



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

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AmericasBarometer
Barómetro de las Américas



THE UNIVERSITY OF THE WEST INDIES
AT MONA, JAMAICA

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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 important issues, the AmericasBarometer also helps guide USAID programming and inform policymakers throughout the Latin America and Caribbean region. In numerous ways, the AmericasBarometer informs discussions over the quality and strength of democracy in the region.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



Introduction to the 2018/19 AmericasBarometer

Elizabeth J. Zechmeister and Noam Lupu

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



Acknowledgements

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Liz Zechmeister
Noam Lupu

Nashville, Tennessee
August 2019



Chapter 1.

Support for Electoral Democracy in the Americas and in Jamaica¹

Oscar Castorena² and Sarah L. Graves³ with Claire Q. Evans⁴ and Kaitlen J. Cassell^{5 6}

I. Introduction

Electoral democracy is the predominant framework for politics in Latin America and the Caribbean (LAC). The principal threats to this system of government have changed over time. Immediately following the Third Wave of democratization of the 1970s and 1980s, observers worried about a new military seizure of power or a return to dictatorial rule. In contrast, contemporary concerns for democracy in the region focus on various forms of democratic backsliding, such as overreach by powerful executives⁷ and the deinstitutionalization of democratic politics and society⁸.

Within this context, some worry about the development and persistence of electoral authoritarian regimes that feature regular elections marred by manipulation of votes or harassment of the opposition⁹. Related, scholars have suggested that a democratic “recession” or wave of autocratization is underway¹⁰, including within the LAC region¹¹.

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

¹ The AmericasBarometer survey in Jamaica is nationally representative of all adults of voting age. Data collection took place between February 8th and April 12th, 2019. During this period, 1,513 citizens or permanent residents in Jamaica 18 years of age and older were surveyed. The interviews were face to face, at the place of residence of the respondents, who were selected through a stratified multi-stage sample with sex and age quotas at the household level. For more information and technical data of the study, consult: www.vanderbilt.edu/lapop/.

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

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

⁴ Claire Q. Evans is a doctoral student in the Department of Political Science at Vanderbilt University

⁵ Kaitlen Cassell is a doctoral student in the Department of Political Science at Vanderbilt University

⁶ Some text in this chapter is taken, with permission, from a previous report published by LAPOP (Cohen 2017). We thank Mollie Cohen for her effort in that earlier project and for her permission to build on that work.

⁷ Bermeo 2016.

⁸ Morgan 2018.

⁹ Levitsky and Way 2010.

¹⁰ Diamond and Plattner 2015, Lührmann and Lindberg 2019.

¹¹ Almagro 2019; Goldfrank 2017; but see Van Dyck 2017.

of corruption or “an escalation of authoritarian tendencies, populism, and violence”^{12 13}. Recent presidents in a number of countries, such as Peru, Nicaragua, and Guatemala, have sought to weaken the other branches of government and the capacity of international organizations to keep them in check¹⁴. Further complicating democratic consolidation and maintenance is the fact that countries in the region are grappling with problems such as economic hardship and crime. For example, transnational organized crime groups in Mexico and several Central American countries have exacerbated corruption, insecurity and violence¹⁵. These problems of insecurity as well as economic downturns, cast as failures of democratic regimes, can create the fertile conditions for the rise of authoritarian alternatives.

Figure 1.1 provides an overview of the state of democracy in the Latin America and Caribbean region as interpreted through indices (ratings) from the V-Dem project¹⁶ and Freedom House, which rely on expert evaluations.¹⁷ The data in these projects complement the public opinion surveys analyzed in the remainder of the report. Along with each country’s latest score, the figure also plots the score from two years prior.^{18 19} This provides a sense of the recent change in electoral democracy in each country. There is notable variation across countries in the advance and retreat of democracy in this relatively short two-year period. While the ratings are created using different methodologies, they point to similar conclusions.²⁰ According to both measures, the highest quality democracies in the region are Costa Rica, Uruguay, and Chile. At the other extreme, Nicaragua, Honduras, and Guatemala rank at the bottom. Jamaica ranks 5th on both V-DEM and Freedom House scores, near Argentina, Panama, and Brazil.

¹² Peru’s president resigned in March just ahead of a vote on impeachment on corruption charges. In Nicaragua, widespread protests against the government of President Daniel Ortega were suppressed violently, with over 300 people killed. In Guatemala, efforts by President Jimmy Morales to undermine and expel the U.N.-backed International Commission against Impunity in Guatemala (CICIG) prompted widespread protests and expressions of international concern.

¹³ Almagro 2019, p.6.

¹⁴ Sullivan et al. 2019 p.5.

¹⁵ Sullivan et al., 2019 p.1.

¹⁶ Coppedge et al. 2019

¹⁷ For more information on the methodologies of the V-Dem and Freedom House scores, see <https://www.v-dem.net/en/reference/version-9-apr-2019/> and <https://freedomhouse.org/report/methodology-freedom-world-2018>.

¹⁸ Freedom House provides ratings for each country in its annual *Freedom in the World* report. These ratings are based on the previous calendar year such that the 2019 ratings reflect events in 2018 and so on. Therefore, the V-Dem and Freedom House scores summarized in Figure 1.1 cover the same period.

¹⁹ The left panel of Figure 1.1 shows the values of the V-DEM Electoral Democracy Index for the years 2016 (squares) and 2018 (circles). The differences between the years, for each country, are represented by arrows. This arrow is red if there was a decline in the index between years, and green if the democratic indicator shows improvement. Similarly, the Freedom House data presented in the right panel show ratings for 2017 (squares) and 2019 (circles). Green and red arrows are also used to indicate improvement or decline, respectively, in the democratic indicator for each country. When there is no colored arrow, the values of the two measures are exactly the same (circles and squares are superimposed), indicating no trend.

²⁰ The ratings provided by Freedom House are originally coded such that a value of one represents the most free and a value of seven represents the least free. We reverse the coding here so as to facilitate comparison with other democracy measures.

Ecuador had the largest improvement in V-Dem's electoral democracy index of the 18 countries included here and was also one of the three countries to see an improvement in Freedom House's freedom rating. In early 2017, a referendum saw Ecuadorians vote to bring back presidential term limits, placing constraints on executive power. At the other end of the spectrum, Nicaragua experienced the largest decline in democracy, according to both the Freedom House and V-Dem measures.²¹ Nicaragua's democratic backsliding is evident – among other ways – in its holding of hundreds of political prisoners, arrested by paramilitary forces controlled by the Ortega government, for protesting against the regime. This type of capture and detention of citizens as political prisoners undermines basic human rights that should be guaranteed to citizens in a democratic system²².

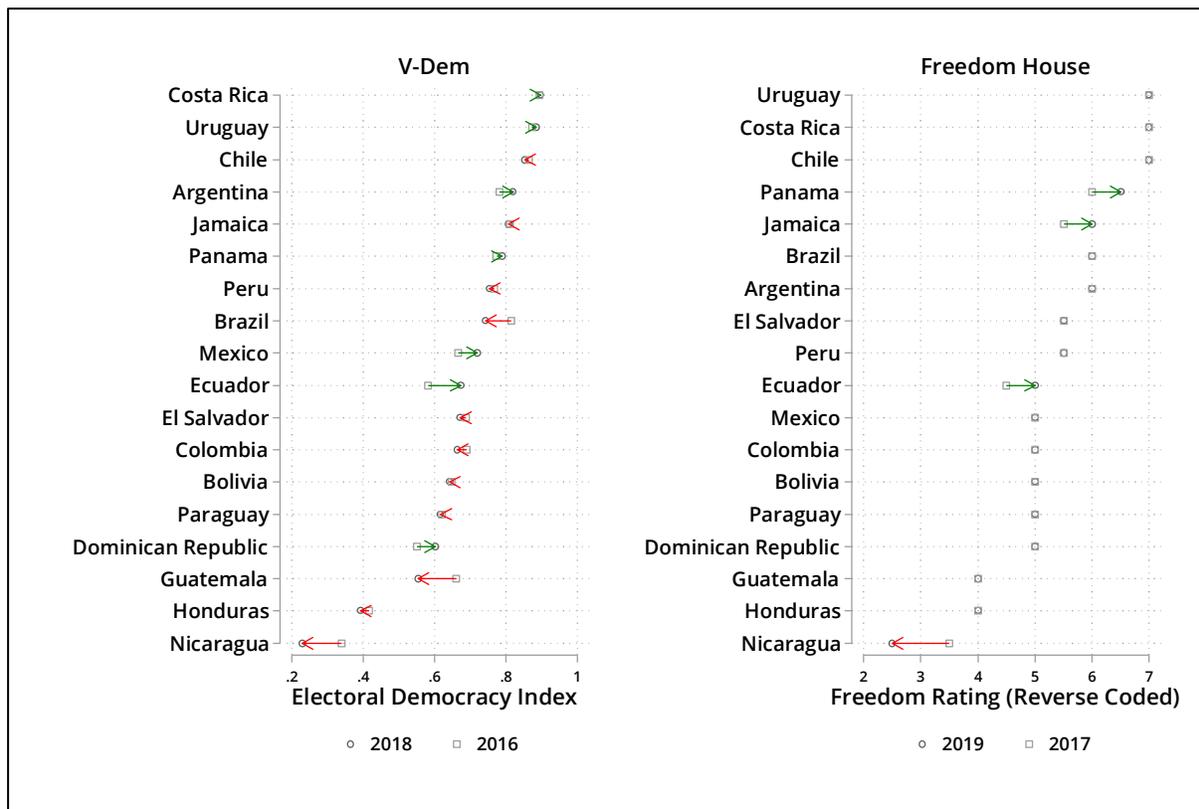


Figure 1.1. State of Democracy in the LAC-18 Region

A central question for scholars and policymakers concerns the factors behind democratic consolidation and, likewise, behind democratic backsliding. Theoretical work in political science holds that the endurance and quality of democratic governments rests, in part, on the political attitudes of their citizens. Without popular support, democratic regimes in crisis are more prone to experience breakdowns or democratic backsliding.²³

²¹ Another country experiencing notable declines in democracy, but not included in the 18 countries studied in this report, was Venezuela. The decision not to include Venezuela in the 2018/19 round of the AmericasBarometer survey was influenced by the levels of insecurity associated with the country's political and economic instability, which complicated fieldwork in the 2016/17 round.

²² Almagro 2019.

²³ Lipset 1959, Easton 1965.

Recent empirical work has found evidence for a causal relationship between citizens' opinions and the endurance of democracy in a country.²⁴ That is, the mass public's support for democracy has a positive effect on the resilience and nature of democracy. We use this insight, that citizens' attitudes and beliefs about democracy are consequential for democracy's endurance and growth, as the starting point for this report's assessment of public support for democracy in general and public evaluations of democracy in practice in the LAC region.

II. Main Findings

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

- In Jamaica, support for democracy in 2018/19 continues to decline from previous years. Older and more educated individuals express more support for democracy, on average.
- Support for executive coups (that is, the shutdown of the legislature) in Jamaica increased by 5.6 percentage points in 2018/19. Support for executive coups is highest among the youngest age groups and the poorest individuals.
- Satisfaction with democracy in Jamaica continued to decrease in 2018/19 to a historic low (32.3%). The youngest, most educated, and wealthiest individuals are those most satisfied with democracy.
- Over half the LAC public believes their country is democratic. Across countries, the percent agreeing that their country is a democracy ranges from 52.3% to 67.3%. In Jamaica, 64.4% believe that their country is a democracy.

III. Basic Tenets of Electoral Democracy

While there exist multiple conceptualizations and definitions of democracy²⁵, this chapter focuses on *electoral democracy*. In his classic work, Schumpeter provides a definition of electoral democracy as a system “for arriving at political decisions in which individuals acquire the power to decide by means of a competitive struggle for the people’s vote”²⁶. While other definitions provide more comprehensive conceptualizations with additional dimensions²⁷, this minimalist definition addresses the most basic tenet of democracy: rule by competitively elected leaders. This definition also directly relates to the principal threats that have challenged democratic government in the contemporary LAC region. The first is the risk that unelected actors, such as the military, seize political power from elected officials. The second is the risk that executives go beyond their mandate and seek to rule unilaterally, undermining congresses elected by the people to legislate.

²⁴ Claassen 2019.

²⁵ Diamond 1999.

²⁶ Schumpeter 1942, p.260.

²⁷ See Dahl 1971.



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

Support for Democracy in the Abstract

To what extent do individuals in the Latin America and the Caribbean region believe that democracy is the best political system, and how does their support for democracy in 2018/19 compare to past years? Since its inception, the AmericasBarometer project has asked respondents across the Americas the following question to assess support for democracy:²⁸

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

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

Figure 1.2 displays the percent of individuals in each country expressing support for democracy in 2018/19.²⁹ Support for democracy ranges from a low of 45% in Honduras to a high of 76.2% in Uruguay. The percent of the public supporting democracy is highest in some of the region’s most stable democracies (Uruguay, Costa Rica). Support for democracy is lowest in Guatemala and Honduras. In Jamaica, 51.2% support democracy as the best form of government, which places the country in the lower end of the range, although not at levels as low as those in Honduras.

²⁸This question is often referred to as a “Churchillian” question of democratic support, as it is derived from Winston Churchill’s oft-quoted speech from the House of Commons, in which he noted that, “...democracy is the worst form of Government except for all those other forms that have been tried from time to time (Churchill 1947).”

²⁹ See Annex A, “Explanation of the Graphs in this Study” for a description of how to read this and other graphs in the report.

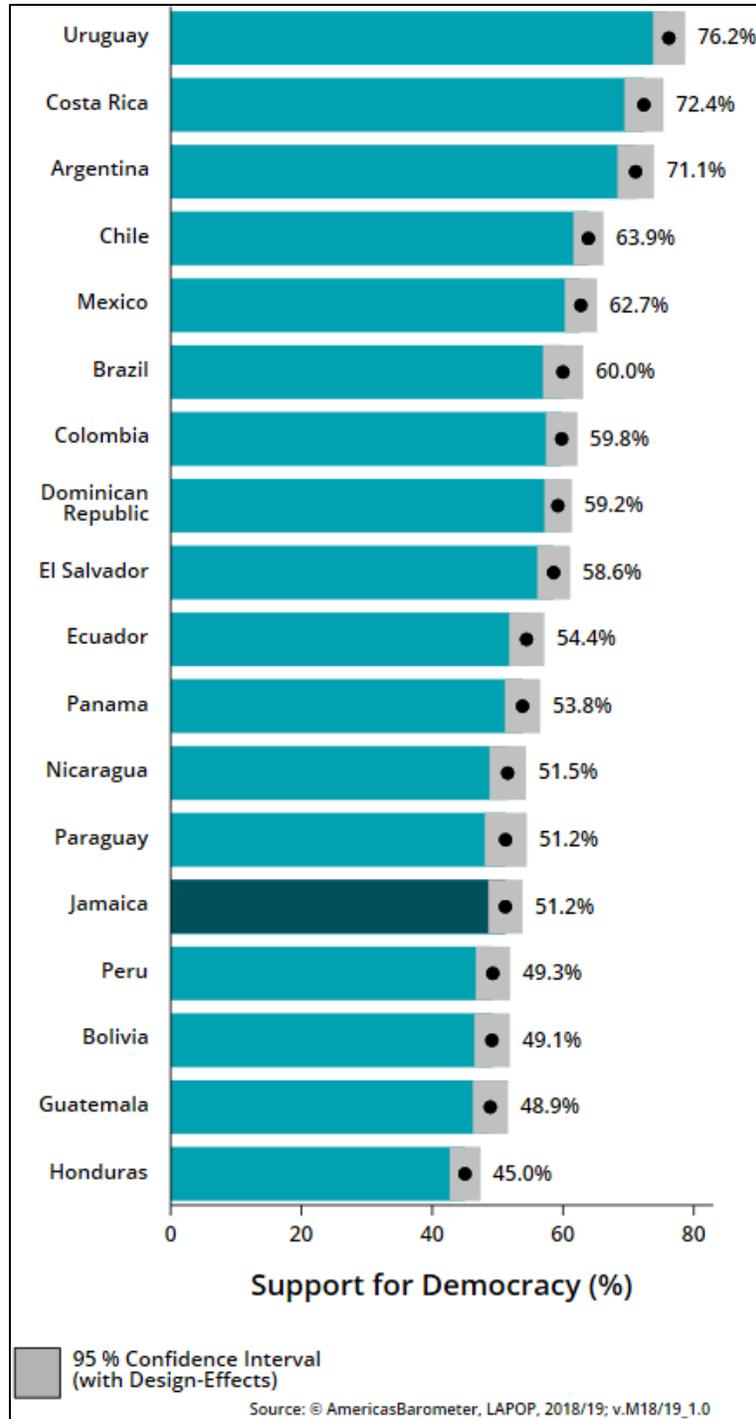


Figure 1.2. Cross-National Support for Democracy

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



is consistent with previous research that identifies public support as a critical ingredient for the vitality of democracy³⁰.

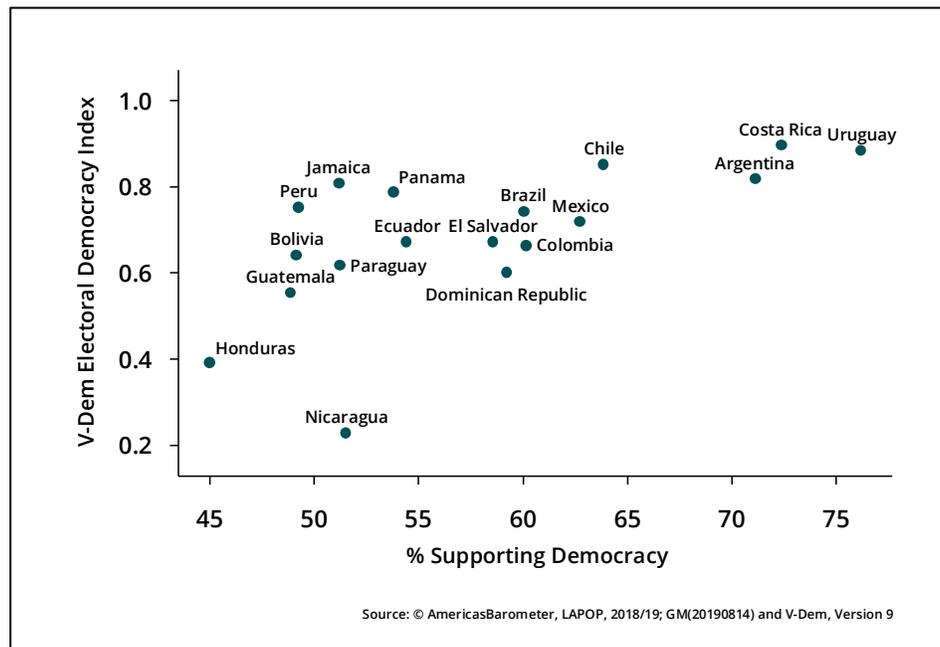


Figure 1.3. Support for Democracy and the Level of Democracy

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

The level of support for democracy in Jamaica over time is shown in Figure 1.4. While most Jamaicans have shown support democracy since the beginning of the measure (2006), the percentage that recognizes democracy as the best form of government has declined to its lowest historical level in 2019 (51.2%). From 2006 to 2019, there has been a 27.2 percentage point reduction in support for democracy as the best form of government in Jamaica, a substantial and statistically significant reduction over time.

³⁰ Claassen 2019.

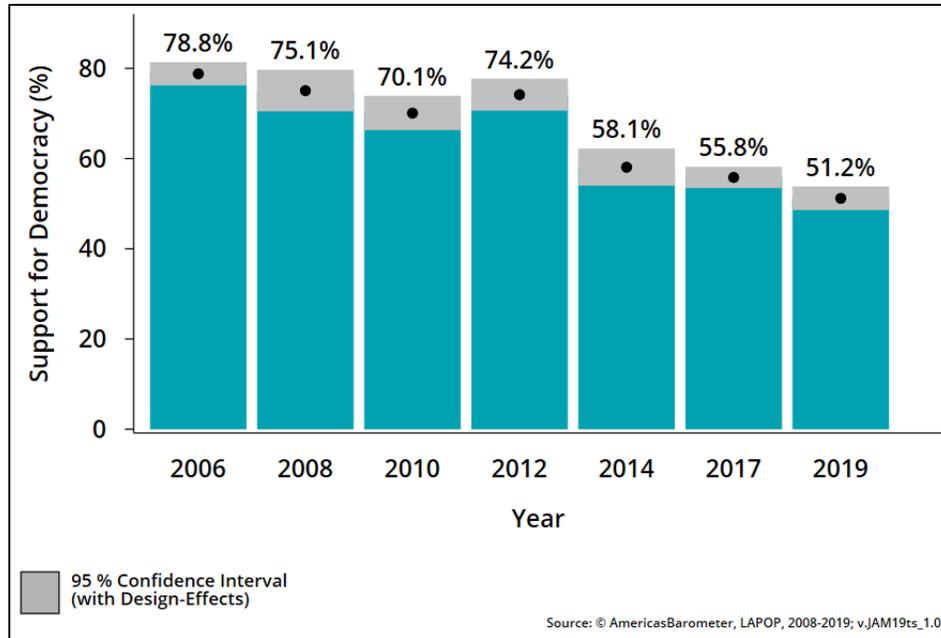


Figure 1.4. Support for Democracy, Jamaica 2006-2019

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

Figure 1.5 shows that, generally, education and age is related to support for democracy. The most and least educated citizens support democracy at higher rates (56.9% and 77.8%, respectively) than those with primary or secondary education. Older individuals are more likely to report support for democracy than younger citizens do. While 37.0% of those 26-35 years old support democracy, 61.0% of those 66 years old or older support democracy.³¹

³¹Regression results available upon request from the lead author.

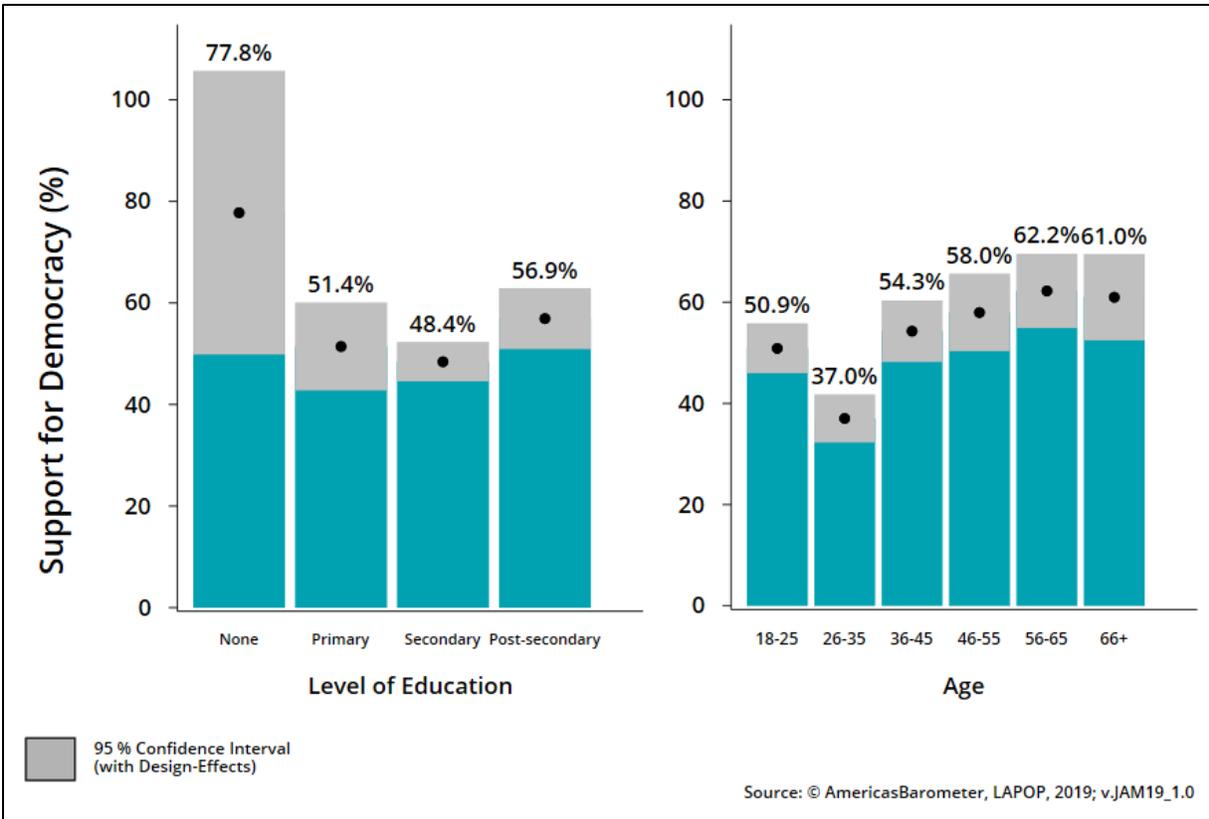


Figure 1.5. Demographic and Socio-Economic Correlates of Support for Democracy, Jamaica 2019

Rules of the Game: Tolerance of Military Coups

In addition to support for democracy in the abstract, acceptance of the basic rules of electoral democracy as “the only game in town” is key to stability and persistence of democratic governance.³² This means, in short, that citizens in democratic societies should not tolerate military coups that replace the incumbent democratically elected government with military leadership. The 2018/19 AmericasBarometer includes two items that tap willingness to tolerate a military takeover of the government. A randomly drawn half of respondents received the first of the following questions, while the other half was randomly assigned to receive the second:

³² Linz and Stepan (1996) use the phrase “the only game in town” to refer to the consolidation of democracy. With respect to the role of public opinion, they state, “Attitudinally, a democratic regime is consolidated when a strong majority of public opinion, even in the midst of major economic problems and deep dissatisfaction with incumbents, holds the belief that democratic procedures and institutions are the most appropriate way to govern collective life, and when support for antisystem alternatives is quite small or more-or-less isolated from prodemocratic forces (16).”

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

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

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

More generally, levels of tolerance for military coups are lowest in Uruguay, Colombia, Panama, Argentina, Chile, and El Salvador. Tolerance for coups is the highest in Jamaica, Peru, Ecuador, Mexico, Honduras, and Guatemala. In the Jamaica, support for military coups under high crime is 65.0%, which places the country at the top of the region; support for military coups under high levels of corruption is slightly lower but still the highest in the region (58.3%).

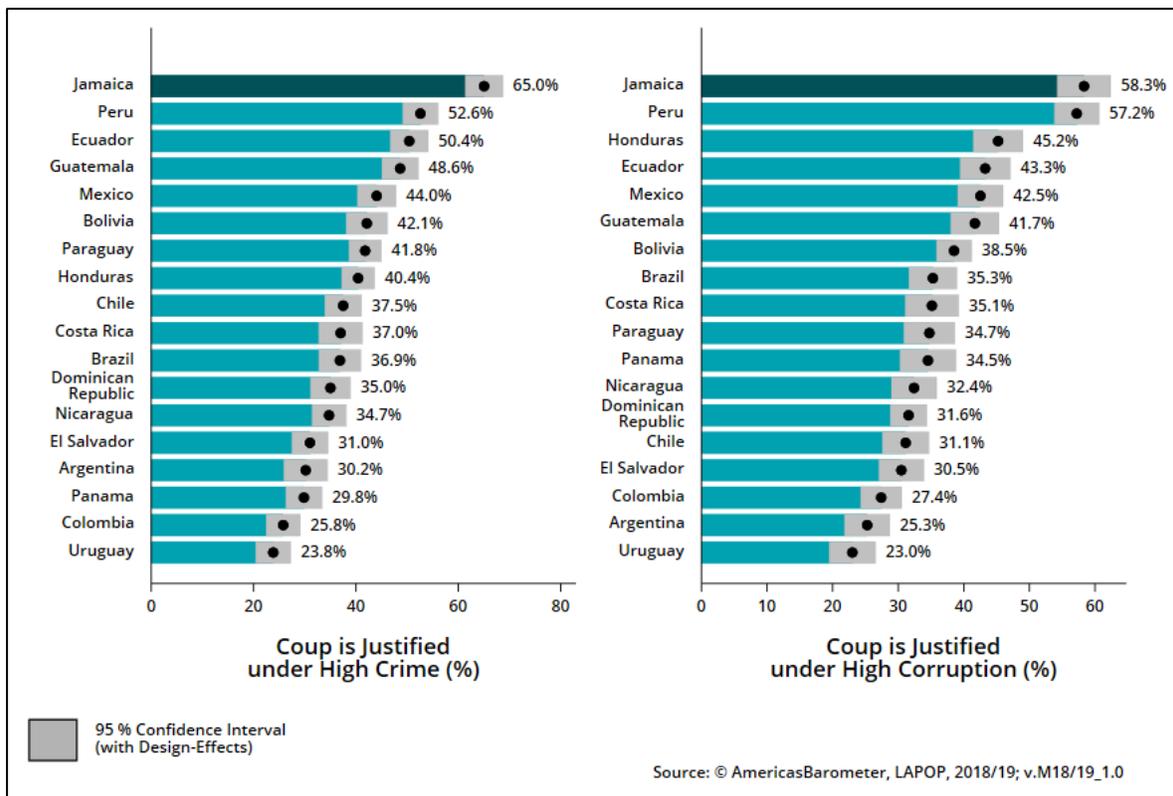


Figure 1.6. Tolerance of Military Coups under High Crime and High Corruption, 2018/19



Figure 1.7 shows cross-time change in tolerance for military coups in Jamaica. Levels of tolerance for military coups under high crime have increased from 46.2% to 65.0% since 2012. Likewise, levels of support for military coups under high corruption have increased from 35.4% to 58.3% since 2012. The decreased support for democracy correlates with the over-time increased tolerance for military regimes in Jamaica.

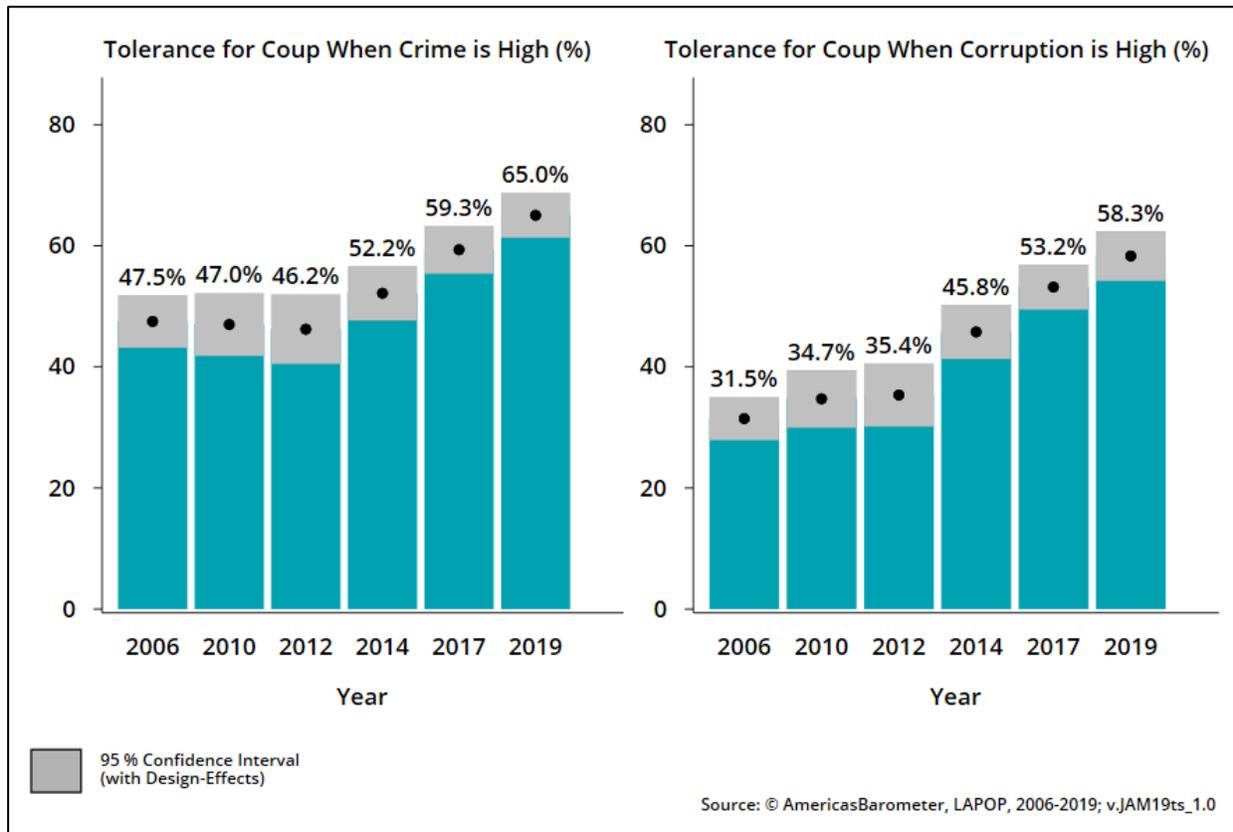


Figure 1.7. Tolerance for Military Coups, Jamaica 2006-2019

Figure 1.8 shows tolerance for military coups by demographic and socio-economic subgroups. For the sake of parsimony, we present results only for tolerance of coups in contexts of high crime, because the relationships between socio-demographic categories and tolerance of coups under high corruption are substantively similar to those reported here. In Jamaica, wealthier individuals are slightly less likely than poorer individuals to voice their tolerance for a hypothetical coup. Those who reside in urban areas and older individuals are less likely to express tolerance for military coups than are their younger and rural counterparts.

