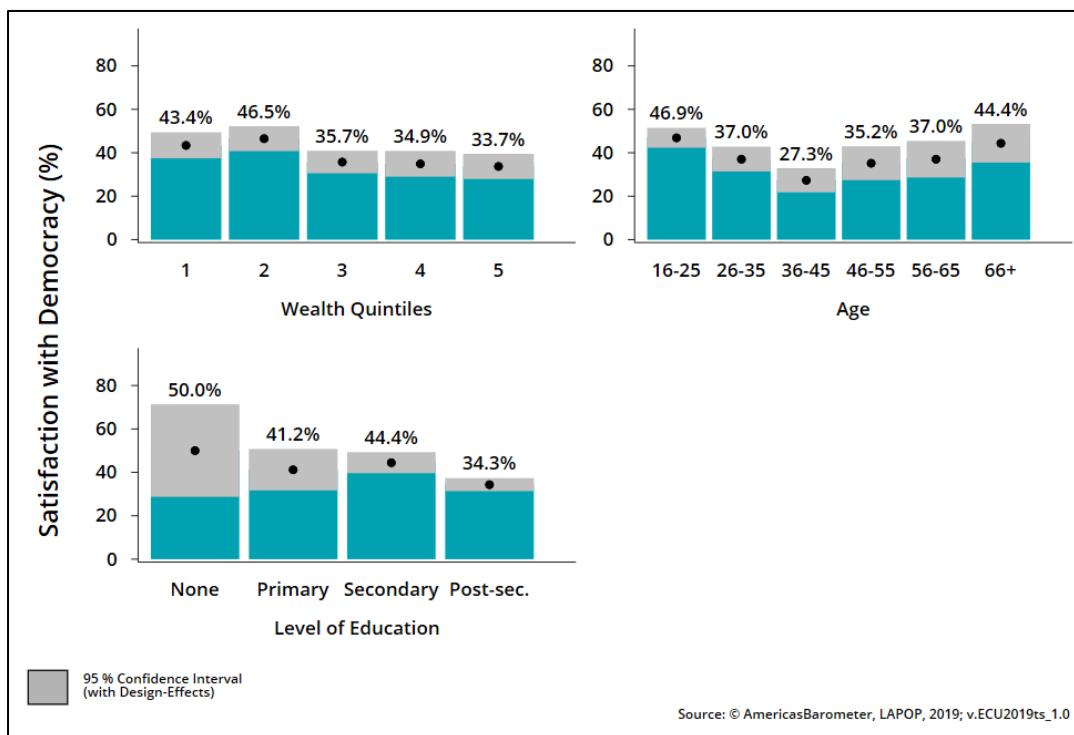


Figure 1.14. Demographic and Socio-Economic Predictors of Satisfaction with Democracy, Ecuador 2019

V. Conclusion

What is the state of support for electoral democracy in Latin America and the Caribbean in 2019? The analyses presented in this chapter provide some reasons to be concerned about the depth of citizens' commitment to democracy as a system, both in general support and satisfaction. On average, across the region, support for democracy has remained relatively stable over the last two rounds of the AmericasBarometer. However, this near-term stability has occurred after a decline in previous years. In contrast, the belief that executive coups are justified in difficult times has increased substantially over the last four rounds of the AmericasBarometer.

Trends in Ecuador have mirrored these regional trends. Support for democracy as a system in the 2019 survey remains low compared to the values recorded before the 2016 round of surveys. Also, satisfaction with the functioning of democracy registers a very significant drop compared to 2016 levels. Support for military coups is high in the last round of surveys and this shows a considerable rebound compared to the last two rounds of the AmericasBarometer. Finally, tolerance of a hypothetical executive coup remains at medium levels, with almost a quarter of those surveyed expressing that they would tolerate such action.

The overall downward casting trend in support for the basic tenets of democracy and diminished levels of system support may leave the public increasingly open to undemocratic leaders who offer

action in times of crisis. Given the link between public opinion and democratic stability,³² the stagnation of public support for democracy in the region in general, and in Ecuador in particular, is troubling.

³² Claassen 2019.

Appendix

Appendix Table 1. Trends in Democratic Indicators by Country (2016/17 to 2018/19)

Country	Support for Democracy (ING4)	Tolerance for Military Coup under High Crime (JC10)	Tolerance for Military Coup under High Corruption (JC13)	Tolerance for Executive Coup (JC15A)	Satisfied with Democracy (PN4)
Mexico	13.4*	-4.2	-7.7*	10.9*	19.9*
Guatemala	0.4	-0.8	-6.1*	-1.6	-0.5
El Salvador	3.9*	-3.5	-5.2	1.7	-4.2*
Honduras	-6.1*	3.0	9.9*	6.0*	-2.5
Nicaragua	-6.4*	8.1*	6.7*	1.8	-15.2*
Costa Rica	0.9	-3.3	-18.1*	-1.6	-4.8*
Panama	-5.4*	-3.1	1.5	2.6	-12.0*
Colombia	6.8*	-8.1*		0.8	-2.1
Ecuador	1.5	10.6*	11.3*	2.2	-13.3*
Bolivia	-6.5*	4.3	6.0*	2.5	-4.3
Peru	-3.5*	-2.7	6.4*	21.1*	-2.7
Paraguay	2.6	-4.8	-9.5*	-1.5	9.8*
Chile	2.8	0.3	-1.3	-1.7	8.7*
Uruguay	-6.3*	-1.5	-3.6	0.6	-8.1*
Brazil	7.9*	-0.5	0.7	3.1	19.9*
Argentina	-6.1*	2.0	2.3	2.0	-12.2*
Dominican Republic	-2.8	-0.2	-0.9	5.1*	5.4*
Jamaica	-4.6*	5.7*	5.1	5.5*	-4.7*

Variables recoded as dichotomous as described in the text of the chapter. The numerical values are the differences in the percentages between 2018/19 and 2016/17 rounds for each country.

* Denotes significant differences at p<0.05.

Chapter 2.

Democratic Legitimacy in the Americas and in Ecuador

Oscar Castorena¹ and Brielle Morton² with Georgina Pizzolitto^{3 4}

I. Introduction

One ingredient in democracy's success is its ability to generate public support for core institutions and processes. The former – support for core institutions – is often referred to as "political legitimacy" or "system support." The latter – support for democratic processes – refers to citizens' commitment to the use of those institutions in ways consistent with a liberal democracy. For example, confidence in elections is one expression of political legitimacy, while the belief in extending the franchise to all adults regardless of their beliefs is one expression of support for core democratic processes.

Political legitimacy or "system support" has long been a focus of public opinion research in both new and developed democracies because a decline in mass support could result in political instability.⁵ Political systems with low levels of legitimacy will be ill equipped to weather periods of crisis. Moreover, legitimacy matters at the level of political institutions as it can prevent interbranch crises,⁶ a key threat to the stability of democracy in the region. Along with concerns about the stability of democratic regimes, previous research has found that system support is important for the ability of political leaders to carry out their work successfully.⁷ Political environments with high trust in the regime provide leaders with more leeway to govern effectively as they can count on a "reservoir" of support.⁸ Conversely, in low trust environments, poor performance and political scandals can mean that governments quickly lose the broad support of the people to rule.

The Latin American and Caribbean (LAC) region's recent experiences with crises of economic hardship, insecurity, and corruption highlight the significance of political legitimacy for regime stability and policy outcomes. The case of Brazil provides a useful example. A period of economic contraction and the *Lava Jato* corruption scandal mired the government of Dilma Rousseff,

¹ Oscar Castorena is a Ph.D. in Political Science at Vanderbilt University and an associate researcher at LAPOP

² Brielle Morton is student at University of Maryland and a Leadership Alliance intern at LAPOP for the summer of 2019.

³ Georgina Pizzolitto has a master's degree in Economics and International Development Economics. She is coordinator of special studies at LAPOP.

⁴ Some text in this chapter is taken, with permission, from a previous report published by LAPOP (Carlin 2017). We thank Ryan Carlin for his efforts on that earlier project and for his permission to build on that work.

⁵ Dalton 2004.

⁶ Helmke 2010.

⁷ Hetherington 1998.

⁸ Easton 1975, Lipset 1963.

resulting in her impeachment in 2016. The sacking of the president, however, was not enough to restore public trust in the Brazilian government. Rousseff's successor, Michel Temer, had previously served as her vice president; as Acting President, Temer sustained approval ratings in the single digits and the public grew distrustful of the Congress, as the corruption scandal engulfed nearly every sector of the country's political class.⁹ Persistent low levels of political legitimacy fueled the rise of an anti-establishment populist leader, Jair Bolsonaro, whose election ironically may have restored public confidence in democratic processes at the same time that his leadership style presents a challenge to the country's democracy.

Along with basic regime survival and stability, political legitimacy is necessary for a regime to govern effectively and for society to flourish. This is especially relevant for two challenges facing the region: migration and insecurity. Previous research has connected the quality of democracy and citizens' confidence in their government institutions to intentions to emigrate.¹⁰ In contexts where the government has, through economic mismanagement, corruption, or repression, failed to secure diffuse political support, citizens may decide to emigrate (exit) rather than attempt to exercise their voice as a strategy to change the government.¹¹ Political legitimacy is also relevant for the ability of governments to address problems of insecurity. Previous research has identified trust in law enforcement institutions as an important factor in citizens' support for vigilante justice.¹² Although such extra-judicial actions may reduce crime in the short term, vigilantism ultimately undermines the state's monopoly on violence as well as its ability to maintain a strong criminal justice system.

While political support is necessary for the survival and effectiveness of a regime, political tolerance is an essential component of democratic political culture. Because democracy entails pluralism, it also entails disagreement and dissent. The extent to which governments respect the rights of the opposition and regime critics to participate is commonly held as a measure of the quality of a democracy.¹³ Nicaragua and Honduras are illustrative of the relevance of political tolerance to democracy. Both countries are rated low, and have experienced declines, in the V-Dem electoral democracy index as of 2018.¹⁴

These two countries have experienced recent episodes of government repression of political dissidents. In Honduras, a protest movement recently formed in response to irregularities in the 2017 presidential elections that saw the incumbent, Juan Orlando Hernández, reelected. The government has met these protests with repressive actions. As of January 2018, 31 people had been killed in post-election violence according to the National Commission of Human Rights in Honduras, with state actors implicated in a number of these deaths.¹⁵ In Nicaragua, what began as anti-austerity protests in the spring of 2018 were also met with repression by government and

⁹<https://blogs.lse.ac.uk/latamcaribbean/2017/07/28/the-temer-government-in-brazil-lacks-the-legitimacy-required-to-reform-its-way-back-to-recovery/>

¹⁰ Hiskey et al. 2014, Meyer and Taft-Morales 2019.

¹¹ Hirschman 1970.

¹² Zizumbo-Colunga 2017.

¹³ Dahl 1971.

¹⁴ For information about the V-Dem Varieties of Democracy data consulted for this report and the methodology of that project, see <https://www.v-dem.net/en/data/data-version-9/>.

¹⁵ See also Haugaard 2018.

paramilitary forces. State actions have included the taking of political prisoners. As of 2018, over 300 people had been killed in the political unrest.¹⁶ These recent events highlight the importance of political tolerance on the part of governments and their publics. Citizen commitment to the rights of political dissidents can temper the ability of governments to engage in acts of repression with impunity.

This report provides a cross-time analysis of support for the political system and political tolerance among the citizens of the LAC region and in Ecuador from 2004 to 2019. Two dimensions of political legitimacy are analyzed—diffuse and specific. Diffuse support for regime institutions is assessed by analyzing system support over time, cross-nationally, and demographically. Specific support is assessed by analyzing levels of trust in political institutions over time.

II. Main Findings

Some key findings include:

- Support for the political system decreased in Ecuador in 2019 by 3.2 degrees on a 0-100 scale compared to the 2016 round of the AmericasBarometer. The components of the system support index with the largest declines were a) protection of basic rights (6.5 degrees) and pride in the Ecuadorian political system (4.1 degrees).
- Living in a rural setting, being young, and belonging to the lowest quintiles of wealth are the strongest demographic predictor of support for the Ecuadorian political system. Support is lower among those with higher education and more wealth.
- The Ecuadorian institutions with the lowest level of trust, on average, are political parties (32.4 degrees on a 0-100 scale).
- In Ecuador, the armed forces receive the highest level of trust in 2019 (71.2 degrees), followed by the National Police (55.0 degrees).
- Trust in the President (40.3 degrees) decreased by 13 degrees in Ecuador in 2019 compared to 2016 (53.3 degrees), when former president Rafael Correa was finishing his time in office.
- Trust in the National Assembly of Ecuador also decreased from 49.0 in 2016 to 43.7 degrees in 2019, on average.
- Political tolerance has remained fairly stable in the LAC region and Ecuador since 2016. Ecuadorians express more support for guaranteeing the right of those who criticize the government to protest peacefully (61.6 degrees), than they do for dissidents to run for public office (41.2 degrees).

¹⁶ Human Rights Watch 2019.

- Young people (16 to 25 years) have the highest level of tolerance, as do those with higher education (51.1 degrees). There are no statistically significant differences in levels of tolerance between men and women, levels of wealth, and place of residence.
- System support is positively correlated with five of the other attitudes related to the functioning of a democratic system: political tolerance, external effectiveness, trust in the president, trust in the municipality, and trust in the community. Trust in the president and trust in the municipality stand out as the strongest correlates of the system support.

III. System Support

Citizen support for the concept of democracy is a vital to the endurance of democratic regimes. Yet, while this aspect of political support is important, it is just one of the ways in which regimes are legitimate in the minds of their citizens. In what follows, and setting aside support for democracy in the abstract, we provide an analysis of the multifaceted concept of political legitimacy as it operates in the LAC region.

LAPOP defines political legitimacy in terms of support for the political system. Political legitimacy, or “system support,” has two central dimensions: diffuse and specific support.¹⁷ While specific support concerns evaluations of incumbent authorities, diffuse system support refers to a generalized attachment to the more abstract objects that the political system and its institutions represent.

LAPOP’s measure of system support captures the diffuse support for regime institutions that is central to democratic survival.¹⁸ We operationalize the concept of system support through an additive index.¹⁹ This index uses broad questions about political institutions in diffuse terms, rather than personal feelings towards any specific institution or actor. The questions are as follows:

I am going to ask you a series of questions. I am going to ask you that you use the numbers provided in the ladder to answer. Remember, you can use any number.

B1. To what extent do you think the courts in Ecuador guarantee a fair trial? (Read: If you think the courts do not ensure justice at all, choose number 1; if you think the courts ensure justice a lot, choose number 7 or choose a point in between the two.)

B2. To what extent do you respect the political institutions of Ecuador?

¹⁷ Easton 1975.

¹⁸ Booth and Seligson 2009.

¹⁹ The system support index is the mean of five questions from the questionnaire: B1, B2, B3, B4, and B6. A Cronbach’s alpha score is used to determine the reliability of combining the questions into a singular index. The system support alpha score is 0.80, which is high and evidence of scale reliability for the index.

B3. To what extent do you think that citizens' basic rights are well protected by the Ecuadorian political system?

B4. To what extent do you feel proud of living under the Ecuadorian political system?

B6. To what extent do you think that one should support the Ecuadorian political system?

For each question, we rescale the original 1 ("not at all") to 7 ("a lot") scale to run from 0 to 100, such that 0 is the least support for the political system and 100 is the most support for the political system. This follows LAPOP's standard coding and can be interpreted as measuring support in units, or degrees, on a continuous scale running from 0 to 100.

Figure 2.1 shows mean responses for the system support index across time in Ecuador (the graph at the left of the first row) alongside mean scores for each of its five constituent components. Overall, support for the political system in Ecuador decreased slightly (3.2 degrees) in 2019 with respect to 2016 (55.3). The lowest level of support for the political system in Ecuador was observed in 2006 (37.5 degrees), while the highest in 2014 (59.8 degrees). In terms of the individual components of the index, the questions about support for the idea that "the courts guarantee a fair trial" and support for the idea that "basic rights are protected" are the ones that receive least support in 2019, with 43.8 and 46.8 degrees, respectively. On the other hand, "respect for institutions" and the idea that "one should support political system" elicit the greater support in the same year, 60.7 and 56.3 degrees, respectively.

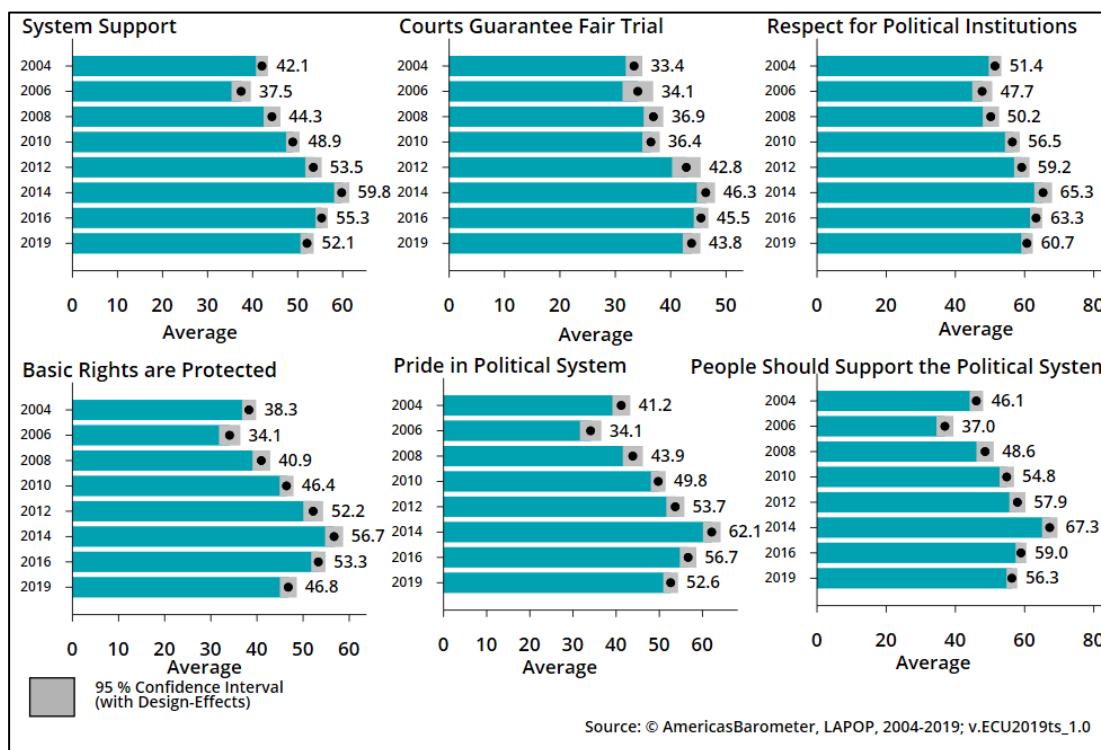


Figure 2.1. System Support and Its Components, Ecuador 2004-2019

Not surprisingly, given cross-national heterogeneity in political systems, there are differences in support for the political system by country. Figure 2.2 shows levels of system support for the eighteen LAC countries surveyed in the 2018/19 round. Costa Rica has the highest average level of support at 59.2 degrees and Peru has the lowest average at 41.8 degrees. Ecuador (52.1) is above average among the countries, ranking fourth, ahead behind Costa Rica, Mexico, and Uruguay.

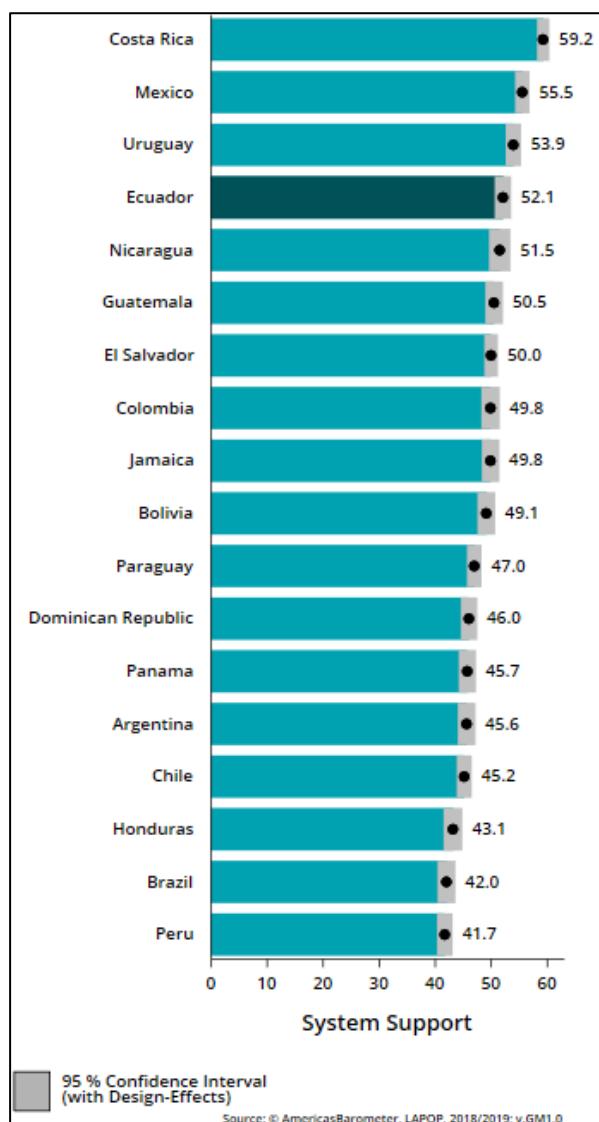


Figure 2.2. System Support, 2018/19

For the interested reader, we provide the country-level trends from the previous round of the AmericasBarometer for system support in the appendix. For the sake of parsimony, we will only comment on some findings from this analysis here. In a few cases, there are considerable shifts between the 2016/17 and 2018/19 rounds of the AmericasBarometer. Interestingly, these shifts appear to have some relation to the timing of elections. The countries experiencing the largest positive shifts in the system support index from 2016/17 to 2018/19 are Mexico (+10.6 degrees), Brazil (+8.5 degrees), Paraguay (+4.4 degrees), and Colombia (+3.1 degrees). These four countries also held presidential elections in the spring to fall of 2018 prior to the 2018/19 AmericasBarometer fieldwork. At the other end, the countries with the largest negative shifts in system support are

Nicaragua (-11.0 degrees), Honduras (-4.4 degrees), Panama (-4.1 degrees), and Argentina (-4.0 degrees). At the time of fieldwork, these countries had last held presidential elections in 2016, 2017, 2014, and 2015 respectively. Together, these sets of results suggest that elections play an important role in replenishing citizens’ “reservoir” of support for their political system. In Ecuador, the change is negative (-3.2 degrees). The last presidential election was held in 2017.

To analyze the relationship between the recency of elections and the dynamics of system support, Figure 2.3 plots the shift in average system support between the last two rounds of the AmericasBarometer (y-axis) and the months since the last presidential election at the time of survey fieldwork for the 2018/19 round (x-axis). The figure shows, on average, large positive shifts among the countries that have experienced elections within the last 20 months.

In general, there appears to be a significant correlation between time since the last presidential election and changes in system support (Pearson’s correlation = -.47). Honduras stands out as one exception – a case with a relatively recent election, but declines in system support. Costa Rica likewise exhibits a similar pattern, but unlike Honduras, is already at a relatively high level of system support to begin with, as demonstrated in Figure 2.2. Finally, Nicaragua’s decrease in system support is significantly greater than one would expect if only election timing mattered. These cases remind us that, while the holding of elections is important to system support, how elections are conducted and political leadership matter as well.

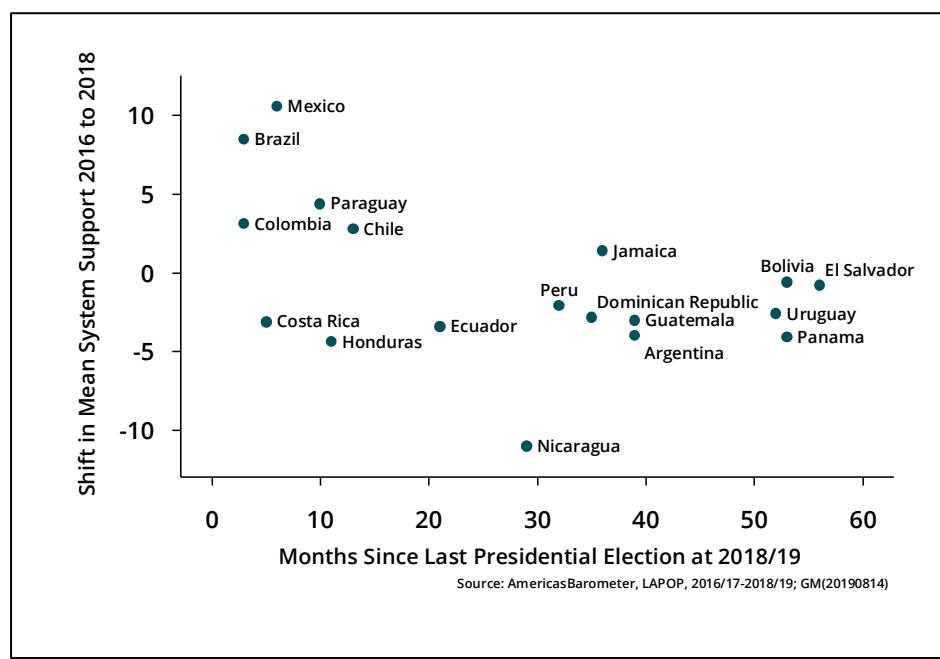


Figure 2.3. Changes in System Support and Recent Elections

Along with contextual factors, individual characteristics are also statistically significant predictors of levels of support for the political system, as shown in Figure 2.4.²⁰ In Ecuador in 2019, there is a

²⁰ For all demographic figures in this report, we evaluate statistical significance using the 95% confidence intervals from the bivariate analysis between the socio-demographic category and the variable of interest.

significant relationship between support for the political system and wealth, education, age and urban (vs. rural) place of residence. On average, people with a higher educational level express lower levels of support for the system (49 degrees). The same is true of the economic situation: the better placed a person is, the less support there is. People in rural settings have an average system support equal to 54.9 degrees, compared to an average of 50.6 among people living in urban settings. Age seems to have a quadratic relationship with support for the system: while people who are over 66 years old register 52.1 degrees, the group of 16 to 25 years old register 59.2 degrees. The rest of the categories have scores below 50 degrees. Finally, women (53.6) show higher support for the system than men (50.3). All the demographic and socioeconomic factors studied here are statistically significant.

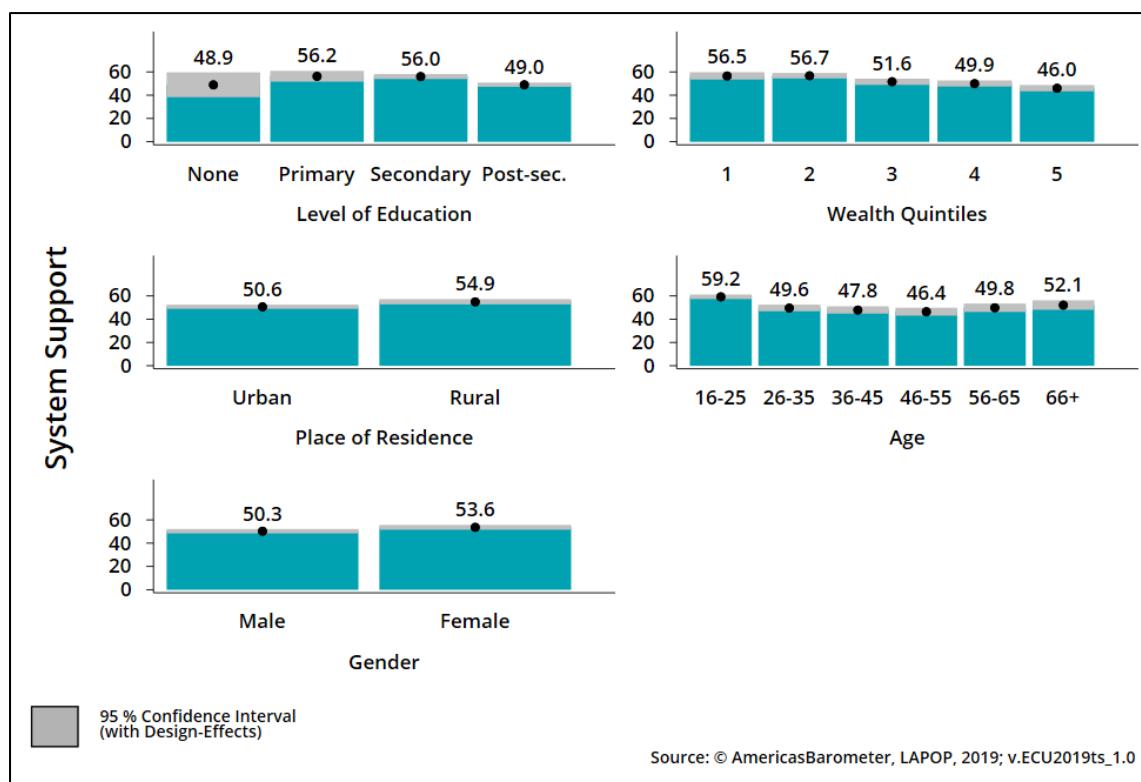


Figure 2.4. Demographic and Socio-Economic Correlates of System Support, Ecuador 2019

IV. Specific Institutions and Actors

The system support index is a diffuse, or broad, indicator of political legitimacy. For a more comprehensive evaluation, we can also analyze specific indicators of support by looking at other political institutions and actors.

As in prior AmericasBarometer studies, the following questions were included in the 2018/19 study asking about confidence in a set of specific institutions:²¹

- B13.** To what extent do you trust the National Assembly?
- B21.** To what extent do you trust the political parties?
- B21A.** To what extent do you trust the President?/
- B47A.** To what extent do you trust elections in this country?

Figure 2.5 shows levels of trust among Ecuadorians for each institution from 2004 to 2019. The institutions that traditionally receive the lowest level of trust are political parties. The worst year for these institutions was 2006, when people gave them an average level of trust of 15.1 degrees on the 0-100 scale. In 2019, the level of trust in political parties is 32.4. For his part, the president generates the second lowest level of trust, standing at 40.3 degrees in 2019. This level is the lowest level of trust in the entire series (2008 - 2019). Trust in the National Assembly scores close, but slightly higher, than trust in the President. In 2019, trust in the National Assembly is at 43.7 degrees. The lowest level of trust in the National Assembly was registered in 2006 (16.7 degrees). Finally, trust in elections has been declining since 2014. In that year, trust in elections registered at 59.7 degrees, while in 2019 it reached only 49.6 degrees.

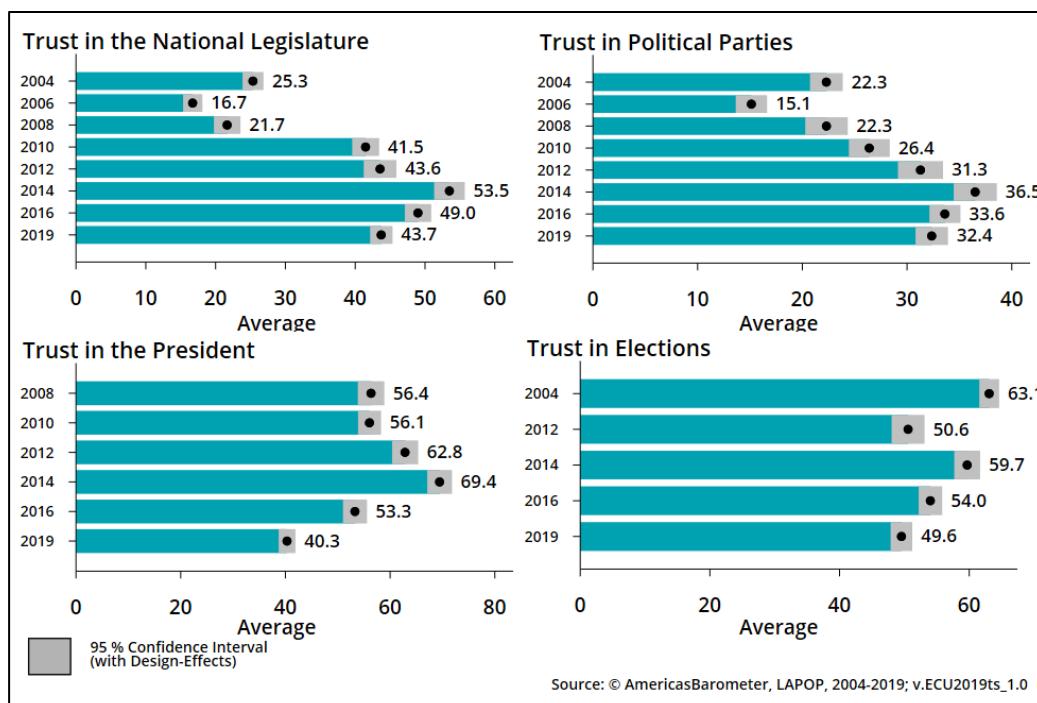


Figure 2.5. Trust in Institutions in Ecuador (I), 2004-2019

²¹ Again, we recoded responses from their original 1 ("not at all") to 7 ("a lot") scale, so that the measures in this report run from 0 to 100.

The AmericasBarometer has asked several questions about institutional trust to capture public sentiment about public and social institutions. The responses are scaled from 0 to 100 degrees where higher averages indicate greater institutional confidence:

B12. To what extent do you trust the Armed Forces?

B18. To what extent do you trust the National Police?

B32. To what extent do you trust your municipality?

Figure 2.6 show that in Ecuador, the armed forces have the highest level of trust of all of the institutions in 2019 (71.2 degrees). After the armed forces, the national police are the second most trusted institution by Ecuadorians in 2019 (55.0). However, both institutions have experienced a slight decline in levels of trust in comparison to those reported in 2016 (74.8 for the armed forces and 60.4 for the national police). Trust in the municipality declined from 51.6 in 2016 to 47.4 in 2019.

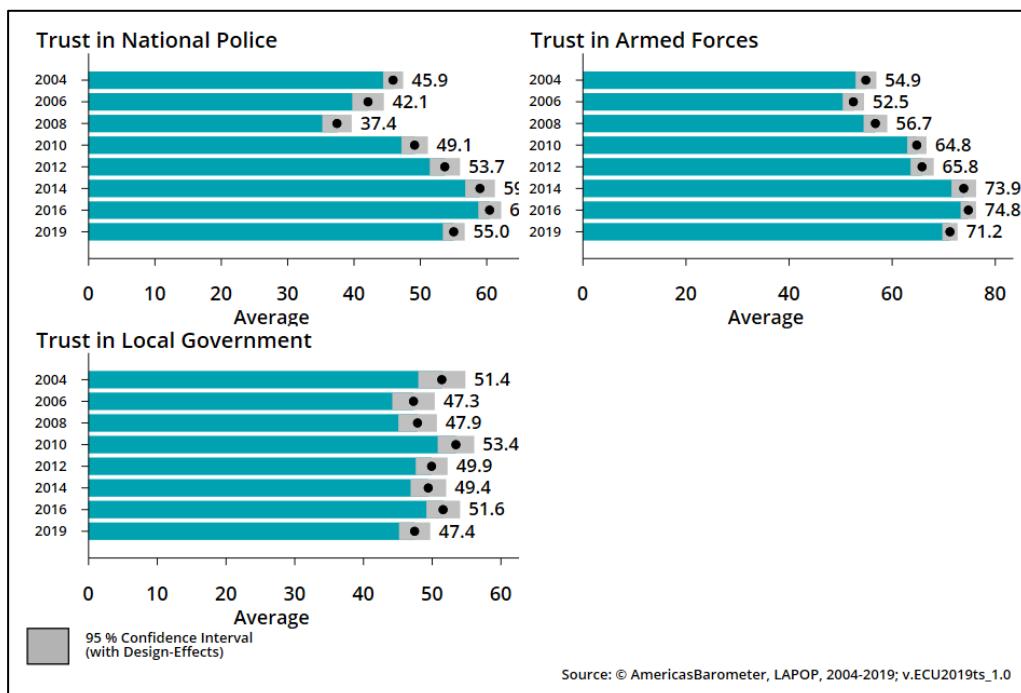


Figure 2.6. Trust in Institutions in Ecuador (II), 2004-2019

As shown in Figure 2.7, Ecuador, compared to other countries in the region, is most trusting of its Armed Forces in 2019. Trust in the National Police is the third highest in the region, while trust in the municipality is located rather in the middle of the regional scale.

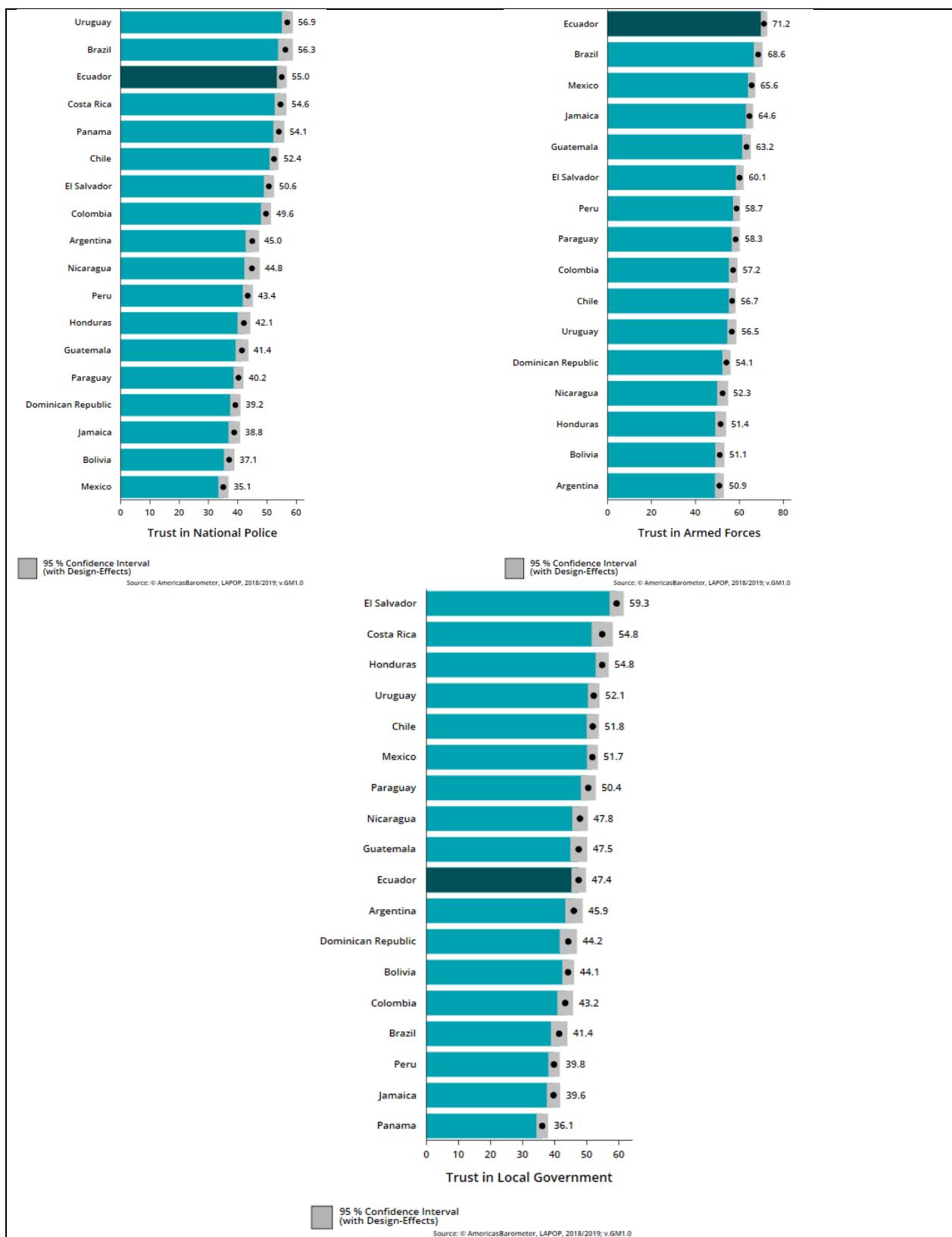


Figure 2.7. Trust in Institutions, 2018/19

To what extent are citizens' evaluations of these specific institutions related to expert evaluations of institutional performance? We can provide one answer to this question by looking at confidence in elections. Figure 2.8 plots the country mean level of trust in elections from the AmericasBarometer 2018/19 round and the country's mean score on the Perceptions of Electoral Integrity Index for the 2012–2018 period. The Electoral Integrity Project creates this index using expert surveys of electoral processes.²² There is a positive correlation between the two measures (Pearson's correlation = .61), indicating that experts and the mass public correspond in their evaluations of how elections are conducted in their country. Honduras stands out as a case where the public and expert evaluations exhibit particularly low levels of trust in the integrity of elections.

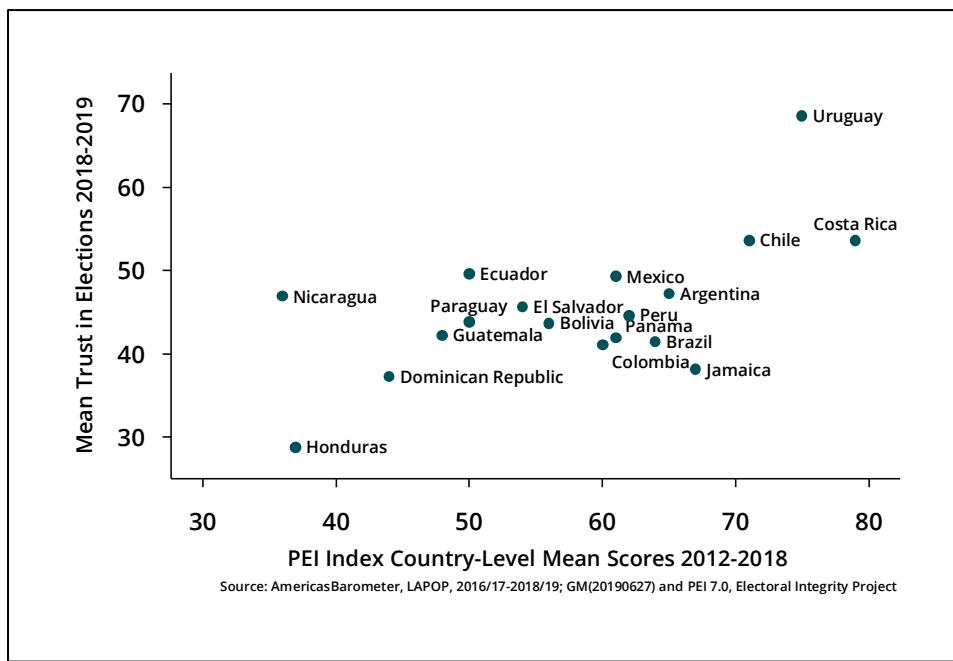


Figure 2.8. Mass Public and Expert Evaluations of Elections

Since these indicators capture the specific support dimension of political legitimacy (tapping into citizen trust of specific political actors and institutions), one ought to expect variation across time within a given political system. For example, trust in the president should ebb and flow along with the executive's performance in office. In this way, trust in the executive displayed substantial variation across countries in direction and magnitude of changes from 2016/17 to 2018/19. These ranged from a large positive shift in Mexico (+40.3 degrees) to a decline of 19.5 degrees in Nicaragua. The top four countries with the largest increases in trust in the executive each experienced recent presidential elections: Mexico, Brazil (+32.9 degrees), Paraguay (+17.2 degrees), and Colombia (+17.0 degrees). These countries also experienced statistically significant increases in the other three trust indicators (with the exception of trust in elections in Paraguay and trust in the national legislature in Colombia and Paraguay). At the other end, two countries experienced statistically significant declines across all four indicators: Nicaragua and Honduras. The largest decline in trust in elections (-11.6 degrees) was registered in Honduras; as mentioned above,

²² Norris and Grömping 2019.

Honduras was the site of a protest movement in response to perceptions of malfeasance in the 2017 elections.

V. Political Tolerance

This section shifts focus to a different dimension of democratic legitimacy outlined by Norris: support for regime principles.²³ Regime principles in this context refer to democratic ideals such as political competition, alternate sources of information, and universal suffrage.²⁴ Following the work of Booth and Seligson, we use citizen commitment to political tolerance as a measure of support for regime principles.²⁵ In line with previous LAPOP research, political tolerance is defined as “respect by citizens for the political rights of others, especially those with whom they may disagree.”²⁶

Political tolerance is measured here by asking about citizens’ approval of the right of people with dissenting political opinions to participate in politics. Specifically, the questions ask about rights to vote, peacefully demonstrate, run for office, and make televised speeches. The following questions are used to generate a political tolerance index:²⁷

D1. There are people who only say bad things about Ecuador’s form of government, not just the incumbent government but the system of government. How strongly do you approve or disapprove of such people’s right to vote? Please read me the number from the scale [1-10 scale]

D2. How strongly do you approve or disapprove that such people be allowed to conduct peaceful demonstrations in order to express their views? Please read me the number.

D3. Still thinking of those who only say bad things about Ecuador’s form of government, how strongly do you approve or disapprove of such people being permitted to run for public office?

D4. How strongly do you approve or disapprove of such people appearing on television to make speeches?

In Ecuador, political tolerance has remained fairly constant since 2016 around 50 degrees, on average. As shown in Figure 2.9, in 2019 Ecuadorians have a higher level of approval for guaranteeing the right to demonstrate peacefully for those who criticize the government, with an

²³ Norris 1999.

²⁴ Dahl 2008, Schmitter and Karl 1991, Diamond 1999.

²⁵ Booth and Seligson 2009.

²⁶ Seligson 2000, p. 5.

²⁷ The political tolerance index is created using the mean score of the D series: D1, D2, D3, and D4. The Cronbach’s alpha was 0.82, a high score that indicates scale reliability for the political tolerance index. For the analyses in this report, we rescaled responses from their original 1 to 10 scale to run from 0 to 100, as per LAPOP’s standard.

average of 61.6 degrees in 2019. At an intermediate level is support for right to vote, with 54.5 degrees. The lowest values are registered with respect to the right of critics to run for public office (41.2 degrees) and the right to give public speeches (43.2 degrees). It is worth noting that, in Ecuador, all components of political tolerance have remained relatively constant compared to 2016, but have risen compared to 2014.

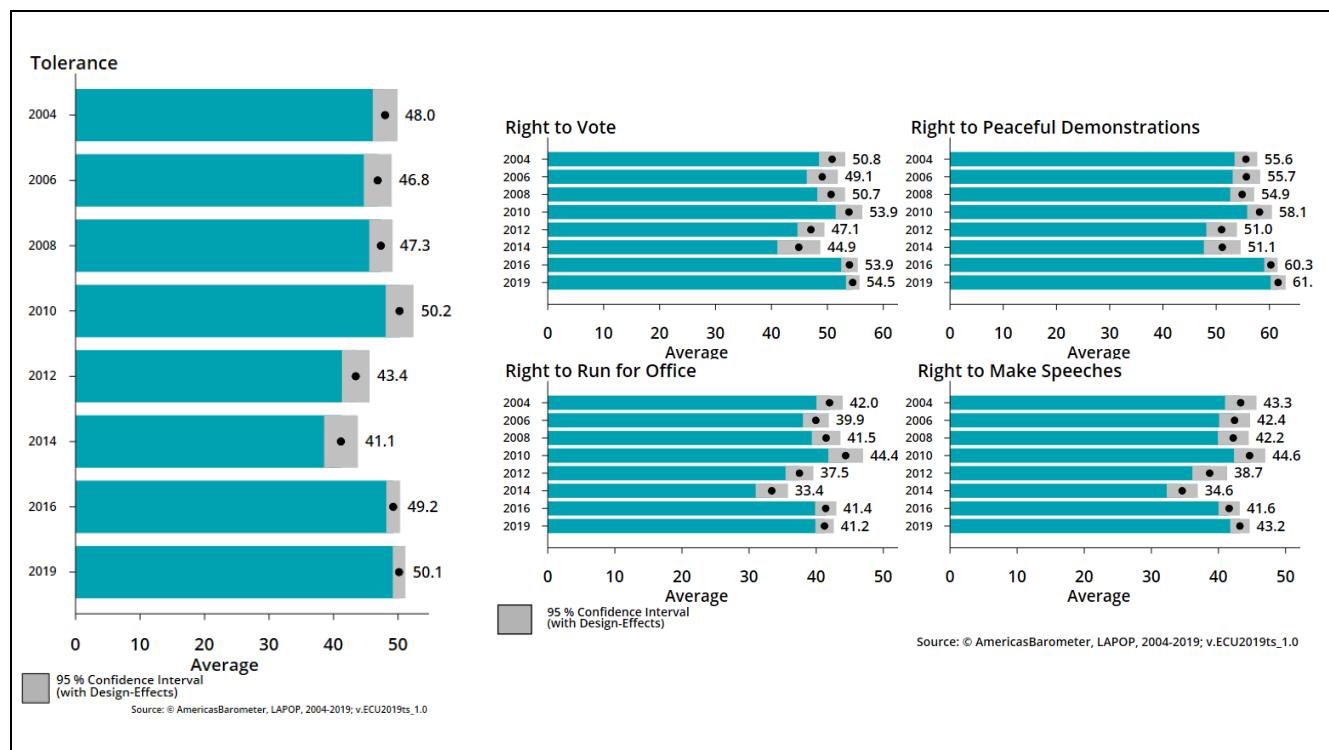


Figure 2.9. Political Tolerance and Its Components, Ecuador 2004-2019

How does political tolerance vary by country? Figure 2.10 shows the cross-national distribution of mean levels of political tolerance on the 0-100 scale. Jamaica has the highest average level of tolerance at 60.6, while Colombia has the lowest average at 48.0 units. Most countries in the region have levels of political tolerance around the mid-point on the 0-100 scale. Ecuador is in fifth place, among the countries with the lowest level of political tolerance in the region in 2019

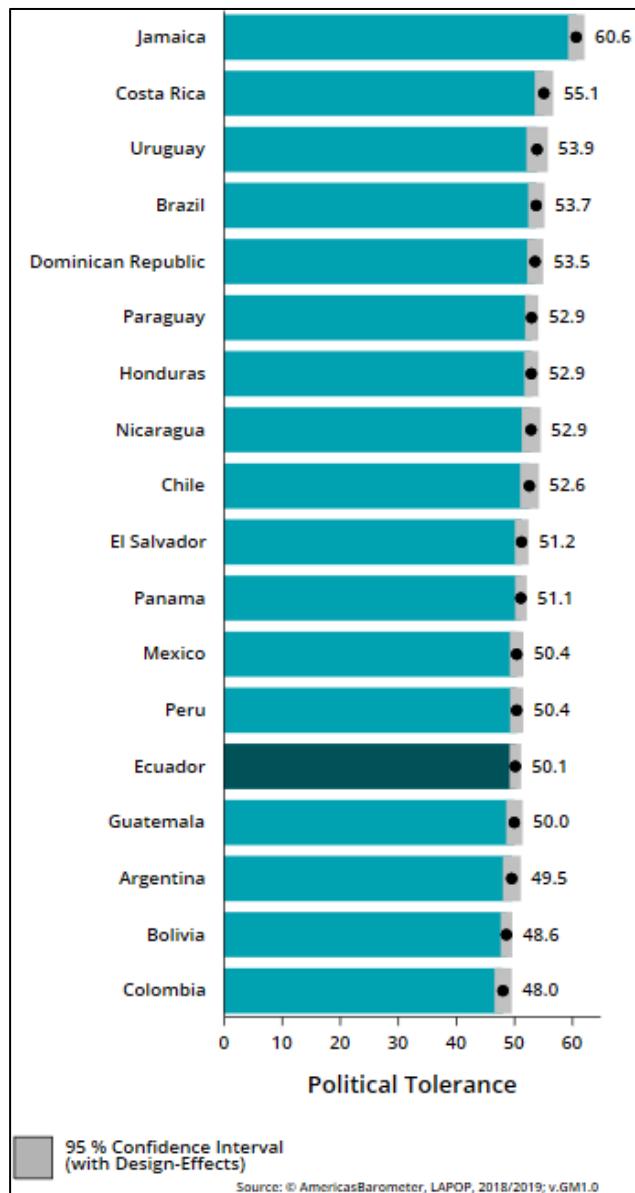


Figure 2.10. Political Tolerance, 2018/19

An analysis of trends from the 2016/17 to 2018/19 round at the country level, (data are detailed in the appendix), reveals considerable stability in the political tolerance index. Shifts in the political tolerance index ranged only from -4.1 to +3.5 degrees (on the 0-100 scale). In fact, there are only four countries with statistically significant increases in their index averages: El Salvador (+3.5 degrees), Peru (+2.7 degrees), Colombia (+2.5 degrees), and Honduras (+2.2 degrees). There are also only five cases that experienced statistically significant declines since the 2016/17 wave: Mexico (-4.1 degrees), Brazil (-3.6 degrees), the Dominican Republic (-3.0 degrees), Uruguay (-2.8 degrees), and Panama (-1.7 degrees). It is worth noting that the two cases with the greatest declines in their political tolerance index average (Mexico and Brazil) also exhibited the greatest increases in measures of system support and trust in political institutions discussed above.

Figure 2.11 shows variation in political tolerance by socio-economic and demographic factors.²⁸ In the case of Ecuador, age and education groups show statistically significant differences in their tolerance levels. Error bars show that younger people express higher tolerance compared to older adults. Specifically, young people between 16 and 25 years of age (54.5 degrees), show the highest political tolerance of all categories. On the other hand, people over 66 years (44 degrees) have the lowest level of political tolerance. In the same way, people with a higher education level have a higher tolerance level (51.1 degrees) than people with a primary education level (47.2 degrees). This is the only statistically significant difference in the education variable.

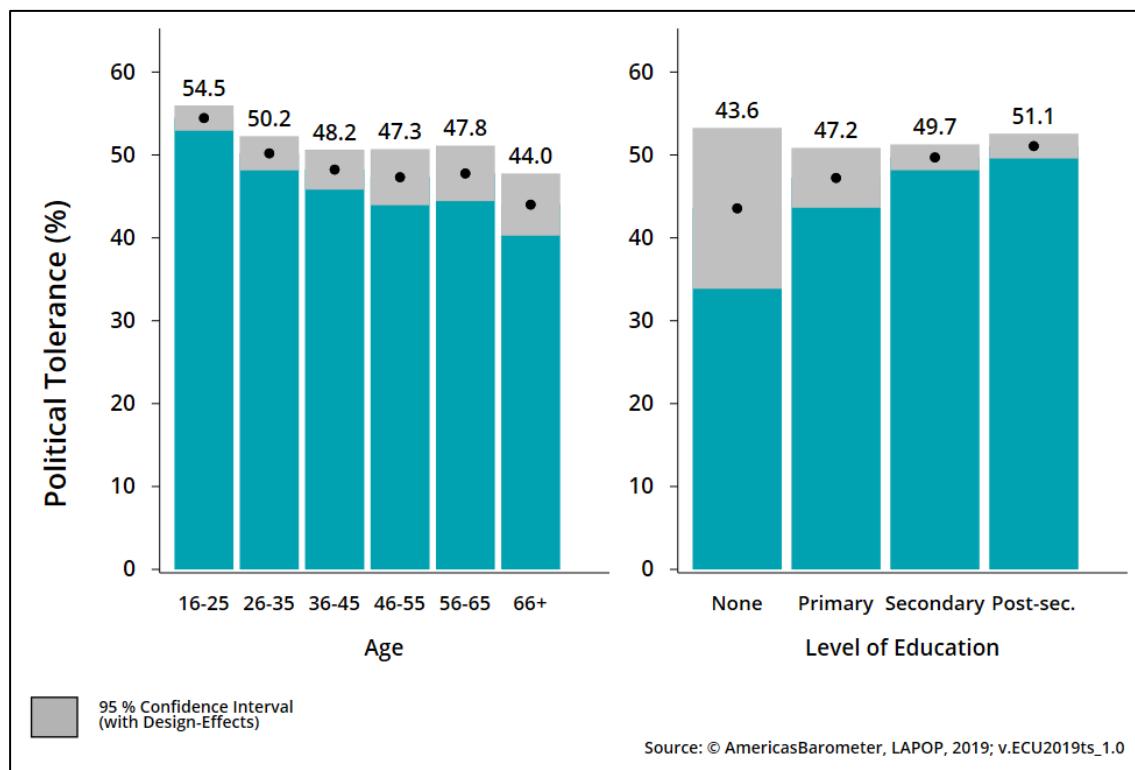


Figure 2.11. Demographic and Socio-Economic Correlates of Political Tolerance, Ecuador 2019

VI. Dimensions of Democratic Legitimacy

This section analyzes the relationship between system support and five other dimensions of political regime legitimacy.²⁹ As discussed in the previous sections, the system support index is a measure of diffuse support for regime institutions. The political tolerance index is a measure of diffuse support for regime principles. To capture evaluations of regime performance, we look at another diffuse indicator, external efficacy – how much someone believes their government representatives care about their concerns as an individual. In addition, we consider three

²⁸ As in the earlier analyses, we evaluate statistical significance using the 95% confidence intervals from the bivariate analysis between the socio-demographic category and the variable of interest.

