



THE POLITICAL CULTURE OF DEMOCRACY IN EL SALVADOR AND IN THE AMERICAS, 2016/17

A Comparative Study of
Democracy and Governance

Ricardo Córdova Macías, Ph.D.
FUNDAUNGO

Mariana Rodríguez, Ph.D.
LAPOP Regional Coordinator and Report Editor
Vanderbilt University

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



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The Political Culture of Democracy in El Salvador and in the Americas, 2016/17:

A Comparative Study of Democracy and Governance

By:

Ricardo Córdova Macías, Ph.D.
FUNDAUNGO

Mariana Rodríguez, Ph.D.
LAPOP Program Coordinator and Report Editor
Vanderbilt University

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

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Table of Contents

List of Figures	vii
List of Tables	xi
Preface	xiii
Prologue: Background to the Study	xv
Acknowledgements	xix
Introduction	xxv
Chapter 1. Support for Electoral Democracy in the Americas	1
I. Introduction	1
II. Main Findings	2
III. The Basic Tenets of Electoral Democracy	2
Support for Democracy in the Abstract	4
Rules of the Game: Support for Coups under High Crime and Corruption	7
Support for Executive Coups	10
IV. Support for Democratic Institutions: Elections and Parties	12
Trust in Elections	13
Participation in Elections	16
Trust in Political Parties	18
Partisanship	22
V. Conclusion	25
Chapter 2. The Supply of Basic Liberties in the Americas	27
I. Introduction	27
II. Main Findings	28
III. The Media	29
Supply of Freedom of the Press	29
Trust in the Media	32
IV. Freedom to Express Opinions	34
Perceptions of Freedom to Express Opinions in General	35
Perceptions of Freedom to Express Political Opinions	36
V. Human Rights	39
VI. Deficit of Basic Liberties Index	41
VII. Conclusion	44

Chapter 3. Citizen Security and Violence Prevention at the Local Level.....	47
I. Introduction.....	47
II. Main Findings	47
III. Security Problems at the Local Level	48
IV. Victimization by Crime and Perceptions of Insecurity.....	60
V. Violence Prevention Initiatives.....	72
VI. Opinions on Police Performance	79
VII. Conclusion.....	91
Appendix.....	94
Chapter 4. Economic Evaluations, Institutional Trust, Electoral Behavior and Political Parties	97
I. Introduction.....	97
II. Main Findings	97
III. Assessment of the State of the Country	98
IV. Determinants of Voting Behavior	108
V. Comparison of Voting Behavior in the 2014 Presidential and 2015 Legislative Elections.	111
VI. Assessment of Electoral Reforms	113
VII. Assessment of Political Parties.....	115
VIII. Interest in Politics	117
IX. Ideological Orientation.....	119
X. Support for Electoral Democracy	122
XI. Conclusion	123
Appendix.....	125
Chapter 5. Civil Society, Citizen Participation, and Corruption.....	127
I. Introduction.....	127
II. Main Findings	127
III. Participation in Civic Organizations	128
IV. Participation in protests	132
V. Interpersonal Trust.....	134
VI. Representation of Interests.....	138
VII. Assessment of Corruption.....	141
VIII. Conclusion	150
Appendix.....	151
Chapter 6. Democratic Orientations in the Americas	153
I. Introduction.....	153
II. Main Findings	154
III. Democratic Orientations across the Region and over Time	155



Support for the Political System.....	156
Political Tolerance.....	159
Orientations Conducive to Democratic Stability	162
IV. Citizens, State Institutions, and Democratic Orientations.....	164
V. Conclusion	166
References	169
Appendices.....	179
Appendix A. Understanding Figures in this Study.....	181
Appendix B. Study Information Sheet.....	183
Appendix C. Questionnaire.....	185

List of Figures

Figure 1.1. Cross-National Support for Democracy by Country	5
Figure 1.2. Support for Democracy over Time in El Salvador	6
Figure 1.3. Support for Democracy by Age in El Salvador	7
Figure 1.4. Support for Military Coups under High Crime and High Corruption	8
Figure 1.5. Support for Military Coups across Time in El Salvador	9
Figure 1.6. Demographic and Socio-Economic Predictors of Support for Military Coups in El Salvador	10
Figure 1.7. Support for Executive Coups	11
Figure 1.8. Support for Executive Coups across Time in El Salvador	12
Figure 1.9. Percentage of Respondents Who Trust Elections	14
Figure 1.10. Trust in Elections over Time in El Salvador	15
Figure 1.11. Demographic and Socio-Economic Predictors of Trust in Elections in El Salvador	15
Figure 1.12. Turnout across Countries	17
Figure 1.13. Turnout by Age in El Salvador	18
Figure 1.14. Percentage that Trusts Political Parties across Countries	20
Figure 1.15. Trust in Political Parties over Time in El Salvador	21
Figure 1.16. Demographic and Socio-Economic Predictors of Trust in Political Parties in El Salvador	22
Figure 1.17. Partisanship across Countries	23
Figure 1.18. Partisanship across Time in El Salvador	24
Figure 1.19. Demographic and Socio-Economic Predictors of Political Partisanship in El Salvador	25
Figure 2.1. Assessments of Freedom of the Press, 2016/17	30
Figure 2.2. Correspondence between Expert Ratings and Proportion of Individuals Reporting Very Little Freedom of the Press in the Americas	31
Figure 2.3. Demographic and Socio-Economic Predictors of Perceiving Very Little Freedom of the Press in El Salvador	32
Figure 2.4. Trust in the Media by Country, 2016/17	33
Figure 2.5. Trust in the Media over Time in El Salvador	34
Figure 2.6. Assessments of Freedom of Expression, 2016/17	36
Figure 2.7. The Supply of Freedoms of Expression in El Salvador, 2016	37
Figure 2.8. Assessments of Freedom of Political Expression, 2016/17	38
Figure 2.9. Demographic and Socio-Economic Predictors of Reporting Very Little Freedom of Expression in El Salvador	39
Figure 2.10. Assessments of Protection of Human Rights, 2016/17	40

Figure 2.11. Demographic and Socio-Economic Predictors of Reporting Very Little Protection of Human Rights in El Salvador	41
Figure 2.12. Basic Liberties Deficit Score, 2016/17	42
Figure 2.13. Basic Liberties Deficit and Executive Approval in El Salvador	43
Figure 2.14. Basic Liberties Deficit and Vote Intention in El Salvador, 2016.....	44
Figure 3.1. The Most Important Problem Facing the Country, El Salvador 2016.....	49
Figure 3.2. Opinions on Community Problems, El Salvador 2014-2016	52
Figure 3.3. Opinion that Young People in Gangs Constitute a Serious Community Problem by Variable, El Salvador 2016 (averages).....	53
Figure 3.4. Criminal Acts which have occurred in the Community during the Past Year, El Salvador 2014-2016	55
Figure 3.5. Percentage of People Who are Aware of Extortion in their Community by Variable, El Salvador 2016.....	56
Figure 3.6. Opinions on Levels of Violence in the Community as Compared to other Communities, El Salvador 2014-2016	57
Figure 3.7. Opinions on Changes of Levels of Violence in the Community in Comparison to the Previous Year, El Salvador 2014-2016	58
Figure 3.8. Perception of Gang Presence in the Community, El Salvador, 2004-2016 (average 0-100).....	59
Figure 3.9. Perceptions of Gang Presence in the Community by Response Categories, El Salvador, 2004-2016.....	60
Figure 3.10. Victimization by Crime, El Salvador 2010-2016.....	61
Figure 3.11. Victimization by Crime in the Americas 2016/17.....	62
Figure 3.12. Perception of Insecurity, El Salvador 2014-2016 (percentages)	63
Figure 3.13. Perception of Insecurity in El Salvador by Year, 2004-2016 (averages 0-100).....	64
Figure 3.14. Perception of Insecurity in the Americas, 2016/17.....	65
Figure 3.15. Proportion of Respondents Who Report Feeling Very Insecure, El Salvador 2004-2016 (percentages).....	66
Figure 3.16. Determinants of Perceptions of Insecurity, El Salvador 2016	67
Figure 3.17. Perception of Insecurity by Variable, El Salvador 2016.....	67
Figure 3.18. Change in Activities due to Fear of Crime, El Salvador 2016.....	69
Figure 3.19. Security Concerns on Public Transportation and in the Schools, El Salvador 2016	70
Figure 3.20. Changes in Behavior due to Fear of Crime, El Salvador 2016.....	71
Figure 3.21. Percentage of Respondents Who Would Own a Firearm for Protection, El Salvador 2016	72
Figure 3.22. Opinions on Measures to Reduce Crime, El Salvador 2016	74
Figure 3.23. Determinants of Opinions Favoring Prevention Measures, El Salvador 2016.....	75
Figure 3.24. Opinions that Favor Prevention Measures by Variable, El Salvador 2016	76
Figure 3.25. Percentage of Persons Who Report Knowing of Prevention Initiatives in their Community, El Salvador 2014-2016	77



Figure 3.26. Knowledge of and Attendance to Meetings of a Committee for Violence Prevention, El Salvador 2016	78
Figure 3.27. The Council for Violence Prevention Has Reduced the Level of Crime, El Salvador 2016	79
Figure 3.28. Satisfaction with Police Performance in the Community, El Salvador 2014-2016	80
Figure 3.29. Frequency of Police Patrols in the Community, El Salvador 2016	81
Figure 3.30. Determinants of Satisfaction with Police Performance, El Salvador 2016	82
Figure 3.31. Satisfaction with Police Performance by Variable, El Salvador 2016	83
Figure 3.32. Percentage of Respondents Who Report Police Engagement with the Community, El Salvador 2014-2016	85
Figure 3.33. Determinants of Perceptions of Police Engagement with the Community, El Salvador 2016	86
Figure 3.34. Perception of Police Engagement with the Community by Variable, El Salvador 2016 (averages)	87
Figure 3.35. National Civil Police's Involvement in Resolving Community Problems, El Salvador 2016	88
Figure 3.36. Opinion Regarding the National Civil Police's Involvement in Solving Community Problems by Occurrences of Crime, El Salvador 2016	89
Figure 3.37. Opinion on Whether Police Protect Citizens or are Involved in Crime, El Salvador 2016	90
Figure 3.38. Opinions that Police Protect Citizens by Year, El Salvador 2004-2016	90
Figure 3.39. Trust in the Police by Opinion of Police Behavior, El Salvador 2016	91
Figure 4.1. Assessment of the Country's Economic Situation, El Salvador 2016	99
Figure 4.2. Percentage of Respondents Who Believe the National Economy is worse than in the Twelve Months Prior to the Survey, by Year, El Salvador 2006-2016	100
Figure 4.3. Perceptions of Respondents' Personal Economic Situations, El Salvador 2016	100
Figure 4.4. Percentage of Respondents Who Believe their Personal Economic Situation has worsened, by Year, El Salvador 2006-2016	101
Figure 4.5. Rate of Economic Growth, El Salvador 2006-2016	102
Figure 4.6. Satisfaction with Democracy, El Salvador 2016	103
Figure 4.7. Percentage of Respondents Satisfied with how Democracy Functions in El Salvador, El Salvador 2004-2016	103
Figure 4.8. Trust in Institutions, El Salvador, 2016	105
Figure 4.9. Opinions on the Peace Accords, El Salvador 2004-2016	106
Figure 4.10. Perception of the Country's Political Situation after the Signing of the Peace Accords, El Salvador 2004-2016	107
Figure 4.11. Assessment of the Country's Economic Situation Following the Signing of the Peace Accords, El Salvador 2004-2016	108
Figure 4.12. Predictors of Electoral Participation in the First Round of the 2014 Presidential Election, El Salvador 2016	110
Figure 4.13. Predictors of Participation in the First Round of the 2014 Presidential Elections, El Salvador 2016	111

Figure 4.14. Who Should Nominate Judges to the Supreme Electoral Tribunal, El Salvador 2016	114
Figure 4.15. Opinion about Voting for Legislative Assembly Candidates Directly by Candidates' Names and Photographs, El Salvador 2016	114
Figure 4.16. Ability to Vote Directly, by Candidate Name and Photograph, for the Alternate Legislators in the Legislative Assembly, El Salvador 2016.....	115
Figure 4.17. Identification with a Political Party, El Salvador 2006-2016	116
Figure 4.18. Trust in Political Parties, El Salvador 2004-2016	117
Figure 4.19. Interest in Politics, El Salvador 2016.....	118
Figure 4.20. Interest in Politics, El Salvador, 2006-2016	118
Figure 4.21. Ideological Orientation of Salvadorans, 2016	119
Figure 4.22. Salvadorans' Average Ideological Orientation, 2004- 2016.....	120
Figure 4.23. Electoral Preferences in the Second Round of the 2014 Presidential Elections and Ideological Self-Placement of Voters in 2016, El Salvador	121
Figure 4.24. Distribution on the Ideological Scale (2016) by Vote in the 2014 Presidential Elections.	122
Figure 4.25. Preference for Democracy as a Political Regime, El Salvador 2016.....	123
Figure 5.1. Citizen Participation Rate in Various Groups and Organizations, El Salvador 2004- 2016 (average).....	130
Figure 5.2. Existence of a Neighborhood Association or Community Association Board in the Respondent's Community, El Salvador 2016	131
Figure 5.3. Participation in Protests by Survey Year, El Salvador 2010-2016.....	133
Figure 5.4. Percentage of Participation in Protests in the Americas, 2016	134
Figure 5.5. Interpersonal Trust in the Community, El Salvador 2016	135
Figure 5.6. Interpersonal Trust in the Community, El Salvador 2004-2016.....	136
Figure 5.7. Interpersonal Trust across the Americas, 2016	137
Figure 5.8. How much do Political Institutions Represent Your Interests and Benefit You as a Citizen? El Salvador 2016.....	138
Figure 5.9. Comparison of Representation of Citizen Interests by Institution, El Salvador 2016	139
Figure 5.10. Representation of Citizen Interests by the Central Government, El Salvador 2010-2016.....	139
Figure 5.11. Representation of Citizen Interests by Legislators in the Legislative Assembly, El Salvador 2010-2016.....	140
Figure 5.12. Representation of Citizen Interests by the Mayor's Office and City Council, El Salvador 2010-2016.....	140
Figure 5.13. Perception of Corruption of Public Officials, El Salvador 2016	141
Figure 5.14. Perception of Corruption of Public Officials, El Salvador 2004-2016.....	142
Figure 5.15. Perception of the Number of Politicians Involved in Corruption, El Salvador 2016	143
Figure 5.16. Percentage who Believe that All Politicians are involved in Corruption in the Americas, 2016/17.....	144

Figure 5.17. Victimization by Corruption in El Salvador 2004-2016.....	146
Figure 5.18. Determinants of Victimization by Bribery in the Last 12 Months, El Salvador 2016	147
Figure 5.19. Paying a Bribe is justified at Times, El Salvador 2016.....	148
Figure 5.20. Paying a Bribe is justified at Times, by Year, El Salvador 2006- 2016	148
Figure 5.21. Percentage that Justify the Payment of Bribes in the Americas, 2016.....	149
Figure 6.1. The Relationship between System Support and Political Tolerance	156
Figure 6.2. System Support and Its Components in El Salvador, 2004-2016	157
Figure 6.3. System Support in the Americas, 2016/17.....	158
Figure 6.4. Political Tolerance and Its Components in El Salvador, 2004-2016.....	160
Figure 6.5. Political Tolerance in the Americas, 2016/17.....	161
Figure 6.6. Democratic Orientations over Time in El Salvador, 2004-2016	162
Figure 6.7. Democratic Orientations in the Americas, 2016/17	163
Figure 6.8. Maximal Effects of Predictors of Democratic Attitude Profiles in El Salvador, 2016	165

List of Tables

Table 3.1. Opinions on Community Problems, El Salvador 2016 (percentages).....	50
Table 3.2. Frequency of Police Patrols in the Community, El Salvador 2016	81
Table 4.1. Reported Vote in the First and Second Rounds of the 2014 Presidential Election, El Salvador 2016 (percentage).....	112
Table 4.2. Reported Vote in the March 2015 Legislative Elections and the 2014 Presidential Elections (percentage)	112
Table 5.1. Level of Participation in Various Groups and Organizations, El Salvador 2016 (percentages).....	129
Table 5.2. Participation in Activities by a Community Association Board or Neighborhood Association, El Salvador 2016	132



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 a broad range of 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 officers rely on the AmericasBarometer to identify priorities and guide program design. The surveys are often used in evaluations, by comparing results in selected areas with national trends and/or by comparing data across time. The AmericasBarometer alerts policymakers and international assistance agencies to potential problem areas and informs citizens about democratic values and experiences in their country as compared to other countries.

At every stage in the development of the 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 Latin American Public Opinion Project (LAPOP) and the researchers who devote significant portions of their time to this project. 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 for fieldwork and each local survey team is trained according to the same exacting standards. The sample is designed and reviewed by LAPOP and local partners and programmed at this stage. At that point, local teams conduct interviews in the homes of selected respondents across the Latin America and Caribbean region. Throughout the process, LAPOP and these teams stay in constant 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 broad 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 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 under the leadership of Dr. Elizabeth Zechmeister (Director), Dr. Noam Lupu (Associate Director), and Dr. Mitchell Seligson (Founder and Senior Advisor). 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.

Christopher Strom
LAC/RSD/Democracy and Human Rights
Bureau for Latin America & the Caribbean
U.S. Agency for International Development



Prologue: Background to the Study

Elizabeth Zechmeister, Ph.D.
Cornelius Vanderbilt Professor of Political Science
& Director of the Latin American Public Opinion Project (LAPOP)

and

Noam Lupu, Ph.D.
Associate Professor of Political Science
& Associate Director of the Latin American Public Opinion Project (LAPOP)

Vanderbilt University

The AmericasBarometer by the Latin American Public Opinion Project (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. Around the globe, and in the Americas, democracy is on the defensive against public disillusionment with what it has delivered. Geographically, this round marks a significant expansion of the project into the Caribbean, a region often overlooked and understudied in survey research. Methodologically, this round marks our transition to using electronic devices for fieldwork, and with this the ability to take quality control to new levels, in every country in the project. Substantively, this round of the AmericasBarometer marks the first time in the history of the project in which we detect noteworthy and troubling declines in the average citizen's support for democracy on a number of key indicators.

The 2016/17 round of the AmericasBarometer is the seventh regional survey produced by LAPOP and the largest to date, covering 29 countries across the Americas. The round began in early 2016 in seven Caribbean countries and data collection in the 29th country concluded in the spring of 2017. The full dataset for this round includes over 43,000 interviews, conducted based on national sample designs and implemented with the assistance of partners across the region.

With roots in survey research dating back to the 1970s, LAPOP has been housed at Vanderbilt University since 2004. LAPOP and the AmericasBarometer were founded by Dr. Mitchell A. Seligson, who currently serves as Senior Advisor to LAPOP. The LAPOP research organization includes eight professional staffers, two research fellows, 15 affiliated Ph.D. students, a number of undergraduate students in various roles, and a roster of collaborators and sponsors from within Vanderbilt and across universities, NGOs, and other institutions throughout the Americas.

The AmericasBarometer consists of country surveys based on national probability samples of voting-age adults. The first set of surveys was conducted in 2004 in 11 countries; the second took place in 2006 and represented opinions from 22 countries across the region. In 2008, the project grew to include 24 countries and in 2010 and 2012 it included 26 countries from across the

hemisphere. In 2014, the AmericasBarometer was implemented in 28 countries. The 2016/17 round marks the largest in scope to date, covering 29 countries across the Americas.

LAPOP makes all reports from the project, as well as all country datasets available for download from its website, www.LapopSurveys.org, free of charge to all. The availability of these reports and datasets is made possible by the project's supporters, who are acknowledged on pages that follow.

In undertaking the AmericasBarometer, our key objective is to provide a dataset that advances accurate descriptions and understandings of public opinion and behavior across the Americas. We succeed in this effort to the extent that the AmericasBarometer is of interest and relevance to citizens, NGOs, public officials and their governments, the international donor and development communities, journalists, and academics. We strive to create datasets and reports that meet the rigorous standards to which we are held by our fellow academics and professional associations, while also ensuring that these reports are accessible and valuable to those evaluating and shaping democratic governance across the Americas. Our progress in producing the 2016/17 AmericasBarometer and this particular report can be categorized into four areas: questionnaire construction, sample design, data collection, and reporting.

With respect to *questionnaire construction*, our first step in developing the 2016/17 AmericasBarometer was to develop a new core questionnaire. We believe that democracy is best understood by taking into account multiple indicators and placing those in comparative perspective. For this reason, we have maintained a common core set of questions across time and across countries. This shared content focuses on themes that have become viewed as standard for the project: political legitimacy, political tolerance, support for stable democracy, participation of civil society and social capital, the rule of law, evaluations of local governments and participation within them, crime victimization, corruption victimization, and electoral behavior. To make room for new questions, we eliminated some prior core items in the 2016/17 survey. To do so, we solicited input from partners across the region and we carefully considered the trade-off between losing a time series for one round versus making space for new content. This process resulted in a first draft of a reduced questionnaire; we then proceeded to gather input into new common content, country-specific questions, and other revisions.

To develop new common content, we solicited input from subject, country, and AmericasBarometer project experts across the Americas. A number of these individuals generously agreed to participate in a set of planning caucus advisory committees organized by topic, and these groups developed proposals for questionnaire revision. A list of these advisory committee members appears below. Based on ideas developed during this period of activity, we conducted a series of question wording and ordering experiments, with support from the Research in Individuals, Politics, & Society lab at Vanderbilt. We presented some of these results to collaborators convened in New York City for a meeting in the spring of 2016. Following discussions at that meeting and additional sponsor requests and input, we then further revised the questionnaire. All new items were piloted in qualitative pre-tests across the Americas. Questionnaires from the project are available online at www.LapopSurveys.org and at the end of each report.

LAPOP adheres to best practices in survey methodology and also with respect to the treatment of human subjects. Thus, as another part of our process of developing study materials, we developed a common “study information sheet” and each study was reviewed and approved by the Vanderbilt University Institutional Review Board (IRB). All investigators involved in the project took and



passed certified human subjects protection tests. All publicly available data for this project are de-identified, thus protecting the anonymity guaranteed to each respondent.

With respect to *sample design*, we continued our approach of applying a common strategy to facilitate comparison. LAPOP national studies are based on stratified probability samples of a typical minimum of 1,500 voting-age non-institutionalized adults in each country. In 2016, we introduced an exception to this rule with the inclusion of six countries that are part of the Organization of Eastern Caribbean States (OECS); in these cases, the sample sizes are approximately 1,000. To ensure that the surveys are both nationally representative and cost effective, we stratify countries by major sub-regions and urban/rural divides, and we use a frequency matching approach to the selection of individuals by gender and age. Detailed descriptions of all samples are available on our website.

With respect to *data collection*, we have continued to innovate and expand the use of technology in the field. For the first time, the 2016/17 round of the AmericasBarometer deployed electronic devices (tablets and phones) for data collection in 100% of the countries surveyed. The use of electronic devices for interviews and data entry in the field decreases errors, supports the use of multiple languages, and permits LAPOP to track the progress of the survey in real time, down to the timing and location of interviews (which are monitored but not recorded in public datasets in order to preserve respondents' privacy). For the 2016/17 round, we developed and transferred to partner firms a set of quality control procedures that we call the Fieldwork Algorithm for LAPOP Control over survey Operations and Norms (FALCON ©). Via FALCON, teams working on LAPOP projects are able to verify the location of interviews within programmed geo-fences around work areas; verify interviewer identities via photos and signatures; and verify the quality of the interview via audio and timing files. FALCON allows fieldwork to be reviewed in real time, rather than after fieldwork has been completed, and this means that errors can be more effectively and efficiently remedied, resulting in higher quality data. We believe FALCON represents a revolutionary advance in technologically sophisticated and scientifically rigorous survey research, and we are committed to continuing to transfer knowledge of our advances to others.

Another innovation introduced into the 2016/17 AmericasBarometer is the LAPOP Automated Response Tracker (ART), which facilitates accurate recording of participation rates. While participation rates are useful metadata in public opinion studies, the onerous burden placed on field teams to systematically record this information can lead to errors, and incomplete or poor quality information. ART overcomes these challenges by routinizing the tracking of survey participation. By requiring enumerators to record this information electronically at the time of each contact attempt, we are able to facilitate and assure high quality data on participation rates.

Standardization is critical to the value of a comparative project, and one way we ensure that we meet this objective is by training all fieldwork teams in AmericasBarometer project protocol. Each local fieldwork team is trained by a LAPOP staffer or an experienced affiliate. Our interviewer manuals are available on our website.

Security issues in the field are a constant concern for all those who work in the field of public opinion research. Shifting patterns of crime, insecurity, and instability in certain parts of the region have brought about additional challenges to the safety of personnel working on the project. We take these issues very seriously and, as in past rounds, we worked with local teams during the course of fieldwork for the AmericasBarometer 2016/17 to develop security protocols and, in a

small number of cases, to make substitutions to the original sample for locations that teams on the ground identified as especially dangerous.

Finally, with respect to *reporting*, we continued our practice of making book-length reports, infographics, and presentations based on survey data accessible and readable to the lay reader. This means that our reports make use of simple charts to the extent possible. Where the analysis is more complex, such as in the case of regression analysis, we present results in easy-to-read graphs. Authors working with LAPOP on reports for the 2016/17 round were provided a new set of code files generated by our exceptionally skilled senior data analyst, Dr. Carole Wilson, which allow them to create these graphs using Stata. The analyses in our reports are sophisticated and accurate: they take into account the complex sample design and report on the uncertainty around estimates and statistical significance. We include in Appendix A in this report a note on how to interpret the output from our data analyses.

The AmericasBarometer regional and country reports represent the product of collaborations among LAPOP researchers and a set of LAPOP-affiliated experts. The regional (comparative) report focuses on general trends and findings with respect to issues in democratic governance. As in recent years, we were fortunate to work with Dr. Ryan Carlin, Dr. Gregory Love, and Dr. Matthew Singer on the regional report. Selected content from the regional report appears in our country reports. In the country reports, the focus turns toward country-specific trends and findings, yet we often refer to the comparative public opinion landscape. We do so because comparisons across countries frequently provide important insight into country-specific findings. We are grateful to the roster of experts who contributed to the 2016/17 series of country reports. In cases in which USAID commissioned the report, we solicited – and benefited from – USAID input into the selection of topics and feedback on a draft of the report. All AmericasBarometer regional and country reports can be downloaded free of charge from our website.

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 firm 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 on democracy and development.



Acknowledgements

Conducting national surveys across every independent country in mainland North, Central and South America, and a significant number of countries in the Caribbean requires extensive planning, coordination, and effort. The most important effort is that donated by the individual members of the public in the Americas, who, as survey respondents, either patiently worked with us as we pre-tested each country survey or took the time to respond to the final questionnaire. It is due to their generosity that we are able to present this study and so we begin with a heartfelt note of gratitude to each respondent to the AmericasBarometer survey.

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Mexico and Central America



Andean/Southern Cone



Caribbean, U.S., and Canada





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Liz Zechmeister
Noam Lupu

Nashville, Tennessee
August 2017

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- Dr. Daniel Zizumbo-Colunga, Centro de Investigación y Docencia Económica (CIDE), Mexico

*denotes committee chair



Introduction

Democracy is on the defensive in the Americas and around the world. In a number of places across the Americas, countries have been coping with security and economic crises, and scandals emanating from governments and parties. Among the mass public, skepticism is brewing over the extent to which democracy can succeed in delivering on citizens' expectations and improving the quality of their daily lives. The 2016/17 AmericasBarometer taps into this simmering frustration and permits it to be studied in comparative perspective across population subgroups, countries, and time. It also documents some notable signs of resilience. In this same vein, the survey reveals important nuances in challenges to democratic governance across a heterogeneous region. In this way, the AmericasBarometer provides a refined tool with which to make the types of diagnoses and distinctions that are so important to designing and implementing effective policy.

A core focus of the AmericasBarometer is citizens' evaluations of "democratic governance." Democratic governance refers to a system of politics and policy in which citizens' direct, indirect, and representative participation is privileged and enabled via basic freedoms, with the goal of ensuring that states are held accountable for their actions. As the United States Agency for International Development (USAID) (2013) has defined it, "Democratic governance is governance that takes place in the context of a democratic political system, which is representative of the will and interests of the people and is infused with the principles of participation, inclusion, and accountability" (p. 37). The appeal of democratic governance is derived from its potential to improve the quality of citizens' lives by facilitating efforts to decrease corruption, increase economic development (and decrease poverty), and build strong communities. The legitimacy of democratic governance hinges, at least in part, on how well it delivers on these expectations (Booth and Seligson 2009). For this reason, taking stock of its successes and short-comings requires assessing citizens' varied experiences and evaluations under democratic governance.

In this latest in a series of region-wide reports on the AmericasBarometer, we examine public support for the institutions at the core of democracy, the extent to which citizens feel their countries are succeeding in supplying the basic liberties required of democratic governance, citizens' experiences and evaluations regarding corruption and crime, their involvement with and assessments of local politics, and their general democratic orientations. To do so, we make use of data from the 2016/17 AmericasBarometer, often in combination with data from prior rounds of the study. Within the report, main findings are presented at the outset of each chapter, and in this introduction, we present a preview of these core results. While the chapters themselves provide some detail on important variation across countries, this introduction and the core of this regional report focus on average outcomes and trends within the region. While Chapters 1, 2 and 6 provide details on important differences across countries, highlighting specific findings for El Salvador, Chapters 3, 4 and 5 cover exclusive issues for the case of El Salvador.

To begin, Chapter 1 considers support for the abstract concept of democracy and two of its most fundamental components: elections and parties. One of the most striking findings in this chapter is a significant decline in the extent to which the public across the region and in El Salvador agrees that democracy, despite its flaws, is better than any other form of government. In El Salvador, support for democracy fell from 67.8% in 2004 to 54.6% in 2016. Older Salvadorans report the greatest support for democracy. Support for executive coups in El Salvador increased by 3 percentage points in 2016 (16.1%) but has maintained relatively stable since 2010 (14.7%). An average

of 38% of Salvadorans trust elections, which represents a significant decrease of more than 10 percentage points compared to the 2014 round. Only 19.1% have trust in political parties. Identification with political parties in El Salvador fell 18 percentage points to its lowest level in 2016. These shifts in support for the most basic premises of modern democracy – that the system in the abstract is ideal and that elections are the only legitimate way to alternate power – are found alongside low levels of trust in elections and declining confidence in political parties.

Basic liberties, such as freedom of the media, expression, and fundamental human rights, are critical to the public's engagement and inclusion in the democratic political system. Chapter 2 focuses on the degree to which the public perceives these basic freedoms to be restricted. As this chapter and Chapter 6 argue, restrictions in basic liberties may undermine motivations to participate and erode individuals' support for the incumbent administration and the democratic system more generally. In El Salvador, 53% of people believe that there is very little press freedom and a higher percentage feels that there is little freedom to express political opinions without fear. Nearly half of the public across the Americas perceives that there is very little freedom of expression, and a higher proportion feels there is very little freedom to express political opinions without fear. In El Salvador, 62% report that there is very little freedom of expression (general) and 67% believe that there is very little freedom of political expression. The reports of the lack of supply of basic liberties are even greater when we focus on the protection of human rights: in El Salvador, 72% of the public believes that there is very little protection for human rights. On average across the region, nearly two-thirds of the public states that human rights are insufficiently protected in their country. Thus, while democracy promises a set of basic freedoms, a large proportion of the public in the Americas perceives that it is falling short in this regard.

Chapter 3 presents Salvadorans' opinions in relation to citizen security, crime victimization, perception of insecurity, and aspects related to crime and violence prevention initiatives. The 2016 round of the AmericasBarometer confirms that violence, crime, and insecurity persist as the principal problem perceived by Salvadorans: approximately 7 of every 10 Salvadorans (68.2%) believe that security is the most serious problem the country faces today. However, despite the relevance of security problems at the national level, 7 of every 10 Salvadorans (71%) believe that levels of violence in their community are lower than in other communities, and approximately 5 of every 10 people (47%) express that levels of violence in the community are lower than last year.

The data show that the principal security concerns in communities have to do with young people roaming the streets and in street gangs. These two situations top the list of the most serious problems identified by the population at the local level, followed in second place by the sale of drugs. These situations have worsened between the 2014 and 2016 rounds. Concerns about young people in street gangs are higher in urban areas, mainly in big cities and in the Metropolitan Area of San Salvador (AMSS by its acronym in Spanish). This concern decreases in medium and small cities and is still smaller in rural areas.

Inquiring into citizens' perceptions of (level of) street gang presence in the community (on a scale of 0-100 points), the results show that perceptions have remained stable on average (40-44 points) for the 2010-2016 period. However, the data presented for the 2004-2016 period show that, after 2010, an important reduction appeared in those who believe there is no presence of street gangs in their community.

The overall perception of insecurity (measured on a 0-100-point scale) in 2016 has registered a mild improvement, falling from 47.2 points in 2014 to 41.7 in 2016, a statistically significant



reduction. Despite this, the perception of insecurity that Salvadorans have experienced in the past 12 years has not followed a clearly defined pattern. In 2016, the perception of insecurity is higher in those individuals who believe that the police are involved in crime, those who perceive a higher presence of street gangs in their community, those who have been victims of crime in the past 12 months, those who report occurrences of extortion in their community, and those who give their opinions about the seriousness of attacks in the community.

The 2016 round shows an increase in crime victimization: approximately 1 of every 4 Salvadorans (23.1%) has been the victim of a crime in the past 12 months, which represents a statistically significant increase compared to the 2014 round (18.6%). Inquiring into possible changes in citizen behavior in the 12 months leading up to the survey shows that, for fear of falling victim to a crime, there is evidence that the population has stopped performing activities that imply living alongside and/or interacting with other people: 65.9% have prevented the children in their house from playing on the street, 59.9% have limited their recreational hours, 59.6 have avoided leaving the house alone at night, 42.3% have avoided leaving their house unattended at night, 42.2% have avoided using public transportation, 21.1% have felt the need to change neighborhoods, and 9.4% have changed their place of work or study.

How much do Salvadorans favor preventative measures to reduce violence and crime? There are two positions in terms of public policies that are present in public debate: the first is increasing the severity of the law as an important measure to reduce violence. The second proposes modifications in socioeconomic conditions, which the specialized literature calls “primary prevention.” It is also possible to think that these are not opposing opinions and that changing both types of policies is possible. The 2016 measurement shows a greater level of support for preventative measures (67%) compared to 33% that support increasing punishments of criminals. Support for prevention has increased in 2016 (67%) with respect to 2014 (43%), which is statistically significant. Opinions in favor of preventative measures are associated with individuals with higher levels of education, older individuals, and individuals who live in communities without crime or with low crime incidence.

Upon inquiry into knowledge of preventative initiatives in the community, 22.3% know of an initiative, whether a community board of directors or any other organization. This percentage has increased in comparison to 2014. Nevertheless, there is a low level of citizen participation: although 67% support preventative measures, only 22.3% live in communities where this type of initiative is being driven.

On the other hand, the survey results show that the relationship with the police plays an important role in the perception of insecurity, particularly with respect to violence prevention initiatives. The latter would seem to be motivating citizen interaction with the police, and this interaction seems to have positive effects in the reduction of the perception of insecurity. The 2016 round shows that 62% of the population exhibit some level of satisfaction with the police in their community, while 38% feel some level of dissatisfaction. The data reflect that determinants of satisfaction with police performance are the frequency of patrols, whether the administration promotes prevention, the perception of insecurity, problems of insecurity, and the size of one’s place of residence.

Additionally, 54% of Salvadorans believe that the police protect citizens from crime, while 34.3% believe the police to be involved in crime, and 11.5% believe that the police do both things. With

respect to the opinion that the police protect citizens, the 2016 data show an increase compared to 2014.

In the context of the predicament of violence and crime in which El Salvador finds itself, the relationship of the police with citizens and the community becomes key. In the 2016 measurement, 43% have seen the police assisting in crime prevention activities, 40.1% have seen the police interacting with young people, 38.9% express that police officers converse with community residents, and 20% express that the police attend neighborhood meetings. The increase between 2014 and 2016 is only significant in the case of police support for prevention activities.

Inquiring into the variables associated with opinions about police interacting with citizens and the community reveals that this perception is higher among individuals who know of the Council of Prevention (*Consejo de Prevención*), individuals who believe that the Council promotes prevention, and those who live in rural areas. This perception decreases among those who have a higher perception of insecurity, those who have been the victim of a crime in the past 12 months, and in the case of those with a higher level of education.

Chapter 4 explores political participation in El Salvador, focusing on various contextual aspects related to the evaluation of economic performance and democracy, as well as institutional trust and evaluations about politics and political parties.

In terms of the economic and political context of El Salvador in 2016, an economic pessimism prevails, both in relation to the evaluation of the country's economic situation and one's personal economic situation. The majority of individuals surveyed agree that the economic situation of the country is "worse" than 12 months ago (69.6%). This negative vision about the economic situation of the country has increased since 2010 to the present day. On the other hand, the evaluation of one's personal economic situation is less pessimistic. Just 45.7% consider that their personal economic situation has worsened in the past 12 months. This citizen perception reflects, in some sense, how Salvadorans value the modest economic performance of the country, which has averaged a level of growth of 1.8% in the past decade.

Upon checking citizen satisfaction with democracy in El Salvador, the data from the 2016 round show that a large portion of the population (58.9%) express feeling dissatisfied or very dissatisfied with how democracy functions in El Salvador. The percentage of people who feel dissatisfied with democracy is 41.1%, the lowest it has been since 2010.

Twenty-four years after the signing of the Peace Agreements, at the end of 2016, 11% of interviewees consider the Agreements very good for the country, 64% good, 18% bad, and 7% very bad. Comparing the 2016 data with data from previous rounds, one can observe a less favorable evaluation in general of the Peace Agreements.

Another aspect analyzed in this chapter is citizen trust in public institutions. In order to facilitate comprehension of the results of this battery of questions, the average is presented on a scale of 0-100, where 0 signifies no trust and 100, a great deal of trust. The institutions that enjoy the highest levels of trust in 2016 are the Armed Forces (66.2 points) and the Catholic Church (61.2 points). In the second group are trust in the municipality (57.2 points), the media (57.1 points), the Civil National Police (55.4 points), the Supreme Electoral Tribunal (51.3 points), and the Institute of Access to Public Information (50.7 points). In the third group is the Governmental Ethics Tribunal (47.2 points), the Constitutional Chamber of the Supreme Court of Justice, elections (46.8 points),



and the Legislative Assembly (43.9 points). In a fourth group are the President (36.8 points) and political parties (31.3 points), which have the lowest levels of institutional trust. The lowest levels of citizen trust are related to elections and the exercising of political power. This report also analyzes the electoral behavior of the Salvadoran population. The principal determinants of first-round vote intention in past elections (February 2014) are whether one's personal economic situation is better, the country's economic situation is better, interest in politics, identification with a political party, age, and level of education.

In terms of ideological orientations, the results of the 2016 round show an overall centrist tendency of ideological self-identification in the Salvadoran population: 27.5% are situated to the left, 38.6% in the center, and 33.9% are situated to the right. Comparing these results to the 2014 study shows a decrease of 5.8 points on the left, an increase of 1.9 points in the center, and an increase of 4 points on the right. With regard to the trends from 2004 to 2010, there is a process of centrist orientation, as the average falls on the ideological self-identification (1 left – 10 right) from 6.9 in 2004, to 5.7 in 2006, 5.3 in 2008, and 5.2 in 2010. In the 2012 measurement, there is a movement toward the right (6.0); in the 2014 measurement, there is a return to the most center point (5.2), and in the 2016 measurement, this increases to 5.6.

In agreement with the results of the 2016 round, 26.4% of citizens convey identification with some political party, which represents a decrease in relation to reported results in the 2014 measurement. This is the lowest level of party identification since 2006. This is consistent with the reduction in citizen trust in political parties that occurs between 2014 and 2016. Coupled with this, the majority of Salvadorans in 2016 are not interested in politics: 70.7% report having a small or nonexistent interest in politics and only 29.3% express some or much interest. Interest in politics has presented a statistically significant reduction between 2014 (38.7 points) and 2016 (34.3 points), when measured on a 0-100-point scale. On the other hand, support for electoral democracy in El Salvador has remained strong in the 2004-2016 period, given that more than 7 out of every 10 Salvadorans have expressed a preference for electoral democracy. Nevertheless, a concerning increase in those who favor a strong leader who does not have to be elected has been observed; this figure has increased from 6% in 2004 to 27% in 2016.

Chapter 5 explores aspects related to civic participation, participation in protest, interpersonal trust, citizen evaluation about the representation of their interests, as well as the experiences and perceptions of Salvadorans with respect to corruption.

In general, Salvadorans report low participation in civic organizations. Without taking into account involvement with religious organizations, more than half of the population expresses never having participated in parental association meetings (55.5%), community improvement committees (75.1%), political parties (85.4%), and women's groups (90.2%), the latter for female survey participants. Additionally, involvement of Salvadorans in demonstrations or public protests has been very low for the period 2010-2016: only 3 of every 100 Salvadorans have participated in a demonstration or public protest. The results of the 2016 round show that Salvadorans present intermediate levels of interpersonal trust. Of those interviewed, 33.5% report that they have a lot of trust in the people in their community, 25.5% signal having some trust, 29% report having little trust, and only 12% of Salvadorans signal having no trust. Upon grouping these responses, it is found that 59% say they have a lot or some trust in their neighbors, while 41% express little or no trust in their neighbors. In analyzing interpersonal trust for the 2004-2016 period on a scale of 0-100 points, it is found that levels of interpersonal trust have remained stable for the whole period analyzed.

Another dimension of citizen participation is participation in neighborhood boards of directors. Of those who say that a board of directors exists in their community (55.2% of the total individuals surveyed), only 12.5% express that he or she is a member of a neighborhood association. If one places this number in the context of all of those surveyed, it is found that only 6.9% of all of those surveyed say they are members of that type of association or neighborhood board of directors.

In the 2016 round, citizens' evaluations of the representation of their interests by the central government, representatives, and local governments are explored. With regard to the central government, 13.2% believe that the central government represents their interests and benefits them a lot, 20.9% say somewhat, 32.8% say a little, and 33.1% of those surveyed signal not at all. With respect to representatives of the Legislative Assembly, 6.9% signal that representatives represent their interests and benefit them a lot, 17.4% say somewhat, 32.5% say a little, and 43.1% of those surveyed say not at all. As for the Mayor and Municipal Council, 10.3% believe that the Mayor and Municipal Council represent their interests and benefit them a lot, 21.9% say somewhat, 34.5% say a little, and 33.3% of those surveyed say not at all.

The 2016 round also explores aspects related to the perception of and victimization by corruption. In 2016, 39.6% of Salvadorans believe that corruption is very widespread, 23.5 say somewhat widespread, 26.4% say a little widespread, and 10.5% say not at all widespread. Said citizen perception of corruption of public workers has decreased from 2014 to 2016, falling from 68 points in 2014 to 64.1 points in 2016, measured on a 0-100-point scale. Nonetheless, it continues to be high: approximately 6 of every 10 people consider that corruption of public workers in the country is widespread.

Additionally, according to a new question on the AmericasBarometer, it is reported that 8 of every 10 Salvadorans perceive that half or more than half of politicians are involved in corruption. Finally, upon inquiring about victimization by corruption in El Salvador, the data for 2016 provide evidence that 9.8% of the population express that on some occasion, a public worker has asked for a bribe or kickback. This percentage has remained stable between 2014 and 2016. Men, inhabitants of big cities, young people and those who have higher numbers of children present a higher probability of having fallen victim to an act of corruption. On the other hand, 11.9% of those surveyed in 2016 consider that paying a bribe is justified. However, it is important to note that with respect to 2014, the percentage of individuals who justify the payment of bribes increased statistically significantly, from 8.7% in 2014 to 11.9% in 2016. That is to say, in the data presented in 2016, tolerance of corruption has increased.

Chapter 6 concludes the volume with an analysis of region-wide trends regarding two pillars of democracy: support for the political system and political tolerance. Over the years, LAPOP has hypothesized and found that democracy rests on firmer grounds to the extent that the following joint conditions are met: the public perceives the political system to be legitimate and it supports the right to participate of those who may hold diverging political views. On average in the Latin America and Caribbean region, the 2016/17 AmericasBarometer detects a decrease in system support. Support for the political system decreased on average in El Salvador from 55.3 in 2014 to 51.3 in 2016. This is due to increases in several components of this index of system support in 2016: respect for institutions, level of normative support for the system, and pride in the political system of El Salvador. At the same time, political tolerance of the rights of those who think differently has increased in the region and in El Salvador. Political tolerance increased from 42.1 in 2014 to 47.7 in 2016 in El Salvador, both in general and in each of its components. In 2016, orientations leading to



a *democracy at risk* and *authoritarian stability* dominate. Orientations leading to a stable democracy increased on average in El Salvador in 2016 (23%) compared to 2014 (19%).

Democracy in the Latin America and Caribbean region is facing a critical set of challenges, from low public trust in elections, parties, and political leadership to deficiencies in the supply of basic liberties, the rule of law, citizen security, and robust service provision. As the chapters within note, and as is evident in the AmericasBarometer datasets and the country-specific reports based on this project, experiences of individual countries vary significantly one to the other; each component of democratic values and governance described in this report, and more, can be analyzed in greater detail using these resources. Yet, overall, we can conclude that the public's continued support for democratic governance depends crucially on whether the region's political systems can deliver on its promises. While the 2016/17 AmericasBarometer identifies a number of concerning trends and outcomes in the typical citizen's experiences and evaluations of democratic governance in El Salvador, it also finds important signs of resilience: the democratic orientations leading to a *stable democracy* have shown a slight increase. This commitment to certain core values are inputs with which those who design public policies can identify ways to stimulate and maintain democratic governance in El Salvador and the region.



Chapter 1.

Support for Electoral Democracy in the Americas

Mollie J. Cohen with LAPOP

I. Introduction

Since the Third Wave democratic transitions of the 1970s and 1980s, electoral democracy has been the status quo system of government in the Latin America and the Caribbean (LAC) region. More than 100 (mostly) free, competitive, and fair elections for executive positions have been held across the region since the 1980s, with many of them observed by the Organization of American States, international NGOs, and in-country governance organizations. In Latin America and the Caribbean, elections have become “the only game in town” (Linz and Stepan 1996) when it comes to ascension to political leadership.

Yet, scholars have recently pointed to a democratic “recession” in the developing world, and in the LAC region specifically (Diamond 2015; Puddington 2012; but see Levitsky and Way 2015). Leaders in several countries have curtailed citizens’ rights and press freedoms (see Chapter 2 of this report). A string of corruption scandals¹ across the LAC region has fueled citizens’ already-high skepticism of politicians (see Chapter 3 of this report). Presidents in Bolivia, Ecuador, and Venezuela have repeatedly sought to extend their time in office beyond established term limits (BBC 2016b; Associated Press 2016; Sonneland 2016).

The challenge of high quality governance has, in some contexts, been exacerbated by economic slowdown and persistent criminal violence (see also Chapter 4 of this report).² For example, the scarcity of basic goods in Venezuela provoked violent street protests in 2014 (Rodríguez 2016). In 2017, the incumbent administration took arguably illegal steps to tighten the *Chavista* regime’s hold on power (BBC 2017; Rodríguez and Zechmeister 2017). Viewed by citizens as a “self-coup”, this action sparked renewed street protests. The military responded by cracking down on protestors, resulting in numerous deaths (Cawthorne and Ulmer 2017). As another example, high levels of criminal violence in Mexico, Bolivia, and much of Central America, combined with low confidence in law enforcement, have led some citizens to take the law into their own hands (Bateson 2012; Zizumbo 2017). This summary execution of suspected criminals without trial undermines the state and its monopoly on the legitimate use of force (Zizumbo 2017).

In short, the gradual decay of basic liberties, episodes in which political corruption is exposed and made salient, and the economic and security crises that compound barriers to high quality

¹ Several high-impact scandals have roots in *The Panama Papers*, leaked in April 2016, which implicated politicians across the region in the largest global corruption scandal in history (see *Guardian* 2017). The *lavajato* scandal in Brazil led to the ouster of the president, the investigation of more than a hundred politicians (including her replacement), and arguably aggravated already high perceptions of corruption in Brazil. Even prior to these political bombshells, Layton (2014) made the case that mass protest participation among Brazilians in the wake of the World Cup was driven in large part by perceptions of corruption.

² In 2016/17, 59% of AmericasBarometer respondents in the “LAC-21” countries (see Footnote 11) said that the national economy has gotten worse – the poorest national economic perceptions observed since the study’s inception in 2004 and a notable increase (ten percentage points) since 2014.

governance suggest that citizens in the Americas may have good reason to be disillusioned with democracy. This chapter assesses public support for the *minimal* requirements of democracy – that is, the presence and persistence of elections as the means to select governing representatives – in El Salvador and, more generally, in the Latin America and Caribbean region.

II. Main Findings

This chapter assesses public support for the minimal requirements of democracy in El Salvador and in the LAC region. Some key findings are:

- Across the region, support for democracy is significantly lower in 2016/17 than in previous years. In El Salvador, support for democracy decreased from 67.8% in 2004 to 54.6% in 2016. Elderly Salvadorans report the greatest support for democracy.
- Support for executive coups in El Salvador increased by three percentage points in 2016 (16.1%) but has remained relatively stable since 2010 (14.7%).
- Trust in political parties decreased to its lowest level in 2016. Only 19.1% have trust in political parties.
- Partisan affiliation in El Salvador has fallen 18 percentage points in 2016.

III. The Basic Tenets of Electoral Democracy

This chapter examines support for tenants of minimal or electoral democracy in the LAC region and in El Salvador.³ “Minimalist” definitions of democracy argue that the presence of competitive elections (i.e., with a true possibility of alternations in power) is sufficient to identify a democracy.⁴ For example, in his classic work, Schumpeter (1942) defines democracy as, “...that institutional arrangement for arriving at political decisions... by means of a competitive struggle for the people’s vote” (p. 260). Huntington (1991) similarly defines democracy as a system in which “powerful collective decision makers are selected through fair, honest, and periodic elections in which candidates freely compete for votes” (p. 7). Diamond (1999) calls systems with “regular, competitive, multiparty elections with universal suffrage” *electoral* democracies (a minimal level of democracy, which he contrasts with “liberal” democracies, p. 10).⁵

³ This chapter uses the terms “democracy” and “electoral democracy” interchangeably.

⁴ In contrast to this minimalist definition of democracy, “maximalist” definitions argue that the protection of civil liberties is necessary for democracy to flourish. Dahl (1971) theorized that inclusiveness, or public participation, and liberalization, or public contestation, are key features of a democracy, or “polyarchy” (p.7). Public contestation and participation include voting *as a minimum*, but also implicate a free press and citizen participation through non-electoral channels (e.g., protest). Later chapters in this report turn to the supply of civil liberties and quality governance – two key pieces of maximal definitions of democracy. This chapter focuses more narrowly on support for and attitudes around competitive elections, which all scholars agree are necessary, if not sufficient, for democracy.

⁵ Introducing participation requirements complicates the task of classifying electoral democracies. Around the world, many systems recognized as democratic have, or have had, limited access to the franchise. For example, in the United States, felons are barred from voting in many instances and in Switzerland women were not able to vote until 1971. Yet, most scholars still classify the contemporary U.S. and pre-1971 Switzerland as electoral democracies. A second complication comes from the ‘universal suffrage’



In seeking to measure “minimal” democracy, scholars often focus on the *competitiveness* of elections. Following Third Wave democratic transitions, several authoritarian states implemented elections to assuage public demand for democracy and to appease the international community’s demands to liberalize political institutions. However, elections in such contexts often take place on an uneven playing field. Entrenched incumbent rulers and dominant parties have been known to manipulate the rules of competition (e.g., by inconsistently applying electoral law for challengers versus incumbent candidates) and, in extreme cases, election outcomes (e.g., by outright fraud).^{6,7}

In short, minimal or electoral democracies are countries in which competitive elections are held and have led (or are likely to lead) to alternation in power at the national level. In the years following Third Wave democratic transitions, the vast majority of executive elections in the LAC region have met this minimum standard of democratic competition. However, over the years and including in recent times, some presidents across the region have taken steps to consolidate power behind powerful parties and individuals. For example, presidents in Bolivia, Ecuador, Honduras, Nicaragua, and Venezuela have sought to extend or eliminate term limits (BBC 2015; *Guardian* 2016a; Sonneland 2016). Viewed in the context of minimal definitions of democracy, these steps have the potential to harm democratic governance by limiting the competitiveness of elections.

The legitimacy and integrity of elections has been repeatedly called into question in the region. In 2016, the Peruvian electoral court was accused of favoritism when it removed high-polling presidential candidates from contention for minor errors in campaign paperwork (Cohen 2016; RPP 2016). Nicaragua’s 2016 election was accompanied by accusations of fraud and an uneven playing field that favored the incumbent party; the circumstances resulted in an election boycott by the opposition (and a landslide victory for the incumbent; see Baltodano 2016). Donald Trump has called into question the integrity of U.S. elections by repeatedly stating that he lost the popular vote due to fraudulent voting during the 2016 presidential contest (BBC 2016). In Ecuador’s 2017 runoff election, the losing opposition candidate argued that the election results had been manipulated and refused to concede, leading to mass street protests (BBC 2017). Finally, in Venezuela, incumbents associated with the *Chavista* regime have been accused of limiting opposition parties’ access to campaign resources, and in 2016, the government cancelled gubernatorial elections in what some viewed as an attempt to stop the opposition from gaining power (Cawthorne 2016).

None of these incidents signifies the imminent downfall of democracy; yet, each serves as a reminder that electoral democracy does not always persist. Democracy has been the status quo political system in the Latin America and Caribbean region since the 1970s and 1980s, and since that time, scholars have debated whether and to what extent democracy has “consolidated” in

requirement: Is it sufficient that all citizens have access to the franchise, or must all citizens *participate* via the franchise (i.e., through the implementation of mandatory voting, see Lijphart 1999)?

⁶ Scholars have termed these systems, where elections are *held* but where the possibility of alternations in power is limited, “competitive authoritarian” regimes (see, e.g., Levitsky and Way 2010).

⁷ In particular, once they have identified the presence of elections, scholars typically ask whether two or more viable partisan options are present and whether a system has produced an alternation in power in the executive branch to identify electoral competitiveness and distinguish democracies from non-democracies (see Przeworski 1991, Przeworski et al. 2000). Przeworski et al. (2000) indicate that post-transitional regimes must include the alternation of power, and treat systems where elections are held but incumbents never lose power as authoritarian (p.27).

these countries – that is, whether electoral democracy exists as “the only game in town” (Linz and Stepan 1996).⁸ At the core of democratic consolidation is the relative stability of the political system. Simply put, regimes that are “consolidated” are likely to persist in the future (Diamond 1994; Schedler 1998).⁹

The persistence of democratic institutions relies in large part on citizen attitudes. Indeed, by defining regime consolidation in terms of its status as “the only game in town,” scholars directly implicate citizens and allude to two distinct sets of attitudes. First, citizens in consolidated democracies must support democratic norms and institutions (e.g., democracy as an ideal; the peaceful transfer of power across party lines; free and fair elections). Second and equally important, citizens in consolidated democracies must *reject* replacing political leaders with means other than elections (e.g., via military coup).

The following sections assess the state of democratic consolidation in El Salvador by examining citizens’ support for democracy in the abstract and their rejection of coups.

Support for Democracy in the Abstract

To what extent do individuals in the Americas believe that democracy is the best political system, and how does their support for democracy in 2016/17 compare to past years? Since its inception, the AmericasBarometer project has asked respondents across the Americas the following question assessing support for democracy.¹⁰

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 provided an answer ranging from 1-7, with 1 signifying “strongly disagree” and 7 denoting “strongly agree.” Figure 1.1 displays the percentage of respondents in each country that reports support for democracy (values of five to seven on the seven-point scale). Responses range from a low of 48.4% in Guatemala to a high of 82.4% in Uruguay. The percentage of the public that supports democracy is highest in some of the region’s oldest and most stable democracies (Uruguay, Canada, Argentina, the United States, and Costa Rica), while support for democracy is notably lower in countries that have recently experienced democratic, political or security crises (e.g., Guatemala, Paraguay, Mexico, Haiti, and Honduras).

In El Salvador, slightly more than half of citizens (54.6%) support democracy as the best form of government, which places the country in the intermediate range of support for democracy compared to the rest of the countries in the region.

⁸ Discussions of “democratic consolidation” can be problematic, as they often assume that all countries transitioning from dictatorship, and indeed all countries that hold competitive elections, are moving toward “deepening” democratic quality, when this is not always the case (see, for example, Levitsky and Way 2012).

⁹ The term “democratic consolidation” has been used to describe the prevention of democratic breakdown and the degradation of democratic norms, as well as to denote the “deepening” of democracy (e.g., through the increased protection of civil and other liberties) (see Schedler 1998). As in defining electoral democracy, we define consolidation “minimally” (and, arguably, “negatively”), as the avoidance of regime breakdown.

¹⁰ This 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.”

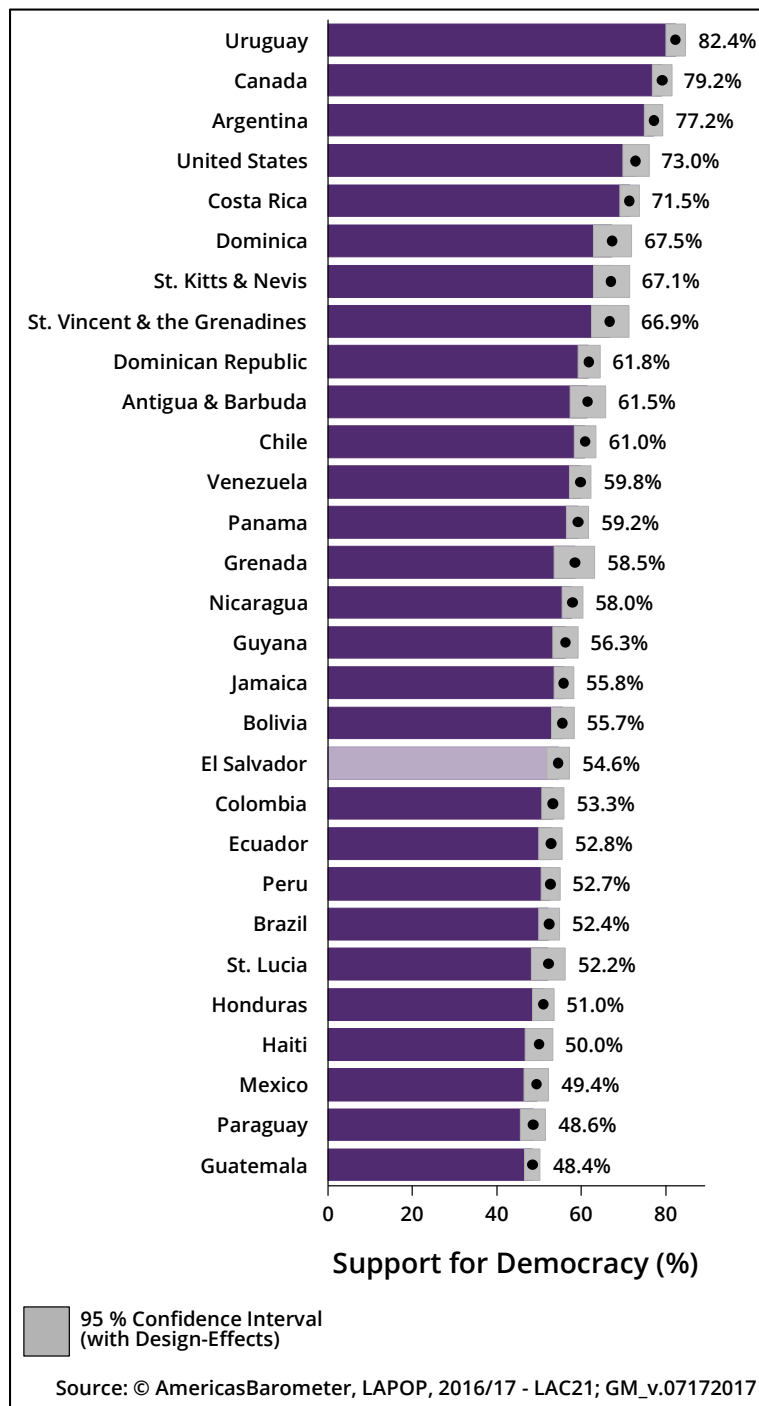


Figure 1.1. Cross-National Support for Democracy by Country

Figure 1.2 documents the level of support for democracy in the Latin America and Caribbean region, as it has changed across time. This and all other cross-time and sub-group analyses in this chapter use data from El Salvador only. Although the majority of citizens in El Salvador have shown support for democracy since 2004, the percentage that supports democracy decreased to its lowest level in 2016 (54.6%).

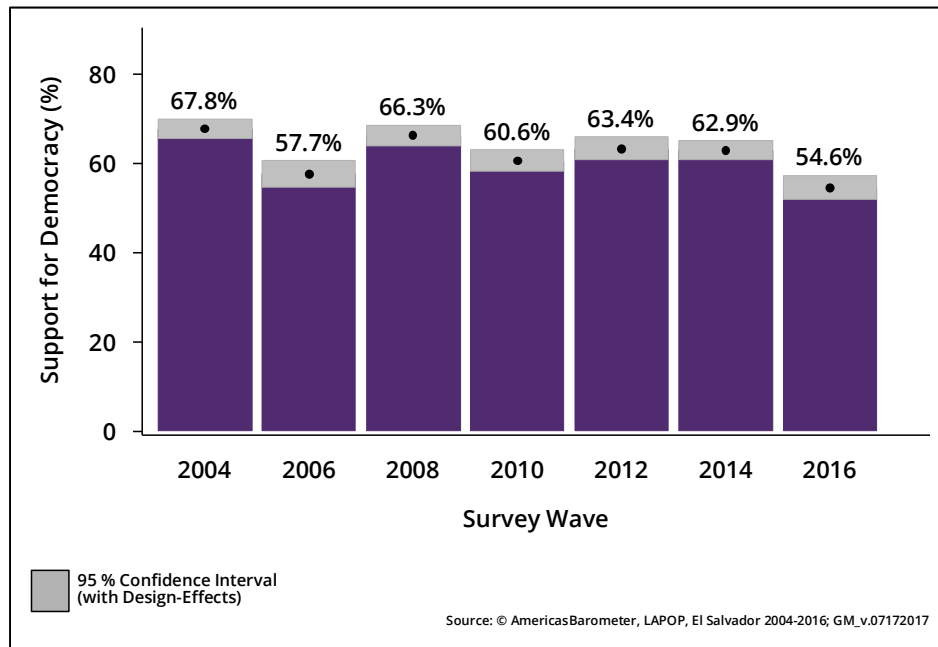


Figure 1.2. Support for Democracy over Time in El Salvador

Who is most likely to support democracy? Figure 1.3 shows statistically significant relationships between age and support for democracy in El Salvador. In all such figures in this chapter, we only show relationships that are statistically significant with 95% confidence. If a category is excluded, this means that it does not significantly predict a particular dependent variable.¹¹

Figure 1.3 shows that older Salvadorans are more likely to report that they support democracy: less than 51% of those between the ages of 18 and 25 support democracy, while 63.3% of those who are 66 or older support democracy.¹²

¹¹ See results of the regressions in this chapter in the appendix placed on the LAPOP website.

¹² There are no statistically significant relationships between support for democracy and wealth level, gender, education and place of residence (urban and rural).

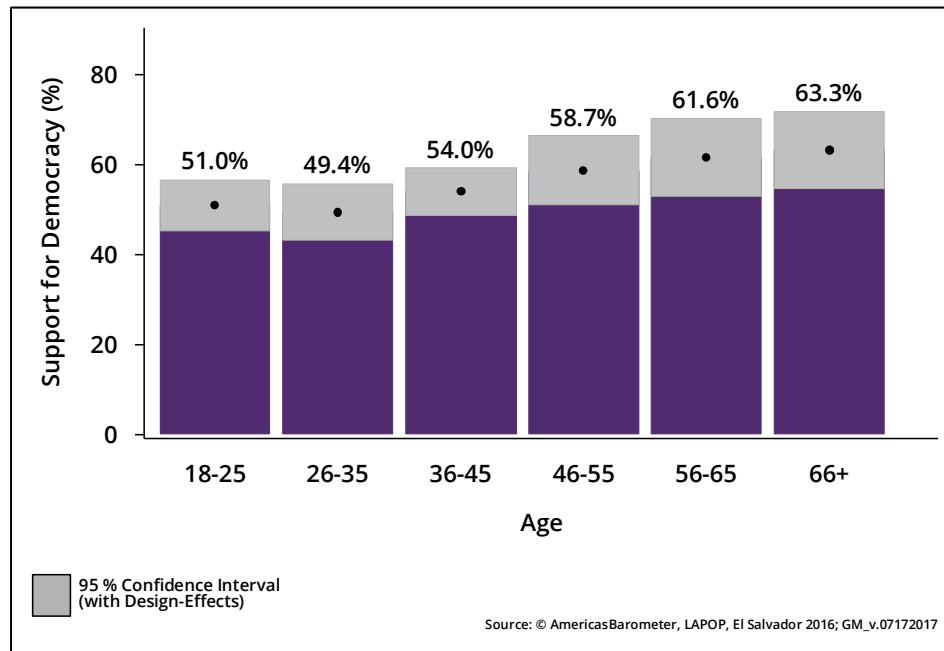


Figure 1.3. Support for Democracy by Age in El Salvador

Rules of the Game: Support for Coups under High Crime and Corruption

In addition to support for democracy in theory, acceptance of democracy as “the only game in town” is key to the stability and persistence of democratic governance. This means, in short, that citizens in democratic societies should not support military coups that replace the incumbent democratically elected government with military leadership. The 2016/17 AmericasBarometer includes two items that tap participants’ hypothetical willingness to support a military takeover of the government. 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]:**

JC10. When there is a lot of crime.

- (1) A military take-over of the state would be justified
- (2) A military take-over of the state would not be justified

JC13. When there is a lot of corruption.

- (1) A military take-over of the state would be justified
- (2) A military take-over of the state would not be justified

Figure 1.4 shows the percentage of respondents in each country that responded that they would support a military coup under each of these circumstances. Support for military coups under high levels of crime ranges from a low of 23.3% in the United States to a high of 59.3% of respondents in Jamaica. Support for coups under high corruption ranges from 23% in Argentina to 53.2% in both Costa Rica and Jamaica. Support for military coups under high crime is 34.1% in El Salvador,

which places the country among the lowest ranks in the region. Support for military coups under high corruption is a little higher (35.5%), but among the average for the region.

More generally, levels of support for military coups are lowest in Argentina, Uruguay, the United States, and Nicaragua. Support for coups is consistently high compared to the rest of the region in Jamaica, Peru, and Mexico.

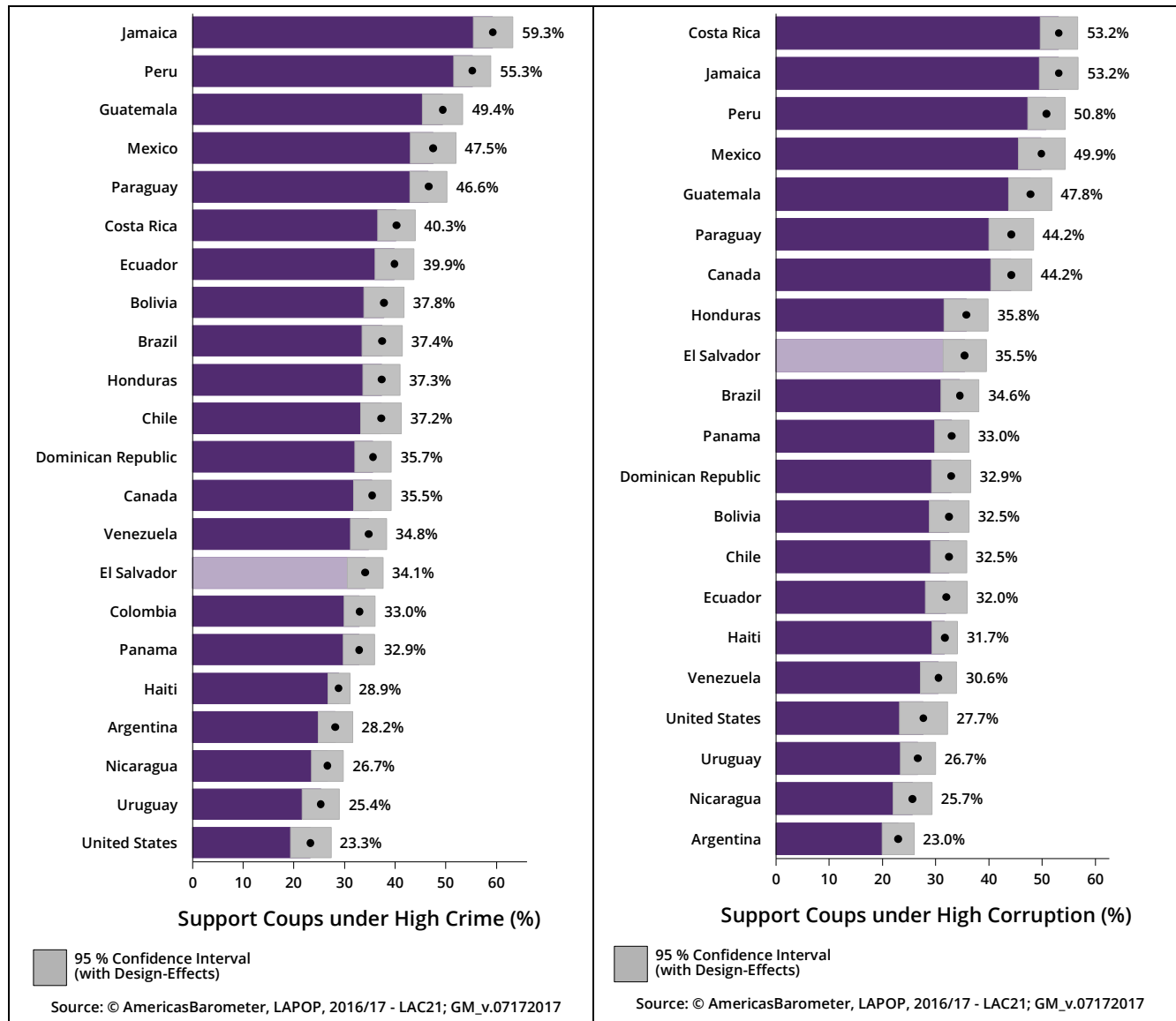


Figure 1.4. Support for Military Coups under High Crime and High Corruption

For cross-time, socio-economic, and demographic analyses, we assess support for military coups, generally, by creating an index of these two variables.¹³ According to Figure 1.5, in El Salvador,

¹³ In survey rounds when both questions were asked to all respondents, we generated an additive index, adding responses to both items and dividing through by two for each individual. In 2016/17, we proxy support for military coups, generally, with support for coups under either high crime or high corruption – whichever question the respondent received.

support for military coups has decreased a great deal compared to the first round in 2004, when more than half of Salvadorans supported coups (56.9%) under two hypothetical situations. Support for military coups reached its lowest level in 2016, when only about a third of Salvadorans support this type of action.

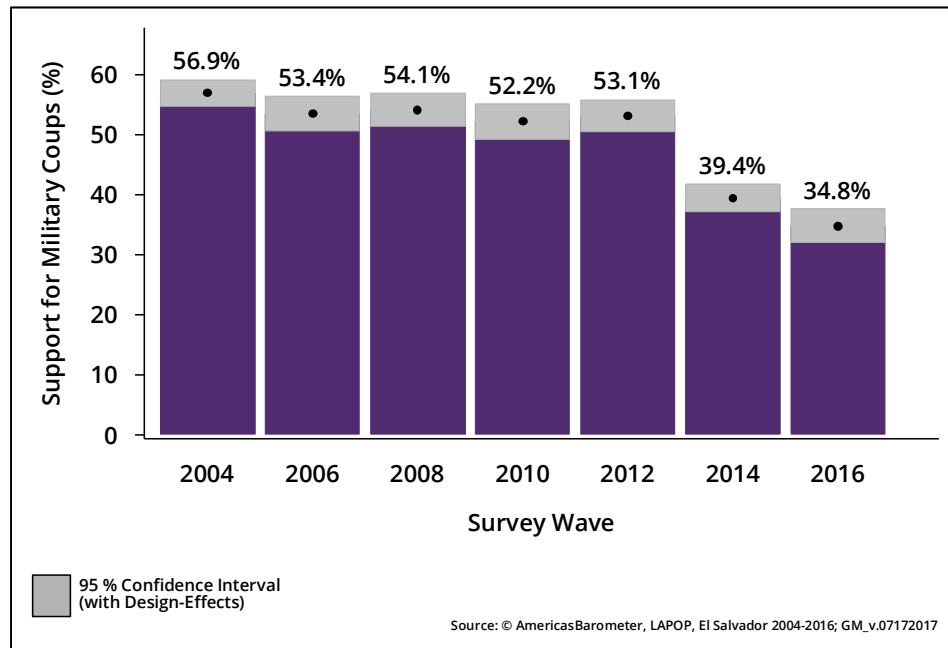


Figure 1.5. Support for Military Coups across Time in El Salvador

Figure 1.6 shows support for military coups by demographic and socio-economic subgroups. In El Salvador, women (38.4%) are more likely than men (31%) to express their support for a military coup. In addition, support for military coups is much more common among young Salvadorans.¹⁴

¹⁴ There are no statistically significant relationships between support for military coups and wealth level, education, and place of residence (urban and rural).

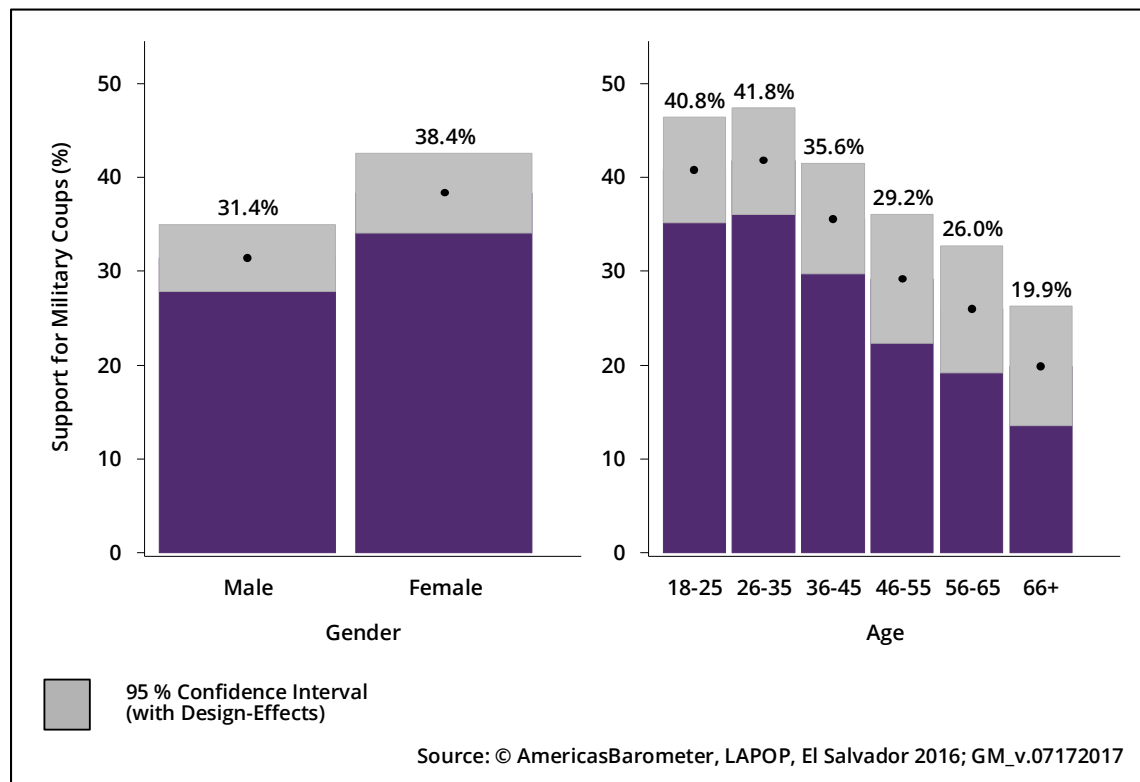


Figure 1.6. Demographic and Socio-Economic Predictors of Support for Military Coups in El Salvador

Support for Executive Coups

In addition to the questions discussed above, the AmericasBarometer in 2016/17 asked all respondents the following question, gauging support for executive coups – that is, the shutdown of legislative bodies by the executive branch:

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) Yes, it is justified (2) No, it is not justified

Because takeovers by the executive versus the military imply action by different government actors, we analyze these questions separately. Figure 1.7 shows the distribution of support for executive coups in very difficult times across countries in the Latin America and Caribbean region in 2016/17. Support for executive coups across the region is substantially lower than support for hypothetical coups under high crime or high corruption, averaging 20.5% across the region. Support for executive coups is the lowest in Uruguay (8.7%) and support for executive coups is by far the highest in Peru (37.8%) – a country that experienced an executive coup in 1992. El Salvador is among the countries with the least support for executive coups (16.1%).