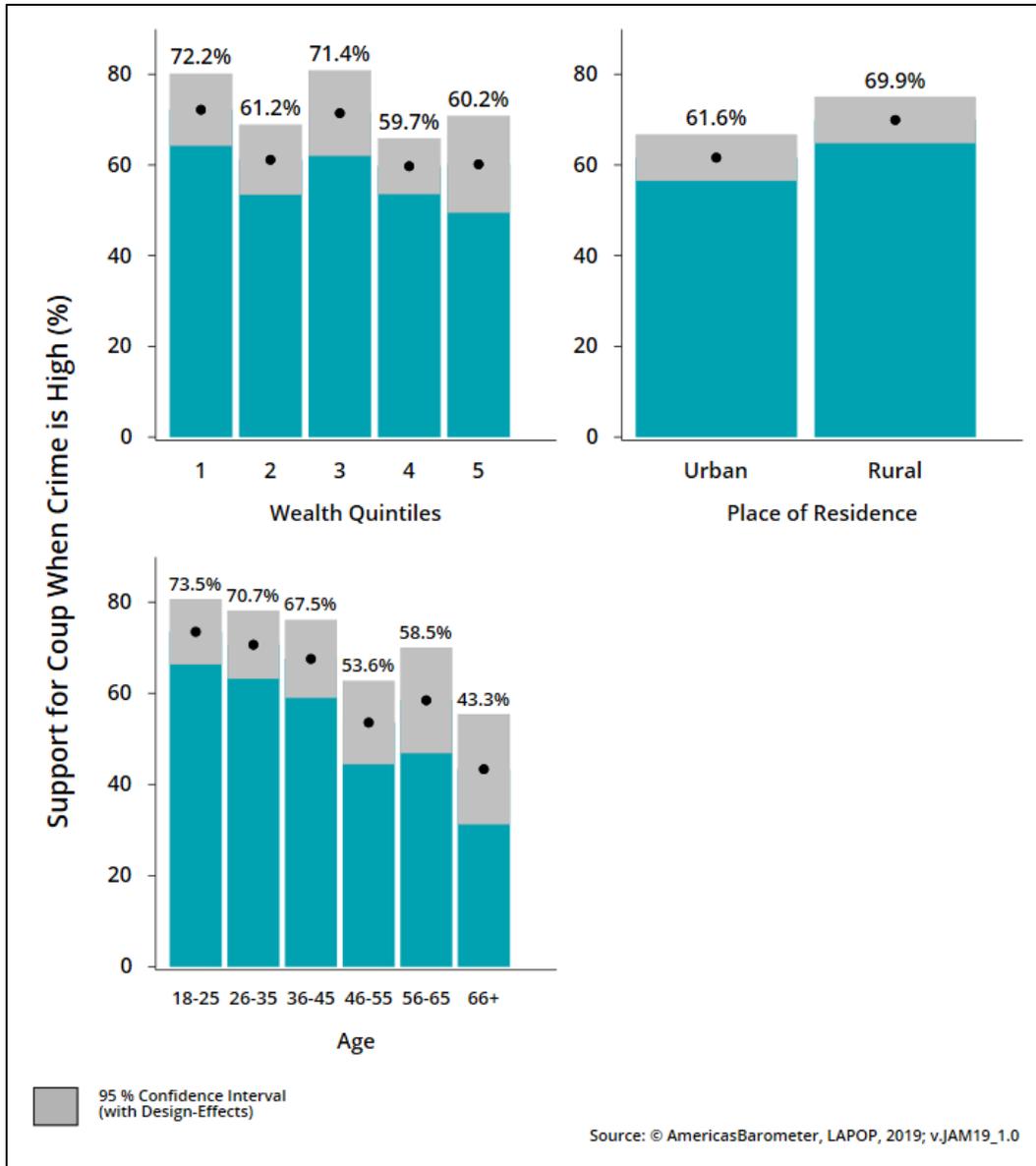


Figure 1.8. Demographic and Socio-Economic Predictors of Tolerance of Military Coups, Jamaica 2019

Tolerance of Executive Coups

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

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

Figure 1.9 shows the distribution of tolerance for executive coups in very difficult times across countries in the LAC region in 2018/19. Tolerance for executive coups across the region is generally lower than tolerance for coups by the military under conditions of high crime or corruption. The variation in tolerance for executive coups across countries is notable, the lowest being in Uruguay (9.2%) and highest in Peru (58.9%). Jamaica has an average level of support for executive coups relative to the region with 24.0% saying they are justified.

Not only is the Peruvian case an outlier in terms of average tolerance for executive coups, it also registered the largest increase in the measure from the 2016/17 round of the AmericasBarometer (21.1 percentage points.). This dramatic shift in the public's tolerance for unilateral assertions of power by the executive reflects recent political developments in the country.³³

³³ See Ramírez Bustamante and Zechmeister 2019.

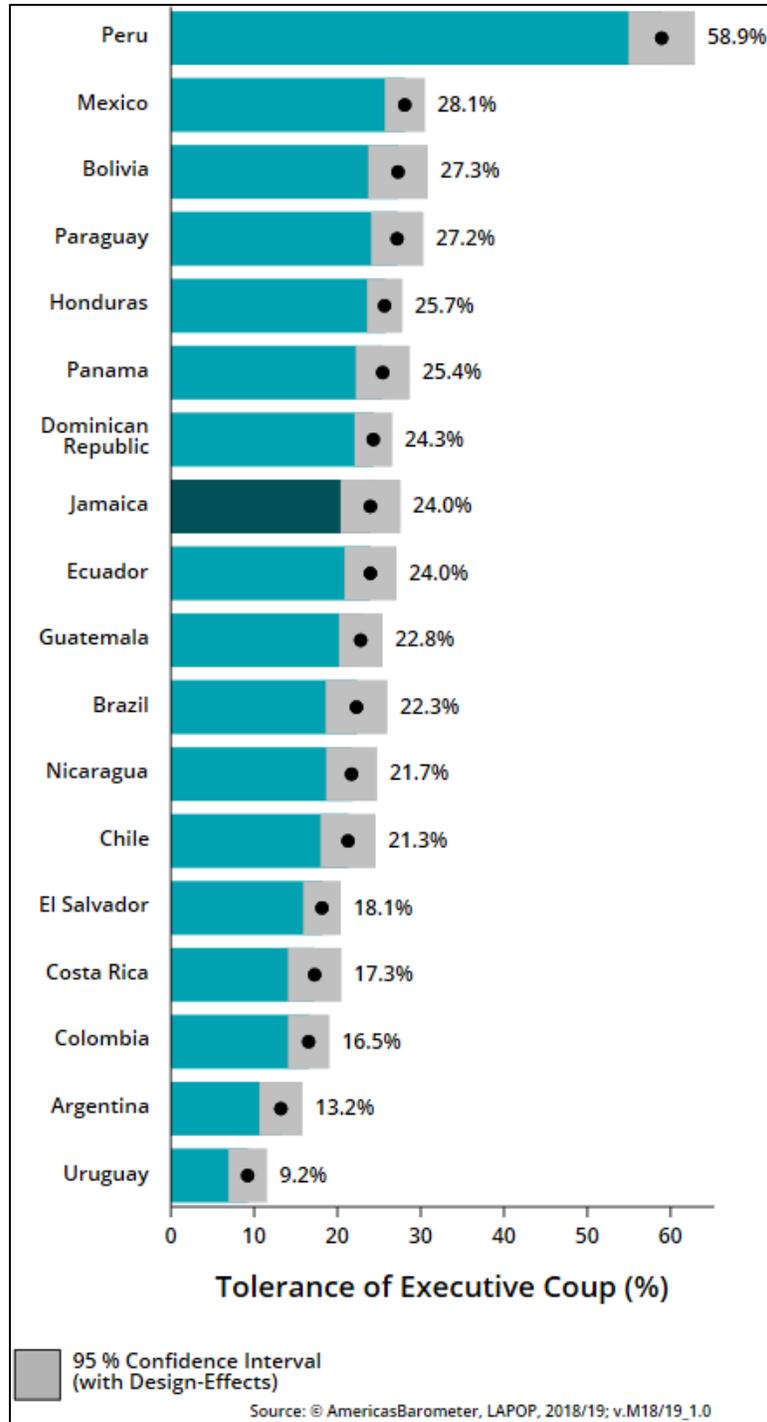


Figure 1.9. Tolerance for Executive Coups, 2018/19

While tolerance for executive coups is lower than tolerance for military coups under high crime or high corruption, Figure 1.10 shows that levels of tolerance for an executive shutdown of the legislature has increased substantially since the 2010 round of the AmericasBarometer in Jamaica—from 8.7% to 24.0% in 2019. This round marks the highest point observed in the Jamaica AmericasBarometer survey, a worrying trend.

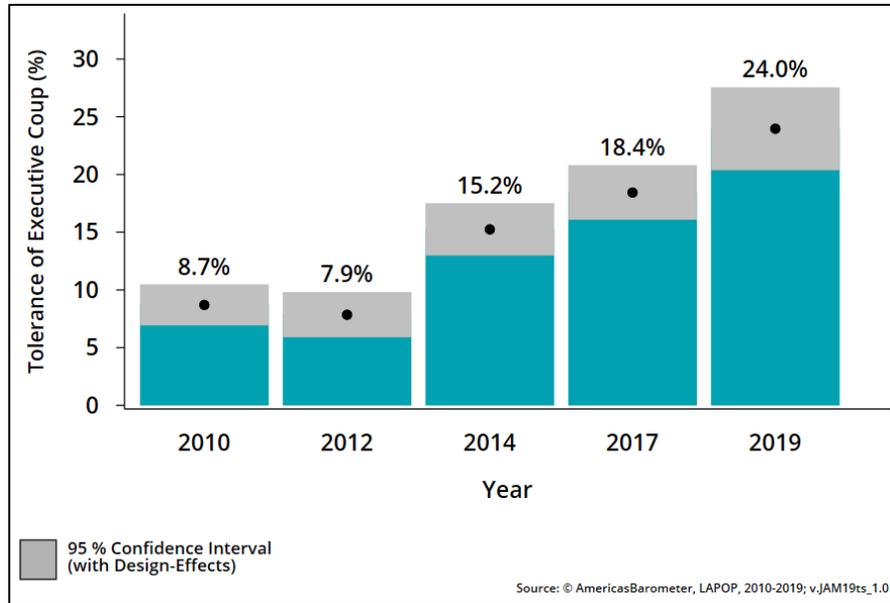


Figure 1.10. Tolerance for Executive Coups, Jamaica 2010-2019

Figure 1.11 shows that the demographic and socio-economic predictors of tolerance for executive coups are similar to those found in the analysis of tolerance for military coups: the wealthiest (17.3%) and two oldest age groups (15.3% and 20.4%) are significantly less likely to tolerate executive coups than those in the lowest wealth quintile (30.3%) and youngest age cohort (31.3%). There are no significant differences in tolerance for executive coup among education levels, urban/rural locations, nor differences between men and women.

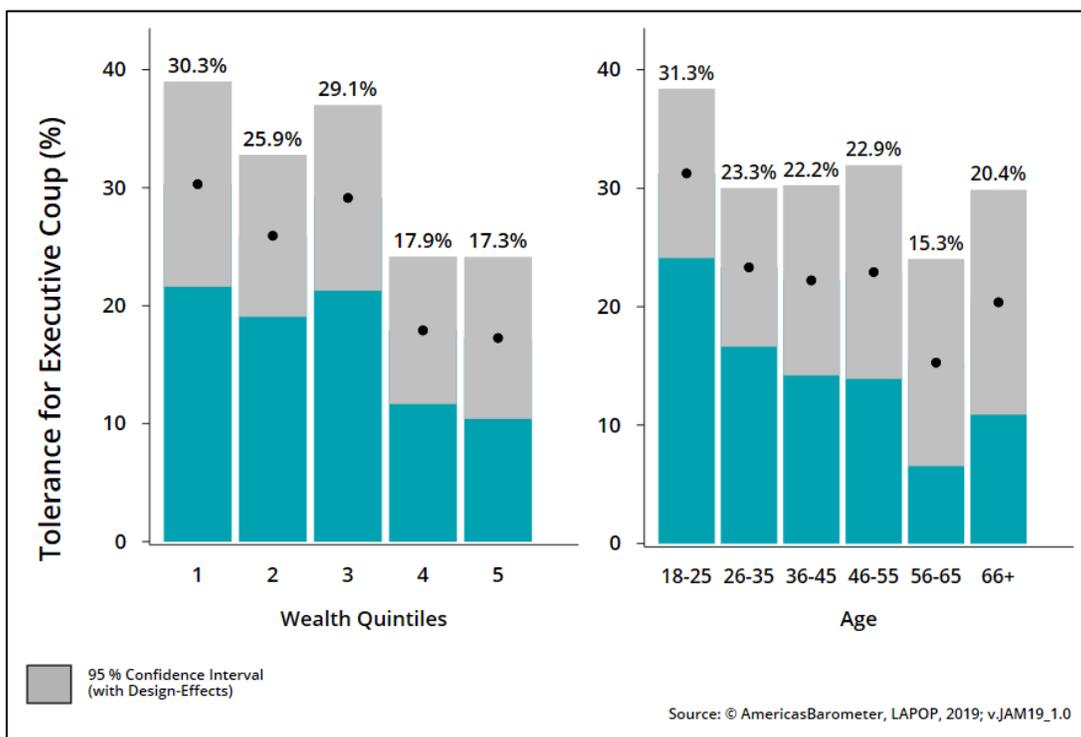


Figure 1.11. Demographic and Socio-Economic Predictors of Tolerance for Executive Coups, Jamaica 2019

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

IV. Evaluation of Democracy

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

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

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

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

Satisfaction with Democracy

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

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

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



dissatisfied” are “dissatisfied” are coded together as dissatisfaction, and responses of “very satisfied” and “satisfied” are coded together as satisfaction.

Figure 1.12 displays the percentage of respondents in each country that reports satisfaction with democracy. The percentage of citizens who are satisfied with democracy ranges widely, from 26.1% in Panama to 59.5% in Uruguay (the only country that exceeds 50%). Jamaica has the fourth lowest percentage of people satisfied with democracy in the entire LAC-18 region (32.2%), below the 2018/19 regional average of 39.6%.

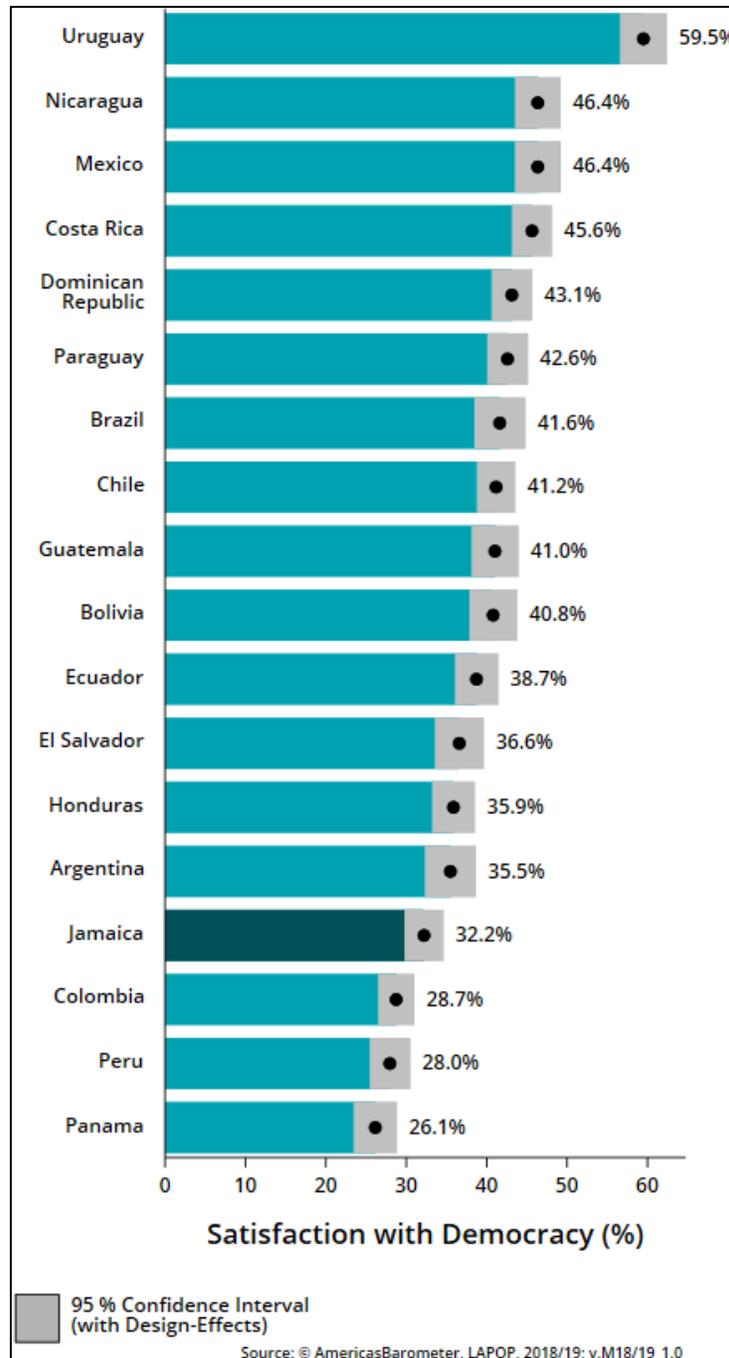


Figure 1.12. Satisfaction with Democracy, 2018/19

Figure 1.13 shows the percentage of Jamaicans satisfied with democracy over time. After reaching the highest point in the 2012 round (59.5%), support for democracy decreased substantially in 2014 and has continued declining to an historic low in 2019 (32.2%).

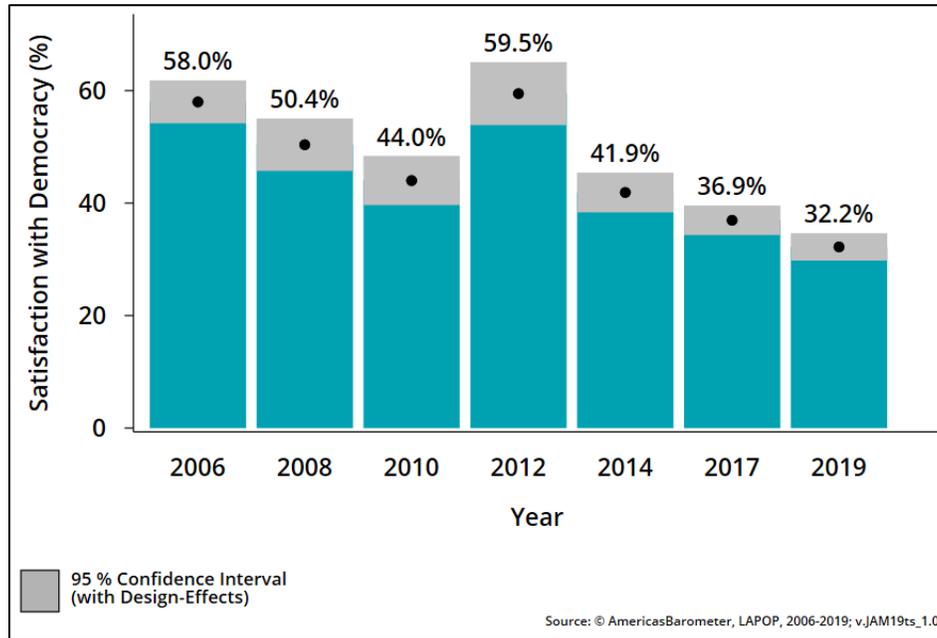


Figure 1.13. Satisfaction with Democracy, Jamaica 2006-2019

In terms of who is most likely to be satisfied with democracy, the results in Figure 1.14 show that – on average in Jamaica– those with more education and wealth are more satisfied with democracy in their country than those with no education or only primary education and those in lower wealth quintiles. Satisfaction with democracy declines across age groups, with those over 65 being the least satisfied with democracy (24.2%).

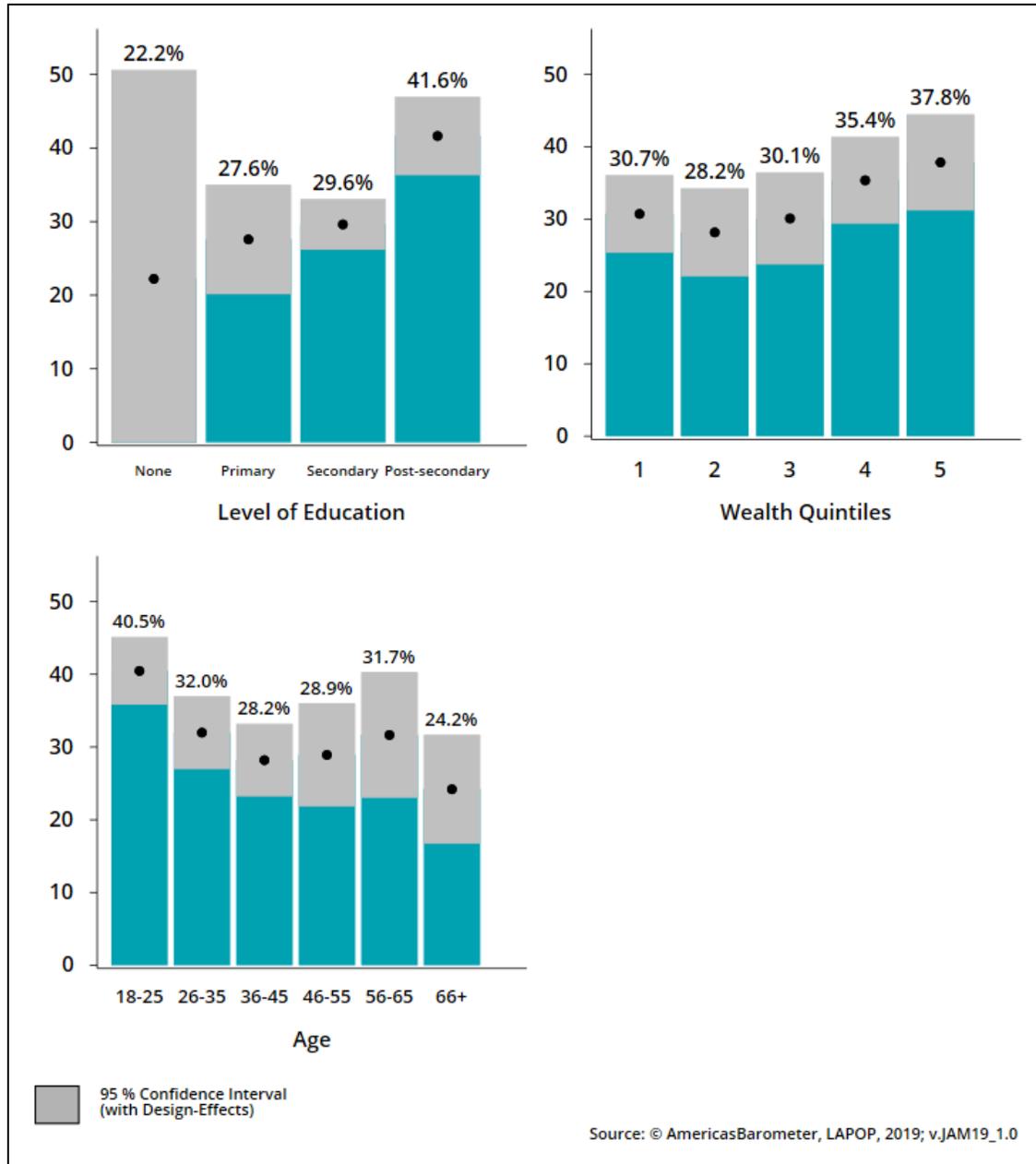


Figure 1.14. Demographic and Socio-Economic Predictors of Satisfaction with Democracy, Jamaica 2019

Democratic Status of Political System

While satisfaction with democracy is a key element democratic governance, citizens' evaluations of their country as being democratic or not provide additional insight into how they view their country's political system. If they do not believe it to be a democracy, then they are more likely to give poor evaluations and be less satisfied. In nine countries included in the 2018/19 AmericasBarometer, the survey asked respondents the following question as a follow-up to the question of whether or not they were satisfied with democracy:

	Yes	No
DEM30. In your opinion, is Jamaica a democracy?	1	2

Figure 1.15 shows that evaluations of countries as democratic ranges from only 52.3% in Honduras to 67.3% in Paraguay. The majority of the nine cases cluster around percentages in the mid-60s, with 64.4% in Jamaica evaluating their country as a democracy. As we had conjectured earlier, those who report that their country is not a democracy also have a high tendency to say that that they are dissatisfied with how democracy works in the country. Among those who disagree with the statement that their country is a democracy, 79.4% report being dissatisfied with the way democracy functions in their country. Among those who do agree that their country is a democracy, opinion is divided about the quality of that democracy: 50.2% report being dissatisfied and 49.8% report being satisfied with democracy as it functions in their country.

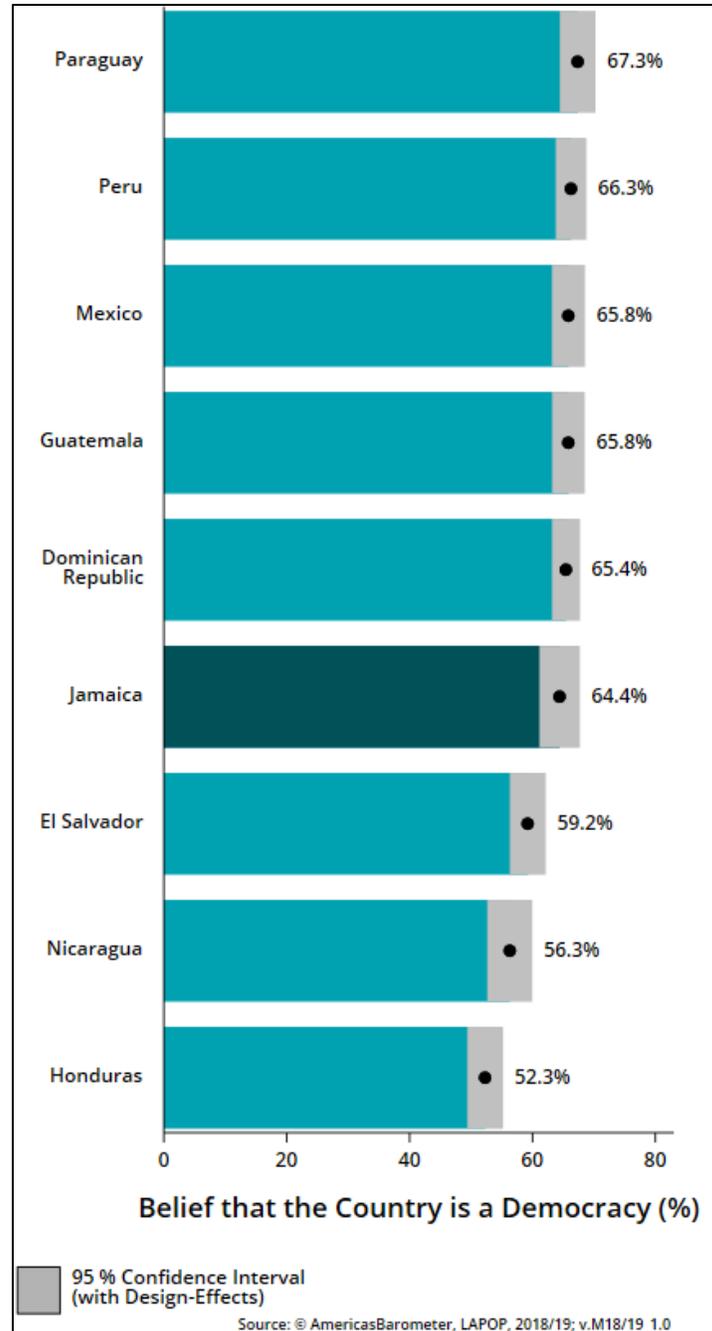


Figure 1.15. Evaluations of Country as Democratic, 2018/19

Who is more likely to report that their country is democratic? Figure 1.16 shows that the demographic and socio-economic features associated with thinking that Jamaica is democratic are similar to those associated with satisfaction with democracy. More wealth and higher levels of education are generally associated with the belief that Jamaica is a democracy, although those with no education are an outlier in that 85.7% believe Jamaica is a democracy. The youngest and oldest cohorts are marginally more likely to believe the country is a democracy, with 26 to 55 year olds showing lower evaluations than either 18-25 year olds or those older than 55.

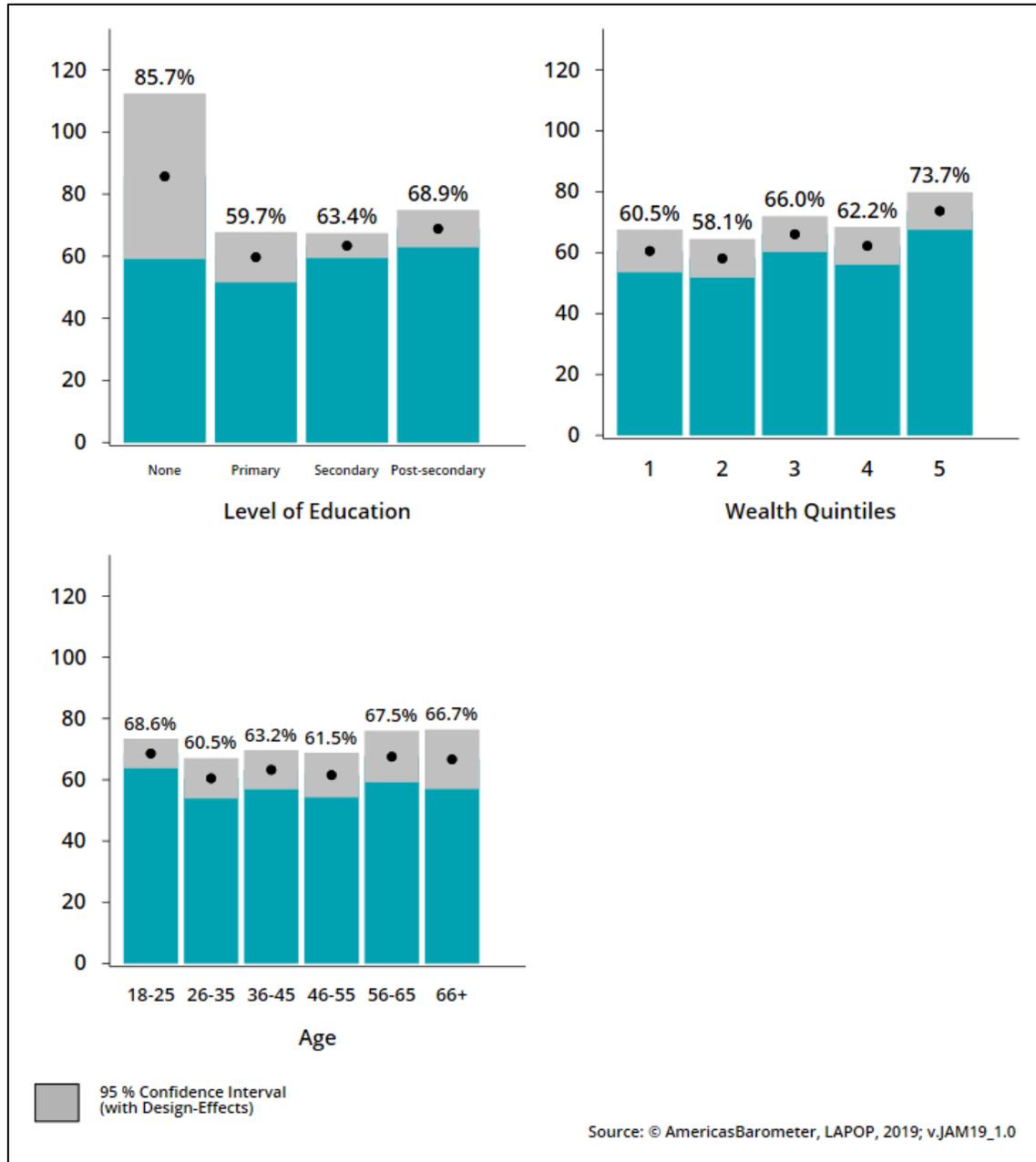


Figure 1.16. Demographic and Socio-Economic Predictors of Evaluation of Country as Democratic, Jamaica 2019

V. Conclusion

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

in previous years. In contrast, the belief that executive coups are justified in difficult times has increased substantially over the last four rounds of the AmericasBarometer.