²⁹ Norris 1999.

indicators of support for specific institutions: trust in the executive (measured with trust in the president) trust in local government (municipality), trust in the public community (i.e., interpersonal trust). The specific measures are as follows:

System Support Index: B1, B2, B3, B4, B6 - (see section on System Support)

Political Tolerance Index: D1, D2, D3, D4 - (see section on Political Tolerance)

EFF1. Those who govern this country are interested in what people like you think. How much do you agree or disagree with this statement?

B21A. To what extent do you trust the President?

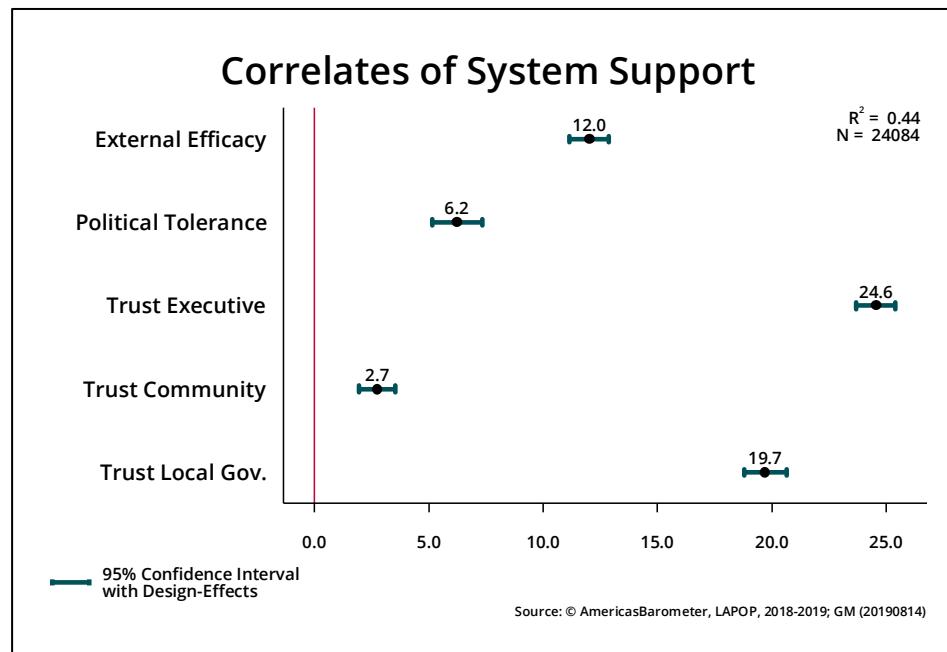
B32. To what extent do you trust the municipality?

IT1. And speaking of the people from around here, would you say that people in this community are very trustworthy, somewhat trustworthy, not very trustworthy or untrustworthy?³⁰

We ran a regression analysis to determine the relationship between system support and these other five dimensions of democratic legitimacy. We control for the same socio-economic and demographic indicators analyzed earlier, and country-fixed effects (coefficients for control variables are not shown in Figures 2.12 and 2.13). All five support indicators have a positive, significant relationship with system support, according to a 95% confidence interval, as shown in Figure 2.12. This indicates that as external efficacy, political tolerance, trust of the executive, community, and local government increase, so does the average level of support for the political system. The highest correlations with system support are between trust in the president (coefficient = 24.6³¹), in the local government (19.7), and external efficacy (12.0). Two of the specific indicators, trust in local government and executive, have particularly strong correlations with system support.

³⁰ Trust in the community has been reverse coded from its original scale in the survey so that higher values in that variable indicate higher levels of trust and lower levels indicate lower trust.

³¹ Given the way the variables are coded, the regression coefficients can be interpreted as the predicted change in the dependent variable, on the 0-100 scale, given a min-to-max change in the independent variable.

**Figure 2.12. Correlates of System Support, 2018/19**

In the case of Ecuador, the same analysis was replicated. As Figure 2.13 shows, the variables that reach statistical significance are external efficacy, political tolerance, trust in the executive, trust in the community, and trust in local government, all positively related to support for the system.

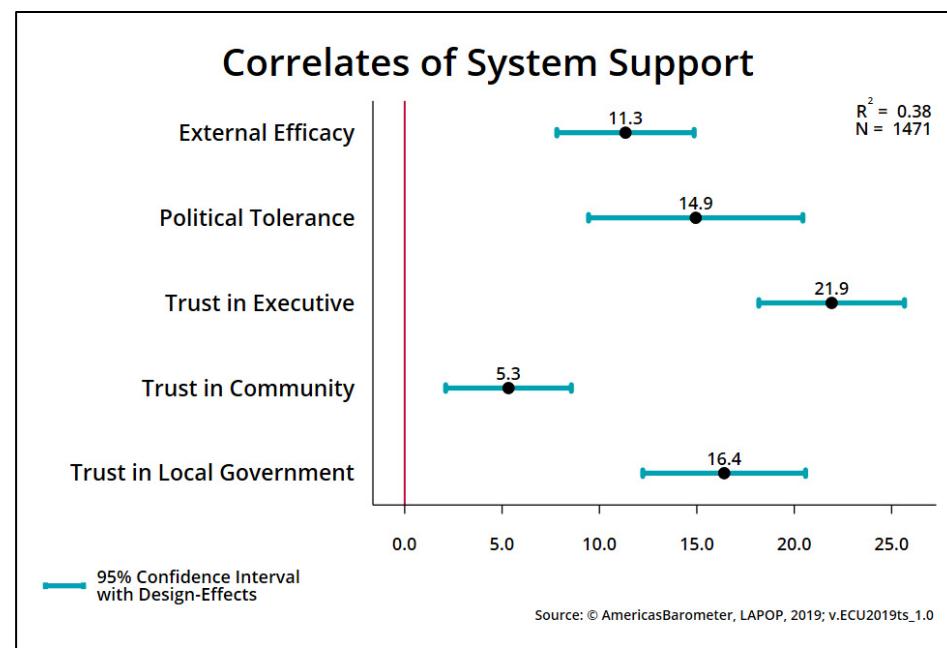
**Figure 2.13. Correlates of System Support, Ecuador 2019**

Figure 2.14 clearly shows these relationships in bivariate form: support for the system is greater among those who strongly agree with external effectiveness. Similarly, support for the system is higher among high levels of political tolerance (58.1) than among those with low tolerance levels (46.5). Support for the system increases as confidence in the executive increases: ranging from

36.7 degrees of support among those who do not trust the executive to 69.1 degrees among those who trust a lot. Likewise, support for the system is greater among those who believe that their community is very trustworthy (56.3 degrees) compared to those who believe that their community is not trustworthy (46.9 degrees). Finally, support for the system is also greater among those with strong trust in their municipality (66.8) compared to those who do not trust at all (38.0).

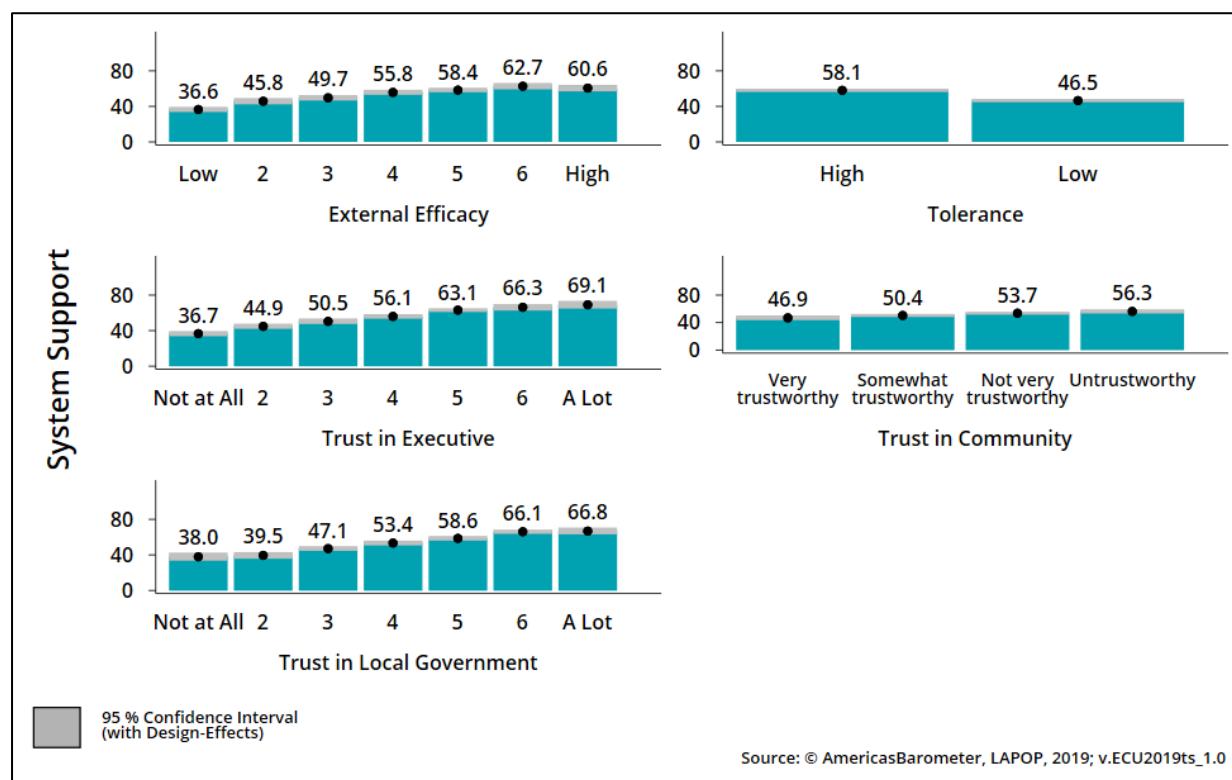


Figure 2.14. Apoyo al sistema según variables de legitimidad democrática, Ecuador 2019

The empirical evidence presented here affirms that there exist important connections between a general measure of political support (political legitimacy) and other diffuse and specific indicators of democratic legitimacy. These results affirm the validity of the system support index, as a means by which one can evaluate the level of political legitimacy within a mass public. The results also suggest that trust in specific institutions may spill over into more diffuse trust and, of course, vice versa. That is, the fate of political legitimacy is connected not only to general assessments of political institutions and processes, but also to the evaluations that individuals develop of specific political actors and agencies.

VII. Conclusion

Democracy is stronger to the degree that citizens express support for its institutions and support for democratic processes. When citizens broadly view the system as legitimate and tolerate even its most ardent detractors, democratic governments are empowered to function in ways that are both effective and inclusive. However, when this cultural foundation is fragile, democracy's fate is less certain. Given the importance of these beliefs and attitudes by the mass public, we tracked the legitimacy of democratic regimes and levels of political tolerance in the Americas, compared

them across countries, and provided an analysis of the socio economic and demographic factors that influence these attitudes. We also considered the relevance of context, including elections, to changes in public opinion over time.

One conclusion from the cross-time analyses is that system support and political tolerance do not necessarily trend together, nor even do all components of these indices. Recall that overall system support fell in the previous decade largely due to flagging faith that courts guarantee a fair trial, that the system protects citizens' basic rights, and pride in the political system. Yet respect for the country's political institutions and normative commitments to liberal democracy, as operationalized by political tolerance, were more stable.

Another noteworthy finding from this report is that political legitimacy and to a lesser extent political tolerance exhibit short-term volatility in the Americas. Analyses of specific cases here suggest this volatility reflects real-time political processes, namely elections and turnovers in executive power as well as violent government crackdowns of protest movements. It is worth noting that the two cases that experienced the largest positive shifts in system support from 2016/17 (Mexico and Brazil), were also the two cases with the largest declines in average political tolerance. This indicates that these two important components of democratic legitimacy can trend in opposite directions, at least in the short term. Recent work on democratic political culture in the region has highlighted the willingness of citizens to delegate greater authority to popular executives (whose popularity can bolster system support) and support greater control on political dissent.³² This dynamic poses a challenge for the development of a political culture conducive to stable democratic government, as both support for the political system and political tolerance are necessary for the legitimacy of democratic regimes.

In Ecuador, there is a moderate downward trend in both specific and diffuse support. In the most recent round of the AmericasBarometer, there is a decline in support for the system, pride in the political system, the thinking that basic rights are protected, respect for institutions, belief that the courts guarantee a fair trial, and belief that the political system should be supported. There are also declines in the levels of trust in the main political institutions: The National Assembly, the president, elections, the National Police, the Armed Forces and the municipality.

Presidents and local governments are some of the institutions that are most visible in citizens' day-to-day lives. Levels of trust in these institutions are the strongest predictors of overall system support. Incumbent governments at the local and national level have the opportunity to make positive impacts on citizens' commitment to the democratic regime, i.e. building the "reservoir" of support. These places a lot of responsibility on the shoulders of the actors who inhabit these institutions. It is thus incumbent upon political leaders to show themselves to be capable, honest, and responsive.

Another factor that can serve to build the "reservoir" are regular elections. Our analyses provide evidence that elections are instruments for reinvigorating the legitimacy of political institutions, as long as they are perceived to operate in ways that are free of bias and irregularities. Otherwise, they can generate frustration and protests.

³² Carlin and Singer 2011, Singer 2018.

Appendix

**Appendix Table 1. Cross-National Trends in System Support Indicators
(2016/17 to 2018/19)**

Country	Courts Guarantee Fair Trial (B1)	Respect Institutions (B2)	Basic Rights Protected (B3)	Proud of Living Under Political System (B4)	Should Support Political System (B6)	System Support
Mexico	6.9*	9.5*	7.9*	13.2*	15.8*	10.6*
Guatemala	-1.0	-1.5	-3.7*	-4.2*	-5.0*	-3.0*
El Salvador	-0.8	-0.3	-2.7*	-2.1	1.4	-0.8
Honduras	-2.8*	-5.2*	-3.7*	-4.4*	-7.2*	-4.4*
Nicaragua	-5.7*	-10.4*	-12.4*	-13.0*	-13.8*	-11.0*
Costa Rica	-2.7*	0.2	-4.3*	-4.4*	-4.0*	-3.1*
Panama	-3.8*	-1.5	-5.1*	-4.8*	-5.5*	-4.1*
Colombia	2.9*	1.9	0.7	3.9*	6.4*	3.1*
Ecuador	-1.7	-2.6*	-6.5*	-4.0*	-2.6*	-3.4*
Bolivia	0.1	0.8	-0.7	-2.3	-1.3	-0.6
Peru	-1.3	-2.1	-3.1*	-2.8*	-1.5	-2.1*
Paraguay	3.7*	4.8*	3.1*	4.0*	6.6*	4.4*
Chile	2.8*	3.0*	1.8	2.2	4.0*	2.8*
Uruguay	-0.6	-1.0	-2.1	-4.5*	-3.8*	-2.6*
Brazil	5.5*	8.7*	7.1*	8.2*	13.0*	8.5*
Argentina	-5.1*	-2.1	-3.8*	-3.7*	-5.3*	-4.0*
Dominican Republic	0.5	-2.8	-0.8	-5.9*	-5.2*	-2.8*
Jamaica	0.8	2.6*	0.7	3.1*	-0.7	1.4

Variables coded from 0-100. Numerical entries are differences in country averages between 2018/19 and 2016/17 rounds.

* Denotes differences significant at p<0.05.

**Appendix Table 2. Cross-National Trends of Trust in Specific Institutions
(2016/17 to 2018/19)**

Country	Trust in National Legislature (B13)	Trust in Political Parties (B21)	Trust in Executive (B21A)	Trust in Elections (B47A)
Mexico	9.0*	10.4*	40.3*	15.2*
Guatemala	-1.4	0.2	-12.4*	-3.3*
El Salvador	-2.5*	-2.3*	-2.5	-1.1
Honduras	-9.1*	-5.8*	-9.7*	-11.6*
Nicaragua	-13.3*	-8.7*	-19.5*	-6.9*
Costa Rica	-9.1*	-5.4*	1.2	-5.6*
Panama	-5.2*	-1.7	-9.7*	-3.0*
Colombia	1.1	4.4*	17.0*	5.5*
Ecuador	-5.3*	-1.3	-13.0*	-4.5*
Bolivia	-2.9	-1.1	-3.4	-7.8*
Peru	-9.5*	-2.0*	5.8*	-4.3*
Paraguay	2.3	4.3*	17.2*	1.5
Chile	1.5	3.4*	-1.7	3.2*
Uruguay	-2.9*	-2.2	-7.8*	-3.6*
Brazil	9.7*	4.9*	32.9*	10.3*
Argentina	-4.5*	-2.0	-12.0*	-2.4
Dominican Republic	-4.6*	-0.8	-15.8*	-3.5*
Jamaica	-2.3	-0.7	0.1	-1.7

Variables coded from 0-100. Numerical entries are differences in country averages between 2018/19 and 2016/17 rounds.

* Denotes differences significant at p<0.05.

**Appendix Table 3. Cross-National Trends in Political Tolerance Indicators
(2016/17 to 2018/19)**

Country	Right to Vote (D1)	Peaceful Demonstration (D2)	Run for Public Office (D3)	Make Speeches (D4)	Political Tolerance
Mexico	-3.5*	-5.4*	-3.1*	-4.2*	-4.1*
Guatemala	0.4	-3.9*	2.0	-1.8	-0.8
El Salvador	3.0*	3.6*	4.1*	3.4*	3.5*
Honduras	1.3	3.3*	2.7*	1.6	2.2*
Nicaragua	1.2	-1.5	-0.2	0.2	-0.3
Costa Rica	0.1	1.0	-0.1	1.8	0.7
Panama	-3.7*	-3.1*	-0.6	0.6	-1.7*
Colombia	3.7*	2.4	1.4	2.7	2.5*
Ecuador	0.6	1.4	-0.2	1.6	0.9
Bolivia	-1.6	-1.9*	0.2	0.6	-0.8
Peru	3.6*	1.0	3.3*	3.6*	2.8*
Paraguay	0.7	-3.3*	1.2	-0.8	-0.5
Chile	1.0	-0.4	2.9*	1.9	1.4
Uruguay	-5.3*	-5.2*	-0.2	-0.5	-2.8*
Brazil	-4.3*	-6.0*	-0.2	-3.7*	-3.6*
Argentina	-0.9	-1.6	2.3	1.6	0.2
Dominican Republic	-5.9*	-7.7*	0.9	0.9	-3.0*
Jamaica	-0.3	-1.9	2.1	1.1	-0.4

Variables coded from 0-100. Numerical entries are differences in country averages between 2018/19 and 2016/17 rounds.

* Denotes differences significant at p<0.05.

Chapter 3.

Social Media and Political Attitudes in the Latin America and Caribbean Region

Noam Lupu¹, Elizabeth J. Zechmeister²,
and Mariana V. Ramírez Bustamante³ with Georgina Pizzolito⁴

I. Introduction

In the last decade, social media use has expanded around the world, including in the Americas.⁵ And increasingly, people access the news through social media. On the one hand, social media can play a positive role in expanding access to timely information. On the other, social media can help spread misinformation, intimidation, and hostile rhetoric.

Given these dueling currents, it is challenging to determine whether social media improves or undermines the quality of democracy overall. One way to study this is to compare the attitudes and evaluations expressed by social media users and non-users. If social media users are less supportive of democracy and its institutions, this could mean that information spread via social media erodes democratic attitudes. Conversely, if social media users largely support democratic politics, their use of the platform may spread goodwill toward the system and counterbalance the negative experiences and evaluations that circulate in the general public.

Research on this topic has so far yielded mixed results, as well as reasons to be concerned about the attitudes held by social media users. Some scholars find a positive relationship between social media use and political cynicism (e.g., lower trust in political institutions and satisfaction with democracy), while others find weaker or no evidence of this connection.⁶ Still, most of the research on these topics has focused on the more developed democracies of North America and Western Europe.

¹ Dr. Noam Lupu is Associate Professor of Political Science at Vanderbilt University and Associate Director of LAPOP.

² Dr. Elizabeth J. Zechmeister is Cornelius Vanderbilt Professor of Political Science at Vanderbilt University and Director of LAPOP.

³ Mariana V. Ramírez Bustamante is a doctoral student in the Department of Political Science at Vanderbilt University

⁴ Georgina Pizzolitto has a master's degree in Economics and International Development Economics. She is coordinator of special studies at LAPOP.

⁵ Data on social media penetration in Latin America are available at

<https://www.statista.com/statistics/244930/social-network-penetration-in-latin-america/>

⁶ On a positive connection between social media and cynicism, see Ceron 2015, Ceron and Memoli 2016, Johnson and Kaye 2015, and Yamamoto and Kushin 2013; but also see Hanson et al. 2013 and Yamamoto, Kushin, and Dalisay 2017.

Within the Latin America and Caribbean (LAC) region, little is known about who uses social media and what political attitudes they hold. Looking at eight countries in the region, one study finds that social media users tend to be more educated, more urban, wealthier, and more interested in politics.⁷ Other studies suggest that social media users in the region are less satisfied with democracy, more politically tolerant and democratic, and more likely to protest.⁸ But these studies analyze data from nearly a decade ago, use blunt yes/no social media access measures, and focus on a subsample of countries in the region.

By analyzing an original module of questions in the 2018/19 AmericasBarometer, this chapter provides foundational evidence about these phenomena in the LAC region and in Ecuador.⁹

Globally, the most popular social media platforms are Facebook, Twitter, and WhatsApp.¹⁰ We developed the 2018/19 AmericasBarometer social media module to focus on these three platforms. In analyzing this module, we first present descriptive data on usage across the region and in Ecuador. We then profile social media users in Ecuador, providing a description of their socioeconomic and demographic characteristics, their propensity to use social media frequently, and their engagement with political information on these platforms. Finally, we analyze the connections between social media use and political attitudes, including political tolerance, support for democracy, trust in political institutions, and satisfaction with democracy.

II. Main Findings

The main findings in this chapter are as follows:

- Facebook is the most used social network in Ecuador. 66.9% of the population of voting age use this social network. Second, 60.2% use WhatsApp. For the region, 64.4% of adults use WhatsApp and 56.2% use Facebook. That is, [country] is above the regional average in the use of Facebook and slightly below the regional average in the use of WhatsApp.
- Twitter is used infrequently in the LAC region: the highest percentage of adult Twitter users is in Argentina, at 13%. In Ecuador, 11.2% of voting age respondents use Twitter.
- The typical social media user in Ecuador is young, urban, educated, and wealthy.

⁷ Salzman 2015.

⁸ Gainous, Wagner, and Gray 2016; Salzman 2018; Valenzuela et al. 2016.

⁹ Questions on social media use were also asked in the 2019 AmericasBarometer surveys of the U.S. and Canada, but these countries are not analyzed here.

¹⁰ Data on the popularity of social media platforms worldwide are available at <https://www.statista.com/statistics/272014/global-social-networks-ranked-by-number-of-users/>. Although WhatsApp is primarily a messaging platform, we include it as a social media platform because of the way it is commonly used in the LAC region. Studies show that WhatsApp is widely used there for sharing news and information, coordinating political activities and discussing political issues (Bradshaw and Howard 2018). In Argentina's 2019 election campaign, for instance, WhatsApp was considered an important campaign tool (Gian 2018; Miri 2019). WhatsApp also played a key role in the 2018 election campaigns in Brazil (Capetti 2019; Nemer 2018).

- Among social media users in Ecuador, WhatsApp is used with the greatest frequency: 82.3% of WhatsApp users use the platform daily (compared to 54.7% for Facebook and 31.4% for Twitter).
- In Ecuador, about 1 in 3 WhatsApp users report viewing political information on the platform a few times a week or daily. On Twitter and Facebook, 57.1% and 61% report the same, respectively.
- Frequent users of social media in the region are more politically tolerant and somewhat more supportive of democracy in the abstract, but they also express more cynicism: they are less satisfied with democracy and less trusting of core political institutions.

III. How Widely Used Are Social Media?

In the LAC region, WhatsApp is the most commonly used social media platform, followed by Facebook and then Twitter. Figure 3.1 shows region-wide average usage rates for each platform.¹¹ On average across the LAC region, 64.4% of adults report using WhatsApp. At a close second, 56.2% of adults indicate that they use Facebook. Trailing significantly in usage is Twitter: fewer than 1 in 10 adults (7.9%) in the LAC region use Twitter.

¹¹ For each platform, we identify users with a combination of two sets of survey questions. First, we identify users as those who respond positively to the questions, SMEDIA1/SMEDIA4/SMEDIA7. Do you have a Facebook/Twitter/WhatsApp account? Then, we recode as non-users those who respond “never” to the follow-up questions, SMEDIA2/SMEDIA5/SMEDIA8. How often do you see content on Facebook/Twitter/WhatsApp?

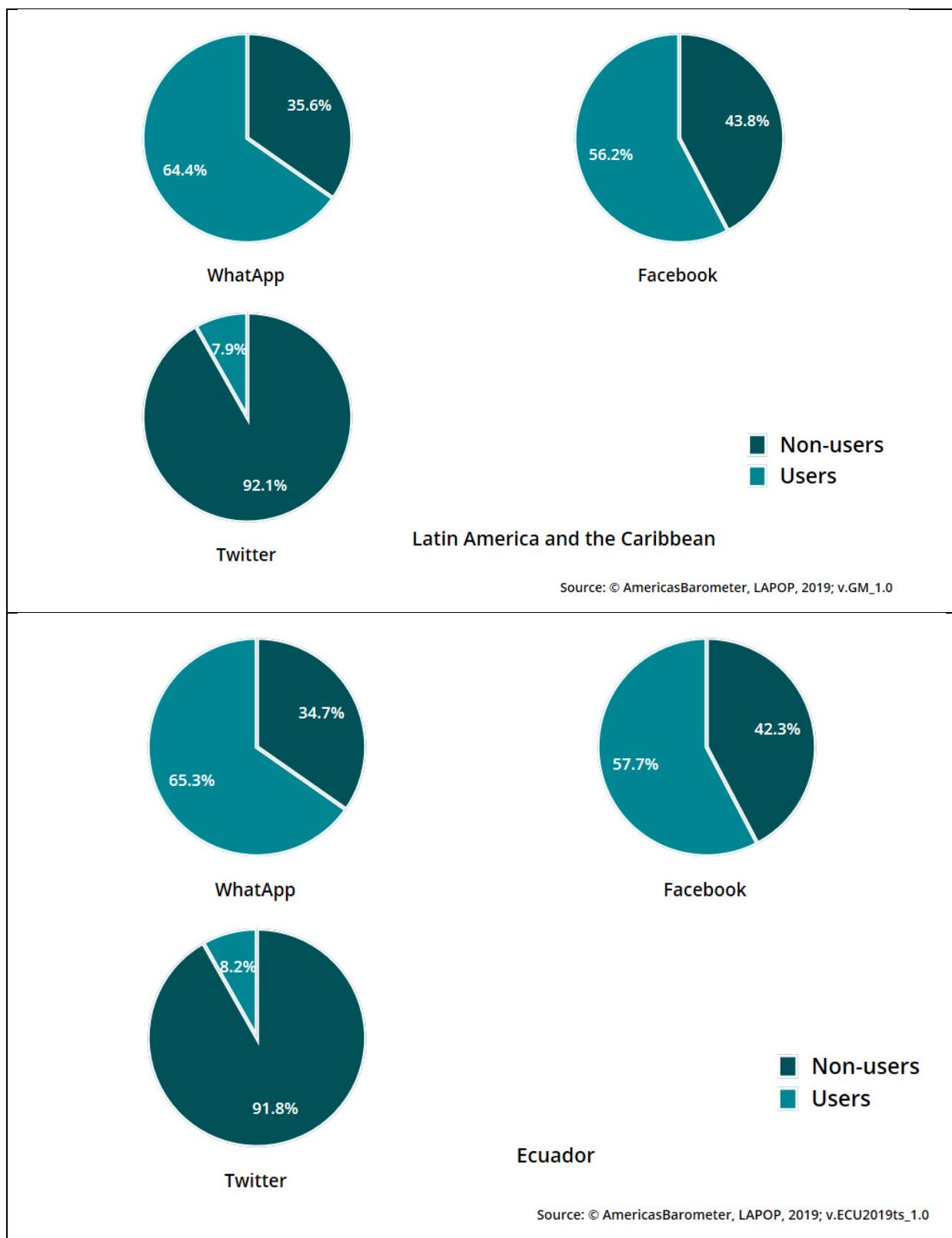


Figure 3.1. Social Media Use, the LAC Region and Ecuador, 2018/19

Internet access and social media engagement vary across countries. Table 3.1 reports the proportion of adults in each country who have cellphones in their homes, home internet access,

and use each social media platform.¹² Where available, we also report statistics on smartphone penetration.¹³ The majority of adults have a cellphone (averaging around 90% across the LAC region). In contrast, home internet access is more limited and varies significantly across countries. At 73.7%, Brazil has the largest proportion with access to internet at home, while this rate is comparatively low in Nicaragua and Guatemala, at less than 25%.

There are substantial differences in WhatsApp user rates across countries in the LAC region. Costa Rica has the largest proportion of WhatsApp adult users at 81.6%. Uruguay and Argentina also have high rates, with 80% and 78.9%, respectively. In contrast, WhatsApp is far less widely used in Nicaragua, Guatemala, and Honduras, at less than 48% of adults. WhatsApp use is higher when home access to the internet is higher: for the region as a whole, the correlation between the proportion of adults in a country who use WhatsApp and the proportion with internet access at home is a strong 0.93.¹⁴ Further, WhatsApp usage is higher where more people have cellphones: the country-level correlation between the proportion of adults who use WhatsApp and the proportion who have cellphones in the home is 0.86.

Table 3.1. Internet Access and Social Media Usage by Country, 2018/19

Countries	Smartphone ownership	Cellphone in home	Home internet service	WhatsApp users	Facebook users	Twitter users
Argentina	(%)	(%)	(%)	(%)	(%)	(%)
Bolivia	65.0	92.5	70.9	78.9	67.3	12.9
Brazil	--	93.7	42.1	63.5	57.9	5.6
Chile	54.0	95.4	73.7	76.2	59.8	8.5
Colombia	72.0	97.0	70.3	75.5	62.9	9.2
Costa Rica	56.0	92.8	48.2	62.7	59.6	10.5
Dom. Rep	--	96.3	67.9	81.6	66.6	8.0
Ecuador	--	88.9	42.7	68.2	61.9	9.5
El Salvador	--	90.5	51.4	60.2	66.9	11.2
Guatemala	--	86.9	35.5	56.0	56.2	6.7
Honduras	--	81.6	23.9	47.6	43.2	6.5
Jamaica	--	86.4	25.1	46.9	44.6	4.8
Mexico	42.0	94.2	55.0	68.1	45.9	4.5
Nicaragua	--	82.2	45.7	55.1	47.9	7.6
Panama	--	84.5	22.2	47.7	48.1	5.8
Paraguay	--	84.0	35.2	56.7	34.6	5.8
Peru	41.0	95.8	44.1	69.3	60.5	8.0
Uruguay	--	86.5	37.5	58.6	61.4	7.6
	--	95.6	70.0	80.0	66.5	9.8

Note: Smartphone ownership data come from Pew Research Center (2018); all other data are from the AmericasBarometer 2018/19.

¹² Household assets are measured using two AmericasBarometer survey items included in a battery that begins, “Could you tell me if you have the following in your house”: R4A. Cellular telephone (accept smartphone), R18. Internet from your home (including phone or tablet).

¹³ Pew Research Center 2018.

¹⁴ Since 2016, WhatsApp can be used on a smartphone or computer, through a web interface or via an app.

Social media platform usage tends to coincide. That is, Facebook usage is high where WhatsApp use is high. With respect to Facebook usage, we again find that Argentina, Ecuador, and Costa Rica have comparatively high user rates. And again, we see comparatively low usage rates in Guatemala and Honduras. Panama and Jamaica stand out as unusual cases in which WhatsApp usage substantially outstrips Facebook penetration: 56.7% of Panamanians and 68.1% of Jamaicans use WhatsApp, whereas only 34.6% and 45.9%, respectively, use Facebook. Table 3.1 also shows that, although Twitter usage is not especially widespread in the LAC region, usage rates vary across countries, from 4.5% in Jamaica to 12.9% in Argentina.

At the individual-level, many social media users are engaged in more than one type of social media.¹⁵ Indeed, Figure 3.2 shows the majority of Facebook and WhatsApp users are multi-platform users. 44% of adults in the LAC region are both Facebook and WhatsApp users and, of those a small proportion (7% of adults) also are Twitter users. At the same time, Figure 3.2 usefully highlights that a sizable proportion of citizens in the average LAC country, 30%, do not use any of these social media platforms.¹⁶

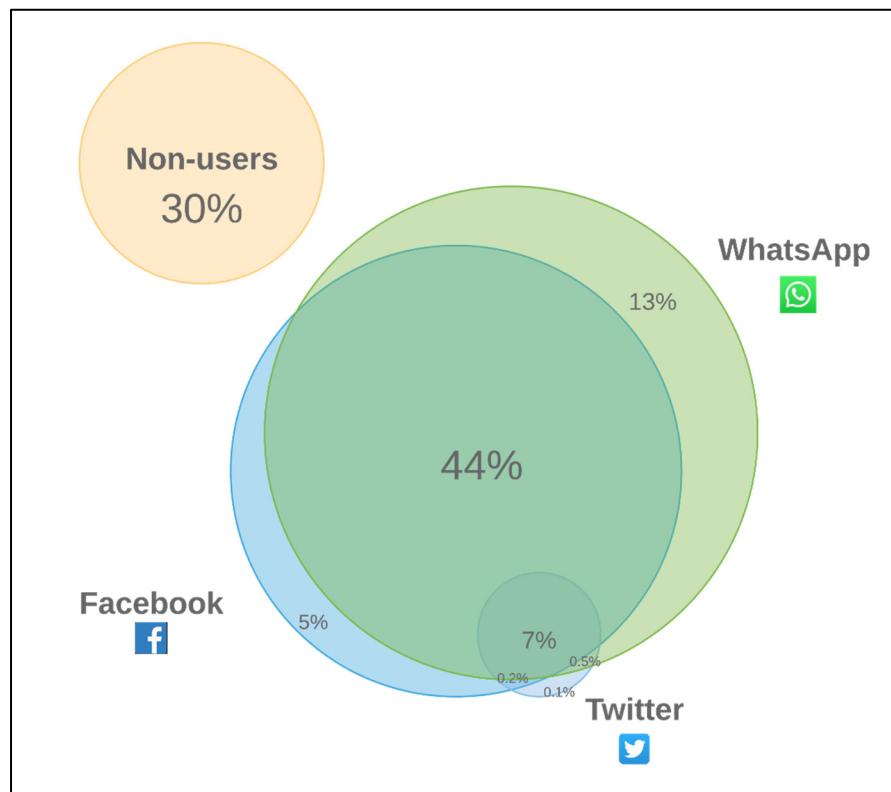


Figure 3.2. Overlap in Use of Social Media Platforms in the LAC Region, 2018/19

¹⁵ Due to space constraints in the El Salvador survey, the AmericasBarometer randomly assigned each respondent to be asked about only one of the three social media platforms. As a result, we do not have information about users of multiple platforms for that country, and it is omitted from the data in Figure 3.2.

¹⁶ In analyses of the region, we follow LAPOP's standard practice and weight each country equally. Averages for the region, then, can be interpreted as values that one would expect to find in the average country in the region.

IV. Who Uses Social Media?

The average social media user in Ecuador is a younger adult, lives in an urban setting, has a comparatively higher economic status, and has more years of education than average. There is no detectable gender divide in WhatsApp and Facebook social media use, however, the gap is greater among users of Twitter. These conclusions are based on Table 3.2, which draws on the AmericasBarometer dataset to show the percentage of adults in Ecuador. Alongside these basic statistics, the table presents the proportion of WhatsApp, Facebook, and Twitter users (vs. non-users) who live in urban areas and are male, as well as their mean age, wealth, and education.

Table 3.2. Characteristics of Social Media Users, Ecuador 2019

Characteristics	General population	WhatsApp		Facebook		Twitter	
		Users	Non-users	Users	Non-users	Users	Non-users
Urban (%)	66.21	70.3	59.93	68.3	62.06	75.6	64.97
Rural (%)	33.79	29.69	40.07	31.71	37.94	24.42	35.03
Male (%)	49.87	51.36	47.69	51.42	46.52	64.53	47.93
Female (%)	50.13	48.64	52.31	48.58	53.48	35.47	52.07
Mean Age	38	32.7	46.5	31.2	52.1	31	39
Mean Wealth	2.9	3.4	2.4	3.2	2.4	3.9	2.9
Mean Yrs. Educ.	11.5	13	9.1	12.8	8.8	14.3	11.1

Notes: Bolded figures indicate statistically significant differences between users and non-users. Wealth is measured by quintiles, 1-5.

The percentage of WhatsApp, Facebook, and Twitter users who live in urban areas in Ecuador is greater than the percentage of non-users of these respective platforms who live in urban areas, and these differences are statistically significant. Likewise, there are more people who do not use social networks in rural areas than those who do. Men are more active on Twitter than women, but no differences were found regarding the use of the other two social networks. The average user of social networks also belongs to the highest economic strata, with averages in the level of wealth above the regional average. Furthermore, compared to those who do not use them, social network users have a higher average education.

V. How Frequently Do They Use Social Media?

The availability of social media has changed how people communicate, interact, and consume different kinds of information, including political information.¹⁷ According to scholars, social media are “soft news” sources, where political content is an ancillary interest. That is, most social media users “are not necessarily seeking information about public affairs” when they make use of these platforms.¹⁸ However, given that political content does circulate through these channels, many social media users will tend to see some amount of news about politics and related information.

¹⁷ Graber and Holyk 2011; Tucker et al. 2017.

¹⁸ Baumgartner and Morris 2010: 28-9.

Not all social media account holders use it at the same rate, in general or to access political information. To gauge how often social media account holders use these platforms, and how often they see political information on WhatsApp, Facebook, or Twitter, we included the following questions within the AmericasBarometer social media module:

- | |
|---|
| SMEDIA2. How often do you see content on Facebook? |
| SMEDIA3. How often do you see political information on Facebook? |
| SMEDIA5. How often do you see content on Twitter? |
| SMEDIA6. How often do you see political information on Twitter? |
| SMEDIA8. How often do you use WhatsApp? |
| SMEDIA9. How often do you see political information on WhatsApp? |

Among those with social media accounts, frequency of viewing content differs substantially depending on the social platform they use. Account holders could indicate that they engage in general content and/or political information on these social platforms daily, a few times a week, a few times a month, a few times a year, or never.

Considering information in general, Figure 3.3 shows the frequency with which respondents reported viewing content on different social media platforms. The upper panel of the graph presents results for the region as a whole, while the lower panel show data for only Ecuador. Frequently viewing content on WhatsApp and Facebook is very common among users in both Ecuador and the LAC region as a whole, while this behavior is comparatively less common on Twitter.¹⁹

Among WhatsApp users in Ecuador, 82.3% report using it daily, and while 15.1% report using it a few times a week. Facebook users also tend to frequently access that platform: more than half of the Facebook users check its content daily (54.7%), and more than one-third (35.6%) do so a few times a week. In contrast, among Twitter users, 31.4% view content on this social media platform daily, while another 35.5% do so a few times a week.

¹⁹ Questions SMEDIA2, SMEDIA5, and SMEDIA8 were recoded so that those respondents who report never seeing content on Facebook and Twitter, and those who indicate never using WhatsApp, are considered as non-users of these social media platforms.

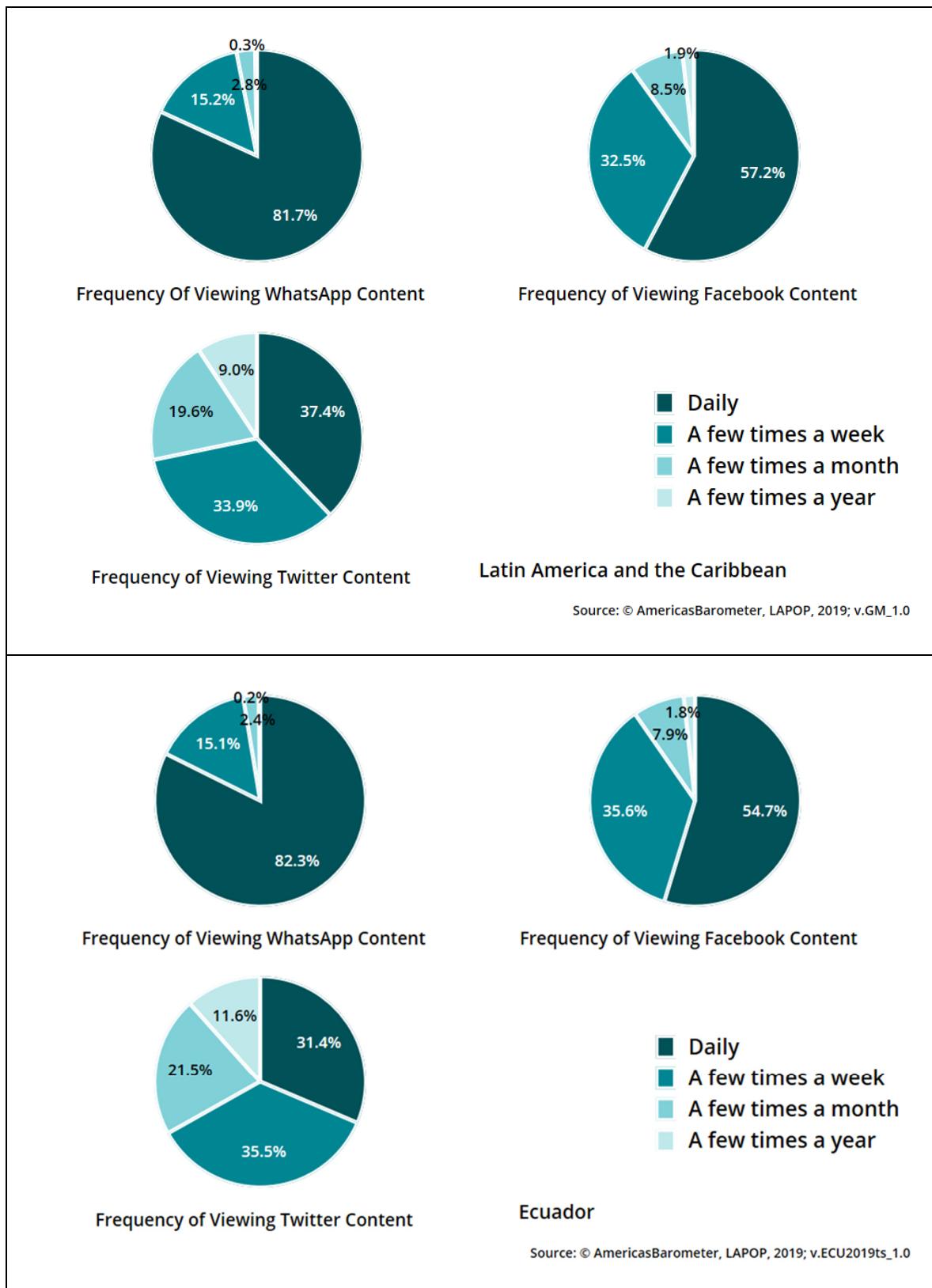


Figure 3.3. Frequency of Social Media Use, the LAC Region and Ecuador, 2018/19

What individual-level characteristics predict social media use, versus non-use? We consider five demographic and socioeconomic factors that may affect the propensity to use social media: place of residence, gender, age, education, and wealth.²⁰ The dependent variable, Social Media User, is based on responses to the three questions about holding accounts from Facebook, Twitter, and WhatsApp. This dichotomous measure distinguishes between those individuals who use accounts from one or more of these platforms, compared to those who do not engage with any social media account.²¹

Figure 3.4 shows the results of a logistic regression analysis that regresses social media use on measures of place of residence (urban vs. rural), gender (female vs. male), age, education, and wealth. For all such analyses in this report, country fixed effects are included but not shown. The dots in Figure 3.4 are the predicted changes in the probability of the dependent variable taking on the value of “1” (social media user), given a change from the minimum to maximum value on the independent variable. The results demonstrate that, on average in Ecuador in 2019, younger, urban, more educated, and wealthier individuals are more likely to be social media users. Gender is not a significant predictor of social media use.

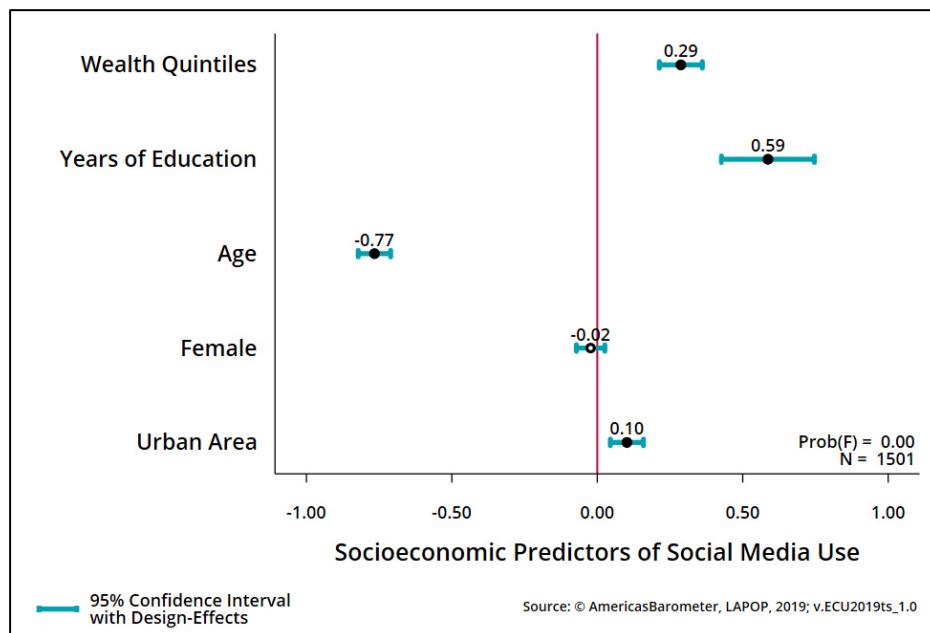


Figure 3.4. Factors Associated with Social Media Use, Ecuador 2019

In Ecuador in 2019, while among the poorest quintile 47.4% are users of social networks, the percentage of users reaches 90.3% in the richest quintile. Something similar happens with educational levels: 9.1% Ecuadorians without education use social networks, while 89.7% of Ecuadorians with a higher education level use them. The use of networks reaches 96.3% among the youngest Ecuadorians (between 16 and 25 years of age), while it only reaches 15.7% among the

²⁰ Age and education are measured in years, rescaled to 0 to 1, where 0 indicates the youngest or the lowest level of education, and 1 the oldest or the highest level of education. Wealth is an ordinal variable, rescaled to 0 to 1, where 0 indicates the lowest level of wealth, and 1 the highest level of wealth. Place of residence is coded 1 for urban and 0 for rural. Gender is coded 1 for female and 0 for male.

²¹ Account-holders who say they never access content on any of these platforms are considered non-users.

oldest (66 years of age and older). Finally, the use of social networks is more widespread in urban areas (75.7%) than in rural areas (66.3%).

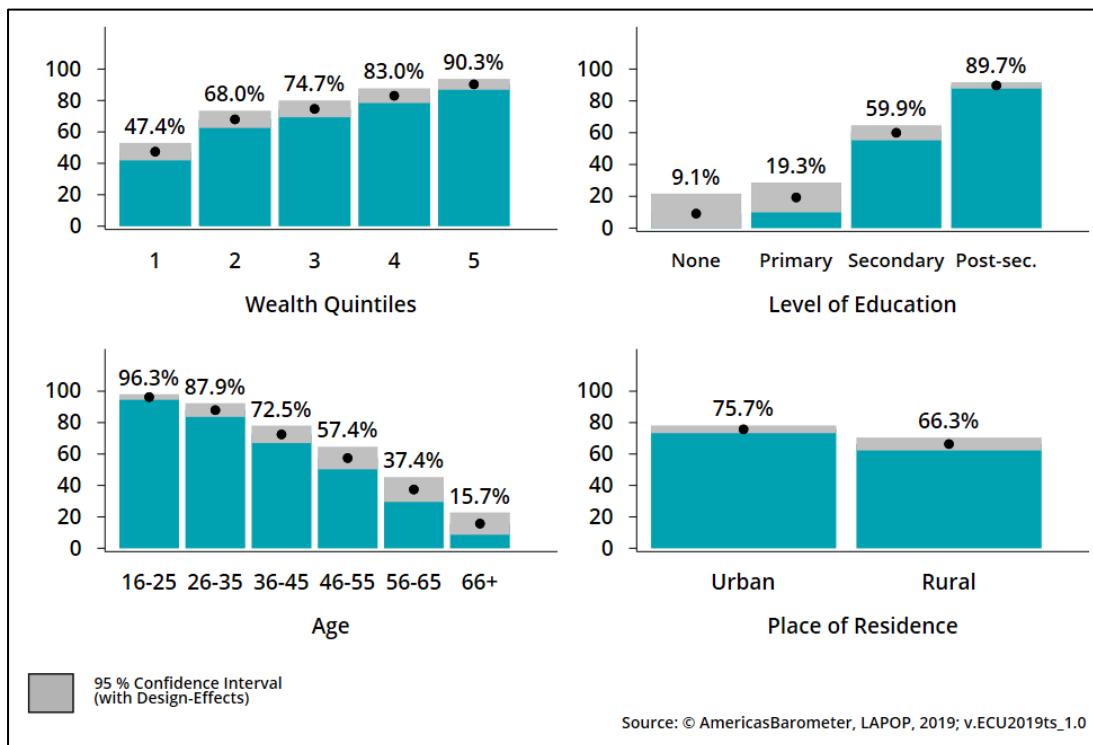


Figure 3.5. Social Media Use by Socio-Demographic Variables, Ecuador 2019

What individual-level characteristics predict high use of social media? In order to answer that question, we created a second measure, also based on the three questions about frequency of use. This measure, “High Social Media Use” is a dichotomous variable that distinguishes between those users who access content on any one or more of these platforms (WhatsApp, Facebook, and Twitter) a few times a week or daily, and those individuals who have one or more social media accounts but do not often access any of them (that is, they have accounts but access social media only a few times a month, or a few times a year).

Figure 3.6 shows the results of a logistic regression analysis that regresses high use of social media (vs. low use) on the same set of demographic and socioeconomic factors. The results indicate that, on average in Ecuador in 2019, those who are wealthier are more likely to be high frequency social media users (among those with social media accounts). The predicted effect of these individual characteristics is small compared to the analysis predicting social media use (vs. none). Further, place of residence, years of education, and age are marginally relevant in explaining usage, it is not a significant predictor of high (vs. low) social media use.

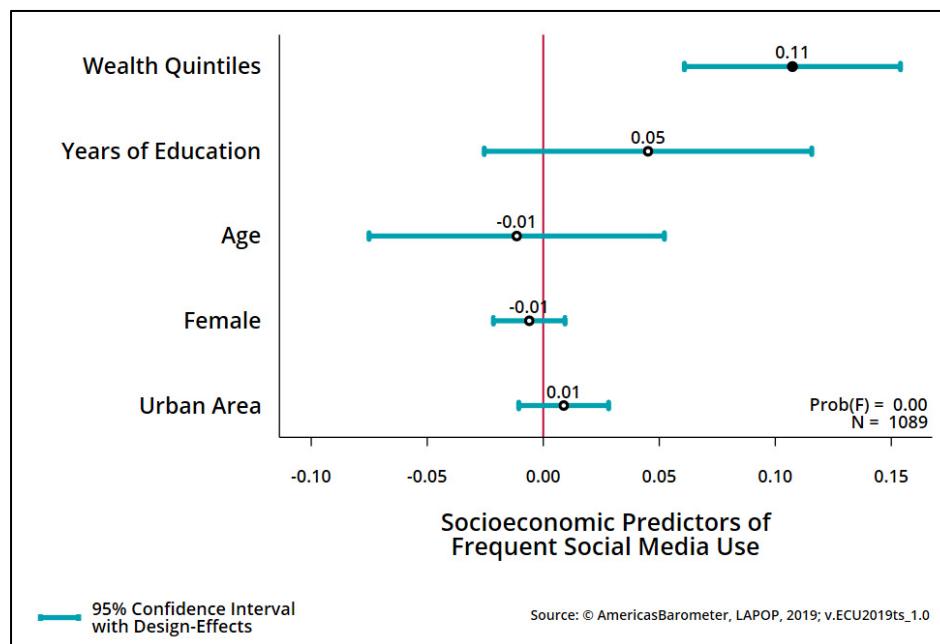


Figure 3.6. Factors Predicting High (vs. Low) Social Media Use, Ecuador 2019

Figure 3.7 shows that, although widespread in all levels of wealth, the frequent use of social networks is even greater and universal among the richest (quintile 5) than among those with less wealth.

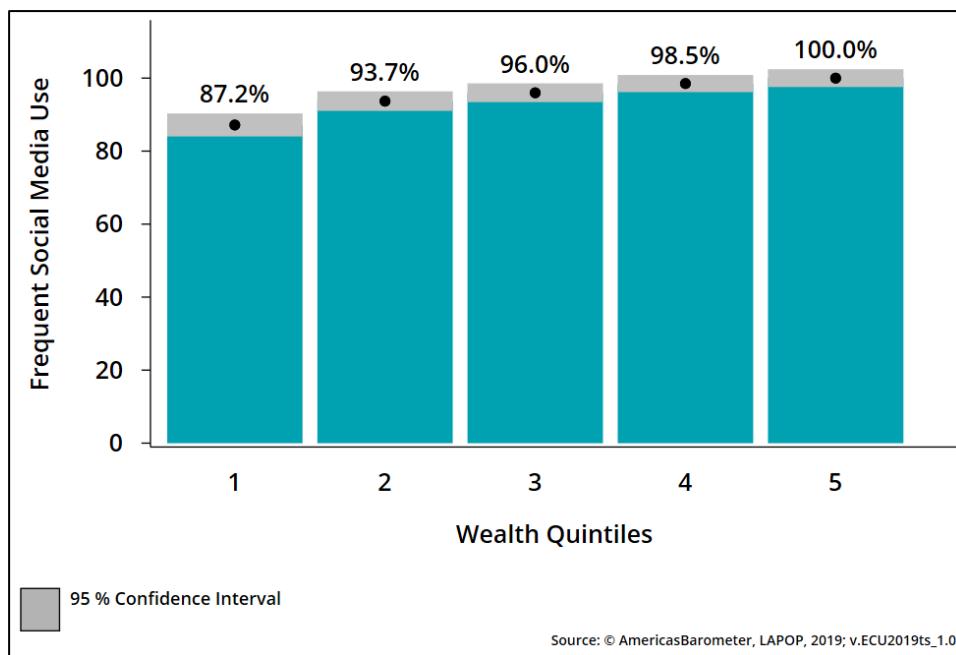


Figure 3.7. Frequency of Social Media Use by Wealth, Ecuador 2019

VI. Political Engagement on Social Media

Those who view content on social media vary in the extent to which they encounter political information. Figure 3.8 displays, for the region as a whole (upper panel) and for Ecuador (lower panel), the frequency of viewing political information on WhatsApp, Facebook, and Twitter, among those who are social media users. For Ecuador, there is a higher tendency for Facebook and Twitter users to view political information on a regular basis. WhatsApp users report viewing political information less often. More specifically, 25.9% of Facebook users report viewing political information on the platform daily, while 40.8% view this type of information a few times a week (32.4%). A similar proportion of Twitter users (20.9%) indicate that they view political information on this social media daily, and 34.3% do so a few times a week. Although slightly more than half (50.9%) of those who use WhatsApp mention that they never view political information on this social media platform, 13.2% do so daily and 20.2% do so a few times a week; this equals 33.4% who regularly access political information through this platform. This is a reminder that the platform is used not only for connecting friends and family on apolitical mundane matters, but also for the dissemination of political opinions and content.