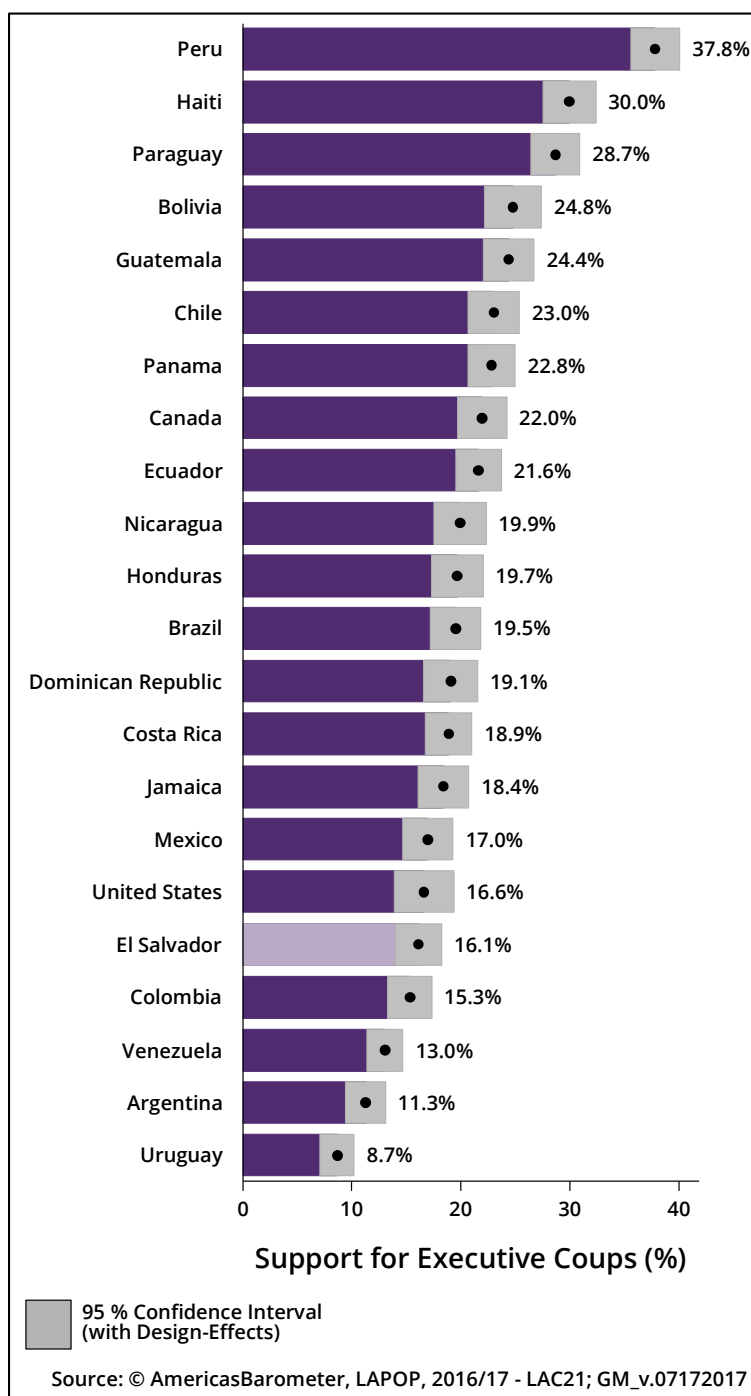


Figure 1.7. Support for Executive Coups

While support for executive coups is lower than support for military coups under high crime or high corruption, Figure 1.8 shows that levels of support for an executive shutdown of the legislature increased in the 2016/17 round of the AmericasBarometer in El Salvador by 2.6%.¹⁵ However, there is a pattern of relative stability since 2010.

¹⁵ There are no differences in support for executive coups by demographic or socioeconomic subgroups.

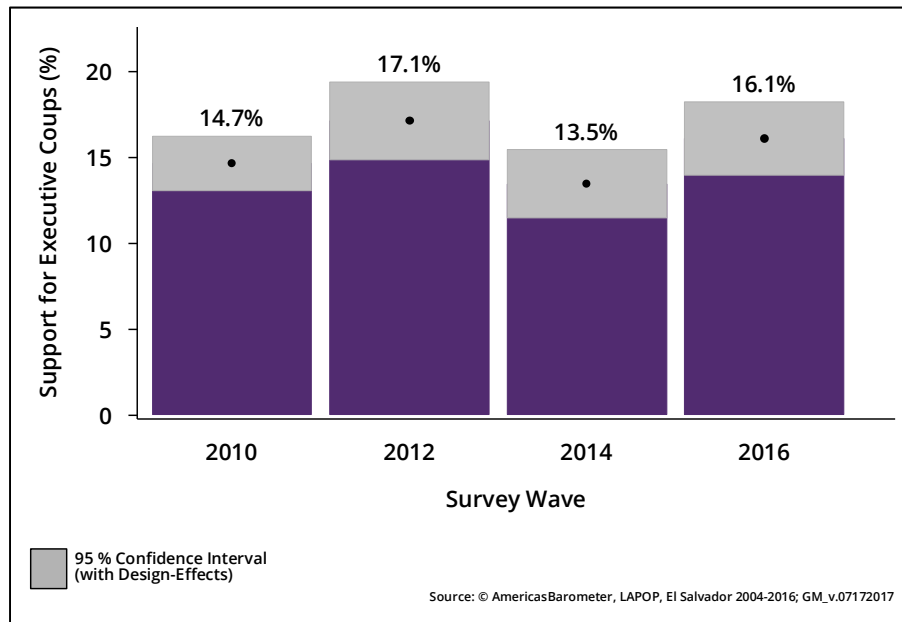


Figure 1.8. Support for Executive Coups across Time in El Salvador

On balance, these metrics of minimal support for democracy, support for democracy in theory and the rejection of coups, suggest declining public support for democracy in the region. Support for democracy in theory, for example, fell substantially in general and in El Salvador compared to 2014. At the same time, the level of support for a hypothetical military coup in El Salvador is relatively low compared to other countries in the region and has declined significantly in recent years. On the other hand, support for executive coups has grown 2.6 percentage points in 2016 in El Salvador. Although these figures are important, they are also hypothetical, abstract, and general. Although the interviewees express low support for democracy on average, it is not clear in these analyzes whether this generalized rejection is reflected in opinions on the institutions regarding how they work in the national political context of each interviewee. The rest of this chapter focuses on this question.

IV. Support for Democratic Institutions: Elections and Parties

Electoral democracy relies on citizen participation through elections: voters select their representatives and straightforwardly voice their preferences at the ballot box. Public trust and participation in these institutions are therefore important for understanding citizen support for democracy as it functions in the real world and, as well, serve as a signal of citizens' commitment to democracy (a foundational piece of democratic consolidation).

Voters select who governs through their participation in competitive elections. This process permits citizens an indirect role in policy-making under electoral democracy, which occurs "...through the competition and cooperation of elected representatives." (Schmitter and Karl 1991, 76). Citizens' preferences are thus mediated through their interactions with political institutions (e.g., elections) and actors (e.g., politicians and parties) in a democracy. Citizen trust in the



electoral process as clean, competitive, and fair is therefore foundational to democracy's legitimacy.¹⁶

For voters, democratic elections are an opportunity to punish or reward outcomes from the previous term, and to signal their prospective preferences (see, e.g., Ferejohn 1986; Lewis Beck 1986; Manin, Przeworski, and Stokes 1999; Powell 2000). For elections to produce winners and electoral mandates, some portion of the public must participate in them by voting.¹⁷ Around the world, scholars have observed inequities in who participates: abstainers are often less interested in and more alienated from politics than other citizens (see Karp and Banducci 2008; Carreras and Castañeda-Angarita 2014), and those who vote are wealthier and more educated than those who abstain (Carlin, Singer and Zechmeister 2015; Carreras and Castañeda-Angarita 2014; Nadeau et al. 2017).¹⁸

In short, citizens legitimate electoral democracy by trusting in elections as a mechanism to select leaders and by participating in elections. The following sections examine citizen trust and participation in elections in Latin America and the Caribbean, with the goal of better understanding support for electoral democracy in the region.

Trust in Elections

In 2004 and every round since 2012, the AmericasBarometer has asked individuals the following question:

B47A. To what extent do you trust elections in this country?

Responses range from 1-7, with 1 indicating “no trust” and 7 denoting “strong trust.” Figure 1.10 shows the percentage of individuals who trust elections (values of five to seven on the seven-point scale) in each country where the question was asked in the 2016/17 AmericasBarometer study. The percentage of respondents who report trust in elections ranges widely, from 18.5% in Haiti to 73% in Uruguay. There are no clear trends in the ranking of countries. For example, Nicaragua's 2016 election was accompanied by accusations of fraud culminating in a boycott of the election by opposition parties; yet, trust in elections is fourth from the highest in the region in that country. In Colombia in contrast, only 24% of respondents report trust in elections, although elections have been regularly certified as clean from fraud by international observers in recent years. El Salvador

¹⁶ Scholars argue that trust in elections *among the losers* is potentially more important than democratic support among winners (see, e.g., Anderson et al. 2007).

¹⁷ There is some debate as to what the ideal rate of participation is. While some argue that full participation is a normative good (see, e.g., Lijphart 1997), others (e.g., Rosema 2007; see also Schumpeter 1942) argue that low electoral participation can signal citizen satisfaction with the status quo and may yield better representative outcomes (see also Singh 2016).

¹⁸ Several Latin American countries have sought to minimize these inequities and enforce a view of voting as both a right and a duty by implementing mandatory vote laws (Fornos et al. 2004). Mandatory vote laws arguably reduce unequal participation by income, and scholars have also suggested that compulsory voting can increase citizens' *cognitive* engagement (that is, their knowledge of and interest in politics, see Carlin and Love 2015; Singh 2015; Söderlund et al. 2011). However, increased turnout across demographic subgroups does not necessarily mean increased positive participation in elections. Voters in the LAC region regularly turn out and spoil their ballots to signal their discontent with status quo politics, and levels of spoiled voting are especially high where voting is mandated (Cohen 2017; Power and Garand 2007).

is in an intermediate range compared to other countries in the region, with about a third of respondents reporting trust in elections.

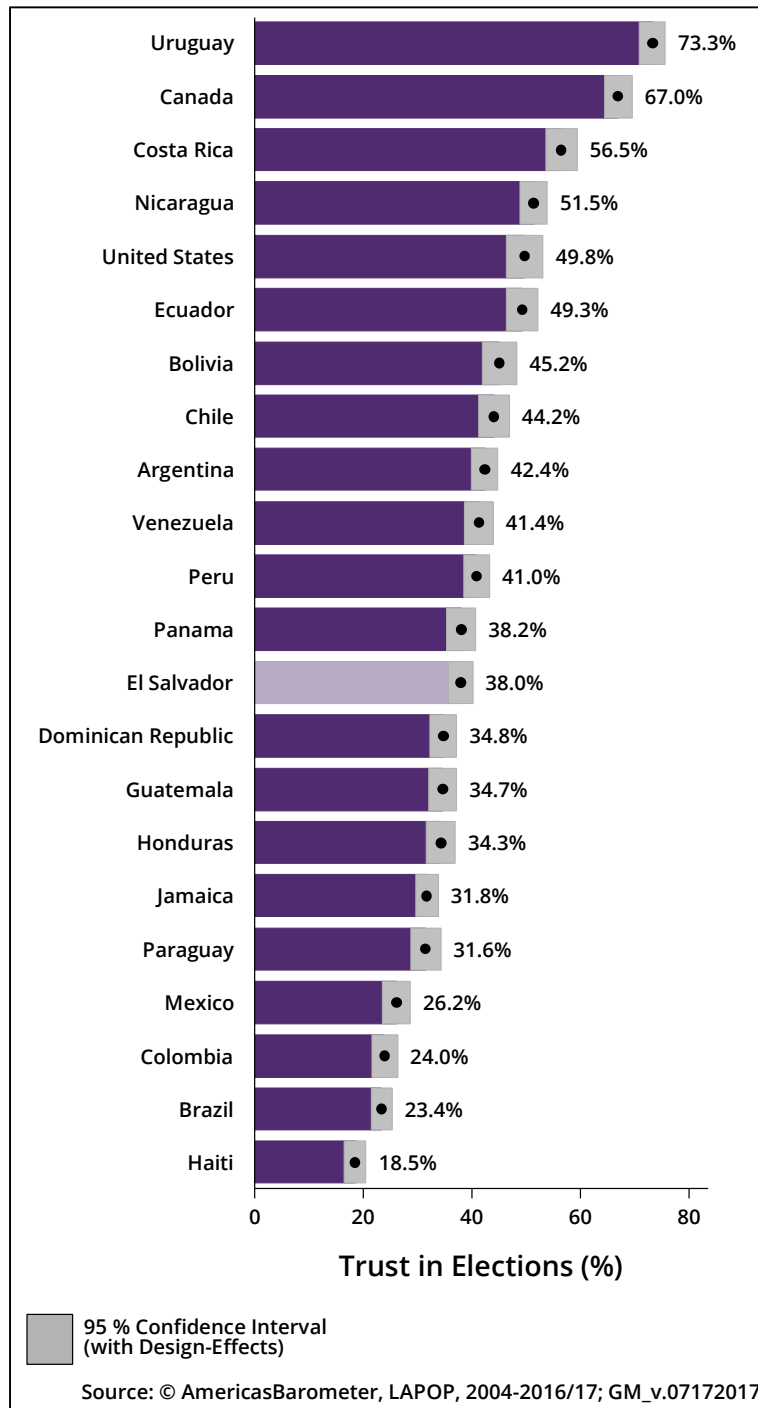


Figure 1.9. Percentage of Respondents Who Trust Elections

In El Salvador, an average of 38% of citizens trust elections, according to the 2016/17 round of the AmericasBarometer (see Figure 1.10). This figure represents a significant decline of more than 10 percentage points compared to the 2014 round.

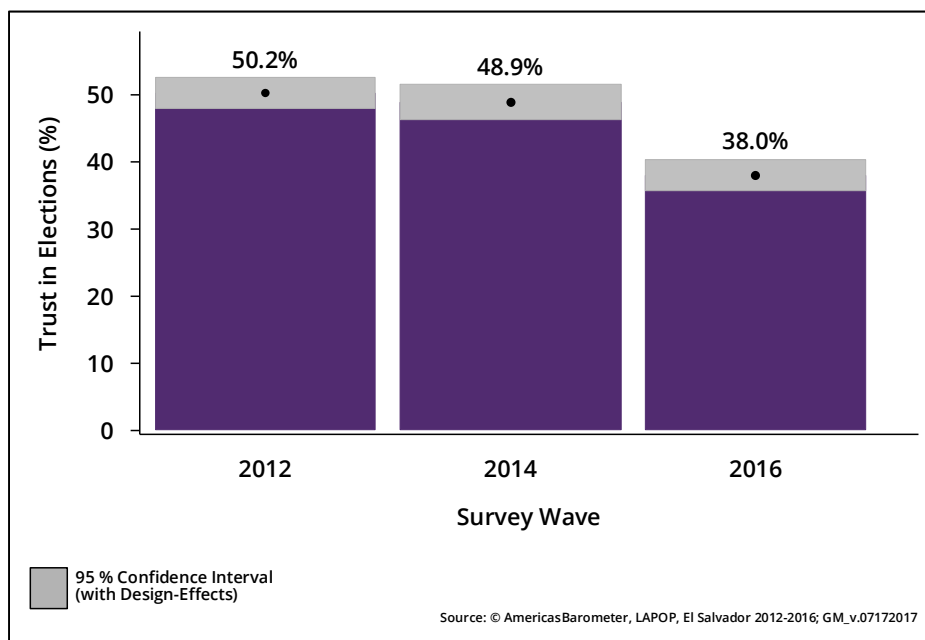


Figure 1.10. Trust in Elections over Time in El Salvador

In terms of who is most likely to trust elections, the results in Figure 1.11 show that Salvadorans with low levels of education express greater confidence in elections than those with secondary or university education. Similarly, those who live in rural areas have more trust in elections than urban residents.¹⁹

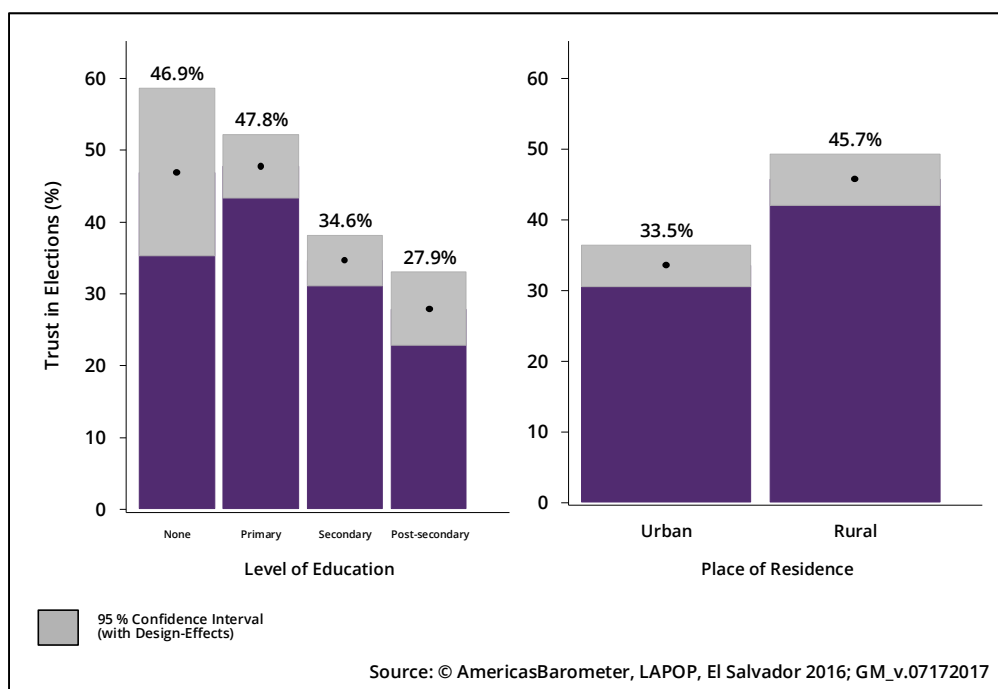


Figure 1.11. Demographic and Socio-Economic Predictors of Trust in Elections in El Salvador

¹⁹ There is no statistically significant relationship between trust in elections and gender, wealth, or age.

Participation in Elections

In addition to supporting and trusting elections in theory, democracy requires citizen participation in elections to select winners. To measure electoral participation, the AmericasBarometer asks respondents in each country the following question:

VB2. Did you vote in the (first round of the) last **presidential elections** of (year of last presidential/general elections)?
 (1) Voted
 (2) Did not vote

Figure 1.12 shows the distribution of reported voter turnout in each of the countries in the study. Reported turnout ranges from 52.5% in the 2016 general election in Jamaica to 89.3% in Peru's 2016 general election.²⁰ Unsurprisingly, reported turnout is the highest in countries where mandatory vote laws exist and are strictly enforced (Peru, Uruguay, Ecuador; see Fornos et al. 2004) and is substantially lower in countries where voting is voluntary (e.g., Chile, Jamaica, Nicaragua, Colombia). El Salvador is in an intermediate range among the countries of the region with 72.2% of participation reported in the last presidential elections.

²⁰ As in most studies of electoral behavior, turnout is over-reported by several percentage points in the AmericasBarometer study. For example, official turnout in the first round Peruvian election in 2016 was 81.8% of eligible voters, and official turnout in the 2016 US elections was 60.2% of eligible voters. Turnout over-reporting can be caused by social desirability (voting is seen as normatively desirable, and interviewees lie to appear to be good citizens) and faulty memory (individuals do not remember what they did during the last election, so incorrectly guess that they turned out to vote).

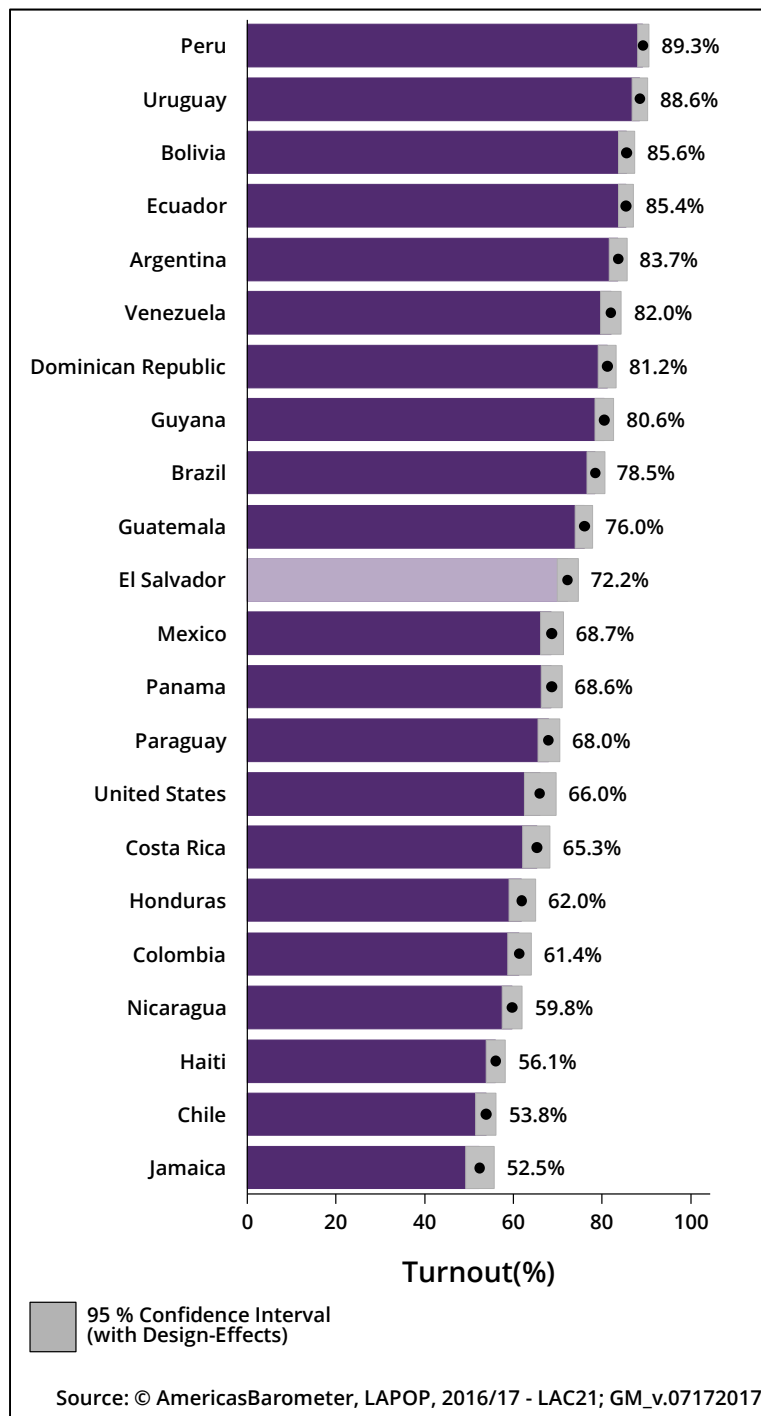


Figure 1.12. Turnout across Countries

Who participates in elections? There are some interesting patterns in Figure 1.13. All age cohorts with the exception of the youngest (18–25) report a participation in general elections of more than 78%. The younger Salvadorans report a participation rate of only 42.3%.²¹

²¹ Not all participants in the study were eligible to vote in the most recent presidential election, which largely explains the differences in reported turnout among the youngest and the rest of the age cohorts.

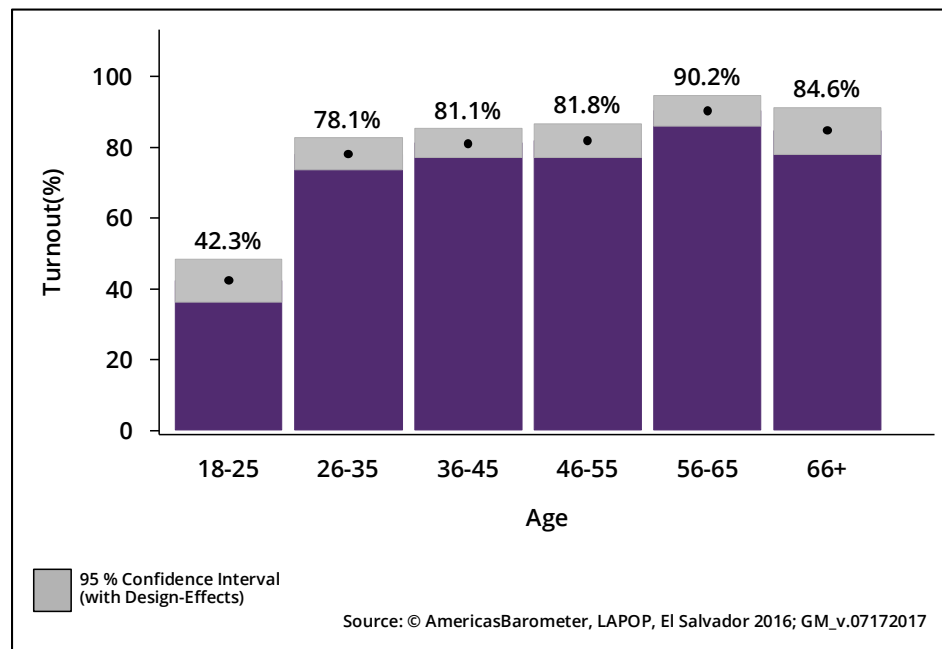


Figure 1.13. Turnout by Age in El Salvador

Only 38% of respondents in El Salvador report trusting elections, which have been the status quo system for selecting leaders for well over 30 years on average across the region. This figure is somewhat disconcerting given the central role of elections in democratic governance. Yet, Salvadorans still have high participation rates in elections. Participation has remained relatively stable over time and more than 70% of people of voting age in El Salvador report having participated in the last presidential elections.

Trust in Political Parties

Citizens' preferences about policy are filtered not only through elections, but also through elected representatives and the political parties into which they are organized. The founders of the United States viewed the presence of "factions" as undesirable but inevitable in a republic (see Federalist No. 10). While parties are not mentioned explicitly in most countries' constitutions (Stokes 2002), scholars agree that party organizations are important for both politicians and voters. By organizing legislators into groups with similar policy preferences, parties are able to overcome coordination problems and enact legislation efficiently rather than building new coalitions for each piece of proposed legislation (Aldrich 1995). This has led some (see, e.g., Schattschneider 1967) to argue that representative democracy needs political parties, especially institutionalized parties (see Mainwaring and Scully 1995), to work.

Parties also serve an important role for citizens. By organizing politics on policy lines, parties enable voters to identify a "team" that aligns with their preferences. At their best, then, parties facilitate citizen participation in the democratic process and ensure high quality representation.

However, political parties are not always associated with positive outcomes. At their worst, strong parties divide politicians and citizens into fiercely oppositional groups, resulting in legislative gridlock. On the other hand, parties are not able to effectively organize the political space when they lack leadership and staying power. High turnover (or 'volatility') in the partisan options competing over time is especially relevant in some of Latin America's weak party systems, where



levels of partisan replacement over time are notably high (see, e.g., Cohen, Salles, and Zechmeister 2017; Roberts 2014). Further, the perception that politics is a dirty business and parties protect their members who engage in corruption might lead to relatively low trust in parties in an age of high salience corruption scandals (Canache and Allison 2005).

This section examines citizen interactions with political parties, specifically trust and participation in political parties in the Americas. Since 2004, the AmericasBarometer study has asked participants the following question:

B21. To what extent do you trust the political parties?

Response categories ranged from 1 to 7, where 1 signifies no trust and 7 indicates high trust in political parties. Figure 1.15 shows the percentage of respondents that reported trusting parties (values of five and higher). The percentage of participants reporting trust in political parties ranges from 7.5% in Peru to 35% in Nicaragua. El Salvador exhibits an intermediate level of confidence in political parties (19.1%) compared to other countries in the region.

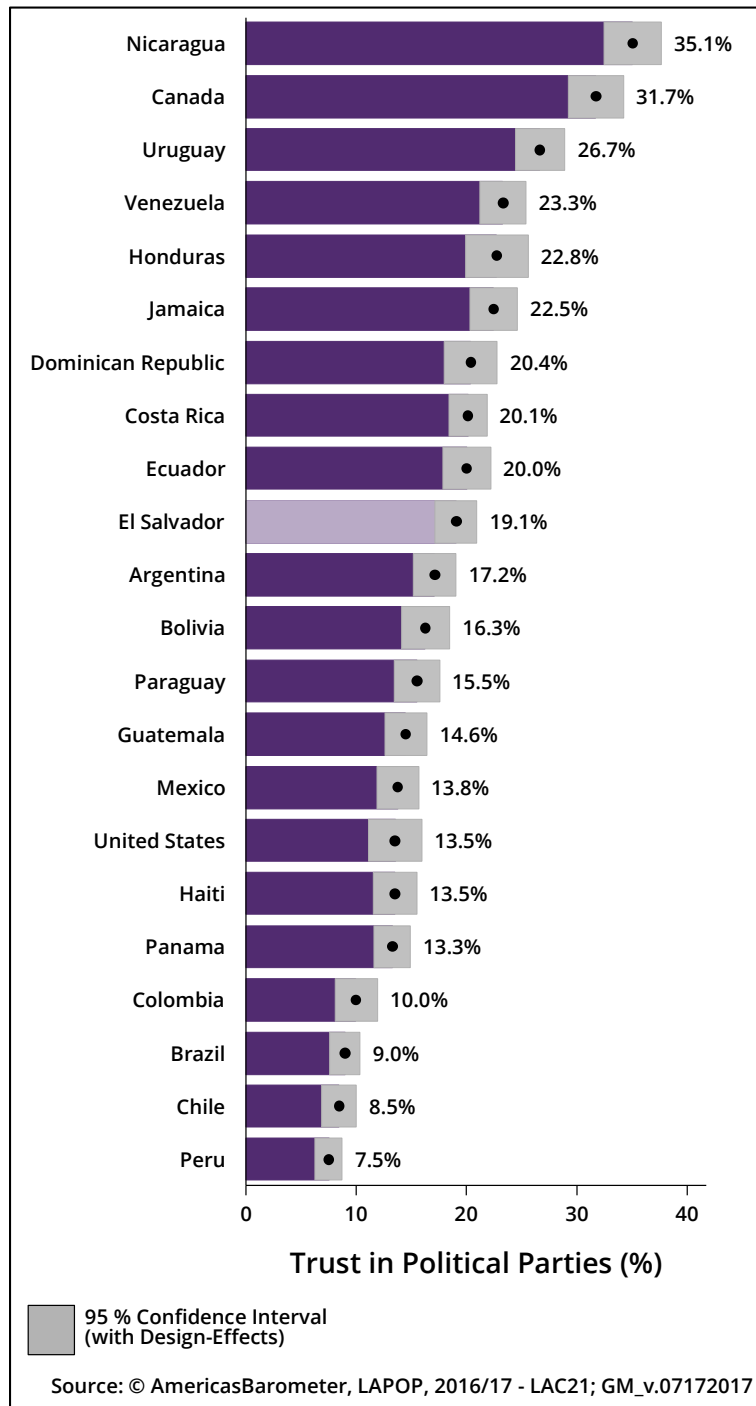


Figure 1.14. Percentage that Trusts Political Parties across Countries

Figure 1.15 shows that trust in political parties has decreased greatly in El Salvador since 2004: while 34.4% trusted the parties in 2004, only 19.1% report trusting the parties in the 2016/17 round. Indeed, the levels of confidence in political parties in the AmericasBarometer 2016/17 are the lowest that have been registered since the study began in El Salvador. Between 2014 and 2016, confidence in political parties in El Salvador decreased significantly by almost six percentage points.

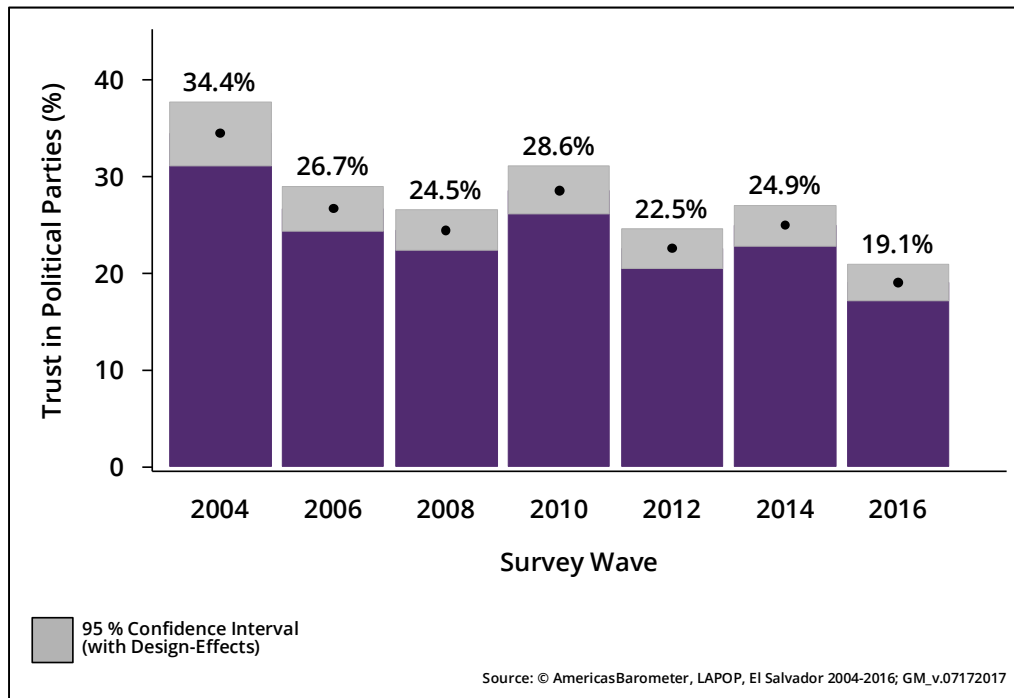


Figure 1.15. Trust in Political Parties over Time in El Salvador

With respect to who is more or less likely to trust political parties, Figure 1.16 shows that education has a negative and strong effect. While 36.1% of those who do not have a formal education report trust in parties, only 9.6% of those with a college education trust the political parties in El Salvador. Similarly, people with higher levels of wealth report significantly less confidence in parties (15.5%) than poorer respondents (23.6%). Rural inhabitants (24%) have more trust in parties than urban residents (16.1%). In general, young people report significantly less confidence in parties—among those between 18 and 45 years old, around 15% report confidence, while at least 24% of Salvadorans between 45 and over report that they trust political parties.²²

²² All relationships remain significant controlling for the other demographic and socioeconomic factors, except wealth quintiles.

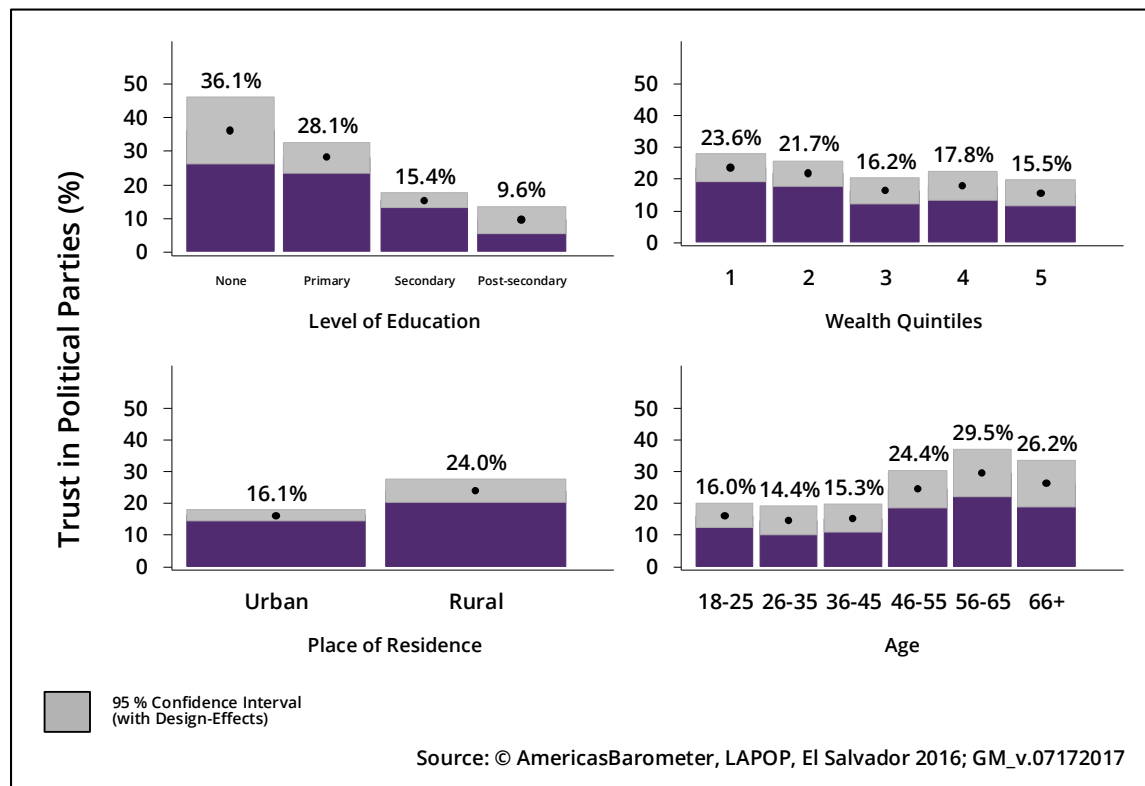


Figure 1.16. Demographic and Socio-Economic Predictors of Trust in Political Parties in El Salvador

These demographic and socioeconomic factors associated with trust in partisan organizations stand in stark contrast to the findings for trust and participation in general elections. On average, the confidence level in parties is half of what is observed for confidence in elections in El Salvador. Older Salvadorans rely more on these representative institutions. At the same time, citizens with more education and who reside in rural areas rely more on elections. Those with lower levels of education and wealth, rural residents and young people trust less in political parties than the poorest and least educated.

Partisanship

Trust in parties is a relatively low cost expression of an individual's commitment to the party system. It is substantially easier to express support for parties in general than it is to express an identification with a partisan organization. The following section examines this higher-cost variable, attachment to a partisan organization. Since 2004, the AmericasBarometer surveys have asked respondents the following question:

VB10. Do you currently identify with a political party?

(1) Yes (2) No

Figure 1.17 shows that levels of partisanship in the Americas vary widely, from 5.9% of Guatemalans reporting partisanship to 44.4% of Uruguayans. As one might expect, levels of partisanship are highest in some of the countries where party systems are quite stable, with the same parties and coalitions competing over time (e.g., Uruguay, the Dominican Republic) and are lowest in some

countries where parties change substantially across elections (e.g., Guatemala, Peru). However, there are some notable exceptions to this rule: for example, both Chile and Mexico, two of the region's most stable party systems, have some of the lowest rates of partisanship in the region. This may be due to citizens' feelings of alienation from the party options and specifically the belief that the parties are too stable and do not represent the relevant spectrum of voter preferences (see, e.g., Siavelis 2009). In El Salvador, 26.4% identified with a political party in 2016, which represents an intermediate level compared to the other countries in the region.

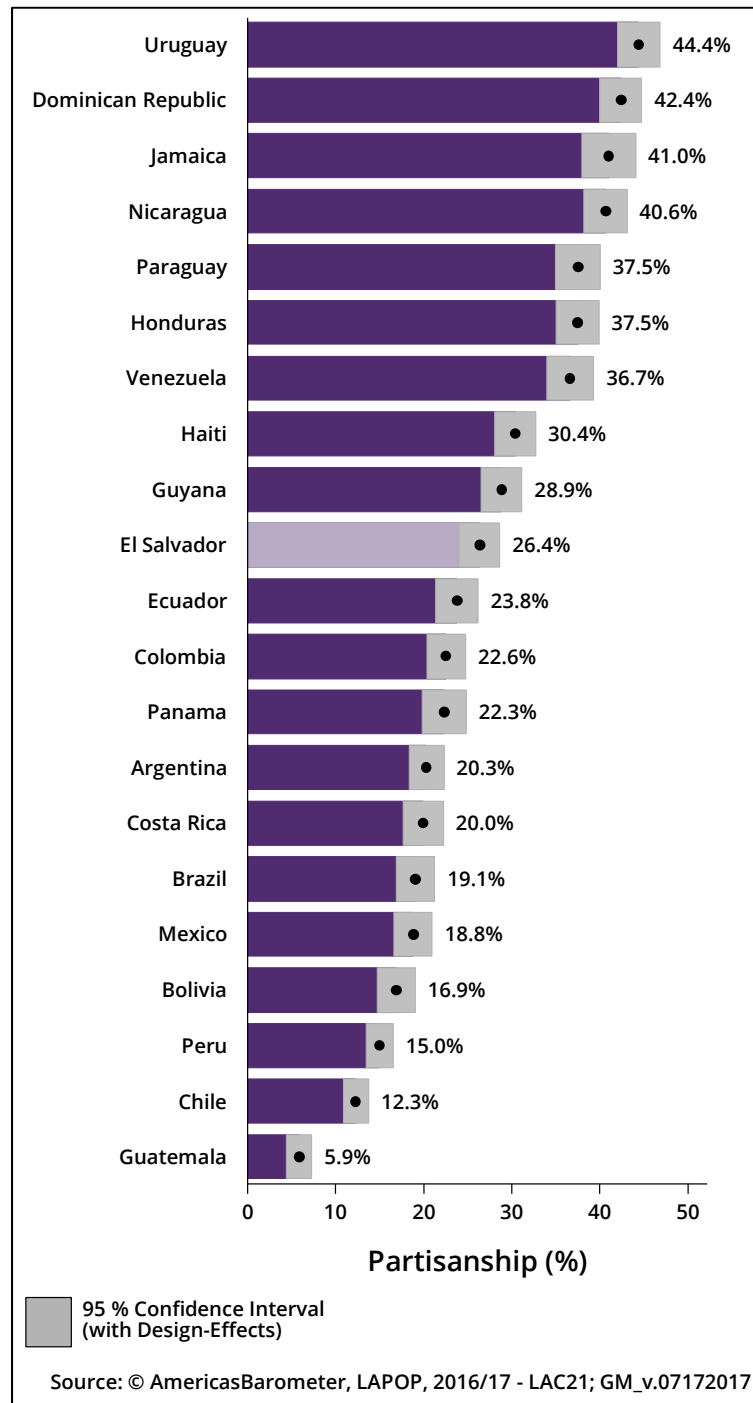


Figure 1.17. Partisanship across Countries

Figure 1.18 shows rates of partisan identification in El Salvador over time. The percentage of respondents who identify with a political party decreased by almost 19 percentage points compared to 2014. This represents the lowest level of party identification in 10 years in El Salvador. More people identify with political parties as elections approach (Michelitch and Utych, forthcoming), which may explain the relatively high levels of party identification in 2008 and 2014.

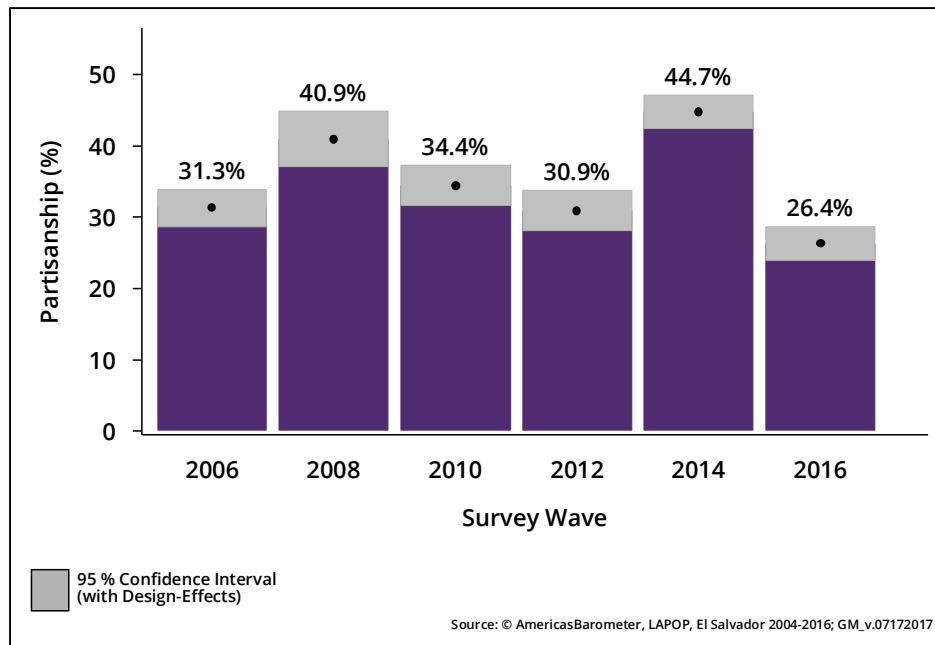


Figure 1.18. Partisanship across Time in El Salvador

Given low average levels of partisanship, who reports belonging to political parties? Figure 1.19 shows that older Salvadorans are more likely to belong to a political party than younger citizens. Only about 20% of the youngest respondents report belonging to a political party.²³

²³ There are no statistically significant differences between partisan identification and gender, education, wealth, or place of residence.

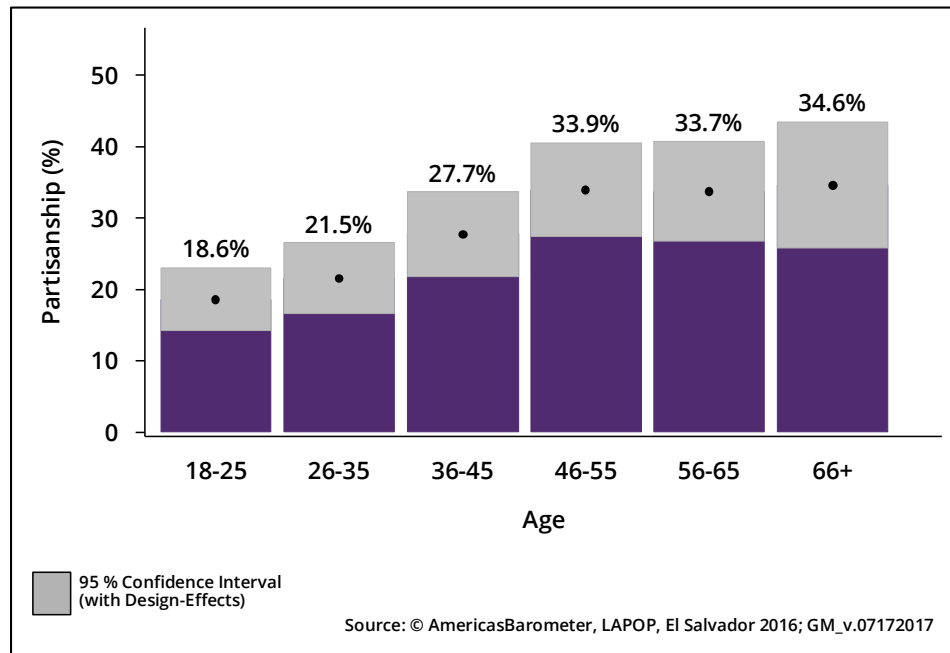


Figure 1.19. Demographic and Socio-Economic Predictors of Political Partisanship in El Salvador

V. Conclusion

How robust is support for electoral democracy in Latin America and the Caribbean in 2017? The analyses in this chapter provide some reasons to be concerned about the depth of citizens' commitment to democracy as a system for the selection of political leaders. On average across the region, support for democracy in the abstract declined precipitously in the last two years, while support for executive coups increased substantially. These downward trends in support for basic democratic values suggest that the public has become more cynical in their views of electoral democracy as an ideal.

When it comes to attitudes toward institutions that are central to representative democracy, public confidence and engagement stayed constant for some while it declined for others. In 2016, less than two out of five people in El Salvador expressed confidence in the elections and less than one in five reported trusting political parties. In 2016, the average adult in El Salvador has a much lower probability of identifying with a political party: while about 45% sympathize with a political party in 2014, in 2016 that figure is only 26.4%.

It is worth noting that low support for core democratic institutions is not the only way to measure citizen commitment to democratic values and practices. While public opinion on the indicators explored in this chapter is low and/or has declined, Chapter 6 shows that one measure of commitment to democratic values, tolerance of the rights of minority groups and viewpoints, increased in the Latin America and Caribbean region in 2016/17. This may, in fact, be a silver lining to citizen frustration with elections and the menu of options they offer: when individuals find their confidence in democracy, elections, and parties degraded, they may become more supportive of political participation by a broad swath of the public.



Chapter 2.

The Supply of Basic Liberties in the Americas

Elizabeth J. Zechmeister with LAPOP

I. Introduction

Access to a diversity of information, freedom of expression, and the right to participate are critical to democracy. These basic liberties are fundamental to citizens' ability to form, express, and insert their preferences into government (Dahl 1971, pp. 2-3; see also Beetham 2005, Bollen 1991, Bollen and Paxton 2000, Diamond and Morlino 2004, among others).¹ In other words, the supply and protection of civil liberties are foundational to the functioning of responsive representative democracy.

Public space for the open exchange of socio-political information has been eroding in a number of countries in the Latin American region, among other places around the world (Cooley 2015). The reasons are varied and, further, reports suggest significant differences across countries and over time. One source of information on the state of basic liberties is the Freedom House organization. Freedom House asks experts to assess the extent to which countries provide a range of civil liberties, including freedoms to voice opinions, to participate in social and political life, and to access fair treatment by public institutions.

Freedom House aggregates these basic liberties assessments into a Civil Liberties rating. Since 2004, the year LAPOP's AmericasBarometer was launched, Freedom House has downgraded the Civil Liberties ratings of seven out of 32 Latin America and Caribbean (LAC) countries.² In other words, just over one-fifth of the LAC region has witnessed a decrease in the supply of basic liberties over the last 14 years. And yet other countries in the region have not experienced this same negative trajectory with respect to their Civil Liberties score. Importantly, expert ratings are not based on the experiences of the average citizen. In fact, we know little about how the average citizen experiences and perceives the supply of basic liberties in the Americas.

The question at the core of this chapter is the following: To what extent do citizens of the region feel that their political systems fail to supply a sufficient degree of freedom of the media, of expression, of political expression, and of human rights? While this question focuses our attention on deficiencies in basic liberties, it is also possible for individuals to perceive there to be too much of a freedom, and the 2016/17 AmericasBarometer anticipated this by allowing individuals to respond in this way. These data are presented in some figures in the chapter, but the principal focus here is on the extent to which the public finds there to be a deficit in the supply of basic freedoms. As an additional analysis at the end of the chapter, we examine the extent to which

¹ There are many other positive externalities of a free media and freedom of expression; see discussion in Färdigh (2013).

² Source: Freedom House. Analysis is based on subtracting the average Civil Liberties rating for each country across 2004-2005 from the average rating across 2016-2017. The countries whose Civil Liberties ratings were downgraded in 2016-17 related to 2004-05 are the Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Guyana, Honduras, Mexico, Nicaragua, and Venezuela. Eight countries' ratings improved across this time span: Brazil, Colombia, Costa Rica, Cuba, Haiti, St. Kitts & Nevis, St. Lucia, and St. Vincent & the Grenadines.

perceiving deficiencies in the supply of basic liberties (negatively) predicts presidential approval, electoral support for the incumbent, and individuals' inclination to participate in elections.

II. Main Findings

Analyses in this chapter reveal that many in the mass public in the Americas perceive significant deficiencies in the supply of basic liberties, from freedom of the press to the right to express opinions without fear to the protection of human rights. The chapter also documents significant variation across countries, individuals, and time. In a penultimate section, the chapter documents a robust negative relationship between perceptions of deficits in the supply of basic liberties and support for the incumbent administration. Not only are democracies stronger to the extent that governments oversee more open political spaces and more extensive liberties, but so too are the governments themselves. The main findings from the analyses in this chapter can be summarized as follows:

- In El Salvador, 53% of individuals report that there is very little freedom of the press.
- The extent to which citizens perceive there to be a deficit with respect to freedom of the press varies significantly across countries; these country results correlate strongly with expert ratings regarding lack of freedom of the press.
- Confidence in the media has remained relatively stable in El Salvador since 2006.
- Nearly half the public in the Americas believes there is very little freedom of expression in their country; just over half believes there is very little freedom of political expression. In El Salvador, 62% report very little freedom of (general) expression and 67% report very little freedom of political expression.
- In El Salvador, 72% of individuals report that there is very little protection of human rights. On average, across the region, nearly two-thirds of the public feels there is very little protection of human rights.
- To the degree that Salvadorans perceive deficiencies in the supply of basic liberties, they express lower approval of the president and lower likelihood of voting for the incumbent.

In El Salvador, who is more likely to perceive there to be serious limitations in the degree to which basic liberties are supplied? Among other findings, the analyses in this report document that:

- Salvadorans living in rural areas are more likely to perceive that there is very little freedom of the press.
- Women, younger Salvadorans, and those with the lowest level of wealth are more likely to report very little freedom of expression.
- Salvadorans living in urban areas with lower levels of wealth are more likely to report that there is very little protection of human rights.

III. The Media

Freedom of the press has declined around the world over the last ten years. By 2016 only 31% of the world's countries were characterized by the Freedom House organization as having a “free” press (Freedom House 2017).³ The Americas are faring better than the global average: of 35 countries ranked by the Freedom House, 16 (46%) have “free” media environments.

However, freedom of the press is restricted (rated by the Freedom House as only “partly free”) in 14 LAC countries (Antigua & Barbuda, Guyana, El Salvador, Panama, the Dominican Republic, Peru, Argentina, Brazil, Haiti, Bolivia, Nicaragua, Colombia, Guatemala, and Paraguay), while in five countries – Mexico, Ecuador, Honduras, Venezuela, and Cuba – the press is categorized as “not free” (Freedom House 2017). Moreover, across the Americas, concerns about the concentration of media ownership have become salient (see, e.g., Mendel, Castillejo, and Gómez 2017). In addition, in March 2017, the Inter American Press Association denounced a spectrum of hostilities, ranging from harassment to murder, toward those working to generate and distribute media in the region.⁴ Journalists have experienced alarming levels of violence, including homicide, especially in Brazil, Colombia, Guatemala, Honduras, and Mexico.⁵ Populist leaders have threatened and targeted critical members of the press in countries such as Bolivia, Ecuador, Nicaragua, and Venezuela.⁶

Supply of Freedom of the Press

The 2016/17 round of the AmericasBarometer included several questions about citizens' perceptions of the media. One question asked about the extent to which there is very little, enough (sufficient), or too much freedom of the press.⁷ The wording was as follows:

	Very little	Enough	Too much
LIB1. Do you believe that nowadays in the country we have very little, enough or too much freedom of press?	1	2	3

On average across the Americas, 44% of the public reports that there is very little freedom of the press, 24% believes there is too much, and 32% of the public is content with the amount of freedom

³ The Freedom House categorizes countries' freedom of the press levels as “free”, “partly free”, or “not free” based on input provided by analysts who score countries on 23 questions that fall into three categories that capture the legal, political, and economic environment (see freedomhouse.org/report/freedom-press-2017-methodology).

⁴ www.clarin.com/mundo/sip-denuncio-amenazas-hostigamiento-prensa-america-latina_0_BlakCElpg.html

⁵ cpj.org/killed/

⁶ www.washingtonpost.com/world/americas/in-tiny-ecuador-populist-president-restrains-press/2012/01/23/gIQAHBmQNN_story.html?utm_term=.70b0c54a5d8e; cpj.org/2017/04/journalists-covering-venezuela-protests-harassed-a.php; freedomhouse.org/report/freedom-press/2016/nicaragua; see also Freedom House (2017).

⁷ The question was not asked in the six OECS countries included in the 2016/17 AmericasBarometer or in Guyana.

accorded to the press.⁸ These proportions vary significantly across countries, as shown in Figure 2.1. In Canada, only 11% report that there is very little freedom of the press; nearly three out of every four individuals (74%) feel there is a sufficient amount of freedom of the press. At the other end of the figure are nine countries in which one out of every two individuals, or more, reports very little freedom of the press: El Salvador, Bolivia, Panama, Guatemala, Colombia, Mexico, Ecuador, Honduras, and Venezuela. In the latter case, Venezuela, 67% of the mass public perceives there to be very little freedom of the press.

El Salvador is among the countries with the highest percentage of citizens who perceive restrictions on press freedom. As can be seen in Figure 2.1, 53% of Salvadorans believe that there is very little press freedom, 20% believe there is too much and 27% believe that the level of freedom of the press is sufficient.

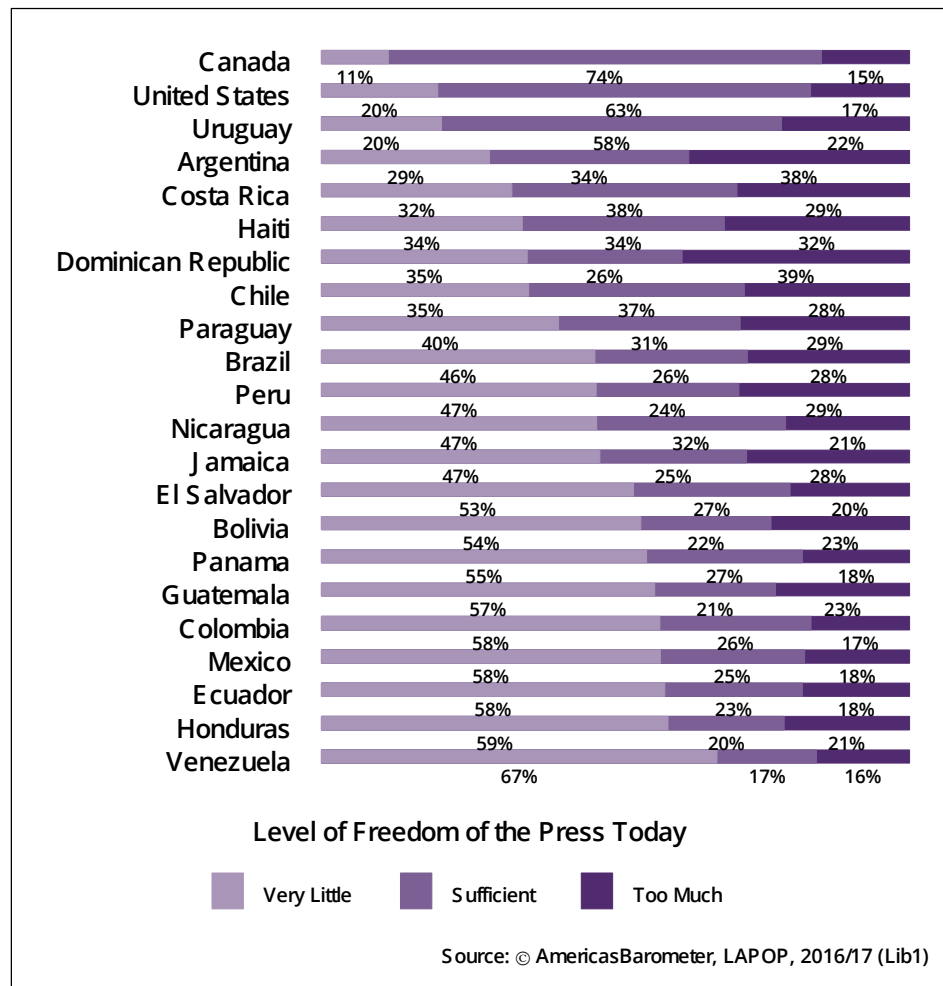


Figure 2.1. Assessments of Freedom of the Press, 2016/17

To what extent do the mass public's perceptions correspond to expert ratings of the objective media environment in each country? This question is important to ask, because it is not a given that assessments made by scholars or other practitioners will match citizens' perceptions of the

⁸ Excluding the U.S. and Canada, across only those Latin American and Caribbean countries in which the question was asked, the mean proportion that reports there is very little, sufficient, or too much freedom of the press is 47%, 29%, and 25% (numbers do not add to 100 due to rounding).

quality of democracy (Pinto, Magalhaes, and Sousa, 2012). To test for expert-citizen correspondence, we examine the relationship between the percentage of citizens who indicate there is a deficit with respect to freedom of the press (reported in Figure 2.1) and the Freedom House freedom of the press rating for each country (data from Freedom House 2017; higher values indicate lower levels of freedom of the press). As Figure 2.2 shows, public perceptions concerning limits on the supply of freedom of the press tend to correspond fairly well to expert assessments of the extent to which freedom of the press is limited. The correlation between the two measures is moderately high: 0.76.

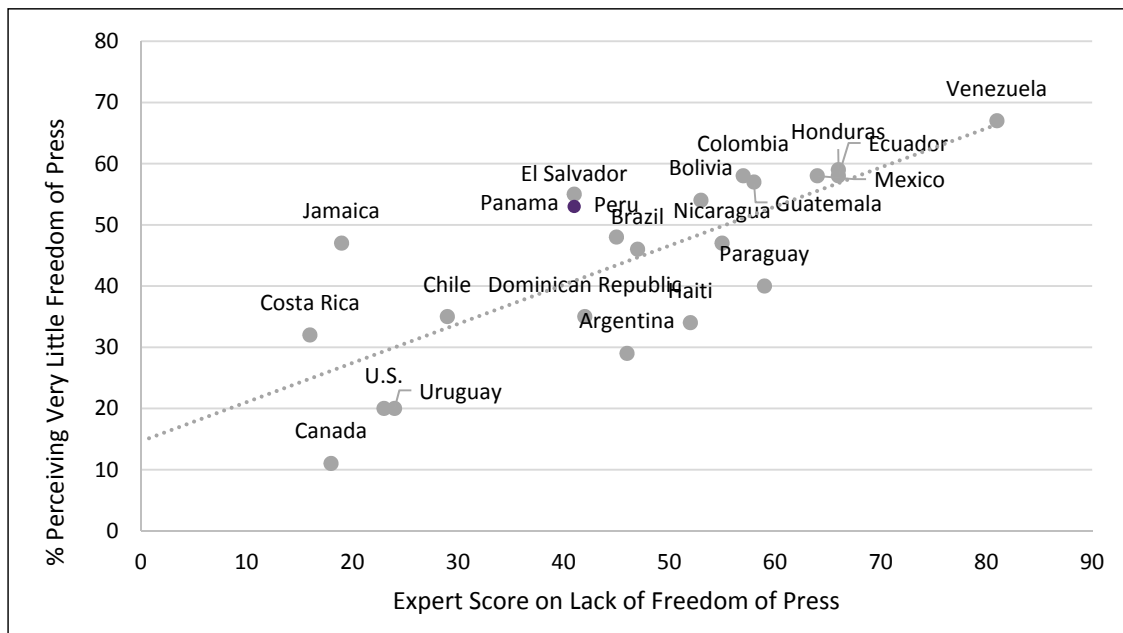


Figure 2.2. Correspondence between Expert Ratings and Proportion of Individuals Reporting Very Little Freedom of the Press in the Americas

Who is more likely to perceive there to be an insufficient degree of freedom of the press in El Salvador? To answer this question, we analyze the extent to which there are differences in the proportion of Salvadorans who report “very little” supply of freedom of the media, by core demographic and socio-economic subgroups: gender (female versus male), urban (vs. rural) residency, age, education, and wealth. As is the case throughout this chapter, only statistically significant differences are depicted in graphs; if one of these five demographic and socio-economic factors is not shown in a graph, it is not a statistically significant predictor.⁹

As Figure 2.3 shows, only the place of residence is correlated with the tendency to report that there is very little press freedom in El Salvador. Those living in rural areas (55.9%) tend somewhat more than those living in urban areas (51.5%) to feel that there is very little freedom of the press.¹⁰

⁹ See results of the regressions in this chapter in the appendix on the LAPOP website.

¹⁰ When other demographic and socioeconomic variables are controlled for, this relationship disappears.

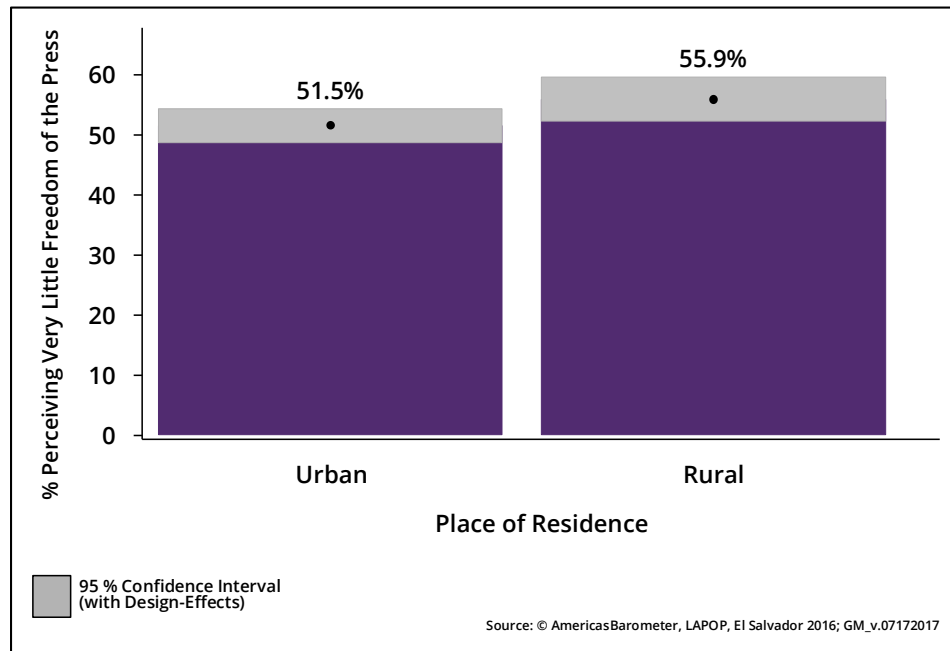


Figure 2.3. Demographic and Socio-Economic Predictors of Perceiving Very Little Freedom of the Press in El Salvador

Trust in the Media

From 2004 to present day, AmericasBarometer surveys have asked about trust in the media using the question reproduced below. Respondents answered on a 1-7 scale where 1 indicates “not at all” and 7 indicates “a lot”. For the sake of the analyses here, those who responded with a 5, 6, or 7 are coded as trusting, and those who give a response at the mid-point of 4 or lower are coded as not trusting the mass media.

B37. To what extent do you trust the mass media?

Figure 2.4 shows the percentage of individuals in each country who trust in the media, according to data from the 2016/17 AmericasBarometer. Trust in the media is highest in Nicaragua, the Dominican Republic, Paraguay, and Costa Rica, and lowest in Haiti, Jamaica, Colombia, and the United States. El Salvador is in an intermediate position compared to other countries in the region, with more than half of the citizens expressing confidence in the media. At the individual level across the Americas as a whole, there is only a weak connection between trust in the media and belief that there is very little freedom of the press (Pearson’s correlation=-0.04). This suggests that low levels of supply of freedom of the press do not necessarily erode or otherwise correspond to public confidence in the media. It may be that, in many cases, citizens do not see the press as complicit in closing media space.

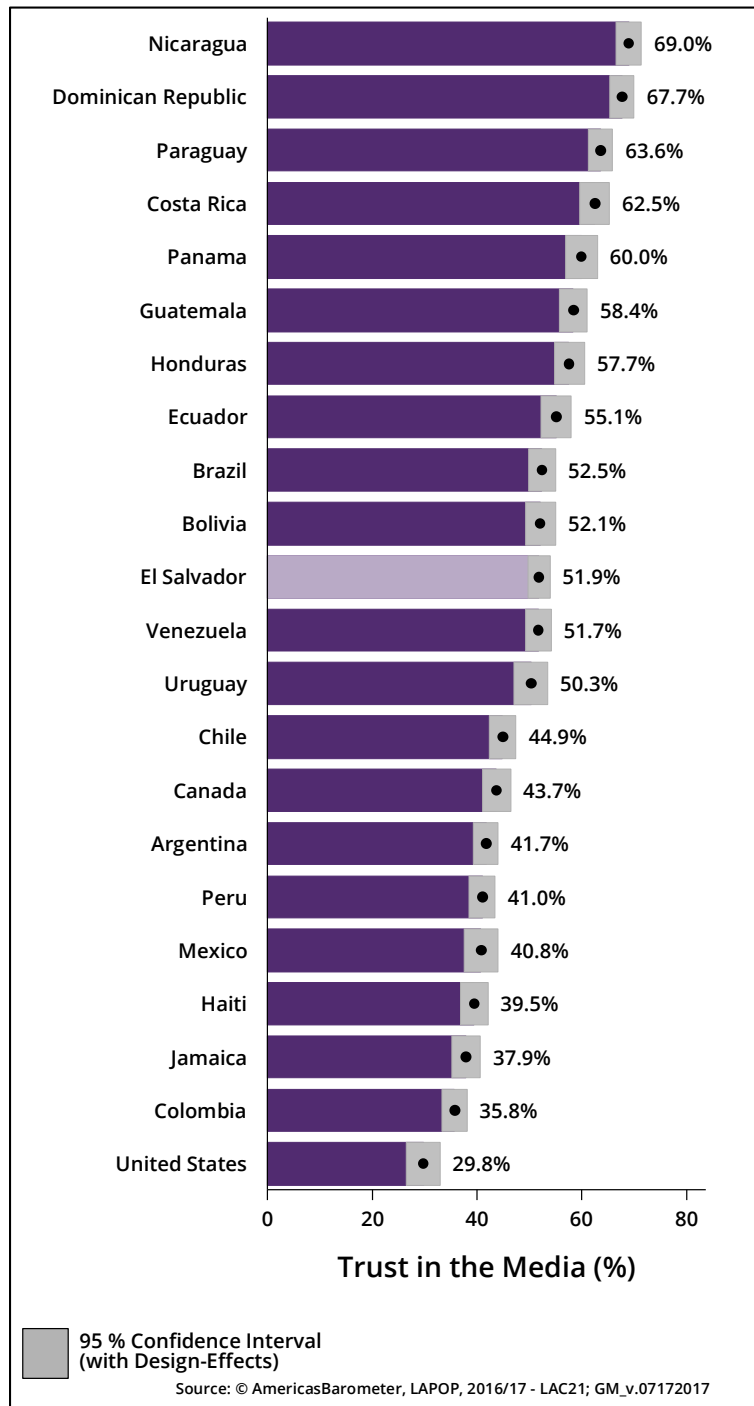


Figure 2.4. Trust in the Media by Country, 2016/17

According to the 2016/17 AmericasBarometer regional report by LAPOP, trust in the media on average in Latin America and the Caribbean has declined over time since 2004. What has happened to the trust in the media over time in El Salvador? To answer this question, Figure 2.5 shows the average proportion of people in El Salvador who trust the media across all rounds of the AmericasBarometer since 2004. Because the question was not asked as part of the core questionnaire in 2014/15, that round is not included. Trust in the media in the region as a whole

has declined over time.¹¹ In El Salvador, we see that the percentage that has trust in the media fell to its lowest level in 2016. While in 2004, more than 2 out of 3 people (67.5%) expressed trust in the media, only 51.9% of people express trust the media in El Salvador in 2016.

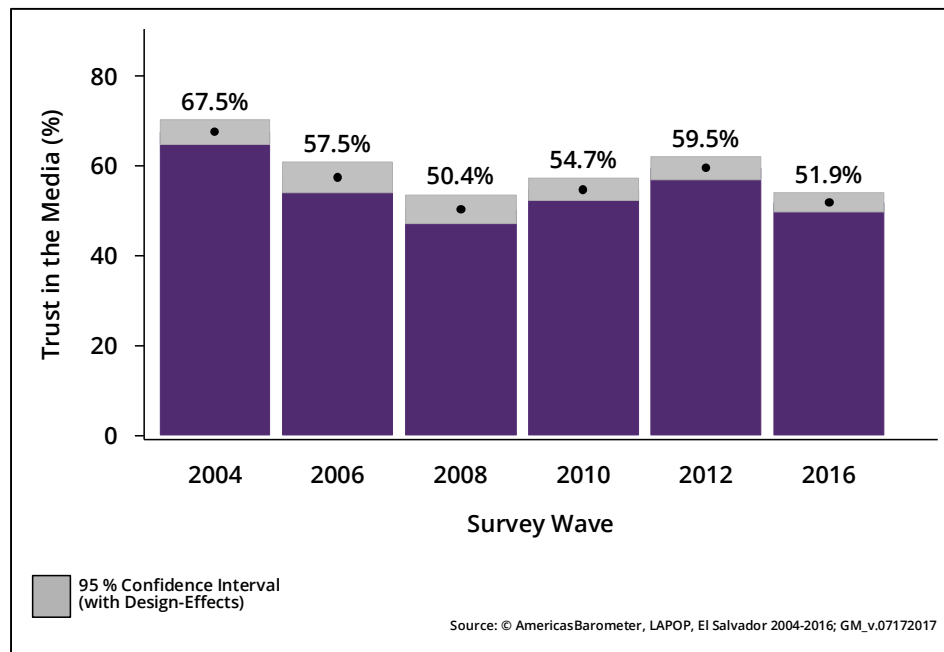


Figure 2.5. Trust in the Media over Time in El Salvador

IV. Freedom to Express Opinions

Another fundamental freedom is that of individual expression. In the 2016/17 AmericasBarometer, respondents were asked to evaluate whether there is very little, enough, or too much freedom of expression in the country.¹² The question was asked about both freedom of expression in general and about freedom of political expression, as follows:

	Very little	Enough	Too much
LIB2B. And freedom of expression. Do we have very little, enough or too much?	1	2	3
LIB2C. And freedom to express political views without fear. Do we have very little, enough or too much?	1	2	3

The next two sub-sections present results on these two measures. Once again, the discussion is focused around understanding to what degree and among whom are there perceptions of a deficit of liberty.

¹¹ The pattern of the results over time in the region is similar if the sample is restricted to only the countries included in the 2004 round of the AmericasBarometer; although, the decline in 2016/17 is not as pronounced.

¹² As with all questions in the LIB series, the question was not asked in the six OECS countries nor in Guyana.



Perceptions of Freedom to Express Opinions in General

Nearly half the public in the Americas (49%) believes there is very little freedom of expression in their country. On the other hand, 34% report that there is a sufficient degree of freedom of expression, and 17% say there is too much.¹³ Of course, these averages mask significant cross-national variation.

Figure 2.6 shows the proportion of individuals who give each assessment – very little, sufficient, or too much – for each country in which the question was asked in the 2016/17 AmericasBarometer. As with freedom of the media, the least amount of concern regarding “very little” freedom is found in Canada, where just 14% report that there is a deficit with respect to freedom of expression in the country. Once again, perceptions of deficits in liberty are also comparatively low in the United States and Uruguay: 19% and 23%, respectively, feel that there is very little freedom of expression. In contrast, in 12 countries, more than 50% of people report that there is very little freedom of expression: Panama, Peru, Brazil, Colombia, Jamaica, Ecuador, Mexico, El Salvador, Bolivia, Guatemala, Venezuela, and Honduras.

In El Salvador, close to six out of ten people say there is a deficit with respect to freedom of expression in the country. About a quarter of Salvadorans report that there is sufficient freedom of expression in 2016.

¹³ These values are calculated including the U.S. and Canada; for the LAC region (the LAC-21, minus Guyana), 52% of individuals report very little, 31% report sufficient, and 17% report too much freedom of expression.

