

# Thesis

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## Introduction

Call:

```
glm(formula = bukele_perception_dummy ~ vicbar4a + sgl1_fac +
     ur1new_fac + jc13_dummy + idio2_fac, family = binomial(link = "logit"),
     data = LAPOP_Model)
```

Coefficients:

|                                       | Estimate  | Std. Error | z value | Pr(> z ) |     |
|---------------------------------------|-----------|------------|---------|----------|-----|
| (Intercept)                           | 1.638712  | 0.456276   | 3.591   | 0.000329 | *** |
| vicbar4a                              | -0.470545 | 0.322418   | -1.459  | 0.144448 |     |
| sgl1_facBuenos                        | 0.219480  | 0.418962   | 0.524   | 0.600373 |     |
| sgl1_facNi buenos ni malos            | -0.550846 | 0.357789   | -1.540  | 0.123661 |     |
| sgl1_facMuy malos                     | -0.332112 | 0.439097   | -0.756  | 0.449438 |     |
| ur1new_facPeriferia de ciudad         | 0.936831  | 0.324914   | 2.883   | 0.003935 | **  |
| ur1new_facPueblo cercano a zona rural | 0.864452  | 0.340304   | 2.540   | 0.011078 | *   |
| ur1new_facZona rural                  | 1.427432  | 0.269221   | 5.302   | 1.14e-07 | *** |
| jc13_dummy                            | 0.005955  | 0.256782   | 0.023   | 0.981497 |     |
| idio2_facIgual                        | -0.797326 | 0.365006   | -2.184  | 0.028931 | *   |
| idio2_facPeor                         | -0.791150 | 0.374633   | -2.112  | 0.034704 | *   |

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Signif. codes: 0 '\*\*\*' 0.001 '\*\*' 0.01 '\*' 0.05 '.' 0.1 ' ' 1

(Dispersion parameter for binomial family taken to be 1)

Null deviance: 568.22 on 564 degrees of freedom  
Residual deviance: 521.99 on 554 degrees of freedom

AIC: 543.99

Number of Fisher Scoring iterations: 4

| =====                                 |                         |
|---------------------------------------|-------------------------|
|                                       | Dependent variable:     |
|                                       | -----                   |
|                                       | bukele_perception_dummy |
| -----                                 | -----                   |
| vicbar4a                              | -0.47054<br>(0.32242)   |
| sgl1_facBuenos                        | 0.21948<br>(0.41896)    |
| sgl1_facNi buenos ni malos            | -0.55085<br>(0.35779)   |
| sgl1_facMuy malos                     | -0.33211<br>(0.43910)   |
| ur1new_facPeriferia de ciudad         | 0.93683***<br>(0.32491) |
| ur1new_facPueblo cercano a zona rural | 0.86445**<br>(0.34030)  |
| ur1new_facZona rural                  | 1.42743***<br>(0.26922) |
| jc13_dummy                            | 0.00596<br>(0.25678)    |
| idio2_facIgual                        | -0.79733**<br>(0.36501) |
| idio2_facPeor                         | -0.79115**<br>(0.37463) |
| Constant                              | 1.63871***<br>(0.45628) |