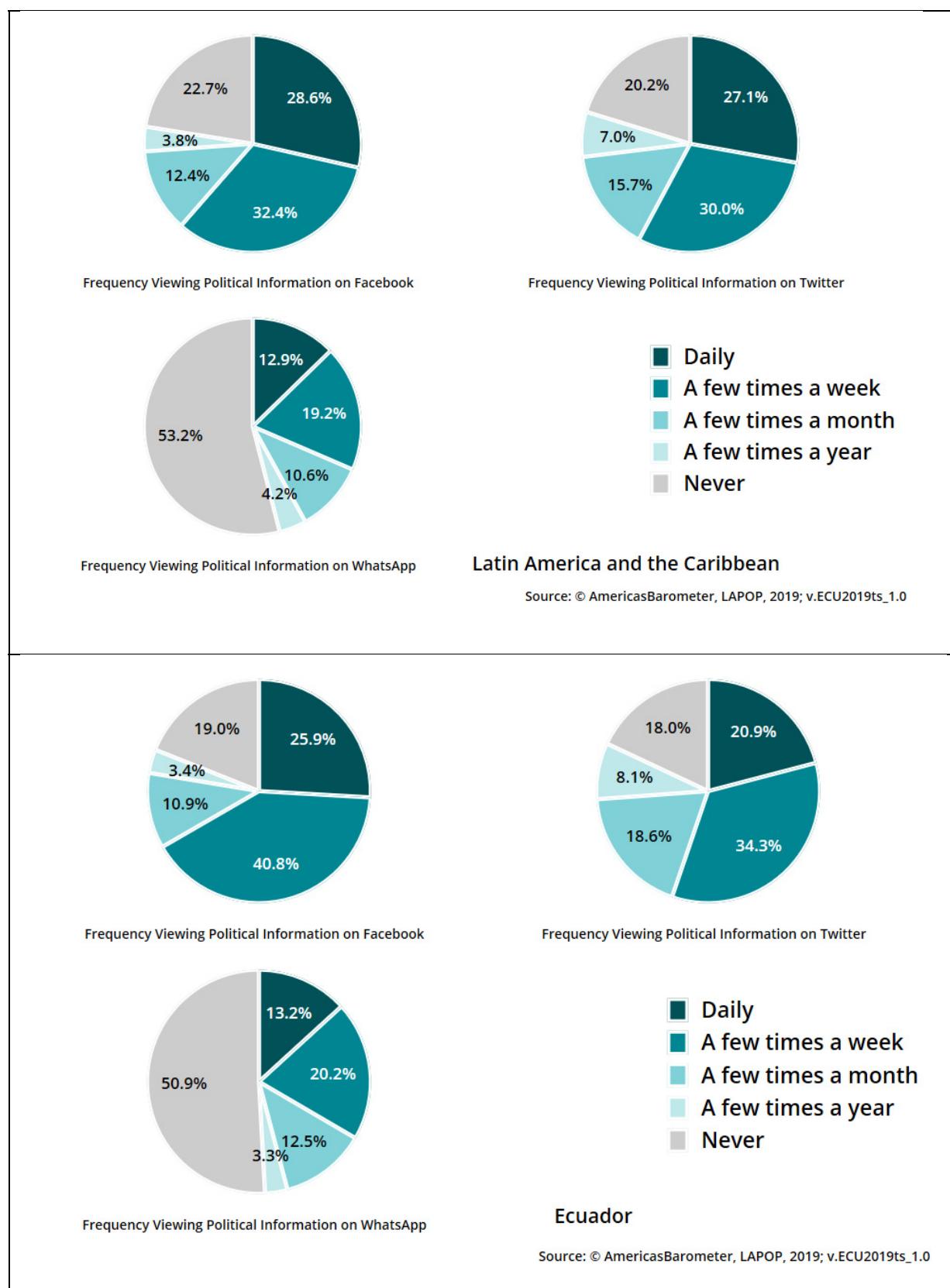


Figure 3.8. Frequency Viewing Political Information on WhatsApp, Facebook, and Twitter, LAC and Ecuador, 2018/19

What individual-level factors explain frequently viewing political information on social media? To answer this question, we created a “high frequency of viewing political information measure” by compiling answers to the questions about the three social media platforms. This new variable, “high frequency of viewing political information” distinguishes among social media users who use one or more account to view political information a few times a week or daily, and those who engage in political content on social media a few times a month, a few times a year, or never. We then analyzed the predictors of this dependent variable with the same model (that is, the same socioeconomic and demographic factors) used in the analysis of predictors of high social media use.

Figure 3.9 shows the results of this logistic analysis that regresses high political information consumption on social media on these demographic and socioeconomic factors. In Ecuador in 2019 users who have higher levels of education and wealth, are more likely to view political information more frequently in social media. On the other hand, older people and women are less likely to view political information frequently on social media than younger people and men. The place of residence does not present significant differences.

As Figure 3.10 shows, the use of social media for access to political information is more frequent among those with a higher education level (71.5%) than those with a secondary education level (63.9%).²² Likewise, 74.1% of Ecuadorians in wealth quintile 5 use social media frequently to access political information compared to 57.4% in the poorest quintile. Age is also influential: younger people report greater use of social media for the consumption of political information than older people. This figure also shows how the use of media to access political information is more frequent among men (73.9%) than women (63.5%).

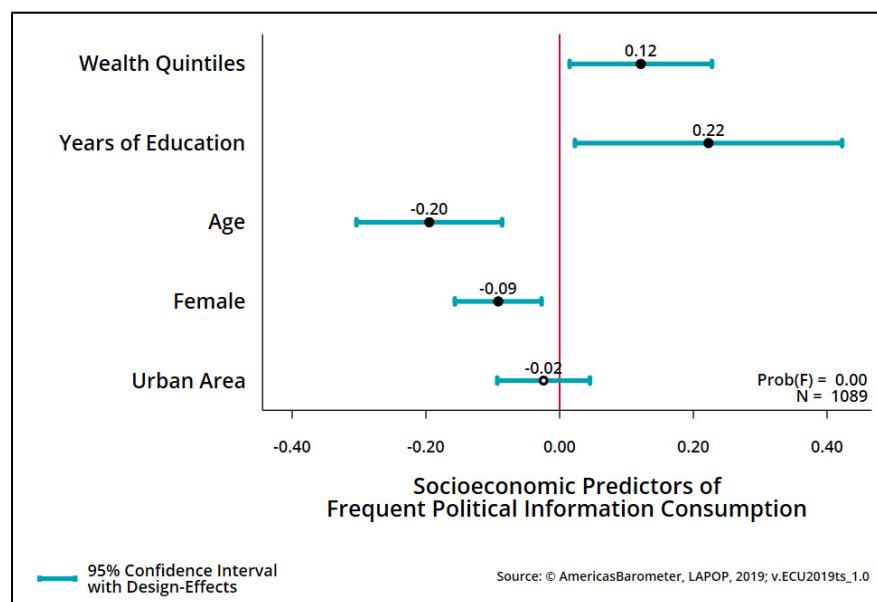


Figure 3.9. Factors Associated with Frequent Viewing of Political Information on Social Media Ecuador 2019

²² When analyzing the education variable, the category "none" is excluded because there are no cases in this category of frequent social media usage for the consumption of political information.

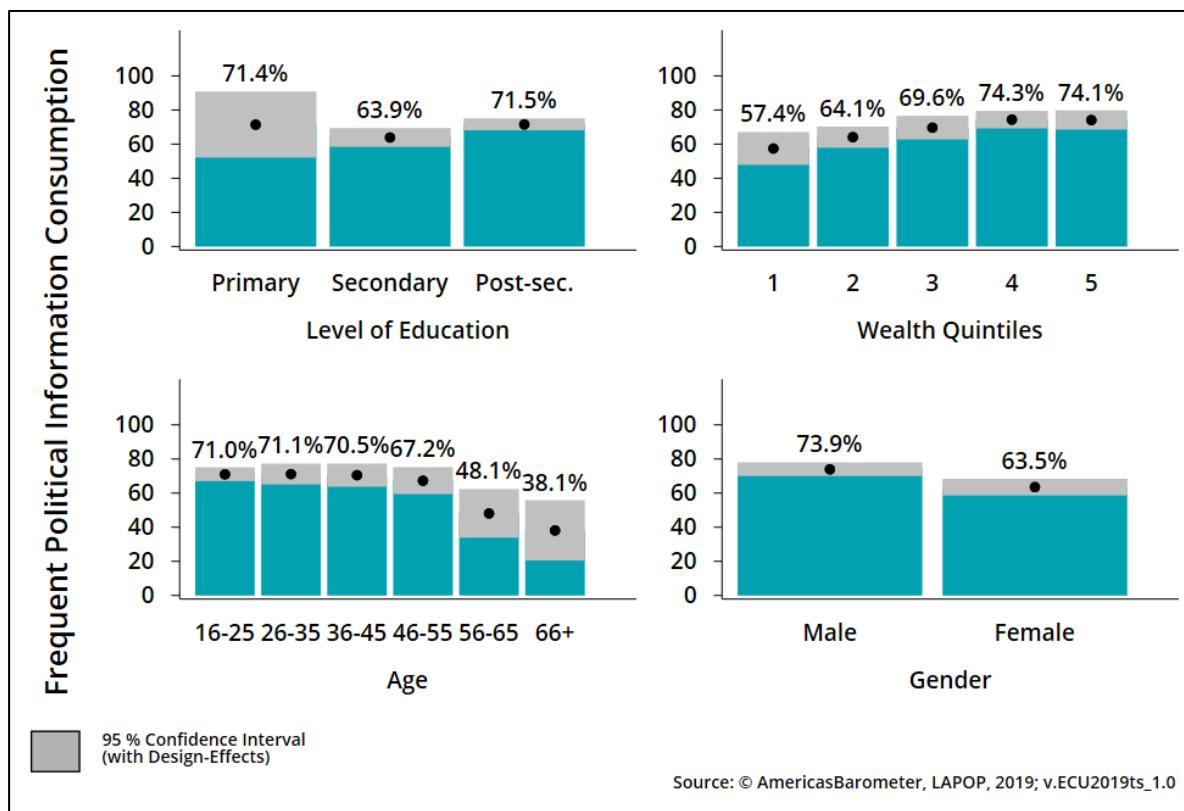


Figure 3.10. Political Information Access through Social Media by Socio-Demographic variables, Ecuador 2019

VII. Social Media Use and Political Attitudes

Do frequent social media users express different political opinions than those who use social media less, or who do not have any social network account? To assess this, we consider in our analysis those who have one or more of the three social media accounts considered in this report: WhatsApp, Facebook, and Twitter.²³ We use the same coding as in the prior section, to distinguish among those who access social media often (those with accounts who access any one or more of them a few times a week or daily) and those who do not access social media very frequently (those with accounts who access them a few times a month or a few times a year). We also include non-users: those who do not hold any social media account (those who indicate that they do not have a Facebook, Twitter, or WhatsApp account) and those who have an account but never access it. We consider several different political attitudes: political tolerance, support for democracy in the abstract, satisfaction with democracy, and trust in various institutions.

The results, in Figure 3.11, show that high social media users are more tolerant, and more supportive of democracy as a system of government than are low social media users or non-users. This trend can be seen both for the region as a whole (upper panel of Figure 3.11) and for Ecuador

²³ See the percentage of high and low social media users, and non-users by country in the appendix material found on our project website (www.lapopsurveys.org).

(lower panel of the figure). On average, in Ecuador 50% of high social media users display high levels of tolerance, while that rate is 47.9% among low social media users.²⁴ The difference between frequent users and sporadic users is not statistically significant, but it is between frequent users and non-users. On the other hand, 55.8% of recurring users of social networks support democracy, compared to 50.9% among those who do not use them.²⁵ The differences in democracy support between the different groups of users or non-users are not statistically significant.

²⁴ This variable was measured with LAPOP's political tolerance index, which is calculated based on the degree to which individuals disapprove or approve of the right of regime critics to exercise the right to vote, the right to participate in peaceful demonstrations, the right to run for office, and the right to make speeches (D1-4). This 0-100 index was rescaled so that values from 51 to 100 are considered "tolerant", and 0-50 are not.

²⁵ This variable was measured with the following question: ING4. Changing the subject again, democracy may have problems, but it is better than any other form of government. To what extent do you agree or disagree with this statement? [scale from 1 Strongly disagree to 7 Strongly agree]. This variable was rescaled as follows: from 5 to 7 are coded as supporting democracy, and response 1-4 are not.

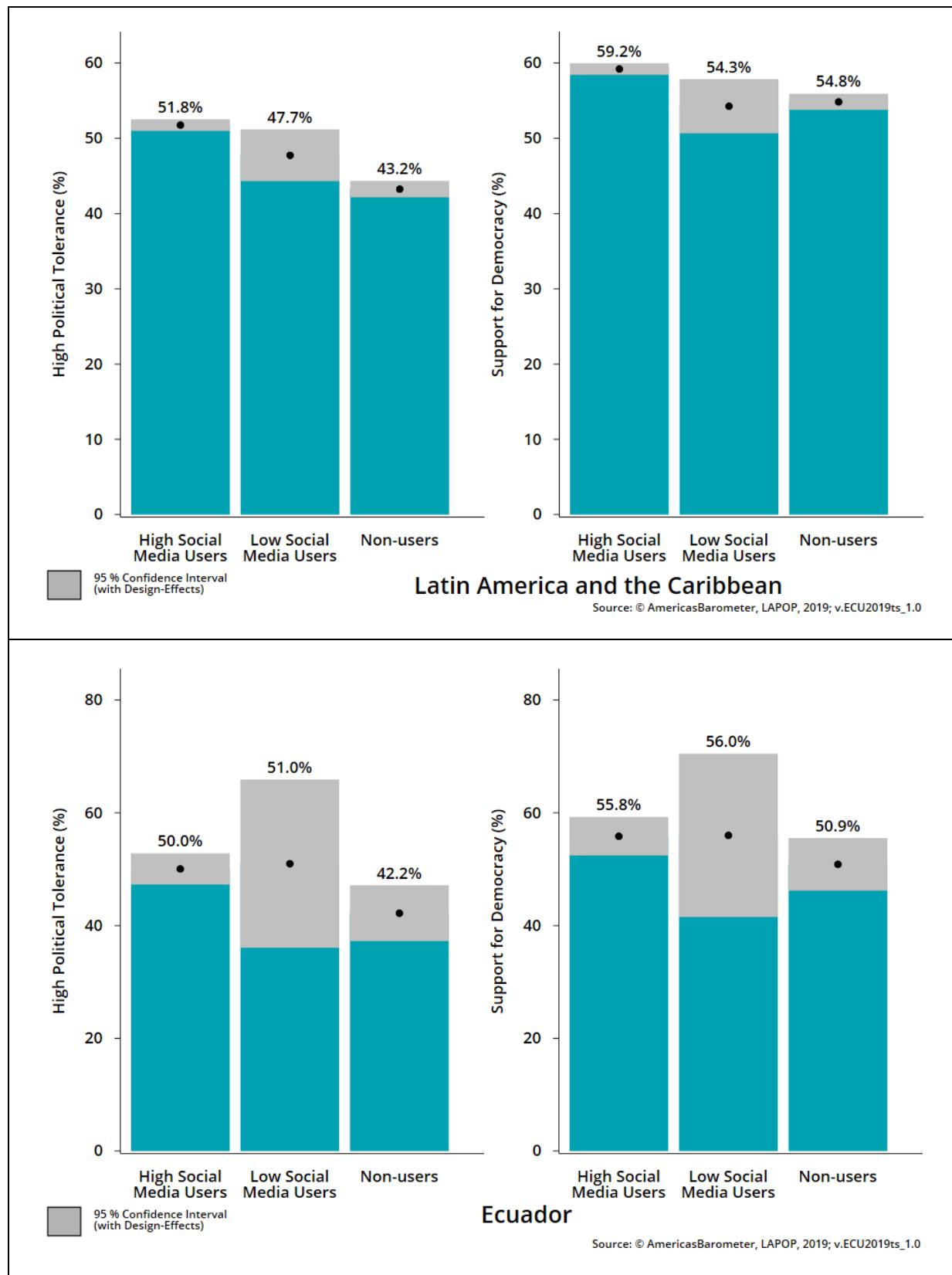


Figure 3.11. Tolerance Level, and Support for Democracy by Type of Social Media Use and Non-Users, LAC and Ecuador 2018/19

Figure 3.12 shows that social media users are less satisfied with how democracy is working in their country.²⁶ This trend is observed both in the region in general (upper panel of the graph) and in Ecuador (lower panel). Among high social media users, 36.3% report that they are satisfied with the way democracy works in their country, while 46.0% of low social media users and 44.2% of non-users are satisfied with how democracy works in their country. The difference between frequent users of social networks and those who do not use them is statistically significant.

²⁶ We measure satisfaction with democracy with PN4. In general, would you say that you are very satisfied, satisfied, dissatisfied or very dissatisfied with the way democracy works in (country)? [1 Very satisfied 2 Satisfied 3 Dissatisfied 4 Very dissatisfied]. We code respondents who chose (1) or (2) as satisfied with democracy.

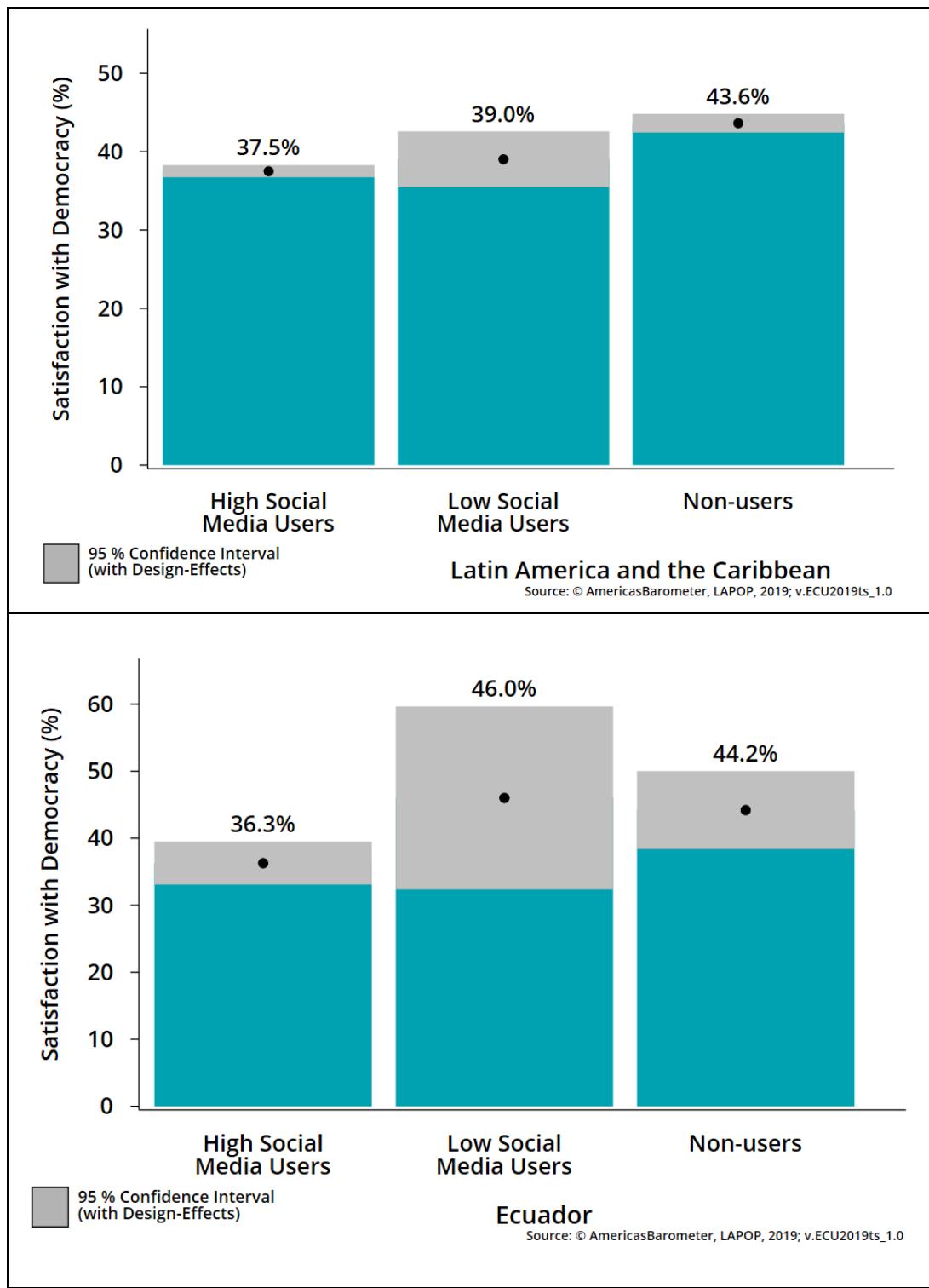


Figure 3.12. Satisfaction with Democracy by Type of Social Media User and Non-account Holders, LAC and Ecuador 2018/19

High social media users are also less trusting in the country's institutions in the region as a whole (upper panel of Figure 3.12) and in Ecuador (lower panel).²⁷ As Figure 3.12 displays, among high social media users in Ecuador, 30.5% of them trust in the National Court of Justice, while 39.2% of low social media users, and 36.3% of non-users express trust in this institution. For trust in the media, 51.1% of frequent users of social networks trust them, 58.8% of sporadic users and 56.6% of non-users. Regarding local government, 38.9% of frequent network users indicate that they trust it, 47.1% of sporadic users and 40.6% of non-users.

31.8% of frequent users of social networks trust the National Assembly, compared to 41.2% of sporadic users and 35.4% of non-users. Regarding trust in the president, 27.3% of frequent users of social networks trust him, while this proportion rises to 41.2% among sporadic users, and 39.7% among non-users. Finally, 41.6% of frequent users express trust in the elections in Ecuador, while 43.1% of sporadic users express trust in the elections, and 46.3% among those who do not use them. In general, in Ecuador, those who frequently use social networks trust institutions less than those who use them less or do not use them.²⁸

²⁷ Trust in political institutions was analyzed in this section based on the following questions: B31. To what extent do you trust the Supreme Court of Justice? B37. To what extent do you trust the mass media? B32. To what extent do you trust the local or municipal government? B13. To what extent do you trust the National Congress? B21A. To what extent do you trust the President/Prime Minister? B47A. To what extent do you trust elections in this country? Respondents answered on a 1-7 scale, and we code responses (5), (6), and (7) as indicative of trust.

²⁸ See the Appendix to consult the regressions that control for individual characteristics when predicting the relationship between social networks and trust in political institutions in Ecuador 2019.



Figure 3.13. Trust in Institutions by Type of Social Media User and Non-account Holders in the LAC Region and Ecuador, 2018/19

VIII. Conclusion

WhatsApp and Facebook are the most popular platforms, although the rates of engagement vary across countries. Social media is widely used in Ecuador. 66.9% of adults in Ecuador use Facebook and 60.2% use WhatsApp. However, Twitter, a common platform in many parts of the world, is not as widely used in Ecuador (11.2%).

The average social media user is younger, lives in an urban area, relatively wealthier, and more educated, compared to the average non-user.

Among social media users, there are also notable differences in how frequently they use it and how often they engage with political information on social media. Most WhatsApp and Facebook users use these platforms frequently, but Twitter users tend to use it less frequently. In Ecuador, frequent social media users tend to be wealthier than those who are less frequent users.

Users in Ecuador tend to use WhatsApp very frequently, but not so much to view political content. Facebook and Twitter users are more likely to report having seen political content regularly on this platform. It is also mainly men, the youngest, the most educated and the wealthiest people who most frequently see political content on social networks.

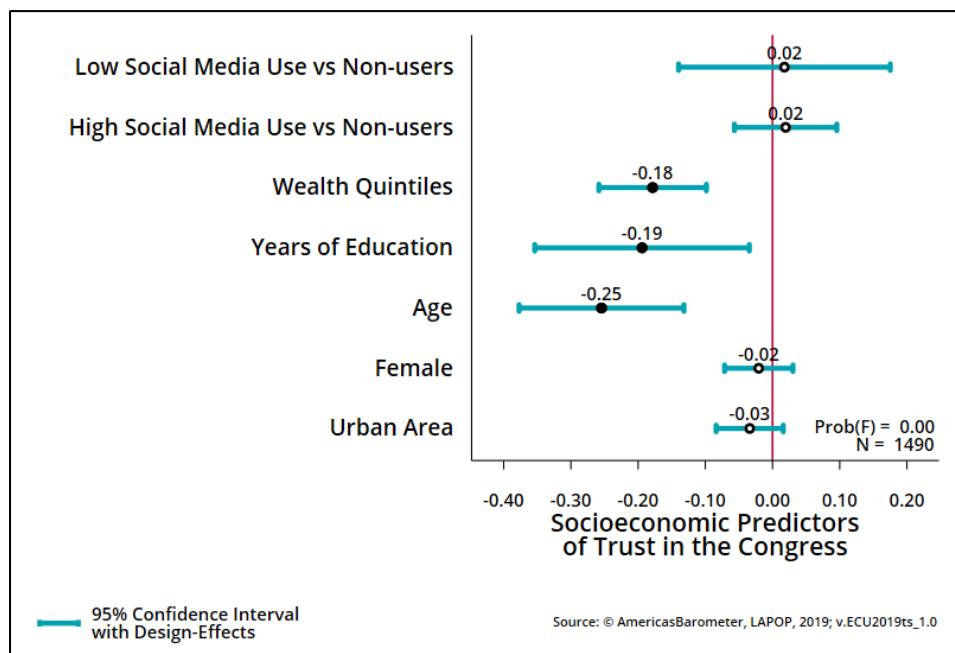
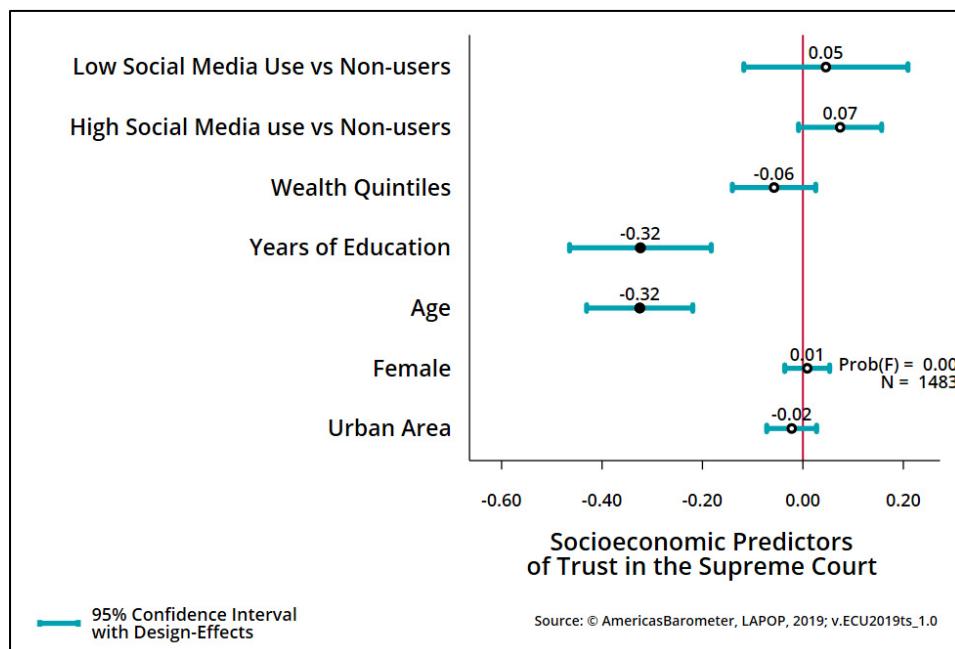
How is the use of social media related to democratic attitudes and evaluations? While frequent social media users are more tolerant and somewhat more supportive of democracy in the abstract, they are also less satisfied with how democracy works in their country, and less trusting in the political institutions. In Ecuador, frequent social media use does not seem to net an exclusively positive or negative effect on political attitudes. While it is positively associated with some democratic attitudes, it seems to also promote more distrust of fundamental democratic institutions, or at least there is a predisposition in that population to trust less in political institutions. The continuing spread of social media will clearly shape politics in Ecuador, but its effects on democratic attitudes at this point seem mixed.

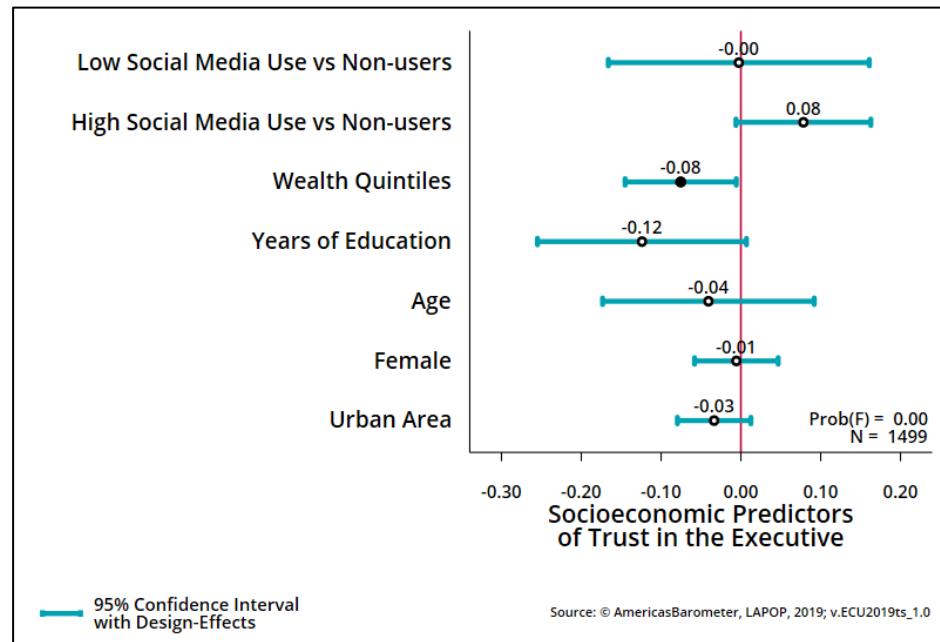
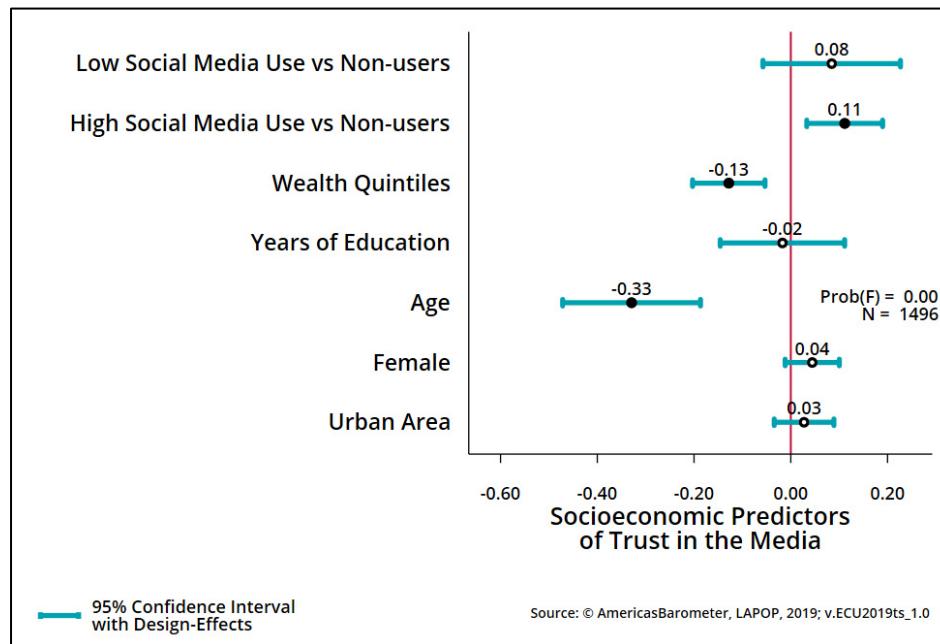
Appendix

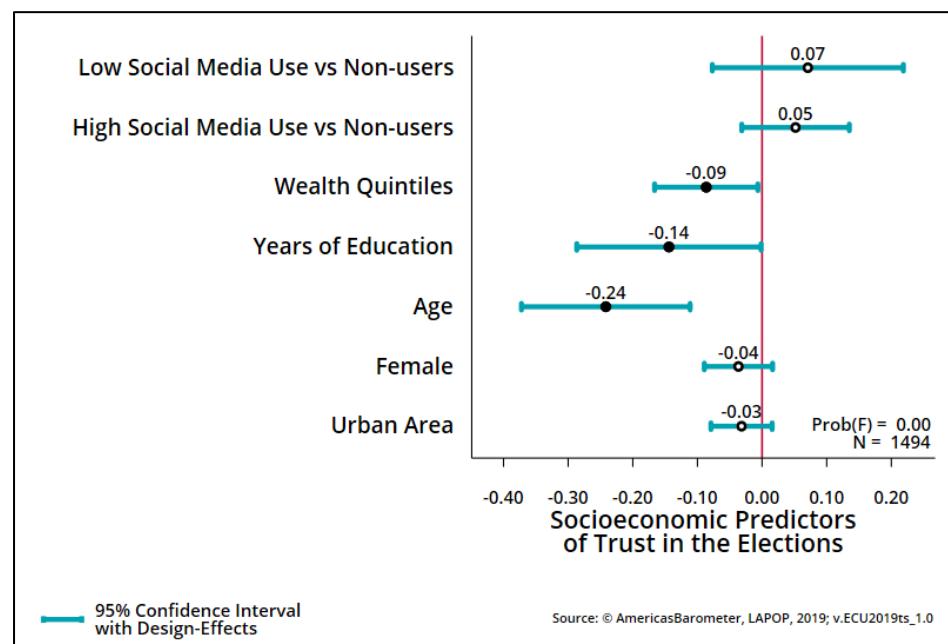
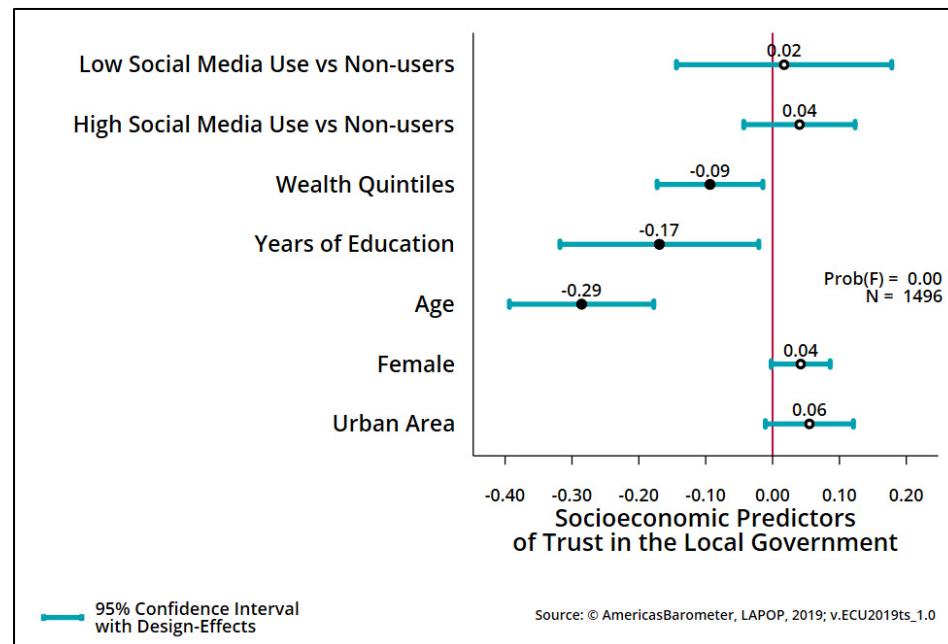
Appendix Table A1. Social Media Use by Country

Country	High Social Media Usage	Low Social Media Usage	Non-Users
Mexico	58.51	2.74	38.75
Guatemala	48.84	5.98	45.19
El Salvador	36.7	3.72	59.57
Honduras	47.79	4.87	47.34
Nicaragua	50.19	6.6	43.21
Costa Rica	82.89	1.34	15.77
Panama	57.69	1.74	40.57
Colombia	65.83	3.75	30.42
Ecuador	69.59	3.34	27.08
Bolivia	65.49	2.39	32.12
Peru	64.6	4.09	31.31
Paraguay	70.44	1.72	27.83
Chile	77.74	1.35	20.91
Uruguay	82.16	1.33	16.51
Brazil	77.21	2.41	20.38
Argentina	82.11	1.11	16.78
Dominican Republic	70.91	2.25	26.84
Jamaica	66.33	4.49	29.18
Regional Average	65.34	3.06	31.6

Regression Figures (Figure 3.13)







Chapter 4.

The Politicization of Citizens and Ideological Polarization in Ecuador

Paolo Moncagatta¹ and Ana Emilia Poveda²

I. Introduction

With the arrival of Rafael Correa to the Presidency of the Republic in 2007, Ecuador was fully immersed in the so-called "pink tide" that overtook Latin American politics during the first decades of the 21st century. The Correa government lasted 10 years, and was characterized by high levels of popularity throughout the entire period, as well as creating a "hyper-presidential" regime that concentrated huge amounts of power in the executive branch.³ Furthermore, it has repeatedly been described as a populist regime, which used polarizing rhetoric and strong propaganda campaigns to establish direct communication with the masses as a means of garnering popular support.⁴

Although the Correa government can be framed in the context of the "left turn" of Latin American politics,⁵ it was supported by citizens of vastly different ideological positions within Ecuador. Some studies have shown that there was no significant relationship between Ecuadorians' ideological self-identification and their levels of support for Correa.⁶ Similarly, it has been proven that there was no relationship between socio-economic factors such as level of education or wealth and the probability of expressing support for Correa in an electoral process.⁷

This chapter analyzes the ideological positions of Ecuadorians, based on traditional left-right spectrum. First, a theoretical discussion is presented on the concept of political ideology, its possible meanings, and the various current debates in this area. Next, a review of the evolution of ideological self-identification in Ecuador is carried out, taking as a starting point the year 2004, three years before Correa's inauguration, and culminating in 2019, two years after the end of his term. This is followed by an examination of the relationship between the ideological self-positioning of Ecuadorians (in terms of left-right semantics) and their positions on the role of the state in reducing economic inequalities in society, one of the classic bases (substantive contents) of the concept of "ideology". Finally, the possible factors that influence the decisions of Ecuadorians to self-identify with each ideological category, as well as to not identify with any of them, are investigated.

¹ Dr. Paolo Moncagatta is Associate Full Professor at the Universidad San Francisco de Quito (Ecuador) and External Researcher at the Research and Expertise Center for Survey Methodology (Universitat Pompeu Fabra - Barcelona).

² Ana Emilia Poveda is a student of International Relations at the San Francisco University of Quito (Ecuador).

³ Conaghan 2016; Freidenberg and Pachano 2016.

⁴ De la Torre 2013; Freidenberg 2015; Pachano 2010.

⁵ Levitsky and Roberts 2011.

⁶ Moncagatta 2015.

⁷ Moncagatta and Safranoff 2013.

Throughout the chapter, particular attention is paid to two phenomena that tend to have empirical relevance when explaining societal political behavior: the politicization of citizens and ideological polarization. In this chapter, regarding the politicization of citizens, we understand the degree to which citizens respond or not when questioned about their ideological self-identification (whatever the answer they give to the survey question on ideology). In this sense, a country where 90% of respondents self-identify with any of the ideological categories ("left", "center" or "right") will be considered "more politicized" than a country where only 75% of respondents self-identified. By ideological polarization, we understand the process in which it is distinguished that, with the passage of time, increasingly larger percentages of the population are located in the antithetical categories of the ideological spectrum: the "left" and the "right", thus strengthening ideological antagonisms in society. Among others, this chapter addresses the following questions: Are Ecuadorians more to the "left", the "center" or the "right"? How has the distribution of Ecuadorians' ideological self-identification changed over time? Do Ecuadorians' ideological self-identification correspond with their positions on the role of the State in the economy? What are the characteristics, at the individual level, that make Ecuadorians identify with each ideological category? Have there been processes of citizen politicization and/or ideological polarization in Ecuador during the 21st century? If so, what factors could explain these processes of politicization and polarization?

II. Main Findings

This chapter reviews the ideological self-identification of Ecuadorians in the first two decades of the 21st century. Some of the key findings are:

- An important process of politicization is seen among Ecuadorians during the second decade of the 21st century, which coincides with Rafael Correa's presidency. In 2008, at the beginning of Correa's government, 34.2% of those interviewed did not provide an answer to the question about ideological positioning. Since 2008, that percentage decreased consistently until it reached its lowest value of 6.8% in 2019.
- During this same time, there is a strong process of ideological polarization in Ecuador, which took place during Correa's term. Both the left and the right, which had maintained relative stability at values between 13% and 15%, increased in numbers to almost a quarter of those interviewed in the last rounds of surveys (2016 and 2019). Looking at the left, there is a gradual increase in the proportion of citizens who identify with this ideological position since 2006 (before Correa came to power), beginning with 9.8% of the population and reaching its highest point in 2016 (coinciding with the end of Correa's mandate) with 22.5%. On the right, there is a great jump between 2014 (the year in which Correa's government enters into crisis), when 13.7% of Ecuadorians self-identified with this ideological position, and, in 2016, when it reached its maximum value of 23.2%.
- The ideological category of the "center" is the one that, without exception, has been shown to include the majority of respondents over time. Within this category, there is also a significant increase from 2008, when 38.4% of Ecuadorians identified with this ideological position, until 2019, when 52.7% self-identify as a part of the "center."

- Although, due to methodological limitations, it is not possible to verify this, the observed polarization process, as well as the increase in the number of people who identify with the “center” in Ecuador, are probably linked to the process of politicization, as mentioned earlier. The fact that more people chose to answer the survey question on ideological positioning seems to have strengthened not only the ideological center, but the left and the right, as well.
- There is no relationship between the ideological position of Ecuadorians in terms of left-right scale and their positions on the role of the State in reducing economic inequalities in society.

III. The Concept of Ideology: Definitions, Debates and Theoretical Discussions

The definitions and common use of the left-right spectrum for ideological identification are diverse and heterogeneous. They usually include economic dimensions, moral values, and aspects related to the application of public policies. However, on this occasion there is an emphasis on the public and economic policies that are adopted according to each ideological category. Although some limitations of left-right semantics for the classification of parties or movements, political positions or public policies are presented below, it is important to understand their relevance. Classic studies have considered these labels as mental shortcuts to reduce the complexity and time people spend collecting political information and defining for whom or what they will vote, considering them as replacements for fully formed ideological orientations.⁸

One of the clearest definitions of the modern approach to the left-right dyad is that which is raised by Norberto Bobbio,⁹ which would later be taken up, and supplemented, by Luna and Rovira Kaltwasser, to develop their recent study on the Latin American right.¹⁰ This definition focuses mainly on how social inequalities are conceived by both ideological positions, which should be seen as diametrically opposite and excluding. According to this definition, the right assumes that inequalities between human beings are natural and irreparable, so its political and economic focus will be on reducing poverty, and the reduction of various types of inequality is not seen as among the primary responsibilities of the State.¹¹ On the other hand, according to Bobbio, the left conceives most types of inequality as social constructs that, as Luna and Rovira Kaltwasser advise, act as "objectives of progressive social change," and therefore must be reduced by State intervention.¹² Likewise, Luna and Rovira Kaltwasser affirm that one of the greatest advantages of anchoring ideological markers in these notions of inequality is the ability to observe and study the left-right spectrum in different contexts and over time.¹³

⁸ Converse 1964; Downs 1957.

⁹ Bobbio 1996.

¹⁰ Luna and Rovira Kaltwasser 2014.

¹¹ *Ibid.*

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 3.

¹³ *Ibid.*

However, in both cases the authors affirm that the moral dimension can be considered in a different context, in observing the level of authoritarianism that is adjacent to that of ideology. Bobbio conceives this distinction as a dyad of extremism-moderation that is independent of the ideology with which people align themselves and is related more to the radicalization of ideas, than to their content.¹⁴ According to the author, both groups, extremists on the left and right, have in common the hatred of democracy or, more specifically, the love of anti-democracy; although their methods and goals are different. The two groups are also similar in their contempt for moderates. Ideological extremists see democracy and its defenders as uncommitted mediocrities and justify violence as a decisive and purifying tool for those who do not commit themselves to their cause.¹⁵

Although the differences between left and right are quite clear theoretically, in Latin America, the limits between one position and the other seem to blur and there are usually great differences between discourse and political practice, or theoretical definitions and what people associate with each ideological category. This is explained by Zechmeister, who affirms that in countries characterized by precarious or unstable party systems and political fragmentation, there is no significant relationship between ideological identification and the vote, a phenomenon that is observed in many countries across the region.¹⁶ In the United States, for example, Converse claims that ideological structuring in the general public is quite low, and is usually unrelated to the specific positions of voters.¹⁷ This is why in a country like Ecuador, characterized by a party system with a diversity of unprofessionalized political parties and movements and with low levels from ideological polarization, self-identification with the right or left is not strongly reflected in citizen voting behavior or in their opinions on specific policies.¹⁸

Likewise, Zechmeister observes that the societies with the highest levels of ideological self-identification (that is, the least number of non-responses to the survey question on ideological positioning) are those with the greatest incentives for participation in the political system.¹⁹ This is equivalent to countries with stronger political cultures, those in the midst of political situations that encourage participation, or countries with political systems marked by greater polarization, which Moraes describes as “a characteristic of the party system that reveals the degree of differentiation in policies between relevant, competitive parties.”²⁰

The polarization to which Moraes alludes is usually created through polarizing strategies by a country's parties or political elites. According to this author, the parties most prone to the use of these strategies and the radicalization of their political position are usually the newest and least established, as it would imply a change in an established party's internal organization and “brand”. Additionally, a party must analyze the possible effects that its ideological change could have on voters who already recognize it and identify with its ideological position. These limitations are less present in less stable party systems, generating a cycle in which parties' ideological changes

¹⁴ Bobbio 1996.

¹⁵ Ibid, p. 82.

¹⁶ Zechmeister 2015.

¹⁷ Converse 1964.

¹⁸ Zechmeister 2015.

¹⁹ Ibid.

²⁰ Moraes 2015, p. 4.

generate lower levels of identification and voters emit less pressure, enabling the parties to continue making changes.²¹

In Ecuador, the aforementioned characteristics that prevent polarization are not found, as it is an asynchronous system with two subsystems: a bipolar system on the coast and a fragmented, multiparty system in the highlands,²² where the parties are fragmented at the regional and ethnic level. In addition to confrontations between both subsystems, the Ecuadorian population is described as anti-partisan and "movementist", supporting more incipient parties and, in this way, the promotion of patronage and presidentialism, characteristics corresponding to systems that discourage ideological identification and which complicate its understanding due to the aforementioned political fragmentation and weak institutionalization of the party system. Freidenberg affirms that the polarization could be positive if the opposing subsystems and parties were responsible and dialogued among themselves, in order to promote a more stable system and stop placing the country's democracy at risk; however, the current situation encourages extremism and fragility of the party system.²³

Schmitt and Freire analyze the positive and negative consequences of ideological polarization, and affirm that very high or low levels of polarization are associated with low levels of democracy and representativeness, and suggest that the "midpoint" on the polarization scale would imply a higher quality of democracy.²⁴ These authors argue that party systems with low polarization would be unrepresentative, since the parties would be very similar to each other, while the electorate is not.²⁵ In turn, in highly polarized systems, basic procedures for a representative democracy, such as freedom of expression, would suffer.²⁶ On the other hand, Freidenberg affirms that fragmentation and polarization are not determinants for instability or governability, but the capacity for cooperation and the style of doing politics: either generating a centripetal force that converges in the center and promotes cooperation, or a centrifugal force, which promotes separation and hinders governance and participation.²⁷

Along these lines, authors such as Moncagatta and Espinosa point out that the "pink tide" in Latin America, and specifically in Ecuador, occurred thanks to support for populist leaders who presented themselves as opponents of a failed right that generated dissatisfaction in several countries. In this way, it was again shown that ideological identity and its association with the vote are very weak in Ecuador, as in several countries in the region.²⁸ Roberts agrees, explaining how in the context of Latin America's "left turn", leftist parties and leaders attracted people who did not necessarily identify with their ideological positioning, but who had more statist preferences regarding job creation and social protections.²⁹ Furthermore, the author demonstrates that ideological identification in the region did not change significantly and remained in the center-

²¹ Ibid.

²² Freidenberg 2006.

²³ Ibid.

²⁴ Schmitt and Freire 2012.

²⁵ Ibid.

²⁶ Ibid.

²⁷ Freidenberg 2006.

²⁸ Moncagatta and Espinosa 2019.

²⁹ Roberts 2014.

right during this period, despite the fact that the votes reflected important support for left-wing leaders.³⁰

On the other hand, Zechmeister highlights that in most countries in the region, there is no association between individuals' ideological positions and their positions on economic issues, including in the specific case of Ecuador, where no relevant relationship was found between preference for certain economic and social policies and ideological self-identification.³¹ The strength of the analyzed relationships between ideology, policies and values showed great variability, where support for state intervention in the economy is one most associated with the left and the approval of the United States is one most associated with the right. However, all these factors only partially explain ideological identification. In several countries, these factors were not related with ideological identification at all, demonstrating that although a large part of the population in some countries identifies itself with an ideology, its definition can be understood differently at the individual level.³² Due to this phenomenon, supplementary questions on specific topics would be required in order to understand or discard which concepts the population understands to be on the left or right.

A factor that has been related to left-right semantics in Ecuador is neoliberal policies, or the opposition to them. As Moncagatta and Espinosa affirm, in Ecuador, the debate between neoliberalism and anti-neoliberalism maintains the duality and ideological polarization, and has promoted the reform of these concepts over time.³³ Another observation made by these authors, also mentioned by Zechmeister, is that the definitions presented above are mainly managed by the country's political elites, and they have not been emphasized in the dynamics of partisan competition, which results in the majority of the population not understanding the ideological semantics or associating their vote with an ideology.³⁴ This characteristic causes a possible differentiation between the association of ideological self-identification and economic class and/or level of education, since elites are expected to have a greater attachment and more classical definitions of the ideological representation of left-right semantics than most of the population, who have less resources or access to education.

Despite the aforementioned limitations for the identification of left and right ideologies in Ecuador, Freidenberg affirms that "left and right not only allow citizens to simplify the political universe and provide an identity for both the actor and the political object, but they help to establish a proximity or a distance with respect to others." The author also highlights the problem that there are strong clientelist tendencies in the country and, at the time of her study, characterizes the system as highly polarized, and with centrifugal forces that impact the possibility of cooperation.³⁵

Finally, Zechmeister poses a question that will also be observed in this case and raises an important part of this analysis. Is it possible that the "pink tide", and its self-identification with the left, have

³⁰ Ibid.

³¹ Zechmeister 2015.

³² Ibid.

³³ Moncagatta and Espinosa 2019.

³⁴ Moncagatta and Espinosa 2019; Zechmeister 2015.

³⁵ Freidenberg 2006.

caused a conjuncture or an impulse that supports the recognition and diffusion of the left-right and its influence on the vote?³⁶ As we have mentioned, apparently it was not an ideological change that caused this, but it could have promoted ideological polarization and its relevance in the daily life of the population.

IV. Ideological Self-Identification

Since its inception, the AmericasBarometer surveys have used the following question to inquire about respondents' ideological self-identification. For the analyses carried out in this chapter, the answers to the original question are recoded as follows: those who answered "1", "2" or "3" to the question were rated as "Left"; those who answered "4", "5", "6" or "7" as "Center"; and those who answered "8", "9" or "10" as "Right". Finally, an additional category called "DK/NR" (Don't Know / No Response) was created, which includes all those who answered "I don't know" or did not answer the original question for any reason. The final result is a four-category variable ("Left", "Center", "Right" and "DK/NR") that classifies respondents according to their ideological position.³⁷

L1. Now, to change the subject... On this card there is a 1-10 scale that goes from left to right. The number one means left and 10 means right. Nowadays, when we speak of political leanings, we talk of those on the left and those on the right. In other words, some people sympathize more with the left and others with the right. According to the meaning that the terms "left" and "right" have for you, and thinking of your own political leanings, where would you place yourself on this scale? Tell me the number.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	Don't know [Don't read]	No Answer [Don't read]
Left						Right					

How do Ecuadorians identify themselves ideologically? Figure 4.1 presents the evolution of the percentages of respondents of the AmericasBarometers who identified with the left, center, right, and those who did not issue an answer to the question on ideology, beginning in 2004, and until 2019.

³⁶ Zechmeister 2015.

³⁷ This recoding of the original variable "L1" (ideological self-identification) follows the proposal by Zechmeister 2015.