Trends in Jamaica have both mirrored the regional trends. Support for democracy as a system in the 2019 survey is the lowest since the measurements began, showing less stability than in the region as a whole. Also, satisfaction with the functioning of democracy continues to decline. Finally, support for military coups is at a historical high, around 60% of the population would support a military coup. Tolerance of a hypothetical executive coup also reached its peak in 2019, with almost a quarter of respondents expressing that they would tolerate such a situation.

The overall downward casting trend in support for the basic tenets of democracy and diminished levels of system support may leave the public increasingly open to undemocratic leaders who offer action in times of crisis. Given the link between public opinion and democratic stability³⁴, the stagnation of public support for democracy in the region in general, and in Jamaica in particular, is troubling.

³⁴ Claassen 2019.

Appendix

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

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

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

* Denotes significant differences at $p < 0.05$.



Chapter 2.

Democratic Legitimacy in the Americas and in Jamaica

Oscar Castorena¹ and Brielle Morton² with Claire Q. Evans³ and Kaitlen J. Cassell^{4 5}

I. Introduction

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

Political legitimacy or "system support" has long been a focus of public opinion research in both new and developed democracies because a decline in mass support could result in political instability.⁶ Political systems with low levels of legitimacy will be ill equipped to weather periods of crisis. Moreover, legitimacy matters at the level of political institutions as it can prevent interbranch crises,⁷ a key threat to the stability of democracy in the region. Along with concerns about the stability of democratic regimes, previous research has found that system support is important for the ability of political leaders to carry out their work successfully.⁸ Political environments with high trust in the regime provide leaders with more leeway to govern effectively as they can count on a "reservoir" of support.⁹ Conversely, in low trust environments, poor performance and political scandals can mean that governments quickly lose the broad support of the people to rule.

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

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

⁶ Dalton 2004.

⁷ Helmke 2010.

⁸ Hetherington 1998.

⁹ Easton 1975, Lipset 1963.

resulting in her impeachment in 2016. The sacking of the president, however, was not enough to restore public trust in the Brazilian government. Rousseff's successor, Michel Temer, had previously served as her vice president; as Acting President, Temer sustained approval ratings in the single digits and the public grew distrustful of the Congress, as the corruption scandal engulfed nearly every sector of the country's political class.¹⁰ Persistent low levels of political legitimacy fueled the rise of an anti-establishment populist leader, Jair Bolsonaro, whose election ironically may have restored public confidence in democratic processes at the same time that his leadership style presents a challenge to the country's democracy.

Along with basic regime survival and stability, political legitimacy is necessary for a regime to govern effectively and for society to flourish. This is especially relevant for two challenges facing the region: migration and insecurity. Previous research has connected the quality of democracy and citizens' confidence in their government institutions to intentions to emigrate.¹¹ In contexts where the government has, through economic mismanagement, corruption, or repression, failed to secure diffuse political support, citizens may decide to emigrate (exit) rather than attempt to exercise their voice as a strategy to change the government.¹² Political legitimacy is also relevant for the ability of governments to address problems of insecurity. Previous research has identified trust in law enforcement institutions as an important factor in citizens' support for vigilante justice.¹³ Although such extra-judicial actions may reduce crime in the short term, vigilantism ultimately undermines the state's monopoly on violence as well as its ability to maintain a strong criminal justice system.

While political support is necessary for the survival and effectiveness of a regime, political tolerance is an essential component of democratic political culture. Because democracy entails pluralism, it also entails disagreement and dissent. The extent to which governments respect the rights of the opposition and regime critics to participate is commonly held as a measure of the quality of a democracy.¹⁴ Nicaragua and Honduras are illustrative of the relevance of political tolerance to democracy. Both countries are rated low, and have experienced declines, in the V-Dem electoral democracy index as of 2018.¹⁵

These two countries have experienced recent episodes of government repression of political dissidents. In Honduras, a protest movement recently formed in response to irregularities in the 2017 presidential elections that saw the incumbent, Juan Orlando Hernández, reelected. The government has met these protests with repressive actions. As of January 2018, 31 people had been killed in post-election violence according to the National Commission of Human Rights in Honduras, with state actors implicated in a number of these deaths.¹⁶ In Nicaragua, what began as anti-austerity protests in the spring of 2018 were also met with repression by government and

¹⁰ <https://blogs.lse.ac.uk/latamcaribbean/2017/07/28/the-temer-government-in-brazil-lacks-the-legitimacy-required-to-reform-its-way-back-to-recovery/>

¹¹ Hiskey et al. 2014, Meyer and Taft-Morales 2019.

¹² Hirschman 1970.

¹³ Zizumbo-Colunga 2017.

¹⁴ Dahl 1971.

¹⁵ For information about the V-Dem Varieties of Democracy data consulted for this report and the methodology of that project, see <https://www.v-dem.net/en/data/data-version-9/>.

¹⁶ See also Haugaard 2018.



paramilitary forces. State actions have included the taking of political prisoners. As of 2018, over 300 people had been killed in the political unrest.¹⁷ These recent events highlight the importance of political tolerance on the part of governments and their publics. Citizen commitment to the rights of political dissidents can temper the ability of governments to engage in acts of repression with impunity.

This report provides a cross-time analysis of support for the political system and political tolerance among the citizens of the LAC region and in Jamaica from 2006 to 2019. Two dimensions of political legitimacy are analyzed—diffuse and specific. Diffuse support for regime institutions is assessed by analyzing system support over time, cross-nationally, and demographically. Specific support is assessed by analyzing levels of trust in political institutions over time.

II. Main Findings

Some key findings include:

- Support for the political system decreased in Jamaica in 2019 by 3.6 points compared to its highest point in the 2012 round of the AmericasBarometer. There has been little change since the last round survey was conducted in 2017.
- There are significant differences in support across levels of education, levels of wealth, and age groups. Support is lower among those with higher education, the wealthier, and those in younger age groups.
- The Jamaican institution with the lowest level of trust, on average, is political parties (33.4 degrees).
- The Jamaican Defense Force had the highest level of trust in 2019 (64.6 degrees), followed by the Prime Minister (52.1 degrees).
- Political tolerance has remained fairly stable in the LAC region and Jamaica since 2016/17. Jamaicans express the most support for guaranteeing the right of those who criticize the government to protest peacefully (73.7 degrees), and the least support for dissidents to retain the right to run for office (47.8 degrees).
- The older cohorts of respondents have higher levels of tolerance, as do males and urban dwellers. There are no statistically significant differences in levels of tolerance across levels of education and wealth.
- System support in Jamaica is positively correlated with four of the other attitudes related to the functioning of a democratic system: political tolerance, external effectiveness, trust in the president, and trust in the municipality. Trust in the president and trust in the municipality stand out as the strongest correlates of the system support.

¹⁷ Human Rights Watch 2019.

III. System Support

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

LAPOP defines political legitimacy in terms of support for the political system. Political legitimacy, or “system support,” has two central dimensions: diffuse and specific support.¹⁸ While specific support concerns evaluations of incumbent authorities, diffuse system support refers to a generalized attachment to the more abstract objects that the political system and its institutions represent.

LAPOP’s measure of system support captures the diffuse support for regime institutions that is central to democratic survival.¹⁹ We operationalize the concept of system support through an additive index.²⁰ This index uses broad questions about political institutions in diffuse terms, rather than personal feelings towards any specific institution or actor. The questions are as follows:

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

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

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

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

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

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

For each question, we rescale the original 1 (“not at all”) to 7 (“a lot”) scale to run from 0 to 100, such that 0 is the least support for the political system and 100 is the most support for the political

¹⁸ Easton 1975.

¹⁹ Booth and Seligson 2009.

²⁰ The system support index is the mean of five questions from the questionnaire: B1, B2, B3, B4, and B6. A Cronbach’s alpha score is used to determine the reliability of combining the questions into a singular index. The system support alpha score is 0.80, which is high and evidence of scale reliability for the index.

system. This follows LAPOP's standard coding and can be interpreted as measuring support in units, or degrees, on a continuous scale running from 0 to 100.

Figure 2.1 shows mean responses for the system support index across time in Jamaica (the graph at the left of the first row) alongside mean scores for each of its five constituent components. Overall, support for the political system in Jamaica has stayed at middling levels, with a 3.6 unit decrease in mean ratings since the 2012 peak. This decrease is primarily driven by changes in opinions on the courts (B1), basic rights (B3), and pride in the political system (B4). The other two components have stayed fairly constant, while citizens' beliefs that the courts guarantee fair trials, that their governments protect their basic rights, and feelings of pride about living under their political system have generally decreased. From 2012 to 2019, mean ratings of fairness in the judicial system dropped by 8.2 units. Ratings of rights protection dropped by approximately 5 units.

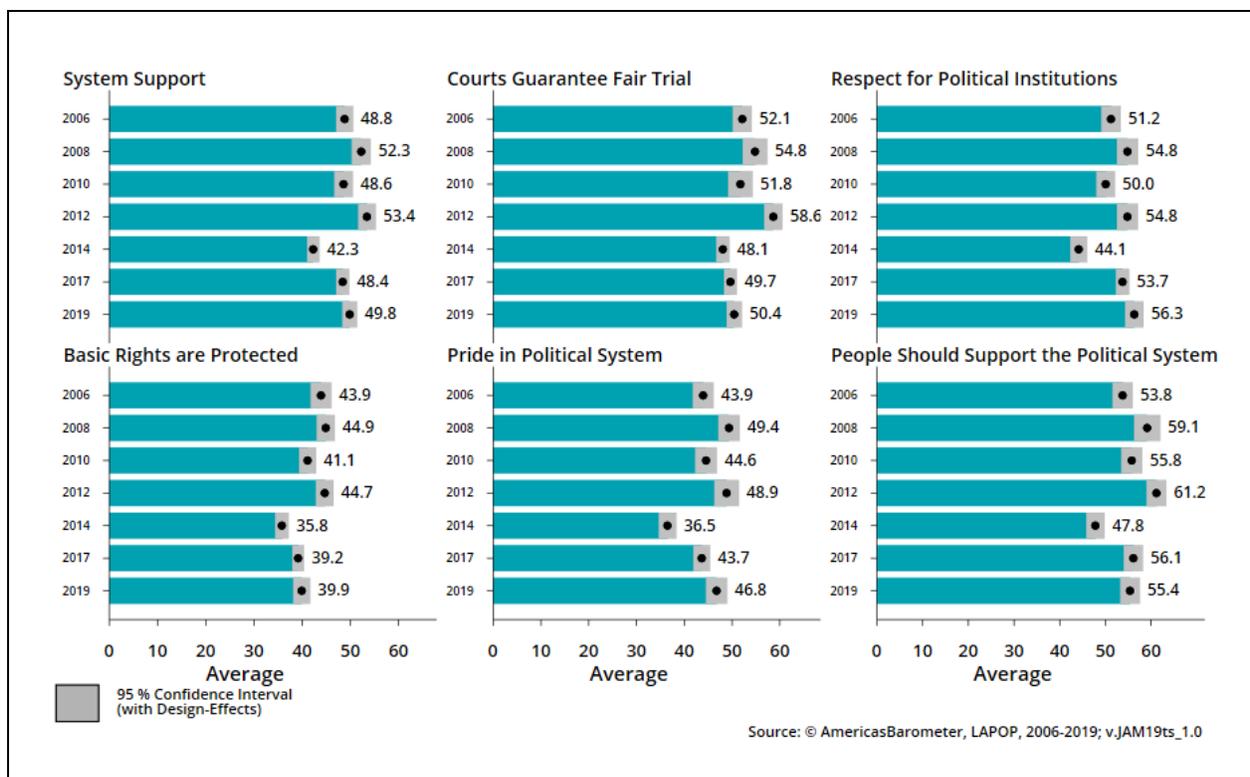


Figure 2.1. System Support and Its Components, Jamaica 2006-2019

Not surprisingly, given cross-national heterogeneity in political systems, there are differences in support for the political system by country. Figure 2.2 shows levels of system support for the eighteen LAC countries surveyed in the 2018/19 round. Costa Rica has the highest average level of support at 59.2 degrees and Peru has the lowest average at 41.8 degrees. Jamaica (49.8) ranks in the middle of other countries in the region, in between Colombia and Bolivia.

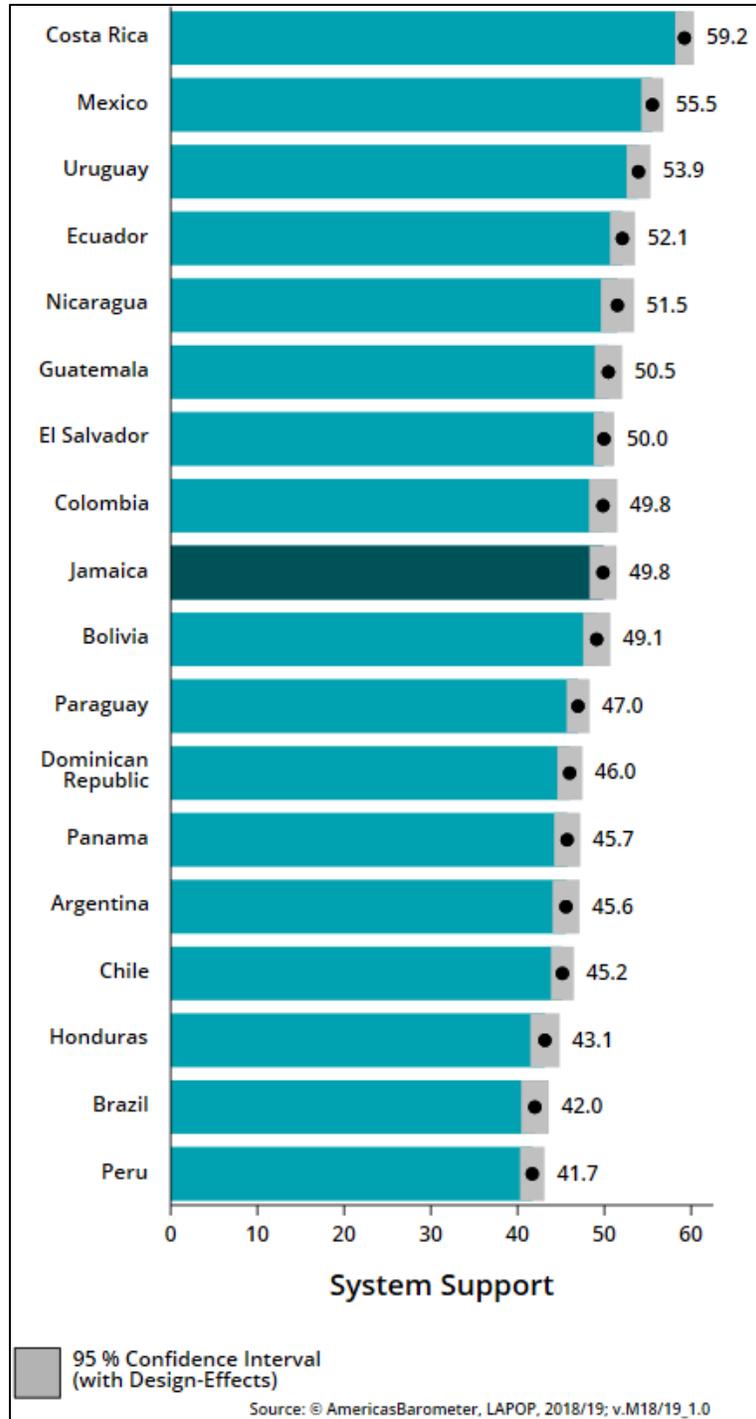


Figure 2.2. System Support, 2018/19

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



also held presidential elections in the spring to fall of 2018 prior to the 2018/19 AmericasBarometer fieldwork. At the other end, the countries with the largest negative shifts in system support are Nicaragua (-11.0 degrees), Honduras (-4.4 degrees), Panama (-4.1 degrees), and Argentina (-4.0 degrees). At the time of fieldwork, these countries had last held presidential elections in 2016, 2017, 2014, and 2015 respectively. Together, these sets of results suggest that elections play an important role in replenishing citizens' "reservoir" of support for their political system. In Jamaica, there is a slight positive change (1.4 degrees) but this difference not significant. The last parliamentary election was held in 2016.

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

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

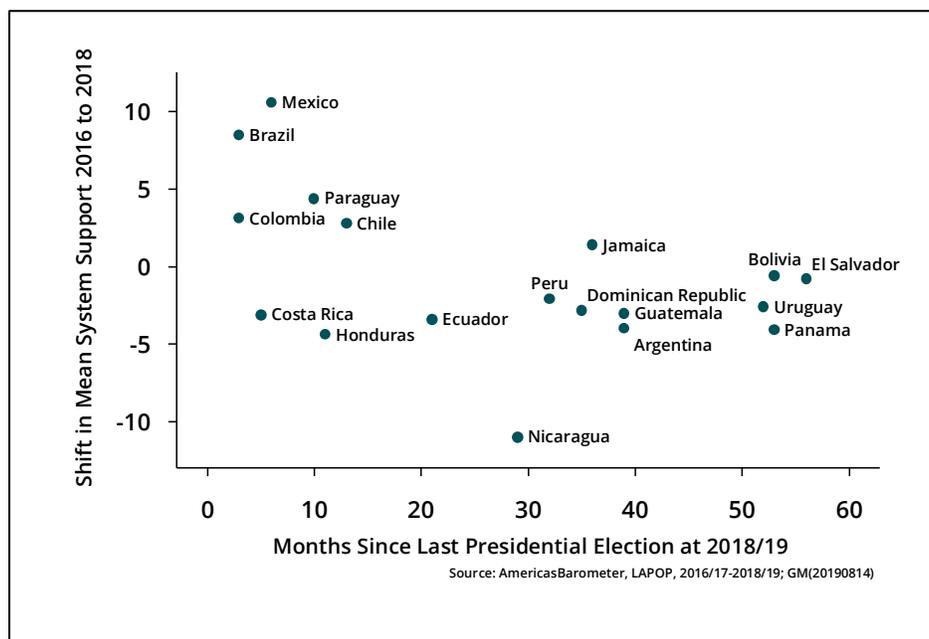


Figure 2.3. Changes in System Support and Recent Elections

Along with contextual factors, individual characteristics are also statistically significant predictors of levels of support for the political system, as shown in Figure 2.4.²¹ In Jamaica in 2019, there is a negative relationship between support for the political system and education and wealth. On average, as individuals increase in wealth and education they express lower system support. Older individuals express a higher mean level of system support compared to younger age groups: those 66 and older register at 56 units versus 44.6 units for the 26-35 age group. There are no significant differences in system support between urban and rural dwellers, or women and men.

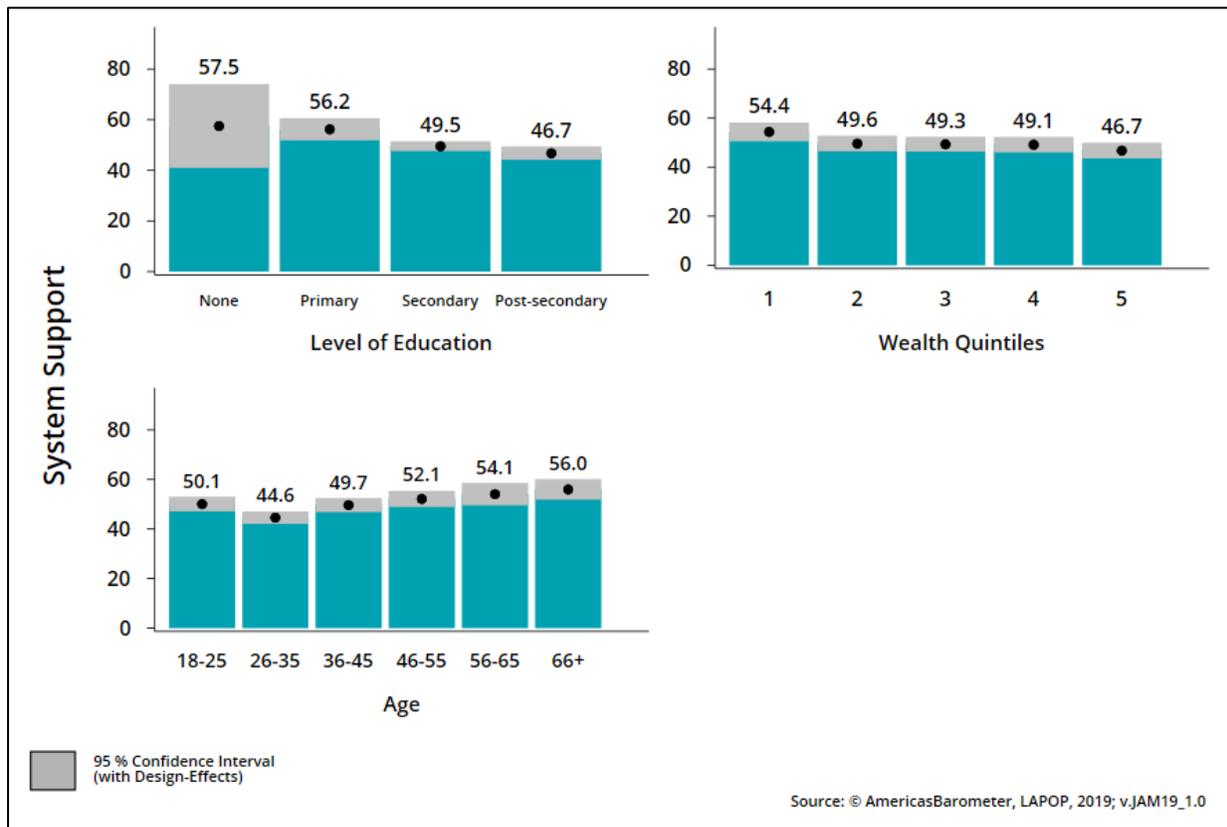


Figure 2.4. Demographic and Socio-Economic Correlates of System Support, Jamaica 2019

IV. Specific Institutions and Actors

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

As in prior AmericasBarometer studies, the following questions were included in the 2018/19 study asking about confidence in a set of specific institutions:²²

²¹ For all demographic figures in this report, we evaluate statistical significance using the 95% confidence intervals from the bivariate analysis between the socio-demographic category and the variable of interest.

²² Again, we recoded responses from their original 1 (“not at all”) to 7 (“a lot”) scale, so that the measures in this report run from 0 to 100.

B13. To what extent do you trust the Parliament?

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

B21A. To what extent do you trust the Prime Minister?

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

Figure 2.5 shows levels of trust among Jamaicans for each institution from 2006 to 2019. Trust in the legislature remains low, reaching only 35.9 points. This is the second lowest point that Jamaica has reached since 2006. Trust in political parties also remains low and similar to 2017 levels (33.4). Trust in elections remains low as well, reaching 38.1 out of 100 in 2019. Jamaicans have higher levels of trust in the Prime Minister, with an average of 52.1 units in 2019.

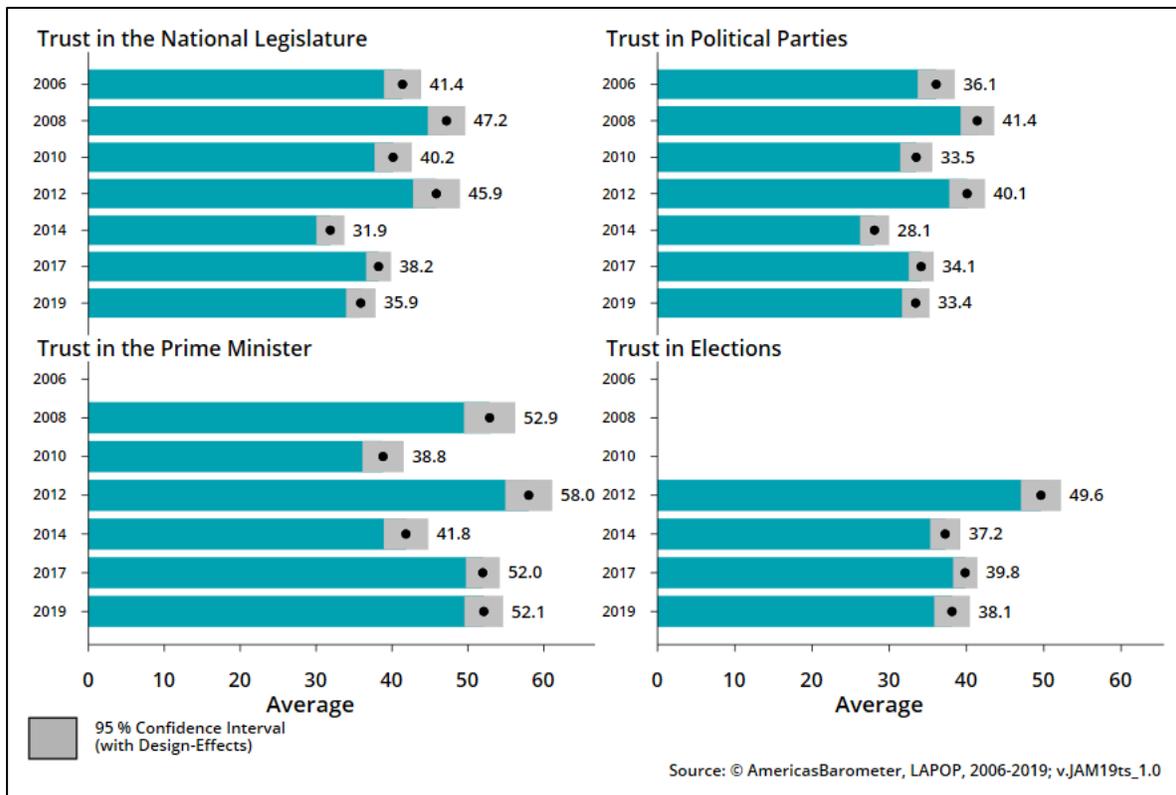


Figure 2.5. Trust in Institutions in Jamaica (I), 2006-2019

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

B12. To what extent do you trust the Jamaica Defense Force?

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

B32. To what extent do you trust the local government?

Figure 2.6 show that in Jamaica, the armed forces have the highest level of trust of all of the institutions in 2019 (64.6 degrees). Trust in the police, on the other hand, has declined since 2017 from 43.9 to 38.8 degrees. Trust in the local government remained at similar levels to 2017.

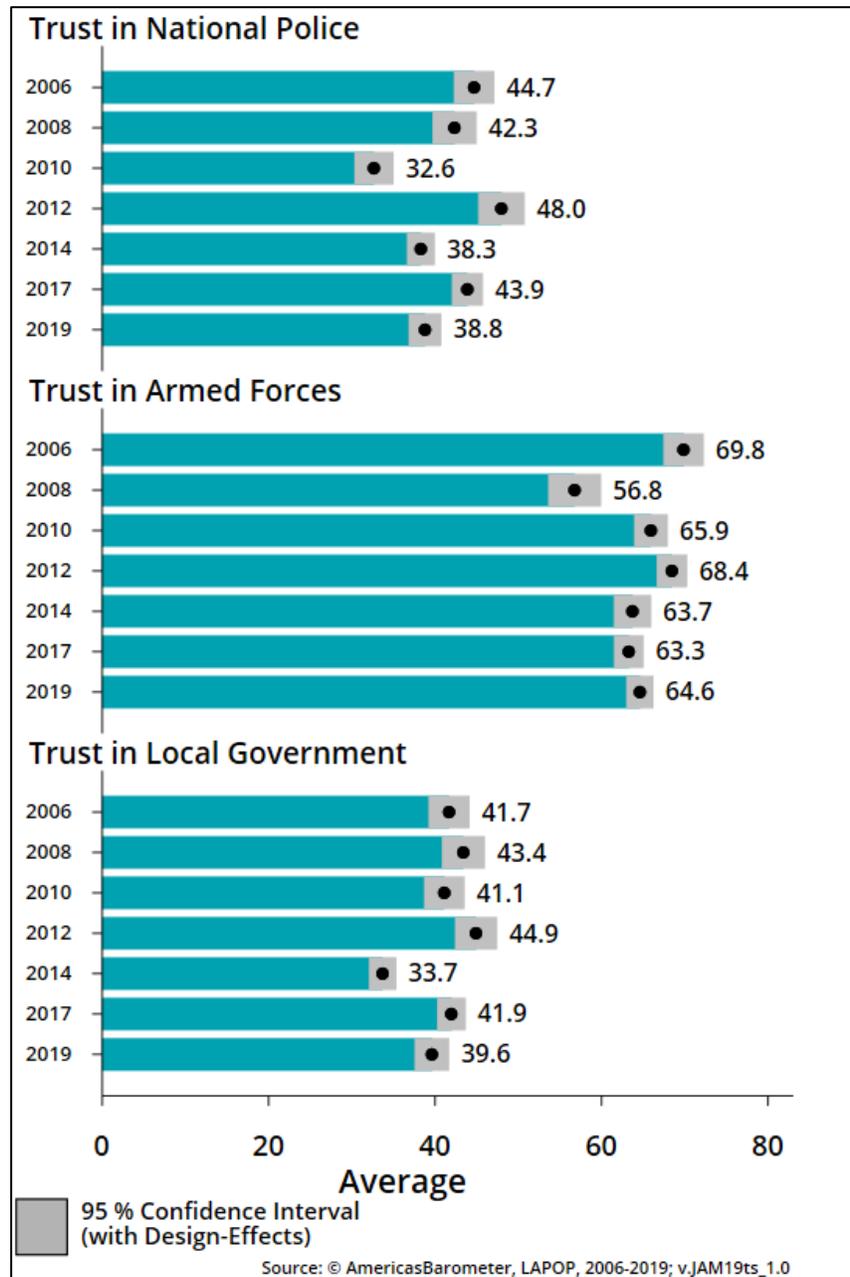


Figure 2.6. Trust in Institutions in Jamaica (II), 2006-2010

As shown in Figure 2.7, Jamaica, compared to other countries in the region, was generally more trusting of its Armed Forces in 2019. Trust in the National Police and the municipality in Jamaica, on the other hand, are among the lowest in the region.