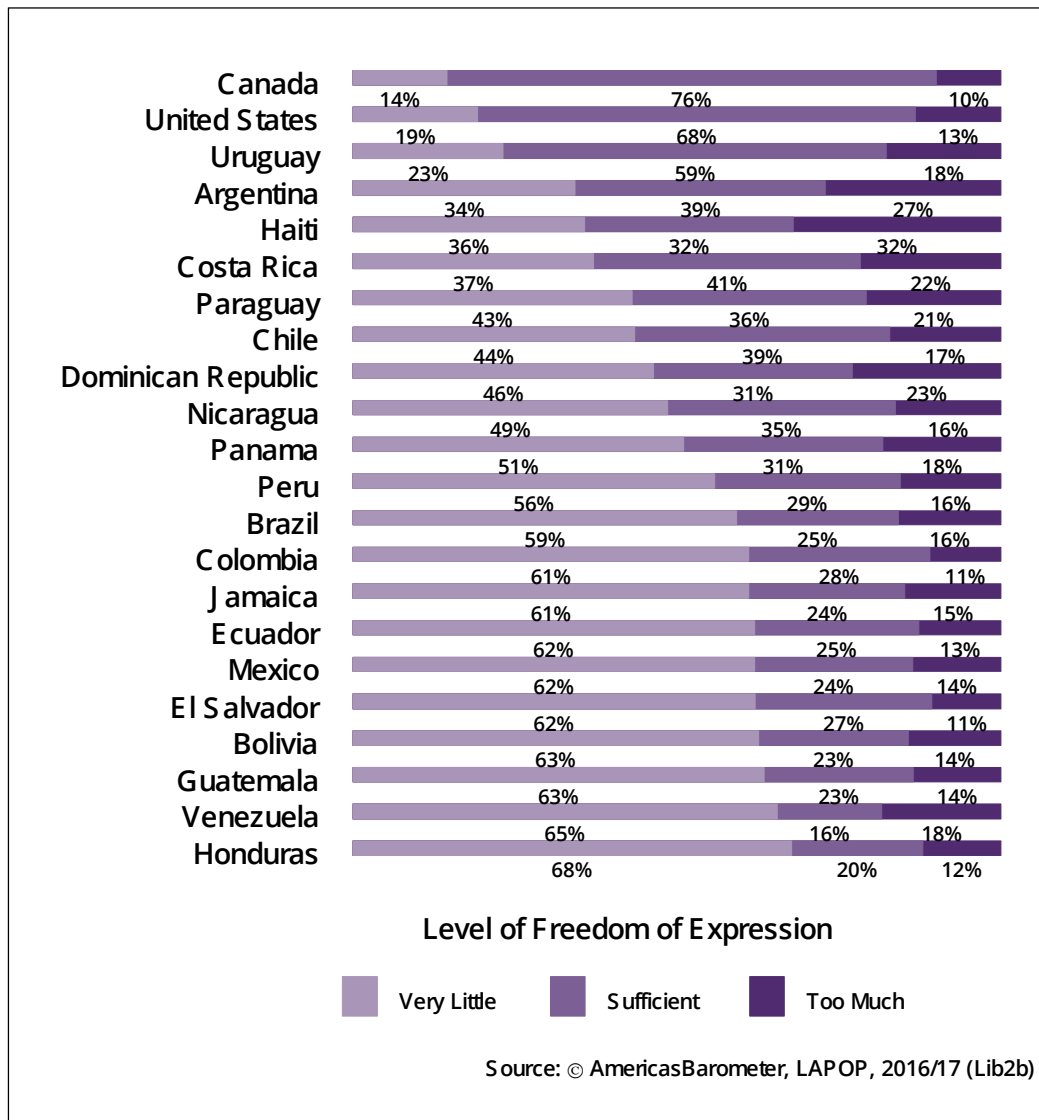


Figure 2.6. Assessments of Freedom of Expression, 2016/17

Perceptions of Freedom to Express Political Opinions

Freedom to express political opinions is particularly important in a democracy. The 2016/17 AmericasBarometer therefore asked a second question about whether citizens feel free to express political opinions without fear.¹⁴ On average across all of the Americas, 54% believe that there is very little freedom of political expression in the Americas, while 32% believe there is sufficient and 14% believe there is too much of this type of liberty.¹⁵

Figure 2.7 presents a side-by-side comparison of the Salvadoran public's assessment of the amount of freedom of general expression and freedom of political expression. As the figure shows,

¹⁴ The question was not asked in the six OECS countries nor in Guyana.

¹⁵ If the U.S. and Canada are excluded, the figures for the LAC-21 region (minus Guyana) for very little, sufficient, and too much freedom of political expression are 57%, 28%, and 15%, respectively.

Salvadorans report, on average, less freedom to express political opinions without fear (67.3%) when compared to general opinion expression (62.1%).

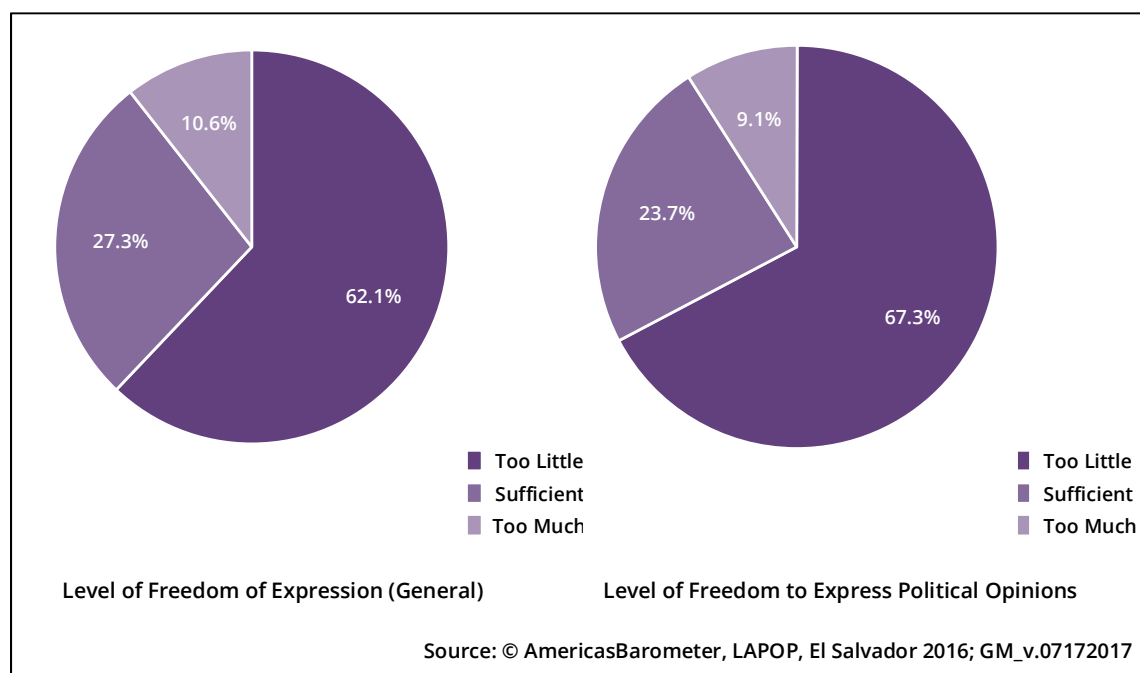


Figure 2.7. The Supply of Freedoms of Expression in El Salvador, 2016

Figure 2.8 shows the proportion of individuals in each country who report that there is very little, sufficient, or too much freedom to express political opinions. Not surprisingly, there is some similarity to what we found in analyzing the general expression measure. For example, once again, reports of very little freedom are lowest in Canada, the United States, and Uruguay. In 13 countries, more than 1 out of 2 (that is, more than 50%) of individuals report that there is a deficit of freedom to express political opinions without fear: Panama, Nicaragua, Peru, Brazil, Venezuela, Jamaica, Honduras, Ecuador, Bolivia, El Salvador, Guatemala, Mexico, and Colombia. It is noteworthy that Mexico, Colombia, and Guatemala are three of the countries that have experienced extraordinarily high levels of threats and violence (including homicide) targeted at individuals associated with the media.¹⁶

Two thirds of Salvadorans feel that there is very little freedom to express political opinions without fear in 2016. Only about a quarter of the population thinks there is enough freedom to express political opinions.

¹⁶ See, e.g., freedomhouse.org/article/persecution-and-prosecution-journalists-under-threat-latin-america

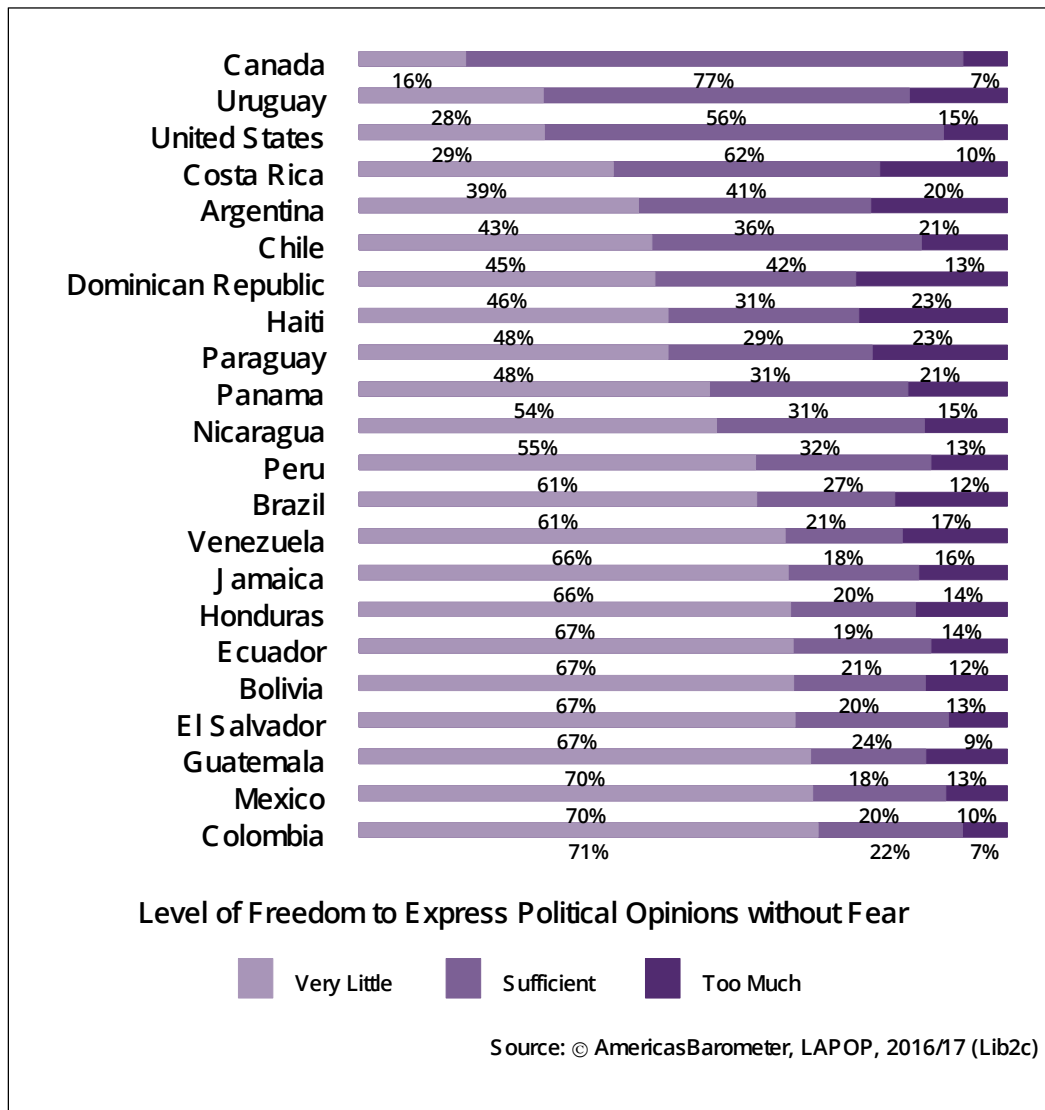


Figure 2.8. Assessments of Freedom of Political Expression, 2016/17

Are some people more likely than others to indicate that there is an insufficient level of freedom to express political views without fear in El Salvador? The analysis of the data reveals significant differences by gender, age and wealth.¹⁷ Figure 2.9 shows these results. In El Salvador, on average, women are more likely than men to report that there is a deficit in freedom to express political opinions without fear: 71.0% of women report that there is very little freedom of political expression compared to 63.5% of men. As shown in the bottom-left of Figure 2.9, those who have less wealth are marginally more likely to report that there is very little freedom of political expression when compared to those who have higher levels of wealth. Finally, younger Salvadorans are significantly more likely than older Salvadorans to report that there is very little freedom of political expression.

¹⁷ We did not find significant differences depending on place of residence or education level as predictors of this variable.

Of the subgroup of variables examined, age exerts a substantively stronger effect on the probability of reporting very little freedom from political expression. In El Salvador, 73.2% of those who are 25 years old or younger report that there is very little freedom of political expression, while 55.3% of those who are 66 or older feel the same.

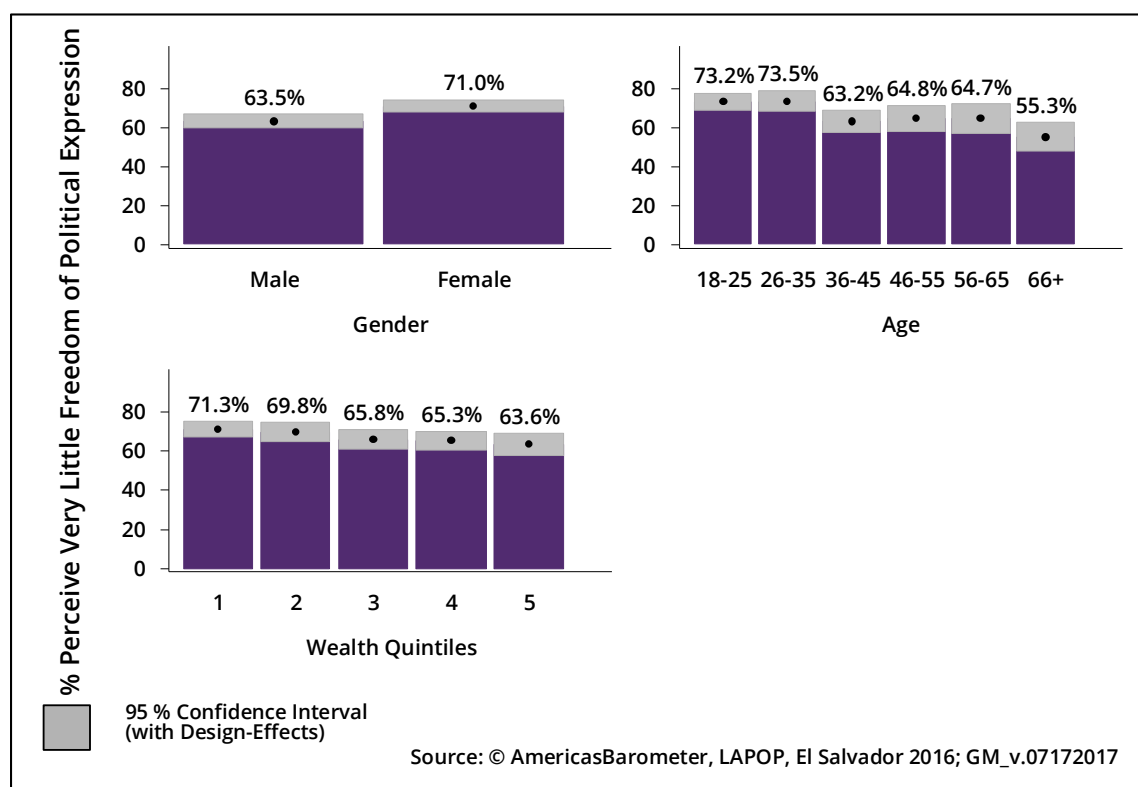


Figure 2.9. Demographic and Socio-Economic Predictors of Reporting Very Little Freedom of Expression in El Salvador

V. Human Rights

While concerns about deficiencies in levels of freedom of the press and of expression are elevated in the Americas, data from the 2016/17 AmericasBarometer reveal that concerns about human rights are even more pronounced. To gauge the public's assessment of the supply of human rights protection, individuals were asked the following question:

	Very little	Enough	Too much
LIB4. Human rights protection. Do we have very little, enough or too much?	1	2	3

Across the Americas, on average, 64% of the mass public reports that there is very little protection of human rights in their country. Put differently, nearly two out of every three individuals in the Americas believe that general human rights are insufficiently protected in their country. Only 27%

report that there is a sufficient level of protection of human rights, and just 9% report that there is too much protection of human rights.¹⁸

Figure 2.10 shows the results for each country on this measure. In Canada, only 19% of individuals report that there is very little protection of human rights in the country. The United States and Uruguay are next, with 37% and 45% respectively reporting very little in terms of protection of human rights. While these three countries have clustered in the lower end in similar graphs presented earlier in this chapter, these values nonetheless underscore the fact that far fewer individuals – in general – report that there is a sufficient amount of protection of human rights. In the vast majority of cases (all but four countries), more than 50% of the population reports that there is a deficit in human rights protection in their country. El Salvador is among the countries with the lowest percentage of citizens who believe there is sufficient protection for human rights in the country, with 72% saying that there is very little protection of this type of rights in 2016.

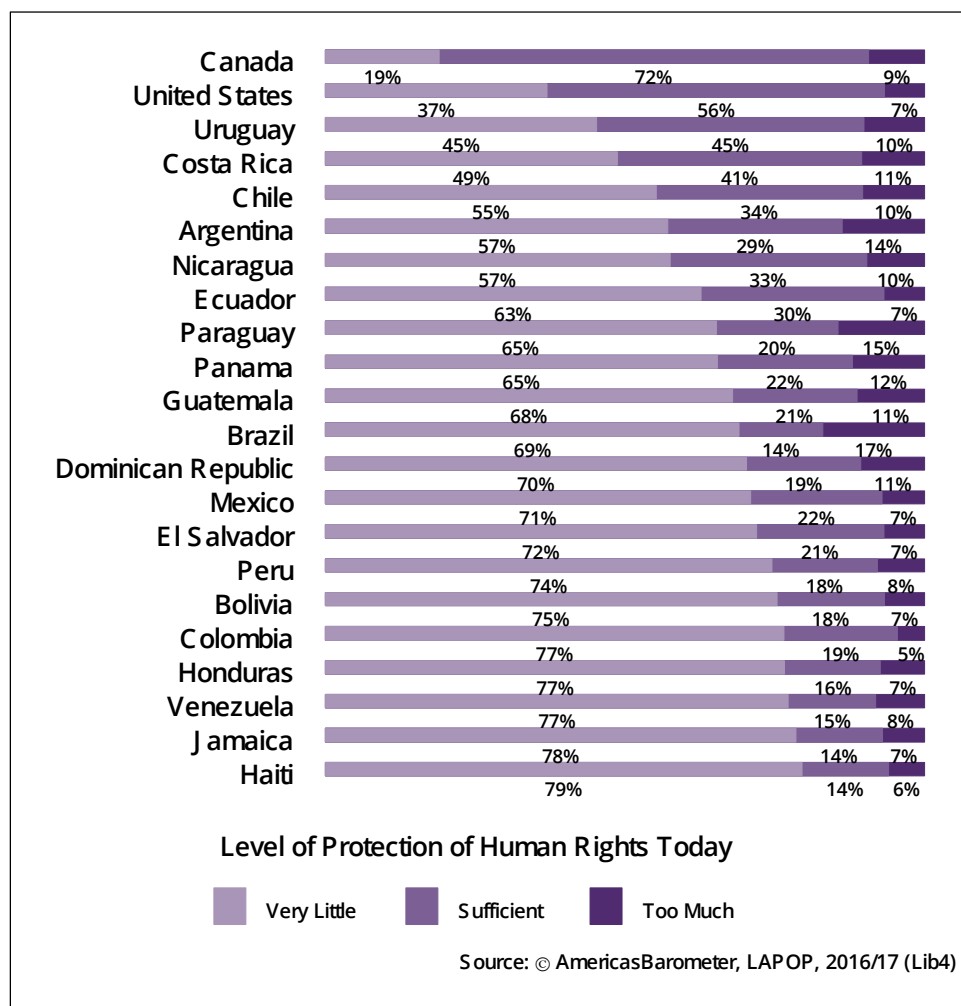


Figure 2.10. Assessments of Protection of Human Rights, 2016/17

¹⁸ If the U.S. and Canada are excluded, the values in the LAC-21 region (minus Guyana) for the percent believing there is very little, sufficient, or too much protection of human rights are 67%, 23%, and 9% (values do not add to 100 due to rounding).

Figure 2.11 shows the statistically significant differences by key subgroups in El Salvador. Those who live in urban areas (73.9%) report that there is very little protection of human rights more often than those living in rural areas (68.4%). Salvadorans with less wealth are more likely to report that there is very little protection of human rights in the country compared to those with higher levels of wealth.

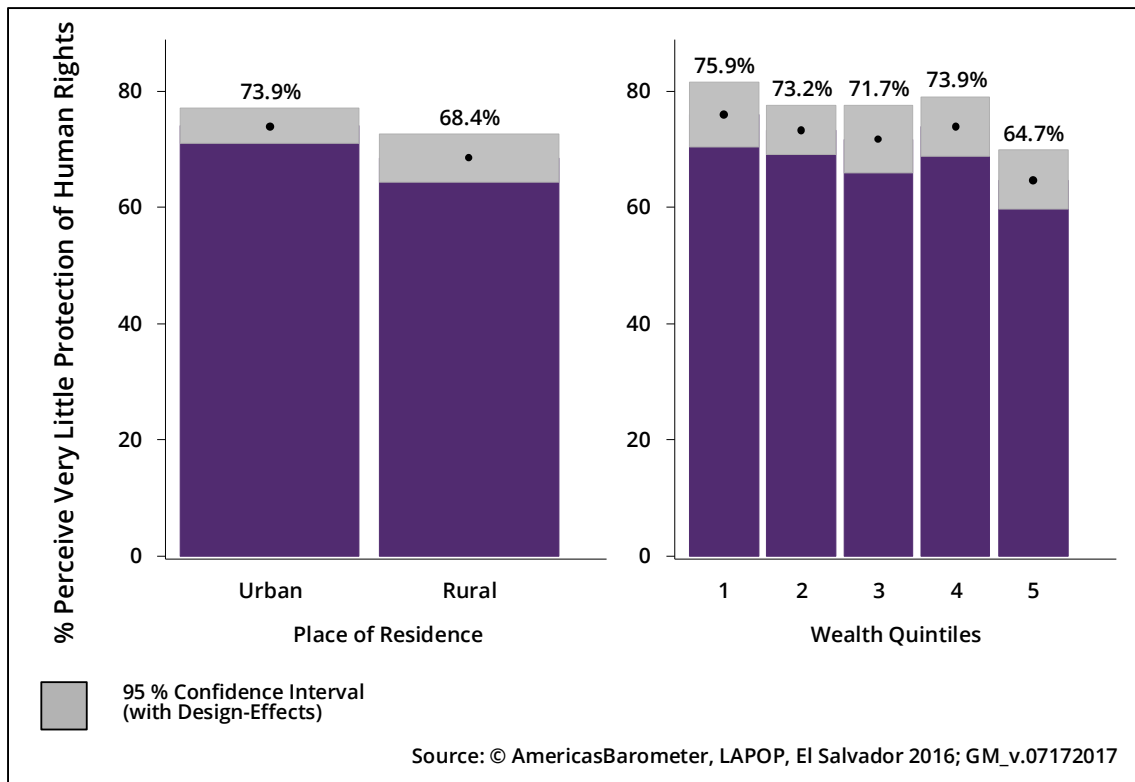


Figure 2.11. Demographic and Socio-Economic Predictors of Reporting Very Little Protection of Human Rights in El Salvador

VI. Deficit of Basic Liberties Index

Large numbers of individuals across the Americas express concern that there is very little supply of basic liberties, from freedom of the press to freedoms of expression to the protection of human rights. At the same time, there is significant variation across countries. In some countries, a minority expresses concern that there is a deficit of a given freedom, while in others it is an overwhelming majority. In this section, the public's assessments regarding the supply of liberties are condensed into a summary "basic liberties deficit" index. Continuing the focus on those who report that there is an undersupply of liberty, this index is generated by adding together – at the individual level – reports that there is "very little" (versus any other response) for each of the four basic liberties measures.¹⁹ Those additive scores are then scaled on the index to run from 0 to 100, where 100 indicates that an individual responded that there is "very little" in the supply of all four basic liberties examined in this chapter – media, general expression, political expression, and human rights protection. At the other end of the index, a score of zero indicates that an individual

¹⁹ The construction of this index is justified by the fact that the measures "hang" together well. The alpha statistic is 0.69 for the four dichotomous measures for the pooled data including the U.S. and Canada.

did not report that there is very little of any of these basic liberties. Figure 2.12 shows the mean scores for each country on this summary index.

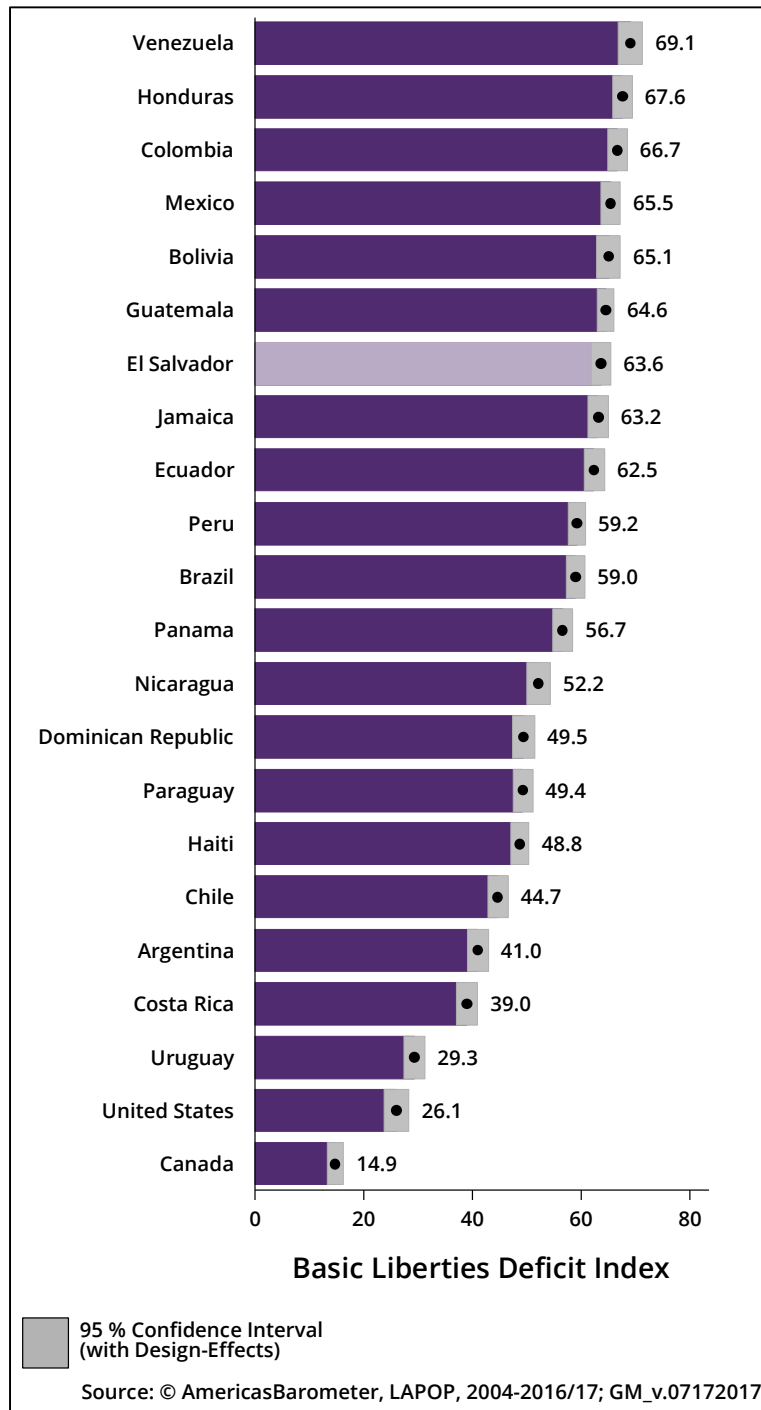


Figure 2.12. Basic Liberties Deficit Score, 2016/17

The “Basic Liberties Deficit” Index captures the degree to which a country’s populace is discontent (perceives very little) with the supply of basic liberties. The scores in Figure 2.12 range from a low of 14.9 degrees in Canada to a high 69.1 degrees in Venezuela. In the majority of countries – Nicaragua, Panama, Brazil, Peru, Ecuador, Jamaica, El Salvador, Guatemala, Bolivia, Mexico,

Colombia, Honduras, and Venezuela – the mean degree of perceived inadequacy in the supply of basic liberties is above the mid-point (>50) on the 0 to 100 scale.

Does a deficiency in the supply of basic liberties have consequences for individuals' assessments of the government and their engagement in politics? Mishler and Rose (2001) argue and find evidence that the supply of liberties is related to regime support, so there is reason to expect such a connection here. The creation of the Basic Liberties Deficit index permits individual-level analysis of the extent to which deficiencies in the supply of basic liberties are, in this case, related to presidential approval and voting intentions. In this section, we conduct analyses focused on the data from the El Salvador 2016 AmericasBarometer survey. In LAPOP's regional report for the 2016/17 AmericasBarometer, the analyses are conducted for the region as a whole; the results there show that, across the region on average, deficits in basic liberties predict lower support for the executive.

In El Salvador, deficits in basic liberties are strongly (and negatively) related to executive approval. Figure 2.13 shows, a line graph of the relationship between the Basic Liberties Deficit Index and Executive Approval in El Salvador. The figure documents that perceptions of deficiencies in the supply of basic liberties are strongly and negatively related to presidential approval. Moving from perceiving there to be no deficiencies (a minimum score on the summary index) to deficiencies across all four types of liberties predicts a decrease of 12 units of executive approval.²⁰

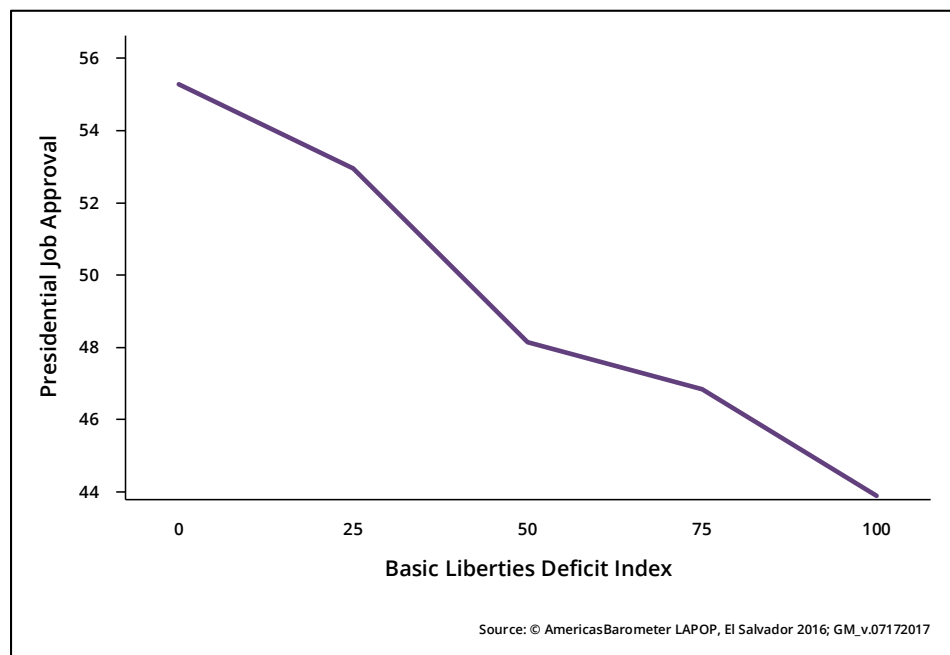


Figure 2.13. Basic Liberties Deficit and Executive Approval in El Salvador

If perceiving widespread deficits in basic liberties affects executive approval, we might also expect this to predict vote intentions (see Power and Garand 2007). The AmericasBarometer asks respondents for their vote intention, if an election were held that week. The principal options, which are analyzed here, are to not vote (i.e., abstain), to vote for a candidate associated with the

²⁰ These results, and those for vote intention, hold in regression analysis that controls for individual characteristics (gender, place of residence, education, age, and wealth).

incumbent, to vote for an opposition candidate, or to nullify/invalidate the vote. Because this variable has four outcome categories, it is appropriate to analyze it using a multinomial logistic regression. Figure 2.14 assesses the data from the El Salvador 2016 AmericasBarometer study and presents the change in predicted probabilities for the independent variables included in this analysis – the five demographic and socio-economic variables assessed throughout this chapter and the basic liberties deficit measure – from the regression analysis. For each variable on the y-axis, the figure shows the predicted change in the probability of observing each outcome – abstain, vote incumbent, vote opposition, nullify vote.²¹

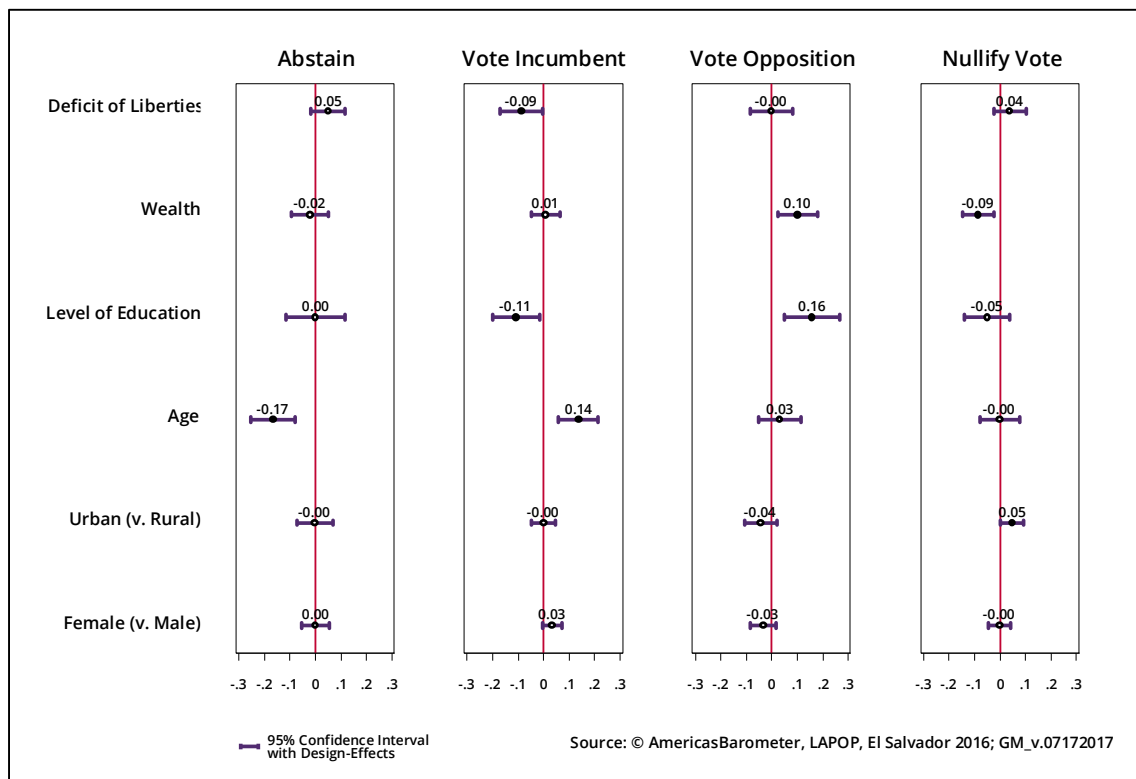


Figure 2.14. Basic Liberties Deficit and Vote Intention in El Salvador, 2016

Figure 2.14 documents that, compared to those who perceive no deficit, those Salvadorans who perceive a maximum degree of deficit with respect to the provision of basic liberties are nine percentage points less likely to vote for a candidate associated with the incumbent. Perceiving significant and widespread deficiencies in the supply of basic freedoms tends to push individuals away from supporting the incumbent.²²

VII. Conclusion

The public perceives significant deficits in the supply of basic liberties across the Americas in general and in El Salvador, specifically. The citizens' perspective mirrors expert ratings: reality on

²¹ All other variables are held constant at their means as each probability is predicted.

²² Those who perceive that there is very little freedom of the press, freedom of expression, freedom of political expression and protection of human rights are not more likely to abstain, vote for the opposition or vote null.



the ground is much as it is described by those who are tracking the extent to which basic liberties – freedom of the media, of expression, and general human rights – are respected in the Americas. This was noted within the chapter, when comparing the public’s assessments of deficiencies in the supply of freedom of the press and the Freedom House’s scores on the same topic (see Figure 2.2). This conclusion also holds when considering the broader Basic Liberties Deficit Index (a 0-100 measure of the mass public’s assessment of the extent to which basic liberties are under-supplied). The Basic Liberties Deficit Index and the Freedom House’s Civil Liberty Rating (where higher scores reflect lower amounts of liberty) for the countries analyzed in this chapter are robustly connected; the Pearson’s correlation between the two is 0.73.

As this chapter has documented, there is significant variation in citizens’ experiences with the supply of basic liberties across countries and across sub-groups. With respect to countries, there are some countries in which the mean on the Basic Liberties Deficit Index is quite low; among these countries are Canada, the United States, Uruguay, and Costa Rica (see Figure 2.12). On the other hand, the public reports widespread deficiencies in the supply of basic liberties in a number of countries, including El Salvador. When considering subgroups, women, those with lower levels of wealth and the younger cohort are substantially more likely to feel that there is a lack of freedom of expression.

Deficiencies in the supply of basic liberties matter. An adequate supply of basic liberties is necessary for citizens to deliberate and engage in politics. As citizen engagement in politics is fundamental to modern representative democracy (see the discussion in Chapter 1 of this report), so too are civil liberties critical to democracy. Deficits in the supply of basic liberties matter because they affect individuals’ evaluations of the political system and their willingness to engage in it (see, e.g., Mishler and Rose 2001). As this chapter has demonstrated, those who perceive higher deficits in the supply of basic liberties report more negative evaluations of the executive and are more likely to report an intention to vote against the incumbent, or to withdraw from casting a valid ballot altogether. The more a government succeeds in maintaining open political spaces, the more positive are citizens’ orientations toward it.

It may also be that perceptions of *too much* liberty matter. As noted at the start of this chapter, a detailed analysis of those who report that an over-supply of any particular type of freedom is not within the scope of this chapter’s core objectives. However, it is important to keep in mind that, in a number of cases, there are non-trivial minorities in the public who express concern that there is too much of a particular liberty. In El Salvador, for example, 20% of individuals report too much freedom of the press, 11% report too much freedom of political expression, and 7% report too much human rights protection. One might wonder whether these perspectives represent a threat to the full exercise of democratic rights by others in the country. To address this question, we examined – for the Latin America and Caribbean region – the extent to which the tendency to report that there is “too much” of a particular freedom is associated with lower degrees of tolerance for the rights of regime critics to participate in politics.²³ In brief, in three of the four

²³ The political tolerance measure is an additive index 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. This index served as the dependent variable in four regression analyses. In each, we predicted political tolerance with the gender, urban (vs. rural) place of residence, education, age, wealth, country dummy variables, and dummies variables for those who said there was “too little” and those who said there was “too much” of a given freedom (the comparison category is those who responded “sufficient”). The analyses are available in the online appendix to LAPOP’s 2016/17 AmericasBarometer regional report.

cases (freedom of the press, freedom of expression, and freedom of political expression), the analyses reveal that those who perceive too much freedom are distinctly less tolerant than those who perceive there to be a sufficient amount of that freedom.²⁴ In short, there is reason to be concerned not only about the degree to which the public perceives deficits in the supply of basic liberties, but also with respect to the proportion of the public that believes there is too much freedom.

²⁴ Interestingly, those who perceive there to be too little freedom of expression (general or political) are also less tolerant as well, but only at the slimmest of margins, compared to those who report that there is a sufficient supply of that liberty. In short, while statistically significant, there is not a substantial difference between those who report very little and those who report sufficient freedom of expression in these analyses.



Chapter 3.

Citizen Security and Violence Prevention at the Local Level

Ricardo Córdova Macías¹

I. Introduction

The literature on social disorder stresses the importance of analyzing the community characteristics and dynamics that give rise to opportunities for crime and argues in favor of intervening in the identified community conditions to improve security (Sampson and Raudenbusch 2004, Sampson 2012). Authors such as Almgren (2005) argue that socio-environmental conditions play an important role in understanding the incidence of crime and insecurity in communities. Taking this analytical approach, in countries with high levels of violence and crime, such as El Salvador (UNODC 2014),² it is important to learn more about the community conditions associated with violence, crime and insecurity at the local level.

This chapter explores diverse opinions related to the issue of insecurity and crime at the local level in El Salvador. The chapter pays particular attention to opinions regarding the violence prevention initiatives that have been implemented in recent years. These initiatives appear to be fostering increased interaction between police and citizens.

The third section addresses the problems of citizen security at the local level; while the fourth analyzes crime victimization and the perception of insecurity. The fifth section focuses on existing community crime and violence prevention initiatives at the local level. The sixth addresses citizen opinions of the police. The chapter ends with conclusions about the findings.

II. Main Findings

- Salvadorans continue to perceive that violence, crime and insecurity are the main problems facing their country. Approximately 7 out of 10 Salvadorans (68.2%) believe that security is the most serious problem facing the country.
- Young people loitering in the streets and their involvement in gangs play an important role in the perception of insecurity of community residents. These two situations are the most serious problems identified by the population at the local level, and it appears that concerns about these issues have increased between 2014 and 2016.
- Despite the security problems facing the country, 7 out of 10 Salvadorans (71%) believe that the levels of violence in their community are lower than in other communities; and

¹ We thank Adriana Vides, Fundaungo researcher, for her collaboration.

² For a review of the evolution of homicide rates in El Salvador in recent years, see: FUNDAUNGO (2013). *Atlas of violence in El Salvador (2009-2012)*. San Salvador; and FUNDAUNGO (2016). *Evolution of homicides in El Salvador, 2009 - June 2016*. Contributions to the Debate on Citizen Security, San Salvador, Number 04, September 2016.

approximately 5 out of 10 people (47%) report that levels of violence in the community are lower than in the previous year.

- The 2016/17 round shows an increase in crime victimization: approximately 1 in 4 Salvadorans (23.1%) has been a victim of crime in the 12 months prior to the survey, which represents a statistically significant increase from the 2014 round (18.6%).
- Salvadorans' perception of insecurity in their neighborhood or community, in relation to their perception of the possibility of being the victim of an assault or robbery, improved in 2016 (average of 41.7%) when compared to the 2014 round (average of 47.2%). There is a higher perception of insecurity among those who believe that the police are involved in crime, those who perceive a greater presence of gangs in their community, those who have been victims of crime in the last 12 months, those who report occurrences of extortion, and those who believe that assaults in the community are a serious problem.
- Two out of three Salvadorans (67%) believe that in order to reduce homicides in the country, the government should invest more in preventive measures rather than increase punishments against offenders (33%). The results also show that older people, those with a higher level of schooling and those who experience fewer problems of insecurity are more likely to support prevention initiatives than the rest of the population.
- Between 2014 and 2016, public opinion on police performance has improved. One of the variables that most affects people's evaluation of police performance is the frequency of patrols; that is, those who observe a greater frequency of police patrols in their communities report greater satisfaction with police performance.
- In the 2016/17 round, greater police involvement in crime prevention activities has been reported (43%) compared to the 2014 round (31.8%).

III. Security Problems at the Local Level

Violence, crime and insecurity have become the main problems affecting El Salvador in recent decades. The 2016/17 round included the following question in the AmericasBarometer surveys:

A4. In your opinion, what is **the most serious** problem faced by the country?

The results are presented in Figure 3.1. The problem of security is reported as the most serious problem by 68.2% of Salvadorans in 2016, while the economy is a distant second with 23.8%, followed by politics with 3.5%, basic services with 0.4% and others with 4.0%.

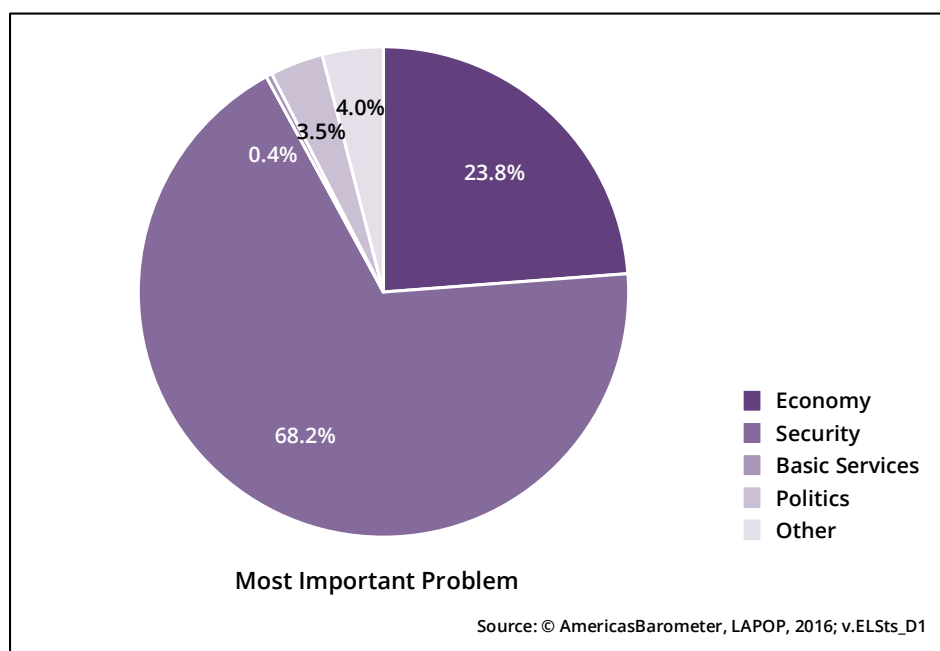


Figure 3.1. The Most Important Problem Facing the Country, El Salvador 2016

Due to the limitations of available information, analyses of the problems of insecurity have focused on hard data, such as those of homicides, and some public opinion surveys that explore perceptions of public safety. This edition of the AmericasBarometer has focused on exploring data and opinions that contribute to understanding some of the aspects related to citizen security problems at the local level.

Two question batteries were designed to measure perceptions of the problem of insecurity in the communities³ where Salvadorans reside. First, respondents were asked to rate the seriousness of the following problems in their community: young people loitering the streets, young people in gangs, drug dealing and trafficking, altercations and fights, presence of people under the influence of drugs, attacks on women, assaults and shootings. The questions were formulated as follows:

³ Generally speaking, we refer to communities, although some questions refer to communities or neighborhoods.

	Very serious	Some-what serious	A little serious	Not at all serious	It is not a problem
DISO7. Young people or children in the streets doing nothing, wandering around in your neighborhood	1	2	3	4	5
DISO8. Young people or children living here in your neighborhood who are in gangs	1	2	3	4	5
DISO10. Selling or trafficking of illegal drugs here in your neighborhood	1	2	3	4	5
DISO18. Gangs fighting here in your neighborhood	1	2	3	4	5
DISO14. Drug addicts in the streets here in your neighborhood	1	2	3	4	5
DISO16. Assaults of people while they walk on the streets here in your neighborhood	1	2	3	4	5
DISO16F. Attacks on women here in your neighborhood	1	2	3	4	5
DISO17. Shootings here in your neighborhood	1	2	3	4	5

Survey responses, presented in Table 3.1, show that young people roaming the streets and young people in gangs constitute the most serious problems at the community level, followed by drug dealing.

Table 3.1. Opinions on Community Problems, El Salvador 2016 (percentages)

Question	Opinion				
	Very serious	Somewhat serious	A little serious	Not at all Serious	Is not a problem
Young people roaming the street	48.9	14.2	14.6	4.7	17.7
Young people in gangs	50.2	11.4	13.6	5.6	19.2
Drug dealing	35.2	11.1	11.4	10.9	31.5
Fights between gangs	27.8	7.9	12.6	13.3	38.4
Intoxicated people	25.6	11.4	19.8	11.3	31.9
Assaults in the community	26.4	11.7	16.2	11.8	33.9
Attacks against women	20.9	6.6	13.4	14.8	44.4
Shootings	23.8	9.3	17.9	11.3	37.7

Source: AmericasBarometer by LAPOP, 2016; v.ELSts_D1



To facilitate the comparison of the respondents' answers to the previous questions, the answers to each question were converted to a scale ranging from 0-100. A response reporting that the problem was very serious received a score of 100, while a response reporting that the situation was not a problem received a score of 0. The same set of questions was also included in the 2014 round⁴, which allows for comparison of how perceptions have evolved between the two years. Figure 3.2 shows the averages for each item. As shown by the 2016 data, young people wandering the streets and young people in gangs are seen as the biggest security problems in respondents' communities, followed by drug dealing and intoxicated people on the streets, then assaults, gang fights and shootings, and, lastly, attacks on women. When comparing the data between 2014 and 2016, there is a statistically significant increase in the perception of the seriousness of these security problems in communities. The biggest increases between 2014 and 2016 are in regards to drug dealing, people under the influence of drugs or alcohol in the streets, young people in gangs and shootings. These data highlight the influence that youth and gangs have on perceptions of insecurity at the local level. To this end, the statistically significant increase in the perception of drug dealing reflects increasing levels of insecurity.

⁴ The set of questions for 2016 is the same as in 2014 except for the addition of the question regarding attacks on women.

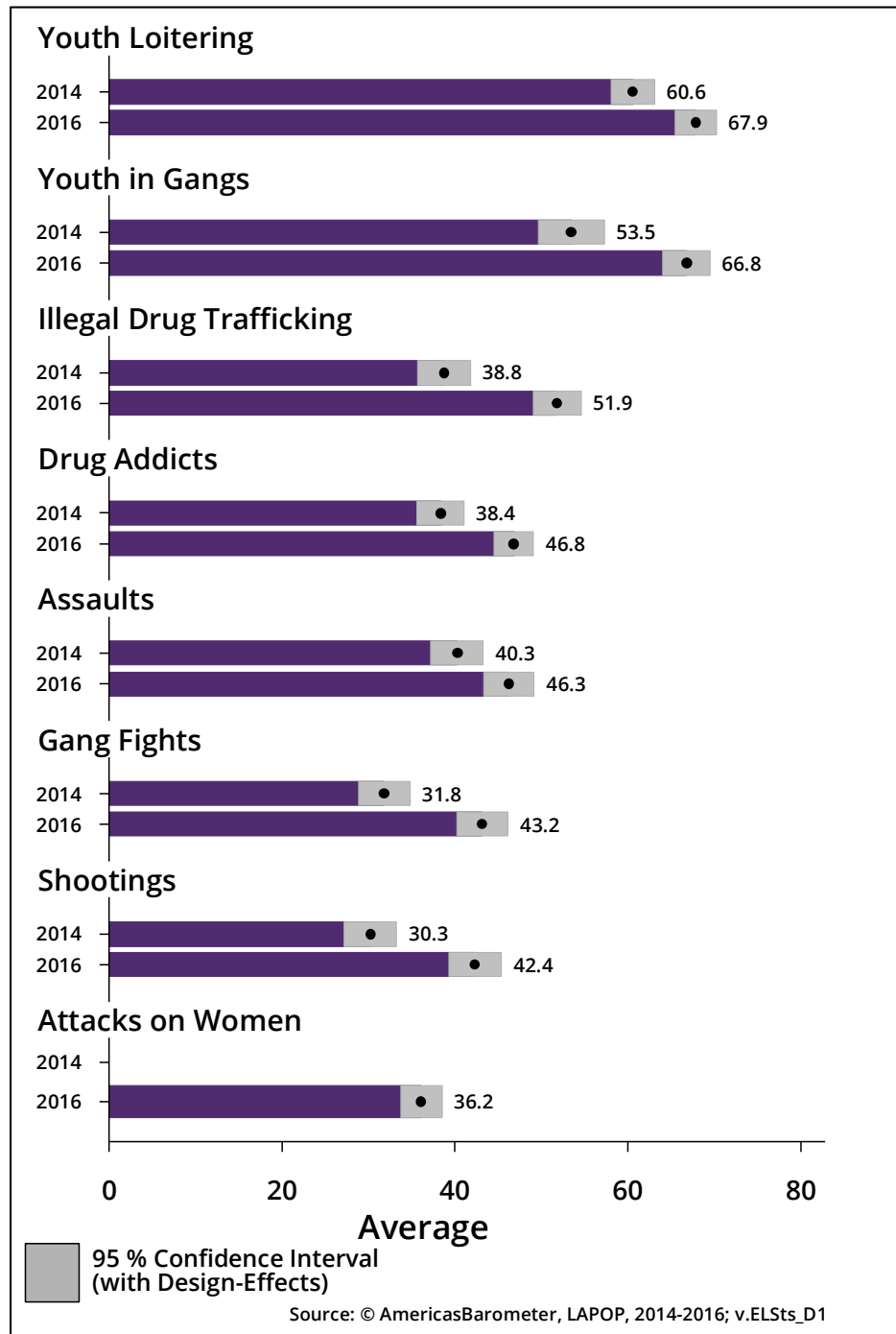


Figure 3.2. Opinions on Community Problems, El Salvador 2014-2016

Taking into account the importance of the gang problem in the case of El Salvador, cross-checks were carried out to determine some of the demographic and socioeconomic characteristics associated with the respondents who often see gangs as the most serious problem within their respective communities. The statistical analyses are presented in Figure 3.3. People older than 55 express a weaker opinion, in terms of the seriousness of the problem, compared to the rest of the population. The data also show that respondents most concerned with the presence of young people in gangs in the community are those who have completed secondary education or higher.

On the other hand, concern for young people in gangs within the community is lower in rural areas than the metropolitan area of San Salvador and large cities.⁵

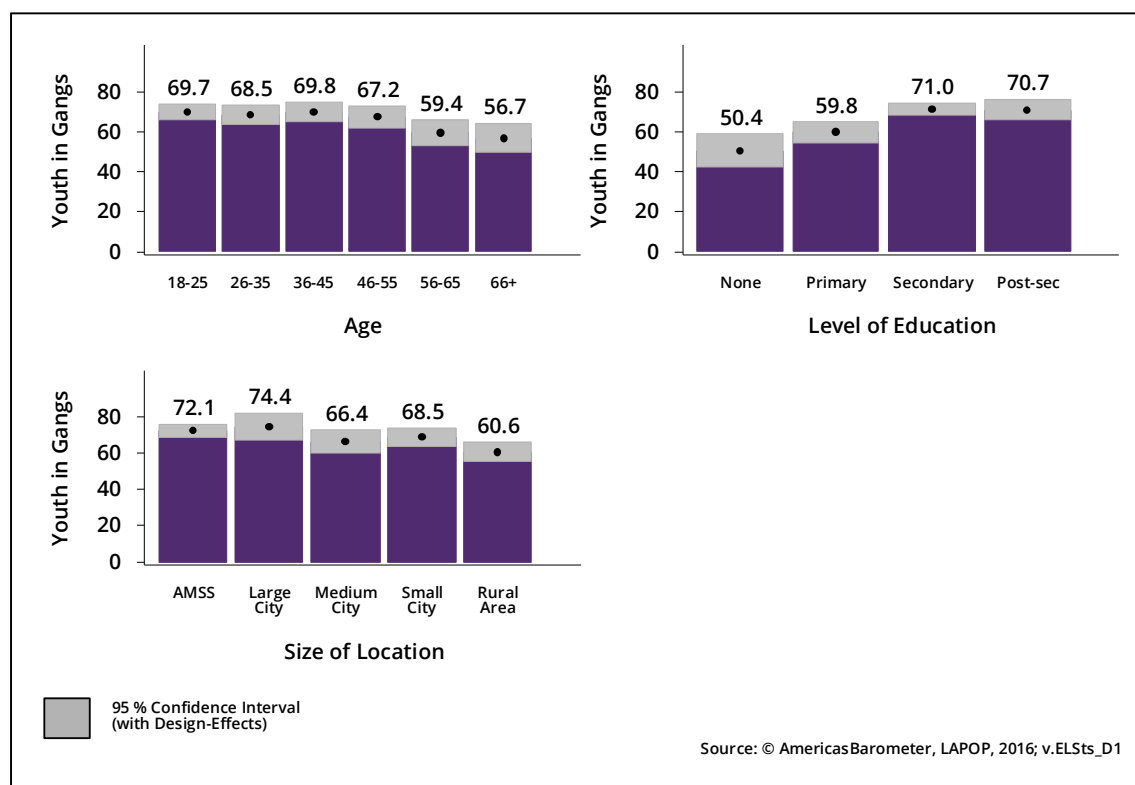


Figure 3.3. Opinion that Young People in Gangs Constitute a Serious Community Problem by Variable, El Salvador 2016 (averages)

Although these opinions inform us about the types of security problems citizens perceive as problematic for the communities in which they live, they do not necessarily reflect the respondents' direct experiences with criminal acts and violence. To get a better approximation of their experiences, the AmericasBarometer included another battery of questions to gather information about accounts of violence that respondents have witnessed or heard about within their community in the last 12 months. This set of questions collects information about the incidence of robberies, the sale of illegal drugs, extortion and murders. The questions were formulated as follows:

⁵ These three relationships remain statistically significant in multivariate linear regression controlling for demographic and socioeconomic factors.

	Yes	No	Once a Week	Once or twice a month	Once or twice a year
VICBAR1. Were there burglaries in the last 12 months in your neighborhood?	1 [Continue]	2 [Skip to VICBAR3]			
VICBAR1F. How many times did this occur: once a week, once or twice a month, once or twice a year?			1	2	3
VICBAR3. Have there been sales of illegal drugs in the past 12 months in your neighborhood?	1 [Continue]	2 [Skip to VICBAR4]			
VICBAR3F. How many times did this occur: once a week, once or twice a month, once or twice a year?			1	2	3
VICBAR4. Has there been any extortion or blackmail in the past 12 months in your neighborhood?	1 [Continue]	2 [Skip to VICBAR7]			
VICBAR4F. How many times did this occur: once a week, once or twice a month, once or twice a year?			1	2	3
VICBARF. Have there been any attacks on women in the last 12 months in your neighborhood?	1	2			
VICBAR7. Have there been any murders in the last 12 months in your neighborhood?	1 [Continue]	2 [Skip to FEAR11]			
VICBAR7F. How many times did this occur: once a week, once or twice a month, once or twice a year?			1	2	3

The results are presented in Figure 3.4. Since the same questions were included in the 2014 round, the data collected in both rounds are presented in the graph. For 2016, the most frequently reported crimes (based on respondents' personal experiences or based on what they have heard) were murders (37.4%). This is followed by robberies (25.6%), drug dealing (24.2%) and extortion (16.6%). These data reflect the high incidence of homicides in El Salvador, where almost 4 out of every 10 Salvadorans acknowledge knowing of or have heard of a murder committed in their

community during the year prior to the survey.⁶ In addition, consideration should be given to what was already stated in the 2014 report for El Salvador: "the high percentage of reported murders in the survey may be due to the impact that this sort of crime generates on people, who tend to remember serious deeds with greater ease" (Córdova, Cruz and Zechmeister 2015, 144). Comparing the 2014 and 2016 data, there was a statistically significant reduction in robberies, and to a lesser extent, extortions; the sale of illicit drugs has not changed significantly, and there was a statistically significant increase in the number of homicides.

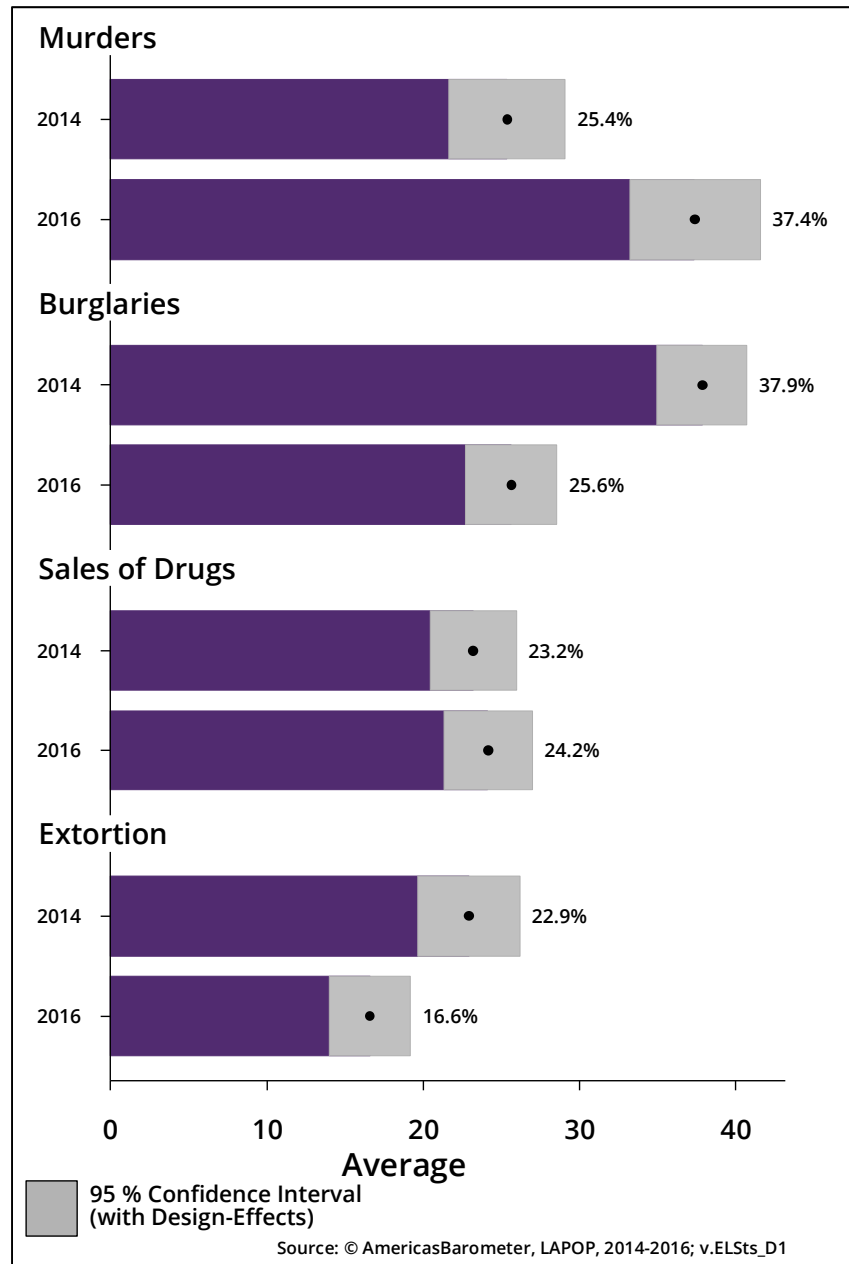


Figure 3.4. Criminal Acts which have occurred in the Community during the Past Year, El Salvador 2014-2016

⁶ Of those who reported hearing about a murder taking place in their community (Figure 3.4), the majority (62.8%) reported that homicides have occurred once or twice a year.

Of the four criminal acts presented in the previous graph, two of them (murders and extortion) are more present in public debate and tend to generate higher levels of insecurity among the population. Next, an analysis is conducted of the demographic and socioeconomic characteristics of respondents who report knowledge about the occurrence of extortion in their communities.

Figure 3.5 reveals that awareness of extortion in the community is related to the size of the respondent's place of residence. It is highest in large cities (25.4%) and the metropolitan area of San Salvador (22.7%), followed by small cities and then medium-sized cities, with the lowest incidence of extortion occurring in rural areas (9%). In addition, it is higher in communities where there is a greater gang presence, with 44.5% of respondents with knowledge of incidence of extortion reportedly living in communities with a lot of gang presence, 20% with some gang presence, 10.1% with little and 2.7% with no gang presence⁷. There are no differences in communities where the Community Association Board promotes prevention measures.⁸

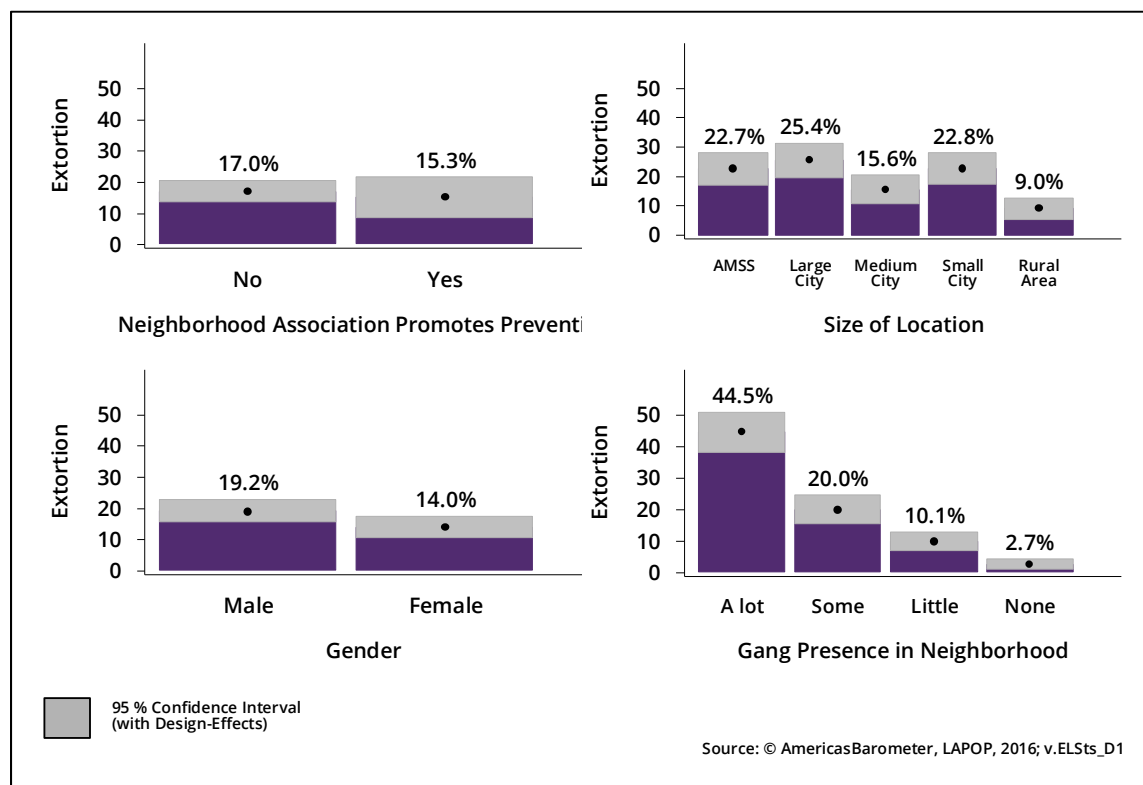


Figure 3.5. Percentage of People Who are Aware of Extortion in their Community by Variable, El Salvador 2016

Turning to another area of analysis, the AmericasBarometer survey included two questions to explore how concerned citizens are about overall levels of violence at the local level:

⁷ Only the relationship between gangs presence (AOJ17) and extortion knowledge is statistically significant when a logistic regression is run and controlled by socio-demographic and socio-economic factors, even more so if the Community Association Board promotes crime prevention (CP25).

⁸ A question was included to explore whether there is a difference between communities that promote violence prevention measures, but it was not statistically significant in logistic regression. The issue of violence prevention is addressed in section IV of this chapter.

PESE1. Do you think that the current level of violence in your **neighborhood** is **higher, about the same, or lower** than in other neighborhoods?

(1) Higher (2) About the Same (3) Lower

PESE2. Do you think that the current level of violence in your **neighborhood** is **higher, about the same, or lower** than 12 months ago?

(1) Higher (2) About the Same (3) Lower

The results (see Figure 3.6) suggest that in 2016, the majority of Salvadorans (71%) perceive lower levels of violence in their community compared to other communities in the municipality. Only 9% of respondents think that violence in their community is greater than others, while 20% think it is the same⁹. When comparing the 2016 results with the 2014 survey, this increased perception that there are lower or equal levels of community violence in comparison to other communities is statistically significant.

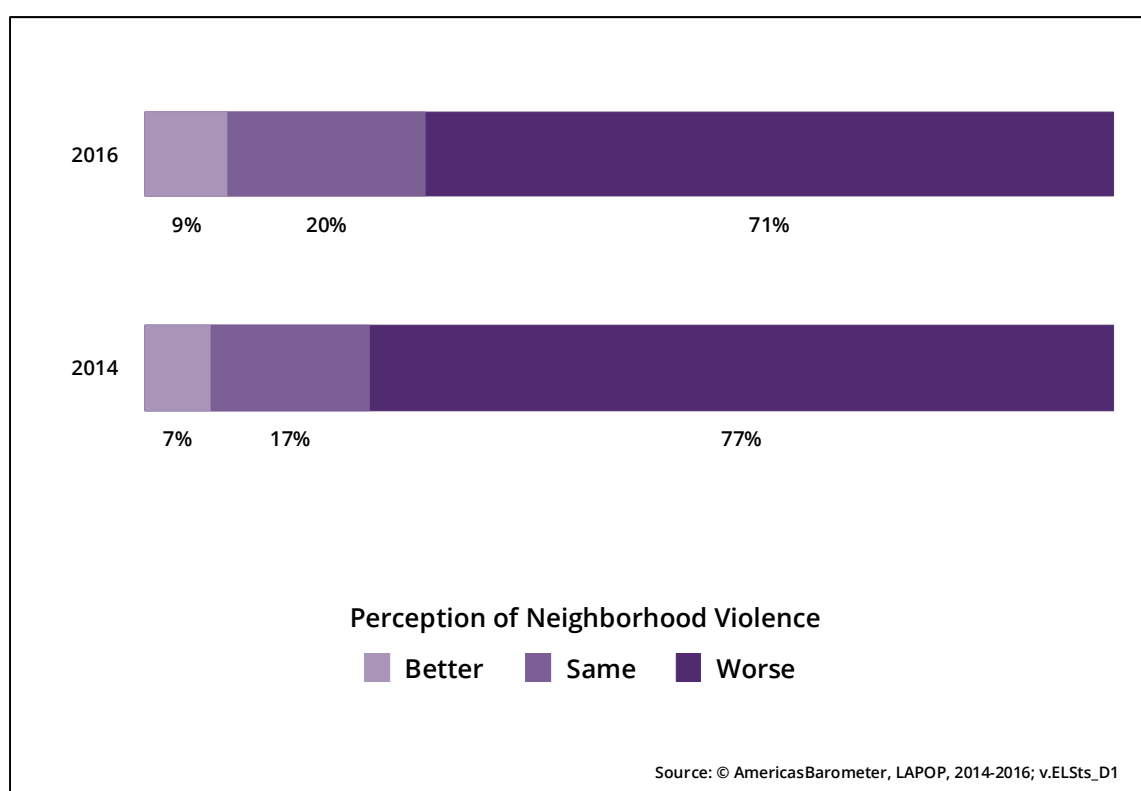


Figure 3.6. Opinions on Levels of Violence in the Community as Compared to other Communities, El Salvador 2014-2016

Regarding retrospective perceptions, the data in Figure 3.7 indicate that 47% think violence in their community is lower compared to the previous year, 37% believe that it is equal, and 16% think it is higher. When compared to results from the 2014 round, changes in the perception that violence is lower or equal compared to the previous year are statistically significant between 2016 and 2014. These results suggest that by the end of 2016, Salvadorans exhibit a relative improvement in their perception of violence in their communities compared to the previous year.

⁹ Decimal points were not used in the configuration of the bar graphs, thus the sum for the 2014 bar is 101%.

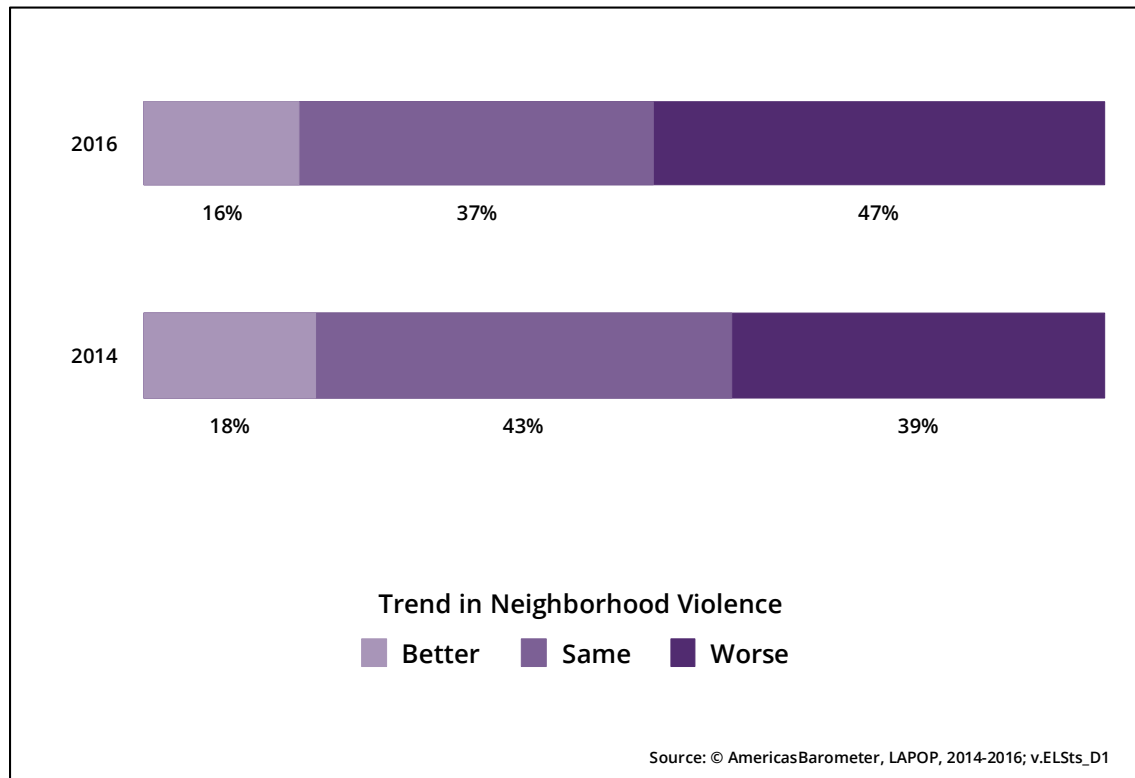


Figure 3.7. Opinions on Changes of Levels of Violence in the Community in Comparison to the Previous Year, El Salvador 2014-2016

One factor associated with insecurity is the perception of gang presence in the community. The 2016/17 AmericasBarometer survey included the following question:

AOJ17. To what extent do you think your neighborhood is affected by gangs? Would you say a lot, somewhat, a little or none?
 (1) A lot (2) Somewhat (3) Little (4) None

Because this question has been used in the AmericasBarometer surveys in El Salvador over the last 12 years, Figure 3.8 is able to show the results for the period between 2004 and 2016. To simplify the comparison, the results were averaged on a 0-100 scale, where 100 means the highest level (affected a lot) and 0 the lowest level (not at all affected). The results show that there is no statistically significant difference in perceptions of gang presence in the surveyed communities since 2010, meaning that perception of gang presence has remained relatively stable from 2010 to 2016: 40.8 in 2010, 37.8 in 2012, 43.4 in 2014 and 44.2 in 2016.

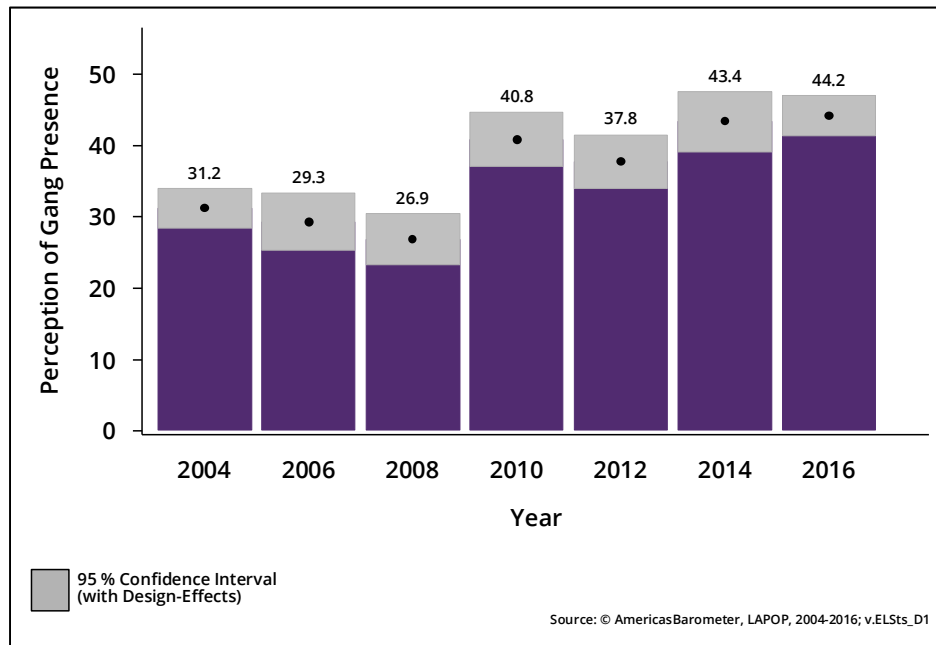


Figure 3.8. Perception of Gang Presence in the Community, El Salvador, 2004-2016 (average 0-100)

The previous figure presents the average for the 2004-2016 period, which has remained stable between 2010 and 2016. However, this format does not allow us to see some important differences over the period, which is why Figure 3.9 presents the results for each of the four response options from each round of the AmericasBarometer. It can be observed that starting in 2010, the perception that the neighborhood is "not at all" affected by gangs has gone down, going from 49% in 2008 to 34% in 2010, to 36% in 2012, and dropping to 28% in 2014 and to 26% in 2016.