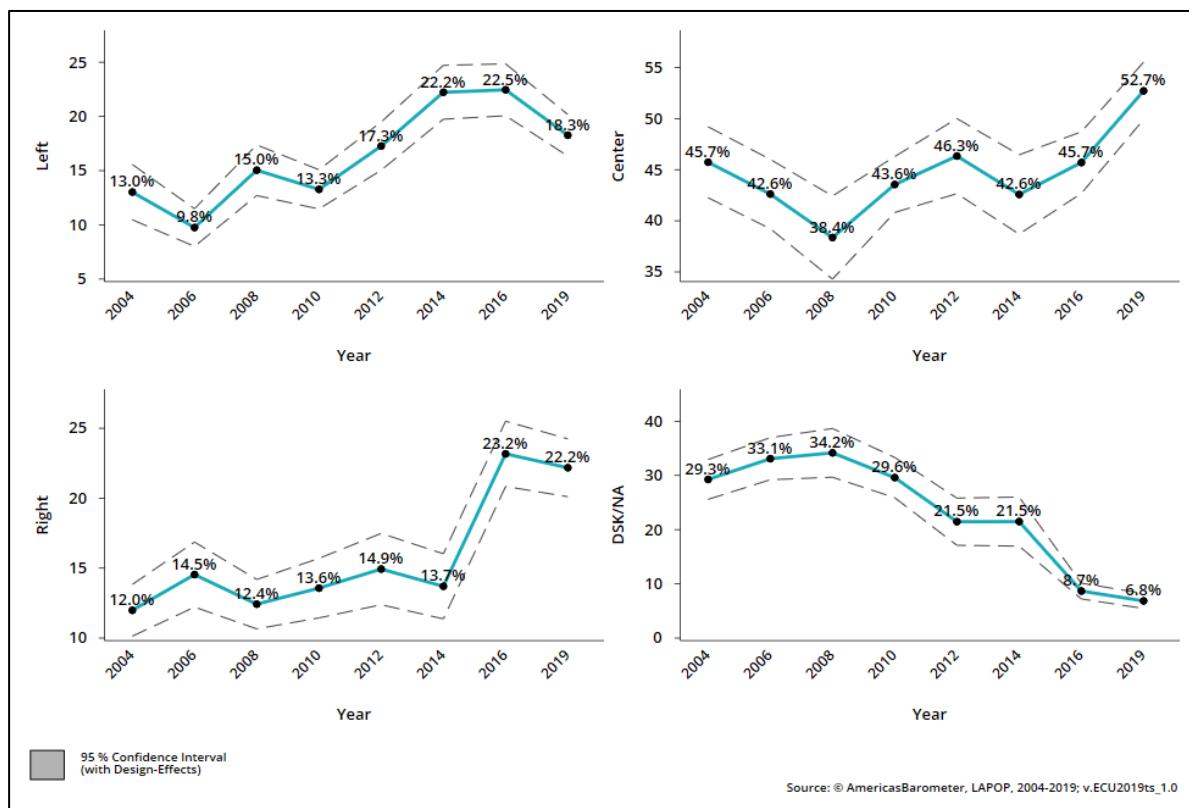


Figure 4.1. Ideological Self-Identification Through Time in Ecuador

Figure 4.1 illustrates how an important process of ideological polarization has developed in Ecuador in recent years. On the one hand, the percentages of respondents who identify with the left have been gradually increasing since 2006, when only 9.8% identified with this ideological position, reaching a remarkable 22.5% in 2016, more than doubling their number in only one decade. Despite the methodological limitations that make it difficult to identify a causal relationship between the presence of Rafael Correa in power and the increase in supporters of the left, it is plausible to propose a hypothesis linking both factors. Correa came to power in 2007 as a candidate sponsored by various sectors of the Ecuadorian left, and it was precisely between 2006 and 2008 when a first great leap was observed in those who self-identified with this ideological position, going from 9.8% to 15%. Subsequently, although there is a small reduction in self-identification with the left between 2008 and 2010, the levels of self-identification with this ideological position increased steadily, reaching 22.5% of the sample in the 2016 survey, a few months after the end of Correa's term. Once Correa left power, in 2017, levels of self-identification with the left decreased to 18.3%.

As for the right, stability is seen in the proportion of those who self-identify with this ideological position, with values between 12% and 15% during the 2004-2014 period. When the domination of Correa began to crumble in 2014, coinciding with the economic crisis caused by the considerable drop in commodity prices and the airing of major corruption scandals involving senior government officials,³⁸ a drastic rise is seen in the number of people who self-

³⁸ Moncagatta and Espinosa 2019; Meléndez and Moncagatta 2017.

identify with the right, with an increase from 13.7% in 2014 to 23.2% in 2016. The proportion remains at a similar level in 2019, with 22.2% of Ecuadorians identifying themselves with the right.

In this way, it is possible to identify that the most marked moment of polarization occurred between 2014 and 2016, coinciding with the change in leadership from Correa to Lenin Moreno. In this period of time, a large part of the Ecuadorian electorate began to identify with the right. Although the left had already been incorporating increasing proportions of Ecuadorians throughout the entire Correa mandate, it was only in 2016 when the right reached similar levels, with more than 20% of the population.

The ideological polarization process identified in Ecuador is complemented by an important process of politicization of its citizens. Speaking of increasing politicization refers to the fact that, as years passed, ever greater proportions of the population identified with some ideological position, be it left, center, or right. In other words, fewer and fewer people answered "I don't know" or decided not to provide an answer to the question about ideological positioning. In the first measurement carried out after Rafael Correa assumed power, in 2008, more than a third of Ecuadorians did not provide an answer to the question about ideological positioning. This percentage gradually decreased over the following survey rounds, but it is between 2014 and 2016 that a significant decline is seen, from 21.5% to 8.7%. This drop, like the important process of ideological polarization analyzed above, coincides with the beginning of the regional economic crisis due to the fall in commodity prices, which marked a turning point for the Correa government.³⁹ Approval of Correa's performance went from 70.3% in 2014 to 55.4% in 2016, and satisfaction with the functioning of democracy in Ecuador fell from 68.8% to 52.1% during the same period.⁴⁰

It should be noted that the process of politicization found in the Ecuadorian electorate not only fuels the process of ideological polarization (more and more people identified with the left or the right), but also strengthens a "centrist" ideological leaning. Those who placed themselves at the "center" of the ideological scale had been the majority group among the ideological preferences of Ecuadorians since the AmericasBarometer's first measurement, but this preference experienced a significant change between 2008, when it reflected 38.4% of ideological preferences, until 2019, when more than half of Ecuadorians, 52.7% to be exact, self-identify with the center. Thus, despite the methodological limitations that make it difficult to identify exactly how Ecuadorian ideological preferences changed over time,⁴¹ these results suggest that the previously described processes of politicization and polarization were complementary.

Figure 4.2 shows the distribution of ideological self-identification in the LAC-18 region in the 2018-2019 round of the AmericasBarometer. Due to the relevance of the politicization process of the Ecuadorian electorate found in the previous graph, Graph 4.2 is ordered in terms of highest to lowest percentage of non-response to the question on ideological positioning.

³⁹ Meléndez and Moncagatta 2017.

⁴⁰ Data from the AmericasBarometer for Ecuador. See Moncagatta and Montero 2018.

⁴¹ The ideal way to evaluate the ideological movements of any population would be to use panel-type surveys, where the same individuals are interviewed at different points in time. Figure 4.1 is based on responses to cross-sectional surveys, and therefore does not allow inferences about changes in ideology at the individual level.

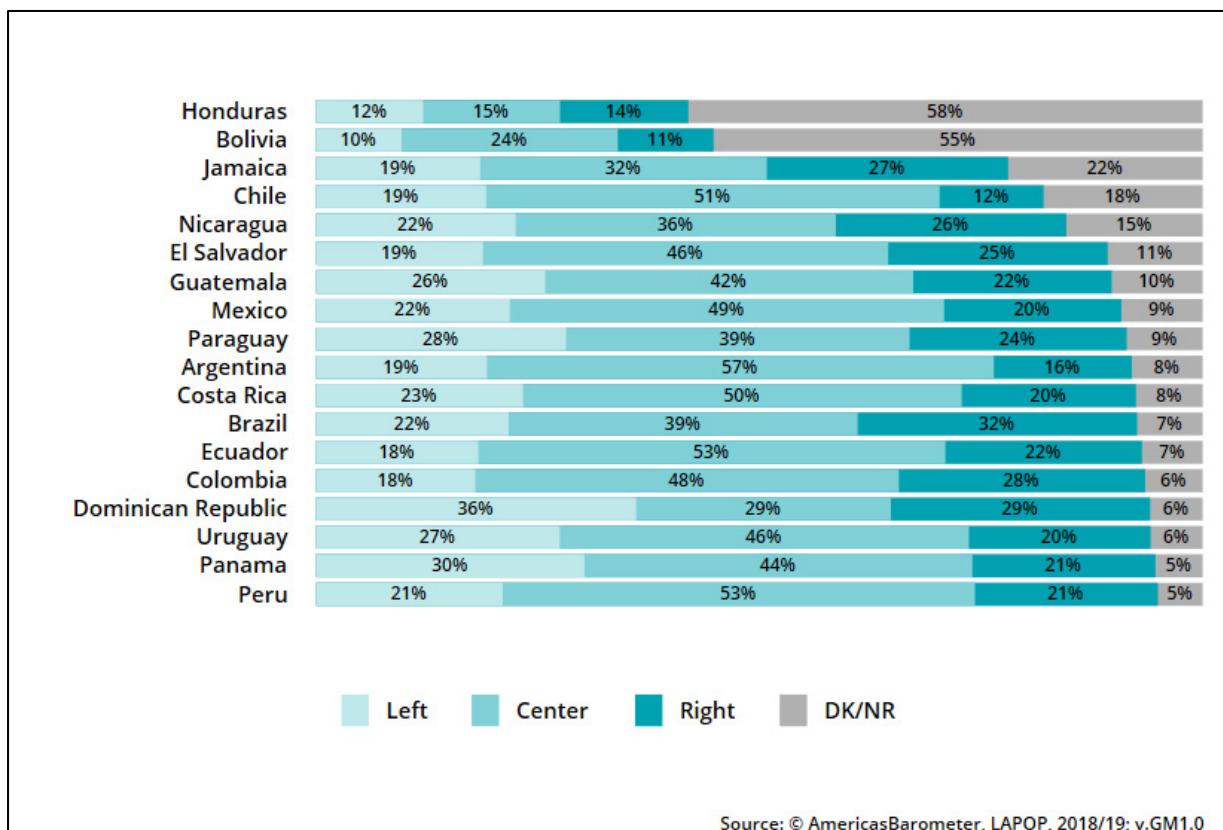


Figure 4.2. Ideological Self-Identification in Latin America and the Caribbean, 2018/19

Figure 4.2 reveals two cases that can clearly be considered as atypical in terms of non-response to the question on ideological positioning: Honduras with 58% and Bolivia with 55%. Of the remaining sixteen countries, twelve have levels of 10% or less. The median value of non-response is approximately 8.5% and, with an approximate value of 7%, Ecuador ranks as the sixth country in the region in terms of the highest rate of responses to the question on ideological positioning. This contrasts with previous measurements made by the AmericasBarometer: in 2012, for example, Ecuador, with a 21.5% non-response rate, was among the six countries with the lowest response rate to the question,⁴² not to mention that the previous levels of non-response found in Ecuador between 2004 and 2010 were significantly higher, with numbers between 29% and 34%.

V. Relationship between Ideological Self-Identification and Positions on Public Policies

Is there a relationship between the ideological positioning of individuals in terms of left-right spectrum and their positions regarding specific public policies? In this section, this relationship is examined taking into account one of the classic dimensions in discussions on ideology, one that has to do with positions on the role of the State in managing the country's economy. The little

⁴² The level of non-response to the ideological positioning question in Latin America in 2012 reported by Zechmeister (2015) is an average of 18.6% at the regional level, and a range between 9.3% (Uruguay) and 30.1% (Costa Rica).

existing evidence suggests that, in general terms, the relationship between positions on the role of the State in the economy and the ideological positions of citizens is weak in Latin America.⁴³

To assess citizen opinions on the role of the State in the economy, the AmericasBarometer includes in its questionnaire the following question: "The Ecuadorian government should implement strong policies to reduce income inequality between the rich and the poor. To what extent do you agree or disagree with this statement." Respondents responded using a 7-point scale, where "1" represents "strongly disagree" with the statement, and "7" represents "strongly agree" with it. For the analysis carried out below, the answers to this question were recoded, constructing a dichotomous variable in which the answers "5", "6", or "7" represent being "in agreement" with the participation of the State in reducing the income inequalities in society.

Figure 4.3 shows the percentages of citizens of each ideological category who agree that the State must intervene in the economy to reduce income inequality. Despite the low level of non-response to the ideological positioning question found in the 2019 Ecuadorian survey, there is no clear distinction in terms of the meaning of the ideological categories, at least with regard to the economic dimension, one of the recurring themes in debates about ideology. Figure 4.3 shows that, in general terms, high numbers (around 70%) of those who identify with each of the ideological categories agree that the State should implement policies to reduce income inequality. This should come as no surprise in the Latin American context, where, paraphrasing Luna and Rovira Kaltwasser, the right-wing is at a disadvantage, as the region is one of the most unequal in the world.⁴⁴ Furthermore, there is no statistically significant difference between the percentages of the different ideological categories that are in favor of state intervention in reducing income inequality. In this way, it coincides with Zechmeister's findings on the case of Ecuador: the presence of weak relationships between "left-right semantics" and the position of citizens on public policies.⁴⁵

⁴³ Zechmeister 2015, pp. 195-96.

⁴⁴ Luna and Rovira Kaltwasser 2014.

⁴⁵ Zechmeister 2015, pp. 206-7.

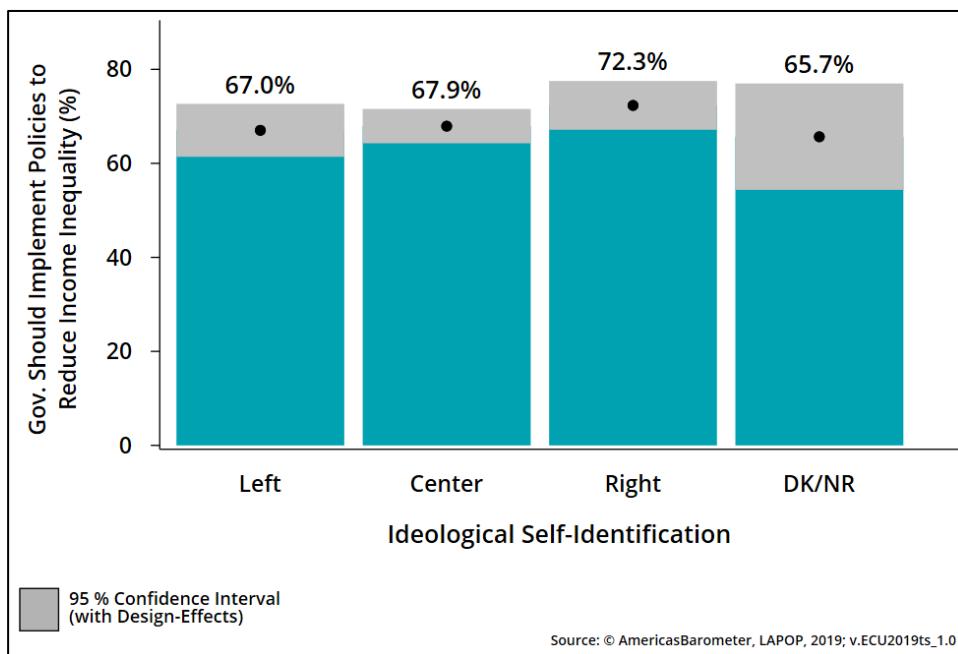


Figure 4.3. Percentages of Those who Affirm that "The state must implement policies to reduce income inequality" by Ideological Self-Identification, Ecuador 2019

VI. Possible Determinants of Ideological Self-Identification

What types of citizens are more likely to identify with each of the ideological positions, or not identify with any of them? Although establishing causality between specific, individual-level factors and ideological self-identification would require more sophisticated studies in terms of methodological design, it is possible to inquire about the characteristics of people related to identifying with the left, center, right, or non-response in terms of political ideology. To answer this question we use multinomial logistic regression, where the dependent variable "ideology" (from four categories) is modeled as a function of indicators that measure interest in politics, political efficacy (internal and external), views on one's personal economy and the country's economy, approval of the President's performance,⁴⁶ and five demographic and socio-economic factors (wealth, education level, age, gender, and area of residence).⁴⁷

⁴⁶For details on the survey questions used to measure each concept, refer to "Appendix 1. Questions Used as Independent Variables in Regression Analysis."

⁴⁷ Before estimating the models, the independent variables were rescaled, recoding all of them on the same scale, from 0 to 1. The coefficients report the changes in the probabilities of observing each result when each independent variable changes from its minimum value (0) to its maximum (1), keeping the rest of the variables constant in their means. The light blue lines illustrate the confidence intervals for each coefficient. The coefficients illustrated with a black dot are statistically significant ($p < 0.05$). For the complete results of the regression analysis, refer to "Appendix 2. Results of the Multinomial Regression Analysis".

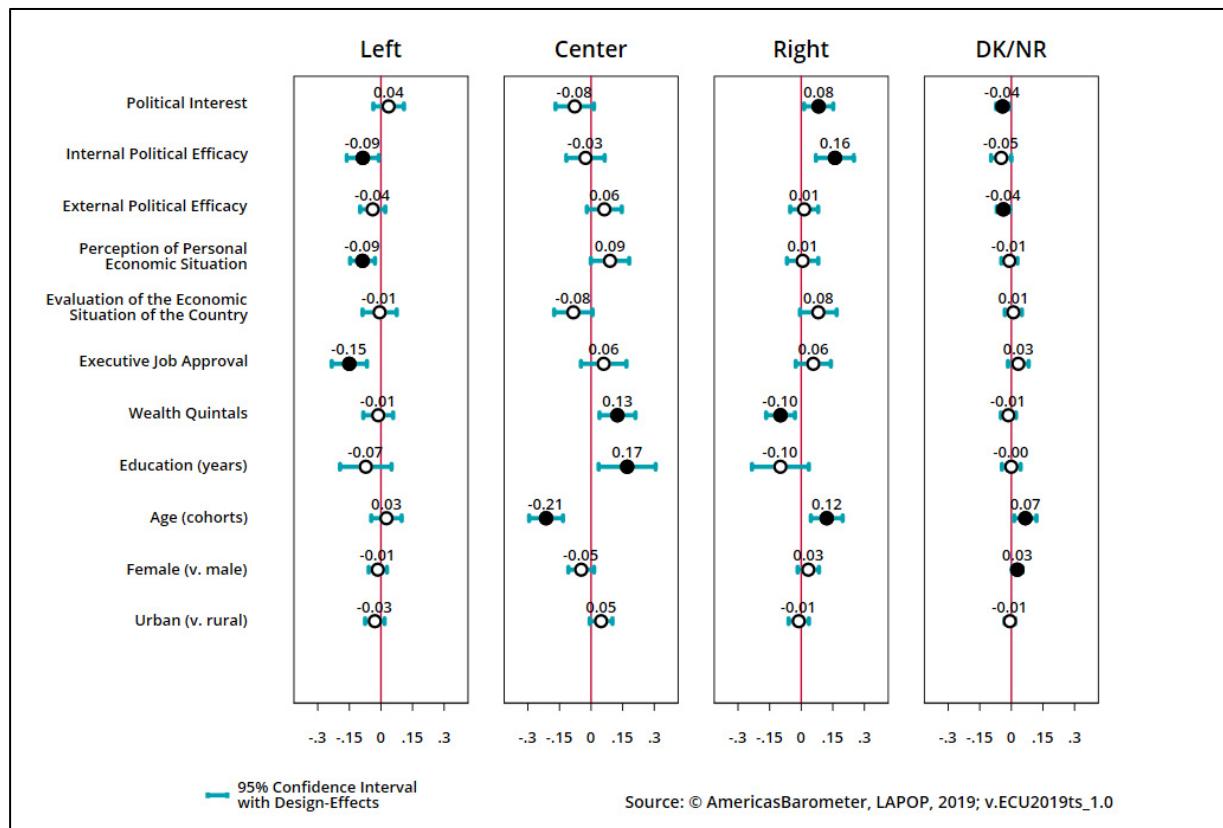


Figure 4.4. Maximum Effects of Predictors of Ideological Self-Identification in Ecuador 2019

Figure 4.4 reveals several interesting results. As might be expected, those most interested in politics, as well as those who report higher levels of political efficacy (both internal and external), are less likely to not answer the question about ideological positioning. In terms of this same category ("DK/NR"), it can be seen that older people are more likely to not answer the question about their ideological position. Women, in relation to men, also show a positive and significant coefficient in this category, being the only question where the gender variable shows explanatory relevance.

A variable that acquires particular relevance is that of "internal political efficacy". Apart from, as has been previously analyzed, showing a negative coefficient in relation to non-response, it would seem that this variable is related to the ideological polarization present in the Ecuadorian electorate. So, those who feel that they have a higher ability of understanding the country's political affairs, exhibit a greater probability of identifying with the right, but at the same time a lower probability of identifying with the left. This capacity (or lack thereof) appears to play a role in defining on which side of the ideological spectrum citizens are located. It seems that those who feel that they can be part of political decision-making lean to the right, and those who do not, perhaps due to lack of tools, adequate information or because they are disaffected by politics, opt for the left. In terms of polarization: it is decisive in the sense that the coefficient on the internal efficacy variable is not significant in relation to the ideological category of "center".

Regarding politicization, the other great political process already identified in Ecuador, there appears to be an important role of factors related to social class. The category of “center”, which contains more than 50% of Ecuadorians in 2019, is positively related to indicators of education and wealth: the most educated and wealthiest respondents show positive probabilities of identifying with the ideological “center”. In addition to these two indicators, which could be grouped into the traditional concept of social class, it is observed that those who positively view their personal economic situation are also more likely to identify with the center.

VII. Conclusion

This chapter yields interesting findings related to the ideological self-identification of Ecuadorians. The processes of ideological polarization and politicization that Ecuadorian citizens have undergone in the second decade of the 21st century are clear. It has been argued that democratic setbacks upset nations because they cause polarization in the electorate.⁴⁸ For this reason, the question could be asked as to whether the polarization process found in Ecuador is linked to setbacks in its democratic system, or if it could be seen as a sample of what appears to be a latent social fracture in the country, which exacerbates citizens' political positions. In this sense, the increasing level of polarization seen in Ecuador could be related to the October 2019 social protests, in which left-wing social movements (especially indigenous) reacted violently to the implementation of neoliberal measures.

Although Ecuadorians do not exhibit a relationship between left-right semantics and the economic dimension that captures the classical meaning of ideological distinctions,⁴⁹ the question remains as to whether these semantics relate to other possible meanings, such as certain moral values or positions on specific topics such as migration, nationalism, or security. In fact, there are authors who propose a conceptualization of ideology from a multidimensional perspective, in which the different dimensions could vary independently from each other, thus leading to complex heterogeneity in the structure of ideology.⁵⁰

What does "politicization" really mean? Is it what we consider in this chapter? (just deciding to somehow locate oneself on the ideological spectrum) Or is it something else? It would be worthwhile to use the category of “NS/NR” as an independent variable and to ask what does ideological positioning entail or not, in terms of possible effects on electoral participation, participation in protests, attitudes towards politics in general, towards democracy, and other political attitudes. Likewise, it remains to be analyzed whether the fact of self-identification with the left, center or right has any relevance for citizen political behavior. All of these are possible lines of research that the findings of this chapter leave open for further study.

⁴⁸ Corrales 2019.

⁴⁹ Bobbio 1996; Downs 1957.

⁵⁰ Basabe-Serrano and Martínez 2014, pp. 152–54; Feldmanand Johnston 2014.

Appendix

Appendix 1. Questions Used as Independent Variables in the Regression Analysis

Interest in Politics

How much interest do you have in politics: a lot, some, little or none?

- (1) A lot (2) Some (3) Little (4) None

Internal Political Efficacy

You feel that you understand the most important political issues of this country. How much do you agree or disagree with this statement? Using a ladder where 1 means “strongly disagree” and 7 means “strongly agree.”

External Political Efficacy

Those who govern this country are interested in what people like you think. How much do you agree or disagree with this statement? Using a ladder where 1 means “strongly disagree” and 7 means “strongly agree.”

Evaluation of the Respondent's Personal Economic Situation

Do you think that your economic situation is better than, the same as, or worse than it was 12 months ago?

- (1) Better (2) Same (3) Worse

Evaluation of the Country's Economic Situation

Do you think that **the country's** current economic situation is better than, the same as or worse than it was **12 months ago**?

- (1) Better (2) Same (3) Worse

Approval of the President's Performance

Speaking in general of the current administration, how would you rate the job performance of President (...)?**NAME CURRENT PRESIDENT?**

- (1) Very good (2) Good (3) Neither good nor bad (fair) (4) Bad (5) Very bad

Wealth Quintiles

Variable based on LAPOP's “Index of Relative Wealth,” constructed from information on possession of household goods of the interviewee (see Córdova 2008).

Education (years)

Continuous variable, measure din years. Range: 0 (no years of education) -> 18 (18 or more years of education).

Age (cohorts)

- (1) 16-25 (2) 26-35 (3) 36-45 (4) 46-55 (5) 56-65 (6) 66+

Female (vs. Male)

Recorded by the interviewer, not asked: (0) Male (1) Female.

Urban (vs. Rural)

Recorded by the interviewer, using census information: (0) Rural (1) Urban

Appendix 2. Results of the Multinomial Regression Analysis

	Left	Center	Right	DK/NA
Interest in Politics	0.04 (0.04)	-0.08 (0.05)	0.08* (0.03)	-0.04** (0.02)
Internal Political Efficacy	-0.09* (0.04)	-0.03 (0.05)	0.16*** (0.05)	-0.05* (0.02)
External Political Efficacy	-0.04 (0.03)	0.06 (0.04)	0.01 (0.03)	-0.04* (0.02)
Evaluation of One's Personal Economic Situation	-0.09** (0.03)	0.09* (0.05)	0.01 (0.04)	-0.01 (0.02)
Evaluation of the Country's Economic Situation	-0.01 (0.04)	-0.08 (0.05)	0.08 (0.04)	0.01 (0.02)
Approval of the President's Performance	-0.15*** (0.04)	0.06 (0.05)	0.06 (0.04)	0.03 (0.02)
Wealth Quintiles	-0.01 (0.04)	0.13** (0.04)	-0.10** (0.03)	-0.01 (0.02)
Education (Years)	-0.07 (0.06)	0.17* (0.07)	-0.10 (0.07)	-0.00 (0.02)
Age (Cohorts)	0.03 (0.04)	-0.21*** (0.04)	0.12** (0.04)	0.07* (0.03)
Female (vs. Male)	-0.01 (0.02)	-0.05 (0.03)	0.03 (0.03)	0.03* (0.01)
Urban (vs. Rural)	-0.03 (0.02)	0.05 (0.03)	-0.01 (0.02)	-0.01 (0.01)
Obs.	1456	1456	1456	1456

Maximum effects of each variable (keeping the rest of the variable means constant).

Standard errors in parentheses.

* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Chapter 5.

Clash of Ideas: 21st Century Progressivism versus Conservatism in Ecuador

J. Daniel Montalvo¹ and Arturo Moscoso Moreno²

I. Introduction

As Sodaro points out, values are ideas, principles, beliefs, or moral norms that individuals possess in relation to how they conceive freedom, justice, equality, security, order, and the community, to which they try to adjust their behavior.³ For his part, Rokeach defines values as the enduring belief in a specific mode of behavior, which is personally or socially preferable to an opposite or inverse mode of behavior.⁴ These ideas and beliefs, when widely shared by members of a given social unit, shape their culture.⁵

Norris and Inglehart divide values into socially liberal and socially conservative. Among the socially liberal values, they identify the justification for abortion, homosexuality, and divorce; trust in people of other nationalities; protection of the environment and gender equality; while they classify the opposites as socially conservative.⁶ For the purposes of this work, the former will be classified as progressive values and the latter as conservative values.⁷

Thus, progressives will be those people who justify abortion, who accept marriage of same-sex couples or of homosexuals to run for public office, who are more tolerant of foreigners and believe in gender equality, while conservatives will be those who support contrary positions.

These values are not innate in people, but are learned throughout their lives, especially during childhood and adolescence, through a process of socialization that is carried out through at least three agents: family, school, and the media.⁸ It is considered that social media networks should also be added to these agents, as they have become an important intermediary for the dissemination of values, they help satisfy users' socialization needs, help them build social capital,

¹ J. Daniel Montalvo is LAPOP's Director of Sampling Research Operations.

² Arturo Moscoso Moreno is a political scientist and lawyer, candidate for a Doctor of Rule of Law and Global Governance at the University of Salamanca, managing partner of the 50 + 1 Political Analysis Group Ecuador, Professor of Political Science at the San Francisco University of Quito and at the University of the Americas.

³ Sodaro 2006.

⁴ Norris and Inglehart 2019.

⁵ Sani 1983.

⁶ Norris and Inglehart 2019.

⁷ It would also be possible to classify the former only as liberals, but it would lend itself to some confusion in relation to the values oriented towards politics or the economy, because peoples' identities are made up of diverse values, where the former intersect with those of a moral or religious type, many times with inconsistencies among them (Uriarte, 2014). Thus, there may be someone with a liberal orientation towards the role of the State in the economy, but a conservative orientation regarding gay rights, for example.

⁸ Uriarte 2014; Norris and Inglehart 2019.

make users more likely to participate in civic life, and encourage them to participate in political life.⁹

In his review of modernization theory, to which he has added the label evolutionary, Inglehart argues that high levels of economic and physical security lead to intergenerational cultural variations that cause a variation from materialistic values to post-materialistic values, which are part of a broader shift from survival values (conservative) to self-expression values (progressive).¹⁰ This change occurs when we move from prioritizing economic and physical security to giving greater importance to individual freedom to choose how to live life, which also leads to the secularization or erosion of religious practices, values, and beliefs. Likewise, in most countries, as educational levels rise, traditional religious worldviews will inevitably give way to more secular views. Thus, the values of self-expression transform perspectives regarding politics, religion, gender equality, tolerance of foreigners, the environment, institutions, and democracy.¹¹

In societies with little economic development and little social mobility, religion, with its promise of a future reward, is people's refuge to find happiness, reinforcing a conservative value system, such as the rejection of foreigners, strong group solidarity, adherence to that group's traditional cultural norms, and even authoritarian policies.¹²

On the other hand, growing up in economically safer environments than older age groups makes young people more tolerant. Therefore, the culture of these societies is gradually transforming, creating an ever greater gap with the values of older people. For young people, gender equality and tolerance for sexual and cultural diversity are familiar, while, for older people, they are a threat because they change the environment in which they have lived most of their years.¹³

As previously noted, in addition to the economic factor, another aspect that also has a high impact on people's values is education, which expands cognitive skills, driving a change in their attitudes in a more progressive direction. So, the more educated one is, the more progressive values one will have. This is accentuated in the new generations who, thanks to technology, can be better informed and more connected.¹⁴

Finally, another important cause that affects the increase in progressive values is urbanization, because it brings diverse people into contact in various aspects of life, so those who are different from oneself are no longer considered a potential threat.¹⁵

In Ecuador, the division between progressive and conservative values was revealed through three relevant events: the first, the explosion of a wave of xenophobia against Venezuelan citizens for

⁹ Kizgina, Jamalb, Ranaa, Dwivedia and Weerakkodyc, 2018.

¹⁰ Modernization theory starts from the premise that economic development, thanks to the processes of urbanization, industrialization and communication, generated a series of changes in the social order, which transform traditional societies into more modern social and political forms (Abal, 2010).

¹¹ Inglehart, 2018.

¹² Ibid.

¹³ Norris and Inglehart 2019.

¹⁴ Norris and Inglehart 2019.

¹⁵ Norris and Inglehart 2019.

the murder of an Ecuadorian citizen by an individual of that nationality;¹⁶ the second, the legalization of marriage between same-sex couples, or marriage equality, through two decisions by the Ecuadorian Constitutional Court¹⁷ and, the third, the refusal of the National Assembly of Ecuador to pass a reform to decriminalize abortion due to rape.¹⁸

All these events generated a lot of controversy, both from the legal as well as a values standpoint, with a large number of people expressing their opposition or their support through social media networks, the media, and even mass mobilizations.

In this respect, with the current and historical data from the AmericasBarometer, this paper aims to examine Ecuadorians' social values on sensitive issues such as gay rights, xenophobia, and gender equality. The analysis covers current data from Ecuador in comparison to the rest of the Latin American and the Caribbean (LAC) countries, as well as the historical evolution of the perception of Ecuadorians on these issues. An analysis of the effects of age, socioeconomic status, education, religiosity, and urbanization on these perceptions is also included.

II. Key Findings

The key findings of this chapter are as follows:

- In 2019, the Ecuadorian population rejected the political and social rights of homosexuals. On the one hand, 36.4% do not agree that homosexuals should be able run for public office, while 51.3% disapprove of equal marriage rights for same-sex couples.
- On the other hand, 36.0% neither approve nor disapprove of the right of homosexuals to run for public office; while 25.7% are also ambivalent regarding equal marriage rights.
- Only 27.6% of Ecuadorians approve of the political rights of homosexuals; while only 23% are in favor of marriage between same-sex couples.

¹⁶ On January 19, 2019, in the city of Ibarra, a pregnant 19-year-old woman was stabbed to death by her Venezuelan boyfriend. In the early hours of the next day, dozens of citizens convened and began to evict Venezuelan citizens from various places of public accommodation in the city. The following day, through a statement released via Twitter, President Lenín Moreno, announced the formation of "brigades" to control the legal situation of Venezuelans in the country and the announced that special permits would be required for Venezuelans to be able to enter the country. On July 25, 2019, Lenín Moreno issued Decree No. 826, through which a special visa was established for Venezuelan citizens who want to enter Ecuador and a process for those already living in the country to adjust their status. (New York Times, 2019; The Universe, 2019a 2019b; The Telegraph, 2019; El Comercio, 2019).

¹⁷On June 12, 2019, through two interpretative judgments on the Ecuadorian Constitution, the Ecuadorian Constitutional Court extended the right to marriage, which until then could only be between a man and woman, to same-sex couples, legalizing marriage equality in Ecuador.

¹⁸ On Wednesday, September 18, 2019, the National Assembly of Ecuador did not pass a reform to the Comprehensive Criminal Code to decriminalize abortion due to rape. The plenary session recorded only 65 of the 70 necessary votes that were needed so that women would not be prosecuted if they chose to terminate a pregnancy resulting from rape.

- Almost half of Ecuadorians (49.2%) agree with the government offering social services, such as health care, education, or housing to foreigners who work or live in Ecuador. There are no significant differences if the foreigner is Venezuelan, Spanish, or an immigrant in general.
- On the other hand, 38.3% are in disagreement with the Ecuadorian government providing social services to foreigners, while 15.5% are neutral regarding this issue.
- Only 23.2% of voting age individuals in Ecuador believe that men are better political leaders than women. The rest (76.8%) disagree with this statement.
- When a historical comparison of the data is made, it is found that the approval for political rights (running for public office) and social rights (equal marriage) has grown over time. However, the belief that the government should provide social services to foreigners living in the country lessened. Approval of the idea that men are better political leaders than women remains the same as in 2008.
- The most powerful factor explaining these attitudes is age. Young people approve of gay and immigrant rights more than older people. Likewise, young people are less in agreement with the idea that men are better political leaders than women. Other relevant factors, but with less explanatory power are education, economic situation, place of residence, religion, and tolerance.
- When analyzing age as a generational factor, it is found that Generation Z is the most progressive of all, followed by the millennials. Additionally, as time passes, the intergenerational gap regarding the approval of gay rights and the rejection of the idea that men are better political leaders than women increases. This is not seen with the approval of immigrant rights. On the contrary, the intergenerational gap is closing, especially as millennials increasingly disapprove of the idea that the Ecuadorian government should offer social services to foreigners.
- From the 2019 evidence, it is observed that Ecuador is a country with more conservative, rather than progressive, social values. An ideological analysis finds that, on average, the country is towards the center of the left-right scale. For this reason, it is concluded that Ecuador can be categorized as a "conservative-center" country.

III. Measuring Progressivism and Conservatism in Ecuador with Data from the AmericasBarometer

In this section, the previously presented concepts are operationalized. For this purpose, three disaggregated measurements are used in six variables that have been included in the AmericasBarometer questionnaires over time. These measurements are: a) citizen approval of gay rights, with two questions: the first measures the approval that homosexuals can run for public office, and the second measures citizen approval of the right of same-sex couples to marry; b) citizen support for the government provision of social services to foreigners, through three

questions that distinguish whether foreigners are immigrants in general, Venezuelans, or Spaniards; and c) the data obtained from the analysis of a variable that measures support for the idea that men are better political leaders than women.

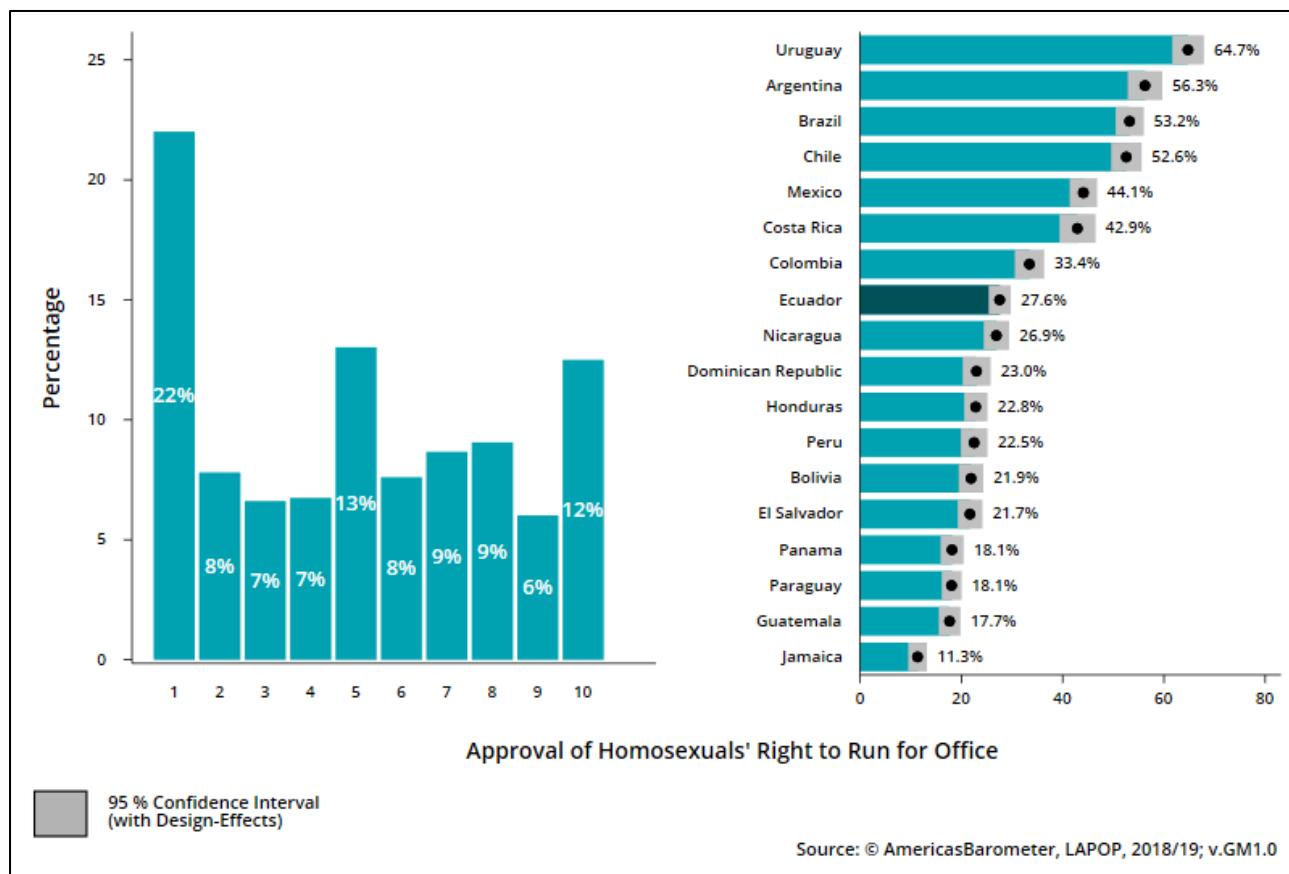
Through this set of variables, it is intended to capture, roughly, some measures regarding Ecuadorians' progressive and conservative values. It should be noted that, although these measurements are considered to contribute to the debate on progressivism and conservatism, there are several constitutive elements of the concept that are not analyzed in this chapter. For example, the AmericasBarometer measures citizens' support for the interruption of pregnancy, that is, abortion, *when the mother's health is in danger*. It is this last element of the question (the mother's health) that makes the measurement less valid when trying to capture the values discussed in this chapter. Therefore, it could be speculated that progressives would agree with abortion in general, including when the mother's health is in danger, and that conservatives reject it, except in the second case.

The same is true for other issues, such as public opinion on the death penalty or the carrying of firearms. In these cases, it is difficult to argue, at least for the case of Ecuador, whether or not the progressives or conservatives agree with these issues. In any case, if the reader is interested in learning the opinion of Ecuadorians about abortion when the mother's health is in danger, the death penalty, and the bearing of firearms, this chapter includes the descriptive graphs for these variables in the appendix.

Approval of Gay Rights

The measurement of public opinion on gay rights has been studied in the LAPOP laboratory in two areas: the political and the social. Regarding the political aspect, the AmericasBarometer asks if people support the rights of homosexuals to run for public office through the following question:

D5. And now, changing the topic and thinking of homosexuals, how strongly do you approve or disapprove of homosexuals being permitted **to run for public office?**



The results obtained in Ecuador and the rest of the countries in the region are illustrated in Figure 5.1. The histogram on the left shows the distribution of Ecuadorians' responses in 2019, on the original scale from 1 to 10. On this scale, the number 1 means strongly disapprove and 10 is firmly approve. As can be seen, 22.0% of Ecuadorians strongly disapprove of the idea that homosexuals can run for public office. When adding categories 1, 2 and 3, to get a better idea of the percentage of Ecuadorians who generally disapprove of homosexuals' political rights, the percentage rises to 36.4%. Those who choose a number between 4 and 7 can be placed the scale indicating an ambivalent level of support. In the 2019 case of Ecuador, 36.0% demonstrate an ambivalent level of support for the political rights of homosexuals. Those who are at 8, 9 or 10 range of the scale show general support and constitute 27.6% of the population. Finally, 12.5% report that they firmly approve of the right of homosexuals to run for public office.

In turn, the right panel of Figure 5.1 shows the level of support for gay political rights; that is, the percentage of people who chose 8, 9 or 10 on the scale, in a comparative perspective. Ecuador is located slightly below the regional average of 32.2%. The population with the most support is Uruguay, with 64.7%, and the least support in the region is seen in Jamaica, with 11.3%.

How is public opinion on homosexuality manifested in relation to social issues? The AmericasBarometer investigates people's support for same-sex marriage through the following question:

D6. How strongly do you approve or disapprove of same-sex couples having the right to marry?

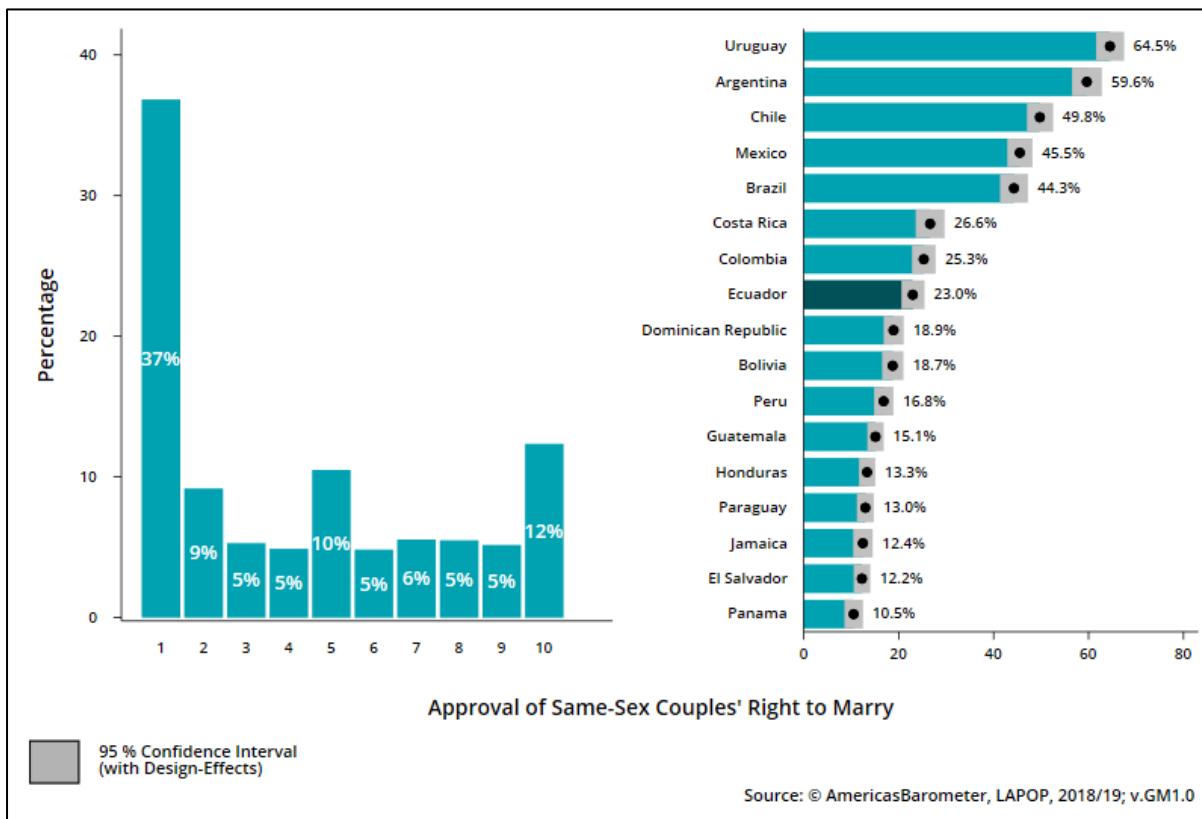


Figure 5.2. Approval of Same-Sex Marriage, 2018/19

Figure 5.2 shows the results, where, as in Figure 5.1, the responses are presented in two panels: the one on the left illustrates the histogram of the data for Ecuador in 2019, and the one on the right shows the level of support, in a comparative perspective, in the region for the 2018/19 round of the AmericasBarometer. Unlike the approval of political rights, there is a more acute disapproval of marriage equality by 36.8% of Ecuadorians, who selected number 1 on the 1-10 scale. If the percentages of the first three numbers in the scale, 1-3, are added together, it is found that more than half of the population (51.3%) generally disapproves of the idea that same-sex couples have the right to marry.

The percentage of Ecuadorians who have an ambivalent opinion on the subject, who selected 4-7 on the scale, is 25.7%, while 23.0% generally agree with the idea of marriage equality. Finally, only 12.3% strongly approve of this social right for same-sex couples. On the right panel, it can be seen that Ecuador is located exactly in the regional average (27.7%), but still very far from Uruguay (64.5%) and Argentina (59.6%).

Support for Government Provision of Social Services to Foreigners

The second measure to capture the progressive and conservative values in this report corresponds to the opinion of Ecuadorians regarding the access foreigners should have to the country's social services. For that, the following question is asked:

IMMIG1XA-C. To what extent do you agree that the Ecuadorian government should offer social services, like health assistance, education, housing to **Venezuelans/immigrants/Spaniards** who come to live or work in [country]? Do you...

- (1) Strongly agree
- (2) Somewhat agree
- (3) Neither agree nor disagree
- (4) Somewhat disagree
- (5) Strongly disagree

It is important to highlight that in this question, each one of the options "Venezuelans", "immigrants" and "Spaniards" apply only to a third of the sample. That is, a third receives the question with the text "Venezuelans", the second third with "immigrants" and the last third with "Spaniards".¹⁹

¹⁹ This question was originally formulated in this sense in order to compare attitudes towards immigrants and foreigners of Spanish and Venezuelan nationality. It should also be noted that this question was asked only in the 6 countries shown in Figure 5.3.

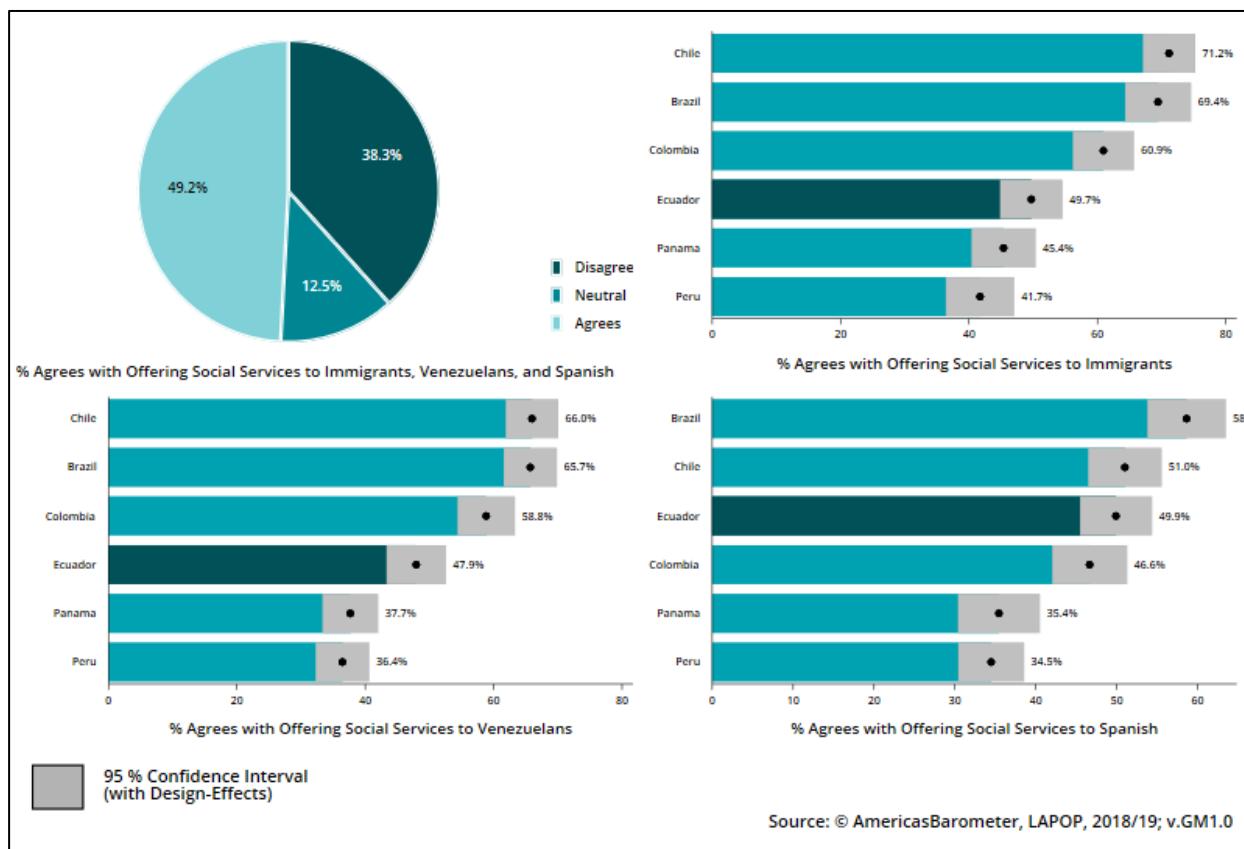


Figure 5.3. Public Opinion on the Provision of Social Services to Foreigners, 2018/19

Figure 5.3 shows the distribution of Ecuadorians' opinions and those of other citizens in the region regarding the provision of social services to foreigners. The image in the upper left quadrant of the graph shows the combined opinion of Ecuadorians in 2019 regarding the provision of social services to Venezuelans, immigrants of any nationality, and Spaniards, where it can be seen that practically half of Ecuadorians (49.2%) are somewhat or very much in agreement with the government offering health, housing, or education assistance to foreigners. On the other hand, 12.5% neither agree nor disagree. Finally, 38.3% state that they somewhat or strongly disagree with this prospect.

The images in the other three quadrants compare the opinion of Ecuadorians with other countries in the region, at the same time allowing for the disaggregation of opinions according to the nationality of the immigrant/foreigner. First, despite the fact that a slightly lower percentage of Ecuadorians (47.9%) favor the idea of government-offered social services to Venezuelans, as compared to Spaniards (49.9%) and immigrants in general (49.7%), the differences are not statistically significant, meaning that there is not enough empirical evidence to conclude that support for the provision of health, education, or housing services varies according to the nationality of the foreigner.

However, there are statistically significant differences that exist between countries themselves. Ecuadorians report lower percentages of approval than those in Chile, Brazil, and Colombia, but higher percentages of approval than Panama and Peru in all cases, except when the Spanish are

mentioned. In this case, Ecuador and Colombia have percentages that are not statistically different from each other (see the error bars in the lower right image of Figure 5.3).

Support for the Idea that Men are Better Political Leaders than Women

The final measure of conservative and progressive social values that this chapter seeks to explore is people's judgment of women's suitability for positions of political leadership. For this, the AmericasBarometer asks the following question:

VB50. Some say that in general, men are better political leaders than women. Do you strongly agree, agree, disagree or strongly disagree?

(1) Strongly agree (2) Agree (3) Disagree (4) Strongly disagree

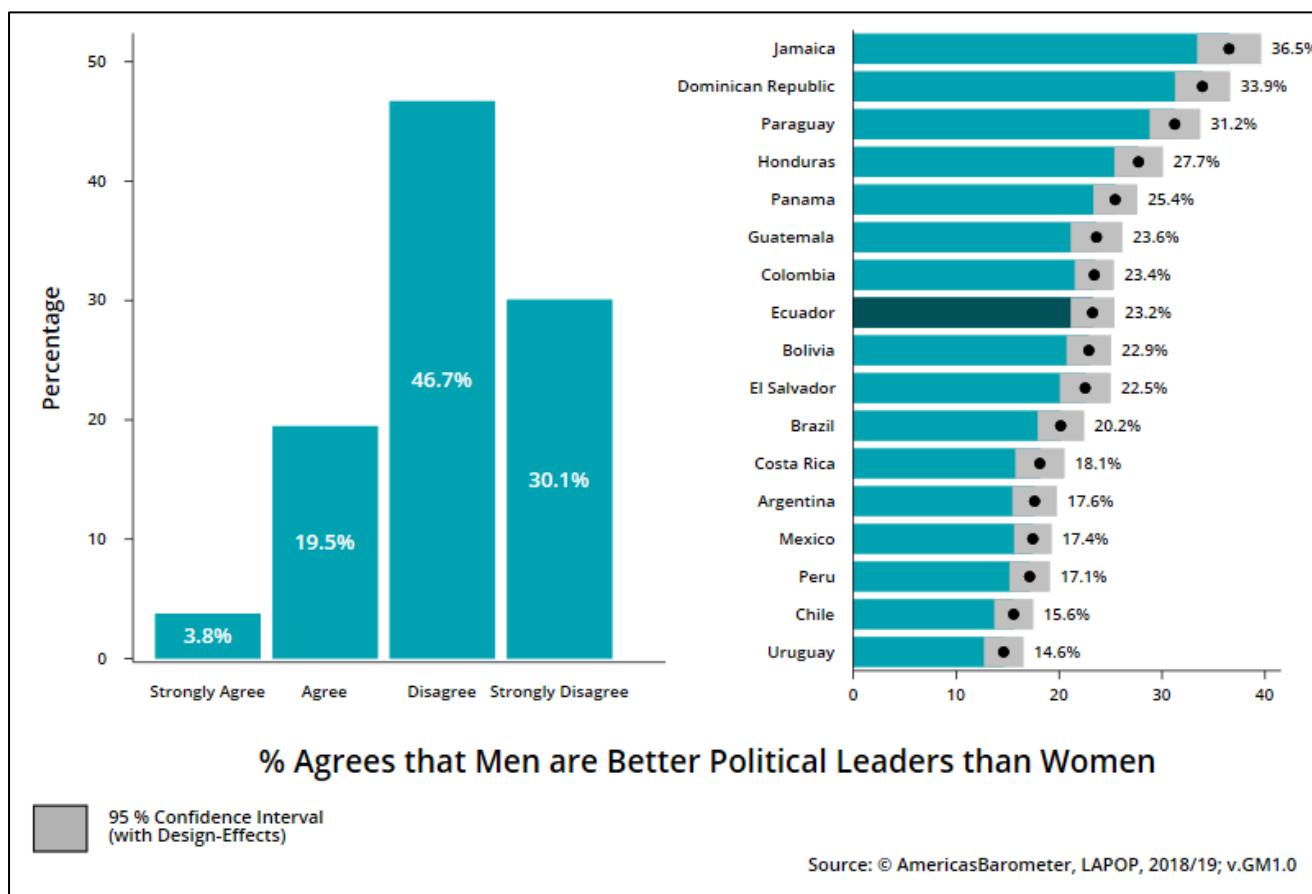


Figure 5.4. Opinion on Women's Political Leadership, 2018/19

Figure 5.4 illustrates the results obtained after asking both men and women if they believe that men are better political leaders than women. The image in the left panel shows that, in 2019, 23.2% of Ecuadorians agree or strongly agree with this statement. On the contrary, 76.8% disagree or strongly disagree with it. As seen in the right panel of Figure 5.4, from a regional perspective, Ecuador (23.2%) is very close to the regional average of 23.4%. Uruguayans (14.6%) and Chileans (15.6%) are the ones who disagree most with this statement, while Jamaicans (36.5%) and Dominicans (33.9%) agree the most.

