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

A Comparative Study of Democracy and Governance

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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

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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.

The AmericasBarometer is made possible by core support from the United States Agency for International Development (USAID) and Vanderbilt University. We owe a debt of gratitude to both institutions. Over the course of this most recent round of the AmericasBarometer, our main contact at USAID, Vanessa Reilly, transitioned to a new position. Chris Strom stepped in as our new point of contact on the project. Both Vanessa and Chris have had a positive impact on the project, especially by amplifying its value and use as a tool for policymakers. At Vanderbilt, the Dean of the College of Arts & Science, Dr. Lauren Benton, and the Chair of the Political Science Department, Dr. David Lewis, have championed and supported the project in important ways. We gratefully acknowledge the interest and support of the staff, students, and faculty in the department of political science, the Center for Latin American Studies, the office of Sponsored Programs Administration, and the leadership at Vanderbilt. Support for selected efforts associated with the 2016/17 AmericasBarometer came from collaborations with organizations and institutions that include Ciudadanía (Bolivia), the Center for International Media Assistance (CIMA), Dartmouth University, Environics (Canada), Florida International University, the Inter-American Development Bank, the National Endowment for Democracy, the Open Society Foundation (in partnership for this project with Igarapé), the Pontificia Universidad Católica de Chile, the United Nations Development Programme, the Universidad Católica Andrés Bello (Venezuela), the University of Illinois, and at Vanderbilt University: the Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions, the Office for Equity, Diversity and Inclusion, the Research on Individuals, Politics, & Society Lab, and the Trans-Institutional Programs (TIPs) initiative (and the TIPS-Brazil project). We thank the individuals behind all of these collaborations for their work to support, shape, and sustain the AmericasBarometer. On the page that follows, we present the logos of some of the partner institutions that were core to the success of this most recent round of the AmericasBarometer.

Mexico and Central America

Andean/Southern Cone

Caribbean, U.S., and Canada

Donoso, Dr. Arturo Maldonado, and their teams at 50+1 in Quito and in Lima for their assistance in quality control on a number of the surveys included in this round.

To all the many individuals who contributed to the project, we offer our sincere gratitude. We could not achieve the scope, quality, and impact of the AmericasBarometer without your support.

Liz Zechmeister
Noam Lupu

Nashville, Tennessee
August 2017

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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 Guatemala, Chapters 3, 4 and 5 cover exclusive issues for the case of Guatemala.

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 Guatemala agrees that democracy, despite its flaws, is better than any other form of government. In Guatemala, support for democracy fell from 62.9% in 2004 to 48.4% in 2017. Men and Guatemalans with higher education and wealth report the greatest support for democracy. Support for executive coups in Guatemala increased by more than 10 percentage points in 2017 (24.4%), the highest rate since

2010. A little more than a third (34.3%) of Guatemalans trust elections, which represents a significant increase of seven percentage points compared to the 2014 round. Trust in political parties remained stable between 2014 and 2017. Only 14.6% have trust in political parties. Identification with political parties in Guatemala fell five percentage points to its lowest level in 2017 (5.9%) and the lowest level in the region. 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 Guatemala, 57% 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 Guatemala, 63.4% report that there is very little freedom of expression (general) and 69.7% 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 Guatemala, 68% 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 opinions of Guatemalans as related to migration. The analysis in this chapter reveals that Guatemalans in situations of economic and physical vulnerability are more inclined to intend to migrate from the country. The intention to emigrate is higher among those who have economic difficulties in the family, and those who are unemployed. With regard to physical vulnerability, the relationship between victimization by crime and a higher intention to emigrate is clear. Apart from victimization, people who have been forced to change their behavior because of crime are more likely to want to emigrate.

Chapter 4 explores political participation in Guatemala. Three factors stand out in relation to electoral participation: Guatemalans with higher education report higher levels of participation, there is lower participation among younger citizens, and those who participated in the protests against corruption in the second half of 2015 are more likely to have participated in the elections of 2015.

The chapter also analyzes participation in the protests against corruption in 2015. Results show that 16.2% of Guatemalans said they participated in these protests. The percentage is higher than the average participation in protests generally reported in Guatemala, which is less than 10%. Men and Guatemalans with more education and were more likely to have participated in anti-corruption demonstrations in 2015. Victimization by corruption has a high correlation with participation in protests. Crime victimization also correlates. This indicates that the protests of 2015 channeled the discontent of the population in various areas.

Chapter 5 explores the issue of citizen trust in political institutions, in addition to offering a perspective on the satisfaction with certain government services and the opinion of Guatemalans about specific legislation that has been discussed in Guatemala in 2017. Certain key political institutions (the Supreme Electoral Tribunal, Constitutional Court, President, Congress, and the municipality of the respondent) have maintained a stable level of public trust in recent years. The Supreme Electoral Tribunal, followed by the Constitutional Court, are the institutions that obtain the highest levels of trust in 2017, although they remain in the intermediate range of the 0-100 point scale.

In terms of trust in institutions of the justice sector (the Public Ministry, the Human Rights Ombudsman, the National Civil Police and the courts), in 2017 all the institutions improved their score in relation to previous years, with a particularly high increase in trust in the Attorney General's Office (Public Ministry). Among all institutions of the justice sector, the Public Ministry obtained the highest score, followed closely by the Human Rights Ombudsman. The CICIG obtained a higher level of trust than any Guatemalan political or judicial institution in 2017. The media also get a high degree of trust, although a little less than CICIG.

A positive finding is that the percentage of Guatemalans who believe that the judicial system punishes the guilty doubled in 2017 compared to previous years: while in 2014 only 14% of Guatemalans had a lot of confidence in the ability of the judicial system to punish the guilty, the percentage increased to 27% in 2017.

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 ground when 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. However, support for the political system increased on average in Guatemala from 49 in 2014 to 53.6 in 2017. This is due to increases in several components of this index of system support in 2017: respect for institutions, level of normative support for the system, and pride in the political system of Guatemala. At the same time, political tolerance of the rights of those who think differently has increased in the region and in Guatemala. Political tolerance increased from 29.5 in 2014 to 50.7 in 2017 in Guatemala, both in general and in each of its components. In 2017, there is an almost even distribution among the four different democratic orientations. 24% report orientations leading to a *democracy at risk*. However, the percentage of Guatemalans with these orientations diminished by almost half between 2014 and 2017. Meanwhile, 20% report a profile of *authoritarian stability*. At the same time, the percentage of individuals with orientations leading to an *unstable democracy* decreased and the percentage corresponding to a *stable democracy* increased.

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 Guatemala, it also finds important signs of resilience: the democratic orientations leading to a *stable democracy* have shown an important 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 Guatemala 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 (LAC), 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 scandals[1] 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 2015; *Guardian* 2016a; 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).

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[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 (This group of countries includes only those that the AmericasBarometer has surveyed consistently since 2006: Argentina Brazil, Bolivia, Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica, the Dominican Republic, Ecuador, El Salvador, Guatemala, Guyana, Haiti, Honduras, Jamaica, Mexico, Nicaragua, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Uruguay, and Venezuela) 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.

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 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 Guatemala 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 Guatemala 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 Guatemala, support for democracy fell from 52.7% in 2004 to 48.4% in 2017. Men and Guatemalans with higher education and wealth report higher support for democracy.

- Nearly half of Guatemalans support a military coup, an increase of almost 10 percentage points between 2014 and 2017.

- Support for executive coups in Guatemala increased by 10 percentage points in 2017 (24.4%), reaching its highest level since this measure is included in the survey.

- Trust in political parties increased slightly in 2017. However, only 14.6% have trust in political parties.

- Partisan affiliation in Guatemala has fallen to its lowest level since 2006. Less than 6% of Guatemalans say they sympathize with a party, the lowest rate in the region in 2016/17.

III. The Basic Tenets of Electoral Democracy

This chapter examines support for tenants of minimal or electoral democracy in the LAC region.[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 democracies as systems 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

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[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.

elections with universal suffrage" *electoral* democracies (a minimal level of democracy, which he contrasts with "liberal" democracies, p. 10).[5]

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

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[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' 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).

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 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 Guatemala 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 "strong disagreement" and 7 denoting "strong agreement." 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

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[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."

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 Guatemala, slightly less than half of citizens (48.4%) support democracy as the best form of government, the lowest rate of support for democracy compared to the rest of the countries in the region.
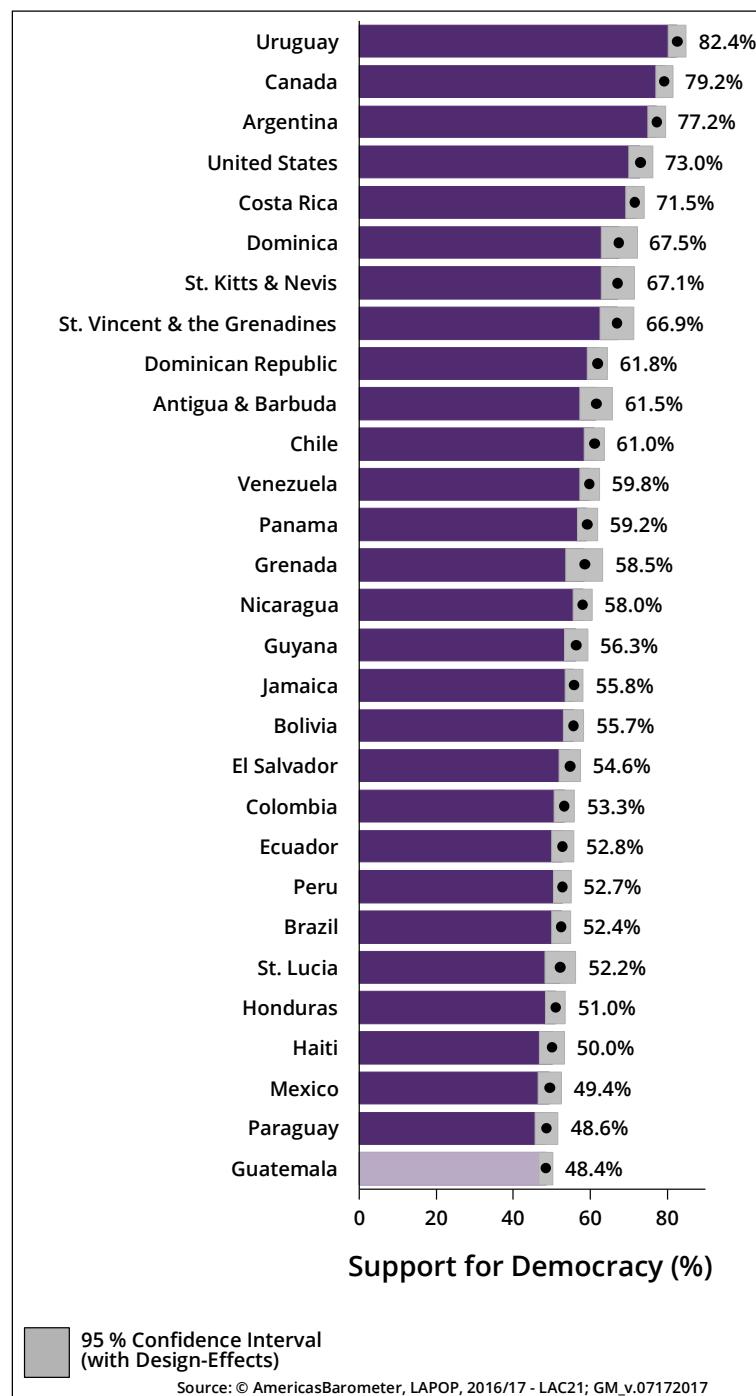
Figure 1.1. Cross-National Support for Democracy

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 Guatemala. The percentage that supports democracy in the country decreased to its lowest level in 2017 (48.4%). For the first time since the AmericasBarometer in Guatemala, less than half of respondents express support for democracy as the best form of government.
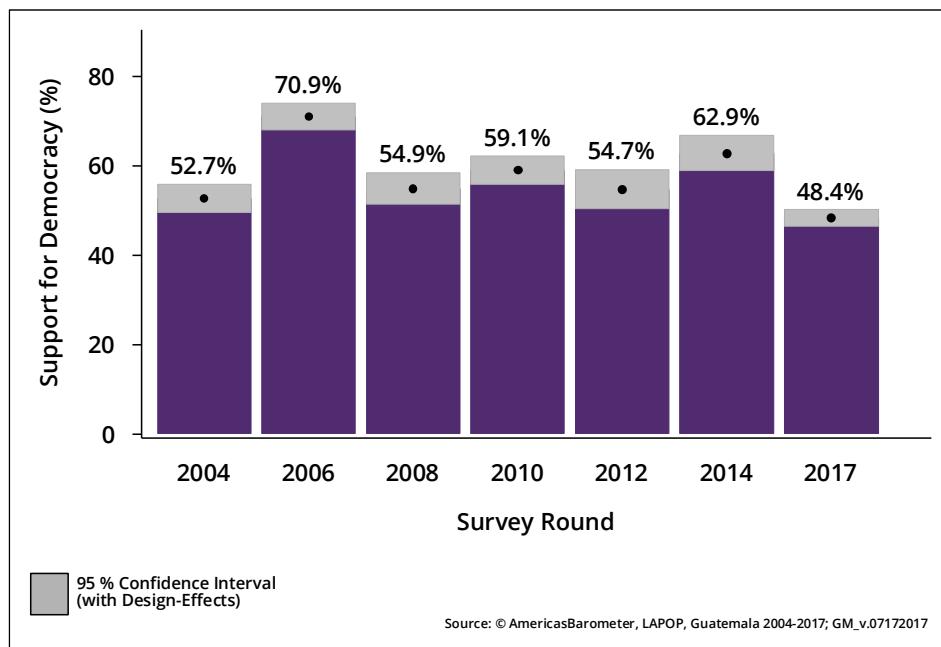
Figure 1.2. Support for Democracy over Time in Guatemala

Who is most likely to support democracy? Figure 1.3 shows statistically significant relationships between five demographic and socio-economic subgroups (education, wealth, urban/ rural residence, gender, and age) and support for democracy Guatemala. 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 men and Guatemalans with higher levels of wealth and education are more likely to report that they support democracy. While a little more than half of men support democracy, 44.4% of women express the same support. The difference between the highest wealth quintile (56.9%) and the lowest (43%) is almost 17 percentage points. Two thirds of Guatemalans with post-secondary education support democracy, while half or less of those with a secondary education or lower express this support.

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[11] See results of the regressions in this chapter in the appendix placed on the LAPOP website.
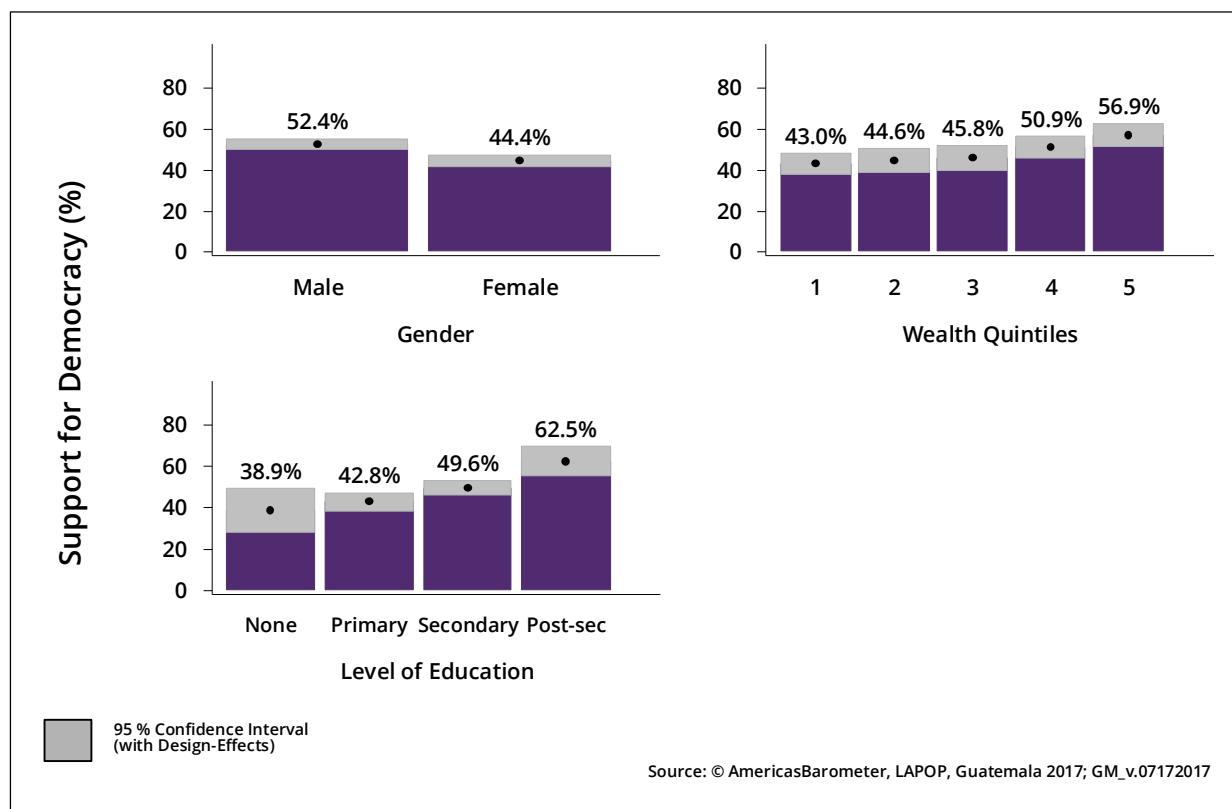
Figure 1.3. Demographic and Socio-Economic Correlates of Support for Democracy in Guatemala

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 conditions is 49.4% in Guatemala, which places the country among the highest ranks in the region. The support for military coups under conditions of high corruption is similar (47.8%), and also places Guatemala among the countries with the highest percentage in the entire 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.
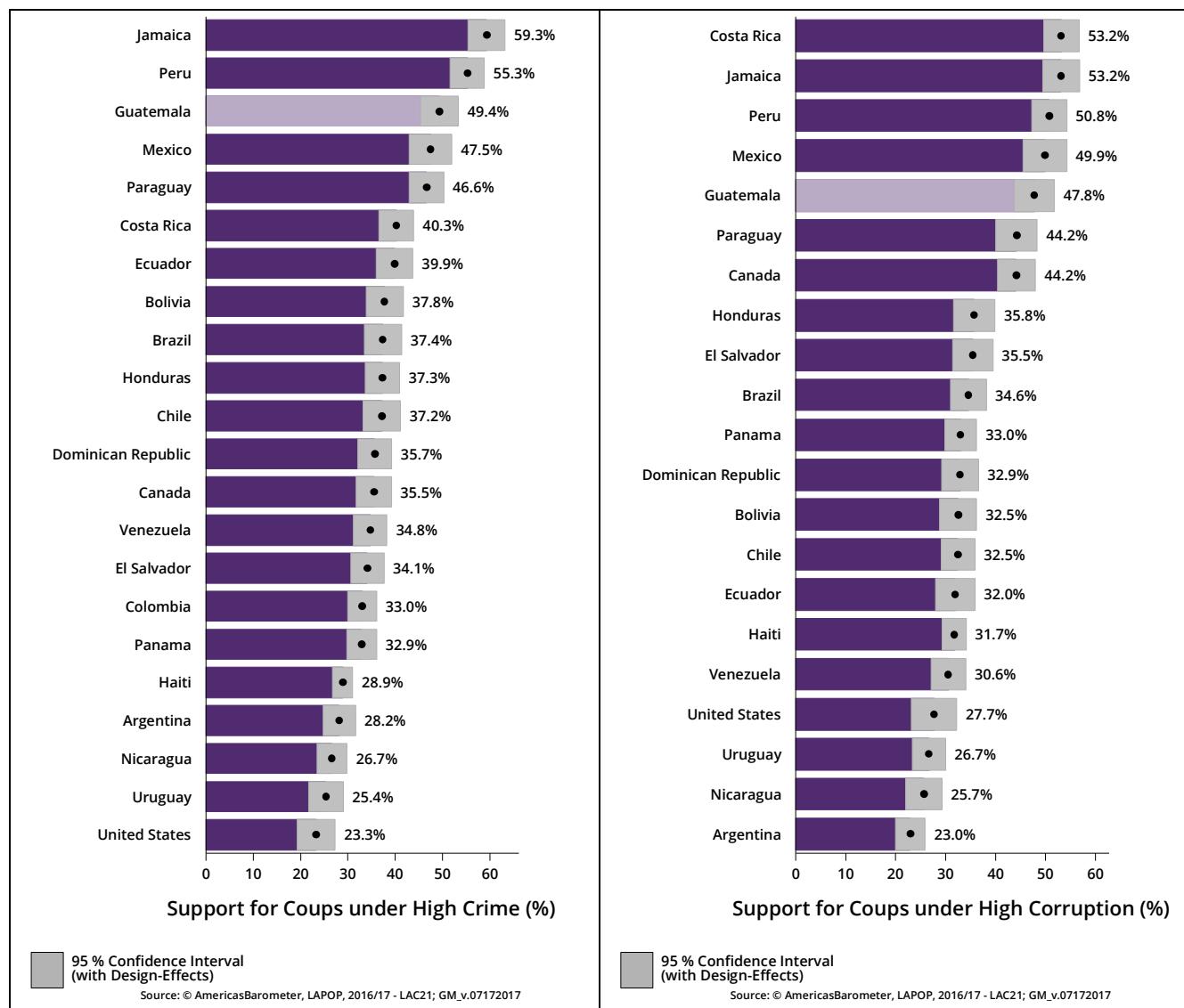
**Figure 1.4. Support for Military Coups under High Crime
and High Corruption**

For cross-time, socio-economic, and demographic analyses, we assess support for military coups, generally, by creating an index of these two variables.[12] As shown in Figure 1.5, in Guatemala, support for military coups has fluctuated since the first round was conducted in 2004. Support for military coups increased between 2014 and 2017, when close to half of Guatemalans say they support this type of action.
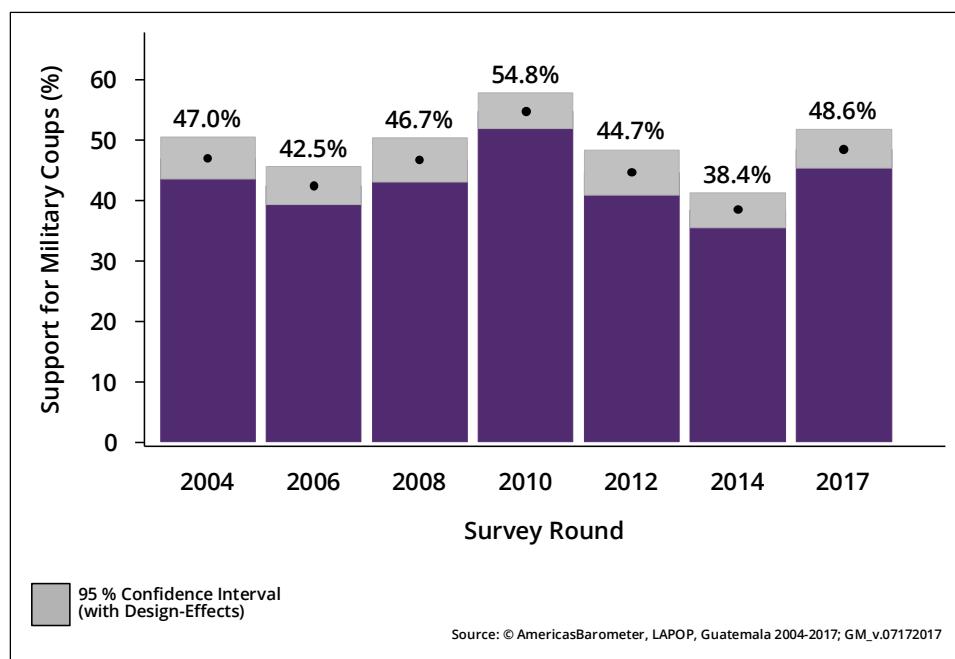
Figure 1.5. Support for Military Coups across Time in Guatemala

Figure 1.6 shows support for military coups by demographic and socio-economic subgroups. In Guatemala, those younger than 35 years of age are more likely than older citizens to express their support for a military coup. At the same time, support for military coups is much more common among Guatemalans residing in rural areas and those without a post-secondary education.[13]

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[12] 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.

[13] There are no statistically significant relationships between support for military coups and gender or wealth level. With the exception of the level of education, these relationships hold when controlling for other demographic groups and socioeconomic characteristics.
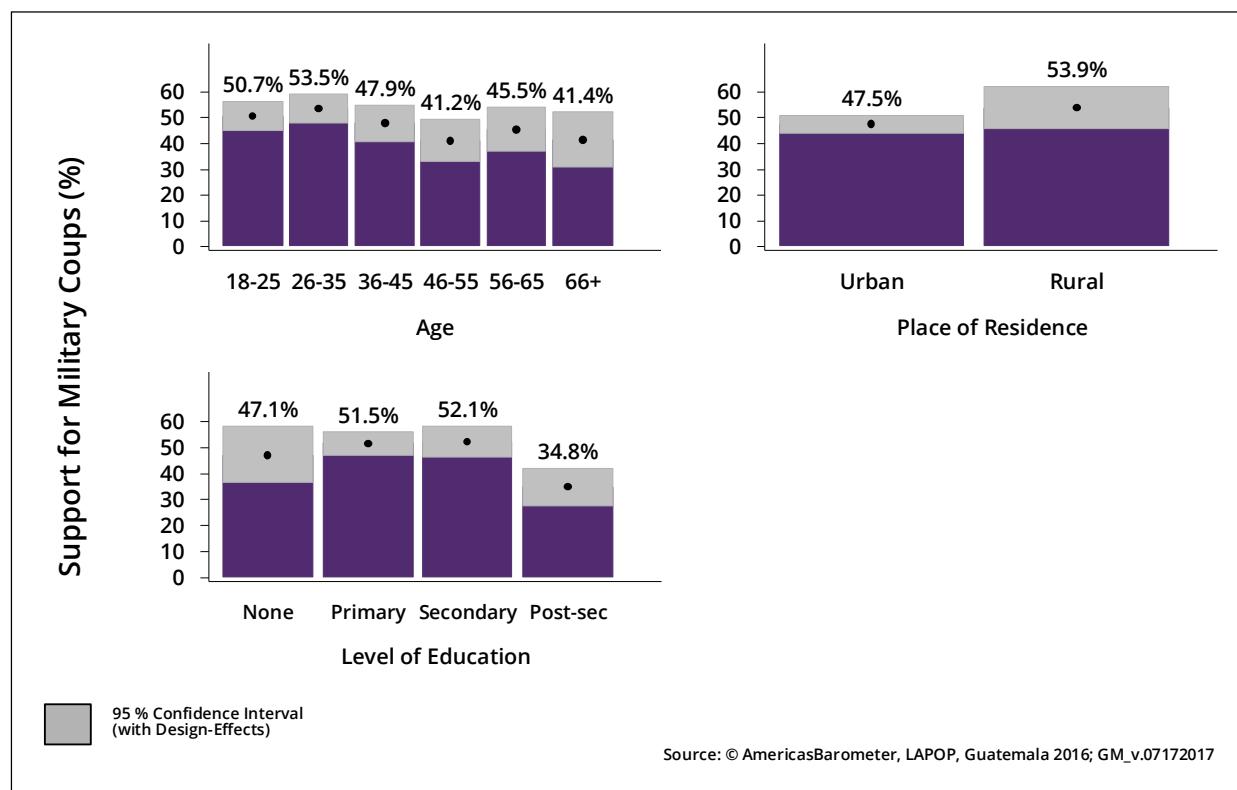
Figure 1.6. Demographic and Socio-Economic Predictors of Support for Military Coups in Guatemala

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 1993. Guatemala is among the countries with the highest support for executive coups (24.4% of the population supports them).

Country	Value
Peru	37.8%
Haiti	30.0%
Paraguay	28.7%
Bolivia	24.8%
Guatemala	24.4%
Chile	23.0%
Panama	22.8%
Canada	22.0%
Ecuador	21.6%
Nicaragua	19.9%
Honduras	19.7%
Brazil	19.5%
Dominican Republic	19.1%
Costa Rica	18.9%
Jamaica	18.4%
Mexico	17.0%
United States	16.6%
El Salvador	16.1%
Colombia	15.3%
Venezuela	13.0%
Argentina	11.3%
Uruguay	8.7%

Support for Congressional Shutdown %)

95 % Confidence Interval
(with Design-Effects)

Source: © AmericasBarometer, LAPOP, 2016/17 - LAC21; GM_v.07172017

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 substantially in the 2017 round of the AmericasBarometer in Guatemala by more than 10 percentage points. Close to a quarter of Guatemalans supports the president closing Congress in difficult times.
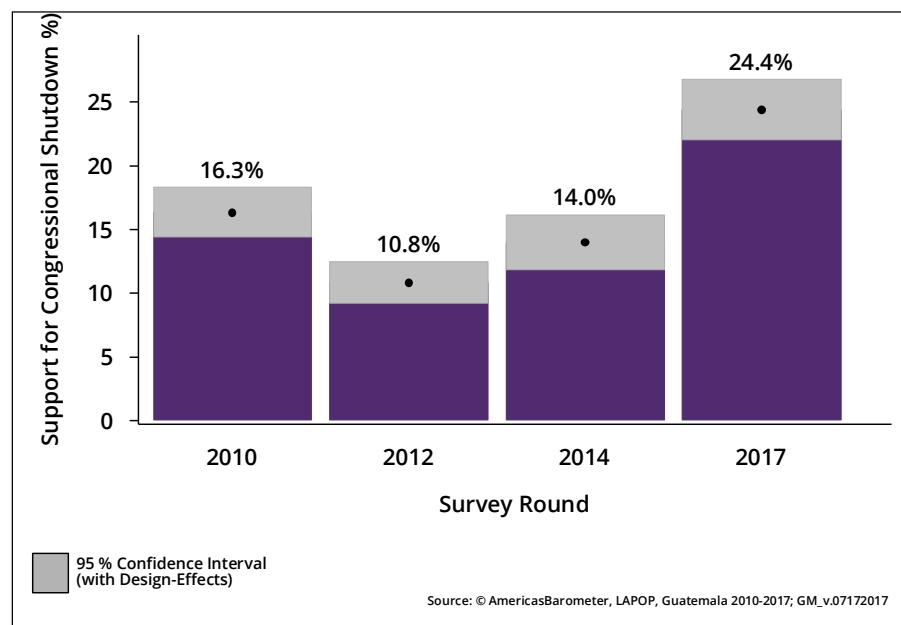
Figure 1.8. Support for Executive Coups across Time in Guatemala

Figure 1.9 shows that low levels of education are associated with support for executive coups in Guatemala. Between a quarter and a third of Guatemalans with low levels of education (none or primary) or wealth support congressional shutdowns compared to 18.5% with higher education.[14]
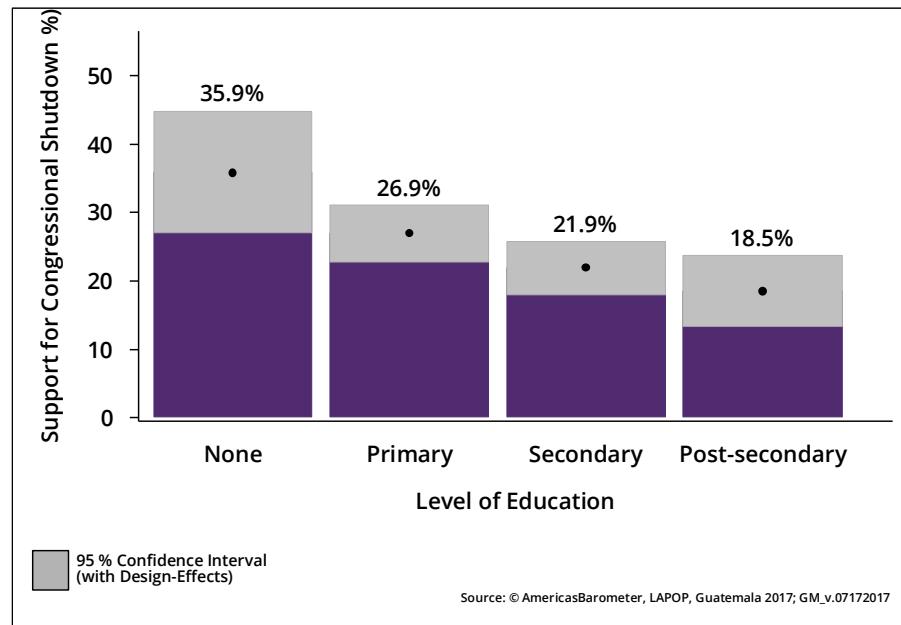
Figure 1.9. Level of Education and Support for Executive Coups in Guatemala

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[14] There are no statistically significant relationships between support for executive coups and gender, age, place of residence, or wealth level. These relationships are hold when controlling for other demographic groups and socioeconomic characteristics.

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, declined in Guatemala in comparison to from 2014. At the same time, the level of support for a hypothetical military coup in Guatemala is relatively higher than in countries of the region and has increased in recent years. Likewise, support for executive coups has grown 10 percentage points in 2017 in Guatemala, being one of the highest in the region. Although these figures are noteworthy, they are also hypothetical, abstract, and general. While respondents express lower support for democracy on average, or more support for hypothetical coups, it is unclear from these analyses whether this overarching displeasure is reflected in opinions about institutions as they function in respondents' national political contexts. The remainder of this chapter turns to 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.[15]

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.[16] 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).[17]

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[15] 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).

[16] 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).

[17] 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

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. Guatemala is in a low intermediate range compared to other countries in the region: more than a third of Guatemalans (34.7%) report trusting elections as shown in Figure 1.10.

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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).
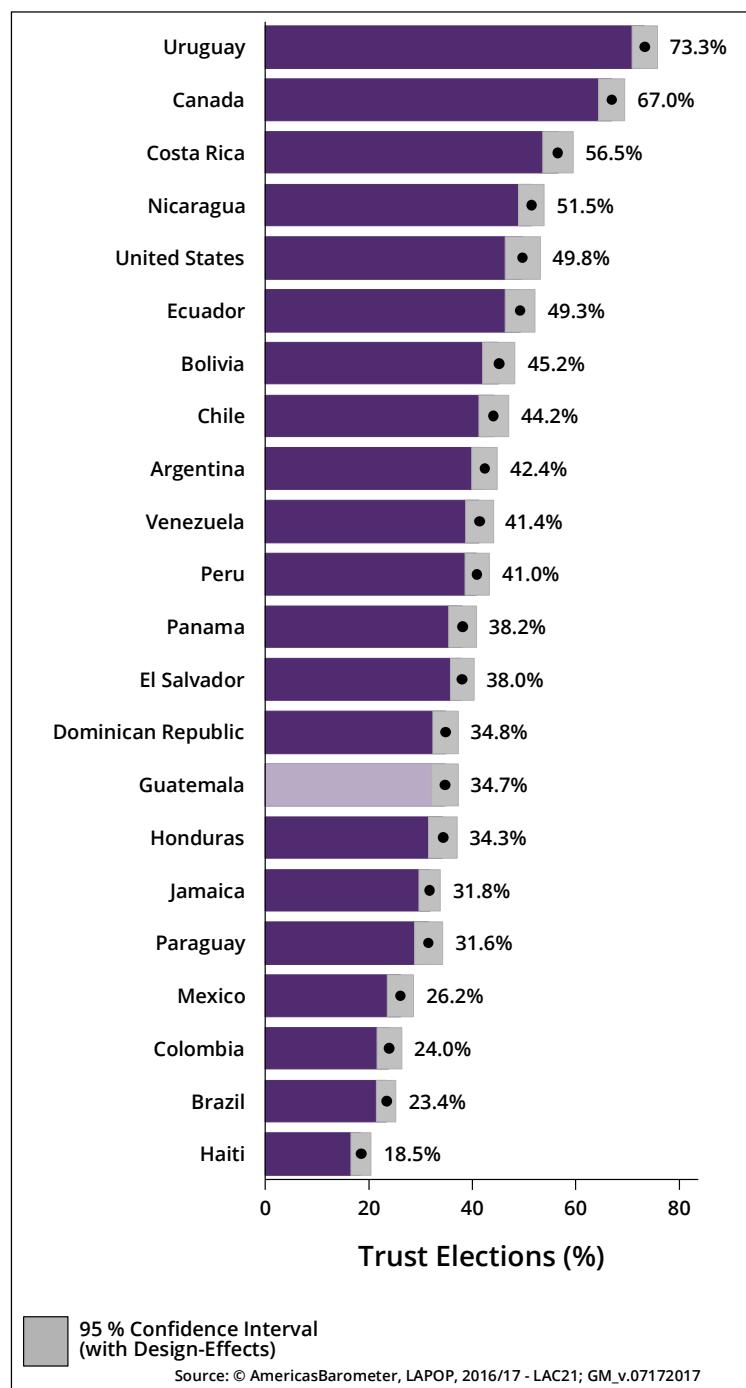
Figure 1.10. Percentage of Respondents Who Trust Elections

In Guatemala, as shown in Figure 1.11, trust in the elections increased by almost seven percentage points compared to the 2014 round.
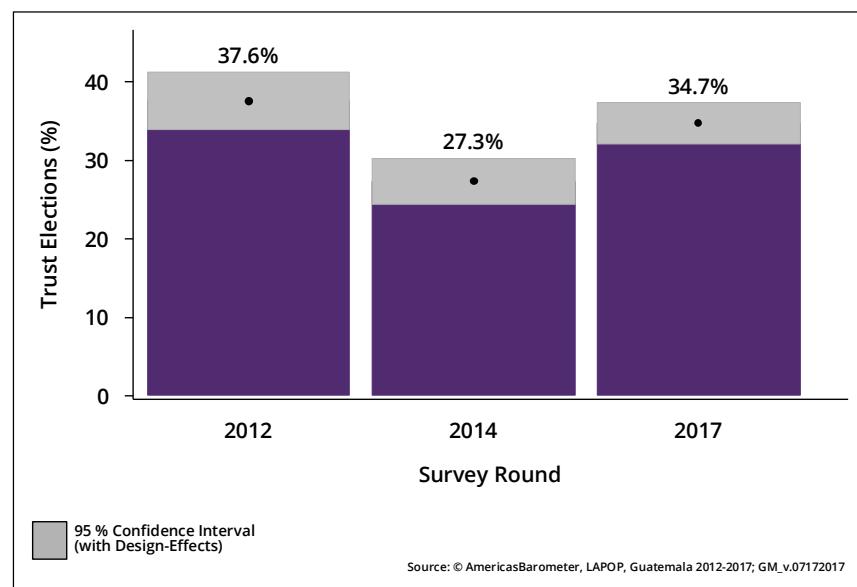
Figure 1.11. Trust in Elections over Time in Guatemala

In terms of who is most likely to trust elections, the results in Figure 1.12 show that Guatemalans with low levels of education and wealth express higher trust in elections than those with a secondary or university education, or those who belong to the highest wealth quintiles. Similarly, those who live in rural areas trust more in elections than urban residents.[18]
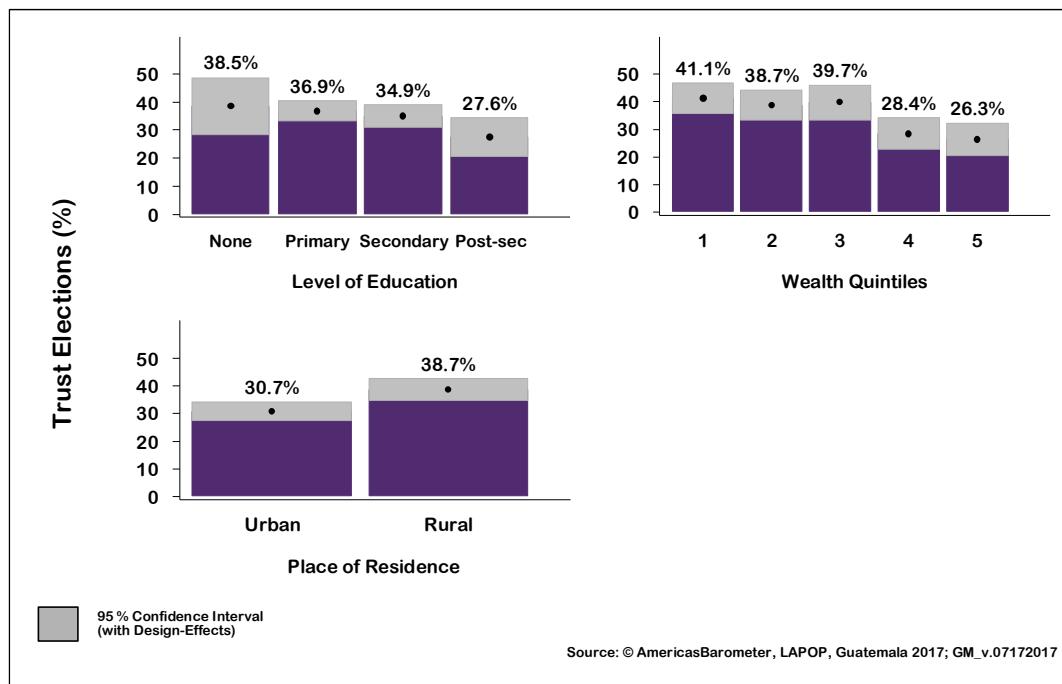
**Figure 1.12. Demographic and Socio-Economic Predictors
of Trust in Elections in Guatemala**

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[18] There is no statistically significant relationship between trust in elections and gender or age. With the exception of the level of education, these relationships hold when controlling for other demographic groups and socioeconomic characteristics.

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/general elections** of (year of last presidential/general elections)?
> (1) Voted
> (2) Did not vote

Figure 1.13 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.[19] 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). Guatemala is in an intermediate range among the countries of the region with 76% of participation reported in the last general elections.

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[19] 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).

Country	Turnout (%)
Peru	89.3%
Uruguay	88.6%
Bolivia	85.6%
Ecuador	85.4%
Argentina	83.7%
Venezuela	82.0%
Dominican Republic	81.2%
Guyana	80.6%
Brazil	78.5%
Guatemala	76.0%
El Salvador	72.2%
Mexico	68.7%
Panama	68.6%
Paraguay	68.0%
United States	66.0%
Costa Rica	65.3%
Honduras	62.0%
Colombia	61.4%
Nicaragua	59.8%
Haiti	56.1%
Chile	53.8%
Jamaica	52.5%

Turnout (%)

95 % Confidence Interval
(with Design-Effects)

Source: © AmericasBarometer, LAPOP, 2016/17 - LAC21; GM_v.07172017

Figure 1.13. Turnout across Countries

Who participates in elections in Guatemala? There are some interesting patterns in Figure 1.14. All age cohorts with the exception of the youngest citizens (18-25) report a participation in general elections of more than 80%. Younger Guatemalan citizens report a participation rate of only 46.4%.[20]

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[20] Not all study participants were eligible to vote in the country's most recent presidential election, which accounts for much of the sizeable increase in reported turnout from the youngest age cohort to the 26-35-year-old group.
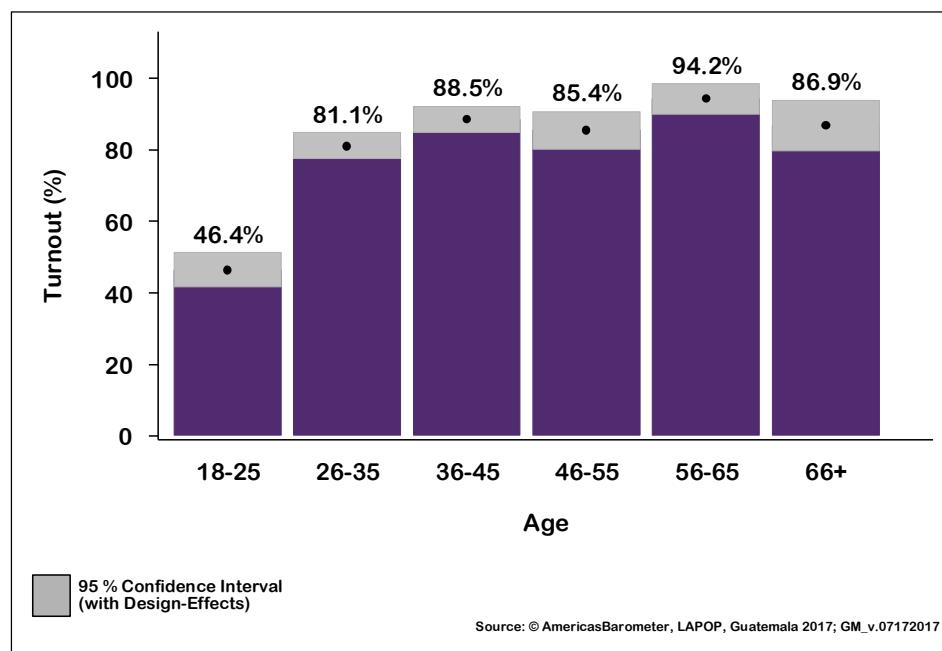
**Figure 1.14. Demographic and Socio-Economic Predictors
of Turnout in Guatemala**

In sum, it is worrisome that only 34.7% of respondents in Guatemala reported trusting elections, the mechanism through which leaders have been elected for more than 30 years on average throughout the region. This figure is somewhat worrying given the central role of elections in democratic governance. However, Guatemalans still have high participation rates in elections. Participation has remained relatively stable over time and more than 75% of people of voting age in Guatemala report participating 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., Schattshneider 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, with one signifying no trust and seven indicating 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. Guatemala exhibits a low level of trust in political parties (14.6%) compared to the countries of the region.
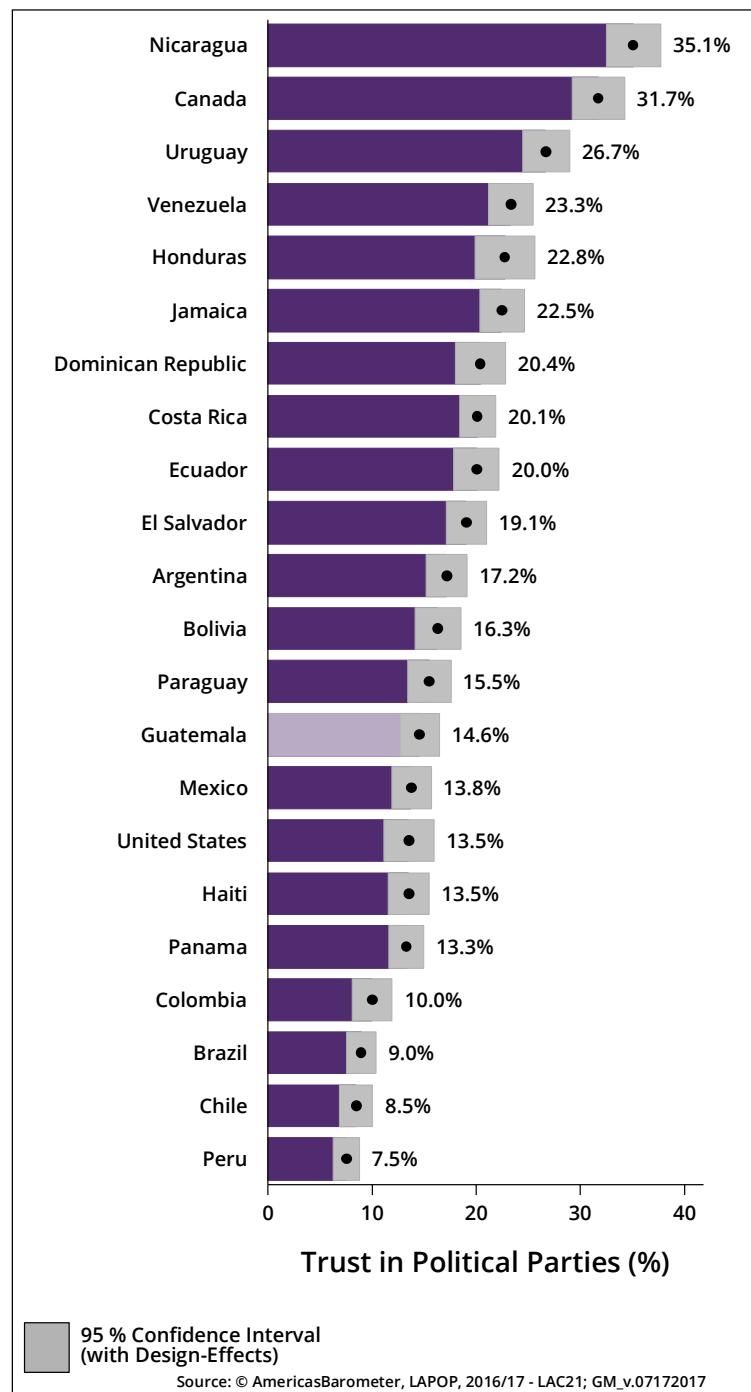
**Figure 1.15. Percentage that Trusts Political Parties
across Countries**

Figure 1.16 shows that trust in political parties has fluctuated greatly in Guatemala since 2004. In 2017, only 14.6% report trusting parties. However, between 2014 and 2017, trust in political parties in Guatemala increased slightly.
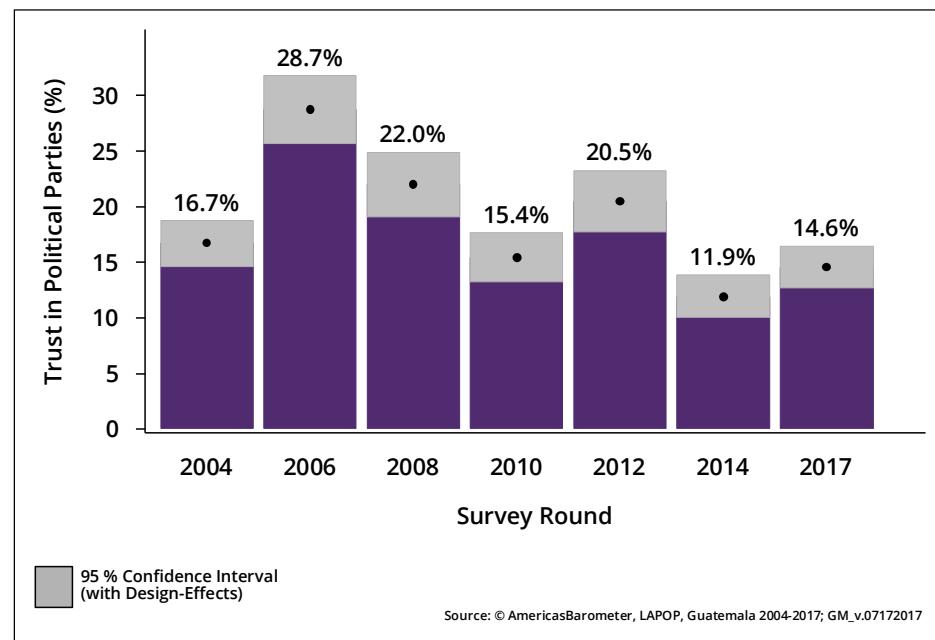
Figure 1.16. Trust in Political Parties over Time in Guatemala

With respect to who is more or less likely to trust political parties, Figure 1.17 shows that education has a negative effect. While 38.5% of those who do not have formal education report trusting parties, 27.6% of those with a college education trust Guatemalan parties. Similarly, people with higher levels of wealth report significantly less trust in parties (26.3%) than poorer respondents (41.1%). The residents of rural areas trust more in parties than urban residents, and younger Guatemalans express higher trust in political parties than older respondents.
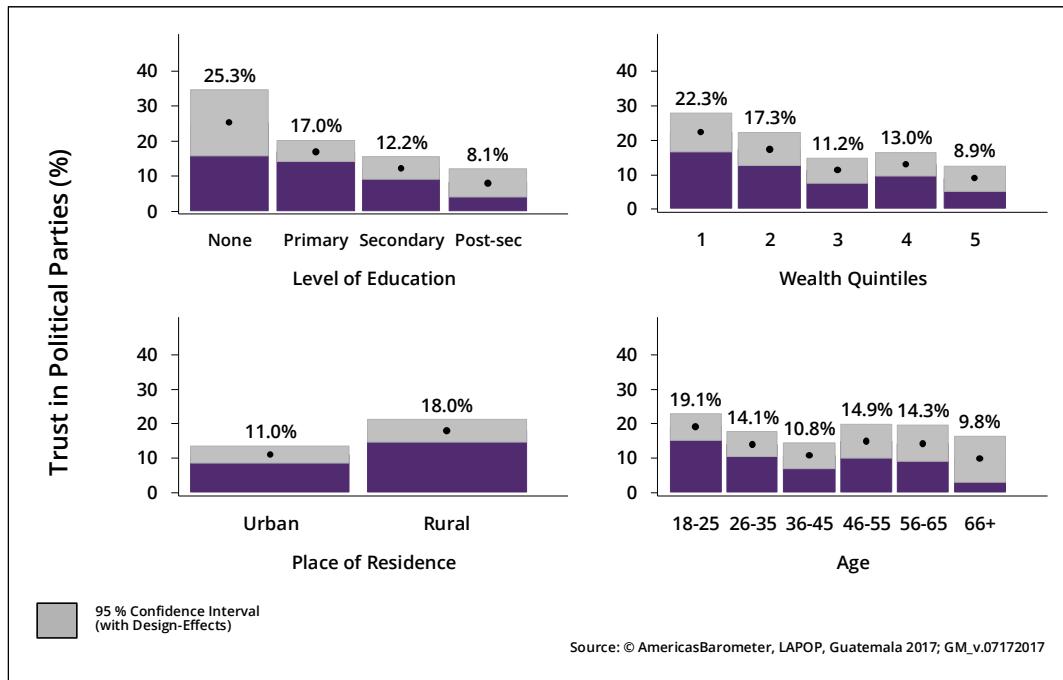
Figure 1.17. Demographic and Socio-Economic Predictors of Trust in Political Parties in Guatemala

These demographic and socio-economic factors associated with trust in partisan organizations stand in stark contrast to the findings for trust and participation in general elections. On average, the rate of trust in the parties is half of what is observed for trust in the elections in Guatemala. Guatemalans of older age trust more in the elections. At the same time, citizens with less education and who reside in rural areas trust more in elections. Those with lower levels of education and wealth, and residents of rural areas, trust more in political parties.