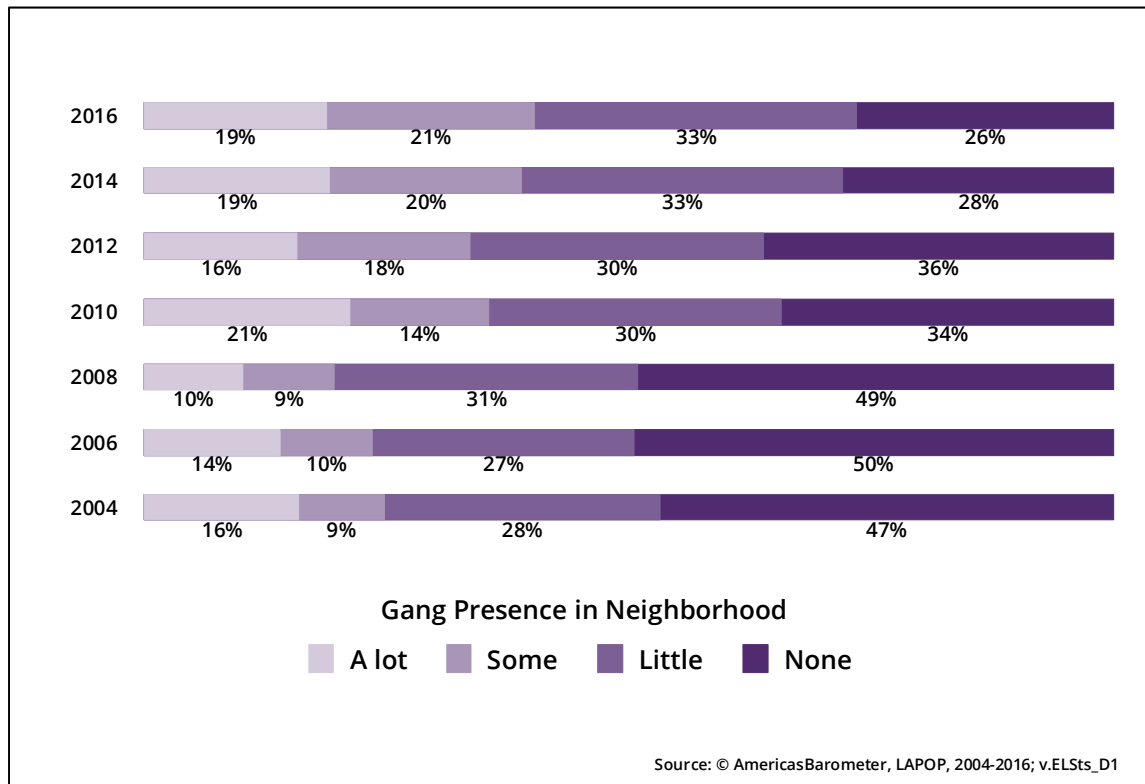


Figure 3.9. Perceptions of Gang Presence in the Community by Response Categories, El Salvador, 2004-2016

IV. Victimization by Crime and Perceptions of Insecurity

The 2016/17 round of the AmericasBarometer included a question aimed at measuring crime victimization, which was formulated as follows:

VIC1EXT. Now, changing the subject, have you been a victim of any type of crime in the past 12 months? That is, have you been a victim of robbery, burglary, assault, fraud, blackmail, extortion, violent threats or **any other type** of crime in the past 12 months?
 (1) Yes [**Continue**] (2) No [**Skip to VIC1HOGAR**]

The same question has been used since the 2010 round, which allows for the comparison of victimization by crime across the 2010-2016 period. The victimization rate for 2016 is 23.1%, representing a statistically significant increase compared to 2014 (18.6%).

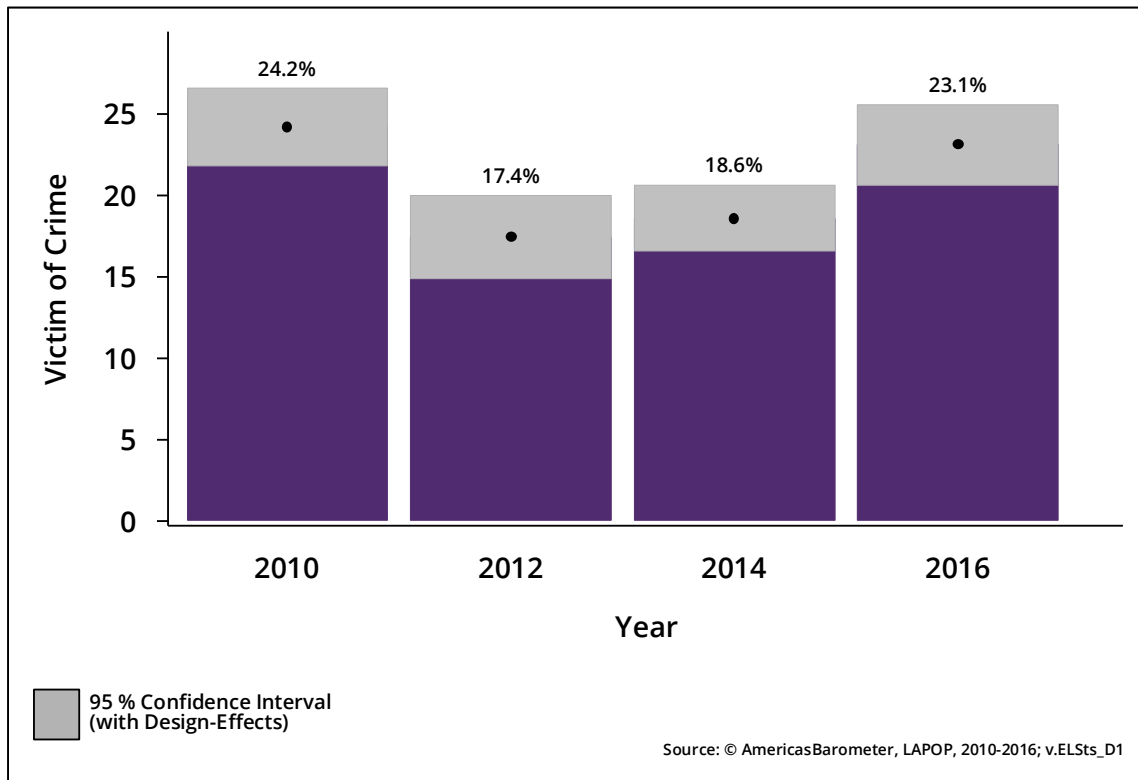


Figure 3.10. Victimization by Crime, El Salvador 2010-2016

How does crime victimization among Salvadorans compare with other countries in the region? Figure 3.11 shows that El Salvador is located at an intermediate position among the continent's countries. Of the Central American countries, only Guatemala has a higher rate of crime victimization.

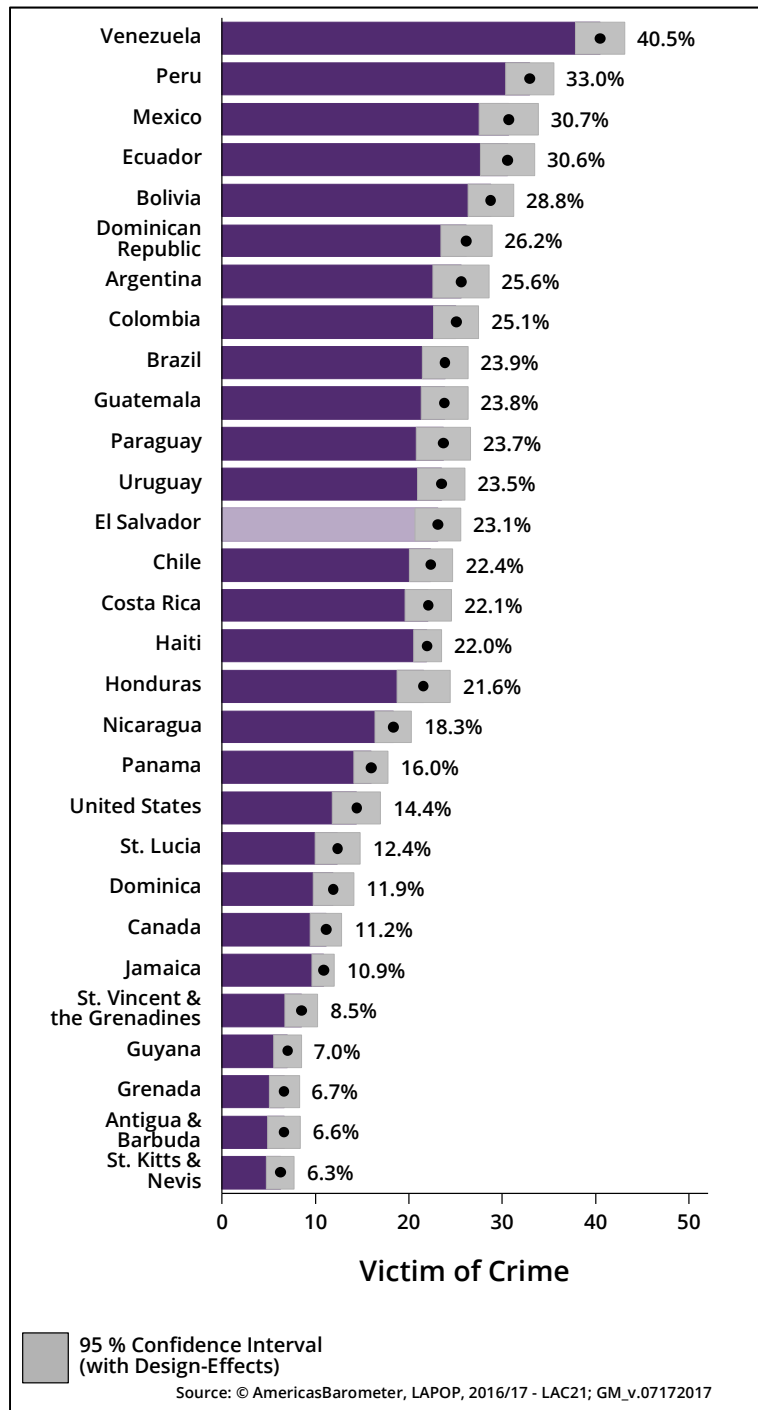


Figure 3.11. Victimization by Crime in the Americas 2016/17

The AmericasBarometer also measures Salvadorans' perception of insecurity with the following question:

AOJ11. Speaking of the neighborhood where you live and thinking of the possibility of being assaulted or robbed, do you feel very safe, somewhat safe, somewhat **unsafe** or very **unsafe**?
 (1) Very Safe (2) Somewhat safe (3) Somewhat unsafe (4) Very unsafe

The 2016/17 data allow us to understand Salvadorans' perceptions of insecurity in their neighborhood or community, when thinking about the possibility of being the victim of an assault or robbery. According to Figure 3.12, 27% of respondents say they feel very secure, 36% feel somewhat secure, 22% feel somewhat insecure and 15% feel very insecure in their community. Grouping the responses, 63% express feeling very or somewhat secure and 37% feel somewhat or very insecure in 2016; while in 2014, 54% expressed feeling very or somewhat secure and 45% somewhat or very insecure.

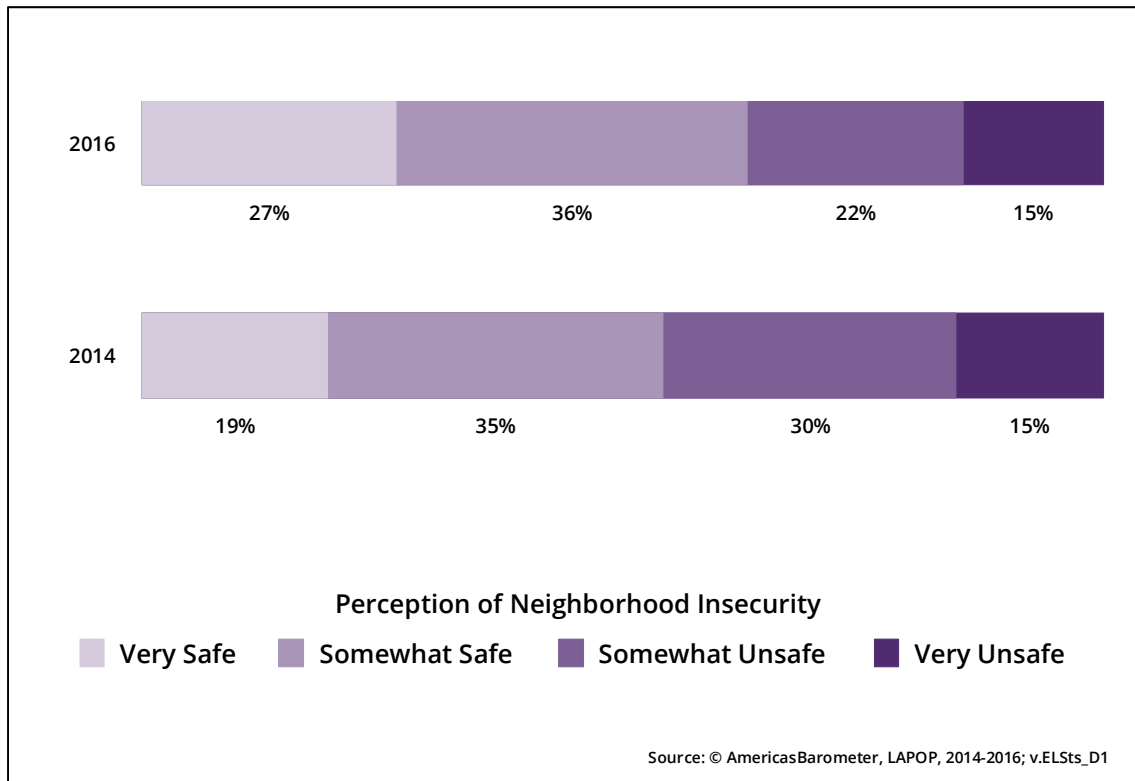


Figure 3.12. Perception of Insecurity, El Salvador 2014-2016 (percentages)

Comparing the responses to this question over the past 12 years shows that Salvadorans have expressed changing perceptions about neighborhood insecurity. To facilitate comparison, the results were averaged on a scale of 0 to 100, where 100 signifies the highest level of perceptions of insecurity. As can be seen in Figure 3.13, the average perception of insecurity in 2016 (41.7) is lower than in 2014 (47.2), and this difference is statistically significant. The trend in the figure shows that changes in perceptions of insecurity have not followed a general pattern over the last 12 years. Concern over insecurity was higher in 2010, decreased in 2012, increased in 2014 and then decreases again in 2016.

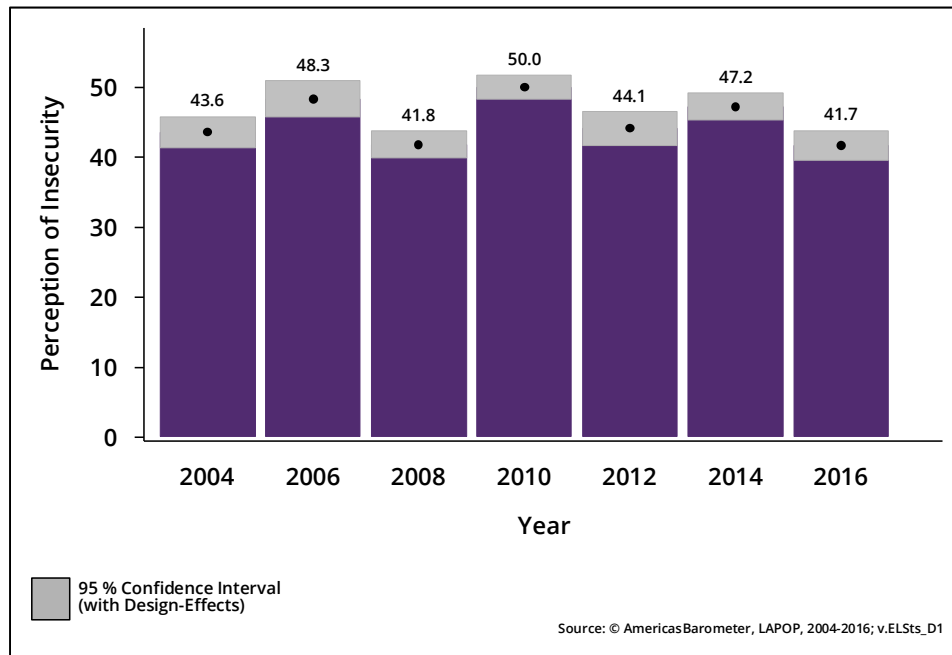


Figure 3.13. Perception of Insecurity in El Salvador by Year, 2004-2016 (averages 0-100)

How do Salvadorans' perceptions of insecurity compare to other countries in the region? Figure 3.14 shows that El Salvador is again located in an intermediate position in comparison to other countries in the region. Of the Central American countries, only Honduras and Guatemala are above El Salvador's average level of insecurity.

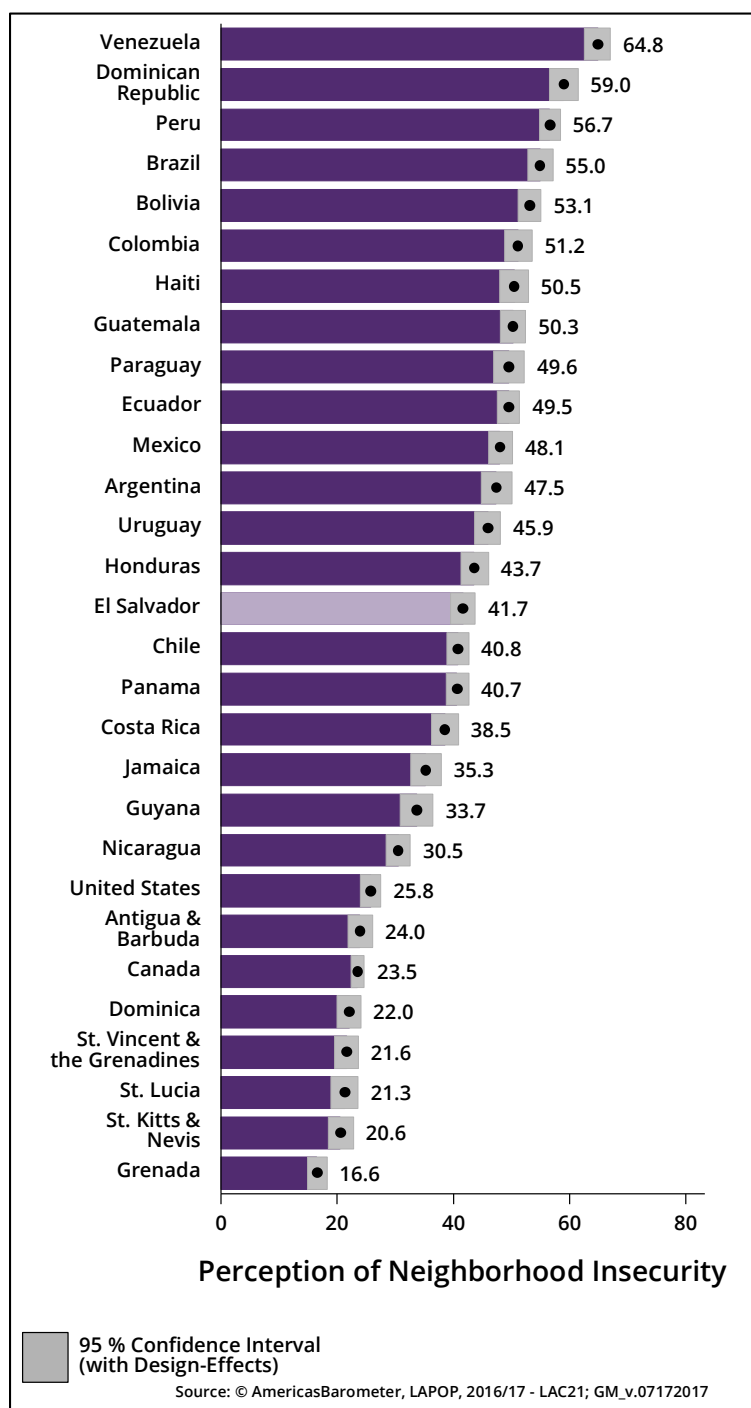


Figure 3.14. Perception of Insecurity in the Americas, 2016/17

Another way to approach the perception of insecurity is to only present the proportion of individuals who report feeling very insecure over the 2004–2016 period. The proportion of those feeling very insecure increases from 17% in 2004 to 20.3% in 2006, decreases to 12.9% in 2008, then increases to 19% in 2010, decreases again in 2012 to 12.3%, then increases to 15.3% in 2014 and again decreases slightly in 2016 to 14.6%. The decrease between 2014 and 2016 is not statistically significant, meaning that the proportion of those who feel very insecure in their communities has remained stable over the last two rounds of the survey.

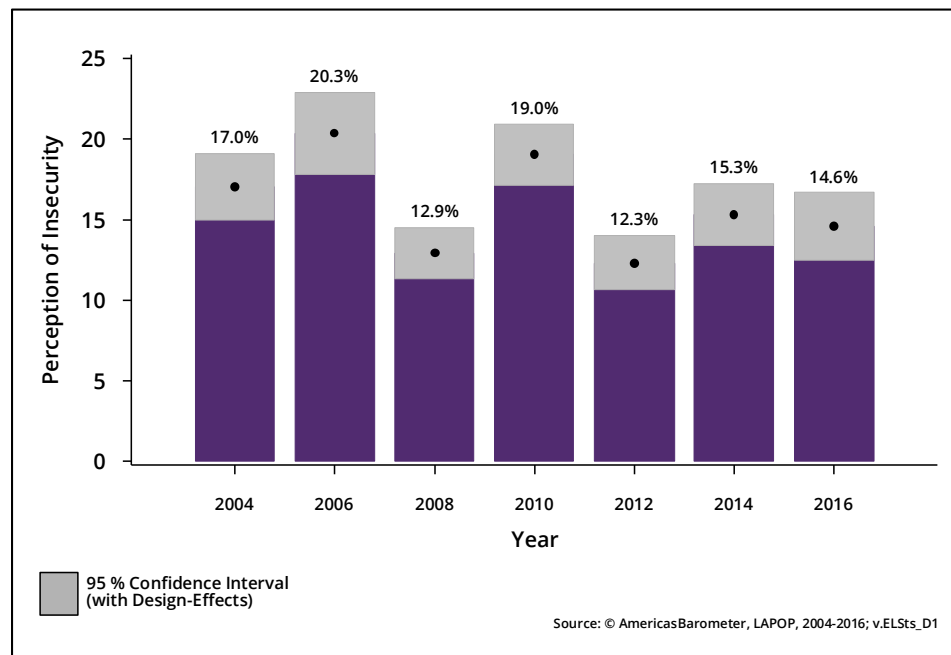


Figure 3.15. Proportion of Respondents Who Report Feeling Very Insecure, El Salvador 2004-2016 (percentages)

What are the variables associated with perceptions of insecurity? In order to establish the individual characteristics associated with Salvadorans' perception of insecurity, a multivariate linear regression analysis (ordinary least squares) was conducted. Eleven variables were selected, of which six variables are related to the problem of security: incidence of homicides in the community, incidence of extortion in the community, opinion about the seriousness of assaults as a community problem, the presence of gangs in community, crime victimization, and the perception of community police involvement in crime.¹⁰ The five demographic and socioeconomic variables are: size of place of residence¹¹, age, level of education, wealth quintiles¹² and identifying as female¹³.

The results are presented in Figure 3.16, where one can see the variables associated with perceptions of insecurity, when each of the other variables are kept constant. There are seven predictors that are statistically significant that increase feelings of insecurity: presence of gangs in the community of residence, occurrence of extortion in the community, opinion about the seriousness of assaults as a community problem, victimization by crime, the belief that community police are involved in crime, low level of education, and in the case of gender, the data indicate that female respondents tend to feel more insecure than males.¹⁴

¹⁰ All these variables were recoded 0-1.

¹¹ Recoded as follows: 0 Rural; .25 Small city; 0.5 Mid-sized city; 0.75 Large City; 1 Metropolitan Area of San Salvador (AMSS).

¹² For an explanation of how levels of wealth (quintiles in the regression) have been determined, see: Córdova (2009). "Methodological Note: Measuring Relative Wealth Using Household Asset Indicators", *AmericasBarometer Insights* No. 8.

¹³ 1=female; 0= male. Age, level of education, and wealth were recoded 0-1 to facilitate result interpretation.

¹⁴ See regression results from this chapter in the Appendix 3.1 of this chapter.

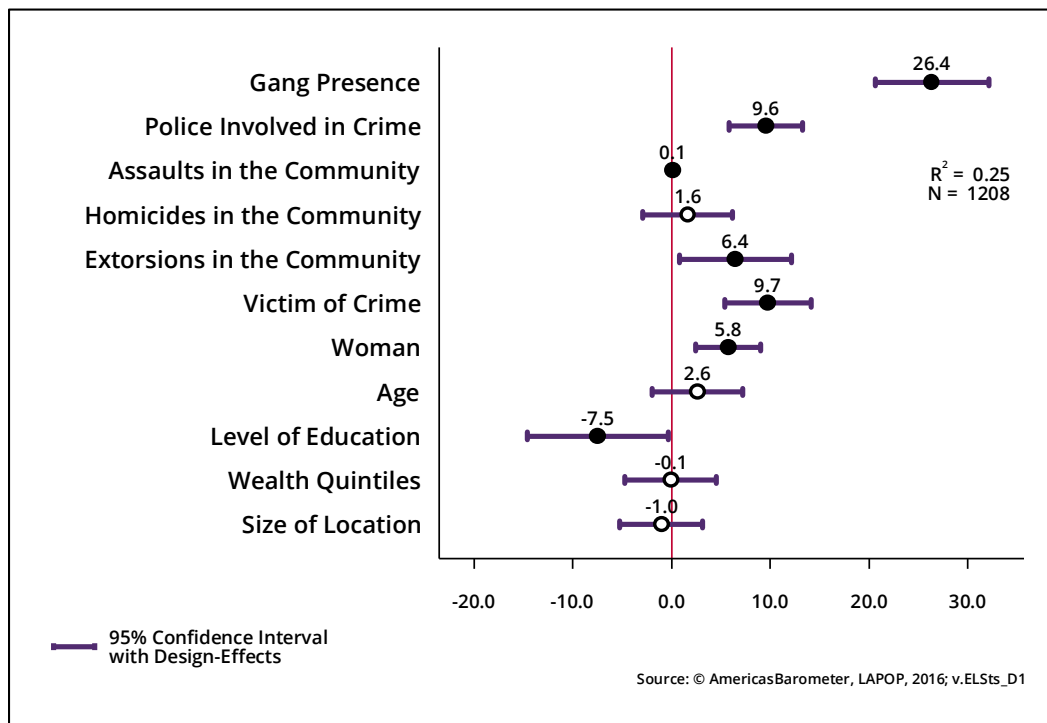


Figure 3.16. Determinants of Perceptions of Insecurity, El Salvador 2016

Figure 3.17 shows four of these relationships at the bivariate level. The variables associated with perception of insecurity include the belief that the police are involved in crime, having been a victim of crime, awareness of incidences of extortion in the community and living in a community with a gang presence.

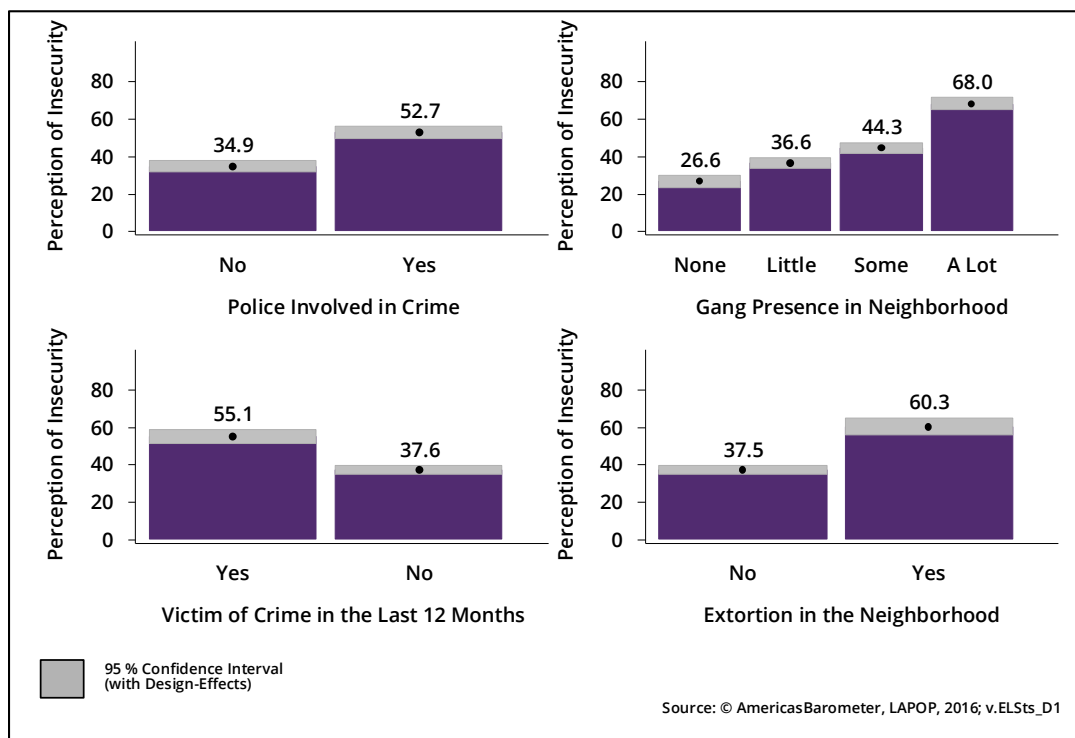


Figure 3.17. Perception of Insecurity by Variable, El Salvador 2016

The 2016/17 round of the AmericasBarometer included a set of questions aimed at measuring changes in citizens' behavior due to fear of being a victim of crime, which was framed in the following manner:

	Yes	No
VIC71. Have you avoided leaving your home by yourself at night?	(1) Yes	(0) No
VIC72. Have you avoided using public transportation?	(1) Yes	(0) No
VIC73. Have you avoided leaving your home unoccupied during the night?	(1) Yes	(0) No
VIC40A. Have you avoided buying things that you like because they may get stolen?	(1) Yes	(0) No
VIC74. Have you prevented children from your home from playing in the street?	(1) Yes	(0) No
VIC41. Have you limited the places where you go for recreation?	(1) Yes	(0) No
VIC43. Have you felt the need to move to a different neighborhood out of fear of crime?	(1) Yes	(0) No
VIC45N. In the last twelve months, have you changed your job or place of study out of fear of crime? [If does not work or study mark 999999]	(1) Yes	(0) No

Figure 3.18 shows that due to fear of crime, in the 12 months prior to the survey, 65.9% of respondents have prevented children from playing in the street, 59.9% have limited where they go for recreation, 59.6% have avoided leaving the house by themselves at night, 42.3% have avoided leaving their house unoccupied at night, 42.2% have avoided using public transport, 21.1% have felt the need to change neighborhoods or communities, and 9.4% have changed their job or place of study.

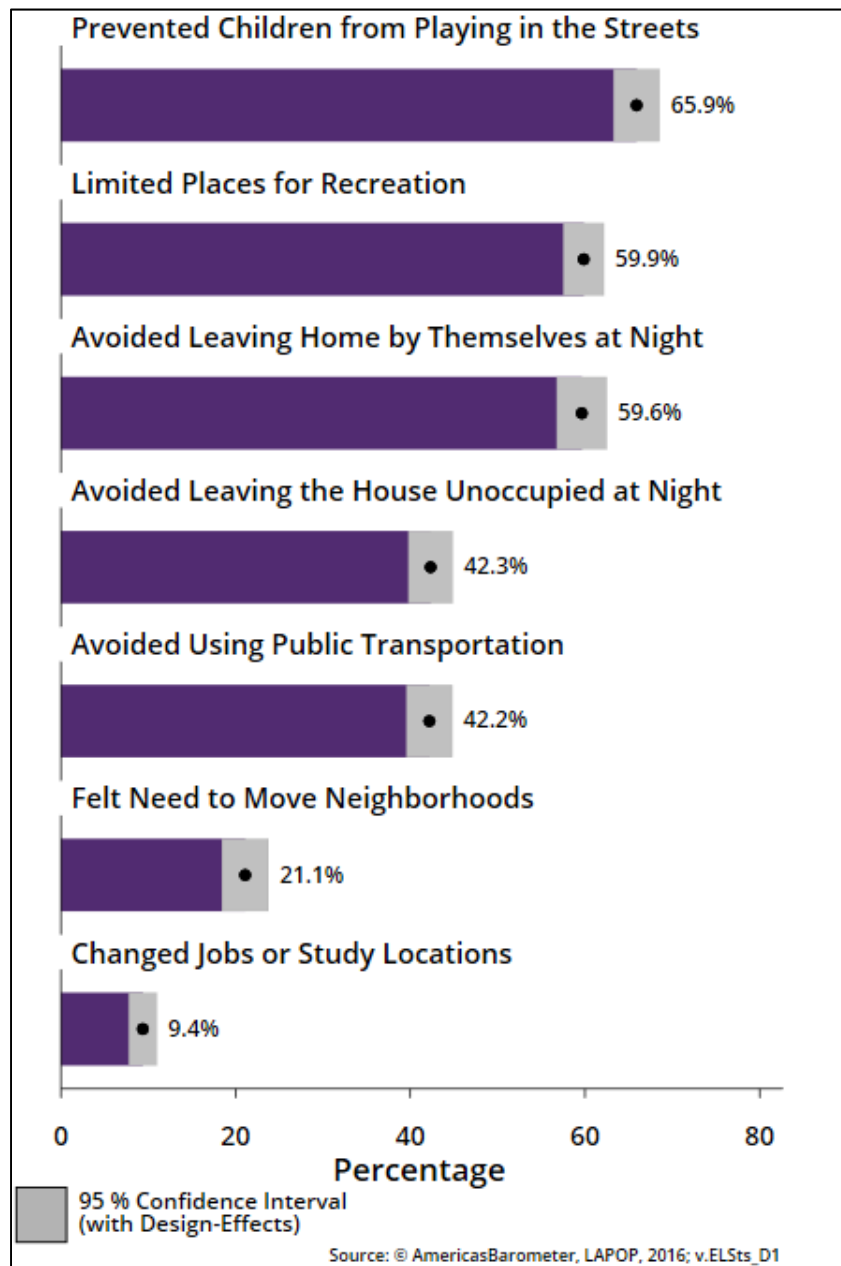


Figure 3.18. Change in Activities due to Fear of Crime, El Salvador 2016

The 2016/17 round of the AmericasBarometer also included questions focused on measuring the level of concern about security and changes citizens made in their daily routines to avoid being a victim of crime. The first two questions were framed as follows:

	A lot	Somewhat	A little	Not at all
FEAR6E. And in general, how worried are you that someone in your family will be assaulted on public transportation? Would you say a lot, somewhat, a little, or not at all?	1	2	3	4
FEAR6F. And how worried are you about the safety of children in school? Would you say a lot, somewhat, a little, or not at all?	1	2	3	4

Figure 3.19 presents the results for Salvadorans' concerns that someone in their family could be assaulted on public transport and the safety of their children at school. To facilitate comparison of the results, responses were averaged on a scale of 0 to 100, where 100 means very worried and 0 means not at all worried. Salvadorans exhibit nearly the same level of concern in both situations: that someone in their family could be assaulted on public transportation (69.2) and the safety of their children at school (68.5).

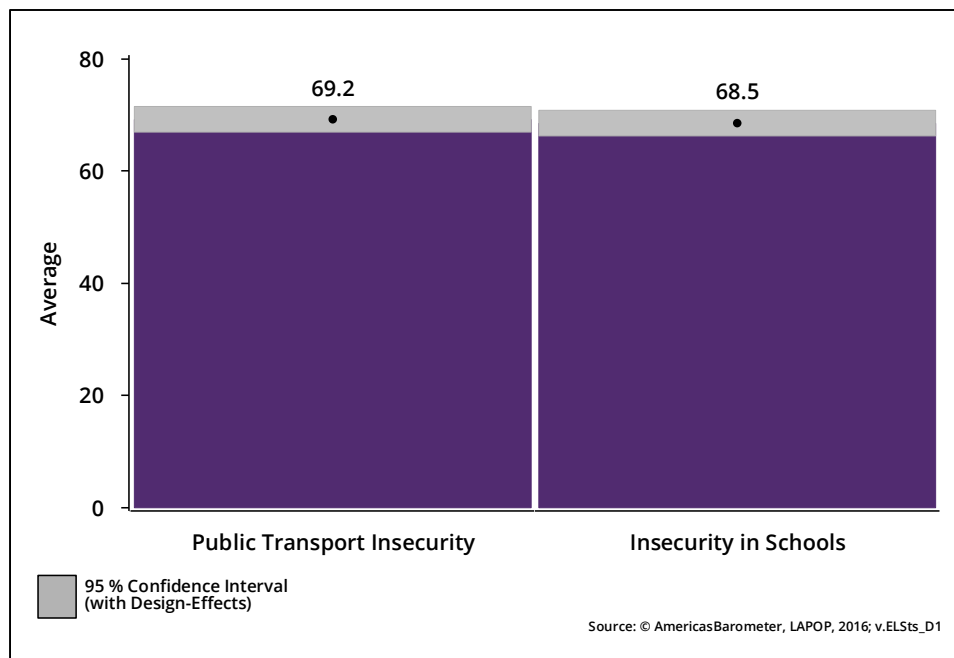


Figure 3.19. Security Concerns on Public Transportation and in the Schools, El Salvador 2016

The other two questions in this set were formulated as follows:

	Yes	No
FEAR10. In order to protect yourself from crime, in the last 12 months, have you taken any measures such as avoiding walking through some areas in your neighborhood because they are dangerous?	1	0
VIC44. In the last 12 months, out of fear of crime, have you organized with the neighbors of your community?	1	0

Figure 3.20 presents the results of safety measures taken by Salvadorans due to their fear of crime in the 12 months prior to the survey: while 56.2% avoided walking in some areas of the community because they are considered dangerous, only 12.9% organized with neighbors in the community due to fear of crime.

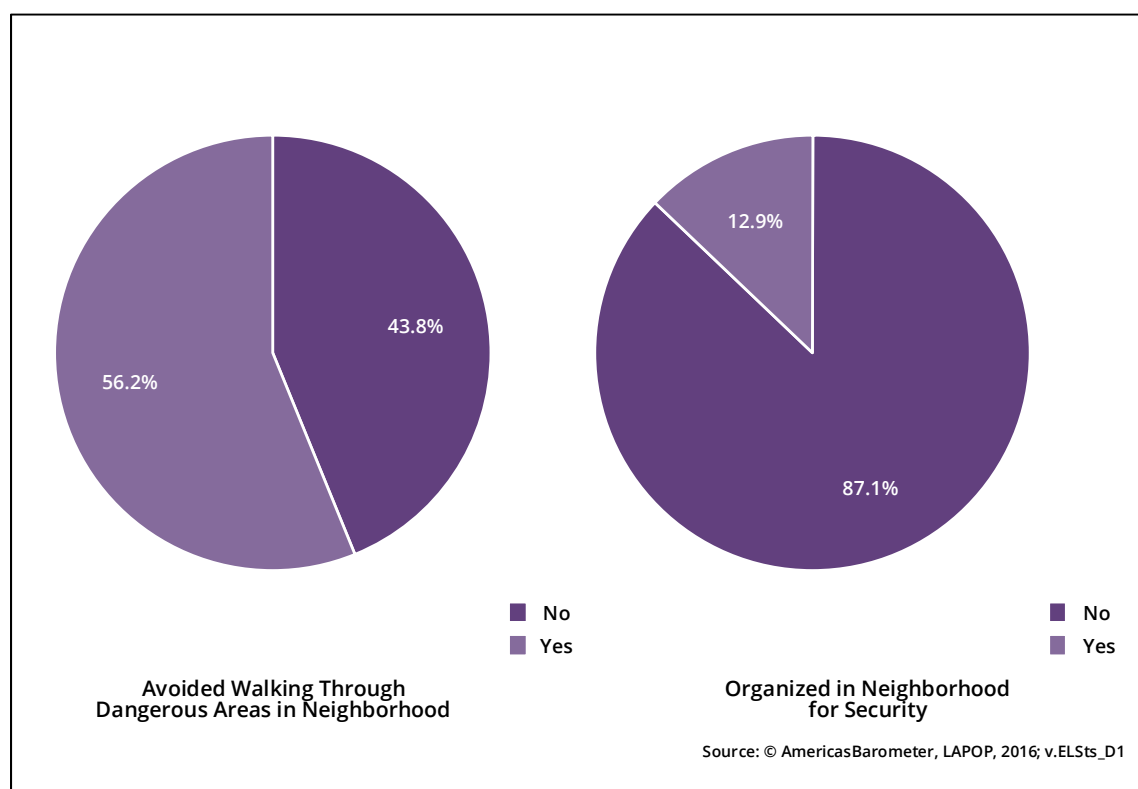


Figure 3.20. Changes in Behavior due to Fear of Crime, El Salvador 2016

The following question explores the willingness of respondents to own a firearm for self-protection. The question was formulated as follows:

ARM2. If you could, would you have your own firearm for protection?
(1) Yes (2) No

Figure 3.21 shows that at the end of 2016, 32.3% of Salvadorans were willing to own a firearm for protection.

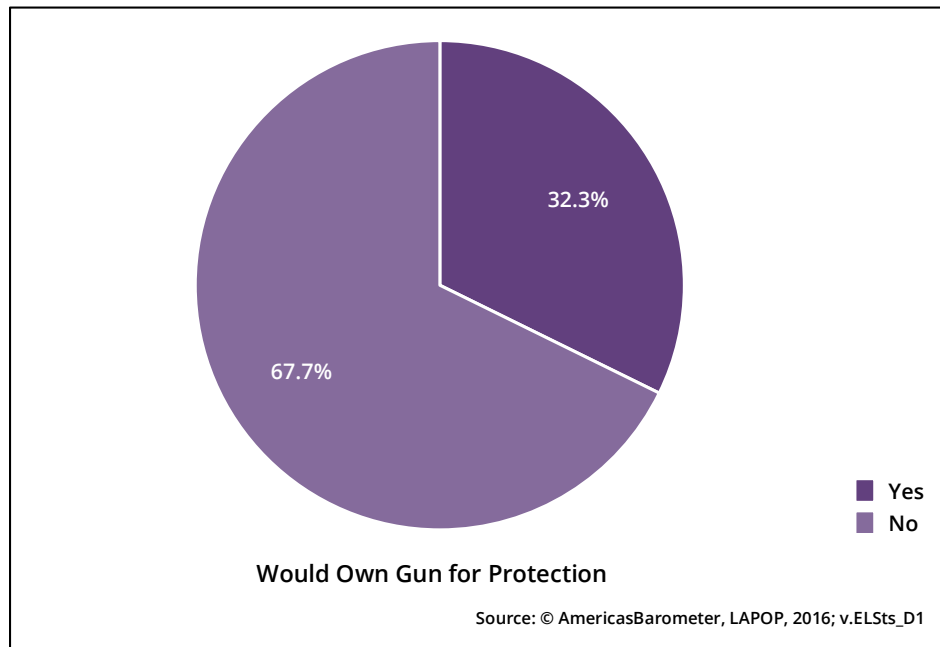


Figure 3.21. Percentage of Respondents Who Would Own a Firearm for Protection, El Salvador 2016

V. Violence Prevention Initiatives

The 2016/17 round of the AmericasBarometer in El Salvador included several questions exploring issues related to violence prevention. In the last two years, the government, civil society and community organizations have promoted various violence and crime prevention initiatives.

In September 2014, the National Council for Citizen Security and Coexistence (CNSCC)¹⁵ was created as a space for dialogue and the articulation of proposals from the government and other societal actors. The CNSCC focuses on the El Salvador Security Plan (PESS), which the Salvadoran Government officially launched in January 2015. The Plan contains five strategic axes, one of which is the prevention of violence.

As part of its implementation, the PESS is concentrated in 50 municipalities, which will be progressively incorporated in three phases: 10 municipalities in the first phase, 16 municipalities in the second phase and 24 municipalities in the third phase. Currently, the PESS is in the second phase of implementation.

In 2010, the Municipal Committees for the Violence Prevention (CMPV) were created under the framework of the "National Strategy for the Prevention of Violence in Support of Municipalities". The CMPV promotes the creation of local bodies "constituting representatives of all municipal

¹⁵ The National Council on Citizen Security and Coexistence is an inter-sectoral and interinstitutional space that aims to "promote dialogue and cooperation around public policies related to justice, citizen security and coexistence, which seek to achieve and underwrite nationally sustainable agreements." (National Council of Citizen Security and Coexistence 2015, 11). The CNSCC was established in September 2014 through Executive Agreement No. 62.



actors and sectors, with the purpose to lead and coordinate the work of violence prevention" (Secretary for Strategic Affairs of the Presidency 2010). The purpose of the CMPV is to "strengthen the participation of local society to prevent violence, improve citizen security, and promote a culture of peace and coexistence" (Secretary of Strategic Affairs for the Presidency 2010). In addition, the creation and promotion of the CMPV is conceived as a course of action in the National Policy of Justice, Public Security and Coexistence (s.f.). The El Salvador Security Plan states that this committee "constitutes the basis for the Plan's municipal implementation committees in each of the selected municipalities" (Consejo Nacional de Convivencia y Seguridad Ciudadana 2015, 68).

How much do Salvadorans favor prevention efforts? Two positions--in terms of public policies usually presented in public debate--include increasing the severity of punishments as the primary method to reduce violence, and another that proposes changing socioeconomic conditions, in line with what specialized literature calls "primary prevention". Primary prevention is geared toward "the general population and, in general, responds to non-specific needs in social and situational contexts that foster violence" (CESC 2004, 4). It is also possible to think that these are not opposing options, and that these two approaches to violence prevention could be combined. In order to explore the views of Salvadorans on this issue, the 2016/17 round included the following question on possible measures to reduce homicides in El Salvador:

IGAAOJ22. In your opinion, to reduce homicide in this country is it more important that the government invests in...

- (1) Preventive measures such as educational opportunities and jobs for people,
- (2) or in increasing punishment for criminals?

Figure 3.22 shows the results. There is greater support for prevention measures (67%), while 33% support increasing punishments against offenders. More interesting is the 2016/17 data compared to the results from the 2014 round. Support for prevention measures increased from 43% in 2014 to 67% in 2016, while support of increasing punishments against offenders declined from 47% in 2014 to 33% in 2016. In addition, in 2014, 9.2% indicated support for both options to reduce homicides.

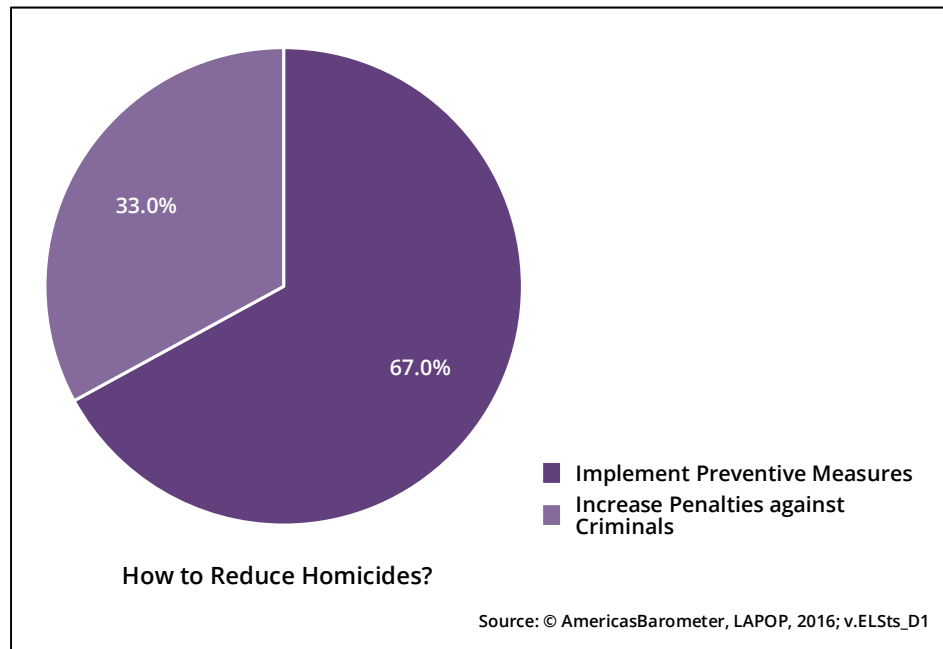


Figure 3.22. Opinions on Measures to Reduce Crime, El Salvador 2016

It is possible that this increase in support for preventive measures is related to the success that various violence and crime prevention initiatives have had in recent years by the government, civil society and through international cooperation.¹⁶ In addition, the issue of violence prevention has also had greater coverage in the media in recent years.

To analyze the factors associated with support for violence prevention, a logistic regression analysis was performed because of the dichotomous dependent variable: those who support prevention measures and those who do not.¹⁷

Eight variables were selected for the analysis, of which three are related to the security problem: crime victimization, perception of insecurity and an index of security problems in the community.¹⁸ The five demographic and socioeconomic variables included are: size of place of residence¹⁹, age, level of education, wealth quintiles and identifying as female.²⁰

The results are presented in Figure 3.23, which shows that men, older people, those with a higher level of education and people experiencing fewer security problems are more likely to support

¹⁶ For an approach to the analysis of community crime prevention in El Salvador, see: Córdova Macías, Ricardo, Alan Melara and Estela Armijo. 2016. *Community crime prevention in El Salvador: social capital and collective effectiveness*. San Salvador: FUNDAUNGO.

¹⁷ The original question IGAAOJ22 was recoded into 100 "supports prevention" and 0 "supports increased punishments".

¹⁸ An index of "security problems" was constructed from adding together the incidences of four criminal acts in the community: robbery, drug dealing, extortion and murder. The index goes from 0 to 1, where 0 means that people have not perceived the incidence of any criminal act in their community, and 1 indicates that people have perceived the incidence of all four criminal acts.

¹⁹ The following was recoded as: 0 rural; .25 Small city; .5 Medium-sized city; .75 Large city; 1 Metropolitan Area of San Salvador (AMSS).

²⁰ 1=Female; 0=Male.

prevention initiatives than the rest of the population.²¹ The most interesting result is that support for prevention measures is higher among people living in communities where there is a lower incidence of criminal acts, and therefore, where the problem of crime and violence is less of an issue.

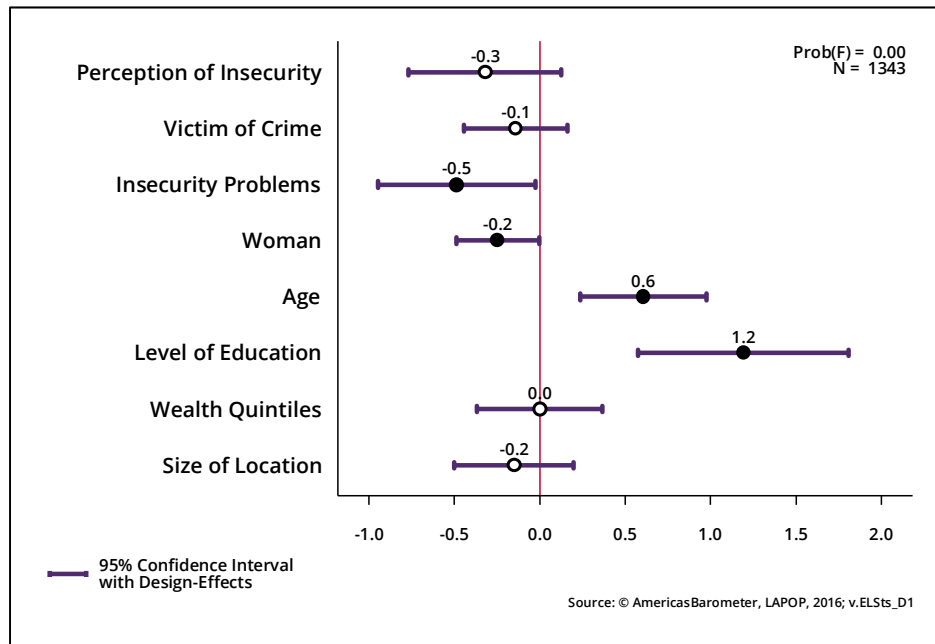


Figure 3.23. Determinants of Opinions Favoring Prevention Measures, El Salvador 2016

Figure 3.24 shows two of these relationships at the bivariate level. People living in communities experiencing fewer security problems (fewer incidences of crime), and those with the highest level of education (university level) are more likely to support prevention initiatives than the rest of the population.

²¹ See regression table in the Appendix 3.2 of this chapter.

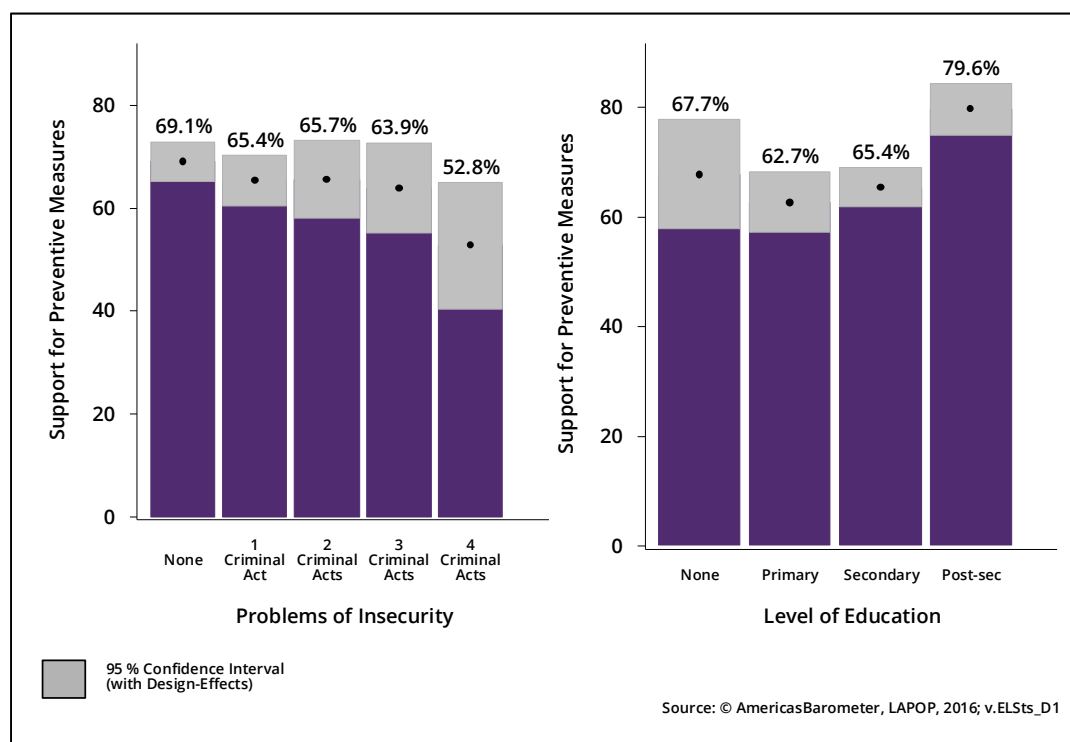


Figure 3.24. Opinions that Favor Prevention Measures by Variable, El Salvador 2016

What initiatives are there at the community level to reduce violence and crime? How much do Salvadorans organize themselves or participate in community-based organizations to prevent violence? The 2016/17 round of the AmericasBarometer included two questions aimed at measuring the existence of prevention efforts at the community level, which were asked as follows:

CP25. In the last three months, has a neighborhood association or community association in this neighborhood promoted activities for crime prevention, such as taking security measures for your neighborhood or other activities?	Yes	No
CP26. Are there any other associations or organizations that are promoting crime prevention programs in this neighborhood?	Yes	No

Figure 3.25 shows that 20.7% of respondents reported having a neighborhood association or community association board in their community of residence that promotes prevention measures; and 16.6% of respondents report that there is another organization or institution promoting crime prevention programs. Even though these levels may be considered lower than ideal, considering that promoting prevention initiatives at the local level is desirable, it is necessary to acknowledge that there has been an increase in comparison to the 2014 data. In 2014, only 17% of respondents who had a neighborhood association or community association board in their community of residence reported that the association promoted prevention measures; and only 10.2% of respondents reported that another organization or institution promoted prevention programs in their neighborhood. However, only the number of respondents who report having another organization or institution promoting prevention programs in their community of residence showed a statistically significant increase between 2014 and 2016.

Combining these two responses for 2016, 22.3% of total respondents report knowing of a prevention initiative in the community, whether it is by the neighborhood association, community association board or other organizations²². As shown in Figure 3.22, 67% support prevention measures, but only 22.3% live in communities where such initiatives are being promoted.

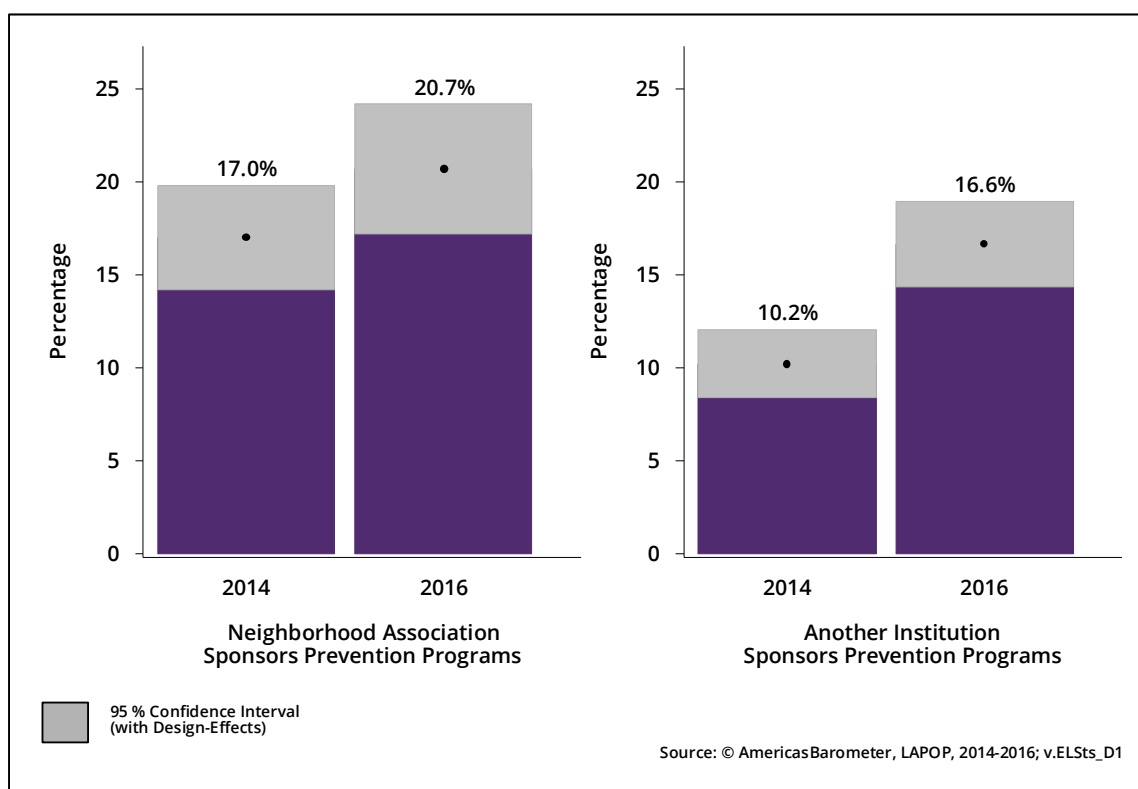


Figure 3.25. Percentage of Persons Who Report Knowing of Prevention Initiatives in their Community, El Salvador 2014-2016

In addition to initiatives in the respondent's community of residence, there are also other programs and projects promoted by local governments through Prevention Committees or Councils. In the 2016/17 round of the AmericasBarometer, two questions were included to explore respondents' knowledge of and participation in a "Council or Committee for Violence Prevention", which, as indicated above, are both part of the El Salvador Security Plan to reduce violence at the local level. The questions were formulated as follows:

ESCP27. ¿Have you heard of the Council or Committee for Violence Prevention in this municipality? [If the answer is NO, Don't Know or No Response, skip to L1]	Sí	No
ESCP28N. In the last three months, have or someone you know attended a meeting of the Council or Committee for Violence Prevention in this municipality?	Sí	No

²² An index was created that aggregates the different types of prevention initiatives in the community (questions CP25 and CP26).

Figure 3.26 shows that 27.2% have heard about a "Committee or Council for Violence Prevention", and almost the same percentage report attending meetings convened by this body (27.3%). This represents an increase compared to the data reported in 2014, when only 19.9% reported hearing about Municipal Committees for Violence Prevention (Córdova, Cruz and Zechmeister 2015, 160).

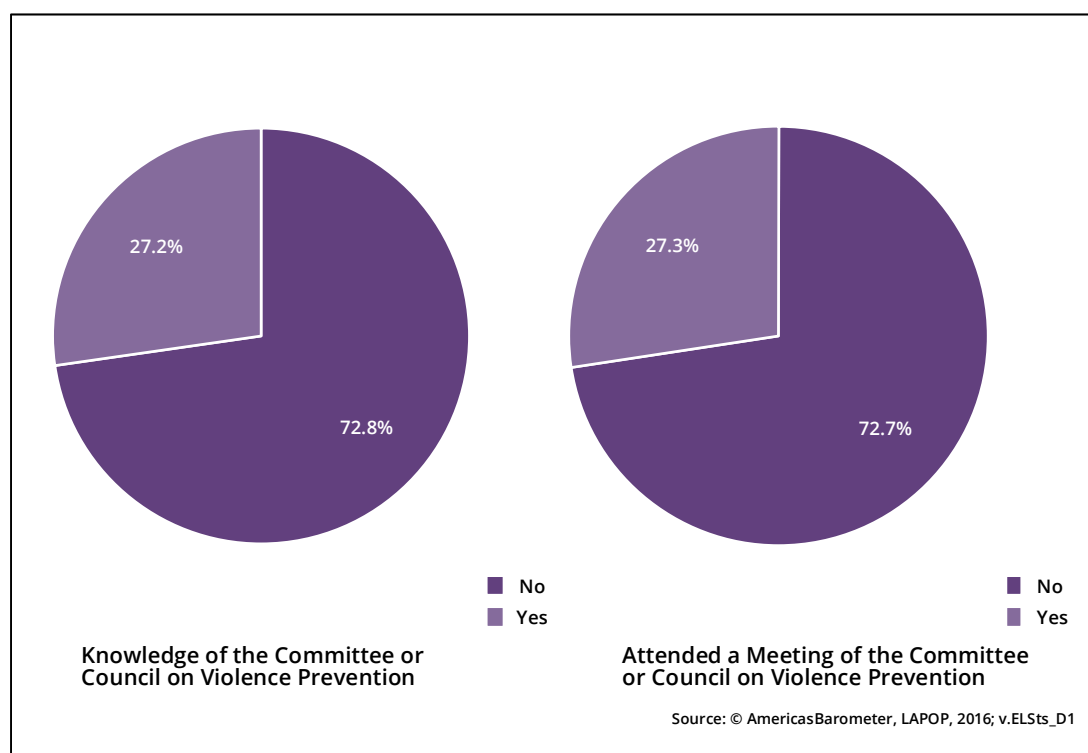


Figure 3.26. Knowledge of and Attendance to Meetings of a Committee for Violence Prevention, El Salvador 2016

The following question explores perceptions about the effectiveness of the work of the "Council for Violence Prevention" in reducing levels of crime:

On this card there is a ladder with steps numbered 1 to 7, where 1 is the lowest step and means NOT AT ALL and 7 the highest and means A LOT. Can you tell me...

ESCP29. How much do you think the Council for Violence Prevention has succeeded in reducing the level of crime in this neighborhood?

To simplify the analysis, the answers to this question were recoded in a 0-100 format, where 100 means a lot and 0 means not at all. On average, 47.6 of those who have heard of the Council for Violence Prevention believe that the Council has contributed to reducing crime levels. Figure 3.27 shows the results of a bivariate analysis focusing on respondents' level of education, wealth quintile and size of the place of residence²³. The most positive assessment of the effectiveness of the Council for Violence Prevention is associated with higher levels of education, wealth, and residing in rural areas.

²³Just Level of education and size of location were found to be statistically significant in a multivariate linear regression (ordinary least squares), controlled by demographic and socio-economic factors.

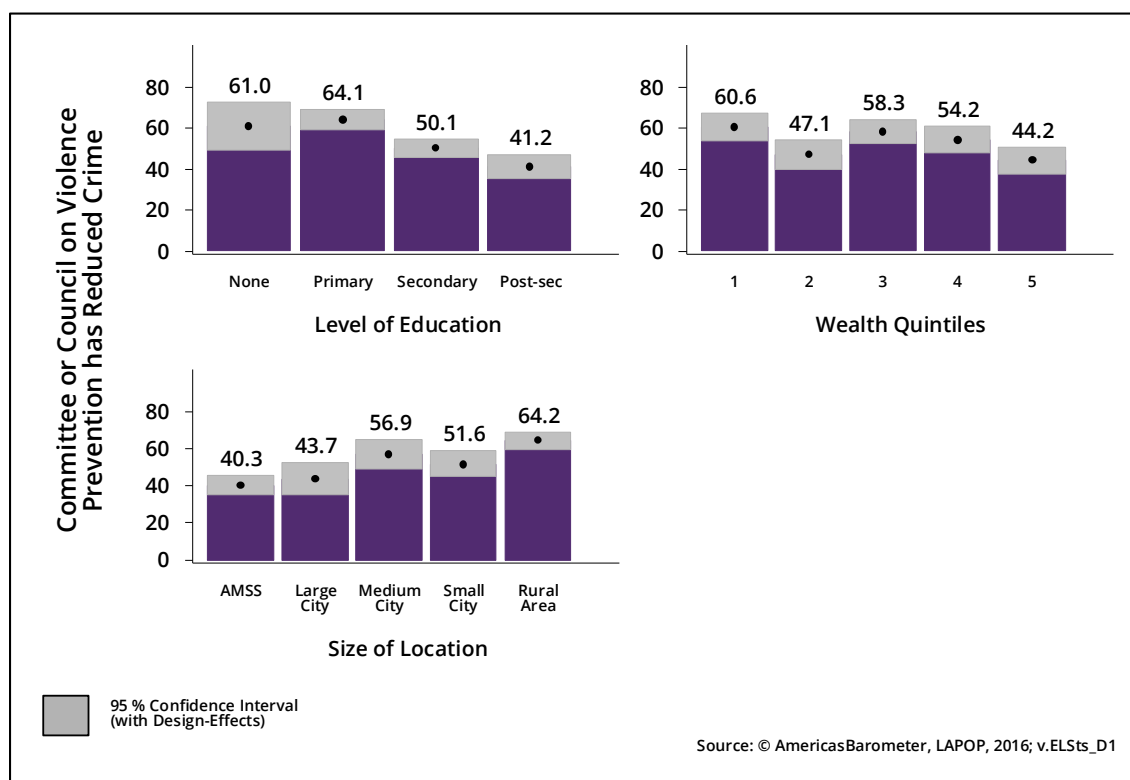


Figure 3.27. The Council for Violence Prevention Has Reduced the Level of Crime, El Salvador 2016

VI. Opinions on Police Performance

To find out Salvadorans' opinions about the police, several questions were asked in the 2016/17 AmericasBarometer. These give an idea of how Salvadorans evaluate the police, their performance and their relationship with other factors of public safety. A first set of questions explores satisfaction with police performance and the perception of their presence through neighborhood patrols. The questions were formulated as follows:

POLE2NN. In general, are you very satisfied, satisfied, **unsatisfied**, or very **unsatisfied** with the performance of the police in your neighborhood?
 (1) Very Satisfied (2) Satisfied (3) **Unsatisfied** (4) Very **unsatisfied**
 (5) **[DON'T READ]** There are no police in my neighborhood

ICO2. How often does the national civil police patrol **this neighborhood**? Would you say: **[Read alternatives]**
 (1) Many times a day
 (2) At least once a day
 (3) A few times a week
 (4) A few times a month
 (5) Rarely
 (6) Never

Figure 3.28 reports the results for 2016: 7% of respondents report that they are very satisfied with police performance and 55% are satisfied; while 32% are dissatisfied; and 6% very dissatisfied. Grouping the answers together, 62% feel some degree of satisfaction with the police in their community, while 38% feel some degree of dissatisfaction. The same question was used in the 2014 round, allowing for comparison of the results over time. In 2014, 4% of respondents expressed being very satisfied with police performance and 50% were satisfied; while 40% were dissatisfied; and 7% very dissatisfied²⁴. Grouping the answers from the 2014 round, 54% of respondents were satisfied and 47% dissatisfied with police performance. This demonstrates that in 2016, satisfaction with police performance in the community has increased, and this increase is statistically significant.

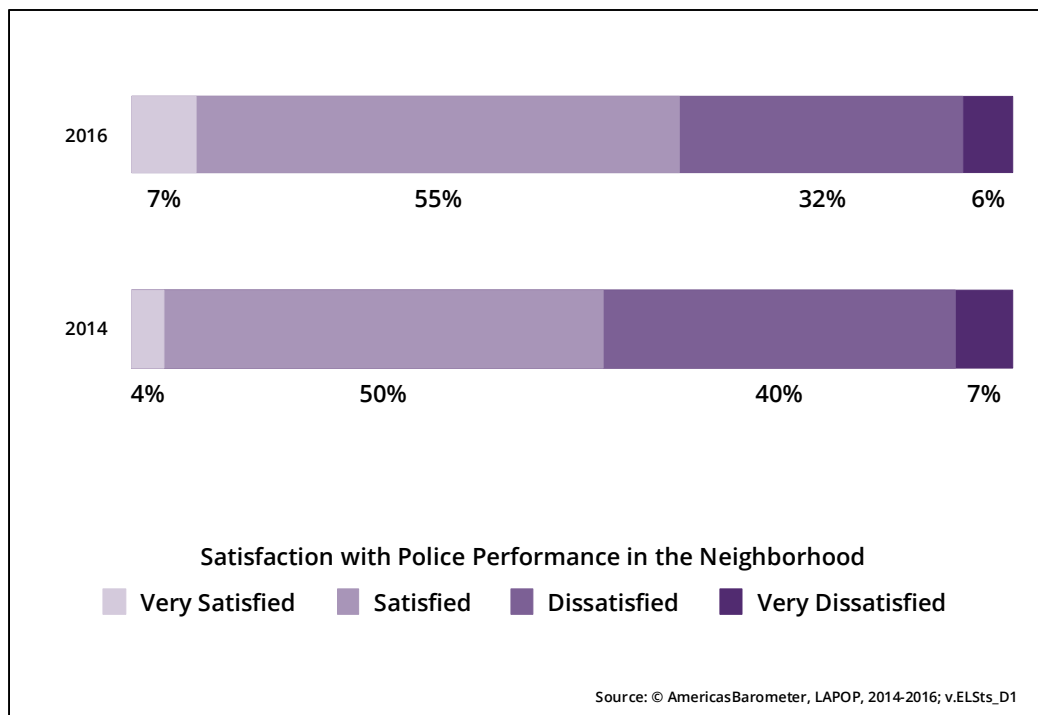


Figure 3.28. Satisfaction with Police Performance in the Community, El Salvador 2014-2016

Figure 3.29 shows that 25.1% of the population reports that the police patrol their community several times a day, while 17.6% of respondents say that the police patrol at least once a day. In addition, 25.4% of respondents report that the police patrol their neighborhood a few times a week. This implies that 68.1% of the population reports that the police patrol their community with some frequency, while the rest (31.9%) say that police patrol their communities more irregularly or never. When comparing the data with the 2014 round, there is only a slight increase in the perception of the frequency of police patrols. In 2014, 66% of respondents reported that the police patrolled their neighborhood daily or weekly (Córdova, Cruz and Zechmeister 2015, 170), indicating that there is no statistically significant difference between 2014 and 2016.

²⁴ Decimal points were not used in the configuration of the graph, thus the sum for the 2014 bar is 101%.

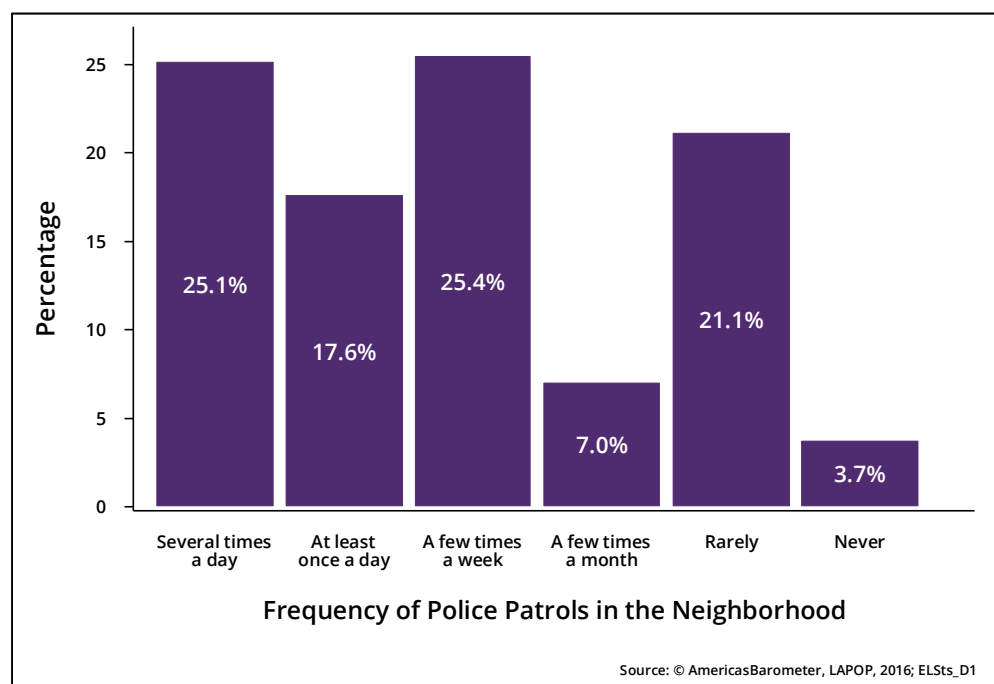


Figure 3.29. Frequency of Police Patrols in the Community, El Salvador 2016

Table 3.2 shows the frequency of police patrols in the community by size of place of residence. It is observed that patrolling with a certain frequency (daily or weekly) is higher in small cities (37.3%) and medium sized cities (33.1%), followed by large cities (24.8%) and the AMSS (22.5%), with the lowest frequency of patrols taking place in rural areas (20.4%).

Table 3.2. Frequency of Police Patrols in the Community, El Salvador 2016

Size of Place of Residence	Several times per day	At least once a day	A couple of times a week	A couple of times per month	Rarely	Never	Total
Metropolitan San Salvador (AMSS)	22.5% (103)	19.7% (90)	21.2% (97)	5.5% (25)	25.8% (118)	5.3% (24)	100.0% (457)
Big City	24.8% (30)	13.2% (16)	28.9% (35)	9.9% (12)	21.5% (26)	1.7% (2)	100.0% (121)
Medium-sized city	33.1% (83)	20.3% (51)	19.1% (48)	6.8% (17)	16.3% (41)	4.4% (11)	100.0% (251)
Small City	37.3% (57)	23.5% (36)	17.0% (26)	3.9% (6)	16.3% (25)	2.0% (3)	100.0% (153)
Rural	20.4% (113)	14.1% (78)	32.9% (182)	8.5% (47)	20.9% (116)	3.3% (18)	100.0% (554)
Total	25.1% (386)	17.6% (271)	25.3% (388)	7.0% (107)	21.2% (326)	3.8% (58)	100.0% (1536)

Source: AmericasBarometer by LAPOP, 2016; v.ELSts_D1

What are the determinants of citizen satisfaction with police performance? In order to identify these variables, a multivariate linear regression analysis (ordinary least squares) was conducted.²⁵ Ten independent variables were selected, of which five variables are related to security problems: the frequency of police patrols, if a community association board promotes prevention initiatives²⁶, the perception of insecurity, security problems²⁷ and crime victimization. In addition, five demographic and socioeconomic variables were included: size of place of residence²⁸, age, level of education, wealth quintiles and identifying as female²⁹.

The results are presented in Figure 3.30, where the determinants of satisfaction with police performance can be seen when each of the other variables are kept constant. There are five statistically significant predictors of satisfaction with police performance: the frequency of patrols, whether neighborhood leadership promotes prevention, the perception of insecurity, security problems, and the size of place of residence.³⁰ Respondents who are more satisfied with police performance are those who observe more frequent police patrols in their neighborhoods, whose community leadership promotes prevention, those who express a lower perception of insecurity, who live in communities with fewer security problems and those who live in smaller cities and/or rural areas.