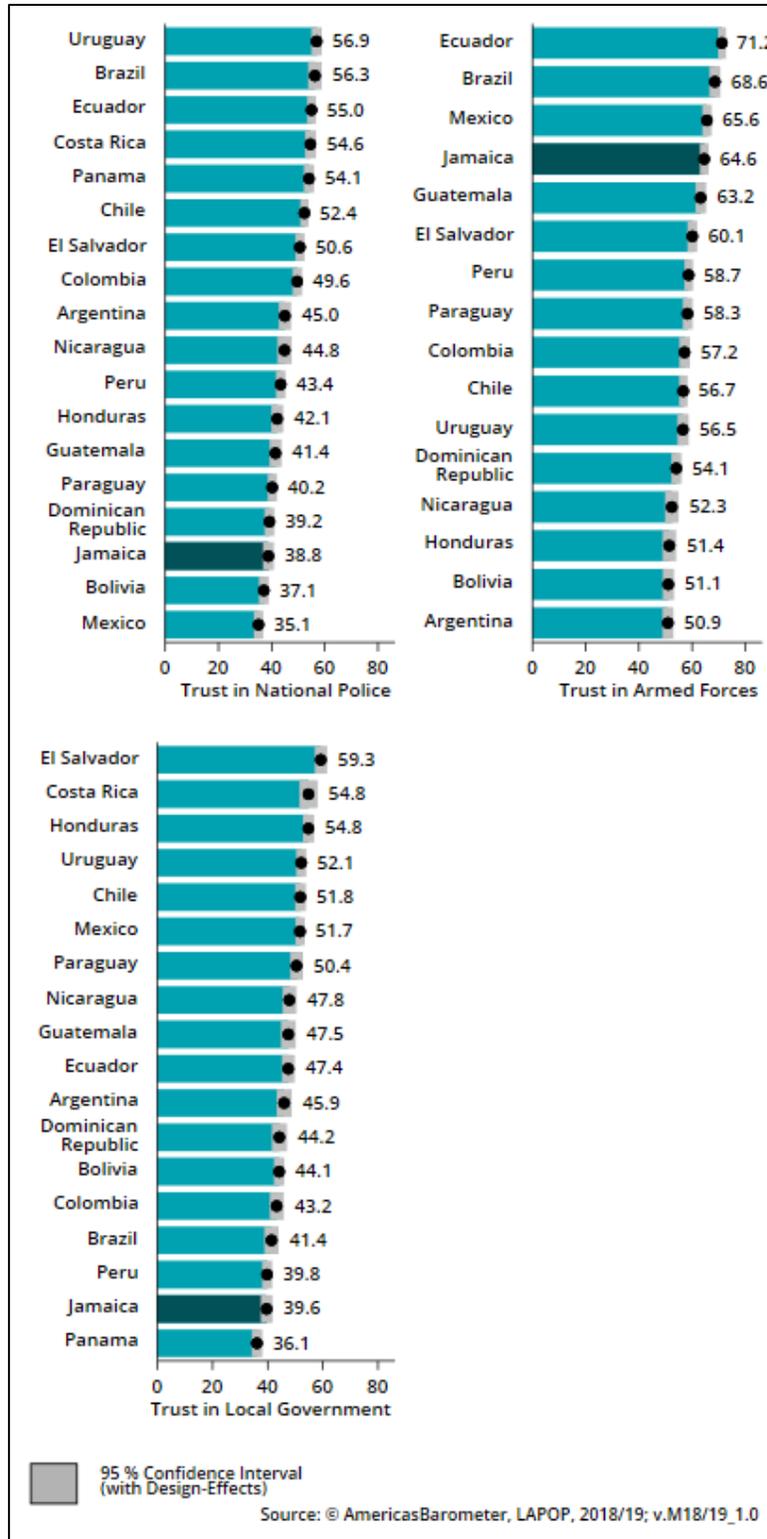


Figure 2.7. Trust in Institutions, 2018/19

To what extent are citizens' evaluations of these specific institutions related to expert evaluations of institutional performance? We can provide one answer to this question by looking at confidence in elections. Figure 2.8 plots the country mean level of trust in elections from the

AmericasBarometer 2018/19 round and the country's mean score on the Perceptions of Electoral Integrity Index for the 2012-2018 period. The Electoral Integrity Project creates this index using expert surveys of electoral processes.²³ There is a positive correlation between the two measures (Pearson's correlation = .61), indicating that experts and the mass public correspond in their evaluations of how elections are conducted in their country. Honduras stands out as a case where the public and expert evaluations exhibit particularly low levels of trust in the integrity of elections.

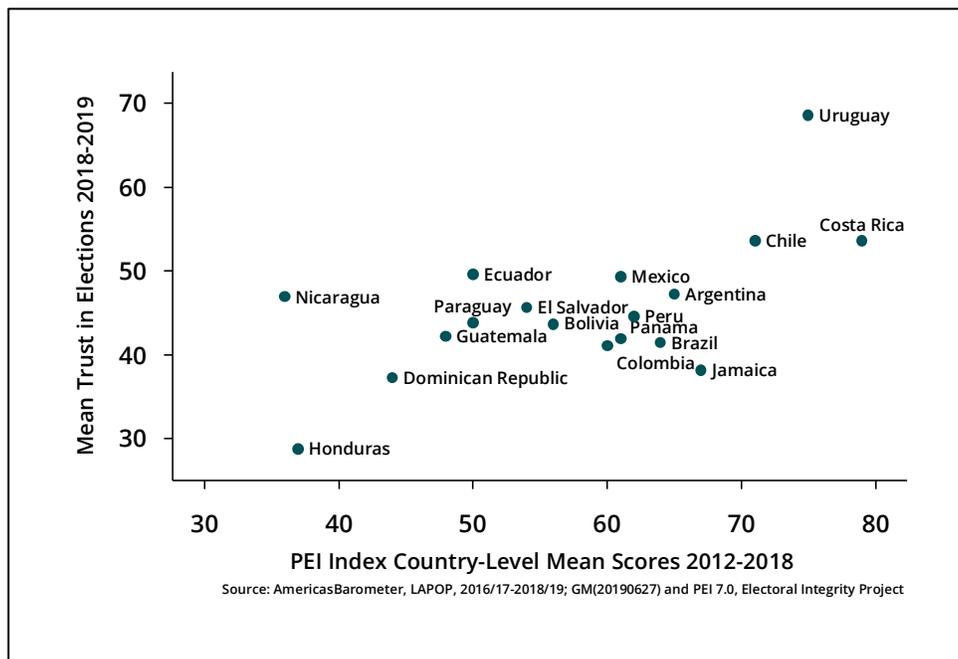


Figure 2.8. Mass Public and Expert Evaluations of Elections

Since these indicators capture the specific support dimension of political legitimacy (tapping into citizen trust of specific political actors and institutions), one ought to expect variation across time within a given political system. For example, trust in the president or prime minister should ebb and flow along with the executive's performance in office. In this way, trust in the executive displayed substantial variation across countries in direction and magnitude of changes from 2016/17 to 2018/19. These ranged from a large positive shift in Mexico (+40.3 degrees) to a decline of 19.5 degrees in Nicaragua. The top four countries with the largest increases in trust in the executive each experienced recent presidential elections: Mexico, Brazil (+32.9 degrees), Paraguay (+17.2 degrees), and Colombia (+17.0 degrees). These countries also experienced statistically significant increases in the other three trust indicators (with the exception of trust in elections in Paraguay and trust in the national legislature in Colombia and Paraguay). At the other end, two countries experienced statistically significant declines across all four indicators: Nicaragua and Honduras. The largest decline in trust in elections (-11.6 degrees) was registered in Honduras; as mentioned above, Honduras was the site of a protest movement in response to perceptions of malfeasance in the 2017 elections. Jamaica, however, showed comparatively little movement across the indicators.

²³ Norris and Grömping 2019.



V. Political Tolerance

This section shifts focus to a different dimension of democratic legitimacy outlined by Norris: support for regime principles.²⁴ Regime principles in this context refer to democratic ideals such as political competition, alternate sources of information, and universal suffrage.²⁵ Following the work of Booth and Seligson, we use citizen commitment to political tolerance as a measure of support for regime principles.²⁶ In line with previous LAPOP research, political tolerance is defined as “respect by citizens for the political rights of others, especially those with whom they may disagree.”²⁷

Political tolerance is measure here by asking about citizens’ approval of the right of people with dissenting political opinions to participate in politics. Specifically, the questions ask about rights to vote, peacefully demonstrate, run for office, and make televised speeches. The following questions are used to generate a political tolerance index:²⁸

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

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

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

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

In Jamaica, the combined index of political tolerance has remained fairly constant since 2006. Though there was a slight decrease in 2014, the average level of tolerance has since returned to approximately 60 degrees on the 0 to 100, scale as shown in Figure 2.9. Among the constituent parts of the index, citizens have the highest approval for retaining the right to protest peacefully for those who criticize the government, with a mean of 73.7 out of 100 in 2019. The lowest values are registered for approval of critic’s right to run for office, at 47.8 out of 100 in 2019.

²⁴ Norris 1999.

²⁵ Dahl 2008, Schmitter and Karl 1991, Diamond 1999.

²⁶ Booth and Seligson 2009.

²⁷ Seligson 2000, p. 5.

²⁸ The political tolerance index is created using the mean score of the D series: D1, D2, D3, and D4. The Cronbach’s alpha was 0.82, a high score that indicates scale reliability for the political tolerance index. For the analyses in this report, we rescaled responses from their original 1 to 10 scale to run from 0 to 100, as per LAPOP’s standard.

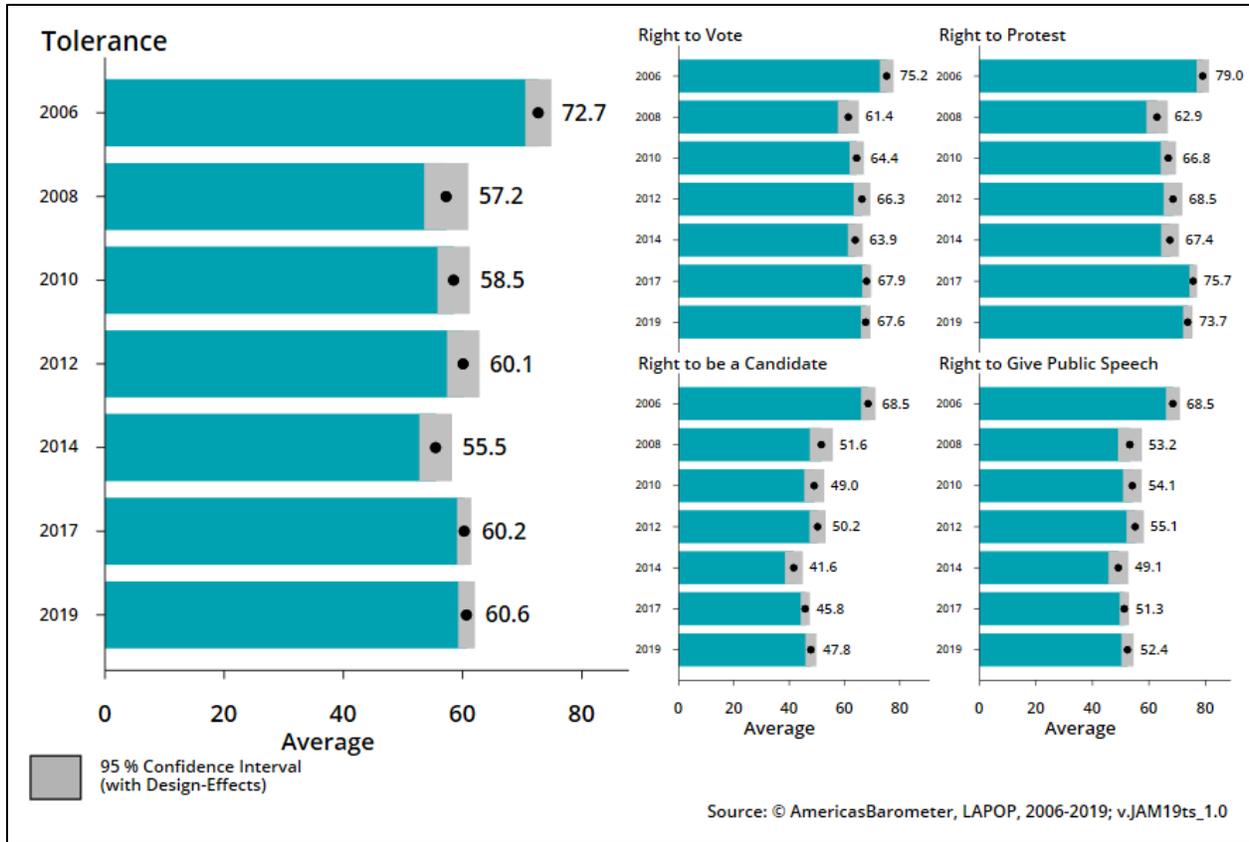


Figure 2.9. Political Tolerance and Its Components, Country, 2006-2019

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

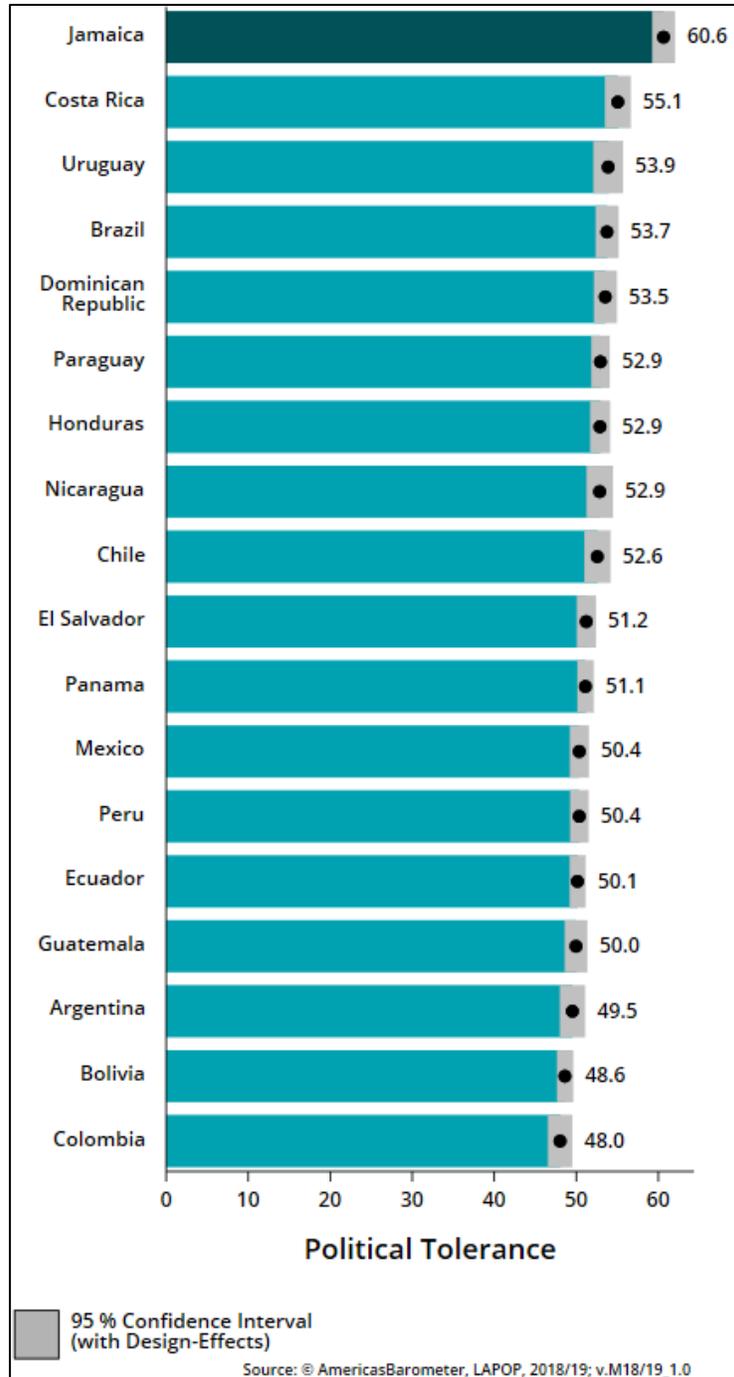


Figure 2.10. Political Tolerance, 2018/19

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

political tolerance index average (Mexico and Brazil) also exhibited the greatest increases in measures of system support and trust in political institutions discussed above.

Figure 2.11 shows variation in political tolerance by socio-economic and demographic groups.²⁹ In the case of Jamaica, among these groups, gender shows the largest gap: men (62.9) express considerably more tolerance than do women (58.3). Those who live in urban areas (61.7) are slightly more tolerant than their rural counterparts (59.1). The two youngest age cohorts are report less tolerance than all other age cohorts. There are no significant differences in political tolerance across levels of education or wealth.

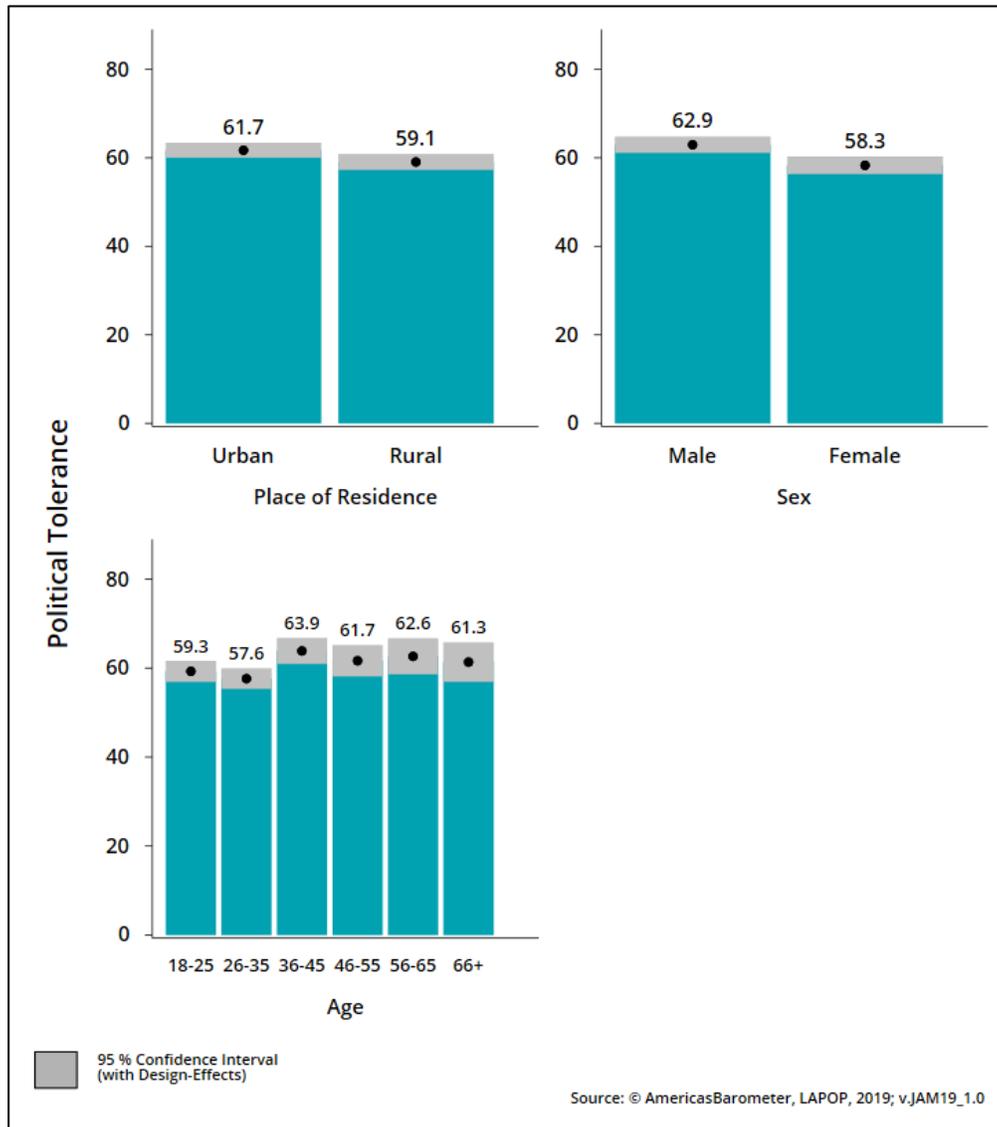


Figure 2.11. Demographic and Socio-Economic Correlates of Political Tolerance, Jamaica 2019

²⁹ As in the earlier analyses, we evaluate statistical significance using the 95% confidence intervals from the bivariate analysis between the socio-demographic category and the variable of interest.



VI. Dimensions of Democratic Legitimacy

This section analyzes the relationship between system support and five other dimensions of political regime legitimacy in the LAC region as a whole, and in Jamaica alone.³⁰ As discussed in the previous sections, the system support index is a measure of diffuse support for regime institutions. The political tolerance index is a measure of diffuse support for regime principles. To capture evaluations of regime performance, we look at another diffuse indicator, external efficacy - how much someone believes their government representatives care about their concerns as an individual. In addition, we consider three indicators of support for specific institutions: trust in the executive (measured with trust in the president/prime minister) trust in local government (municipality), trust in the public community (i.e., interpersonal trust). The specific measures are as follows:

System Support Index: B1, B2, B3, B4, B6 - (see section on System Support)
Political Tolerance Index: D1, D2, D3, D4 - (see section on Political Tolerance)
EFF1. Those who govern this country are interested in what people like you think. How much do you agree or disagree with this statement?
B21A. To what extent do you trust the President/Prime Minister?
B32. To what extent do you trust the local or municipal government?
IT1. And speaking of the people from around here, would you say that people in this community are very trustworthy, somewhat trustworthy, not very trustworthy or untrustworthy...? ³¹

We ran a regression analysis to determine the relationship between system support and these other five dimensions of democratic legitimacy. We control for the same socio-economic and demographic indicators analyzed earlier, and country-fixed effects (coefficients for control variables are not shown in Figures 2.12 and 2.13). In the LAC region, all five support indicators have a positive, significant relationship with system support, according to a 95% confidence interval, as shown in Figure 2.12. This indicates that as external efficacy, political tolerance, trust of the executive, community, and local government increase, so does the average level of support for the political system. The highest correlations with system support are between trust in the executive (coefficient = 24.6³²), in the local government (19.7), and external efficacy (12.0). Two of the specific indicators, trust in local government and executive, have particularly strong correlations with system support.

³⁰ Norris 1999.

³¹ Trust in the community has been reverse coded from its original scale in the survey so that higher values in that variable indicate higher levels of trust and lower levels indicate lower trust.

³² Given the way the variables are coded, the regression coefficients can be interpreted as the predicted change in the dependent variable, on the 0-100 scale, given a min-to-max change in the independent variable.

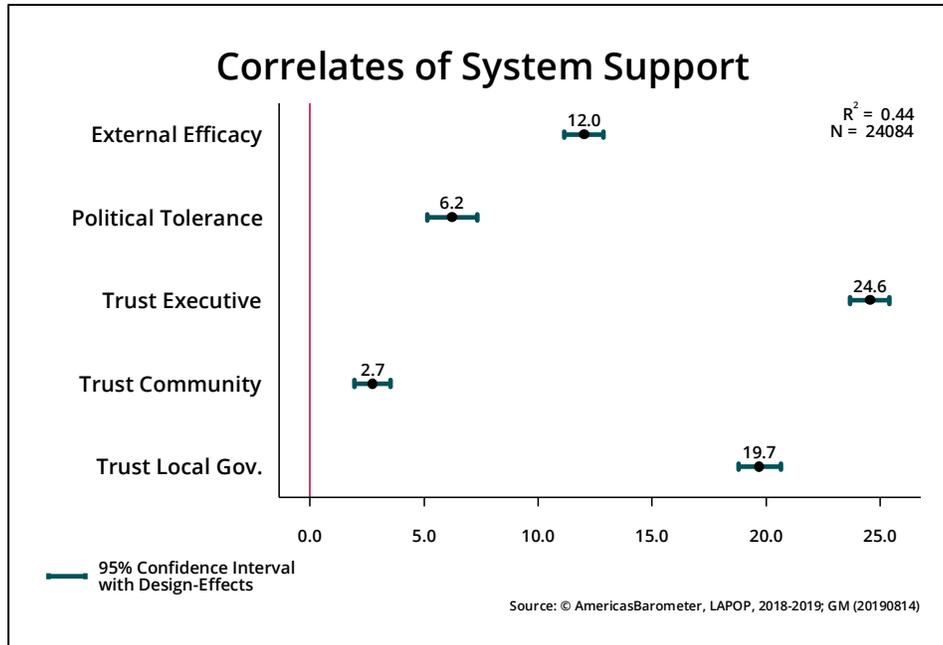


Figure 2.12. Correlates of System Support, 2018/19

In the case of Jamaica, we replicate the analysis. As shown in Figure 2.13, trust in the executive (21.5) and the local government (23.9) are still two of the strongest correlates of system support. External efficacy and political tolerance are also positively correlated with system support (13.2 and 11.4, respectively). Trust in the community, however, is not related to system support in Jamaica in 2019.

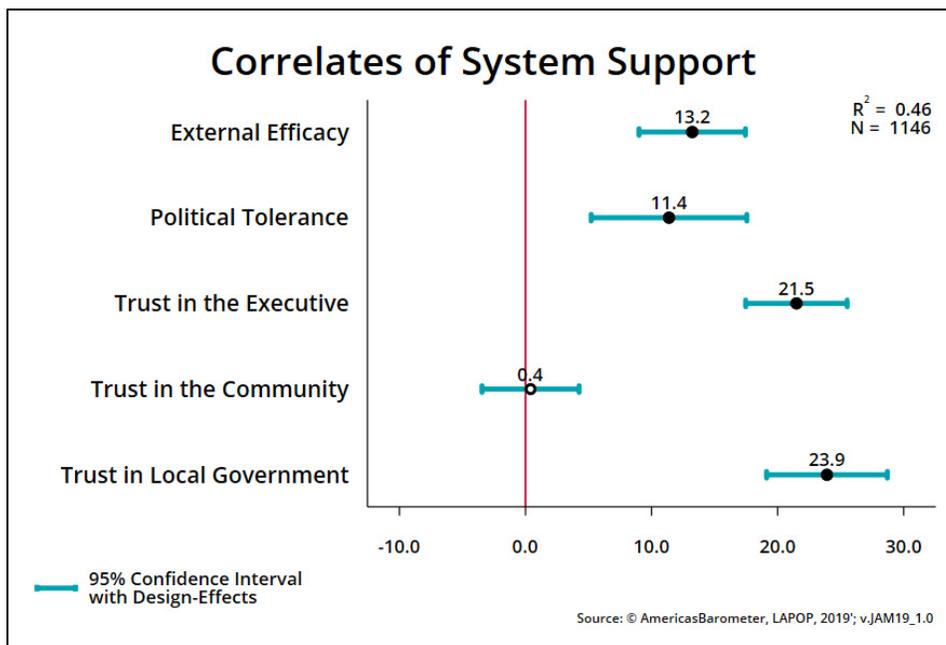


Figure 2.13. Correlates of System Support, Jamaica 2019



Figure 2.14 clearly shows these relationships in bivariate form: support for the system is greater among those who report higher levels of external efficacy. Similarly, support for the system is greater among those with high levels of political tolerance (52.9) than among those with low tolerance levels (44.2). Support for the system increases as confidence in the executive increases: ranging from 30.4 degrees of support among those who do not trust the executive to 68.6 degrees among those who trust a lot. Likewise, support for the system greater among those with strong trust in their municipality (70.5 degrees) compared to those who do not trust at all (32.5 degrees).

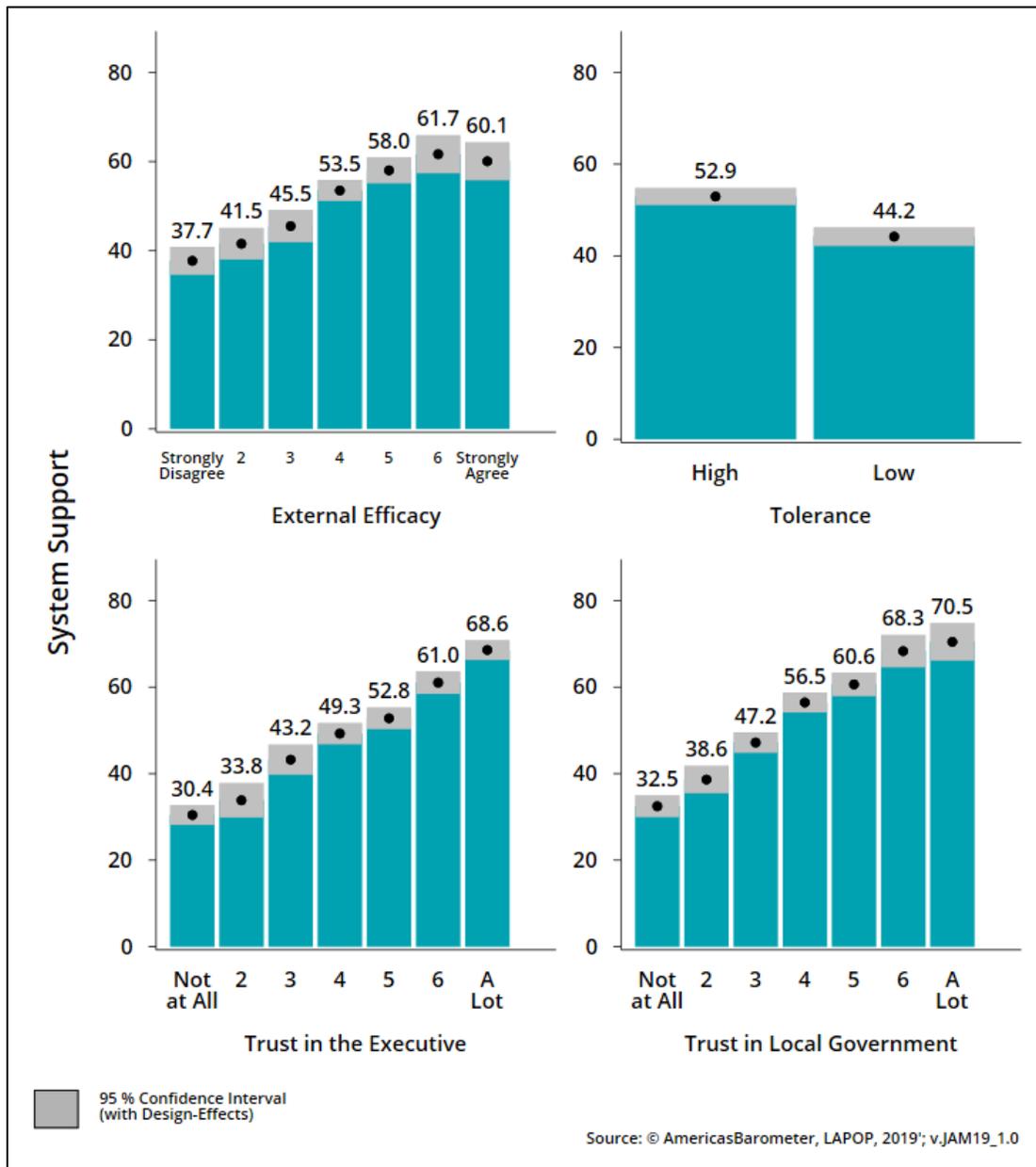


Figure 2.14. System Support across Democratic Legitimacy, Jamaica 2019

The empirical evidence presented here affirms that there exist important connections between a general measure of political support (political legitimacy) and other diffuse and specific indicators of democratic legitimacy. These results affirm the validity of the system support index, as a means

by which one can evaluate the level of political legitimacy within a mass public. The results also suggest that trust in specific institutions may spill over into more diffuse trust and, of course, vice versa. That is, the fate of political legitimacy is connected not only to general assessments of political institutions and processes, but also to the evaluations that individuals develop of specific political actors and agencies.

VII. Conclusion

Democracy is stronger to the degree that citizens express support for its institutions and support for democratic processes. When citizens broadly view the system as legitimate and tolerate even its most ardent detractors, democratic governments are empowered to function in ways that are both effective and inclusive. However, when this cultural foundation is fragile, democracy's fate is less certain. Given the importance of these beliefs and attitudes by the mass public, we tracked the legitimacy of democratic regimes and levels of political tolerance in the Americas, compared them across countries, and provided an analysis of the socio economic and demographic factors that influence these attitudes. We also considered the relevance of context, including elections, to changes in public opinion over time.

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

Another noteworthy finding from this report is that political legitimacy and to a lesser extent political tolerance exhibit short-term volatility in the Americas. Analyses of specific cases here suggest this volatility reflects real-time political processes, namely elections and turnovers in executive power as well as violent government crackdowns of protest movements. It is worth noting that the two cases that experienced the largest positive shifts in system support from 2016/17 (Mexico and Brazil), were also the two cases with the largest declines in average political tolerance. This indicates that these two important components of democratic legitimacy can trend in opposite directions, at least in the short term. Recent work on democratic political culture in the region has highlighted the willingness of citizens to delegate greater authority to popular executives (whose popularity can bolster system support) and support greater control on political dissent.³³ This dynamic poses a challenge for the development of a political culture conducive to stable democratic government, as both support for the political system and political tolerance are necessary for the legitimacy of democratic regimes.

In Jamaica, there is little change in specific and diffuse support. In the most recent round of the AmericasBarometer, there is a small, but statistically significant, increase in pride in the political system, and respect for institutions. There small declines in the levels of trust in the main political institutions, but these differences from the previous round are not statistically significant.

³³ Carlin and Singer 2011, Singer 2018.



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

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

Appendix

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

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

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

* Denotes differences significant at $p < 0.05$.

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

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

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

* Denotes differences significant at $p < 0.05$.

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

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

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

* Denotes differences significant at $p < 0.05$.



Chapter 3.

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

Noam Lupu¹, Elizabeth J. Zechmeister²,
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I. Introduction

In the last decade, social media use has expanded around the world, including in the Americas⁶. And increasingly, people access the news through social media. On the one hand, social media can play a positive role in expanding access to timely information. On the other, social media can help spread misinformation, intimidation, and hostile rhetoric.