Progressive and Conservative Values Over Time

Figure 5.5 summarizes the results of the measurement of progressive and conservative values of Ecuadorians over time. The image in the upper left quadrant of the figure shows the evolution of citizen approval of the idea that homosexuals have the right to run for public office. As can be seen, the lowest levels of approval were registered in 2006 (19.4%) and 2008 (18.5%). Over time, approval tends to increase: in 2016, 24.2% of Ecuadorians approved of the right of homosexuals to run for public office, with the highest approval rate recorded at 27.6% in 2019.

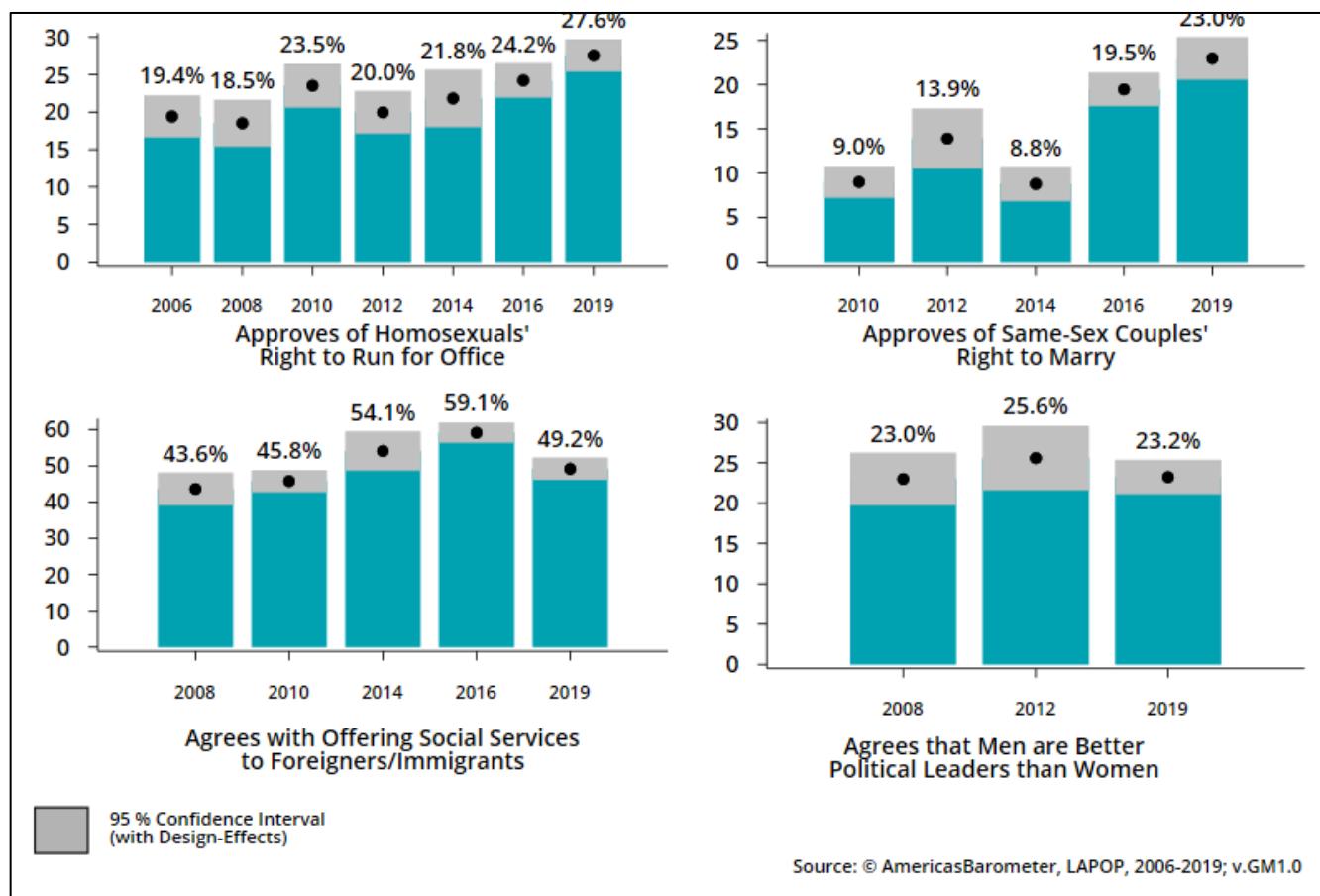


Figure 5.5. Progressive and Conservative Values in Ecuador Over Time

Something similar occurs with the approval of marriage between same-sex couples. The image in the upper right panel shows that, in 2010, only 9.0% of the Ecuadorian population agreed with this right. After a slight increase of 4.9 percentage points in 2012, approval fell again to 8.8% in 2014. However, beginning with an increase of support in 2016, approval increases to its highest point in 2019 (19.5 and 23.0%, respectively).

Regarding the provision of social services to foreigners (image in the lower left panel of Figure 5.5), since 2008, the AmericasBarometer had been including the following question:

IMMIG1. To what extent do you agree that the Ecuadorian government should offer social services, like health assistance, education, housing to foreigners who come to live or work in [country]? Do you...

- (1) Strongly agree
- (2) Somewhat agree
- (3) Neither agree nor disagree
- (4) Somewhat disagree
- (5) Strongly disagree

In this variable, the word "foreigners" was included in the question. However, in 2019, as previously explained, the word "foreigners" was replaced by the words "Venezuelan", "immigrant" and "Spaniard", and each formulation was applied to a third of the sample. In this sense, the values of the 2008 - 2016 bars in the image in the lower left panel of Figure 5.5 arise from a slightly different formulation of the question than the 2019 question, which the reader should take into account when comparing the values.

Thus, according to Figure 5.5, the highest point of support for the idea that the Ecuadorian government offers social services, such as health, education, or housing to foreigners was registered in 2016. In that year, 59.1% of the population supported that idea. However, there is a significant drop of almost 10 percentage points in 2019, decreasing to 49.2%. The year with the lowest record of support for the provision of social services to foreigners is 2008, with 43.6%.

Finally, in 2019, there was a 2.4 percentage drop in support for the idea that men are better political leaders than women, as compared to 2012. The 2019 value (23.2%) is similar to that of 2008 (23.0%). This question was asked only in the 2008, 2012 and 2019 rounds of the AmericasBarometer. The results presented here are illustrated in the image in the lower right panel of Figure 5.5.

What Factors Predict Progressivism and Conservatism in Ecuador in 2019?

In order to determine the factors associated with progressive and conservative values in Ecuador in 2019, each of the dependent variables [a) approval of the right of homosexuals to run for public office, b) approval of marriage between same-sex couples, c) approval of the government offering social services to foreigners, and c) support for the idea that men are better political leaders than women], is analyzed based on the following independent variables: age, education, economic status, gender, place of residence, ideology (right versus left), religion²⁰ and the importance of it, tolerance, skin tone, and the number of children under the age of 13 residing in the respondent's home.

²⁰ Because the original variable that captures the respondents' religion is categorical, three groups are created: a) people who self-identify as evangelicals and protestants, b) people who self-identify as Catholics, and c) people who identify themselves with other religions or who have no religion. To analyze the effect of the religious denomination in the models, "dummy" variables for the "Evangelical and Protestant" groups and "other religion" are inserted. The base category "Catholics" is left out of the model in order to make the comparisons described in this chapter.

The estimation method used to determine the associations among variables is that of ordinary least squares. For this purpose, the independent variables are transformed to values between 0 and 1 (0 or 1 in the case of dichotomous variables), and the dependent variables are transformed into values on a scale of 0 to 100. With this recoding, this facilitates the comparison of the maximum impact of the independent variables on the dependent variables.

Figure 5.6 illustrates the results of the models.²¹ As in other regression graphs in this report, the points represent the coefficients of the association between the independent variables and the dependent variables, and the bars represent the confidence intervals. When the confidence intervals do not cross the vertical line at point "0", it can be concluded with 95% confidence that the association is significant.

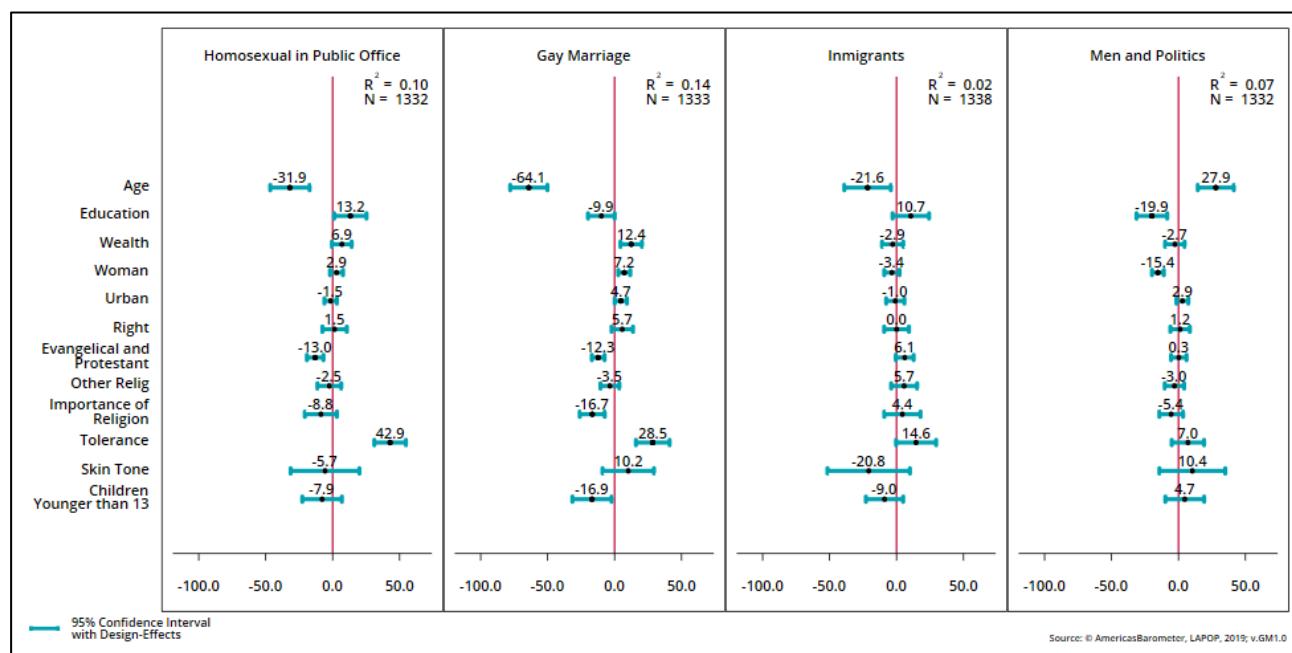


Figure 5.6. Predictors of Progressive and Conservative Values in Ecuador, 2019

The results illustrated in Figure 5.6 show an interesting recurring pattern: in 2019, the age of individuals is a statistically significant and powerful factor in predicting progressive or conservative values in Ecuadorian society. Keeping the rest of the variables constant, the models suggest that the younger Ecuadorians are, the more progressive their social values. In contrast, older individuals tend to express values that are mostly associated with social conservatism.

These findings are clear and consistent in the association of age with the four dependent variables in this chapter. First, the most important impact of age is manifested in the approval of the right of same sex couples to marry. The difference between the group of younger and older people is 64.1/100 points. In other words, older people show a level of approval for same-sex marriage that is 64.1 points lower than that of younger people, on a scale of 0 to 100. In the same way, older people show a level of support that is 31.9 points lower for the idea that homosexuals be able to run for public office, and 21.6 points lower regarding the idea that the government provides social

²¹ The coefficients and standard errors of the models are illustrated in this chapter's appendix.

services to foreigners, when compared to younger Ecuadorians. Finally, older people demonstrate a level of support 27.9 points higher for the idea that men are better political leaders than women, when compared to younger people.

The level of education also plays an important role as a predictor of progressive and conservative values, however, its explanatory power is lower. The only two relationships that are statistically significant are the impact of education on support for gay political rights and the idea that men are better political leaders than women. In the first case, the most educated Ecuadorians have a level of support for the political rights of homosexuals that is 13.2 points higher than the least educated, on a scale of 0 to 100. In the second case, the most educated demonstrate a level of support for the idea that men are better political leaders than women that is 19.9 points lower than less educated Ecuadorians.

Ecuadorians' economic status is only relevant when explaining support for gay marriage. Those in the richest quintile show support that is 12.4 points higher than those in the poorest quintile. A similar pattern is found among women, who show a slightly higher level of support for same-sex marriage (7.2 points) than men. However, women demonstrate lower support, by 15.4 points, than men for the approval of the idea that the men are better political leaders. Place of residence also matters in explaining support for same-sex marriage in Ecuador: those who reside in urban areas have a level of approval that is 4.7 points higher than the support expressed by those who live in rural areas.

People's religion only matters when measuring support for gay rights. Evangelicals and Protestants demonstrate a level of support for the right of homosexuals to run for public office that is 13.0 points lower, and 12.3 points lower for same-sex marriage, when compared to Catholics. This last finding is consistent with the importance of religion: those who consider religion to be very important in their life show a level of approval for same-sex marriage that is 16.7 points lower than those who consider religion as not important.

Tolerance, as might be expected, also plays an important role in the approval of gay rights. The most tolerant have a level of support that is 42.9 and 28.5 points higher regarding the approval of homosexuals running for public office and the approval of marriage between same-sex couples, respectively, than less tolerant Ecuadorians. Finally, those individuals living in households with children under the age of 13 have a level of support 16.9 points lower for same-sex marriage than individuals living in households without children, on the scale of 0 to 100. The rest of the factors in the model are not statistically significant.

Generation as a Determining Factor of Progressive and Conservative Values in Ecuador

To better understand the effect of age on the dependent variables in this study, the age ranges of all the rounds of the AmericasBarometer are grouped into the different generations, as categorized by the Pew Research Center.²² These 5 generations are: 1) Silent Generation, 2) Baby

²² For more information see: <https://www.pewresearch.org/topics/generations-and-age/>

Boomers, 3) Generation X, 4) Millennials, and 5) Generation Z. The range of birth years in each generation is summarized in the table below.

Table 5.1. Generational Composition

Generation	Year of Birth
Silent Generation	Between 1928 – 1945
Baby Boomers	Between 1946 – 1964
Generation X	Between 1965 – 1980
Millenials	Between 1981 – 1996
Generation Z	Between 1997 – 2012

Source: Pew Research Center 2019

After calculating the generational variable, crosses were made with each of this study's dependent variables over time. The results of the crosses are presented in Figure 5.7. The trends displayed by the lines in the four panels denote at least four important findings. First, the finding obtained through the statistical models regarding age is corroborated: in general, younger generations have more progressive values, while older generations have more conservative values.

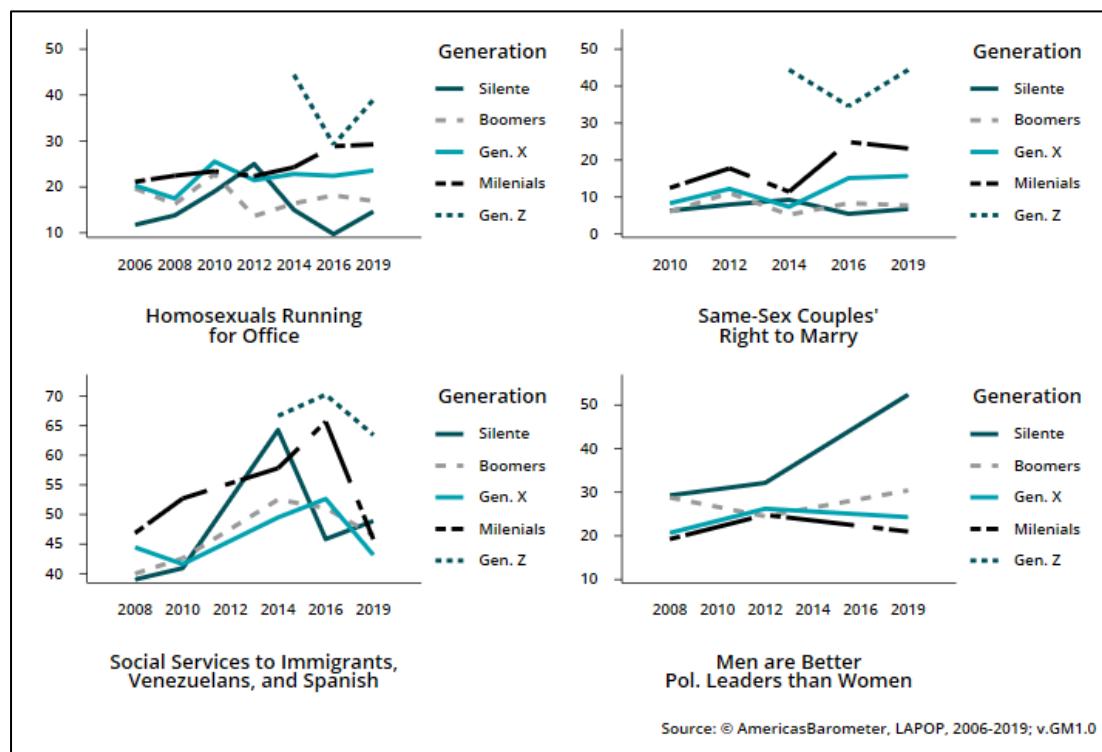


Figure 5.7. Generations and Progressive vs. Conservative Values

Second, the gaps on the progressivism-conservatism axis among generations tend to widen over time. This phenomenon is particularly evident in the approval of gay rights, both to run for public office and to marry, and in the belief that men are better political leaders than women. However, the generation gap regarding the approval of the idea of government provision of social services to foreigners seems to be closing, especially in more recent years.

Third, and related to the previous point, it seems that millennials and Generation X are mainly responsible for widening the gap by becoming increasingly progressive. Baby Boomers, the Silent Generation, and Generation Z, on the other hand, do not demonstrate such a clear trend in the change of their values over time. Finally, it is important to note that the youngest generation, that is, Generation Z, is much more progressive than the rest of the generations.²³

Putting it all Together: A Comparative Perspective of the Ideological Positioning and Social Values of Ecuadorians in 2019

Chapters 4 and 5 in this report focused on describing and analyzing the ideological positioning of Ecuadorians and their social values. In this section, the main findings of both chapters are grouped and a scatter graph is constructed that allows for the summarizing and comparing of Ecuadorians' values and attitudes towards economic and social issues with those of citizens in other countries in the region. Figure 5.8 illustrates ideological self-identification on the left-right scale ("X" axis), in combination with social values on the conservatism-progressivism scale ("Y" axis), in Ecuador and the rest of the countries in Latin America and the Caribbean.

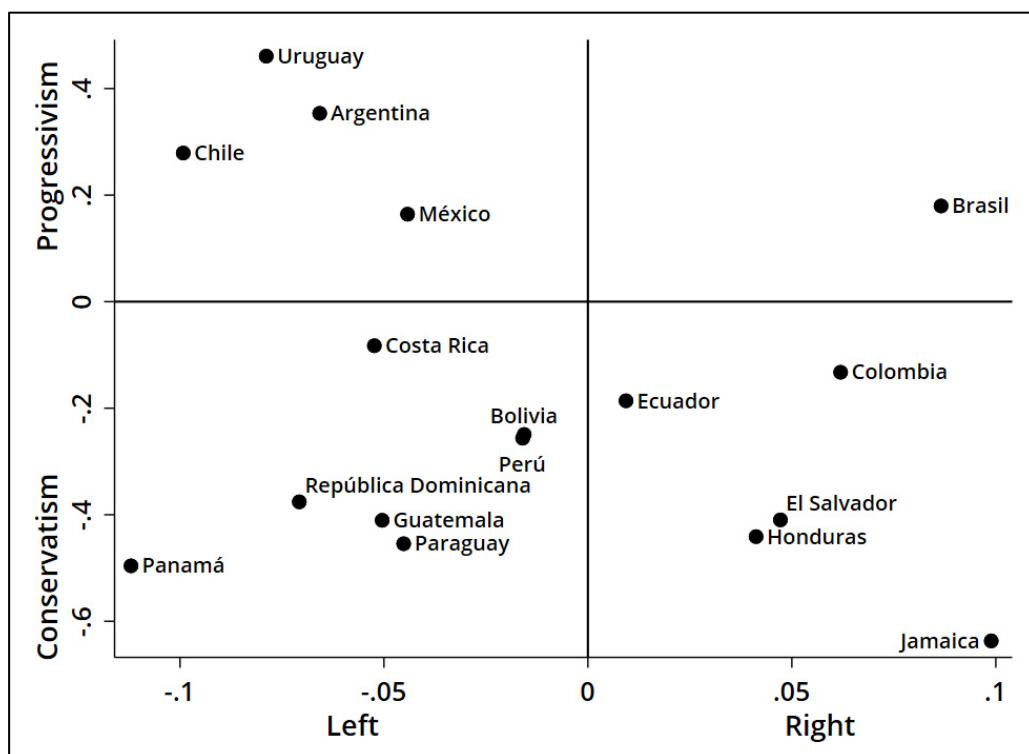


Figure 5.8. Social Values and Ideology in Latin America and the Caribbean, 2018/19

The construction of Figure 5.8, on one hand, uses the results of the question on ideological self-identification, as described in Chapter 4. The original 1 to 10 scale is recoded to -1 to +1, where -1

²³ The line corresponding to Generation Z in the image in the lower right corner of Figure 5.7 is not shown because the only year in which that generation was asked about women and politics was 2019. In that year, only the 17.0% of Generation Z youth agree with the idea that men are better political leaders than women.

means "extreme left", 0 means "center" and +1 means "extreme right". On the other hand, the results of questions **D5** and **D6**, as described in this chapter and regarding the approval of gay rights, are used to build the scale on social values. The original 1 to 7 scale is transformed to -1 (extreme conservatism), 0 (center) and +1 (extreme progressivism).^{24,25} Next, the average values by country are obtained for each variable (ideology and approval of gay rights) and the values are plotted on the Cartesian plane shown in Figure 5.8.

The distribution of the countries and the values on the plane show at least two important findings. First, there is greater variation in country averages on the conservatism - progressivism axis than on the left - right axis. This finding becomes evident when looking at the scales. While the most conservative country (Jamaica) presents a value of -0.6 and the most progressive country (Uruguay) presents a value of 0.5; the leftmost country (Panama) has a value of -0.1 compared to the rightmost country (Jamaica) which has a value of 0.1. In other words, the range of values on each of the axes suggests that there is a much more polarized position on gay rights, than on the left and right in Latin America and the Caribbean, since, in the latter case, citizens tend to position themselves towards the center of the scale. This is why, in global terms, it can be thought that the region's countries are, in general, center-left or center-right.

Second, through Figure 5.8, Latin America and the Caribbean can be divided into four large groups: the first group is made up of "center-left progressive" countries. Uruguay, Argentina, Chile, and Mexico are in this group. A second group can be classified as "center-right progressive" countries, of which only Brazil is classified. The third group constitutes the "center-left conservative" countries. Costa Rica, Bolivia, Peru, the Dominican Republic, Guatemala, Paraguay, and Panama constitute this group. Finally, the group of "center-right conservative" countries includes Colombia, Ecuador, El Salvador, Honduras, and Jamaica. Having said this, both Bolivia and Peru (to the left) and Ecuador (to the right) are very close to the center line on the ideological scale, so they could be considered as "conservative-center" countries.

This classification, of course, does not take into account some nuances when comparing the location of countries on the ideological and social values spectrum. First, there are factors within the conservatism - progressivism scale that go beyond the approval of gay rights. For example, this same chapter includes other variables, such as attitudes towards migrants and towards the political leadership of women, which are not part of the index due to problems in the coverage and reliability of the scale.²⁶ Likewise, as previously mentioned, ideological self-identification also has some problems, since the terms "left" and "right" have different meanings for people. On the other hand, in some countries, ideological conceptualizations have high non-response rates or can be very volatile over time.

²⁴ This index is an average of the values of the responses to variables **D5** and **D6**. The reliability coefficient of the scale ("Cronbach's alpha") is 0.79 for the year 2019.

²⁵ Variables on attitudes towards migrants and women's political leadership are not included in the index since, in the case of the former (attitudes towards migrants), the questions were not included in all countries, and, in the case of the latter (women's political leadership), the reliability coefficient of the scale is small.

²⁶ See footnote above.

Thus, the results presented here shed light on how citizens in Latin America think about ideological issues and what their values are with respect to social issues.

IV. Conclusion

Based on data from the AmericasBarometer, this chapter has examined Ecuadorians' social values, defined as conservative and progressive from the perspective of Norris and Inglehart, in relation to the perceptions they present about gay rights, xenophobia, and gender equality. Its historical evolution has been analyzed, and a comparison with the rest of Latin American countries has been presented, analyzing the effects that age, socioeconomic level, education, religiosity, and urbanization have on these perceptions.²⁷

First, in relation to the political rights of homosexuals, by 2019, 22.0% of Ecuadorians strongly disapprove of the idea that homosexuals can run for public office, while those who generally disapprove of this idea reach 36.4%, and 36.0% demonstrate ambivalent levels of support. Among the population, 27.6% show general support for these rights and only 12.5% demonstrate strong approve of them. When these data are compared with the rest of Latin America and the Caribbean, Ecuador is slightly below the regional average of 32.2%.

As for the historical changes in the perception of the political rights of homosexuals, the lowest levels of approval are registered in 2006 (19.4%) and 2008 (18.5%) but, as time passes, an increasing trend is registered, increasing to 24.2% in 2016 and reaching a historical peak of 27.6% in 2019.

Second, with respect to same-sex marriage, only 9.0% of the Ecuadorian population approved of same-sex marriage in 2010, with significant changes in the approval rates seen in 2012 and 2014. However, starting in 2016, support increases to 19.5% and reaches its peak in 2019 with 23.0% approval. Nevertheless, there is a high percentage of Ecuadorians (36.8%), who strongly disapprove of marriage equality and 51.3% generally disapprove of it. In 2019, those who with ambivalent opinions about marriage rights for same-sex couples reach 25.7%, and only 12.3% strongly approve of same-sex marriage.

Compared to other countries in Latin America and the Caribbean, Ecuador is located at the regional average of just 27.6%, very far from Uruguay with 64.5% and Argentina with 59.6%. It should be taken into account that equal marriage was legalized in 2013 in Uruguay; while it was legalized in 2010 in Argentina, which could suggest that after the legalization of same-sex marriage, disapproval among the population in those countries fell.²⁸

Third, regarding immigration, practically half of Ecuadorians (49.2%) agree or strongly agree with the government provision of health, housing, or education assistance to foreigners, regardless of whether they are Spanish, Venezuelan, or of any other nationality, with no significant differences

²⁷ Norris and Inglehart 2019.

²⁸ Ofosua, Chambersb, Chenc, and Hehman argue that the legalization of same-sex marriage changes people's attitudes towards homosexuality, decreasing implicit and explicit anti-gay bias at a quicker rate than would have occurred before legalization (2019).

between nationalities. However, there is a significant 38.3% who declare to be somewhat or strongly in disagreement with this possible provision.

Historically, the highest support for this idea was measured in 2016, when 59.1% of Ecuadorians declared themselves in favor. However, in 2019 there was a significant drop of almost 10 percentage points, reducing support to 49.2%, which coincides with the beginning of the increase in the migratory flow of Venezuelans to Ecuador, which could explain the xenophobic expressions that took place in 2019, such as the situation that occurred with the murder of an Ecuadorian woman by her Venezuelan partner, which was previously mentioned.²⁹

Finally, when analyzing the perception of Ecuadorians regarding gender, in 2019, 23.2% supported the idea that men are better political leaders than women; while 76.8% disagree. In Latin America and the Caribbean, Ecuador is almost at the regional average, but very far from Uruguay and Chile, which lead in the percentages of people who disagree with this statement.

In relation to Inglehart's theory on the effects of age on people's values, it has been found that in the four variables that have been analyzed in this chapter - support for the political rights of homosexuals, support for marriage equality, tolerance for immigration, and support for gender equality - indeed, the younger Ecuadorians are more progressive in their social values; while older people express more conservative social values, which is corroborated in the analysis presented in Figure 5.7.³⁰

In addition, as Inglehart points out, it has been proven that the generational gaps between progressives and conservatives are becoming larger and more marked over time, at least in terms of gay rights and gender perspectives, with the youngest generations (Generation X, Millennials, and Generation Z), who most strongly support these rights, becoming more progressive. Regarding the perception of immigration, the gap seems to be narrowing. Could it perhaps be due to the perception that foreigners take jobs away from young people?³¹

Thus, following Inglehart's theory, it is found that, in effect, education level influences the progressive and conservative values of Ecuadorians, although their explanatory power is lower than that of age, because this influence is statistically significant only in support of same-sex marriage and the idea that men are better political leaders than women. In this way, more educated Ecuadorians demonstrate more support for marriage equality and show less support for the idea that men are better leaders than women.³²

According to the analyzed data, the economy, which represents another important influence in the determination of people's values, according to Inglehart, is only relevant when explaining support for marriage equality; where the richest people show markedly more significant support than the poorest people. Regarding place of residence, it is also evident that those who live in urban areas approve of same-sex marriage more than those who live in rural areas.³³

²⁹ El Telégrafo 2018; El Telégrafo 2019; New York Times 2019.

³⁰ Inglehart 2018.

³¹ New York Times 2019.

³² Inglehart 2018.

³³ Ibid.

Religion, also mentioned by Inglehart as a relevant factor in determining people's values, only influences support for gay rights, both to run for public office and to marry, with Evangelicals and Protestants being less supportive. However, in general, the importance that people give to religion in their lives has marked effects, since, the more important religion is for a group of people, the less they approve of gay rights; a finding that is also consistent with the relationship that Inglehart makes between religion and values.³⁴

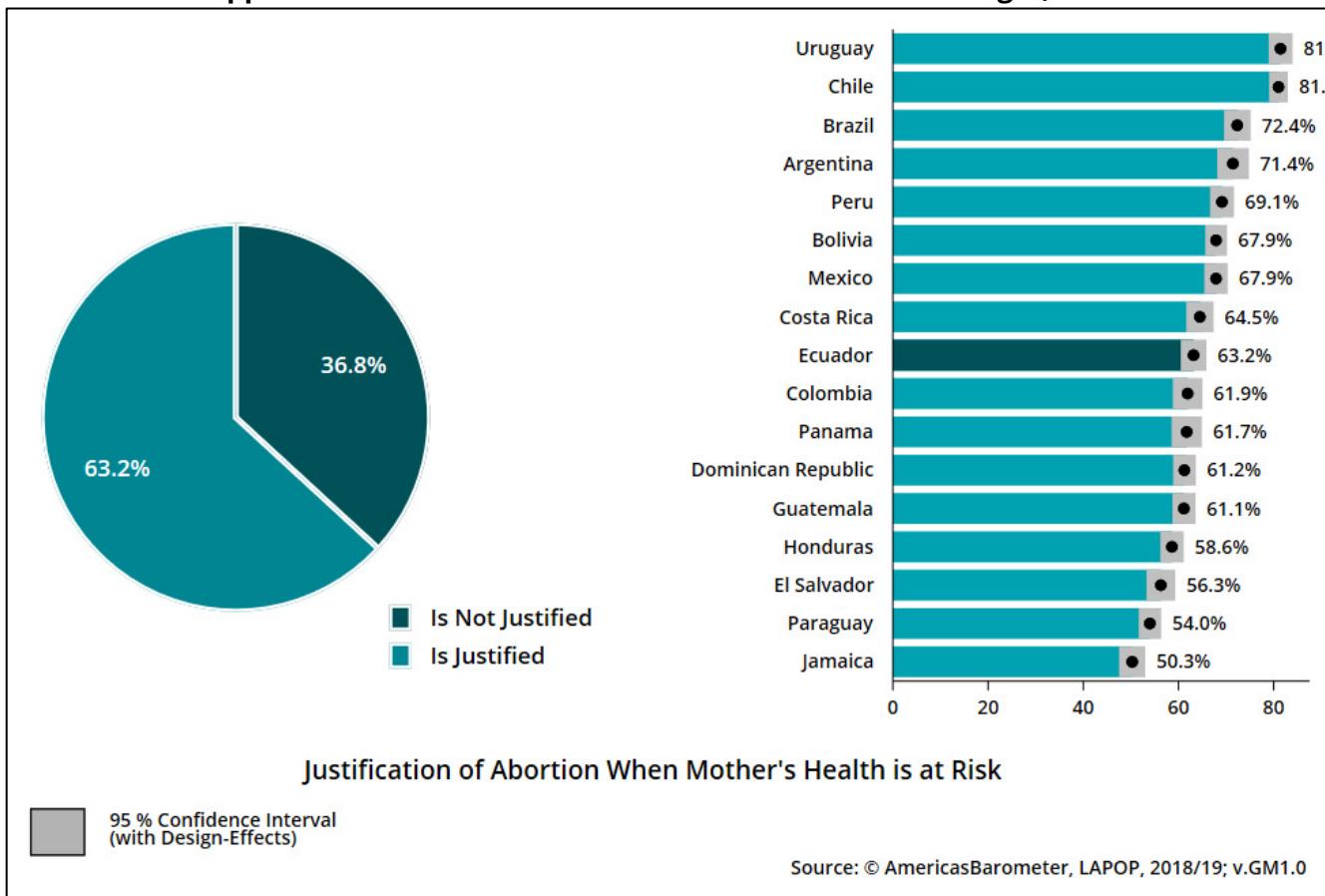
Tolerance, an important factor in the AmericasBarometer's measurements, and has significant effects on the approval of gay rights, as one could intuitively deduce, since the more tolerance is expressed, the higher the indices of approval.

In short, the analyzed data shows that the majority of Ecuadorians have conservative values, with a majority in opposition to the political rights of homosexuals, to same-sex marriage and, to a lesser extent, to the rights of foreigners, configuring a largely conservative culture in the country. However, the data also indicates that a cultural change is taking place in which there are more and more citizens with progressive values, especially among the youngest generations, which, little by little, but increasingly more markedly, are changing the culture of the country.

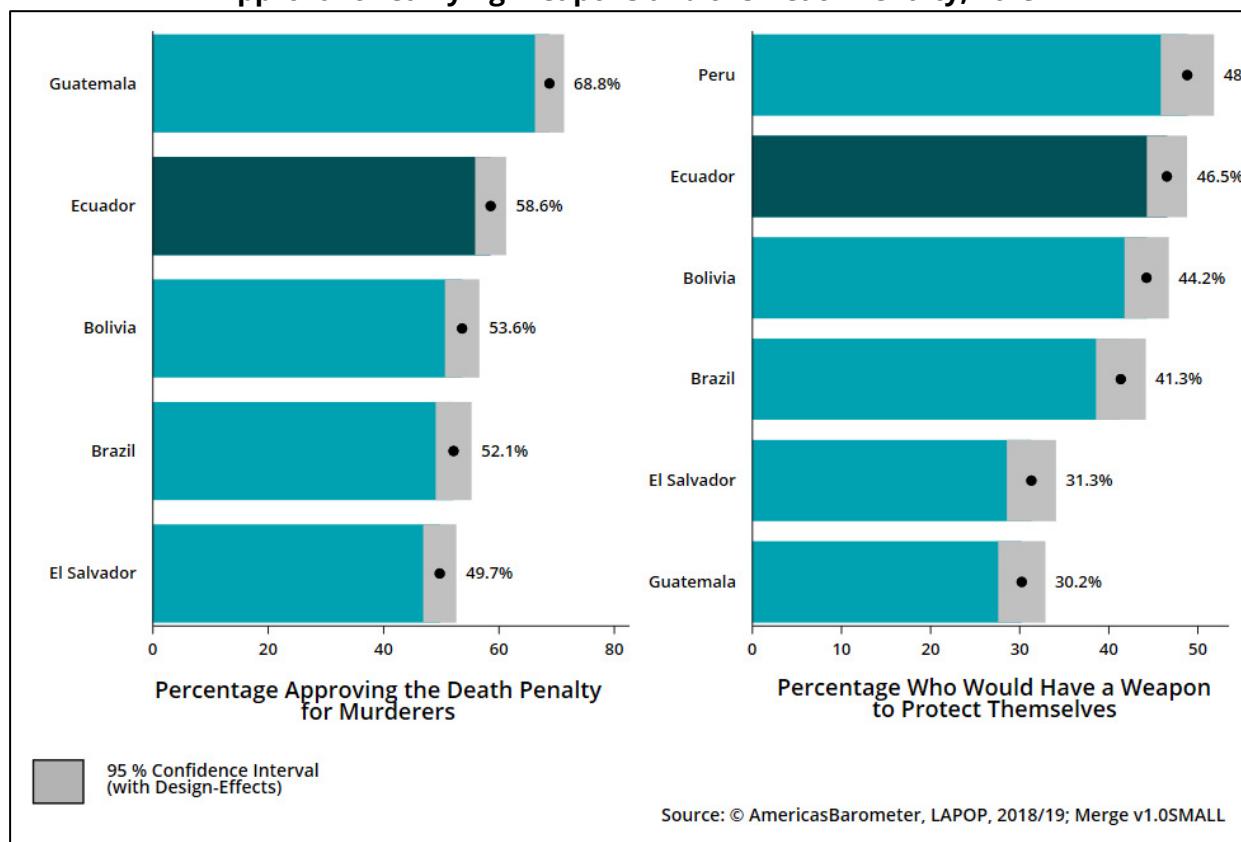
³⁴ Ibid.

Appendix

Approval of Abortion when the Mother's Health is in Danger, 2019



Approval of Carrying Weapons and the Death Penalty, 2019



Appendix Table 1. Predictors of the Progressive and Conservative Values of Ecuadorians, 2019 (Figure 5.6)

	(1) Homosexuals in Public Office	(2) Same-Sex Marriage	(3) Immigrants	(4) Men and Politics
Age	-31.907*** (7.637)	-64.061*** (6.983)	-21.620** (8.780)	27.883*** (7.362)
Education	13.244** (6.233)	-9.896* (5.743)	10.666 (7.220)	-19.883*** (6.023)
Wealth	6.866* (3.670)	12.439*** (3.362)	-2.905 (4.240)	-2.697 (3.526)
Female	2.906 (2.411)	7.245*** (2.209)	-3.445 (2.779)	-15.376*** (2.316)
Urban	-1.491 (2.542)	4.661** (2.333)	-0.952 (2.936)	2.933 (2.444)
Right Ideology	1.468 (4.379)	5.739 (4.009)	0.039 (5.032)	1.231 (4.195)
Evangelical & Protestant	-13.043*** (3.171)	-12.250*** (2.899)	6.109* (3.651)	0.251 (3.035)
Other Religion	-2.458 (3.866)	-3.497 (3.514)	5.693 (4.433)	-3.011 (3.695)
Importance of Religion	-8.787* (5.090)	-16.685*** (4.658)	4.366 (5.887)	-5.400 (4.896)
Tolerance	42.898*** (6.093)	28.484*** (5.595)	14.612** (7.041)	7.030 (5.845)
Skin Tone	-5.677 (12.514)	10.218 (11.486)	-20.792 (14.430)	10.363 (11.988)
Children Younger than 13 Years Old	-7.901 (7.234)	-16.883** (6.624)	-8.976 (8.290)	4.696 (6.889)
Constant	13.652 (8.880)	31.005*** (8.129)	45.080*** (10.250)	34.547*** (8.519)
Obs.	1332	1333	1338	1332
R-squared	0.097	0.142	0.020	0.067

Standard errors in parentheses.

*** $p<0.01$, ** $p<0.05$, * $p<0.1$

Chapter 6.

Attitudes Towards Corruption in Ecuador¹

Arturo Moscoso Moreno² and Paolo Moncagatta³

I. Introduction

In Ecuador's AmericasBarometer report, "Political Culture of Democracy in Ecuador and in the Americas, 2016/17: A Comparative Study on Democracy and Governance", Chapter 4 was entitled "Corruption and Democracy in Ecuador: Effects of Corruption on Public Opinion Regarding Democracy, Support for the System and Political Tolerance". The analysis in that chapter focused on Ecuadorian public opinion about corruption, addressing how it is perceived, who reports being victimized by it, and how much it is tolerated, as well as its effects on trust in the political system.⁴

Among the conclusions of that chapter, it was determined that, although one of every two Ecuadorians surveyed in 2016 thought that the majority of public officials were corrupt, they did not consider corruption to be the country's main problem. In addition, there were high levels of tolerance towards corruption, or the justification of it, a situation that had been increasing since the first survey that was carried out in Ecuador in 2004, and that reached its highest peak in 2016.⁵

The data used in that analysis was collected in Ecuador in 2016, when Rafael Correa was still president. In 2019, the year in which the last round of surveys took place in the country, several cases of corruption had been brought to light during the Correa government, including a case against his vice president, Jorge Glas, who was convicted of illicit association, while Correa himself was being prosecuted for bribery.⁶ Thus, it has been considered useful to review these perceptions

¹ Part of the text of this chapter is taken, with permission from its author, from Chapter 4 "Corruption and Democracy in Ecuador: Effects of corruption on public opinion on democracy, system support and political tolerance" from the previous report on Ecuador published by LAPOP (Moscoso 2018, Montalvo and Zechmeister, Eds.). The authors also thank Noam Lupu for allowing the use of Chapter 3 "Corruption in the Americas," contained in the 2017 LAPOP Regional Report, in this report. (Lupu 2017, Cohen, Lupu and Zechmeister, Eds.).

² Dr. Arturo Moscoso Moreno is a political scientist and lawyer, candidate for a Doctor in Rule of Law and Global Governance at the University of Salamanca, managing partner of the 50 + 1 Ecuador Political Analysis Group, Professor of Political Science at the San University Francisco de Quito and at the University of the Americas.

³ Dr. Paolo Moncagatta is Associate Full Professor at the Universidad San Francisco de Quito (Ecuador) and External Researcher at the Research and Expertise Center for Survey Methodology (Universitat Pompeu Fabra - Barcelona).

⁴ Moscoso 2018, in Montalvo and Zechmeister (Eds.).

⁵ Ibid.

⁶ GK 2019, "A Guide for Former Officials Facing Justice":

<https://gk.city/2019/07/12/exministros-correa-juicios>; La República, 2019, "Fiscal acusa de cohecho a Correa, Glas, Alexis, Víctor y otros", from: <https://www.larepublica.ec/blog/politica/2019/11/11/fiscal-acusa-cohecho-correa-glas-alexis-vinicio-y-otros>.

again using the data from the last round to show what effects these legal complaints and scandals have had on citizens' perceptions.

It should also be noted that Ecuador occupies position 114 out of 180 countries in the Transparency Index by Transparency International, with a score of 34 out of 100, which ranks Ecuador as one of the countries with the highest levels of corruption in the world.⁷

In the referenced chapter, citing Ashford and Anand, it is noted that corruption can become normalized by people through three mechanisms: 1) Institutionalization, which is the process by which the initial corrupt decisions or acts are incorporated into organizational structures and processes; 2) Rationalization, through which new ideologies are developed to justify corruption; and, 3) Socialization, which is the process by which newcomers accept it as permissible and even desirable.⁸

Thus, this chapter will review the perception, victimization, and tolerance of corruption in Ecuador, first, to see its variation in relation to the previous report, analyzing whether the corruption cases that have been made and prosecuted since the end of the period of Rafael Correa have affected Ecuadorian public opinion; second, if corruption has followed the process of "normalization," already noted in the aforementioned chapter; and third, what the relationship is between these perceptions, studying the factors that could explain tolerance towards corruption in Ecuador.

II. Key Findings

This chapter reviews the perceptions and attitudes of Ecuadorians towards corruption using data from the AmericasBarometer. Some of the key findings are:

- The perception of political corruption in Ecuador is very high: close to two of every three respondents think that "more than half" or "all" politicians are involved in acts of corruption.
- The previous finding is qualified by the fact that perceptions of political corruption are very high throughout the Latin American region, with levels over 50% in all countries, without exception.
- Ecuador is among the countries with the highest levels of corruption victimization: 26.6% of those interviewed reported having been victims of an act of corruption of some kind.

⁷ The Transparency International Index classifies 180 countries and territories according to perceived levels of corruption in the public sector by experts and business owners using a scale from 0 to 100, where 0 is highly corrupt and 100 is very clean (Corruption Perception Index, 2018). It is important to keep in mind that, in the previous index of 2017, where the data was collected in 2016 when Rafael Correa was still president, Ecuador was in 117th place with a score of 38/100, which implies an improvement in this year's index, although citizens' perceptions of corruption in Ecuador's public sector continues to be negative, despite the slight improvement.

⁸ Moscoso 2018 in Montalvo and Zechmeister (Eds.).

- Ecuador is also among the countries that show the highest levels of tolerance towards corruption, with 25.4% of respondents justifying the payment of a bribe in certain circumstances.
- In Ecuador, there is a strong relationship between corruption victimization and its tolerance: those who have admitted being victims of at least one act of corruption are significantly more likely to justify paying bribes than those who have not been victims.
- In Ecuador, it is also seen that the youngest tend to justify paying bribes more than older citizens.

III. Corruption

Corruption is a way of influencing public decisions on at least three levels: developing public policies that favor certain interest groups, applying legal regulations favorable to certain groups or people, and facilitating someone's evasion of the law.⁹ In addition, corruption in the use of public funds causes a decrease in the quality and efficiency of public services, violates the rights of equality before the law, decreases equity and justice for citizens, undermines institutional legitimacy, and diminishes political commitment and confidence in democracy, seriously affecting its stability.¹⁰ There are also several academic studies that show that corruption reduces growth and general wealth, hinders economic investment, increases economic inequality, and undermines social capital.¹¹

The economic cost of corruption is difficult to measure, but according to the World Bank, it moves approximately one billion dollars a year. On the other hand, the 2018 Transparency Index by Transparency International determined that more than two thirds of the 180 countries surveyed scored less than 50 points. In conclusion, corruption moves a lot of money and is widespread in the world.¹²

Lupu argues that, while the majority of citizens in the Americas condemn corruption, since 2010, there has been a steady increase in the proportion that tolerate it, suggesting that as more and more citizens perceive corruption as more widespread in their countries, their tolerance of it also increases.¹³

This was already pointed out by Morris in 1991 when he showed that, in Latin America, there is a strong correlation between low trust in the government and the perception that corruption is necessary to deal with bureaucracy. He also found that the citizens of the continent have a tendency to justify acts of corruption, conceiving them as necessary for the political system to function.¹⁴

⁹ Pasquino 2008.

¹⁰ Lupu 2017 in Cohen, Lupu, and Zechmeister (Eds.).

¹¹ *Ibid.*

¹² Ariely and García – Rada 2019

¹³ *Ibid.*

¹⁴ Morris 1991.

As previously noted, when corrupt behaviors spread and intensify, corruption is institutionalized and normalized among citizens, who end up considering it an acceptable and desirable way to obtain results from the political system, which erodes the system, diminishes trust in it and also diminishes interpersonal trust, affecting democracy.¹⁵

The problem is that, according to Ariely and García Rada, it seems that the mere exposure to corruption corrupts people, spreading very easily from one person to another like a disease, eroding social norms and ethics, and, once it takes root, it can be very difficult to dislodge. This is because social norms, the behavioral patterns that are accepted as normal, impact how people will behave in many situations, including those involving ethical dilemmas. That is, knowing that others are paying bribes for preferential treatment causes people to feel that it is more acceptable to pay a bribe. Similarly, thinking that others believe that paying a bribe is acceptable will make a person more comfortable in accepting a bribe. Bribery becomes the norm and affects people's moral character.¹⁶

IV. Perceptions of Corruption

To analyze citizen perception of political corruption, the 2016/17 round of the AmericasBarometer in Ecuador asked the following question:

EXC7NEW. Thinking of the politicians of [country]... how many of them do you believe are involved in corruption?
(1) None (2) Less than half of them (3) Half of them (4) More than half of them (5) All

In the previous rounds the following question had been asked:¹⁷

EXC7. Taking into account your own experience or what you have heard, corruption among public officials is
(1) Very common (2) Common (3) Uncommon or (4) Very uncommon?

In the 2018/19 round, the two questions were asked, each one to half of the sample.

Thus, the results of the 2016/17 round to the **EXC7NEW** question showed that one in two Ecuadorians believed that all or more than half of politicians were involved in corruption.¹⁸ Regarding the perceptions of Ecuadorians in relation to how widespread corruption is among the country's politicians in the 2018/19 round (Question **EXC7**), in Figure 6.1, we find that close to a third of the sample believes that "all politicians are involved in corruption" and another third believes that "more than half" are.

¹⁵ Seligson 2002.

¹⁶ Ariely and García – Rada 2019

¹⁷ This wording was used until 2014. With the change, no temporal comparisons can be made between 2016 and the other years.

¹⁸ Moscoso 2018 in Montalvo and Zechmeister (Eds.).

In summary, nearly two out of three Ecuadorians (64.3%) believe that more than half or all of the country's politicians are involved in acts of corruption. And if the people who answered "half of the politicians" are taken into account, an alarming 88.1% of the sample perceive that half, more than half, or all politicians are involved in corruption.

It can be seen, then, that the perception of political corruption by Ecuadorians has been increasing since the previous round, which could be due to the corruption scandals that have arisen since the end of Rafael Correa's government, as noted previously.

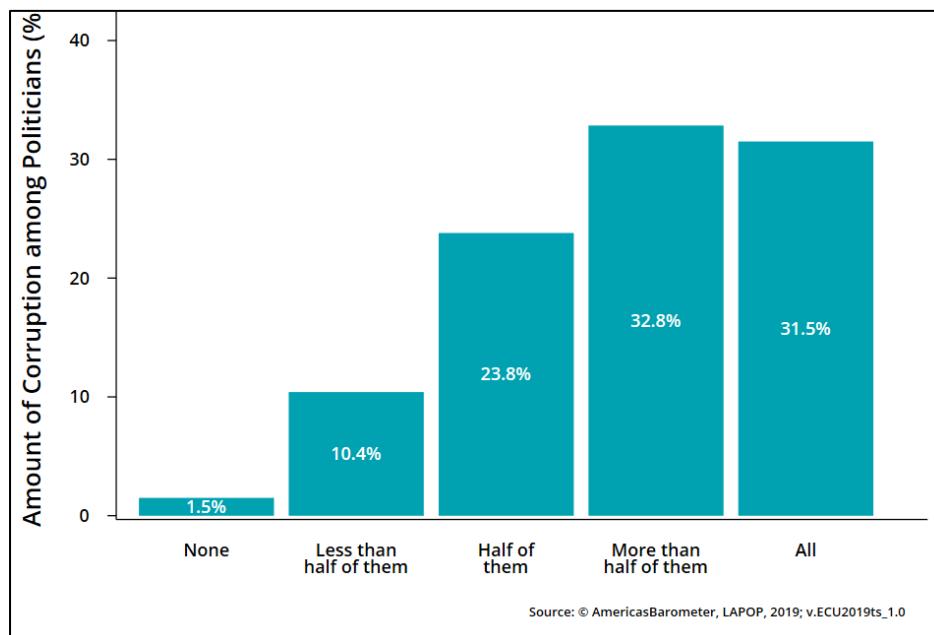


Figure 6.1. Perception of Political Corruption, Ecuador 2019

How do perceptions of political corruption in Ecuador compare with the rest of Latin American and Caribbean countries? Figure 6.2 presents the percentages of respondents from each country that answered "more than half" or "all" to the question about the number of politicians involved in corruption.

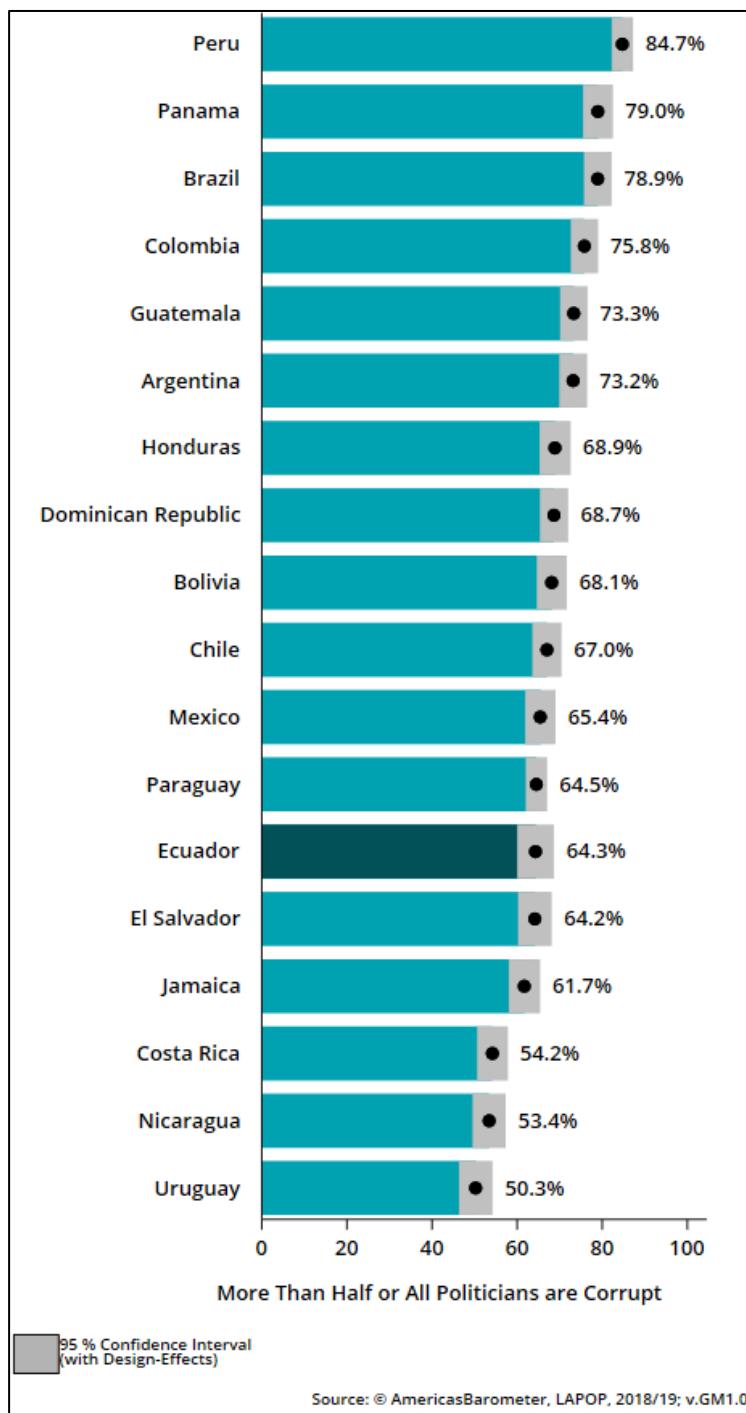


Figure 6.2. Perceptions of Political Corruption in Latin America and the Caribbean, 2018/19

Despite the fact that the percentage of Ecuadorian respondents who perceive that "more than half" or "all" the politicians of their country are involved in acts of corruption is high, Figure 6.2 shows that Ecuador is not among the countries in the region with the highest perception of political corruption by its citizens. Without exception, in all the countries included in Figure 6.2, more than 50% of those surveyed believed that at least "more than half" of politicians are involved in corruption. The case with the lowest level of perception is Uruguay, which is usually considered

a country where democracy is strongly consolidated and, even there, 50.3% of the population perceives high levels of political corruption. The levels in countries such as Peru, Panama, or Brazil, which approach or exceed 80% of citizens, are extremely high. In general terms, it can be seen that Latin American societies perceive high levels of corruption in their political leaders.

Regarding the perception of corruption in public officials corresponding to question EXC7, according to Figure 6.3, it is found that a high percentage, corresponding to 45.7% of respondents, perceive corruption as very widespread in the country and 22% perceive it as somewhat widespread, which could also be explained by the corruption cases that have come to light since Rafael Correa left office.