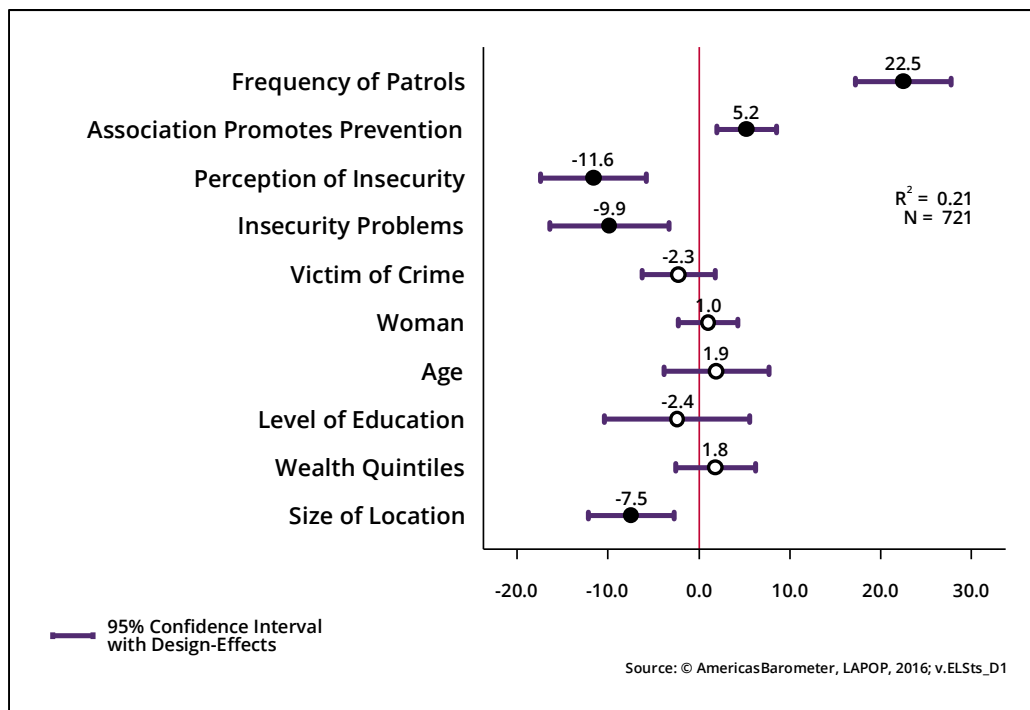


Figure 3.30. Determinants of Satisfaction with Police Performance, El Salvador 2016

²⁵ We recoded the variable "satisfaction with police performance" in order of less to more satisfaction.

²⁶ 1= Promotes; 0=Does not promote.

²⁷ An index of "security problems" was built from the aggregation of the occurrence of four criminal acts in the community: robbery, sale of illicit drugs, extortion and homicide.

²⁸ Recoded as 0 rural; .25 Small city; .5 Medium-sized city; .75 Large city; 1 AMSS.

²⁹ 1=female; 0= male. Age, level of education and wealth have been recoded 0-1 to facilitate the interpretation of results.

³⁰ See regression results from this chapter in the Appendix 3.3 of this chapter.

Figure 3.31 shows the bivariate relationship for the four statistically significant variables. Satisfaction with police performance increases as the frequency of police patrols increase, among those who live in communities where community leadership promotes prevention and where respondents' report fewer security problems, in terms of the occurrence of criminal acts. Meanwhile, police satisfaction decreases significantly when people feel less secure in their community.

These data show the importance that the incidence of crime has on Salvadorans' evaluation of police performance, which decreases from an average of 59.3 points (on a scale of 0-100) among those living in a community where crime has not occurred to an average of 41.6 points in communities where all four criminal acts have occurred. On the other hand, satisfaction with police work decreases from an average of 64.1 degrees among those who see police patrols daily, to an average of 37.2 degrees among those who never see police patrols. Thus, the higher the frequency of police patrols, the more satisfaction there is with police performance. Similarly, satisfaction with police performance goes from 63.3 degrees among those who feel very secure to 44.1 among those who feel very insecure. In addition, satisfaction with police performance decreases from an average of 59.5 degrees among those who believe that the community leadership promotes violence prevention to 53.2 degrees for those who believe that community leadership does not promote prevention.

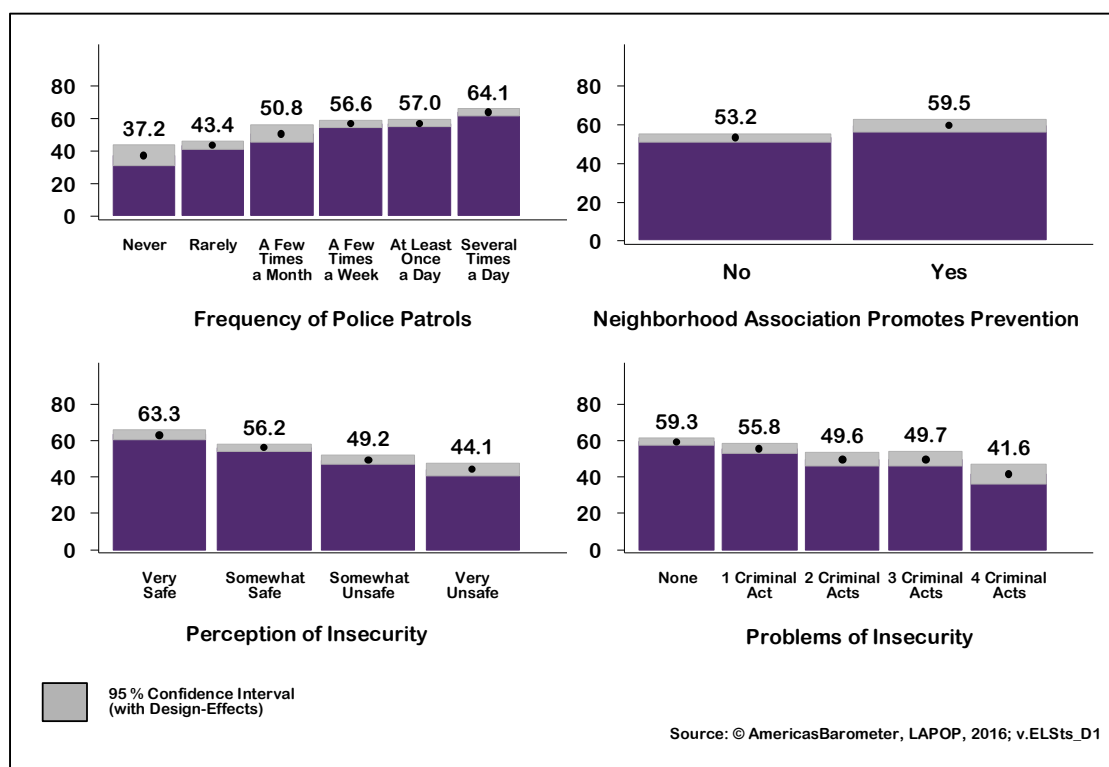


Figure 3.31. Satisfaction with Police Performance by Variable, El Salvador 2016

In the context of the problem of crime and violence in El Salvador, the relationship between the police, citizens and the community has become fundamental. The 2016/17 round of the AmericasBarometer included a battery of questions that measured respondents' perceived interactions with police in the community. The interactions with police that are explored include: conversing with neighborhood residents, attending community meetings, participating in crime prevention and engaging with young people. The questions were worded as follows:

In the last 12 months, which of the following activities have you seen the National Civic Police engage in in this neighborhood...	Yes	No
CPOL1. Speak with the residents of this neighborhood	1	2
CPOL2. Attend neighborhood meetings in this neighborhood	1	2
CPOL3. Help carry out activities of crime prevention in this neighborhood	1	2
CPOL4. Interact with children and young people in this neighborhood through recreational and educational activities	1	2

The results are reported in Figure 3.32. In 2016, 43% of respondents had seen the police help in crime prevention activities, 40.1% had seen police officers engage with young people, 38.9% said that police officers talk to community residents, and 20% said that police attend neighborhood meetings. Because the same questions were included in the 2014 round, it is possible to compare the data between the two rounds. The only statistically significant change between 2014 and 2016 is an increase in police support in prevention activities; the increases seen in the other three questions are not statistically significant. In both rounds, police interaction with the community is at the lowest level of the indicators with regard to attendance at neighborhood meetings.

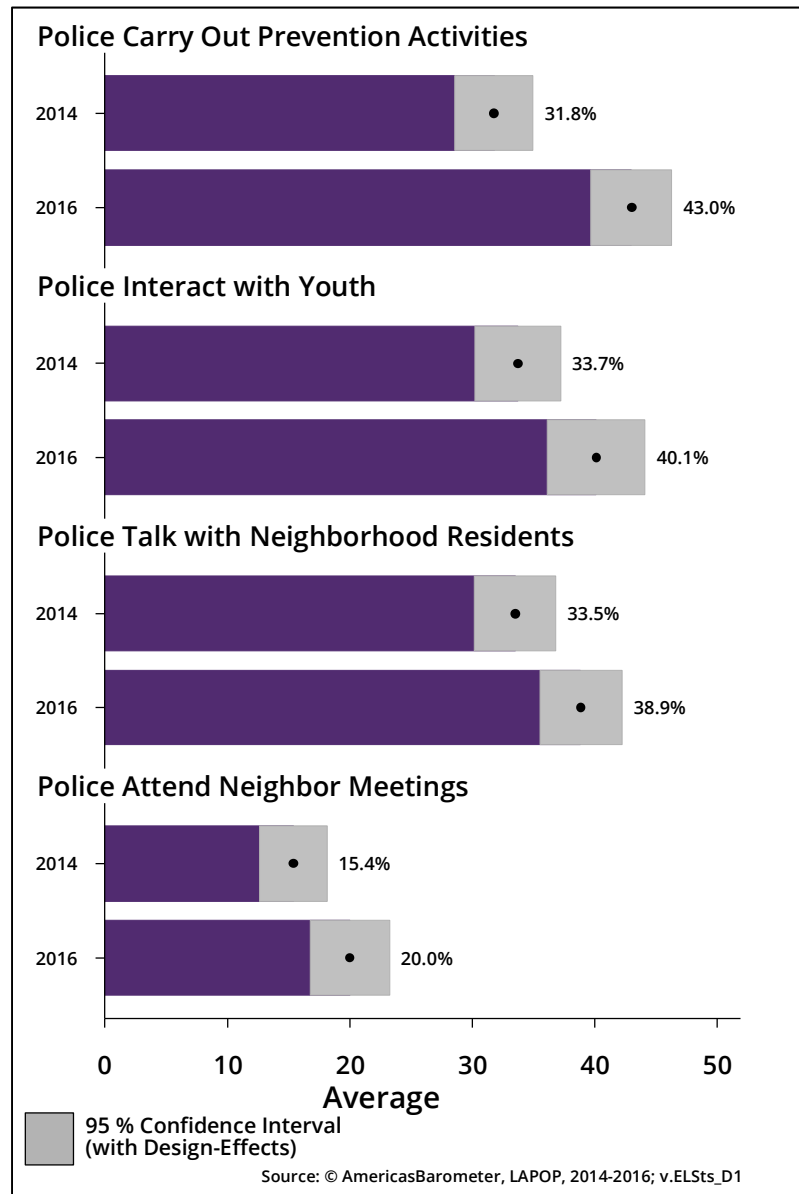


Figure 3.32. Percentage of Respondents Who Report Police Engagement with the Community, El Salvador 2014-2016

In order to deepen the analysis of the police engagement in communities, a new variable was created based on the four questions, named "police engagement with the community". This variable is scaled from 0-100, where 100 means that the population perceives the police engaging with the community in at least one of the four indicators, while 0 means that people do not perceive police engagement in any of the four indicators.³¹

What are the variables associated with the opinions regarding police engagement with citizens and the community? To answer this question, we use the new variable "police engagement with

³¹ From the index, it is estimated that 64.6% of respondents reported having seen the police participate in one of the four activities in their community (talking with neighborhood residents, attending community meetings, participating in crime prevention and engaging with young people).

the community." Nine independent variables were selected, of which four are linked to security issues: awareness of the Prevention Council, whether community leadership promotes prevention initiatives, perception of insecurity, and crime victimization, while five are demographic and socioeconomic: size of place of residence³², wealth quintiles, level of education, age and gender.³³

In the logistic regression model, seven variables were found to be statistically significant: knowledge of the prevention council, community leadership that promotes prevention, size of place of residence, perception of insecurity, crime victimization and level of education. The perception of police engagement with the community is greater among people who are aware of the existence of the Prevention Council, who believe that community leadership promotes prevention, and among inhabitants of rural areas. Those with a perception of greater insecurity, who have been victims of crime in the last 12 months and those with higher levels of schooling report reduced perceptions of police engagement with the community.

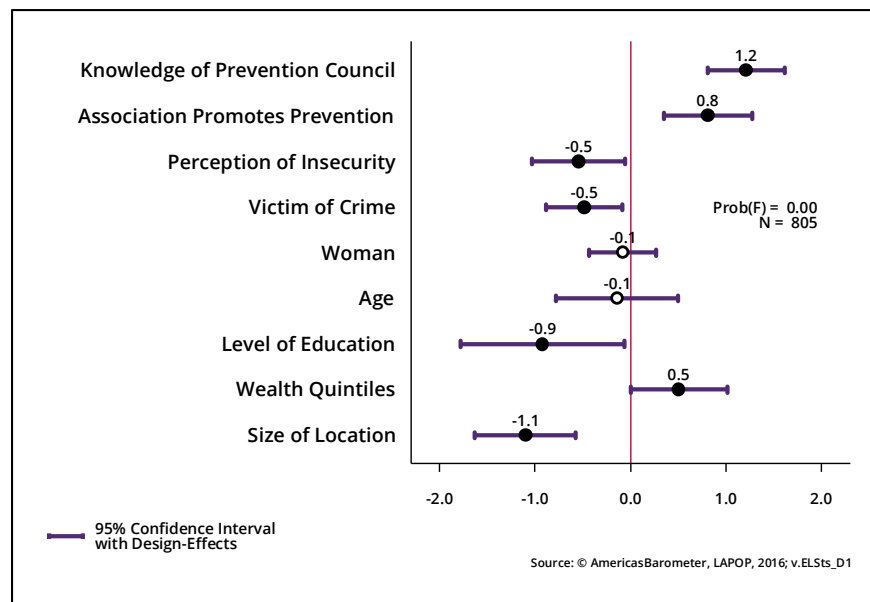


Figure 3.33. Determinants of Perceptions of Police Engagement with the Community, El Salvador 2016

Of the seven statistically significant variables, the bivariate relationships of the four variables related to security are presented in Figure 3.34. The perception of police interaction with the community is greater among those who are aware of the existence of the Prevention Council and among those who believe that community leadership promotes crime prevention. This perception decreases among those who have been victims of crime, and who report a greater perception of insecurity.

³² Recoded as 0 Rural; .25 Small city; .5 Medium-sized city; .75 Large city; 1 Metropolitan San Salvador (AMSS.)

³³ 1= female; 0=male. Age, level of education and wealth are recoded 0-1 to facilitate the interpretation of results.

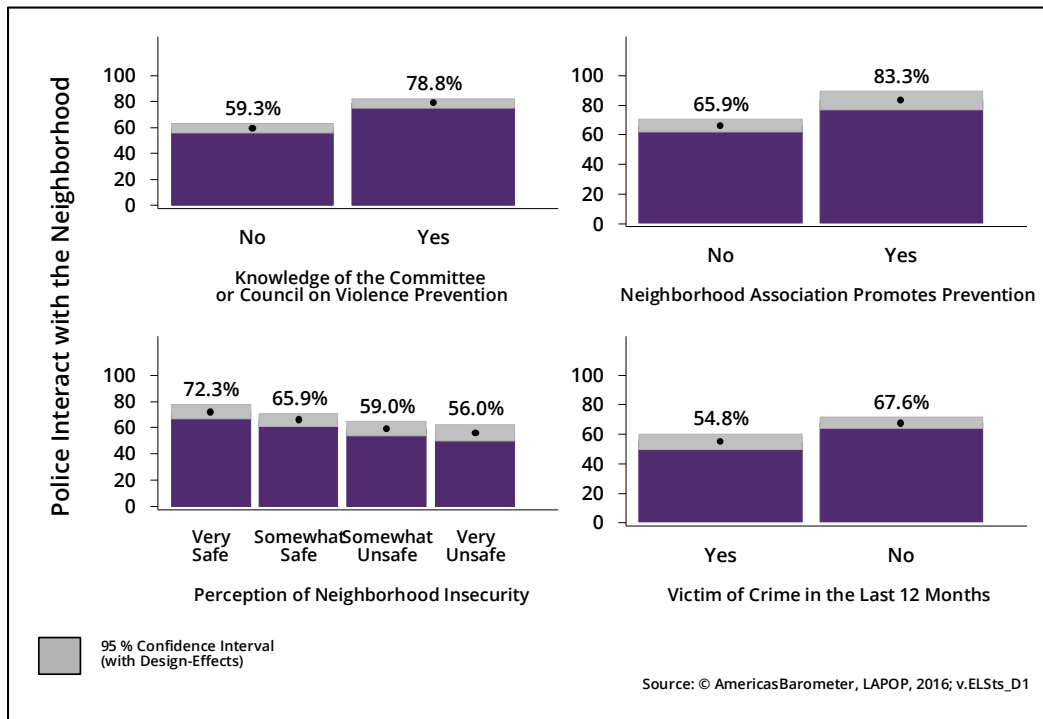


Figure 3.34. Perception of Police Engagement with the Community by Variable, El Salvador 2016 (averages)

Another question in the 2016/17 round of the AmericasBarometer explores citizens' assessment of police involvement in resolving neighborhood problems. The question was formulated as follows:

DEMP1. What would you prefer? **[Read alternatives]**

- (1) That the National Civil Police are more involved in resolving neighborhood problems
- (2) That the National Civil Police are less involved in resolving neighborhood problems
- (3) That everything remains the same.

Figure 3.35 presents the results. In general, most respondents prefer that police be more involved in resolving neighborhood problems (83.6%), compared to 2.6% who prefer less police involvement and 13.8% who prefer that everything stay the same.

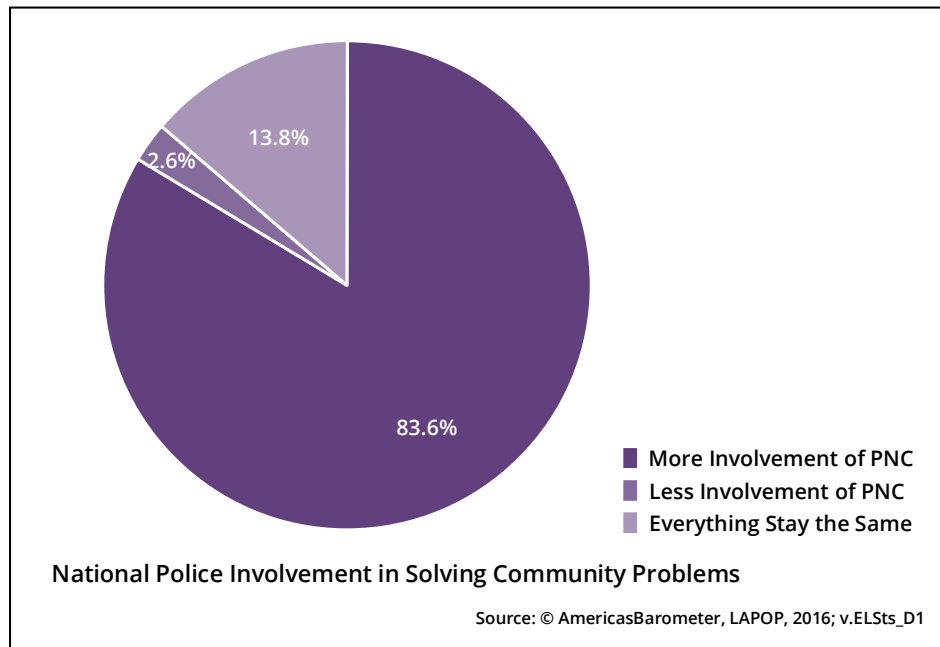


Figure 3.35. National Civil Police's Involvement in Resolving Community Problems, El Salvador 2016

In order to understand the results reported in the previous figure in relation to the opinion of police involvement in solving community problems, a cross-tabulation of the opinions regarding police involvement and a variable measuring security problems or occurrences of crime in the community was conducted. Figure 3.36 shows that people reporting higher incidence of crime in their communities are more likely to be favorable to police involvement in solving community problems (average of 97.7 for those reporting four criminal acts), in comparison to those living in communities with the lowest occurrence of crimes (average of 76.5 for those reporting no crime in the community).

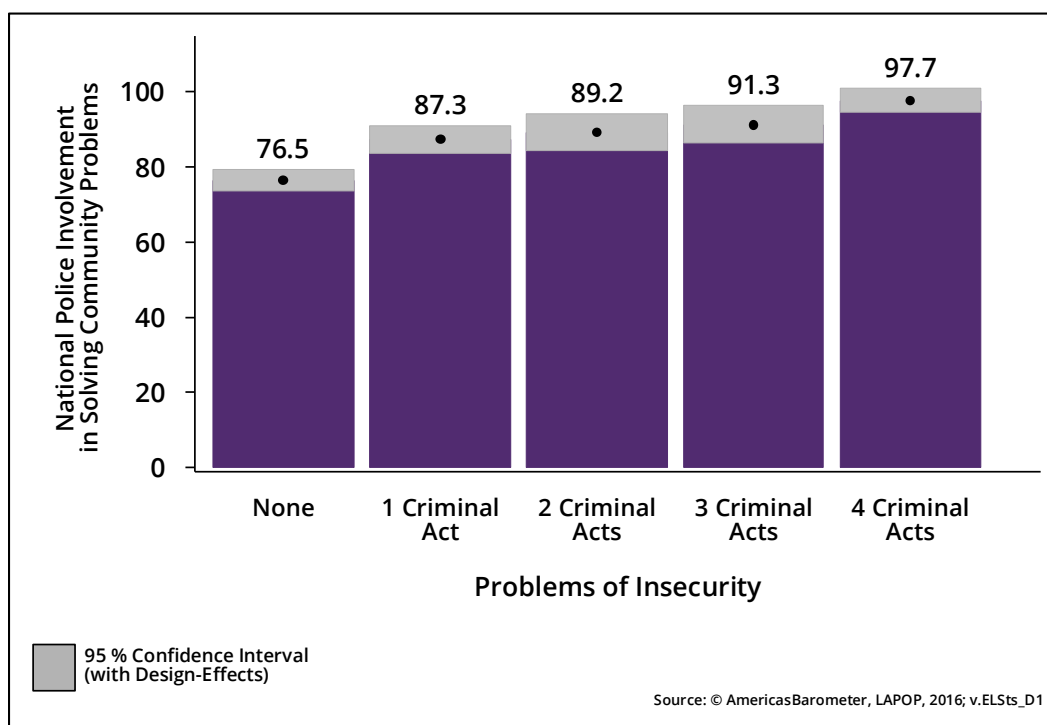


Figure 3.36. Opinion Regarding the National Civil Police's Involvement in Solving Community Problems by Occurrences of Crime, El Salvador 2016

On the other hand, Figure 3.36 reflects that, in general, citizens are in favor of more police involvement in solving community problems. However, it is important to consider the positive or negative perception of the work of the police. That is why the 2016/17 round included a question that explores whether the police protect citizens or, conversely, are involved in crime. The question was asked in the following way:

AOJ18. Some people say that the police in this community (town, village) protect people from criminals, while others say that the police are involved in the criminal activity. What do you think? **[Read options]**

- (1) Police protect people from crime or
- (2) Police are involved in crime
- (3) **[DON'T READ]** Neither, or both

Figure 3.37 shows that in 2016, 54.2% of Salvadorans think that the police protect people from crime; while 34.3% believe that, on the contrary, the police are involved in crime. 11.5% think that the police do both: they protect people from crime, but also participate in it.

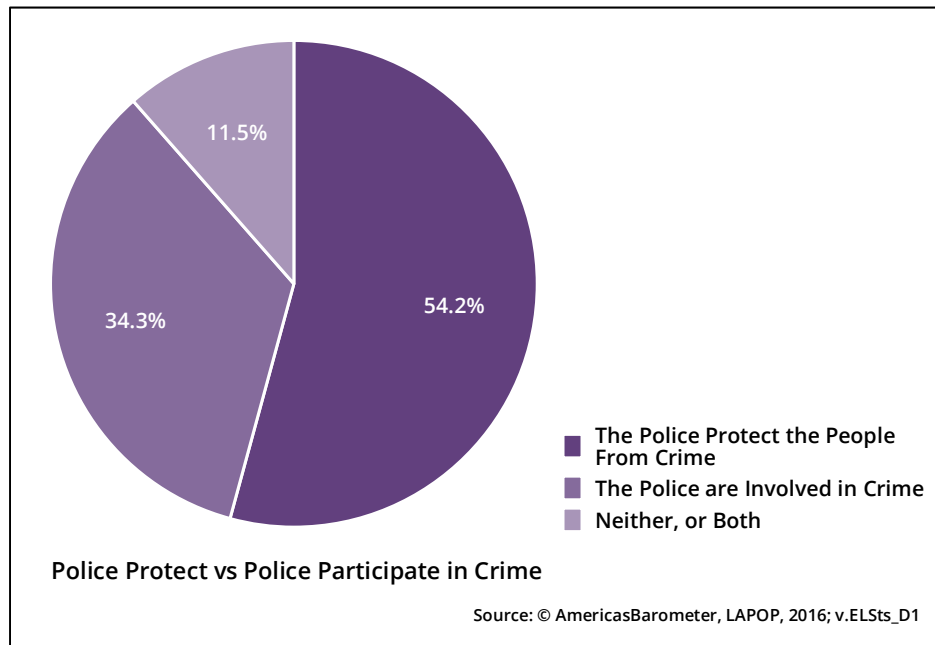


Figure 3.37. Opinion on Whether Police Protect Citizens or are Involved in Crime, El Salvador 2016

Figure 3.38 shows the percentage of people who believe that the police protect citizens between 2004 and 2016. The perception that police protect citizens against crime was highest in 2004 (60.4%) but declined in 2006 (45.1%) and further in 2008 (34.1%), reaching its lowest point in 2010 (29.6%). These opinions of the police have been recovering between 2012 and 2016. In 2012, only 33.3% reported that the police protect citizens, increasing to 40.3% in 2014 and to 54.2% in 2016. The increase between 2014 and 2016 shows an important improvement in opinions of police behavior, a change that is statistically significant.

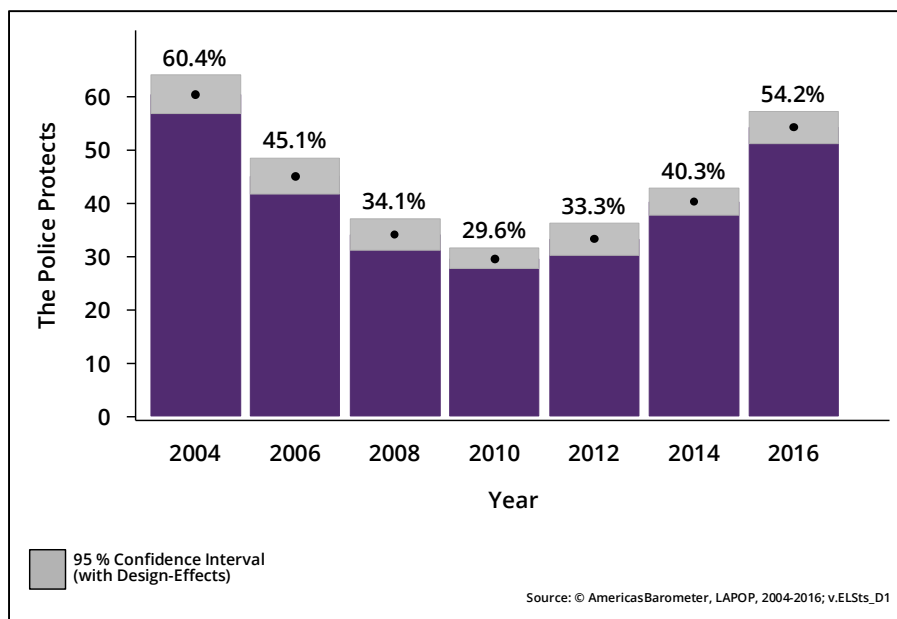


Figure 3.38. Opinions that Police Protect Citizens by Year, El Salvador 2004-2016

Assuming that respondents' opinions on whether the police protect citizens or are involved in crime may influence the level of trust that Salvadorans have in the police, Figure 3.39 shows the level of trust in the police (on a 0-100 scale) according to respondents' opinion of police behavior. Trust in the police is much greater among those who believe that the police protect people (70), a level of trust which is reduced by half in those who believe the police are involved in crime (35).

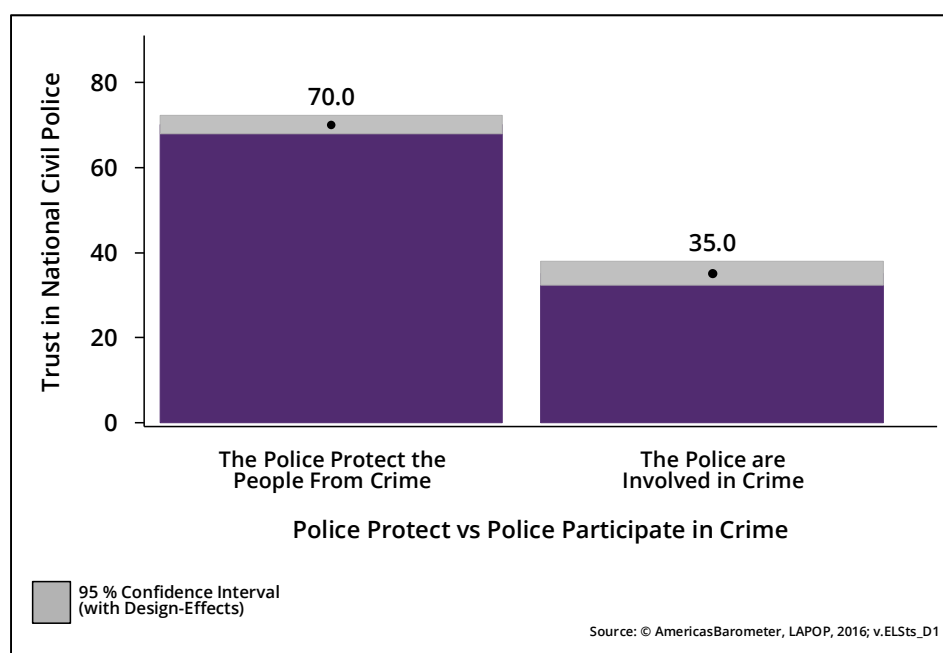


Figure 3.39. Trust in the Police by Opinion of Police Behavior, El Salvador 2016

VII. Conclusion

This chapter presents the results of the 2016/2017 AmericasBarometer related to the problems of violence, crime and insecurity at the local level. The 2016 data show that primary community security concerns include the presence of young people wandering the streets and young people in gangs, followed by drug dealing. Concern about young people in gangs is greater in urban areas, especially in large cities and the Metropolitan Area of San Salvador, is lower in medium-sized and small cities, and is even less of a concern in rural areas.

The data indicate that although levels of insecurity remain high, the majority of Salvadorans: (1) have the impression that there is less violence in their community in comparison to other communities in their municipality (71%), and (2) believe that violence in their community is less than or equal to that of the previous year (84%).

The perception of gang presence in the community (on a 0-100 scale) has remained stable (40-44 degrees) for the 2010-2016 period. However, the data presented for the 2004-2016 period show that as of 2010, there has been a significant reduction in those who perceived that there is no gang presence in their community.

Perceptions of insecurity have not followed a general pattern over last twelve years. The perception of insecurity (on a 0-100 scale) in 2016 (41.7) was lower in relation to that of 2014 (47.2), a reduction that is statistically significant. When analyzing the determinants of the perception of insecurity in 2016, it was found that those who feel less secure report having been victims of crime, report the occurrence of extortion in their communities, perceive that assaults are a serious problem in the community, report a greater gang presence in their community of residence, believe the police are involved in crime and are more likely to be women.

In recent years, various initiatives have been implemented to prevent violence and crime, by the government, civil society, and non-governmental organizations. In this chapter, particular attention has been paid to citizens' opinions about violence prevention initiatives. Salvadorans remain divided when it comes to deciding how best to deal with violence. In 2016, Salvadorans showed more support for prevention measures (67%) compared to those who support increasing punishments against offenders (33%). In addition, support for prevention initiatives increased from 2014 to 2016.

The data show that the main determinants of support for prevention measures are experience with security problems, level of schooling and being older in age. Regarding the first factor, support for prevention measures is greater in the communities with few or no occurrences of criminal acts. When inquiring about knowledge of prevention initiatives in the community, 22.3% are aware of at least one, whether by a neighborhood association or another organization, a significant increase since 2014. However, although 67% support prevention measures, only 22.3% live in communities where this type of initiative is being promoted. Only one in four Salvadorans (27.2%) have heard about Municipal Committees for the Prevention of Violence (CMPV) and almost the same percentage report having attended meetings convened by this program.

Survey data show that the relationship between the police and the community plays an important role in the perception of insecurity, but particularly in relation to violence prevention initiatives. The violence prevention initiatives appear to promote engagement among residents and police, and this engagement appears to have positive effects in reducing the perception of insecurity.

Between 2014 and 2016, public opinion of police performance has become more positive. The data reflect that the determinants of satisfaction with police performance are: frequency of patrols, whether community leadership promotes prevention, perceptions of insecurity, security problems, and size of place of residence. One of the most relevant variables for evaluating police performance is the frequency of police patrols in the community, which implies that people who observe more frequent police patrols in their neighborhood are more satisfied with police performance than the rest of the population.

Fifty-four percent of Salvadorans believe that the police protect citizens against crime, while 34.3% believe that the police are involved in crime, and 11.5% believe that the police do both. However, the opinion that the police protect citizens against crime did increase from 2014 to 2016.

In addition, an increase in citizen trust in the National Civil Police was seen from 2014 to 2016. It is also observed that trust in police is much greater among those who believe that police protect people (70), a level of trust that is reduced by half in those who believe that the police are involved in crime (35). As this information relates to opinions about the need for greater police involvement in solving community problems, it is important to emphasize that it is mediated by the perception



of police behavior. When the behavior of police officers is perceived negatively, it erodes citizen trust.

Survey data show that in 2016, 43.0% have seen police participate in crime prevention activities, 40.1% have seen police officers engage with young people, 38.9% say that police officers talk with residents in their community, and 20.0% say that police attend neighborhood and community meetings. When compared with data from 2014, the increase in police participation in prevention activities is the only statistically significant difference. The perception of police engagement with the community is higher among those who also knew of a Violence Prevention Council, believe that community leadership promotes prevention, and live in rural areas. However, perception of police engagement decreases among respondents who feel less secure, have been victims of crime in the last 12 months and have higher levels of education.

Appendix

**Appendix 3.1. Determinants Perceptions of Insecurity,
El Salvador 2016 (Figure 3.16)**

	Coefficients	(t)
Gang Presence in the Community	26.372*	9.13
Police Involved in Crime	9.561*	5.17
Assaults in the Community	0.125*	5.48
Homicides in the Community	1.622	0.72
Extortions in the Community	6.429*	2.27
Crime Victimization	9.738*	4.46
Woman	5.766*	3.51
Age	2.621	1.14
Level of Education	-7.484*	-2.11
Wealth Quintiles	-0.023	-0.04
Size of Location	0.258	0.49
Constant	17.587*	5.48
F	41.23	
Number of Observations	1208	
R-Squared	0.25	
Regression-Standardized Coefficients with t-Statistics based on Standard Errors Adjusted for the Survey Design *p<0.05		

**Appendix 3.2. Determinants of Opinions Favoring Preventive
Measures, El Salvador 2016 (Figure 3.23)**

	Coefficients	(t)
Perception of Insecurity	-0.320	-1.44
Crime Victimization	-0.142	-0.94
Insecurity Problems	-0.486*	-2.11
Woman	-0.245*	-2.01
Age	0.609*	3.3
Level of Education	01.192*	3.88
Wealth Quintiles	0.001	0.01
Size of Location	-0.151	-0.87
Constant	.237	1.14
F	3.51	
Number of Observations	1343	
Regression-Standardized Coefficients with t-Statistics based on Standard Errors Adjusted for the Survey Design *p<0.05		

**Appendix 3.3. Determinants of Satisfaction with Police Performance,
El Salvador 2016 (Figure 3.30)**

	Coefficients	(t)
Frequency of Patrols	22.479*	8.55
Association Promotes Prevention	5.241*	3.18
Perception of Insecurity	-11.578*	-3.99
Insecurity Problems	-9.870*	-3.01
Crime Victimization	-2.254	-1.13
Woman	1.014	0.62
Age	1.929	0.67
Level of Education	2.400	-0.6
Wealth Quintiles	1.811	0.82
Size of Location	-7.471*	3.16
Constant	40.152*	14.65
F	22.73	
Number of Observations	721	
R-Squared	0.21	
Regression-Standardized Coefficients with t-Statistics based on Standard Errors Adjusted for the Survey Design *p<0.05		

**Appendix 3.4. Determinants of the Perception of Police Engagement
with the Community, El Salvador 2016 (Figure 3.33)**

	Coefficients	(t)
Knowledge of Prevention Council	1.209	5.99
Association Promotes Prevention	0.810	3.53
Perception of Insecurity	-0.543	-2.23
Crime Victimization	-0.486	-2.42
Woman	-0.081	-0.46
Age	-0.140	-0.44
Level of Education	-0.919	-2.14
Wealth Quintiles	0.507	2.00
Size of Location	-1.103	4.18
Constant	1.650	4.83
F	10.52	
Number of Observations	805	
Regression-Standardized Coefficients with t-Statistics based on Standard Errors Adjusted for the Survey Design		
*p<0.05		



Chapter 4.

Economic Evaluations, Institutional Trust, Electoral Behavior and Political Parties

Ricardo Córdova Macías¹

I. Introduction

This chapter explores electoral behavior in El Salvador, focusing on contextual aspects as well as Salvadorans' assessments of parties, politics, and democracy. Following a brief overview of the main findings, the third section looks at respondents' perceptions of the state of the country, including economic performance, state of democracy, trust in institutions, and in relation to the Peace Accords. The fourth part then analyzes the determinants of voting behavior in the first round of the 2014 presidential elections. Following this, the fifth section compares the intention to vote in the 2014 presidential elections and the 2015 legislative elections. Issues related to electoral reforms will also be analyzed. The seventh section presents respondents' opinions on political parties and the eighth looks at interest in politics. The ninth section assesses Salvadorans' ideological orientations and support for electoral democracy is analyzed in the tenth. The chapter closes with conclusions about the findings.

II. Main Findings

- Salvadorans have a negative perception of their country's current economic state. The results of the 2016 survey show that 7 out of 10 Salvadorans (69.6%) believe that the country's economic situation is worse than 12 months prior to the survey. This percentage is the highest reported in the 2010-2016 period.
- The results of the 2016 survey show that a significant percentage of the population (58.9%) is dissatisfied or very dissatisfied with the way democracy works in El Salvador. In the 2016/17 round, the average level of satisfaction with democracy in El Salvador is (45.7) on a 0-100 scale, the lowest since 2010 (55.2).
- Salvadorans manifest low levels of citizen trust in institutions linked to elections and the exercise of political power. The Legislative Assembly, the President and political parties are the institutions with the lowest levels of trust.
- There are six statistically significant predictors for having voted in the first round of the 2014 presidential elections: belief that one's personal economic situation has improved, belief that the country's economic situation has improved in the last 12 months, interest in politics, identification with a political party, age and level of education.
- Identification with a political party has decreased in El Salvador. In the 2016 survey, only 1 in 4 Salvadorans (26.4%) identified with a political party. This is the lowest level of party identification reported by respondents in the entire 2006-2016 period. Similarly, citizen

¹ Thanks to Adriana Vides, Fundaungo researcher, for her collaboration.

trust in political parties experienced a statistically significant reduction, going from an average of 36.7 in 2014 to 31.3 in 2016 (on a 0-100 scale).

- Citizens' interest in politics also dropped significantly, from an average of 38.7 in 2014 (on a 0-100 scale) to 34.3 in 2016. The 2016 survey data show that 7 out of 10 Salvadorans report little or no interest in politics.
- Support for electoral democracy in El Salvador remains strong in the 2004-2016 period. The information compiled in the 2016 survey shows that approximately 7 out of 10 Salvadorans (73%) express a preference for an electoral democracy; although there has been a worrying increase, from 6% in 2004 to 27% in 2016, in the percentage of respondents who favor a strong leader who does not have to be elected.

III. Assessment of the State of the Country

The 2016/17 round of the AmericasBarometer included several questions that are useful for measuring how Salvadorans assessed the state of their country by the end of 2016. The following questions explore respondents' perceptions about the national economic situation and their own personal financial situation:

SOCT2. 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

IDIO2. 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

Figure 4.1 shows Salvadorans' assessment of their country's economic situation in the 12 months prior to the survey. Nearly 7 out of 10 (69.6%) consider that their country's economic situation is worse, 25.9% report that it is the same, and only 4.6% believe that it has improved in the 12 months prior to the survey.

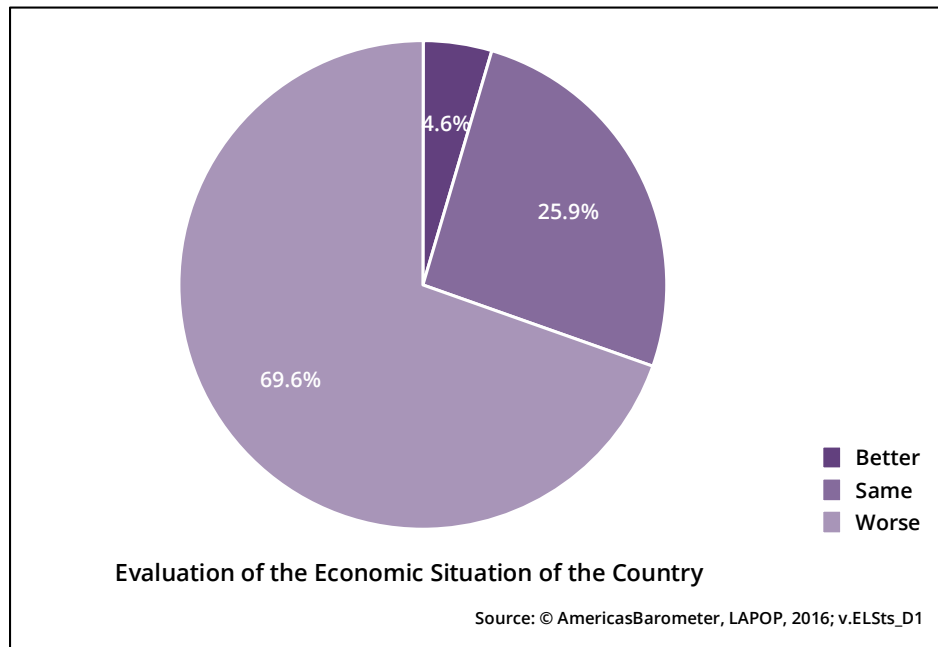


Figure 4.1. Assessment of the Country's Economic Situation, El Salvador 2016

This question has been used in the previous six AmericasBarometer surveys in El Salvador, allowing the comparison of the results from 2006–2016, as presented in Figure 4.2. To simplify the comparison, the figure shows the percentage of Salvadorans who reported the belief that the economy has worsened. After an improvement in the country's perceived economic situation in 2010, when the percentage of Salvadorans reporting a worsening economy declined from 72.1% (2008) to 47.3% (2010), perceptions of the country's economic situation remained relatively stable until 2014. In 2016, negative perceptions of the national economic situation again increased, from 45.4% (2014) to 69.6% (2016). The results show an important and statistically significant increase in Salvadorans who believe that the economy of their country is worse in 2016, reaching levels not seen since 2006–2008.

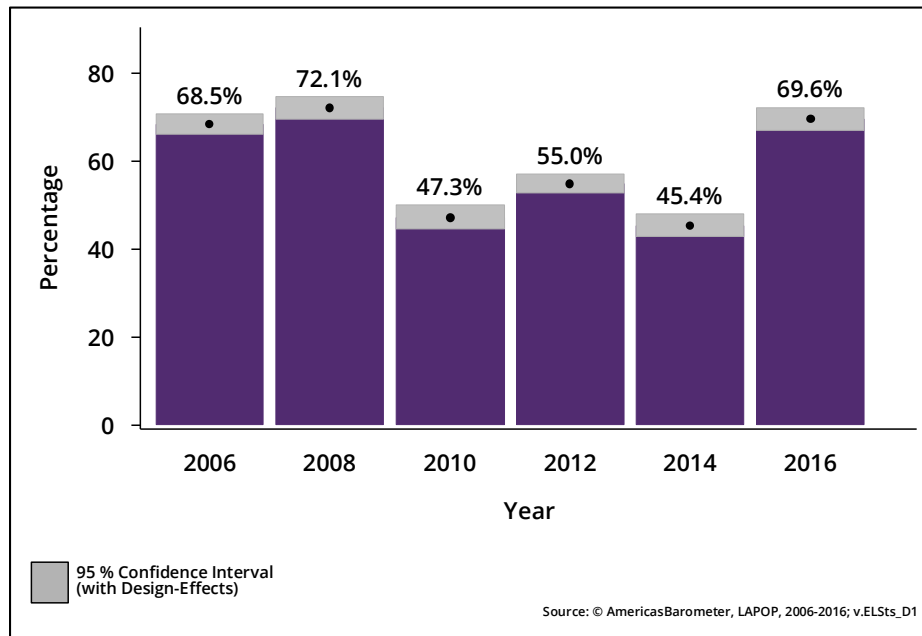


Figure 4.2. Percentage of Respondents Who Believe the National Economy is worse than in the Twelve Months Prior to the Survey, by Year, El Salvador 2006-2016

Figure 4.3 presents the results of Salvadorans' perceptions of their personal economic situation in the 12 months prior to the survey. While 69.6% believe that the country's economic situation has worsened, only 45.7% report that their personal economic situation has worsened. Only 12% report that their economic situation has improved, while 42.4% believe that it has stayed the same. Salvadorans' perceptions of their personal economic situations in 2016 are thus less pessimistic than those of the national economy.

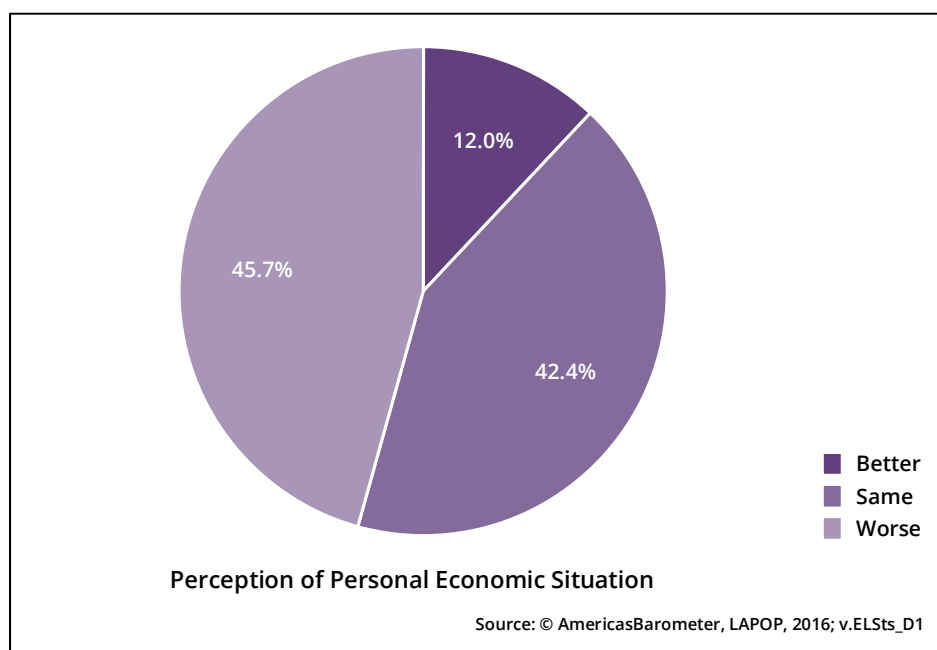


Figure 4.3. Perceptions of Respondents' Personal Economic Situations, El Salvador 2016

As this question has been used on AmericasBarometer surveys over the last ten years, Figure 4.4 displays the results of this question from 2006-2016. To simplify the comparison, the figure shows the percentage of Salvadorans who report that their personal economic situation has worsened. Similar to the trend observed in perceptions of the national economic situation, there was an improvement in the perception of personal economic situations in 2010, when the percentage of Salvadorans who reported a worsened economic situation declined from 54% (2008) to 38.8% (2010). These assessments remained relatively stable until 2014. However, in 2016, the data show an important and statistically significant increase in those who believe that their personal economic situation has worsened, from 37.4% (2014) to 45.7 % (2016).

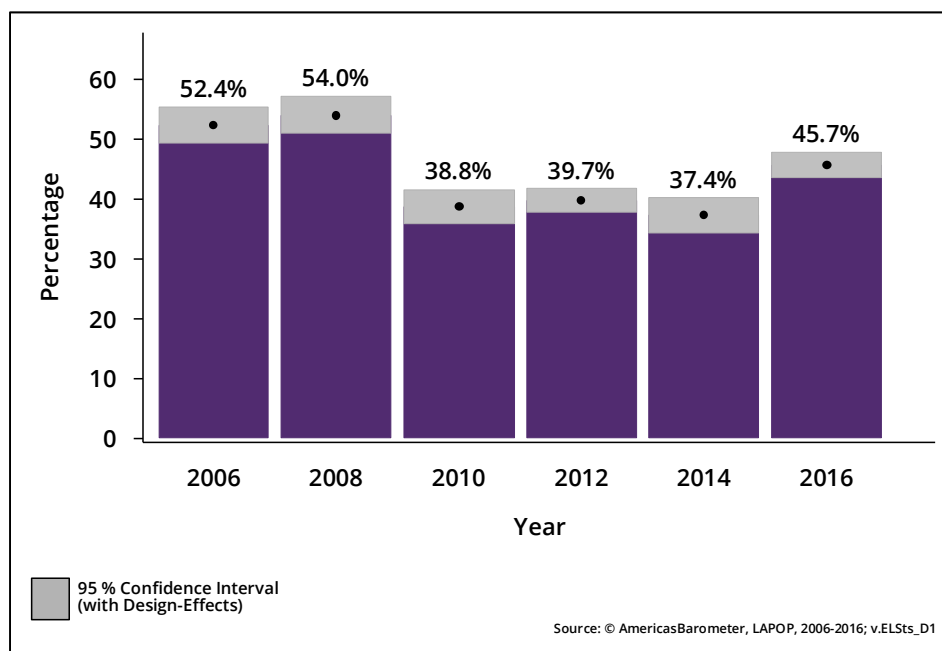


Figure 4.4. Percentage of Respondents Who Believe their Personal Economic Situation has worsened, by Year, El Salvador 2006-2016

The increase in negative perceptions about El Salvador's national and respondents' personal economic situations is interesting to note, especially as El Salvador's economy has experienced modest growth (1.8%) in recent years. Figure 4.5 shows the evolution of the economic growth rate over the last decade².

² Measured as the relative percentage change in gross domestic product (GDP) of one year compared to the previous year.

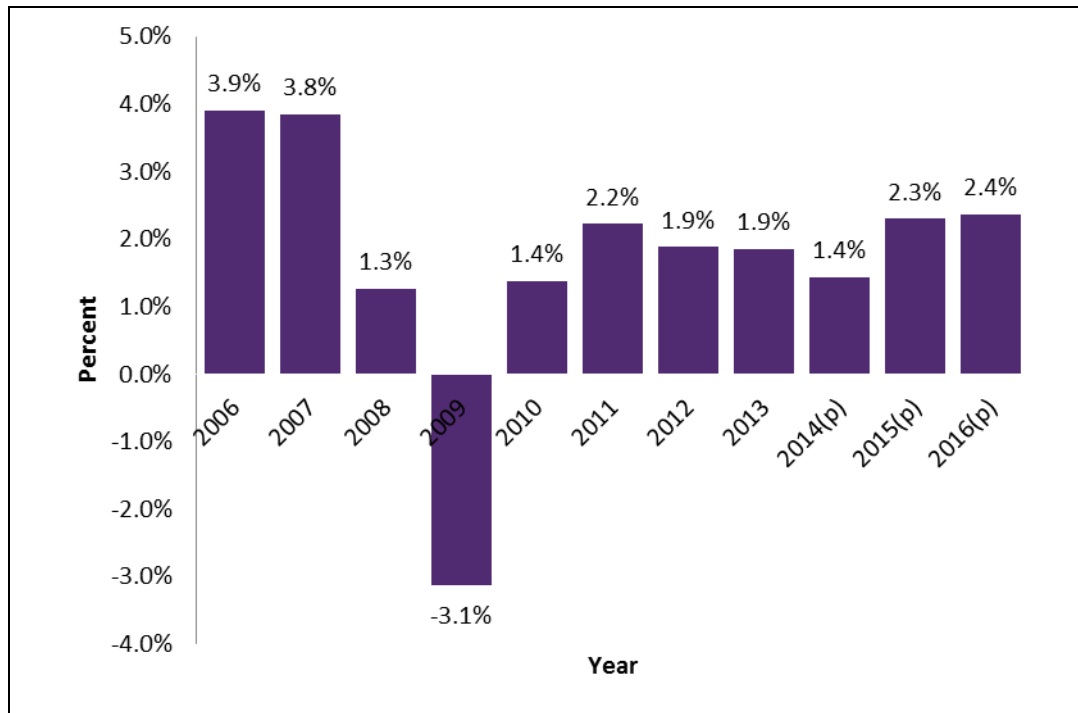


Figure 4.5. Rate of Economic Growth, El Salvador 2006-2016

Source: Author's calculations based on figures from the Central Reserve Bank

To measure citizen assessments of El Salvador's political context, the following question was asked as a way to explore respondents' satisfaction with the way democracy functions in the country. The specific wording is as follows:

PN4. In general, would you say that you are very satisfied, satisfied, **dissatisfied** or very **dissatisfied** with the way democracy works in El Salvador?

(1) Very Satisfied (2) Satisfied (3) **Dissatisfied** (4) Very **dissatisfied**

Figure 4.6 shows the results of responses to the above question. At the end of 2016, 7.1% report being very satisfied, 34% report being satisfied, 47.7% report being dissatisfied and 11.2% report being very dissatisfied with the functioning of democracy in El Salvador.

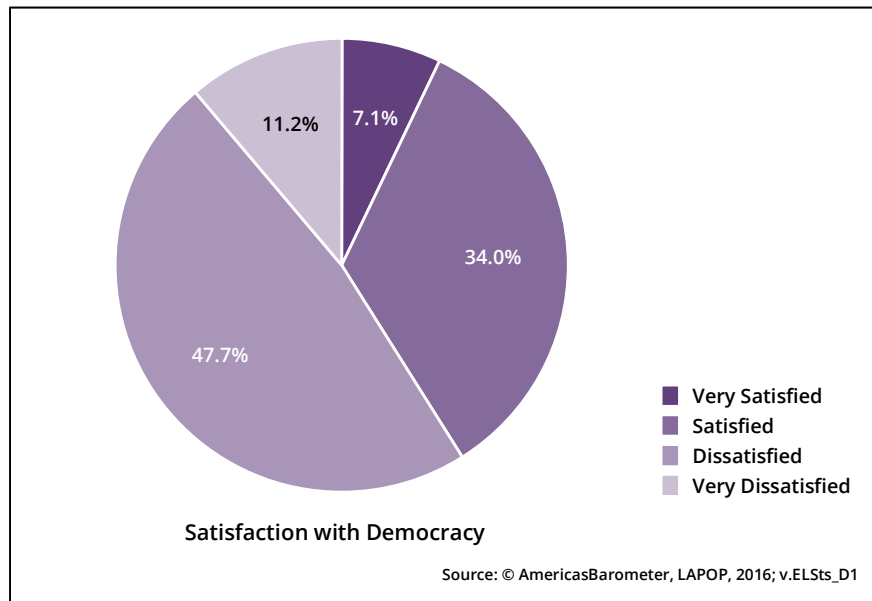


Figure 4.6. Satisfaction with Democracy, El Salvador 2016

Another way to present the evolution of Salvadorans' levels of satisfaction with democracy is to present the total percentage of those who identify as being satisfied or very satisfied with democracy from 2004 to 2016. The results of Figure 4.7 show that satisfaction with democracy decreased from 61.4% in 2004 to 46.6% in 2006, and again decreased slightly in 2008 to 42.8%, followed by a significant increase to 64.3% in 2010, decreasing to 55.8% in 2012, increasing again to 59.4% in 2014 and finally decreasing to 41.1% in 2016. The decrease between 2014 and 2016 is statistically significant and represents the lowest level of satisfaction with democracy held by Salvadorans during the 2010-2016 period.

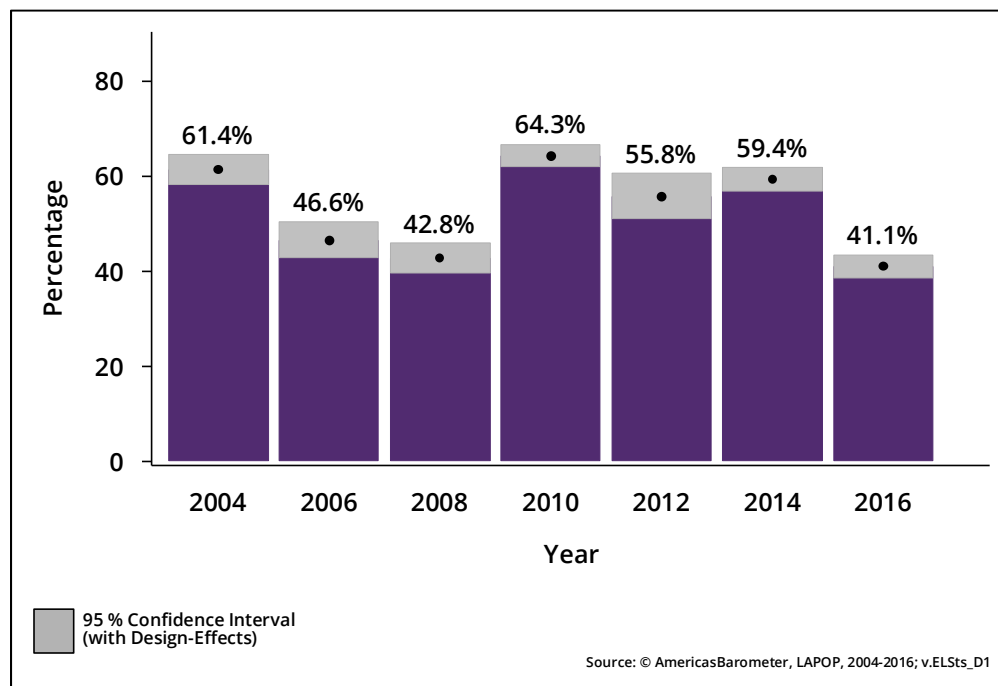


Figure 4.7. Percentage of Respondents Satisfied with how Democracy Functions in El Salvador, El Salvador 2004-2016

Another approach to assessing the country's political state is by measuring the trust that Salvadorans have in their democratic institutions. A battery of questions was included in the 2016/17 AmericasBarometer survey to measure trust in a set of public institutions. The questions were asked as follows:

B11. To what extent do you trust the Supreme Electoral Tribunal?
B12. To what extent do you trust the Armed Forces?
B13. To what extent do you trust the National Congress?
B18. To what extent do you trust the National Police?
B20. To what extent do you trust the Catholic Church?
B21. To what extent do you trust the political parties?
B21A. To what extent do you trust the President?
B32. To what extent do you trust the local or municipal government?
B37. To what extent do you trust the mass media?
B47A. To what extent do you trust elections in this country?
ESB48. To what extent do you trust the Institute for Access to Public Information?
B50. To what extent do you trust the Constitutional Chamber?
ESB68. To what extent do you trust The Government Ethics Tribunal?

To facilitate comprehension of the results, responses were recoded in a 0-100 format, where 100 represents the highest degree of confidence in the institution in question. Figure 4.8 shows the results for 2016. First, it should be noted that the Catholic Church is included among the institutions, although it is not a component of the democratic political system. This was done as a way to facilitate comparison among the different political institutions, using the Catholic Church--which enjoys high levels of trust by part of the population in Latin America--as a point of reference.

The group of institutions with the highest levels of trust in 2016 are the Armed Forces (66.2) and the Catholic Church (61.2). A second group includes the municipality (57.2), the media (57.1), the National Civil Police (55.4), the Supreme Electoral Tribunal (51.3) and the Institute for Access to Public Information (50.7). The Government Ethics Tribunal (47.2), the Constitutional Chamber (47), elections (46.8) and the Legislative Assembly (43.9) form a third group. The fourth group includes the President (36.8) and political parties (31.3), the latter of which are associated with the lowest levels of institutional trust. The lowest levels of citizen trust are among institutions related to elections and the exercise of political power.

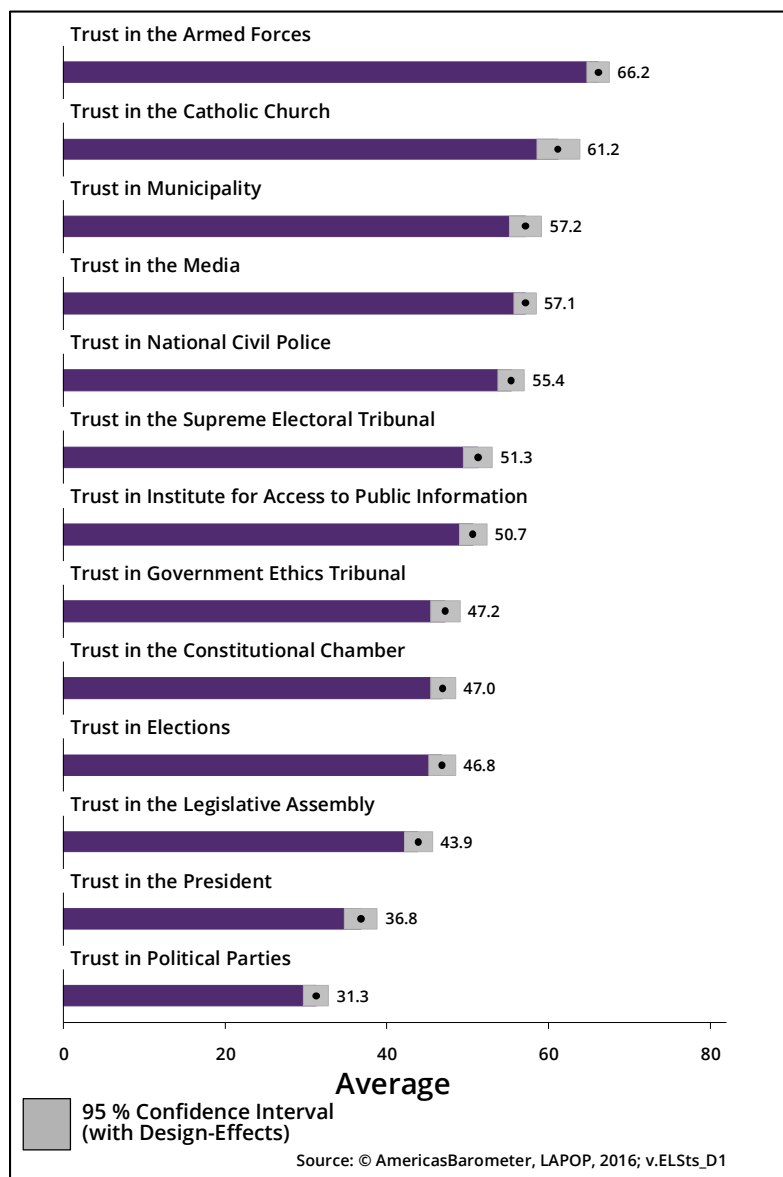


Figure 4.8. Trust in Institutions, El Salvador, 2016

The AmericasBarometer included a battery of questions to measure opinions on the Peace Agreements signed in January 1992, which ended the armed conflict.³ The following questions were asked:

PAZ1. ¿Do you think that the Peace Accords have been very good, good, bad, or very bad for the country?			
(1) Very good	(2) Good	(3) Bad	(4) Very bad
PAZ4. How much do you think that the political situation in the country has improved after signing the Peace Accords? [Read options]			
(1) A lot	(2) Somewhat	(3) A little	(4) Not at all

³ For an overview of the peace process in El Salvador, see Cordova, Loya and Ramos (2009).

PAZ5. How much do you think that the economic situation in the country has improved after signing the Peace Accords? **[Read options]**

(1) A lot (2) Somewhat (3) A little (4) Not at all

Because these questions were also included in the 2004, 2008, 2012⁴ and 2016 rounds, it is possible to compare how opinions about the Peace Accords have evolved over time. Twenty-four years after the signing of the Peace Accords, at the end of 2016, 11% of the respondents believe it was very good for the country, 64% believe it was good for the country, 18% believe it was bad and 7% believe it was very bad for the country. In comparing the 2016 data with other rounds, more respondents in 2016 had a negative opinion regarding the Peace Accords than in previous years (see Figure 4.9).

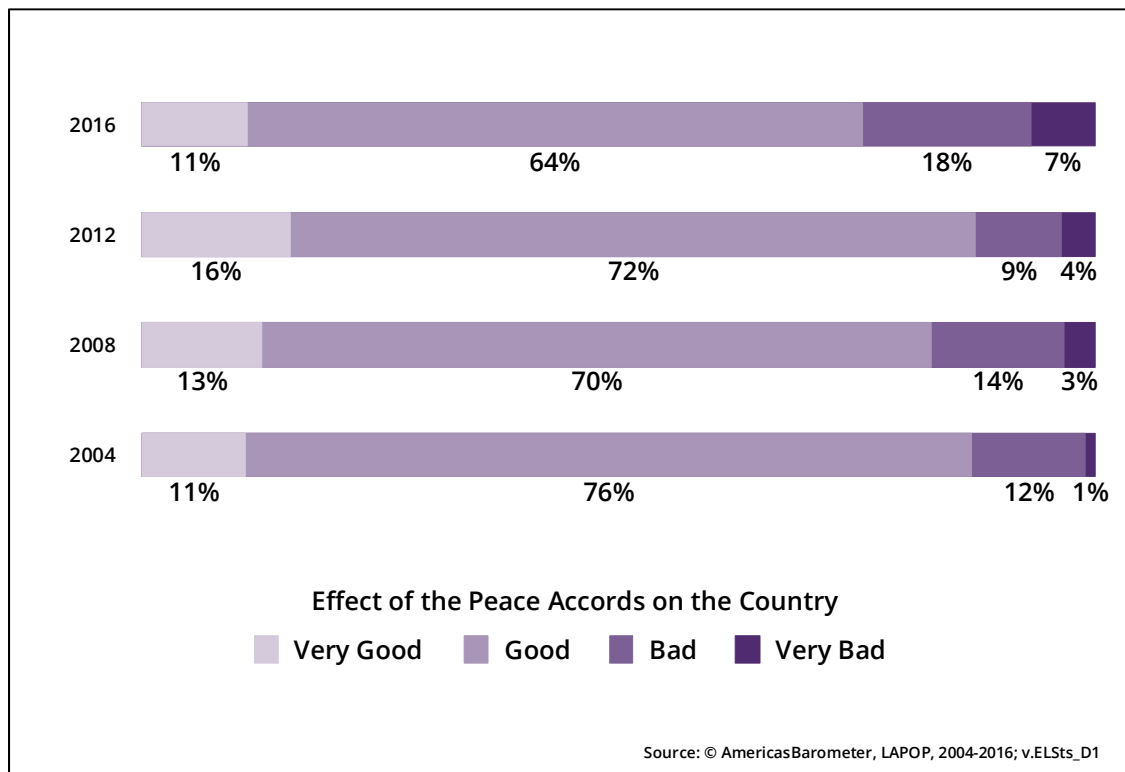


Figure 4.9. Opinions on the Peace Accords, El Salvador 2004-2016

Figure 4.10 presents Salvadorans' perceptions of whether the country's political situation has improved after the signing of the Peace Accords⁵. At the end of 2016, 15% consider that the political situation has improved a lot, 31% that it has improved somewhat, 34% believe it has improved a little and 20% believe that it has not improved at all. When comparing the 2016 data with previous rounds of the AmericasBarometer, more respondents had less favorable opinions regarding the improvement of the country's political situation after the signing of the Peace Accords than in previous years.

⁴ Decimal points were not used in the configuration of the bar graphs, thus the sum for the 2012 bar is 101%.

⁵ Decimal points were not used in the configuration of the bar graphs, thus the sum for the 2012 bar is 101%, while the bar for 2004 only sums to 99%.

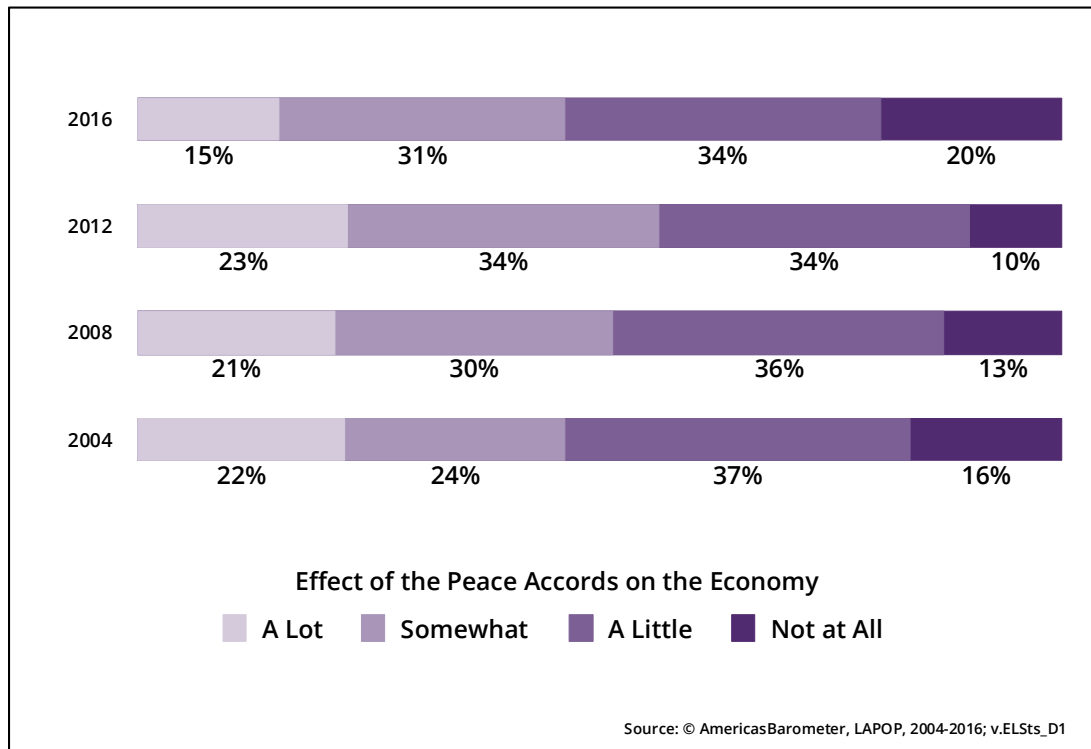


Figure 4.10. Perception of the Country's Political Situation after the Signing of the Peace Accords, El Salvador 2004-2016

Figure 4.11 presents Salvadorans' evaluations of whether the country's economic situation has improved since the signing of the Peace Accords.⁶ At the end of 2016, 8% believed that the economic situation has improved a lot, 23% believed it has somewhat improved, 38% feel it has improved a little and 31% feel that it has not improved at all. When comparing the data for 2016 with previous rounds, there is a less favorable assessment of whether the country's economic situation has improved after the signing of the Peace Accords. In addition, perceptions of improvement in the country's political situation following the signing of the Peace Accords is more favorable than that of El Salvador's economic situation.

⁶ Decimal points were not used in the configuration of the bar graphs, thus the 2008 bar only sums to 99%.

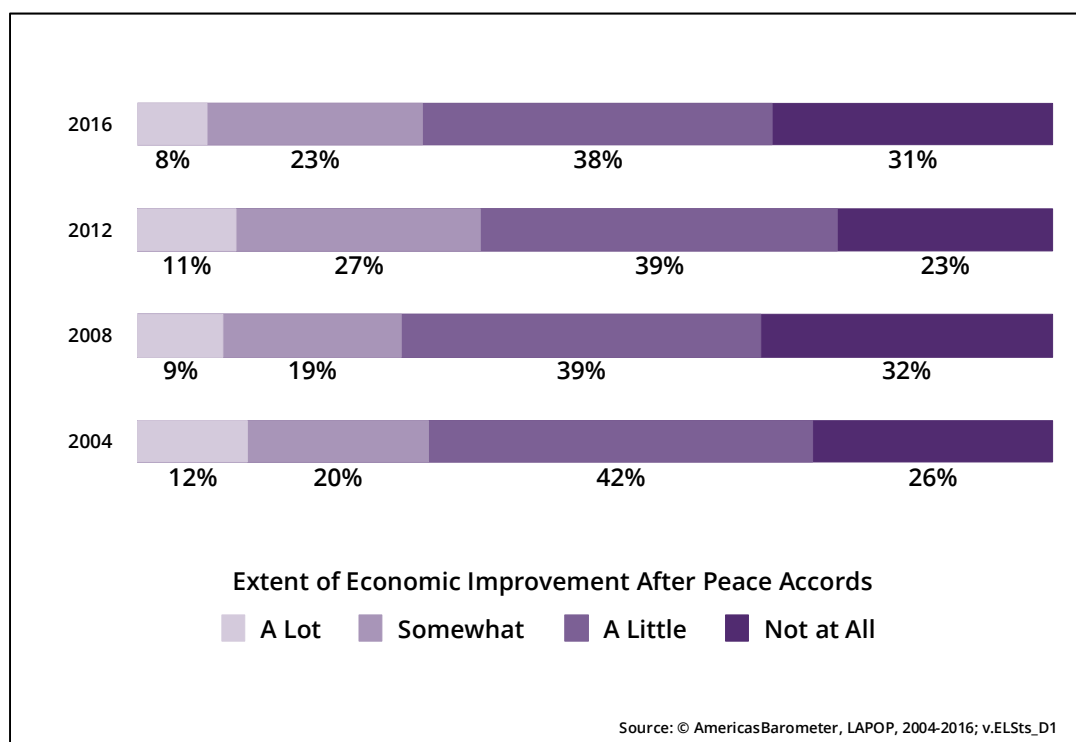


Figure 4.11. Assessment of the Country's Economic Situation Following the Signing of the Peace Accords, El Salvador 2004-2016

IV. Determinants of Voting Behavior

The 2009 presidential elections resulted in a change in president and party, with a small margin of victory going to Farabundo Martí of the National Liberation Front (FMLN) party with 51.3% of the valid votes against 48.7% of valid votes for the candidate of the Nationalist Republican Alliance (ARENA) (Córdova, Loya and Nevitte, 2009).

On February 2, 2014, the next presidential election was held, with five candidates competing for the Presidency of the Republic and obtaining following results: Salvador Sánchez Cerén, FMLN, 48.9%; Norman Quijano, ARENA party, 38.9%; Elías Antonio Saca, the coalition UNIDAD⁷, 11.4%; René Rodríguez Hurtado, Salvadoran Progressives Party (PSP), 0.4%; and Óscar Lemus, Salvadoran Patriotic Fraternity (FPS), 0.3%.

Due to the fact that none of the candidates obtained the majority required by the legislation, the Supreme Electoral Tribunal (TSE) convened a second round on March 9, 2014. In the second round, the FMLN obtained 50.1% and ARENA 49.9%, with the leftist candidate winning by a narrow margin: 0.2%.

⁷ Consisting of the GANA, PCN, and PDC parties.



The electoral participation rate⁸ in the 2009 presidential elections was 62.4%, which fell to 54.3% in the first round of 2014, contrary to what had taken place in recent elections with a second round (1984 and 1994). Electoral participation again increased in the second round of the presidential election held in March 2014, reaching 60.3%.

In relation to presidential elections, the party system was dominated by the two main parties (FMLN and ARENA). However, the first round of the 2014 elections included a third, the UNIDAD coalition, which was able to capture 11.4% of the votes. El Salvador's party system is very competitive, with the last two presidential elections being defined by narrow margins of victory: 2.6% in 2009 and 0.2% in 2014. In the polarized elections of 2009 and in 2014's second round, the electorate was divided almost in half.

The following pages analyze electoral behavior in the 2014 presidential elections. According to the results of the 2016/2017 round of the AmericasBarometer, 71.7% of respondents state they had voted in the first round of the presidential elections, a higher rate than the population that actually cast ballots (54.3%). In several studies on electoral behavior, it has been found that there is a tendency for respondents to overreport their intention to vote after an election (Seligson, Smith and Zechmeister 2012, 79; Carreras and Castañeda-Angarita 2012, 10; Córdova, Cruz and Seligson 2007, 149).