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 1.18 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 Guatemala, only 5.9% sympathize with a political party in 2017, which represents the lowest level compared to the other countries in the region.
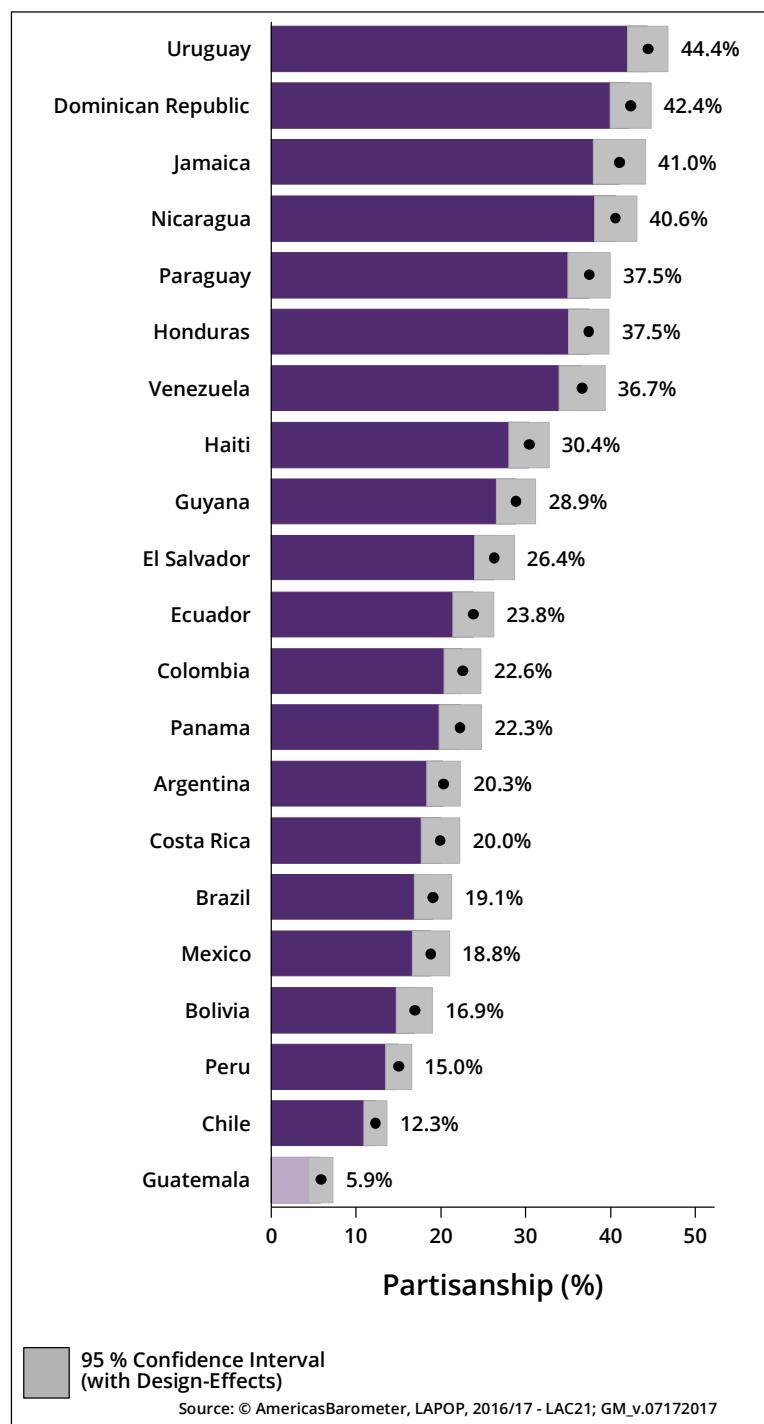
Figure 1.18. Partisanship across Countries

Figure 1.19 shows the party identification rate in Guatemala over time. The percentage that sympathizes with a political party decreased by almost six percentage points compared to 2014. This represents the lowest level of party identification in 10 years in Guatemala.
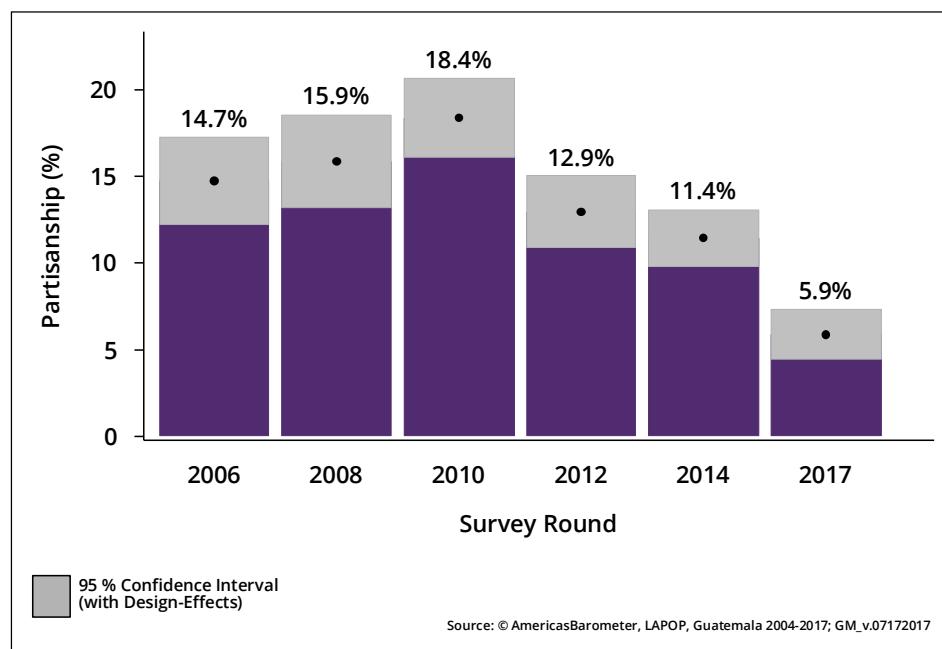
Figure 1.19. Partisanship across Time in Guatemala

Given the low average level of party identification it is important to analyze who reports sympathizing with a political party. Figure 1.20 shows that Guatemalans residing in rural areas are more likely to sympathize with a political party than citizens living in urban areas. However, the percentage in rural areas only reaches 7.4%.
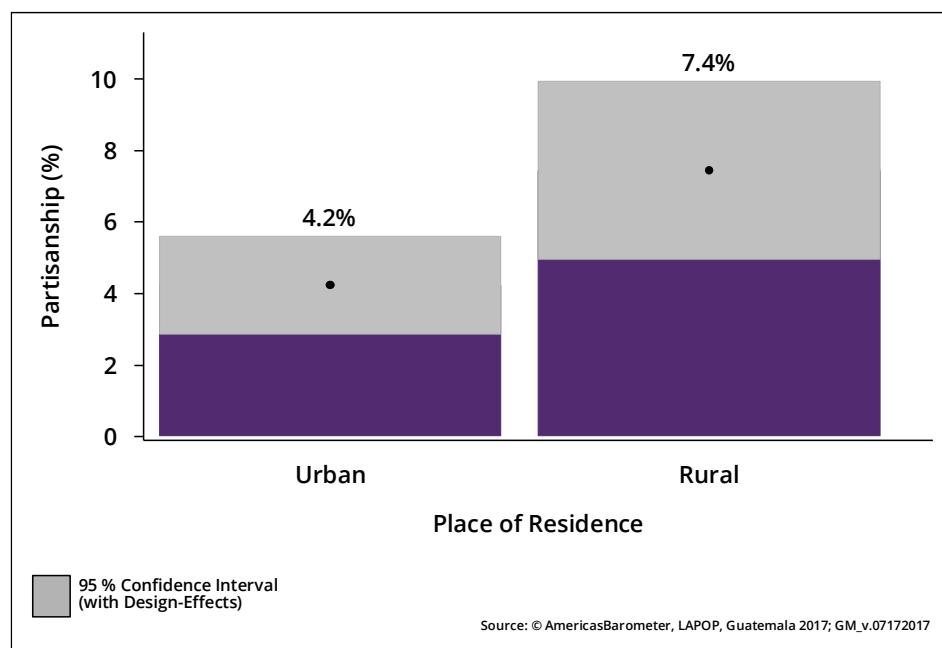
**Figure 1.20. Place of Residence and Political Partisanship
in Guatemala**

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 2017, about a third of Guatemalans express trust in elections and less than one in five report trust in political parties. In 2017, the average Guatemalan adult has a much lower probability of identifying with a political party: while 11.4% identified with a political party in 2014, in 2017 that figure is only 5.9%, the lowest rate in the entire continent.

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 and 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

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[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 Guatemala, 57% believe 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.
- Trust in the media has increased in Guatemala across time.
- 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 Guatemala, 63% reports very little freedom of (general) expression and 69.7% reports very little freedom of political expression.
- In Guatemala, 68% 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 Guatemalans perceive deficiencies in the supply of basic liberties, they express lower approval of the president and lower likelihood of voting for the incumbent.

In Guatemala, what type of citizens 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:

- Guatemalan residents of rural areas are more likely to perceive that there is very little press freedom.
- Women, younger Guatemalan citizens and those with the highest levels of education are more likely to report very little freedom of expression.

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 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,

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[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_B1akCElpg.html

[5] cpj.org/killed/

[6] www.washingtonpost.com/world/americas/in-tiny-ecuador-populist-president-restrains-press/2012/01/23/gIQAHBmQNQ_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.

[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).

Ecuador, Honduras, and Venezuela. In the latter case, Venezuela, 67% of the mass public perceives there to be very little freedom of the press.

Guatemala is among the countries with the highest percentage of citizens who perceive restrictions on press freedom. As can be seen in Figure 2.1, 57% of Guatemalans believe that there is very little press freedom, 22% believe that there is too much and 21% believe that the level of freedom of the press is sufficient.
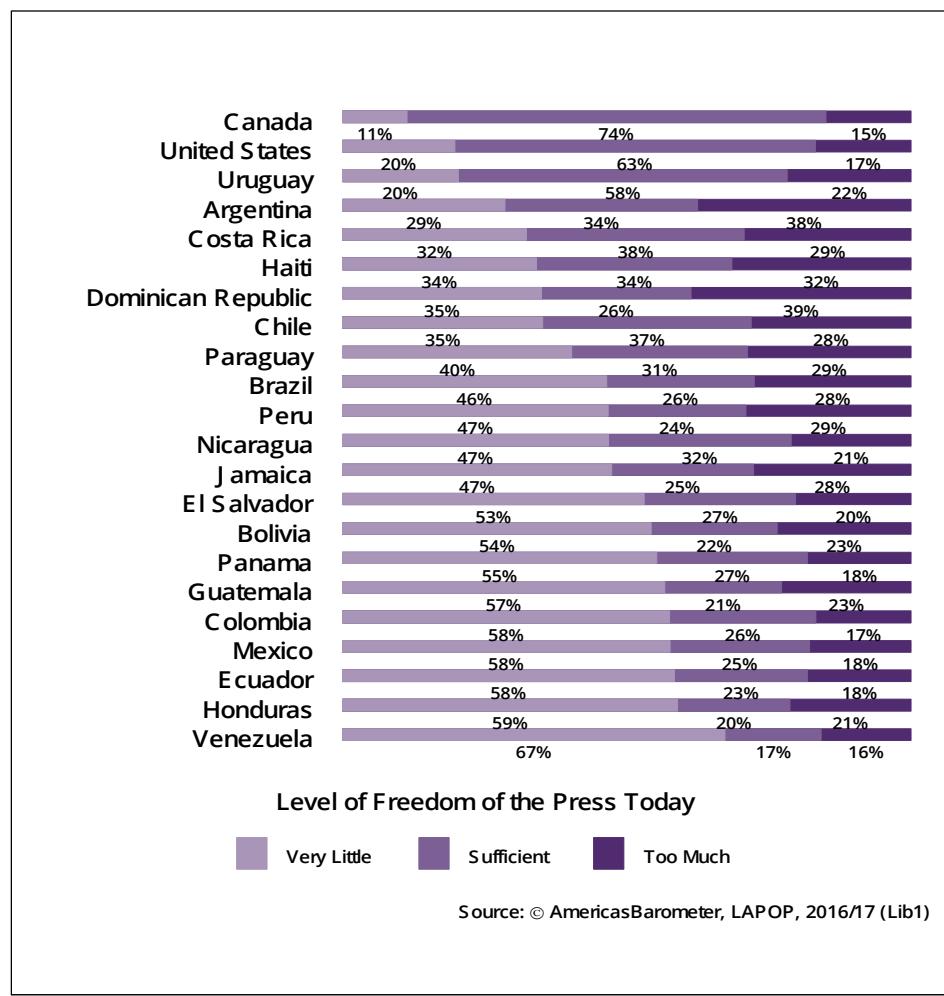
Figure 2.1. Assessments of Freedom of the Press, 2016/17

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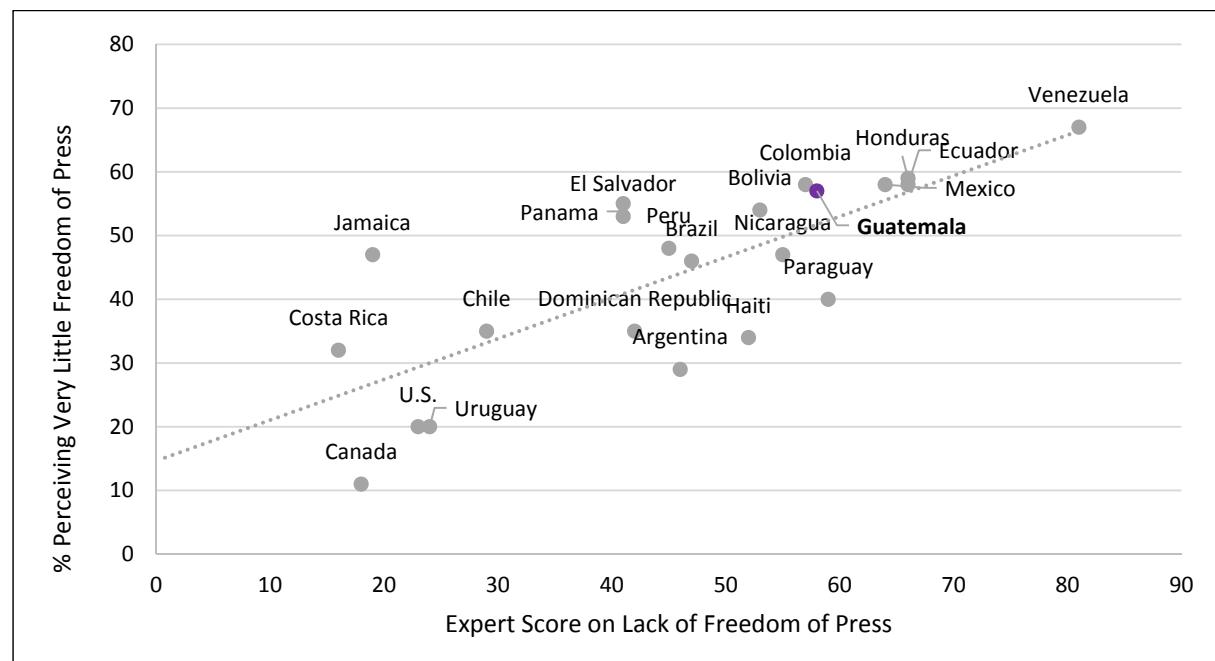
**Figure 2.2. Correspondence between Expert Ratings and
Proportion of Individuals Reporting Very Little Freedom
of the Press in the Americas**

Who is more likely to perceive there to be an insufficient degree of freedom of the press in Guatemala? To answer this question, we analyze the extent to which there are differences in the proportion of Guatemalans 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, the only variable correlated with the perception that there is very little press freedom in Guatemala is the place of residence of the respondent. Those who reside in rural areas report more frequently (60.2%) that there is very little press freedom than those who live in urban areas (53%).[10]

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

[10] There are no statistically significant relationships between perceiving very little press freedom and gender, age, wealth level or level of education. These results hold when controlling for other demographic groups and socio-economic characteristics.
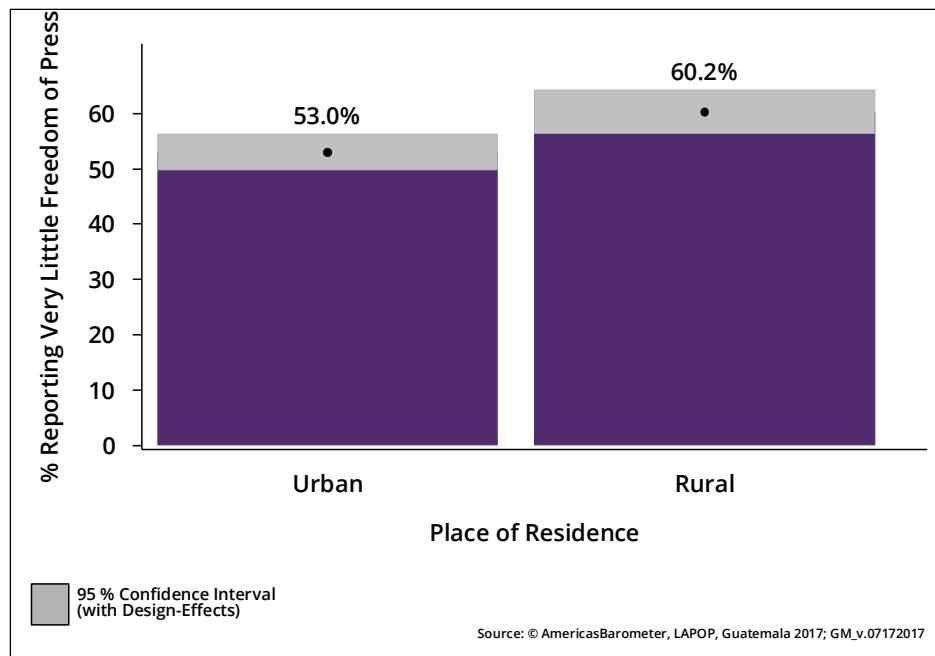
Figure 2.3. Demographic Predictors of Perceiving Very Little Freedom of the Press in Guatemala

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. Guatemala ranks high compared to other countries in the region, given that more than half of citizens (58.4%) express trust 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.
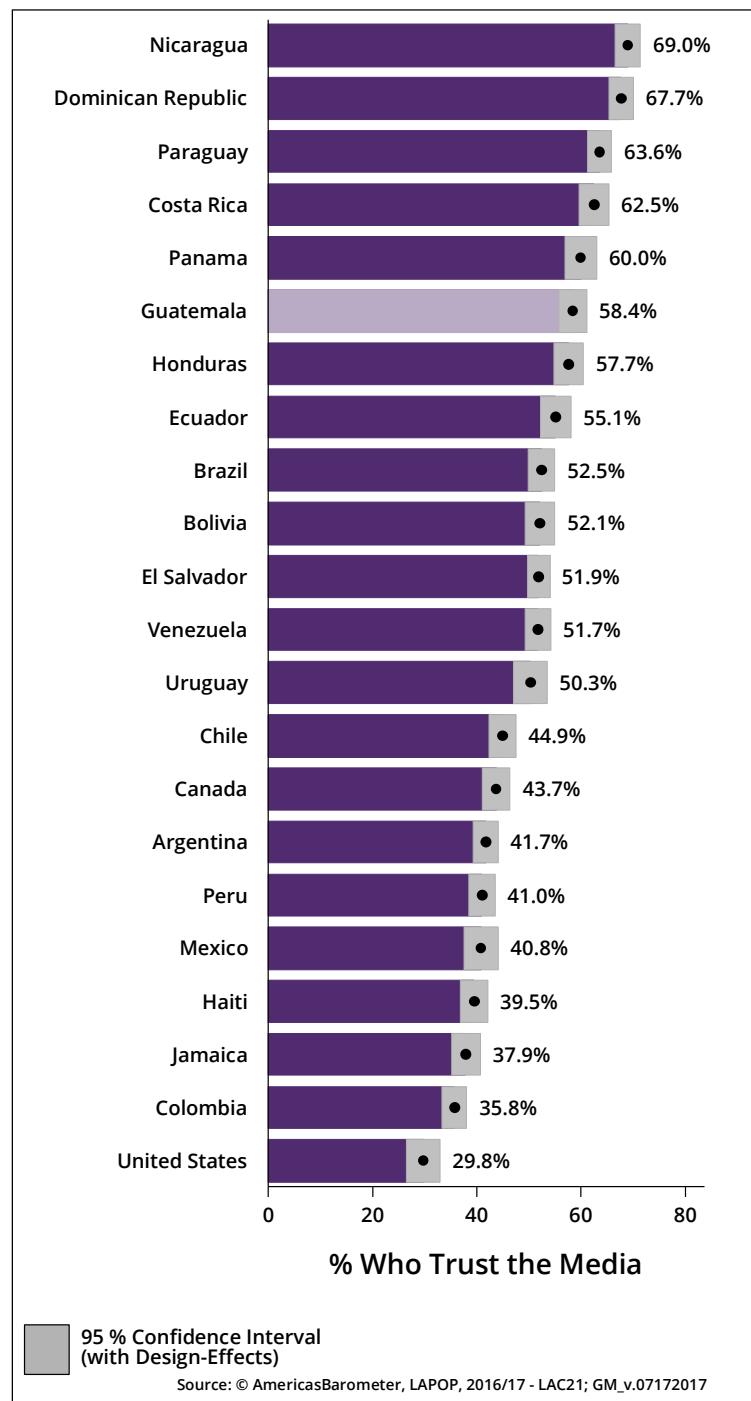
Figure 2.4. Trust in the Media by Country, 2016/17

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 trust in the media over time in Guatemala? To answer this question, Figure 2.5 displays the average proportion of individual sin Guatemala who trust in 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 Guatemala, the percentage that trusts the media returned to its highest level in 2017, to a percentage similar to that expressed in 2004. Compared to 2014, trust in the media increased by more than 10 percentage points.
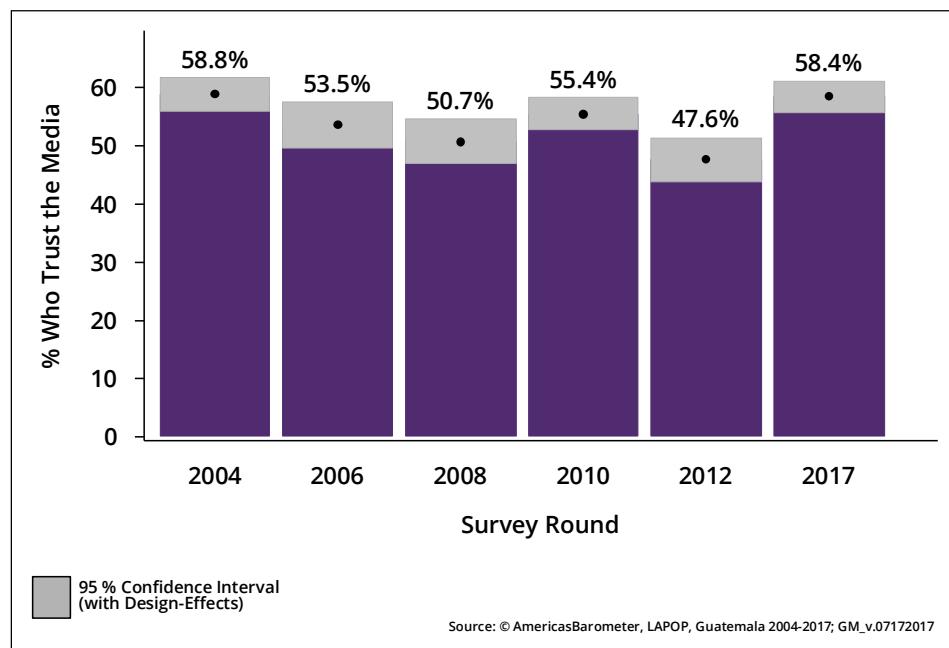
Figure 2.5. Trust in the Media over Time in Guatemala

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.

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[11] The pattern of results across time for the region is similar if the sample is restricted to only those countries included in the 2004 wave of the AmericasBarometer, though the decrease in 2016/17 is not as steep.

[12] As with all questions in the LIB series, the question was not asked in the six OECS countries or 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 Guatemala, six out of ten people say there is a deficit with respect to freedom of expression in the country. About a quarter of Guatemalans report that there is sufficient freedom of expression in 2017.

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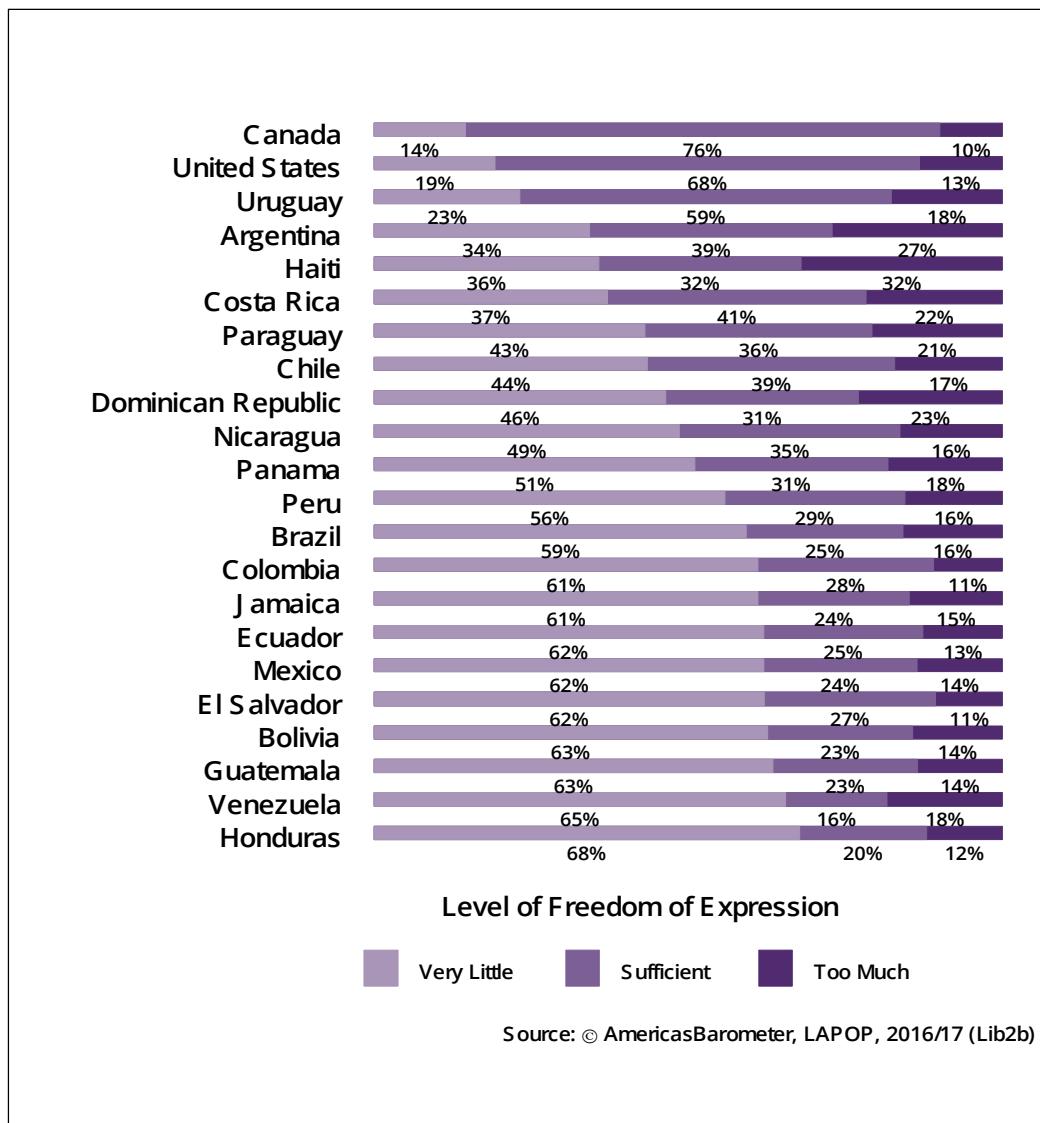
Figure 2.6. Assessments of Freedom of Expression, 2016/17

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 Guatemalan public's assessment of the amount of freedom of general expression and freedom of political expression. As the figure shows,

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[14] The question was not asked in the six OECS countries or 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.

Guatemalans report, on average, less freedom to express political opinions without fear (69.7%), in comparison to general opinion expression (63.4%).
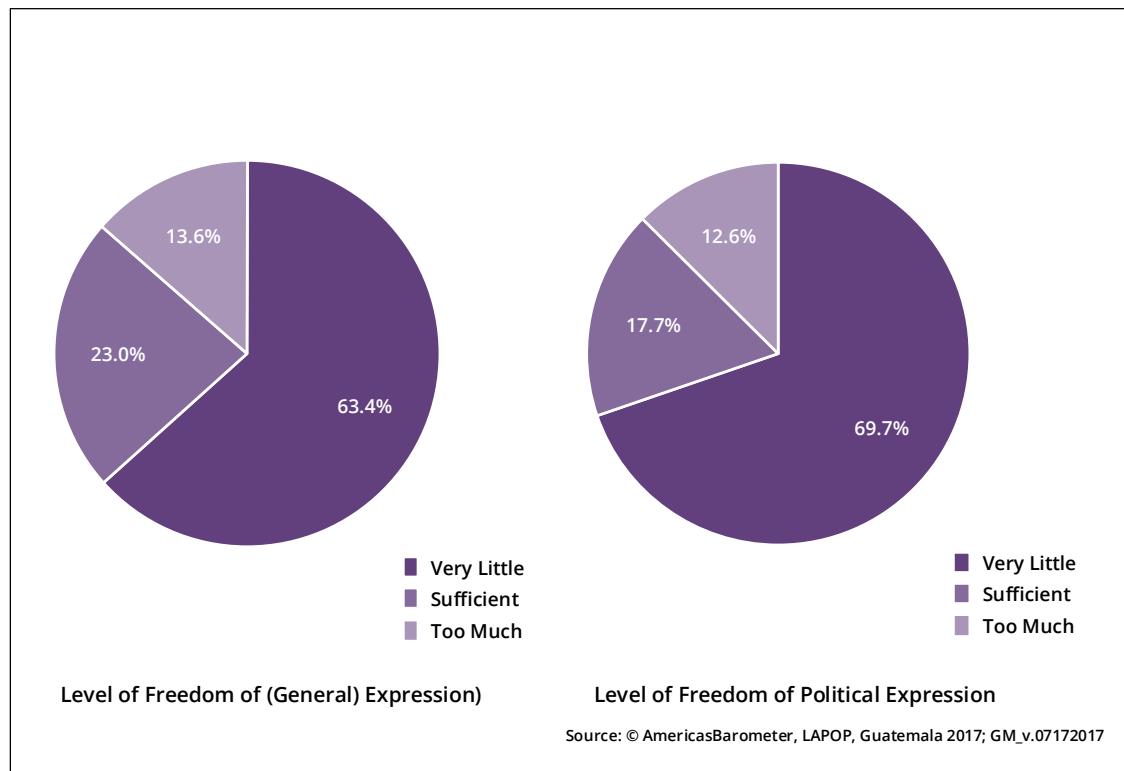
Figure 2.7. The Supply of Freedoms of Expression in Guatemala, 2017

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]

More than two thirds of Guatemalans feel that there is very little freedom to express political opinions without fear in 2017. Only 18% of the population thinks that there is enough freedom to express political opinions.

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

Country	Very Little	Sufficient	Too Much
Canada	16%	77%	7%
Uruguay	28%	56%	15%
United States	29%	62%	10%
Costa Rica	39%	41%	20%
Argentina	43%	36%	21%
Chile	45%	42%	13%
Dominican Republic	46%	31%	23%
Haiti	48%	29%	23%
Paraguay	48%	31%	21%
Panama	54%	31%	15%
Nicaragua	55%	32%	13%
Peru	61%	27%	12%
Brazil	61%	21%	17%
Venezuela	66%	18%	16%
Jamaica	66%	20%	14%
Honduras	67%	19%	14%
Ecuador	67%	21%	12%
Bolivia	67%	20%	13%
El Salvador	67%	24%	9%
Guatemala	70%	18%	13%
Mexico	70%	20%	10%
Colombia	71%	22%	7%

Level of Freedom to Express Political Opinions without Fear

Very Little   Sufficient   Too Much

Source: © AmericasBarometer, LAPOP, 2016/17 (Lib2c)

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

Are some individuals more likely than others to express that there is an insufficient degree of freedom to express political views without fear in Guatemala? Analysis of the data reveals significant differences by level of education and age. The analysis of the data reveals significant differences by gender, age and wealth.[17] Figure 2.9 shows these results. In Guatemala, those with higher education (79.5%) and Guatemalans between 18 and 35 years of age (72.7%-74.3%) are more likely to report that there is a deficit in the freedom to express political opinions without fear.

Of the subgroup of variables examined, education exerts the substantively stronger effect on the probability of reporting very little freedom of political expression. In Guatemala, the difference in the percentage that reports very little freedom of political expression between citizens with higher education (79.5%) and those without formal education (59.6%) is almost 30 percentage points.

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[17] There are no statistically significant relationships between perceiving very little freedom of political expression and gender, wealth level or place of residence. With the exception of age, these relationships hold when controlling other demographic groups and socioeconomic characteristics.
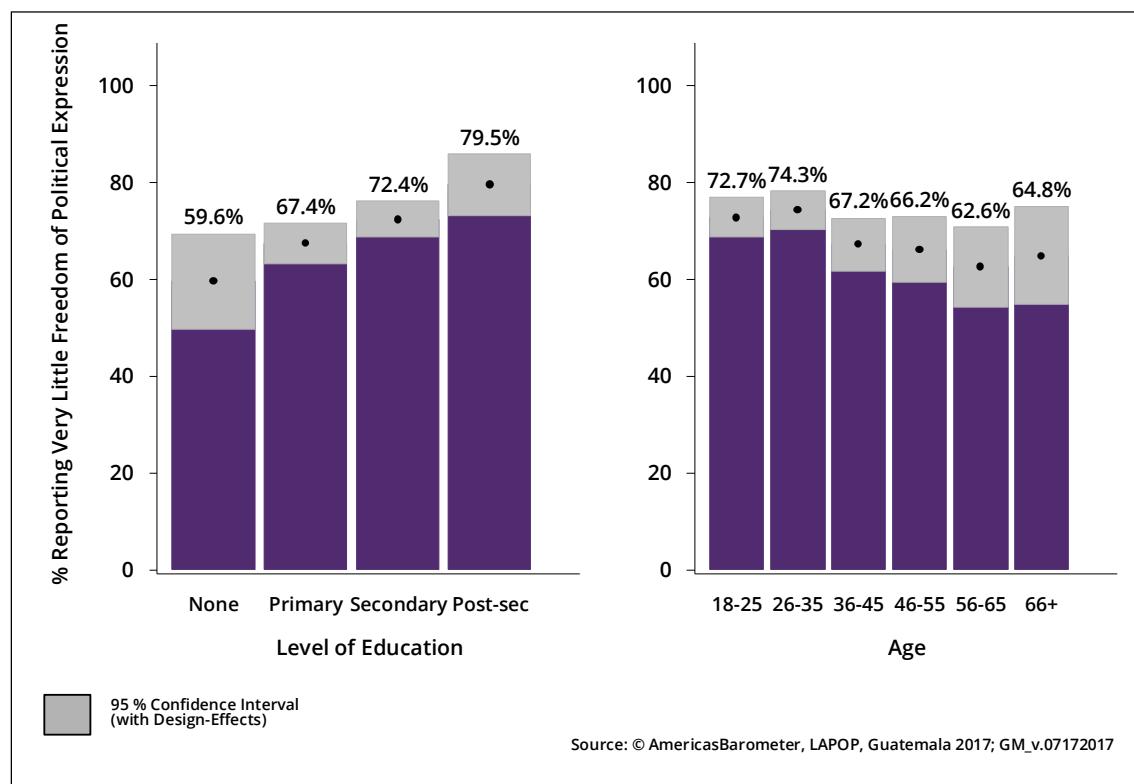
Figure 2.9. Demographic and Socio-Economic Predictors of Reporting Very Little Freedom of Expression in Guatemala

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 believes 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]

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[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 2.10 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. Guatemala is in an intermediate range regarding the percentage of citizens who believe there is sufficient protection to human rights in the country, with 68% expressing that there is very little protection to this type of rights in 2017.[19]

Country	Very Little	Sufficient	Too Much
Canada	19%	72%	9%
United States	37%	56%	7%
Uruguay	45%	45%	10%
Costa Rica	49%	41%	11%
Chile	55%	34%	10%
Argentina	57%	29%	14%
Nicaragua	57%	33%	10%
Ecuador	63%	30%	7%
Paraguay	65%	20%	15%
Panama	65%	22%	12%
Guatemala	68%	21%	11%
Brazil	69%	14%	17%
Dominican Republic	70%	19%	11%
Mexico	71%	22%	7%
El Salvador	72%	21%	7%
Peru	74%	18%	8%
Bolivia	75%	18%	7%
Colombia	77%	19%	5%
Honduras	77%	16%	7%
Venezuela	77%	15%	8%
Jamaica	78%	14%	7%
Haiti	79%	14%	6%

Level of Protection of Human Rights Today

■ Very Little ■ Sufficient ■ Too Much

Source: © AmericasBarometer, LAPOP, 2016/17 (Lib4)

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

[19] There are no statistically significant differences between demographic or socioeconomic subgroups.

VI. Deficit of Basic Liberties Index

Large numbers of individuals across the Americas express concern that there is very little in the 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.[20] 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 4 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 did not report that there is very little of any of these basic liberties. Figure 2.11 shows the mean scores for each country on this summary index.

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[20] 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.

Country	Basic Liberties Deficit
Venezuela	69.1
Honduras	67.6
Colombia	66.7
Mexico	65.5
Bolivia	65.1
Guatemala	64.6
El Salvador	63.6
Jamaica	63.2
Ecuador	62.5
Peru	59.2
Brazil	59.0
Panama	56.7
Nicaragua	52.2
Dominican Republic	49.5
Paraguay	49.4
Haiti	48.8
Chile	44.7
Argentina	41.0
Costa Rica	39.0
Uruguay	29.3
United States	26.1
Canada	14.9

Basic Liberties Deficit

95 % Confidence Interval (with Design-Effects)

Source: © AmericasBarometer, LAPOP, 2016/17 - LAC21; GM_v.07172017

Figure 2.11. 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 respect to 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 Guatemala 2017 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 Guatemala, deficits in basic liberties are strongly (and negatively) related to executive approval. Figure 2.12 shows a line graph of the relationship between the Basic Liberties Deficit Index and presidential approval. It can be observed that while the perception of deficit in the supply of basic freedoms increases, the presidential approval is lower. In other words, there is a difference of almost 12 points in the approval of the president's performance among those who perceive that there is a deficit in basic liberties in Guatemala and who perceive that there is no deficit.[21]

Source: © AmericasBarometer LAPOP, Guatemala 2017; GM_v.07172017
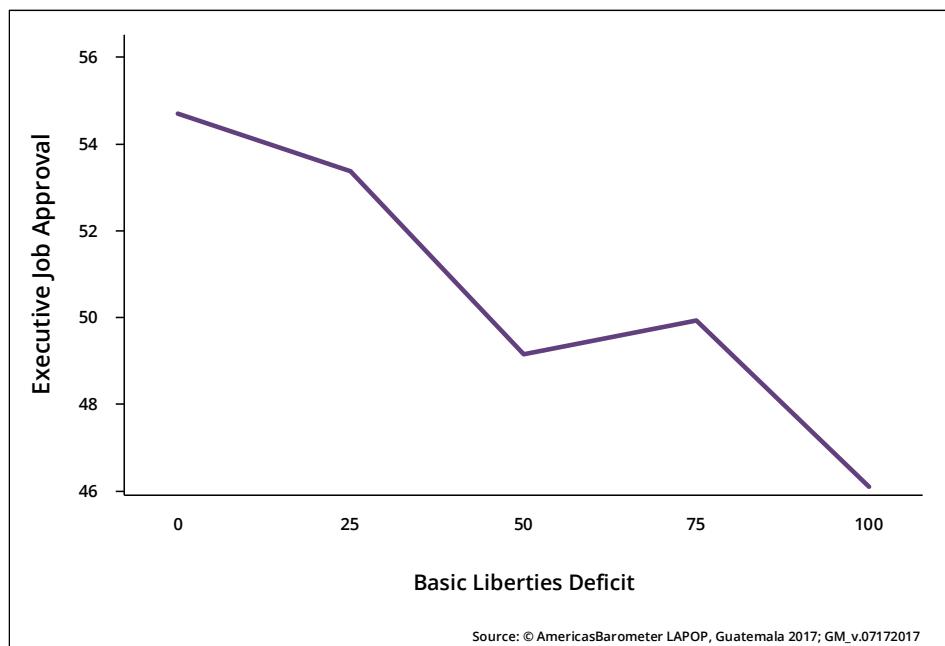
Figure 2.12. Basic Liberties Deficit and Executive Approval in Guatemala

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 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 2.13 presents the change in predicted probabilities estimated in Guatemala for

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

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.[22]
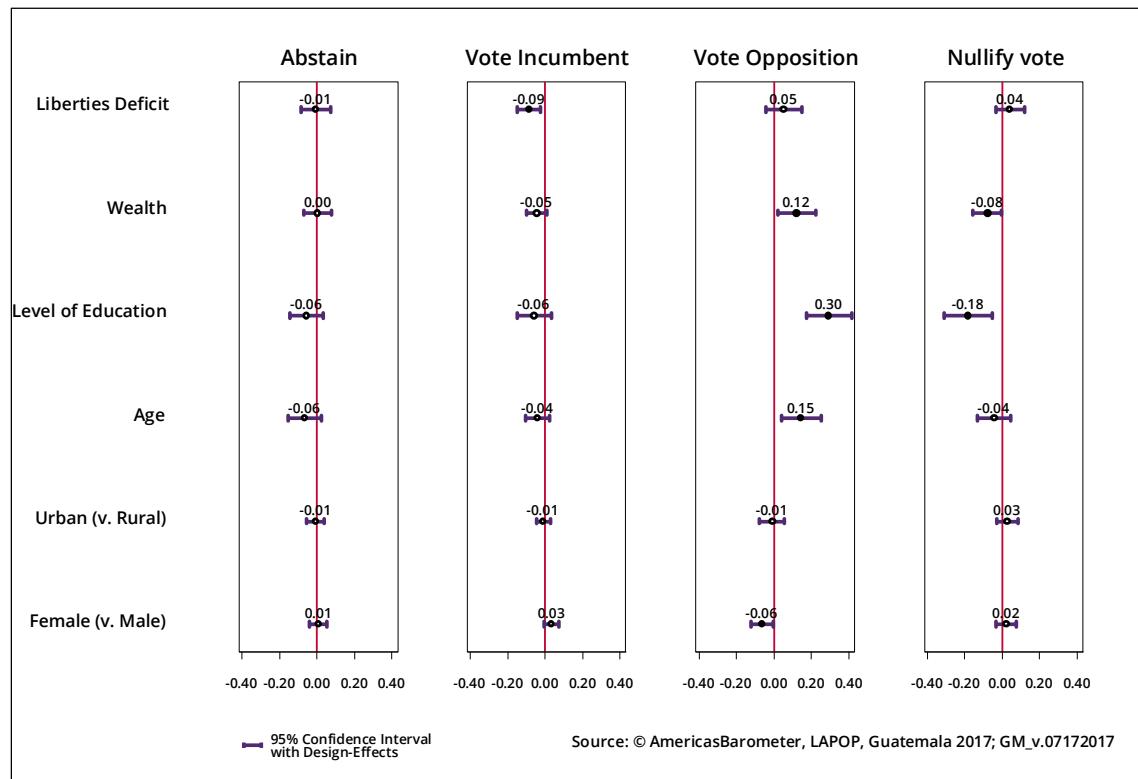
Figure 2.13. Basic Liberties Deficit and Vote Intention in Guatemala, 2017

Figure 2.13 documents that, compared to Guatemalans who do not perceive a deficit in basic liberties, those who perceive a maximum degree of deficit are nine percent less likely to vote for an incumbent candidate. To perceive a significant and wide deficit in the supply of basic freedoms tends to motivate people in the opposite direction to support the incumbent government.[23]

VII. Conclusion

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

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[22] All other variables are held constant at their means as each probability is predicted.

[23] 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.

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 2.11). On the other hand, the public reports widespread deficiencies in the supply of basic liberties in a number of countries, including Guatemala. When considering subgroups, women, those with higher levels of education and younger cohorts are substantially more likely to feel that there is insufficient availability 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 Guatemala, for example, 23% of individuals believe that there is too much press freedom, 14% believe there is too much freedom of expression, and 13% believe that there is too much protection of human rights. 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.[24] In brief, in three of the four 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.[25] In short, there is reason to

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[24] 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.

[25] 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

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.

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.
Vulnerability, Exclusion, and Migration in Guatemala

Dinorah Azpuru

I. Introduction

Migration has been a topic of increasing importance in the countries of Central America, particularly in those of the so-called Northern Triangle (Guatemala, Honduras, and El Salvador). The issue gained notoriety after the crisis of 2014, when thousands of unaccompanied children migrated to the United States. Several news articles and academic studies have addressed the issue since then, noting that violence and poverty have pushed not only unaccompanied minors but many other Central Americans to migrate (Hiskey et al., 2016). Others have highlighted the complexity of the migration problem, which has causes in the countries of origin (Azpuru 2014; Jonas 2013), but is also influenced by the policies adopted in the country to which the migrants go. As a consequence of the crisis of 2014, various public policy initiatives were launched, in particular the Alliance for Prosperity in the Northern Triangle.

This chapter analyzes whether certain variables of economic vulnerability (such as a precarious family economic situation), physical vulnerability (such as crime victimization), and social exclusion (such as discrimination) are related to the intention to emigrate from Guatemala.

II. Main Findings

- Economic vulnerability:
  - The intention to emigrate is higher among those who face economic hardship.
  - Additionally, being unemployed is highly correlated with the intention to emigrate.

- Physical vulnerability:
  - There is a clear relationship between crime victimization and a higher intention to emigrate.
  - Apart from victimization, people who have felt forced to change their behavior because of crime are more likely to want to emigrate.
  - Additionally, in neighborhoods where there have been attacks on women, the proportion of those who intend to emigrate is much higher.

- Social exclusion:
  - There is a correlation between the intention to emigrate from Guatemala and having suffered discrimination in a public place or at the hands of a public official.

III. Emigration in Guatemala

Data on Migration

Guatemalan emigration to other countries, particularly the United States, has taken place for many decades. Orozco and Yansura (2014) point out that since the 1970s there have been at least three migratory periods in Central America: the first was in the 70s and 80s when civil wars in the region produced the emigration of thousands of Central Americans who sought asylum as refugees. The second period was in the 90s and the first few years of the 21st century, in which, after the civil wars ended, there was greater economic migration. The third period, which began about a decade ago and is still ongoing, has been characterized by a combination of emigration of Central Americans seeking asylum (no longer for political reasons but because of the violence generated by the gangs), as well as the continuation of the economic emigration and the search for family reunification.

Smith (2006) highlights changes in the type of Guatemalan migrants abroad, noting that during the years of the armed conflict thousands of refugees settled in Mexico and to a lesser extent in the United States and Canada. Smith also notes that after the armed conflict, economic migrants replaced migrants (refugees) seeking political asylum.

The migration literature generally differentiates between so-called push factors (or expulsion) and pull factors. The push factors relate to the local conditions within the migrant's country which make people prone to leaving their country. Pull factors are those that cause a migrant to decide to settle in a certain country. In this chapter, some of the push factors that influence Guatemalans' decision to migrate abroad are examined.

According to the International Organization for Migration (2017) in 2015, 5.86% of all Guatemalan citizens lived abroad; this is more than one million (1,017,513) Guatemalans in total. Table 3.1 shows the countries where people born in Guatemala now live. The 12 countries which are included are those where more than 1,000 Guatemalans are residing or living permanently. The United States has the largest number of Guatemalan migrants at a total of 881,191, which represents 86% of all Guatemalan citizens living abroad. The country with the second most Guatemalan migrants is Mexico, with 53,128 individuals, representing 5.3% of the total. Less than 5% of Guatemalan migrants live in the other countries included in the table.

Table 3.1. Guatemalans living abroad in 2015

Country	Number
United States	881,191
Mexico	53,128
Canada	17,555
El Salvador	8,885
Spain	7,411
Honduras	3,375
France	2,994
Costa Rica	2,725
Italy	2,135
Germany	2,093
Panama	1,606
United Kindom	1,049

*Source: Table prepared by the author with data from IOM (2017)

It should be noted that this number varies a little according to the source of information. According to the Migration Policy Institute (MPI), the 2010 United States Census estimates that in 2015 a total of 928,000 Guatemalans were living in the United States (Lesser and Batalova, 2017). It is also important to note that the Guatemalan emigration has increased over the last 50 years. The longitudinal data from the MPI show that between 1965 and 2015, the number of Guatemalans living in the United States (MPI) increased considerably. Figure 3.1 shows the changes throughout the years. Although the exact number in the first several years is not visible in the figure, in 1960 there were 5,000 Guatemalans living in the United States. By 1970, the number had increased to 17,000 and by 1980, the number had jumped to 63,000. A decade later, in 1990, the figure had already surpassed 200,000 and that amount doubled by the beginning of the new century, reaching 481,000. In 2010, there were 831,000 Guatemalans in the United States and according to the aforementioned MPI data, 928,000 in 2015. Regarding immigration status, several organizations indicate that around 60% of Guatemalans in the United States are undocumented. Table 3.2 presents some details in this regard.

Guatemalans living in the United States (1960-2015)

Source: elaborared by the author with data from the Migration Policy Institute
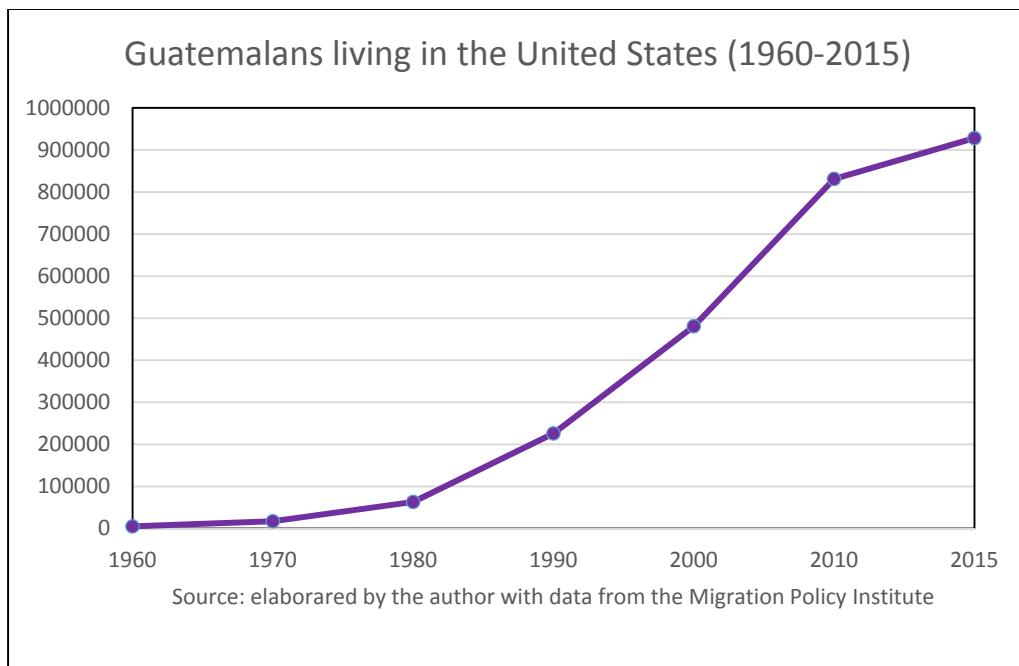
Figure 3.1. Guatemalans in the United States, 1960-2015[1]

Table 3.2 presents some sociodemographic data about Guatemalan migrants in the United States. The data contained in the table are self-explanatory and it is not the purpose of this chapter to delve into them. They are presented as a point of interest about the characteristics of Guatemalan migrants in the United States.