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

Research on this topic has so far yielded mixed results, as well as reasons to be concerned about the attitudes held by social media users. Some scholars find a positive relationship between social media use and political cynicism (e.g., lower trust in political institutions and satisfaction with democracy), while others find weaker or no evidence of this connection.⁷ Still, most of the research on these topics has focused on the more developed democracies of North America and Western Europe.

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⁶ Data on social media penetration in Latin America are available at <https://www.statista.com/statistics/244930/social-network-penetration-in-latin-america/>

⁷ On a positive connection between social media and cynicism, see Ceron 2015, Ceron and Memoli 2016, Johnson and Kaye 2015, and Yamamoto and Kushin 2013; but also see Hanson et al. 2013 and Yamamoto, Kushin, and Dalisay 2017.

Within the Latin America and Caribbean (LAC) region, little is known about who uses social media and what political attitudes they hold. Looking at eight countries in the region, one study finds that social media users tend to be more educated, more urban, wealthier, and more interested in politics.⁸ Other studies suggest that social media users in the region are less satisfied with democracy, more politically tolerant and democratic, and more likely to protest.⁹ But these studies analyze data from nearly a decade ago, use blunt yes/no social media access measures, and focus on a subsample of countries in the region.

By analyzing an original module of questions in the 2018/19 AmericasBarometer, this chapter provides foundational evidence about these phenomena in the LAC region and in Jamaica.¹⁰

Globally, the most popular social media platforms are Facebook, Twitter, and WhatsApp.¹¹ We developed the 2018/19 AmericasBarometer social media module to focus on these three platforms. In analyzing this module, we first present descriptive data on usage across the region and in Jamaica. We then profile social media users in Jamaica, providing a description of their socioeconomic and demographic characteristics, their propensity to use social media frequently, and their engagement with political information on these platforms. Finally, we analyze the connections between social media use and political attitudes, including political tolerance, support for democracy, trust in political institutions, and satisfaction with democracy.

II. Main Findings

The main findings in this chapter are as follows:

- WhatsApp is the most used social network in Jamaica. 68.1% of the population of voting age use this social network. Second, 45.9% use Facebook. For the region, 64.4% of adults use WhatsApp and 56.2% use Facebook. That is, Jamaica, is below the regional average in the use of WhatsApp and Facebook.
- Twitter is used infrequently in the LAC region: the highest percentage of adult Twitter users is in Argentina, at 13%. In Jamaica, 4.5% of voting age respondents use Twitter.
- The typical social media user in the Jamaica is young, urban, wealthier, and educated.

⁸ Salzman 2015.

⁹ Gainous, Wagner, and Gray 2016; Salzman 2018; Valenzuela et al. 2016.

¹⁰ Questions on social media use were also asked in the 2019 AmericasBarometer surveys of the U.S. and Canada, but these countries are not analyzed here.

¹¹ Data on the popularity of social media platforms worldwide are available at <https://www.statista.com/statistics/272014/global-social-networks-ranked-by-number-of-users/>. Although WhatsApp is primarily a messaging platform, we include it as a social media platform because of the way it is commonly used in the LAC region. Studies show that WhatsApp is widely used there for sharing news and information, coordinating political activities and discussing political issues (Bradshaw and Howard 2018). In Argentina's 2019 election campaign, for instance, WhatsApp was considered an important campaign tool (Gian 2018; Miri 2019). WhatsApp also played a key role in the 2018 election campaigns in Brazil (Capetti 2019; Nemer 2018).



- Among social media users in Jamaica, WhatsApp is used with the greatest frequency: 74.6% of WhatsApp users use the platform daily (compared to 47.7% for Facebook and 28.4% for Twitter).
- In Jamaica, about 1 in 2 Facebook users report viewing political information on the platform a few times a week or daily (49.2%). On Twitter and WhatsApp, 39.4% and 21.8% report the same, respectively.
- Frequent users of social media in the region are more politically tolerant and somewhat more supportive of democracy in the abstract, but they also express more cynicism: they are less satisfied with democracy and less trusting of core political institutions. Frequent users in Jamaica are less distinctive in their attitudes and evaluations.

III. How Widely Used Are Social Media?

In the LAC region, WhatsApp is the most commonly used social media platform, followed by Facebook and then Twitter. Figure 3.1 shows region-wide average usage rates for each platform, and usage rates in Jamaica.¹² On average across the LAC region, 64.4% of adults report using WhatsApp. At a close second, 56.2% of adults indicate that they use Facebook. Trailing significantly in usage is Twitter: fewer than 1 in 10 adults (7.9%) in the LAC region use Twitter. Jamaica shows similar usage rates as in the region at large, with slightly fewer Facebook and Twitter users.

¹² For each platform, we identify users with a combination of two sets of survey questions. First, we identify users as those who respond positively to the questions, SMEDIA1/SMEDIA4/SMEDIA7. Do you have a Facebook/Twitter/WhatsApp account? Then, we recode as non-users those who respond “never” to the follow-up questions, SMEDIA2/SMEDIA5/SMEDIA8. How often do you see content on Facebook/Twitter/WhatsApp?

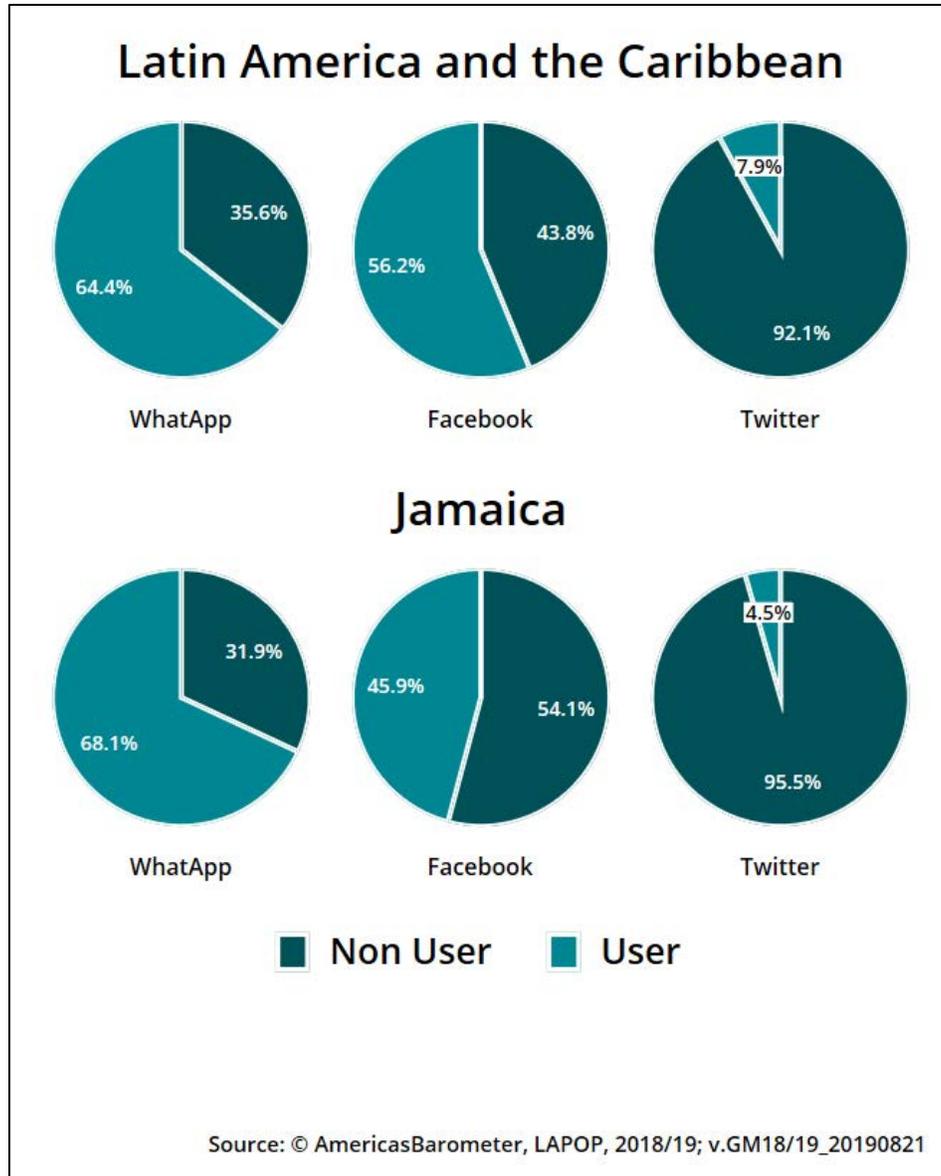


Figure 3.1. Social Media Use, the LAC Region and Jamaica, 2018/19

Internet access and social media engagement vary across countries. Table 3.1 reports the proportion of adults in each country who have cellphones in their homes, home internet access, and use each social media platform.¹³ Where available, we also report statistics on smartphone penetration.¹⁴ The majority of adults have a cellphone (averaging around 90% across the LAC region). In contrast, home internet access is more limited and varies significantly across countries. At 73.7%, Brazil has the largest proportion with access to internet at home, while this rate is comparatively low in Nicaragua and Guatemala, at less than 25%. In Jamaica, 94.2% respondents have cellphones and 55% have internet access.

¹³ Household assets are measured using two AmericasBarometer survey items included in a battery that begins, “Could you tell me if you have the following in your house”: R4A. Cellular telephone (accept smartphone), R18. Internet from your home (including phone or tablet).

¹⁴ Pew Research Center 2018.

There are substantial differences in WhatsApp user rates across countries in the LAC region. Costa Rica has the largest proportion of WhatsApp adult users at 81.6%. Uruguay and Argentina also have high rates, with 80% and 78.9%, respectively. In contrast, WhatsApp is far less widely used in Nicaragua, Guatemala, and Honduras, at less than 48% of adults. WhatsApp use is higher when home access to the internet is higher: for the region as a whole, the correlation between the proportion of adults in a country who use WhatsApp and the proportion with internet access at home is a strong 0.93.¹⁵ Further, WhatsApp usage is higher where more people have cellphones: the country-level correlation between the proportion of adults who use WhatsApp and the proportion who have cellphones in the home is 0.86.

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

Countries	Smartphone ownership	Cellphone in home	Home internet service	WhatsApp users	Facebook users	Twitter users
	(%)	(%)	(%)	(%)	(%)	(%)
Argentina	65	92.5	70.9	78.9	67.3	12.9
Bolivia	--	93.7	42.1	63.5	57.9	5.6
Brazil	54	95.4	73.7	76.2	59.8	8.5
Chile	72	97	70.3	75.5	62.9	9.2
Colombia	56	92.8	48.2	62.7	59.6	10.5
Costa Rica	--	96.3	67.9	81.6	66.6	8
Dom. Rep.	--	88.9	42.7	68.2	61.9	9.5
Ecuador	--	90.5	51.4	60.2	66.9	11.2
El Sal.	--	86.9	35.5	56	56.2	6.7
Guatemala	--	81.6	23.9	47.6	43.2	6.5
Honduras	--	86.4	25.1	46.9	44.6	4.8
Jamaica	--	94.2	55	68.1	45.9	4.5
Mexico	42	82.2	45.7	55.1	47.9	7.6
Nicaragua	--	84.5	22.2	47.7	48.1	5.8
Panama	--	84	35.2	56.7	34.6	5.8
Paraguay	--	95.8	44.1	69.3	60.5	8
Peru	41	86.5	37.5	58.6	61.4	7.6
Uruguay	--	95.6	70	80	66.5	9.8

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

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

¹⁵ Since 2016, WhatsApp can be used on a smartphone or computer, through a web interface or via an app.

At the individual-level, many social media users are engaged in more than one type of social media.¹⁶ Indeed, Figure 3.2 shows the majority of Facebook and WhatsApp users are multi-platform users. 44% of adults in the LAC region are both Facebook and WhatsApp users and, of those a small proportion (7% of adults) also are Twitter users. At the same time, Figure 3.2 usefully highlights that a sizable proportion of citizens in the average LAC country, 30%, do not use any of these social media platforms.¹⁷

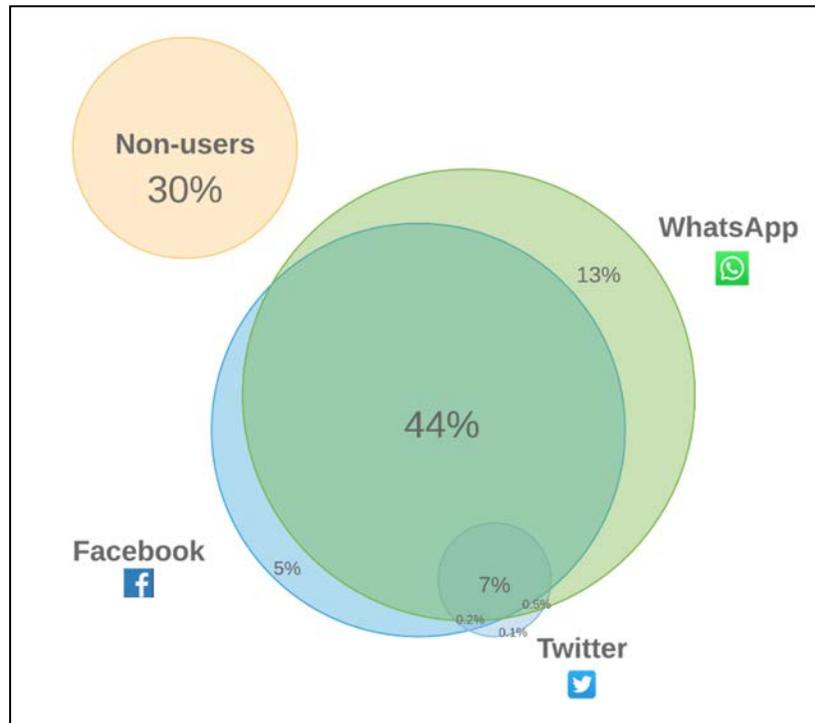


Figure 3.2. Overlap in Use of Social Media Platforms in the LAC region, 2018/19

IV. Who Uses Social Media?

The average social media user in Jamaica is a younger adult (35 or below), lives in an urban setting, has a comparatively higher economic status, and has more years of education than average. There is no detectable gender divide in Twitter use. These conclusions are based on Table 3.2, which draws on the AmericasBarometer dataset to show the percentage of adults in Jamaica in each category. Alongside these basic statistics, the table presents the proportion of WhatsApp,

¹⁶ Due to space constraints in the El Salvador survey, the AmericasBarometer randomly assigned each respondent to be asked about only one of the three social media platforms. As a result, we do not have information about users of multiple platforms for that country, and it is omitted from the data in Figure 3.2.

¹⁷ In analyses of the region, we follow LAPOP's standard practice and weight each country equally. Averages for the region, then, can be interpreted as values that one would expect to find in the average country in the region.

Facebook, and Twitter users (vs. non-users) who live in urban areas and are male, as well as their mean age, wealth, and education.

Table 3.2. Characteristics of social media users, Jamaica 2019

Characteristics	General population	WhatsApp		Facebook		Twitter	
		Users	Non-users	Users	Non-users	Users	Non-users
Urban (%)	59.9	63.2	53.4	61.5	58.2	74.6	59.3
Male (%)	50.1	47.4	55.6	46.0	53.0	58.2	49.4
Mean Age	40.1	34.8	51.6	32.6	46.2	30.1	40.4
Mean Wealth	3.0	3.3	2.2	3.4	2.6	3.7	2.9
Mean Yrs. Educ.	10.3	11.0	8.8	11.3	9.5	12.3	10.2

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

The percentage of WhatsApp, Facebook, and Twitter users who live in urban areas in Jamaica is greater than the percentage of non-users of these respective platforms who live in urban areas, and the differences in WhatsApp and Twitter usership are statistically significant. The average social media user also belongs to higher economic strata. With wealth levels above the national average of 3.0 quintiles, Twitter users tend to be the most affluent. Further, compared to non-users, social media users have a higher average number of years of education. There does not seem to be any substantial difference between the percentages of male users and non-users of Twitter. This is not the case for WhatsApp and Facebook, which have a much higher percentage of male users than male non-users. Social media users are, on average, considerably younger than non-users among the general adult population.

V. How Frequently Do They Use Social Media?

The availability of social media has changed how people communicate, interact, and consume different kinds of information, including political information.¹⁸ According to scholars, social media are “soft news” sources, where political content is an ancillary interest. That is, most social media users “are not necessarily seeking information about public affairs” when they make use of these platforms.¹⁹ However, given that political content does circulate through these channels, many social media users will tend to see some amount of news about politics and related information.

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

¹⁸ Graber and Holyk 2011; Tucker et al. 2017.

¹⁹ Baumgartner and Morris 2010: 28-9.

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

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

Considering information in general, Figure 3.3 shows the frequency with which respondents reported viewing content on different social media platforms. The upper panel of the graph presents results for the region as a whole, while the lower panel show data for only Jamaica. Frequently viewing content on WhatsApp and Facebook is very common among users in both Jamaica and the LAC region as a whole, while this behavior is comparatively less common on Twitter.²⁰

²⁰ Questions SMEDIA2, SMEDIA5, and SMEDIA8 were recoded so that those respondents who report never seeing content on Facebook and Twitter, and those who indicate never using WhatsApp, are considered as non-users of these social media platforms.

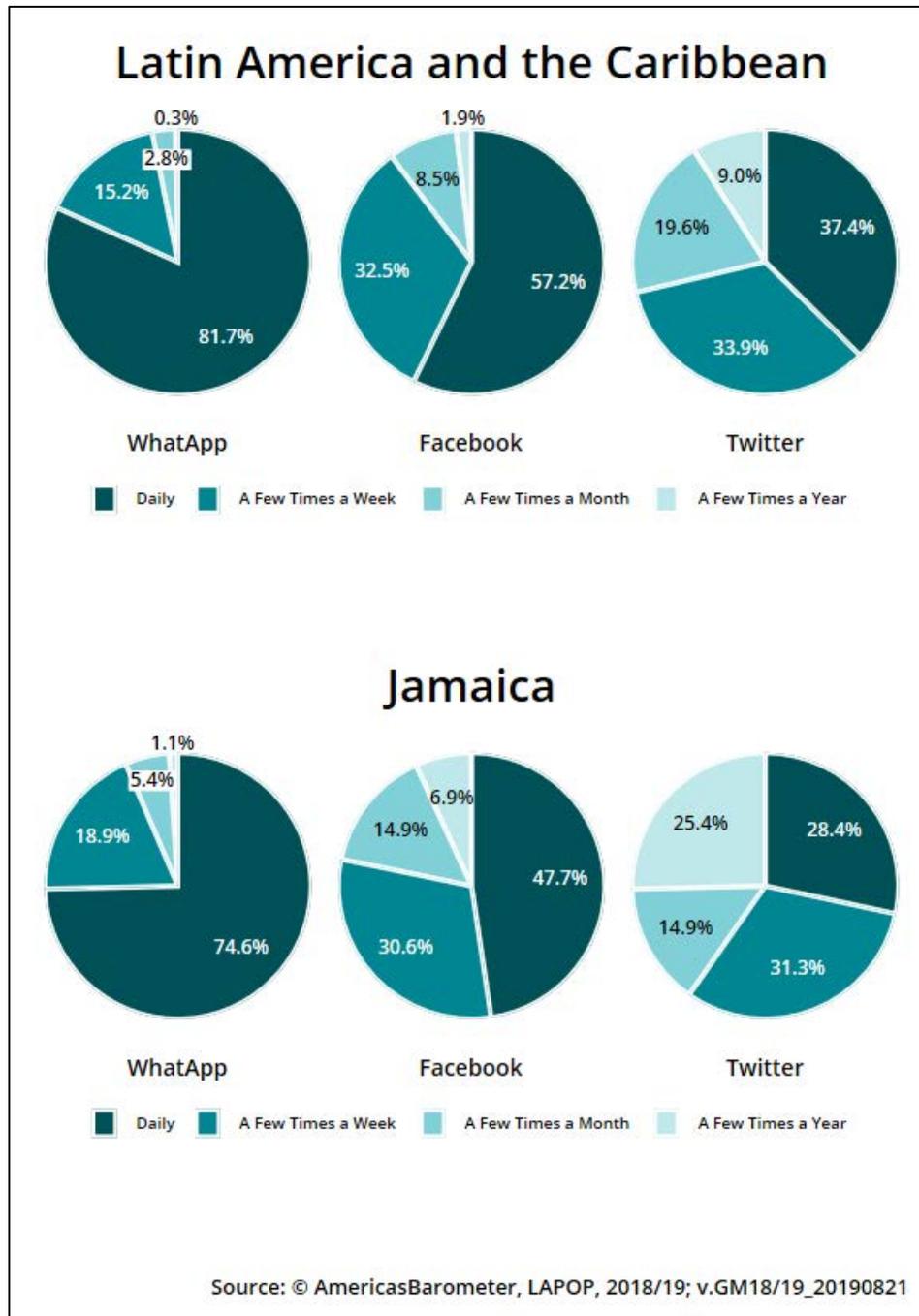


Figure 3.3. Frequency of Social Media Use, the LAC Region and Jamaica, 2018/19

In fact, among WhatsApp users in Jamaica, 74.6% report using it daily, and 18.9% report using it a few times a week. Facebook users also tend to frequently access that platform: nearly half of the Facebook users check its content daily (47.7%), and almost one-third (30.6%) do so a few times a week. In contrast, among Twitter users, 28.4% view content on this social media platform daily, while another 31.3% do so a few times a week.

What individual-level characteristics predict social media use, versus non-use? We consider five demographic and socioeconomic factors that may affect the propensity to use social media: place of residence, gender, age, education, and wealth.²¹ The dependent variable, *Social Media User*, is based on responses to the three questions about holding accounts from Facebook, Twitter, and WhatsApp. This dichotomous measure distinguishes between those individuals who use accounts from one or more of these platforms, compared to those who do not engage with any social media account.²²

Figure 3.4 shows the results of a logistic regression analysis that regresses social media use on measures of place of residence (urban vs. rural), gender (female vs. male), age, education, and wealth. The dots in Figure 3.4 are the predicted changes in the probability of the dependent variable taking on the value of “1” (social media user), given a change from the minimum to maximum value on the independent variable. The results demonstrate that, on average in Jamaica in 2019, younger, urban, more educated, and wealthier individuals are more likely to be social media users. Gender is also a significant predictor of social media use (men more likely to be social media users), but its effect is the smallest of the predictors.

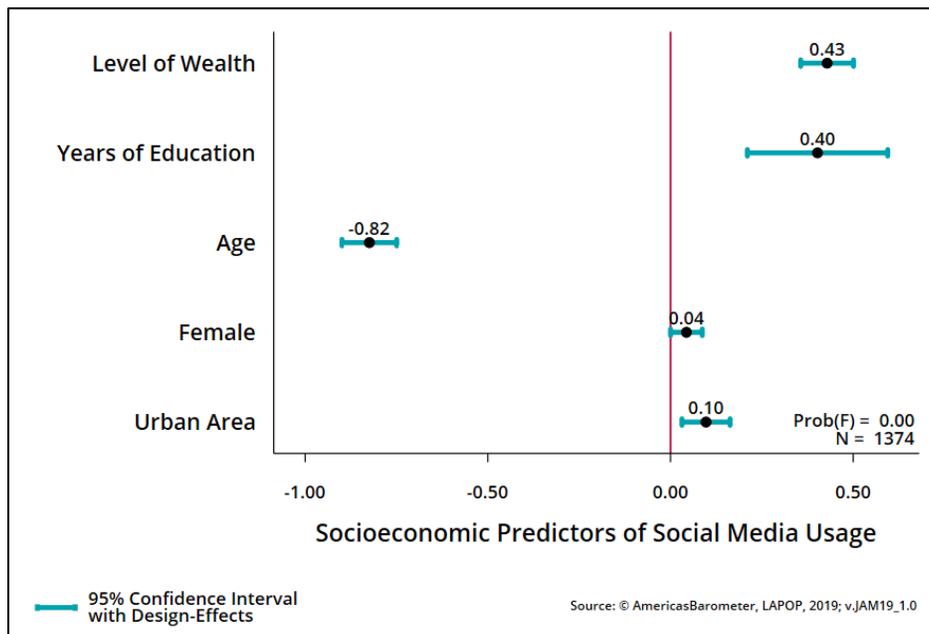


Figure 3.4. Factors Associated with Social Media Use, Jamaica 2019

²¹ Age and education are measured in years, rescaled to 0 to 1, where 0 indicates the youngest or the lowest level of education, and 1 the oldest or the highest level of education. Wealth is an ordinal variable, rescaled to 0 to 1, where 0 indicates the lowest level of wealth, and 1 the highest level of wealth. Place of residence is coded 1 for urban and 0 for rural. Gender is coded 1 for female and 0 for male.

²² Account-holders who say they never access content on any of these platforms are considered non-users.

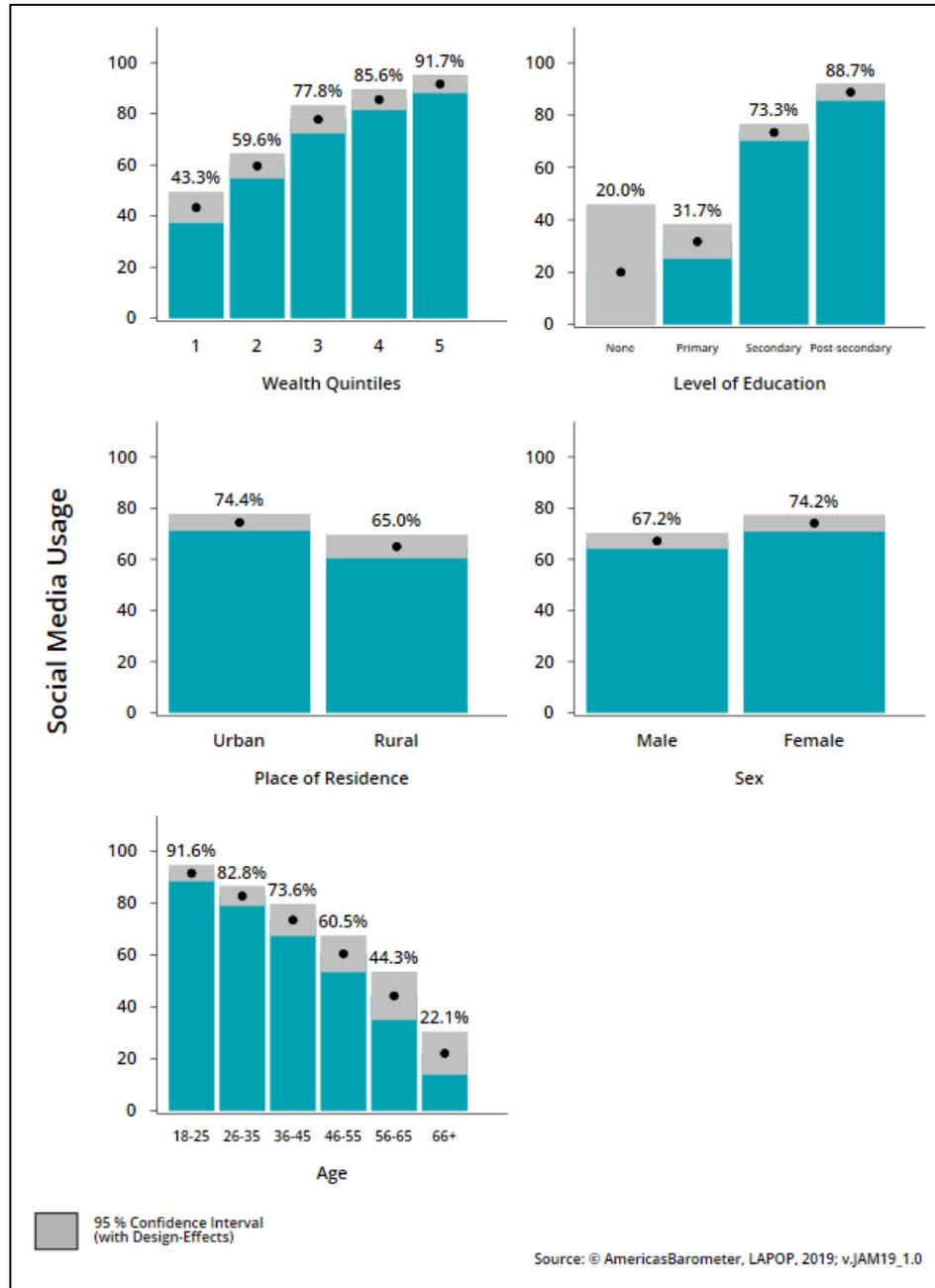


Figure 3.5. Social Media Use by Socio-Demographic Variables, Jamaica 2019

Figure 3.5 shows the percentage of social media users for each category of the significant predictors from the previous analysis. In Jamaica in 2019, while in the poorest quintile 43.3% are users of social media, the percentage of users reaches 91.7% in the richest quintile. We see a similar relationship with educational levels: 20.0% of Jamaicans without education use social media platforms, while 88.7% of Jamaicans with higher education use them. The use of these platforms reaches 91.6% of the youngest [nationality] cohorts, while only 22.1% of those in the oldest cohort (66 years of age and older). Finally, the use of social media is more widespread in urban areas (74.4%) than in rural areas (65.9%) and among women (74.2%) than men (67.2%).

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

Figure 3.6 shows the results of a logistic regression analysis that regresses high use of social media (vs. low use) on the same set of demographic and socioeconomic factors. The results indicate that, on average in Jamaica 2019, those who are wealthier and live in urban areas are more likely to be high frequency social media users (among those with social media accounts). The predicted effect of these individual characteristics is small compared to the analysis predicting social media use (vs. none).

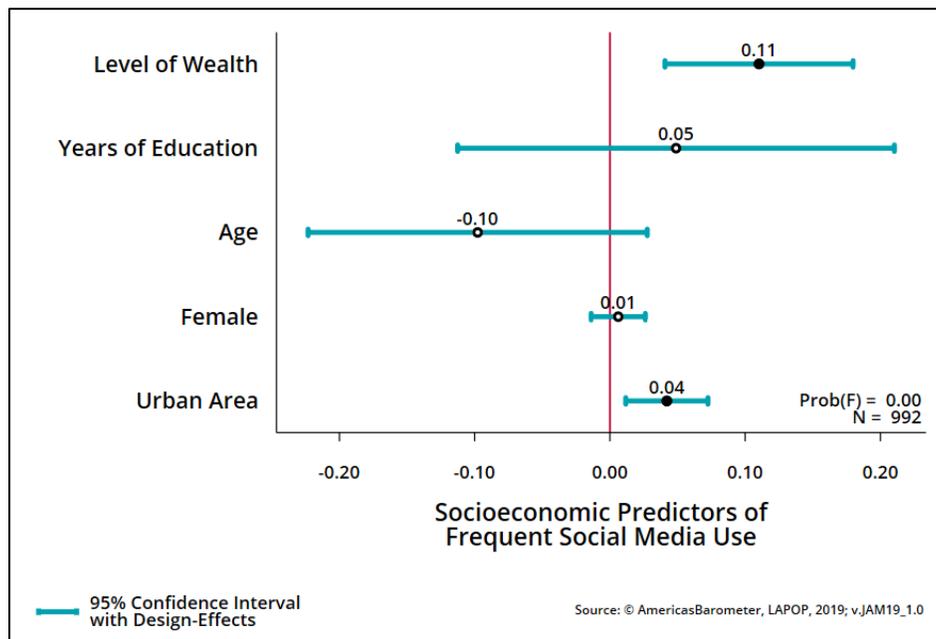


Figure 3.6. Factors Predicting High (vs. Low) Social Media Use, Jamaica 2019

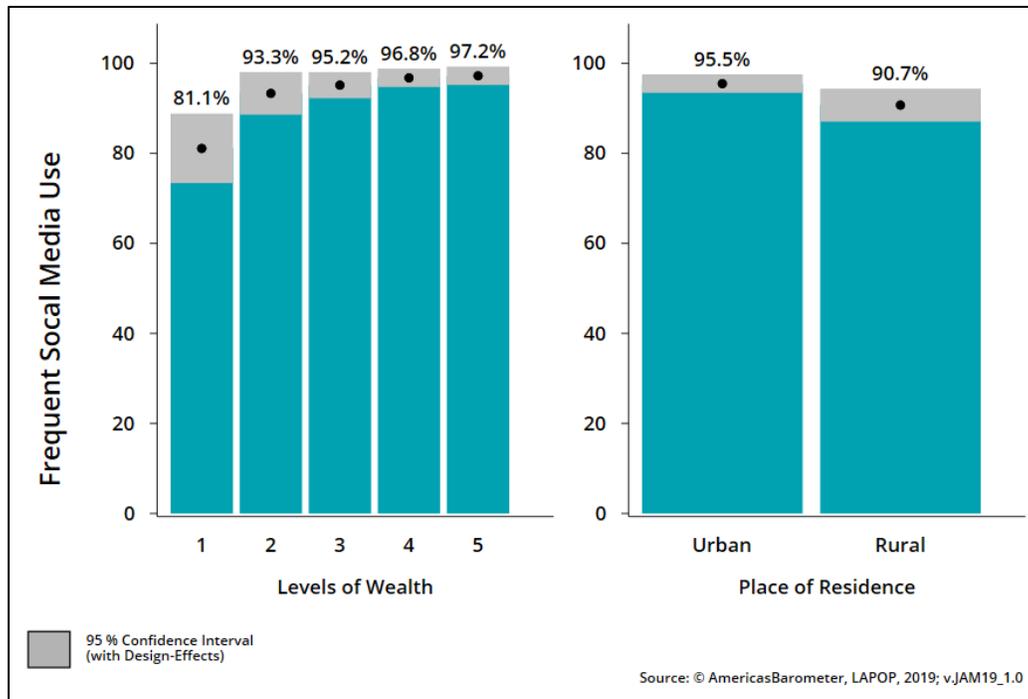


Figure 3.7. Frequency of Social Media Use by Socio-Demographic Variables, Jamaica 2019

Figure 3.7 shows the percentage of those who are high frequency social media users for each category of the significant predictors from the previous analysis. In Jamaica 2019, while 81.8% of those in the poorest quintile are high frequency users of social media, the percentage of high frequency users surpasses 93.3% in the other four quintiles. Finally, the frequent use of social media is more widespread in urban areas (95.5%) than in rural areas (90.7%).