Figure 4.12 presents the results of a logistic regression analysis with predictors of having voted in the first round of the 2014 presidential elections.⁹ There are six statistically significant predictors: belief that one's personal economic situation and belief that the country's economic situation is better has improved in the last 12 months, interest in politics, support for a political party, age and level of education.¹⁰

⁸ Calculated using the total number of valid votes cast and the number of people registered on the electoral registry.

⁹ See regression results in the Appendix 4.1 of this chapter.

¹⁰ For the regression, 1 = female, 0 = male. Age, level of education and wealth are recoded 0-1 to facilitate the interpretation of results. Regarding effectiveness of the vote, the variable is coded 1 for respondents who reported that the vote can change things, and 0 for respondents who reported that it does not matter how one votes.

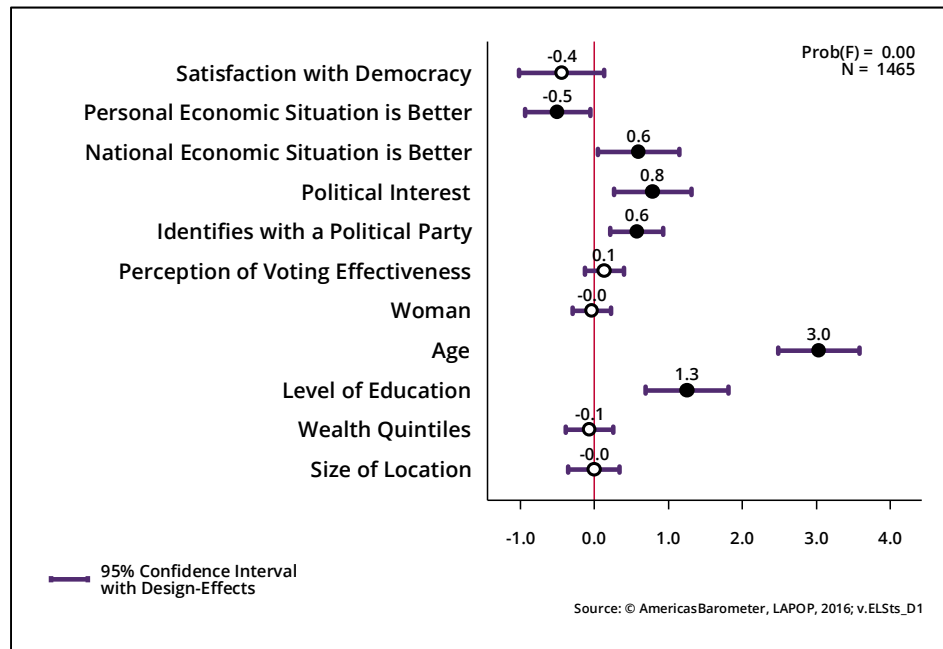


Figure 4.12. Predictors of Electoral Participation in the First Round of the 2014 Presidential Election, El Salvador 2016

Figure 4.13 displays four of these relationships at the bivariate level. Those who support a political party report having voted more frequently than those who do not support a political party. Likewise, those who show greater interest in politics also report higher turnout rates. On the other hand, the first-round vote rate was higher for those with post-secondary education than for those with a secondary education, primary education, or no formal education. Finally, the 18-25 age group reports the lowest turnout rate, a rate that increases until 56-65 years of age and then decreases for those 66 years of age and older. Although the graph does not include the following in the bivariate analysis, those who feel their personal economic situation has improved reported lower turnout rates, while those who believe that the country's economic situation has improved turned out at higher rates.

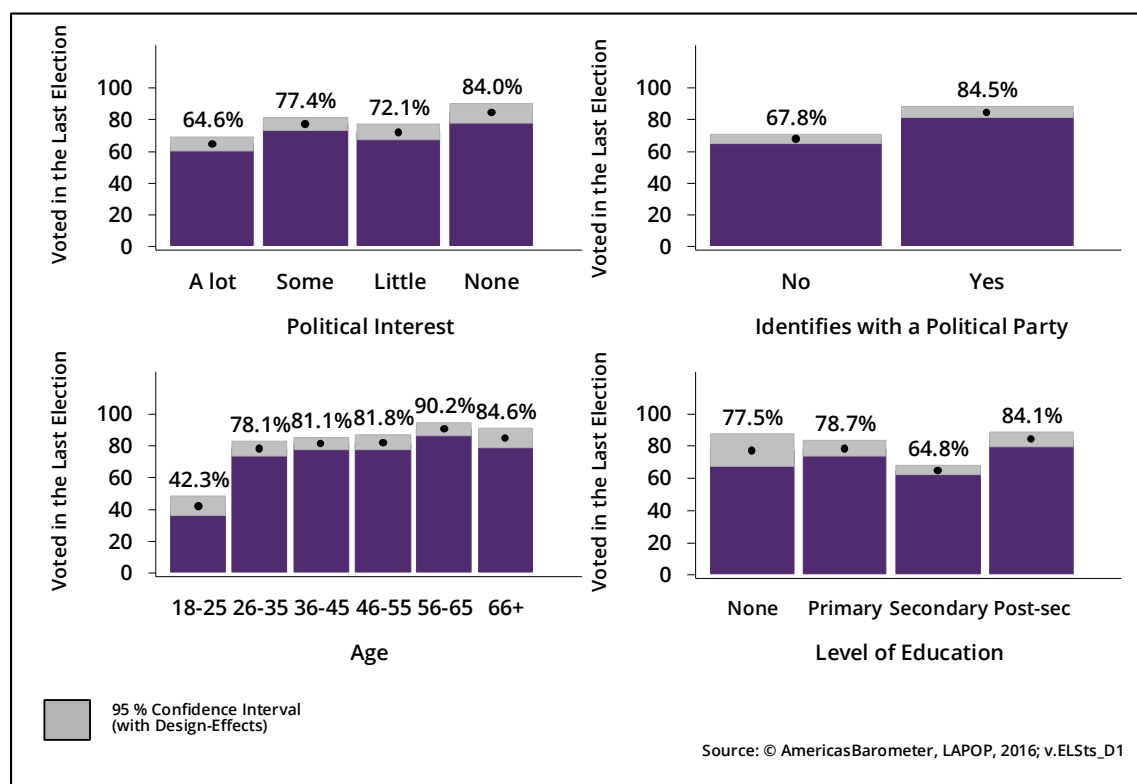


Figure 4.13. Predictors of Participation in the First Round of the 2014 Presidential Elections, El Salvador 2016

V. Comparison of Voting Behavior in the 2014 Presidential and 2015 Legislative Elections.

Based on data from the 2016/17 round of the AmericasBarometer, it is possible to analyze reported voting behavior in the first and second rounds of the 2014 presidential elections. That is, the data permit the analysis of voter consistency for the same party in both rounds of 2014 elections (see Table 4.1¹¹). Of those who voted for the ARENA candidate in the first round, 95.3% reported voting for the same party in the second round; while 95% of those who voted for the FMLN candidate in the first round also voted for FMLN in the second round. That is, the two main political parties maintained a very high percentage of their voters in both rounds of the elections. While among those who voted for the UNIDAD coalition in the first round, 71.4% voted for ARENA, 14.3% for the FMLN and 14.3% left the ballot blank in the second round. However, these last numbers should be considered with caution due to the limited number of respondents who reported voting for UNIDAD.

¹¹ N=634.

Table 4.1. Reported Vote in the First and Second Rounds of the 2014 Presidential Election, El Salvador 2016 (percentage)

First Round – Presidential	Second Round – Presidential				
	Left the ballot blank	Norman Quijano (ARENA)	Salvador Sánchez Cerén, FMLN	Other	Total
Left the ballot blank	100.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	100.0
No one (Invalidated the ballot)	100.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	100.0
Norman Quijano, ARENA	0.9	95.3	3.3	0.5	100.0
Salvador Sánchez Cerén, FMLN	0.3	4.3	95.0	0.5	100.0
Antonio Saca, UNIDAD	0.0	71.4	14.3	14.3	100.0
Other	0.0	40.0	20.0	40.0	100.0
Total	1.4	36.6	60.9	1.1	100.0

Source: AmericasBarometer by LAPOP, 2016; v.ELSts_D1

The data from the 2016/17 survey also allows for analysis of the distribution of votes reported for the 2014 presidential and 2015 legislative elections. That is, the consistency of the vote for one party in the last two elections, even though one was presidential and the other legislative, can be analyzed. Of those who voted for the ARENA party in the 2015 legislative elections, 78.6% report they voted for the same party in the first round of the 2014 presidential elections; while of those who voted for FMLN in the 2015 legislative elections, 96.3% report they voted for the same party in the first round of 2014 presidential elections (see Table 4.2).

Table 4.2. Reported Vote in the March 2015 Legislative Elections and the 2014 Presidential Elections (percentage)

2015 Legislative Elections	First Round of 2014 Presidential Elections						
	Left the ballot blank	None (Nullified the vote)	Norman Quijano, ARENA	Salvador Sánchez Cerén, FMLN	Antonio Saca, UNIDAD	Other	Total
ARENA	0.4	0.0	78.6	18.3	2.0	0.8	100.0
FMLN	0.0	0.0	2.7	96.3	0.3	0.7	100.0
PCN/CN	3.1	3.1	40.6	43.8	6.3	3.1	100.0
PDC/Party of Hope (Partido de Esperanza)	0.0	0.0	16.7	66.7	16.7	0.0	100.0
CD	0.0	0.0	33.3	66.7	0.0	0.0	100.0
GAN	0.0	0.0	40.0	44.4	13.3	2.2	100.0
Non-party candidates	0.0	0.0	0.0	66.7	33.3	0.0	100.0
Null or blank vote	30.0	20.0	30.0	20.0	0.0	0.0	100.0
Did not vote	0.0	5.2	20.8	67.5	5.2	1.3	100.0
Other	7.1	0.0	35.7	50.0	7.1	0.0	100.0

Source: AmericasBarometer by LAPOP, 2016; v.ELSts_D1



VI. Assessment of Electoral Reforms

In El Salvador's 2016/17 AmericasBarometer survey, three questions were included to measure Salvadorans' opinion on issues relating to electoral reform. The questions were formulated as follows:

<p>REFEL4. With which of the two statements do you agree more: [Read options]</p> <p>(1) The Supreme Electoral Tribunal should not be represented by political parties.</p> <p>(2) The Supreme Electoral Tribunal should only be nominated by political parties.</p> <p>(3) Neither option</p>
<p>EREF6. How much do you approve or disapprove that legislative elections continue to allow you to directly vote for candidates on the ballot above their name and photograph? [Read options]</p> <p>(1) Approve a lot</p> <p>(2) Somewhat approve</p> <p>(3) Somewhat disapprove</p> <p>(4) Disapprove a lot</p>
<p>EREF6A. How much do you approve or disapprove that legislative elections continue to allow you to directly vote for alternate legislative candidates on the ballot above their name and photograph? [Read options]</p> <p>(1) Approve a lot</p> <p>(2) Somewhat approve</p> <p>(3) Somewhat disapprove</p> <p>(4) Disapprove a lot</p>

The first question concerns the debate on who should appoint judges to the Supreme Electoral Tribunal (TSE). Respondents' opinions on the topic appear to be divided. Figure 4.14 shows that 18.6% believe that the judges should not be appointed to the TSE by representatives of political parties, while 19.4% believe that the judges should only be appointed by political parties. However, the most revealing outcome of this question is that 62% of respondents do not support either option. Because of the wording of the question, it is not possible to know what these respondents' preferences might be regarding how judges are to be elected to the TSE.

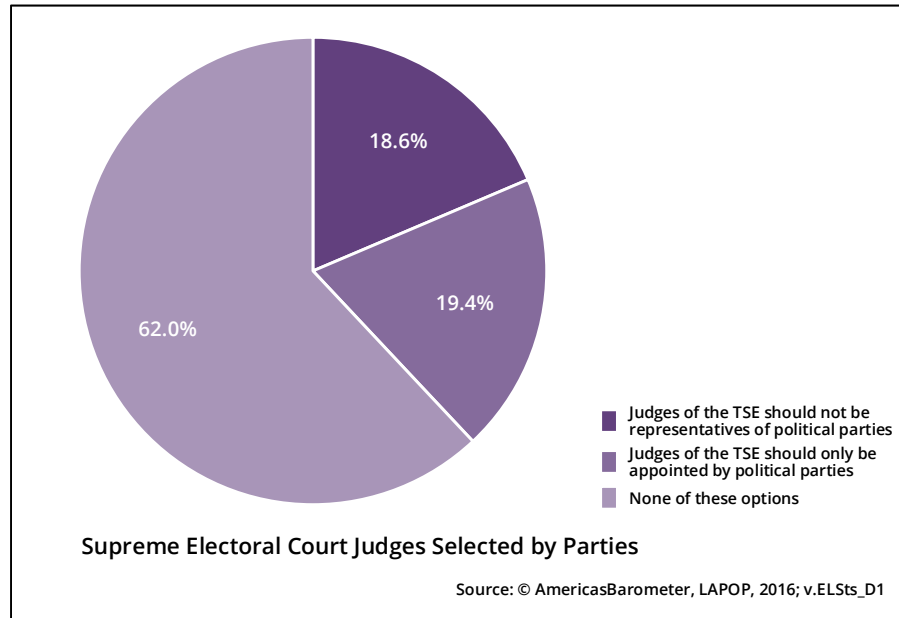


Figure 4.14. Who Should Nominate Judges to the Supreme Electoral Tribunal, El Salvador 2016

Starting in 2012, a ruling by the Constitutional Chamber enabled citizens to vote for individual candidates in legislative elections, whose names and photographs are included on the ballot, instead of only being able to vote by party. Figure 4.15 shows that 39.8% strongly approve and 31.9% somewhat approve of voting directly for the name and photograph of the candidate on the ballot. At the same time, 12.2% somewhat disapproved of this procedure for the appointment of TSE judges, and 16.2% greatly disapproved. These data reflect Salvadorans' majority support (7 out of 10) for voting directly by candidate name and photograph on the ballot.

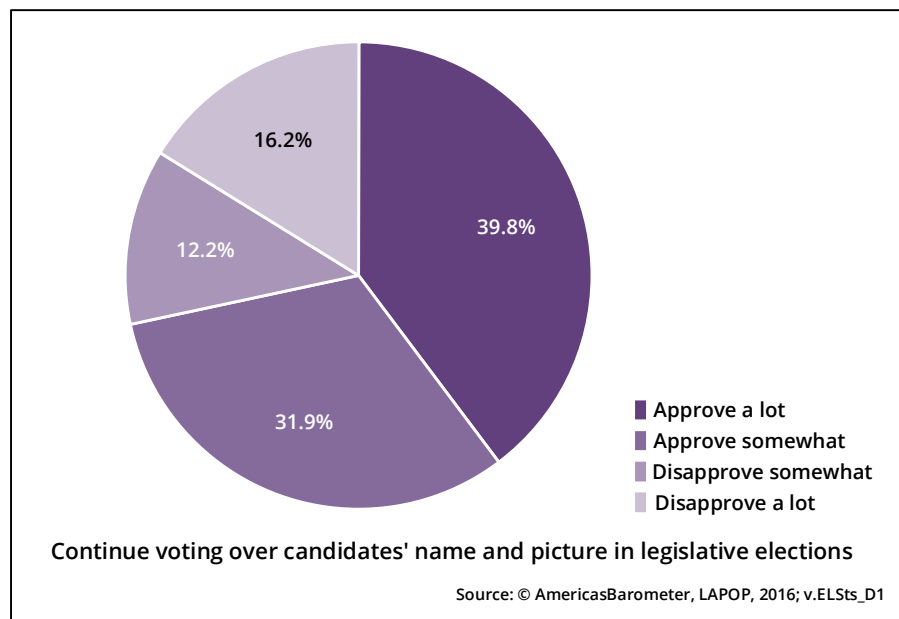


Figure 4.15. Opinion about Voting for Legislative Assembly Candidates Directly by Candidates' Names and Photographs, El Salvador 2016

In line with the previous question, and although no one votes directly for the alternate legislators, this third question explores the levels of citizen approval of being allowed to vote directly, by candidate name and photo on the ballot, for alternate legislators. Figure 4.16 shows that 38.5% strongly approve and 33% somewhat approve of this proposal; while 12.5% somewhat disapprove, and 16% strongly disapprove. These data reflect majority support by Salvadorans (7 out of 10) for citizens to be able to vote directly by name and photograph for the alternate legislative candidates.

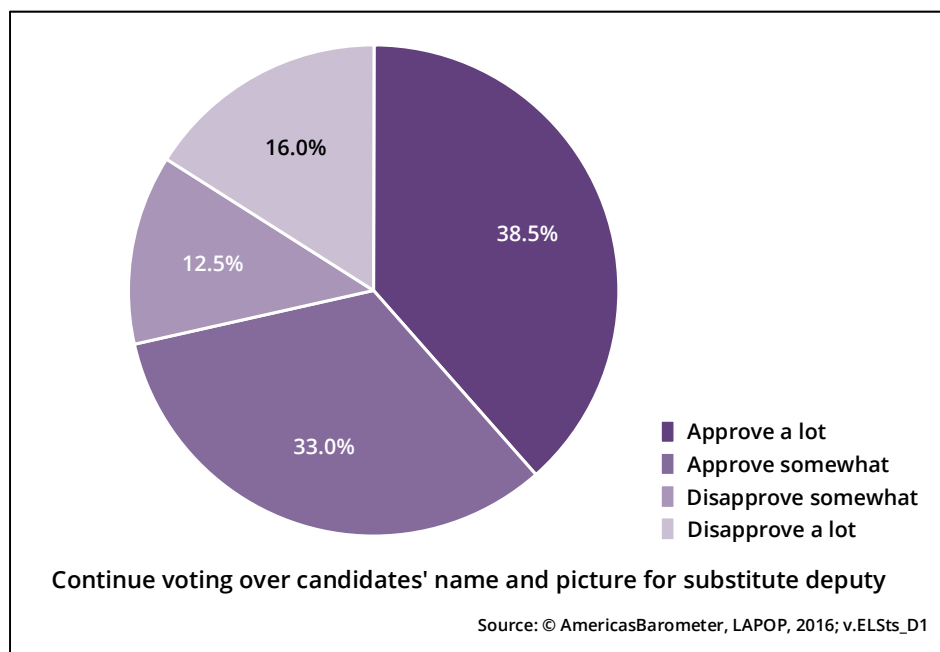


Figure 4.16. Ability to Vote Directly, by Candidate Name and Photograph, for the Alternate Legislators in the Legislative Assembly, El Salvador 2016

VII. Assessment of Political Parties

In the 2016/17 round of the AmericasBarometer, three questions were included to investigate citizens' perceptions of political parties. The first explores whether citizens identify with a political party. It asked:

VB10. Do you currently identify with a political party?	(1) Yes	(2) No
--	---------	--------

Looking back on the past 10 years, there was an increase in the percentage of Salvadorans who supported a political party between 2006 and 2008. However, this percentage declined between 2010 and 2012, later recovering in 2014. Support for a political party then experienced its largest decline between 2014 (44.7%) and 2016 (26.4%), when the percentage of Salvadorans who identified with a party reached its lowest level in 10 years. According to latest measurements, only 26.4% of Salvadorans support a political party (see Figure 4.17), signifying the lowest level of support for a political party since 2006.

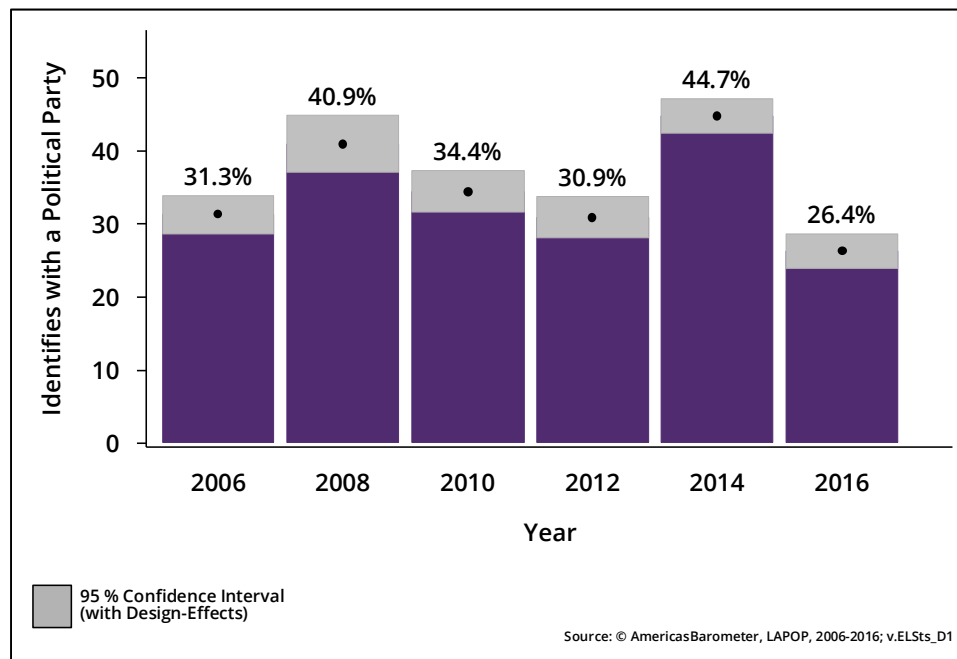


Figure 4.17. Identification with a Political Party, El Salvador 2006-2016

A second dimension explored in the survey is with which party Salvadorans identify. Of those who expressed support for a political party, 50% support the FMLN, 41.7% support ARENA, 4% GANA, 2.9% PCN/CN, 0.5% support PDC/Partido de Esperanza and 0.8% expressed support for other parties. The level of support is stronger for those identifying with FMLN, followed by ARENA; however, data regarding support for other parties should be taken with caution due to the small number of respondents represented.

Finally, this section reports the results on Salvadorans' confidence in political parties, a measure that has been included in the AmericasBarometer since 2004:

B21. To what extent do you trust the political parties?

To simplify the analysis, the answers to this question were recoded on a scale from 0 to 100, where 100 indicates the highest level of trust. According to Figure 4.18, the average level of trust in political parties in El Salvador remained relatively stable between 2004 and 2014, (averaging between 34.4 and 39.9 points). However, in 2016, trust in the parties fell to its lowest level (31.3) in the last 10 years. The decrease in 2016, compared with 2014, is statistically significant. Political parties, as a key institution of the political system, maintained low levels of institutional trust during the 2004-2014 period (Córdova 2012, 204). This trend has continued in 2016. One hypothesis that can be put forward is that during the years in which presidential elections are held (2004, 2009 and 2014), the electoral process contributes to a moderate increase in citizens' levels of trust in political parties.

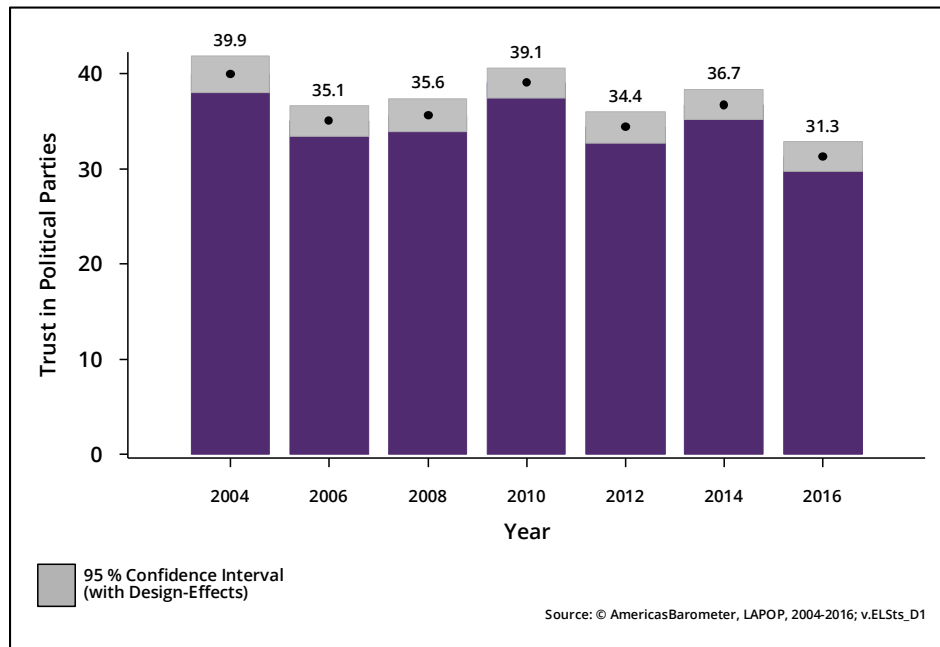


Figure 4.18. Trust in Political Parties, El Salvador 2004-2016

VIII. Interest in Politics

Since 2004, the AmericasBarometer has measured interest in politics using the following question:

POL1. How much interest do you have in politics: a lot, some, little or none?

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

The results reveal that, in the 2016 survey, most Salvadorans are not interested in politics: 70.7% say they have little or no interest in politics, and only 29.3% report being somewhat or very interested (Figure 4.19).

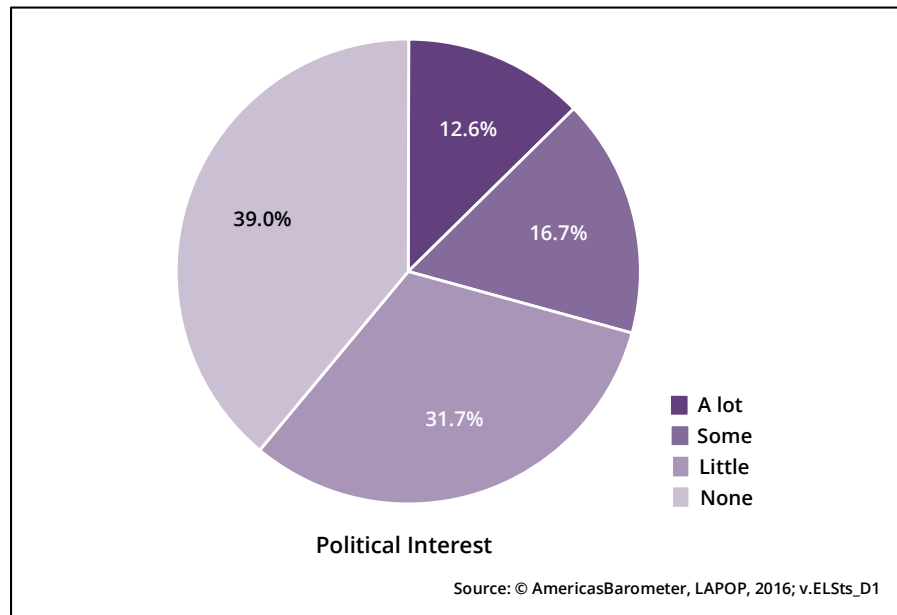


Figure 4.19. Interest in Politics, El Salvador 2016

In order to compare respondents' level of interest in politics in 2016 with that of previous years, answers to the question were recoded on a scale of 0 to 100, ranging from not at all interested (0) to very interested (100). The results displayed in Figure 4.20 show an increase in interest in politics between 2006 (34) and 2008 (38), while reflecting no change from 2008 to 2010 (38). Interest in politics decreased in 2012 (33.6), increased in 2014 (38.7), and then decreased again in 2016 (34.3). These data show that in recent years, the majority of Salvadorans have not been particularly interested in political affairs, with interest in politics experiencing a statistically significant decline from 2014 to 2016.

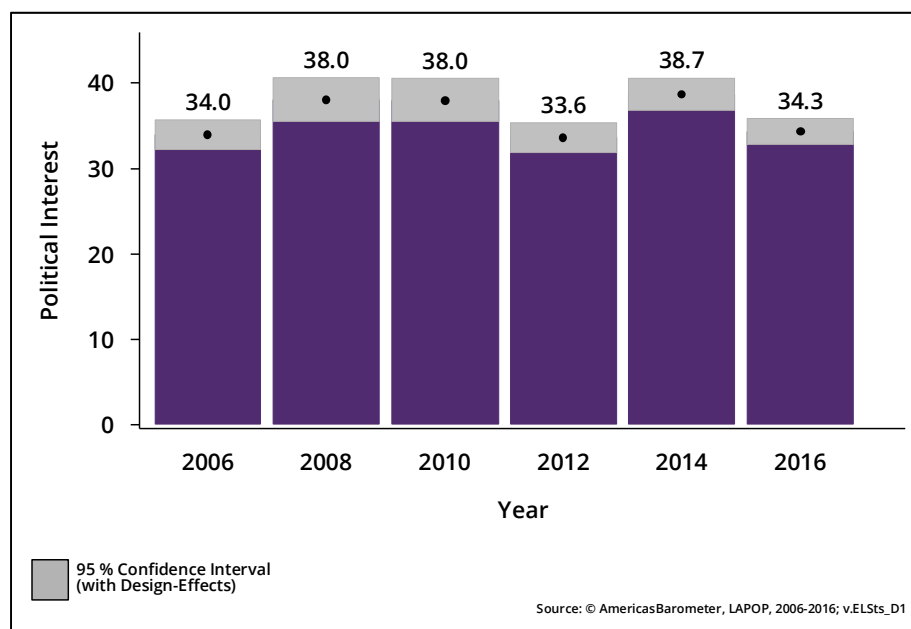


Figure 4.20. Interest in Politics, El Salvador, 2006-2016

IX. Ideological Orientation

This section analyzes the ideological orientations of Salvadorans, based on respondents' self-placement on the left-right scale, representing the ideological spectrum. The AmericasBarometer includes the following question about ideology:

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
Left									Right

Figure 4.21 shows the distribution of Salvadorans according to their position on the ideological scale in 2016. 27.5% of Salvadorans are positioned on the left of the ideological scale (between points 1 and 4); 38.6% are located in the center (points 5 and 6); and 33.9% are located on the right (between points 7 and 10). When comparing these data to that of 2014 (Córdova, Cruz and Zechmeister 2015, 207), there is a decrease of 5.8 percentage points in respondents identifying on the left, an increase of 1.9 points in the center, and an increase of 4 points on the right.

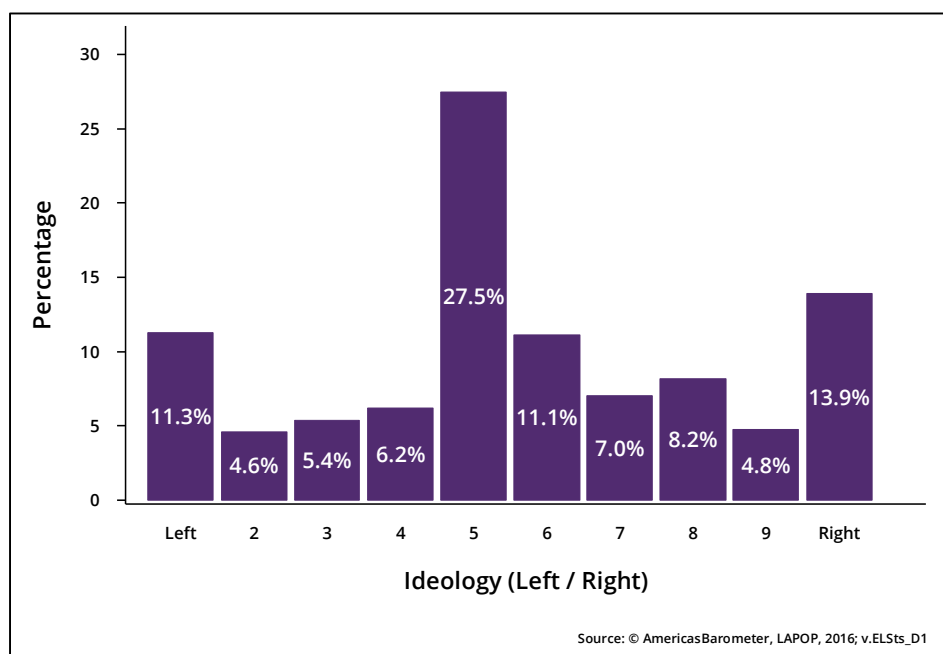


Figure 4.21. Ideological Orientation of Salvadorans, 2016

How does the average ideological orientation of Salvadorans in 2016 compare with that of previous years? The answer is shown in Figure 4.22, where it can be seen that Salvadorans initially moved from a predominantly right-wing orientation (6.9 in 2004) toward the center (5.7 in 2006, 5.3 in 2008 and 5.2 in 2010), reaching their most centrist point in 2010. This change in 2010 may be due to a majority preference for a left party candidate in 2009, which led to a change in leader and

party in the Presidency of the Republic. Three years after the change, movement to the right (6.0) is observed in 2012. In 2014, within the framework of the last presidential elections, there is a return to a more centrist point (5.2); while the 2016 data again demonstrates movement to the right (5.6).

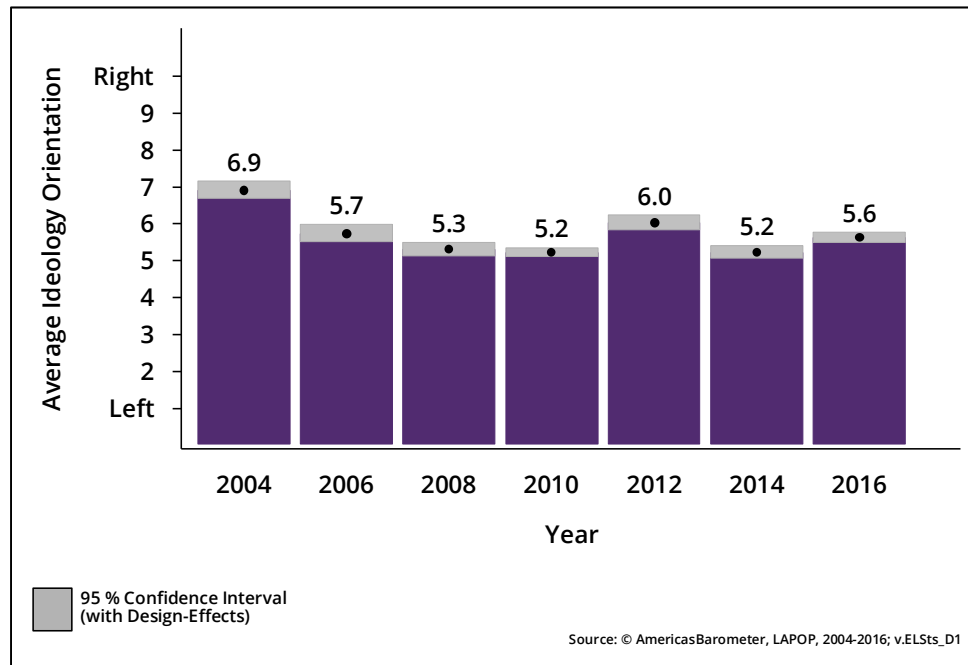


Figure 4.22. Salvadorans' Average Ideological Orientation, 2004- 2016

Another relevant question is how do these ideological orientations relate to electoral preferences in the 2014 presidential elections?¹² According to data from the AmericasBarometer, the relationship is very clear. Figure 4.23 uses a vertical line to display Salvadorans' average ideological orientation in 2016 (5.6) and the average ideological orientation of both majority parties. FMLN voters, in the second round of 2014, are found on the left of the political spectrum (4.4) in 2016, while voters of the ARENA party are found to the right on the scale (7.0). When comparing these results with the 2014 data, (Córdova, Cruz and Zechmeister 2015, 208) one can observe a move towards the center by voters in both parties, with ARENA voters moving from 7.5 in 2014 to 7.0 in 2016 and FMLN voters moving from 3.7 in 2014 to 4.4 in 2016.

¹² The reported vote for the second round of the 2014 presidential elections is used, since it included the highest level of political polarization in recent elections.

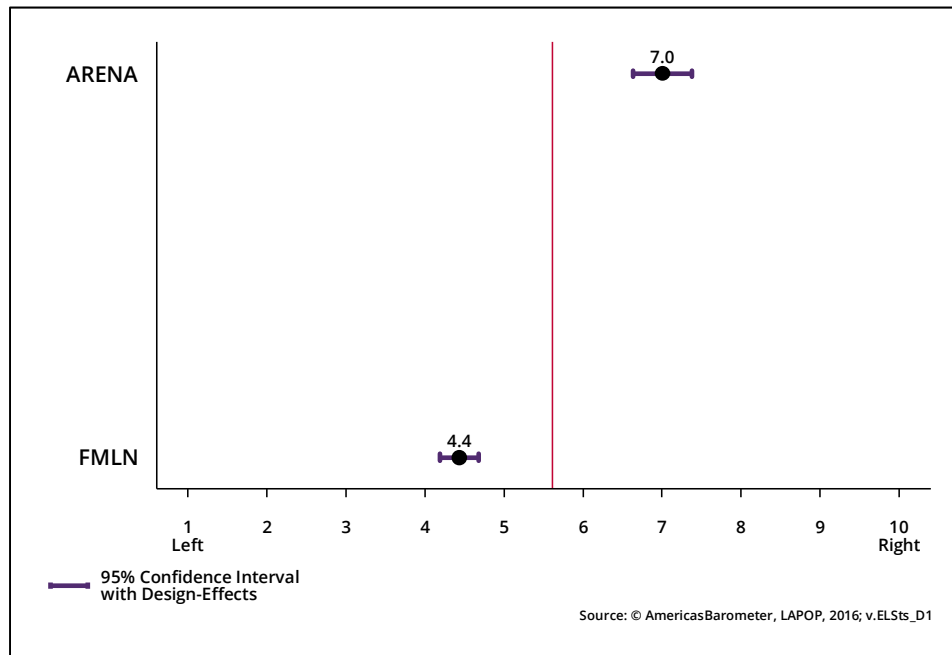


Figure 4.23. Electoral Preferences in the Second Round of the 2014 Presidential Elections and Ideological Self-Placement of Voters in 2016, El Salvador

In a study of the march 2009 presidential election, the following was reported regarding the distribution of voters' self-placement along the ideological spectrum of the two main parties: "Each of the two parties has their main base of voters at one pole; the left for the FMLN and the right for ARENA, but they managed to attract support of those who define themselves ideologically in the center" (Córdova and Loya 2009, 133). In this context, it can be argued that the dispute between the contending parties during the last presidential election was over the voter in the middle of the ideological spectrum.

In order to better understand the positioning of the two main political forces, Figure 4.24 shows the main political parties' distribution of voters for first round of the 2014 presidential elections against respondents' self-placement on the ideological scale in 2016. The FMLN has a strong position on the left, but also has a significant number of voters in the center, and a small segment of voters on the right. ARENA has its main position on the right, but has an important segment of voters in the center. It is interesting to see that in the last presidential elections, the clash between the two main political parties was for those in the political center (values 5 and 6).

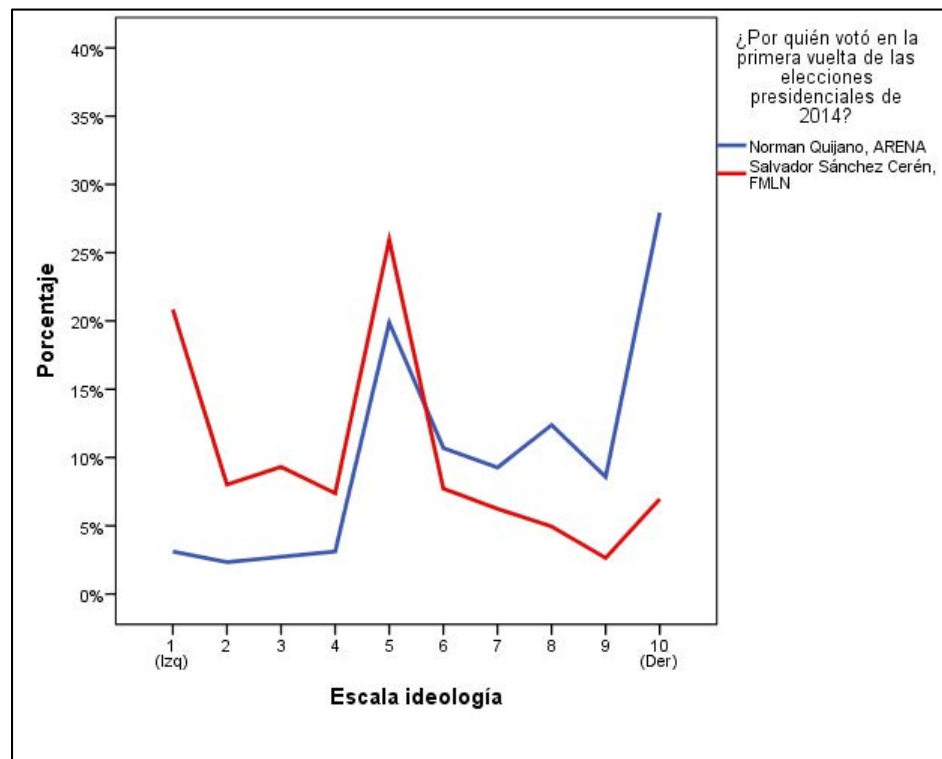


Figure 4.24. Distribution on the Ideological Scale (2016) by Vote in the 2014 Presidential Elections.

X. Support for Electoral Democracy

The AmericasBarometer, as a study of political culture, includes several measures on democratic attitudes. The first chapter covered the issue of support for democracy in an abstract sense, but the survey also measures Salvadorans' opinions on the preference for electoral democracy, specifically as a political regime compared to a system where there is a strong, non-elected leader. The following question was asked:

AUT1. There are people who say that we need a strong leader who does not have to be elected by the vote of the people. Others say that although things may not work, electoral democracy, or the popular vote, is always best. What do you think?

(1) We need a strong leader who does not have to be elected, or

(2) Electoral democracy is the best

Figure 4.25 displays the results. In 2016, 73% of respondents believe that an electoral democracy is the best political system, while 27% believe that a strong leader who does not have to be elected through popular vote is necessary. Support for electoral democracy in El Salvador has remained strong throughout the 2004-2016 period, as more than 7 out of 10 Salvadorans have expressed their preference for an electoral democracy. However, there is a worrying increase in those favoring a strong leader who does not have to be elected, from 6% in 2004 to 27% in 2016. That is to say, in 2016, a little more than a quarter of the population believes that the country needs a strong leader who does not have to be elected.

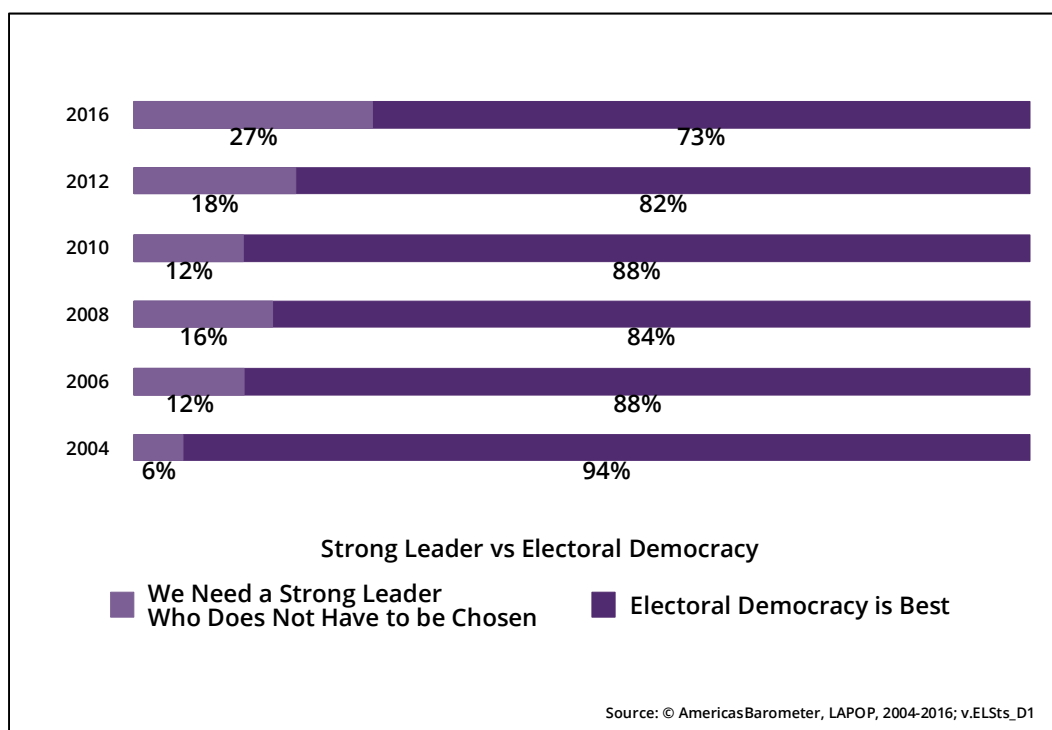


Figure 4.25. Preference for Democracy as a Political Regime, El Salvador 2016

XI. Conclusion

Regarding El Salvador's economic and political context, economic pessimism prevails in 2016, both as it relates to assessments of the country's economic situation and citizens' personal economic situations. Most respondents believe that the country's economic situation is "worse" than it was 12 months ago (69.6%). The negative view of the country's economic situation has worsened since 2010. However, respondents' assessments of their personal economic situations are less pessimistic, with only 45.7% of respondents reporting that their personal economic situations have worsened in the last 12 months.

The other contextual factor analyzed in this chapter is the reduction in satisfaction with democracy. Those reporting being satisfied or very satisfied with democracy decreased from 59.4% in 2014 to 41.1% in 2016.

This chapter has shown that there are six main determinants that influenced vote intention in the February 2014 presidential elections: perceived improvement in one's personal economic situation, belief that the country's economic situation is better, interest in politics, support for a political party, age and level of education.

When cross-tabulating the intention to vote in the two rounds of the 2014 presidential elections, it is observed that the two major parties retained a significant percentage of voters. Of those who voted for the ARENA candidate in the first round, 95.3% voted for the ARENA candidate in the second round; and of those who voted for the FMLN candidate, 95% voted for same candidate a

second time. The two main political parties in El Salvador maintained a very high percentage of their voters across the two rounds of elections.

The data corresponding to the vote reported for the 2014 presidential elections and the 2015 legislative elections were also analyzed. Of those who voted for the ARENA party in the 2015 legislative elections, 78.6% had voted for the same party in the first round of the 2014 presidential elections. Among those who voted for the FMLN in the 2015 legislative elections, 96.3% said they voted for the same party in the first round of 2014.

Only 26.4% of citizens express support for a political party. This represents a decrease compared to data from the 2014 survey, and the lowest level of support for a political party since 2004.

In terms of ideological orientation, 27.5% of Salvadorans identify as left of center, 38.6% identify as centrist and 33.9% identify on the right. Compared with 2014, data from the 2016 round exhibits a decrease of 5.8 points on the left, an increase of 1.9 points in the center, and an increase of 4 points on the right. With regard to observed trends using the 1 – 10 scale (1 left – 10 right), a process with a centrist orientation is seen from 2004 to 2010. From 2004–2016, average ideological orientation moved from 6.9 in 2004, to 5.7 in 2006, to 5.3 in 2008 and 5.2 in 2010. In 2012, Salvadorans again moved towards the right (6.0), returning to a more centrist position in 2014 (5.2), followed by another slight shift to the right (5.6) in 2016.

Survey data show a low level of trust in political parties, which declined between 2010 and 2012, from 39.1 to 34.4 (on a 0-100 scale), increased to 36.7 in 2014, and then, in 2016, dropped to the lowest level (31.1) seen over the twelve-year period of analysis. The decrease in trust in political parties witnessed from 2014 to 2016 is statistically significant. Political parties, as a key institution in the political system, hold the lowest levels of institutional trust over the 2004-2016 period.

Salvadorans also exhibit low levels of interest in politics: 70.7% say they have little or no interest in politics, while only 29.3% report being somewhat or very interested. There was also a statistically significant decrease in political interest, from 38.7 in 2014 to 34.3 in 2016, on the 0-100 scale.



Appendix

Appendix 4.1. Predictors of Electoral Participation in the First Round, El Salvador 2016 (Figure 4.12)

	Coefficients	(t)
Satisfaction with Democracy	-0.445	-1.54
Perception of Personal Economic Situation	-0.499*	-2.27
Evaluation of the Economic Situation of the Country	0.599*	2.19
Political Interest	0.785*	3.01
Identification with a Political Party	0.575*	3.22
Voting Effectiveness	0.133	1
Woman	-0.035	-0.27
Age	3.032*	11.12
Level of Education	1.254*	4.48
Wealth Quintiles	-0.067	-0.42
Size of Location	-0.009	0.05
Constant	-0.858*	-3.18
F	18.95	
Number of Observations	1465	
Regression-Standardized Coefficients with t-Statistics based on Standard Errors Adjusted for the Survey Design *p<0.05		



Chapter 5.

Civil Society, Citizen Participation, and Corruption

Ricardo Córdova Macías¹

I. Introduction

This chapter explores some aspects of the relationship between Salvadoran citizens and civic participation. Following an overview of the main findings, the third section discusses participation in civic organizations and the fourth section addresses participation in protests. Interpersonal trust is analyzed in the fifth section. Subsequently, citizens' assessments of the representation of their interests by the national government, local government and legislators are discussed. The seventh section explores Salvadorans' experiences with and perceptions of corruption. The chapter closes with conclusions about the presented findings.

II. Main Findings

- Salvadorans report little involvement in civic organizations. Not considering involvement with religious organizations, more than half of the population reports never having participated in parent associations (55.5%), community improvement committees (75.1%), political parties (85.4%), or in women's groups (90.2%).
- Another dimension of citizen participation explored in the 2016/17 round is participation in demonstrations or public protests. The involvement of Salvadorans in these types of events has been very low throughout the 2010–2016 period: only 3 out of 100 Salvadorans reported participating in a protest or demonstration in the year prior to the survey.
- Salvadorans report intermediate levels of trust in their neighbors. This level of interpersonal trust among Salvadorans has remained stable through all rounds of the AmericasBarometer, with an average of 6 out of 10 Salvadorans expressing interpersonal trust. At the regional level, the country is positioned in the middle.
- Salvadorans perceive low levels of representation of their interests by institutions linked to the exercise of State power. On a scale of 0–100, the institution with the best evaluation is the Central Government (38.1), followed by local governments (36.4), with the Legislative Assembly receiving the poorest evaluation (29.4). However, citizens' perceptions of all three institutions has worsened from 2010 to 2016.
- Citizen perceptions of corruption among public officials have improved between 2014 and 2016, from an average of 68 (2014) to 64.1 (2016), on a 0–100 scale. However, perception of corruption continues to be high: approximately 6 out of 10 people consider that corruption of the country's public officials is at least somewhat

¹ Thanks to Adriana Vides, Fundaungo researcher, for her collaboration.

generalized. According to a new question in the AmericasBarometer, 8 out of 10 Salvadorans perceive that half or more of politicians are involved in corruption.

- Corruption victimization in El Salvador remained stable between 2014 and 2016 (9.8%). Identifying as male, living in large cities, being younger and having more children increase the probability of being a victim of corruption.

III. Participation in Civic Organizations

Civic participation has several dimensions, including citizen participation in matters of community interest. This section addresses some forms of citizen participation. A number of questions were included in the 2016/2017 round of the AmericasBarometer that are useful in exploring Salvadorans' participation in different groups or types of local organizations. The questions were worded as follows:

	Once a week	Once or twice a month	Once or twice a year	Never
CP6. Meetings of any religious organization? Do you attend them...	1	2	3	4
CP7. Meetings of a parents' association at school? Do you attend them...	1	2	3	4
CP8. Meetings of a community improvement committee or association? Do you attend them...	1	2	3	4
CP13. Meetings of a political party or political organization? Do you attend them...	1	2	3	4
CP20. [WOMEN ONLY] Meetings of associations or groups of women or home makers? Do you attend them...	1	2	3	4

The results of this set of questions are presented in Table 5.1. The data show very low rates of participation in civic organizations by Salvadorans. Of the organizations or groups questioned--with the exception of religious groups--most respondents reported never attending meetings of women's groups (a question only asked to female respondents) (90.2%), meetings of political parties (85.4%)², community improvement committee meetings (75.1%), and parent association meetings (55.5%). Although low, participation in parent association meetings is greater than other groups or social organizations.

² These data suggest that a gap exists between citizens and political parties, a topic that is discussed in more detail in Chapter 4.

In the case of meetings of religious groups, 52.7% reported attending once a week, 14% once or twice a week, 9% once or twice a year, and 24.3% never. Although this type of participation does not represent the typical form of citizen participation (Córdova, Cruz and Zechmeister 2015, 219), the level of participation reported at the local level is revealing.

Table 5.1. Level of Participation in Various Groups and Organizations, El Salvador 2016 (percentages)

	Once a week	Once or twice a month	Once or twice a year	Never
Religious Organizations	52.7	14.0	9.0	24.3
Parent Associations	2.5	25.8	16.2	55.5
Community Improvement Committees	2.6	9.4	12.9	75.1
Political Parties	1.0	2.9	10.8	85.4
Women's Groups*	2.8	3.9	3.1	90.2

*Data only includes the female population.

Source: AmericasBarometer by LAPOP, 2016; v.ELSts_D1

How do we compare Salvadorans' average level of citizen participation in 2016 with previous measurements? To simplify the comparison over time, the responses were recoded on a 0-100 scale, where the response "once a week" was assigned the value of 100, "once or twice a month" was assigned 66, "once or twice year" was 33 and "never" was 0. These values were then averaged to obtain the "citizen participation rate" for each of the groups or organizations included in the survey. Figure 5.1 shows the average participation rate for 2016: 65.1 for religious group meetings, 25.1 for parent associations, 13.3 for community improvement committee meetings or boards, 6.5 for women's group meetings, and 6.5 for political party meetings.

In terms of trends over time, there has been little variation in participation rates for various group and organization meetings over the last 12 years, including parent associations, community improvement committees, and political parties. For these three groups, the differences between 2014 and 2016 are not statistically significant. In the case of meetings of religious groups, there was an increase from 2004-2006 and 2006-2008, another increase in 2010 (62.2), no change in 2012 (60.9), and an increase in 2014 (70.7) followed by a statistically significant decrease in 2016 (65.1).

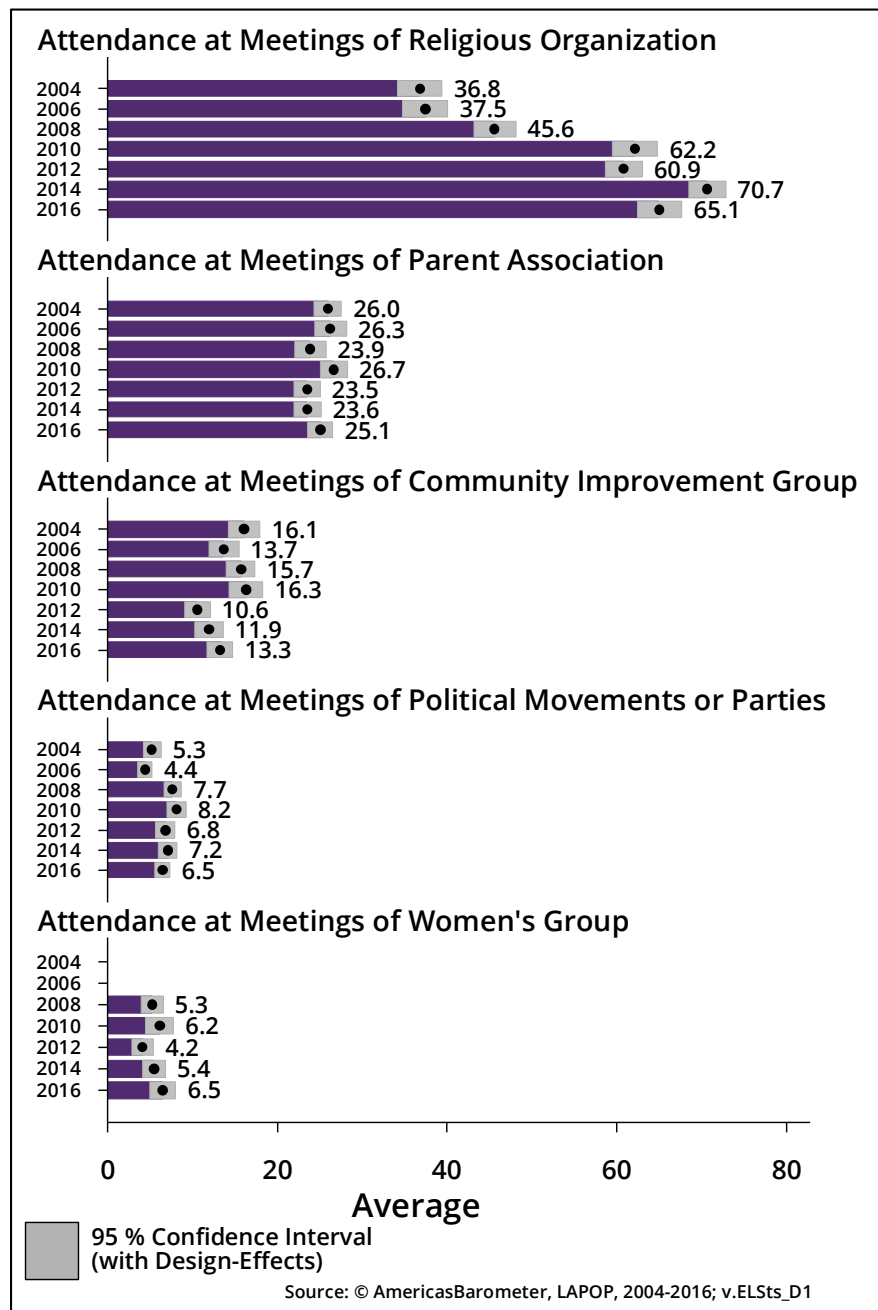


Figure 5.1. Citizen Participation Rate in Various Groups and Organizations, El Salvador 2004- 2016 (average)

These data suggest that according to the AmericasBarometer's measurements, Salvadorans have consistently reported low levels of participation in local group or organization meetings over the last 12 years. The exception to this being the high levels of participation in meetings of religious groups. However, as noted in a previous report: "The increase in participation in religious groups, although important in the creation of networks and community links, has other types of repercussions that do not always necessarily translate into citizen involvement in matters that affect the immediate community environment" (Córdova, Cruz and Zechmeister 2015, 222). It is important to note that the last measurement depicts a statistically significant decrease in religious group participation between 2014 and 2016.

Chapter 3 analyzed issues related to the prevention of violence and crime and explored the integration of neighborhood associations and community association boards and community-based organizations, whose purpose is to prevent crime. This section focuses on the formation of community boards in general, and the involvement of citizens in such groups. The questions were formulated as follows:

	Yes	No
CP21A. Is there a neighborhood association or community association board in this neighborhood?	1	0
CP22. Are you a member of this association or board?	1	0
CP23. In the last three months, have you attended any meetings called by the neighborhood association or community association board?	1	0
CP24. In the last three months, have you done any voluntary work for the neighborhood association or community association board?	1	0

As can be seen in Figure 5.2, slightly more than half of Salvadorans (55.2%) report that their community has a community association board or neighborhood association. This is surprising in light of the low level of participation reported at the beginning of this section, the percentage of community association boards and neighborhood associations dedicated to violence prevention, and the knowledge of and participation in Violence Prevention Committees, as reported in Chapter 3.

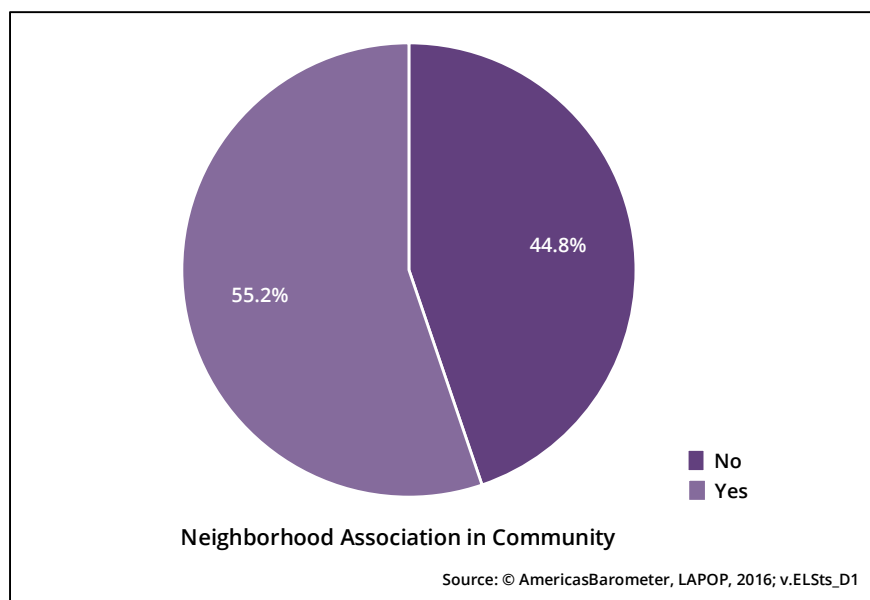


Figure 5.2. Existence of a Neighborhood Association or Community Association Board in the Respondent's Community, El Salvador 2016

Of the people who say that a community association board or neighborhood association exists in their community, only 12.5% say that they are members of that entity (see Table 5.2). If we consider this data in the context of all respondents (and not only those who say that there is a community association board or neighborhood association in their community), only 6.9% of Salvadorans claim to be a member of the reported associations. On the other hand, 28.6% of people living in communities where there is a community association board say that they have attended at least

one board meeting in the last three months, while 24.3% say they have done some volunteer work for that association in the last three months.

Table 5.2. Participation in Activities by a Community Association Board or Neighborhood Association, El Salvador 2016

	Percentage of the population where there is a Community Association Board or Neighborhood Association	Percentage of total population
Member of the board	12.5%	6.9%
Has attended a board meeting	28.6%	15.9%
Has done volunteer work for the board	24.3%	13.5%

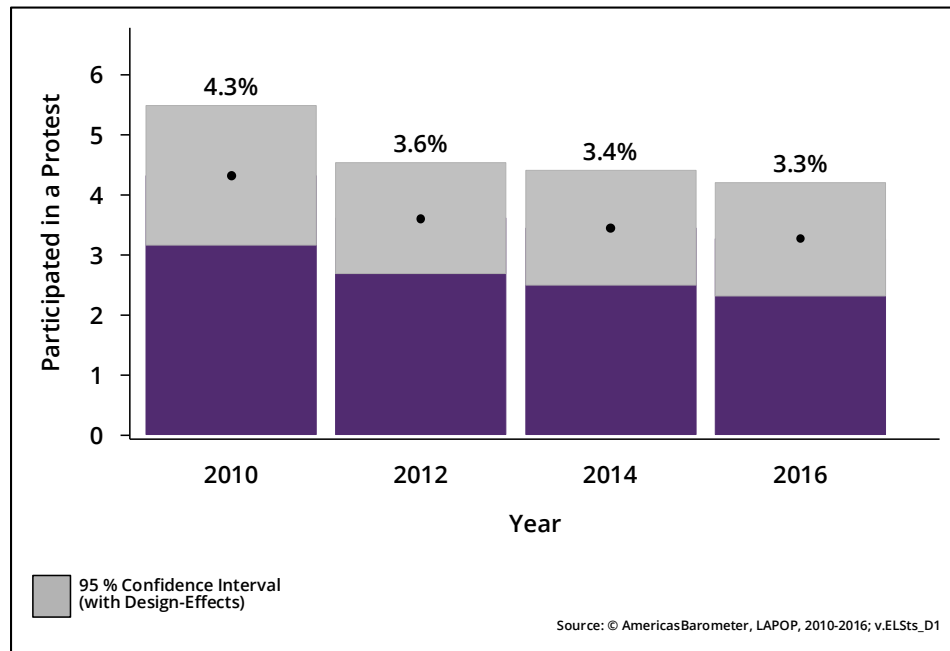
Source: AmericasBarometer by LAPOP, 2016; v.ELSts_D1

IV. Participation in protests

The Americas Barometer survey explores another dimension of citizen participation, one that focuses on involvement in public affairs in a more contentious manner. The question was constructed as follows:

PROT3. In the **last 12 months**, have you participated in a demonstration or protest march?
 (1) Yes (2) No

As can be seen in Figure 5.3, Salvadorans' levels of participation in protests have been very low since 2010, per measurements by the AmericasBarometer. Only 4.3% participated in protests in 2010, 3.6% in 2012, 3.4% in 2014 and 3.3% in 2016. None of the differences across the years are statistically significant, indicating that the level of Salvadorans' participation in protests has remained stable throughout the 2010-2016 period, with the participation of approximately 3 out of 100 people.



**Figure 5.3. Participation in Protests by Survey Year,
El Salvador 2010-2016**

A comparison with the rest of the region (see Figure 5.4) shows that El Salvador continues to occupy one of the lowest positions in terms of citizen participation in protests. The data indicate that only Saint Lucia and Grenada have lower percentages of participation in public protests in the 2016/17 round of the AmericasBarometer.

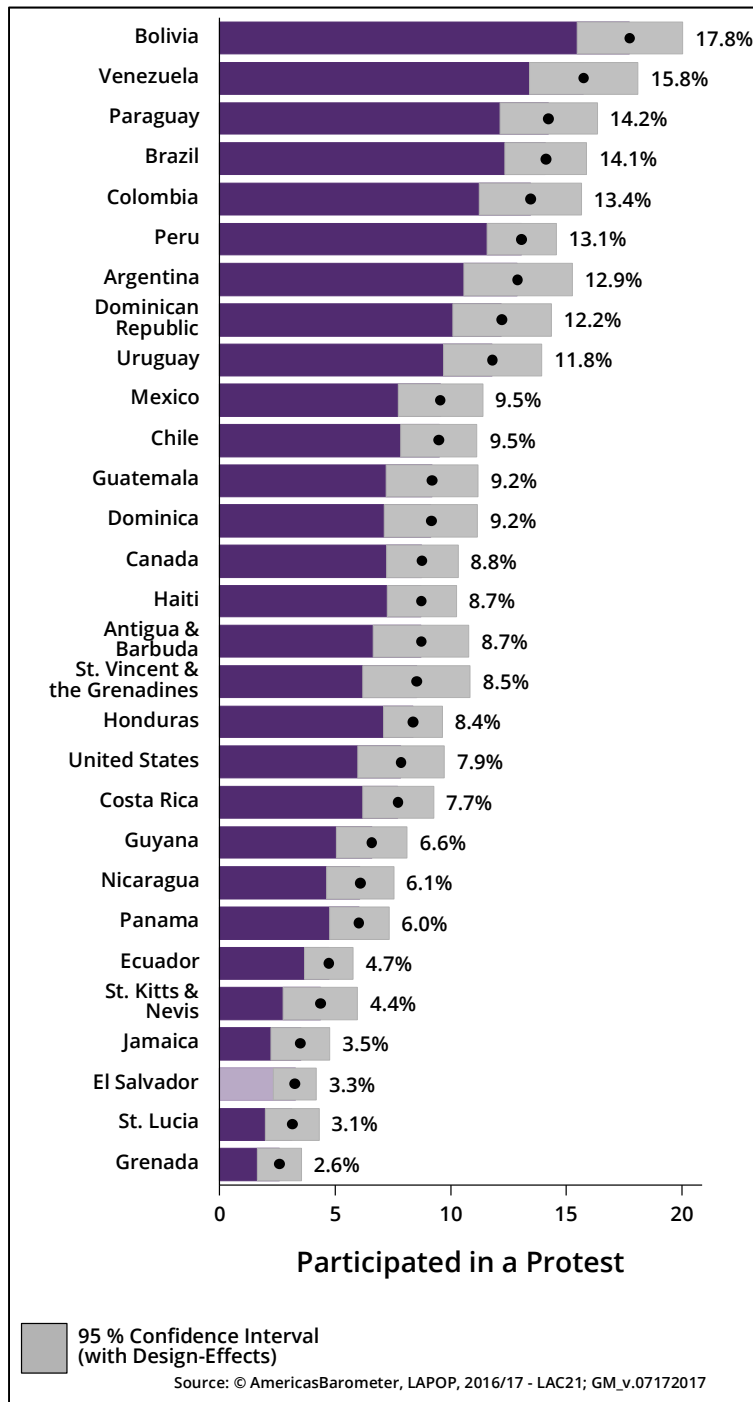


Figure 5.4. Percentage of Participation in Protests in the Americas, 2016

V. Interpersonal Trust

The 2016/17 round of the AmericasBarometer explores interpersonal trust using the following question:

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...?

(1) Very trustworthy (2) Somewhat trustworthy (3) Not very trustworthy (4) Untrustworthy

Figure 5.5 shows that 33.5% of Salvadorans report that people in their community are very trustworthy, 25.5% said they are somewhat trustworthy, 29.0% said they are not very trustworthy and only 12.0% of Salvadorans believe their fellow community members are untrustworthy. This distribution of responses suggests that, in general terms, Salvadorans have intermediate levels of trust in their own neighbors: 59% find their neighbors very and somewhat trustworthy, while 41% found them only a little or not at all trustworthy.

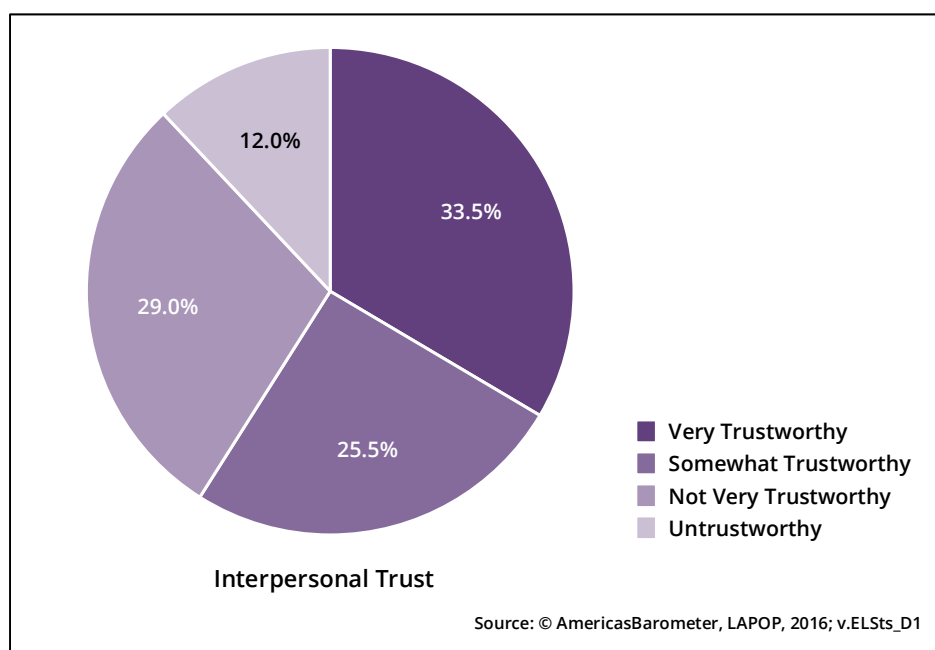


Figure 5.5. Interpersonal Trust in the Community, El Salvador 2016

To facilitate comparison with previous years, the question was transformed into a scale of 0-100, where 0 means not at all trustworthy and 100 means very trustworthy, to create a general measure of the trust that citizens have in their neighbors. Figure 5.6 shows that interpersonal trust has remained relatively stable in the 2004-2016 period. If the lowest average trust level observed in 2012 (59.3) is taken as a reference, interpersonal trust experienced a slight, yet statistically significant increase in 2014 (62.4) and then experienced a slight, but not statistically significant decrease in 2016 (60.2). The lack of statistical significance in the change of levels of interpersonal trust between 2014 and 2016 suggests that levels of interpersonal trust have remained the same during the two-year period.

Salvadorans report intermediate levels of trust in their neighbors. This level of interpersonal trust has remained stable throughout all rounds of the AmericasBarometer, with about 6 out of 10 Salvadorans exhibiting interpersonal trust.

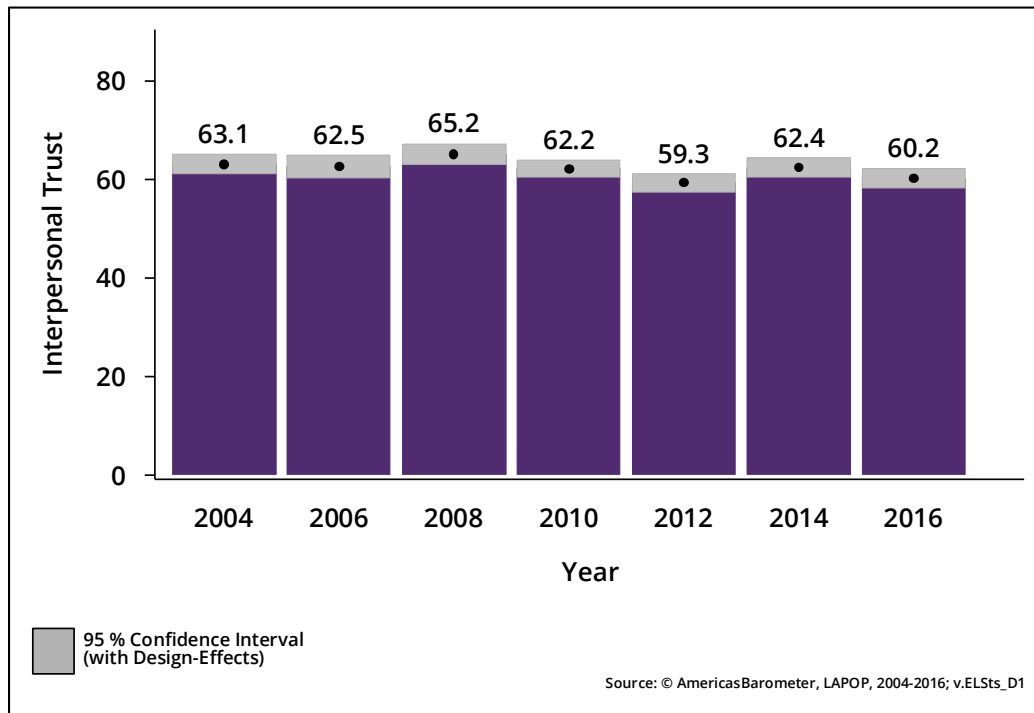


Figure 5.6. Interpersonal Trust in the Community, El Salvador 2004-2016

How do Salvadorans' levels of interpersonal trust compare with others in the region? Figure 5.7 shows the interpersonal trust averages in a comparative perspective. It can be observed that El Salvador is located in an intermediate position among the continent's countries.

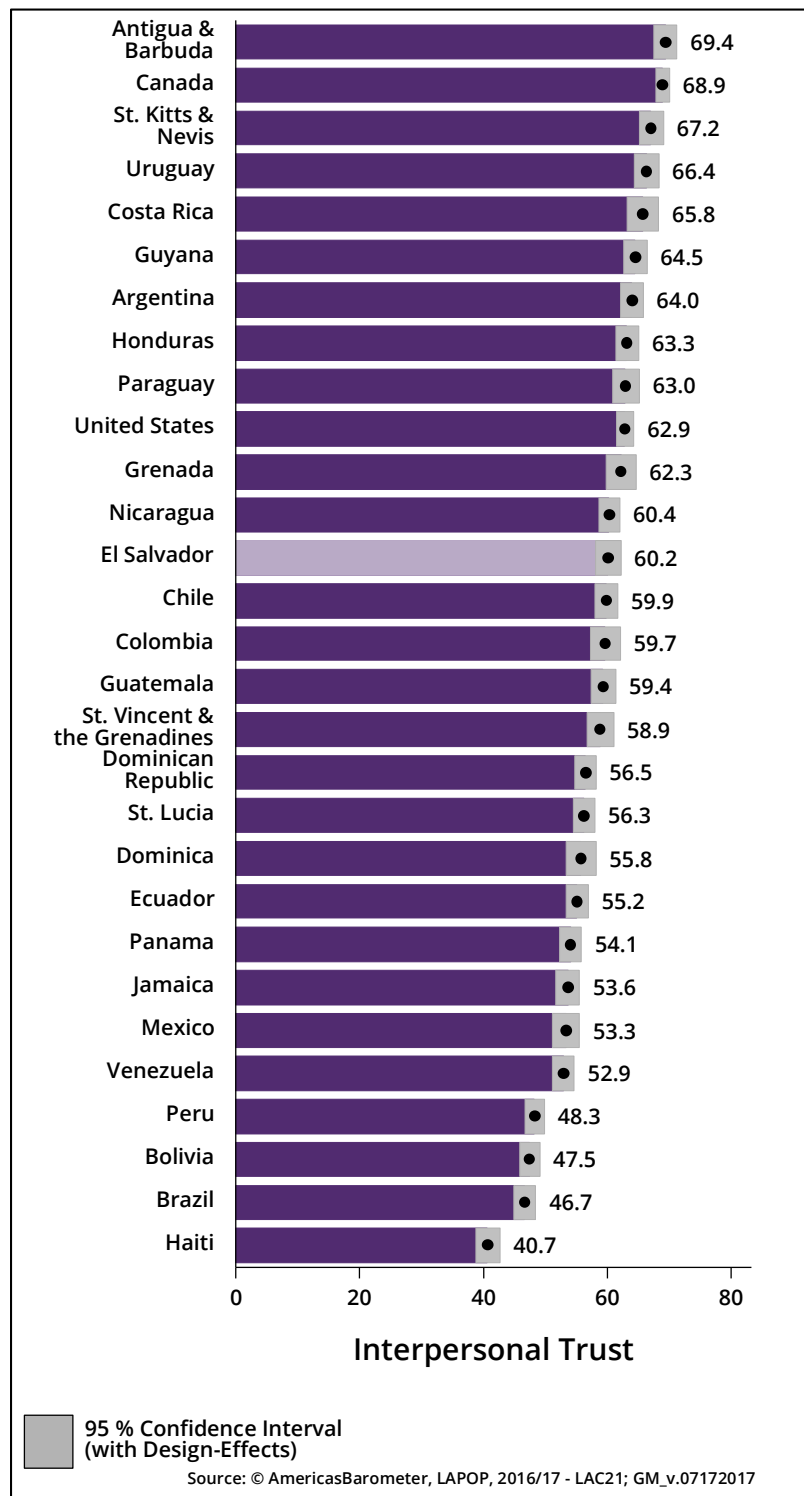


Figure 5.7. Interpersonal Trust across the Americas, 2016

VI. Representation of Interests

The 2016/17 round of the AmericasBarometer explores citizens' assessment of the representation of their interests by the central government, legislature, and local governments. The following three questions were asked as follows:

EPN3A. How much does the Central Government represent your interests and benefit you as a citizen? Do they represent you a lot, somewhat, a little, or not at all?			
(1) A lot	(2) Somewhat	(3) A little	(4) Not at all
EPN3B. How much do the Deputies of the Legislative Assembly represent your interests and benefit you as a citizen? Do they represent you a lot, somewhat, a little, or not at all?			
(1) A lot	(2) Somewhat	(3) A little	(4) Not at all
EPN3C. How much does the Mayor and Municipal Council represent your interests and benefit you as a citizen? Do they represent you a lot, somewhat, a little, or not at all?			
(1) A lot	(2) Somewhat	(3) A little	(4) Not at all

Figure 5.8 displays the results for 2016. With regard to the central government, 13.2% believe that their interests are well represented, 20.9% believe their interests are somewhat represented, 32.8% believe their interests are represented a little and 33.1% believe their interests are not at all represented. With regard to the Legislative Assembly, 6.9% report the belief that their interests are well represented, 17.4% somewhat represented, 32.5% a little represented and 43.1% not at all represented. Regarding the Mayor's Office and City Council, 10.3% of respondents believe their interests are well represented by this institution, 21.9% somewhat, 34.5% a little and 33.3% not at all.