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[1] For more information, see:
https://www.migrationpolicy.org/programs/data-hub/charts/immigrants-countries-birth-over-time?width=1000&height=850&iframe=true

Table 3.2. Characteristics of Guatemalan Migrants in the United States (population born in Guatemala)

Sociodemographic Characteristic	Data	Year	Source
Average age	35 years	2013	Pew
Married	47%	2013	Pew
In Poverty	26%	2013	Pew
Without Health Insurance	61%	2013	Pew
Average Annual Household Income	$36,000	2013	Pew
Occupation:		2013	Pew
Executives and professionals	9%		
Services	38%		
Sales and office work	10%		
Construction, extractives and agriculture	21%		
Maintenance, production, and material transport	23%		
Own a house	27%	2013	Pew
Education (older than 25):		2013	Pew
Less than secondary	59%		
High School	21%		
Two or fewer years of university	13%		
University degree	7%		
Limited English	70%	2015	MPI
Migration data			
Main cities where Guatemalans immigrants live (includes nearby cities):		2011-2015	MPI
Los Angeles, California	189,000		
New York, New York	89,000		
Washington D.C.	45,000		
Miami, Florida	42,000		
Houston, Texas	35,000		
San Francisco, California	29,000		
Boston, Massachusetts	24,000		
Chicago, Illinois	23,000		
Atlanta, Georgia	18,000		
Providence, Rhode Island	18,000		
Dallas, Texas	14,000		
Guatemalans naturalized as US citizens	25%	2015	Pew
Total number of undocumented Guatemalans	560,000	2012	DHS
Total number of Guatemalans who are legal residents	190,000		
Time living in the US		2013	Pew
Less than 10 years	40%		
Between 11 and 20 years	29%		
More than 20 years	31%		

Source: Prepared by the author with data from Pew (Pew Research Center), MPI (Migration Policy Institute) y DHS (Department of Homeland Security, United States)

Intention to Migrate from Guatemala in 2017

The previous section presented a broad perspective with aggregate data about Guatemalans who have emigrated abroad, particularly to the United States, the main recipient country of migrants born in Guatemala. The analysis presented in the rest of this chapter is based on the AmericasBarometer survey and focuses on potential migrants, those who have plans to emigrate or would like to move or work abroad in the short term. The question included in the LAPOP survey in 2017 is as follows:

> **Q14.** Do you have any intention of going to live or work in another country in the next three years?   (1) Yes   (2) No

Source: © AmericasBarometer, LAPOP, 2004-2017; v.GUAts_D1
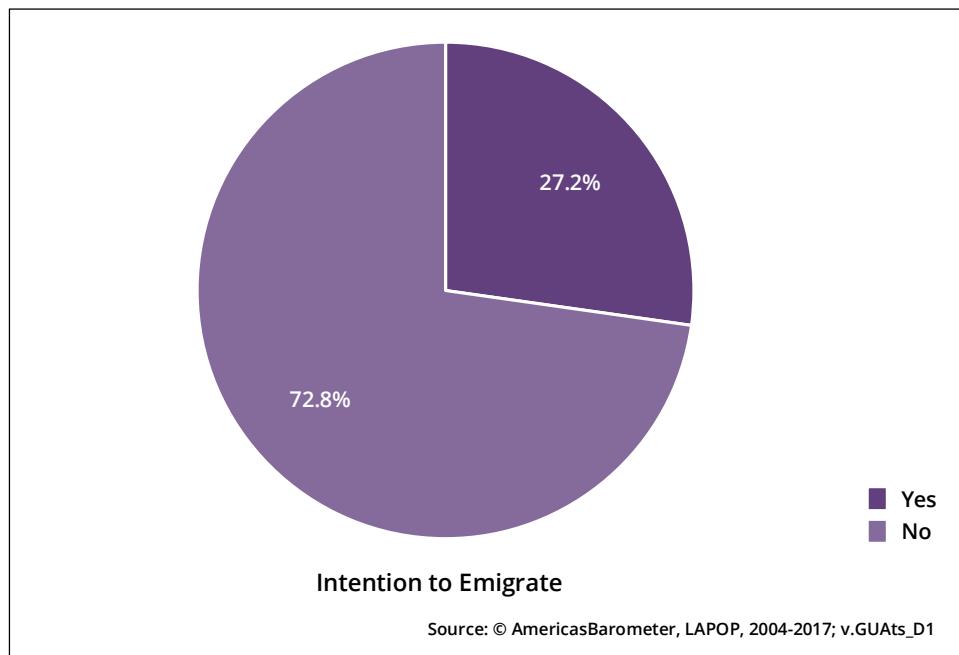
Figure 3.2. Intention to Emigrate from Guatemala in 2017

As can be seen in Figure 3.2, 27.2% of those interviewed indicated that they intend to emigrate from Guatemala in the next three years. Figure 3.3 presents the intention to emigrate in other countries of the Americas. Guatemala is in an average position. In 14 countries the percentage of citizens who express an intention to emigrate is higher than in Guatemala. In 10 countries, the difference is statistically significant and in 12 countries, it is lower. The highest intention to migrate is found in the Caribbean countries.
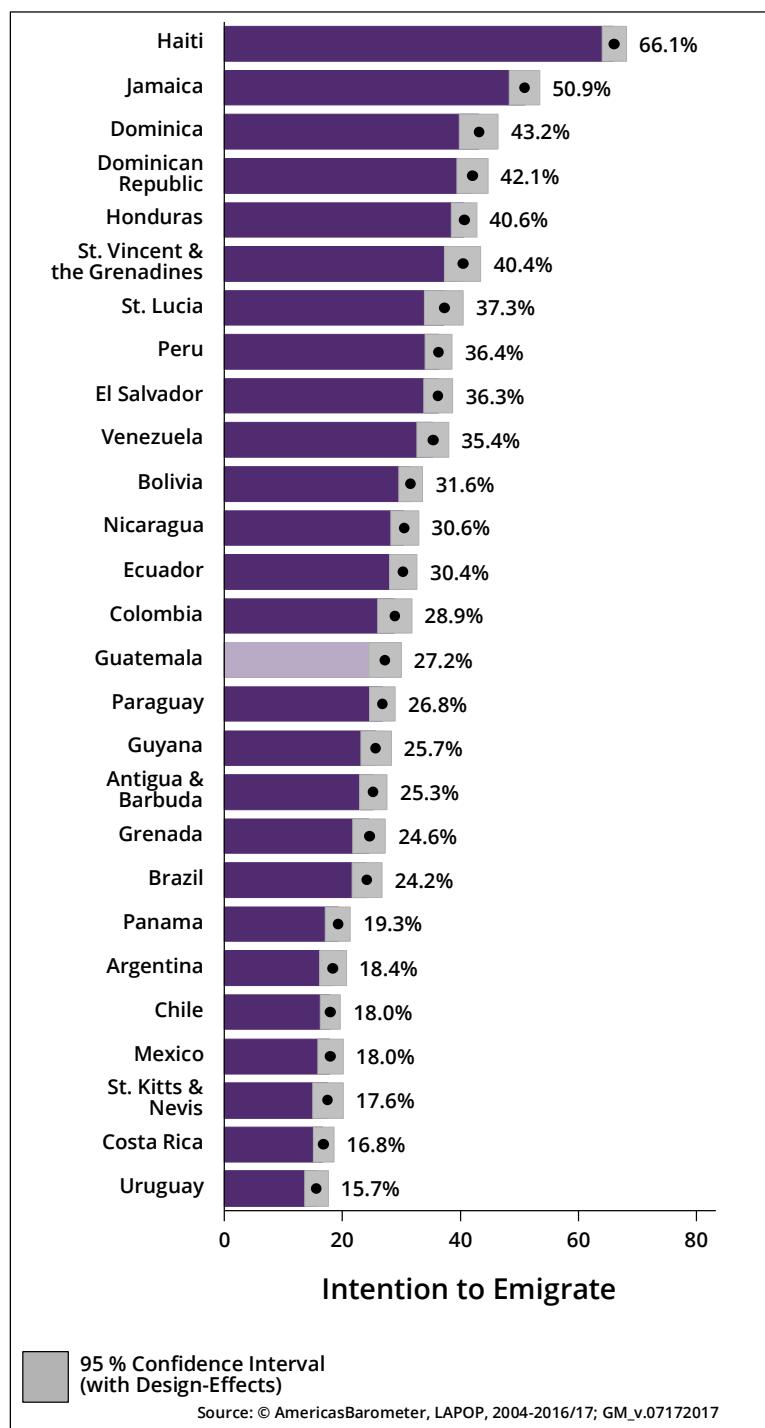
Figure 3.3. Intention to Emigrate by Country, 2016/17

Figure 3.4 shows the responses given by Guatemalans to the same question since 2004. The percentage of respondents who indicated that they intend to emigrate has fluctuated between 14% (in 2012) and 27% (in 2017).
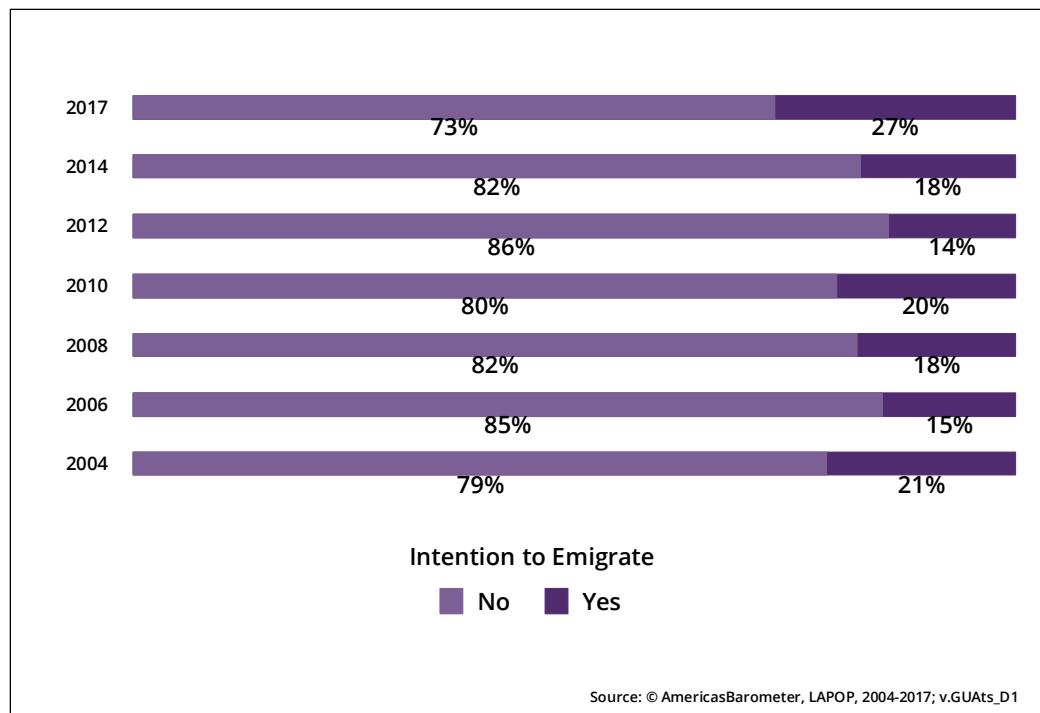
Figure 3.4. Intention to Emigrate from Guatemala by year

It is important to analyze the sociodemographic and contextual factors that affect the intention to migrate from Guatemala. Based on the data collected in the survey, Table 3.3 shows the sociodemographic characteristics of those who said that they intend to emigrate. There are many differences between the categories. It is clear, for example, that a higher percentage of men than women say they intend to emigrate. Another marked difference can be seen among the respondents under 35 years of age and the rest of the population. Similarly, a higher percentage of non-indigenous Guatemalans indicate their intention to emigrate. There is also a marked difference between unemployed Guatemalans and the rest of the population. It should also be noted that the percentage of intention to emigrate is much higher in the rural area than in other areas of the country. In terms of a geographical comparison, by region of the country, no significant differences were observed: in the Northeast and the South, 28.2% of the respondents indicated that they intended to emigrate; in the Northwest region, the percentage is very similar, with 27.8%. In the Metropolitan Area, the percentage drops a little, reaching 24.9%.[2]

Finally, in viewing Table 3.3, it is important to analyze the topic of education: people without any education have a low intention to emigrate, but those with some primary or secondary education have the highest percentage. Table 3.3 also highlights that 16.5% of those who have some level of education or who have completed an education at the university level expressed their intention to emigrate. It is not clear, given the way in which the question was asked, if their desire is to go abroad to study, which is highly probable. It is also important to bear in mind that the mother's educational level seems to be a more effective predictor of migration intention: the gap in intention to emigrate between those who have mothers without education and those who have mothers with a university education is enormous: 37.8% of the respondents whose mothers have no education expressed their intention to emigrate, but only 10% of those interviewed with

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[2] An interesting perspective can be obtained from the data generated in relation to the returned migrants: http://mic.iom.int/webntmi/guatemala/

mothers who have completed their secondary education expressed that intention. Among those who have mothers with some post–secondary education, the percentage is even lower (only 3.5%).

Table 3.3. Sociodemographic characteristics of potential migrants from Guatemala 2017

Characteristic	Category	Percentage
Gender	Male	55.3
	Female	44.7
Age	18-25 years	33.5
	26-35	30.6
	36-45	20.8
	46-55	9.6
	56-65	4.3
	66 or more	1.2
Education	None	3.9
	Primary*	33.5
	Secondary*	46.1
	University*	16.5
Education level of respondent's mother	None	37.8
	Incomplete primary	24.9
	Completed primary	20.6
	Incomplete secondary	3.5
	Completed secondary	9.7
	Post-secondary (incomplete or complete)	3.5
Ethnic self-identification	Non indigenous	54.8
	Indigenous	45.3
Marital Status	Single	35.9
	Married	37.1
	Civil union	19.1
	Divorced	1.4
	Separated	3.6
	Widow	2.9
Number of kids at home (younger than 13)	None	21.0
	One	24.1
	Two	26.0
	From three to five	26.1
	Six or more	2.8
Employment Status	Working	36.5
	Unemployed, actively seeking work	24.2
	Not working but has a job	8.6
	Student	9.8
	Homemaker	15.6
	Retired, on a pension or permanently disabled	1.0
	Does not work, not actively seeking work	4.4
Occupation	Works for governmental or state entity	16.4
	Works in private sector	20.3
	Owner or partner in a business	8.5

	Freelancer	49.2
	Unpaid worker	5.6
Area of residence	Metropolitan Area (Guatemala City)	21.1
	Large city	4.1
	Medium sized city	5.5
	Small city	15.6
	Rural area	53.8

*The respondent has at least some education of this kind or has finished that level completely.

The descriptive information shown in Table 3.3 presents a general idea of the differences in intention to emigrate from Guatemala among different groups of Guatemalans. However, it is also important to measure the extent to which these differences are statistically significant. In order to determine the above, logistic regression analysis was performed. The figures below show the significant results of this regression analysis.[3] The gender of the respondent and age are factors significantly related to the intention to emigrate. Figure 3.5 shows that men have a higher intention to emigrate than Guatemalan women. While 30.3% of men gave a positive response, a smaller percentage (24.2%) of women indicated that they intended to emigrate. The difference between the two groups is statistically significant.
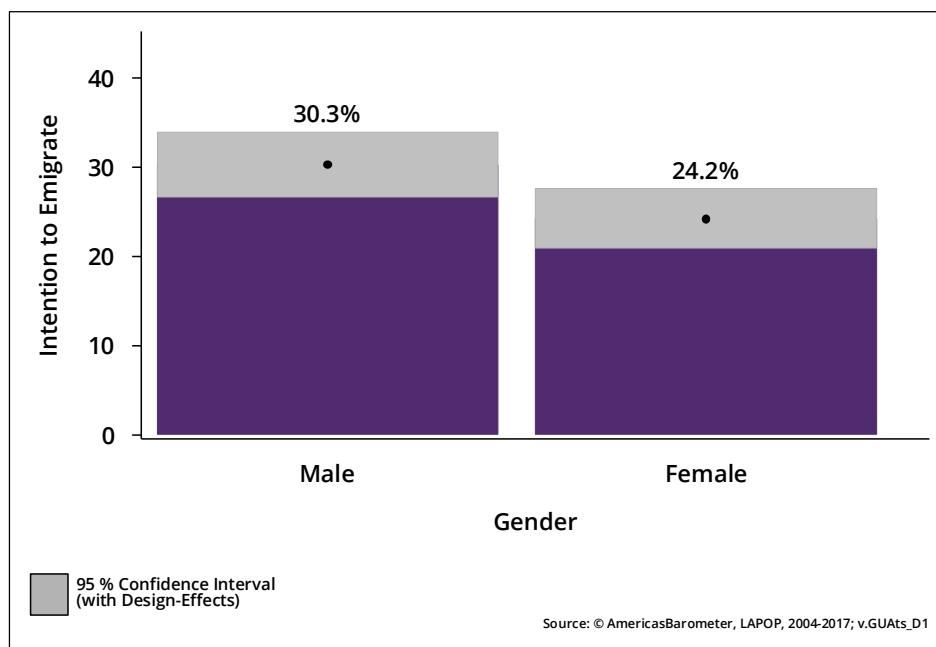
Figure 3.5. Intention to Migrate by Gender, Guatemala 2017

In addition to differences by gender, Figure 3.6 shows the differences between age groups. In all age groups, men have a higher intention to emigrate, particularly among those between 18 and 35 years of age. In that group, around 40% expressed the intention to emigrate. The intention to emigrate decreases among older respondents, to the point where it drops to less than 10% among those who are 66 and older. Among females, we can observe the same pattern, although not as marked as in the case of men. While 30% of women aged 18-25 express their intention to emigrate, the percentage drops to less than 10% among women over 56 years old.

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[3] See results of the regressions in this chapter in the appendix placed on the LAPOP website.
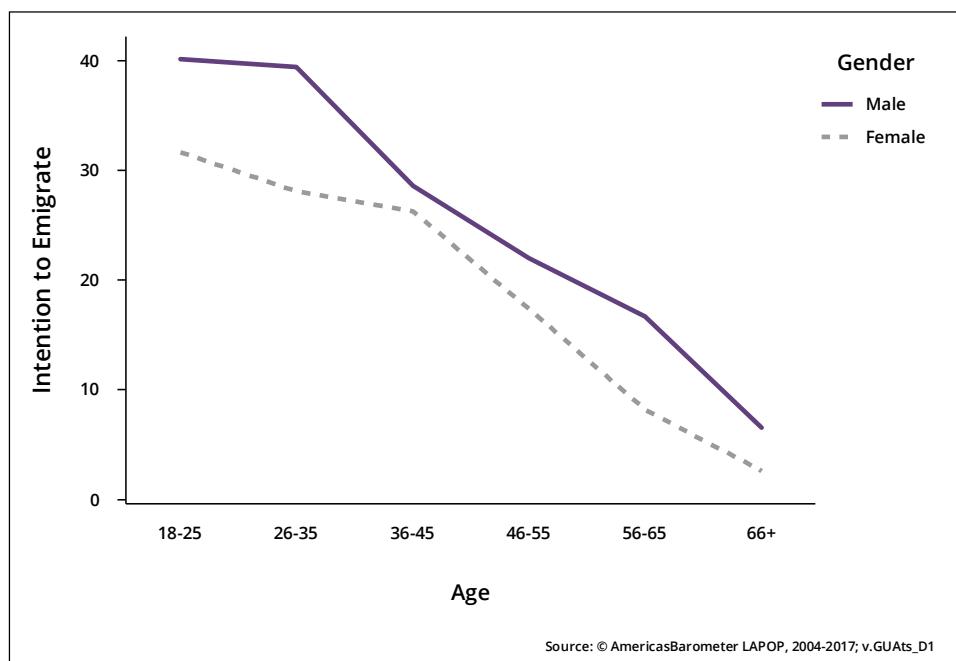
Figure 3.6. Intention to Emigrate by Age and Gender, Guatemala 2017

Although education level did not turn out to be a predictor of intention to emigrate for Guatemalans, it is important to analyze the relationship between gender, education and migration. Figure 3.7 shows that the least educated population is less inclined to try to emigrate, both among men and women. As a respondents' education level increases, the intention to emigrate increases, reaching its highest point among men with some secondary education. Although the percentage decreases slightly among those who have some higher education, it is still higher than among those who only have some primary education or no education. It should be remembered that the question does not inquire whether respondents intend to study abroad, and some respondents with higher education may have the intention to pursue graduate studies.
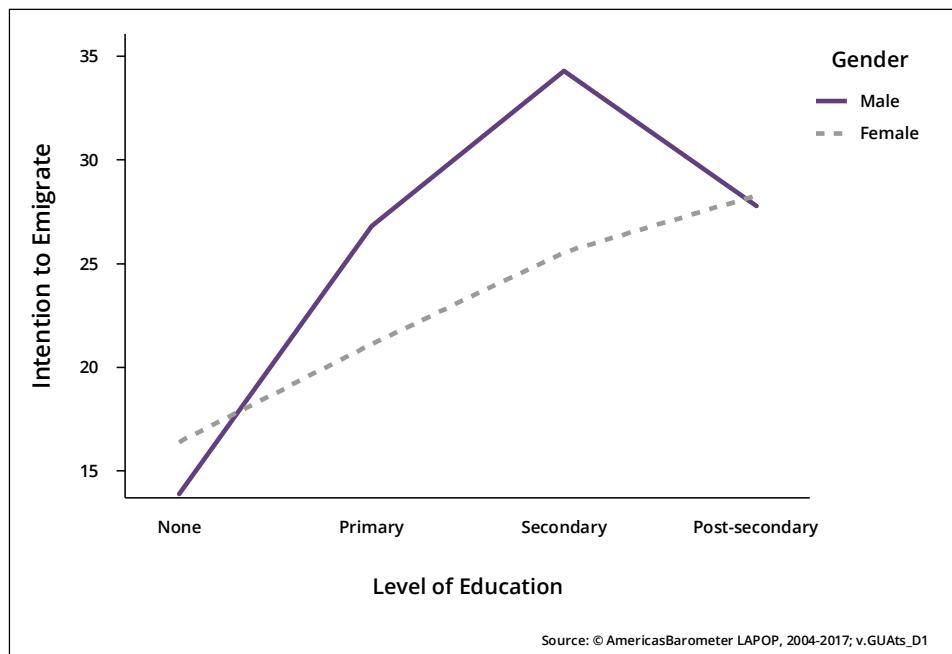
Figure 3.7. Intention to Emigrate by Education and Gender, Guatemala 2017

IV. Vulnerability, Exclusion, and Emigration in Guatemala

What is Vulnerability?

The goal of this chapter is to determine the extent to which the variables associated with economic, physical and social vulnerability contribute to migration from Guatemala. Different disciplines use the term vulnerability. Traditionally the term had been used to refer to communities vulnerable to natural disasters (M & E Studies), however in recent years, its use has been expanded. There are different definitions and uses of the term vulnerability, for example, in disciplines such as psychology, medicine[4], and even computer science. In this report, we focus on definitions used in economics and some social sciences. According to Naudé, Santos-Paulino and McGillivran (2009), in the study of economics, the term vulnerability is used at the macro level and at the micro level. At the microeconomic level, it refers more frequently to vulnerability related to poverty. That is, the possibility that an individual or a household may remain in or fall into poverty. Calvo and Dercon (2005) consider this measurement of vulnerability to be an assessment of the magnitude of the threat of poverty. Similarly, Philip and Rayhan (2004) associate vulnerability with poverty, noting that the poor are generally more vulnerable than other groups to health threats, economic recessions, natural disasters, and even violence generated by other human beings. Alwang, Siegel and Jorgensen (2001) point out that the field of sociology has attempted to expand the concept of vulnerability beyond a definition of material goods. Moser and Hollad (1998) define

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[4] The World Health Organization includes children, pregnant women, the elderly, the undernourished population and those who have diseases as a population vulnerable to epidemics. It also points out that poverty contributes significantly to vulnerability.
http://www.who.int/environmental_health_emergencies/vulnerable_groups/en/

it as the insecurity of the welfare of individuals, households or communities in the face of a changing environment.

It is important to note that in the different disciplines the concept of vulnerability is closely linked to the concept of risk, and to the counterpart of vulnerability, i.e. security (Philip and Rayhan, 2004). Vulnerability is considered in the various disciplines to be a dynamic condition, in which a vulnerable individual, group or community can undergo sudden changes (Alwang, Siegel and Jorgensen, 2001).

The Red Cross's definition summarizes different aspects:[5]

> "Vulnerability can be defined as the diminished capacity of a person or a group of people to anticipate, cope with and resist the effects of a natural hazard or one caused by human activity as well as to recover from them. It is a relative and dynamic concept. Vulnerability is almost always associated with poverty, but people who live in isolation, insecurity and helplessness in the face of risks, traumas or pressures are also vulnerable."

More recently, especially with reference to Latin America, various studies have expanded the concept to include physical vulnerability to violence. Gottsbacher and De Voer in *Vulnerability and Violence in Latin America and the Caribbean* (2016) surveyed studies in various countries of the region that analyze the situation of vulnerability and violence of individuals and specific groups; violence is thought of, for example, in terms of crime, armed conflict, insecurity and fear of crime. Cubel (2016) also makes reference to the relationship between vulnerability and insecurity, mentioning in particular the vulnerability of young people and women.

As indicated in the previous paragraphs, vulnerability not only may be related to socioeconomic difficulties, but also to violence. Solís and Cerna (2014, 486) highlight the link between vulnerability, poverty and violence when referring to the countries of Latin America:

> "If to this situation we add the low productivity associated with technological backwardness, the lack of innovation and the poor quality of education that prevails in the countries of the area that have in recent years focused on competing for low wages to attract investment, the result is that thousands of people, especially young people and women, see their aspirations for personal economic development unfulfilled, turning them into very vulnerable sectors in the face of common crime and organized crime, which can meet their aspirational expectations."

Finally, explicitly or implicitly, the different conceptions of vulnerability coincide in that this is related to the social exclusion of the individual in his country of origin (see Oswald 2012). In other words, vulnerable people are also subject to exclusion of various types, both in different social spheres and in their relationship with the political system. In this report, we use the term social exclusion to refer to vulnerability to discrimination and political exclusion to refer to the lack of connectivity between individuals—in this case potential migrants—and their country's political system.

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[5] This definition is used by the International Federation of the Red Cross and Red Crescent. On the organization's website, this definition refers mostly to vulnerability to natural disasters. http://www.ifrc.org/es/introduccion/disaster-management/sobre-desastres/que-es-un-desastre/que-es-la-vulnerabilidad/

Economic Vulnerability and Migration

This section examines whether there is a relationship between the intention to emigrate and the economic vulnerability of Guatemalans. To do this, a logistic regression that includes various variables related to the perceptions of the economy and the situation of the family economy of the respondent is performed. The regression includes demographic and socioeconomic controls to verify if the economic variables are related to the intention to emigrate independently of other factors.

The economic variables used in the regression are listed in the following table. Additionally, a variable called "unemployed" is included, which measures whether the respondent has been actively looking for work.

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
Q10D. The salary that you receive and total household income: **[Read alternatives]**   (1) Is good enough for you and you can save from it   (2) Is just enough for you, so that you do not have major problems   (3) Is not enough for you and you are stretched   (4) Is not enough for you and you are having a hard time
Q10E. Over the past two years, has the income of your household: **[Read alternatives]**   (1) Increased?   (2) Remained the same?   (3) Decreased?

Two variables are significantly related to the intention to emigrate from Guatemala:[6] the economic situation of the potential migrant's family, and being unemployed. This finding is illustrated by the data presented in Table 3.3, which shows that a higher percentage of unemployed Guatemalans indicate their intention to emigrate in comparison with other groups.

Figure 3.8 shows the relationship between the household economic situation and the respondent's intention to emigrate. A higher percentage of individuals whose household economic situation is precarious say they intend to emigrate within the next three years: 36.2% of individuals whose households have major economic difficulties (and do not have enough on which to live) intend to emigrate. The percentage drops to 29.2% among those who reported having difficulties (although not major difficulties). The difference between these two groups is not statistically significant. However, there is a significant difference between these two groups and those who say that household income is enough for them to get by, and those who say that their family income is enough and they can save. More specifically, 22.7% of those who indicate that the household income is enough to get by express their intention to emigrate, and the percentage drops to 20.9% among those who said they have enough to save. In this context, it is worth mentioning that the

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[6] The regression results table can be found on the LAPOP website.

question leaves open the possibility that respondents might want to leave the country to study abroad.
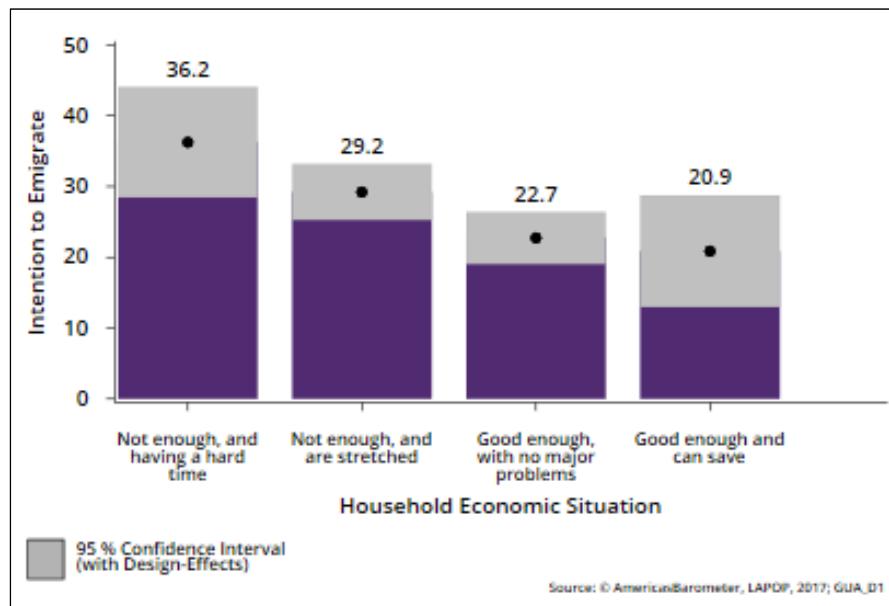
Figure 3.8. Intention to Emigrate and Household Economic Situation, Guatemala 2017

It is important to know the percentage of Guatemalans who are located in each of the categories related to the household economic situation. Figure 3.9 shows that 44.7% of Guatemalans fall in the category of "not having enough and have difficulties". Just over 15 percent say they have major difficulties. If both categories are added together, a majority (around 60%) of Guatemalans have economic difficulties in their household. In the other two categories, 30.7% indicate that household income barely covers living expenses, and 9.4% indicate that their income covers living expenses comfortably. These results show that the economically vulnerable population represents the majority of the country and therefore is more inclined to want to emigrate from Guatemala.
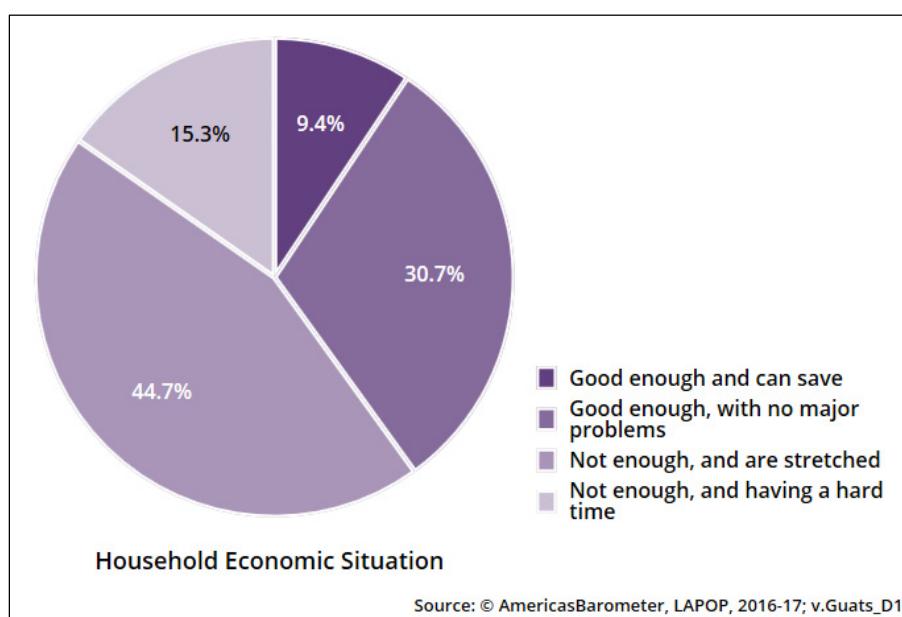
Figure 3.9. Household Economic Situation of Guatemalans, 2017

The relationship between unemployment and emigration is shown in Figure 3.10. Those who indicated that they were actively looking for work, the unemployed, made up 15% of respondents; the rest reported they were either working, students, housewives or retirees. The figure clearly shows that the percentage of intention to emigrate from Guatemala is much higher among the unemployed, reaching 45.4%. On the other hand, only 23.9% of those who are not unemployed said they intend to emigrate.
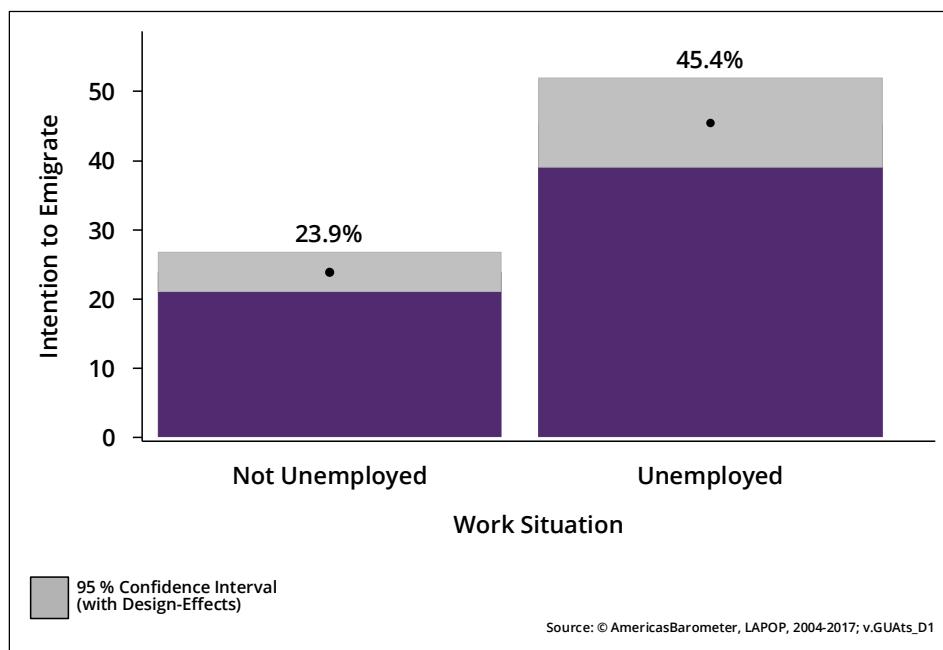
Figure 3.10. Intention to Emigrate and Work Situation, Guatemala 2017

Physical Vulnerability and Migration

As discussed earlier in this chapter, studies carried out in Central America or the Northern Triangle have found that there is a correlation between intention to emigrate and violence and insecurity (Raderstorf et al, 2017, Hiskey, et al, 2016). In this report, the focus is on determining if there is a relationship between the intention to emigrate and the variables that measure physical vulnerability due to crime in the case of Guatemala. In the logistic regression model, demographic and socioeconomic variables are included as controls. Given that crime victimization in Guatemala is much higher in urban areas—particularly in the capital—the regression model also includes a variable that measures whether the respondent lives in the Metropolitan Area of the capital, in a large, medium size, or smaller city, or a rural area.

Additionally, a behavior change index is included in the regression model. Respondents were asked if they had to change their behavior due to crime; an index was constructed with these variables based off their responses. The specific questions that are part of the index are specified below. The other physical vulnerability variables included in the regression model are based on the following questions:

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 (2) No
FEAR11. Thinking of your daily life, how much fear do you have being a direct victim of homicide? Do you feel a lot of fear, some fear, little fear or not fear at all?   (1) A lot of fear (2) Some fear (3) Little fear (4) No fear at all
VICBAR7. Have there been any murders in the last 12 months in your neighborhood?   (1) Yes (2) No
VICBARF. Have there been any attacks to women in the last 12 months in your neighborhood?   (1) Yes (2) No
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
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

Those insecurity variables that turned out to be significantly associated with the intention to migrate are shown below.[7] Having been the victim of an act of crime, living in a neighborhood where there have been attacks on women, and having to change normal behavior in daily life to avoid being a victim of crime are all factors that in Guatemala are associated with a higher intention to emigrate.

In Figure 3.11, it is clear that the intention to emigrate is higher among those who have been victims of crime in the previous 12 months. While 23.9% of those who have not been victims say they want to emigrate, the percentage rises to 37.3% among those who have been victimized. The difference between both groups is statistically significant.

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[7] The regression results table can be found on the LAPOP website.
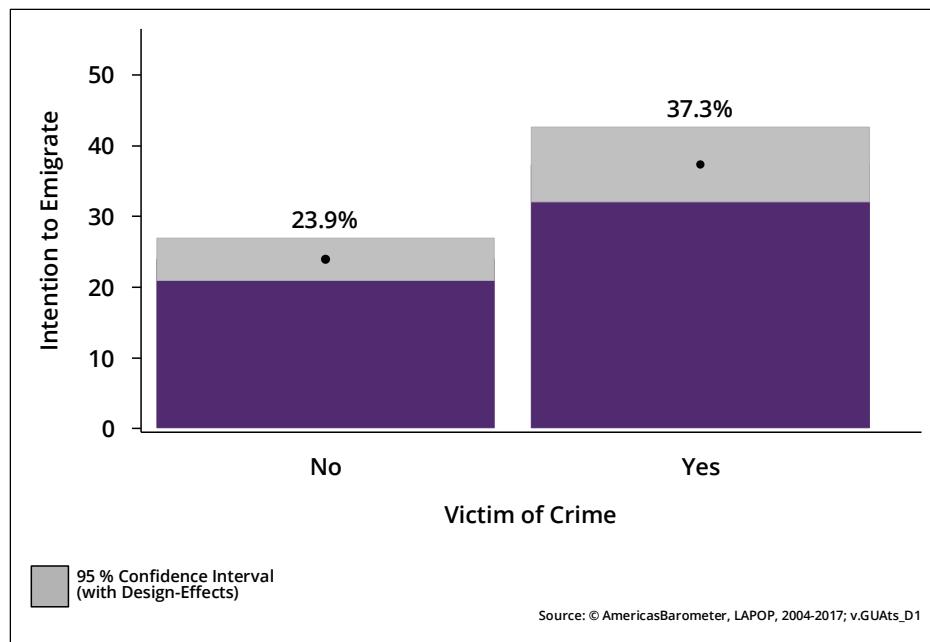
**Figure 3.11. Intention to Emigrate and Crime
Victimization, Guatemala 2017**

To get a better idea of the context, Figure 3.12 shows the percentage of respondents who indicated that they have been direct victims of crime. Nearly one quarter (23.8%) of Guatemalans said they had been victimized in the 12 months prior to the survey.
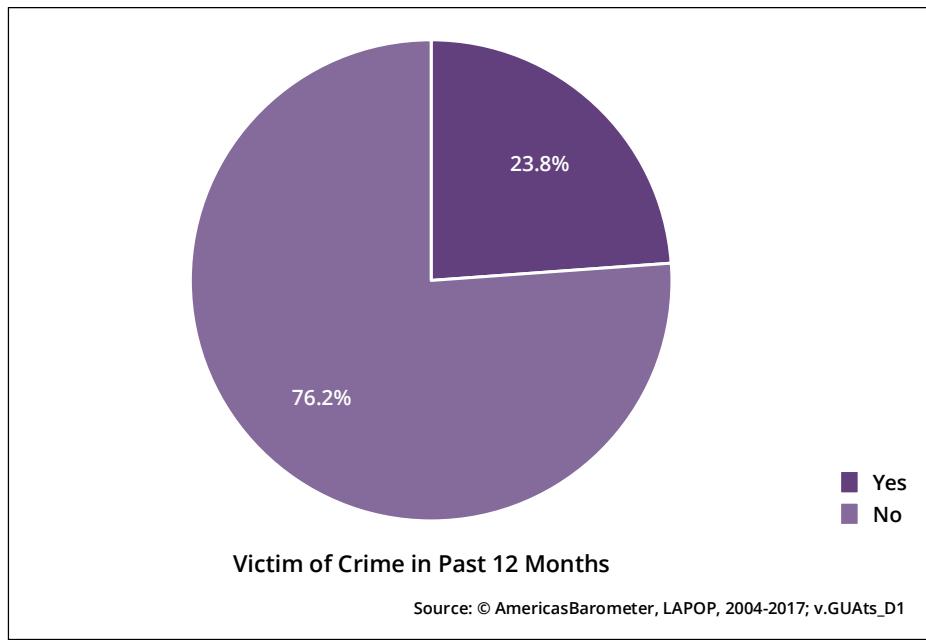
Figure 3.12. Crime victimization, Guatemala 2017

In the context of the impact of crime on the intention to emigrate, it is interesting to make a comparison with the countries of the so-called Northern Triangle in Central America. As shown in Figure 3.13, the impact of crime on the intention to emigrate is much greater in El Salvador and in Honduras than in Guatemala.
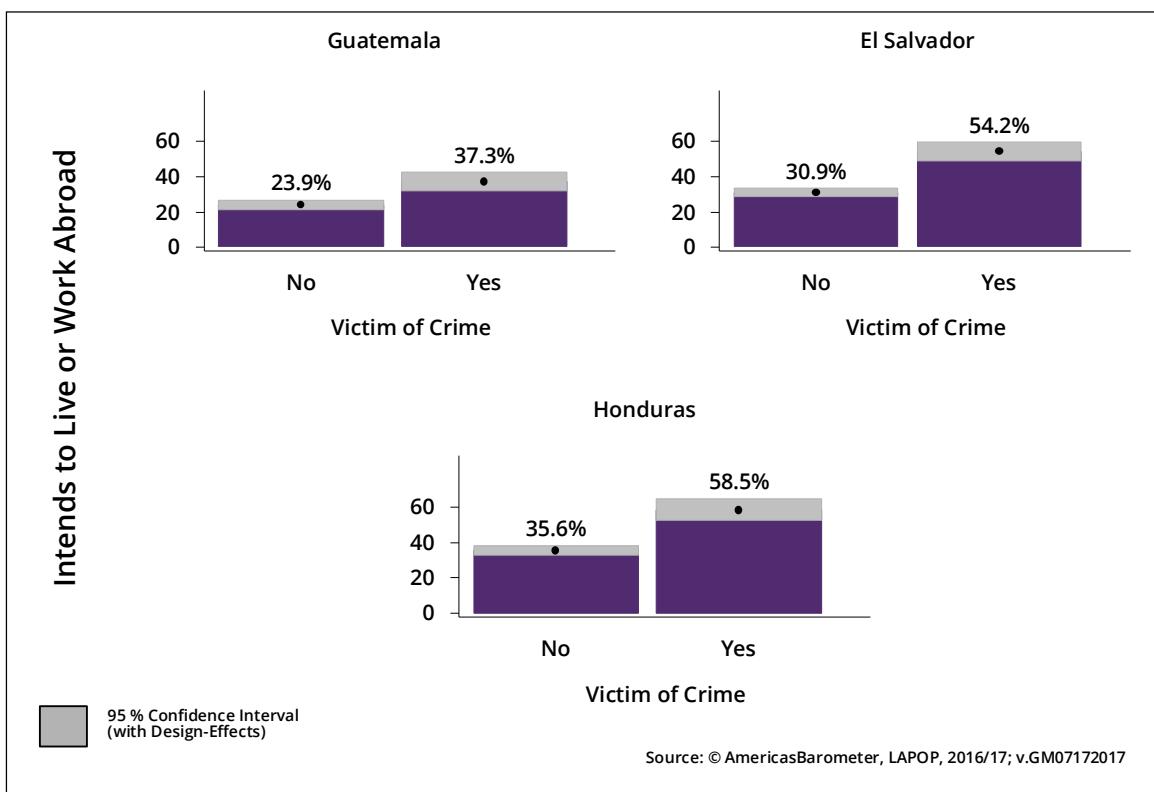
**Figure 3.13. Crime Victimization and Intention to Emigrate in the
Northern Triangle, 2016-2017**

The need to change life habits as a consequence of crime is another element of physical vulnerability that influences the desire to emigrate from Guatemala according to the statistical analysis. A series of questions related to the topic was included in the 2017 questionnaire. For purposes of this analysis, a behavioral change index was created with the aforementioned variables. The index was included in the logistic regression that evaluates whether being forced to change behavior is associated with the intention to emigrate. The index includes the following questions:

	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
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

Figure 3.14 shows the percentage of respondents who gave a positive response to the previous questions. The highest percentage of behavioral change is related to letting children play on the street. Nearly 7 in 10 (69.2%) Guatemalans do not let children play outside because of fear of crime. The next most impacted aspect of life is going out at night: more than half of the population (56.6%) indicates that they have avoided going out at night for fear of crime. In three of the other components, the percentage is also high: 48.6% of Guatemalans have avoided buying certain things due to fear of theft, and 48.2% have limited recreational places. Although it is not the main concern of this chapter, it is important to note the impact that the following two issues may have on the national economy: Nearly half of Guatemalans (47.4%) have avoided using public transportation for fear of crime. Finally, 19.7% felt the need to move to a new neighborhood because of crime. [8]
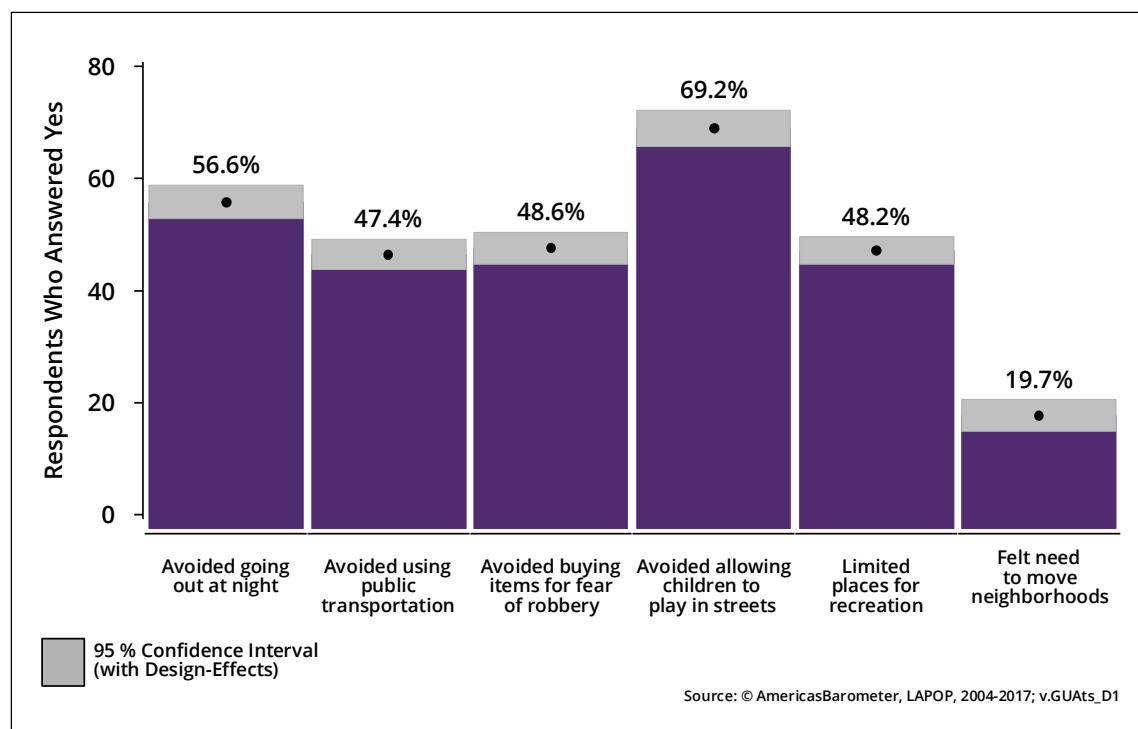
Figure 3.14. Changes in Behavior Due to Fear of Crime, Guatemala 2017

Figure 3.15 shows the difference in the intention to emigrate among Guatemalans who had to change their daily life routine due to crime and among those who did not have to make such a change. In all the categories, the percentage of intention to emigrate is higher among those who have had to change their behavior or avoid doing certain things because of crime. The difference between those who had to change their life routine and those who did not is statistically significant.

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[8] The other countries of the Northern Triangle exhibit similar rates in the number of people who have felt the need to change neighborhoods for fear of crime. In Honduras 21.1% and in El Salvador 19.5%. See the following study for more information on the relationship between insecurity, emigration and changes in daily life in Central America: https://www.thedialogue.org/wp-content/uploads/2017/10/Crime-Avoidance-Report-FINAL-ONLINE.pdf
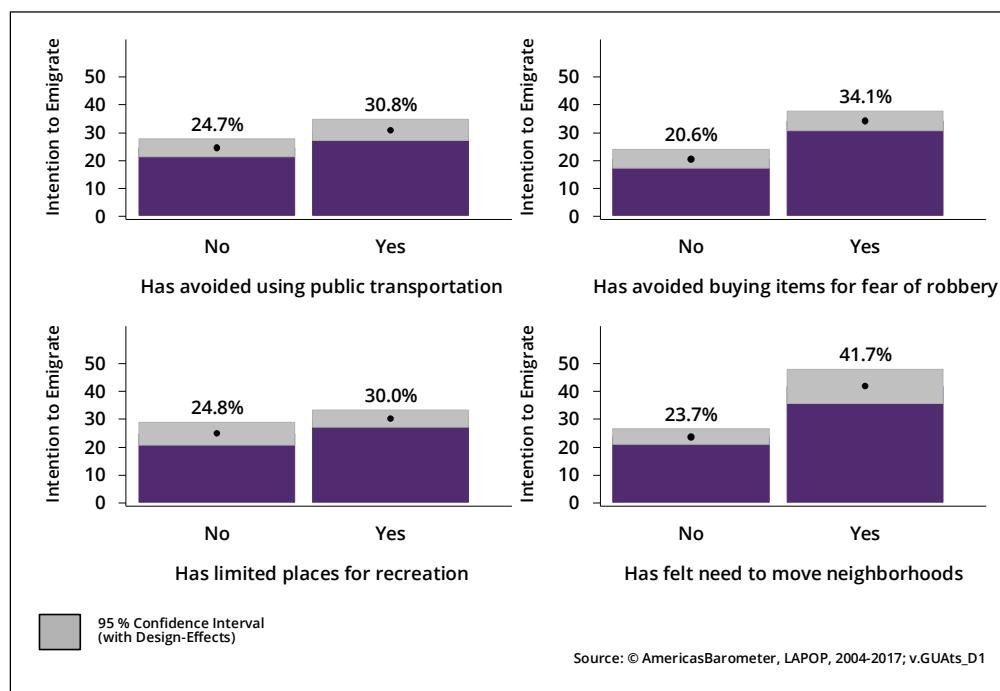
**Figure 3.15. Intention to Emigrate and Change in Behavior
Due to Fear of Crime, Guatemala 2017**

Another variable that represents physical vulnerability and that turned out to be significantly associated with the intention to emigrate from Guatemala in the regression analysis was the presence of attacks against women in the neighborhood where the respondent lives. Figure 3.16 shows this relationship: 36.8% of Guatemalans who live in a community where there were attacks against women intend to emigrate, but the percentage drops by more than ten percentage points among those who live in communities where there have been no such attacks.
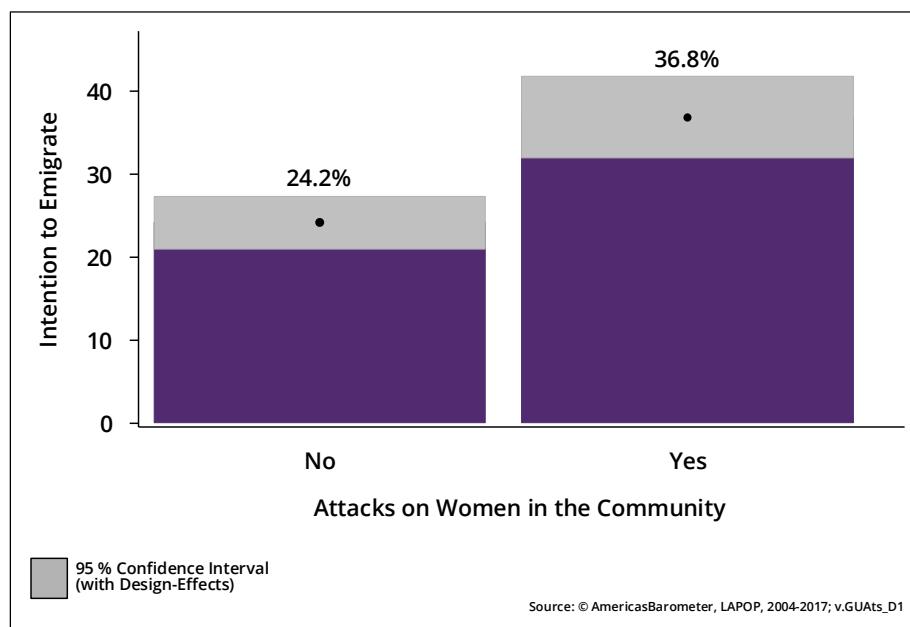
**Figure 3.16. Intention to Emigrate and Attacks against
Women in the Neighborhood, Guatemala 2017**

It is also important to know if vulnerability resulting from attacks against women affects both genders. Figure 3.17 shows that the intention to emigrate is higher among those who live in neighborhoods where there have been attacks against women, regardless of the gender of the respondent. Among men, 41.3% of those living in neighborhoods where there have been attacks on women said they intend to emigrate, compared to 26.8% of men who live in places where there have been no attacks. The difference between both groups is statistically significant. A similar pattern occurs among women, with 32.1% of those living in neighborhoods where women have been attacked intend to migrate, compared to 21.5% of women living in neighborhoods where there have been no attacks. It is interesting to note that attacks on women make the population feel vulnerable, regardless of gender.
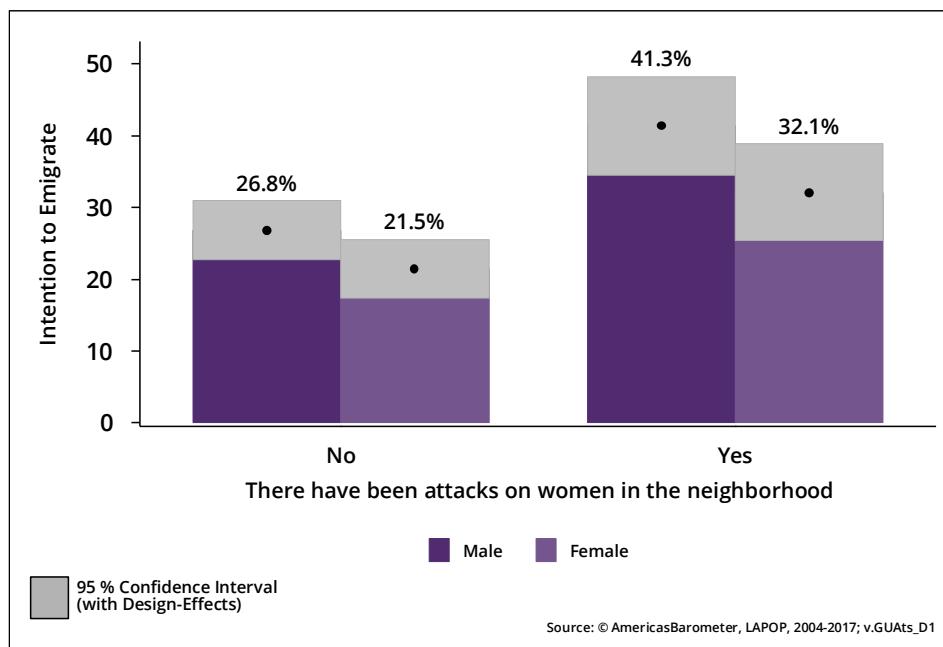
Figure 3.17. Intention to Emigrate and Attacks against Women in the Neighborhood, by Gender, Guatemala 2017

Again, to get an idea of the context, Figure 3.18 shows the percentage of people who indicated that attacks against women had occurred in their neighborhood or community. A fourth of respondents said that these attacks had occurred.