VI. Political Engagement on Social Media

Those who view content on social media vary in the extent to which they encounter political information. Figure 3.8 displays, for the region as a whole (upper panel) and for Jamaica (lower panel), the frequency of viewing political information on WhatsApp, Facebook, and Twitter, among those who are social media users. For Jamaica, there is a higher tendency for Facebook and Twitter users to view political information on a regular basis. WhatsApp users report viewing political information less often. More specifically, 23.4% of Facebook users report viewing political information on the platform daily, while about a one-third view this type of information a few times a week (25.8%). A similar proportion of Twitter users, 19.7%, indicate that they view political information on this social media daily, and 19.7% do so a few times a week. Users view political information in WhatsApp less often. Although more than half of those who use WhatsApp mention that they never view political information on this social media platform, still more than 1 in 5 WhatsApp users (i.e., 9.2% “Daily” plus 12.6% “A few times a week” totals 21.8%) regularly access political information via the platform. This is a reminder that the platform can be used not only for connecting friends and family on apolitical mundane matters, but also for the dissemination of political opinions and content.

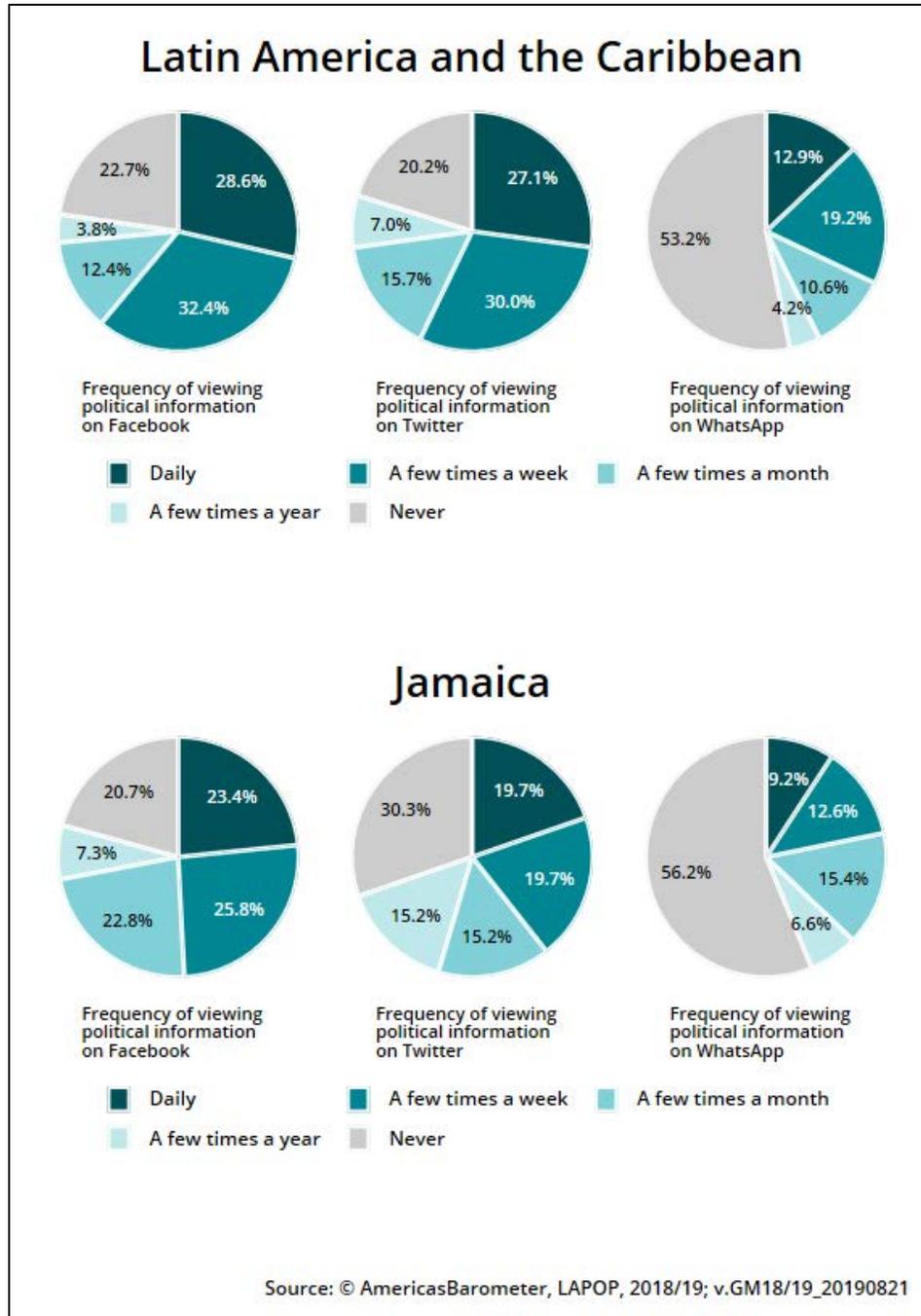


Figure 3.8. Frequency Viewing Political Information on WhatsApp, Facebook, and Twitter, LAC and Jamaica, 2018/19

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



socioeconomic and demographic factors) used in the analysis of predictors of high social media use.

Figure 3.9 shows the results of this logistic analysis that regresses high political information consumption on social media on these demographic and socioeconomic factors. The results show that, on average in Jamaica 2019, younger social media users, as well as those who have higher levels of wealth, are more likely to view political information frequently in social media. Women are also more likely to be high political information consumers via social media.

As Figure 3.10 shows, 54.2% of Jamaicans in wealth quintile 5 use social media frequently to access political information compared to 35.4% in the poorest quintile. Age is also influential: younger people (51.5% for the youngest cohort) report greater use of social media for the consumption of political information than older people (25.8% for the oldest cohort).

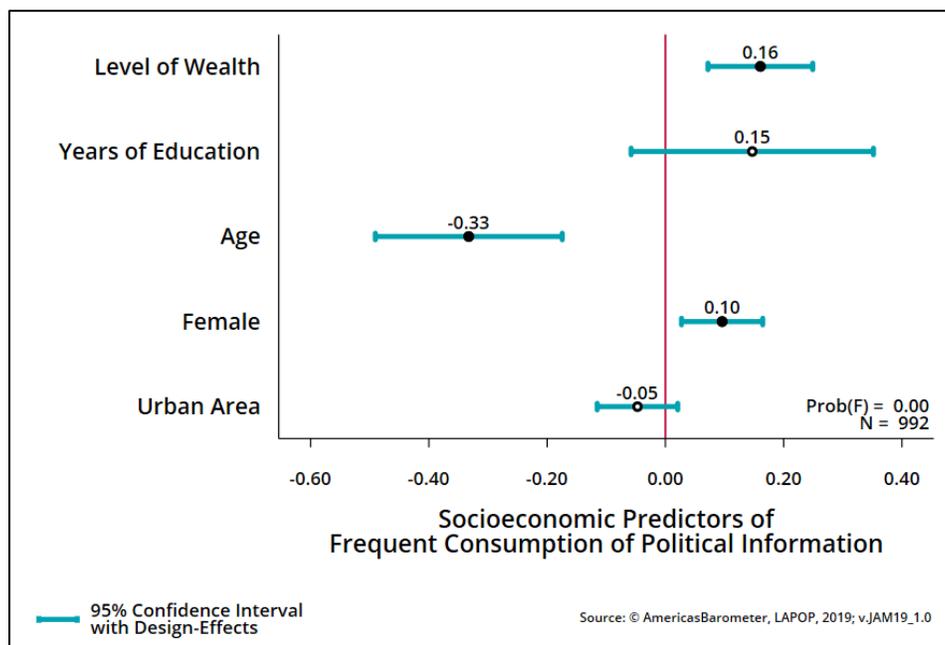


Figure 3.9. Factors Associated with Frequent Viewing of Political Information on Social Media, Jamaica 2019

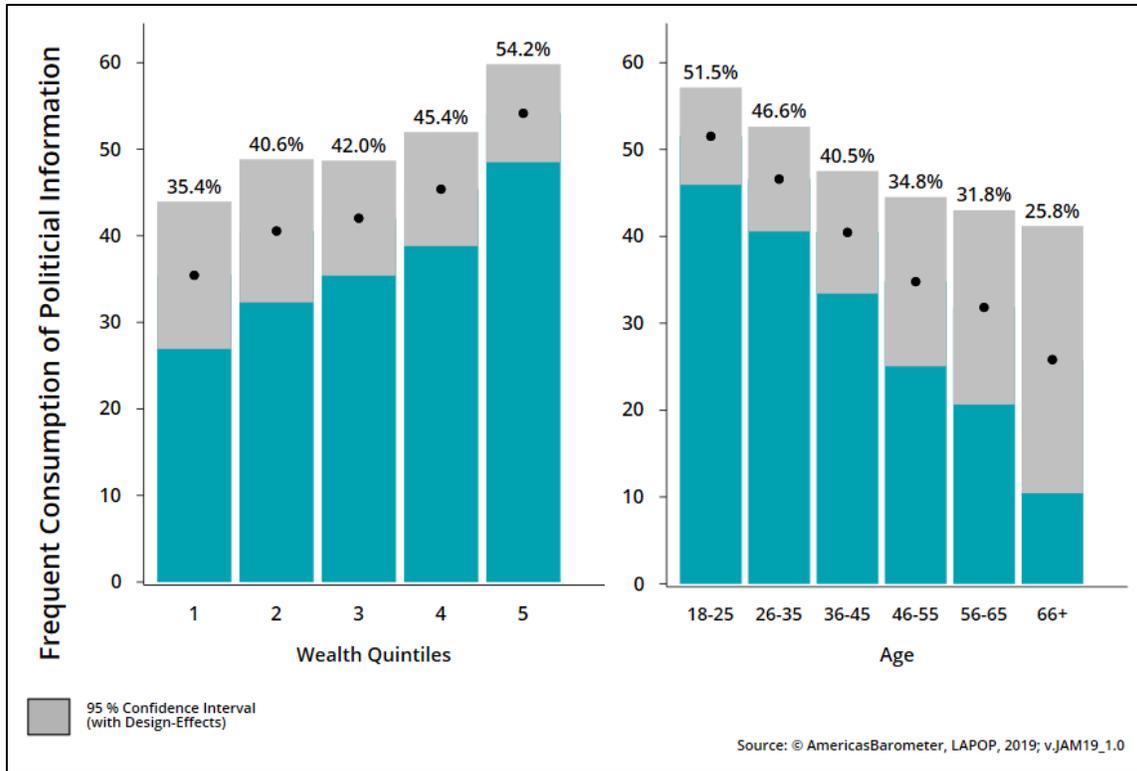


Figure 3.10. Frequent Consumption of Political Information via Social Media by Socio-Demographic Variables, Jamaica 2019

VII. Social Media Use and Political Attitudes

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

The results, in Figure 3.11, show that in the LAC region high social media users are more tolerant, and more supportive of democracy as a system of government than are low social media users or non-users. Social media use in Jamaica, however, does not correlate with political tolerance or support for democracy. These differences can be seen in Figure 3.11 (upper panel is LAC region,

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



and lower panel is Jamaica). On average, in Jamaica 64.1% of high social media users display high levels of tolerance, while that rate is 68.2% among low social media users and 62.6% among non-users.²⁴ These differences are not statistically significant, however. Likewise, there are no statistical differences between support for democracy, with 51.4% of high social media users, 46.6% of low social media users, and 54.8% of non-users supporting democracy.²⁵

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

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

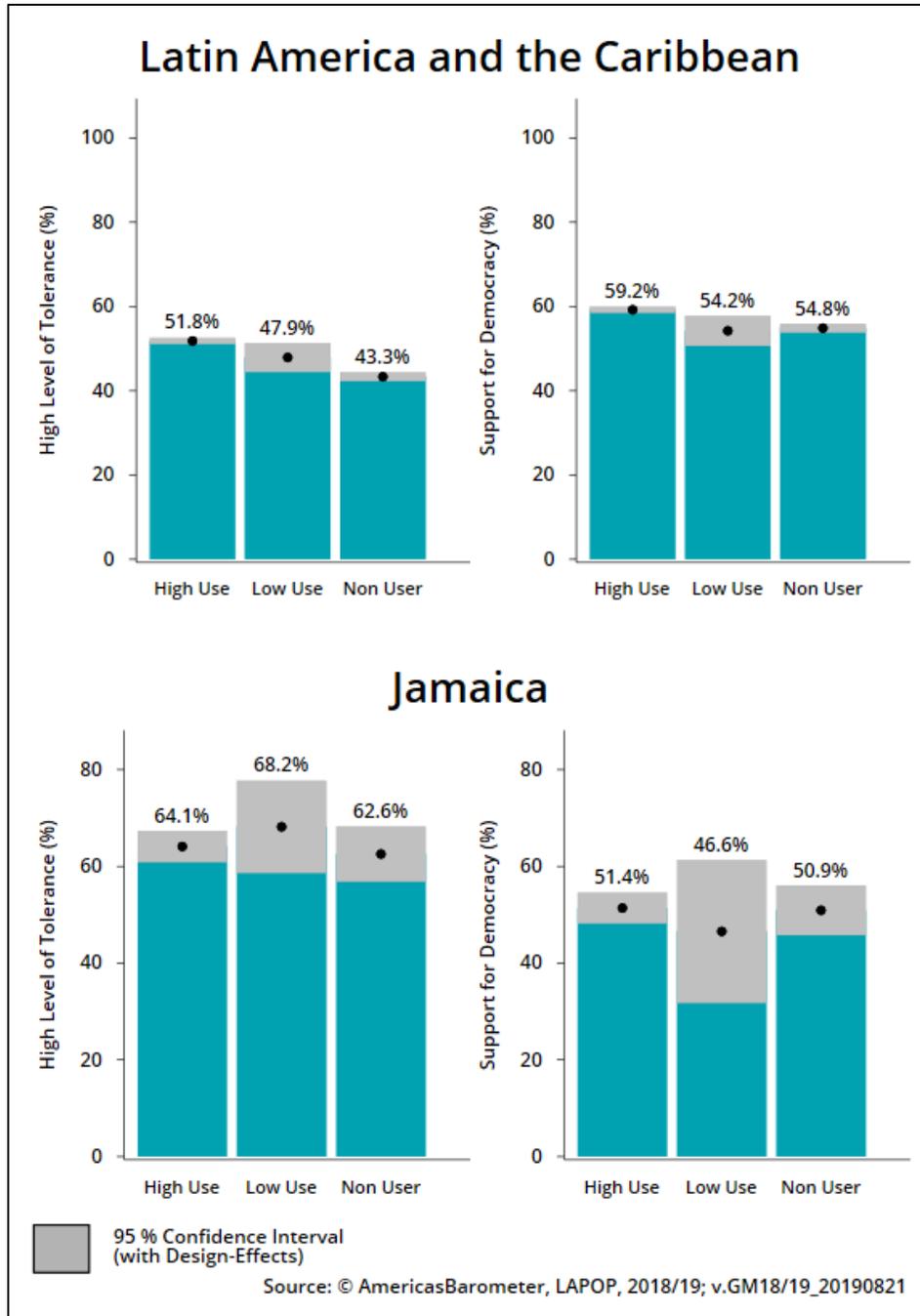


Figure 3.11. Tolerance Level and Support for Democracy by Type of Social Media Users and Non-Users, LAC and Jamaica 2018/19

The top panel of Figure 3.12 shows that social media users in the LAC region are less satisfied with how democracy is working in their country.²⁶ Among high social media users in the region, 37.7% report that they are satisfied with the way democracy works in their country, while 39.2% of low

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

social media users and 43.8% of non-users are satisfied with how democracy works in their country. The differences between the two groups of social media users (high and low) on the one hand and non-users on the other are statistically significant – but the slight difference between high and low users is not. The bottom panel of the figure shows the results for Jamaica. There are no statistically significant differences in support for democracy among high, low, and non-users of social media.

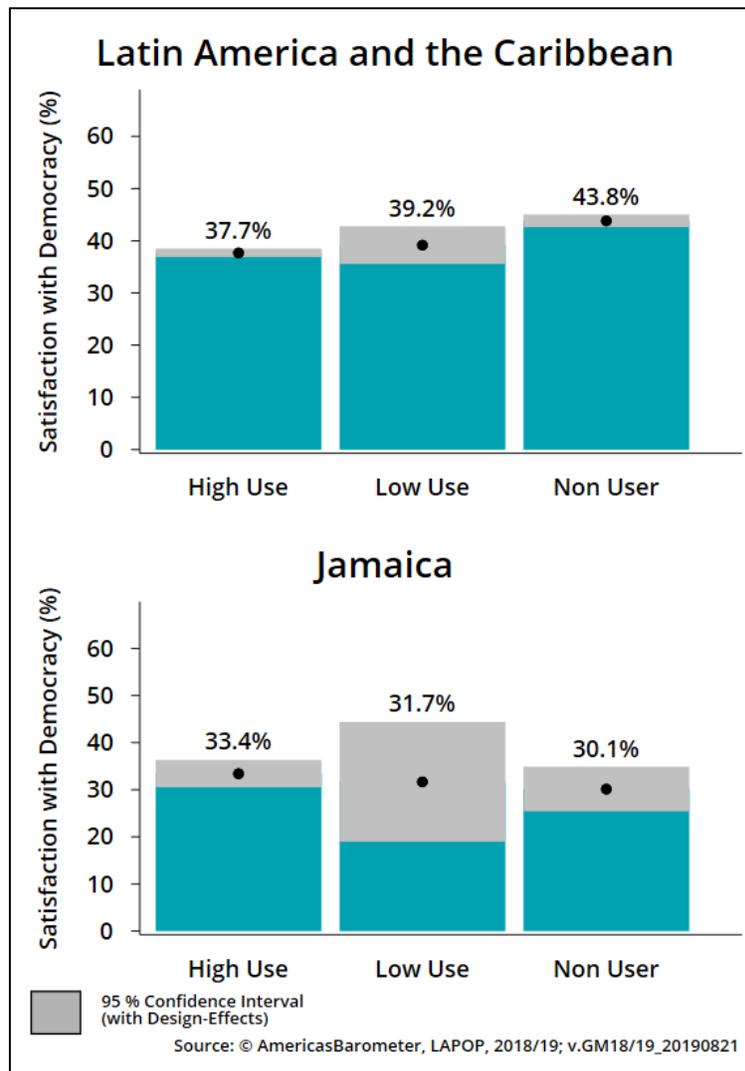


Figure 3.12. Satisfaction with Democracy by Type of Social Media User and Non-account Holders, LAC and Jamaica 2018/19

High social media users are also less trusting in the country's institutions in the region as a whole (upper panel of Figure 3.13) and in Jamaica (lower panel).²⁷ As Figure 3.12 displays, among high social

²⁷ Trust in political institutions was analyzed in this section based on the following questions: B31. To what extent do you trust the Supreme Court of Justice? B37. To what extent do you trust the mass media? B32. To what extent do you trust the local or municipal government? B13. To what extent do you trust the National Congress? B21A. To what extent do you trust the President/Prime Minister? B47A. To what extent

media users in Jamaica, approximately 43% of people trust the Supreme Court, while 48.8% of non-users express trust in this institution. The difference between trust in the mass media among high and low social media users is statistically indistinguishable, while non-users are considerably more trusting (47.4%) than high users (36.0%). Likewise, there is no difference between high and low users' trust in the local government, but the trust increases from 28.1% among high users to 34.3% among non-users.

do you trust elections in this country? Respondents answered on a 1-7 scale, and we code responses (5), (6), and (7) as indicative of trust.

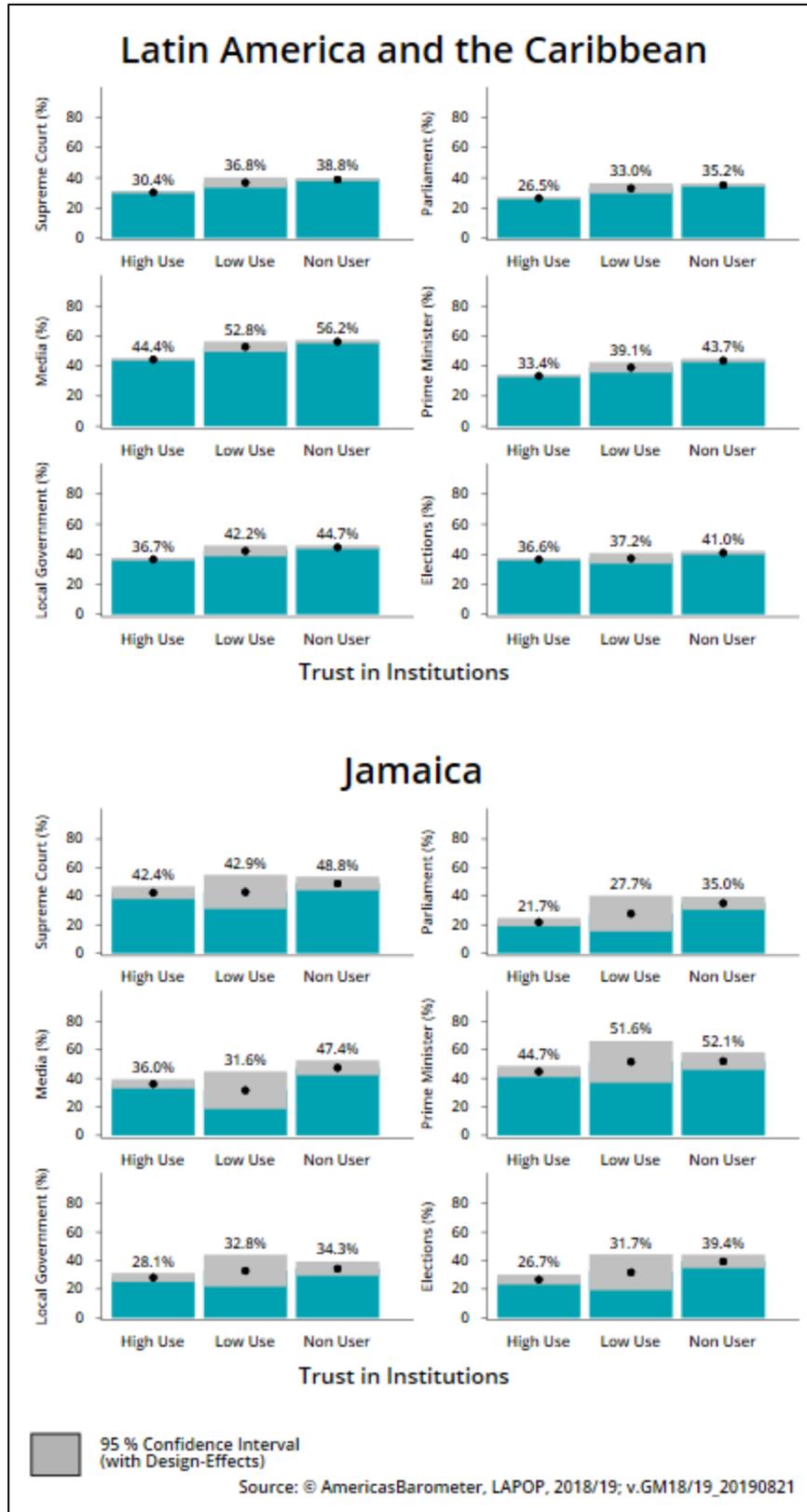


Figure 3.13. Trust in Institutions by Type of Social Media User and Non-account Holders in the LAC Region and Jamaica, 2018/19

We further see that 21.7% and 22.7% of high and low social media users, respectively, in Jamaica trust in the National Congress, while 35.0% of non-users report trust in this political institution. In addition, 44.7% of high social media users in Jamaica trust the Prime Minister, while this proportion rises to 51.6% among low social media users (although not statistically distinct from high usage), and to 52.1% among non-users. Finally, 26.7% of high social media users express their trust toward elections in their country, yet this proportion rises to 31.7% among low social media users (not statistically different from high users), and 39.4% among non-users. In general, in Jamaica, those who use social media frequently trust institutions less than those who do not use them at all.²⁸

VIII. Conclusion

WhatsApp and Facebook are the most popular platforms, although the rates of engagement vary across countries. Social media is widely used in Jamaica. 45.9% of adults in Jamaica use Facebook and 68.1% use WhatsApp. However, Twitter, a common platform in many parts of the world, is not as widely used in Jamaica (4.5%).

In Jamaica, the average social media user is female, younger, more likely to live in an urban area, relatively wealthier, and more educated, compared to the average non-user.

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

Users in Jamaica see political content on the platforms less frequently. This is especially true among users of WhatsApp, who tend to use the platform very frequently but see political content on it infrequently. Facebook users are substantially more likely to report seeing political content on the platform on a frequent basis. Again, it is primarily younger, female, and wealthier individuals who see political content on social media more frequently.

How is the use of social media related to democratic attitudes and evaluations? While frequent social media users are more tolerant and somewhat more supportive of democracy in the abstract, they are also less satisfied with how democracy works in their country, and less trusting in the political institutions. In Jamaica, social media use seems to be either neutral or negative on political attitudes. While it is not associated with some democratic attitudes, it seems to also promote more cynicism and distrust of fundamental democratic institutions. The continuing spread of social media will clearly shape politics in Jamaica, but its effects on democratic attitudes at this point seem mixed.

²⁸ See online appendix for regressions that control for individual-level characteristics in predicting the relationship between social media and trust in political institutions in the LAC region, 2018/19.

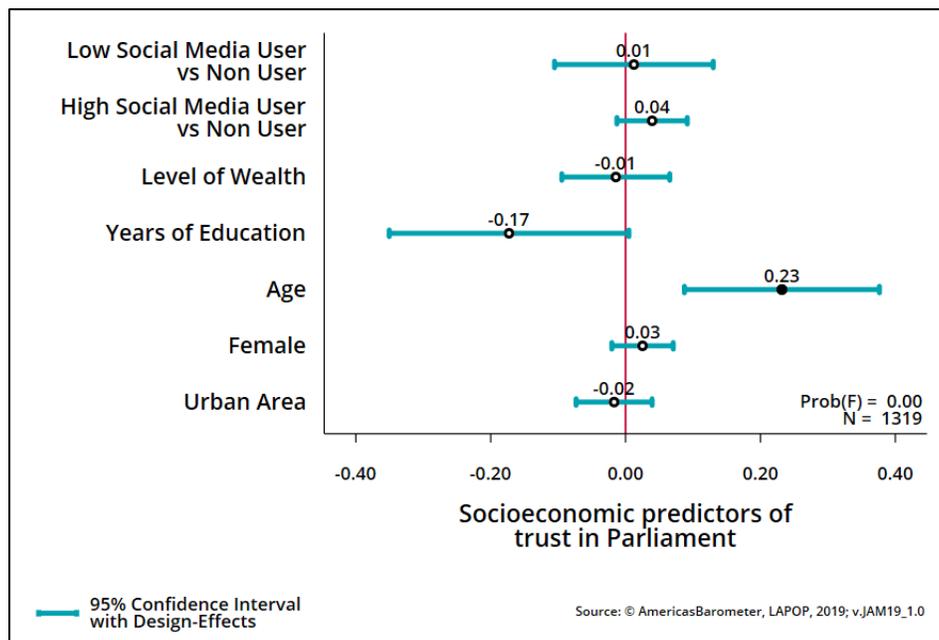
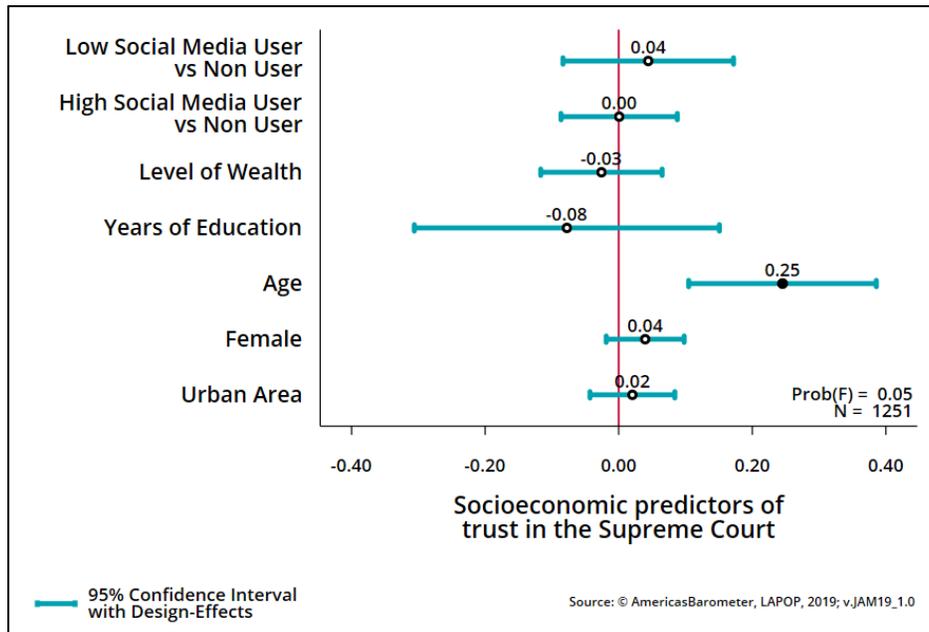