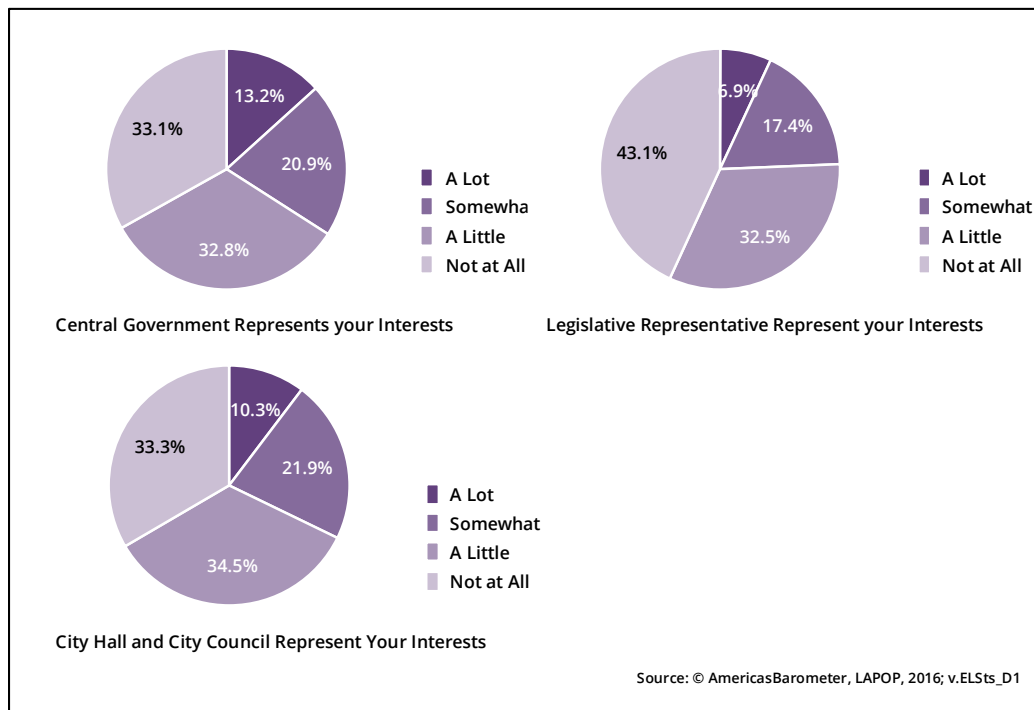


Figure 5.8. How much do Political Institutions Represent Your Interests and Benefit You as a Citizen? El Salvador 2016

To facilitate the comparison between the three questions, the response options were recoded in a 0-100 format, where 0 means not at all and 100 a lot. As shown in Figure 5.9, on average, respondents express a more positive assessment of the Central Government (38.1), in relation to the perceived representation of their interests and the benefits they receive as citizens, followed by the Mayor and City Council (36.4) and, lastly, the Legislative Assembly (29.4). The differences between the citizens' assessment of the Legislative Assembly, as compared to the Central Government, the Mayor's Office, and the City Council, is statistically significant.

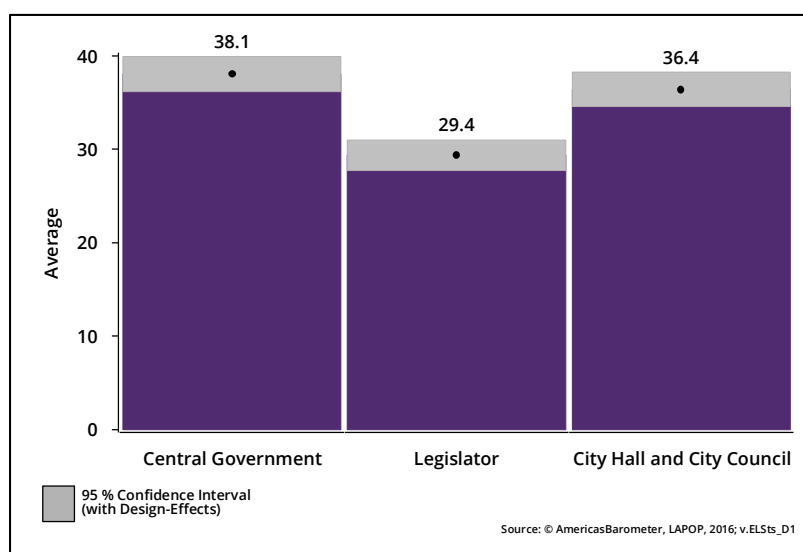


Figure 5.9. Comparison of Representation of Citizen Interests by Institution, El Salvador 2016

Figure 5.10 shows the change in opinions regarding the representation of citizen interests by the Central Government in 2010, 2014 and 2016. A statistically significant decreasing trend can be observed during this period of time.

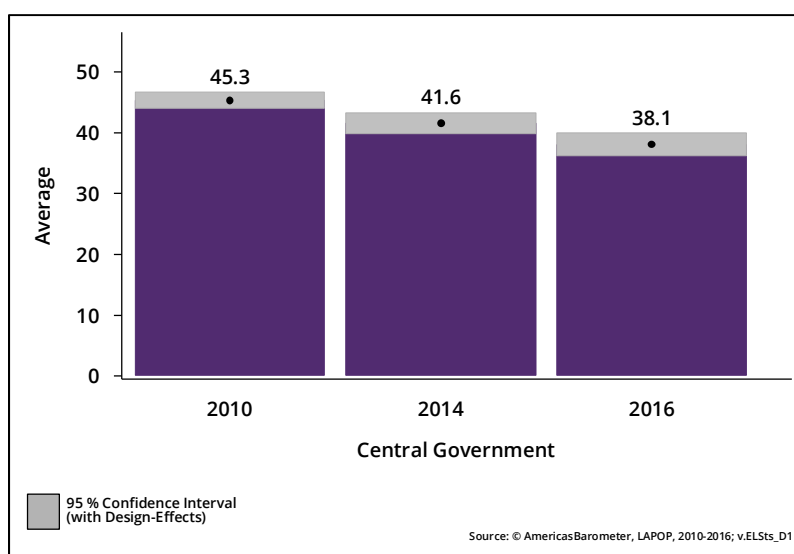


Figure 5.10. Representation of Citizen Interests by the Central Government, El Salvador 2010-2016

Figure 5.11 shows the change in opinions regarding the representation of interests by legislators in the Legislative Assembly in 2010, 2014 and 2016. There is a statistically significant decrease between 2010 and 2014, followed by a slight, but not statistically significant, increase in 2016. Still, the overall decreasing trend between 2010 and 2016 is statistically significant.

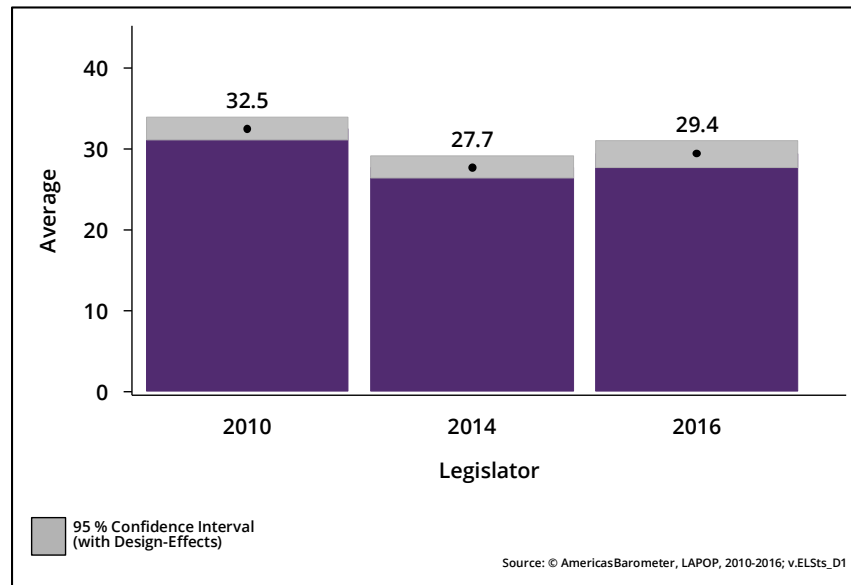


Figure 5.11. Representation of Citizen Interests by Legislators in the Legislative Assembly, El Salvador 2010-2016

Figure 5.12 shows the evolution of opinions regarding the representation of interests by local governments in 2010, 2014 and 2016. There is a statistically significant decrease between 2010 and 2014; followed by a slight, but not statistically significant, increase in 2016. However, the general decrease between 2010 and 2016 is statistically significant.

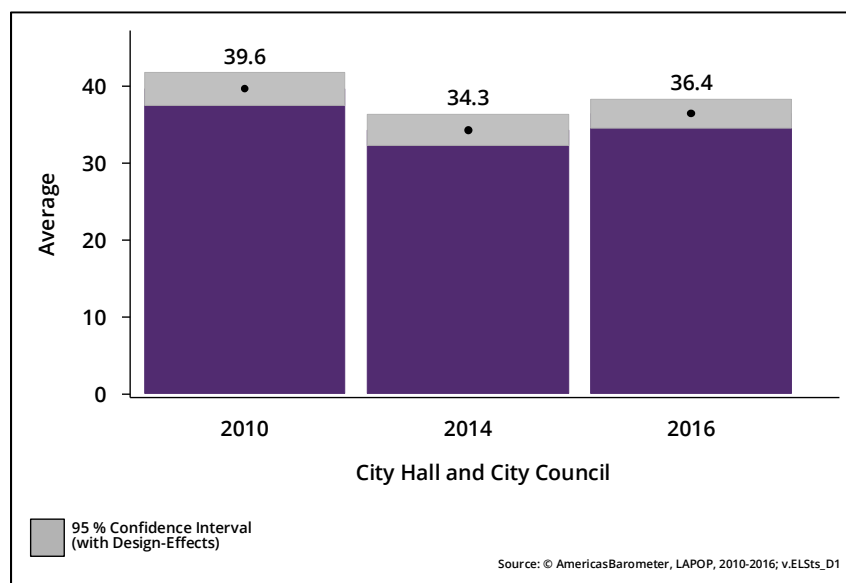


Figure 5.12. Representation of Citizen Interests by the Mayor's Office and City Council, El Salvador 2010-2016

VII. Assessment of Corruption

This section presents data on perceptions of corruption and corruption victimization in El Salvador. First, respondents were asked whether they believe that corruption among public officials in the country is widespread or not. The question was worded as follows:

EXC7. Taking into account your own experience or what you have heard, corruption among public officials is: **[Read Options]**

- | | |
|-----------------|---------------------|
| (1) Very Common | (2) Somewhat Common |
| (3) Uncommon | (4) Very Uncommon |

Figure 5.13 shows that 39.6% of Salvadorans believe corruption is very common, 23.5% believe it is somewhat common, 26.4% believe it is uncommon and 10.5% feel it is very uncommon.

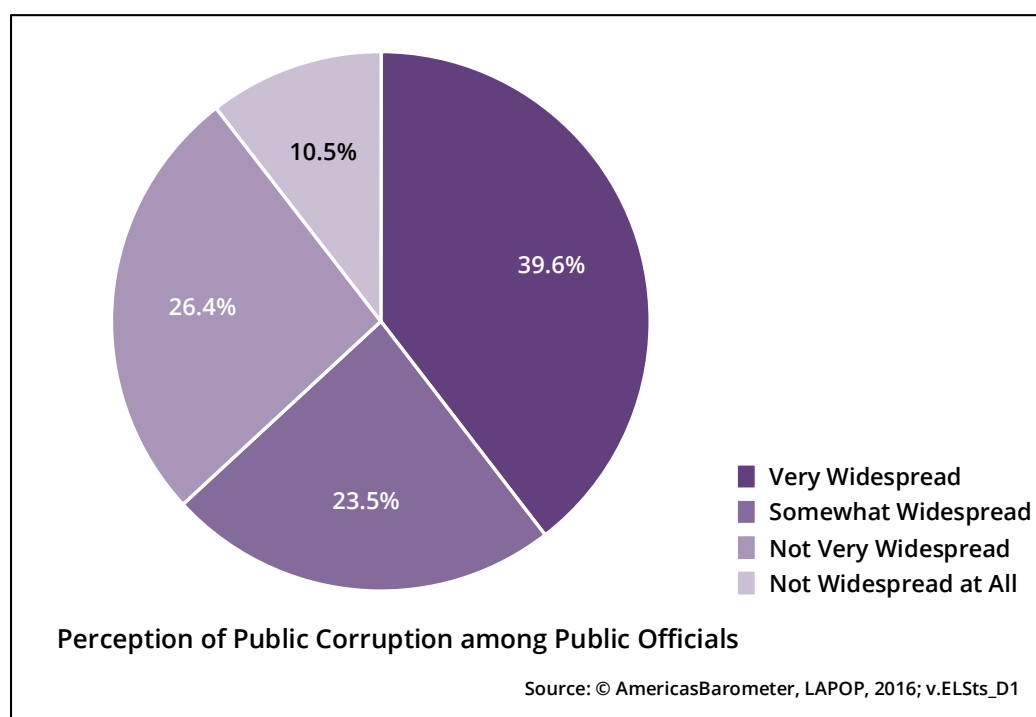


Figure 5.13. Perception of Corruption of Public Officials, El Salvador 2016

To facilitate comparison with measures in the previous rounds, respondents' responses were transformed into values on a scale of 0 to 100, where 0 means that respondents think that corruption is not at all widespread and 100 means that respondents believe corruption is very widespread among public officials. The change is as follows: 65.8 in 2004, increasing to 69.3 in 2006, increasing again, although lightly to 71 in 2008, decreases to 64.9 in 2010, continues to increase slightly to 65.9 in 2012, followed by an increase to 68 in 2014, and finally decrease to 64.1 in 2016. Comparing these changes over time, perceptions of corruption remained stable between 2010 and 2014 but then experienced a statistically significant decrease of 3.9 points between 2014 and 2016. In 2016, perceptions of corruption among public officials in El Salvador has reached its lowest level during the period. However, despite the most recent reduction, the average level of perception of corruption in public officials reported by Salvadorans is still over 60 points.

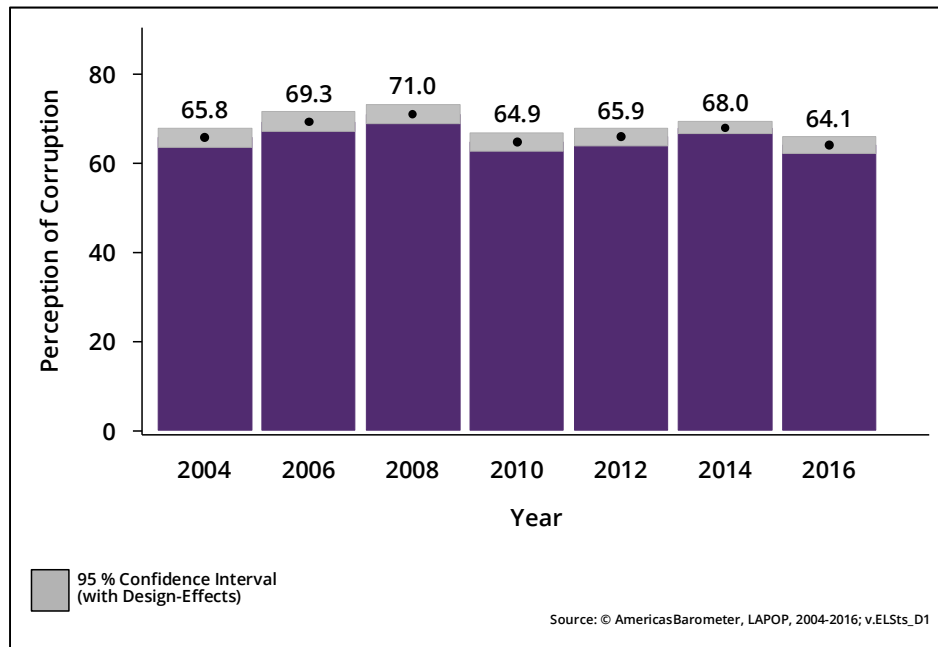


Figure 5.14. Perception of Corruption of Public Officials, El Salvador 2004-2016

The 2016/17 round of the AmericasBarometer included a new question that measures the perception of the number of politicians involved in corruption, which had the following wording:

EXC7NEW. Thinking of the politicians of El Salvador... how many of them do you believe are involved in corruption? **[Read options]**

- (1) None
- (2) Less than half of them
- (3) Half of them
- (4) More than half of them
- (5) All

Figure 5.15 presents the perceptions of Salvadorans regarding the involvement of politicians in corruption in 2016. Only 4% believe that no politician is involved in corruption, 15.6% believe less than half of politicians are involved, 25.3% believe half are involved, 27.3% believe more than half are involved, and 27.8% think that all politicians are involved in corruption. These results show that 55.1% believe that more than half of the country's politicians are involved in corruption.

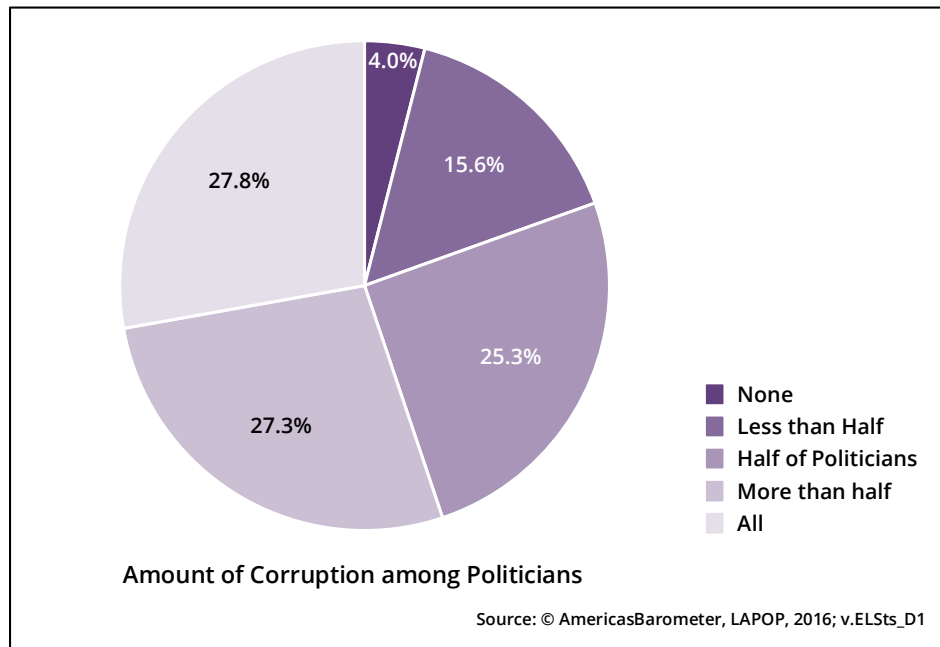


Figure 5.15. Perception of the Number of Politicians Involved in Corruption, El Salvador 2016

How does the perception of Salvadorans regarding the number of politicians involved in corruption compare to other countries in the region? To simplify the comparison, Figure 5.16 compares the percentage of people who think that all politicians are involved in corruption. It can be observed that El Salvador is located in an intermediate position among the continent's countries.

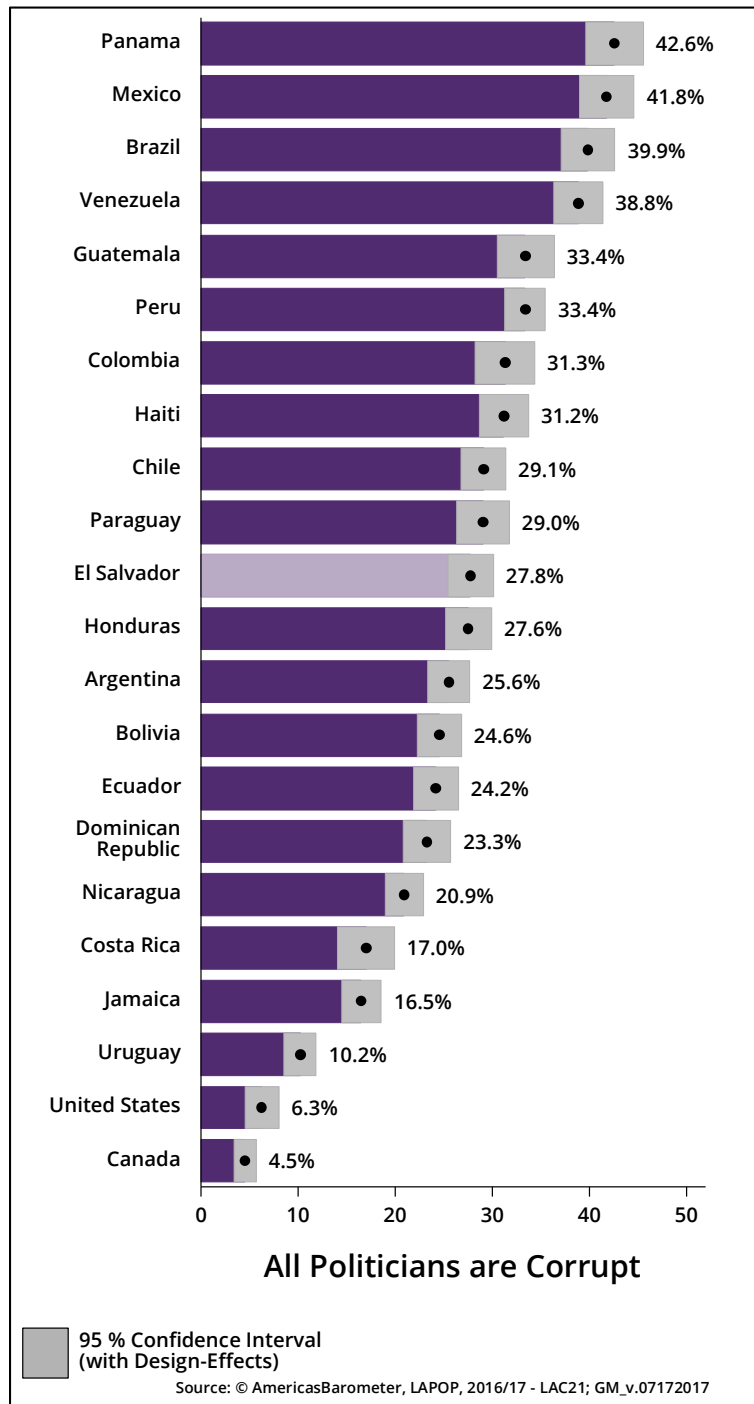


Figure 5.16. Percentage who Believe that All Politicians are involved in Corruption in the Americas, 2016/17

However, these trends in corruption perceptions do not correspond with the percentage of people who claim to have been victims of bribery. The AmericasBarometer includes a series of questions exploring different types of bribery solicited in the last 12 months. These include demands for bribes from police officers, public employees, mayors' offices, hospitals or health centers, or while at work, in courts and in schools. Based on these questions, a corruption victimization index has

been constructed that shows the percentage of people who have been victims of this kind of corruption at least once in the year prior to the survey.³ The following questions were included:

	INAP Did not try or did not have contact	No	Yes
Now we want to talk about your personal experience with things that happen in everyday life...			
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? If the answer is No → mark 999999 If the answer is Yes → ask the following: 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? If the answer is No → mark 999999 If the answer is Yes → ask the following: 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? If the answer is No → mark 999999 If the answer is Yes → ask the following: 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? If the answer is No → mark 999999 If the answer is Yes → ask the following: 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

³ Questions EXC2, EXC6, EXC11, EXC13, EXC14, EXC15 and EXC16 were used.

	INAP Did not try or did not have contact	No	Yes
EXC16. Have you had a child in school in the last twelve months? If the answer is No → mark 999999 If the answer is Yes → ask the following: Have you had to pay a bribe at school in the last twelve months?	999999	0	1

Since these questions were included in the previous rounds of the AmericasBarometer, we are able to present the results of the corruption victimization index in Figure 5.17. Corruption victimization has developed as follows in El Salvador: 15.7% in 2004, 13.4% in 2006, 14.8% in 2008, 11.4% in 2010, 11.3% in 2012, 9.8% in 2014, maintaining the same level (9.8%) in 2016. Data from 2014 and 2016 reflect the lowest levels of victimization by corruption, as measured by the AmericasBarometer, from 2004 to 2016. However, the differences in the measurements from 2010 to 2016 are not statistically significant, suggesting that the rate of corruption victimization has remained stable since 2010. In the period between 2010 and 2016, an average of 1 in 10 Salvadorans has been a victim of corruption.

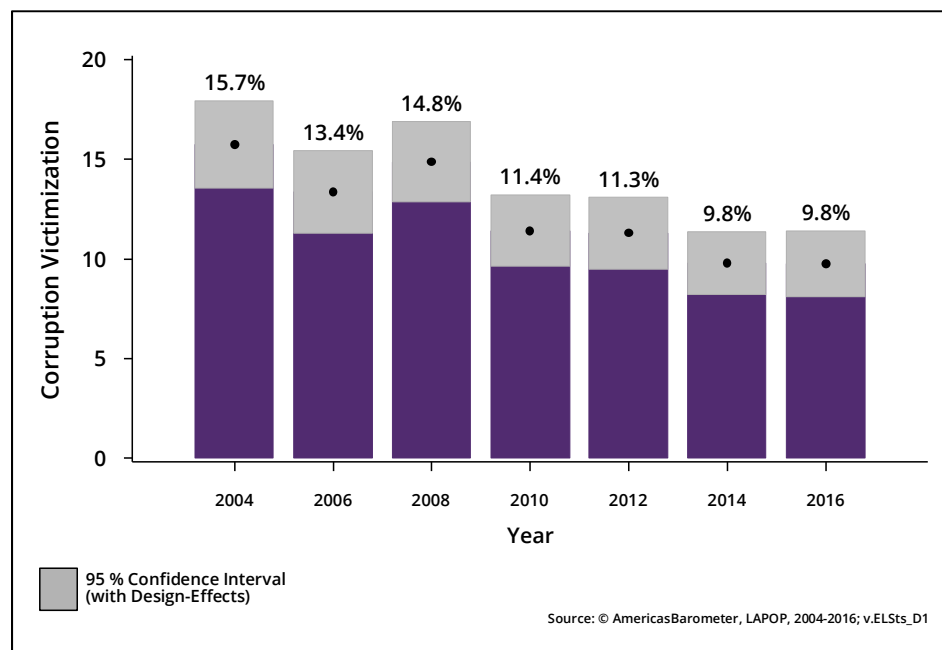


Figure 5.17. Victimization by Corruption in El Salvador 2004-2016

What are the variables associated with corruption victimization? To uncover the most important factors associated with Salvadorans' victimization by corruption, a logistic regression analysis was performed (see Figure 5.18).⁴ There are four statistically significant predictors: number of children,

⁴ See regression results in the Appendix 5.1 of this chapter.

size of place of residence, age and identifying as female⁵. Men, people living in cities with larger populations, younger people and those having more children are more likely to report an incidence of corruption victimization. An interesting finding is that as people have more children, they are more likely to experience corruption, which could be partially explained because those who have children tend to be those who interact more frequently with schools and, to some extent, have more contact with hospitals and health centers.

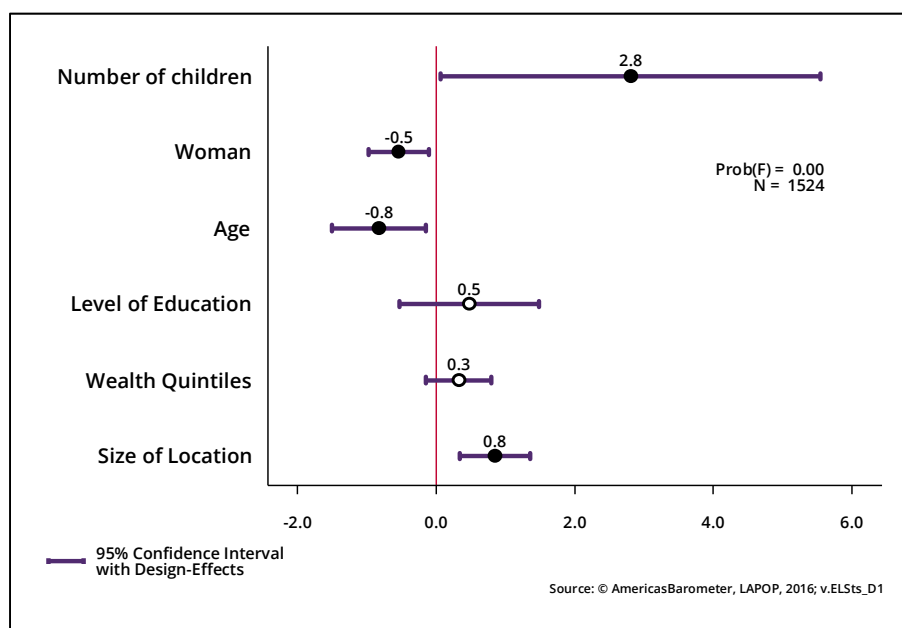


Figure 5.18. Determinants of Victimization by Bribery in the Last 12 Months, El Salvador 2016

The 2016/17 round of the AmericasBarometer in El Salvador included another question that explores respondents' justification for the payment of bribes. The question was worded as follows:

EXC18. Do you think given the way things are, sometimes paying a bribe is justified?
(1) Yes (2) No

Figure 5.19 presents the results. In 2016, 11.9% of survey respondents sometimes believe that paying a bribe is justified.

⁵ 1=female; 0= male. Age, level of education, and wealth are recoded 0-1 to facilitate the results interpretation.

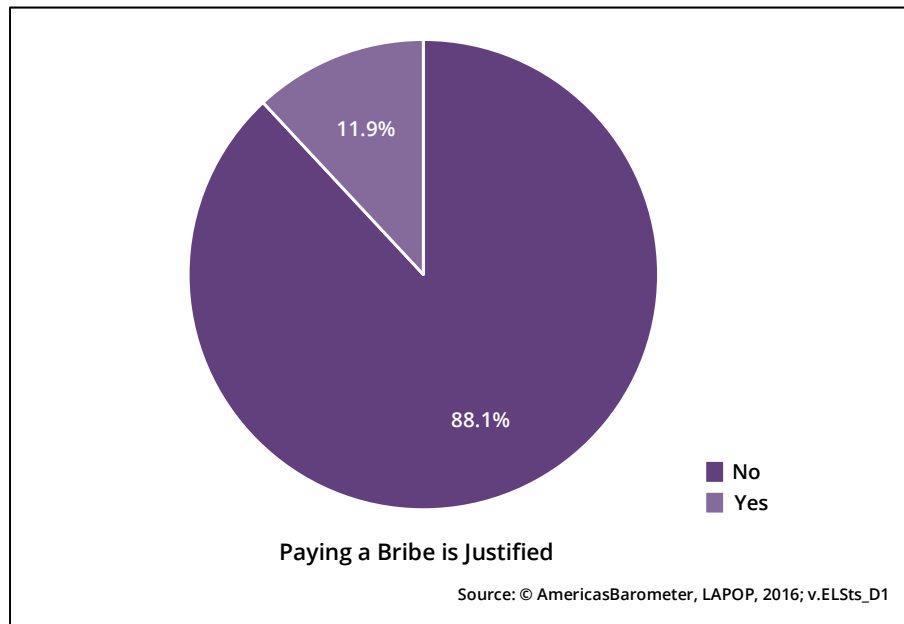


Figure 5.19. Paying a Bribe is justified at Times, El Salvador 2016

Because this question was included in previous rounds of the AmericasBarometer, this allows for a comparison over time for 2006–2016, which is presented in Figure 5.20. The percent of respondents considering the payment of a bribe to be sometimes justified has had the following trend in El Salvador: 16.2% in 2006, 16.3% in 2008, 12.7% in 2010, 9.5% in 2012, 8.7% in 2014, and a statistically significant increase to 11.9% in 2016. After a consistent decline between 2010 and 2014, 2016 depicts a statistically significant increase in the percentage of people who believe that the payment of a bribe is sometimes justified. In 2016, 1 in 10 Salvadorans justify the payment of bribes.

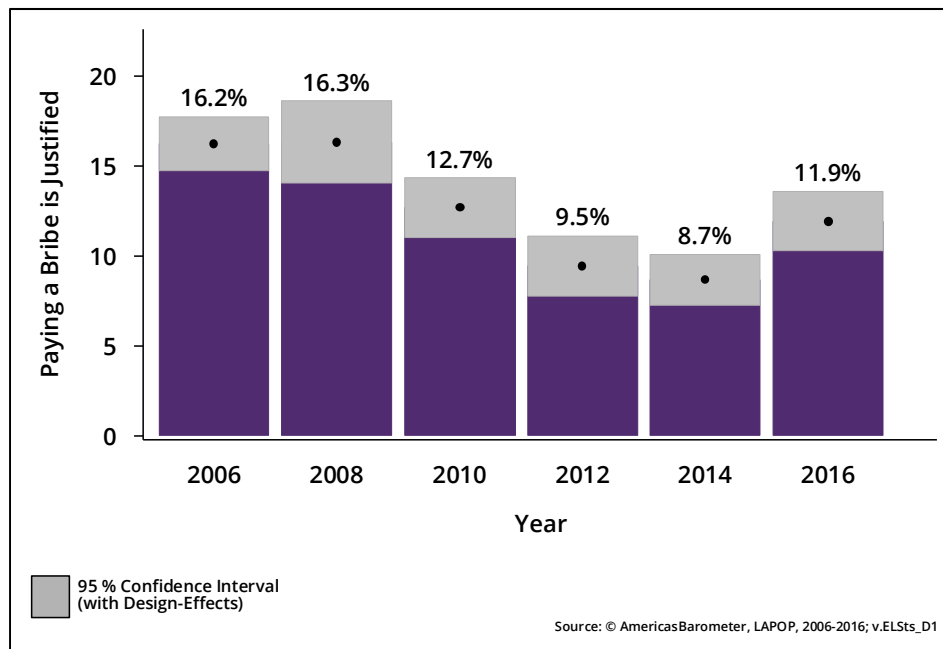


Figure 5.20. Paying a Bribe is justified at Times, by Year, El Salvador 2006- 2016

How does the percentage of Salvadorans who justify the payment of bribes compare to the justification of bribe payment in other countries in the region? Figure 5.21 shows that El Salvador is in a low position in terms of the percentage of citizens who justify the payment of bribes in 2016/17 in other countries in the region.

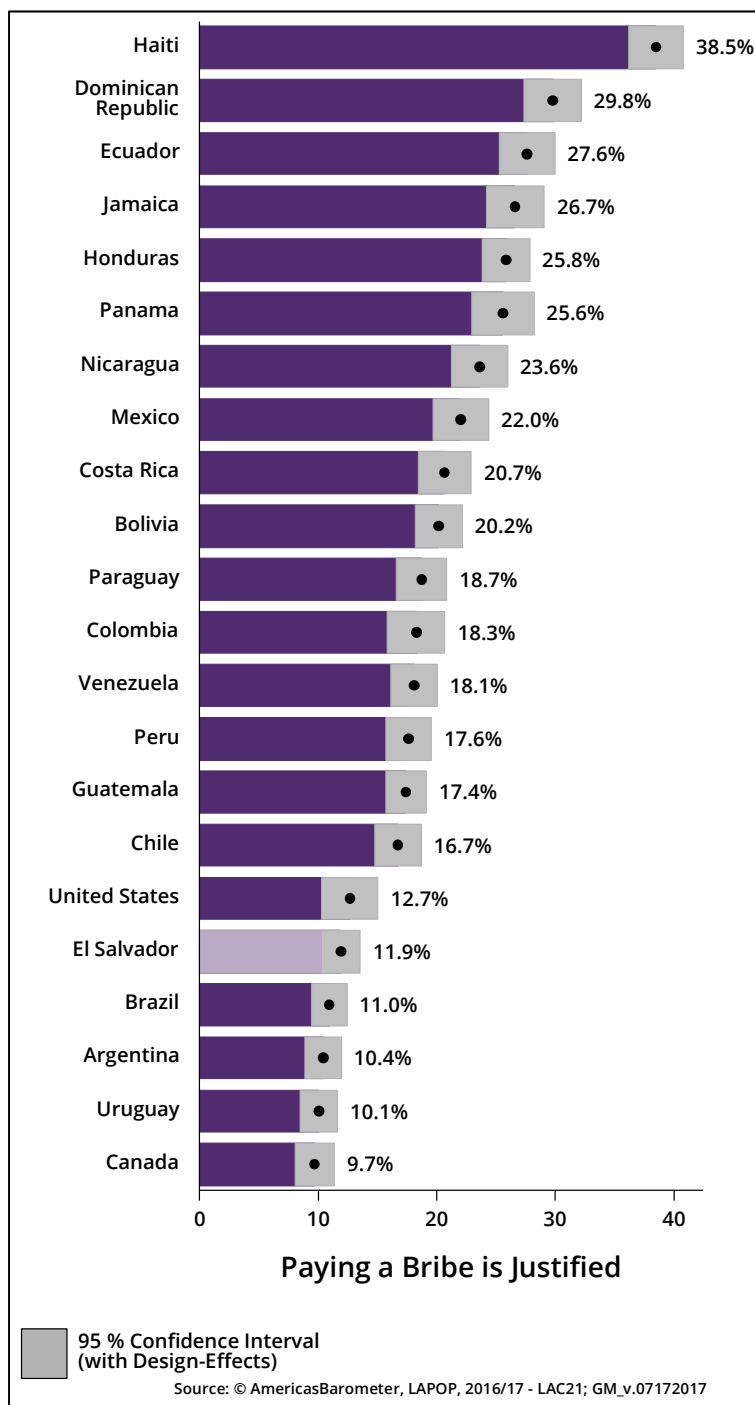


Figure 5.21. Percentage that Justify the Payment of Bribes in the Americas, 2016

VIII. Conclusion

Salvadorans report low levels of civic participation. In relation to the questions concerning specific organizations or groups--with the exception of faith-based organizations--most respondents reported no participation in meetings of women's groups (measured only in the female population) (90.2%), meetings of political parties (85.4%), community improvement committee meetings (75.1%), and parent association meetings (55.5%). Though it is still low, participation in parents' associations is greater than that in other groups or social organizations.

Of those who say that a community association board exists in their community (55.2% of the total surveyed), only 12.5% report that they are members of the association. If this number is placed in the context of all respondents, only 6.9% of all respondents say they are members of the association or board. On the other hand, 28.6% of people living in communities where there is a community association board or neighborhood association say that they have attended at least one board meeting in the last three months, while 24.3% say they have volunteered for the association in the last three months.

The level of participation in public protests is also remarkably low. In the AmericasBarometer's survey, the majority of Salvadorans report not having participated in public protests and these percentages have remained stable in the last three rounds: 3.6% in 2012, 3.4% in 2014 and 3.3% in 2016.

Salvadorans register intermediate levels of interpersonal trust in their neighbors. The level of interpersonal trust among Salvadorans has remained stable throughout all rounds of the AmericasBarometer (2004-2016), with about 6 out of 10 Salvadorans endorsing interpersonal trust. At the regional level, the country remains in an intermediate position.

Salvadorans express negative evaluations regarding the extent to which elected officials represent their interests and benefit them as citizens. The institution with the highest evaluation, on a scale 0-100, is the Central Government (41.7), followed by the Mayor's Office and City Council (36.8) and then the Legislative Assembly (29.9).

On average, public perceptions of corruption among civil servants have declined slightly between 2014 and 2016 (from an average of 68.0 to 64.1). However, the perception of corruption remains at an intermediate-to-high level, with the average assessment of corruption of public officials in the country at 60 points. When asked about Salvadorans' perception of the involvement of the country's politicians in corruption, 80.4% of respondents report the belief that half or more of the country's politicians are involved in corruption.

On the other hand, the corruption victimization rate has remained stable since 2010, with 1 in 10 people reporting having been asked to pay a bribe in 2016.

The majority of people surveyed do not justify bribes (88.1%), while just over 10% believe that bribes are sometimes justified. The percentage of people who justify paying bribes has decreased between 2008 and 2014. However, it is important to note that, compared to 2014, the percentage of people who justify the payment of bribes experienced a statistically significant increase, from 8.7% in 2014 to 11.9% in 2016. In other words, tolerance for corruption has increased.

Appendix

Appendix 5.1. Determinants of Victimization by Different Types of Bribe in the Past 12 Months, El Salvador 2016 (Figure 5.18)

	Coefficients	(t)
Number of Children	2.806*	2.05
Woman	-0.539*	-2.49
Age	-0.831*	-2.45
Level of Education	0.474	0.94
Wealth Quintiles	0.323	1.38
Size of Location	-0.847*	-3.31
Constant	-2.820*	-7.16
F	4.79	
Number of Observations	1524	
Regression-Standardized Coefficients with t-Statistics based on Standard Errors Adjusted for the Survey Design		
*p<0.05		



Chapter 6.

Democratic Orientations in the Americas

Ryan E. Carlin with LAPOP

I. Introduction

Plato's *Republic* posed a question with which philosophers and political scientists still grapple: what makes a democracy stable? One ingredient in democracy's success is its ability to generate legitimacy while giving its detractors a political voice. Yet if mass support for the democratic system begins to slip, political instability could result. This chapter provides a time-lapsed photo of democratic legitimacy and political tolerance among the citizens of the Americas from 2006 to 2017, and analyzes the factors that shape these attitudes and the democratic orientations that they undergird.

Because it captures the relationship between citizens and state institutions, legitimacy plays a defining role in the study of political culture (Almond and Verba 1963; Diamond 1999). LAPOP defines political legitimacy in terms of citizen support for the political system. Political legitimacy or "system support" has two central dimensions: diffuse and specific support (Easton 1975). While specific support concerns citizen 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 (operationalized through AmericasBarometer survey data) captures the diffuse dimension of support that is central to democratic survival (Booth and Seligson 2009).

Democratic legitimacy is a product of both contextual and individual factors. Among contextual explanations, one perspective holds that certain cultures grant democratic institutions greater legitimacy. According to this view, Latin America's corporatist institutions disadvantage democracy (Wiarda 2003). For other scholars, economic development heavily influences citizens' attitudes about the political system (Almond and Verba 1963; Inglehart 1988; Lipset 1963). Economic development often increases education, which typically correlates with the expression of democratic values in Latin America (Booth and Seligson 2009; Carlin 2006; Carlin and Singer 2011). Still others argue that the institutional features that make electoral defeat more palatable, e.g. that make legislative representation more proportional, can bolster system support, especially among election losers (Anderson et al. 2005). Interestingly, institutional configurations in the Latin American region seem to yield election winners who are less supportive of democratic rules of the game (Carlin and Singer 2011). Since most contextual factors are fairly static or slow moving, mean levels of diffuse support for the political system are often theorized to be stable in the short run.

Perceptions of legitimacy, however, may not always be static within and across individuals. Citizens' experiences with the system may change frequently, and can partially determine the degree of legitimacy citizens accord to the democratic system. In particular, economic hardship, greater personal insecurity, and poor governance can all undermine the legitimacy citizens grant democracy (Booth and Seligson 2009; Bratton and Mattes 2001; Duch 1995; Evans and Whitefield 1995; Morris 2008; Salinas and Booth 2011; Seligson 2002, 2006). Indeed, recent AmericasBarometer reports have linked perceptions of and experience with economic outcomes,

the integrity of state officials, and the security situation to citizens' evaluations of the political system (Carlin et al. 2014).

Political tolerance is a second major component of political culture. Since broadly inclusive citizenship is a hallmark of democracy (Dahl 1971), political toleration is a central pillar of democratic quality and survival. In line with previous LAPOP research, political tolerance is defined as “the respect by citizens for the political rights of others, especially those with whom they may disagree.” Intolerance has nefarious effects on the quality of democracy, as well. Among both the mass public and elites, it is linked to support for policies that constrain individual freedoms (Gibson 1988, 1995, 1998, 2008).

What shapes political tolerance? At the macro level, more developed countries have generally more tolerant citizenries (Inglehart and Welzel 2005; Peffley and Rohrschneider 2003), while also tending to display more tolerance on specific issues such as same-sex marriage (Lodola and Corral 2010). External threats and security crises as well as levels of democratization are also related to tolerance. At the micro-level, scholars point to many factors including perceptions of high levels of threat (Marcus, Neuman and MacKuen 2000; Merolla and Zechmeister 2009), authoritarian personality (Altemeyer 2007), gender (Golebiowska 1999), and religion (Stouffer 1955).

Legitimacy and tolerance are, therefore, core elements of democratic culture. These attitudes combine to make unique profiles of democratic orientations. To understand how such orientations influence democratic stability, some scholars use the imagery of a reservoir: extended periods of strong performance raise levels of pro-democracy orientations high enough so that in hard times the regime can draw on these reserves to sustain itself. In such circumstances, democracy takes on inherent value and mass democratic orientations prove robust to economic shocks and short downturns in performance (Easton 1975; Lipset 1963). But few Latin American and Caribbean democracies have enjoyed long uninterrupted periods of prosperity and good governance. Thus, the region's pro-democracy reservoirs are likely shallow and may tend to ebb and flow with performance. This report, like others before it, seeks to track the depth of democratic orientations in the Americas over time, gauge their breadth across countries in the region, and analyze how citizens' specific experiences with democratic institutions shape their orientations to democracy.

II. Main Findings

This chapter documents two types of evidence. First, it reports on over-time trends and cross-national patterns in the Americas. Some key findings include:

- On average, support for the political system fell in El Salvador from 55.3 in 2014 to 51.2 in 2016. There is a deterioration in the components tapping beliefs about respect for institutions, level of normative support for the system, confidence that basic rights are protected, and pride in the political system.
- In El Salvador, political tolerance rose from 42.1 in 2014 to 47.7 in 2016, both in general and in each of its components.
- In 2016, orientations conducive to a *democracy at risk* and to *authoritarian* stability dominate in El Salvador; orientations conducive to democratic stability increased on average in El Salvador in 2016 (23%) compared to 2014 (19%).



Second, this chapter considers how citizens' perceptions of and experience with political institutions shape their democratic orientations. The evidence is consistent with the following conclusions:

- Of the factors studied in this report, trust in political parties and trust in elections are the most powerful predictors of the democratic orientations of Salvadorans – particularly those conducive to stable democracy.
- Salvadorans' judgements of local government influence democratic orientations. Trust in local governments matters, in particular, for orientations that place democracy at risk. Satisfaction with local government services matters most for orientations linked to unstable democracy.
- The extent to which Salvadorans feel their demands for basic political liberties are inadequately met shapes their democratic orientations.
- Perceptions of and experiences with corruption in El Salvador have only modest relevance with respect to citizens' democratic orientations.

The rest of the chapter unfolds as follows. Section III explores Support for the Political System, Political Tolerance, and how they combine to form four distinct profiles of Democratic Orientations: *Stable Democracy*, *Authoritarian Stability*, *Unstable Democracy*, and *Democracy at Risk*. For each, it reports trends from 2004 to 2016/17 and in 2016/17 in El Salvador. Section IV use regression analysis to probe what kinds of citizens are most likely to hold the four Democratic Orientations. Its goal is to compare the predictive leverage of factors that figure prominently in previous chapters of this report. Section V concludes with a discussion of the main findings and their implications.

III. Democratic Orientations across the Region and over Time

Stable democracies need citizens who support their institutions and respect the rights of, i.e. tolerate, dissenters. In other words, legitimacy/system support and political tolerance influence democratic stability. The ways in which this and previous LAPOP studies expect system support and tolerance, in combination, to affect stable democracy are summarized in Figure 6.1. If the majority in a country shows high system support as well as high tolerance, democracy should be stable, i.e. "consolidated." Conditions in which the citizenry has high system support but low tolerance do not bode well for democracy and, at the extreme, could support a more authoritarian model. A third possibility is an unstable democracy, where the majority exhibits high political tolerance but accords political institutions low legitimacy; these cases might see some instability but critiques of the system are grounded in a commitment to core democratic values. Finally, if the majority is intolerant and unsupportive of democratic institutions, democracy may be at risk of degradation or even breakdown.

Figure 6.1. The Relationship between System Support and Political Tolerance

	High Tolerance	Low Tolerance
High System Support	Stable Democracy	Authoritarian Stability
Low System Support	Unstable Democracy	Democracy at Risk

Notably, this conceptualization has empirical support. For example, data from the 2004 and 2008 AmericasBarometer studies identified serious warning signs of political instability in Honduras just before the military forces unconstitutionally exiled then president Zelaya to Costa Rica (Booth and Seligson 2009; Pérez, Booth, and Seligson 2010). Before analyzing these attitudes in combination, let us examine the two dimensions – support for the political system and political tolerance – separately.

Support for the Political System

Booth and Seligson (2009) proposed a general way of looking at public support for the political system by measuring “system support” – a summary belief in the legitimacy of political institutions in a country and overall levels of support for how the political system is organized. It is measured using an index¹ created from the mean of responses to the following questions from the AmericasBarometer survey:

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 El Salvador guarantee a fair trial? (Read: If you think the courts do not ensure justice <u>at all</u> , choose number 1; if you think the courts ensure justice <u>a lot</u> , choose number 7 or choose a point in between the two.)
B2. To what extent do you respect the political institutions of El Salvador?
B3. To what extent do you think that citizens’ basic rights are well protected by the political system of El Salvador?
B4. To what extent do you feel proud of living under the political system of El Salvador?
B6. To what extent do you think that one should support the political system of El Salvador?

Responses to each question are based on a 7-point scale, running from 1 (“not at all”) to 7 (“a lot”). Following the LAPOP standard, the resulting index is rescaled from 0 to 100, so that 0 represents very low support for the political system, and 100 represents very high support. Responses for each component are also rescaled from 0 to 100 for presentation.

¹ For the region as a whole, Cronbach’s alpha for an additive scale of the five variables is very high ($\alpha = .81$) and principal components analysis indicates that they measure a single dimension.

Figure 6.2 compares levels of the system support index and its five components since 2004 in El Salvador. Support for the political system reached its lowest level in El Salvador in 2016 (51.2). This is due to a decrease in several of the components of this system support index in 2016: respect for institutions, level of normative support for the system, confidence that basic rights are protected, and pride in the political system of El Salvador.

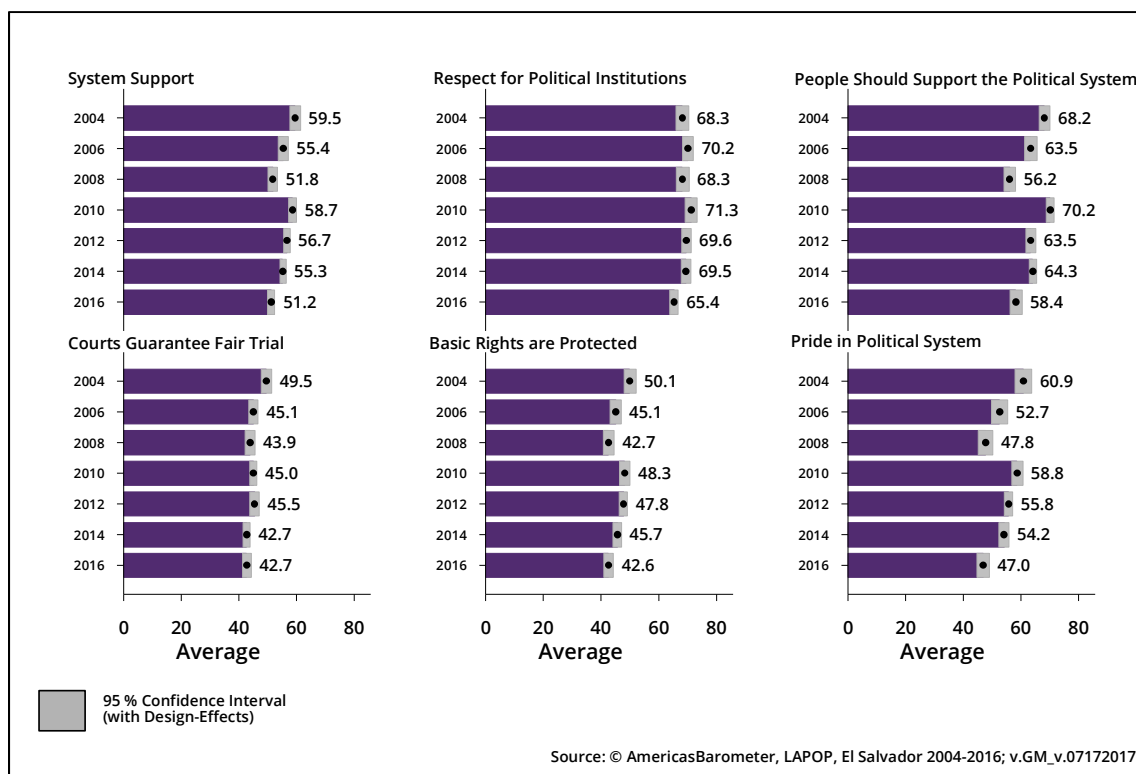


Figure 6.2. System Support and Its Components in El Salvador, 2004-2016

How does support for the political system vary across the Americas today? Figure 6.3 presents levels of system support in the 2016/17 AmericasBarometer study. System support is highest in Guyana (65.5 degrees) followed by Nicaragua, Canada, and Costa Rica (62-63 degrees) and, for the third round running, lowest in Brazil (34.1 degrees). At 53.7 degrees, the United States hovers above the regional average (49.7). El Salvador is positioned at an intermediate level in support for the political system compared to other countries of the region.

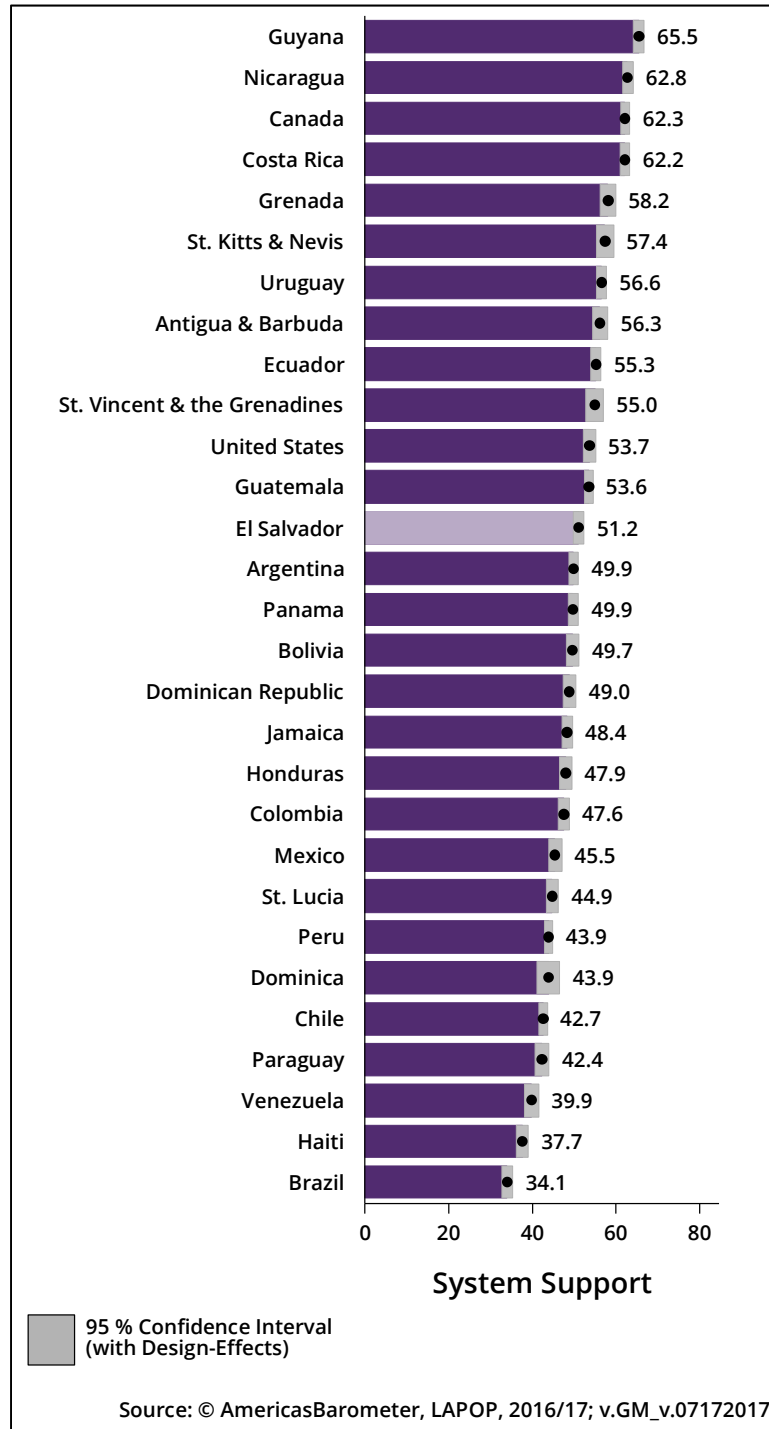


Figure 6.3. System Support in the Americas, 2016/17

Political Tolerance

High levels of support for the political system do not guarantee the quality and survival of liberal democratic institutions. Liberal democracy also requires citizens to accept the principles of open democratic competition and tolerance of dissent. Thus, the AmericasBarometer measures political tolerance toward those citizens who object to the political system. This index is composed of the following four items:

- D1.** There are people who only say bad things about the El Salvador 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]: *[Probe: To what degree?]*
- 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 the El Salvador 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**?

As with standard LAPOP indices, each respondent's mean (average) reported response to these four questions is calculated and then rescaled so that the resulting variable runs from 0 to 100, where 0 represents very low tolerance and 100 represents very high tolerance. Responses for each component have also been rescaled from 0 to 100 for presentation below.²

Figure 6.4 shows the averages of the political tolerance index in each round of the AmericasBarometer in El Salvador since 2004.

How stable is political tolerance? Political tolerance in El Salvador increased significantly to 47.7 points after a period of stability between 2010 and 2014. However, political tolerance for the country remains below the averages observed between 2004 and 2008. The increase in political tolerance among Salvadorans is due to significant increases in all the components of this index, which include measures of tolerance of opposition right to protest, vote, give speeches and be political candidates.

² Cronbach's alpha for an additive scale of the four variables is very high (.84) and principal components analysis indicates that they measure a single dimension.

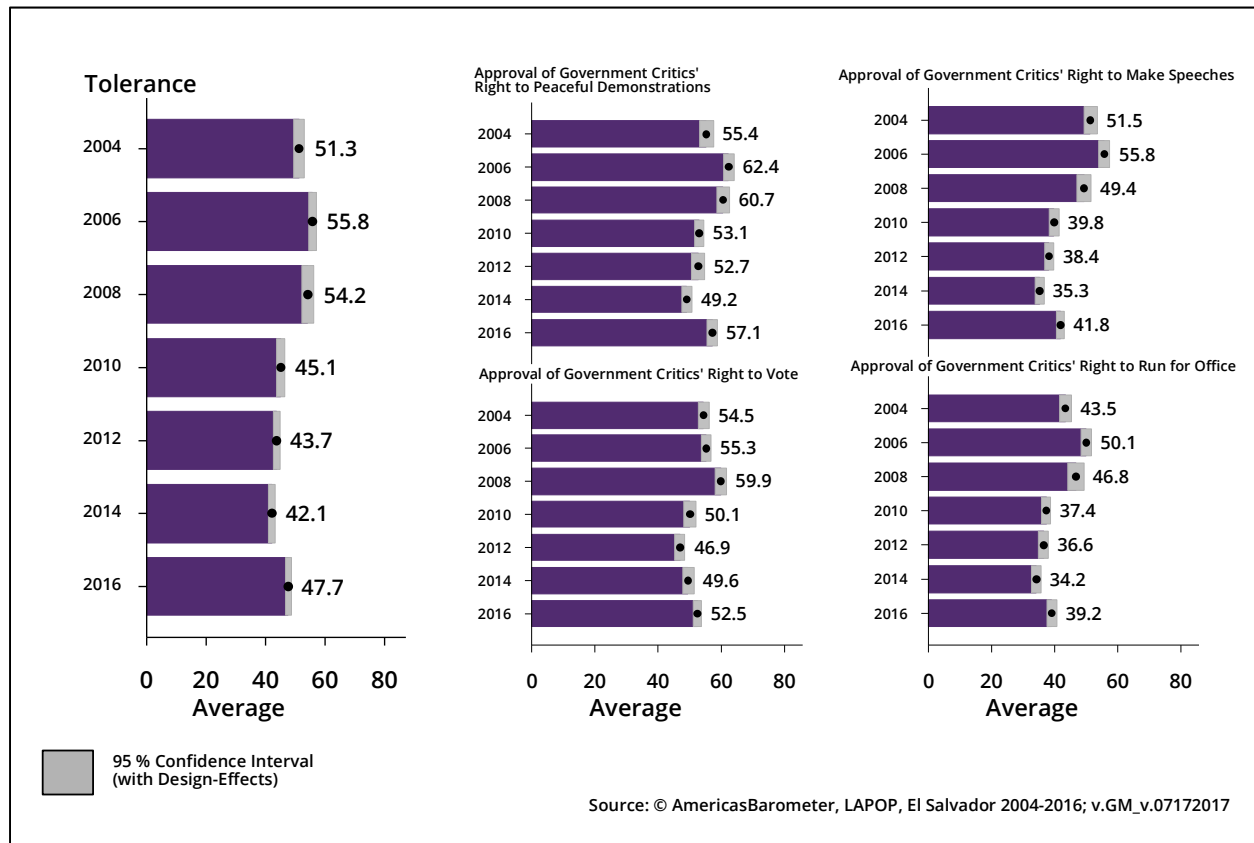


Figure 6.4. Political Tolerance and Its Components in El Salvador, 2004-2016

The cross-national distribution of tolerance of political dissent in the region can be appreciated in Figure 6.5, which maps countries by mean score on the index from the 2016/17 AmericasBarometer. Tolerance is greatest in Canada and the United States (69.8 and 69.2 degrees on the 0-100 scale, respectively) and lowest in Peru and Colombia (47.6 and 45.4 degrees, respectively).

Although El Salvador experienced a significant increase in political tolerance between 2014 and 2016, the country is positioned among the countries in the region with the lowest levels of political tolerance. Salvadorans report a higher average of political tolerance when compared to Peruvians and Colombians.

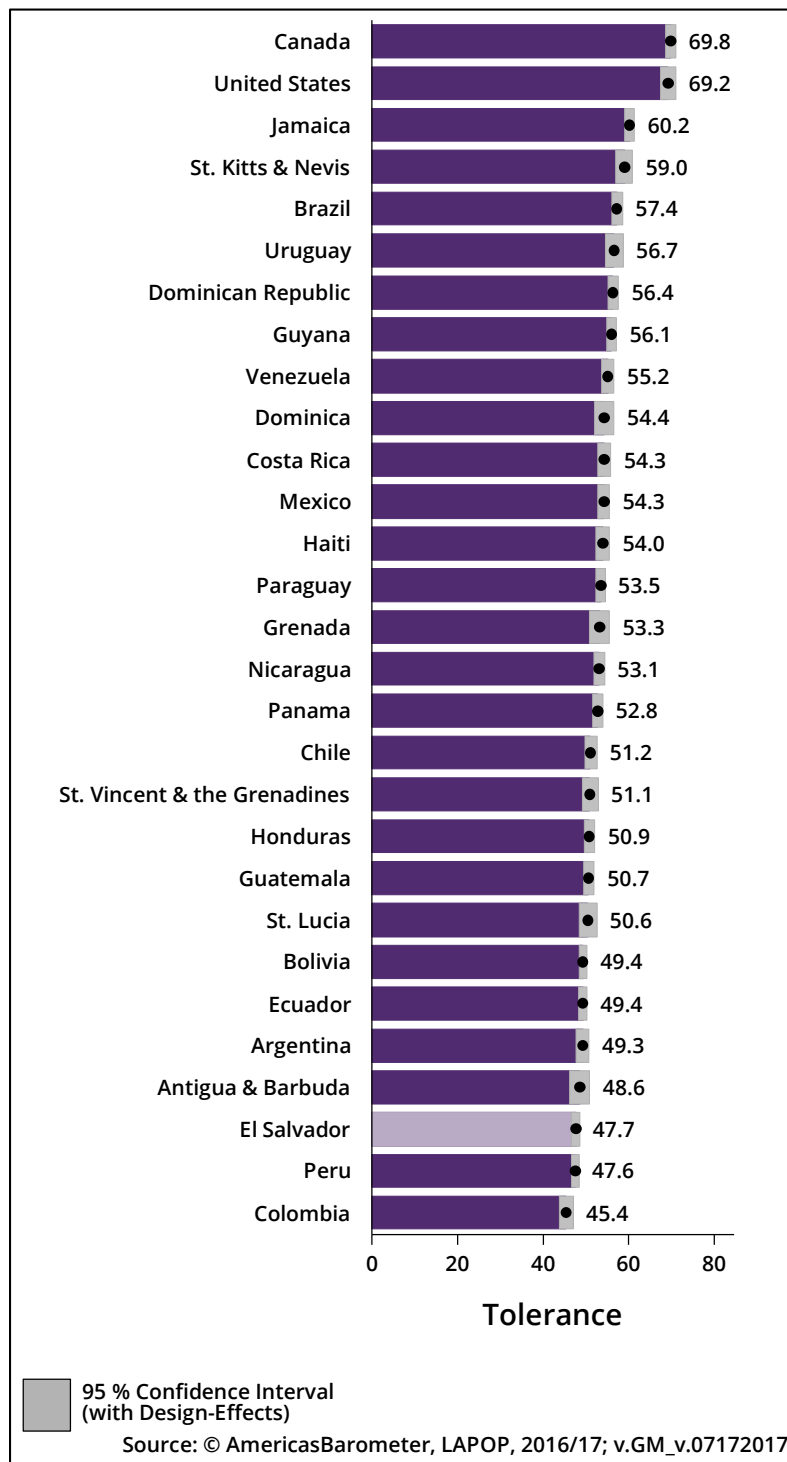


Figure 6.5. Political Tolerance in the Americas, 2016/17

Political tolerance appears no more stable than system support in the Americas from 2014 to 2016/17. Unlike system support, however, tolerance has risen on average in the region since 2014.

Orientations Conducive to Democratic Stability

To identify the orientations theorized to bolster democracy, the data from the system support and political tolerance indices outlined in the previous two sections are combined. Individuals who score above 50 (the midpoint) on both scales are considered to have attitudes conducive to *Stable Democracy*. Those who score below 50 (the midpoint) on both scales are considered to hold orientations that place *Democracy at Risk*. Individuals with high political tolerance but low system support have orientations that favor *Unstable Democracy*. Lastly, individuals with high system support but low tolerance are said to foster *Authoritarian Stability*.

How prevalent are these orientations in El Salvador? Figure 6.6 reports the trends between 2004 and 2016 for El Salvador. In 2016, the orientations that place democracy at risk and those that foster authoritarian stability dominate in El Salvador. However, the percentage of Salvadorans with these orientations decreased between 2014 and 2016. Although there is a decrease of 10 percentage points with respect to the profile of *authoritarian stability*. At the same time, the percentages of individuals with orientations leading to an unstable democracy and a stable democracy increase. With respect to respondents holding attitudes conducive of a stable democracy, we see that although there is an increase in 2016, the percentage with these orientations has remained stable since 2008, when a significant decrease was observed compared to the rounds of 2006 and 2004.

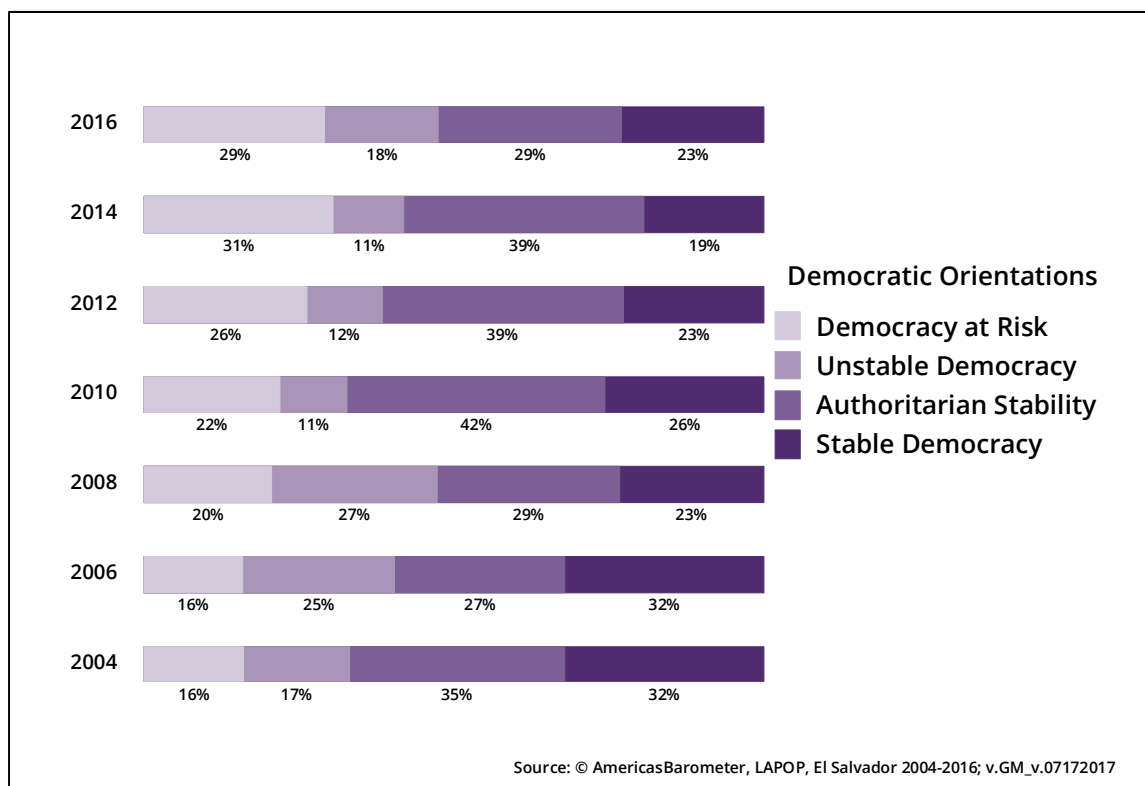


Figure 6.6. Democratic Orientations over Time in El Salvador, 2004-2016

The distribution of these orientations across countries is shown in Figure 6.7. Regarding the attitudes conducive to a *stable democracy* - high system support and high political tolerance - the results shown in Figure 6.7 highlight an extreme case: Canada. With 61%, Canada leads the region in orientations towards *stable democracy*. It is followed by Guyana (45%), the United States (43%)

and Costa Rica (40%). With 13% and 15% respectively, Brazil and Venezuela have the lowest percentages of citizens with favorable orientations to a *stable democracy*. In El Salvador, a little less than a quarter (23%) of the population has orientations that favor a *stable democracy*, which is significantly lower than the rest of the region.

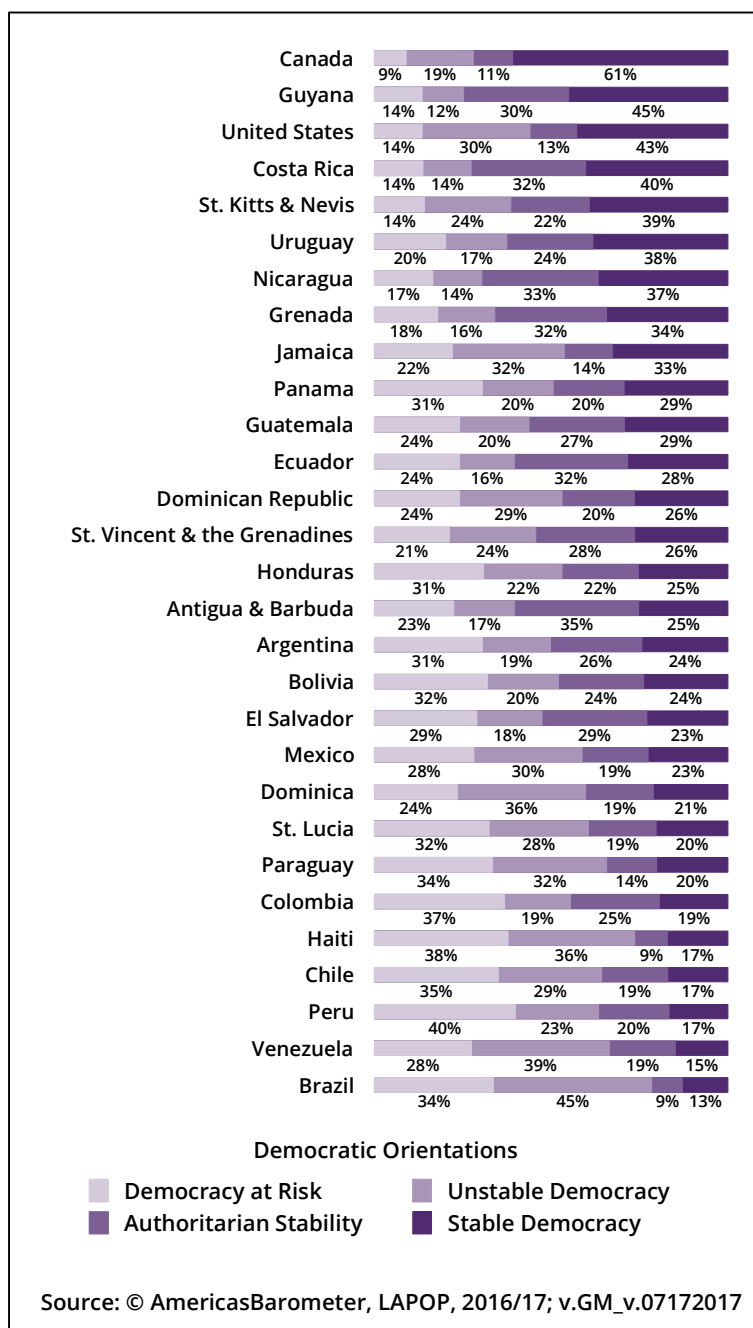


Figure 6.7. Democratic Orientations in the Americas, 2016/17

If we look at the interplay between *Stable Democracy* – the profile most supportive of democratic stability – and *Democracy at Risk* – the profile most threatening to democratic stability –, two patterns emerge. First, in some cases *Stable Democracy* orientations have grown and *Democracy at Risk* orientations have dwindled. In Honduras, for example, we find that the percentage of

individuals with *Stable Democracy* orientations has more than tripled its 2012 level while, at the same time, the proportion of individuals with orientations that put *Democracy at Risk* was more than halved. Similar if less exaggerated patterns are seen Costa Rica, Nicaragua, Ecuador, Peru, Paraguay, and the Dominican Republic.³

A second pattern is less heartening to democracy's champions. Namely, *Democracy at Risk* orientations are gaining ground over *Stable Democracy* orientations in handful of countries. For example, the percentage of Venezuelans who fit the *Democracy at Risk* profile has nearly doubled since 2012. *Stable Democrats*, by contrast, now make up just 15% of the population, down from 43% in 2006. Parallel, if less pronounced, dynamics have played out in Mexico and in Colombia since 2010.⁴

In short, although the political culture supporting democracy may have expanded in several countries in the hemisphere, it has diminished substantially in others. In El Salvador, the percentage that exhibits political orientations conducive to stable democracy increased slightly. Next, we next explore how individuals' experiences and opinions regarding political institutions shape democratic orientations.