25.7%

74.3%

■ No
■ Yes

There Have Been Attacks on Women in the Neighborhood

Source: © AmericasBarometer, LAPOP, 2004-2017; v.GUAts_D1
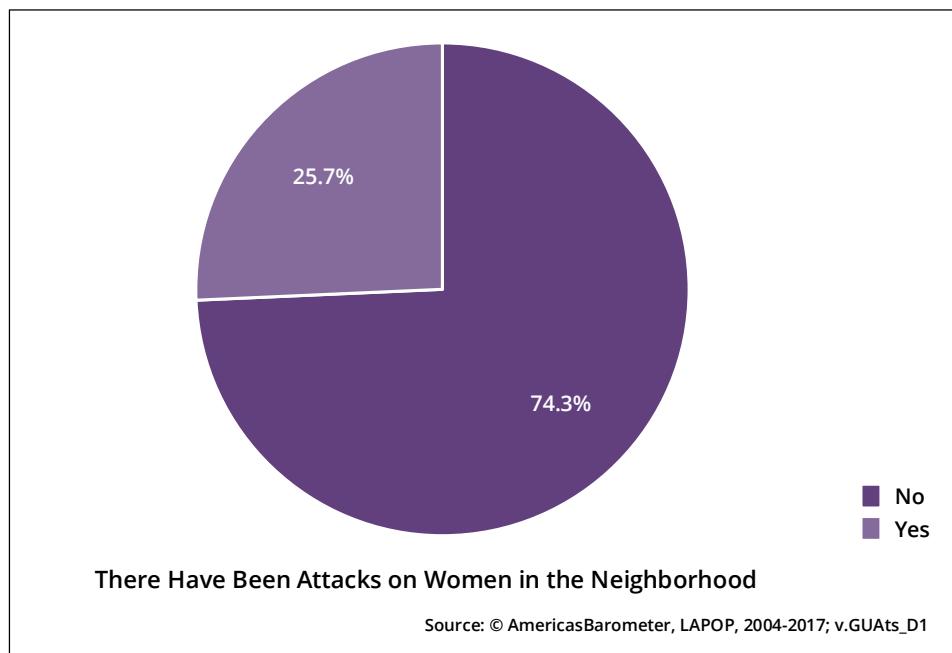
**Figure 3.18. Attacks against Women in the Respondents'
Neighborhood, Guatemala 2017**

Finally, regarding physical vulnerability, the 2017 questionnaire included a question, not specifically related to the question of intention to emigrate, which shows another facet of emigration.

> **Q14A. In the last 12 months**, have you considered emigrating from your country due to insecurity?   (1) Yes   (2) No

Nearly one in six (17.2%) Guatemalans indicated that in the previous 12 months, they had considered migrating from the country because of insecurity, as shown in Figure 3.19. This measurement is different from the previous question, which asks the respondents if they intend to emigrate in the next three years.
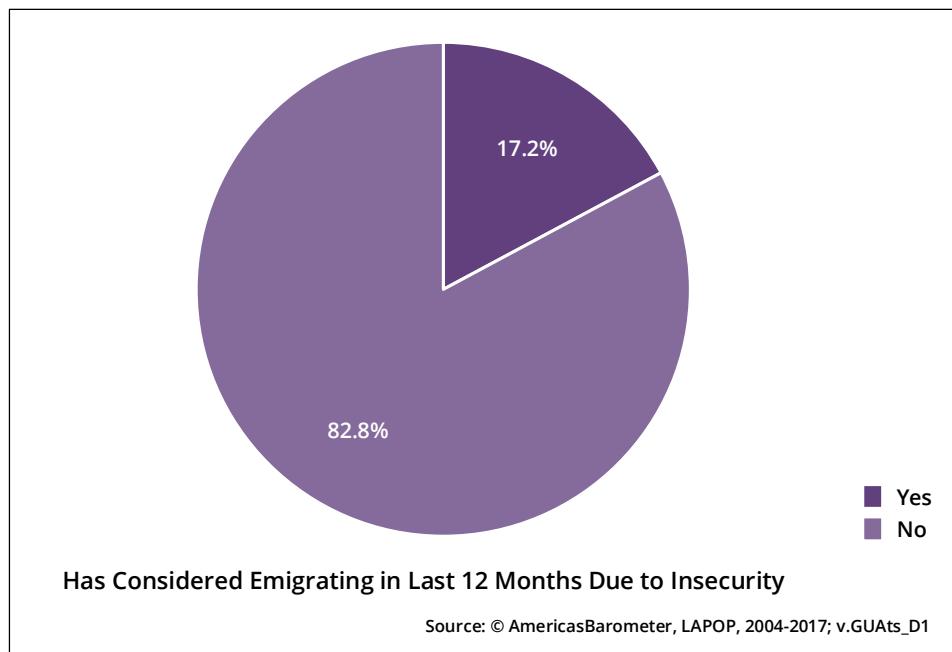
Figure 3.19. Individual Has Considered Emigrating Due to Insecurity, Guatemala 2017

When making a comparison between the regions of the country, it can be observed in Figure 3.20 that in the Northeast of Guatemala the percentage of those who say they intend to emigrate because of insecurity is higher than in the other regions of the country. However, the difference between regions is not statistically significant.
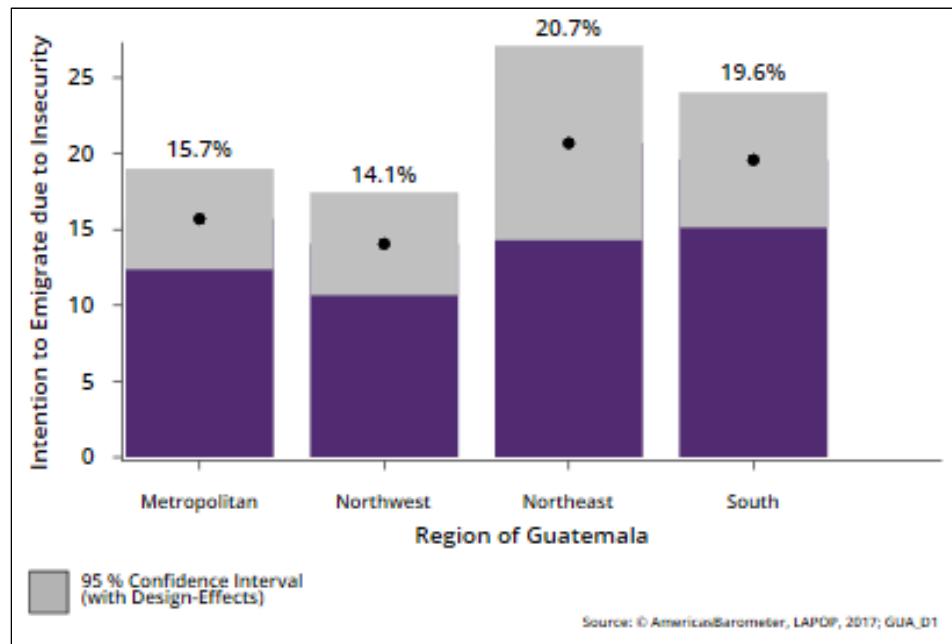
Figure 3.20. Has Considered Emigrating Due to Insecurity by Region, Guatemala 2017

Exclusion and Emigration

Several studies have indicated that individuals or groups considered as vulnerable also suffer from various kinds of exclusion—particularly social and/or political exclusion (Oswald 2012, Red Cross). This chapter assesses whether social and political exclusion are also associated with the intention to emigrate from Guatemala. To measure social exclusion, a series of questions from the 2016/17 AmericasBarometer is used, which asks the respondent to indicate whether he or she has been discriminated against.

At any point in your life, have you experienced discrimination - not been allowed to do something, been bothered, or made to feel inferior - in any of the following situations as a result of **the color of your skin**?
DIS7A. At school? (1) Yes (2) No
DIS8A. At work, have you ever experienced discrimination due to the color of your skin? (1) Yes (2) No
DIS9A. And have you ever experienced discrimination in the street or in a public place due to the color of your skin? (1) Yes (2) No
DIS10A. Have you ever experienced discrimination by the police due to the color of your skin? (1) Yes (2) No
DIS11A. And on the part of any public official - have you experienced discrimination at any point in your life due to the color of your skin? (1) yes (2) No

Figure 3.21 shows the percentage of people who indicate that they have been discriminated against under different circumstances. Given the Guatemalan context, it is important to analyze if there are differences by ethnic self-identification of the respondent (Indigenous or Ladino). A higher percentage of Guatemalans who self-identified as Indigenous indicate that they felt discriminated against in various public contexts.
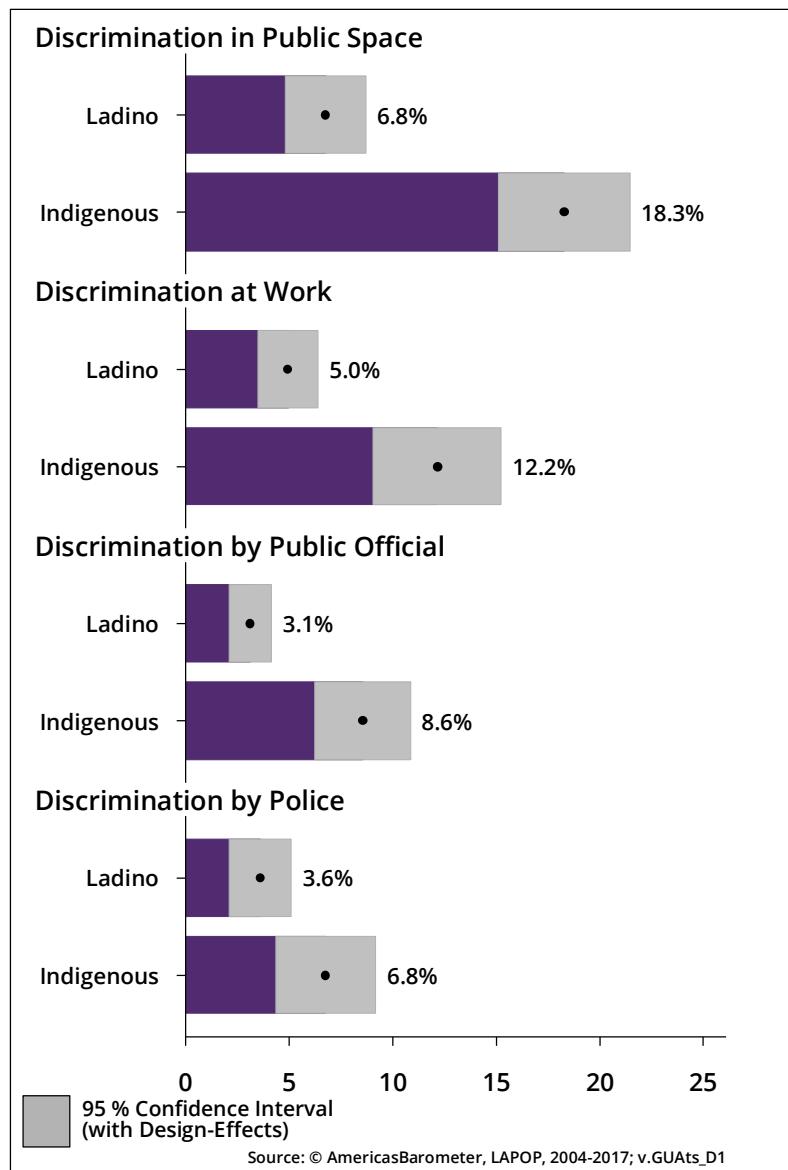
Figure 3.21. Discrimination in Guatemala by Ethnic Self-Identification, 2017

To determine if social exclusion correlates with the intention to emigrate from Guatemala, logistic regression analysis was used. The variables of social exclusion mentioned above were included in the regression model, as well as two variables that measure political exclusion: if the respondent voted in the last presidential election and if he believes that he understands the most important issues of the country,[9] which is considered a measure of internal efficacy in political science. In addition, demographic and socioeconomic variables were also included as controls in the regression.

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[9] The wording of the political exclusion questions is as follows: **VB2.** Did you vote in the last presidential elections of 2015? (1) Yes (2) No; **EFF2.** Do you feel that you understand the most important political issues of this country? How much do you agree or disagree with this statement? Responses given on a scale from 1 (strongly disagree) to 7 (strongly agree).

Two social exclusion variables turned out to be significantly related to the intention to emigrate from Guatemala,[10] having been discriminated against in a public place and having been discriminated against by a public official. Figure 3.22 shows these correlations. Among those who have been discriminated against in a public place, 44.9% say they intend to emigrate, compared to 24.9% of those who have not. The difference is even more marked among those who have been discriminated against by the authorities: 53.7% of those who have been discriminated against by a public official intend to emigrate from Guatemala, compared to 25.7% of those who have not been discriminated against.
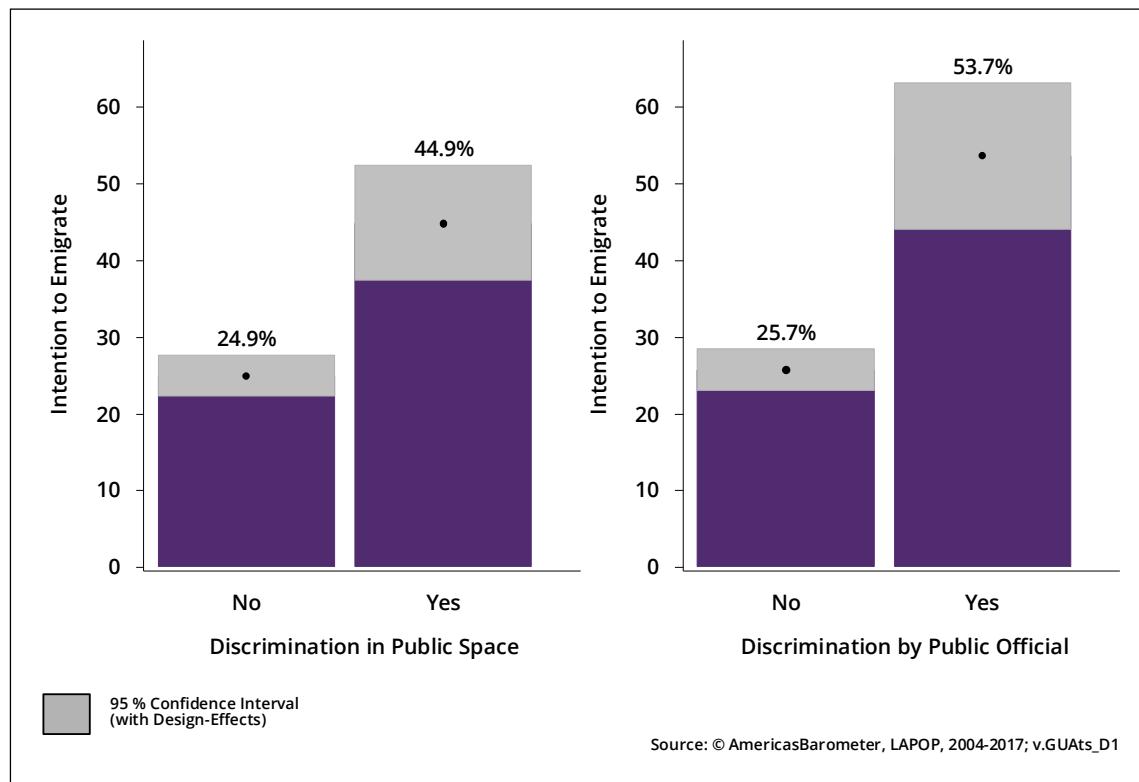
**Figure 3.22. Intention to Emigrate and Discrimination,
Guatemala 2017**

The variables of political exclusion were not correlated with the intention to emigrate from Guatemala in the multivariate analysis. However, when performing a Pearson bivariate correlation analysis, there is a statistically significant relationship between the intention to emigrate and not having voted in the last presidential elections in 2015[11]. In Figure 3.23, it can be seen that among those who turned out to vote in the elections, the percentage that indicated their intention to emigrate from Guatemala is lower (25.4%) than among those who did not vote in the elections (32.8%).

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[10] The regression results table can be found on the LAPOP website.
[11] The table of results of this analysis can be seen on our website.
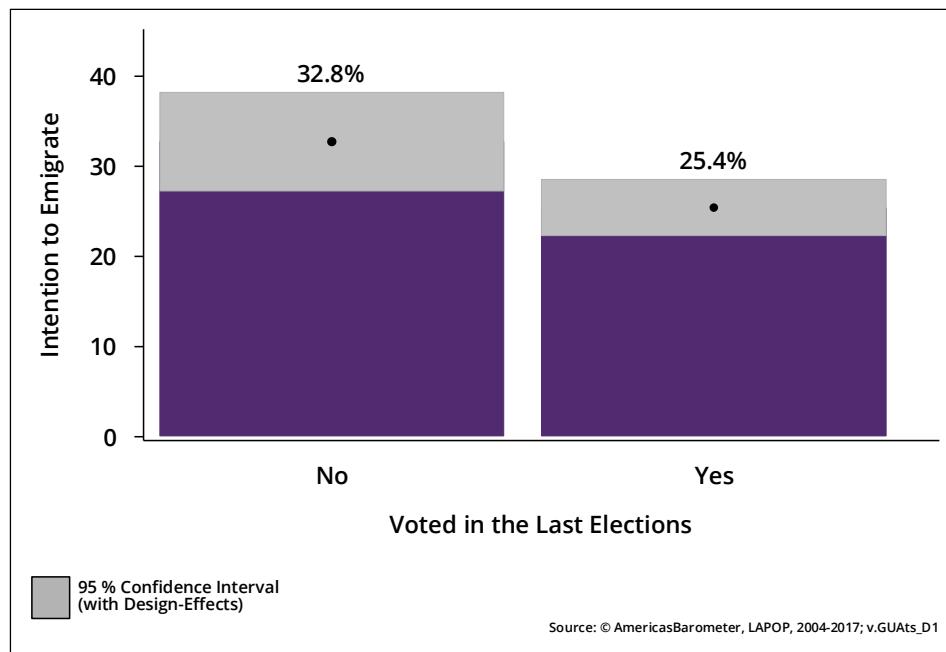
Figure 3.23. Intention to Emigrate and Electoral Participation, Guatemala 2017

V. The Impact of Migration

This last section briefly addresses the issue of family remittances, which is directly related to migration. The following question is included in the AmericasBarometer survey:

Q10A. Do you or someone else living in your household receive remittances (financial support), that is, economic assistance from abroad?
(1) Yes   (2) No

Figure 3.24 shows that 13.2% of Guatemalans report that someone receives remittances from abroad in their household.

13.2%

86.8%

Yes
No

Receives Remittances From Abroad

Source: © AmericasBarometer, LAPOP, 2004-2017; v.GUAts_D1
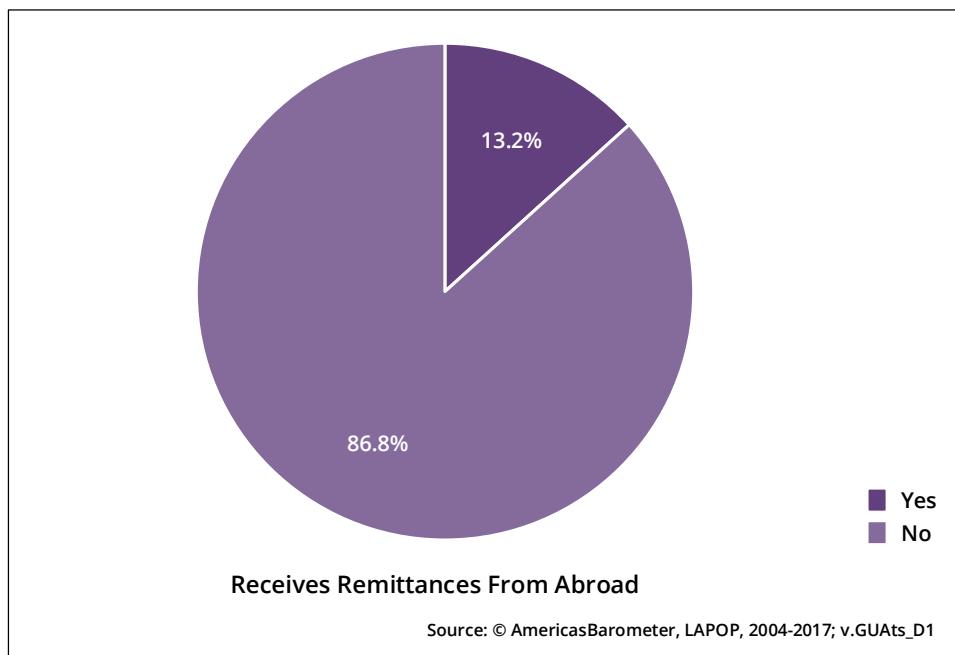
**Figure 3.24. Receives Remittances from Abroad,
Guatemala 2017**

Figure 3.25 presents a comparative perspective with other countries in the Americas. It can be seen that Guatemala is just below average in the figure. There are countries like Haiti where almost half of the population receives remittances. Other Caribbean countries also have a high percentage of remittance recipients, as do El Salvador and Honduras, where the percentage according to the data in this study is higher than in Guatemala. This question was not asked in most of the countries of South America, and therefore there are no comparisons with them, but the proportion is low (less than 7%) in Bolivia, Ecuador and Paraguay.
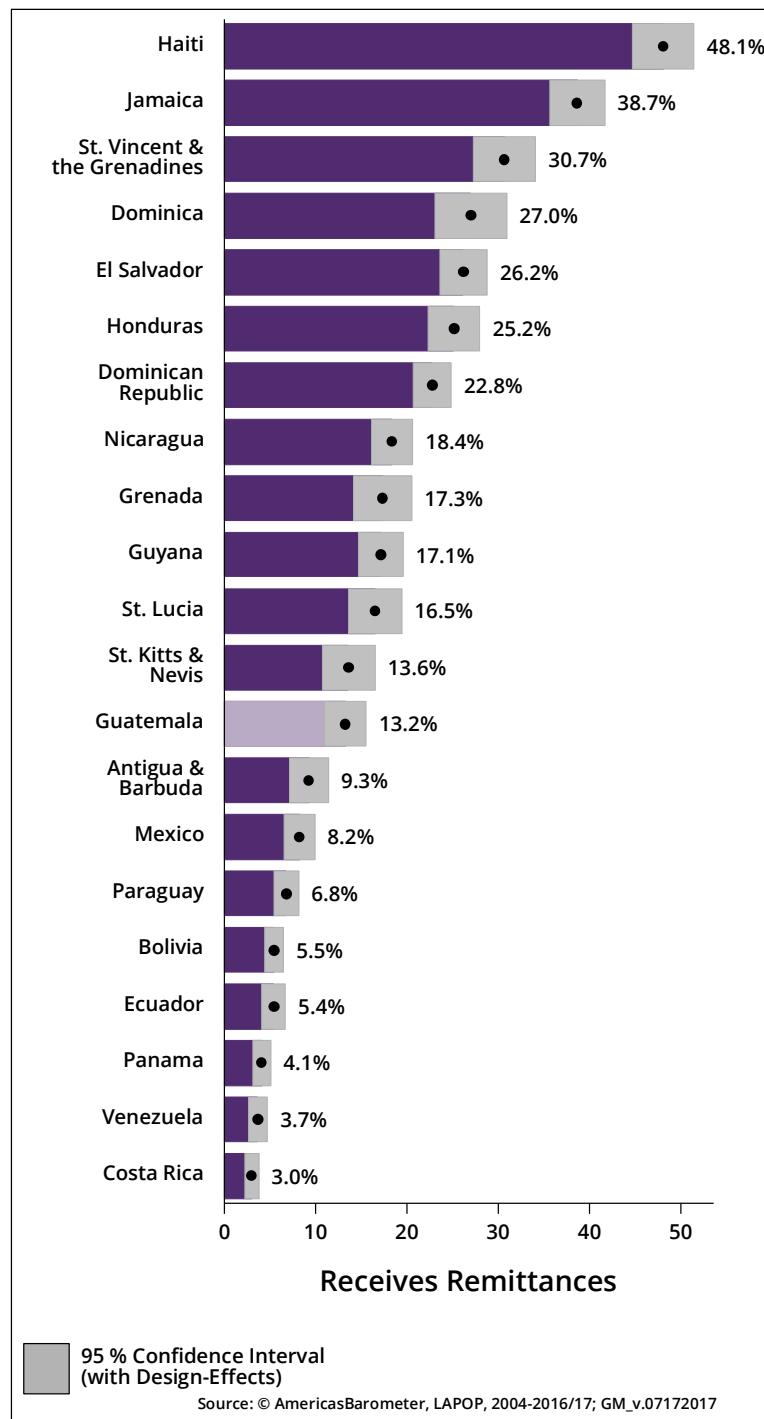
Figure 3.25. Receipt of Remittances by Country, 2016/17

A logistic regression analysis allows us to see which Guatemalans are most likely to report receiving remittances. The regression model includes the basic demographic, geographic and socioeconomic variables, as well as variables that are related to the respondents' economic situation. A variable that measures the intention to emigrate is also included in the in the regression model[12].

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[12] The regression results table can be found on the LAPOP website.

The size of the city or town where Guatemalans live is significantly associated with the receiving of remittances: those who live in medium-sized cities are more likely to receive remittances. The intention to emigrate also correlates with the receiving remittances. Figure 3.26 shows the relationship between these two variables and the intention to emigrate: among those who live in medium-sized cities and show an intention to emigrate, the percentage of reception of remittances is higher than among the other groups. In general, there is a gap between those who indicate that they do not intend to emigrate and those who do. Regardless of the size of the place where they reside, Guatemalans who intend to emigrate are more likely to receive remittances.
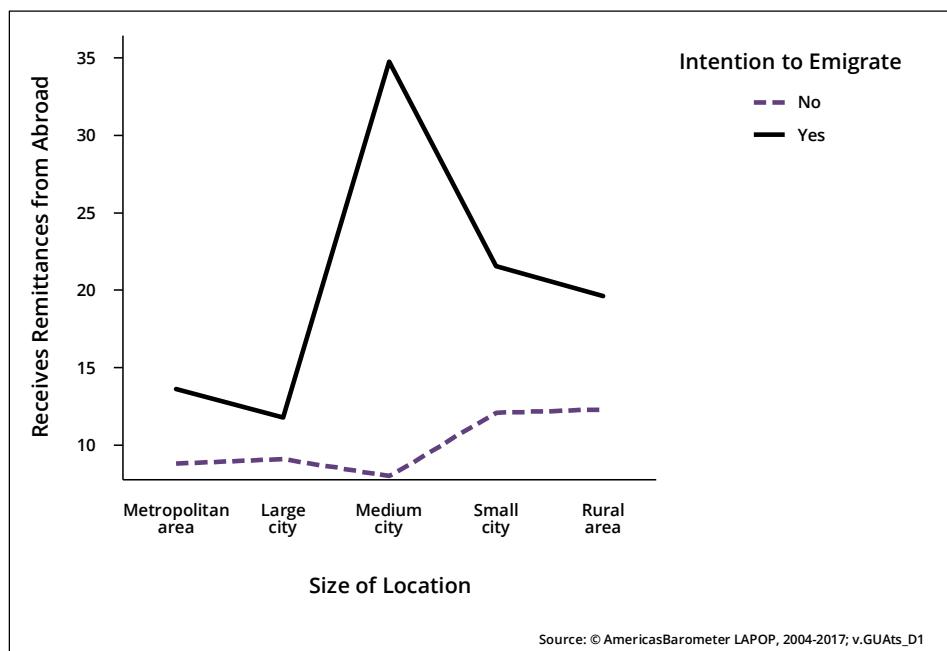
**Figure 3.26. Receipt of Remittances, Size of Location, and
Intention to Emigrate, Guatemala 2017**

In this study, wealth is measured by means of an index that adds up the number of electrical appliances and other types of goods in the respondent's home. In the regression, the items were included separately, since the relationship between the receipt of remittances and income is curvilinear. The regression shows that only the possession of a flat screen television or motorcycle are associated with higher incidence of receipt of remittances. This result can be seen in Figure 3.27. Those who receive remittances are more likely to own a motorcycle or a flat-screen TV. It may be that the remittances themselves help these households have access to buy these goods[13]. This subject should be the object of further study and additional studies in order to have a clear idea of the cause-effect relationship.

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[13] Some studies have shown that motorcycle owners in Latin America have lower incomes and lower levels of education than vehicle owners, for example. The motorcycle is used as a working tool in many cases (CAF 2015).
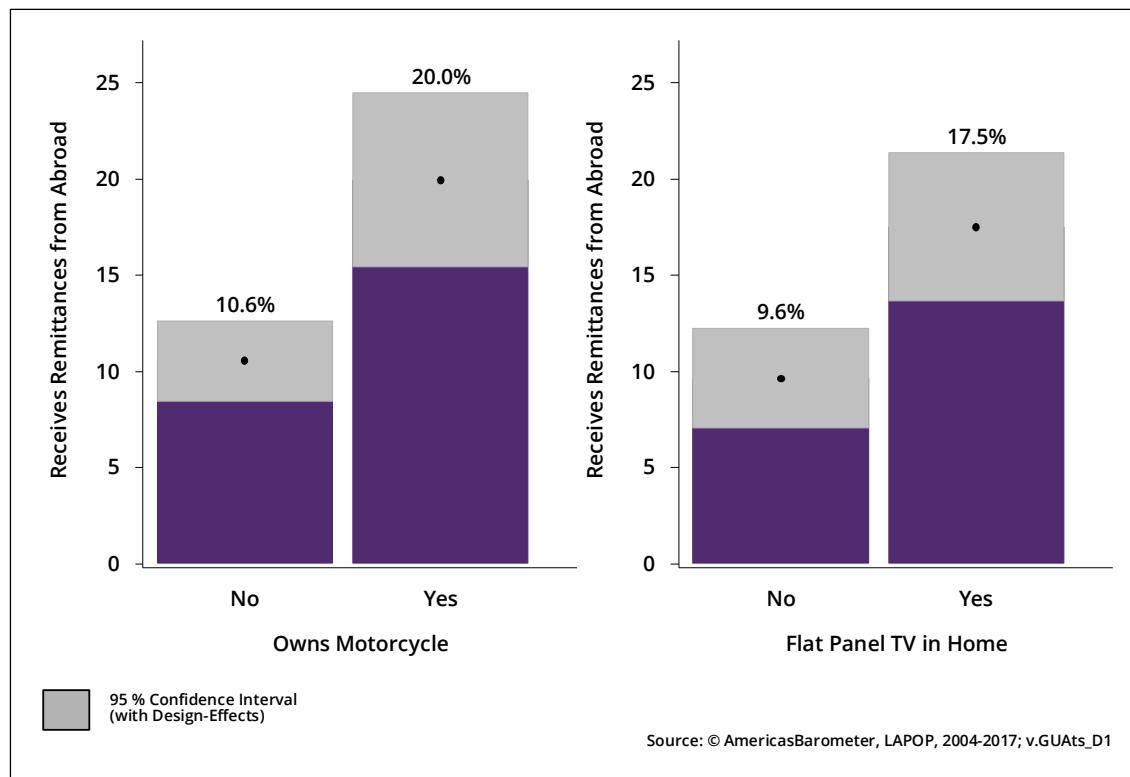
Figure 3.27. Receipt of Remittances and Wealth (by electrical devices in the household)

VI. Conclusion

This chapter has addressed the issue of the intention to emigrate from Guatemala, focusing on vulnerability and exclusion variables that may be related to it.

As noted throughout the chapter, there is a relationship between economic vulnerability and the intention to emigrate. However, not all measures of economic vulnerability are useful to explain this relationship. The most useful measure is if the income of the household is enough to live on. The intention to emigrate is higher among those who have economic difficulties. Additionally, being unemployed has a high correlation with the intention to emigrate.

Physical vulnerability as a consequence of crime also turns out to be a relevant factor in the intention to emigrate from Guatemala. The relationship between crime victimization and the intention to emigrate is clear, as is the relationship between intention to emigrate and having had to change one's behavior because of crime. An important finding is that in neighborhoods where there have been attacks against women, the proportion of those who intend to emigrate—either men or women—is much higher than in neighborhoods that have not experienced such attacks.

Finally, social exclusion measured by the discrimination that some respondents have experienced also turns out to be correlated with the intention to emigrate from Guatemala. More specifically,

having suffered discrimination in a public place or by a public official is correlated with a higher intention to emigrate.

In short, migration has various causes and the findings in this chapter corroborate that violence and the lack of economic opportunities—which have been mentioned in recent years as factors that influence emigration—are correlated with emigration. In this chapter, the issue has been approached from the perspective of physical and economic vulnerability, having found that certain measures are more useful in explaining this relationship. Additionally, it is a novel finding that social exclusion, measured in this case through experience with discrimination, is also associated with emigration.

Chapter 4.
Conventional and Non-Conventional Participation in Guatemala

Dinorah Azpuru

I. Introduction

The protests against corruption in Guatemala in 2015 had a decisive impact on the Guatemalan political system and set a precedent in the fight against corruption in the country. Participation in a peaceful protest is considered one of the pillars of democracy (Dahl 2000), but it is not the only form of political participation. This chapter examines the theme of participation in the 2015 protests, but also discusses the issue of participation in protests in general, as well as other forms of participation. More specifically, a distinction is made between conventional participation and non-conventional participation. Conventional participation includes various actions with the purpose of influencing the government or the decision-making process, such as voting, running for public office and participating in a political campaign. Unconventional participation includes activities such as protest, civil disobedience and even extra-legal actions, such as blocking roads (Dalton 2006).

The increase of all types of political participation in Guatemala has been notable since the advent of democracy in 1985, and particularly since the signing of the Peace Accords in 1996. During most of the 20th century, political participation of all kinds was limited by repression and censorship during authoritarian governments (see Azpuru, Blanco et al, 2007, Booth, Wade and Walker 2014).[1] Several factors have contributed to this increase in participation, but the gradual reduction in State repression, as well as a greater perception of freedom by citizens, are key factors.

Why is political participation important for a democracy? Dalton (2006, p.35) explains that active citizenship is essential because social goals must be defined and implemented through discussion and debate, popular interest, and citizen involvement in politics. And he argues that on the contrary, when the public is not involved in the decision-making process, democracy loses its legitimacy and strength.

II. Main Findings

- Conventional participation:
    - In recent years Guatemalans have maintained stable levels of voter registration and participation in general elections.
    - Three factors stand out in relation to electoral participation: Guatemalans with higher education report higher levels of participation, younger citizens participate

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[1] During the era of authoritarian regimes, it was not possible to conduct this type of survey, and in consequence there is no data from that time. However, data on the repression of social movements and opponents of the regime is a sign that participation was limited.

less, and those who participated in the protests against corruption in the second half of 2015 are more likely to have participated in the elections of 2015.

- Non-conventional participation:
  - On average, 16.2% of Guatemalans indicated that they participated in the protests against corruption in 2015. The percentage is higher than the average participation in protests generally reported in Guatemala, which is less than 10%.
  - Better educated citizens as well as male Guatemalans were more likely to participate in anti-corruption demonstrations in 2015.
  - Corruption victimization has a high correlation with participation in the 2015 protests. Crime victimization also correlates with protest participation. This indicates that the protests of 2015 channeled the discontent of the population in various aspects.
  - The majority of Guatemalan citizens approve of participation in legal demonstrations (58.6%).
  - Guatemalans have high levels of participation in community groups, but participation in political parties is extremely low.
  - A concerning finding is that Guatemala is the country with the lowest identification rate with political parties: only 5.9% of respondents say they identify with a party in 2017.

III. Conventional Political Participation

What is Conventional Political Participation?

The classification made by Verba, Nie and Kim (1978) includes four types of conventional political participation: voting, participating in political campaigns, participating in community activities (such as working with groups in the community) and contacting authorities directly with petitions. At the same time, these authors point out that these forms of participation are distinguished from each other according with the following criteria: 1) whether the action involves information on the individual's political preferences and/or puts pressure on them to comply; 2) whether the action is directed towards a broad social goal or a particular interest; 3) the potential of conflict arising from the action; 4) the effort necessary to carry out the action; and 5) the amount of cooperation with others that is required to carry out the action of participation.

Conventional Political Participation in Guatemala

This section examines some aspects of conventional political participation in Guatemala. The type of political participation most commonly associated with a democracy is voting in elections of various kinds. It is an eminently individual type of participation, although the goal is collective, and according to the classification of Verba, Nie and Kim (1978), requires little information, little initiative and by nature, little cooperation with others.

Conventional political participation, especially the exercise of suffrage, can generally be measured through aggregate information provided by the Supreme Electoral Tribunal of Guatemala. In contrast, the other forms of participation are difficult to measure except through surveys.

The AmericasBarometer has regularly asked Guatemalans if they voted in the last presidential election. This question is preceded by two others that ask the respondents if they are registered to vote (given that a negative response automatically disqualifies them from being able to exercise the vote), and if they have a Personal Identification Document (DPI). The specific questions say the following:

VB1. Are you registered to vote? (1) Yes   (2) No

INF1. Do you have a national identification card (DPI)?   (1) Yes   (2) No

VB2. Did you vote in the first round of the last **presidential elections** of 2015?
(1) Yes   (2) No

As shown in Figure 4.1, the vast majority of Guatemalans indicate that they are registered to vote in 2017, at 82.6%. Only 17.2% of citizens said they were not registered, and less than 1% indicated that they are in the process of registering.

Source: © AmericasBarometer, LAPOP, 2004-2017; v.GUAts_D1
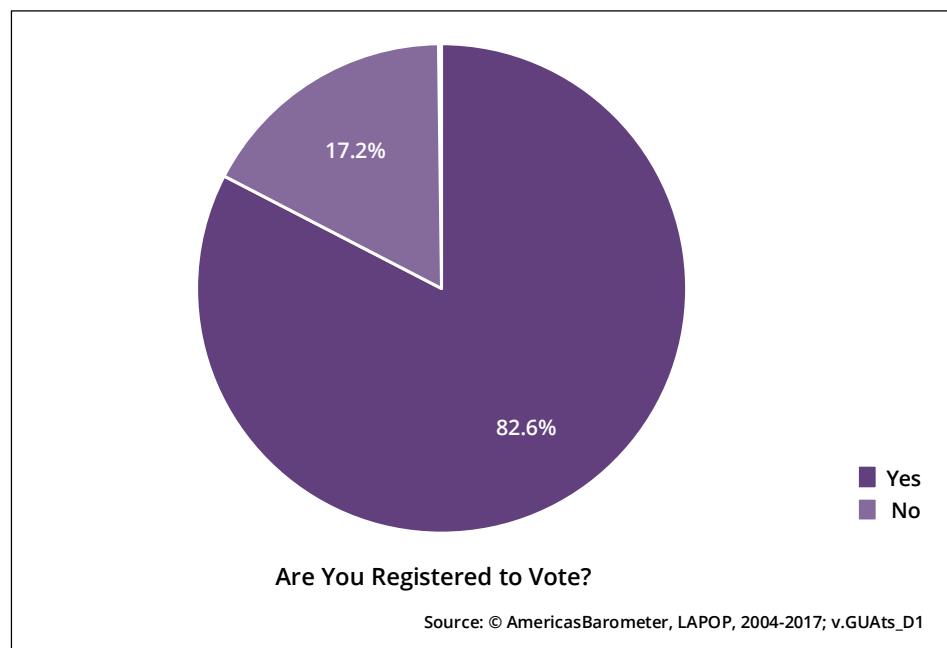
Figure 4.1. Are You Registered to Vote? Guatemala 2017

Figure 4.2 shows that a very high percentage of Guatemalans, almost 97%, have a Personal Identification Document (DPI).
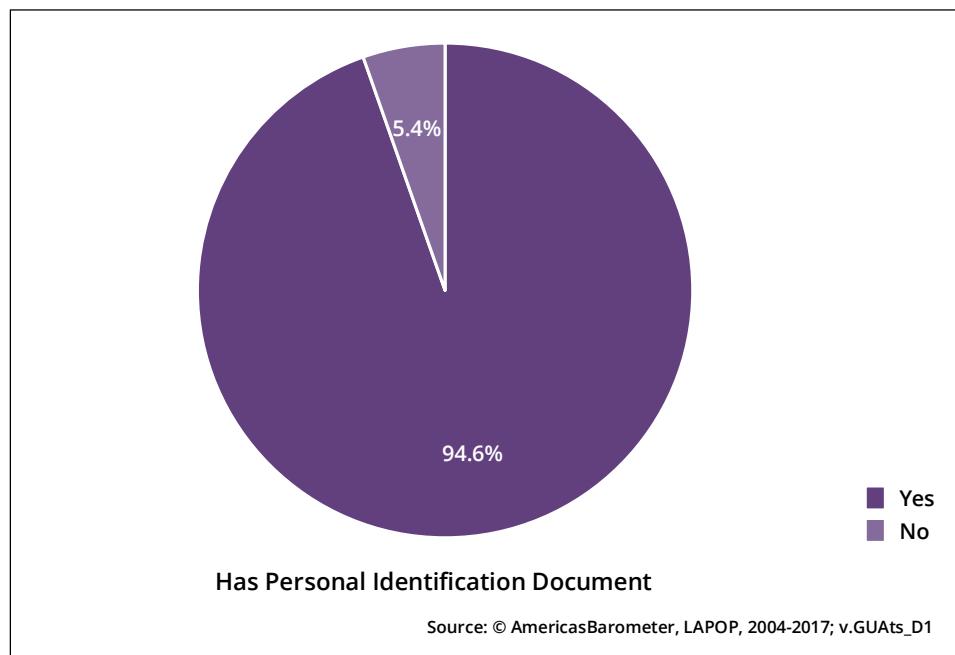
Figure 4.2. In Possession of Personal Identification Document, Guatemala 2017

Figure 4.3 shows the progression over time in the percentage of respondents who indicated being registered to vote between 2004 and 2017. The percentage of registered citizens has increased significantly since 2008 and has remained relatively stable since then, although there is a slight but statistically significant decrease between 2012 and 2017, going from 86.8% to 82.6%.
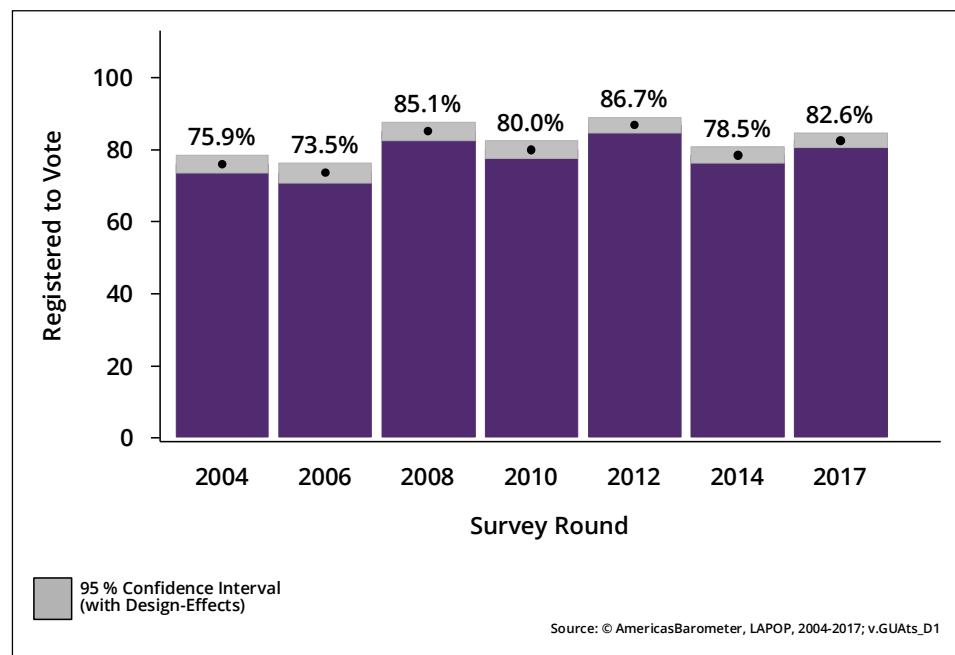
Figure 4.3. Voter Registration by Year

Regarding the act of voting in the last presidential election, Figure 4.4 shows the percentage of respondents who indicated they had voted in 2015.
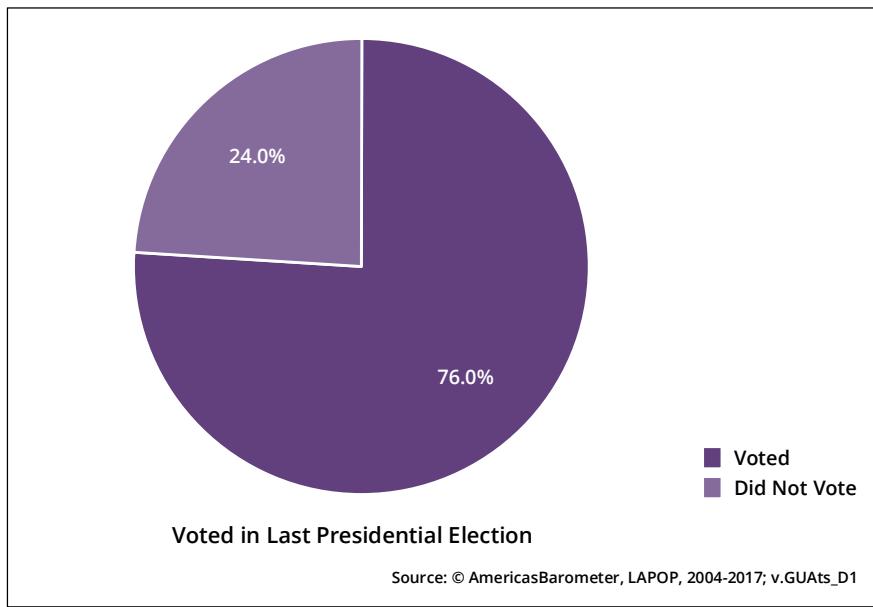
Figure 4.4. Participation in Guatemala's Last Presidential Election in 2015

It can be observed that 76% of respondents indicated that they had voted in the first round of elections in September 2015, while a quarter of them said they had not done so.[2] In the following Figure (Figure 4.5), we see percentage of Guatemalans who reported voting between 2004 and 2017. The percentage of Guatemalans who indicated that they had participated in the first round of the presidential election increased significantly from 2008 onwards and has remained at over 70% since then.
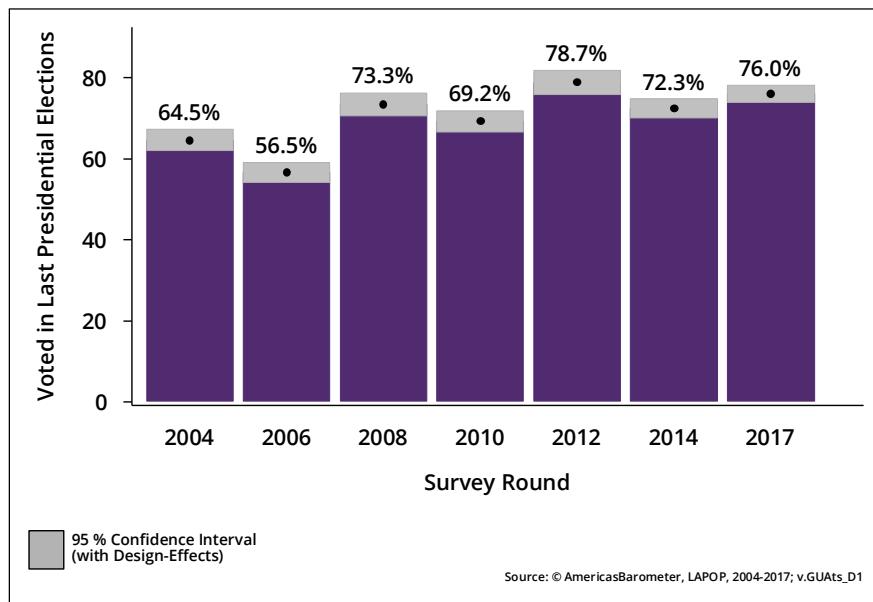
Figure 4.5. Electoral Participation, Guatemala 2004-2017

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[2] The Supreme Electoral Tribunal of Guatemala in its Electoral Report (TSE 2015) indicates that 69.74% of registered Guatemalans went to the polls on September 6.

A comparative figure is included in Chapter 1 of this report which shows that Guatemala is in an average position in the region. Reported electoral participation at 76% is higher than that of 12 countries in the Americas and lower than that of nine countries (see Figure 1.13).

Finally, it is important to analyze not only how many Guatemalans said they exercised their right to vote, but also to discuss relevant factors or variables that explain why a person voted or did not vote. Regression analysis allows us to analyze these factors. Demographic and socioeconomic factors are included in the regression model as well as contextual factors that the literature on electoral behavior has identified as relevant in other countries of the world, and particularly in Latin America (Carlin, Singer, and Zechmeister, 2015). These factors are called independent variables in the statistical lexicon.

The demographic and socioeconomic variables are gender, socioeconomic level (wealth),[3] ethnic self-identification,[4] level of education and age. The regression also includes a geographical variable: the size of the city or place of residence of the interviewee. Additionally, the regression model includes contextual factors that may influence the decision to vote: the respondent's perception of the national economic situation, their household economic situation, whether or not the respondent was a victim of crime, their perception of insecurity, whether or not the interviewee was a victim of corruption, and their perception of corruption among politicians. Additionally, we include control variables, such as the degree of attention the respondent pays to the news, their ideology and their level of support for democracy. Given the immediate context prior to the elections, a variable is also included that indicates whether or not the respondent participated in the protests in 2015, which culminated just before the elections in September. The specific text of these independent variables is as follows:

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
Q10D. The salary that you receive and total household income: **[Read alternatives]**   (1) Is good enough for you and you can save from it   (2) Is just enough for you, so that you do not have major problems   (3) Is not enough for you and you are stretched   (4) Is not enough for you and you are having a hard time
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   (2) No
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 **un**safe or very **un**safe?   (1) Very safe   (2) Somewhat safe   (3) Somewhat unsafe   (4) Very unsafe

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[3] The socioeconomic level in the AmericasBarometer studies is measured through the possession of a series of household appliances (refrigerator, microwave oven, washing machine, flat screen television, etc.), of one or more vehicles, of a computer at home and access to the Internet at home.

[4] In the case of Guatemala, the respondent is asked to identify as Indigenous, Ladino, Garífuna or another ethnic group.

Corruption victimization:
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??

EXC6. In the last twelve months, did any government employee ask you for a bribe??

EXC20. In the last twelve months, did any **soldier or military officer** ask you for a bribe?

EXC11. 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?

EXC13. In your work, have you been asked to pay a bribe in the last twelve months?

EXC14. Did you have to pay a bribe to the courts in the last twelve months?

EXC15. In order to be seen in a hospital or a clinic in the last twelve months, did you have to pay a bribe?

EXC16. Have you had to pay a bribe at school in the last twelve months?

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

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Only three variables are significantly related to having voted in the first round of elections in September 2015:[5] education, being younger and having participated in the protests against corruption in 2015. Education has a positive relationship with– voting: the more education, the higher likelihood of having voted (86.3%), as observed in Figure 4.6. It should be noted, however, that those Guatemalans without any education also reported high levels of electoral participation in the first round of elections in 2015 (83.7%). Guatemalans with some level of secondary education are those who reported less participation.[6]

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[5] The regression results table found on the LAPOP website.

[6] It is important to clarify that the categories of education do not mean that the respondent has finished primary or secondary school or completed a university education. The respective category is included even if only the respondent has passed a few years of a given educational level.
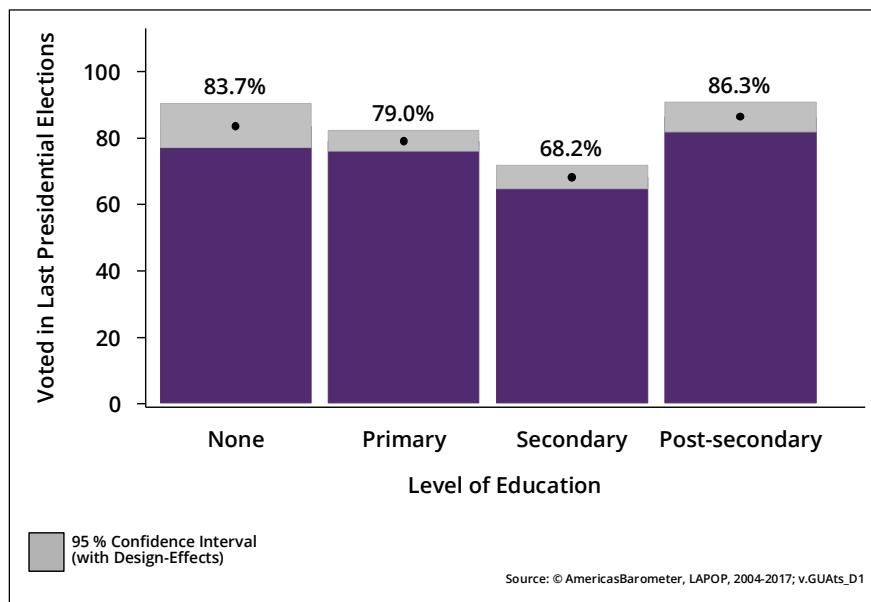
Figure 4.6. Electoral Participation and Educational Level, Guatemala 2017

Figure 4.7 shows the relationship between respondents' age and their electoral participation in 2015. Guatemalans between 18 and 25 years of age exhibit significantly lower levels of participation than the rest of the population. Although some of the respondents may not been of voting age (18 years) in 2015, the tendency of younger citizens to vote less than other age groups in elections is something that occurs worldwide.
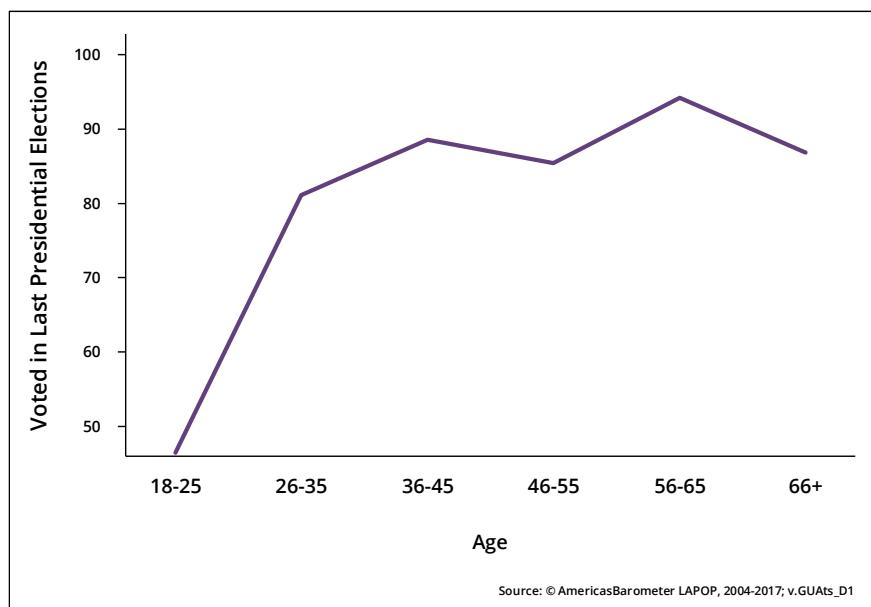
Figure 4.7. Electoral Participation and Age, Guatemala 2017

Finally, as can be seen in Figure 4.8, those who participated in the anti-corruption protests in 2015 reported higher levels of electoral participation in the presidential elections of that year, and the difference between the two is statistically significant. While 73.7% of those who did not participate in the protests reported having voted, the percentage rises to 87.6% among those who said they

participated in the anti-corruption protests. This relationship remains statistically significant, independent of other factors such as education and socioeconomic status.
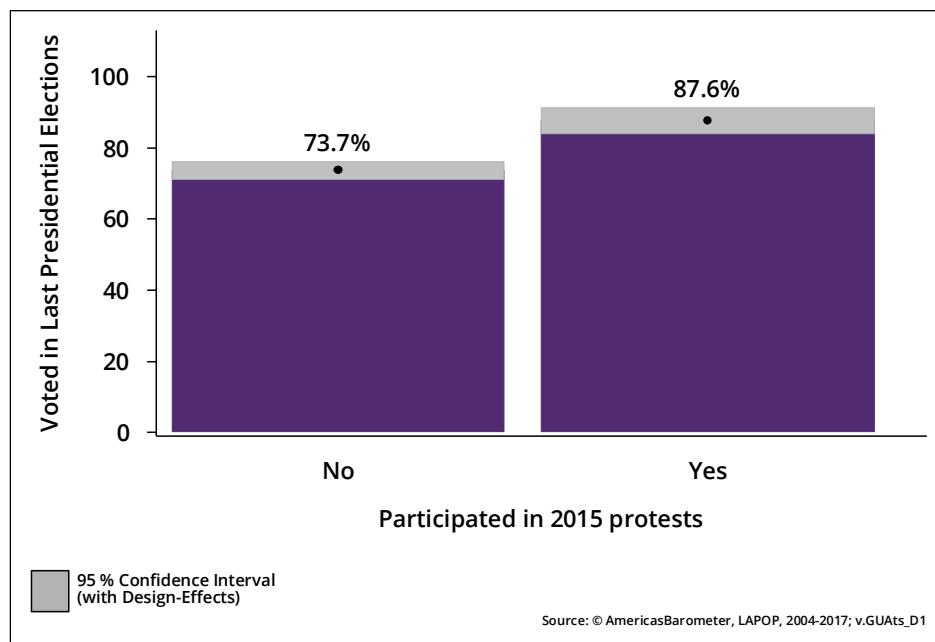
Figure 4.8. Electoral Participation and Participation in the 2015 Protests in Guatemala

Conventional democratic participation also includes membership of political parties and social organizations, particularly community groups. The AmericasBarometer survey asks the following questions to the interviewees regarding participation in these types of organizations.