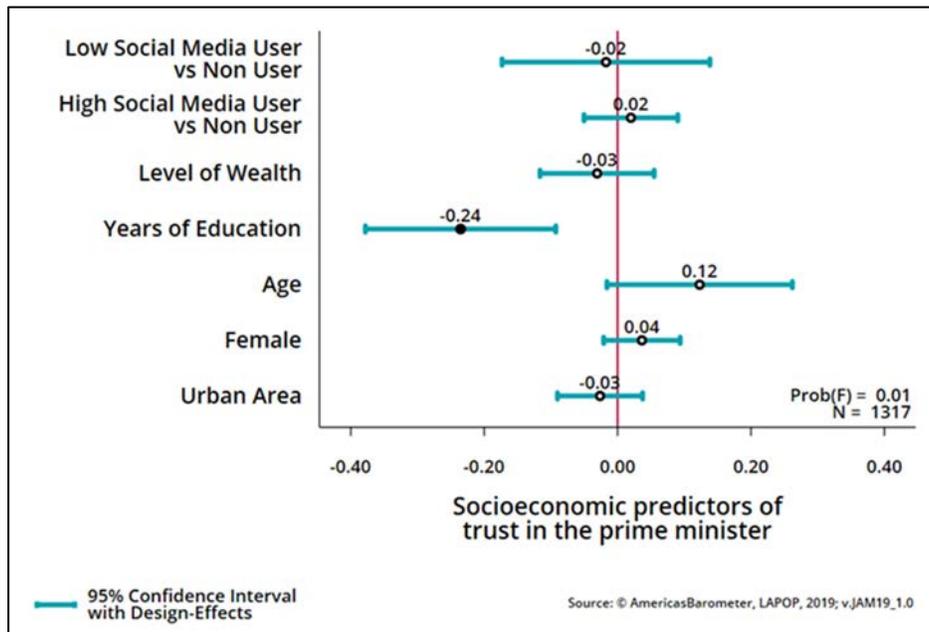
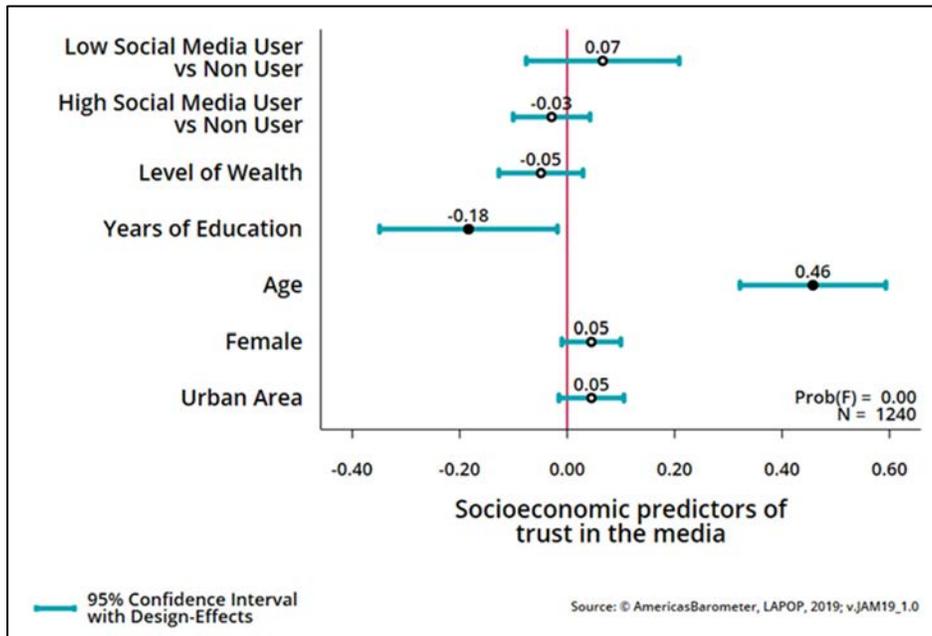
Appendix

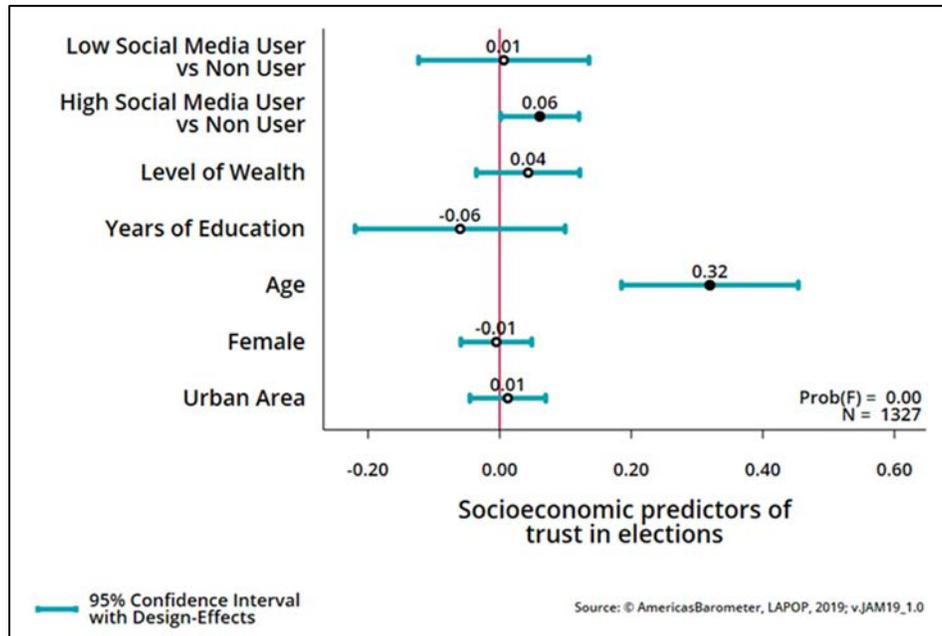
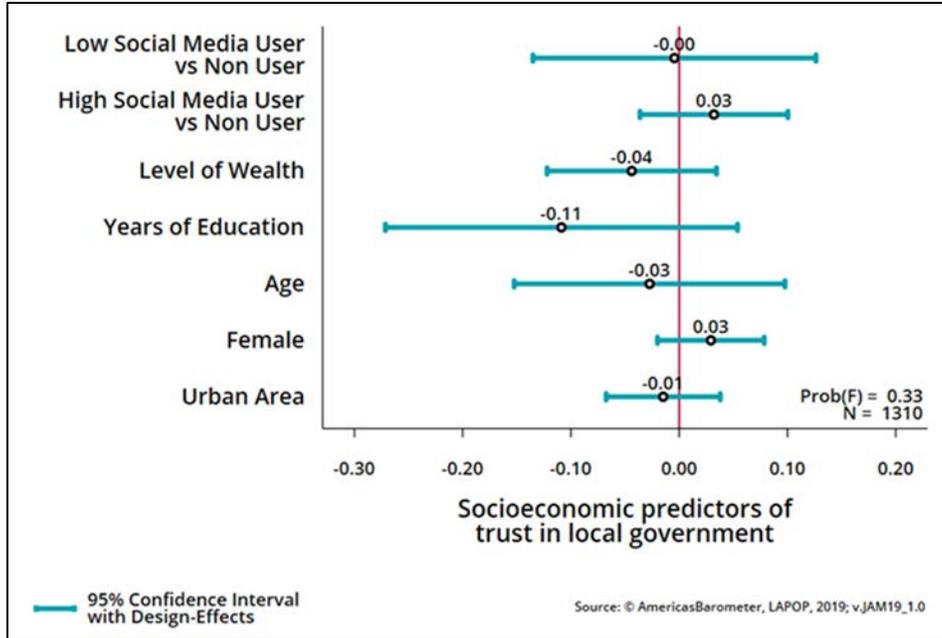
Appendix Table A1. Social Media Use by Country

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

Regression Figures (Figure 3.13)







Chapter 4.

Beyond the Vote: Political and Civil Engagement as Modes of Citizen Activism in Jamaica

Balford A. Lewis¹ and Kenisha V. Nelson²

I. Introduction

Jamaica maintains a vibrant and stable representative democracy built on the British Westminster model of government. Two parties – the Jamaica Labour Party (JLP) and the People’s National Party (PNP) – have governed at different times, each serving one or more constitutionally defined terms of a maximum of five years each. Third or ‘splinter’ parties have never presented any appreciable electoral challenge, hence Jamaica has been characterized as a ‘two party democracy’ since universal adult suffrage in 1944.

Despite the stability of party competition, a general tendency of successive political administrations to fall short in delivering on promises to address issues and problems that Jamaicans consider as important is blamed for typically low levels of trust in political institutions and increasing political apathy and disdain towards politics and government (Waller, 2013). Decades of declining voter turnout is underlined by a new low in the 2016 general elections when less than a half (47.7%) of registered voters went to the polls. The observation of declining voter turnout is not unique to Jamaica. Citizen participation in politics, especially in levels of voting, has been declining in democracies globally over a number of years (Birch, 2014; Hansard Society and Electoral Commission 2012; Lawrence & Birch, 2015; Parvin, 2018; Putnam, 2004). However as Meeks (2014) observes, the “disenchantment and widespread political dissatisfaction” among Jamaicans can be attributed to citizens’ sense of social and political exclusion, “ ... (and) the feeling that the government does not care, ... (and) operates at a bureaucratic level without reference to the people it serves ” (2001, p. 14).

A healthy and sustainable democracy is built on a foundation of an active and inclusive citizenship—a key element of this being the meaningful participation of citizens in political and civil society affairs (Dahl, 1999; Putnam, 2004). Moreover, active participation allow citizens to “articulate ideas in a public meeting, listen to others, participate in decision making, depersonalize conflict, critically analyze a situation, find allies, and act in concert” activities that can serve to combat the widespread “political frustration and alienation of our times” (Whitaker, 2004, p. 215).

This chapter analyzes levels of political engagement in politics and civil society organizations in Jamaica. Specifically, we present results on survey questions pertaining to reported interest in

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politics, party identification, voting behavior, attitudes to citizens’ right to protest, and on the popularity of selected forms of civil society participation.

II. Main Findings

We examine modes of political and civil associations and engagement in Jamaica, focusing on questions pertaining to interest in politics, party identification, attitude to citizens right to protest, and on the popularity of selected forms of civil society participation. Key findings are as follows:

- Interest in politics among the Jamaican citizenry is low, with 65% reporting little to no interest in politics. Notably, this level of interest is comparable to what obtains in other countries within the Americas.
- Fewer than 40 percent of the citizenry acknowledged their affiliation to a political party, which represents the lowest level of party identification over the last decade.
- A majority of Jamaicans reported that they have never participated in meetings of a political nature, with fewer than 20% reporting attendance at a meeting of a political party and less than 10% participating in local government meetings.
- Sixty-one percent of Jamaicans approve of citizens being able to hold legal demonstrations, but this represents the lowest level of approval over the last decade.
- A majority of citizens (77%) support the right to use peaceful demonstrations to express views that are critical of the national system of government.
- There is a significant progressive decline in citizens’ participation in religious groups and bodies over the past decade, with a fall of 33 percentage points since 2006.
- Participation in parent-teacher meetings and meetings of community improvement groups have remained relatively stable.

III. Interest in Politics

We start by assessing the level of interest in politics by Jamaicans. Presumably, in a free society, and especially one in which the vote is optional, aggregate participation in political events and activities is driven, in part, by the degree to which the populace is interested in politics. We measure level of political interest in Jamaica by soliciting responses to the following question:

POL1. How much interest do you have in politics: a lot, some, little or none?
 (1) A lot (2) Some (3) Little (4) None
 (888888) Don't know **[DON'T READ]** (988888) No answer **[DON'T READ]**



Responses to this question are summarized in Figure 4.1. About 36 percent indicate that they have absolutely no interest in politics. Those reporting having a lot of interest represented just over 14 percent of the sample.

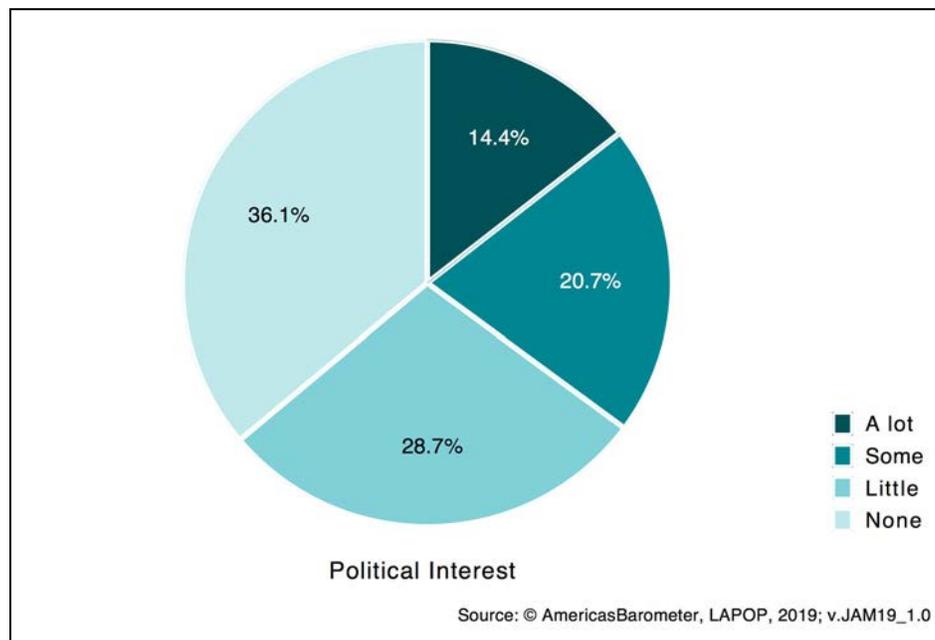


Figure 4.1. Reported Level of Interest in Politics in Jamaica, 2019

When responses were re-calibrated on a 0-100 point scale, on which 0 signifies no interest at all and 100 indicates a lot of interest, Jamaica's mean political interest score of 38 points (Figure 4.2) seems low. However, when this level of interest is viewed relative to that expressed in other countries in the Americas, Jamaica's mean score is in line with the comparatively low interest professed by peoples across the Americas.

Historically, interest in politics in Jamaica typically peaks close to general elections. This survey was conducted in the middle of the election cycle. Responses, therefore, may express respondents' interest at the time of this survey and not necessarily their overall interest in politics. However, it is interpreted, this low level of interest is indicative of high political apathy—a longstanding problem of many countries in Latin America and the Caribbean (Espíndola, Lorenzo & Borz, 2005).

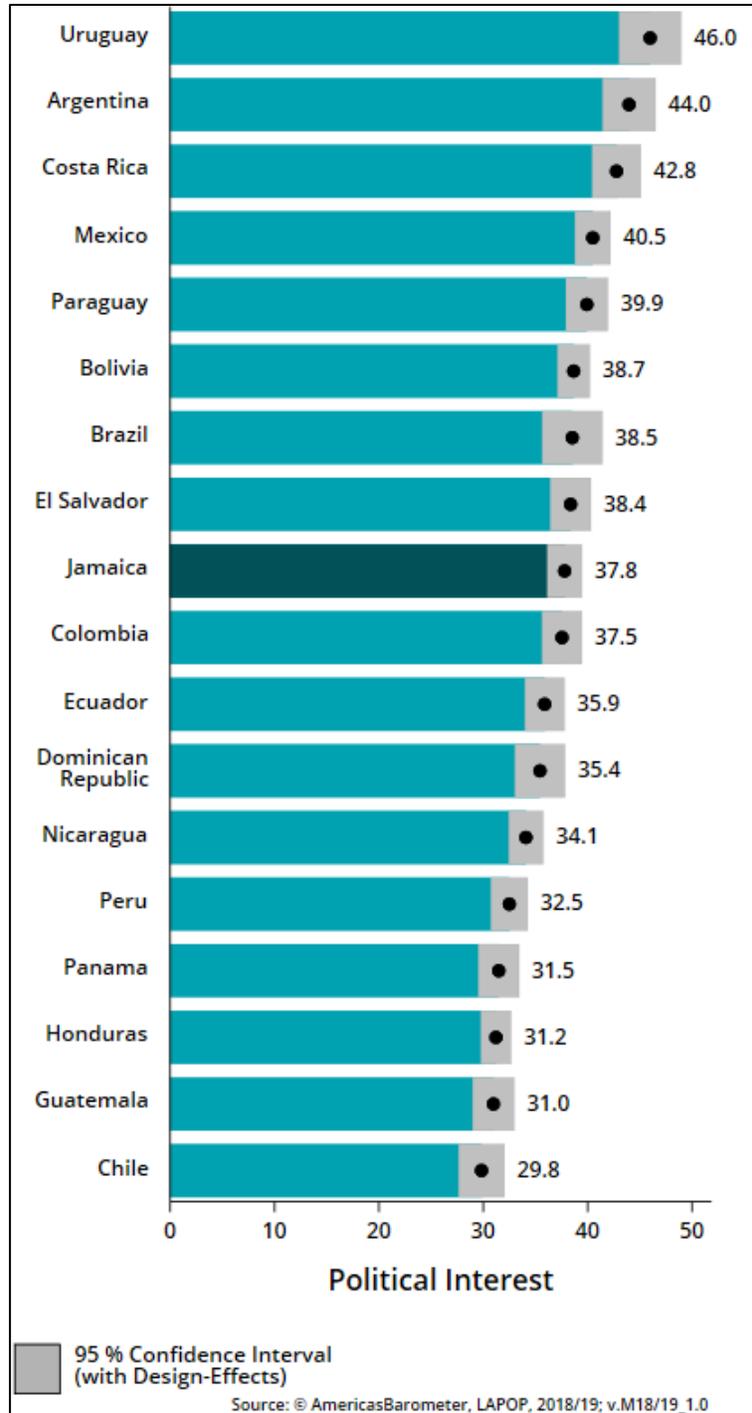


Figure 4.2. Interest in Politics in Comparative Perspective



IV. Interest in Voting

In the 2006 round in this series of surveys, Jamaicans were asked to indicate how they would define ‘democracy’. As reported, the word was predominantly conceptualized in normative terms. In other words, it was widely perceived in terms of generally accepted democratic practices such as elections, voting, and popular participation (Boxill, Lewis, & Russell, 2006). In all subsequent studies in the series, results show widespread appreciation of the importance of the vote and elections in the democratic process.

Indeed, free elections and broad citizen participation should be considered among the basic elements of a political democracy (Bratton, 2002; Dahl, 1999) since it is the mechanism through which the legitimacy of the regime is validated (Benavides, Ortiz, Silva & Vega, 2003). As shown in Chapter 1 of this report, a majority of Jamaicans prefer a democratic system of government to all other regime types. In exploring the extent to which citizens’ interest in the vote reflects this strong support for democracy, we analyze responses to the following question:

V20. If the next general elections were being held this week, what would you do? **[Read alternatives]**

(1) Wouldn’t vote

(2) Would vote for the current (incumbent) candidate or party

(3) Would vote for a candidate or party different from the current administration

(4) Would go to vote but would leave the ballot blank or would purposely cancel my vote

(888888) Don’t know **[DON’T READ]** (988888) No answer **[DON’T READ]**

As the left panel of Figure 4.3 shows, when this variable is recoded to include all respondents who indicated their intention to vote in one category (options 2, 3, and 4), the sample splits evenly between likely voters and non-voters. As a measure of interest in voting in Jamaica, these results closely mirror actual voter turnout in the most recent general election in 2016, in which just under 48 percent of potential voters went to the polls (Electoral Office of Jamaica, 2016).

Viewed in comparison to actual voter turnout of as high as 86.9 percent in the 1980 general election, trend data for this measure (right panel of Figure 4.3) illustrate the problem of troubling levels of voter apathy in recent years, previously alluded to in the introductory remarks of this chapter.

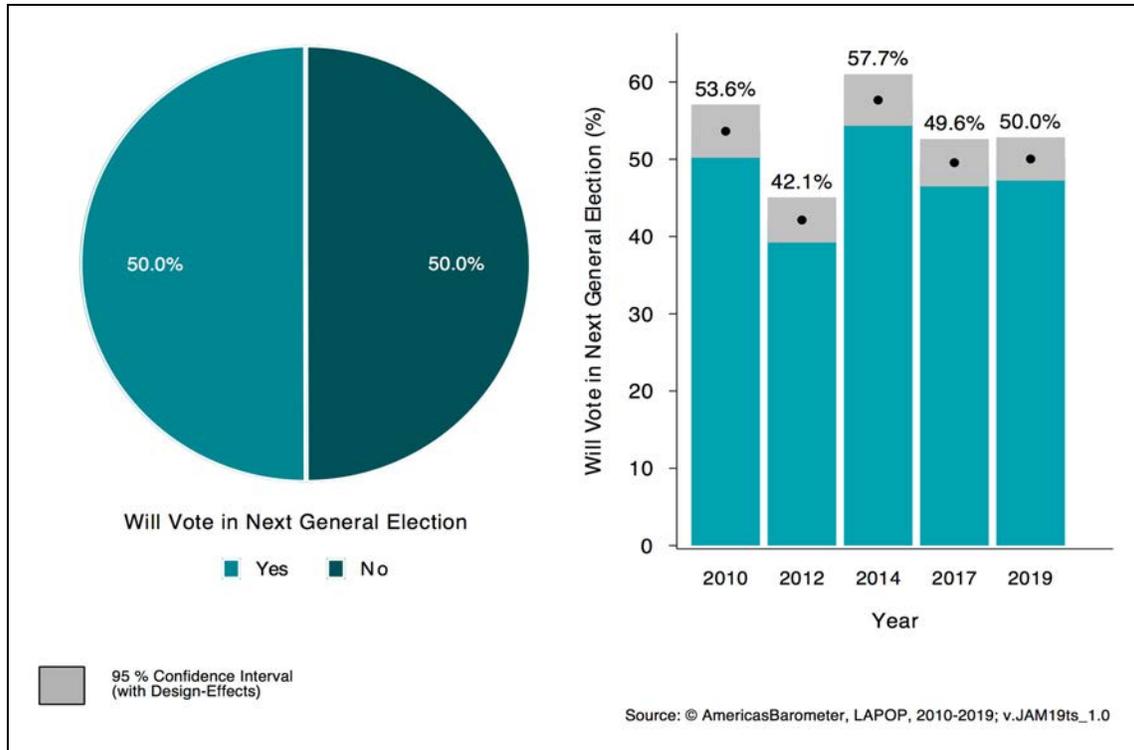


Figure 4.3. Voting Attitudes of Jamaican Citizens

V. Political Party Identification

Political parties have been the most dominant approach to political organization in all modern democracies. They are not only critical to the organization and functioning of democratic systems (Webb & White, 2007), but also widely viewed as a ‘*sine qua non* for popular participation’ (van Biezen, 2004). Parties facilitate representation and choice and enable membership to work toward maximizing electoral results, typically with the aim of attaining victory over competing parties and ascent to government (Stokes, 1999; Political Pipeline, 2012). They help to enhance political awareness and kindle partisan loyalty and competition among the citizenry, thereby ‘greasing the wheels of democratic process’ (McAvoy, 2015). And importantly, they mobilize grass-root political participation and recruit and offer candidates for public office (Mainwaring & Scully 1995).

In Jamaica, people identify with political parties based on a variety of factors including ideological orientation; the party’s political platform; popularity of party leaders and representatives; family allegiance; and community loyalty. While partisan identification tends to increase political participation, some who turn out to vote practice ‘issue voting’ whereby their vote is influenced by the prevailing issues and not by party membership or loyalty to party candidate (Borre, 2001). They shift allegiance to whichever party espouses the salient issues and concerns. There are also a number of citizens who exhibit no interest in politics or the political process, and therefore proclaim no allegiance to or sympathy for any party.

Here we seek to gauge the extent to which Jamaicans participate in politics in terms of their declared identification with a political party by asking the following question:

VB10. Do you currently identify with a political party?

(1) Yes **[Continue]**

(2) No **[Skip to POL1]**

(888888) Don't know **[DON'T READ] [Skip to POL1]**

(988888) No answer **[DON'T READ] [Skip to POL1]**

As Figure 4.4 illustrates, a significant percentage of Jamaicans claims they do not identify with any particular party. Fewer than 40 percent of the citizenry acknowledge affiliation to political parties.

Given the evidence of strong support for the democratic system of government in Jamaica reported in this series over the years, it is reasonable to have expected that there would be greater declared attachment to the institutions that are so widely recognized to be central to the democratic process. The problem though, is that trust and membership in political parties have been on the decline globally (Whiteley, 2011). Sources point to perceived ineffectiveness of these bodies in performing their mediating roles of representing the interest ordinary citizens and communicating their policy concerns to leaders and decision makers in government (Hooge & Kern, 2015). In Jamaica, fringes of the major parties have long been associated with political violence, and more recently with extortion, lottery scamming and other forms of criminal activities. Not surprisingly, therefore, interest and confidence in the political parties and party identification have been on the decline. This is illustrated in Chart 2 (Figure 4.4), which shows the 2019 results to be the lowest rate of party identification over the last decade.

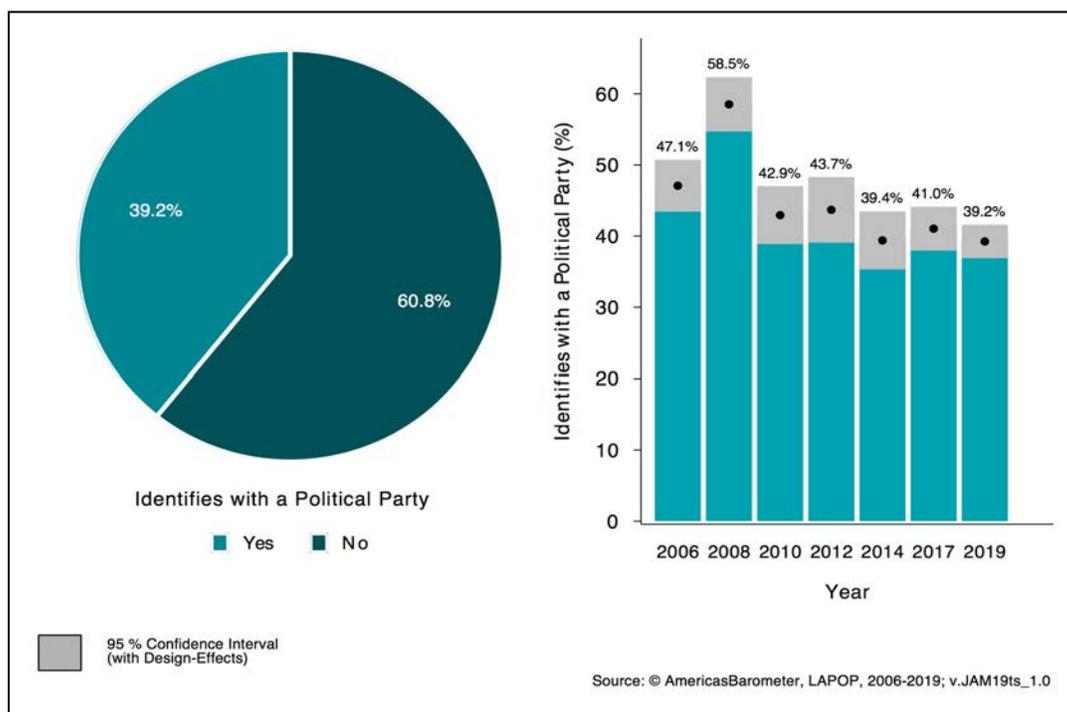


Figure 4.4. Percentage of Citizens Affiliation with a Political Party, Jamaica

VI. Participation in Meetings of Political Organizations

Weinschenk and Panagopoulos (2014) observed that, in addition to voting, the various ways citizens can actively participate in politics include donating, attending meetings, and organizing and volunteer for campaign activities. Here we examine political participation in terms of citizen attendance of meetings pursuing political activities and partisan agendas. In order to determine level of citizen engagement, we asked the following question:

I am going to read you a list of groups and organizations. Please tell me if you attend meetings of these organizations at least once a week, once or twice a month, once or twice a year, or never. [Repeat “once a week,” “once or twice a month,” “once or twice a year,” or “never” to help the interviewee]						
	Once a week	Once or twice a month	Once or twice a year	Never	Don't know [DONT READ]	No answer [DON'T READ]
CP13. Meetings of a political party or political organization? Do you attend them...	1	2	3	4	888888	988888

As Figure 4.5 (Chart 1) shows, 80 percent of Jamaicans reported that they had never participated in meetings of a political nature within the last twelve months. When the responses of those who answered in the affirmative are aggregated to create a measure of those attending political meetings at least once per year, the results show a pattern of roughly the same level of participation across the different rounds of the survey (Chart 2).

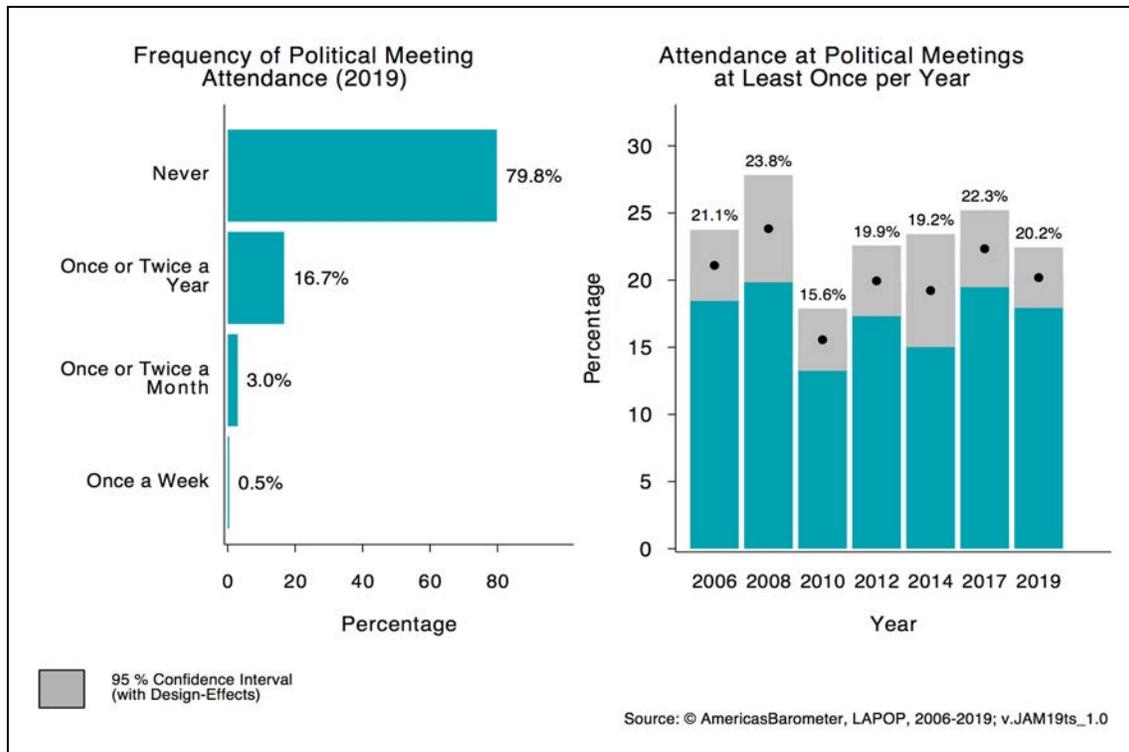


Figure 4.5. Frequency of Political Meeting Attendance, Jamaica

VII. Participation in Meetings of Local Government Entities

The decentralization objective of “bringing the government closer to the people” through the strengthening of local government is promoted with the understanding that such devolution facilitates broader citizen participation in identifying and attending to community needs, setting development priorities, and holding public officials accountable for their actions (Grandvoinet, Aslam, & Raha, 2015). Purportedly, the closer proximity between the citizenry and public officials promotes greater sensitivity, responsiveness and accountability in the delivery of public goods and services (Bajraktari, 2016; Montalvo, 2009; USAID, 2000).

Research shows, however, that citizens in Latin America and the Caribbean tend to have little or no direct contact with local government, except in the form of demand making and service consumption (Love, Carlin & Singer, 2014). Here we determine citizens’ level of participation in local politics in terms of attendance at town meetings and sittings of their parish councils by posing the following question:

NP1. Have you attended a town meeting, parish council meeting or other meeting in the past 12 months?

(1) Yes (2) No

(888888) Don't know **[DON'T READ]** (988888) No answer **[DON'T READ]**

Figure 4.6 shows participation in council meetings as an indicator of community engagement. Fewer than nine percent of respondents reported that they attended sittings of this local body within the last 12 months. The left panel of Figure 4.6 shows marked fluctuations in this measure over the years. The 8.5 percent participation reported in 2019 is among the lowest rates observed since 2006.