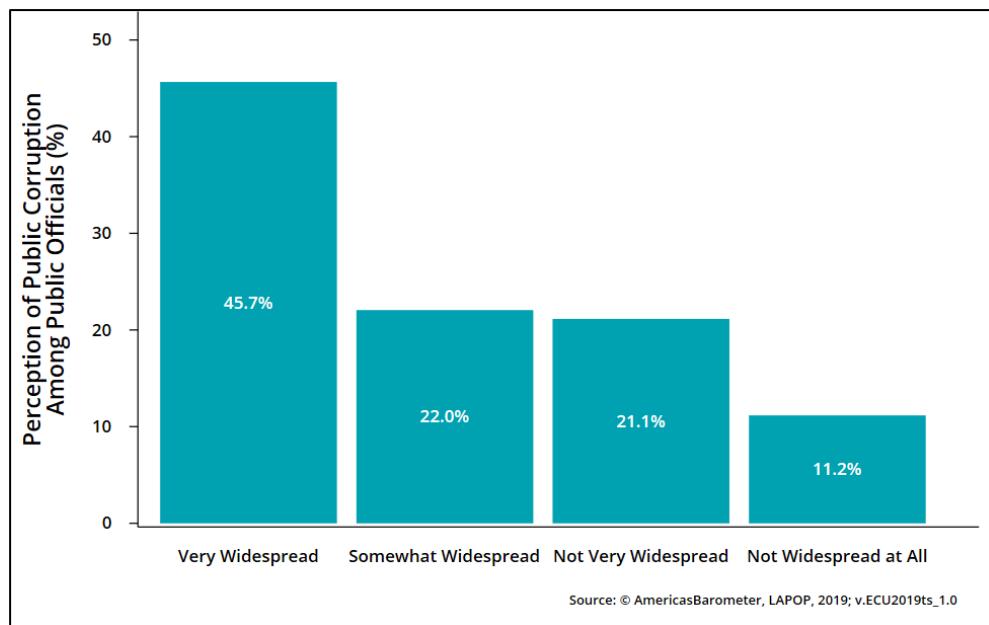


Figure 6.3. Perceptions of Political Corruption, Ecuador 2019

V. Victimization by Corruption

Corruption can take place in a variety of contexts and can take different forms. To measure corruption victimization, the AmericasBarometer investigates the first-hand experiences citizens have had with it in a variety of institutions, using the following battery of questions:

	N/A Did not try or did not have contact	No	Yes
EXC2. Has a police officer asked you for a bribe in the last twelve months?	---	0	1
EXC6. In the last twelve months, did any government employee ask you for a bribe?	---	0	1
EXC11. In the last twelve months, did you have any official dealings in the municipality/local government? In the last twelve months, to process any kind of document in your municipal government, like a permit for example, did you have to pay any money above that required by law?	999999	0	1
EXC13. Do you work? In your work, have you been asked to pay a bribe in the last twelve months?	999999	0	1
EXC14. In the last twelve months, have you had any dealings with the courts? Did you have to pay a bribe to the courts in the last twelve months?	999999	0	1
EXC15. Have you used any public health services in the last twelve months? In order to be seen in a hospital or a clinic in the last twelve months, did you have to pay a bribe?	999999	0	1
EXC16. Have you had a child in school in the last twelve months? Have you had to pay a bribe at school in the last twelve months?	999999	0	1

Figure 6.4 shows the percentages of respondents who reported having been a victim of corruption, in at least one of the instances measured by the AmericasBarometer, between 2004 and 2019. As the graph illustrates, the highest level of victimization by corruption was experienced in 2012, when 40.9% of those interviewed reported having been ordered to pay a bribe of some kind. From 2014 onwards, the percentages reporting having been victims of corruption have demonstrated stability, with around one in four respondents reporting being victimized by corruption.

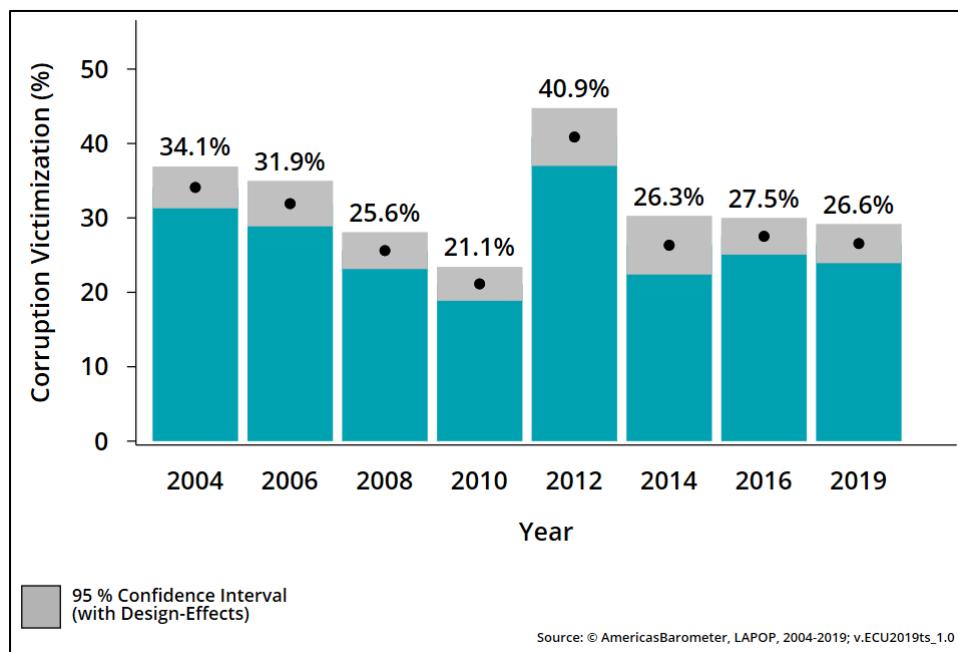


Figure 6.4. Victimization by Corruption over Time in Ecuador

With regional percentages being stable at around 20% year after year,¹⁹ it can be clearly distinguished that Ecuador is above the region's averages. However, beginning in 2014 and including the results of the 2019 round, the percentages seen in the country remain stable, from which it could be concluded that the corruption reported in Correa's government has not had significant effects on perceptions of victimization by corruption.

How does Ecuador compare to the region in terms of victimization by corruption? Figure 6.5 illustrates the percentages of people who report being victims of acts of corruption in Latin America and the Caribbean in the 2018/19 AmericasBarometer.

¹⁹ Lupu 2017, p. 55.

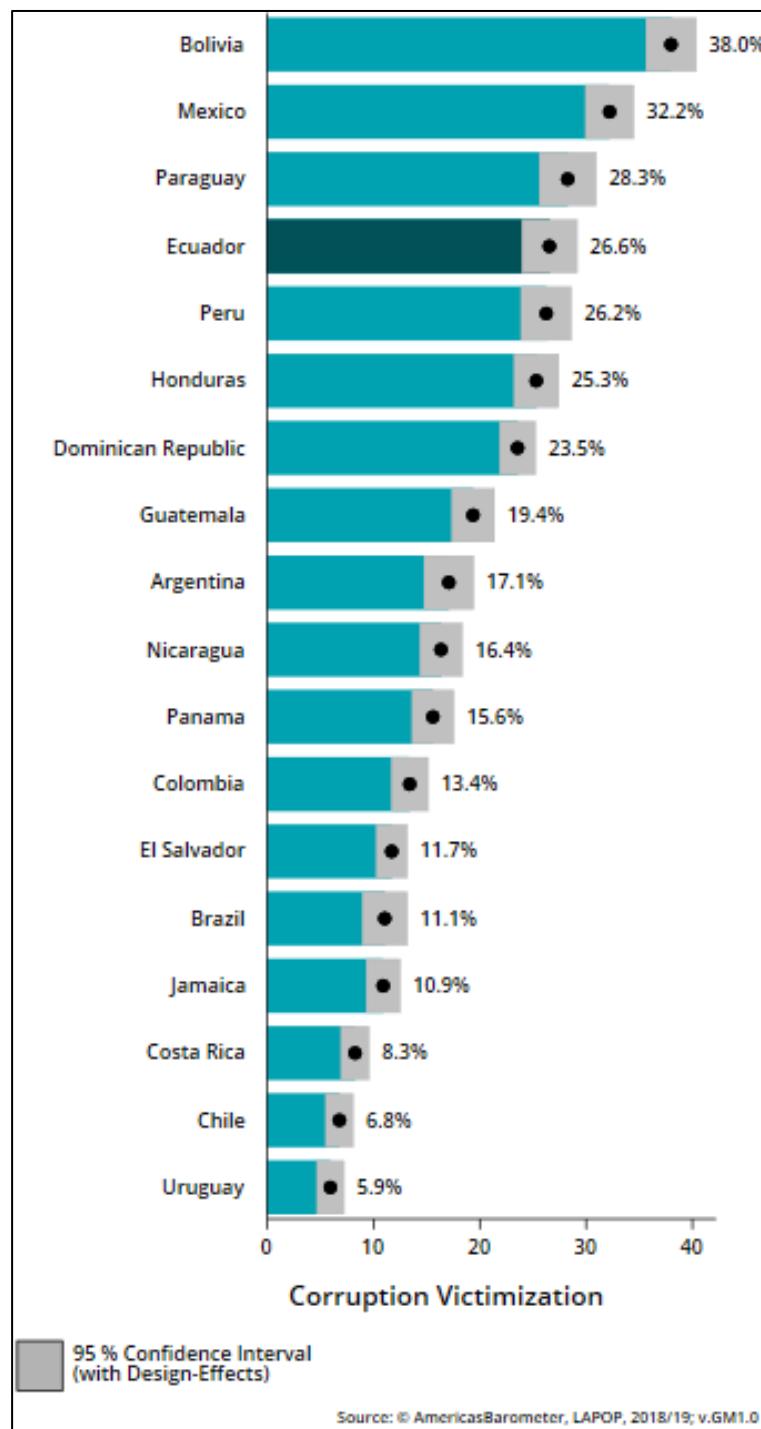


Figure 6.5. Victimization by Corruption in Latin America and the Caribbean, 2018/19

Although, in terms of perception of political corruption, Ecuador is not among the countries with the highest levels, Figure 6.5 shows that it is among the highest in terms of corruption victimization. Ecuador is the fourth country, in order of highest to lowest number of victims of corruption, with 26.6% of respondents reporting victimization by corruption. (It is also one of only six countries where more than a quarter of the respondents answered positively to the indicator of victimization by corruption.) The nations in which fewer people report having been

victims of corruption are, again, those that have been considered the region's most consolidated democracies: Uruguay, Chile, and Costa Rica, where less than 10% of the respondents report having been victimized.

VI. Tolerance towards Corruption

Finally, this chapter reviews whether Ecuadorians find justifications for paying bribes. To assess tolerance towards corruption, the AmericasBarometer asks the following question:

	N/A Did not try or did not have contact	No	Yes
EXC18. Do you think given the way things are, sometimes paying a bribe is justified?	---	0	1

Figure 6.6 presents the evolution of the percentages of Ecuadorians, between 2004 and 2019, who consider whether, on certain occasions, it is justifiable to pay a bribe. It can be seen that approximately one in four Ecuadorians justify paying a bribe in 2019. This level increased significantly from 2014, when 13.6% reported such a belief, to 27.52% in 2016. Since then, it has remained relatively stable.

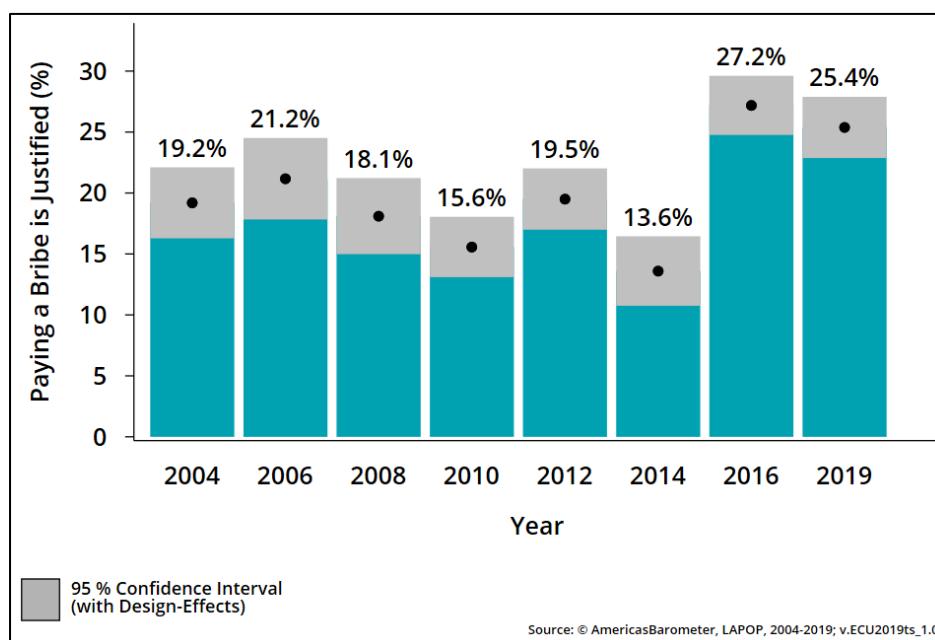


Figure 6.6. Tolerance towards Corruption Over Time in Ecuador

At the regional level, Ecuador appears as one of the countries that is most tolerant of corruption in Latin America and the Caribbean. Figure 6.7 illustrates how, in 2019, 25.4% of respondents (a percentage very similar to that of corruption victimization) admit to tolerating corruption on

certain occasions. This percentage places it, once again, in fourth place in terms of greater to less tolerance, this time behind Jamaica, Honduras, and the Dominican Republic.

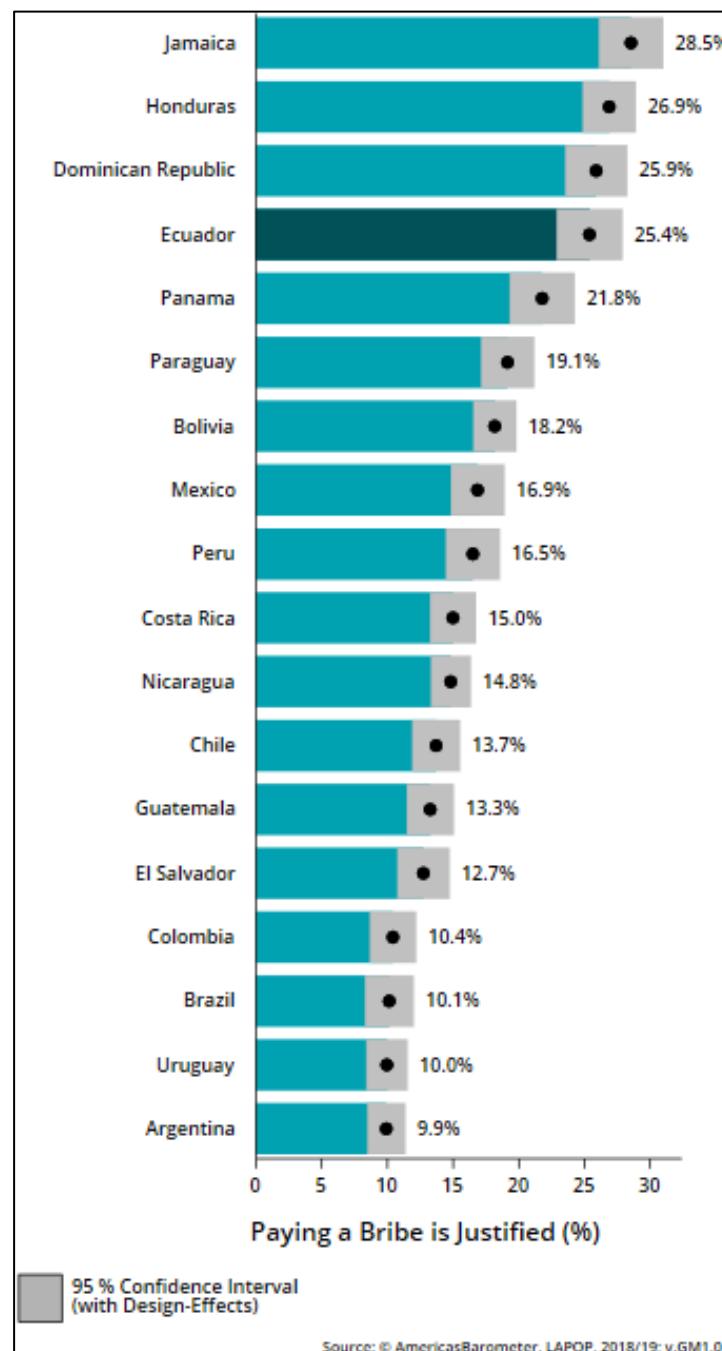


Figure 6.7. Tolerance of Corruption in Latin America and the Caribbean, 2018/19

Possible Determinants of Tolerance for Corruption

What types of citizens are more likely to tolerate corruption? This section explores the factors that could explain tolerance towards corruption in Ecuador using data from the 2019 AmericasBarometer. To do this, a logistic regression model is performed using the tolerance indicator against corruption presented above (EXC18) as the dependent variable. Possible predictors of tolerance include variables related to corruption (perception of corruption and corruption victimization), variables related to political attitudes, evaluations of the economy (both idiotropic and sociotropic), and a group of demographic and socio-economic factors including gender, age, education, wealth, and urban vs. rural residence.²⁰ Figure 6.8 illustrates the results of the logistic regression model.²¹

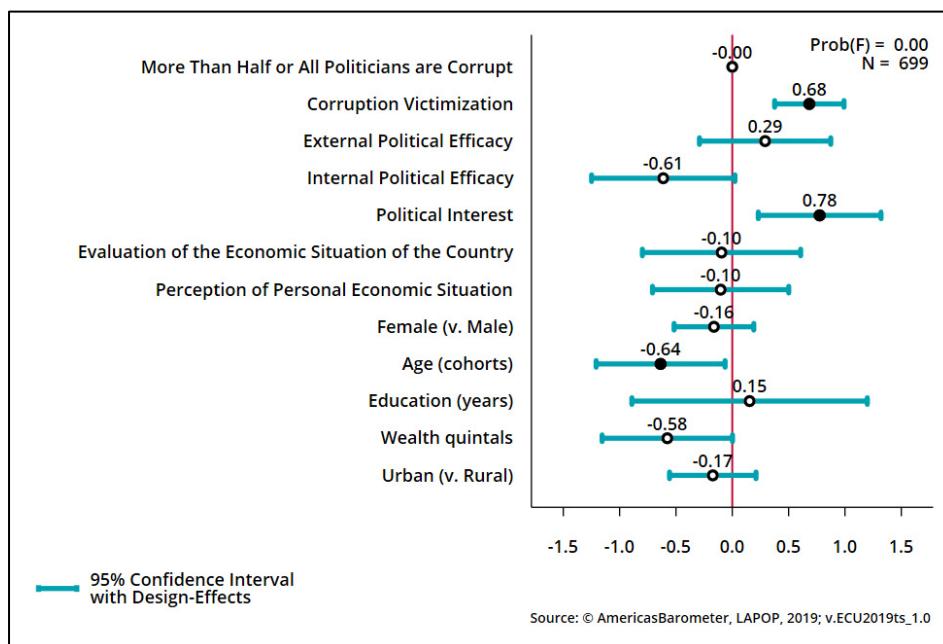


Figure 6.8. Predictors of Tolerance of Corruption, Ecuador 2019

Figure 6.8 reveals an important positive coefficient of the variable “victimization by corruption.” This could suggest that corruption acts as a kind of vicious circle: those who have been victims of some kind of corruption are much more likely to justify paying a bribe. This finding confirms what Lupu previously found in his analysis of citizen attitudes towards corruption in the Americas: those who are most exposed to corruption are also the ones who tolerate it the most.²² The causal direction of the relationship between tolerance for corruption and victimization by it is not clear; but it is evident that there is a significant relationship between the two. What may be surprising is that the perception of corruption does not demonstrate any significant effect on tolerance for

²⁰ Before estimating the model, a rescale of independent variables was performed, recoding all of them on the same 0 to 1 scale. For details on the survey questions used to measure each concept, refer to “Appendix 1: Questions Used as Independent Variables in the Regression Analysis.”

²¹ Non-standardized coefficients are reported, along with their confidence intervals. The coefficients illustrated with a black dot are statistically significant ($p < 0.05$). For the full results of the regression analysis, refer to “Appendix 2: Results of the Logistic Regression Analysis of Tolerance for Corruption.”

²² Lupu 2017, p. 66. In Cohen, Lupu, and Zechmeister (Eds.).

corruption. There is no relationship between perceiving whether corruption is more or less widespread among the country's politicians and the probability of justifying the payment of bribes.

Another variable that shows a positive and statistically significant effect is that of interest in politics: those who say they are more interested in politics have a significantly higher probability of justifying bribes. This finding is interesting, as it can illustrate the fact that corruption is a central part of Ecuadorian political culture. Although it is early to come to this conclusion with just this analysis, it would seem that those most interested in politics are those who most justify corruption.

On the other hand, a single significant effect is found between demographic and socio-economic factors. Age is seen to have a negative effect on tolerance towards corruption: Ecuadorians of older generations are less likely to justify the payment of a bribe.

VII. Conclusion

This chapter has examined the perception, victimization by and tolerance of corruption in Ecuador, highlighting, in the first instance, its variation in relation to the previous report, to see if the corruption cases that have been made and prosecuted since the end of the period of Rafael Correa have affected these perceptions. Similarly, this chapter has analyzed whether corruption has followed a process of "normalization", as already noted in the chapter on corruption in the aforementioned report. Finally, this chapter studies how the relationship between these perceptions and the factors that influence tolerance of corruption in Ecuador.

Thus, in the first place, it should be noted that, in 2016, one in two Ecuadorians thought that the majority of public officials are corrupt, but in turn, the citizens interviewed did not consider corruption to be a main problem facing the country. For the 2018/2019 round, the results show that close to two out of every three Ecuadorians (64.3%) believe that more than half of the country's politicians are involved in acts of corruption and, in addition, a very high 88.1% perceive that at least half of politicians are involved in corruption. Regarding the perception of corruption in public officials, corresponding to question EXC7, it is also found that 45.7% of respondents perceive corruption as very widespread in the country and 22% perceive it as somewhat widespread. These figures could be an indicator that the corruption scandals that have been emerging since the end of Rafael Correa's government have caused Ecuadorian perceptions of political corruption to increase since the previous round.

Then, in terms of victimization by corruption, it can be seen that between the 2016/17 round and the 2018/19 round, there have been almost no variations in terms of those who claim to have been victims of corruption, which could slightly contradict the perception of corruption by the majority of respondents, which has increased since the last round. It would then be understood that victimization is not being influenced by the perception of corruption, which has likely increased due to recent corruption scandals, rather than by personal experiences with corruption.

Finally, regarding tolerance of corruption, the results reveal that respondents have high levels of tolerance for corruption and justifying it. This is a situation that has been increasing since the first

survey carried out in Ecuador in 2004 and, in 2016, reached its highest peak, decreasing slightly but not significantly in 2019, when approximately one in four Ecuadorians justify paying a bribe, placing Ecuador as one of the countries that is most tolerant of corruption in Latin America and the Caribbean.

Regarding the factors that influence tolerance or justification of corruption, it can be seen that those who most justify corruption are those who report having been victimized by it. On the other hand, the perception of the level of corruption does not affect the tolerance that respondents may have for it. In other words, there is a high perception of public corruption, but as for personal experiences, it tends to be tolerated and justified by citizens, even if they have been victims of it.

These results seem to support the theory that, in Ecuador, corruption has been normalized in the terms described by Morris, Ashforth and Anand, Lupu, and Ariely and García-Rada, making corrupt practices the expected medium in any transaction that is carried out between citizens and public officials, institutionalizing, socializing, and normalizing it among themselves, which has serious and worrying effects on people's trust in the political system and democracy.²³

²³ Seligson 2003

Appendices

Appendix 1. Questions Used as Independent Variables in Regression Analysis

Perception of High Corruption

Thinking of the politicians of [country]... how many of them do you believe are involved in corruption? (1) None (2) Less than half of them (3) Half of them (4) More than half of them (5) All. The values “4” and “5” are record as “perception of high corruption.”

Corruption Victimization

Corruption victimization indicator described in the text, based on the questions EXC2, EXC6, EXC11, EXC13, EXC14, EXC15, EXC16.

External Political Efficacy

Those who govern this country are interested in what people like you think. How much do you agree or disagree with this statement? Using a ladder where 1 means “strongly disagree” and 7 means “strongly agree.”

Internal Political Efficacy

You feel that you understand the most important political issues of this country. How much do you agree or disagree with this statement? Using a ladder where 1 means “strongly disagree” and 7 means “strongly agree.”

Political Interest

How much interest do you have in politics: a lot, some, little or none?

(1) A lot (2) Some (3) Little (4) None

Evaluation of the Country's Economic Situation

Do you think that the country's current economic situation is better than, the same as or worse than it was 12 months ago? (1) Better (2) Same (3) Worse

Evaluation of Personal Economic Situation

Do you think that your economic situation is better than, the same as, or worse than it was 12 months ago? (1) Better (2) Same (3) Worse

Female (vs. Male)

Recorded by the interviewer, not asked: (0) Male (1) Female.

Age (cohorts)

(1) 16-25 (2) 26-35 (3) 36-45 (4) 46-55 (5) 56-65 (6) 66+

Education (years)

Continuous variable, measure din years. Range: 0 (no years of education) -> 18 (18 or more years of education).

Wealth Quintiles

Variable based on LAPOP's "Index of Relative Wealth," constructed from information on possession of household goods of the interviewee (see Córdova 2008).

Urban (vs. Rural)

Recorded by the interviewer, using census information: (0) Rural (1) Urban

Appendix 2. Results of the Logistic Regression Analysis of Tolerance of Corruption

	Tolerance of Corruption
Perception of High Levels of Corruption	-0.002 (0.205)
Victimization by Corruption	0.684*** (0.155)
External Political Efficacy	0.291 (0.293)
Internal Political Efficacy	-0.613 (0.320)
Interest in Politics	0.775** (0.274)
Evaluation of the Country's Economic Situation	-0.096 (0.353)
Evaluations of One's Personal Situation	-0.103 (0.304)
Female (vs. Male)	-0.163 (0.178)
Age (Cohorts)	-0.636* (0.287)
Education (Years)	0.154 (0.525)
Wealth Quintiles	-0.577 (0.291)
Urban (vs. Rural)	-0.173 (0.193)
Obs.	699

Standard errors in parentheses

*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

References

- Almagro, Luis. 2019. "Defending Democracy and Human Rights in the Western Hemisphere." *PRISM* 8 (1): 2–11.
- Ariely Dan, and X. García – Rada. 2019. "Contagious Dishonesty". *Scientific American* 321(3): 63–66.
- Ashforth, B. E., and V. Anand. 2003. *The Normalization of Corruption in Organizations*. In R. M. Kramer and B. M. Staw (eds.). *Research in Organizational Behavior*, Vol. 25. JAI Press. New York. pp. 1-52.
- Baumgartner, J. C., & Morris, J. S. (2010). "Myfacetube politics: Social networking web sites and political engagement of young adults." *Social Science Computer Review* 28(1): 24–44.
- Basabe-Serrano, Santiago, and Julián Martínez. 2014. "Ecuador: Cada vez menos democracia, cada vez más autoritarismo... con elecciones". *Revista de Ciencia Política* 34(1): 145–70.
- Bermeo, Nancy. 2016. "On Democratic Backsliding." *Journal of Democracy* 27 (1): 5-19.
- Bobbio, Norberto. 1996. *Derecha e izquierda: razones y significados de una distinción política*. Madrid, España: Taurus.
- Bradshaw, S., and P. N. Howard. 2018. *Challenging Truth and Trust: A Global Inventory of Organized Social Media Manipulation*. Consultado en <http://comprop.ox.ac.uk/wp-content/uploads/sites/93/2018/07/ct2018.pdf>.
- Booth, John, and Mitchell A. Seligson. 2009. *The Legitimacy Puzzle in Latin America: Political Support and Democracy in Eight Nations*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Bradshaw, S., & Howard, P. N. 2018. *Challenging Truth and Trust: A Global Inventory of Organized Social Media Manipulation*. Retrieved from <http://comprop.ox.ac.uk/wp-content/uploads/sites/93/2018/07/ct2018.pdf>
- Capetti, Pedro. 2019. "Decisivos na campanha, grupos bolsonaristas no WhatsApp agora atuam para desfazer crises." O Globo, May 19. Retrieved from <https://oglobo.globo.com/brasil/decisivos-na-campanha-grupos-bolsonaristas-no-whatsapp-agora-atuam-para-desfazer-crises-23676755>.
- Carlin, Ryan, and Matthew Singer. 2011. "Support for Polyarchy in the Americas." *Comparative Political Studies* 44 (11): 1500–1526.
- Center, P. R. 2018. "Social Media Use Continues to Rise in Developing Countries but Plateaus Across Developed Ones." Pew Research Center Report.
- Ceron, A. 2015. "Internet, News, and Political Trust: The Difference between Social Media and Online Media Outlets." *Journal of Computer-Mediated Communication* 20(5): 487–503.
- Ceron, A., & Memoli, V. 2016. "Flames and Debates: Do Social Media Affect Satisfaction with Democracy?" *Social Indicators Research*, 126(1), 225–240.
- Churchill, Winston. 1947. House of Commons. Hansard, November 11, 1947, col. 206.
- Claassen, Christopher. 2019. "Does Public Support Help Democracy Survive?" *American Journal of Political Science*. Forthcoming.

- Cohen, Mollie J. 2017. "Chapter One: Support for Electoral Democracy in the Americas." In *The Political Culture of Democracy in the Americas, 2016/17*, Eds. Mollie J. Cohen, Noam Lupu, and Elizabeth Zechmeister, (1-26). https://www.vanderbilt.edu/lapop/ab2016/AB2016-17_Comparative_Report_English_V2_FINAL_090117_W.pdf
- Dahl, Robert A. 2008. *On Democracy*. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- Conaghan, Catherine M. 2016. "Delegative Democracy Revisited: Ecuador Under Correa". *Journal of Democracy* 27(3): 109-18.
- Converse, Philip E. 1964. "The Nature of Belief Systems in Mass Publics". In *Ideology and Discontent*, ed. David E. Apter. London: Free Press of Glencoe, 206-61.
- Córdova, Abby. 2008. "Nota metodológica: midiendo riqueza relativa utilizando indicadores sobre bienes del hogar". *Perspectivas desde el Barómetro de las Américas* No. 6. Reviewed in <https://www.vanderbilt.edu/lapop/insights/I0806es.pdf>.
- Corrales, Javier. 2019. "From Bolivia, Sad Lessons on How to Fix Semi-Democracies". *The New York Times*. Reviewed in: <https://www.nytimes.com/2019/11/15/opinion/bolivia-morales.html>
- Dahl, Robert A. 2008. *On Democracy*. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- Dahl, Robert A. 1971. *Polyarchy: Participation and Opposition*. New Haven: New Haven Press.
- Dalton, Russell. 2004. *Democratic Challenges, Democratic Choices: The Erosion of Political Support in Advanced Industrial Democracies*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- De la Torre, Carlos. 2013. "Latin America's Authoritarian Drift: Technocratic Populism in Ecuador". *Journal of Democracy* 24(3): 33-46.
- Diamond, Larry, and Marc F. Plattner. 2015. *Democracy in Decline?* Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.
- Diamond, Larry. 1999. *Developing Democracy: Toward Consolidation*. Baltimore: JHU Press.
- Diamond, Larry. 1994. "Toward Democratic Consolidation." *Journal of Democracy* 5 (3): 4-17.
- Downs, Anthony. 1957. *An Economic Theory of Democracy*. New York, NY: Harper & Row.
- Easton, David. 1975. "A Re-Assessment of the Concept of Political Support." *British Journal of Political Science* 5 (4): 435-457.
- Easton, David. 1965. *A Systems Analysis of Political Life*. New York: Wiley.
- El Comercio. 2019. "Decreto 826 fija visa para ciudadanos de Venezuela y amnistía para inmigrantes que no han violado la ley en Ecuador". Reviewed in <https://www.elcomercio.com/actualidad/decreto-visa-amnistia-venezolanos-ecuador.html>
- El Telégrafo. 2019. "Presidente de Ecuador anuncia brigadas para controlar inmigrantes venezolanos". Reviewed in <https://www.eltelegrafo.com.ec/noticias/judicial/12/presidente-de-ecuador-anuncia-brigadas-para-controlar-inmigrantes-venezolanos>

- El Telégrafo. 2018. "El país pedirá ayuda internacional para atender el flujo de venezolanos". Reviewed in <https://www.eltelegrafo.com.ec/noticias/politica/3/ecuador-asistencia-migracion-venezolana>
- El Universo. 2019a. "Fallece mujer embarazada, tras recibir varias puñaladas de su pareja; ocurrió en Ibarra". Reviewed in <https://www.eluniverso.com/noticias/2019/01/20/nota/7147622/hombre-asesino-su-pareja-que-tenia-cuatro-meses-embarazo-ocurrio>
- El Universo. 2019b. "Ciudadanía indignada por muerte de Diana Carolina en Ibarra, se autoconvoca para una marcha". Reviewed in <https://www.eluniverso.com/noticias/2019/01/20/nota/7149413/ciudadania-indignada-muerte-diana-carolina-ibarra-se-autoconvoca>
- Feldman, Stanley, and Christopher Johnston. 2014. "Understanding the Determinants of Political Ideology: Implications of Structural Complexity". *Political Psychology* 35(3): 337-58.
- Freedom House. 2019. *Freedom in the World*. Reviewed in: <https://freedomhouse.org/report-types/freedom-world>.
- Freidenberg, Flavia. 2006. "Izquierda vs. derecha Polarización ideológica y competencia en el sistema de partidos ecuatoriano". *Política y Gobierno* XIII (2): 237-78.
- Freidenberg, Flavia. 2015. "¡En tierra de caciques! Liderazgos populistas y democracia en Ecuador". *Opera* 16: 99-130.
- Freidenberg, Flavia, and Simón Pachano. 2016. *El Sistema Político Ecuatoriano*. Quito: FLACSO Ecuador.
- Gian, D. 2018. "Estrategia WhatsApp 2019: Cómo captar votos por chat." *Noticias*, November 22. Retrieved from <https://noticias.perfil.com/2018/11/22/estrategia-whatsapp-2019-como-captar-votos-por-chat/>.
- Gainous, J., Wagner, K., & Gray, T. 2016. "Internet freedom and social media effects: Democracy and citizen attitudes in Latin America." *Online Information Review* 40(5): 712-738.
- GK. 2019. "Una guía de exfuncionarios que enfrentan a la justicia". Consultado en: <https://gk.city/2019/07/12/exministros-correa-juicios>
- Graber, D. A., and Holyk, G. G. 2011. "The News Industry." *The Oxford Handbook of American Public Opinion and the Media*, pp. 1-17.
- Hanson, G., Haridakis, P. M., Wagstaff Cunningham, A., Sharma, R., and Ponder, J. D. 2013. "The 2008 Presidential Campaign: Political Cynicism in the Age of Facebook, MySpace and YouTube." *Mass Communication and Society* 13(5): 584-607.
- Haugaard, Lisa. 2018. *Protest Met with Brutal Repression: A Summary of Human Rights Abuses in Post-Electoral Honduras*. Report by Latin American Working Group Education Fund. URL: <https://www.lawg.org/protest-met-with-brutal-repression-a-summary-of-human-rights-abuses-in-post-electoral-honduras/>.
- Helmke, Gretchen. 2010. "The Origins of Institutional Crises in Latin America." *American Journal of Political Science* 54 (3): 737-750.

- Hetherington, Marc J. 1998. "The Political relevance of Political Trust." *American Political Science Review* 92(4): 791-808.
- Hirschman Albert O. 1970. *Exit, Voice, and Loyalty: Responses to Decline in Firms, Organizations, and States*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- Human Rights Watch. 2019. "Nicaragua: Events in 2018." World Report 2019. URL: <https://www.hrw.org/world-report/2019/country-chapters/nicaragua>.
- Huntington, Samuel. 1991. *The Third Wave: Democratization in the Late Twentieth Century*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press.
- Inglehart, Ronald 1988. "Cultura política y democracia estable". *Revista Española de Investigaciones Sociológicas* 42: 45-65
- Johnson, T. J., & Kaye, B. K. 2015. "Site Effects: How Reliance on Social Media Influences Confidence in the Government and News Media." *Social Science Computer Review* 33(2): 127-144.
- Kahneman, Daniel. 2014. "Pensar rápido, pensar despacio". Barcelona.
- Kahneman, Daniel y Amos Tversky. 1974. "Judgment under Uncertainty". *Science* 185 (4157): 1124-1131
- Kizgina, Hatice, Ahmad Jamalb, Nripendra Ranaa, Yogesh Dwivedia, and Vishanth Weerakkodyc. 2018. The impact of social networking sites on socialization and political engagement: Role of acculturation. *Technological Forecasting and Social Change*, Volume 145, August 2019, pgs. 503-512.
- Klingemann, Hans-Dieter. 1999. "Mapping political support in the 1990s: A global analysis." In *Critical Citizens: Global support for democratic government*, Ed. Pippa Norris, 31-56.
- La República. 2019. "Fiscal acusa de cohecho a Correa, Glas, Alexis, Vinicio y otros". Reviewed in <https://www.larepublica.ec/blog/politica/2019/11/11/fiscal-acusa-cohecho-correa-glas-alexis-vinicio-y-otros/>
- Levitsky, Steven, and Kenneth M. Roberts. 2011. "Latin America's "Left Turn": A Framework for Analysis. In *The resurgence of the Latin American left*, eds. Steven Levitsky, and Kenneth M. Roberts. Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1-28.
- Levitsky, Steven, and Lucan A. Way. 2012. "Beyond Patronage: Violent Struggle, Ruling Party Cohesion, and Authoritarian Durability." *Perspectives on Politics* 10 (4): 869-889.
- Levitsky, Steven, and Lucan A. Way. 2010. *Competitive Authoritarianism: Hybrid Regimes After the Cold War*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Linde, Jonas, and Joakim Ekman. 2003. "Satisfaction with Democracy; A Note on the Frequently Used Indicator in Comparative Politics." *European Journal of Political Research* 42: 391-408.
- Linz, Juan J., and Alfred C. Stepan. 1996. "Toward Consolidated Democracies." *Journal of Democracy* 7 (2): 14-33.
- Lipset, Seymour Martin. 1963. *Political Man: The Social Bases of Politics*. Garden City, NY: Doubleday.
- Lipset, Seymour Martin. 1959. "Some Social Requisites of Democracy: Economic Development and Political Legitimacy." *American Political Science Review* 53(1): 69-105.

- Lührmann, Anna, and Staffan I. Lindberg. 2019. "A Third Wave of Autocratization is Here: What is New About It?" *Democratization*. Forthcoming.
- Luna, Juan Pablo, and Cristóbal Rovira Kaltwasser. 2014. *The resilience of the Latin American right*. Baltimore. MD: Johns Hopkins University Press.
- Lupu, Noam. 2017. Chapter 3. Corruption in the Americas. In *The Political Culture of Democracy in The Americas: A Comparative Study of Democracy and Governance*. Mollie J Cohen, Noam Lupu y Elizabeth J. Zechmeister (Eds.). Nashville. USAID, Vanderbilt University, Latin American Public Opinion Project LAPOP 2016-17, 52.
- McAdam, Doug, Sidney Tarrow, and Charles Tilly. 1996. "To Map Contentious Politics". *Mobilization* 1(1): 17-34
- Meléndez, Carlos, and Paolo Moncagatta. 2017. "Ecuador: Una Década de Correísmo". *Revista de Ciencia Política* 37(2): 413-47.
- Meyer, Peter J., and Maureen Taft-Morales. June 13, 2019. "Central American Migration: Root Causes and U.S. Policy." Congressional Research Service In Focus IF11151. URL: <https://fas.org/sgp/crs/row/IF11151.pdf>.
- Miri, I. 2019. "Elecciones 2019: Cómo es la 'campaña anárquica', la nueva apuesta de Marcos Peña para conseguir votantes por WhatsApp." *Clarín*, July 10. Retrieved from https://www.clarin.com/politica/campana-anarquica-nueva-apuesta-marcos-peña-conseguir-votantes-whatsapp_0_EpG9y92t5.html.
- Moncagatta, Paolo. 2015. "Cambios en el voto por Rafael Correa". *Carta Económica - Corporación de Estudios para el Desarrollo (CORDES)* 21(5): 4-6.
- Moncagatta, Paolo, and Carlos Espinosa. 2019. "No Country for the Right Wing? Actores, trayectoria, oferta y demanda de la derecha en Ecuador". *Colombia Internacional* 99: 121-50.
- Moncagatta, Paolo, and Camila Montero. 2018. "Actitudes hacia la democracia en Ecuador: Apoyo y satisfacción con la democracia al término del mandato de Rafael Correa". In *Cultura política de la democracia en Ecuador y en las Américas, 2016/17: Un estudio comparado sobre democracia y gobernabilidad*, eds. Juan Carlos Donoso et al. Quito, Ecuador: Universidad de las Américas (UDLA) / Vanderbilt University, 59-80.
- Moncagatta, Paolo, and Ana Safranoff. 2013. "¿Quién apoya a la izquierda 'populista' latinoamericana?". *Revista Mexicana de Análisis Político y Administración Pública* 2(1): 29-48.
- Moraes, Juan Andrés. 2015. "The Electoral Basis of Ideological Polarization in Latin America". *Kellogg Institute for International Studies*. Documento de trabajo #403. Reviewed in https://kellogg.nd.edu/sites/default/files/old_files/documents/403_0.pdf.
- Morgan, Jana. 2018. "Deterioration and Polarization of Party Politics in Venezuela." In *Party Systems in Latin America: Institutionalization, Decay and Collapse*. In Scott Mainwaring, ed. New York: Cambridge University Press, pp. 291-325.
- Morris, Stephen D. 1991. *Corruption & Politics in Contemporary Mexico*. Alabama. University of Alabama Press.

- Moscoso, Arturo. 2018. "Corrupción y democracia en Ecuador: Efectos de la corrupción en la opinión pública sobre la democracia, el apoyo al sistema y la tolerancia política". In *Cultura política de la democracia en Ecuador y en las Américas, 2016/17: Un estudio comparado sobre democracia y gobernabilidad*. In J. D. Montalvo and E. J. Zechmeister (Eds.). Quito: LAPOP, 50+1 Ecuador, UDLA.
- Murillo, María Victoria, and G. Visconti. 2017. "Economic Performance and Incumbent Support in Latin America". *Electoral Studies* 25: 180-190
- Nemer, D. 2018. "WhatsApp has proved to be the ideal tool for mobilizing political support – and for spreading fake news." *The Guardian*, October 25. Retrieved from <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2018/oct/25/brazil-president-jair-bolsonaro-whatsapp-fake-news>.
- New York Times. 2019. "La xenofobia en Ecuador empuja a migrantes venezolanos a salir del país". Reviewed in <https://www.nytimes.com/es/2019/01/28/espanol/ecuador-ibarra-venezolanos.html>
- Norris, Pippa. 1999. "Introduction: The Growth of Critical Citizens?" In *Critical Citizens: Global Support for Democratic Government*. Ed. Pippa Norris. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Norris, Pippa, and Max Grömping. 2019. *Electoral Integrity Worldwide*. Electoral Integrity Project. URL: <https://www.electoralintegrityproject.com/>.
- Norris, Pippa, and Ronald Inglehart. 2019. *Cultural Backlash: Trump, Brexit, and Authoritarian Populism*, Nueva York: Cambridge University Press.
- Ofosu Eugene K., Michelle K. Chambers, Jacqueline M. Chen, and Eric Hehman. 2019. Same-sex marriage legalization associated with reduced implicit and explicit antigay bias, *PNAS*, April, 2019, 116.
- Pachano, Simón. 2010. "Ecuador: El Nuevo Sistema Político en Funcionamiento". *Revista de Ciencia Política* 30(2): 297-317.
- Pasquino, Gianfranco. 2008. Corrupción. In *Diccionario de la Política A-J*. Bobbio Norberto (Ed.). Madrid. SIGLO XXI.
- Przeworski, Adam. 2000. *Democracy and development: Political institutions and well-being in the world, 1950-1990*. Vol. 3. Cambridge University Press: Cambridge, MA.
- Przeworski, Adam. 1991. *Democracy and the Market: Political and Economic Reforms in Eastern Europe and Latin America*. Cambridge, MA: Cambridge University Press.
- Putnam, Robert D. 2011. *Para que la democracia funcione. Las tradiciones cívicas en la Italia moderna*. Madrid. CIS
- Roberts, Kenneth M. 2014. "Democracy, Free Markets, and the Rightist Dilemma in Latin America". In *The resilience of the Latin American right*, eds. Juan Pablo Luna y Cristóbal Rovira Kaltwasser. Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 25-47.
- Salzman, R. 2018. "Going deeper: Social media use and the development of democratic attitudes in Latin America." *Global Media and Communication* 15(1): 85-101.
- Salzman, R. 2015. "Understanding social media use in Latin America." *Palabra Clave* 18(3): 842-858.

- Sani, Giacomo. 2008. "Cultura política", in Bobbio Norberto et. al (directores) Diccionario de Política, México: Siglo XXI Editores.
- Schedler, Andreas. 1998. "What is Democratic Consolidation?" *Journal of Democracy* 9 (2): 91-107.
- Schmitt, Hermann, and André Freire. 2012. "Ideological Polarization: Different Worlds in East and West". In *Citizens and the European Polity: Mass Attitudes Towards the European and National Polities*, eds. David Sanders, Pedro C. Magalhães, y Gabor Toka. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 65-87.
- Schmitter, Philippe C., and Terry Lynn Karl. 1991. "What Democracy Is... and Is Not." *Journal of Democracy* 2 (3): 75-88.
- Schumpeter, Joseph A. 1942. *Socialism, Capitalism and Democracy*. New York: Harper and Brothers.
- Seligson, Mitchell A. 2002. The Impact of Corruption on Regime Legitimacy: A Comparative Study of Four Latin American Countries. *The Journal of Politics*, Vol. 64, No. 2, 408-433.
- Seligson, Mitchell A. 2000. "Toward a Model of Democratic Stability: Political Culture in Central America." *Estudios interdisciplinarios de América Latina y el Caribe*. 11 (2): 5-29.
- Seligson, Mitchell A. 2000. "Toward a Model of Democratic Stability: Political Culture in Central America." *Estudios interdisciplinarios de América Latina y el Caribe*. 11 (2): 5-29.
- Singer, Matthew. 2018. "Delegating Away Democracy: How Good Representation and Policy Successes Can Undermine Democratic Legitimacy." *Comparative Political Studies* 51(13): 1754-1788.
- Sullivan, Mark. 2019. "Latin America and the Caribbean: Issues in the 115th Congress." CRS Report, R45120, Congressional Research Service, URL: <https://fas.org/sgp/crs/row/R45120.pdf>.
- Tarrow, Sidney. 2004. *El poder en movimiento*. Madrid. Alianza
- Transparency International, Corruption Perception Index, Ecuador. Berlin. Transparency International Secretariat. Consultado en <https://www.transparency.org/country/ECU>
- Tucker, J. A., Theocharis, Y., Roberts, M. E., and Barberá, P. 2017. From Liberation to Turmoil: Social Media and Democracy. *Journal of Democracy* 28(4): 46-59.
- Valenzuela, S., Somma, N. M., Scherman, A., and Arriagada, A. 2016. "Social media in Latin America: Deepening or bridging gaps in protest participation?" *Online Information Review* 40(5): 695-711.
- Van Dyck, Brandon. 2017. "The Paradox of Adversity: The Contrasting Fates of Latin America's New Left Parties." *Comparative Politics* 49 (2): 169-189.
- Yamamoto, M., & Kushin, M. J. 2013. "More harm than good? Online media use and political disaffection among college students in the 2008 election." *Journal of Computer-Mediated Communication* 19(3): 430-445.
- Yamamoto, M., Kushin, M. J., & Dalisay, F. 2017. "Social Media and Political Disengagement among Young Adults: A Moderated Mediation Model of Cynicism, Efficacy, and Social Media Use on Apathy." *Mass Communication and Society* 20(2): 149-68.

Zechmeister, Elizabeth J. 2015. "Left-Right Identifications and the Latin American Voter". In *The Latin American Voter*, eds. Ryan E. Carlin, Matthew M. Singer, and Elizabeth J. Zechmeister. Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, 195-225.

Zizumbo-Colunga, Daniel. 2017. "Community, Authorities, and Support for Vigilantism: Experimental Evidence." *Political Behavior* 39 (4): 989-1015.

Appendices

Appendix A. Understanding Figures in this Study

AmericasBarometer data are based on national probability samples of respondents drawn from each country; naturally, all samples produce results that contain a margin of error. It is important for the reader to understand that each data point (for example, a country's average trust in political parties) has a confidence interval, expressed in terms of a range surrounding that point. Most graphs in this study show a 95% confidence interval that takes into account the fact that our samples are "complex" (i.e., stratified and clustered). In bar charts, this confidence interval appears as a grey block, whereas in figures presenting the results of regression models it appears as a horizontal bracket. The dot in the center of a confidence interval depicts the estimated mean (in bar charts) or coefficient (in regression charts). The numbers next to each bar in the bar charts represent the estimated mean values (the dots). When two estimated points have confidence intervals that overlap to a large degree, the difference between the two values is typically not statistically significant; conversely, where two confidence intervals in bar graphs do not overlap, the reader can be very confident that those differences are statistically significant with 95% confidence. To help interpret bar graphs, chapter authors will frequently indicate in the text whether a difference is statistically significant or not.

Graphs that show regression results include a vertical line at zero. When a variable's estimated (standardized) coefficient falls to the left of this line, this indicates that the variable has a negative relationship with the dependent variable (i.e., the attitude, behavior, or trait we seek to explain); when the (standardized) coefficient falls to the right, it has a positive relationship. We can be 95% confident that the relationship is statistically significant when the confidence interval does not overlap the vertical line at zero.

On occasion, analyses and graphs in this report present "region-average" findings. LAPOP's standard is to treat countries as units of analysis and, thus, we weight countries equally in the calculation of region averages.

The dataset used for the analyses in this report correspond to the cross-time, cross-national merge 2004-2018/19 and Ecuador cross-time merged dataset of the AmericasBarometer surveys. Finalized versions of each survey represented in the dataset are available for free download on the project's website at www.LapopSurveys.org.

Appendix B. Study Information Sheet



January/February, 2019

Dear Sir/ Ma'am:

You have been selected at random to participate in a study of public opinion on behalf of CEDATOS. The project is supported by USAID and Vanderbilt University.

The interview will last approximately 45 minutes.

The objective of the study is to learn your opinions about different aspects of the way things are in Ecuador. Even though we cannot offer you any specific benefit, we do plan to make general findings available to the media and researchers.

Although you have been selected to participate, Sir/Ma'am, your participation in the study is voluntary. You can decline to answer any question or end the interview at any time. The replies that you give will be kept confidential and anonymous. For quality control purposes of my work, sections of the interview may be recorded.

If you have any questions about the study, please do not hesitate to contact CEDATOS at 02 2552-392 with Silvia Guzmán or at 02 2550-688 with Nancy Córdova, or at the email nancy.cordova@cedatos.com.

We are leaving this sheet with you in case you want to refer to it.

Are you willing to participate?

Appendix C. Questionnaire

NOTA:

Módulos experimentales (marcados en gris) son considerados adicionales al Barómetro de las Américas y no serán puestos a disposición pública por un mínimo de dos años, después de ese período las personas interesadas pueden contactarse con LAPOP con preguntas sobre cómo tener acceso a estos datos.

Barómetro de las Américas 2018/19 Cuestionario Ecuador Versión # 11.1.3.2 Aprobación IRB #: 182307



LAPOP: Ecuador, 2019

© Vanderbilt University 2019. Derechos reservados.

PAIS. País:				
01. México	02. Guatemala	03. El Salvador	04. Honduras	05. Nicaragua
06. Costa Rica	07. Panamá	08. Colombia	09. Ecuador	10. Bolivia
11. Perú	12. Paraguay	13. Chile	14. Uruguay	15. Brasil
16. Venezuela	17. Argentina	21. Rep. Dom.	22. Haití	23. Jamaica
24. Guyana	25. Trinidad & Tobago	26. Belice	40. Estados Unidos	41. Canadá
27. Surinam	28. Bahamas	29. Barbados	30. Granada	31. Santa Lucía
32. Dominica	33. Antigua y Barbuda	34. San Vicente y las Granadinas	35. San Cristóbal y Nieves	
IDNUM. Número de cuestionario [asignado en la oficina]				
ESTRATOPRI: (901) Costa Urbana (902) Costa Rural (903) Sierra Urbana (904) Sierra Rural (905) Oriente Norte (906) Oriente Sur				
ESTRATOSEC. Tamaño de la municipalidad [población en edad de votar, según censo; modificar por cada país, usando número de estratos y rangos de poblaciones apropiados]: (1) Grande (más de 100,000) (2) Mediana (Entre 25,000 - 100,000) (3) Pequeña (< 25,000)				
UPM [Unidad Primaria de Muestreo, normalmente idéntico a “MUNICIPIO”]: _____				
PROV. Provincia: _____				
MUNICIPIO. Cantón: _____				
UR. (1) Urbano (2) Rural [Usar definición censal del país]				
TAMANO. Tamaño del lugar: (1) Capital Nacional (área metropolitana) (2) Ciudad grande (3) Ciudad mediana (4) Ciudad pequeña (5) Área rural				
IDIOMAQ. Idioma del cuestionario: (1) Español				
Hora de inicio: _____ : _____				
FECHA. Fecha Día: _____ Mes: _____ Año: 2019				

ATENCION: Es un requisito leer siempre la HOJA DE INFORMACIÓN DEL ESTUDIO y obtener el asentimiento del entrevistado antes de comenzar la entrevista.