# Logistic Regression Predicting Support for Bukele

Odds ratios with 95% confidence intervals

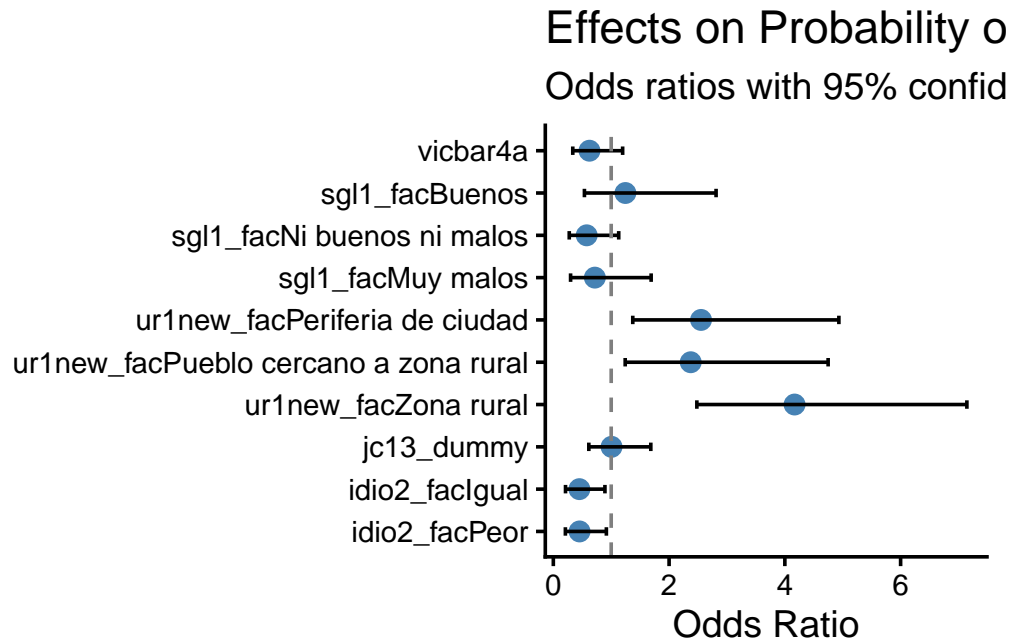
| Variable                              | Odds Ratio | Std. Error | z-value     | p-value      | CI Lo |
|---------------------------------------|------------|------------|-------------|--------------|-------|
| Intercept                             | 5.149      | 0.4562757  | 3.59149480  | 3.287867e-04 | 2.    |
| Victimization Index                   | 0.625      | 0.3224179  | -1.45942525 | 1.444481e-01 | 0.    |
| sgl1_facBuenos                        | 1.245      | 0.4189622  | 0.52386470  | 6.003726e-01 | 0.    |
| sgl1_facNi buenos ni malos            | 0.576      | 0.3577888  | -1.53958547 | 1.236614e-01 | 0.    |
| sgl1_facMuy malos                     | 0.717      | 0.4390966  | -0.75635219 | 4.494381e-01 | 0.    |
| ur1new_facPeriferia de ciudad         | 2.552      | 0.3249139  | 2.88332199  | 3.935050e-03 | 1.    |
| ur1new_facPueblo cercano a zona rural | 2.374      | 0.3403044  | 2.54023079  | 1.107793e-02 | 1.    |
| ur1new_facZona rural                  | 4.168      | 0.2692208  | 5.30208627  | 1.144867e-07 | 2.    |
| jc13_dummy                            | 1.006      | 0.2567820  | 0.02319157  | 9.814975e-01 | 0.    |
| idio2_facIgual                        | 0.451      | 0.3650059  | -2.18442067 | 2.893135e-02 | 0.    |
| idio2_facPeor                         | 0.453      | 0.3746335  | -2.11179645 | 3.470391e-02 | 0.    |

```
-----
Observations                565
Log Likelihood              -260.99380
Akaike Inf. Crit.           543.98760
=====
```

Note: \*p<0.1; \*\*p<0.05; \*\*\*p<0.01

```

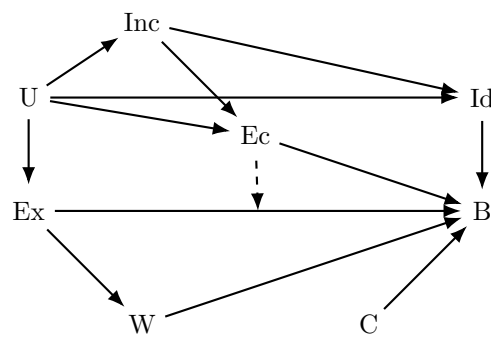
              (Intercept)                vicbar4a
              5.1485332                0.6246619
sgl1_facBuenos                sgl1_facNi buenos ni malos
              1.2454284                0.5764617
sgl1_facMuy malos            ur1new_facPeriferia de ciudad
              0.7174072                2.5518829
ur1new_facPueblo cercano a zona rural            ur1new_facZona rural
              2.3737044                4.1679807
              jc13_dummy                idio2_facIgual
              1.0059729                0.4505319
              idio2_facPeor
              0.4533233
```



How does exposure to state and criminal violence influence support for President Bukele and authoritarian policies in El Salvador?

### Research Design

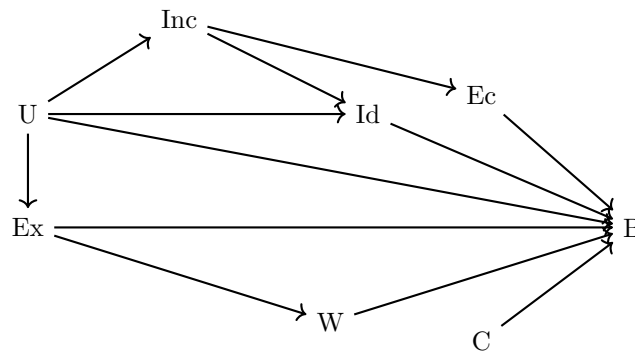
To examine the association between exposure to violence and