IV. Citizens, State Institutions, and Democratic Orientations

What kinds of citizens are most likely to hold attitudes conducive to stable democracy? As mentioned above, diffuse democratic orientations are considered deep-seated and, thus, quite stable in the short run. However, in the comparatively young democracies of Latin America and the Caribbean, citizens' perceptions of and experiences with the institutions of the democratic state may still be crucial predictors of democratic orientations. So which factors are most important to understanding individuals' democratic orientations in the 2016/17 AmericasBarometer?

To answer this question, we use fixed-effects multinomial logistic regression to model the four democratic orientations described above as a function of key variables. These include trust in political parties and trust in elections from Chapter 1; perceived deficit of democratic liberties from Chapter 2; corruption victimization, perception of corruption, and tolerance towards corruption from Chapter 5; crime victimization and perceptions of insecurity from Chapter 3; and satisfaction with local government services and trust in local government. The models also control for the five standard socio-economic and demographic variables (gender, age, wealth, education, city size). Analyses are conducted using data from El Salvador only.⁵

³ These cases also show a lowered prevalence of *Authoritarian Stability* attitudes and rising levels of *Unstable Democracy* attitude profiles, i.e. those who are politically tolerant but have withdrawn support for the system.

⁴ Over the decade 2006 to 2016/17, the percentage of Mexicans with an *Authoritarian Stability* attitude profile shrunk from 29.2% to 18.5%. However, *Stable Democracy* attitudes in Mexico fell gradually from 41.1% to 22.6%, *Democracy at Risk* attitudes rose steadily from 13.4% to 28.3%, and *Unstable Democracy* attitudes grew from 16.6% to 30.5%.

⁵ See results of the regressions in this chapter in the appendix placed on the LAPOP website.

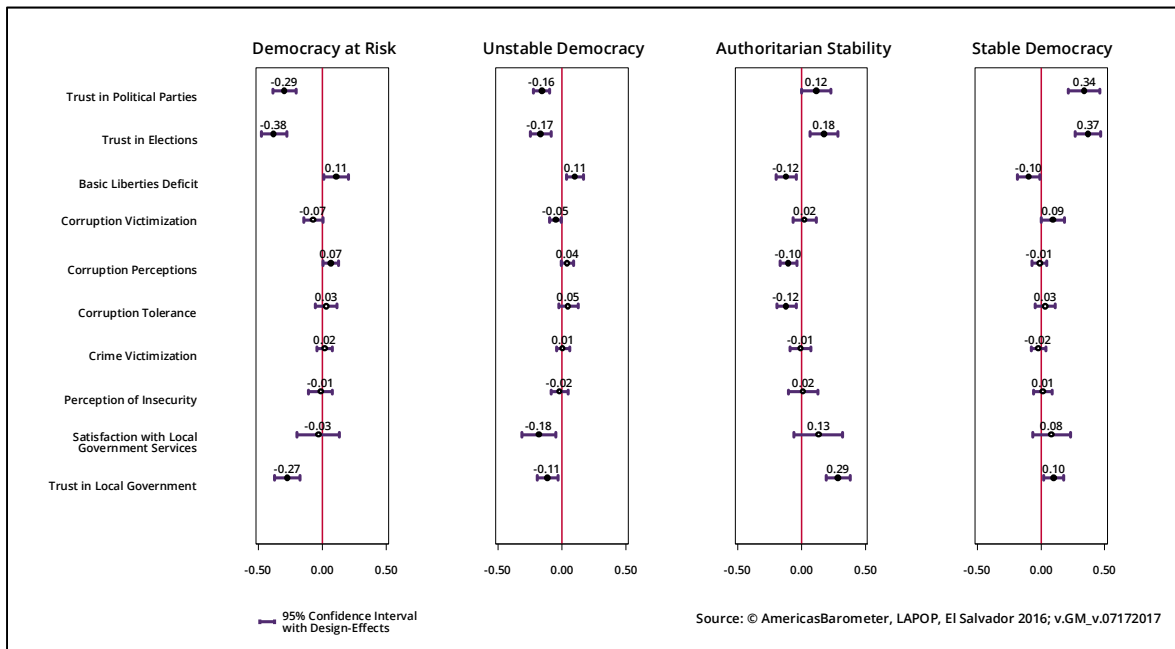


Figure 6.8. Maximal Effects of Predictors of Democratic Attitude Profiles in El Salvador, 2016

Figure 6.8 reports the changes in the predicted probability of observing each of the four profiles when we simulate a change of each variable from its minimum value to its maximum value while holding all other variables constant at their means. Such “maximal effects” allow us to compare the relative impact of factors this report has identified as crucial to understanding opinions towards democratic governance.

Let us contrast the first pair of diametrically opposed orientations: *Stable Democracy* (far right column in the figure) – which blends high levels of system support with high levels of political tolerance – and *Democracy at Risk* (far left column in the figure) – which couples low levels of system support and low levels of political tolerance. As Figure 6.8 suggests, the correlates of these profiles are mirror images of each other. For instance, increasing trust in political parties from none to a lot makes one 34 percentage points more likely to hold orientations that augur in favor of *Stable Democracy* and 29 percentage points less likely to hold orientations that put *Democracy at Risk*. We see similar, if slightly weaker, effects when it comes to the maximal effects of trust in elections and trust in local government. By the same token, when individuals perceive a deficit in basic democratic liberties, it boosts their chances of holding *Democracy at Risk* orientations by 11 percentage points and lowers their chances of holding *Stable Democracy* orientations. Maximal effects of corruption perceptions raise the probability of observing *Democracy at Risk* orientations by 7 percentage points, but has no significant effect on the probability of observing orientations favorable to *Stable Democracy*. This pattern is replicated with other variables in the analysis.

Now let us contrast a second pair of opposing orientations: *Unstable Democracy* – combining low system support with high political tolerance – and *Authoritarian Stability* – melding high system support and low political tolerance. Figure 6.8 suggests the drivers of these orientation profiles, again, mirror each other in key ways. Political trust matters a great deal for both orientations. Bolstering trust – in political parties, elections, and local governments – bolsters the chances of espousing *Authoritarian Stability* orientations and undercuts the chances of espousing *Unstable Democracy* orientations. But evaluations of local government services matter as well. Indeed

citizens who are most satisfied with local services are 18 percentage points less likely than citizens least satisfied to evince orientations conducive to *Unstable Democracy*. But satisfactions with local services does not seem to affect the orientations of *Authoritarian Stability*, *Democracy at Risk*, and *Stable Democracy*. The perceived deficit of basic liberties decreases the likelihood of observing *Authoritarian Stability* orientations and increases the likelihood of observing orientations of *Unstable Democracy*.

Overall, how citizens evaluate, perceive, and experience their governing institutions shapes their democratic orientations and, in turn, the regime's stability. Our analysis highlights the importance of trust in political parties and elections – the institutions charged with adding the political preferences of citizens and translating them into democratic representation. Additionally, they highlight the local connection. The level of confidence of citizens in their local governments and how they evaluate their services strongly influences their democratic orientations. Furthermore, the extent to which citizens feel that the state provides basic democratic freedoms helps determine their democratic orientations. Finally, we note that citizens' experiences with corruption and insecurity and the perception of them, offer little predictive power of democratic orientations. Its maximum effects are almost equal to those of the control variables (≤ 0.06). However, as past reports have shown, these factors are often associated with system support and political tolerance when analyzed separately (Carlin et al., 2012, 2014).

V. Conclusion

Democracy's future in the Americas hinges on mass support for its institutions and the inclusive nature of democratic citizenship. When citizens broadly view the system as legitimate and tolerate even its most ardent detractors, democracy can achieve remarkable stability. But when this cultural foundation erodes, democracy's fate is less certain. Chapter 1 tracked noteworthy decay, on average in the region, in support for democracy in the abstract and in trust in and attachment to political parties. These outcomes are concerning, yet the set of attitudes that matter for democratic quality and stability is broader. It is also important to track legitimacy, political tolerance, and democratic orientations in the Americas, to compare them across countries, and, most crucially, to understand how citizens' interaction with state institutions shapes democratic orientations. This chapter sought to do just that. Now let us review our findings and ponder what they might mean for democracy's defenders and policymakers in this hemisphere.

A straightforward message from the over-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 largely due to flagging faith that courts guarantee a fair trial and that the system protects citizens' basic rights. Yet respect for regime was stable and normative commitments to them increased. Such diverging dynamics can have political implications. In this instance, robust respect for and commitment to democratic institutions can anchor the system if reformers seek to craft policies to improve the justice system. Pairing this conclusion with rising tolerance for public dissent, policymakers may, indeed, find fertile ground for their reforms.

Another noteworthy message this chapter communicates is that democratic legitimacy and political tolerance exhibit volatility in the Americas. Brief analyses of specific cases here suggest this volatility reflects the real-time processes of democratization and de-democratization. As mentioned, scholars have used AmericasBarometer data to argue that low levels of legitimacy can be bellwethers of democratic instability (Booth and Seligson 2009; Pérez, Booth and Seligson



2010). Beyond specific levels, however, short-term *volatility* in system support, political tolerance, and/or democratic orientations may also have important implications – positive and negative – for democracy. This is an open question that can only be answered with consistently repeated measurement. Monitoring mass democratic sentiment cross-nationally and over time, a core mandate of the AmericasBarometer, is therefore crucial to understanding democratic stability.

Finally, this chapter's findings have implications for political actors in the region. Political parties, elections, and local government are some of the institutions with which citizens have the most contact. Citizens' trust in these institutions are the three strongest predictors of their democratic orientations. The strength of this relationship makes the findings presented in earlier chapters on declining confidence in parties and low trust in local government particularly relevant; though regional average orientations toward democratic stability have ticked upward, this outcome rests on tenuous grounds. This places a lot of responsibility on the shoulders of the actors who inhabit these institutions. It is thus incumbent upon party leaders to show themselves to be capable, honest, and responsive to citizens (Carlin 2014). Beyond those actors who can influence electoral commissions and other institutions that shape the conduct of elections, raising political knowledge, fostering interpersonal trust, and reaching out to those who voted for the losing candidates can boost trust in elections (Layton 2010) – and political actors can be protagonists of all three. And as Chapter 5 of this report indicates, local politicians may earn greater trust not only by providing better services, but also by reducing neighborhood insecurity, rooting out corruption, and getting citizens engaged in local politics. Finally, while political actors surely have their parts to play in cultivating democratic culture, citizens have parts, as well. Becoming and staying informed and acting to hold politicians and state institutions accountable remain key duties of democratic citizenship, without which we should not expect the status quo to change for the better.

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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 was a preliminary version of the cross-time, cross-national merge of the 2004-2016/17 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



VANDERBILT UNIVERSITY

October, 2016

Dear Sir/ Madam:

You have been selected at random to participate in a study of public opinion on behalf of Fundación Dr. Guillermo Manuel Ungo (FUNDAUNGO). The project is supported by the United States Agency for International Development 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 El Salvador. 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, 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, sections of the interview may be recorded.

If you have any questions about the study, please do not hesitate to contact Fundación Dr. Guillermo Manuel Ungo at 2243-0406 or María Elena at the email me.rivera@fundaungo.org.sv.

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

Are you willing to participate?

Appendix C. Questionnaire

Barómetro de las Américas 2016 Cuestionario El Salvador Versión # 14.0.2.2 Aprobación IRB: 110627



LAPOP: El Salvador, 2016

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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 Kitts y Nevis	
IDNUM. Número de cuestionario [asignado en la oficina]				
ESTRATOPRI:				
(1) Occidental (2) Central I (3) Central II (4) Oriental (5) AMSS				
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. Departamento: _____				
MUNICIPIO. Municipio: _____				
ELSSEGMENTO. Segmento censal [código oficial del censo]: _____				
CLUSTER. [Unidad Final de Muestreo o Punto Muestral]: _____				
[Cada cluster debe tener 6 entrevistas; usar código oficial del censo]				
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: 2016				
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	
Q2Y. ¿En qué año nació? _____ año (888888) No sabe [NO LEER] (988888) No responde [NO LEER]	
LS3. Para comenzar, ¿en general, qué tan satisfecho(a) está con su vida? ¿Usted diría que se encuentra: [Leer alternativas] (1) Muy satisfecho(a) (2) Algo satisfecho(a) (3) Algo insatisfecho(a) (4) Muy insatisfecho(a)? (888888) No sabe [NO LEER] (988888) No responde [NO LEER]	

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
Conflicto armado	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]	

Ahora vamos a hablar de su municipio...	
NP1. ¿Ha asistido a un cabildo abierto o una sesión municipal durante los últimos 12 meses? (1) Sí (2) No (888888) No sabe [NO LEER] (988888) No responde [NO LEER]	
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) (4) Malos (5) Muy malos (pésimos) (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		
CP13. ¿Reuniones de un partido o movimiento político? Asiste...	1	2	3	4	888888	988888		
CP20. [SOLO A MUJERES] ¿Reuniones de asociaciones o grupos de mujeres o amas de casa? Asiste...	1	2	3	4	888888	988888	999999	

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]

	Sí	No	No sabe [NO LEER]	No responde [NO LEER]	Inaplicable [NO LEER]	
CP21A. ¿Hay una asociación o junta directiva de vecinos en esta comunidad/colonia? [Si la respuesta es NO, No sabe o No responde, pase a CP26]	1	0	888888	988888		
CP22. ¿Es usted miembro de esa asociación o junta directiva?	1	0	888888	988888	999999	
CP23. En los últimos tres meses, ¿ha asistido usted a una reunión convocada por la asociación o junta directiva de vecinos?	1	0	888888	988888	999999	
CP24. En los últimos tres meses, ¿ha realizado usted trabajo voluntario para esa asociación o junta directiva?	1	0	888888	988888	999999	
CP25. En los últimos tres meses, ¿ha promovido la asociación o junta directiva de vecinos de esta comunidad/colonia actividades para prevenir la delincuencia, tales como tomar medidas de seguridad para el vecindario u otras actividades?	1	0	888888	988888	999999	
CP26. ¿Hay alguna otra asociación o institución que esté promoviendo programas para la prevención de la delincuencia en esta comunidad/colonia?	1	0	888888	988888		

	Sí	No	No sabe [NO LEER]	No responde [NO LEER]	Inaplicable [NO LEER]	
ESCP27. ¿Ha oído hablar del Comité o Consejo de Prevención de la Violencia de este municipio? [Si la respuesta es NO, No sabe o No responde, pase a L1]	1	0	888888	988888		
ESCP28N. En los últimos tres meses, ¿ha asistido usted o algún conocido a una reunión convocada por el Comité o Consejo de Prevención de la Violencia de este municipio?	1	0	888888	988888	999999	

<p>[ENTREGAR TARJETA “B” AL ENTREVISTADO] NADA 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 MUCHO</p> <p>[Anotar 1-7, No sabe=888888, No responde=988888, Inaplicable=999999]</p> <p>Usando esta tarjeta en donde 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. Podría decirme...</p> <p>ESCP29. ¿Hasta qué punto cree usted que el Comité o Consejo de Prevención de la Violencia de este municipio ha logrado reducir el nivel de la delincuencia?</p>	
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[RECOGER TARJETA “B”]**[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.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	No sabe [NO LEER] 888888	No responde [NO LEER] 988888
Izquierda										Derecha	

[RECOGER TARJETA “A”]

<p>PROT3. ¿En los últimos 12 meses ha participado en una manifestación o protesta pública?</p> <p>(1) Sí ha participado (2) No ha participado</p> <p>(888888) No sabe [NO LEER] (988888) No responde [NO LEER]</p>	
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CUESTIONARIO A

Ahora hablemos de otro tema. Algunos dicen 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)
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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)
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JC15A. ¿Cree usted que cuando el país enfrenta momentos muy difíciles, se justifica que el presidente del país cierre la Asamblea Legislativa y gobierne sin Asamblea Legislativa?	(1) Sí se justifica	(2) No se justifica	No sabe [NO LEER] (888888)	No responde [NO LEER] (988888)	
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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 delictual en los últimos 12 meses?

(1) Sí **[Sigue]** (2) No **[Pasa a VIC1HOGAR]**
(888888) No sabe **[NO LEER]** **[Pasa a VIC1HOGAR]**
(988888) No responde **[NO LEER]** **[Pasa a VIC1HOGAR]**

VIC1EXTA. ¿Cuántas veces ha sido usted víctima de un acto delictual en los últimos 12 meses?

[Marcar el número] _____ **[VALOR MÁXIMO ACEPTADO: 20]**
(888888) No sabe **[NO LEER]** (988888) No responde **[NO LEER]**
(999999) Inaplicable **[NO LEER]**

VIC2B. De estos actos delictuales que vivió en los últimos 12 meses, ¿en alguno sufrió ataques o amenazas de violencia, con o sin armas?

(1) Sí
(2) No
(888888) No sabe **[NO LEER]**
(988888) No responde **[NO LEER]**
(999999) Inaplicable (no fue víctima). **[NO LEER]**

VIC2NEW. Pensando en el último acto delictual del cual usted fue víctima, de la lista que le voy a leer, ¿qué tipo de acto delictual sufrió? **[Leer alternativas]**

(01) Robo sin arma **sin** agresión o amenaza física
(02) Robo sin arma **con** agresión o amenaza física
(03) Robo con arma
(04) Agresión física sin robo
(05) Violación o asalto sexual
(06) Secuestro
(07) Daño a la propiedad
(08) Robo de la casa, ladrones se metieron a la casa mientras no había nadie
(09) Robo de la casa, ladrones se metieron a la casa mientras había gente adentro
(10) Extorsión [o alguien le pidió "renta"]
(11) **[NO LEER]** Otro
(888888) No sabe **[NO LEER]**
(988888) No responde **[NO LEER]**
(999999) Inaplicable (no fue víctima) **[NO LEER]**

VIC1HOGAR. ¿Alguna otra persona que vive en su hogar ha sido víctima de algún acto de delincuencia en los últimos 12 meses? Es decir, ¿alguna otra persona que vive en su hogar ha sido víctima de un robo, hurto, agresión, fraude, chantaje, extorsión, amenazas o **algún otro tipo** de acto delictual en los últimos 12 meses?

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

En los últimos 12 meses, cuáles de las siguientes actividades ha visto a la Policía Nacional Civil hacer en esta comunidad/colonia ...	Sí	No	No sabe [NO LEER]	No responde [NO LEER]
CPOL1. Conversar con los residentes de esta comunidad/colonia	1	2	888888	988888
CPOL2. Asistir a reuniones de vecinos de esta comunidad/colonia	1	2	888888	988888
CPOL3. Ha visto a la Policía Nacional Civil ayudar a realizar actividades de prevención de la delincuencia en esta comunidad/colonia	1	2	888888	988888
CPOL4. Relacionarse con los niños y jóvenes de esta comunidad/colonia a través de actividades recreativas y escolares	1	2	888888	988888

DEMP1. ¿Qué prefiere usted? [Leer alternativas] (1) Que la Policía Nacional Civil se involucre más en la resolución de los problemas de su comunidad/colonia, o (2) Que la Policía Nacional Civil se involucre menos en la resolución de los problemas de su comunidad/colonia o (3) Que todo siga igual (888888) No sabe [NO LEER] (988888) No responde [NO LEER]	
POLE2NN. En general, usted está muy satisfecho(a), satisfecho(a), insatisfecho(a) o muy insatisfecho(a) con el desempeño de la policía en su comunidad o colonia? (1) Muy satisfecho(a) (2) Satisfecho(a) (3) Insatisfecho(a) (4) Muy insatisfecho(a) (5) [NO LEER] No hay policía en mi comunidad/colonia (888888) No sabe [NO LEER] (988888) No responde [NO LEER]	
ICO2. ¿Con qué frecuencia la policía nacional civil patrulla aquí en su comunidad/colonia? Usted diría: [Leer alternativas] (1) Varias veces al día (2) Al menos una vez al día (3) Algunas veces por semana (4) Algunas veces por mes (5) Rara vez (6) Nunca (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]	
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Por temor a ser víctima de la delincuencia, en los últimos doce meses usted...						
	Sí	No	No sabe [NO LEER]	No responde [NO LEER]	Inaplicable [NO LEER]	
VIC71. ¿Ha evitado salir solo(a) de su casa durante la noche?	(1) Sí	(0) No	888888	988888		
VIC72. ¿Ha evitado utilizar el transporte público?	(1) Sí	(0) No	888888	988888	999999 (No usa transporte público)	
VIC73. ¿Ha evitado dejar la casa sola durante la noche?	(1) Sí	(0) No	888888	988888		
VIC40A. ¿Ha evitado comprar cosas que le gusten porque se las pueden robar?	(1) Sí	(0) No	888888	988888		
VIC74. ¿Ha evitado que los niños o niñas de su casa jueguen en la calle?	(1) Sí	(0) No	888888	988888	999999 (No hay niños/niñas en la casa)	

VIC41. ¿Ha limitado los lugares de recreación?	(1) Sí	(0) No	888888	988888		
VIC43. ¿Ha sentido la necesidad de cambiar de comunidad o colonia por temor a la delincuencia? [en zona rural utilizar “caserío” o “comunidad”]	(1) Sí	(0) No	888888	988888		
VIC45N. En los últimos doce meses, ¿ha cambiado de trabajo o de lugar de estudio por temor a la delincuencia? [Si no trabaja o estudia marque 999999]	(1) Sí	(0) No	888888	988888	999999 (no trabaja/ estudia)	
AOJ11. Hablando del lugar o la comunidad/colonia 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]						
PESE1. ¿Considera usted que el nivel de violencia actual en su comunidad/colonia es mayor, igual, o menor que el de otras comunidades/colonias en este municipio? (1) Mayor (2) Igual (3) Menor (888888) No sabe [NO LEER] (988888) No responde [NO LEER]						
PESE2. ¿Considera usted que el nivel de violencia actual en su comunidad/colonia es mayor, igual, o menor que el de hace 12 meses? (1) Mayor (2) Igual (3) Menor (888888) No sabe [NO LEER] (988888) No responde [NO LEER]						
AOJ17. ¿Hasta qué punto diría que su comunidad/colonia está afectado por pandillas o maras? ¿Diría mucho, algo, poco o nada? (1) Mucho (2) Algo (3) Poco (4) Nada (888888) No sabe [NO LEER] (988888) No responde [NO LEER]						
AOJ18. Algunas personas dicen que la policía de esta comunidad/colonia protege a la gente frente a los delincuentes, mientras otros dicen que es la policía la que está involucrada en la delincuencia. ¿Qué opina usted? [Leer alternativas] (1) La policía protege a la gente frente a la delincuencia, o (2) La policía está involucrada en la delincuencia (3) [NO LEER] Ninguna, o ambas (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]

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 El Salvador garantizan un juicio justo? *[Sondée: 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 El Salvador?

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

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

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

B43. ¿Hasta qué punto tiene usted orgullo de ser salvadoreño(a)?

B11. ¿Hasta qué punto tiene confianza usted en el Tribunal Supremo Electoral?

B12. ¿Hasta qué punto tiene confianza usted en la Fuerza Armada?

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

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

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

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

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

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

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?

ESB48. ¿Hasta qué punto tiene confianza en el Instituto de Acceso a la Información Pública?

B50. ¿Hasta qué punto tiene confianza en la Sala de lo Constitucional?

ESB68. ¿Hasta qué punto tiene confianza en el Tribunal de Ética Gubernamental?

Utilizando la misma escala de 1 a 7, donde 1 es “nada” y 7 es “mucho.	(888888) No sabe (988888) No responde
PR3DN. Si en su comunidad/colonia alguno de sus vecinos decide construir o remodelar una vivienda sin licencia o permiso, ¿qué tan probable es que sea castigado por las autoridades?	
PR3EN. Y si alguien en su comunidad/colonia decide construir o remodelar una casa, ¿qué tan probable sería que a esa persona le pidieran pagar una mordida?	

[RECOGER TARJETA “B”]

PAZ1. ¿Considera Ud. que los Acuerdos de Paz han sido muy buenos, buenos, malos o muy malos para el país?

(1) Muy buenos (2) Buenos (3) Malos (4) Muy malos
(888888) No sabe **[NO LEER]** (988888) No responde **[NO LEER]**

PAZ4. ¿Cuánto cree Ud. que ha mejorado la situación política del país luego de la firma de los Acuerdos de Paz? **[Leer alternativas]**

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

PAZ5. ¿Cuánto cree Ud. que ha mejorado la situación económica del país luego de la firma de los Acuerdos de Paz? **[Leer alternativas]**

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

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

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



M2. Hablando de la Asamblea Legislativa y pensando en todos los diputados en su conjunto, sin importar los partidos políticos a los que pertenecen; ¿usted cree que los diputados de la Asamblea Legislativa salvadoreña están haciendo su trabajo muy bien, bien, ni bien ni mal, mal, o muy mal? (1) Muy bien (2) Bien (3) Ni bien ni mal (regular) (4) Mal (5) Muy Mal (888888) No sabe [NO LEER] (988888) No responde [NO LEER]	
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Y pensando en esta ciudad/área donde usted vive, SD2NEW2. ¿Está muy satisfecho(a), satisfecho(a), insatisfecho(a), o muy insatisfecho(a) con el estado de las vías, carreteras y autopistas? (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 utiliza) [NO LEER]	
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SD3NEW2. ¿Y con la calidad de las escuelas públicas? ¿Está usted... [Leer alternativas] (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 utiliza) [NO LEER]	
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SD6NEW2. ¿Y con la calidad de los servicios médicos y de salud públicos? ¿Está usted... [Leer alternativas] (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 utiliza) [NO LEER]	
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INFRAX. Suponga que alguien se mete a robar a su casa y usted llama a la policía. ¿Cuánto tiempo cree que la Policía se tardaría 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]	
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INFRA3. Suponga que está en su casa y tiene una lesión muy seria y necesita atención médica inmediata. ¿Cuánto tiempo cree que se tardaría en llegar (por el medio más rápido) al centro de salud/hospital más cercano (público o privado)? [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 servicios de salud/hospitales cercanos/ No iría a un hospital (888888) No sabe [NO LEER] (988888) No responde [NO LEER]	
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[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.

ROS1. El Estado salvadoreño, en lugar del sector privado, debería ser el dueño de las empresas e industrias más importantes del país. ¿Hasta qué punto está de acuerdo o en desacuerdo con esta frase?	
ROS4. El Estado salvadoreño 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?	
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?	
AOJ22NEW. Para reducir la criminalidad en un país como el nuestro hay que aumentar los castigos a los delincuentes. ¿Hasta qué punto está de acuerdo o en desacuerdo con esta frase?	

Y cambiando de tema...

[Continúa usando tarjeta "C"]

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

MEDIA3. La información que dan los medios de comunicación de noticias salvadoreños representan bien las distintas opiniones que hay en El Salvador. ¿Hasta qué punto está de acuerdo o en desacuerdo con esta frase?	
MEDIA4. Los medios de comunicación de noticias de El Salvador están controlados por unos pocos grupos económicos. ¿Hasta qué punto está de acuerdo o en desacuerdo con esta frase?	

Test A. Set 1.

[Continúa usando tarjeta "C"]

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

DST1B1. El gobierno debe gastar más dinero para hacer cumplir los reglamentos 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"]

DRK11. ¿Qué tan probable sería que usted o alguien en su familia inmediata aquí en El Salvador pueda morir o salir seriamente lastimado en un desastre natural como inundaciones, terremotos o deslaves 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]

(999999) Inaplicable [NO LEER]

[ENTREGAR TARJETA "N" AL ENTREVISTADO]

Vamos a usar esta nueva tarjeta.

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

ENV1C1. Alguna gente cree que hay que priorizar la protección del medio ambiente sobre el crecimiento económico, mientras otros creen que el crecimiento económico debería priorizarse sobre la protección ambiental. En una escala de 1 a 7 en la que 1 significa que el medio ambiente debe ser la principal prioridad, y 7 significa que el crecimiento económico debe ser la principal prioridad, ¿dónde se ubicaría usted?

[RECOGER TARJETA "N"]

ENV2B1. Si no se hace nada para reducir el cambio climático en el futuro, ¿qué tan serio piensa usted que sería el problema para El Salvador? [Leer alternativas]

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

Test A. Set 2.

[RECOGER TARJETA “C”]

[ENTREGAR TARJETA “N” AL ENTREVISTADO]

Vamos a usar esta nueva tarjeta.

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

ENV1C2. Alguna gente cree que hay que priorizar la protección del medio ambiente sobre el crecimiento económico, mientras otros creen que el crecimiento económico debería priorizarse sobre la protección ambiental. En una escala de 1 a 7 en la que 1 significa que el medio ambiente debe ser la principal prioridad, y 7 significa que el crecimiento económico debe ser la principal prioridad, ¿dónde se ubicaría usted?

[RECOGER TARJETA “N”]

ENV2B2. Si no se hace nada para reducir el cambio climático en el futuro, ¿qué tan serio piensa usted que sería el problema para El Salvador? [Leer alternativas]

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

[ENTREGAR TARJETA “C” AL ENTREVISTADO]

Volvemos a usar esta tarjeta de 1 “muy en desacuerdo” a 7 “muy de acuerdo”

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

DST1B2. El gobierno debe gastar más dinero para hacer cumplir los reglamentos 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”]

DRK12. ¿Qué tan probable sería que usted o alguien en su familia inmediata aquí en El Salvador pueda morir o salir seriamente lastimado en un desastre natural como inundaciones, terremotos o deslaves 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]
- (999999) Inaplicable [NO LEER]

<p>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 El Salvador?</p> <p>(1) Muy satisfecho(a) (2) Satisfecho(a) (3) Insatisfecho(a) (4) Muy insatisfecho(a) (888888) No sabe [NO LEER] (988888) No responde [NO LEER]</p>	
<p>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?</p> <p>(1) Sí, se justificaría (2) No, no se justificaría (888888) No sabe [NO LEER] (988888) No responde [NO LEER]</p>	
<p>EPN3A. ¿Qué tanto el Gobierno Central representa sus intereses y le beneficia como ciudadano? ¿Representa mucho, algo, poco o nada de sus intereses?</p> <p>(1) Mucho (2) Algo (3) Poco (4) Nada (888888) No sabe [NO LEER] (988888) No responde [NO LEER]</p>	
<p>EPN3B. ¿Qué tanto los Diputados de la Asamblea Legislativa representan sus intereses y le benefician como ciudadano? ¿Representa mucho sus intereses, algo, poco o nada de sus intereses?</p> <p>(1) Mucho (2) Algo (3) Poco (4) Nada (888888) No sabe [NO LEER] (988888) No responde [NO LEER]</p>	
<p>EPN3C. ¿Qué tanto la Alcaldía y Concejo Municipal representan sus intereses y le benefician como ciudadano? ¿Representa mucho sus intereses, algo, poco o nada de sus intereses?</p> <p>(1) Mucho (2) Algo (3) Poco (4) Nada (888888) No sabe [NO LEER] (988888) No responde [NO LEER]</p>	

[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...

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	888888 No sabe [NO LEER]	988888 No responde [NO LEER]
Desaprueba firmemente										Aprueba firmemente	

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

<p>E5. Que las personas participen en manifestaciones permitidas por la ley. ¿Hasta qué punto aprueba o desaprueba?</p>	
<p>E15. Que las personas participen en un cierre o bloqueo de calles o carreteras como forma de protesta. Usando la misma escala, ¿hasta qué punto aprueba o desaprueba?</p>	
<p>E16. Que las personas hagan justicia por su propia cuenta cuando el Estado no castiga a los criminales. ¿Hasta qué punto aprueba o desaprueba?</p>	
<p>D1. Hay personas que siempre hablan mal de la forma de gobierno de El Salvador, 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?]</p>	
<p>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.</p>	
<p>D3. Siempre pensando en los que hablan mal de la forma de gobierno de El Salvador. ¿Con qué firmeza aprueba o desaprueba usted que estas personas puedan postularse para cargos públicos?</p>	
<p>D4. ¿Con qué firmeza aprueba o desaprueba usted que estas personas salgan en la televisión para dar un discurso?</p>	
<p>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?</p>	
<p>D6. ¿Con qué firmeza aprueba o desaprueba que las parejas del mismo sexo puedan tener el derecho a casarse?</p>	

[RECOGER TARJETA “D”]

	Muy poca	Suficiente	Demasiada	No sabe [NO LEER]	No responde [NO LEER]	
LIB1. Usted cree que ahora en el país tenemos muy poca, suficiente o demasiada...Libertad de prensa.	1	2	3	888888	988888	
LIB2B. Y Libertad de expresión. ¿Tenemos muy poca, suficiente o demasiada?	1	2	3	888888	988888	
LIB2C. Y Libertad para expresar las opiniones políticas sin miedo. ¿Tenemos muy poca, suficiente o demasiada?	1	2	3	888888	988888	
LIB4. Protección a derechos humanos ¿Tenemos muy poca, suficiente o demasiada?	1	2	3	888888	988888	

DEM11. ¿Cree usted que en nuestro país hace falta un gobierno de mano dura, o cree que los problemas pueden resolverse con la participación de todos? (1) Mano dura (2) Participación de todos (888888) No sabe [NO LEER] (988888) No responde [NO LEER]	
AUT1. Hay gente que dice que necesitamos un líder fuerte que no tenga que ser electo a través del voto popular. Otros dicen, que aunque las cosas no funcionen, la democracia electoral o sea, el voto popular es siempre lo mejor. ¿Usted qué piensa? [Leer alternativas] (1) Necesitamos un líder fuerte que no tenga que ser elegido, o (2) La democracia electoral es lo mejor (888888) No sabe [NO LEER] (988888) No responde [NO LEER]	

	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 mordida (o soborno) en los últimos 12 meses?	--	0	1	888888	988888	
EXC6. ¿En los últimos 12 meses, algún empleado público le ha solicitado una mordida (o soborno)?	--	0	1	888888	988888	
EXC20. ¿En los últimos doce meses, algún soldado u oficial militar le ha solicitado un soborno o mordida?	--	0	1	888888	988888	
EXC11. ¿Ha tramitado algo en la alcaldía de la ciudad donde vive en los últimos 12 meses? Si la respuesta es No → Marcar 999999 Si la respuesta es Sí→ Preguntar: Para tramitar algo en la alcaldía, 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 mordida (o soborno) 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 mordida (o soborno) en	999999	0	1	888888	988888	

	INAP No trató o tuvo contacto	No	Sí	No sabe [NO LEER]	No responde [NO LEER]	
los juzgados en este último año?						
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 mordida (o soborno) 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 mordida (o soborno) en la escuela o colegio?	999999	0	1	888888	988888	
EXC18. ¿Cree que como están las cosas a veces se justifica pagar una mordida (o soborno)?		0	1	888888	988888	

EXC7NEW. Pensando en los políticos de El Salvador, ¿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]**

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]**

Ahora voy a leerle una lista de situaciones que pueden o no ser problema en algunas comunidades/colonias. Por favor dígame si las siguientes situaciones son un problema muy serio, algo serio, poco serio, nada serio o no son un problema en **su comunidad/colonia**. **[Repita después cada pregunta “es esto un problema muy serio, algo serio, poco serio, nada serio o no es un problema” para ayudar al entrevistado]**

	Muy serio	Algo Serio	Poco serio	Nada Serio	No es un problema	No sabe [NO LEER]	No responde [NO LEER]	
DISO7. Jóvenes o niños en las calles sin hacer nada, que andan vagando en su comunidad/colonia	1	2	3	4	5	888888	988888	
DISO8. Jóvenes o niños que viven aquí en su comunidad/colonia en pandillas o maras	1	2	3	4	5	888888	988888	
DISO10. Venta o tráfico de drogas ilegales aquí en su comunidad/colonia	1	2	3	4	5	888888	988888	
DISO18. Riñas o peleas de pandillas o maras aquí en su comunidad/colonia	1	2	3	4	5	888888	988888	
DISO14. Gente drogada en las calles de aquí de su comunidad/colonia	1	2	3	4	5	888888	988888	



DISO16. Asaltos a las personas cuando caminan por la calle de aquí, de su comunidad/colonia	1	2	3	4	5	888888	988888	
DISO16F. Ataques a mujeres aquí en su comunidad o colonia	1	2	3	4	5	888888	988888	
DISO17. Balaceras aquí en su comunidad/colonia	1	2	3	4	5	888888	988888	

Teniendo en cuenta su experiencia o lo que ha oído mencionar:

	Sí	No	Una vez a la semana	Una o dos veces al mes	Una o dos veces al año	No sabe [NO LEER]	No responde [NO LEER]	Inaplicable [NO LEER]
VICBAR1. Han ocurrido robos en las casas en los últimos 12 meses en su comunidad/colonia?	1 [Sigue]	2 [Pasa a VICBAR3]				888888	988888	
						[Pasa a VICBAR3]		
VICBAR1F. ¿Cuántas veces ocurrió eso: una vez a la semana, una o dos veces al mes, una o dos veces al año?			1	2	3	888888	988888	999999
VICBAR3. Han ocurrido ventas de drogas ilegales en los últimos 12 meses en su comunidad/ colonia?	1 [Sigue]	2 [Pasa a VICBAR 4]				888888	988888	
						[Pasa a VICBAR4]		
VICBAR3F. ¿Cuántas veces ocurrió eso: una vez a la semana, una o dos veces al mes, una o dos veces al año?			1	2	3	888888	988888	999999
VICBAR4. Han ocurrido extorsiones o cobro de impuesto de guerra en los últimos 12 meses en su comunidad/colonia?	1 [Sigue]	2 [Pasa a VICBAR 7]				888888	988888	
						[Pasa a VICBAR7]		
VICBAR4F. ¿Cuántas veces ocurrió eso: una vez a la semana, una o dos veces al mes, una o dos veces al año?			1	2	3	888888	988888	999999

VICBAR7. Han ocurrido asesinatos en los últimos 12 meses en su comunidad/colonia? (1) Sí [Sigue] (2) No [Pasa a FEAR11] (888888) No sabe [NO LEER] [Pasa a FEAR11] (988888) No responde [NO LEER] [Pasa a FEAR11]	
VICBAR7F. ¿Cuántas veces ocurrió eso: una vez a la semana, una o dos veces al mes, una o dos veces al año? (1) Una vez a la semana (2) Una o dos veces al mes (3) Una o dos veces al año (888888) No sabe [NO LEER] (988888) No responde [NO LEER] (999999) Inaplicable [NO LEER]	
FEAR11. Pensando en su vida diaria, ¿cuánto temor siente usted de ser víctima directa de homicidio? ¿Siente usted mucho temor, algo de temor, poco temor, o nada de temor? (1) Mucho temor (2) Algo de temor (3) Poco temor (4) Nada de temor (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]	
IGA1. En su opinión, ¿quién debería tener el liderazgo en la reducción de los homicidios en este país? [Leer alternativas] (1) El gobierno central (2) La municipalidad (3) Los empresarios (4) Los ciudadanos (888888) No sabe [NO LEER] (988888) No responde [NO LEER]	

IGAAOJ22. En su opinión, ¿para reducir los homicidios en este país es más importante que el gobierno invierta en... (1) Medidas de prevención, como oportunidades de educación y trabajo para la gente? (2) O aumentar los castigos en contra de los delincuentes? (888888) No sabe [NO LEER] (988888) No responde [NO LEER]	
--	--

	Sí	No	No sabe [NO LEER]	No responde [NO LEER]	
FEAR10. Para protegerse de la delincuencia, en los últimos 12 meses ha tomado alguna medida como evitar caminar por algunas zonas de su comunidad/colonia porque puedan ser peligrosas?	1	0	888888	988888	
VIC44. En los últimos 12 meses, por temor a la delincuencia, ¿se ha organizado con los vecinos de la comunidad?	1	0	888888	988888	

	Muy preocupado	Algo preocupado	Poco preocupado	Nada preocupado	No sabe [NO LEER]	No responde [NO LEER]	Inaplicable [NO LEER]	
FEAR6E. Y en general, ¿qué tan preocupado(a) está usted de que alguien de su familia sea asaltado en el transporte público? ¿Diría que está muy preocupado(a), algo preocupado(a), poco preocupado(a) o nada preocupado(a)?	1	2	3	4	888888	988888	999999 (No usa transporte público)	
FEAR6F. ¿Y qué tan preocupado(a) está usted acerca de la seguridad de los niños en la escuela? ¿Diría que está muy preocupado(a), algo preocupado(a), poco preocupado(a) o nada preocupado(a)?	1	2	3	4	888888	988888	999999 (No tiene hijos/as o niños cercanos en escuela)	

VB1. ¿Tiene Documento Único de Identidad (DUI)? (1) Sí (2) No (3) En trámite (888888) No sabe [NO LEER] (988888) No responde [NO LEER]	
VB2. ¿Votó usted en la primera vuelta de las últimas elecciones presidenciales de 2014? (1) Sí votó [Sigue] (2) No votó [Pasa a ELSVB2N] (888888) No sabe [NO LEER] [Pasa a ELSVB2N] (988888) No responde [NO LEER] [Pasa a ELSVB2N]	



<p>VB3N. ¿Por quién votó para Presidente en la primera vuelta de las últimas elecciones presidenciales de 2014? [NO leer alternativas]</p> <p>(00) Ninguno (fue a votar pero dejó la boleta en blanco)</p> <p>(97) Ninguno (anuló su voto)</p> <p>(301) Norman Quijano, ARENA</p> <p>(302) Salvador Sánchez Cerén, FMLN</p> <p>(303) Antonio Saca, Unidad</p> <p>(304) Óscar Lemus, FPS</p> <p>(305) René Rodríguez Hurtado, PSP</p> <p>(377) Otro</p> <p>(888888) No sabe [NO LEER]</p> <p>(988888) No responde [NO LEER]</p> <p>(999999) Inaplicable (No votó) [NO LEER]</p>	
<p>ELSVB2N. ¿Votó usted en la segunda vuelta de las elecciones presidenciales el 9 de marzo de 2014?</p> <p>(1) Sí votó [Siga]</p> <p>(2) No votó [Pasa a ELSVB48]</p> <p>(888888) No sabe [NO LEER] [Pasa a ELSVB48]</p> <p>(988888) No responde [NO LEER] [Pasa a ELSVB48]</p>	
<p>ELSVB3U. ¿Por cuál partido votó para presidente en la segunda vuelta de las elecciones el 9 de marzo de 2014?</p> <p>(00) Ninguno (fue a votar pero dejó la boleta en blanco, arruinó o anuló su voto)</p> <p>(301) ARENA</p> <p>(302) FMLN</p> <p>(77) Otro</p> <p>(888888) No sabe [NO LEER]</p> <p>(988888) No responde [NO LEER]</p> <p>(999999) Inaplicable (no votó) [NO LEER]</p>	
<p>ELSVB48. ¿Por cuál partido votó para diputados en las elecciones pasadas de marzo de 2015? [NO leer alternativas]</p> <p>(1) ARENA</p> <p>(2) FMLN</p> <p>(3) PCN/CN</p> <p>(4) PDC/Partido de la Esperanza</p> <p>(5) CD</p> <p>(6) GANA</p> <p>(7) PP</p> <p>(8) PNL</p> <p>(9) Candidatos no partidarios</p> <p>(10) Votó nulo, en blanco</p> <p>(11) No votó</p> <p>(12) No tenía edad para votar</p> <p>(77) Otros</p> <p>(888888) No sabe [NO LEER]</p> <p>(988888) No responde [NO LEER]</p>	

<p>VB10. ¿En este momento, simpatiza con algún partido político?</p> <p>(1) Sí [Sigue] (2) No [Pasa a REFEL4] (888888) No sabe [NO LEER] [Pasa a REFEL4] (988888) No responde [NO LEER] [Pasa a REFEL4]</p>	
<p>VB11. ¿Con cuál partido político simpatiza usted? [NO Leer alternativas]</p> <p>(301) FMLN (302) ARENA (303) GANA (304) PCN/CN (305) PDC/Partido de la Esperanza (306) CD (307) FPS (308) PSP (309) PDS (310) PSD (377) Otro (888888) No sabe [NO LEER] (988888) No responde [NO LEER] (999999) Inaplicable [NO LEER]</p>	
<p>ELSVB12. ¿Qué tan cercano(a) se siente usted de ese partido con el cual simpatiza?</p> <p>(1) Muy cercano(a) (2) Algo cercano(a) (3) Poco cercano(a) (4) No se siente cercano(a) (888888) No sabe [NO LEER] (988888) No responde [NO LEER] (999999) Inaplicable [NO LEER]</p>	
<p>ELSVB13. ¿Qué tanto cree usted que ese partido representa sus intereses?</p> <p>(1) Mucho (2) Algo (3) Poco (4) Nada (888888) No sabe [NO LEER] (988888) No responde [NO LEER] (999999) inaplicable [NO LEER]</p>	
<p>REFEL4. Con cuál de las siguientes frases está usted más de acuerdo: [Leer alternativas]</p> <p>(1) Los magistrados del Tribunal Supremo Electoral no deben ser representantes de los partidos políticos (2) Los magistrados del Tribunal Supremo Electoral solo deben ser nombrados por los partidos políticos (3) Ninguna de estas opciones (888888) No sabe [NO LEER] (988888) No responde [NO LEER]</p>	
<p>EREF6. ¿Hasta qué punto aprueba o desaprueba que en las elecciones legislativas se siga votando directamente en la papeleta sobre el nombre y la fotografía de los candidatos? [Leer alternativas]</p> <p>(1) Aprueba mucho (2) Aprueba algo (3) Desaprueba algo (4) Desaprueba mucho (888888) No sabe [NO LEER] (988888) No responde [NO LEER]</p>	
<p>EREF6A. ¿Hasta qué punto aprueba o desaprueba que en las elecciones legislativas los ciudadanos voten directamente en la papeleta sobre el nombre y foto de los diputados suplentes? [Leer alternativas]</p> <p>(1) Aprueba mucho (2) Aprueba algo (3) Desaprueba algo (4) Desaprueba mucho (888888) No sabe [NO LEER] (988888) No responde [NO LEER]</p>	
<p>POL1. ¿Qué tanto interés tiene usted en la política: mucho, algo, poco o nada?</p> <p>(1) Mucho (2) Algo (3) Poco (4) Nada (888888) No sabe [NO LEER] (988888) No responde [NO LEER]</p>	

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 boleta en blanco o la anularía (888888) No sabe [NO LEER] (988888) No responde [NO LEER]	
VB49. ¿Cree usted que el voto puede cambiar la forma de cómo las cosas van a ser en el futuro o cree que no importa cómo vote, las cosas no van a mejorar? (1) El voto puede cambiar las cosas (2) No importa cómo vote (888888) No sabe [NO LEER] (988888) No responde [NO LEER]	

CLIEN1NA Y pensando en las últimas elecciones presidenciales de 2014, ¿alguien le ofreció a usted un favor, regalo o beneficio a cambio de su voto? (1) Sí (2) No (888888) No sabe [NO LEER] (988888) No responde [NO LEER]	
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[ENTREGAR TARJETA “H” AL ENTREVISTADO]	
Ahora, cambiando de tema... FOR5N. En su opinión, ¿cuál de los siguientes países debería ser un modelo para el desarrollo futuro de nuestro país? [Leer alternativas] (1) China (2) Japón (3) India (4) Estados Unidos (5) Singapur (6) Rusia (7) Corea del Sur (10) Brasil (11) Venezuela, o (12) México (13) [NO LEER] Ninguno/Debemos seguir nuestro propio modelo (14) [NO LEER] Otro (888888) No sabe [NO LEER] (988888) No responde [NO LEER]	
[RECOGER TARJETA “H”]	

TEST B. Set 1							
Ahora, quisiera preguntarle cuánta confianza tiene en <u>los gobiernos</u> 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 respon- de [NO LEER]	Inaplicable [NO LEER]
MIL10A1. 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
MIL10E1. 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
Ahora hablemos de organismos internacionales							

MIL10OAS1. La OEA, Organización de los Estados Americanos. En su opinión, ¿es muy confiable, algo confiable, poco confiable, nada confiable, o no tiene opinión?	1	2	3	4	888888	988888	999999
MIL10UN1. La ONU, Organización de las Naciones Unidas. En su opinión, ¿es muy confiable, algo confiable, poco confiable, nada confiable, o no tiene opinión?	1	2	3	4	888888	988888	999999

TEST B. Set 2

Ahora, quisiera preguntarle cuánta confianza tiene en **algunas organizaciones internacionales**. Para cada una 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 respon- de [NO LEER]	Inaplicable [NO LEER]
MIL10OAS2. La OEA, Organización de los Estados Americanos. En su opinión, ¿es muy confiable, algo confiable, poco confiable, nada confiable, o no tiene opinión?	1	2	3	4	888888	988888	999999
MIL10UN2. La ONU, Organización de las Naciones Unidas. En su opinión, ¿es muy confiable, algo confiable, poco confiable, nada confiable, o no tiene opinión?	1	2	3	4	888888	988888	999999

Hablemos ahora de los gobiernos de algunos países

MIL10A2. 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
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MIL10E2. 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
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Ahora le voy a leer algunas situaciones en las que algunas personas creen que está justificado que el esposo golpee a su esposa/pareja y le voy a pedir su opinión....	Aprobaría	No aprobaría, pero lo entendería	No lo aprobaría, ni lo entendería	No sabe [NO LEER]	No responde [NO LEER]	
DVW1. La esposa descuida las labores del hogar. ¿Usted aprobaría que el esposo golpee a su esposa, o usted no lo aprobaría pero lo entendería, o usted ni lo aprobaría ni lo entendería?	1	2	3	888888	988888	
DVW2. La esposa es infiel. ¿Usted aprobaría que el esposo golpee a su esposa, o usted no lo aprobaría pero lo entendería, o usted ni lo aprobaría ni lo entendería?	1	2	3	888888	988888	

WF1. ¿Usted o alguien en su casa recibe ayuda regular en dinero, alimento o en productos de parte del gobierno, sin contar las pensiones? (1) Sí (2) No (888888) No sabe [NO LEER] (988888) No responde [NO LEER]	
CCT1B. Ahora, hablando específicamente sobre el Programa Comunidades Solidarias, ¿usted o alguien en su casa es beneficiario de ese programa? (1) Sí (2) No (888888) No sabe [NO LEER] (988888) No responde [NO LEER]	

ELSTOL1. Siempre hay algunas personas cuyas ideas son consideradas malas, desfasadas o peligrosas por otras personas. Suponga que un izquierdista radical quiere dar un discurso para expresar sus puntos de vista en su comunidad, ¿se le debería permitir hablar o no? (1) Sí (2) No (888888) No sabe [NO LEER] (988888) No responde [NO LEER]	
ELSTOL2. Suponga que un izquierdista radical quiere enseñar en una escuela pública en su comunidad, ¿se le debería permitir enseñar o no? (1) Sí (2) No (888888) No sabe [NO LEER] (988888) No responde [NO LEER]	
ELSTOL3. Suponga que un izquierdista radical quiere postularse para un cargo público de elección, ¿se le debería permitir postularse o no? (1) Sí (2) No (888888) No sabe [NO LEER] (988888) No responde [NO LEER]	
ELSTOL4. Aun pensando en que siempre hay personas cuyas ideas son consideradas malas, desfasadas o peligrosas por otras personas. Suponga que un derechista radical quiere dar un discurso para expresar sus puntos de vista en su comunidad, ¿se le debería permitir hablar o no? (1) Sí (2) No (888888) No sabe [NO LEER] (988888) No responde [NO LEER]	
ELSTOL5. Suponga que un derechista radical quiere enseñar en una escuela pública en su comunidad, ¿se le debería permitir enseñar o no? (1) si (2) No (888888) No sabe [NO LEER] (988888) No responde [NO LEER]	
ELSTOL6. Suponga que un derechista radical quiere postularse para un cargo público de elección, ¿se le debería permitir postularse o no? (1) Sí (2) No (888888) No sabe [NO LEER] (988888) No responde [NO LEER]	

Le voy a mencionar algunos tipos de personas en El Salvador. Favor de indicar si usted tiene en ellas mucha confianza, algo de confianza o nada de confianza.....	Mucha confianza	Algo de confianza	Nada de confianza	No sabe [NO LEER]	No responde [NO LEER]
ELSTOL7A. Un izquierdista radical. ¿Le tiene mucha confianza, algo de confianza o nada de confianza?	1	2	3	888888	988888
ELSTOL7B. Un derechista radical. ¿Le tiene mucha confianza, algo de confianza o nada de confianza?	1	2	3	888888	988888

[Usar tarjeta "ED" como apoyo. NO mostrar la tarjeta al encuestado]						
ED. ¿Cuál fue el último año de educación que usted completó o aprobó?						
_____ Año de _____ (primaria, secundaria, universitaria, superior no universitaria) = _____ años total [Usar tabla a continuación para el código]						
	1 ^o	2 ^o	3 ^o	4 ^o	5 ^o	6 ^o
Ninguno	0					
Primaria	1	2	3	4	5	6
Secundaria	7	8	9	10	11	12
Universitaria	13	14	15	16	17	18+
Superior no universitaria	13	14	15			
No sabe [NO LEER]	888888					
No responde [NO LEER]	988888					

ED2. ¿Y hasta qué nivel educativo llegó su madre? [NO leer alternativas]		
(00) Ninguno		
(01) Primaria incompleta		
(02) Primaria completa		
(03) Secundaria o bachillerato incompleto		
(04) Secundaria o bachillerato completo		
(05) Técnica/Tecnológica incompleta		
(06) Técnica/Tecnológica completa		
(07) Universitaria incompleta		
(08) Universitaria completa		
(888888) No sabe [NO LEER]		
(988888) No responde [NO LEER]		
MOV1. ¿Usted se describiría a sí mismo como perteneciente a la clase...?		
[Leer alternativas]		
(1) Alta	(2) Media alta	(3) Media
(4) Media baja	(5) Baja	
(888888) No sabe [NO LEER]	(988888) No responde [NO LEER]	

<p>IDSCALE1. En una escala de 1 a 10, donde 1 significa “pobre” y 10 significa “rico”, ¿dónde se ubicaría usted? ¿O siente usted que no pertenece a ninguno de los dos grupos?</p> <p>(1) Pobre (2) (3) (4) (5) (6) (7) (8) (9) (10) Rico (11) Ninguno (888888) No sabe [NO LEER] (988888) No responde [NO LEER]</p> <p>[Nota: la categoría (11) ha sido codificada en la base de datos como N/A. Si desea revisar la categoría “(11) Ninguno”, recodificar la variable de la siguiente manera: recode (1/10=0) (.c=1)]</p>	
<p>Q5A. ¿Con qué frecuencia asiste usted a servicios religiosos? [Leer alternativas]</p> <p>(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]</p>	
<p>Q5B. Por favor, ¿podría decirme, qué tan importante es la religión en su vida? [Leer alternativas]</p> <p>(1) Muy importante (2) Algo importante (3) Poco importante o (4) Nada importante (888888) No sabe [NO LEER] (988888) No responde [NO LEER]</p>	
<p>[Usar tarjeta “Q3C” como apoyo. NO mostrar la tarjeta al encuestado]</p> <p>Q3C. Si usted es de alguna religión, ¿podría decirme cuál es su religión? [NO Leer alternativas]</p> <p>[Si el entrevistado dice que no tiene ninguna religión, sondee más para ubicar si pertenece a la alternativa 4 u 11]</p> <p>[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).]</p> <p>(01) Católico (02) Protestante, Protestante Tradicional o Protestante no Evangélico (Cristiano, Calvinista; Luterano; Metodista; Presbiteriano; Discípulo de Cristo; Anglicano; Episcopaliano; Iglesia Morava). (03) Religiones Orientales no Cristianas (Islam; Budista; Hinduista; Taoísta; Confucianismo; Baha'i). (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). (06) Iglesia de los Santos de los Últimos Días (Mormones). (07) Religiones Tradicionales (Santería, Candomblé, Vudú, Rastafari, Religiones Mayas, Umbanda; María Lionza; Inti, Kardecista, Santo Daime, Esoterica). (10) Judío (Ortodoxo, Conservador o Reformado) (12) Testigos de Jehová. (04) Ninguna (Cree en un Ser Superior pero no pertenece a ninguna religión) (11) Agnóstico o ateo (no cree en Dios)</p> <p>(77) Otro (888888) No sabe [NO LEER] (988888) No responde [NO LEER]</p>	

<p>OCUP4A. ¿A qué se dedica usted principalmente? ¿Está usted actualmente: [Leer alternativas]</p> <p>(1) Trabajando? [Sigue]</p> <p>(2) No está trabajando en este momento pero tiene trabajo? [Sigue]</p> <p>(3) Está buscando trabajo activamente? [Pasa a Q10NEW]</p> <p>(4) Es estudiante? [Pasa a Q10NEW]</p> <p>(5) Se dedica a los quehaceres de su hogar? [Pasa a Q10NEW]</p> <p>(6) Está jubilado, pensionado o incapacitado permanentemente para trabajar? [Pasa a Q10G]</p> <p>(7) No trabaja y no está buscando trabajo? [Pasa a Q10NEW]</p> <p>(888888) No sabe [NO LEER] [Pasa a Q10NEW]</p> <p>(988888) No responde [NO LEER] [Pasa a Q10NEW]</p>	
<p>OCUP1A. En su ocupación principal usted es: [Leer alternativas]</p> <p>(1) Asalariado(a) del gobierno o empresa estatal?</p> <p>(2) Asalariado(a) en el sector privado?</p> <p>(3) Patrono(a) o socio(a) de empresa?</p> <p>(4) Trabajador(a) por cuenta propia?</p> <p>(5) Trabajador(a) no remunerado(a) o sin pago?</p> <p>(888888) No sabe [NO LEER]</p> <p>(988888) No responde [NO LEER]</p> <p>(999999) Inaplicable [NO LEER]</p>	

[ENTREGAR TARJETA “F” AL ENTREVISTADO]

<p>PREGUNTAR SOLO SI TRABAJA O ESTÁ JUBILADO/PENSIONADO/INCAPACITADO (VERIFICAR OCUP4A)]</p> <p>Q10G. En esta tarjeta hay varios rangos de ingresos ¿Puede decirme en cuál de los siguientes rangos está el ingreso que usted personalmente gana al mes por su trabajo o pensión, sin contar el resto de los ingresos del hogar?</p> <p>[Si no entiende, pregunte: ¿Cuánto gana usted solo, por concepto de salario o pensión, sin contar los ingresos de los demás miembros de su hogar ni las remesas u otros ingresos?]</p> <p>(00) Ningún ingreso</p> <p>(01) Menos de \$50</p> <p>(02) \$50 - \$80</p> <p>(03) \$81 - \$95</p> <p>(04) \$96 - \$120</p> <p>(05) \$121 - \$150</p> <p>(06) \$151 - \$180</p> <p>(07) \$181 - \$195</p> <p>(08) \$196 - \$220</p> <p>(09) \$221 - \$250</p> <p>(10) \$251 - \$280</p> <p>(11) \$281 - \$325</p> <p>(12) \$326 - \$385</p> <p>(13) \$386 - \$445</p> <p>(14) \$446 - \$550</p> <p>(15) \$551 - \$785</p> <p>(16) Más de \$785</p> <p>(888888) No sabe [NO LEER]</p> <p>(988888) No responde [NO LEER]</p> <p>(999999) Inaplicable (No trabaja ni está jubilado) [NO LEER]</p>	
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<p>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?]</p> <p>(00) Ningún ingreso (01) Menos de \$50 (02) \$50 - \$80 (03) \$81 - \$95 (04) \$96 - \$120 (05) \$121 - \$150 (06) \$151 - \$180 (07) \$181 - \$195 (08) \$196 - \$220 (09) \$221 - \$250 (10) \$251 - \$280 (11) \$281 - \$325 (12) \$326 - \$385 (13) \$386 - \$445 (14) \$446 - \$550 (15) \$551 - \$785 (16) Más de \$785</p> <p>(888888) No sabe [NO LEER] (988888) No responde [NO LEER]</p>	
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[RECOGER TARJETA “F”]

<p>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]</p>	
<p>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]</p>	
<p>Q14A. En los últimos 12 meses, ¿ha considerado emigrar de su país debido a la inseguridad? (1) Sí (2) No (888888) No sabe [NO LEER] (988888) No responde [NO LEER]</p>	
<p>Q10D. El salario o sueldo que usted recibe y el total del ingreso de su hogar: [Leer alternativas] (1) Les alcanza bien y pueden ahorrar (2) Les alcanza justo sin grandes dificultades (3) No les alcanza y tienen dificultades (4) No les alcanza y tienen grandes dificultades (888888) No sabe [NO LEER] (988888) No responde [NO LEER]</p>	
<p>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]</p>	

Q11N. ¿Cuál es su estado civil? [Leer alternativas] (1) Soltero (2) Casado (3) Unión libre (acompañado) (4) Divorciado (5) Separado (6) Viudo (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]	
Q12BN. ¿Cuántos niños menores de 13 años viven en este hogar? _____ 00 = Ninguno, (888888) No sabe [NO LEER] (988888) No responde [NO LEER]	
Q12. ¿Tiene hijos(as)? ¿Cuántos? [Contar todos los hijos del entrevistado, que vivan o no en el hogar] _____ [VALOR MÁXIMO ACEPTADO: 20] [Sigue] (00 = Ninguno) [Pasa a ETID] (888888) No sabe [NO LEER] [Sigue] (988888) No responde [NO LEER] [Sigue]	
¿Cuántos hijos varones y cuántas hijas mujeres tiene? Q12M. [Anotar cantidad de hijos varones] _____ Q12F. [Anotar cantidad de hijas mujeres] _____ (888888) No sabe [NO LEER] (988888) No responde [NO LEER] (999999) Inaplicable (No tiene hijos) [NO LEER]	
ETID. ¿Usted se considera una persona blanca, mestiza, indígena, negra, mulata, u otra? [Si la persona entrevistada dice Afro-salvadoreña, 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]	

WWW1. Hablando de otras cosas, ¿qué tan frecuentemente usa usted el Internet? [Leer alternativas] (1) Diariamente (2) Algunas veces a la semana (3) Algunas veces al mes (4) Rara vez (5) Nunca (888888) No sabe [NO LEER] (988888) No responde [NO LEER]	
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G10. ¿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) Rara vez (5) Nunca (888888) No sabe [NO LEER] (988888) No responde [NO LEER]	
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PR1. La vivienda que ocupa su hogar es... [Leer alternativas]: (1) Alquilada (2) Propia, [Si el entrevistado duda, decir "totalmente pagada o siendo pagada a plazos/cuota/hipoteca"] (3) Prestada/cedida o compartida (4) Otra situación (888888) No sabe [NO LEER] (988888) No responde [NO LEER]	
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Para finalizar, podría decirme si en su casa tienen: [Leer todos]

R3. Refrigerador	(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. ¿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
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 FORMATQ]			(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]

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]		
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		

DESORDEN FÍSICO ¿Hasta qué punto diría usted que el área alrededor del hogar del encuestado/a está afectada por...?	Nada	Poco	Algo	Mucho
IAREA1. Basura en la calle o acera	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)

IAREA2. Baches en la calle	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
IAREA3. Viviendas que tienen defensas/balcones de metal en las ventanas (incluye reja perimetral, alambre de púas y similares)	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)

DESORDEN SOCIAL ¿Hasta qué punto diría que el área alrededor del hogar del encuestado/a está afectada por...?	Nada	Poco	Algo	Mucho
IAREA4. Jóvenes o niños en las calles sin hacer nada, que andan vagando	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
IAREA5. Manchas, graffitis o pintas de maras en los muros	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
IAREA6. Gente borracha o drogada en las calles	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
IAREA7. Personas discutiendo de una forma agresiva o violenta (hablando en un tono de voz muy alto, con enojo)	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)

TI. Duración de la entrevista [<i>minutos, ver página # 1</i>]	_____
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 _____	

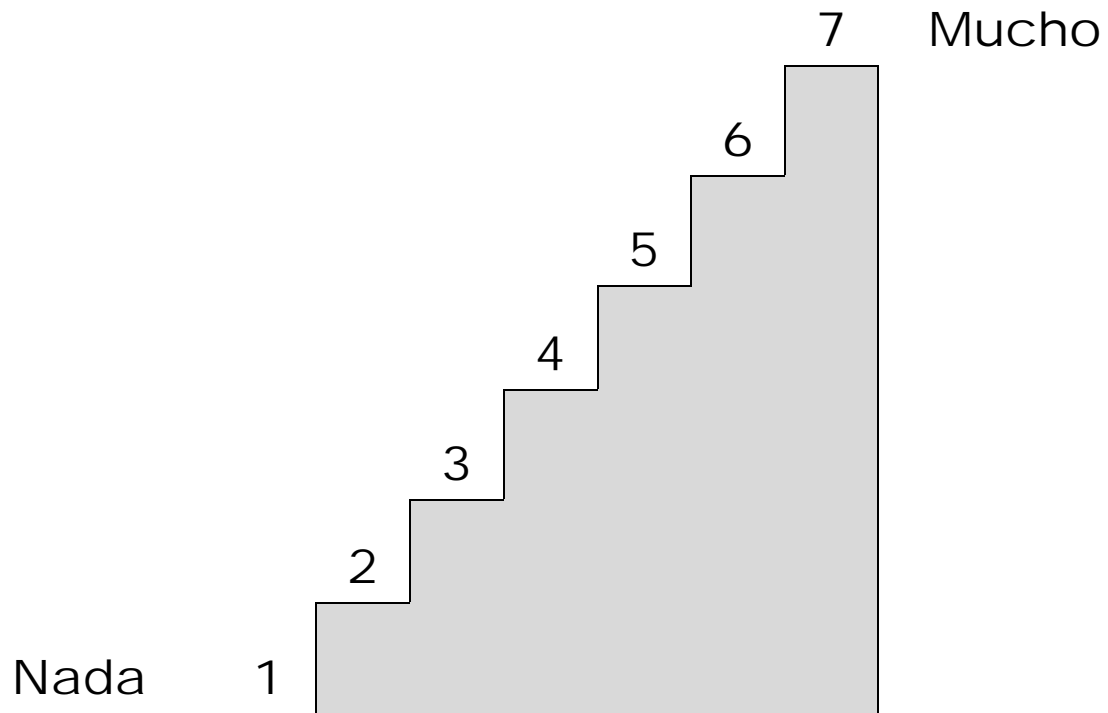


Tarjeta A

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Izquierda					Derecha				

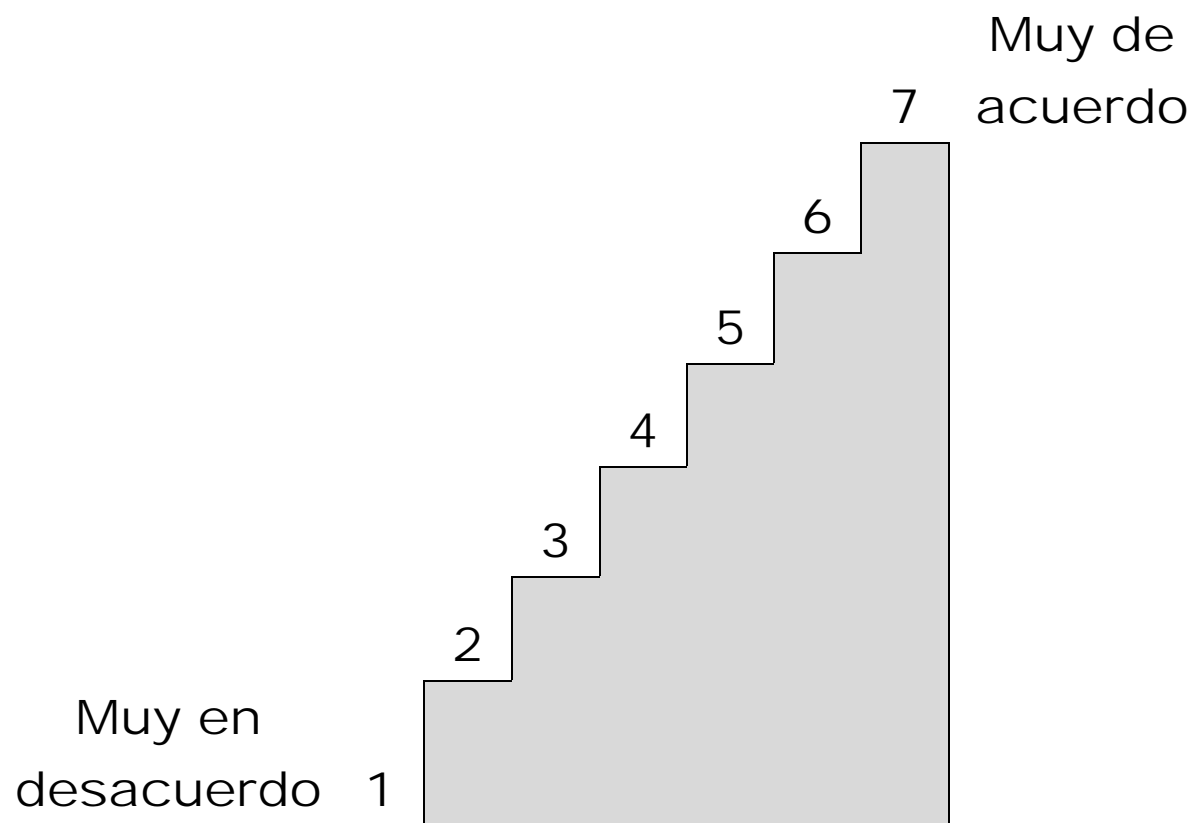


Tarjeta B





Tarjeta C



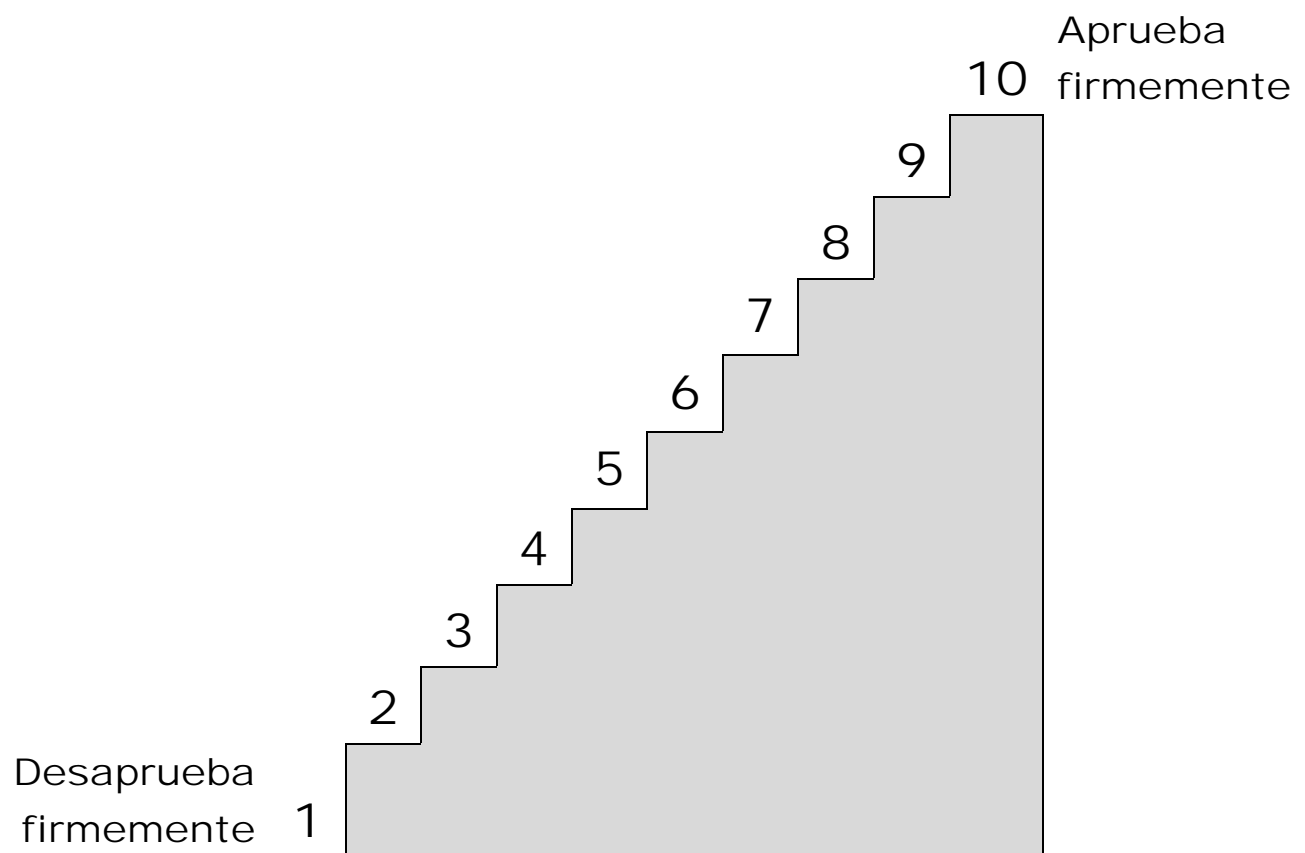


Tarjeta N

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Medio ambiente es prioridad					Crecimiento económico es prioridad	



Tarjeta D



Tarjeta H

Brasil

China

Corea del Sur

Estados Unidos

India

Japón

México

Rusia

Singapur

Venezuela



Tarjeta F

- (01) Menos de \$50
- (02) \$50 - \$80
- (03) \$81 - \$95
- (04) \$96 - \$120
- (05) \$121 - \$150
- (06) \$151 - \$180
- (07) \$181 - \$195
- (08) \$196 - \$220
- (09) \$221 - \$250
- (10) \$251 - \$280
- (11) \$281 - \$325
- (12) \$326 - \$385
- (13) \$386 - \$445
- (14) \$446 - \$550
- (15) \$551 - \$785
- (16) Más de \$785

Tarjeta ED

[NO MOSTRAR, solo para el encuestador]

[Usar tarjeta “ED” como apoyo. NO mostrar la tarjeta al encuestado]

ED. ¿Cuál fue el último año de educación que usted completó o aprobó?

_____ Año de _____ (primaria, secundaria, universitaria, superior no universitaria) =
_____ años total **[Usar tabla a continuación para el código]**

	1 ^o	2 ^o	3 ^o	4 ^o	5 ^o	6 ^o	
Ninguno	0						
Primaria	1	2	3	4	5	6	
Secundaria	7	8	9	10	11	12	
Universitaria	13	14	15	16	17	18+	
Superior no universitaria	13	14	15				
No sabe [NO LEER]	888888						
No responde [NO LEER]	988888						

Tarjeta Q3C

[NO MOSTRAR, solo para el encuestador]

Q3C. 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

(02) Protestante, Protestante Tradicional o Protestante no Evangélico (Cristiano, Calvinista; Luterano; Metodista; Presbiteriano; Discípulo de Cristo; Anglicano; Episcopaliano; Iglesia Morava).

(03) Religiones Orientales no Cristianas (Islam; Budista; Hinduista; Taoísta; Confucianismo; Baha'i).

(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).

(06) Iglesia de los Santos de los Últimos Días (Mormones).

(07) Religiones Tradicionales (Santería, Candomblé, Vudú, Rastafari, Religiones Mayas, Umbanda; María Lanza; Inti, Kardecista, Santo Daime, Esotérica).

(10) Judío (Ortodoxo, Conservador o Reformado)

(12) Testigos de Jehová.

(04) Ninguna (Cree en un Ser Superior pero no pertenece a ninguna religión)

(11) Agnóstico o ateo (no cree en Dios)

(77) Otro

(888888) No sabe

(988888) No responde



Paleta de Colores



The AmericasBarometer

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 Ciudadanía, 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. Collaborations with university partners who sponsor items on the survey also sustain the project. In this most recent round, those contributors included Dartmouth, Florida International University, the University of Illinois, the Pontificia Universidad Católica de Chile, the Universidad Católica Andrés Bello in Venezuela, and several centers at Vanderbilt University.

The 2016/17 AmericasBarometer was carried out via face-to-face interviews in 27 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 43,000 individuals were interviewed in this latest round of the survey. The complete 2004-2016/17 AmericasBarometer dataset contains responses from over 250,000 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.

United States Agency for
International Development (USAID/El Salvador)
United States of America Embassy
Bulevar y urbanización Santa Elena
Antiguo Cuscatlán, La Libertad, El Salvador, C.A.
Tel.: (503) 2501-2999 / Fax: (503) 2501-3401