Q1. Género [Anotar, NO pregunte]: (1) Hombre (2) Mujer

Q2. ¿Cuál es su edad en años cumplidos? _____ años [Anota la edad. No puede ser menor de 16 años]

A4. En su opinión ¿cuál es el problema **más grave que está enfrentando el país?**

[NO leer alternativas; Aceptar SOLO una respuesta]

Agua, falta de	19	Impunidad	61
Caminos/vías en mal estado	18	Inflación, altos precios	02
Conflictos armados	30	Los políticos	59
Corrupción	13	Mal gobierno	15
Crédito, falta de	09	Medio ambiente	10
Delincuencia, crimen	05	Migración	16
Derechos humanos, violaciones de	56	Narcotráfico	12
Desempleo/falta de empleo	03	Pandillas	14
Desigualdad	58	Pobreza	04
Desnutrición	23	Protestas populares (huelgas, cierre de carreteras, paros, etc.)	06
Desplazamiento forzado	32	Salud, falta de servicio	22
Deuda externa	26	Secuestro	31
Discriminación	25	Seguridad (falta de)	27
Drogas, consumo de; drogadicción	11	Terrorismo	33
Economía, problemas con, crisis de	01	Tierra para cultivar, falta de	07
Educación, falta de, mala calidad	21	Transporte, problemas con el	60
Electricidad, falta de	24	Violencia	57
Explosión demográfica	20	Vivienda	55
Guerra contra el terrorismo	17	Otro	70
No sabe [NO LEER]	888888	No responde [NO LEER]	988888

SOCT2. ¿Considera usted que la situación económica **del país es mejor, igual o peor que hace **doce meses**?**

(1) Mejor (2) Igual (3) Peor

(888888) No sabe [NO LEER] (988888) No responde [NO LEER]

IDIO2. ¿Considera usted que **su situación económica actual es mejor, igual o peor que la de hace **doce meses**?**

(1) Mejor (2) Igual (3) Peor

(888888) No sabe [NO LEER] (988888) No responde [NO LEER]

COSMUN12. Hablando en general acerca del alcalde de su municipio, ¿diría usted que el trabajo que está realizando es...?: [Leer alternativas]

(1) Muy bueno (2) Bueno (3) Ni bueno, ni malo (regular) (4) Malo (5) Muy malo (péssimo)

(888888) No sabe [NO LEER]

(988888) No responde [NO LEER]

Voy a leerle una lista de grupos y organizaciones. Por favor, dígame si usted asiste a las reuniones de estas organizaciones: **por lo menos** una vez a la semana, una o dos veces al mes, una o dos veces al año, o nunca. [Repetir "una vez a la semana," "una o dos veces al mes," "una o dos veces al año," o "nunca" para ayudar al entrevistado]

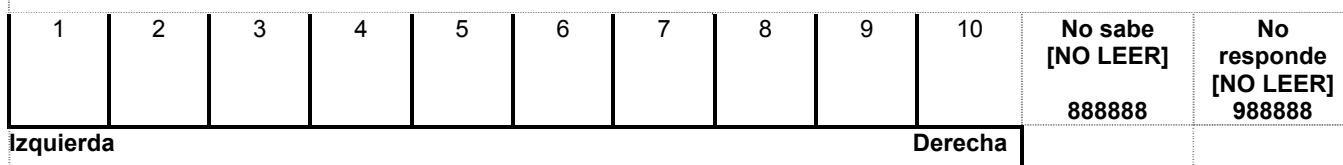
	Una vez a la semana	Una o dos veces al mes	Una o dos veces al año	Nunca	No sabe [NO LEER]	No responde [NO LEER]	Inaplicable [NO LEER]	
CP6. ¿Reuniones de alguna organización religiosa? Asiste...	1	2	3	4	888888	988888		
CP7. ¿Reuniones de una asociación de padres de familia de la escuela o colegio? Asiste...	1	2	3	4	888888	988888		
CP8. ¿Reuniones de un comité o junta de mejoras para la comunidad? Asiste...	1	2	3	4	888888	988888		

IT1. Ahora, hablando de la gente de por aquí, ¿diría que la gente de su comunidad es muy confiable, algo confiable, poco confiable o nada confiable?

- (1) Muy confiable (2) Algo confiable (3) Poco confiable (4) Nada confiable
(888888) No sabe [NO LEER] (988888) No responde [NO LEER]

[ENTREGAR TARJETA "A" AL ENTREVISTADO]

L1. Cambiando de tema, en esta tarjeta tenemos una escala del 1 a 10 que va de izquierda a derecha, en la que el 1 significa izquierda y el 10 significa derecha. Hoy en día cuando se habla de tendencias políticas, mucha gente habla de aquellos que simpatizan más con la izquierda o con la derecha. Según el sentido que tengan para usted los términos "izquierda" y "derecha" cuando piensa sobre su punto de vista político, ¿dónde se encontraría usted en esta escala? Dígame el número.



[RECOGER TARJETA "A"]

PROT3. ¿En los últimos 12 meses ha participado en una manifestación o protesta pública?

- (1) Sí ha participado (2) No ha participado
(888888) No sabe [NO LEER] (988888) No responde [NO LEER]

CUESTIONARIO A

Ahora hablemos de otro tema. Alguna gente dice que en ciertas circunstancias se justificaría que los militares de este país tomen el poder por un golpe de Estado. En su opinión se justificaría que hubiera un golpe de estado por los militares... [Leer alternativas]

JC10. Frente a mucha delincuencia.	(1) Se justificaría que los militares tomen el poder por un golpe de Estado	(2) No se justificaría que los militares tomen el poder por un golpe de Estado	No sabe [NO LEER] (888888)	No responde [NO LEER] (988888)	Inaplicable [NO LEER] (999999)
------------------------------------	---	--	----------------------------	--------------------------------	--------------------------------

CUESTIONARIO B

Ahora hablemos de otro tema. Alguna gente dice que en ciertas circunstancias se justificaría que los militares de este país tomen el poder por un golpe de Estado. En su opinión se justificaría que hubiera un golpe de estado por los militares... **[Leer alternativas]**

JC13. Frente a mucha corrupción.	(1) Se justificaría que los militares tomen el poder por un golpe de Estado	(2) No se justificaría que los militares tomen el poder por un golpe de Estado	No sabe [NO LEER] (888888)	No responde [NO LEER] (988888)	Inaplicable [NO LEER] (999999)
----------------------------------	---	--	---	---	---

CUESTIONARIO A

JC15A. ¿Cree usted que cuando el país enfrenta momentos muy difíciles, se justifica que el presidente del país cierre la Asamblea y gobierne sin la Asamblea?

JC15A. ¿Cree usted que cuando el país enfrenta momentos muy difíciles, se justifica que el presidente del país cierre la Asamblea y gobierne sin la Asamblea?	(1) Sí se justifica	(2) No se justifica	No sabe [NO LEER] (888888)	No responde [NO LEER] (988888)	Inaplicable [NO LEER] (999999)
---	---------------------	---------------------	---	---	---

CUESTIONARIO B

JC16A. ¿Cree usted que cuando el país enfrenta momentos muy difíciles se justifica que el presidente del país disuelva la Corte Nacional de Justicia y gobierne sin la Corte Nacional de Justicia?

JC16A. ¿Cree usted que cuando el país enfrenta momentos muy difíciles se justifica que el presidente del país disuelva la Corte Nacional de Justicia y gobierne sin la Corte Nacional de Justicia?	(1) Sí se justifica	(2) No se justifica	No sabe [NO LEER] (888888)	No responde [NO LEER] (988888)	Inaplicable [NO LEER] (999999)
--	---------------------	---------------------	---	---	---

VIC1EXT. Ahora, cambiando el tema, ¿ha sido usted víctima de algún acto de delincuencia en los últimos 12 meses? Es decir, ¿ha sido usted víctima de un robo, hurto, agresión, fraude, chantaje, extorsión, amenazas o **algún otro tipo** de acto delincuencial en los últimos 12 meses?

(1) Sí (2) No

(888888) No sabe **[NO LEER]**

(988888) No responde **[NO LEER]**

ARM2. Si usted pudiera, ¿tendría un arma de fuego para su protección?

(1) Sí (2) No (888888) No sabe **[NO LEER]** (988888) No responde **[NO LEER]**

CAPITAL1. ¿Usted está a favor o en contra de la pena de muerte para personas culpables de asesinato?

(1) A favor (2) En contra

(888888) No sabe **[NO LEER]**

(988888) No responde **[NO LEER]**

AOJ11. Hablando del lugar o el barrio/recinto donde usted vive y pensando en la posibilidad de ser víctima de un asalto o robo, ¿usted se siente muy seguro(a), algo seguro(a), algo inseguro(a) o muy inseguro(a)?

(1) Muy seguro(a) (2) Algo seguro(a) (3) Algo inseguro(a) (4) Muy inseguro(a) (888888) No sabe **[NO LEER]**
(988888) No responde **[NO LEER]**

AOJ12. Si usted fuera víctima de un robo o asalto, ¿cuánto confiaría que el sistema judicial castigue al culpable? **[Leer alternativas]** Confiaría...

(1) Mucho (2) Algo (3) Poco (4) Nada

(888888) No sabe **[NO LEER]**

(988888) No responde **[NO LEER]**

[ENTREGAR TARJETA "B" AL ENTREVISTADO]

B0. En esta tarjeta hay una escalera con gradas numeradas del uno al siete, en la cual 1 es la grada más baja y significa NADA y el 7 es la grada más alta y significa MUCHO. Por ejemplo, si yo le preguntara hasta qué punto le gusta ver televisión, si a usted no le gusta ver nada, elegiría un puntaje de 1. Si por el contrario le gusta mucho ver televisión me diría el número 7. Si su opinión está entre nada y mucho elegiría un puntaje intermedio. Entonces, ¿hasta qué punto le gusta a usted ver televisión? Léame el número. **[Asegúrese que el entrevistado entienda correctamente].**

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	888888	988888
Nada						Mucho	No sabe [NO LEER]	No responde [NO LEER]

[Anotar un número 1-7, 888888 = No sabe, 988888= No responde]

Voy a hacerle una serie de preguntas, y le voy a pedir que para darme su respuesta utilice los números de esta escalera. Recuerde que puede usar cualquier número.

B1. ¿Hasta qué punto cree usted que los tribunales de justicia de Ecuador garantizan un juicio justo? **[Sondee: Si usted cree que los tribunales no garantizan para nada la justicia, escoja el número 1; si cree que los tribunales garantizan mucho la justicia, escoja el número 7 o escoja un puntaje intermedio]**

B2. ¿Hasta qué punto tiene usted respeto por las instituciones políticas de Ecuador?

B3. ¿Hasta qué punto cree usted que los derechos básicos del ciudadano están bien protegidos por el sistema político ecuatoriano?

B4. ¿Hasta qué punto se siente usted orgulloso de vivir bajo el sistema político ecuatoriano?

B6. ¿Hasta qué punto piensa usted que se debe apoyar al sistema político ecuatoriano?

B12. ¿Hasta qué punto tiene confianza usted en las Fuerzas Armadas?

B13. ¿Hasta qué punto tiene confianza usted en la Asamblea Nacional?

B18. ¿Hasta qué punto tiene confianza usted en la Policía Nacional?

B20. ¿Hasta qué punto tiene confianza usted en la Iglesia Católica?

B20A. ¿Hasta qué punto tiene confianza usted en la Iglesia Evangélica

B21. ¿Hasta qué punto tiene confianza usted en los partidos políticos?

B21A. ¿Hasta qué punto tiene confianza usted en el presidente?

B31. ¿Hasta qué punto tiene usted confianza en la Corte Nacional de Justicia?

B32. ¿Hasta qué punto tiene usted confianza en su municipio?

B37. ¿Hasta qué punto tiene usted confianza en los medios de comunicación?

B47A. ¿Hasta qué punto tiene usted confianza en las elecciones en este país?

[RECOGER TARJETA "B"]

M1. Hablando en general acerca del gobierno actual, ¿diría usted que el trabajo que está realizando el Presidente Lenín Moreno es...?: **[Leer alternativas]**

- (1) Muy bueno (2) Bueno (3) Ni bueno, ni malo (regular) (4) Malo (5) Muy malo (péssimo)
 (888888) No sabe [NO LEER] (988888) No responde [NO LEER]

INFRAZ. Suponga que alguien se mete a robar a su casa y usted llama a la policía. ¿Cuánto tiempo cree que la Policía se demoraría en llegar a su casa un día cualquiera, a mediodía? **[Leer alternativas]**

- (1) Menos de 10 minutos
 (2) Entre 10 y hasta 30 minutos
 (3) Más de 30 minutos y hasta una hora
 (4) Más de 1 hora y hasta 3 horas
 (5) Más de 3 horas
 (6) **[NO LEER]** No hay Policía/ No llegaría nunca
 (888888) No sabe [NO LEER]
 (988888) No responde [NO LEER]

[ENTREGAR TARJETA "C" AL ENTREVISTADO]

Ahora, vamos a usar una escalera en donde el número 1 representa "muy en desacuerdo" y el número 7 representa "muy de acuerdo". Un número entre el 1 y el 7, representa un puntaje intermedio.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	888888	988888
Muy en desacuerdo						Muy de acuerdo	No sabe [NO LEER]	No responde [NO LEER]
[Anotar un número 1-7, 888888 = No sabe, 988888 = No responde]								

Le voy a leer algunas frases. Por favor dígame hasta qué punto está de acuerdo o en desacuerdo con ellas.

ROS4. El Estado ecuatoriano debe implementar políticas **firmes** para reducir la desigualdad de ingresos entre ricos y pobres. ¿Hasta qué punto está de acuerdo o en desacuerdo con esta frase?

[ALEATORIZAR EL ORDEN DE APARICIÓN DE REDIST1, REDIST2A Y REDIST3]

REDIST1. El gobierno debe gastar más en ayudar a los pobres. ¿Hasta qué punto está de acuerdo o en desacuerdo con esta frase?

REDIST2A. Está bien que los ricos paguen mucho en impuestos pero reciban poco en servicios del Estado. ¿Hasta qué punto está de acuerdo o en desacuerdo?

REDIST3. La mayoría de los desempleados podría encontrar un trabajo si quisiera. ¿Hasta qué punto está de acuerdo o en desacuerdo?

ING4. Cambiando de nuevo el tema, puede que la democracia tenga problemas, pero es mejor que cualquier otra forma de gobierno. ¿Hasta qué punto está de acuerdo o en desacuerdo con esta frase?

EFF1. A los que gobiernan el país les interesa lo que piensa la gente como usted. ¿Hasta qué punto está de acuerdo o en desacuerdo con esta frase?

EFF2. Usted siente que entiende bien los asuntos políticos más importantes del país. ¿Hasta qué punto está de acuerdo o en desacuerdo con esta frase?

[Continúa usando tarjeta "C"]

[Anotar 1-7, 888888= No sabe, 988888 = No responde]

DST1B. El gobierno debe gastar más dinero para hacer cumplir las normas de construcción para hacer las viviendas más seguras ante desastres naturales, incluso si esto significa gastar menos en otros programas. ¿Qué tan de acuerdo o en desacuerdo está usted con esta frase?

[RECOGER TARJETA "C"]

DRK1. ¿Qué tan probable sería que usted o alguien en su familia inmediata aquí en Ecuador pueda morir o salir seriamente lastimado en un desastre natural como inundaciones, terremotos, deslaves, tornados o tormentas en los próximos 25 años? ¿Cree usted que es...? **[Leer alternativas]**

(1) Nada probable (2) Poco probable (3) Algo probable (4) Muy probable

(888888) No sabe **[NO LEER]**

(988888) No responde **[NO LEER]**

ENV1CALT. Imagine que el gobierno nacional tiene dos opciones para implementar la protección del medio ambiente: Por un lado, puede darle recursos a su gobierno local, para que implemente esa protección. Por otra parte, puede darle fondos a otros grupos, como organizaciones no gubernamentales u organizaciones comunitarias que pueden decidir cómo implementar y administrar la protección. El gobierno solo puede llevar a cabo una de estas dos opciones. ¿Cuál prefiere usted? **[Leer alternativas]**

(1) Darle recursos a gobierno local

(2) Darle recursos a organizaciones no gubernamentales u organizaciones comunitarias

(888888) No sabe **[NO LEER]**

(988888) No responde **[NO LEER]**

ENV2B. Si no se hace nada para reducir el cambio climático en el futuro, ¿qué tan serio piensa usted que sería el problema para Ecuador? [Leer alternativas]

- (1) Muy serio
- (2) Algo serio
- (3) Poco serio
- (4) Nada serio
- (888888) No sabe [NO LEER]
- (988888) No responde [NO LEER]

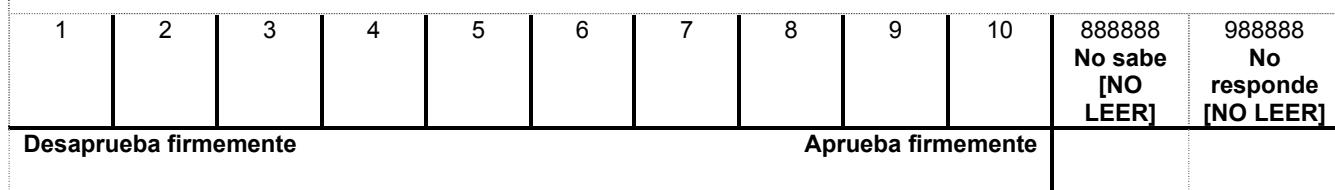
Ahora, para hablar de otros temas...

PN4. En general, ¿usted diría que está muy satisfecho(a), satisfecho(a), insatisfecho(a) o muy insatisfecho(a) con la forma en que la democracia funciona en Ecuador?

- (1) Muy satisfecho(a)
- (2) Satisfecho(a)
- (3) Insatisfecho(a)
- (4) Muy insatisfecho(a)
- (888888) No sabe [NO LEER]
- (988888) No responde [NO LEER]

[ENTREGAR TARJETA “D” AL ENTREVISTADO]

Ahora vamos a cambiar a otra tarjeta. Esta nueva tarjeta tiene una escalera del 1 a 10, el 1 indica que usted *desaprueba firmemente* y el 10 indica que usted *aprueba firmemente*. Voy a leerle una lista de algunas acciones o cosas que las personas pueden hacer para alcanzar sus metas y objetivos políticos. Quisiera que me dijera con qué firmeza usted aprobaría o desaprobaría...



[Anotar 1-10, 888888= No sabe, 988888 = No responde]

E5. Que las personas participen en manifestaciones permitidas por la ley. ¿Hasta qué punto aprueba o desaprueba?

D1. Hay personas que siempre hablan mal de la forma de gobierno de Ecuador, no sólo del gobierno de turno, sino del sistema de gobierno, ¿con qué firmeza aprueba o desaprueba usted el **derecho de votar** de esas personas? Por favor léame el número de la escala: [Sondee: ¿Hasta qué punto?]

D2. ¿Con qué firmeza aprueba o desaprueba usted que estas personas puedan llevar a cabo **manifestaciones pacíficas** con el propósito de expresar sus puntos de vista? Por favor léame el número.

D3. Siempre pensando en los que hablan mal de la forma de gobierno de Ecuador. ¿Con qué firmeza aprueba o desaprueba usted que estas personas puedan **postularse para cargos públicos**?

D4. ¿Con qué firmeza aprueba o desaprueba usted que estas personas salgan en la televisión **para dar un discurso**?

D5. Y ahora, cambiando el tema, y pensando en los homosexuales. ¿Con qué firmeza aprueba o desaprueba que estas personas **puedan postularse para cargos públicos**?

D6. ¿Con qué firmeza aprueba o desaprueba que las parejas del mismo sexo puedan tener el derecho a casarse?

[RECOGER TARJETA “D”]

	INAP No trató o tuvo contacto	No	Sí	No sabe [NO LEER]	No responde [NO LEER]
Ahora queremos hablar de su experiencia personal con cosas que pasan en la vida diaria...					
EXC2. ¿Algún agente de policía le pidió una coima en los últimos 12 meses?	--	0	1	888888	988888

	INAP No trató o tuvo contacto	No	Sí	No sabe [NO LEER]	No responde [NO LEER]	
EXC6. ¿En los últimos 12 meses, algún empleado público le ha solicitado una coima?	--	0	1	888888	988888	
EXC11. ¿Ha tramitado algo en la municipalidad en los últimos 12 meses? Si la respuesta es No → Marcar 999999 Si la respuesta es Sí → Preguntar: Para tramitar algo en el municipio/delegación, como un permiso, por ejemplo, durante el último año, ¿ha tenido que pagar alguna suma además de lo exigido por la ley?	999999	0	1	888888	988888	
EXC13. ¿Usted trabaja? Si la respuesta es No → Marcar 999999 Si la respuesta es Sí → Preguntar: En su trabajo, ¿le han solicitado alguna coima en los últimos 12 meses?	999999	0	1	888888	988888	
EXC14. ¿En los últimos 12 meses, tuvo algún trato con los juzgados? Si la respuesta es No → Marcar 999999 Si la respuesta es Sí → Preguntar: ¿Ha tenido que pagar una coima en los juzgados en este último año?	999999	0	1	888888	988888	
EXC15. ¿Usó servicios médicos públicos (del Estado) en los últimos 12 meses? Si la respuesta es No → Marcar 999999 Si la respuesta es Sí → Preguntar: En los últimos 12 meses, ¿ha tenido que pagar alguna coima para ser atendido en un hospital o en un puesto de salud?	999999	0	1	888888	988888	
EXC16. En el último año, ¿tuvo algún hijo en la escuela o colegio? Si la respuesta es No → Marcar 999999 Si la respuesta es Sí → Preguntar: En los últimos 12 meses, ¿tuvo que pagar alguna coima en la escuela o colegio?	999999	0	1	888888	988888	
EXC18. ¿Cree que como están las cosas a veces se justifica pagar una coima?		0	1	888888	988888	

CUESTIONARIO A

EXC7. Teniendo en cuenta su experiencia o lo que ha oído mencionar, ¿la corrupción de los **funcionarios públicos** en el país está: [Leer alternativas]

- (1) Muy generalizada (2) Algo generalizada (3) Poco generalizada (4) Nada generalizada
 (888888) No sabe [NO LEER]
 (988888) No responde [NO LEER]
 (999999) Inaplicable [NO LEER]

CUESTIONARIO B	
EXC7NEW. Pensando en los políticos de Ecuador, ¿cuántos de ellos cree usted que están involucrados en corrupción? [Leer alternativas] (1) Ninguno (2) Menos de la mitad (3) La mitad de los políticos (4) Más de la mitad (5) Todos (888888) No sabe [NO LEER] (988888) No responde [NO LEER] (999999) Inaplicable [NO LEER]	

EXPERIMENTO CORR – TRATAMIENTOS 1-2-3																			
[NOTA DE PROGRAMACIÓN: Aplicar aleatoriamente cada tratamiento (1, 2, 3) a un tercio de la muestra.] A continuación, vamos a leer una descripción de un candidato imaginario que busca la reelección como alcalde: EXPERIMENTO CORR - TRATAMIENTO 1 Imagine que usted vive en un barrio similar a este, pero en otra ciudad de Ecuador. El alcalde de esta ciudad imaginaria se llama Manuel Salvador y está buscando la reelección. Durante los años en que Salvador fue alcalde, el municipio mejoró en muchos aspectos, incluyendo crecimiento económico y mejores servicios de educación y transporte. Después de una investigación profunda, la fiscalía lo ha acusado de aceptar coimas al otorgar contratos públicos.																			
ECUCORR1_1. Si las elecciones municipales fueran mañana, ¿qué tan probable sería que usted apoye al alcalde Salvador? [Leer alternativas] (1) Muy probable (2) Algo probable (3) Poco probable (4) Nada probable (888888) No sabe [NO LEER] (988888) No responde [NO LEER] (999999) Inaplicable [NO LEER]																			
[ENTREGAR TARJETA “B” AL ENTREVISTADO] Vamos a usar de nuevo la escalera que va de 1 a 7, donde 1 significa NADA y 7 significa MUCHO. Podría decime...																			
<table border="1" style="width: 100%; text-align: center;"> <tr> <td>1</td><td>2</td><td>3</td><td>4</td><td>5</td><td>6</td><td>7</td><td>888888</td><td>988888</td> </tr> <tr> <td>Nada</td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td>Mucho</td><td>No sabe [NO LEER]</td><td>No responde [NO LEER]</td> </tr> </table> <p style="text-align: center;">[Anotar un número 1-7, 888888 = No sabe, 988888= No responde, 999999 = Inaplicable]</p>		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	888888	988888	Nada						Mucho	No sabe [NO LEER]	No responde [NO LEER]
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	888888	988888											
Nada						Mucho	No sabe [NO LEER]	No responde [NO LEER]											
ECUCORR2_1. ¿En qué medida usted cree que el alcalde Salvador es corrupto?																			
B10A_1. ¿Hasta qué punto tiene confianza en el sistema de justicia?																			
[RECOGER TARJETA “B”]																			

ECUPN5_1. En general, ¿usted diría que está muy satisfecho(a), satisfecho(a), insatisfecho(a) o muy insatisfecho(a) con la forma en que el sistema político funciona en Ecuador?

- (1) Muy satisfecho(a)
- (2) Satisfecho(a)
- (3) Insatisfecho(a)
- (4) Muy insatisfecho(a)
- (888888) No sabe **[NO LEER]**
- (988888) No responde **[NO LEER]**
- (999999) Inaplicable **[NO LEER]**

EXPERIMENTO CORR - TRATAMIENTO 2

Imagine que usted vive en un barrio similar a este, pero en otra ciudad de Ecuador. El alcalde de esta ciudad imaginaria se llama Manuel Salvador y está buscando la reelección. Durante los años en que Salvador fue alcalde, el municipio mejoró en muchos aspectos, incluyendo crecimiento económico y mejores servicios de educación y transporte. Después de una investigación profunda, la fiscalía lo ha acusado de aceptar coimas al otorgar contratos públicos. El alcalde Salvador ha negado estas acusaciones en una rueda de prensa. Ha insistido en su inocencia y ha afirmado que las acusaciones son completamente injustificadas y que no hay evidencia de ninguna conducta ilegal de su parte.

ECUCORR1_2. Si las elecciones municipales fueran mañana, ¿qué tan probable sería que usted apoye al alcalde Salvador? **[Leer alternativas]**

- (1) Muy probable
- (2) Algo probable
- (3) Poco probable
- (4) Nada probable
- (888888) No sabe **[NO LEER]**
- (988888) No responde **[NO LEER]**
- (999999) Inaplicable **[NO LEER]**

[ENTREGAR TARJETA "B" AL ENTREVISTADO]

Vamos a usar de nuevo la escalera que va de 1 a 7, donde 1 significa NADA y 7 significa MUCHO. Podría decime...

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	888888	988888
Nada						Mucho	No sabe [NO LEER]	No responde [NO LEER]

[Anotar un número 1-7, 888888 = No sabe, 988888= No responde, 999999 = Inaplicable]

ECUCORR2_2. ¿En qué medida usted cree que el alcalde Salvador es corrupto?

B10A_2. ¿Hasta qué punto tiene confianza en el sistema de justicia?

[RECOGER TARJETA "B"]

ECUPN5_2. En general, ¿usted diría que está muy satisfecho(a), satisfecho(a), insatisfecho(a) o muy insatisfecho(a) con la forma en que el sistema político funciona en Ecuador?

- (1) Muy satisfecho(a)
- (2) Satisfecho(a)
- (3) Insatisfecho(a)
- (4) Muy insatisfecho(a)
- (888888) No sabe **[NO LEER]**
- (988888) No responde **[NO LEER]**
- (999999) Inaplicable **[NO LEER]**

EXPERIMENTO CORR - TRATAMIENTO 3

Imagine que usted vive en un barrio similar a este, pero en otra ciudad de Ecuador. El alcalde de esta ciudad imaginaria se llama Manuel Salvador y está buscando la reelección. Durante los años en que Salvador fue alcalde, el municipio mejoró en muchos aspectos, incluyendo crecimiento económico y mejores servicios de educación y transporte. Después de una investigación profunda, la fiscalía lo ha acusado de aceptar coimas al otorgar contratos públicos. El alcalde Salvador ha negado estas acusaciones en una rueda de prensa. Ha insistido en su inocencia y ha afirmado que las acusaciones son el resultado de un complot político en su contra por parte de los fiscales y otras autoridades judiciales del país, quienes actúan motivados por intereses políticos.

ECUCORR1_3. Si las elecciones municipales fueran mañana, ¿qué tan probable sería que usted apoye al alcalde Salvador? **[Leer alternativas]**

- (1) Muy probable
 - (2) Algo probable
 - (3) Poco probable
 - (4) Nada probable
- (888888) No sabe **[NO LEER]**
 (988888) No responde **[NO LEER]**
 (999999) Inaplicable **[NO LEER]**

[ENTREGAR TARJETA "B" AL ENTREVISTADO]

Vamos a usar de nuevo la escalera que va de 1 a 7, donde 1 significa NADA y 7 significa MUCHO. Podría decime...

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	888888	988888	
Nada							Mucho	No sabe [NO LEER]	No responde [NO LEER]
[Anotar un número 1-7, 888888 = No sabe, 988888= No responde, 999999 = Inaplicable]									

ECUCORR2_3. ¿En qué medida usted cree que el alcalde Salvador es corrupto?

B10A_3. ¿Hasta qué punto tiene confianza en el sistema de justicia?

[RECOGER TARJETA "B"]

ECUPN5_3. En general, ¿usted diría que está muy satisfecho(a), satisfecho(a), insatisfecho(a) o muy insatisfecho(a) con la forma en que el sistema político funciona en Ecuador?

- (1) Muy satisfecho(a)
 - (2) Satisfecho(a)
 - (3) Insatisfecho(a)
 - (4) Muy insatisfecho(a)
- (888888) No sabe **[NO LEER]**
 (988888) No responde **[NO LEER]**
 (999999) Inaplicable **[NO LEER]**

EXPERIMENTO 1 – TRATAMIENTOS A-B-C

[NOTA DE PROGRAMACIÓN: Aplicar cada tratamiento a un tercio de la muestra. Aplicar el mismo tratamiento (A, B o C) en todos los experimentos de preguntas de inmigración (IMMIG1X, COMCON3X, IMMIG5X, IMMIG4X, IMMIG3X)]

IMMIG1XA. ¿Qué tan de acuerdo está usted con que el gobierno ecuatoriano ofrezca servicios sociales, como por ejemplo asistencia de salud, educación, vivienda, a los **venezolanos** que vienen a vivir o trabajar en Ecuador? Está usted... **[Leer alternativas]**

- (1) Muy de acuerdo
 - (2) Algo de acuerdo
 - (3) Ni de acuerdo ni en desacuerdo
 - (4) Algo en desacuerdo
 - (5) Muy en desacuerdo
- (888888) **[NO LEER]** No sabe
(988888) **[NO LEER]** No responde
(999999) **[NO LEER]** Inaplicable

IMMIG1XB. ¿Qué tan de acuerdo está usted con que el gobierno ecuatoriano ofrezca servicios sociales, como por ejemplo asistencia de salud, educación, vivienda, a los **inmigrantes** que vienen a vivir o trabajar en Ecuador? Está usted... **[Leer alternativas]**

- (1) Muy de acuerdo
 - (2) Algo de acuerdo
 - (3) Ni de acuerdo ni en desacuerdo
 - (4) Algo en desacuerdo
 - (5) Muy en desacuerdo
- (888888) **[NO LEER]** No sabe
(988888) **[NO LEER]** No responde
(999999) **[NO LEER]** Inaplicable

IMMIG1XC. ¿Qué tan de acuerdo está usted con que el gobierno ecuatoriano ofrezca servicios sociales, como por ejemplo asistencia de salud, educación, vivienda, a los **españoles** que vienen a vivir o trabajar en Ecuador? Está usted... **[Leer alternativas]**

- (1) Muy de acuerdo
 - (2) Algo de acuerdo
 - (3) Ni de acuerdo ni en desacuerdo
 - (4) Algo en desacuerdo
 - (5) Muy en desacuerdo
- (888888) **[NO LEER]** No sabe
(988888) **[NO LEER]** No responde
(999999) **[NO LEER]** Inaplicable

EXPERIMENTO 2 – TRATAMIENTOS A-B-C

[NOTA DE PROGRAMACIÓN: Aplicar cada tratamiento a un tercio de la muestra. Aplicar el mismo tratamiento (A, B o C) en todos los experimentos de preguntas de inmigración (IMMIG1X, COMCON3X, IMMIG5X, IMMIG4X, IMMIG3X)]

COMCON3XA. ¿Y qué tanto le molestaría a usted tener a un **venezolano** como vecino? ¿Le molestaría mucho, algo, poco o nada?

- (1) Mucho
 - (2) Algo
 - (3) Poco
 - (4) Nada
- (888888) **[NO LEER]** No sabe
(988888) **[NO LEER]** No responde
(999999) **[NO LEER]** Inaplicable

COMCON3XB. ¿Y qué tanto le molestaría a usted tener a un **inmigrante** como vecino? ¿Le molestaría mucho, algo, poco o nada?

- (1) Mucho
 - (2) Algo
 - (3) Poco
 - (4) Nada
- (888888) [NO LEER] No sabe
 (988888) [NO LEER] No responde
 (999999) [NO LEER] Inaplicable

COMCON3XC. ¿Y qué tanto le molestaría a usted tener a un **español** como vecino? ¿Le molestaría mucho, algo, poco o nada?

- (1) Mucho
 - (2) Algo
 - (3) Poco
 - (4) Nada
- (888888) [NO LEER] No sabe
 (988888) [NO LEER] No responde
 (999999) [NO LEER] Inaplicable

EXPERIMENTO 3 – TRATAMIENTOS A-B-C

[NOTA DE PROGRAMACIÓN: Aplicar cada tratamiento a un tercio de la muestra. Aplicar el mismo tratamiento (A, B o C) en todos los experimentos de preguntas de inmigración (IMMIG1X, COMCON3X, IMMIG5X, IMMIG4X, IMMIG3X)]

IMMIG5XA. ¿Usted diría que es bueno o malo para la economía del Ecuador que los **venezolanos** vengan a vivir aquí?

- (1) Bueno
 - (2) Malo
- (888888) [NO LEER] No sabe
 (988888) [NO LEER] No responde
 (999999) [NO LEER] Inaplicable

IMMIG5XB. ¿Usted diría que es bueno o malo para la economía del Ecuador que **inmigrantes** vengan a vivir aquí?

- (1) Bueno
 - (2) Malo
- (888888) [NO LEER] No sabe
 (988888) [NO LEER] No responde
 (999999) [NO LEER] Inaplicable

IMMIG5XC. ¿Usted diría que es bueno o malo para la economía del Ecuador que los **españoles** vengan a vivir aquí?

- (1) Bueno
 - (2) Malo
- (888888) [NO LEER] No sabe
 (988888) [NO LEER] No responde
 (999999) [NO LEER] Inaplicable

EXPERIMENTO 4 – TRATAMIENTOS A-B-C

[NOTA DE PROGRAMACIÓN: Aplicar cada tratamiento a un tercio de la muestra. Aplicar el mismo tratamiento (A, B o C) en todos los experimentos de preguntas de inmigración (IMMIG1X, COMCON3X, IMMIG5X, IMMIG4X, IMMIG3X)]

IMMIG4XA. ¿Usted diría que la cultura del Ecuador es generalmente debilitada o enriquecida por los **venezolanos** que vienen a vivir aquí?

- (1) Debilitada
- (2) Enriquecida
- (888888) [NO LEER] No sabe
- (988888) [NO LEER] No responde
- (999999) [NO LEER] Inaplicable

IMMIG4XB. ¿Usted diría que la cultura del Ecuador es generalmente debilitada o enriquecida por los **inmigrantes** que vienen a vivir aquí?

- (1) Debilitada
- (2) Enriquecida
- (888888) [NO LEER] No sabe
- (988888) [NO LEER] No responde
- (999999) [NO LEER] Inaplicable

IMMIG4XC. ¿Usted diría que la cultura del Ecuador es generalmente debilitada o enriquecida por los **españoles** que vienen a vivir aquí?

- (1) Debilitada
- (2) Enriquecida
- (888888) [NO LEER] No sabe
- (988888) [NO LEER] No responde
- (999999) [NO LEER] Inaplicable

EXPERIMENTO 5 – TRATAMIENTOS A-B-C

[NOTA DE PROGRAMACIÓN: Aplicar cada tratamiento a un tercio de la muestra. Aplicar el mismo tratamiento (A, B o C) en todos los experimentos de preguntas de inmigración (IMMIG1X, COMCON3X, IMMIG5X, IMMIG4X, IMMIG3X)]

IMMIG3XA. ¿Los problemas de crimen en Ecuador se empeoran por los **venezolanos** que vienen a vivir aquí?

- (1) Sí
- (2) No
- (888888) [NO LEER] No sabe
- (988888) [NO LEER] No responde
- (999999) [NO LEER] Inaplicable

IMMIG3XB. ¿Los problemas de crimen en Ecuador se empeoran por los **inmigrantes** que vienen a vivir aquí?

- (1) Sí
- (2) NO
- (888888) [NO LEER] No sabe
- (988888) [NO LEER] No responde
- (999999) [NO LEER] Inaplicable

IMMIG3XC. ¿Los problemas de crimen en Ecuador se empeoran por los **españoles** que vienen a vivir aquí?

- (1) Sí
- (2) No
- (888888) [NO LEER] No sabe
- (988888) [NO LEER] No responde
- (999999) [NO LEER] Inaplicable

INF1. ¿Tiene usted cédula de identidad?

- (1) Sí (2) No
- (888888) No sabe [NO LEER] (988888) No responde [NO LEER]

<p>VB2. ¿Votó usted en la primera vuelta de las últimas elecciones presidenciales de 2017?</p> <p>(1) Sí votó [Sigue] (2) No votó [Pasa a VB10] (888888) No sabe [NO LEER] [Pasa a VB10] (988888) No responde [NO LEER] [Pasa a VB10]</p> <p>VB3N. ¿Por quién votó para Presidente en la primera vuelta de las últimas elecciones presidenciales de 2017? [NO leer alternativas]</p> <p>(00) Ninguno (fue a votar pero dejó la boleta en blanco) (97) Ninguno (anuló su voto)</p> <p>(901) Lenín Moreno, Movimiento PAIS (902) Guillermo Lasso, CREO/SUMA (903) Cynthia Viteri, PSC (904) Paco Moncayo, ID/UP/MUPP (905) Abdalá "Dalo" Bucaram Pulley, FE (906) Iván Espinel, MFCS (907) Patricio Zuquilanda, PSP (908) Washington Pesantez, UE (977) Otro (888888) No sabe [NO LEER] (988888) No responde [NO LEER] (999999) Inaplicable (No votó) [NO LEER]</p>	
<p>VB10. ¿En este momento, simpatiza con algún partido político?</p> <p>(1) Sí [Sigue] (2) No [Pasa a VB10NEG] (888888) No sabe [NO LEER] [Pasa a VB10NEG] (988888) No responde [NO LEER] [Pasa a VB10NEG]</p> <p>VB11. ¿Con cuál partido político simpatiza usted? [NO leer alternativas]</p> <p>(901) Movimiento Creando Oportunidades (CREO) (902) Sociedad Unida Más Acción (SUMA) (903) Partido Social Cristiano (PSC) (904) Movimiento Centro Democrático (905) Partido Fuerza EC (906) Movimiento Unión Ecuatoriana (907) Movimiento de Unidad Plurinacional Pachakutik (909) Movimiento Unidad Popular (910) Partido Socialista Ecuatoriano (911) Partido Sociedad Patriótica 21 de Enero (913) Alianza PAIS-Patria Altiva I Soberana (PAIS) (914) Movimiento Concertación (915) Izquierda Democrática (ID) (916) Movimiento Vive (917) Democracia Sí (977) Otro (888888) No sabe [NO LEER] (988888) No responde [NO LEER] (999999) Inaplicable [NO LEER]</p>	
<p>VB10NEG. En este momento, ¿hay algún partido político que le desagrade?</p> <p>(1) Sí [Sigue] (2) No [Pasa a POL1] (888888) No sabe [NO LEER] [Pasa a POL1] (988888) No responde [NO LEER] [Pasa a POL1]</p>	

VB11NEG. ¿Qué partido político es el que **más** le desagrada? **[NO leer alternativas]**

- (901) Movimiento Creando Oportunidades (CREO)
- (902) Sociedad Unida Más Acción (SUMA)
- (903) Partido Social Cristiano (PSC)
- (904) Movimiento Centro Democrático
- (905) Partido Fuerza EC
- (906) Movimiento Unión Ecuatoriana
- (907) Movimiento de Unidad Plurinacional Pachakutik
- (909) Movimiento Unidad Popular
- (910) Partido Socialista Ecuatoriano
- (911) Partido Sociedad Patriótica 21 de Enero
- (913) Alianza PAIS-Patria Altiva I Soberana (PAIS)
- (914) Movimiento Concertación
- (915) Izquierda Democrática (ID)
- (916) Movimiento Vive
- (917) Democracia Sí
- (976) Todos por igual
- (977) Otro
- (888888) No sabe **[NO LEER]**
- (988888) No responde **[NO LEER]**
- (999999) Inaplicable **[NO LEER]**

POL1. ¿Qué tanto interés tiene usted en la política: mucho, algo, poco o nada?

- (1) Mucho
- (2) Algo
- (3) Poco
- (4) Nada

(888888) No sabe **[NO LEER]** (988888) No responde **[NO LEER]**

VB20. ¿Si esta semana fueran las próximas elecciones presidenciales, qué haría usted? **[Leer alternativas]**

- (1) No votaría
- (2) Votaría por el candidato o partido del actual presidente
- (3) Votaría por algún candidato o partido diferente del actual gobierno
- (4) Iría a votar pero dejaría la papeleta en blanco o la anularía

(888888) No sabe **[NO LEER]** (988888) No responde **[NO LEER]**

PRA2N. En general, ¿qué tan calificado(a) o capacitado(a) se siente usted para realizar el trabajo de un funcionario político electo, como por ejemplo asambleísta, alcalde o concejal? **[Leer alternativas]**

- (1) Muy calificado(a)
- (2) Algo calificado(a)
- (3) Poco calificado(a)
- (4) Nada calificado(a)

(888888) **[NO LEER]** No sabe

(988888) **[NO LEER]** No responde

PRA8N. ¿Alguna vez lo(a) **motivaron** personalmente a presentarse como candidato(a) a una elección para un cargo público?

- (1) Sí **[Sigue]**
- (2) No **[Pasa a PRA10]**

(888888) **[NO LEER]** No sabe **[Pasa a PRA10]**

(988888) **[NO LEER]** No responde **[Pasa a PRA10]**

PRA8AN. ¿Quién lo(a) motivó? [NO leer alternativas. Marcar TODAS las que mencione]

- (1) Líderes políticos (nacionales, locales)
 - (2) Otros líderes o grupos de la comunidad local (no políticos)
 - (3) Otros líderes o grupos nacionales
 - (4) Un programa formal de entrenamiento de candidatos
 - (5) Su jefe, empleador o patrón
 - (6) Miembros de su familia, amigos o colegas
 - (7) Miembros de los medios de comunicación
 - (77) Otros (Especificar) _____
- (888888) No sabe [NO LEER]
 (988888) No responde [NO LEER]
 (999999) Inaplicable [NO LEER]

PRA10. Imagine que usted está considerando presentarse como candidato(a) a una elección en los próximos años. ¿Qué tan preocupado(a) estaría por tener que renunciar a su ingreso o trabajo para presentarse a una elección? [Leer alternativas]

- (1) Extremadamente preocupado(a).
 - (2) Seriamente preocupado(a).
 - (3) Algo preocupado(a).
 - (4) Nada preocupado(a).
- (888888) No sabe [NO LEER]
 (988888) No responde [NO LEER]

Cambiando de tema...

VB50. Algunos dicen que en general, los hombres son mejores líderes políticos que las mujeres. ¿Está usted muy de acuerdo, de acuerdo, en desacuerdo, o muy en desacuerdo?

- | | |
|--------------------|-----------------------|
| (1) Muy de acuerdo | (2) De acuerdo |
| (3) En desacuerdo | (4) Muy en desacuerdo |
- (888888) No sabe [NO LEER] (988888) No responde [NO LEER]

CUESTIONARIO A

VB51. ¿Quién cree usted que sería más corrupto como político: un hombre, una mujer, o ambos por igual?

- (1) Un hombre
 - (2) Una mujer
 - (3) Ambos por igual
- (888888) No sabe [NO LEER]
 (988888) No responde [NO LEER]
 (999999) [NO LEER] Inaplicable

VB52. Y si le toca a un político o a una política manejar la economía nacional, ¿quién va a hacer el mejor trabajo; un hombre, una mujer o no importa?

- (1) Un hombre
 - (2) Una mujer
 - (3) No importa
- (888888) No sabe [NO LEER]
 (988888) No responde [NO LEER]
 (999999) [NO LEER] Inaplicable

VB58. ¿Qué tan de acuerdo o en desacuerdo está usted con la siguiente frase? Cuando la madre trabaja fuera de la casa, los hijos sufren. [Leer alternativas]

- (1) Muy de acuerdo
 - (2) De acuerdo
 - (3) En desacuerdo
 - (4) Muy en desacuerdo
- (888888) [NO LEER] No sabe
 (988888) [NO LEER] No responde

W14A. Y ahora, pensando en otros temas. ¿Cree usted que se justificaría la interrupción del embarazo, o sea, un aborto, cuando peligra la salud de la madre?

(1) Sí, se justificaría (2) No, no se justificaría

(888888) No sabe [NO LEER] (988888) No responde [NO LEER]

CUESTIONARIO B

Ahora, quisiera preguntarle cuánta confianza tiene en **los gobiernos** de algunos países. Para cada país por favor dígame si en su opinión, es muy confiable, algo confiable, poco confiable, nada confiable, o si no tiene opinión.

	Muy confiable	Algo confiable	Poco confiable	Nada confiable	No sabe/no tiene opinión	No responde [NO LEER]	Inaplicable [NO LEER]
MIL10A. El gobierno de China. En su opinión, ¿es muy confiable, algo confiable, poco confiable, nada confiable, o no tiene opinión?	1	2	3	4	888888	988888	999999
MIL10E. El gobierno de Estados Unidos. En su opinión, ¿es muy confiable, algo confiable, poco confiable, nada confiable, o no tiene opinión?	1	2	3	4	888888	988888	999999

[NOTA DE PROGRAMACIÓN: TODOS LOS TRATAMIENTOS DEL EXPERIMENTO EXPUNU SON INDEPENDIENTES, A EXCEPCIÓN DEL TRATAMIENTO EXPUNU3 (1). SI LA PERSONA ENTREVISTADA RECIBE EL TRATAMIENTO EXPUNU1 (2), DEBE DE RECIBIR SÓLO EL TRATAMIENTO EXPUNU3 (1). Si RECIBE EL TRATAMIENTO EXPUNU1 (1) PUEDE DE RECIBIR TRATAMIENTO EXPUNU3 (1) O (2)].

EXPERIMENTO EXPUNU – TRATAMIENTOS 1.1 - 4.3

Por favor, imagine que un grupo organizado de [EXPUNU1 (1) indígenas / (2) personas de todas las condiciones sociales] recientemente [EXPUNU2 (1) hizo una protesta pacífica que paró el tránsito en Quito por todo un día / (2) se amotinó, incendiando negocios en Quito lo que llevó al fallecimiento de 2 personas], para pedir que el gobierno [EXPUNU3 (1) haga un cambio de política pública que promueva la democracia / (2) garantice la protección de sus tierras]. El gobierno respondió a esta acción [EXPUNU4 (1) no haciendo nada / (2) utilizando mecanismos de represión no letales como gases lacrimógenos y arrestando gente / (3) utilizando represión letal por la cual miembros del grupo fueron asesinados]

UNU1. ¿Cómo evalúa usted la respuesta del gobierno ante esta situación? [Leer alternativas]

- (1) Muy buena
 - (2) Buena
 - (3) Ni buena ni mala
 - (4) Mala
 - (5) Muy mala
- (888888) [NO LEER] No sabe
 (988888) [NO LEER] No responde

[PREGUNTAR UNU2A SOLO SI EN EL EXPERIMENTO EXPUNU SE APLICÓ EL TRATAMIENTO EXPUNU2 (1)]

UNU2A. ¿Hasta qué punto está de acuerdo o en desacuerdo con que el gobierno ecuatoriano reaccione con fuerza para controlar este tipo de protestas **pacíficas** que mencionamos recién? **[Leer alternativas]**

- (1) Muy en desacuerdo
- (2) Algo en desacuerdo
- (3) Ni de acuerdo ni en desacuerdo
- (4) Algo de acuerdo
- (5) Muy de acuerdo
- (888888) **[NO LEER]** No sabe
- (988888) **[NO LEER]** No responde
- (999999) **[NO LEER]** Inaplicable

[PREGUNTAR UNU2B SOLO SI EN EL EXPERIMENTO EXPUNU SE APLICÓ EL TRATAMIENTO EXPUNU2 (2)]

UNU2B. ¿Hasta qué punto está de acuerdo o en desacuerdo con que el gobierno ecuatoriano reaccione con fuerza para controlar este tipo de protestas **violentas** que mencionamos recién? **[Leer alternativas]**

- (1) Muy en desacuerdo
- (2) Algo en desacuerdo
- (3) Ni de acuerdo ni en desacuerdo
- (4) Algo de acuerdo
- (5) Muy de acuerdo
- (888888) **[NO LEER]** No sabe
- (988888) **[NO LEER]** No responde
- (999999) **[NO LEER]** Inaplicable

UNU3. Los ecuatorianos deberían reaccionar a la respuesta del gobierno ante las protestas con algún tipo de resistencia política. ¿Hasta qué punto está de acuerdo o en desacuerdo con esta frase? **[Leer alternativas]**

- (1) Muy en desacuerdo
- (2) Algo en desacuerdo
- (3) Ni de acuerdo ni en desacuerdo
- (4) Algo de acuerdo
- (5) Muy de acuerdo
- (888888) **[NO LEER]** No sabe
- (988888) **[NO LEER]** No responde

[NOTA DE PROGRAMACIÓN: Aplicar cada tratamiento (1, 2, 3) del experimento JTR aleatoriamente a un tercio de la muestra.]

EXPERIMENTO JTR – TRATAMIENTO 1
[Aplicar aleatoriamente a 1/3 de la muestra]

JTR_1. Un hombre **mestizo** fue declarado culpable por **homicidio**. Él ya ha cumplido 5 años de pena en la cárcel con excelente comportamiento. Si **usted** tuviese que decidir cuántos años más de cárcel tiene que cumplir, usted preferiría que ese hombre **mestizo** tenga:

[Leer alternativas]

[Si no entiende, preguntar: ¿qué pena le pondría Usted?]

- (1) 20 años más de cárcel
- (2) 15 años más
- (3) 10 años más
- (4) 5 años más de cárcel, o
- (5) Dejarlo en libertad inmediata por su buen comportamiento y haber cumplido ya una pena suficiente
- (6) [NO LEER] Otra respuesta
- (888888) No sabe [NO LEER]
- (988888) No responde [NO LEER]
- (999999) Inaplicable [NO LEER]

EXPERIMENTO JTR – TRATAMIENTO 2
[Aplicar aleatoriamente a 1/3 de la muestra]

JTR_2. Un hombre **negro** fue declarado culpable por **homicidio**. Ya ha cumplido 5 años de pena en la cárcel con excelente comportamiento. Si **usted** tuviese que decidir cuántos años más de cárcel tiene que cumplir, usted preferiría que ese hombre **negro** tenga:

[Leer alternativas]

[Si no entiende, preguntar: ¿qué pena le pondría Usted?]

- (1) 20 años más de cárcel
- (2) 15 años más
- (3) 10 años más
- (4) 5 años más de cárcel, o
- (5) Dejarlo en libertad inmediata por su buen comportamiento y haber cumplido ya una pena suficiente
- (6) [NO LEER] Otra respuesta
- (888888) No sabe [NO LEER]
- (988888) No responde [NO LEER]
- (999999) Inaplicable [NO LEER]

EXPERIMENTO JTR – TRATAMIENTO 3
[Aplicar aleatoriamente a 1/3 de la muestra]

JTR_3. Un hombre **blanco** fue declarado culpable por **homicidio**. Ya ha cumplido 5 años de pena en la cárcel con excelente comportamiento. Si **usted** tuviese que decidir cuántos años más de cárcel tiene que cumplir, usted preferiría que ese hombre **blanco** tenga:

[Leer alternativas]

[Si no entiende, preguntar: ¿qué pena le pondría Usted?]

- (1) 20 años más de cárcel
- (2) 15 años más
- (3) 10 años más
- (4) 5 años más de cárcel, o
- (5) Dejarlo en libertad inmediata por su buen comportamiento y haber cumplido ya una pena suficiente
- (6) [NO LEER] Otra respuesta
- (888888) No sabe [NO LEER]
- (988888) No responde [NO LEER]
- (999999) Inaplicable [NO LEER]

[NOTA DE PROGRAMACIÓN: Aplicar cada tratamiento (1, 2) del experimento JTC aleatoriamente a 1/2 de la muestra.]

EXPERIMENTO JTC – TRATAMIENTO 1
[Aplicar aleatoriamente a 1/2 de la muestra]

[ENTREGAR TARJETA “INFOGRAFÍA JTC” AL ENTREVISTADO]

Esta tarjeta muestra información oficial y corroborada, con datos sobre el costo de encarcelamiento en Ecuador.

Como indica la tarjeta, el costo anual de mantener a una persona en la cárcel es de aproximadamente 5.000 dólares en Ecuador.

[RECOGER TARJETA “INFOGRAFÍA JTC”]

[ENTREGAR TARJETA “JTA”]

JTC1. Ahora conoce el costo de mantener a alguien en prisión. Usted puede elegir entre destinar ese dinero a más años de cárcel o a programas de rehabilitación. ¿Cuál sería su respuesta a la pregunta anterior? **[Leer alternativas]**

- (1) 20 años más de cárcel y **cero** recursos a becas de capacitación
- (2) 15 años más de cárcel y becas de capacitación para **rehabilitar a 30** presos
- (3) 10 años más de cárcel y becas para **rehabilitar a 60** presos
- (4) 5 años más de cárcel y becas para **rehabilitar a 90** presos
- (5) Dejarlo en libertad inmediata por su buen comportamiento y haber cumplido ya una pena suficiente y becas de capacitación técnica para **rehabilitar 120** presos
- (6) **[NO LEER]** Otra respuesta

- (888888) No sabe **[NO LEER]**
- (988888) No responde **[NO LEER]**
- (999999) Inaplicable **[NO LEER]**

[RECOGER TARJETA “JTA”]

EXPERIMENTO JTC – TRATAMIENTO 2 (CONTROL)
[Aplicar aleatoriamente a 1/2 de la muestra]

[ENTREGAR TARJETA “JTA”]

JTC2. Por el mismo costo de mantener a una persona en la cárcel, usted puede destinar dinero a programas de rehabilitación. ¿Cuál sería su respuesta a la pregunta anterior? **[Leer alternativas]**

- (1) 20 años más de cárcel y **cero** recursos a becas de capacitación
- (2) 15 años más de cárcel y becas de capacitación para **rehabilitar a 30** presos
- (3) 10 años más de cárcel y becas para **rehabilitar a 60** presos
- (4) 5 años más de cárcel y becas para **rehabilitar a 90** presos
- (5) Dejarlo en libertad inmediata por su buen comportamiento y haber cumplido ya una pena suficiente y becas de capacitación técnica para **rehabilitar 120** presos
- (6) **[NO LEER]** Otra respuesta

- (888888) No sabe **[NO LEER]**
- (988888) No responde **[NO LEER]**
- (999999) Inaplicable **[NO LEER]**

[RECOGER TARJETA “JTA”]

[ENTREGAR TARJETA “YN” AL ENCUESTADO]

Los gobiernos pueden tomar muchas medidas para combatir la delincuencia, pero tienen recursos limitados para ello. Suponga que el gobierno tuviera un presupuesto total de 10 monedas para distribuir entre 3 medidas para reducir la delincuencia, **todas igualmente efectivas en reducción del crimen**. Yo voy a leerle las medidas y pedirle que distribuya estas 10 monedas en la parte de arriba de la tarjeta, entre las tres posibles medidas, según lo que usted considere mejor. Usted puede asignar la cantidad de monedas que usted quiera a cada una de las medidas. Tiene que usar las 10 monedas.