	Once a week	Once or twice a month	Once or twice a year	Never
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

Figure 4.9 shows the percentage of Guatemalans who reported participating in committee meetings or community improvement meetings in the 12 months prior to the survey. As can be seen, about 7% of Guatemalans said they attended once a week, and 22.7% said they attended once or twice a month, which means that a third of the Guatemalan population maintains active participation in neighborhood groups or community. At the other extreme, half of the population (50.8%) does not participate in these groups.
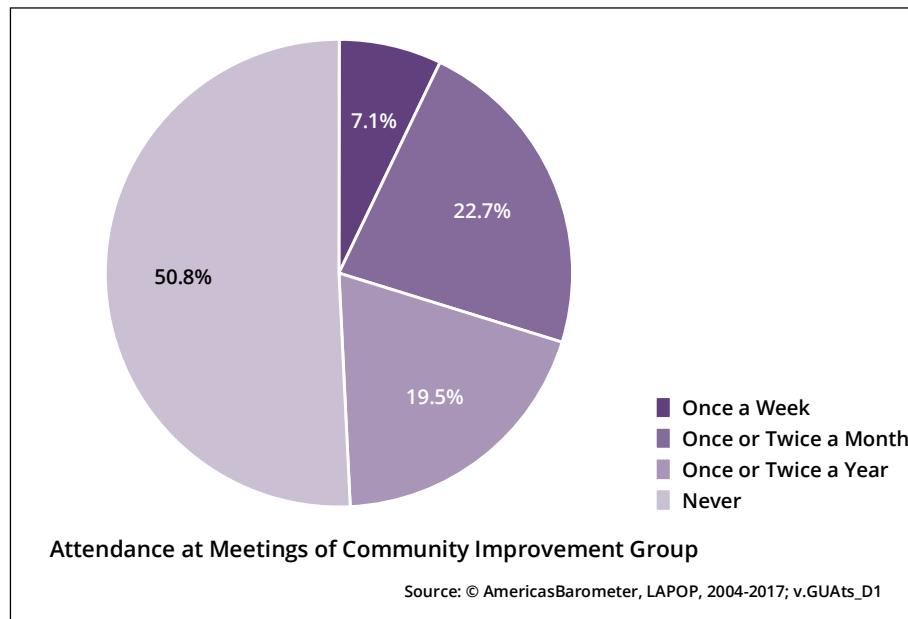
Figure 4.9. Participation in Community Groups, Guatemala 2017

Participation in political parties is also fundamental in a democracy. However, as can be seen in Figure 4.10, participation in them is extremely low in Guatemala. Only 4.6% of Guatemalans reported having participated in political party meetings with some frequency in the 12 months prior to the survey (1.1% once a week and 3.5% once or twice a month). Around 10% report having participated once or twice a year, and 85.4% said they never participated. Although the 12 months prior to the survey were not campaign months (since the elections were held in 2015), the percentage of participation is extremely low, since political parties must maintain constant communication with their affiliates and not only in electoral periods.
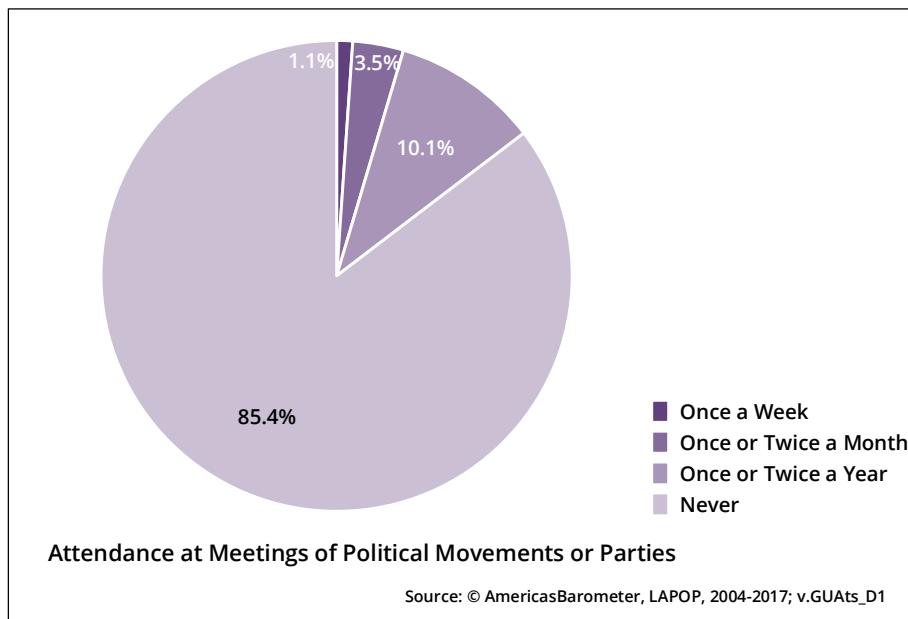
Figure 4.10. Participation in Political Party Meetings, Guatemala 2017

This low level of participation can be attributed to the scant level identification with political parties that exists in Guatemala. In 2017, only 5.9% of Guatemalans reported identifying with a political party, the lowest percentage of all countries in the Americas. For the percentage of identification with political parties in the countries of the region in the 2016/17 round of the AmericasBarometer see Figure 1.18. The specific question on this issue is the following:

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

The low level of identification with the political parties in Guatemala is a serious challenge for representative democracy in the country. Figure 4.11 shows that identification with the political parties in Guatemala since this question was included in the AmericasBarometer surveys had remained in double digits from 2006 to 2014, having reached its highest point in the year 2010, when 18.4% of Guatemalans said they identified with a party. It is likely that levels of corruption witnessed in 2015 and later the actions of the Public Ministry and the CICIG had an impact on the perception of political parties.[7]
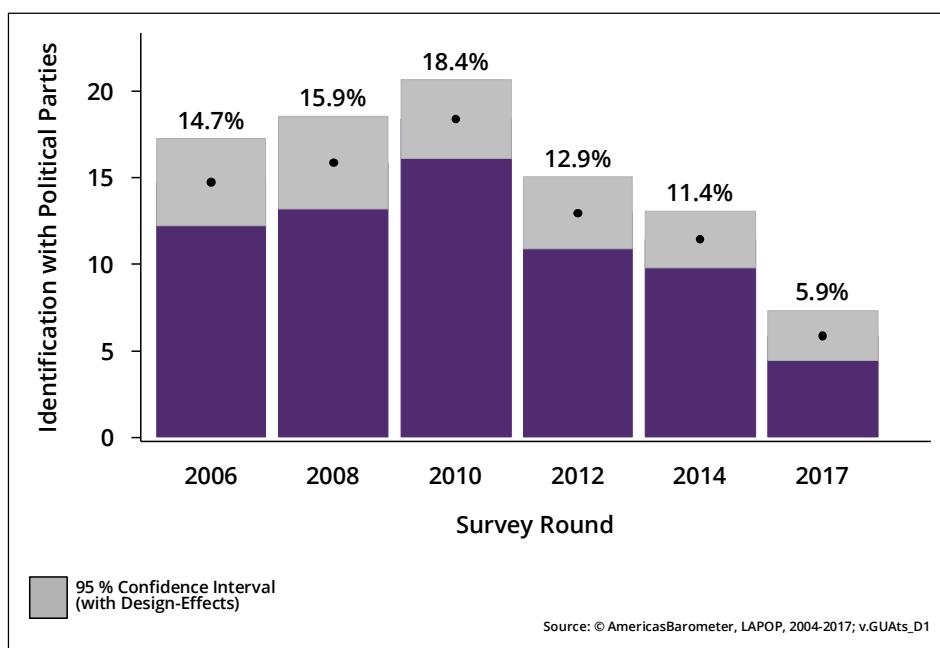
**Figure 4.11. Identification with Political Parties,
Guatemala 2006-2017**

It is evident that among Guatemalans there is a low degree of identification with political parties. Does this mean that there is no interest in politics? A specific question from the AmericasBarometer addressing measurement of this issue:

POL1. How much interest do you have in politics: a lot, some, little or none?
(1) A lot   (2) Some   (3) Little   (4) None

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[7] The problems of corruption in the Guatemalan Congress may have influenced the opinion of the parties in a negative way. However, the survey was conducted several months before the political crisis of the second half of 2017.

Figure 4.12 shows the percentage of Guatemalans who say that they had a lot or some interest in politics. As can be seen, about 26 percent of Guatemalans are interested in politics. The percentage has remained in the mid-20% range since 2010 and changes have not been statistically significant since then. The results of the last two figures show that although the Guatemalans do not identify with a political party, a significant percentage has an interest in politics, which has the possibility of being positive if the political parties manage to capture that interest with consistent and honest behavior.
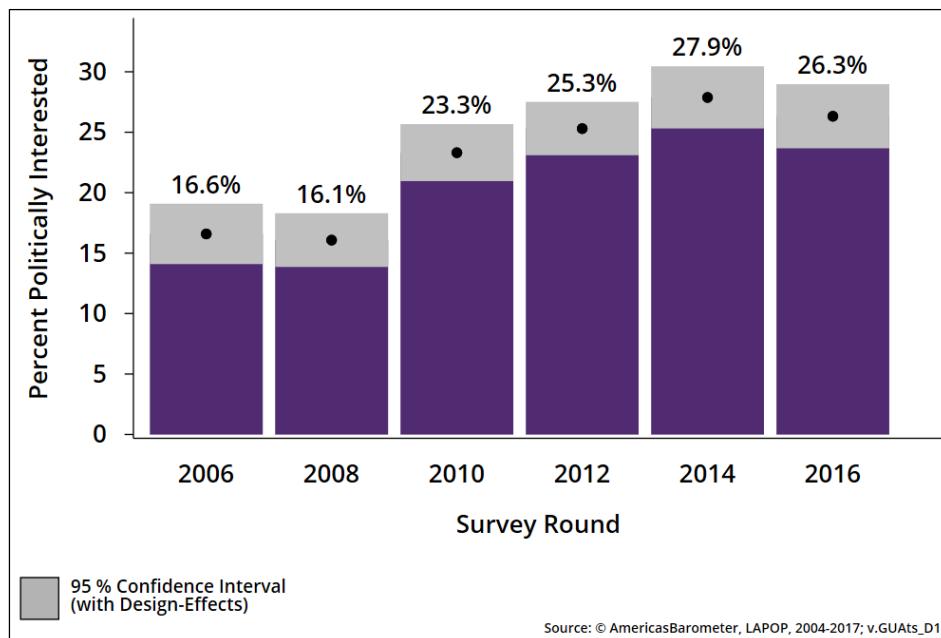
Figure 4.12. Interest in Politics, Guatemala 2006-2017

The 2017 survey did not include questions related to participation in political campaigns or signing petitions for, but analyses were of these issues have been carried out in previous studies.[8] However, a question related to participation in municipal government meetings was included. In Figure 4.13, the results the following question are shown:

> **NP1.** Have you attended a town meeting, city council meeting or other meeting in the past 12 months?   (1) Yes   (2) No

Although the majority of Guatemalans (82.7%) report not having participated in an open meeting or local government session, a significant percentage (17.3%) did attend, which denotes a degree of important interaction with the local government in the country.

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[8] More information about these topics can be found in the previous studies of Guatemalan democratic culture, or in the interactive databases that can be accessed at the following site: http://vanderbilt.edu/lapop/interactive-data.php
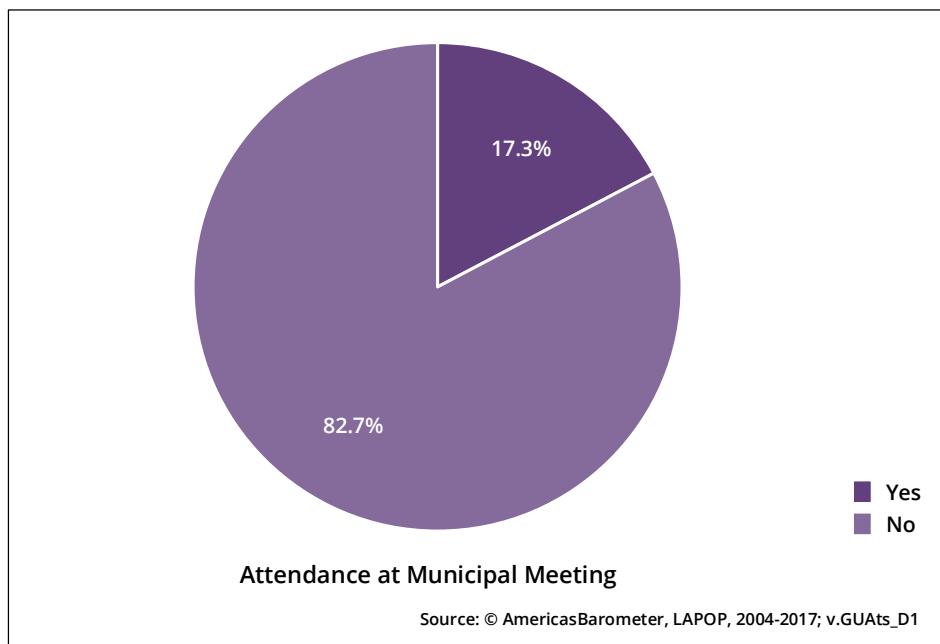
Figure 4.13. Attendance at Municipal Government Meetings, Guatemala 2017

IV. Non-Conventional Political Participation

What is Non-Conventional Political Participation?

Non-conventional political participation encompasses a series of actions that generally represent a way of expressing discontent with policies adopted by the government or lack of governmental action regarding a public issue. The most common form is participation in a public protest (or demonstration). Verba, Nie and Kim (1978) consider that participation in protests is a collective action, with a high degree of conflict, and in which a high degree of information and initiative is required. Other forms of non-conventional political participation include actions such as taking over buildings or blocking roadways, which are often considered illegal. Protests themselves can turn violent, which is also considered outside the rule of law.

Non-Conventional Political Participation in Guatemala

This section presents a general perspective on participation in protests in Guatemala, as well as a specific analysis of participation in the 2015 demonstrations against corruption.

The first question related to participation in protests, asks the respondent to indicate whether he or she participated in a protest in the 12 months prior to the survey. More specifically the question is worded as follows:

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

Figure 4.14 shows that almost one in ten Guatemalans participated in a protest in 2016 or in the first few months of 2017. However, the vast majority (90.8%) of the respondents did not participate in a protest in the 12 months prior to the survey.
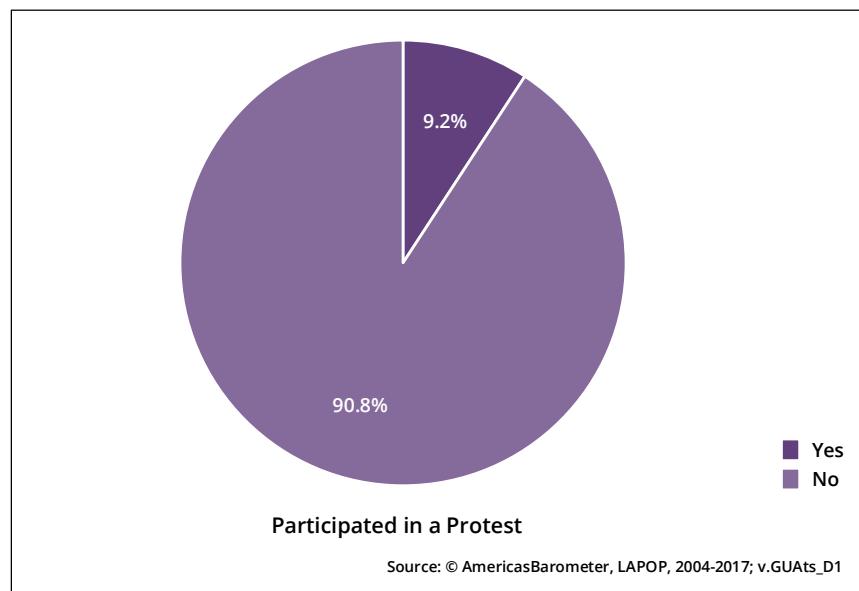
Figure 4.14. Participation in Protests, Guatemala 2017

A longitudinal analysis shows that the percentage of Guatemalans who in the previous rounds of the democratic culture survey said they had participated in protests in the previous 12 months, has remained below 10%, and was particularly low in 2014. The specific figures can be seen in Figure 4.15. These results do not include participation in the anti-corruption protests that took place in 2015, since the survey was not carried out in 2015 or 2016 when it could have captured a positive response to this question. That is why participation in the protests of 2015 is evaluated with a different question, which is discussed below.
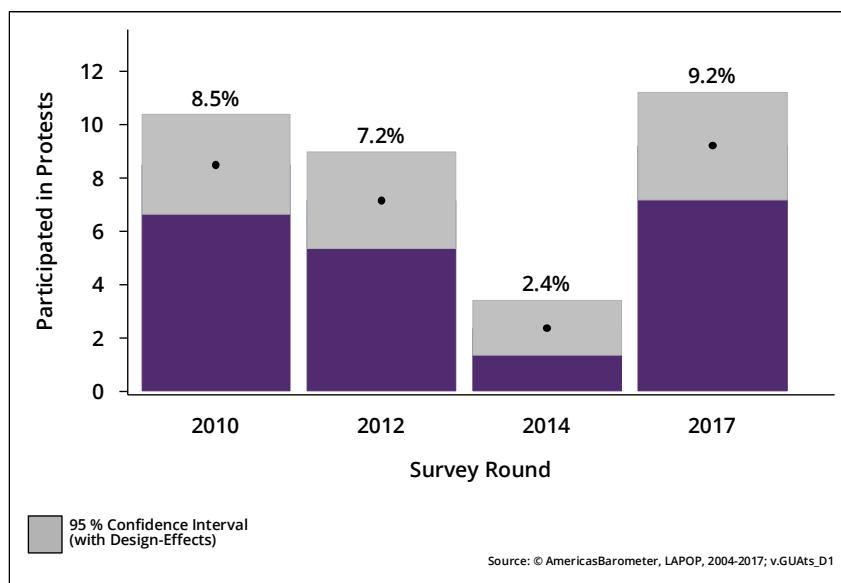
Figure 4.15. Participation in Protests, Guatemala 2010-2017

A related question asks the respondent to indicate how many times she has participated in a protest in the 12 months prior to the survey. The results can be seen in Figure 4.16. The majority (51%) only participated once, while almost a third of those who participated in protests did so twice.
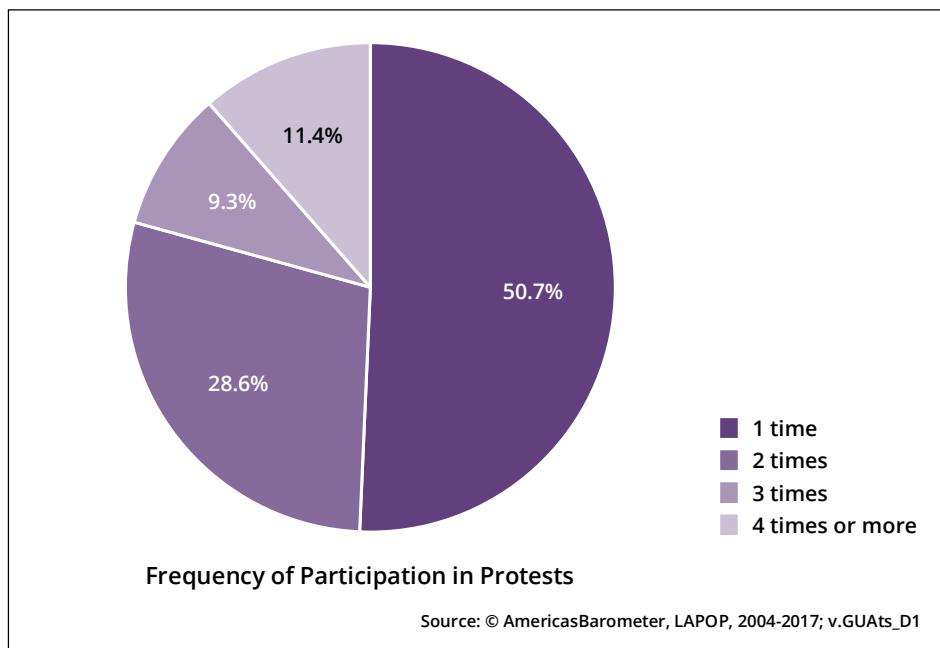
Figure 4.16. Frequency of Participation in Protests, Guatemala 2017

As indicated above, protests carried out between April and August of 2015 had a decisive impact on the country's political development. As a result of those protests, the president at the time, General Otto Pérez Molina, resigned from office. Alejandro Maldonado Aguirre was appointed by Congress to complete Pérez Molina's term and held the position from September 3, 2015 until January 14, 2016, when the president-elect, Jimmy Morales, took over as President of the Republic.[9] Given the impact, transcendence and magnitude of participation in these demonstrations, it is important to analyze it in depth. The specific question asked in the survey was worded as follows:

> **GUAPROT1.** Did you participate in the demonstrations-protests against corruption in 2015? (1) Yes   (2) No

Figure 4.17 shows the distribution of responses. Nearly one in six respondents (16.2%) reported participating in the anti-corruption protests in 2015. This percentage is much higher than the percentage of participation in protests normally observed in Guatemala.

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[9] Vice President Roxana Baldetti was also removed from office, accused of various crimes related to corruption.
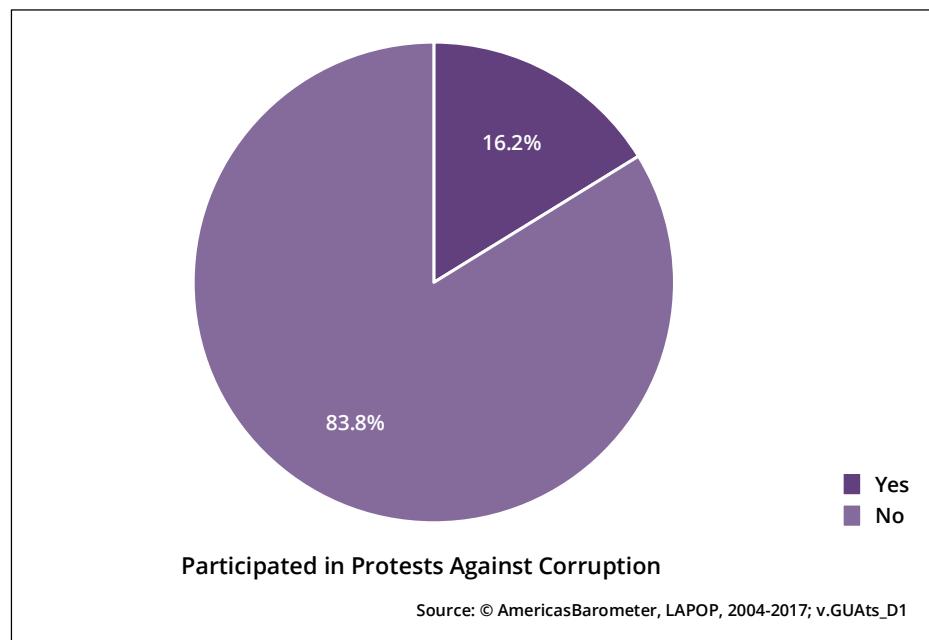
Figure 4.17. Participation in Anti-Corruption Protests in 2015

Anti-corruption demonstrations were particularly visible in the capital city, due to the extensive coverage of the media about them, but demonstrations were also held in other parts of the country. Figure 4.18 shows the distribution by region. In two of the regions in the country included in the sample of this study, participation reached 19%. In the Northeast region, participation was slightly lower (17.2%) but the difference is not statistically significant with respect to the other two regions. The South was the only region where participation was significantly lower: only 10% of people reported having participated in the protests against corruption in 2015 in that region.
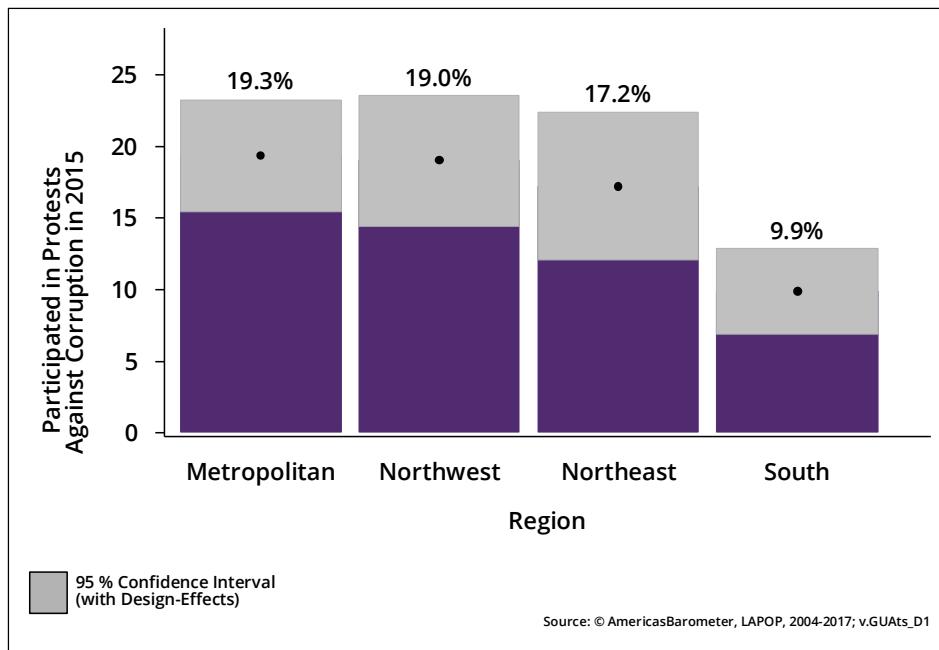
Figure 4.18. Participation in Anti-Corruption Protests in 2015 in Guatemala, by Region

It is important to analyze whether or not those who participated in the 2015 protests come from certain sectors of the population. A logistic regression analysis helps identify the characteristics of the citizens who participated in the 2015 protests. A series of possible predictors are included in the model, including the demographic and socioeconomic characteristics of the respondents: socioeconomic level (wealth), educational level, ethnic self-identification, gender and the age group to which the individual belongs. Also included is a variable that measures whether the respondent lives in the Metropolitan Area of the capital, in a large, medium, small-size city or in a rural area. Additionally the model included contextual variables that may have influenced the decision to participate in the protests: if the respondent was a victim of corruption, if they have been a victim of crime, their perception of corruption among politicians, their perception of insecurity, their perception of the national economic situation and if the family is doing well economically[10]. Additionally, control variables are included, such as the respondent's ideology, if the respondent pays attention to the news and if they support democracy.

Given that according to reports from various sources the protests were initially generated through social media (such as Facebook), a control variable is included, to represent whether the respondent has Internet access at home (or on their tablet).

Only four variables turned out to be significantly associated with a higher probability of participation in the 2015 anti-corruption protests: having more education, being male, having been a victim of corruption, and having been a victim of crime[11].

Figure 4.19 shows the relationship between having participated in the protests against corruption in 2015 and the education and gender of Guatemalans. It is clear that those with some higher education had higher participation rates, reaching 33.1% among men with some level of university education. The participation rate among women with a university education was 19.2%, a difference of 14 percentage points with respect to men with a similar level of education. The lowest participation of all the categories was that of women with some secondary education, which only reached 8.8%, also quite lower than that of men with some secondary education (19.4%). Interestingly, among those Guatemalans who reported having no formal education or only some primary education, there are no marked differences in participation between men and women.

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[10] The construction of these variables is explained earlier in this chapter.
[11] The regression results table can be found on the LAPOP website.
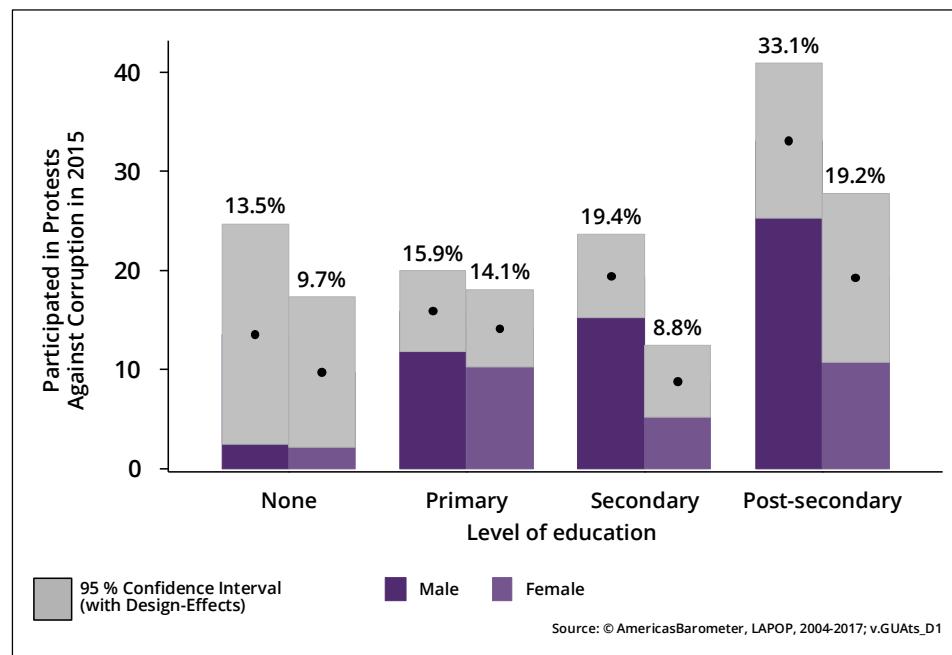
Figure 4.19. Participation in 2015 Protests by Educational Level and Gender in Guatemala

Figure 4.20 shows that 26.8% of those who have been victimized by corruption participated in the anti-corruption protests in 2015, while less than half of that percentage (12.7%) of those who have not been victimized participated in the protests. The difference between both groups is statistically significant.
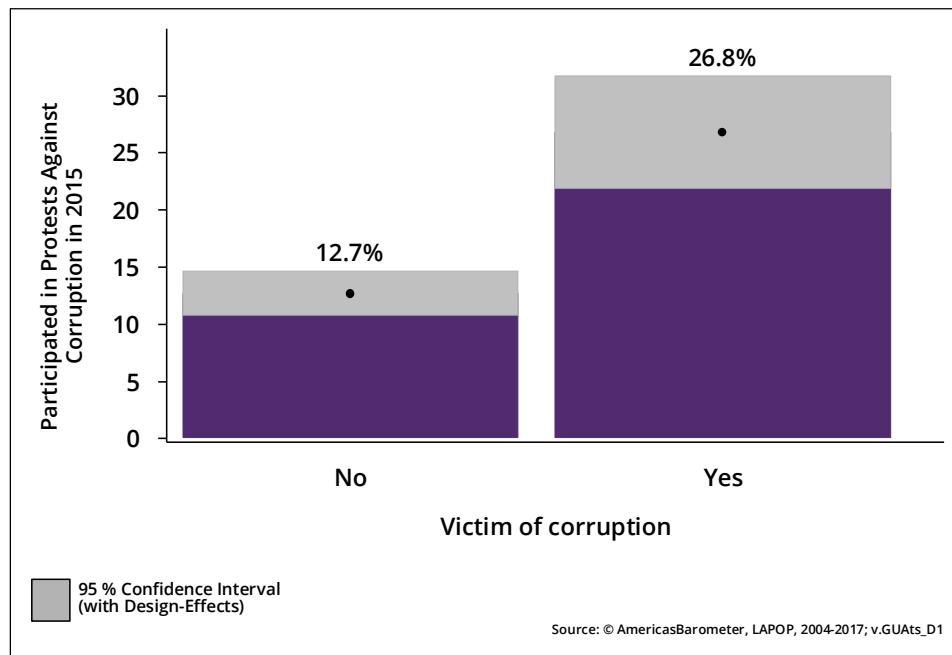
Figure 4.20. Participation in the 2015 Protests and Corruption Victimization in Guatemala

Finally, in Figure 4.21, we can see that those who were victims of crime attended the anti-crime demonstrations at a higher rate than those who were not victims. The difference between both groups is 10 percentage points and is statistically significant. This seems to indicate that the protests against corruption also allowed channeling another type of discontent towards the government of Otto Pérez Molina in 2015.
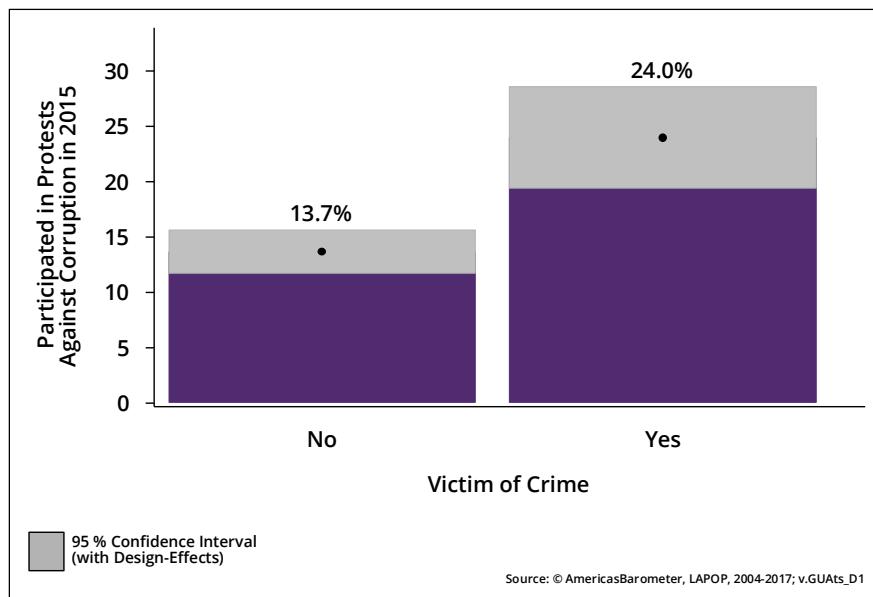
Figure 4.21. Participation in 2015 Protests and Crime Victimization in Guatemala

Beyond Guatemalans' participation in protests, it is also important to examine whether they are open to the right of participation of other Guatemalans. Tolerance and acceptance of participation by others, even those with whom we do not agree, is essential in a democracy (Dahl 2000). The 2016/17 AmericasBarometer survey included the following question, for which respondents give their answer on a scale of 1 (strongly disapprove) to 10 (strongly approve):

E5. Of people participating in legal demonstrations. How much do you approve or disapprove?

As seen in Figure 4.22, opinions seem to be divided. Although one fifth of the population (20.6%) strongly approves of others protesting (in a legal demonstration), a relatively high percentage (11%) strongly disapproves. If all of the positive categories are added together (6 to 10), the majority of Guatemalans approve the right to participate in protests, that is, 58.6% of the population. Over one in ten (13.6%) are in a neutral category (number 5), and 27.7% have a negative opinion, that is to say that they disapprove (the sum of the responses from 1 to 4).
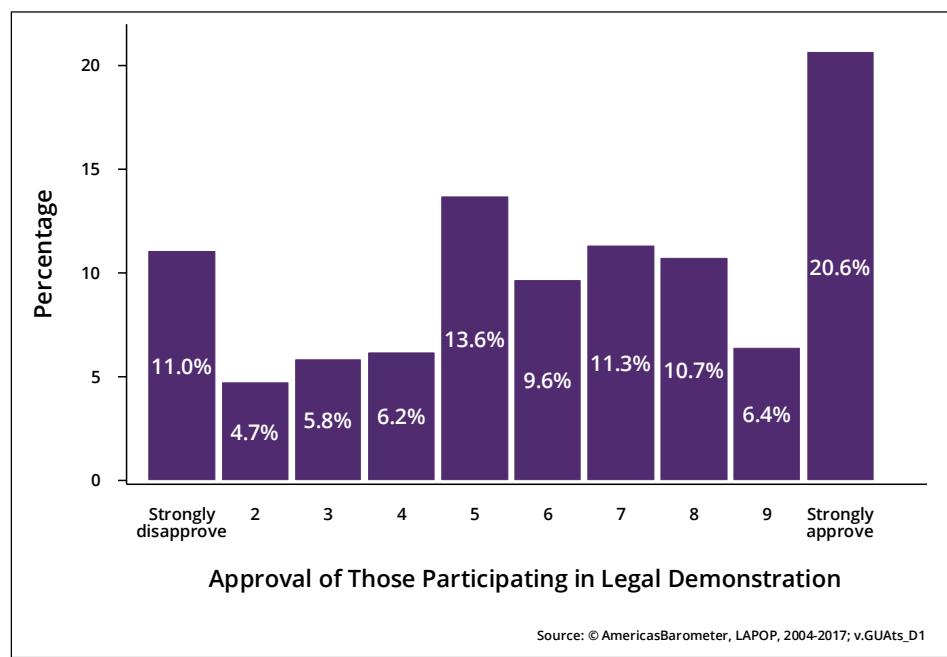
Figure 4.22. Approval of Participation in Protests

One wonders if the degree of acceptance of the demonstrations changed after the protests of 2015. A longitudinal analysis is useful in addressing this question. In Figure 4.23, it shows the percentage that approves of the participation in legal manifestations (answers 6-10 in the original scale). We observe that the acceptance of others participating in demonstrations increased significantly between 2014 and 2017, going from 28.2% to 58.6%. However, it is important to note that in 2017 it returned to the 2012 average, which is similar to previous years. Only in 2006 there was an increase in the degree of acceptance of peaceful demonstrations, reaching 78.2%.
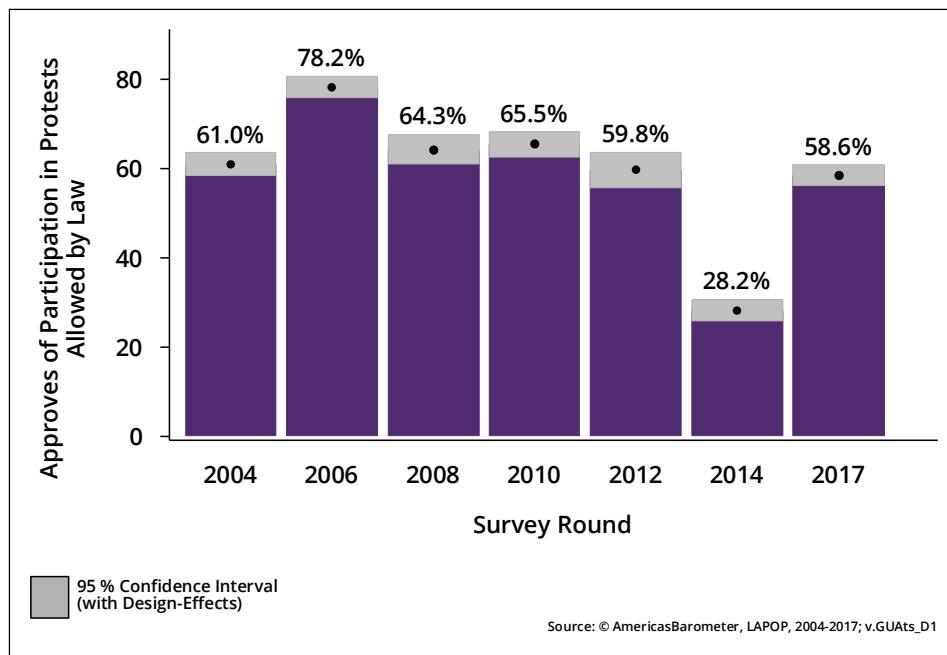
Figure 4.23. Acceptance of Others' Participation in Protests, by Year

V. Conclusion

This chapter has addressed the issue of citizen participation in Guatemala, dividing it into two broad categories: conventional participation and non-conventional participation. Regarding conventional participation, there has been a similar level of voter registration and participation in general elections compared with previous years. Three factors stand out related to electoral participation in Guatemala. On the one hand, people with higher education report higher levels of participation, which is not surprising and occurs in different countries of the world. The low participation of younger Guatemalans in the elections is also symptomatic of what happens in other countries. However, one theme is notable: those who participated in the anti-corruption protests in the second half of 2015 are more likely to have participated in the 2017 elections.

This chapter also includes a detailed analysis of participation in protests against corruption in 2015: 16.2% of Guatemalans said they participated in them. The percentage is higher than the average percentage of participation in protests generally reported in Guatemala, which is less than 10%. This high level of participation in the protests against corruption in 2015 can be considered positive. Better educated and male Guatemalans were more likely to participate in these protests. Corruption victimization, perhaps not surprisingly, has a high correlation with participation in anti-corruption protests. However, crime victimization also correlates with participation in crime, which indicates that the 2015 protests channeled the population's discontent in various areas. In a separate analysis, it was found that the majority of Guatemalans approve of legal participation in demonstrations (58.6%).

Among other positive findings, the survey found that Guatemalans have high levels of participation in community groups. But, on the negative side, participation in political parties is extremely low. An even more disturbing finding is that Guatemala is the country with the lowest identification with political parties in the Americas; only 5.9% of respondents said they identify with a party. Identification with the political parties is the lowest since 2006, when the AmericasBarometer first measured partisan identification. This can have serious consequences for representative democracy in the country.

Chapter 5.
Perceptions of Institutions and Relevant Legislation in 2017

Dinorah Azpuru

I. Introduction

This chapter addresses the issue of citizen trust in political institutions, in addition to offering a perspective on satisfaction with certain government services, and the opinion on specific legislation that has been debated about in Guatemala in 2017.

In recent years, particularly since 2015, Guatemala has faced political crises that have made citizens question and even ask for the resignation of some elected officials. The resignation of former President Otto Pérez Molina in 2015 was due in large part to citizen pressure through anti-corruption protests. However, the resignation or change of authorities does not imply an end of political institutions, which remain in place and are based on the Constitution of the Republic. It is therefore important to value institutions, regardless of who leads them at a given time.

II. Main Findings

- Certain relevant political institutions (the Supreme Electoral Tribunal, the Constitutional Court, the Executive Branch, the Congress and the municipality of the respondent) have maintained a stable level of public trust in recent years.
  - o The Supreme Electoral Tribunal, followed by the Constitutional Court, are the institutions that garnered the most confidence in 2017, although they remain at the middle of the 0-100 scale.
- Regarding trust in institutions within the justice sector (the Public Ministry, the Human Rights Ombudsman, the National Civil Police and the courts), in 2017, all the institutions improved their score vis-à-vis previous years, an increase which was especially high for the Public Ministry.
  - o Among all institutions of the justice sector, the Public Ministry obtained the highest trust, followed closely by the Human Rights Ombudsman.
  - o Guatemalans residing in urban areas have lower levels of trust in the performance of the National Civil Police in comparison with citizens living in rural areas, but both value the effort made by the institution to reduce crime in the community.
- The CICIG obtained a higher level of trust than any Guatemalan political institution in 2017. The media also obtained a high degree of trust, although a little lower than CICIG.
- The percentage of Guatemalans who believe that the judicial system punishes those who are guilty doubled in 2017 compared to previous years: while in 2014 only 14% of Guatemalans had a lot of confidence in the capacity of the judicial system to punish those who are guilty, the percentage increased to 27% in 2017.

- Regarding relevant legislation in 2017, the survey found that in the questions about the possible referendum on Belize, the reforms to the Electoral and Political Parties Law, and the constitutional reforms, there is a low degree of awareness. Four out of ten Guatemalans indicated that they had not thought much about these issues at the time of the survey.

III. The Legitimacy and Importance of Political Institutions

Representative democracy is based on democratic institutions and implies, among other things, the existence of political parties as vehicles for citizen representation, free competition between parties to represent citizens, and respect for the rights of minorities. Famous political scientist Robert Dahl (2000) pointed out that political institutions are fundamental components of large-scale democracy, distinct from the small groups that exist in society. He indicated that to be governed democratically, a country needs to at least possess certain arrangements, practices or institutions that lead to fulfill the ideal of democracy (Dahl 2000, p.83).

Among the institutions of a modern representative democracy, Dahl mentions the officials who are chosen by the people in free, fair and frequent elections. Dahl indicates that representative democracy allows citizens to participate effectively when the number of citizens is so high or geographically dispersed that it would make their direct participation impossible (2000, p.93). However, the existence of institutions is not sufficient for democratic stability per se. It is important that citizens trust institutions and adhere to democratic rules regarding the transfer of power.

The approval of institutions as well as the trust that citizens have in them and in the rules of democracy, is called legitimacy by experts in the field of political science. Three research questions arise with regards to legitimacy: how much legitimacy do institutions have, what factors affect the legitimacy of institutions, and what is the impact of the loss or decrease of legitimacy of institutions on democracy.

Regarding the first question, several studies have shown that trust in institutions has decreased, even in advanced democracies (Dalton 2014). The Latin American region is not the exception, as shown in the initial chapters of this report. Regarding the second question, academic studies have shown that economic inequality and a cultural reaction against social change have had an impact on the decrease of legitimacy of institutions such as traditional political parties, particularly in Europe and even in the United States in 2016 (Norris and Ingelhart 2017). In Latin America, the corruption of public officials has affected legitimacy (or public trust) in institutions since the beginning of the third wave of democratization (Seligson 2002). In regard to the last question, academics have pointed out that the decrease in the legitimacy of institutions can have an impact on democracy. Among these reactions is the temptation to elect populist rulers and the danger of ungovernability (Navia and Walker 2008).

IV. Trust in the Political Institutions of Guatemala

This section addresses the questions about legitimacy that were mentioned above, analyzing only the case of Guatemala: how much legitimacy do institutions have, what factors affect the legitimacy of institutions, and what is the impact of the loss or decrease of legitimacy of institutions on democracy in the country.

Key Political Institutions

As discussed in the previous section, the legitimacy of political institutions is fundamental to a democracy. The first question that arises is how much trust do Guatemalans have in their institutions? There are institutions that are considered particularly important, among them the institutions that represent the three branches of government (executive, legislative and judicial), as well as the municipal government, which is generally closer to the inhabitants than the national government. Additionally, the trust in the Supreme Electoral Tribunal is paramount in virtue of its role in guaranteeing the integrity of elections. The AmericasBarometer measures confidence in these institutions through the following questions, which respondents respond using a scale of 1 (not at all) to 7 (a lot):

B11. To what extent do you trust the Supreme Electoral Tribunal?
B13. To what extent do you trust the National Congress?
B21A. To what extent do you trust the president?
B32. To what extent do you trust your municipality?
B50. To what extent do you trust the Constitutional Court?

Figure 5.1 shows the degree of trust in those key political institutions. For clarity, the answers are recoded on a scale from 0 (not at all) to 100 (a lot). The Supreme Electoral Tribunal (TSE) and the local government of the respondent (the municipality) have the highest evaluations among these institutions, with 53.4 points on the 0-100 scale used in this study. The Constitutional Court, which represents the highest-level institution in the judicial branch, obtains 51 points. There is no statistically significant difference between these three institutions. However, there is a difference between trust in these three institutions and trust in the Executive Power (President) and the Legislature (Congress). Trust in the President is at 44.4 points, while trust in Congress is at 41.4 points. The difference between these last two institutions is not statistically significant.

The chart shows Average Trust (scale 0-100) for key political institutions:
- TSE: 53.4
- Municipality: 53.4
- Const.Court: 51.0
- President: 44.4
- Congress: 41.4

95 % Confidence Interval (with Design-Effects)

Source: © AmericasBarometer, LAPOP, 2004-2017; v.GUAts_D1
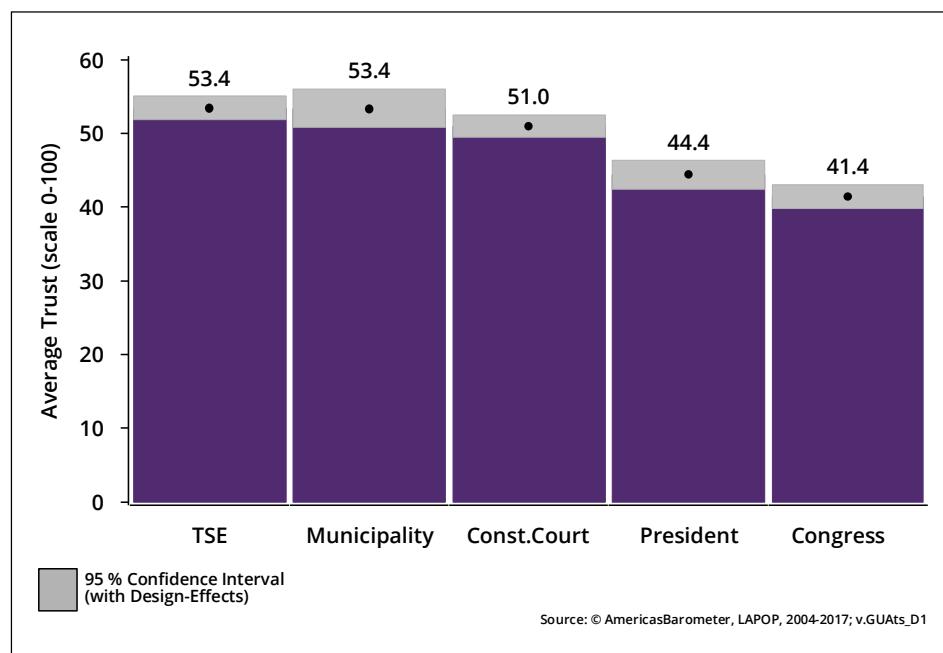
Figure 5.1. Trust in Key Political Institutions, Guatemala 2017

It is also important to analyze if the trust in institutions has varied over time. Figure 5.2 shows the changes in trust in key political institutions between 2004 and 2017. In some years the question was not asked for some institutions. Trust in the TSE had remained relatively stable over the years, but increased significantly in 2017. The local government (municipality) has had more ups and downs, but with the exception of 2014, it has maintained a relatively high score, above 50 points on the 0-100 scale. Confidence in the Constitutional Court has also remained stable, in the range of 40 points, but rose significantly in 2017, reaching 51 points.

Trust in the President of the Republic (executive branch), as expected by the nature of the position, fluctuates more than confidence in the institutions. In the case of Guatemala, at the time of conducting the survey each year, the highest averages of trust in the President were in 2008 and 2012. The lowest average occurred in 2014. Finally, in regard to the Congress (legislative branch), citizen confidence in this institution has always been lower than in the other institutions, and 2017 was no exception. However, it should be noted that the level of trust in Congress experienced a statistically significant increase between 2014 and 2017.

Trust in the Supreme Electoral Tribunal

Year	Value
2004	49.7
2006	49.0
2008	47.5
2010	50.9
2012	49.2
2014	
2017	53.4

Trust in the Municipality

Year	Value
2004	54.9
2006	56.4
2008	56.1
2010	51.3
2012	54.4
2014	44.0
2017	53.4

Trust in the Constitutional Court

Year	Value
2004	46.5
2006	43.4
2008	41.0
2010	47.7
2012	46.0
2014	
2017	51.0

Trust in the Executive

Year	Value
2004	
2006	
2008	50.8
2010	41.1
2012	52.3
2014	38.5
2017	44.4

Trust in Congress

Year	Value
2004	38.3
2006	40.6
2008	40.2
2010	36.5
2012	41.9
2014	36.7
2017	41.4

Average

95 % Confidence Interval
(with Design-Effects)

Source: © AmericasBarometer, LAPOP, 2004-2017; v.GUAts_D1

Figure 5.2. Trust in Key Institutions, Guatemala 2004-2017

Some key political institutions have no equivalent in other countries of the Americas, but it is important to know the comparative perspective related to similar institutions. One such institution is the Congress or Parliament (as it is known in other countries). That comparison is observed in Figure 5.3. Guatemala is below average in the region with an average trust level in Congress of 41.4 points. It should be kept in mind that this result corresponds to March 2017, before the corruption scandal in the Guatemalan Congress in September of that year.