## Legend

Ex = Exposure to Extortion (IV)  
 B = Support for Bukele (DV)  
 Ec = Economic Perceptions (Moderator)  
 U = Urbanization  
 Inc = Income  
 Id = Ideology  
 C = Perceptions of Corruption  
 W = Exposure to Welfare

economic conditions and support for democratic governance under Bukele, I employ a quantitative research design utilizing survey data from the 2023 LAPOP AmericasBarometer for El Salvador. The analysis focuses on individual-level responses to questions regarding experiences of state violence, perceptions of economic well-being, and attitudes toward democracy. @meléndez-sánchez2023a

**Theory: Data-Generating Process (DGP)**

## Legend

Ex = Exposure to Extortion  
 W = Exposure to Welfare  
 U = Urbanization  
 Inc = Income  
 Id = Ideology  
 Ec = Economic Perceptions  
 C = Perceptions of Corruption  
 B = Support for Bukele

CA VICBAR4A. ¿Ha sido usted o alguien de su familia inmediata (hijos, esposo, esposa) víctima de extorsión en los últimos 12 meses? (1) Sí (0) No (888888) [NO LEER] No sabe (988888) [NO LEER] No responde (999999) [NO LEER] Inaplicable

CA SGL1. ¿Diría usted que los servicios que la municipalidad está dando a la gente son: [Leer alternativas] (1) Muy buenos (2) Buenos (3) Ni buenos ni malos (regulares) (5) Muy malos (pésimos) (888888) [NO LEER] No sabe (988888) [NO LEER] No responde (999999) [NO LEER] Inaplicable

T UR1NEW. ¿Usted vive en [Leer alternativas]? [Si el encuestado no se encuentra en su lugar de residencia habitual, pedir que responda por su lugar de residencia más frecuente durante los últimos 12 meses] (1) Una ciudad (2) En la periferia o alrededores de una ciudad (3) En un pueblo/poblado cercano a una zona/ un área rural (4) En un área/ una zona rural (888888) [NO LEER] No sabe (988888) [NO LEER] No responde

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... CA JC13. Frente a mucha corrupción. [Leer alternativas] [NO LEER] (1) Se justificaría (2) No se justificaría [NO LEER] No sabe (888888) No responde (988888) [NO LEER] Inaplicable (999999)

T IDIO2. ¿Considera usted que su situación económica actual es mejor, igual o peor que la de hace doce meses? (1) Mejor [Pasa a FS2] (2) Igual [Pasa a FS2] (3) Peor [Sigue] (888888) [NO LEER] No sabe [Pasa a FS2] (988888) [NO LEER] No responde [Pasa a FS2]

## Limitations

Note: This submission focuses on the LAPOP survey data from 2021. That said, there are a couple of limitations with this data set that need to be addressed before the finalization of this paper.

Currently, I am examining different approaches to aggregation and measures of my variables using the following data sets:

2021 Legislative Election Data (n = 262)

- Municipality Vote share for each party
- Bukele's Party as opposed to direct vote

DIGESTYC - Census (Similar to ACS) 2021 - Municipality level demographic data

ACLED Conflict Data - Gang and State Violence events from 2018 to 2024

CSES 2019 Post-Election Survey (El Salvador) - Comparative Study of Electoral Systems (CSES)

(Castro and Kotti, n.d.; Gellman 2022; Meléndez-Sánchez et al. 2023a, 2023b)

Castro, Eleno, and Randy Kotti. n.d. "Saving Democracy: Reducing Gang Influence on Political Elections in El Salvador." [https://www.hks.harvard.edu/sites/default/files/degree%20programs/MPAID/files/Castro%2C%20Eleno%20%26%20Randy%20Kotti\\_SYPA.pdf](https://www.hks.harvard.edu/sites/default/files/degree%20programs/MPAID/files/Castro%2C%20Eleno%20%26%20Randy%20Kotti_SYPA.pdf).

Gellman, Mneesha. 2022. "The Democracy Crisis in El Salvador: An Overview (2019–2022)." Columbia University's Center for Mexico and Central America's Regional Expert Paper Series 4. [https://ilas.columbia.edu/sites/default/files/content/CeMeCA\\_Paper4\\_Gellman\\_English.pdf](https://ilas.columbia.edu/sites/default/files/content/CeMeCA_Paper4_Gellman_English.pdf).

- Meléndez-Sánchez, Manuel, Luis A Camacho, Mollie Cohen, Ingrid Rojas, Angelo Cozzubo, Katrina Kamara, and Paige Pepitone. 2023a. “Analysis of Trends in Democratic Attitudes.” NORC at the University of Chicago, April.
- . 2023b. “Analysis of Trends in Democratic Attitudes.” NORC at the University of Chicago, April.