Estas son las tres posibles medidas: **[Leer alternativas]**

1. Aumentar los castigos a los delincuentes
2. Aumentar las medidas que ayudan a detectar a la delincuencia, como la instalación de cámaras de seguridad
3. Invertir más dinero en programas de prevención de la delincuencia, como entrenamiento vocacional, programas de rehabilitación, y programas contra la pobreza

[Repita el texto de explicación si ve que la persona entrevistada tiene dudas]

[Anota en las siguientes preguntas cuántas monedas asignó el entrevistado a cada una de las medidas]

IACE1H. [Anota cuántas monedas asignó el entrevistado a la medida “1. Aumentar los castigos a los delincuentes”] **[IMPORTANTE: anota “0” si la persona no asignó ninguna moneda a esta medida]** _____

(888888) No sabe **[NO LEER]**

(988888) No responde **[NO LEER]**

IACE1I. [Anota cuántas monedas asignó el entrevistado a la medida “2. Aumentar las medidas que ayudan a detectar a la delincuencia, como la instalación de cámaras de seguridad”] **[IMPORTANTE: anota “0” si la persona no asignó ninguna moneda a esta medida]** _____

(888888) No sabe **[NO LEER]**

(988888) No responde **[NO LEER]**

IACE1J. [Anota cuántas monedas asignó el entrevistado a la medida “3. Invertir más dinero en programas de prevención de la delincuencia, como entrenamiento vocacional, programas de rehabilitación, y programas contra la pobreza”] **[IMPORTANTE: anota “0” si la persona no asignó ninguna moneda a esta medida]** _____

(888888) No sabe **[NO LEER]**

(988888) No responde **[NO LEER]**

[RECOGER TARJETA “YN”]

I_G7. Muchos expertos opinan que para bajar la delincuencia, hay que invertir más en la policía y en el sistema judicial. La opción A es aumentar los impuestos en todos los productos que compra la gente para que el gobierno pueda invertir más en seguridad. La opción B es bajar estos impuestos para que las familias tengan más dinero para gastar en su propia seguridad. ¿Usted qué opción prefiere? **[Leer alternativas]**

- (1) La opción A: Aumentar impuestos para invertir en seguridad
 - (3) La opción B: Bajar impuestos para que familias contraten su propia seguridad
 - (2) Le da igual A o B
- (888888) **[NO LEER]** No sabe
(988888) **[NO LEER]** No responde

[PREGUNTAR JTC2C SOLO A LOS QUE SE LES PREGUNTÓ JTC2]

JTC2C. ¿Cuánto cree que cuesta por mes mantener a una persona en la cárcel?
Anotar número _____

- (888888) **[NO LEER]** No sabe
(988888) **[NO LEER]** No responde
(999999) **[NO LEER]** Inaplicable

Hablando de otro tema...

(15) 15 años	2do año de educación terciaria o universitaria
(16) 16 años	3er año de educación terciaria o universitaria
(17) 17 años	4to año de educación terciaria o universitaria
(18) 18 años	5to año de educación universitaria
(19) 19 años	6to año de educación universitaria o más
(888888)	[NO LEER] No sabe
(988888)	[NO LEER] No responde]

Q3CN. Si usted es de alguna religión, ¿podría decirme cuál es su religión? [NO Leer alternativas]

[Si el entrevistado dice que no tiene ninguna religión, sondee más para ubicar si pertenece a la alternativa 4 u 11]

[Si el entrevistado dice "Cristiano" o "Evangélico", sondee para verificar si es católico (opción 1), pentecostal (opción 5) o evangélico no-pentecostal (opción 2). Si no está seguro, seleccione (2).]

(01) Católico [Sigue]

(02) Protestante, Protestante Tradicional o Protestante no Evangélico (Cristiano, Calvinista; Luterano; Metodista; Presbiteriano; Discípulo de Cristo; Anglicano; Episcopaliano; Iglesia Morava). [Sigue]

(03) Religiones Orientales no Cristianas (Islam; Budista; Hinduista; Taoísta; Confucianismo; Baha'i). [Sigue]

(05) Evangélica y Pentecostal (Evangélico, Pentecostal; Iglesia de Dios; Asambleas de Dios; Iglesia Universal del Reino de Dios; Iglesia Cuadrangular; Iglesia de Cristo; Congregación Cristiana; Menonita; Hermanos de Cristo; Iglesia Cristiana Reformada; Carismático no Católico; Luz del Mundo; Bautista; Iglesia del Nazareno; Ejército de Salvación; Adventista; Adventista del Séptimo Día, Sara Nossa Terra). [Sigue]

(07) Religiones Tradicionales (Santería, Candomblé, Vudú, Rastafari, Religiones Mayas, Umbanda; María Lonza; Inti, Kardecista, Santo Daime, Esotérica). [Sigue]

(04) Ninguna (Cree en un Ser Superior pero no pertenece a ninguna religión) [Sigue]

(11) Agnóstico o ateo (no cree en Dios) [Pasa a Q5B]

(77) Otro [Sigue]

(888888) No sabe [NO LEER] [Sigue]

(988888) No responde [NO LEER] [Sigue]

Q5A. ¿Con qué frecuencia asiste usted a servicios religiosos? [Leer alternativas]

(1) Más de una vez por semana (2) Una vez por semana (3) Una vez al mes

(4) Una o dos veces al año (5) Nunca o casi nunca

(888888) No sabe [NO LEER] (988888) No responde [NO LEER]

(999999) Inaplicable [NO LEER]

Q5B. Por favor, ¿podría decirme, qué tan importante es la religión en su vida? [Leer alternativas]

(1) Muy importante (2) Algo importante

(3) Poco importante o (4) Nada importante

(888888) No sabe [NO LEER]

(988888) No responde [NO LEER]

OCUP4A. ¿A qué se dedica usted principalmente? ¿Está usted actualmente: [Leer alternativas]

- (1) Trabajando? **[Sigue]**
- (2) No está trabajando en este momento pero tiene trabajo? **[Sigue]**
- (3) Está buscando trabajo activamente? **[Pasa a Q10A]**
- (4) Es estudiante? **[Pasa a Q10A]**
- (5) Se dedica a los quehaceres de su hogar? **[Pasa a Q10A]**
- (6) Está jubilado, pensionado o incapacitado permanentemente para trabajar? **[Pasa a Q10A]**
- (7) No trabaja y no está buscando trabajo? **[Pasa a Q10A]**
- (888888) No sabe **[NO LEER]** **[Pasa a Q10A]**
- (988888) No responde **[NO LEER]** **[Pasa a Q10A]**

[Usar tarjeta OCUP0IT como apoyo, NO mostrar al encuestado]

OCUPOIT. ¿Cuál es la ocupación o tipo de trabajo que realiza? **[SONDEAR: ¿En qué consiste su trabajo?] [NO leer alternativas]**

- (1) Directores y gerentes
- (2) Profesionales científicos e intelectuales
- (3) Técnicos y profesionales de nivel medio
- (4) Personal de apoyo administrativo
- (5) Trabajadores de los servicios y vendedores de comercios y mercados
- (6) Agricultores y trabajadores calificados agropecuarios, forestales y pesqueros
- (7) Oficiales, operarios y artesanos de artes mecánicas y de otros oficios
- (8) Operadores de instalaciones y máquinas y ensambladores
- (9) Ocupaciones elementales
- (10) Ocupaciones militares
- (888888) **[NO LEER]** No sabe
- (988888) **[NO LEER]** No responde
- (999999) **[NO LEER]** Inaplicable

OCUP1A. En su ocupación principal usted es: [Leer alternativas]

- (1) Asalariado(a) del gobierno o empresa estatal?
- (2) Asalariado(a) en el sector privado?
- (3) Patrono(a) o socio(a) de empresa?
- (4) Trabajador(a) por cuenta propia?
- (5) Trabajador(a) no remunerado(a) o sin pago?
- (888888) No sabe **[NO LEER]**
- (988888) No responde **[NO LEER]**
- (999999) Inaplicable **[NO LEER]**

FORMAL. Por este trabajo, ¿realiza usted o su empleador contribuciones para su pensión o jubilación?

- (1) Sí
- (2) No
- (888888) **[NO LEER]** No sabe
- (988888) **[NO LEER]** No responde
- (999999) **[NO LEER]** Inaplicable

Q10A. ¿Usted o alguien que vive en su casa recibe remesas, es decir, ayuda económica del exterior?

- (1) Sí
- (2) No
- (888888) No sabe **[NO LEER]**
- (988888) No responde **[NO LEER]**

[ENTREGAR TARJETA “F” AL ENTREVISTADO]

Q10NEW. ¿Y en cuál de los siguientes rangos se encuentran los ingresos familiares mensuales de este hogar, incluyendo las remesas del exterior y el ingreso de todos los adultos e hijos que trabajan?

[Si no entiende, pregunte: ¿Cuánto dinero entra en total a su casa al mes?]

- (00) Ningún ingreso
- (01) Menos de \$60
- (02) Entre \$60 - \$120
- (03) Entre \$121 - \$160
- (04) Entre \$161 - \$190
- (05) Entre \$191 - \$230
- (06) Entre \$231 - \$290
- (07) Entre \$291 - \$330
- (08) Entre \$331 - \$360
- (09) Entre \$361 - \$400
- (10) Entre \$401 - \$430
- (11) Entre \$431 - \$500
- (12) Entre \$501 - \$590
- (13) Entre \$591 - \$730
- (14) Entre \$731 - \$880
- (15) Entre \$881 - \$1200
- (16) Más de \$1200

(888888) No sabe [NO LEER]

(988888) No responde [NO LEER]

[RECOGER TARJETA "F"]

Q14. ¿Tiene usted intenciones de irse a vivir o a trabajar a otro país en los próximos tres años?

- (1) Sí
- (2) No

(888888) No sabe [NO LEER]

(988888) No responde [NO LEER]

Q10E. En los últimos dos años, el ingreso de su hogar: [Leer alternativas]

- (1) ¿Aumentó?
- (2) ¿Permaneció igual?
- (3) ¿Disminuyó?

(888888) No sabe [NO LEER]

(988888) No responde [NO LEER]

Ahora le voy a hacer unas preguntas relacionadas con la alimentación.

	No	Sí	No sabe [NO LEER]	No responde [NO LEER]	
FS2. En los últimos 3 meses, por falta de dinero u otros recursos, alguna vez ¿en su hogar se quedaron sin alimentos?	0	1	888888	988888	
FS8. En los últimos 3 meses, por falta de dinero u otros recursos, alguna vez, ¿usted o algún adulto en su hogar solo comió una vez al día o dejó de comer todo un día?	0	1	888888	988888	

Q11N. ¿Cuál es su estado civil? [Leer alternativas]

- (1) Soltero
- (2) Casado
- (3) Unión libre (acompañado)
- (4) Divorciado
- (5) Separado
- (6) Viudo
- (7) Unión civil

(888888) No sabe [NO LEER]

(988888) No responde [NO LEER]

Q12C. ¿Cuántas personas en total viven en su hogar en este momento? _____
 (888888) No sabe **[NO LEER]**
 (988888) No responde **[NO LEER]**

Q12B. ¿Cuántos niños menores de 13 años viven en este hogar? _____
 00 = Ninguno
 (888888) No sabe **[NO LEER]**
 (988888) No responde **[NO LEER]**

ETID. ¿Usted se considera una persona blanca, mestiza, indígena, negra, mulata, u otra? **[Si la persona entrevistada dice Afro-ecuatoriano, codificar como (4) Negra]**

(1) Blanca (2) Mestiza (3) Indígena (4) Negra (5) Mulata (7) Otra
 (888888) No sabe **[NO LEER]**
 (988888) No responde **[NO LEER]**

GI0N. ¿Con qué frecuencia sigue las noticias, ya sea en la televisión, la radio, los periódicos o el Internet?
[Leer alternativas]

(1) Diariamente (2) Algunas veces a la semana (3) Algunas veces al mes
 (4) Algunas veces al año (5) Nunca
 (888888) No sabe **[NO LEER]**
 (988888) No responde **[NO LEER]**

SMEDIA1. ¿Tiene usted cuenta de Facebook?

(1) Sí **[Sigue]**
 (2) No **[Pasa a SMEDIA4]**
 (888888) No sabe **[Pasa a SMEDIA4]**
 (988888) No responde **[Pasa a SMEDIA4]**

SMEDIA2. ¿Con qué frecuencia ve contenido en Facebook? **[Leer alternativas]**

(1) Diariamente **[Sigue]**
 (2) Algunas veces a la semana **[Sigue]**
 (3) Algunas veces al mes **[Sigue]**
 (4) Algunas veces al año **[Sigue]**
 (5) Nunca **[Pasa a SMEDIA4]**
 (888888) No sabe **[Sigue]**
 (988888) No responde **[Sigue]**
 (999999) No responde **[Inaplicable]**

SMEDIA3. ¿Con qué frecuencia ve información política en Facebook? **[Leer alternativas]**

(1) Diariamente
 (2) Algunas veces a la semana
 (3) Algunas veces al mes
 (4) Algunas veces al año
 (5) Nunca
 (888888) No sabe
 (988888) No responde
 (999999) Inaplicable

SMEDIA4. ¿Tiene usted cuenta de Twitter?

(1) Sí **[Sigue]**
 (2) No **[Pasa a SMEDIA7]**
 (888888) No sabe **[Pasa a SMEDIA7]**
 (988888) No responde **[Pasa a SMEDIA7]**

SMEDIA5. ¿Con qué frecuencia ve contenido en Twitter? [Leer alternativas]

- (1) Diariamente [Sigue]
 - (2) Algunas veces a la semana [Sigue]
 - (3) Algunas veces al mes [Sigue]
 - (4) Algunas veces al año [Sigue]
 - (5) Nunca [Pasa a SMEDIA7]
- (888888) [NO LEER] No sabe [Sigue]
 (988888) [NO LEER] No responde [Sigue]
 (999999) [NO LEER] Inaplicable

SMEDIA6. ¿Con qué frecuencia ve información política en Twitter? [Leer alternativas]

- (1) Diariamente
 - (2) Algunas veces a la semana
 - (3) Algunas veces al mes
 - (4) Algunas veces al año
 - (5) Nunca
- (888888) [NO LEER] No sabe
 (988888) [NO LEER] No responde
 (999999) [NO LEER] Inaplicable

SMEDIA7. ¿Tiene usted cuenta de WhatsApp?

- (1) Sí [Sigue]
 - (2) No [Pasa a R3]
- (888888) [NO LEER] No sabe [Pasa a R3]
 (988888) [NO LEER] No responde [Pasa a R3]

SMEDIA8. ¿Con qué frecuencia usa WhatsApp? [Leer alternativas]

- (1) Diariamente [Sigue]
 - (2) Algunas veces a la semana [Sigue]
 - (3) Algunas veces al mes [Sigue]
 - (4) Algunas veces al año [Sigue]
 - (5) Nunca [Pasa a R3]
- (888888) [NO LEER] No sabe [Sigue]
 (988888) [NO LEER] No responde [Sigue]
 (999999) [NO LEER] Inaplicable

SMEDIA9. ¿Con qué frecuencia ve información política en WhatsApp? [Leer alternativas]

- (1) Diariamente
 - (2) Algunas veces a la semana
 - (3) Algunas veces al mes
 - (4) Algunas veces al año
 - (5) Nunca
- (888888) [NO LEER] No sabe
 (988888) [NO LEER] No responde
 (999999) [NO LEER] Inaplicable

Podría decirme si en su casa tienen: [Leer todos]

R3. Refrigerador (nevera)	(0) No	(1) Sí	(888888) No sabe [NO LEER]	(988888) No responde [NO LEER]
R4. Teléfono convencional/fijo/residencial (no celular)	(0) No	(1) Sí	(888888) No sabe [NO LEER]	(988888) No responde [NO LEER]
R4A. Teléfono celular (acepta smartphone/ teléfono inteligente)	(0) No	(1) Sí	(888888) No sabe [NO LEER]	(988888) No responde [NO LEER]

R5. Vehículo/carro. ¿Cuántos? [Si no dice cuántos, marcar "uno".]	(0) No	(1) Uno	(2) Dos	(3) Tres o más	(888888) No sabe [NO LEER]	(988888) No responde [NO LEER]
R6. Lavadora de ropa	(0) No			(1) Sí	(888888) No sabe [NO LEER]	(988888) No responde [NO LEER]
R7. Horno microondas	(0) No			(1) Sí	(888888) No sabe [NO LEER]	(988888) No responde [NO LEER]
R8. Motocicleta	(0) No			(1) Sí	(888888) No sabe [NO LEER]	(988888) No responde [NO LEER]
R12. Agua potable dentro de la vivienda	(0) No			(1) Sí	(888888) No sabe [NO LEER]	(988888) No responde [NO LEER]
R14. Cuarto de baño dentro de la casa	(0) No			(1) Sí	(888888) No sabe [NO LEER]	(988888) No responde [NO LEER]
R15. Computadora (acepta tableta/iPad)	(0) No			(1) Sí	(888888) No sabe [NO LEER]	(988888) No responde [NO LEER]
R18. Servicio de Internet desde su casa (incluyendo teléfono o tableta)	(0) No			(1) Sí	(888888) No sabe [NO LEER]	(988888) No responde [NO LEER]
R1. Televisión	(0) No [Pasa a PSC1]			(1) Sí [Sigue]	(888888) No sabe [NO LEER]	(988888) No responde [NO LEER]
R16. Televisor de pantalla plana	(0) No			(1) Sí	(888888) No sabe [NO LEER]	(988888) No responde [NO LEER]

Para finalizar...

PSC1. ¿Cuál es la principal fuente de agua que usan para tomar o beber los miembros de su hogar? [NO leer alternativas. Marcar solo una respuesta] [Si menciona que usa distintas fuentes, pedir la que usa más] [Si dice solamente tubería o red pública SONDEAR si es dentro (1) o fuera del hogar (2)]

- (01) Tubería o red pública/ de la llave dentro del hogar
- (02) Tubería o red pública en el patio/solar
- (03) Conexión irregular a red pública
- (04) Pilón o pileta/tanque/llave comunitaria de uso público
- (05) Pozo entubado/pozo perforación
- (06) Pozo excavado cubierto/ aljibe
- (07) Pozo excavado descubierto
- (08) Manantial cubierto
- (09) Manantial descubierto
- (10) Recolección de agua de lluvia
- (11) Agua embotellada (botellón de agua)
- (12) Carreta con tanque pequeño/tambor
- (13) Camión/tanque cisterna/tanqueta de agua
- (14) Río, arroyo, canal, canales de irrigación/riego
- (77) Otro
- (888888) [NO LEER] No sabe
- (988888) [NO LEER] No responde

PSC2. ¿Cuál es la **principal** fuente de agua usada en su hogar para otros propósitos, tales como **cocinar y lavarse las manos?** [NO leer alternativas. Marcar solo una respuesta] [Si menciona que usa distintas fuentes, pedir la que usa más] [Si dice solamente tubería o red pública SONDEAR si es dentro (1) o fuera del hogar (2)]

- (01) Tubería o red pública/ de la llave dentro del hogar [Pasa a PSA18]
 - (02) Tubería o red pública en el patio/solar [Pasa a PSA18]
 - (03) Conexión irregular a red pública [Pasa a PSA18]
 - (04) Pilón o piletón/tanque/llave comunitaria de uso público [Sigue]
 - (05) Pozo entubado/pozo/ perforación [Sigue]
 - (06) Pozo excavado cubierto/ aljibe [Sigue]
 - (07) Pozo excavado descubierto [Sigue]
 - (08) Manantial cubierto [Sigue]
 - (09) Manantial descubierto [Sigue]
 - (10) Recolección de agua de lluvia [Sigue]
 - (11) Agua embotellada (botellón de agua) [Sigue]
 - (12) Carreta con tanque pequeño/tambor [Sigue]
 - (13) Camión/tanque cisterna/tanqueta de agua[Sigue]
 - (14) Río, Arroyo, canal, canales de irrigación/riego [Sigue]
 - (77) Otro [Sigue]
- (888888) [NO LEER] No sabe [Pasa a PSA14]
 (988888) [NO LEER] No responde [Pasa a PSA14]

[Si no hay tubería: Respuesta distinta de (1), (2) o (3) en PSC2]

PSA21. ¿Por qué no se conecta al sistema de agua? [NO leer alternativas]

- (1) El sistema no llega/cubre mi casa
 - (2) La tarifa que cobran **para conectarse** al sistema es muy alta
 - (3) La tarifa que cobran por el servicio **después de conectarse** es muy alta
 - (4) Creo que el sistema que uso actualmente es mejor
 - (5) No quiero romper mi piso/requiere trabajos dentro de mi casa para conectarse
 - (6) Estoy acostumbrado/cómodo con el sistema que uso actualmente y prefiero no cambiar
 - (7) El sistema que uso es el más común en este vecindario
 - (8) No hay interés de las autoridades/empresa de agua en ofrecer servicio aquí
- (888888) [NO LEER] No sabe
 (988888) [NO LEER] No responde
 (999999) [NO LEER] Inaplicable

[Preguntar PSA18, PSA19, PSA20 solo si hay cañería/ acueducto/tubería – Si la respuesta a pregunta PSC2 fue (01), (02) o (03)]

¿Cómo calificaría la calidad de cada uno de los siguientes aspectos de su servicio de agua?

PSA18. Limpieza del agua. Diría que es...[Leer alternativas]

- (1) Muy buena (2) Buena (3) Ni buena ni mala (Regular) (4) Mala (5) Muy mala
- (888888) [NO LEER] No sabe
 (988888) [NO LEER] No responde
 (999999) [NO LEER] Inaplicable

PSA19. Sabor del agua. Diría que es... [Leer alternativas]

[ATENCION, La pregunta refiere a sabor del agua recién salida del grifo, SIN filtrar y SIN hervir]

- (1) Muy bueno (2) Bueno (3) Ni bueno ni malo (Regular) (4) Malo (5) Muy malo
- (888888) [NO LEER] No sabe
 (988888) [NO LEER] No responde
 (999999) [NO LEER] Inaplicable

PSA20. La presión del agua en su hogar. Diría que es... [Leer alternativas]

- (1) Muy buena (2) Buena (3) Ni buena ni mala (Regular) (4) Mala (5) Muy mala
- (888888) [NO LEER] No sabe
 (988888) [NO LEER] No responde
 (999999) [NO LEER] Inaplicable

<p>[Preguntar sólo si hay acueducto/cañería/tubería – Si la respuesta a pregunta PSC2 fue (01) (02) o (03)]</p> <p>PSC7. ¿Cuántos días por semana recibe agua por tubería/red pública?</p> <p>(0) Menos de una vez por semana (1) Un día por semana (2) Dos días por semana (3) Tres días por semana (4) Cuatro días por semana (5) Cinco días por semana (6) Seis días por semana (7) Siete días por semana (888888) [NO LEER] No sabe (988888) [NO LEER] No responde (999999) [NO LEER] Inaplicable</p>	
<p>[Preguntar sólo si hay acueducto/tubería - Si la respuesta a pregunta PSC2 fue (01) (02) o (03)]</p> <p>PSC8. ¿Cuántas horas de agua al día tiene cuando tiene el servicio?</p> <p>Anotar cantidad de horas _____ [Atención, si dice en minutos o fracción, redondear a horas] [Máximo valor aceptado: 24] [Refiere al suministro a través del acueducto/cañería/tubería, con independencia del sistema de acopio hogareño que pueda tener]</p> <p>(888888) [NO LEER] No sabe (988888) [NO LEER] No responde (999999) [NO LEER] Inaplicable</p>	
<p>[Preguntar sólo si hay acueducto/tubería - Si la respuesta a pregunta PSC2 fue (01) (02) o (03)]</p> <p>PSC9. ¿Durante las últimas cuatro semanas, cuántas veces fue interrumpido el servicio regular de agua?</p> <p>[Anotar número] _____ [Máximo valor aceptado: 50]</p> <p>(888888) [NO LEER] No sabe (988888) [NO LEER] No responde (999999) [NO LEER] Inaplicable</p>	
<p>[Preguntar sólo si respondió (1) o (2) en pregunta PSC2]</p> <p>PSC10. En ocasiones, la gente no paga los recibos de agua por distintas razones: no creen que sea importante, creen que el agua debería ser gratis o porque no pueden pagarla. ¿De las últimas 6 facturas de agua que recibió, dejó de pagar alguna?</p> <p>[Si dice “Sí” preguntar cuántas y anotar número] _____ [Valores aceptados: 1 - 6]</p> <p>(0) No (7) [NO LEER] No pagó porque no recibió la factura</p> <p>(888888) [NO LEER] No sabe (988888) [NO LEER] No responde (999999) [NO LEER] Inaplicable</p>	

[PREGUNTAR A TODOS]

PSA14. ¿Usted o los miembros de su hogar, toman alguna medida para ahorrar agua? ¿Cuáles? [No leer alternativas. Marcar todas las que correspondan]

- (0) Ninguna medida
 - (1) Reducir uso en higiene personal (acortar duchas, cerrar el grifo cuando se cepilla dientes o lava las manos)
 - (2) Utilizar sistema ahorrador en sanitario (cisterna dual, otros)
 - (3) Utilizar balde/cubo en vez del grifo para limpieza de vajilla, autos, veredas
 - (4) Utilizar fuentes alternativas (lluvia, manantial) para riego
 - (5) Utilizar ciclos cortos en electrodomésticos (lavarropas, lavavajillas)
 - (6) Utilizar temporizadores / reductores de presión
 - (7) Reutilizar agua (de lavados o ducha, etc.) para otros propósitos
 - (77) Otras medidas
 - (888888) [NO LEER] No sabe
 - (988888) [NO LEER] No responde

PSC11. ¿El baño o servicio higiénico de esta vivienda está conectado a [Leer alternativas] [Sondear si es necesario. Atención, opciones (1) a (5) y (7) implican conexión a red o descarga hacia exterior de la vivienda]

- (1) Sistema de alcantarillado **[Pasa a PSC12]**
(7) Conectado a planta/sistema de tratamiento **[Pasa a PSC12]**
(2) Tanque/fosa séptica/ pozo negro **fuera** de la casa **[Pasa a PSC12]**
(3) Entubado hacia arroyo/ curso de agua **[Pasa a PSC12]**
(4) Otra respuesta [fluye/descarga/descarta/sale hacia otro lugar] **[Pasa a PSC12]**
(5) Fluye/descarga/descarta/sale a lugar desconocido/no está seguro/No sabe donde **[Pasa a PSC12]**
(6) Pozo/pozo negro/ silo no conectado a ningún sistema **[Sigue]**
(888888) **[NO LEER]** No sabe **[Pasa a PSC12]**
(988888) **[NO LEER]** No responde **[Pasa a PSC12]**

[Preguntar sólo si no tiene desagüe fuera de la vivienda, respuesta (6) en PSC11]

PSC11A. ¿Qué utilizan en su hogar como baño? [Leer alternativas]

1. ¿Cuáles que utilizan en su hogar como baño? [Leer alternativas]

 - (1) Letrina mejorada con ventilación
 - (2) Letrina de pozo con losa/inodoro
 - (3) Letrina de pozo sin losa/inodoro / pozo abierto
 - (4) Baño de composta/ baño/sanitario/letrina seco(a)/ecológico(a)/abonera
 - (5) Balde/cubo
 - (6) Baño/ retrete / letrina colgante
 - (7) No usa infraestructura o usa arbusto o campo/superficie
 - (77) Otro
 - (888888) [NO LEER] No sabe
 - (988888) [NO LEER] No responde
 - (999999) [NO LEER] Inaplicable

PSC12. ¿Usted comparte este baño con otros hogares?

[Si no hay alcantarillado/saneamiento: respondió algo distinto de (1) en PSC11]

PSA15. ¿Por qué no se conecta al sistema de saneamiento/ desagüe o alcantarillado? **[NO leer alternativas]**

- (1) El sistema no llega/cubre mi casa
- (2) La tarifa que cobran **para conectarse** al sistema es muy alta
- (3) La tarifa que cobran por el servicio **después de conectarse** es muy alta
- (4) Creo que el sistema que uso actualmente es mejor
- (5) No quiero romper mi piso/requiere trabajos dentro de mi casa para conectarse
- (6) Estoy acostumbrado/cómodo con el sistema que uso actualmente y prefiero no cambiar
- (7) El sistema que uso es el más común en este vecindario
- (8) No hay interés de las autoridades/empresa de saneamiento en ofrecer servicio aquí
- (888888) **[NO LEER]** No sabe
- (988888) **[NO LEER]** No responde
- (999999) **[NO LEER]** Inaplicable

PSC13. Por favor, me podría decir, ¿cómo eliminan la basura en esta vivienda?

[NO leer alternativas. Marcar todas las que correspondan] [Sondear si se trata de recolección de basura domiciliaria formal (01) o informal (02) y para reciclaje formal (12) o informal (13)]

- (01) Recolección domiciliaria de basura (pasa servicio municipal de recolección)
- (02) Recolección domiciliaria de basura (pasa servicio informal de recolección/hurgadores/recolectores ambulantes)
- (03) La deposita en contenedores comunales/barriales/de la comunidad
- (04) La lleva al botadero/vertedero/basurero municipal
- (05) La entierra
- (06) La prepara para abono/hace compost
- (07) La quema
- (08) La tira en terreno baldío/ basural/basurero o en curso de agua
- (09) La tira en otro/cualquier lugar
- (10) Recicla en su hogar (no abono)
- (11) Lleva a centro de recepción para reciclado
- (12) Recolección domiciliaria para reciclaje (municipal)
- (13) Recolección domiciliaria para reciclaje (informal/recolector/recolectores ambulantes)
- (888888) **[NO LEER]** No sabe
- (988888) **[NO LEER]** No responde

PSA22. ¿Su casa está conectada a la red eléctrica... **[Leer alternativas]**

- (1) Sí, con conexión legal/formal/ con medidor **[Sigue]**
- (2) Sí, con conexión informal/ ilegal (colgado/guindado/pegado) **[Pasa a PSA16]**
- (3) No **[Pasa a PSC3]**
- (888888) **[NO LEER]** No sabe **[Pasa a PSC3]**
- (988888) **[NO LEER]** No responde**[Pasa a PSC3]**

[Preguntar PSA23 y PSA24 sólo si tiene servicio de electricidad legal, sólo si respuesta es (1) en PSA22] ¿Cómo calificaría la calidad de cada uno de los siguientes aspectos de su servicio de electricidad:

PSA23. Confiabilidad del servicio de electricidad. Diría que es... **[Leer alternativas]**

- (1) Muy bueno (2) Bueno (3) Ni bueno ni malo (Regular) (4) Malo (5) Muy malo
- (888888) **[NO LEER]** No sabe
- (988888) **[NO LEER]** No responde
- (999999) **[NO LEER]** Inaplicable

PSA24. Servicio al cliente cuando hay apagones o interrupciones (por ejemplo información de cuándo sucederán, qué tanto durarán, causas del corte). Diría que es... **[Leer alternativas]**

- (1) Muy bueno (2) Bueno (3) Ni bueno ni malo (Regular) (4) Malo
- (5) Muy malo
- (888888) **[NO LEER]** No sabe
- (988888) **[NO LEER]** No responde
- (999999) **[NO LEER]** Inaplicable

[Preguntar solo si está conectado a red eléctrica legal o ilegal: respuesta (1) o (2) en PSA22]

PSA16. Pensando en su consumo de electricidad, en el último año, ¿tomó medidas para ahorrar energía o pagar menos en su recibo de luz? ¿Cuáles? **[No leer alternativas. Marcar todas las que correspondan]**

- (0) No tomó ninguna medida
- (1) Tomar duchas más frías o más cortas de lo que desearía
- (2) Evitar usar el aire acondicionado/ventilador durante días o noches calurosas
- (3) Evitar usar la calefacción durante días o noches frías
- (4) Evitar usar electrodomésticos (microondas, computadora, televisor)
- (5) Comprar focos o lámparas LED/bajo consumo
- (6) Comprar electrodomésticos que gasten menos electricidad (heladera/refrigerador/nevera, aire acondicionado, freezer)
- (7) Apagar las luces
- (8) Desconectar/desenchufar electrodomésticos
- (9) Utilizar timers / Evitar consumo en horas pico / contratar tarifas inteligentes
- (10) Utilizar medidor con recarga/ Planes de consumo con tope
- (77) Otras medidas de ahorro
- (888888) **[NO LEER]** No sabe
- (999998) **[NO LEER]** No responde
- (999999) **[NO LEER]** Inaplicable

PSC3. Voy a mencionar algunos problemas con los que muchos ecuatorianos hemos tenido que lidiar en los últimos años. ¿Cuáles de estos ha experimentado usted personalmente, o alguien de su hogar, en los últimos tres años? **[Leer alternativas. Marcar todas las que correspondan]**

- (0) **[NO LEER]** Ninguno
- (1) Sequías que tengan como consecuencia cortes o falta de agua
- (2) Cortes de energía eléctrica (luz)
- (3) Inundaciones
- (888888) **[NO LEER]** No sabe
- (988888) **[NO LEER]** No responde

PSC4. ¿Quién cree que es el principal responsable de las sequías que tienen como consecuencia cortes o falta de agua? **[Leer alternativas]**

- (1) Gobierno nacional
- (2) Gobierno provincial
- (3) Gobierno local
- (4) Empresa proveedora del servicio de agua
- (5) Cambio climático o condiciones climáticas extremas
- (6) La gente/nosotros mismos
- (77) **[NO LEER]** Otras respuestas
- (888888) **[NO LEER]** No sabe
- (988888) **[NO LEER]** No responde

PSC5. ¿Quién cree que es el principal responsable de los cortes de energía eléctrica? **[Leer alternativas]**

- (1) Gobierno nacional
- (2) Gobierno provincial
- (3) Gobierno local
- (4) Empresa proveedora del servicio eléctrico
- (5) Cambio climático o condiciones climáticas extremas
- (6) La gente/nosotros mismos
- (77) **[NO LEER]** Otras respuestas
- (888888) **[NO LEER]** No sabe
- (988888) **[NO LEER]** No responde

PSC6. ¿Quién cree que es el principal responsable de las inundaciones? [Leer alternativas]

- (1) Gobierno nacional
- (2) Gobierno provincial
- (3) Gobierno local
- (5) Cambio climático o condiciones climáticas extremas
- (6) La gente/nosotros mismos
- (77) [NO LEER] Otras respuestas
- (888888) [NO LEER] No sabe
- (988888) [NO LEER] No responde

[Solo a los que respondieron (1) o (2) en pregunta PSC2]

PSA26. En su casa, ¿hay medidor para conocer cuánto consume de agua? [Leer alternativas. Marcar solo una respuesta]

- (0) No hay medidor
- (1) Sí, hay medidor individual (sólo para mi casa)
- (2) Sí, hay un medidor pero es grupal (de la comunidad, edificio de apartamentos) [Sigue]
- (888888) [NO LEER] No sabe
- (988888) [NO LEER] No responde
- (999999) [NO LEER] Inaplicable

PSA25A. ¿Cuánto paga actualmente por su consumo familiar de agua en un mes?

Anotar \$ _____ [Sigue]
 (888888) [NO LEER] No sabe [Pasa a FORMATQ]
 (988888) [NO LEER] No responde [Pasa a FORMATQ]
 (999999) [NO LEER] Inaplicable [Pasa a FORMATQ]

PSA25. Pensando en lo que en su casa pagan por agua, ¿cuál de las siguientes afirmaciones refleja mejor su opinión? [Leer alternativas]

- (1) El precio que pago por el agua debería ser más bajo
- (2) El precio que pago por el agua debería ser el mismo
- (3) El precio que pago por el agua debería ser más alto
- (888888) [NO LEER] No sabe
- (988888) [NO LEER] No responde
- (999999) [NO LEER] Inaplicable

Estas son todas las preguntas que tengo. Muchísimas gracias por su colaboración.

FORMATQ. Favor indicar el formato en que se completó ESTE cuestionario específico

- (1) Papel
- (2) ADGYS
- (3) Windows PDA
- (4) STG

COLORR. [Una vez salga de la entrevista, SIN PREGUNTAR, por favor use la Paleta de Colores, e indique el número que más se acerca al color de piel de la cara del entrevistado] _____

(97) No se pudo clasificar [Marcar (97) únicamente, si por alguna razón, no se pudo ver la cara de la persona entrevistada]

Hora en la cual terminó la entrevista _____ : _____

[Una vez salga de la entrevista, SIN PREGUNTAR, complete las siguientes preguntas]

NOISE1. ¿Había alguien más presente durante la entrevista, además del entrevistado?

- (0) No [Pasa a CONOCIM]
- (1) Sí, pero en otra habitación/ a la distancia [Sigue]
- (2) Sí, cerca del entrevistado pero sin interferir [Sigue]
- (3) Sí, interfiriendo /participando esporádicamente [Sigue]
- (4) Sí, interfiriendo mucho / poniendo en riesgo la entrevista [Sigue]

NOISE2. ¿Quién(es) estaba(n) presente(s)? [Marcar todas las que correspondan]

- (1) Esposo/espresa/pareja
- (2) Hijo/a (niño/a)
- (3) Hijo/a (adulto/a)
- (4) Padres/ suegros/ padres adoptivos
- (5) Otro pariente (niño)
- (6) Otro pariente (adulto)
- (7) Otra persona no pariente (niño)
- (8) Otra persona no pariente (adulto)
- (9) Otro niño (no se sabe vínculo)
- (10) Otro adulto (no se sabe vínculo)
- (888888) No sabe
- (999999) Inaplicable

CONOCIM. Usando la escala que se presenta abajo, por favor califique su percepción sobre el nivel de conocimiento político del entrevistado

- (1) Muy alto
- (2) Alto
- (3) Ni alto ni bajo
- (4) Bajo
- (5) Muy bajo

TI. Duración de la entrevista [*minutos, ver página # 1*] _____

INTID. Número de identificación del entrevistador: _____

SEXI. Anotar el sexo suyo: (1) Hombre (2) Mujer

COLORI. Usando la Paleta de Colores, anote el color de piel suyo.

Yo juro que esta entrevista fue llevada a cabo con la persona indicada.

Firma del entrevistador _____ *Fecha* ____ / ____ / ____

Firma del supervisor de campo _____

Comentarios: _____

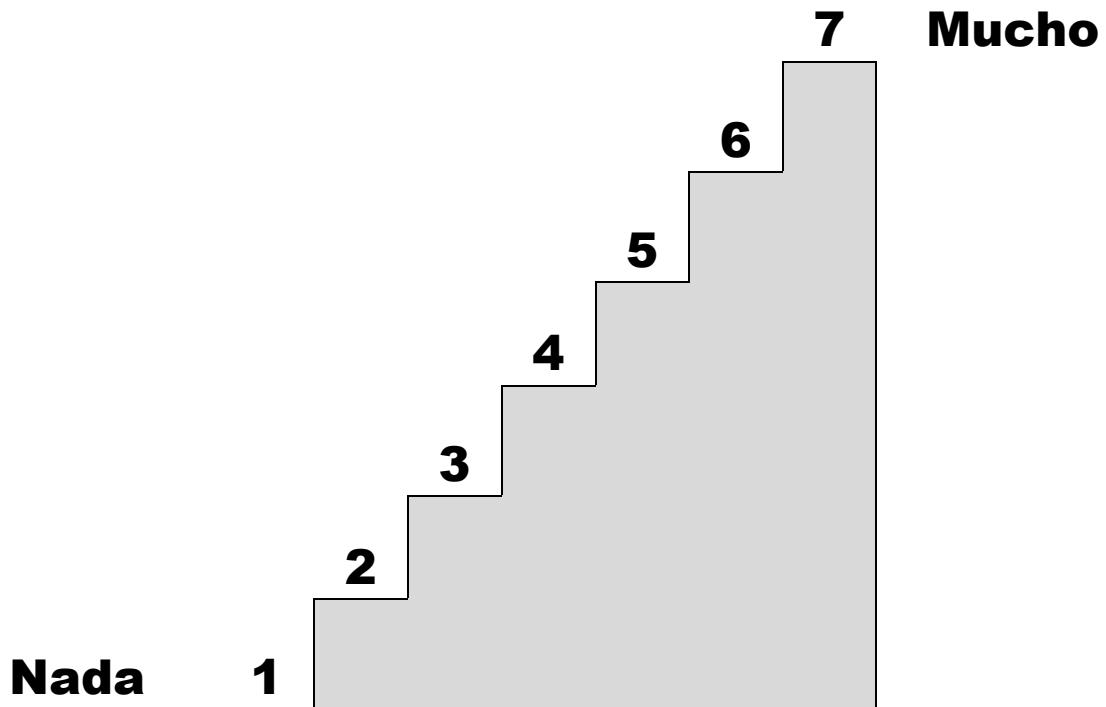
[No usar para PDA/Android] *Firma de la persona que digitó los datos* _____

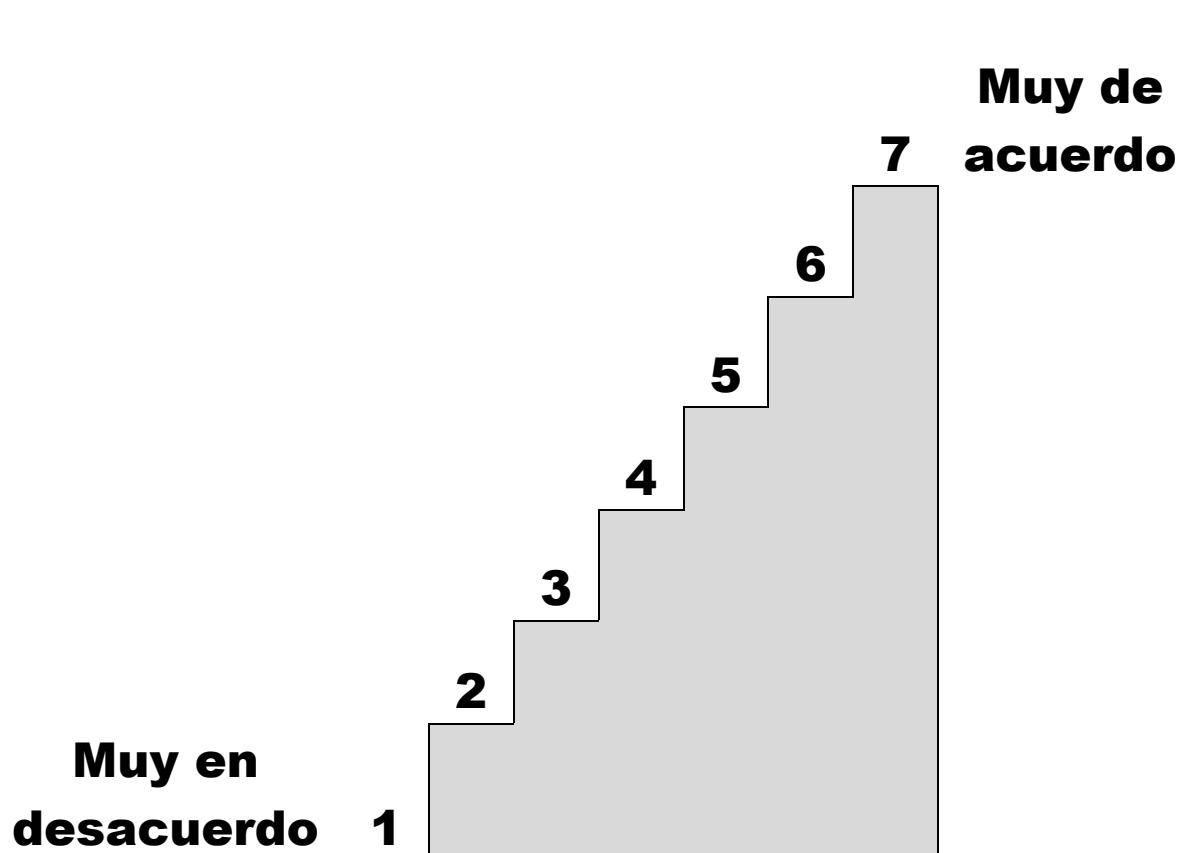
[No usar para PDA/Android] *Firma de la persona que verificó los datos* _____



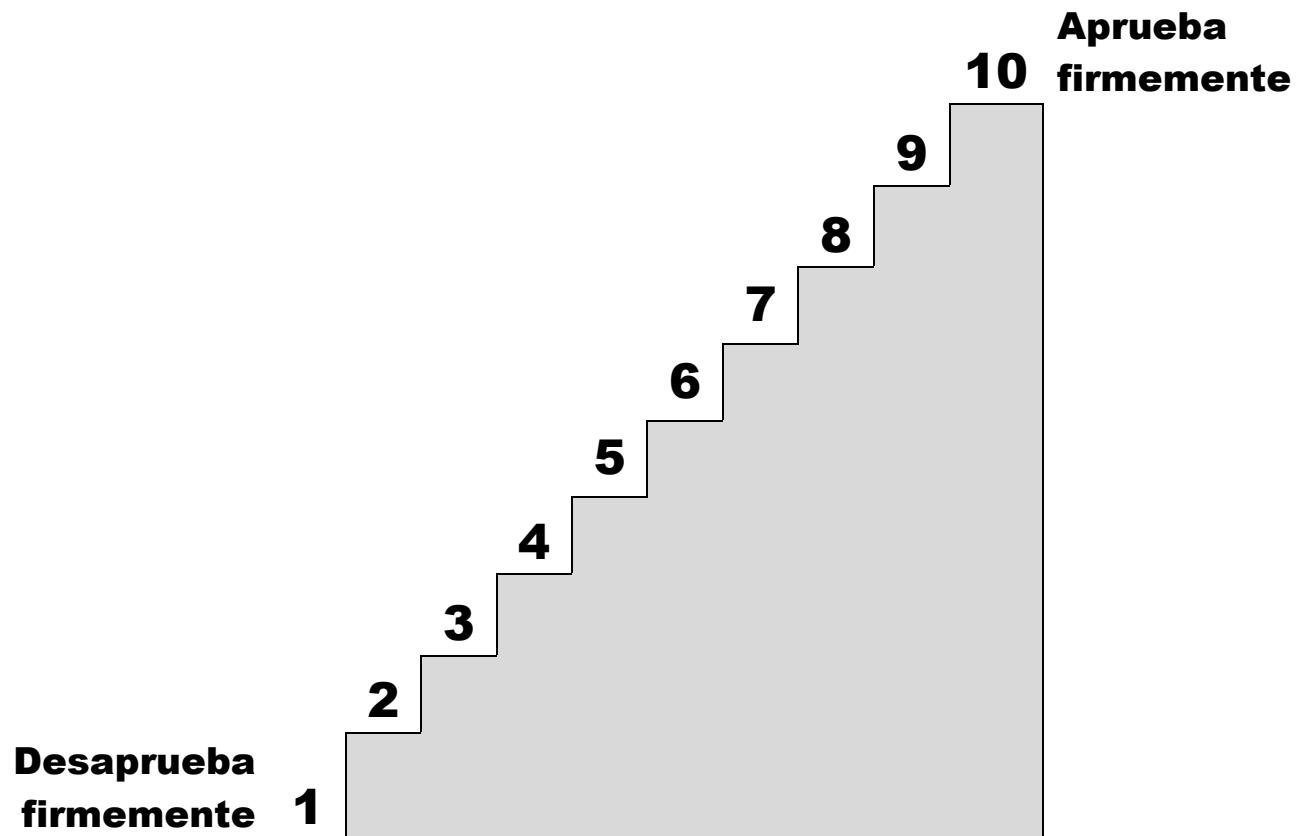
Tarjeta A (L1)

Tarjeta B





Tarjeta D



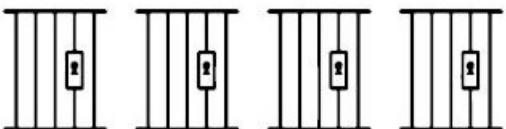
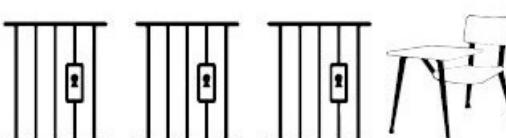
Tarjeta Infografía JTC

**¿Sabía Ud. que el costo anual de mantener
a una persona en la cárcel es
de aproximadamente
US\$5.000 en Ecuador?***

* Considera sólo gasto público, costo social es aproximadamente el doble (al incluir pérdida de ingreso por privación de libertad)



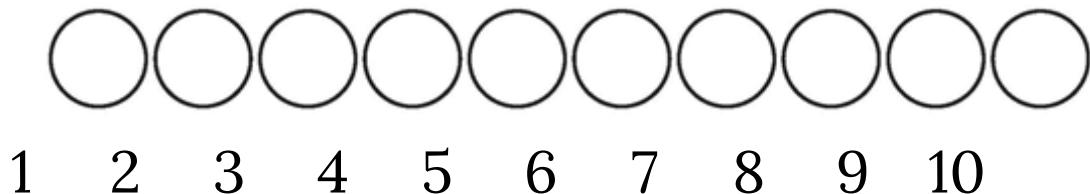
Tarjeta JTA

- (1)  **20 años** más de cárcel y cero recursos a becas de capacitación
- (2)  **15 años** más de cárcel y becas de capacitación para rehabilitar a **30 presos**
- (3)  **10 años** más de cárcel y becas para rehabilitar a **60 presos**
- (4)  **5 años** más de cárcel y becas para rehabilitar a **90 presos**
- (5)  **Dejarlo en libertad inmediata**, dado su buen comportamiento y que ha cumplido una pena suficiente y asignar además becas de capacitación técnica para rehabilitar a **120 presos**

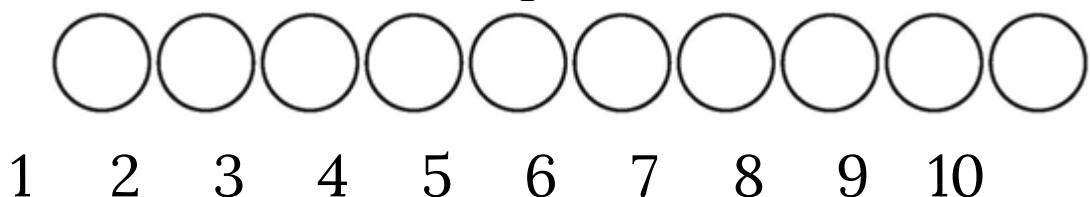
Tarjeta YN

Utilice esta tarjeta para distribuir estas 10 unidades entre las 3 medidas, de acuerdo a lo que usted considere mejor. Puede asignar el número de unidades que quiera a cada una de las medidas hasta alcanzar un total de 10 unidades.

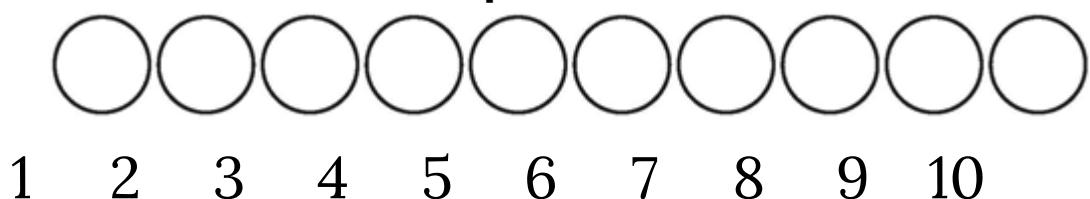
Aumentar los castigos a los delincuentes



Aumentar las medidas que ayudan a detectar a la delincuencia, como la instalación de cámaras de seguridad



Invertir más dinero en programas de prevención de la delincuencia, como entrenamiento vocacional, programas de rehabilitación y programas contra la pobreza



Tarjeta F

- (00) Ningún ingreso
- (01) Menos de \$60
- (02) Entre \$60 - \$120
- (03) Entre \$121 - \$160
- (04) Entre \$161 - \$190
- (05) Entre \$191 - \$230
- (06) Entre \$231 - \$290
- (07) Entre \$291 - \$330
- (08) Entre \$331 - \$360
- (09) Entre \$361 - \$400
- (10) Entre \$401 - \$430
- (11) Entre \$431 - \$500
- (12) Entre \$501 - \$590
- (13) Entre \$591 - \$730
- (14) Entre \$731 - \$880
- (15) Entre \$881 - \$1200
- (16) Más de \$1200

Tarjeta OCUPOIT

[NO MOSTRAR, solo para el encuestador]

1 Directores y gerentes

Directores ejecutivos, personal directivo de la administración pública y miembros del poder ejecutivo y de los cuerpos legislativos

Directores administradores y comerciales
Directores y gerentes de producción y operaciones

Gerentes de hoteles, restaurantes, comercios y otros servicios

2 Profesionales científicos e intelectuales

Profesionales de las ciencias y de la ingeniería
Profesionales de la salud

Profesionales de la enseñanza
Especialistas en organización de la administración pública y de empresas

Profesionales de tecnología de la información y las comunicaciones

Profesionales en derecho, en ciencias sociales y culturales

3 Técnicos y profesionales de nivel medio

Profesionales de las ciencias y la ingeniería de nivel medio

Profesionales de nivel medio de la salud
Profesionales de nivel medio en operaciones financieras y administrativas

Profesionales de nivel medio de servicios jurídicos, sociales, culturales y afines

Técnicos de la tecnología de la información y las comunicaciones

4 Personal de apoyo administrativo

Oficinistas
Empleados en trato directo con el público

Empleados contables y encargados del registro de materiales

Otro personal de apoyo administrativo

5 Trabajadores de los servicios y vendedores de comercios y mercados

Trabajadores de los servicios personales
Vendedores

Trabajadores de los cuidados personales
Personal de los servicios de protección (bomberos, policías)

6 Agricultores y trabajadores calificados agropecuarios, forestales y pesqueros

Agricultores y trabajadores calificados de explotaciones agropecuarias con destino al mercado

Trabajadores forestales calificados, pescadores y cazadores

Trabajadores agropecuarios, pescadores, cazadores y recolectores de subsistencia

7 Oficiales, operarios y artesanos de artes mecánicas y de otros oficios

Oficiales y operarios de la construcción excluyendo electricistas

Oficiales y operarios de la metalurgia, la construcción mecánica y afines

Artesanos y operarios de las artes gráficas
Trabajadores especializados en electricidad y la electrotecnología

Operarios y oficiales de procesamiento de alimentos, de la confección, ebanistas, otros artesanos y afines

8 Operadores de instalaciones y máquinas y ensambladores

Operadores de instalaciones fijas y máquinas
Ensambladores

Conductores de vehículos y operadores de equipos pesados móviles

9 Ocupaciones elementales

Limpiadores y asistentes
Peones agropecuarios, pesqueros y forestales

Peones de la minería, la construcción, la industria manufacturera y el transporte

Ayudantes de preparación de alimentos
Vendedores ambulantes de servicios y afines

Recolectores de desechos y otras ocupaciones elementales

10 Ocupaciones militares

Oficiales de las fuerzas armadas
Suboficiales de las fuerzas armadas

Otros miembros de las fuerzas armadas

Paleta de Colores



The AmericasBarometer 2018/19

The AmericasBarometer is a regional survey carried out by the Latin American Public Opinion Project (LAPOP). LAPOP has deep roots in the Latin America and Caribbean region, via public opinion research that dates back over four decades. Its headquarters are at Vanderbilt University, in the United States. The AmericasBarometer is possible due to the activities and support of a consortium of institutions located across the Americas. To carry out each round of the survey, LAPOP partners with local individuals, firms, universities, development organizations, and others in 34 countries in the Western Hemisphere. These efforts have three core purposes: to produce objective, non-partisan, and scientifically sound studies of public opinion; to build capacity and strengthen international relations; and to disseminate important findings regarding citizens' experiences with, assessments of, and commitment to democratic forms of government.

Since 2004, the AmericasBarometer has received generous support from the United States Agency for International Development (USAID) and Vanderbilt University. Other institutions that have contributed to multiple rounds of the survey project include Ciudadania, Environics, the Inter-American Development Bank, the Tinker Foundation, and the United Nations Development Programme. The project has also benefited from grants from the U.S. National Science Foundation (NSF), the National Center for Research in Brazil (CNPq), and the Open Society Foundation and academic institutions in the continent.

The 2018/19 AmericasBarometer was carried out via face-to-face interviews in 18 countries across the Latin America and Caribbean region, and via the internet in Canada and the U.S. All samples are designed to be nationally representative of voting-age adults and electronic devices were used for data entry in all countries. In all, more than 31,000 individuals were interviewed in this latest round of the survey. The complete 2004-2018/19 AmericasBarometer dataset contains responses from over 300,000 individuals across the region. Common core modules, standardized techniques, and rigorous quality control procedures permit valid comparisons across individuals, subgroups, certain subnational areas, countries, supra-regions, and time.

AmericasBarometer data and reports are available for free download from the project website: www.LapopSurveys.org. Datasets from the project can also be accessed via "data repositories" and subscribing institutions at universities across the Americas. Through such open access practices and these collaborations, LAPOP works to contribute to the pursuit of excellence in public opinion research and ongoing discussions over how programs and policies related to democratic governance can improve the quality of life for individuals in the Americas and beyond.



COUNTERPART
INTERNATIONAL