Country	Trust in congress
Guyana	62.6
Nicaragua	56.3
Venezuela	53.2
Canada	52.6
Uruguay	51.8
Costa Rica	50.4
Bolivia	49.1
Antigua & Barbuda	49.0
Ecuador	48.6
St. Kitts & Nevis	47.9
Grenada	46.6
Argentina	46.5
Dominican Republic	45.6
Mexico	44.3
Honduras	44.1
El Salvador	43.9
St. Vincent & the Grenadines	43.5
Guatemala	41.4
Dominica	40.4
Jamaica	38.2
Paraguay	37.5
Colombia	37.1
St. Lucia	37.0
United States	36.8
Panama	33.6
Chile	31.9
Brazil	30.4
Peru	30.3
Haiti	27.1

Trust in congress

95 % Confidence Interval
(with Design-Effects)

Source: © AmericasBarometer, LAPOP, 2004-2016/17; GM_v.07172017

Figure 5.3. Trust in Congress by Country, 2016/17

Figure 5.4 shows the comparison between Guatemala and other countries of the Americas in relation to local government. As we can see, Guatemala is just above average, as the eighth country with the highest levels of trust in the municipal government (of the respondent).
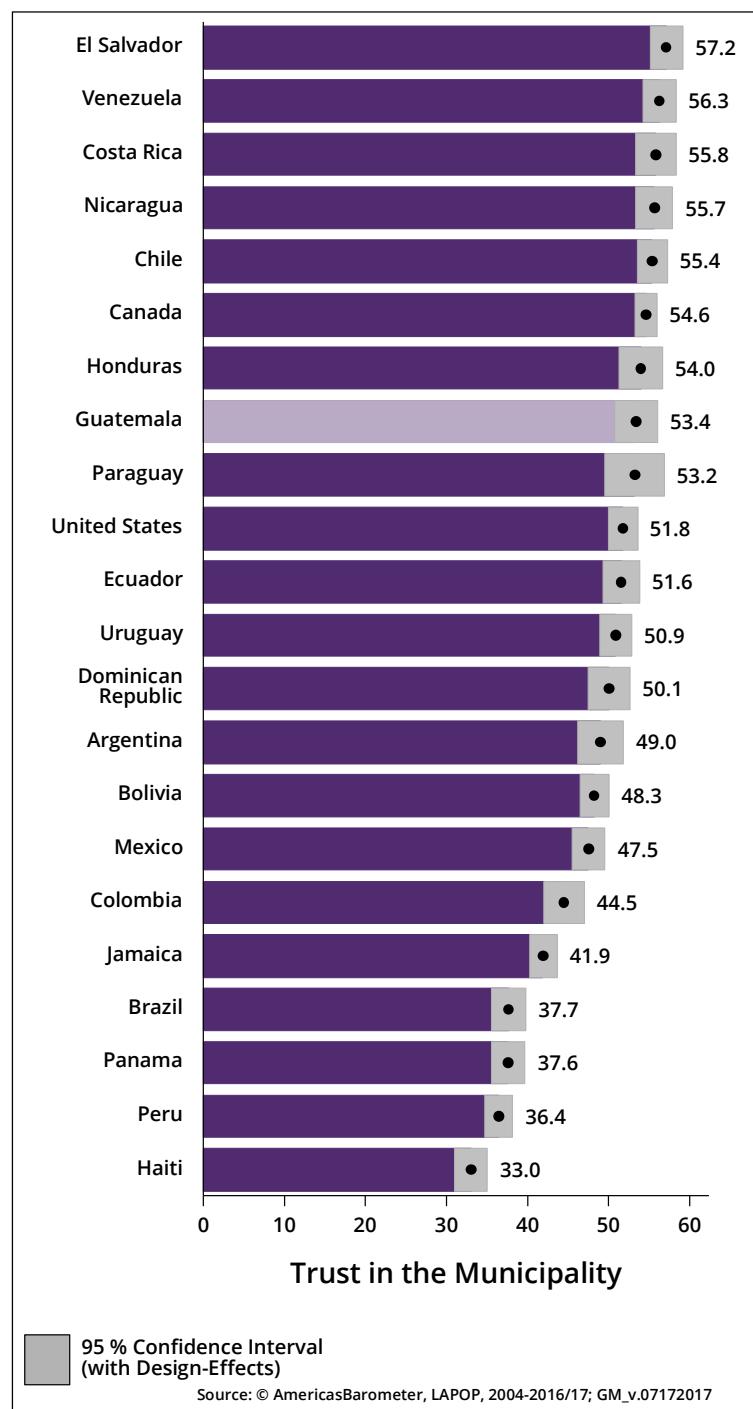
Figure 5.4. Trust in Local Government by Country, 2016/17

The next section addresses the second and third questions about the legitimacy of institutions: what factors affect legitimacy? And what impact does a low level of legitimacy have on democracy? Regression analysis helps to uncover the reasons why some citizens have higher or lower levels of trust in institutions. To facilitate the interpretation of the data, an index of support for key political

institutions[1] was created, and a linear regression analysis using it as dependent variable was run.[2] The regression model includes variables that according to the literature (previous studies related to the topic) can influence legitimacy. In addition to the classic demographic and socioeconomic variables, factors such as the economic situation of the country, the family situation of the respondent, if they were a victim of crime, their perception of insecurity, if they were the victim of one or more acts of corruption, and whether they perceive corruption among the country's political class.

Also included in the regression model are important factors that can affect the legitimacy of institutions, for instance if the respondent pays attention to the news, if they perceive that the leaders of the country are interested in people like them, if they are satisfied with democracy, if they believe that democracy is the best possible system of government and if they consider that citizen participation in national life is important.

Several variables are significantly associated with higher or lower levels of trust in the key political institutions in Guatemala. Among the demographic and socio-economic variables associated with confidence in institutions are education, age and the size of the location where the respondent resides. The contextual factors which stand out are the perception of the family's economic situation, having been a victim of corruption, the belief in corruption of politicians, and crime victimization. Additionally, not believing that the government is interested in the population also affects the perception of institutional legitimacy.

The following figures show the details of the relationships between perceived institutional legitimacy and the aforementioned variables. The relationship between trust in institutions and demographic and socioeconomic predictors becomes apparent. Figure 5.5 shows the correlation with education and the age of the respondents. Guatemalans with less education have higher levels of trust in key political institutions vis-à-vis those with more education: the average confidence among those without any education is 49 points (on a 0-100 scale), but it decreases significantly among those with some higher education, reaching only 42.2 points[3]. With regards to age, younger Guatemalan citizens (18-25 years) show higher confidence in key political institutions (52.7 points) than the rest of Guatemalans, and the differences are statistically significant. Citizens older than 66 years of age have the lowest levels of confidence, only around 43.7 points.

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[1] The index combines the values of trust in the five institutions (local government, Supreme Electoral Tribunal, president, congress and Constitutional Court). The reliability of the index is high (Cronbach's Alpha is .795).

[2] The table of regression results can be seen on our website.

[3] The categories of education include those who have completed at least some years of primary, secondary or post-secondary education (and also those who have completed those studies as the highest level reached).
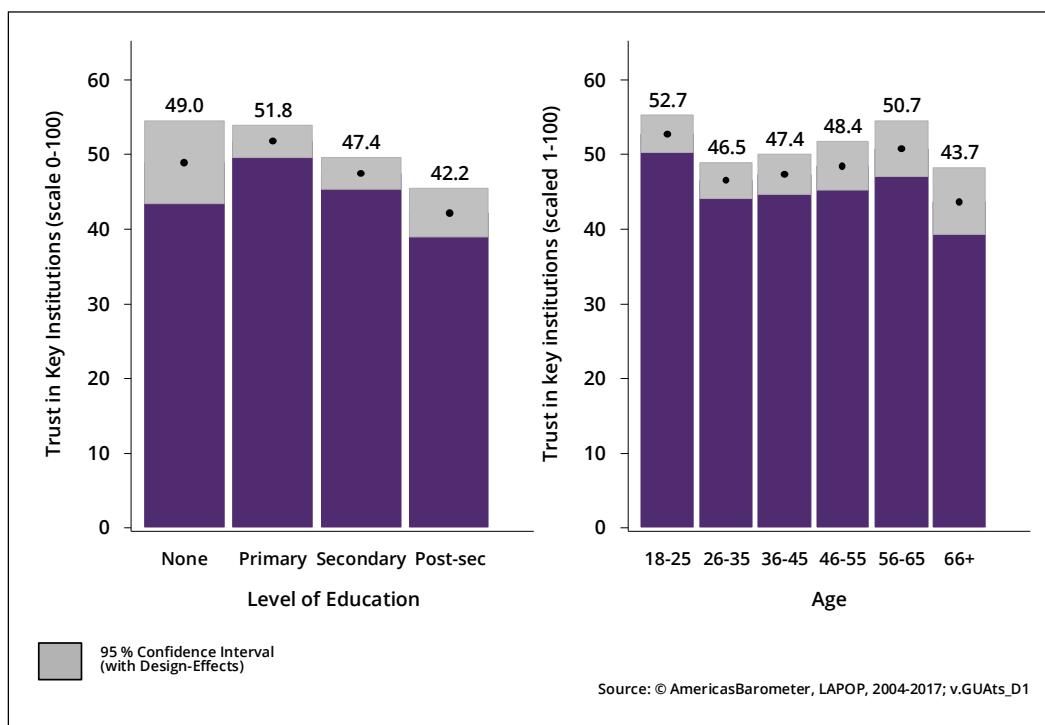
Figure 5.5. Trust in Key Political Institutions by Education Level and Age, Guatemala 2017

Trust in key political institutions is also higher in rural areas of the country and in smaller cities, compared to the Metropolitan Area of the capital, as shown in Figure 5.6.
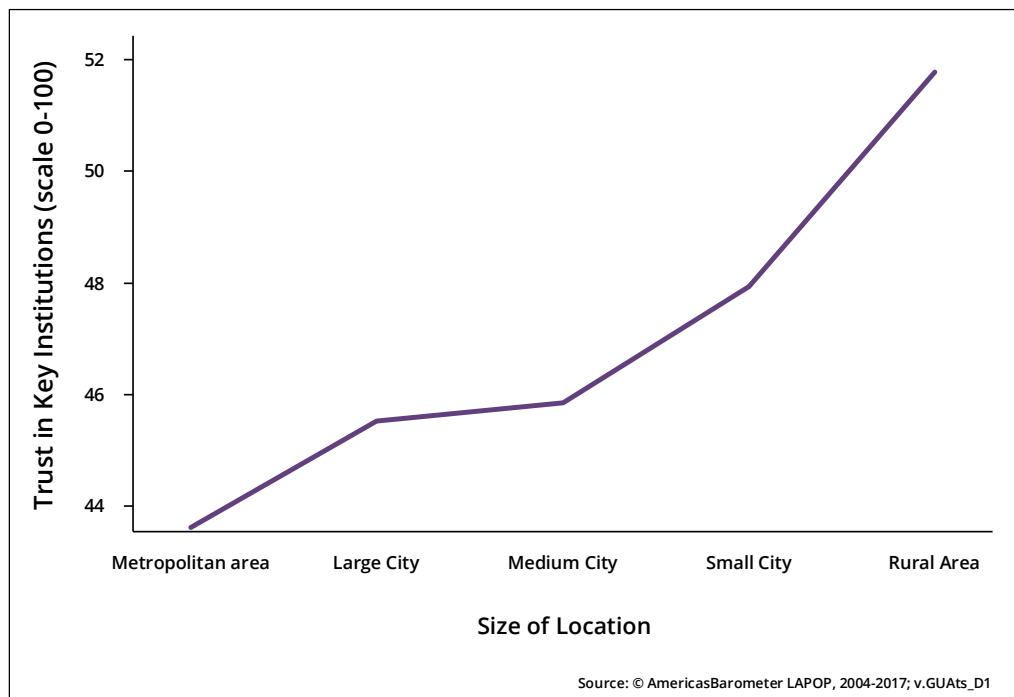
Figure 5.6. Trust in Key Political Institutions by Size and Location, Guatemala 2017

Figure 5.7 shows that crime victimization and corruption victimization have an important effect on trust in political institutions. Guatemalans who have experienced a crime against them, and who have experienced one or more acts of corruption, have lower levels of trust in key institutions. The difference in both cases is statistically significant.
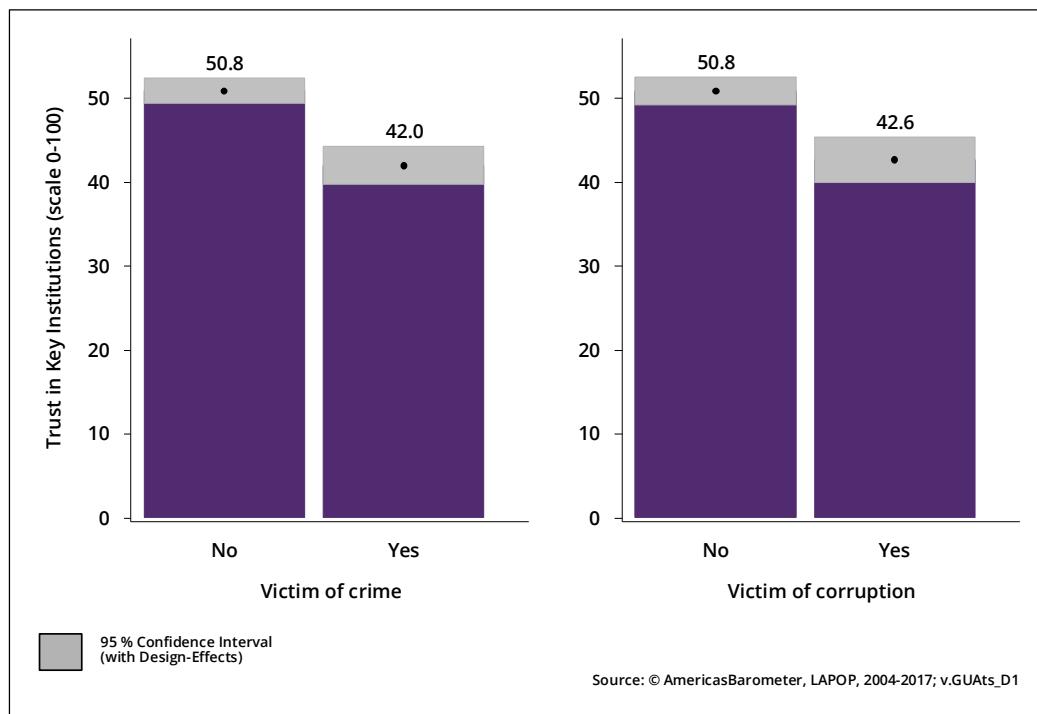
Figure 5.7. Trust in Key Political Institutions by Crime and Corruption Victimization, Guatemala 2017

The state of the economy is generally an influential factor in the perceptions and political actions of citizens, especially in their electoral behavior (Brewer 2010). In this case, the perception of Guatemalans about the national economy also impacts their confidence in key political institutions, as can be seen in Figure 5.8. Those who have a positive perception of the national economic situation, i.e. those who think that the economic situation of the country is better than 12 months ago, have an average of 60.5 points of trust in institutions, while those who consider that the situation is worse only have 46.2 points.
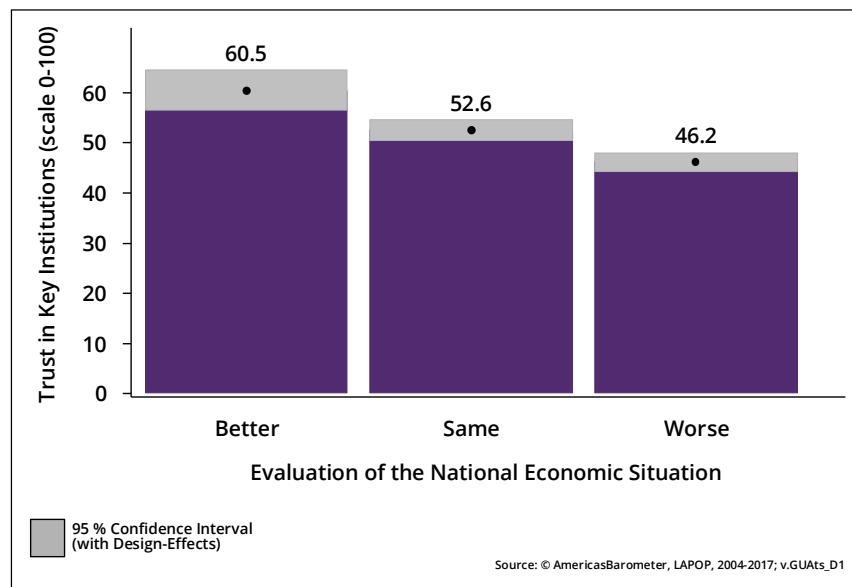
Figure 5.8. Trust in Key Political Institutions and Perception of the National Economy, Guatemala 2017

Another variable related to trust in institutions is the perception that those in power are interested in people like the respondent.[4] As shown in Figure 5.9, there is a marked difference: those who do not believe that the government is interested in common people have very low levels of trust in institutions—not exceeding 40 points. On the contrary, those who consider that those in power are interested in what people think, have a high degree of trust in their institutions—reaching almost 60 points.
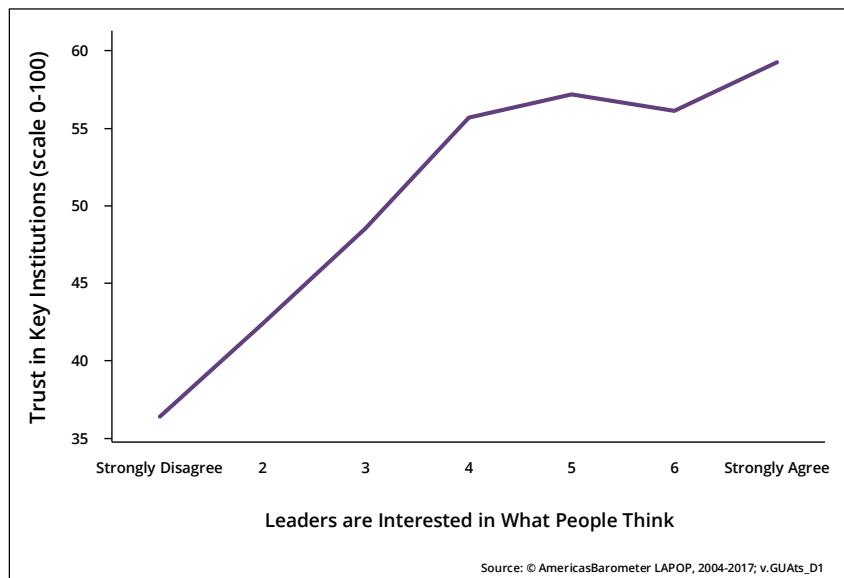
Figure 5.9. Trust in Political Institutions and Belief that Leaders are Interested in What Common People Think, Guatemala 2017

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[4] This variable measures what in political science is known as external efficacy.

Regarding the third question addressed in this study (how does low institutional legitimacy affect democracy?), regression analysis shows that in the case of Guatemala, citizens who have less satisfaction with democracy have lower levels of trust in political institutions, as shown in Figure 5.10.[5] Those who feel very satisfied or satisfied with democracy have a much higher degree of trust in institutions, in the range of 56 and 57 points on the 0-100 scale. At the other extreme, those who feel dissatisfied or very dissatisfied with democracy in Guatemala have much lower levels of institutional trust.
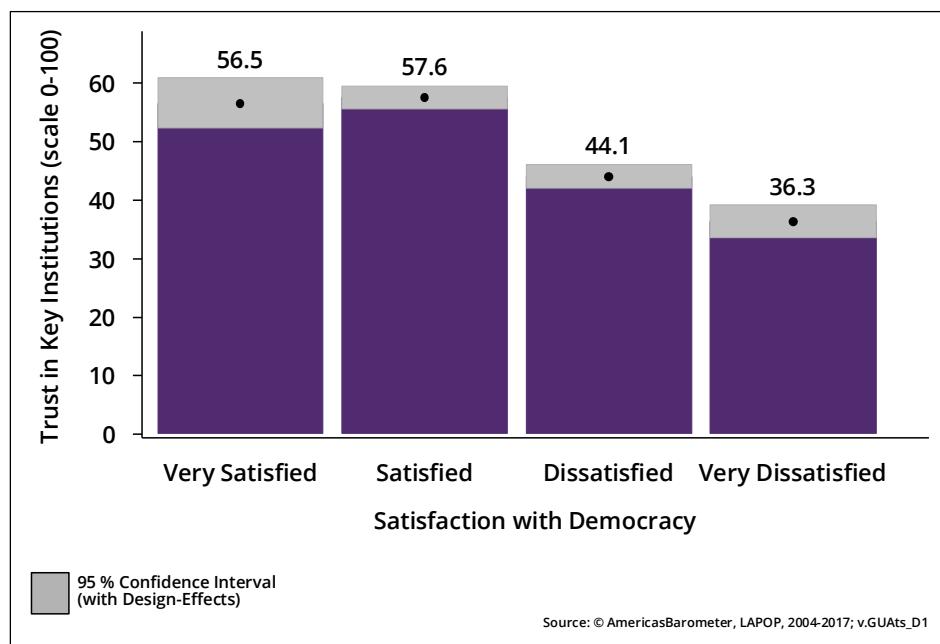
Figure 5.10. Trust in Political Institutions and Satisfaction with Democracy

Justice System Institutions

This section examines trust in institutions related to the justice system, with the exception of the Constitutional Court which was included in the previous section. This section includes the following institutions: the courts, the Human Rights Ombudsman, the Attorney General Office (Public Ministry), and the National Civil Police. Additionally, other aspects related to public perceptions of the police are analyzed. The AmericasBarometer measures trust in these institutions through the following questions, which respondents answer using a scale of 1 (not at all) to 7 (a lot):

B1. To what extent do you think the courts in Guatemala guarantee a fair trial?
B18. To what extent do you trust the National Police?
B17 [B45]. To what extent do you trust the Human Rights Ombudsman?
B15. To what extent do you trust the Attorney General Office/Public Ministry?

---

[5] The regression results table can be found on the LAPOP website.

Figure 5.11 shows the average level of trust in institutions in the justice system. Trust in the Public Ministry is the highest in the group, with an average of 57.8 points on the 0-100 scale used in this study. Trust in the Office of the Human Rights Ombudsman is also relatively high with 53.1 points (above the 50-point reference line dividing positive from negative results). The difference between trust in the Public Ministry and the Human Rights Ombudsman is statistically significant.

The difference is even more marked with regards to the other two institutions. The degree of trust that the courts guarantee a fair trial and in the National Civil Police is significantly lower than that of the other two institutions. The courts score 43.6 points and the police score 44.5 points on the 100-point trust scale; the difference in trust between these two institutions is not statistically significant, but these results are significantly lower than those of the Public Ministry and the Human Rights Ombudsman.
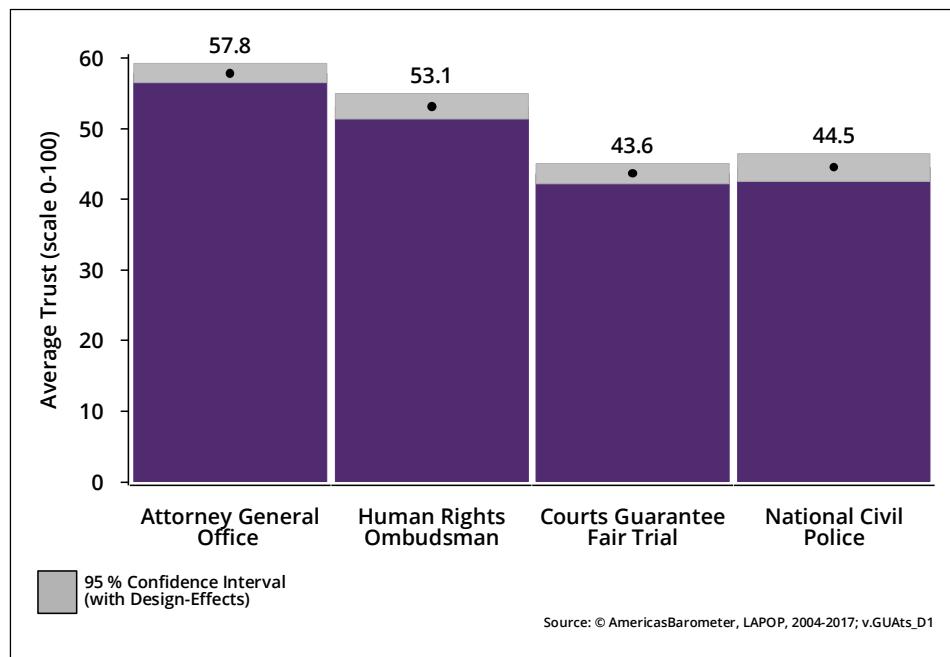
Figure 5.11. Trust in Justice System Institutions, Guatemala 2017

It is also important to take into account the changes that may have occurred over the years with respect to trust in justice sector institutions. In Figure 5.12 these changes are observed.

One of the most relevant changes is the increase in citizen trust in the Public Ministry, which increased 10 points between 2012 and 2017, thus breaking the trend of this institution remaining in the 40-point range on the scale. Another positive finding is that trust in the National Civil Police increased significantly in 2017, reaching the highest score since the survey started measuring trust in the police in 2004. The Human Rights Ombudsman has remained within a 50-point range, except for during 2008, when this institution only scored 48 points. Finally, the courts have also maintained a stable level of trust, within a 40-point range, with the exception of 2006, when trust that the courts guarantee a fair trial rose to 53.6 points.

Trust in the Attorney General Office (Public Ministry)

Year	Value
2004	46.2
2006	45.0
2008	47.2
2010	44.8
2012	47.8
2014	
2017	57.8

Trust in the Human Rights Ombudsman

Year	Value
2004	56.9
2006	53.1
2008	48.0
2010	54.9
2012	51.2
2014	
2017	53.1

Trust in National Police

Year	Value
2004	39.6
2006	42.4
2008	40.3
2010	31.0
2012	34.9
2014	38.1
2017	44.5

Courts Guarantee Fair Trial

Year	Value
2004	44.6
2006	53.6
2008	44.6
2010	42.5
2012	46.6
2014	42.1
2017	43.6

Average

95 % Confidence Interval (with Design-Effects)

Source: © AmericasBarometer, LAPOP, 2004-2017; v.GUAts_D1

Figure 5.12. Trust in the Justice Institutions, Guatemala 2004-2017

Given the fundamental role of the police in maintaining public order, and given that citizens are more likely to come into contact with agents of the police than with officials of the other institutions, it is important to deepen the analysis on the public perception of this institution. The AmericasBarometer included several questions related to the police in its 2017 survey in Guatemala, including this series:

POLEGIT1. To what extent are you proud of the National Civil Police?

POLEGIT2. To what extent do you think that the National Civil Police always acts according to the letter of the law?

POLEGIT3. To what extent do you think that the National Police respects the human rights of all people?

> **POLEGIT4.** To what extent do you think that the National Civil Police fulfills its role of guaranteeing citizen safety?
>
> **POLEGIT5.** The National Civil Police is making an important effort to reduce crime in this community. To what extent do you agree or disagree with this sentence?

The possible answers to this question are from a scale of 1 to 7 points, where 1 means "not at all" and 7 means "a lot". These values were grouped as follows: responses between 1-3 points are considered as low, answers with number 4 are considered as neutral, and answers between 5-7 points are considered as high. The following figures show the opinions of citizens residing in rural areas in comparison with those residing in urban areas. Guatemala is one of the two countries with the largest rural population in the Americas,[6] and the presence and role of the institutions can vary significantly from one area to another.

Figure 5.13 includes the distribution of the first question in the series. As can be seen, the level of pride in the police is higher in rural areas. The cumulative percentage of those indicating some or a lot of pride amounts to 53% of rural Guatemalans feeling proud of the National Civil Police. This stands in contrast to 44% of Guatemalans within urban areas.
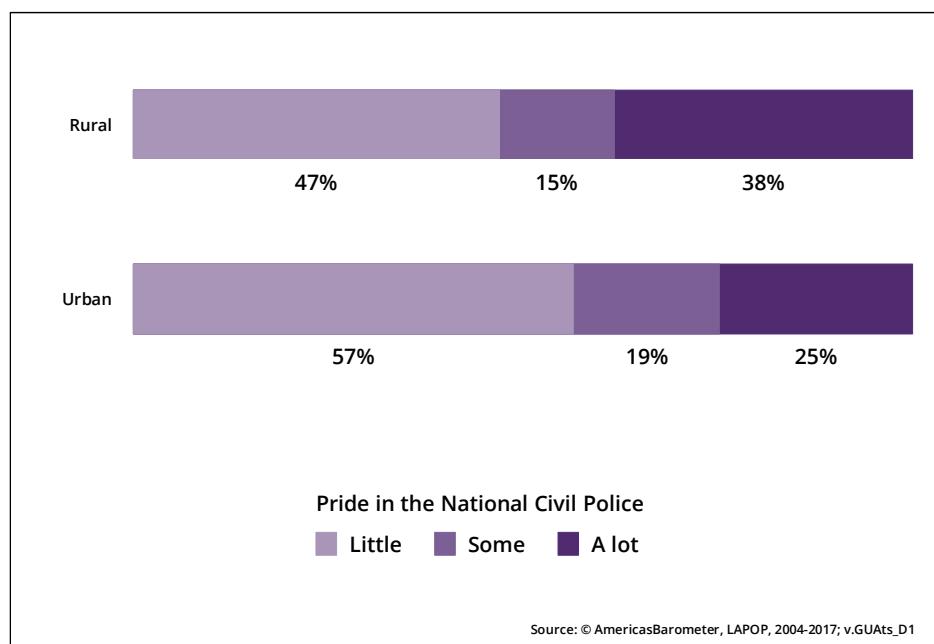
Figure 5.13. Pride in National Civil Police, Guatemala 2017

Figure 5.14 shows once again that police have a better image in the rural areas of Guatemala: 54% of the inhabitants of rural areas consider that the police act within the limits of the law (16% answered "somewhat" and 38% answered "a lot"). In urban areas, the percentage of citizens who consider that the police act within the law only reaches 43%.

---

[6] In this sample, based on the census projections, 50.97% of the Guatemalan population resides in the rural area.

Extent to which the National Civil Police Act within the law

■ Little   ■ Some   ■ A lot

Source: © AmericasBarometer, LAPOP, 2004-2017; v.GUAts_D1
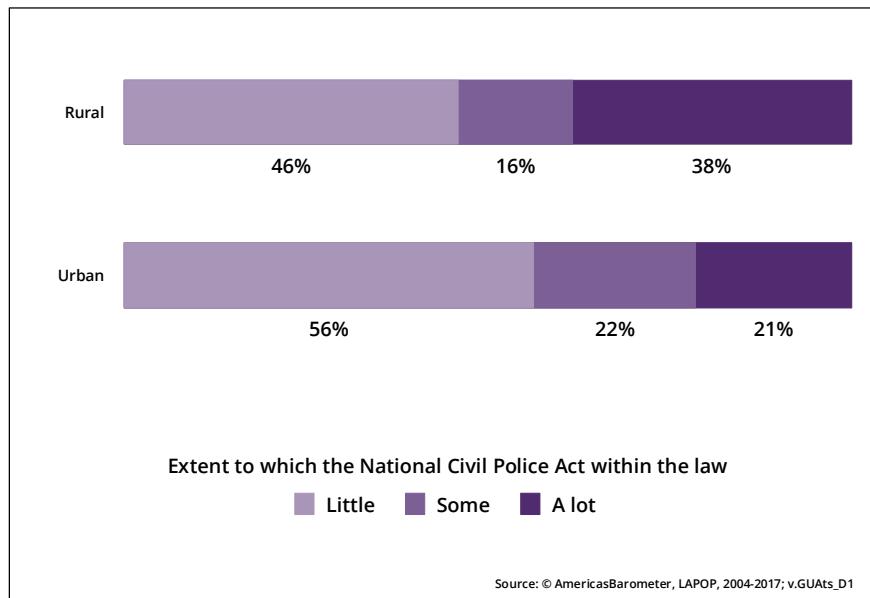
**Figure 5.14. Belief that National Civil Police Act within the
Limits of the Law, Guatemala 2017**

Another perspective can be obtained by asking citizens if the National Civil Police respect human rights; Figure 5.15 shows the distribution of responses. As in the two previous questions, Guatemala's rural population has a more favorable image of police behavior with 57% indicating that the police respect human rights either somewhat or a lot (18% answered "somewhat" and 39% answered "a lot"). In urban areas, only 43% of the citizens gave a positive response.

Extent to which the National Civil Police Respect Human Rights

■ Little   ■ Some   ■ A lot

Source: © AmericasBarometer, LAPOP, 2004-2017; v.GUAts_D1
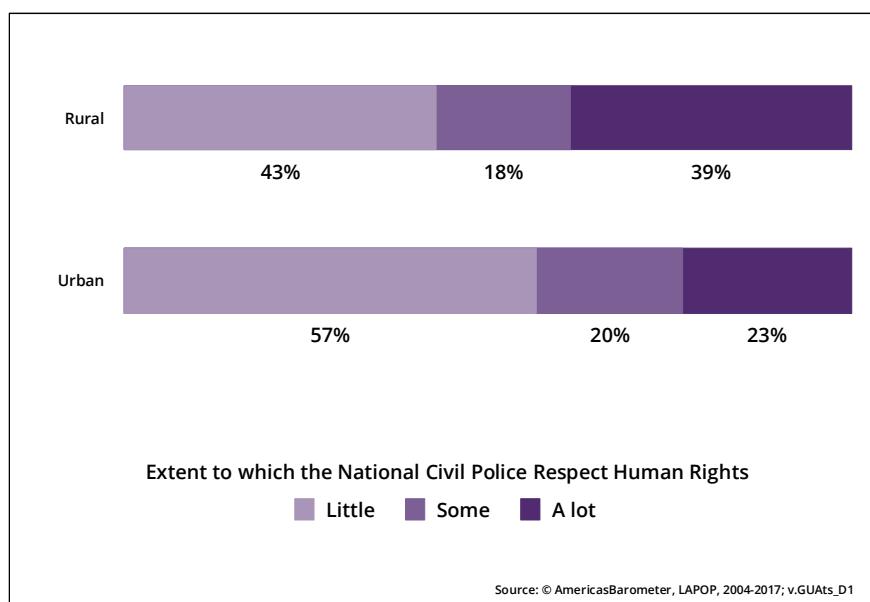
**Figure 5.15. National Civil Police Respect Human Rights,
Guatemala 2017**

The last two questions are associated with the essential function of the National Civil Police, the protection of citizens against crime. In Figure 5.16 it can be seen that 56% of rural citizens believe that the police guarantee the safety of citizens (somewhat or much), and 43% have a negative

opinion. In urban areas, only 44% of citizens believe that the police guarantee the safety of citizens, while the majority (57%) believe that they do not.
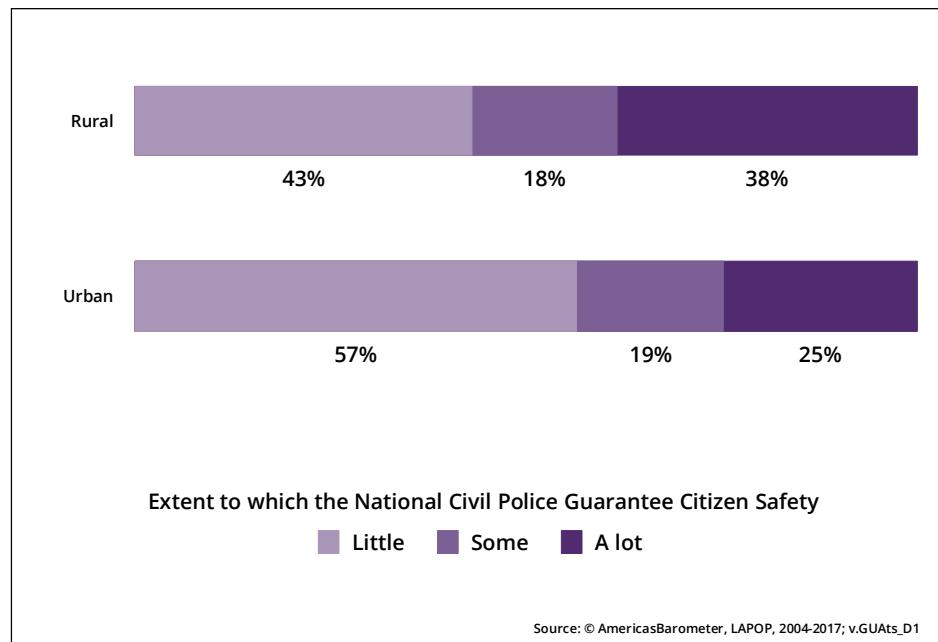
Figure 5.16. National Civil Police Guarantee Citizen Safety, Guatemala 2017

Finally, Figure 5.17 shows the distribution of answers to a related question: whether or not citizens think that the National Civil Police makes an effort to reduce crime in the community. In this case, the results between rural and urban areas are much closer: 55% of rural Guatemalans think that the police make an effort to reduce crime, and 51% of urban Guatemalans feel the same. This seems to indicate that, although Guatemalans residing in urban areas have less confidence in the performance of the police in comparison with the inhabitants of rural areas, both value the effort made by the institution to reduce crime in the community in a similar way.[7]

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[7] In this Figure, the urban-rural categories are used to facilitate visualization, instead of the five categories included in the variable that measures the size of the place of residence.
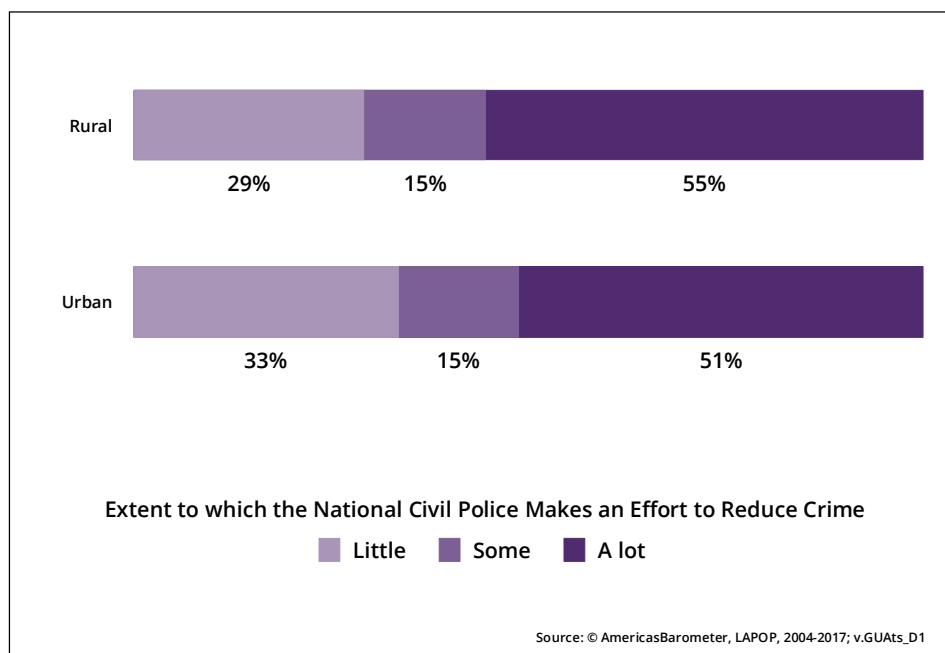
Figure 5.17. National Civil Police Makes an Effort to Reduce Crime, Guatemala 2017

Beyond the differences between the urban and rural areas, it is important to know if there are other variables related to the opinion about the National Civil Police. To this end, a police evaluation index was constructed, using the five questions examined in this section[8]. The index measures the opinions about the National Civil Police on a scale of 0 to 100, where 0 represents the most negative evaluation and 100 the most positive. Subsequently, a linear regression analysis was performed using the police evaluation index as a dependent variable[9]. Three sociodemographic factors are significantly related to a better perception of the police: socio-economic level, education and place of residence. In addition, several contextual variables are associated with the opinion about the police: the fact that someone has been a victim of crime, the perception of insecurity, corruption victimization, and the belief that there is corruption among the political class.

Figure 5.18 shows the relationship between education and perception of the National Civil Police. Guatemalans with less education are more likely to have a more positive opinion about this institution. There are statistically significant differences between Guatemalans without education or with only some primary education, and those with some secondary or higher education.

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[8] The reliability of this scale is high, reaching a Cronbach Alpha of .880.
[9] The regression results table can be found on the LAPOP website.
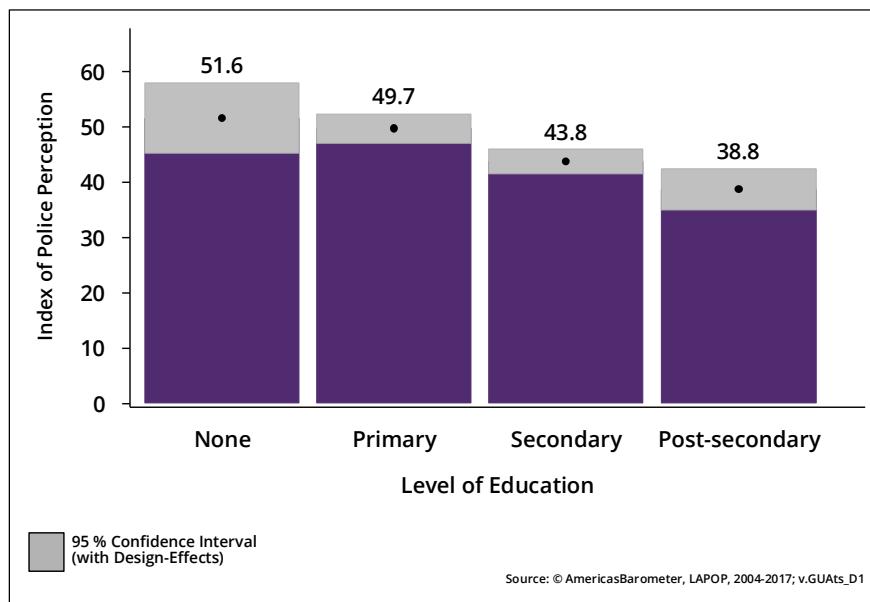
Figure 5.18. Police Evaluation Index and Education, Guatemala 2017

Another important correlation exists between crime victimization and the perception of the National Civil Police. As shown in Figure 5.19, victims of crime, as well as those who have been victims of corruption in various state institutions, have a less positive perception of the police. While those who have not been victims of crime have an average police perception of 48.9 points, those who were crime victims have an average perception of 36.9 points. The difference is statistically significant. This is similar to those who were victims of corruption.
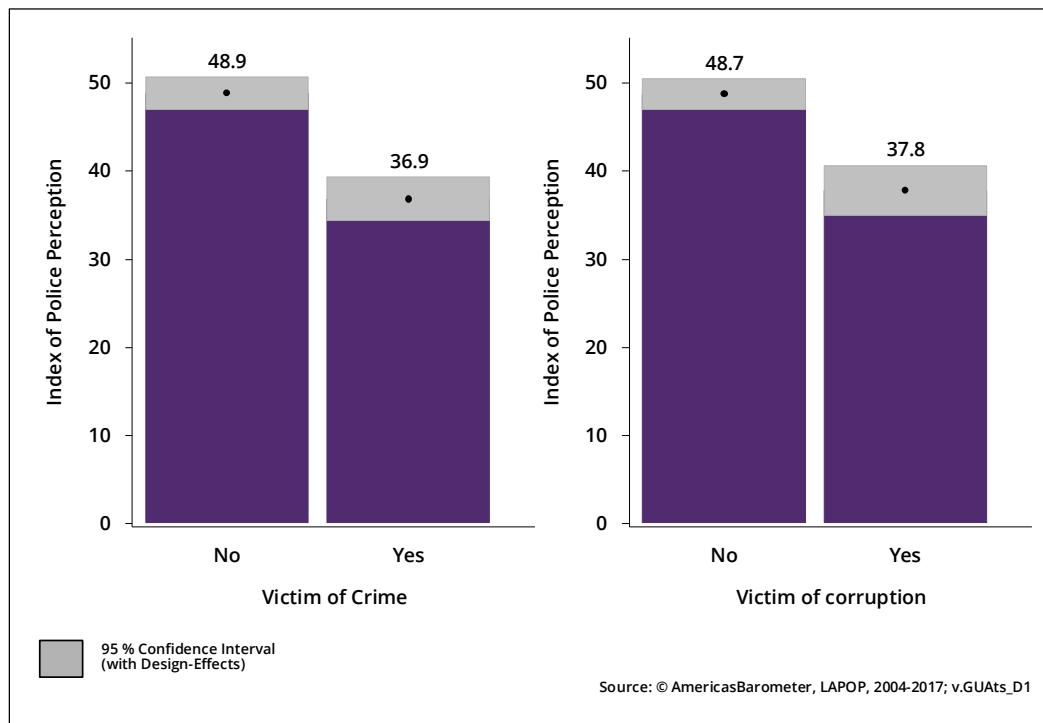
Figure 5.19. Perception of the Police, by Crime and Corruption Victimization, Guatemala 2017

Not only crime victimization is associated with the perception of the police. As can be seen in Figure 5.20, those who feel insecure in their neighborhood also have a more negative perception of the police. The perception of the police among Guatemalans who feel very safe reaches an average of 50.4 points and is significantly higher than the rest of the population. At the other extreme, the average is only 39.9 points among those who feel very unsafe.
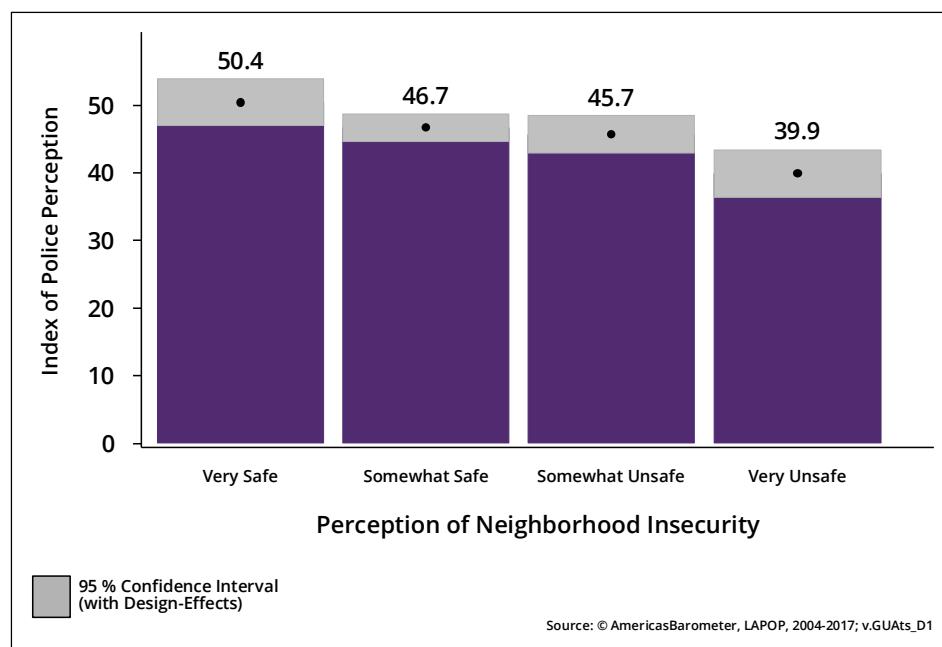
Figure 5.20. Perception of the Police and Feelings of Insecurity, Guatemala 2017

Table 5.1 shows the percentage of the population that reported having been a victim of corruption in different institutions. The highest percentage of corruption victimization in the last 12 months was at the hands of police officers: 16.8% of the respondents indicated that a police officer had asked for a bribe.

Table 5.4. Origin of Bribe Request

Origin (who asked for the bribe)	Percentage who reported being victimized
Police officer	**16.80**
Respondent's municipality	16.47
Courts	9.85
Public employee	8.14
School	6.96
Public heath care center	6.07
At work	4.27
Military	3.11
Percentage who reported being a victim of corruption once or more	25.13

At a more specific level, it is important to assess the level of satisfaction with the performance of the police in the neighborhood of the respondent. The specific wording of the question is as follows:

> **POLE2NN.** In general, are you very satisfied, satisfied, **dis**satisfied or very **dis**satisfied with the performance of the police in your neighborhood?
> (1) Very satisfied   (2) Satisfied   (3) Dissatisfied   (4) Very dissatisfied
> (5) **[DO NOT READ]** There is no police in my neighborhood.

Figure 5.21 shows the distribution of opinions. While 7.3% of those interviewed said they felt very satisfied with police performance, 40% said they felt satisfied, for a total of 47.3%. In contrast, 49.5% said they felt dissatisfied.
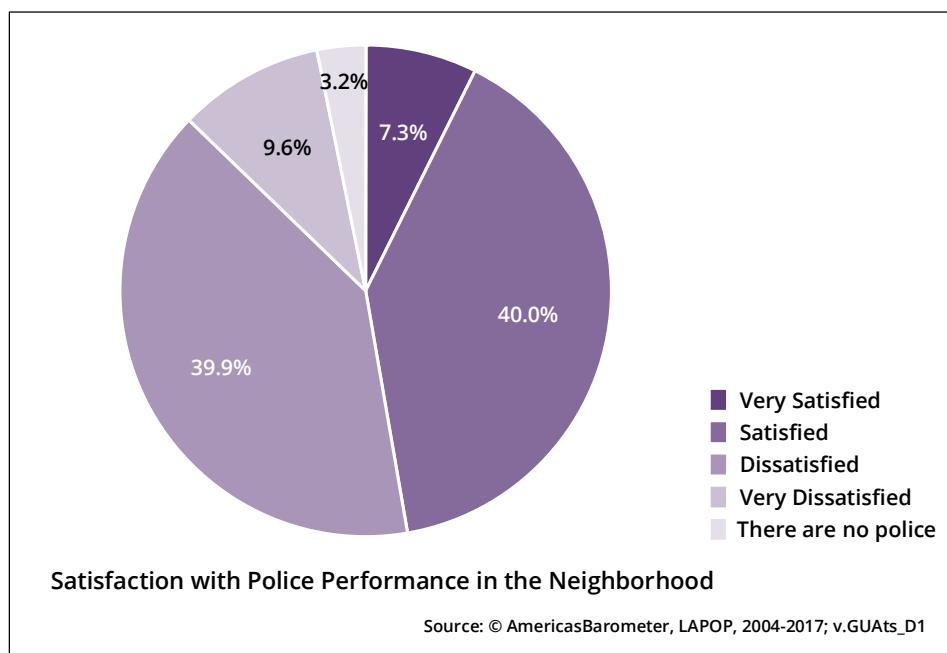
Figure 5.21. Satisfaction with Police Performance, Guatemala 2017

To better understand the context, it is important to measure how violent the respondent's neighborhood is and how much physical insecurity Guatemalans feel. Several questions from the AmericasBarometer 2016/17 address this issue. Two of them are worded as follows:

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

Figure 5.22 shows that 62% of Guatemalans perceive that in general there is less violence in their neighborhoods compared to others. On the other hand, there is no reported increase in violence

in the 12 months prior to the survey; only 20.7% of the respondents consider that the violence in their neighborhood is greater than a year ago.
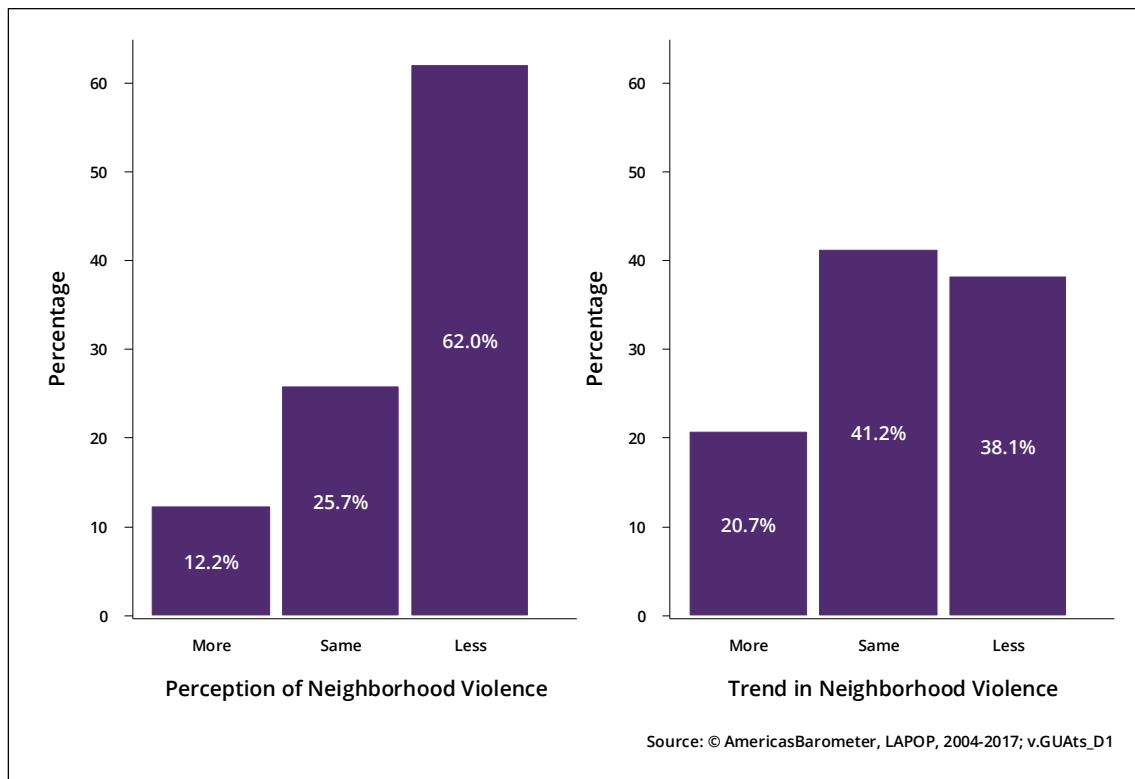
Figure 5.22. Perception of Violence in the Neighborhood, Guatemala 2017

Another relevant question regarding the insecurity in the respondent's neighborhood is whether there is gang presence. Figure 5.23 shows the answers to the following question that asks the respondents to indicate if there are gangs in their neighborhood.

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

17.4% of respondents reported a strong gang presence and 18.8% reported some gang presence. On the other hand, 30.6% reported low gang presence, while 33.2% report that there is no gang presence at all in their neighborhood.
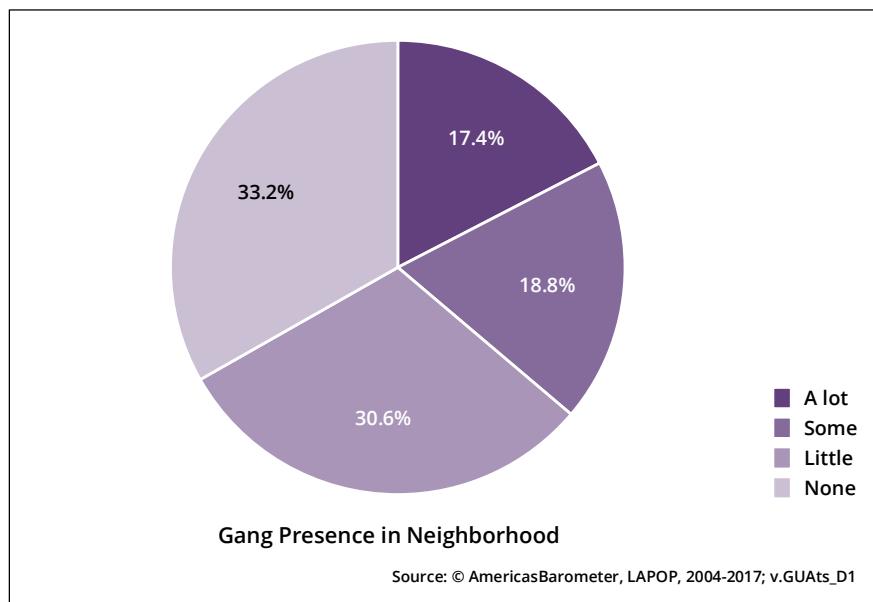
Figure 5.23. Gang Presence in the Neighborhood, Guatemala 2017

It should be noted that gang presence is much higher in the Metropolitan Area of the capital and in other cities, and lower in the rural areas of Guatemala as shown in Figure 5.24. 30.7% of Guatemalans living in the Metropolitan Area report a high presence of gangs; if the two highest categories (a lot and some) are added together, 54.5% of Guatemalans living in the Metropolitan Area report the presence of gangs. On the other hand, only 14.3% of the inhabitants of the rural area report a large gang presence in their neighborhood and 15.7% report some gang presence, for a total of 29.1%.
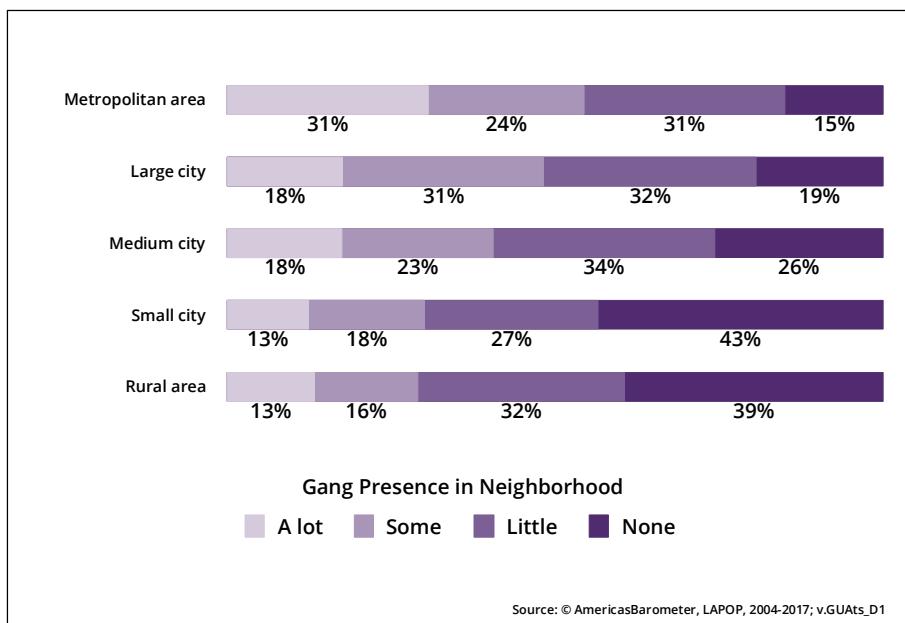
Figure 5.24. Gang Presence in the Neighborhood by Location, Guatemala 2017

Figure 5.25 shows that satisfaction with police performance in the respondent's neighborhood has a clear correlation with gang presence in that same neighborhood. Among the respondents who do not report gang presence, satisfaction with police performance in their neighborhood is much higher, averaging 58.3 points on a 0-100 scale. Satisfaction decreases 10 points among those who report low presence of gangs, and the difference is statistically significant. The average satisfaction decreases slightly among those who report some presence of gangs (44.6 points), and decreases even more among those who report a large presence of gangs in their neighborhood (37.3 points). In total, there is a difference of 21 points between the level of satisfaction with police performance among respondents who reside in a neighborhood without the presence of gangs, and those who live in a neighborhood with a strong gang presence.
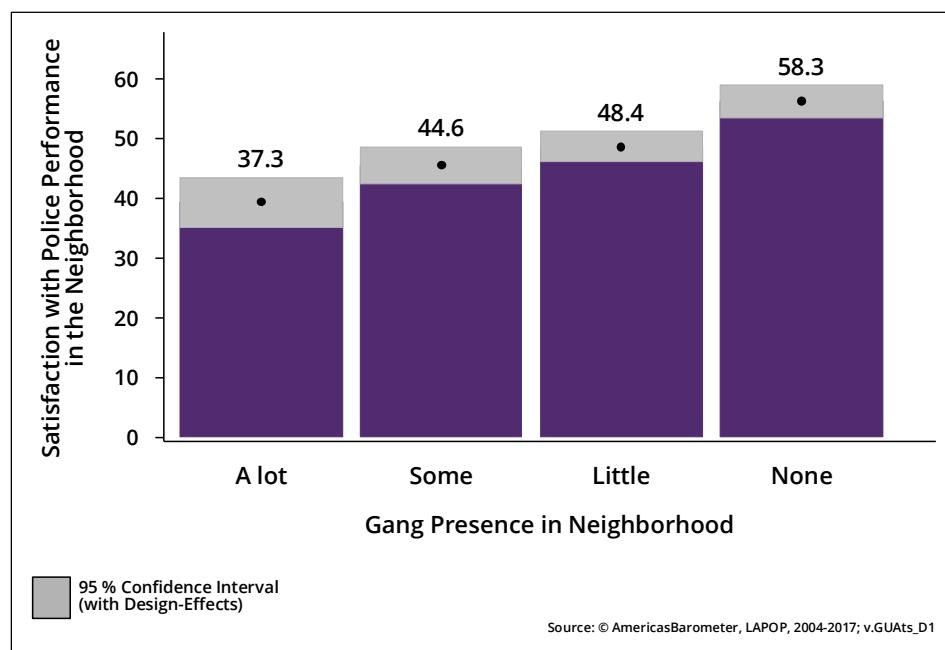
Figure 5.25. Satisfaction with Police and Gang Presence in the Neighborhood, Guatemala 2017

Beyond dissatisfaction with police performance in providing security to citizens, it is also important to analyze how effective Guatemalans think that the judicial system is in punishing criminals. The judicial system works efficiently in part thanks to the collaboration of citizens who lodge complaints. If citizens distrust the system or do not believe that it fulfills its purpose of punishing the guilty, this important link is broken. The specific question included in the AmericasBarometer is worded as follows:

AOJ12. If you were a victim of a robbery or assault how much faith do you have that the judicial system would punish the guilty? **[Read alternatives]**
(1) A lot   (2) Some   (3) Little   (4) None

Figure 5.26 shows that more than a quarter of the population is very confident that the justice system can punish the perpetrators of a robbery or assault, while 16.4% consider it likely. On the contrary, almost a quarter of the population has little trust that this will happen, and the other third (31.6%) has no trust that the justice system will punish guilty people.

Confidence that Judiciary will Punish the Guilty

Source: © AmericasBarometer, LAPOP, 2004-2017; v.GUAts_D1
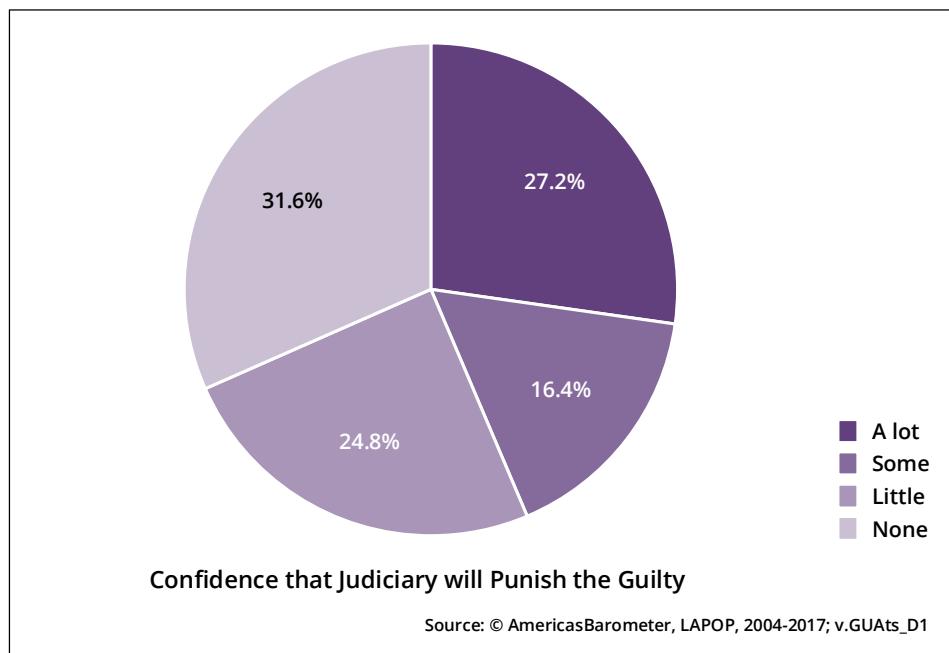
**Figure 5.26. Trust that the Justice System Punishes the
Guilty, Guatemala 2017**

Given the many changes that have taken place in the judicial system in Guatemala in recent years, particularly the imprisonment of government officials and others involved in acts of corruption, it is important to analyze whether confidence in the justice system has changed. The question about trust in the judicial system has been asked since 2004. Figure 5.27 shows that the percentage of those who trust that the judicial system punishes the guilty doubled in 2017 compared to previous years: while in 2014 only 14% of Guatemalans had great confidence in the ability of the judicial system to punish the guilty, the percentage increased to 27% in 2017. In previous years, since 2006, the percentage was less than 15%. However, the percentage of Guatemalans who did not express any confidence that the system punishes the guilty also increased slightly in 2017 in comparison with 2012 and 2014.
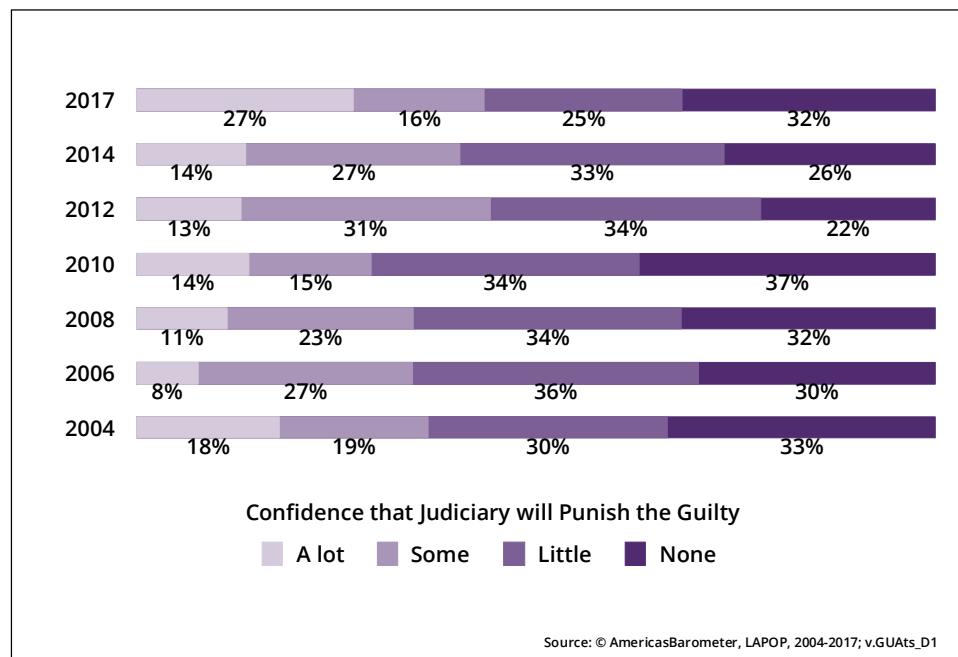
Figure 5.27. Trust that the System Punishes the Guilty, Guatemala 2004-2017

Additionally, it is important to know if the trust in the justice system in Guatemala is similar to that of other countries. Figure 5.28 shows that in the 2016/17 round of the AmericasBarometer, Guatemala is above average in the region with regards to the percentage of the population that reports a high level of trust that the justice system punishes the guilty. In fact, with 27.2% reporting high trust, Guatemala ranks above 17 of the 29 countries where this question was asked.

Country	Percentage
Honduras	34.4%
Guyana	31.9%
Nicaragua	30.4%
Ecuador	28.1%
Dominican Republic	28.0%
Guatemala	27.2%
Jamaica	25.2%
Panama	22.8%
Antigua & Barbuda	21.1%
Costa Rica	20.5%
El Salvador	20.1%
St. Kitts & Nevis	19.8%
St. Vincent & the Grenadines	19.0%
Grenada	18.9%
Haiti	15.7%
United States	15.0%
Peru	15.0%
Colombia	14.4%
Canada	14.3%
Bolivia	14.3%
Dominica	13.2%
Venezuela	11.3%
Argentina	10.7%
Mexico	10.6%
St. Lucia	10.6%
Paraguay	9.8%
Uruguay	9.5%
Chile	9.4%
Brazil	5.8%

High Level of Trust that the Justice System Punishes the Guilty (%)

95 % Confidence Interval (with Design-Effects)

Source: © AmericasBarometer, LAPOP, 2004-2016/17; GM_v.07172017

Figure 5.28. Trust that the Justice System Punishes the Guilty, by Country, 2016/17

Trust in Other Institutions

The 2017 survey in Guatemala also included measures on trust in other relevant institutions, such as political parties, the media, elections and the International Commission against Impunity in Guatemala (CICIG). The specific questions were worded as follows:

B21. To what extent do you trust the political parties?
B37. To what extent do you trust the mass media?
B47A. To what extent do you trust elections in this country?
B60. To what extent do you trust the CICIG (Comisión Internacional contra la Impunidad en Guatemala)?

Figure 5.29 shows the average trust in these institutions. The CICIG has the highest average of trust with 70.1 points on a scale of 0-100 points, followed by the media, elections and political parties. It should be noted that trust in the CICIG has fluctuated. In 2010, 52.1% of Guatemalans expressed trust in the CICIG; in 2012 the percentage dropped to 37.3% and in 2017 it reached its maximum level with 70.6%.
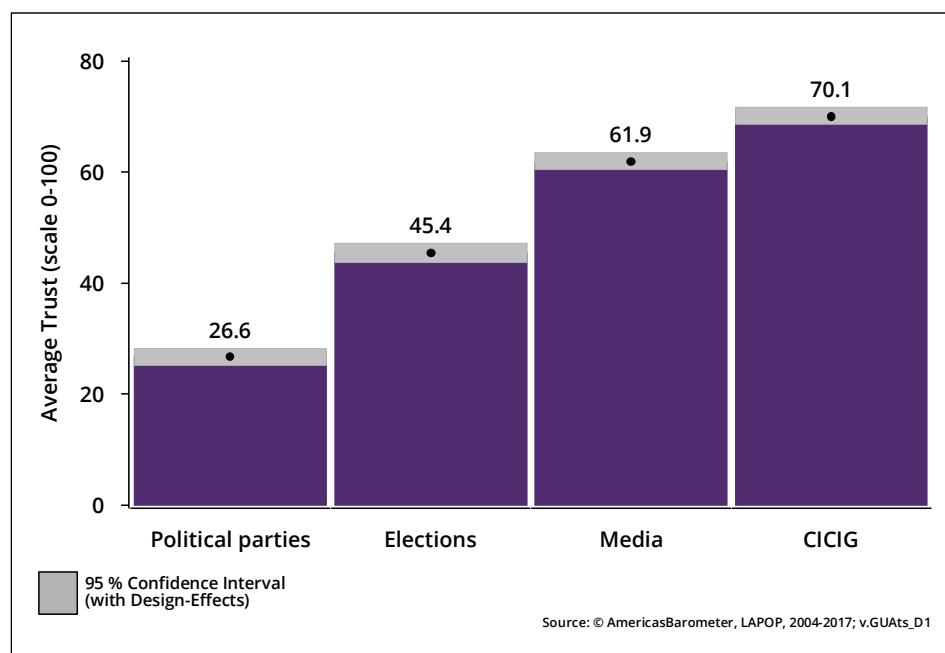
Figure 5.29. Trust in Other Institutions, Guatemala 2017

The first two chapters of this report include comparative figures with other countries that show trust in political parties, elections and the media. This chapter deepens the analysis on trust in CICIG. A linear regression analysis uncovers which sociodemographic and contextual characteristics are associated with higher confidence in CICIG[10]. The only sociodemographic variable significantly related to trust in CICIG is the size of the town or city where respondents live. Additionally, attention to news, the belief in the corruption of the political class, and the confidence that the justice system punishes the guilty are also significantly correlated with trust in that institution. Details of some of these associations are shown below.

Figure 5.30 shows the relationship between the size of the respondent's residence and the degree of confidence in CICIG. It is clear that Guatemalans living in rural areas have higher trust in the CICIG than those living in the Metropolitan Area.

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[10] The regression results table can be found on the LAPOP website.

Figure 5.30. Trust in the CICIG and Size of Location, Guatemala 2017

Finally, Figure 5.31 shows the difference in the degree of trust in the CICIG and the belief that the justice system punishes the guilty. It is not surprising to note that those who express some trust that the judicial system punishes the guilty have higher trust in the CICIG compared to those who have little or no trust. The difference between these groups is statistically significant.
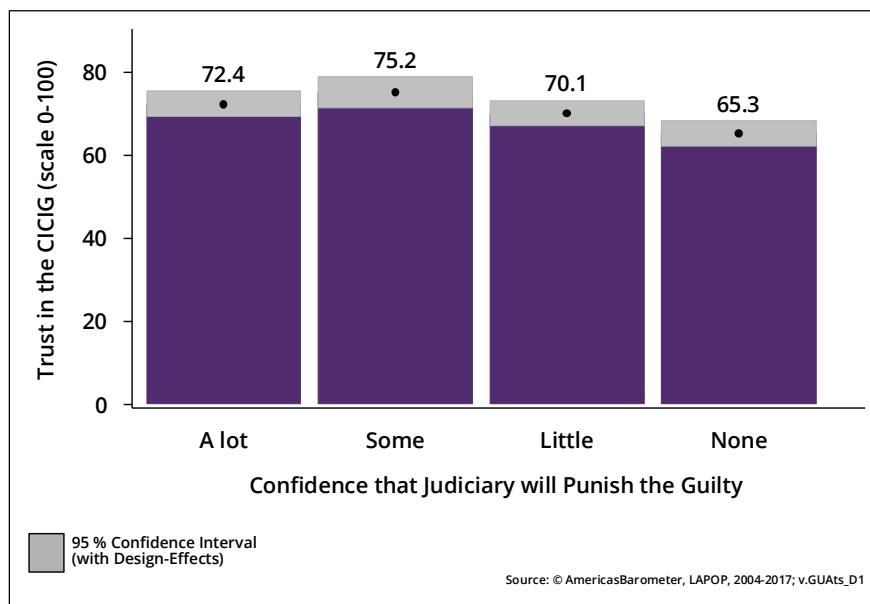
Figure 5.31. Trust in CICIG and Belief that the Justice System Punishes the Guilty, Guatemala 2017

V. Satisfaction with public services

Another important aspect of politics in a country is the efficiency of the government in fulfilling its functions and providing public services. The LAPOP survey includes three questions that address this issue directly. Respondents are asked the following:

And thinking about this city/area where you live...
SD2NEW2. Are you very satisfied, satisfied, **dis**satisfied, or very **dis**satisfied with the condition of the streets, roads, and highways?
(1) Very satisfied   (2) Satisfied   (3) Dissatisfied   (4) Very dissatisfied
SD3NEW2. And with the quality of public schools? Are you... **[Read alternatives]**
(1) Very satisfied   (2) Satisfied   (3) Dissatisfied   (4) Very dissatisfied
SD6NEW2. And with the quality of public medical and health services? Are you...**[Read alternatives]**
(1) Very satisfied   (2) Satisfied   (3) Dissatisfied   (4) Very dissatisfied

Figure 5.32 shows the average satisfaction with these services between 2012 and 2017 on a scale of 0 (very dissatisfied) to 100 (very satisfied). Satisfaction with schools and health services decreased significantly between 2014 and 2017. Average satisfaction with public services in 2017 was generally low, not exceeding 52 points. Satisfaction with health services is the lowest of all the services in 2017 at 40.4 points, followed by satisfaction with roads (47) and schools (51.2).
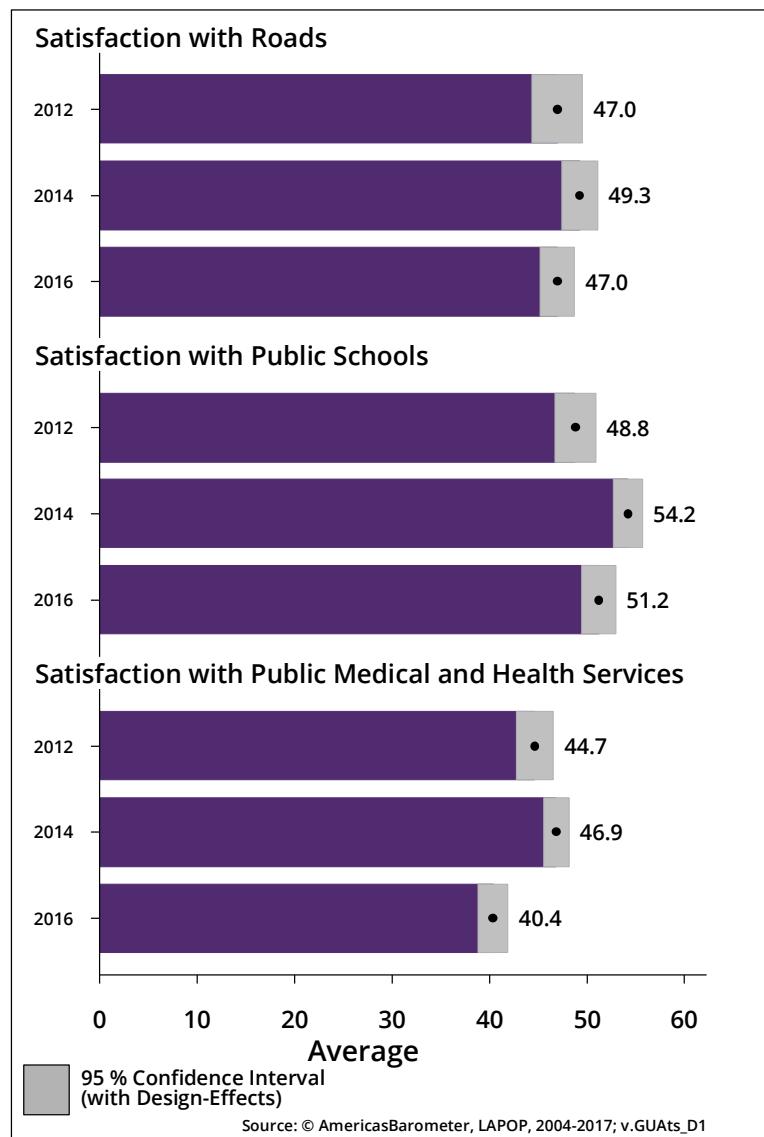
Figure 5.32. Satisfaction with Public Services, Guatemala 2012-2017

VI. Opinions Regarding Relevant Legislation in 2017

The 2017 survey also included some questions that address relevant issues in Guatemala at the time of conducting the fieldwork. More specifically, the survey included questions related to the referendum on the territorial dispute with Belize, the amendments to the Electoral and Political Parties Law, and the constitutional reforms.

Regarding the referendum of Belize, the survey was conducted months before the Supreme Electoral Tribunal called for a referendum in October 2017. The exact question included in the questionnaire is as follows:

GUAREF1. To what extent do you agree that the government uses a referendum to gather public opinion on resolving the territorial dispute with Belize? **[Read alternatives]**

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

(5) He/she has not thought a lot about this topic

Next, two figures related to that question are presented next. In the first one, Figure 5.33, we can observe the distribution of responses. As can be seen, 45% of the population indicated that they had not thought much about the Belize issue when the survey was conducted in April 2017. Among those who did give their opinion, 19.7% indicated that they strongly agreed, and 10.3% were somewhat in agreement, for a total of 30% of Guatemalans. On the other hand, a quarter of Guatemalans said they did not agree (15.1% agreed a little and 9.8% were in disagreement).

Agrees with Referendum to Resolve Dispute with Belize?

Source: © AmericasBarometer, LAPOP, 2004-2017; v.GUAts_D1
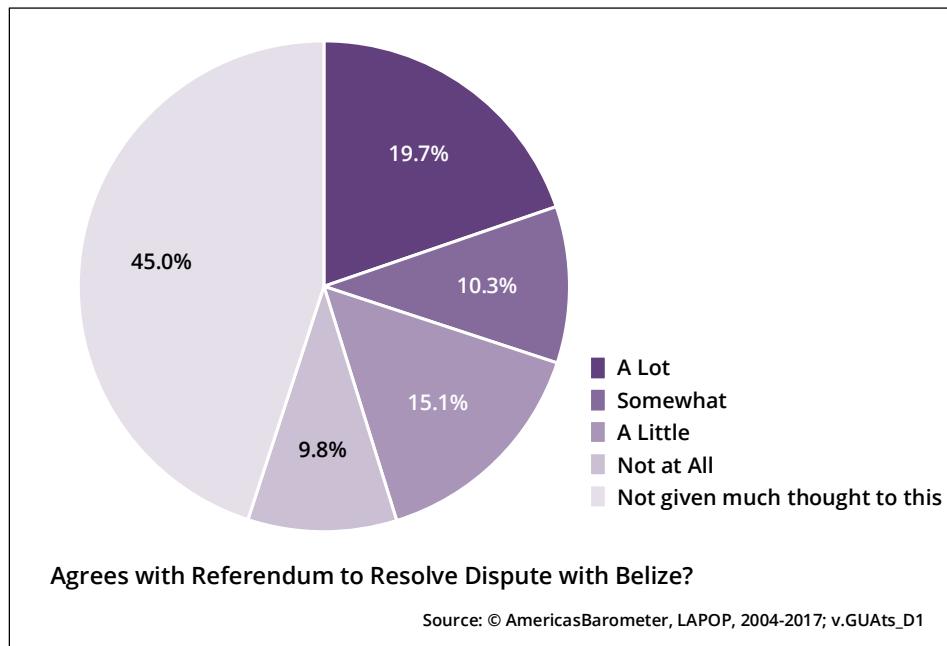
Figure 5.33. Agreement with Referendum Regarding Belize, Guatemala 2017

Figure 5.34 shows the distribution of those who said they had an opinion (agreement or disagreement) with the referendum on Belize. More than half (54.7%) of Guatemalans said they agreed with the referendum (35.9% strongly agree). In contrast, 45.3% said they did not agree (17.8% did not agree at all).
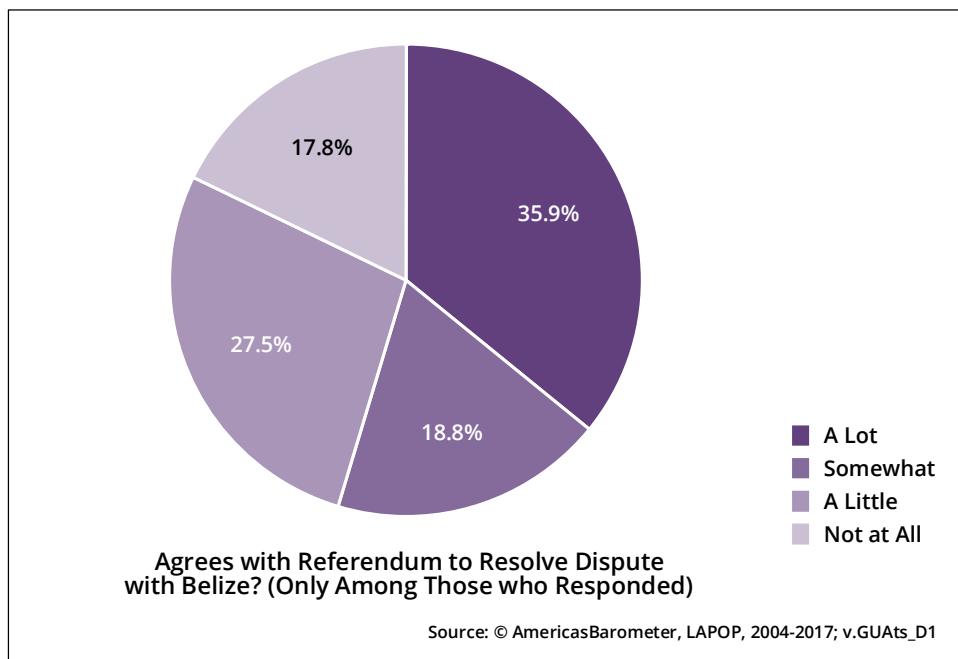
Figure 5.34. Agreement with Referendum Regarding Belize (Only among those Who Responded), Guatemala 2017

Another issue that was the subject of debate throughout 2017 was electoral reform. The complexity of the various proposed reforms meant that the public was not fully informed about them. The reforms focus on fundamental changes for the Guatemalan political system, such as greater controls on parties by the Electoral Tribunal, the definition of the source of party financing and internal democracy of political parties (Bolaños 2017). Unlike the issue of the referendum on Belize, which was put to popular vote, reforms to the Electoral and Political Parties Law (because of its constitutional status) must be discussed and approved by Congress and then sent to the Constitutional Court. The question that was included in the AmericasBarometer survey was therefore very general, as shown below:

GUAELEP1. To what extent do you believe that the Electoral and Political Parties Law will improve the electoral process? **[Read alternatives]**
(1) A lot   (2) Somewhat   (3) A little   (4) Not at all
(5) He/she has not thought a lot about this topic

The answers are shown in Figure 5.35. As in the question related to Belize, a high percentage of the population (45.3%) indicated that they had not thought about it. A quarter of the population (26.2%) said they believe that the Electoral Law will improve the electoral process and 28.5% said otherwise.
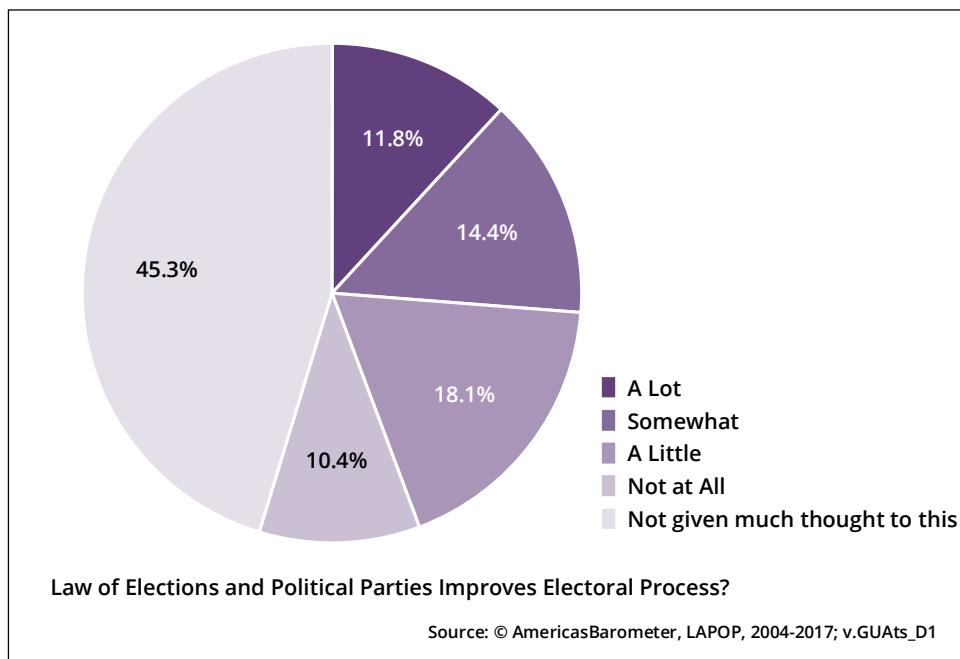
**Figure 5.35. Belief that Electoral Law Improves the
Electoral Process, Guatemala 2017**

This section ends with the discussion of a question on constitutional reform. This topic is also a complex one for non-expert public opinion. However, the public discussion of the question of inclusion of an indigenous justice system among the constitutional reforms made the issue grow in importance. The general question included in the 2017 AmericasBarometer is as follows:

GUAREF2. To what extent do you think that the constitutional reforms to the justice sector will improve the judicial system? **[Read alternatives]**

(1) A lot   (2) Somewhat   (3) A little   (4) Not at all
(5) He/she has not thought a lot about this topic

Figure 5.36 illustrates the distribution of responses. A smaller percentage than in the two previous questions (37.5%) reported not to have thought much about the issue of constitutional reforms. More than one in ten (12.9%) answered that constitutional reforms to the justice system will improve the judicial system "a lot", and 17.5% answered "somewhat". In total, 30.4% of Guatemalans believe that the impact of constitutional reforms will be positive in the justice system. 22.7% said that they will help little and 9.4% will not help at all.
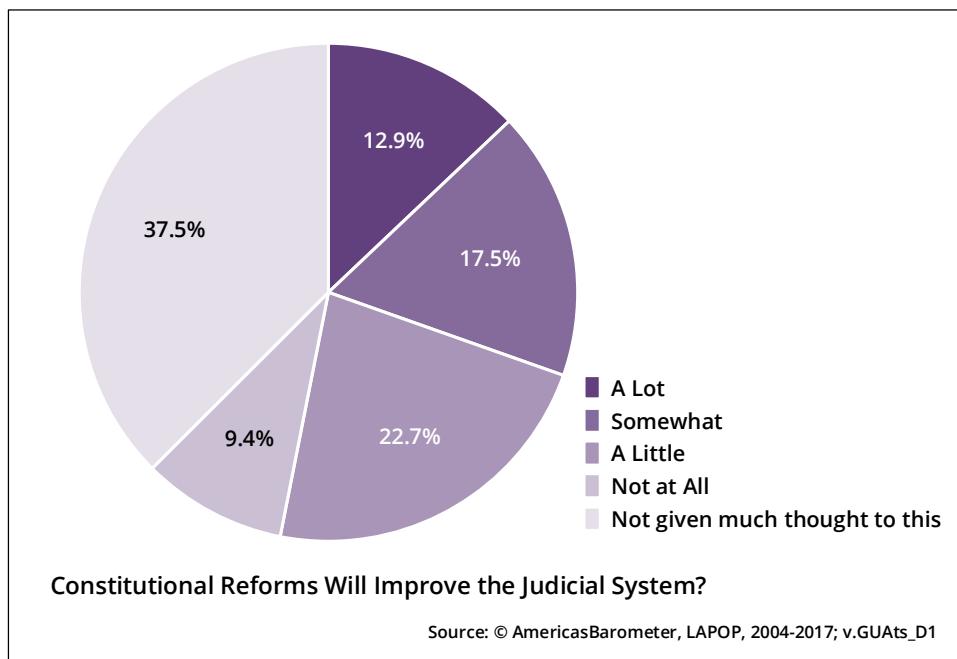
Figure 5.36. Belief that Constitutional Reforms Will Improve the Justice System, Guatemala 2017

VII. Conclusion

This chapter has addressed the issue of trust in political institutions in Guatemala, pointing out the importance of their legitimacy for democratic consolidation. The analysis was conducted with the goal of answering the following questions: how much legitimacy do institutions have, what factors affect the legitimacy of institutions, and what impact does the loss or decrease in legitimacy of institutions have on democracy in Guatemala.

Regarding how much legitimacy the institutions have, the analysis shows that the key political institutions in Guatemala have remained within the same range in recent years, including the Supreme Electoral Tribunal, the Constitutional Court, the Executive Branch, Congress and the municipality (of the respondent). Among all of them, the Supreme Electoral Tribunal, followed by the Constitutional Court, are the ones that have earned the most trust in 2017, although they have remained at the center of the 0-100-point scale used to make the assessment.

 Confidence in the justice system institutions was also examined; more specifically in regard to trust in the Public Ministry, the Human Rights Ombudsman, the National Civil Police and the courts. In 2017, all these institutions improved their score in comparison to previous years, with an especially high increase in trust in the Public Ministry. The Public Ministry also received the highest trust score, followed closely by the Human Rights Ombudsman.

In addition to measuring trust in institutions in general, public opinion about the National Civil Police was addressed more thoroughly. Trust in CICIG was also evaluated, with this institution inspiring a higher level of trust than any Guatemalan institution. The media also inspired a high degree of trust, although a little less so than CICIG.

The percentage of those who trust that the judicial system punishes the guilty doubled in 2017 compared to previous years: while in 2014 only 14% of Guatemalans had a high level of confidence in the ability of the judicial system to punish those who are guilty, that percentage increased to 27% in 2017.

Regarding the legislation relevant in 2017, in the questions about the referendum on Belize, the reforms to the Electoral and Political Parties Law and the constitutional reforms, the survey revealed a low degree of awareness. . Four out of ten Guatemalans said they had not thought much about these issues.

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 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:

- The average support for the political system increased in 2017 in Guatemala. There is a recovery in the components related to respect for institutions, level of normative support for the system and pride in the political system.

- Political tolerance increased significantly in 2017 in Guatemala, both in general and in each of its components.

- In 2017, there is an almost equitable distribution among the different democratic orientations. The orientation conducive to *democratic stability* increased in Guatemala in 2017 compared to 2014.

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 Guatemalans' democratic orientations – particularly those conducive to stable democracy.

- Guatemalans evaluations with respect to their basic political freedoms do not seem to affect their democratic orientations.

- Perceptions of and experiences with corruption in Guatemala 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 Guatemala. 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 index[1] 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 Guatemala 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 Guatemala?
B3. To what extent do you think that citizens' basic rights are well protected by the political system of Guatemala?
B4. To what extent do you feel proud of living under the political system of Guatemala?
B6. To what extent do you think that one should support the political system of Guatemala?

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.

Figure 6.2 compares levels of the system support index and its five components since 2004 in Guatemala. Support for the political system reaches its highest level in Guatemala in 2017 (53.6 points on the 0-100 scale used). This is due to increases in several of the components of this system support index in 2017: respect for institutions, level of normative support for the system, and pride in the political system in Guatemala.

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[1] For the region as a whole, Cronbach's alpha for an additive scale of the five variables is very high (.81) and principal components analysis indicates that they measure a single dimension.
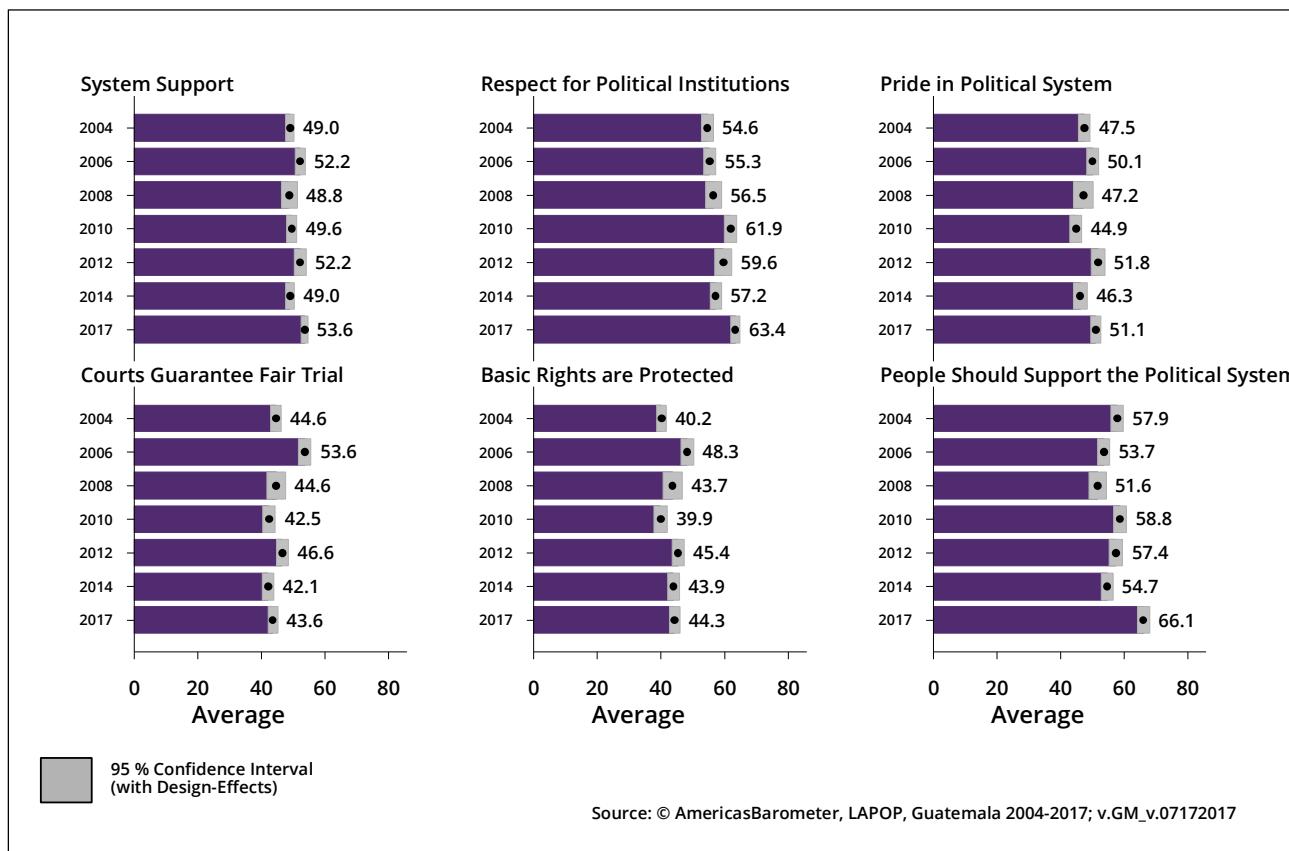
Figure 6.2. System Support and Its Components in Guatemala, 2004-2017

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). Guatemala is positioned at intermediate levels of support for the political system compared to the countries of the region.
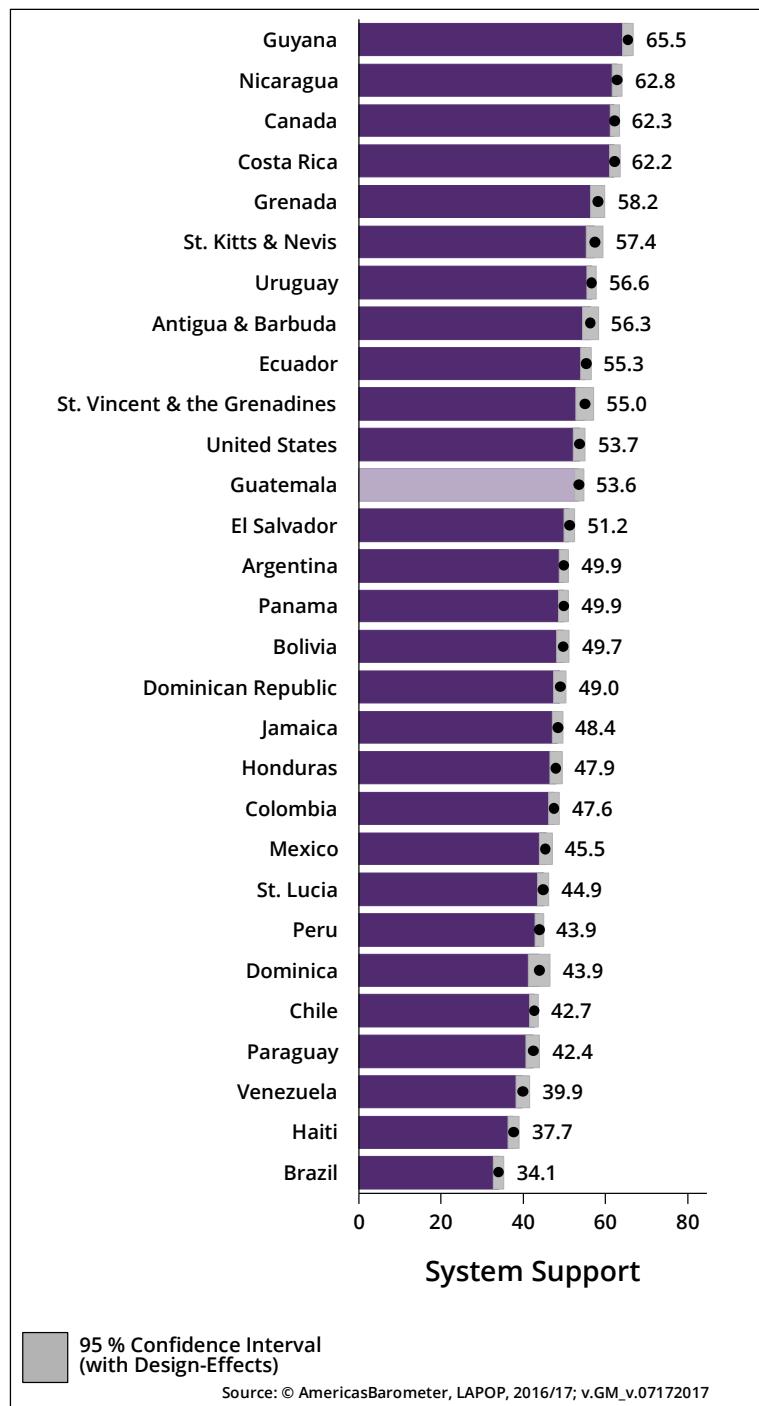
Figure 6.3. System Support in the Americas, 2016/17

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 Guatemalan 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 Guatemalan 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 displays means of the political tolerance index in each round of the AmericasBarometer in Guatemala since 2004.

How stable is political tolerance? Political tolerance in Guatemala recovered with a significant increase between 2014 and 2017, reaching a score of 50.7. The increase in political tolerance among Guatemalans is due to significant increases in all the components of this index, which constitute measures of approval of the right to protest, vote, give speeches, and to be a political candidate among those who disagree with the political system. Political tolerance seems to be much less stable than support for the political system in Guatemala between 2004 and 2017.

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[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.

Tolerance

Year	Value
2004	46.2
2006	52.7
2008	43.6
2010	50.3
2012	47.1
2014	29.5
2017	50.7

Average

Approval of Right to Protest

Year	Value
2004	52.4
2006	57.2
2008	49.9
2010	56.0
2012	51.1
2014	35.6
2017	62.0

Approval of Right to Vote

Year	Value
2004	47.5
2006	56.0
2008	45.3
2010	52.9
2012	50.8
2014	32.9
2017	53.7

Average

Approval of Right to Make Speeches

Year	Value
2004	43.9
2006	47.9
2008	39.6
2010	47.1
2012	43.1
2014	23.9
2017	45.6

Approval of Right to Run for Office

Year	Value
2004	41.6
2006	49.1
2008	39.9
2010	45.7
2012	43.6
2014	25.5
2017	41.8

Average

95 % Confidence Interval
(with Design-Effects)

Source: © AmericasBarometer, LAPOP, Guatemala 2004-2017; v.GM_v.07172017

Figure 6.4. Political Tolerance and Its Components in Guatemala, 2004-2017

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 highest 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 Guatemala experiences a significant increase in political tolerance between 2014 and 2017, the country is positioned among the countries of the region with the lowest levels of political tolerance.
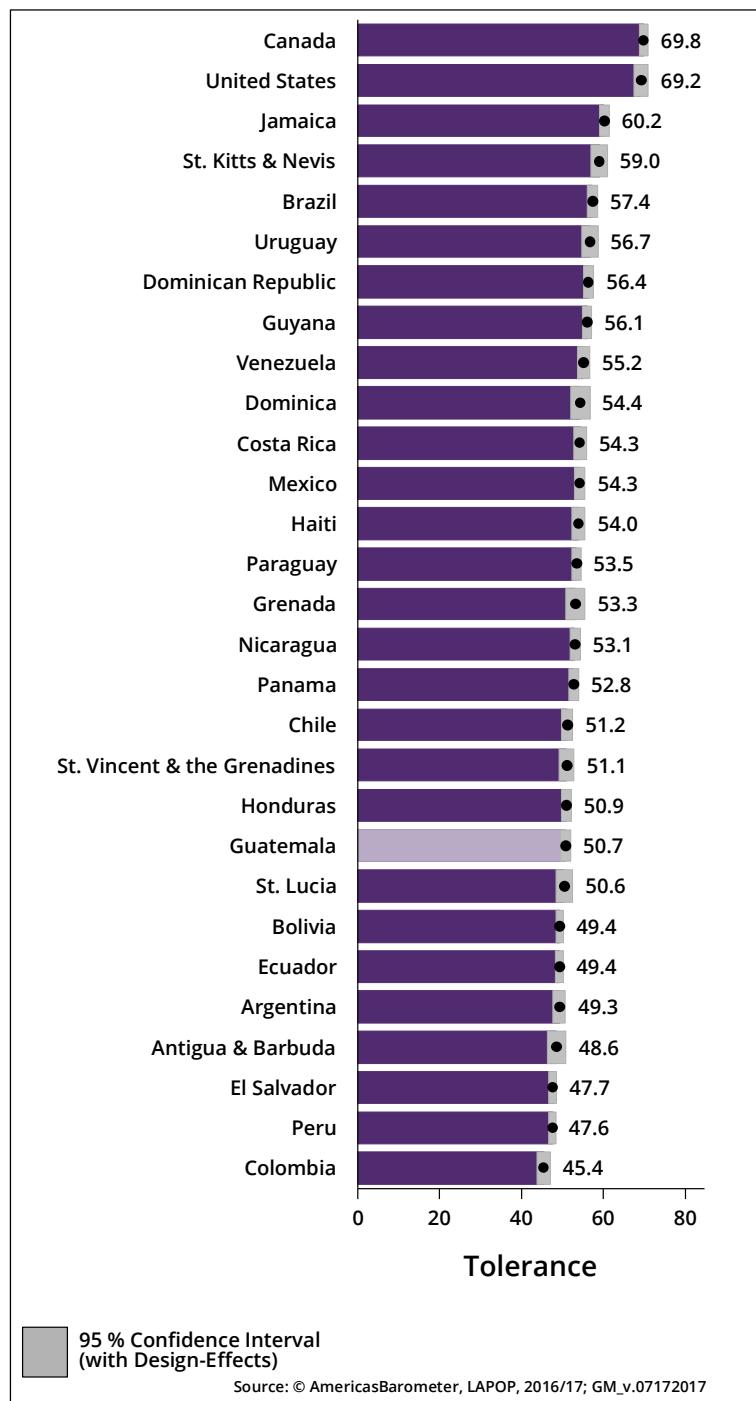
Figure 6.5. Political Tolerance in the Americas, 2016/17

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 Guatemala? Figure 6.6 reports trends from 2004 and 2017 for Guatemala. In 2017, there is an almost equitable distribution among the four different democratic orientations. Nearly a quarter (24%) report orientations conducive to a *democracy at risk*. However, the percentage of Guatemalans with these orientations decreases by almost half between 2014 and 2017. At the same time, 20% report a profile of *authoritarian stability*. The percentage of individuals with orientations leading to an *unstable democracy* decreases and the percentage corresponding to a *stable democracy* increases.
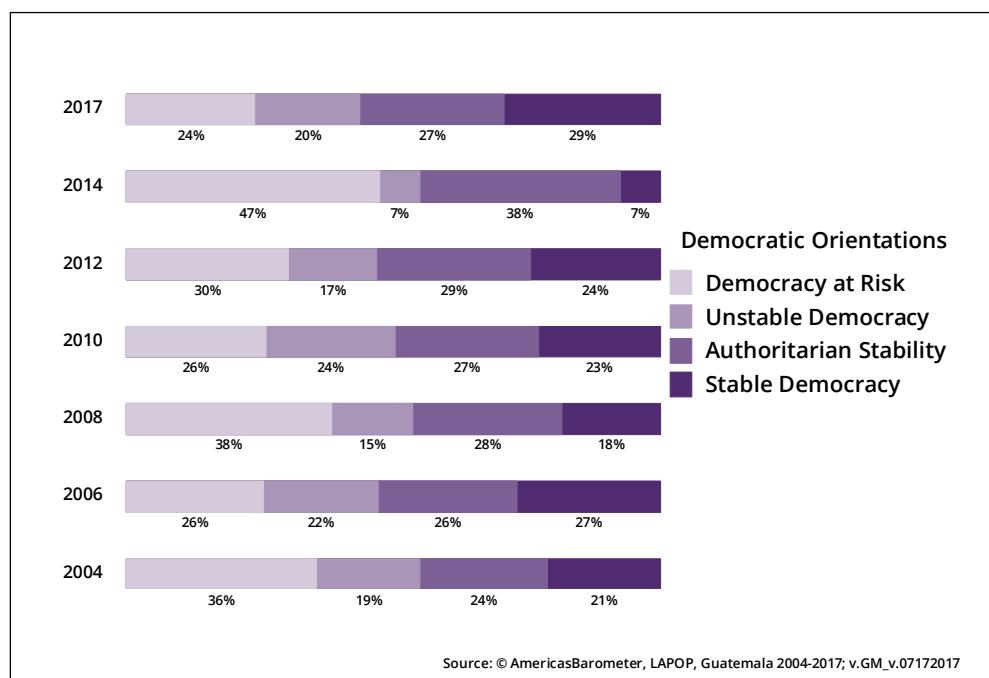
Figure 6.6. Democratic Orientations over Time in Guatemala, 2004-2017

The distribution of these orientations in the countries of the Americas is shown in Figure 6.7. With respect to the profile of orientations that favors *Stable Democracy* – high system support *and* high political tolerance – the snapshot in Figure 6.7 flags an outlier: Canada. At 61%, Canada leads the region in *Stable Democracy* orientations. Next highest are Guyana (45%), the United States (43%), and Costa Rica (40%). At 13% and 15%, respectively, Brazil and Venezuela have the lowest percentages of citizens with orientations favorable to democratic stability. In Guatemala, almost one third (29%) of the population has a profile of orientations that favors a stable democracy, which corresponds to an intermediate range compared to the rest of the region.

Country	Democracy at Risk	Unstable Democracy	Authoritarian Stability	Stable Democracy
Canada	9%	19%	11%	61%
Guyana	14%	12%	30%	45%
United States	14%	30%	13%	43%
Costa Rica	14%	14%	32%	40%
St. Kitts & Nevis	14%	24%	22%	39%
Uruguay	20%	17%	24%	38%
Nicaragua	17%	14%	33%	37%
Grenada	18%	16%	32%	34%
Jamaica	22%	32%	14%	33%
Panama	31%	20%	20%	29%
Guatemala	24%	20%	27%	29%
Ecuador	24%	16%	32%	28%
Dominican Republic	24%	29%	20%	26%
St. Vincent & the Grenadines	21%	24%	28%	26%
Honduras	31%	22%	22%	25%
Antigua & Barbuda	23%	17%	35%	25%
Argentina	31%	19%	26%	24%
Bolivia	32%	20%	24%	24%
El Salvador	29%	18%	29%	23%
Mexico	28%	30%	19%	23%
Dominica	24%	36%	19%	21%
St. Lucia	32%	28%	19%	20%
Paraguay	34%	32%	14%	20%
Colombia	37%	19%	25%	19%
Haiti	38%	36%	9%	17%
Chile	35%	29%	19%	17%
Peru	40%	23%	20%	17%
Venezuela	28%	39%	19%	15%
Brazil	34%	45%	9%	13%

Democratic Orientations

Democracy at Risk   Unstable Democracy
Authoritarian Stability   Stable Democracy

Source: © AmericasBarometer, LAPOP, 2016/17, All Countries; GM_v.07132017

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 Guatemala, the difference between the orientations of a democracy at risk and a stable democracy are not as pronounced as in these countries.

In short, although the political culture supporting democracy may have thickened in several countries of the hemisphere, it has thinned substantially in others. In Guatemala, the percentage that exhibits a profile of political orientations conducive to stable democracy increased significantly. We next explore why by analyzing how individuals' experience under and judgements of political institutions shape their 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, corruption perceptions, and corruption tolerance; crime victimization and feelings of insecurity; 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 only Guatemala.[5]

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[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] An appendix containing the results of the regressions in this chapter can be found on the LAPOP website.
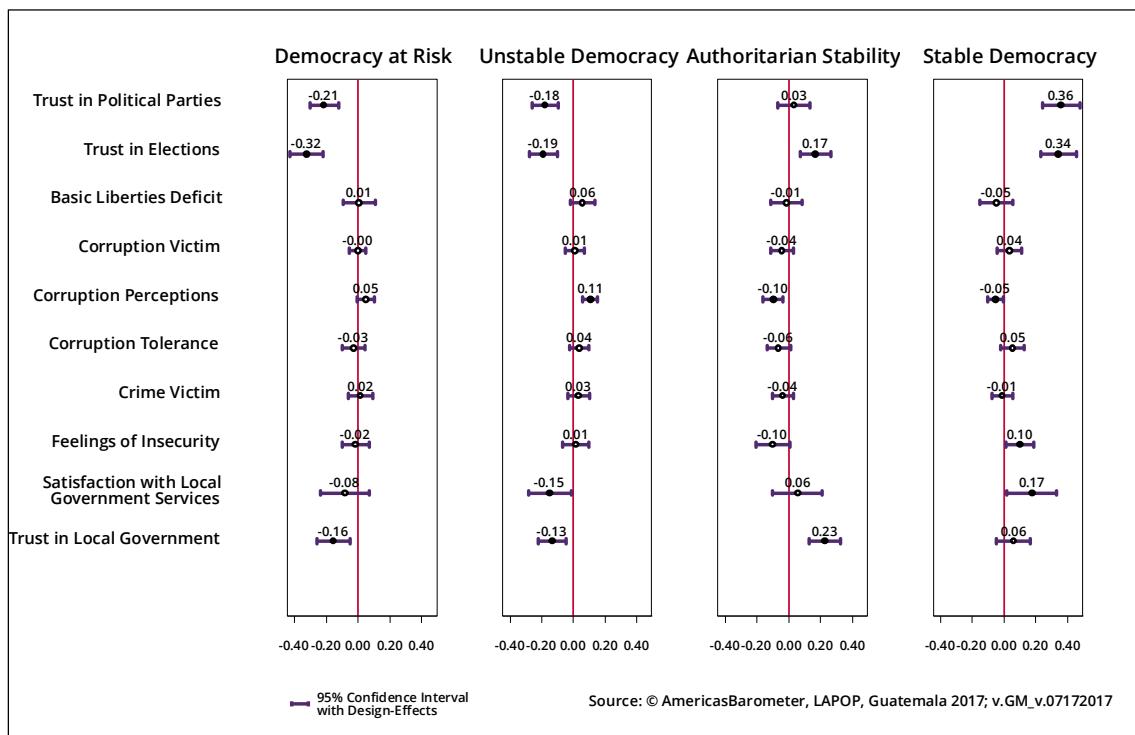
Figure 6.8. Maximal Effects of Predictors of Democratic Attitude Profiles in Guatemala, 2017

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, increasing trust in political parties from none to a lot makes a Guatemalan 36 percentage points more likely to hold orientations that augur in favor of *Stable Democracy* and 21 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. Surprisingly, the perception of a deficit in basic democratic freedoms does not affect the democratic orientations of Guatemalans. The maximum effects of the perception of corruption only increase the probability of reporting attitudes conducive to an *Unstable Democracy* by 11 percentage points, but it decreases the probability of exhibiting attitudes conducive to *Authoritarian Stability* by almost the same margin.

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 satisfaction with local services does not seem to affect orientations conducive to *Authoritarian Stability*, *Democracy at Risk, or Stable Democracy*. A perceived deficit of basic liberties decreases the probability of observing orientation conductive to *Authoritarian Stability* and increases the probability of observing orientations conductive to an *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 underscores the importance of trust in political parties and elections – institutions tasked with aggregating citizens' political preferences and translating them into democratic representation. Additionally, it highlights the local connection. How highly citizens trust their local governments and rate their services heavily shapes their democratic orientations. Furthermore, the extent to which citizens feel the state supplies basic democratic rights helps determine their democratic orientations. Finally, we note citizens' experiences with and views of corruption and security wield limited predictive power over democratic orientations. Their maximal effects are roughly on par with those of the control variables (≤ 0.06). As past reports have shown, however, these factors are often correlated 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 clear message of analysis over time is that system support and political tolerance do not necessarily change simultaneously. Not even all the components of these indexes do. However, both system support and political tolerance recovered significantly in 2017 in Guatemala.

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

February, 2017

Dear Sir/ Madam:

You have been selected at random to participate in a study of public opinion on behalf of the Asociación de Investigación y Estudios Sociales (ASIES). The project is supported by USAID and Vanderbilt University.

The interview will last approximately 45 minutes.

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

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

If you have any questions about the study, please do not hesitate to contact Juan Pablo Pira at the Asociación de Investigación y Estudios Sociales (ASIES) at 22016300 or at the email pira@asies.org.gt.

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 2017 Cuestionario Guatemala Versión # 18.0.2.0 **Aprobación IRB # 170216**

USAID FROM THE AMERICAN PEOPLE	asies
LAPOP — Latin American Public Opinion Project — Proyecto de Opinión Pública de América Latina	AmericasBarometer — Barómetro de las Américas — by LAPOP — www.AmericasBarometer.org	VANDERBILT UNIVERSITY

LAPOP: Guatemala, 2017

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: (201). Zona metropolitana (203) Noroccidente
(205) Nororiente (206) Sur

ESTRATOSEC. Tamaño de la municipalidad **[población en edad de votar, según censo; modificar por cada país, usando número de estratos y rangos de poblaciones apropiados]**:
(1) Grande (más de 100,000) (2) Mediana (Entre 25,000 - 100,000)
(3) Pequeña (< 25,000)

UPM [Unidad Primaria de Muestreo, normalmente idéntico a "MUNICIPIO"]: _____

PROV. Departamento:_____

MUNICIPIO. Municipio: _____

GUADISTRITO. Lugar poblado: _____

GUASEGMENTO. Segmento censal [código oficial del censo]: _____

GUASEC. Sector: _____

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: 2017

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

Q1. Género **[Anotar, NO pregunte]**: (1) Hombre (2) Mujer	
Q2. ¿Cuál es su edad en años cumplidos? _____ años **[Anota la edad. No puede ser menor de 18 años]** (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 **in**satisfecho(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]**

[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**			
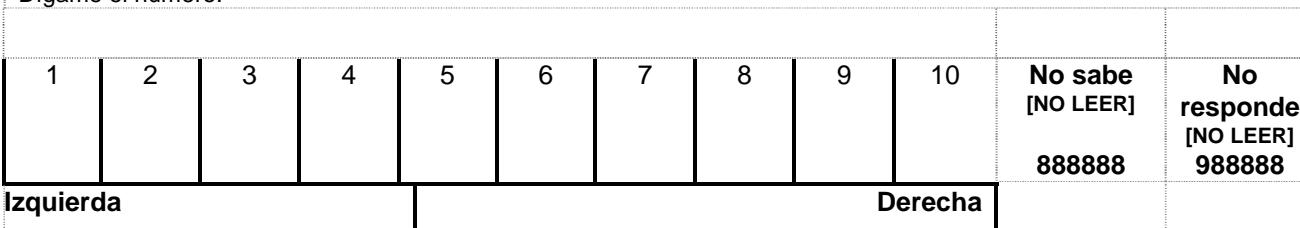
[RECOGER TARJETA "A"]

PROT3. ¿En los **últimos 12 meses** ha participado en una manifestación o protesta pública?
(1) Sí ha participado **[Sigue]**   (2) No ha participado **[Pasa a GUAPROT1]**
(888888) No sabe **[NO LEER] [Pasa a GUAPROT1]**
(988888) No responde **[NO LEER] [Pasa a GUAPROT1]**

PROT4. ¿Cuántas veces ha participado en una manifestación o protesta pública en los **últimos 12 meses**? _____ (888888) No sabe **[NO LEER]** (988888) No responde **[NO LEER]** (999999) Inaplicable	
GUAPROT1. ¿Participó usted en las manifestaciones/protestas en el año 2015 en contra de la corrupción? (1) Sí (2) No (888888) No sabe **[NO LEER]** (988888) No responde **[NO LEER]**	

CUESTIONARIO A						
Ahora hablemos de otro tema. Alguna gente dice que en ciertas circunstancias se justificaría que los militares de este país tomen el poder por un golpe de Estado. En su opinión se justificaría que hubiera un golpe de estado por los militares… **[Leer alternativas]**						
JC10. Frente a mucha delincuencia.	(1) Se justificaría que los militares tomen el poder por un golpe de Estado	(2) No se justificaría que los militares tomen el poder por un golpe de Estado	No sabe **[NO LEER]** (888888)	No responde **[NO LEER]** (988888)	Inaplicable **[NO LEER]** (999999)

CUESTIONARIO B						
Ahora hablemos de otro tema. Alguna gente dice que en ciertas circunstancias se justificaría que los militares de este país tomen el poder por un golpe de Estado. En su opinión se justificaría que hubiera un golpe de estado por los militares… **[Leer alternativas]**						
JC13. Frente a mucha corrupción.	(1) Se justificaría que los militares tomen el poder por un golpe de Estado	(2) No se justificaría que los militares tomen el poder por un golpe de Estado	No sabe **[NO LEER]** (888888)	No responde **[NO LEER]** (988888)	Inaplicable **[NO LEER]** (999999)

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

VIC1EXT. Ahora, cambiando el tema, ¿ha sido usted víctima de algún acto de delincuencia en los últimos 12 meses? Es decir, ¿ha sido usted víctima de un robo, hurto, agresión, fraude, chantaje, extorsión, amenazas o **algún otro tipo** de acto delincuencial en los últimos 12 meses? (1) Sí **[Sigue]** (2) No **[Pasa a ARM2]** (888888) No sabe **[NO LEER] [Pasa a ARM2]** (988888) No responde **[NO LEER] [Pasa a ARM2]**	
VIC1EXTA. ¿Cuántas veces ha sido usted víctima de un acto delincuencial 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]**	

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]**	

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)
FEAR6FA. Siempre pensando en los últimos 12 meses, ¿ha evitado que sus hijos menores vayan a estudiar por temor de su seguridad?	(1) Sí	(0) No	888888	988888	999999 (No tiene hijos menores)
VIC41. ¿Ha limitado los lugares de recreación?	(1) Sí	(0) No	888888	988888	

VIC43. ¿Ha sentido la necesidad de cambiar de barrio 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)
VICBAR4A. ¿Ha sido usted o alguien de su familia inmediata (hijos, esposo, esposa) víctima de extorsión en los últimos 12 meses?	(1) Sí	(0) No	888888	988888	

POLE2NN. En general, usted está muy satisfecho(a), satisfecho(a), **in**satisfecho(a) o muy **in**satisfecho(a) con el desempeño de la policía en su barrio/colonia/vecindario? (1) Muy satisfecho(a) (2) Satisfecho(a) (3) **In**satisfecho(a) (4) Muy **in**satisfecho(a) (5) **[NO LEER]** No hay policía en mi barrio (888888) No sabe **[NO LEER]** (988888) No responde **[NO LEER]**
AOJ11. Hablando del lugar o el barrio/la 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 **in**seguro(a) o muy **in**seguro(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 barrio o colonia** es **mayor, igual, o menor** que el de otras colonias o barrios 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 barrio o 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 barrio está afectado por las 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]**
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]**

SEG10. ¿En la actualidad, quién está a cargo principalmente de la seguridad de su barrio/comunidad? **[NO leer alternativas]**

(00) Nadie   (01) Policía Nacional Civil   (02) Los vecinos/todos
(03) Yo mismo (encuestado)   (04) Empresas privadas de seguridad
(05) Los pandilleros   (06) Los militares
(07) Comité o grupos de vigilancia/seguridad
(08) Fuerzas Combinadas de Seguridad
(09) Policía Municipal
(77) Otros
(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 Guatemala garantizan un juicio justo? *[**Sondee**: Si usted cree que los tribunales no garantizan para <u>nada</u> la justicia, escoja el número 1; si cree que los tribunales garantizan <u>mucho</u> la justicia, escoja el número 7 o escoja un puntaje intermedio]*	
B2. ¿Hasta qué punto tiene usted respeto por las instituciones políticas de Guatemala?	
B3. ¿Hasta qué punto cree usted que los derechos básicos del ciudadano están bien protegidos por el sistema político guatemalteco?	
B4. ¿Hasta qué punto se siente usted orgulloso de vivir bajo el sistema político guatemalteco?	
B6. ¿Hasta qué punto piensa usted que se debe apoyar al sistema político guatemalteco?	
B43. ¿Hasta qué punto tiene usted orgullo de ser guatemalteco(a)?	
B11. ¿Hasta qué punto usted tiene confianza en el Tribunal Supremo Electoral?	
B12. ¿Hasta qué punto tiene confianza usted en el Ejército?	
B13. ¿Hasta qué punto tiene confianza usted en el Congreso?	
B18. ¿Hasta qué punto tiene confianza usted en la Policía Nacional?	
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?	
B17 [B45]. ¿Hasta qué punto tiene usted confianza en la Procuraduría de Derechos Humanos?	
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?	
B15. ¿Hasta qué punto tiene usted confianza en el Ministerio Público?	
B50. ¿Hasta qué punto tiene usted confianza en la Corte de Constitucionalidad?	
B60. ¿Hasta qué punto tiene usted confianza en la CICIG (Comisión Internacional contra la Impunidad en Guatemala)?	

Vamos a seguir usando la misma escalera de 1 a 7, donde 1 es "nada" y 7 es "mucho". Recuerde que puede usar cualquier número intermedio para indicar distintos niveles en su respuesta. **[Anotar un número 1-7, 888888 = No sabe, 988888= No responde]**	

POLEGIT1. ¿Hasta qué punto está usted orgulloso de la Policía Nacional Civil?	
POLEGIT2. ¿Hasta qué punto cree usted que la Policía Nacional Civil actúa siempre dentro del marco de la ley?	
POLEGIT3. ¿Hasta qué punto piensa usted que la Policía Nacional Civil respeta los derechos humanos de todas las personas?	
POLEGIT4. ¿Hasta qué punto piensa usted que la Policía Nacional Civil cumple con su función de garantizar la seguridad de los ciudadanos?	
EPP3. ¿Qué tanto los partidos políticos escuchan a la gente como usted?	

[RECOGER TARJETA "B"]

M1. Hablando en general acerca del gobierno actual, ¿diría usted que el trabajo que está realizando el Presidente Jimmy Morales 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 del Congreso y pensando en todos los diputados en su conjunto, sin importar los partidos políticos a los que pertenecen; ¿usted cree que los diputados del Congreso guatemalteco 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]**	

Y pensando en esta ciudad/área donde usted vive, **SD2NEW2.** ¿Está muy satisfecho(a), satisfecho(a), **in**satisfecho(a), o muy **in**satisfecho(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]**	
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]**	
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]**	

INFRAX. Suponga que alguien se mete a robar a su casa y usted llama a la policía. ¿Cuánto tiempo cree que la Policía se demoraría en llegar a su casa un día cualquiera, a mediodía? **[Leer alternativas]** (1) Menos de 10 minutos (2) Entre 10 y hasta 30 minutos (3) Más de 30 minutos y hasta una hora (4) Más de 1 hora y hasta 3 horas (5) Más de 3 horas (6) **[NO LEER]** No hay Policía/ No llegaría nunca (888888) No sabe **[NO LEER]** (988888) No responde **[NO LEER]**	

INFRA3. Suponga que está en su casa y tiene una lesión muy seria y necesita atención médica inmediata. ¿Cuánto tiempo cree que se demoraría 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]**	

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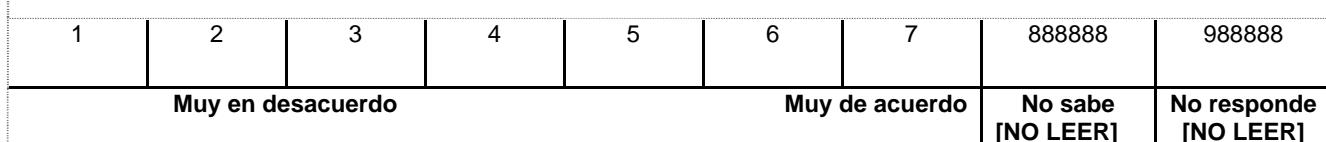
[Anotar un número 1-7, 888888 = No sabe,   988888= No responde]

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

ROS1. El Estado guatemalteco, 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 guatemalteco 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?	
POLEGIT5. La Policía Nacional Civil está haciendo un esfuerzo importante para reducir el crimen en esta comunidad. ¿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 guatemaltecos representan bien las distintas opiniones que hay en Guatemala. ¿Hasta qué punto está de acuerdo o en desacuerdo con esta frase?	
MEDIA4. Los medios de comunicación de noticias de Guatemala 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 Guatemala pueda morir o salir seriamente lastimado en un desastre natural como inundaciones, terremotos, huracanes, deslaves o tormentas en los próximos 25 años? ¿Cree usted que es…? **[Leer alternativas]** (1) Nada probable (2) Poco probable (3) Algo probable (4) Muy probable (888888) No sabe **[NO LEER]** (988888) No responde **[NO LEER]** (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 Guatemala? **[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 Guatemala? **[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 Guatemala pueda morir o salir seriamente lastimado en un desastre natural como inundaciones, terremotos, huracanes, deslaves o tormentas en los próximos 25 años? ¿Cree usted que es…? **[Leer alternativas]**
(1) Nada probable   (2) Poco probable   (3) Algo probable   (4) Muy probable
(888888) No sabe **[NO LEER]**
(988888) No responde **[NO LEER]**
(999999) Inaplicable **[NO LEER]**

PN4. En general, ¿usted diría que está muy satisfecho(a), satisfecho(a), **in**satisfecho(a) o muy **in**satisfecho(a) con la forma en que la democracia funciona en Guatemala?
(1) Muy satisfecho(a)   (2) Satisfecho(a)   (3) **In**satisfecho(a)   (4) Muy **in**satisfecho(a)
(888888) No sabe **[NO LEER]**   (988888) No responde **[NO LEER]**

W14A. Y ahora, pensando en otros temas. ¿Cree usted que se justificaría la interrupción del embarazo, o sea, un aborto, cuando peligra la salud de la madre?
(1) Sí, se justificaría   (2) No, no se justificaría
(888888) No sabe **[NO LEER]**   (988888) No responde **[NO LEER]**

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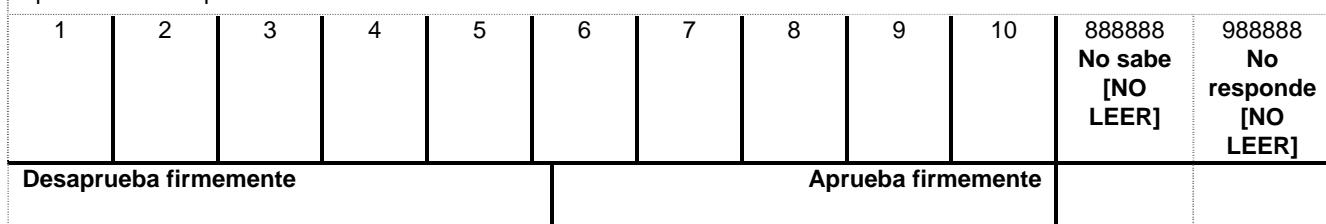
[Anotar 1-10, 888888= No sabe, 988888 = No responde]

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

E16. Que las personas hagan justicia por su propia cuenta cuando el Estado no castiga a los criminales. ¿Hasta qué punto aprueba o desaprueba?

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

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

D3. Siempre pensando en los que hablan mal de la forma de gobierno de Guatemala. ¿Con qué firmeza aprueba o desaprueba usted que estas personas puedan **postularse para cargos públicos**?					
D4. ¿Con qué firmeza aprueba o desaprueba usted que estas personas salgan en la televisión **para dar un discurso**?					
D5. Y ahora, cambiando el tema, y pensando en los homosexuales. ¿Con qué firmeza aprueba o desaprueba que estas personas **puedan postularse para cargos públicos**?					
D6. ¿Con qué firmeza aprueba o desaprueba que las parejas del mismo sexo puedan tener el derecho a casarse?					

[RECOGER TARJETA "D"]

	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]**	

	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 en los últimos 12 meses?	--	0	1	888888	988888	
EXC6. ¿En los últimos 12 meses, algún empleado público le ha solicitado una mordida?	--	0	1	888888	988888	
EXC20. ¿En los últimos doce meses, algún soldado u oficial militar le ha solicitado una mordida?	--	0	1	888888	988888	
EXC11. ¿Ha tramitado algo en la municipalidad en los últimos 12 meses? **Si la respuesta es No → Marcar 999999** **Si la respuesta es Sí→ Preguntar:** Para tramitar algo en el municipio, 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	

	INAP No trató o tuvo contacto	No	Sí	No sabe [NO LEER]	No responde [NO LEER]	
EXC13. ¿Usted trabaja? **Si la respuesta es No → Marcar 999999** **Sí la respuesta es Sí→ Preguntar:** En su trabajo, ¿le han solicitado alguna mordida 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** **Sí la respuesta es Sí→ Preguntar:** ¿Ha tenido que pagar una mordida en los juzgados en este último año?	999999	0	1	888888	988888	
EXC15. ¿Usó servicios médicos públicos (del Estado) en los últimos12 meses? **Si la respuesta es No → Marcar 999999** **Sí la respuesta es Sí→ Preguntar:** En los últimos 12 meses, ¿ha tenido que pagar alguna mordida 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** **Sí la respuesta es Sí→ Preguntar:** En los últimos 12 meses, ¿tuvo que pagar alguna mordida en la escuela o colegio?	999999	0	1	888888	988888	
EXC18. ¿Cree que como están las cosas a veces se justifica pagar una mordida?		0	1	888888	988888	

EXC7NEW. Pensando en los políticos de Guatemala, ¿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]**

Teniendo en cuenta su experiencia o lo que ha oído mencionar:

	Sí	No	Una vez a la se-mana	Una o dos veces al mes	Una o dos veces al año	No sabe [NO LEER]	No respon-de [NO LEER]	Inaplicable [NO LEER]
VICBAR1. Han ocurrido robos en las casas en los últimos 12 meses en su barrio/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 barrio/colonia?	1 **[Sigue]**	2 **[Pasa a VICBARF]**				888888	988888	
						[Pasa a VICBARF]		
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
VICBARF. ¿Han ocurrido ataques a mujeres en los últimos 12 meses en su barrio/colonia?	1	2				888888	988888	

VICBAR7. Han ocurrido asesinatos en los últimos 12 meses en su barrio/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 nacional
(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]**

VB1. ¿Está empadronado(a) para votar?
(1) Sí   (2) No   (3) En trámite
(888888) No sabe **[NO LEER]**   (988888) No responde **[NO LEER]**

INF1. ¿Tiene usted documento personal de identificación (DPI)?
(1) Sí   (2) No
(888888) No sabe **[NO LEER]**   (988888) No responde **[NO LEER]**

VB2. ¿Votó usted en la primera vuelta de las últimas **elecciones presidenciales** de 2015?
(1) Sí votó **[Sigue]**
(2) No votó **[Pasa a VB10]**
(888888) No sabe **[NO LEER] [Pasa a VB10]**
(988888) No responde **[NO LEER] [Pasa a VB10]**

VB3N. ¿Por quién votó para Presidente en la primera vuelta de las últimas elecciones presidenciales de 2015?
[NO leer alternativas]

  (1)   Ninguno (fue a votar pero dejó la boleta en blanco)
  (97) Ninguno (anuló su voto)
  (201) Jimmy Morales – FCN/Nación
  (202) Sandra Torres - UNE
  (203) Manuel Baldizón – LIDER
  (204) Alejandro Giammattei – FUERZA
  (205) Zury Ríos – VIVA
  (206) Roberto González Díaz Durán – CREO-UNIONISTA
  (207) José Ángel López Camposeco – EG
  (208) Rodolfo Aníbal García Hernández – MNR
  (209) Juan Guillermo Gutiérrez Strauss - PAN
  (210) Mario David Antonio García Velásquez – PP
  (211) Luis Fernando Pérez Martínez – PRI
  (212) Lizardo Arturo Sosa López - TODOS
  (213) Mario Amílcar Estrada Orellana - UCN
  (214) Miguel Ángel Sandoval Vásquez - WINAQ-URNG-MAÍZ
  (277) Otro
  (888888) No sabe **[NO LEER]**
  (988888) No responde **[NO LEER]**
  (999999) Inaplicable (No votó) **[NO LEER]**

VB10. ¿En este momento, simpatiza con algún partido político?
(1) Sí **[Sigue]**   (2) No **[Pasa a POL1]**
(888888) No sabe **[NO LEER]   [Pasa a POL1]**
(988888) No responde **[NO LEER] [Pasa a POL1]**

VB11. ¿Con cuál partido político simpatiza usted?   **[NO Leer alternativas]**

(201) Frente De Convergencia Nacional – FCN/Nación
(202) Unidad Nacional De La Esperanza – UNE
(203) Libertad Democrática Renovada – LIDER
(204) FUERZA
(205) Partido Político Visión Con Valores - VIVA
(206) Partido De Avanzada Nacional – PAN
(207) Unión Democrática – UD
(208) Partido Libertador Progresista – PLP
(209) TODOS
(210) Movimiento Reformador – MR
(211) Unidad Revolucionaria Nacional Guatemaltec – URNG-MAIZ
(212) Gran Alianza Nacional – GANA
(213) Partido Unionista – PU
(214) Bienestar Nacional – BIEN
(215) Partido Socialdemócrata Guatemalteco – PSG
(216) Unión Del Cambio Nacional – UCN
(217) Encuentro Por Guatemala – EG
(218) MI PAÍS
(219) CONVERGENCIA
(220) Compromiso Renovación y Orden – CREO
(221) VICTORIA
(222) Corazón Nueva Nación – CNN
(223) Movimiento Político WINAQ – WINAQ
(224) Ciudadanos Activos De Formación Electoral – CAFÉ
(225) UNIDOS
(226) Partido Productividad Y Trabajo – PPT
(277) Otro
(888888) No sabe **[NO LEER]**
(988888) No responde **[NO LEER]**
(999999) Inaplicable **[NO LEER]**

POL1. ¿Qué tanto interés tiene usted en la política: mucho, algo, poco o nada?
(1) Mucho   (2) Algo   (3) Poco   (4) Nada
(888888) No sabe **[NO LEER]**   (988888) No responde **[NO LEER]**

VB20. ¿Si esta semana fueran las próximas elecciones presidenciales, qué haría usted? **[Leer alternativas]**
(1) No votaría
(2) Votaría por el candidato o partido del actual presidente
(3) Votaría por algún candidato o partido diferente del actual gobierno
(4) Iría a votar pero dejaría la boleta en blanco o la anularía
(888888) No sabe **[NO LEER]**   (988888) No responde **[NO LEER]**

¿Alguna vez en su vida ha experimentado discriminación, no se le ha permitido hacer algo, se le ha molestado o hecho sentir inferior en alguna de las siguientes situaciones **debido al color de su piel**?

DIS7A. ¿En la escuela?
(1) Sí
(2) No
(888888) No sabe **[NO LEER]**
(988888) No responde **[NO LEER]**

DIS8A. ¿Y en el trabajo alguna vez experimentó discriminación por el color de su piel?
(1) Sí
(2) No
(888888) No sabe **[NO LEER]**
(988888) No responde **[NO LEER]**

DIS9A. ¿Y alguna vez en su vida experimentó discriminación en la calle o en un lugar público por el color de su piel? (1) Sí (2) No (888888) No sabe **[NO LEER]** (988888) No responde **[NO LEER]**	
DIS10A. ¿Alguna vez experimentó discriminación de parte de la policía por el color de su piel? (1) Sí (2) No (888888) No sabe **[NO LEER]** (988888) No responde **[NO LEER]**	
DIS11A. ¿Y de parte de algún funcionario público experimentó discriminación alguna vez en su vida por el color de su piel? (1) Sí (2) No (888888) No sabe **[NO LEER]** (988888) No responde **[NO LEER]**	

Cambiando de tema…

SOC1. Por cada 100 quetzales que gana una persona rica y 100 que gana una persona pobre, en su opinión, cuánto debería pagar cada una en impuestos? **[Leer alternativas]** (1) La persona rica debería pagar 50 quetzales y la persona pobre 20, o (2) La persona rica debería pagar 40 y la persona pobre 30, o (3) La persona rica debería pagar 30 y la persona pobre 30 también. (4) **[NO LEER]** Otra combinación (888888) No sabe **[NO LEER]** (988888) No responde **[NO LEER]**	
SOC4. En su opinión, para mejorar la calidad de la educación primaria y secundaria en Guatemala, ¿qué debe hacer el gobierno? **[Leer alternativas]** (1) Usar mejor el dinero que gasta actualmente en educación, o (2) Destinar más dinero a la educación, aún si se tiene que subir los impuestos, o (3) Las dos cosas (888888) No sabe **[NO LEER]** (988888) No responde **[NO LEER]**	
SOC5. ¿Estaría dispuesto(a) a pagar más impuestos de los que actualmente paga para que el gobierno pueda gastar más en educación primaria y secundaria? (1) Sí (2) No (888888) No sabe **[NO LEER]** (988888) No responde **[NO LEER]**	
SOC8. En su opinión, para mejorar la calidad de los servicios de salud públicos en Guatemala, ¿qué debería hacer el gobierno? **[Leer alternativas]** (1) Usar mejor el dinero que gasta actualmente en salud, o (2) Invertir más dinero en salud, aún si se tiene que subir los impuestos, o (3) Las dos cosas (888888) No sabe **[NO LEER]** (988888) No responde **[NO LEER]**	
SOC9. ¿Estaría dispuesto(a) a pagar más impuestos de los que actualmente paga para que el gobierno pueda gastar más en el servicio público de salud? (1) Sí (2) No (888888) No sabe **[NO LEER]** (988888) No responde **[NO LEER]**	

[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"]	
FOR6B. Y pensando ahora **sólo en nuestro país,** ¿qué tanta influencia cree usted que tiene EEUU en **nuestro país**? **[Leer alternativas]** (1) Mucha **[Sigue]** (2) Algo **[Sigue]** (3) Poca **[Sigue]** (4) Nada **[Pasa a MIL10A1 o MIL10OAS2]** (888888) No sabe **[Pasa a MIL10A1 o MIL10OAS2]** (988888) No responde **[Pasa a MIL10A1 o MIL10OAS2]**	
FOR7B. ¿La influencia que Estados Unidos tiene en nuestro país es muy positiva, positiva, negativa, o muy negativa? (1) Muy positiva (2) Positiva (3) **[NO LEER]** Ni positiva ni negativa (4) Negativa (5) Muy negativa (6) **[NO LEER]** No tiene ninguna influencia (888888) No sabe (988888) No responde (999999) Inaplicable	

TEST B. Set 1

Ahora, quisiera preguntarle cuánta confianza tiene en **los gobiernos** de algunos países. Para cada país por favor dígame si en su opinión, es muy confiable, algo confiable, poco confiable, nada confiable, o si no tiene opinión.

	Muy confiable	Algo confiable	Poco confiable	Nada confiable	No sabe/ no tiene opinión	No 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

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

Cambiando de tema…

GUAELEP1. ¿En qué medida cree usted que las reformas a la Ley Electoral y de Partidos Políticos mejoran el proceso electoral? **[Leer alternativas]**
(1) Mucho   (2) Algo   (3) Poco   (4) Nada   (5) No ha pensado mucho en esto
(888888) No sabe **[NO LEER]**   (988888) No responde **[NO LEER]**

GUAREF1. ¿Qué tan de acuerdo está usted con que el gobierno promulgue una consulta popular para resolver la disputa territorial con Belice? **[Leer alternativas]**
(1) Mucho   (2) Algo   (3) Poco   (4) Nada   (5) No ha pensado mucho en esto
(888888) No sabe **[NO LEER]**   (988888) No responde **[NO LEER]**

GUAREF2. ¿En qué medida cree usted que las reformas constitucionales al sector justicia mejorarán el sistema judicial? **[Leer alternativas]**
(1) Mucho   (2) Algo   (3) Poco   (4) Nada   (5) No ha pensado mucho en esto
(888888) No sabe **[NO LEER]**   (988888) No responde **[NO LEER]**

GUAREF3. ¿Cree usted que se debe incluir el sistema de justicia indígena en la Constitución de Guatemala?
(1) Sí   (2) No
(888888) No sabe **[NO LEER]**
(988888) No responde **[NO LEER]**

GUAPV1. ¿Quién cree que es el culpable de la mayoría de la violencia que ocurrió durante el conflicto armado, el Ejército o la guerrilla, o los dos igualmente?
(1) El Ejército
(2) La guerrilla
(3) Los dos igualmente
(888888) No sabe **[NO LEER]**
(988888) No responde **[NO LEER]**

GUAPV2. ¿Sabe usted si hay un proceso judicial pendiente en contra del General Efraín Ríos Montt?
(1) Sí
(2) No
(888888) No sabe **[NO LEER]**
(988888) No responde **[NO LEER]**

GUAPV3. En su opinión, ¿cree que Ríos Montt debería ser condenado por genocidio en contra de los Ixiles?
(1) Sí
(2) No
(888888) No sabe **[NO LEER]**
(988888) No responde **[NO LEER]**

Cambiando el tema de nuevo…

Por favor dígame si está de acuerdo o en desacuerdo con las siguientes frases.	De acuerdo	En desacuerdo	No sabe [NO LEER]	No responde [NO LEER]
GUADV1. Si una persona lo golpea, debe golpearla de vuelta	(1) De acuerdo	(0) En desacuerdo	888888	988888
GUAPV4. A los crímenes violentos hay que castigarlos violentamente	(1) De acuerdo	(0) En desacuerdo	888888	988888

GUAPV5. Hay que aceptar que es inevitable que en una guerra se mueran civiles	(1) De acuerdo	(0) En desacuerdo	888888	988888
GUADV2. Cuando un niño desobedece a su padre, es necesario golpearlo o castigarlo físicamente	(1) De acuerdo	(0) En desacuerdo	888888	988888
GUAMIL7. El Ejército debe participar en el combate del crimen y de la violencia en Guatemala	(1) De acuerdo	(0) En desacuerdo	888888	988888
GUADV3. Si una mujer desobedece a su esposo, está bien que el hombre la golpee	(1) De acuerdo	(0) En desacuerdo	888888	988888

En otro tema…

¿Cuáles de las siguientes fiestas celebra usted? **[Programar para que aparezca cada ítem en orden aleatorio (ROTAR ITEMS)]**	**Sí**	**No**	**No sabe [NO LEER]**	**No responde [NO LEER]**
GUAFIE2. Día del Ejército (30 de junio)	(1) Sí	(0) No	888888	988888
GUAFIE3. Día de la Independencia (15 de septiembre)	(1) Sí	(0) No	888888	988888
GUAFIE4. Día de los Muertos (2 de noviembre)	(1) Sí	(0) No	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 de Transferencia Monetaria Condicionada"**,** ¿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]**

[Usar tarjeta "ËD" 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, bachillerato/magisterio/secretariado, universitaria, maestría/doctorado) = _____ años total **[Usar tabla a continuación para el código]**

	1⁰	**2⁰**	**3⁰**	**4⁰**	**5⁰**	**6⁰**	**7⁰**	
Ninguno	0							
Primaria	1	2	3	4	5	6		
Secundaria (Básicos: primero básico, segundo básico, tercero básico)	7	8	9					
Bachillerato, Magisterio o Secretariado	10	11	12	13				
Universitaria	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	
Maestría o Doctorado	19	20	21	22+				
No sabe **[NO LEER]**	888888							
No responde **[NO LEER]**	988888							

ED2. ¿Y hasta qué nivel educativo llegó su mamá? **[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]**

Q5A. ¿Con qué frecuencia asiste usted a servicios religiosos? **[Leer alternativas]**

(1) Más de una vez por semana   (2) Una vez por semana   (3) Una vez al mes
(4) Una o dos veces al año   (5) Nunca o casi nunca
(888888) No sabe **[NO LEER]**   (988888) No responde **[NO LEER]**

Q5B. Por favor, ¿podría decirme, qué tan importante es la religión en su vida? **[Leer alternativas]**

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

[Usar tarjeta "Q3C" como apoyo. NO mostrar la tarjeta al encuestado]

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 Lonza; 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 **[NO LEER]**

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

OCUP4A. ¿A qué se dedica usted principalmente? ¿Está usted actualmente: **[Leer alternativas]**
(1) Trabajando? **[Sigue]**
(2) No está trabajando en este momento pero tiene trabajo? **[Sigue]**
(3) Está buscando trabajo activamente? **[Pasa a Q10NEW]**
(4) Es estudiante?**[Pasa a Q10NEW]**
(5) Se dedica a los quehaceres de su hogar?**[Pasa a Q10NEW]**
(6) Está jubilado, pensionado o incapacitado permanentemente para trabajar? **[Pasa a Q10G]**
(7) No trabaja y no está buscando trabajo? **[Pasa a Q10NEW]**
(888888) No sabe **[NO LEER] [Pasa a Q10NEW]**
(988888) No responde **[NO LEER] [Pasa a Q10NEW]**

OCUP1A. En su ocupación principal usted es: **[Leer alternativas]**
(1) Asalariado(a) del gobierno o empresa estatal?
(2) Asalariado(a) en el sector privado?
(3) Patrono(a) o socio(a) de empresa?
(4) Trabajador(a) por cuenta propia?
(5) Trabajador(a) no remunerado(a) o sin pago?
(888888) No sabe **[NO LEER]**
(988888) No responde **[NO LEER]**
(999999) Inaplicable **[NO LEER]**

[ENTREGAR TARJETA "F" AL ENTREVISTADO]

PREGUNTAR SOLO SI TRABAJA O ESTÁ JUBILADO/PENSIONADO/INCAPACITADO (VERIFICAR OCUP4A)]
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?
[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?]

(00) Ningún ingreso
(01) Menos de 450 quetzales
(02) Entre 450 y 600 quetzales
(03) Entre 601 y 750 quetzales
(04) Entre 751 y 900 quetzales
(05) Entre 901 y 1050 quetzales
(06) Entre 1051 y 1200 quetzales
(07) Entre 1201 y 1400 quetzales
(08) Entre 1401 y 1600 quetzales
(09) Entre 1601 y 1850 quetzales
(10) Entre 1851 y 2150 quetzales
(11) Entre 2151 y 2450 quetzales
(12) Entre 2451 y 2800 quetzales
(13) Entre 2801 y 3300 quetzales
(14) Entre 3301 y 3750 quetzales
(15) Entre 3751 y 4650 quetzales
(16) Más de 4650 quetzales
(888888) No sabe **[NO LEER]**
(988888) No responde **[NO LEER]**
(999999) Inaplicable (No trabaja ni está jubilado) **[NO LEER]**

Q10NEW. ¿Y en cuál de los siguientes rangos se encuentran los ingresos familiares mensuales de este hogar, incluyendo las remesas del exterior y el ingreso de todos los adultos e hijos que trabajan?
[Si no entiende, pregunte: ¿Cuánto dinero entra en total a su casa al mes?]

(00) Ningún ingreso
(01) Menos de 450 quetzales
(02) Entre 450 y 600 quetzales
(03) Entre 601 y 750 quetzales
(04) Entre 751 y 900 quetzales
(05) Entre 901 y 1050 quetzales
(06) Entre 1051 y 1200 quetzales
(07) Entre 1201 y 1400 quetzales
(08) Entre 1401 y 1600 quetzales
(09) Entre 1601 y 1850 quetzales
(10) Entre 1851 y 2150 quetzales
(11) Entre 2151 y 2450 quetzales
(12) Entre 2451 y 2800 quetzales
(13) Entre 2801 y 3300 quetzales
(14) Entre 3301 y 3750 quetzales
(15) Entre 3751 y 4650 quetzales
(16) Más de 4650 quetzales
(888888) No sabe **[NO LEER]**
(988888) No responde **[NO LEER]**

[RECOGER TARJETA "F"]

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]**

Q14. ¿Tiene usted intenciones de irse a vivir o a trabajar a otro país en los próximos tres años?
(1) Sí **[Siga]**   (2) No **[Pasa a Q14A]**
(888888) No sabe **[NO LEER] [Pasa a Q14A]**
(988888) No responde **[NO LEER] [Pasa a Q14A]**

GUAMIG1. ¿Diría usted que la razón principal por la cual tiene intenciones de irse a vivir o a trabajar a otro país es por… **[Leer alternativas]**
(1) Buscar mayores oportunidades de empleo
(2) Evitar ser víctima de la inseguridad
(3) Reunirse con su familia
(4) Estudiar
(7) O por otra razón
(888888) No sabe **[NO LEER]**   (988888) No responde **[NO LEER]**
(999999) Inaplicable **[NO LEER]**

Q14A. Y ahora pensando 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]**

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]**

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]**

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

VAC1. Pensando en las madres, padres o cuidadores de los niños y niñas que usted conoce en este vecindario/comunidad, ¿sabe si ellos cuidan que los niños y niñas tengan sus vacunas al día?
(1) Sí
(2) No
(888888) No sabe **[NO LEER]**
(988888) No responde **[NO LEER]**

ETID. ¿Usted se considera una persona ladina, indígena u otra?
(2) Ladina   (3) Indígena   (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]**

GI0. ¿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]**

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]**

Para finalizar, podría decirme si en su casa tienen: **[Leer todos]**

		(1) Sí	(888888) No sabe **[NO LEER]**	(988888) No responde **[NO LEER]**
R3. Refrigerador	(0) No			
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 R26]**			(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]**	(999999) Inaplicable **[NO LEER]**
R26. ¿Su vivienda está conectada a la red de desagüe?	(0) No	(1) Sí	(888888) No sabe **[NO LEER]**	(988888) No responde **[NO LEER]**	

INF3A. ¿Está usted conectado en su casa o en su barrio a la red pública de agua?
(1) Sí   (2) No   (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 barrotes o rejas 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 *[minutos, ver página # 1]* _____

INTID. Número de identificación del entrevistador: _____

SEXI. Anotar el sexo suyo: (1) Hombre   (2) Mujer

COLORI. Usando la Paleta de Colores, anote el color de piel suyo.

Yo juro que esta entrevista fue llevada a cabo con la persona indicada.
Firma del entrevistador_____ Fecha ____ /_____ /_____

Firma del supervisor de campo _____
Comentarios: _____
_____
*[No usar para PDA/Android] Firma de la persona que digitó los datos _____*
[No usar para PDA/Android] Firma de la persona que verificó los datos _____

Tarjeta A

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Izquierda					**Derecha**				

Tarjeta B

7   Mucho

6

5

4

3

2

Nada   1

Tarjeta C

Muy de acuerdo

7

6

5

4

3

2

Muy en desacuerdo **1**
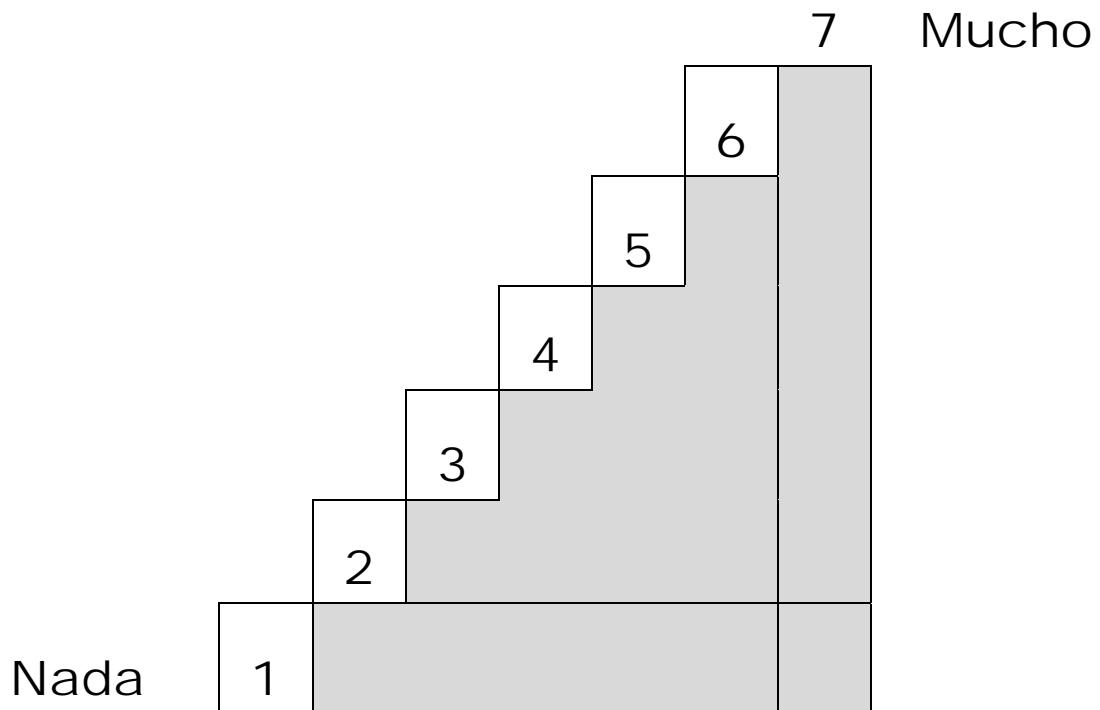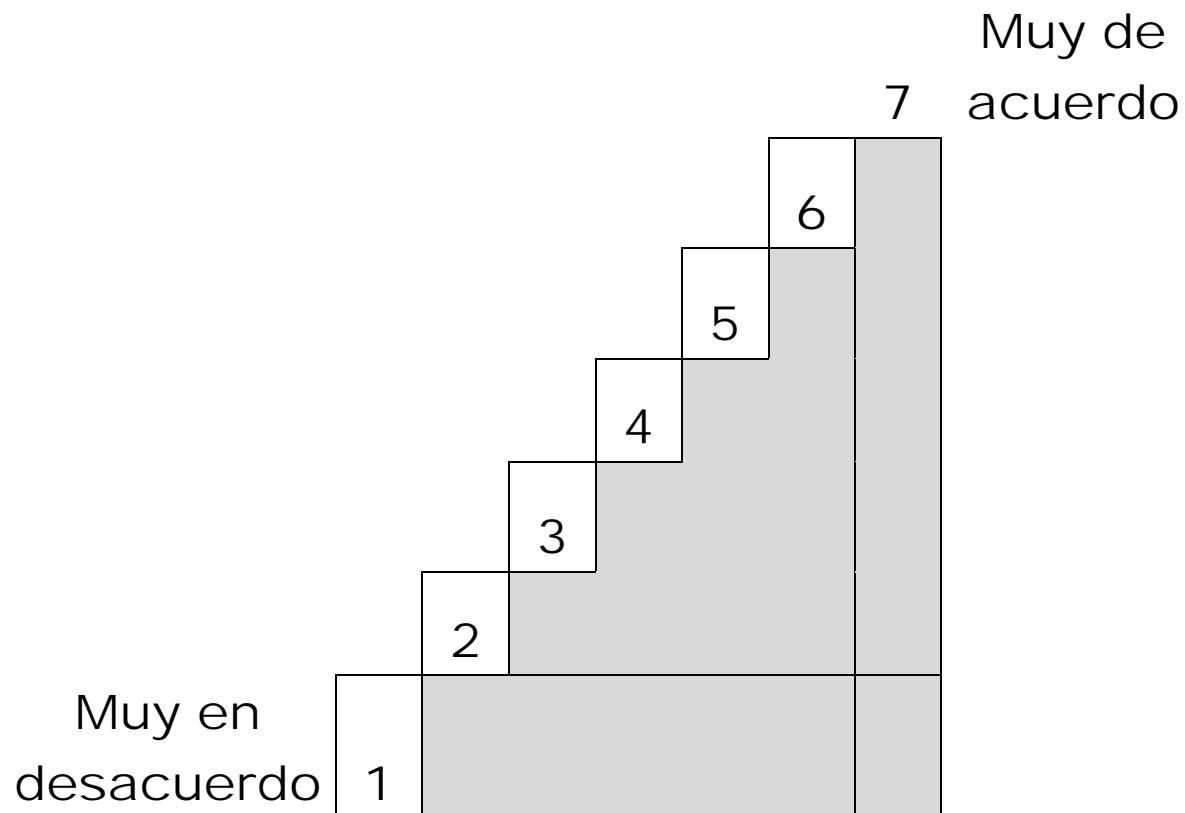
Tarjeta N

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Medio ambiente es prioridad				Crecimiento económico es prioridad		

Tarjeta D
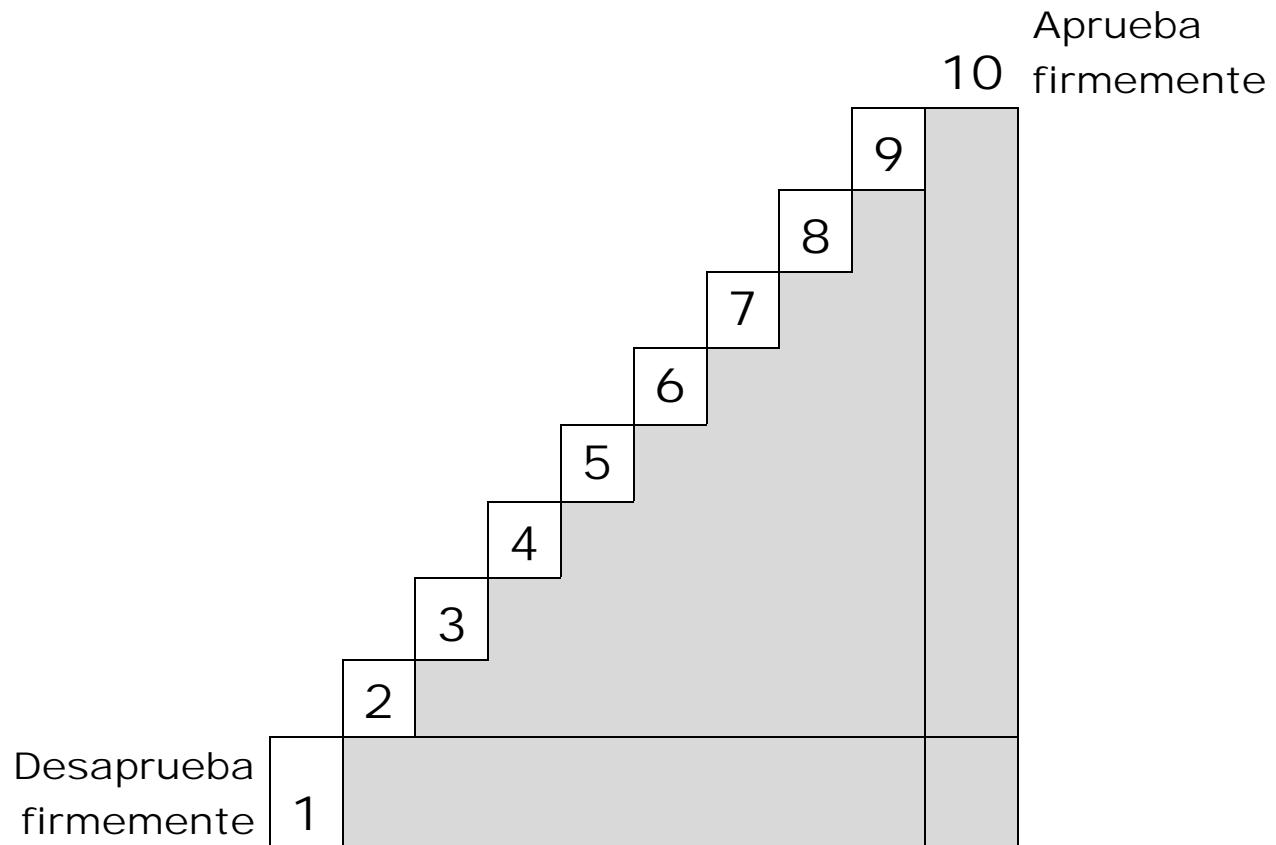
Tarjeta H

Brasil

China

Corea del Sur

Estados Unidos

India

Japón

México

Rusia

Singapur

Venezuela

Tarjeta F

(00) Ningún ingreso
(01) Menos de 450 quetzales
(02) Entre 450 y 600 quetzales
(03) Entre 601 y 750 quetzales
(04) Entre 751 y 900 quetzales
(05) Entre 901 y 1050 quetzales
(06) Entre 1051 y 1200 quetzales
(07) Entre 1201 y 1400 quetzales
(08) Entre 1401 y 1600 quetzales
(09) Entre 1601 y 1850 quetzales
(10) Entre 1851 y 2150 quetzales
(11) Entre 2151 y 2450 quetzales
(12) Entre 2451 y 2800 quetzales
(13) Entre 2801 y 3300 quetzales
(14) Entre 3301 y 3750 quetzales
(15) Entre 3751 y 4650 quetzales
(16) Más de 4650 quetzales

Tarjeta ED
[NO MOSTRAR, solo para el encuestador]

ED. ¿Cuál fue el último año de educación que usted completó o aprobó? _____ Año de _____ (primaria, secundaria, bachillerato/magisterio/secretariado, universitaria, maestría/doctorado) = _____ años total **[Usar tabla a continuación para el código]**								
	1⁰	**2⁰**	**3⁰**	**4⁰**	**5⁰**	**6⁰**	**7⁰**	
Ninguno	0							
Primaria	1	2	3	4	5	6		
Secundaria (Básicos: primero básico, segundo básico, tercero básico)	7	8	9					
Bachillerato, Magisterio o Secretariado	10	11	12	13				
Universitaria	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	
Maestría o Doctorado	19	20	21	22+				
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 Lonza; 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.

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