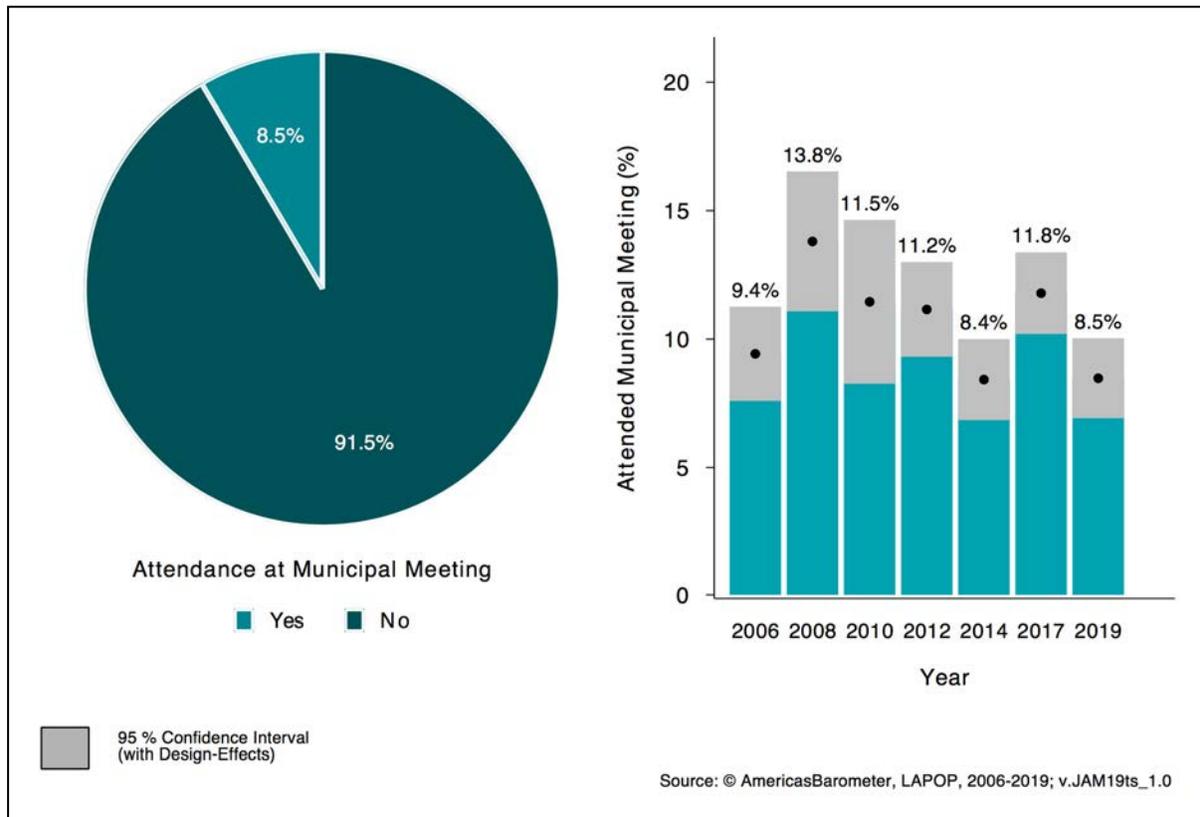


Figure 4.6. Frequency of Local Government Meeting Attendance, Jamaica

VIII. Citizens' Attitude to Selected Modes of Political Activism

The modes of political participation discussed in preceding sub-sections are usually categorized as 'conventional engagement', and are distinguished from more radical 'non-conventional' activities used to attract attention to some valance or position issues or concerns. These include protest measures such as the blocking of traffic, marches and demonstrations, and organized strikes and boycotts.

In a democracy, when sections of society perceive or experience marginalization, discrimination, abuse, or neglect, their right to alert the authority of the urgency of their situation through peaceful protest should be accommodated and protected. It has been highlighted in previous studies of this series that in many countries in the Americas, public protest has become a "normalized" method of political participation (Cleary, 2000).



Such protests and public demonstrations are political actions because the aim is to affect how public issues are treated and “are oppositional political actions because those who protest want government to change its policies or actions” (Mintz, Close, & Croci, 2009, p. 279). Here we examine citizens’ attitudes to the use of these measures to attract attention to social problems and concerns by analyzing responses to the following questions:

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

There are people who only say bad things about the Jamaican form of government, not just the incumbent government but the system of government.

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.

Note that the first item focuses on respondents’ attitude to the right of citizens to participate in legally permitted means of public protest. The other question is a broader measure of respondent’s level of tolerance for those whose political activism is an expression of opposition to aspects of the prevailing political system. By definition, tolerance is the willingness to recognize and respect the civil liberties of fellow citizens, even those with whom there is strong disagreement. Citizens must exhibit a sufficiently high level of tolerance for a democracy to function harmoniously and remain as a cohesive political community. It is, “to a certain extent, the adhesive that binds society to the political community” (Vargas Cullell, Rosero-Bixby, & Seligson, 2006, p.36). A working democracy depends on the input of citizens with opposing views and interests, including the positions of those in the minority (Dahl, 1999; Przeworski, Alvarez, Cheihub, & Limongi, 2000)

On the question of citizens’ approval of the actions of those who participate in legal demonstrations, nearly two out of three Jamaicans expressed support for the right of citizens to undertake protest activities (Figure 4.7, top, left panel 1). The top, right panel 2 of Figure 4.7 shows that there has been a significant decline in approval for such protest since 2012, to 61 percent in 2019, the lowest level of support since 2006.

The bottom, left panel of Figure 4.7 shows that there is even stronger majoritarian support for citizens’ right to use peaceful demonstrations to express views that are critical of the national system of government (77.3 percent). As illustrated by the bottom, right panel, there have been modest period-to-period fluctuations in levels of approval since 2006, with more than three quarters of the population expressing support for citizens’ right to this mode of political contestation.

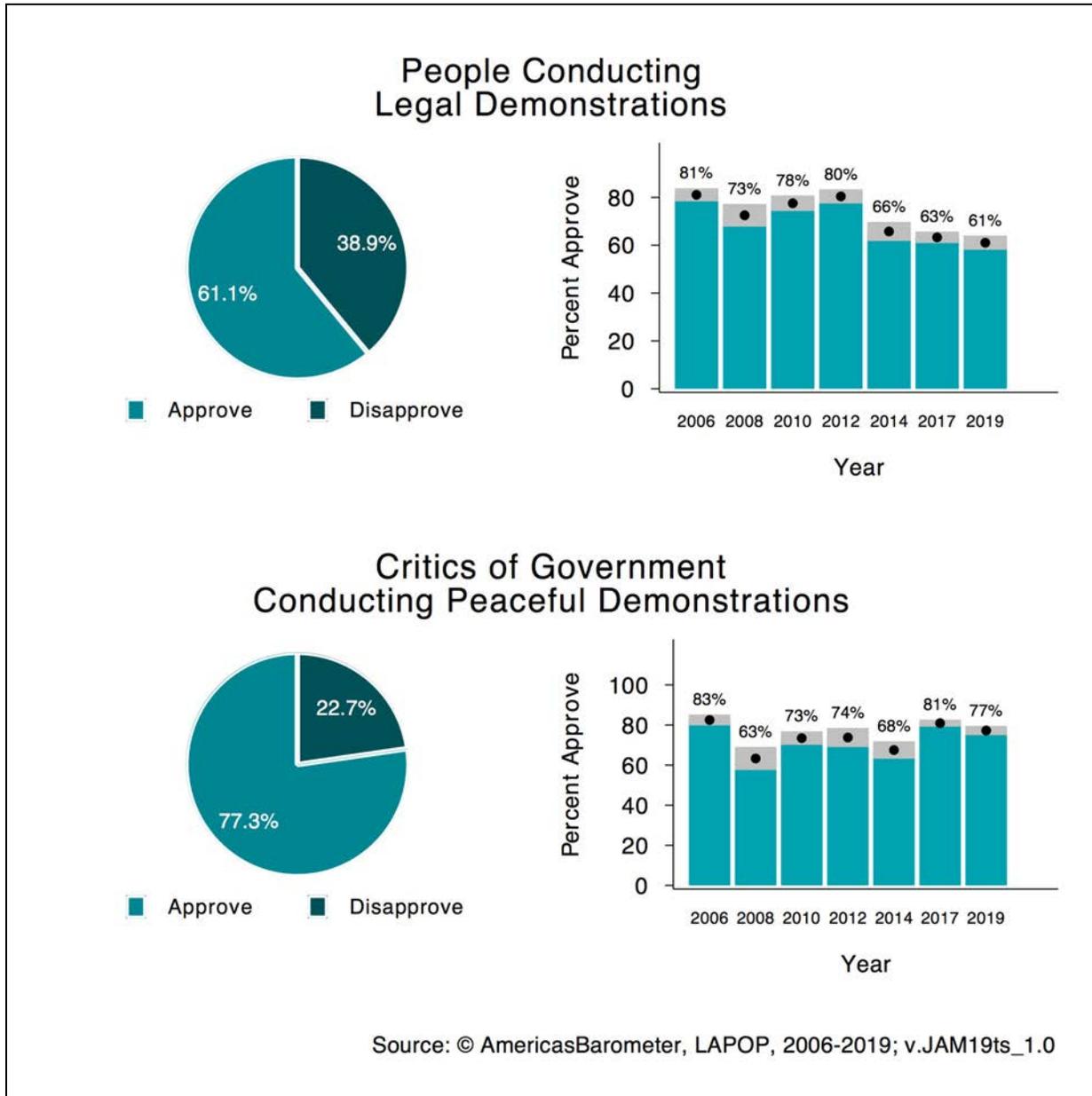


Figure 4.7. Attitudes towards Protests and Political Activism in Jamaica

IX. Citizens' Participation in Community Organizations

In his work on the nature of democracy, French sociologist and political theorist Alexis de Tocqueville (1805-1859) highlighted the importance of popular participation to a democracy when he asserted:

[D]emocratic government...can mean only one thing in the true sense of these words: a government where the people more or less participate in their government. Its sense is intimately bound to the idea of political liberty. To give the democratic epithet to a government

where there is no political liberty is a palpable absurdity, since this departs from the natural meaning of these words. (ct., Aron, 1968, pp. 186).

In this section we assess the state of democracy from this Tocquevillean perspective, by examining the popularity of selected community-level associative activities in Jamaica.

Community participation as the active involvement of citizens in collaborative activities aimed at changing problematic conditions in their neighborhood or to influence policies and programmes that affect the quality of life of community members (Ohmer, 2007). Aggregate membership and participation in local organizations have been found to be significantly associated with successful community-level security and development initiatives (Krishna 2002; Narayan & Pritchett 1999), and, when used as an indicator of social capital (Helliwell & Putnam 1995), positively correlates with community economic development and wellbeing (see also Guiso, Sapienza, & Zingales, 2008).

In Jamaica, popular forms of citizens' participation in community affairs are by attending and deliberating in meetings of local groups and organizations; contributing (money, kind or expertise) to community causes and initiatives; helping to resolve conflictual situations, such as dispute resolution; and so on. Such involvement is usually channeled through citizens' associations; parent-teachers associations; clubs and societies; sport clubs; faith/church groups; neighborhood watch and citizen associations. For this analysis, "community participation" is measured in terms of reported attendance of meetings of locally-based groups and organizations highlighted in the box below. These items are among a battery of questions asked in the LAPOP surveys in all previous rounds, allowing the opportunity to examine trends in participation over time.

I am going to read you a list of groups and organizations. Please tell me if you attend meetings of these organizations at least once a week, once or twice a month, once or twice a year, or never. [Repeat "once a week," "once or twice a month," "once or twice a year," or "never" to help the interviewee]						
	Once a week	Once or twice a month	Once or twice a year	Never	Don't know [DONT READ]	No answer [DON'T READ]
CP6. Meetings of any religious organization ? Do you attend them...	1	2	3	4	888888	988888
CP7. Meetings of a parents'-teachers association ? Do you attend them...	1	2	3	4	888888	988888
CP8. Meetings of a community improvement committee or association ? Do you attend them...	1	2	3	4	888888	988888

In order to simplify the display and interpretation of the results, we recode response categories to distinguish those who did not attend any meetings at all from those reporting to have participated in at least one meeting in past year. Figure 4.8 depicts degrees of participation in the respective organizations.

The results show that community participation in Jamaica, based on these three indicators, is generally low. Average meeting attendance for church and school are at about the 50-percentage point mark; but less than one third of respondents report participating in meetings of community improvement groups.

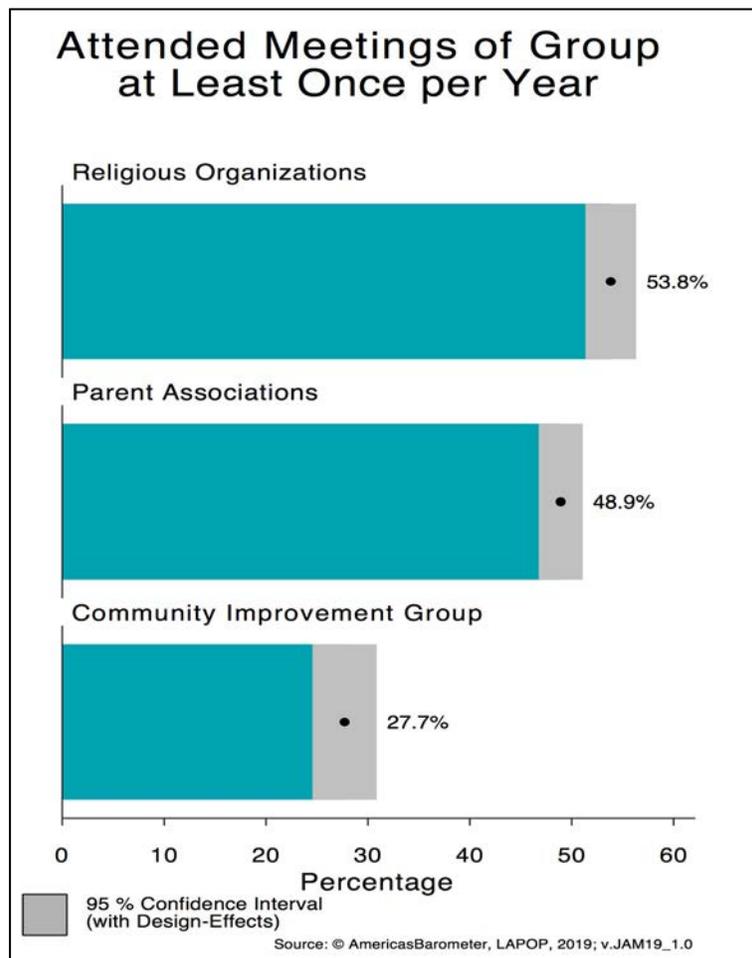


Figure 4.8. Degree of Participation in Community Groups and Organizations, Jamaica 2019

Figure 4.9 highlights the trend in participation rates over the different rounds of this series of surveys. Attendance at parent association and community improvement groups vary only minimally from round to round for the periods reported. However, the extent of the progressive decline in participation in religious organizations is remarkable. While there are no known studies explaining reported fall in church attendance in Jamaica, particularly among traditional denominations, there have been some public discussions on the issue. In commenting on a report of shifts in church membership and attendance in Jamaica in the 2011 population census, *Gleaner* columnist, Ian Boyne, argued that Christianity is losing its attractiveness and influence, and that

its dogmatic ideologies and ritualistic approaches are no longer appealing to a seemingly more liberal and discerning public (*Gleaner*, Nov. 4, 2012). Indeed, this development is not unique to Jamaica. A 2018 Pew Research Center poll on the religious landscape in America points to incremental decline in religious groups and church membership, and an increase in the number of persons describing themselves as religiously unaffiliated.

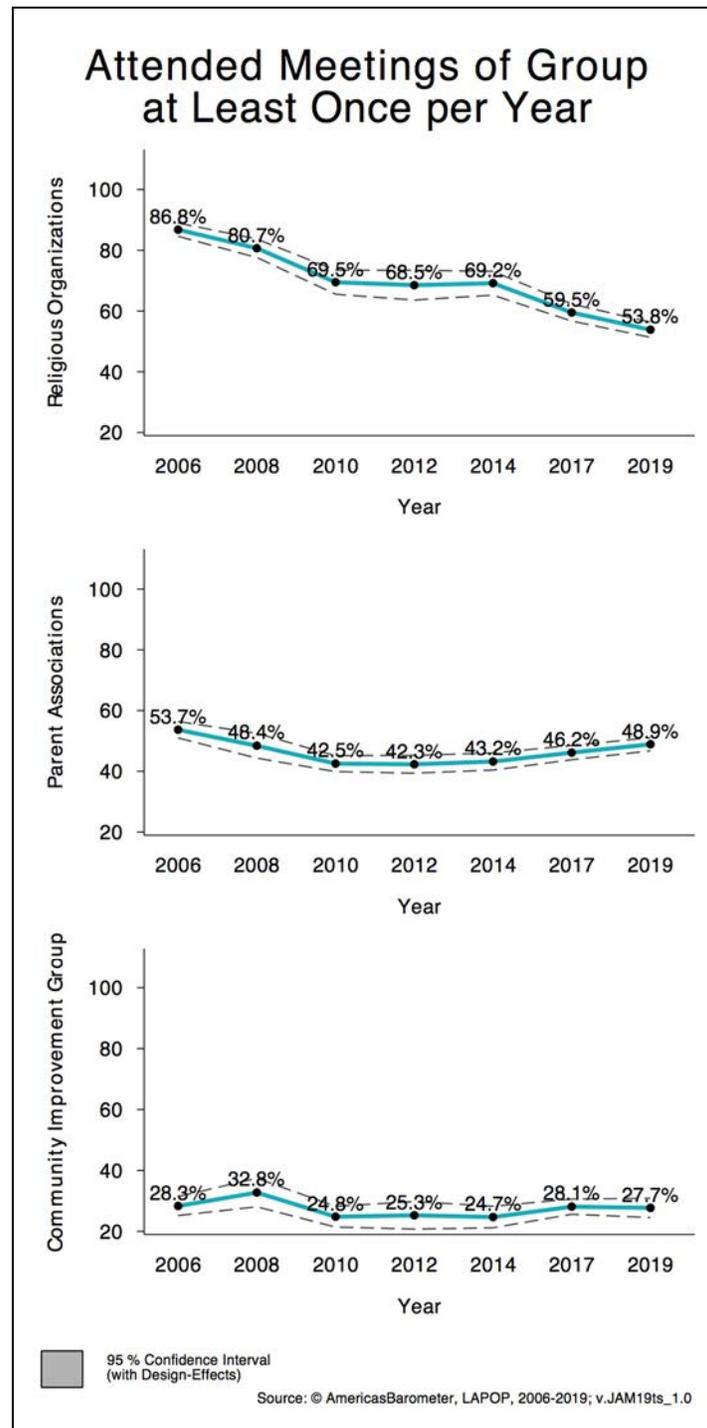


Figure 4.9. Participation in Community Groups and Organizations in Jamaica, 2006 - 2019

X. Conclusion

This chapter examined the issue of citizen participation in Jamaica with the understanding that while formal democratic procedures evolve around periodic elections, robust liberal democracies are built on foundations of active and inclusive citizenship, characterized by, among other things, ethos of meaningful engagement of citizens in society's affairs. With the observation that most Jamaicans tend to limit their participation in societal affairs to voting at election times, we examine other modes of political and civil associations and engagement, focusing on questions pertaining to interest in politics, party identification, attitude to citizens right to protest, and on the popularity of selected forms of civil society participation.

On questions pertaining political engagement, the results highlight a problem of increasing interest and voter apathy, evidenced by 65 percent of the citizenry reporting little to no interest in politics and just about 50 percent expressing an interest in voting if an election were called, presently. Fewer than 40 percent acknowledged their affiliation to a political party and less than one quarter (20%) of reported attending a meeting of a political party or political organization in the last year.

On a more optimistic note, however, prospect for a vibrant democracy seems favorable, given the strong majoritarian support for right to active descent. Sixty-one percent of the citizenry approve the staging of legal demonstrations, and 77 percent support the right to use peaceful demonstrations to express views that are critical of the national system of government.

With regard to civic engagement, participation in parent-teacher meetings and meetings of community improvement groups have remained relatively stable over more than a decade. There is, however, a significant, progressive decline of 33 percentage points in citizens' participation in religious organizations since 2006.



Chapter 5.

Manifestations of Discriminatory Gender Norms in Jamaica's Political Culture: Implications for a Gender Mainstreaming Agenda

Balford A. Lewis¹ and Nicole O. Cameron²

I. Introduction

Prominent among the development goals of The United Nations Millennium Declaration (United Nations Human Rights, 2000) is a commitment by the 191 UN member states to work towards attaining gender equality; particularly, to adopt measures aimed at combating discrimination against women and girls (United Nations Development Group, 2003). The underlying argument is that gender equality is not only a fundamental human right; it is also a prerequisite for peaceful and harmonious coexistence in a society and a necessary foundation for a prosperous and sustainable world (UNESCO, 2015).

On the topic of democratic governance, the literature speaks to importance of gender equality and the empowerment of women to the health of a democracy. As aptly observed, the quality of a democracy is determined not only by the forms and workings of its institutions, but also by the extent to which different social groups participate freely and equally, and are duly represented in these institutions (Verba, Nie, & Kim, 1979). In other words, democracy is as much about citizenship rights, participation, representation and inclusion as it is about political parties, elections, and rule of law (IACHR, 2011).

It is notable, however, that despite the global focus on these equality goals and ideals, women all over the world continue to be constrained by discriminatory gender norms that inhibit the exercise of many of their political and civil rights (UN Women, 2020). They continue to be negatively affected by a culture that reflects and reproduces relations that empower some groups with resources, power and entitlements while marginalizing and subordinating others (Sen et al., 2007; Marcus and Harper, 2014). Societies everywhere, albeit to varying degrees, have validated the prevailing 'double standard' which privileges one sex at the expense of the other. In this chapter, we examine citizens views on the "societal norms and normalizing narratives" (James-Hawkins, Salazar & Hennink, 2016. p. 5) typically used to justify these discriminatory gender attitudes and practices in Jamaica.

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II. Main Findings

In this chapter, we explored some of the attitudes, perceptions, expectations and narratives used to justify the discriminatory treatment of women and girls in Jamaica. Some key findings can be summarized as follows:

- 85% of women indicate that they have never attended meetings of women groups or associations.
- 63.5% of the population express disagreement with the notion that men are better political leaders than women.
- 73.4% of the populace indicate that sex is not a factor in the economic management capabilities of political leaders.
- 74.5% of respondents do not think that sex is an important factor in determining the integrity of political leaders.
- 65.8% of the populace disagree that children suffer when their mothers work.
- 49.7% of the populace believe that abortion is never justified even when the woman's health is in danger.

III. Participation in Women's Groups and Organizations

Women's associations are typically 'interest groups' with a goal of promoting or developing activities and programs to enhance the personal, professional, business, or avocational interest of women (Clemens, 1993). In essence, they promote the 'shared interest' of women, by advancing policies and other measures to benefit members exclusively, or for some broader public purpose that generates outcomes in their favor.

Participation in such associations and organizations provides women with opportunities for empowerment, or an avenue through which they might gain the knowledge, information, attitudes, skills, self-confidence, voice, and other capacities to exercise control and lead their best lives (Scheyvens, 2015). We start this analysis by assessing the extent to which women in Jamaica avail themselves of possible opportunities for empowerment by participating in the meetings of bodies that seek to address their issues and concerns by posing the following question:

I am going to read you a list of groups and organizations. Please tell me if you attend meetings of these organizations **at least** once a week, once or twice a month, once or twice a year, or never. [Repeat “once a week,” “once or twice a month,” “once or twice a year,” or “never” to help the interviewee]

	Once a week	Once or twice a month	Once or twice a year	Never	Don't know [DONT READ]	No answer [DONT READ]
CP20. [WOMEN ONLY] Meetings of associations or groups of women or homemakers? Do you attend them	1	2	3	4	888888	988888

The left panel in Figure 5.1 shows a breakdown of the women interviewed according to frequency of attendance at meetings of women groups or association within the last twelve months. Remarkably, over 85 percent of respondents report that they have not attended any such meeting during the past year. Only 9.4 percent report attending a meeting at least once a month within twelve months prior to this survey. The right panel in Figure 5.1 shows small fluctuations over time since 2010, but no significant difference in the percentage of women indicating they had attended meetings at least once per year after the 2008 round of this survey series.

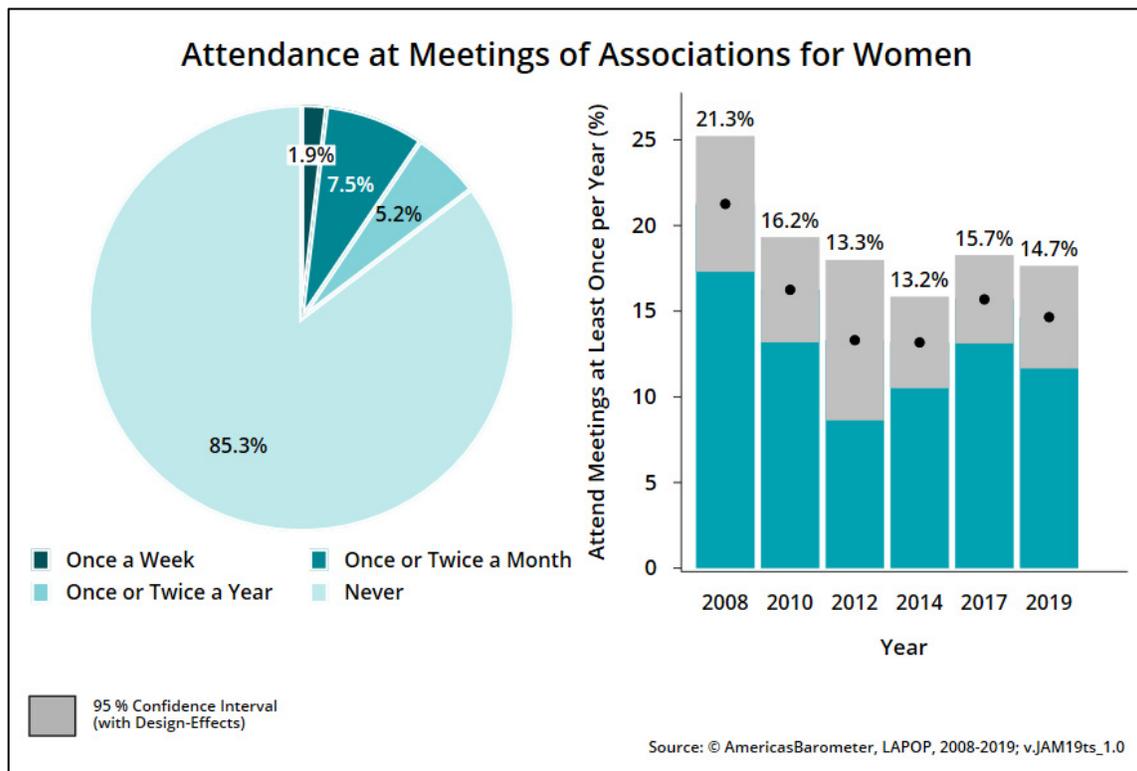


Figure 5.1. Attendance at Meetings of Women’s Group or Association

IV. Who are better political leaders, men or women?

Scholars and other civil society actors have identified the under-representation of women in political leadership, and in government in particular, as a societal imbalance that must be addressed to promote gender equality (UN Women, 2018; Bailey, 2003). While there has been notable achievement on this front in recent years, some observers continue to express disappointment with the prevailing levels of women's empowerment in the political and economic spheres.

UN Women (2018) reports that between 1997 and 2017, women's representation in parliaments and congresses globally has doubled, moving from 11.7% to 23.7% on this important gender equality indicator. The Council on Foreign Relations notes, along similar lines, that since 1995 women's place in legislatures globally has improved to 24.5% in 2019, despite evidence of "gendered resistance which have slowed progress and compromised their abilities to govern effectively" (Council on Foreign Relations, 2020, p. 9). However, The Beijing 25 + Review (UN Women, 2020) reports that women remain under-represented in all positions and power dimensions (UN Women, 2020).

Notably, Jamaica ranked 75th in political empowerment among 149 countries on the 2018 Global Gender Gap Index, improving marginally to 69 of 153 countries on the 2020 index (World Economic Forum, 2020). The country is among the growing number of nations that has had an elected female head of government, who also served as head of a major political party. Former Prime Minister Portia Simpson-Miller served as prime minister from March 2006 to September 2007 and again from January 2012 to 3 March 2016. She was the leader of the People's National Party for 12 years and the Leader of the Opposition twice, from 2007 to 2012 and from 2016 to 2017.

Interestingly, despite these and other notable achievements of women in politics, business, education and the non-governmental sector, some still question the suitability of women for top leadership positions in the different spheres of society. In the subsequent sections of this chapter, we explore the nature and extent of discriminatory attitudes and beliefs of Jamaican towards women in leadership positions in politics, the economy, and the home.

It is important to note that responses to questions on these issues can be subject to what researchers call "social desirability bias" (Gonzalez-Ocantos, et al. 2012). Respondents may be less inclined to report discriminatory attitudes and beliefs because they are aware the interviewer may view them negatively. Therefore, although they may privately harbor discriminatory perspectives, there is a tendency to give the "socially desirable" response in order to avoid appearing discriminatory to the interviewer. We acknowledge, therefore, that the levels of discriminatory attitudes we report in this chapter may in reality be lower than the actual levels in the population.

We start our assessment of citizens' perspectives on these issues by asking the following questions:

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

(1) Strongly agree (2) Agree (3) Disagree (4) Strongly disagree
 (888888) [DON'T READ] Don't know (988888) [DON'T READ] No answer

VB52. If a politician is responsible for running the national economy, who would do a better job, a man, or a woman or does it not matter?

(1) A man (2) A woman (3) It does not matter
 (888888) [DON'T READ] Don't know
 (988888) [DON'T READ] No answer
 (999999) [DON'T READ] Inapplicable

Responses to these items are summarized in the charts in Figure 5.2 below. As illustrated, Jamaicans generally do not support the view that the quality of leadership is a function of the sex of the office holder. On the question of political leadership, 61.5 percent of the respondents rejected the idea that men are better political leaders than women. An even greater percentage of those surveyed, 73.4 percent, dismissed the notion that men would do a better job in managing the economy.

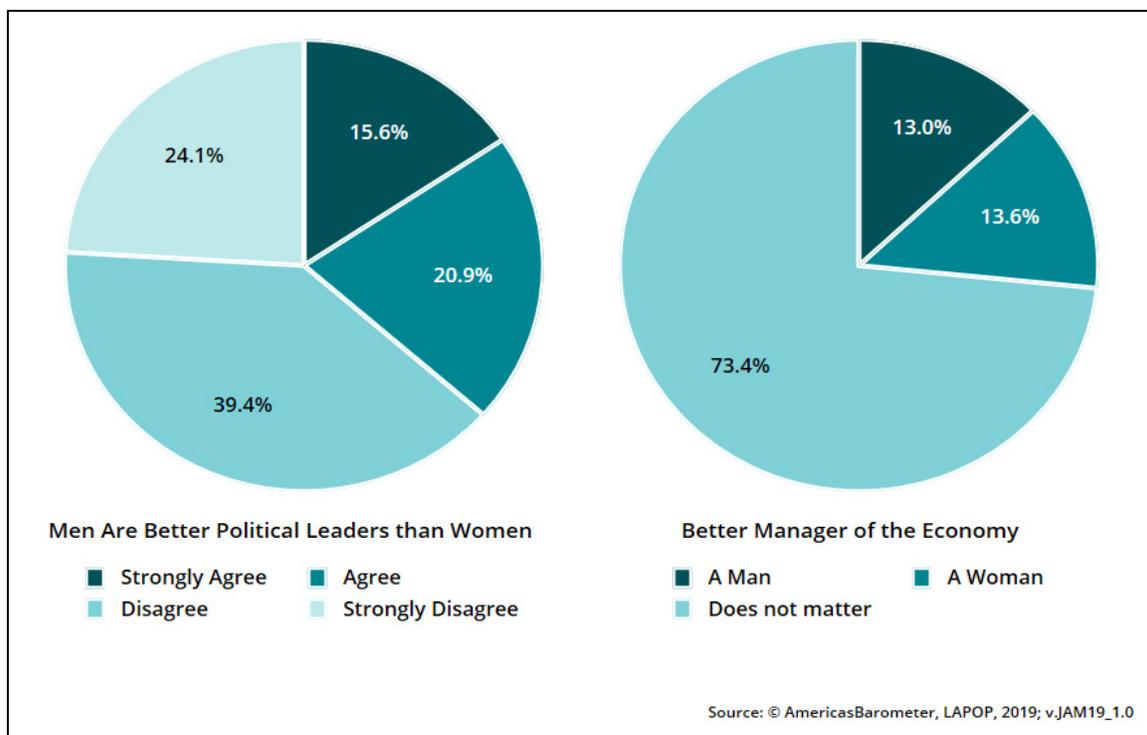


Figure 5.2. Perceptions of Influence of Sex on Political Leadership and Economic Management, 2019

Despite widespread support of the view that women are as capable and can be as effective as men in political leadership there is, nonetheless, a sizable percentage of Jamaicans that thinks otherwise. Figure 5.3 shows the percentage of respondents that “agree” or “strongly agree” with the statement that men are better political leaders than women. In the 2008 round of the survey there is middling support for the patriarchal belief of the superior leadership capabilities of men.

The marked decline in the prevalence of such views in 2012 was reported three months after the December 2011 General Election in which 8 of 19 female candidates were elected to the Parliament, and a political party headed by a female president won a landslide victory, resulting in the appointment of the country’s first elected female Prime Minister. Interestingly, the six percentage point increase in 2019 is reported in a context of continued increase in the number of women in elected and appointed leadership positions. Currently, there is a record 12 women in the House of Representatives, or 19 percent of the 63-member House. As it relates to the Senate, there are five women among the 21 senators.

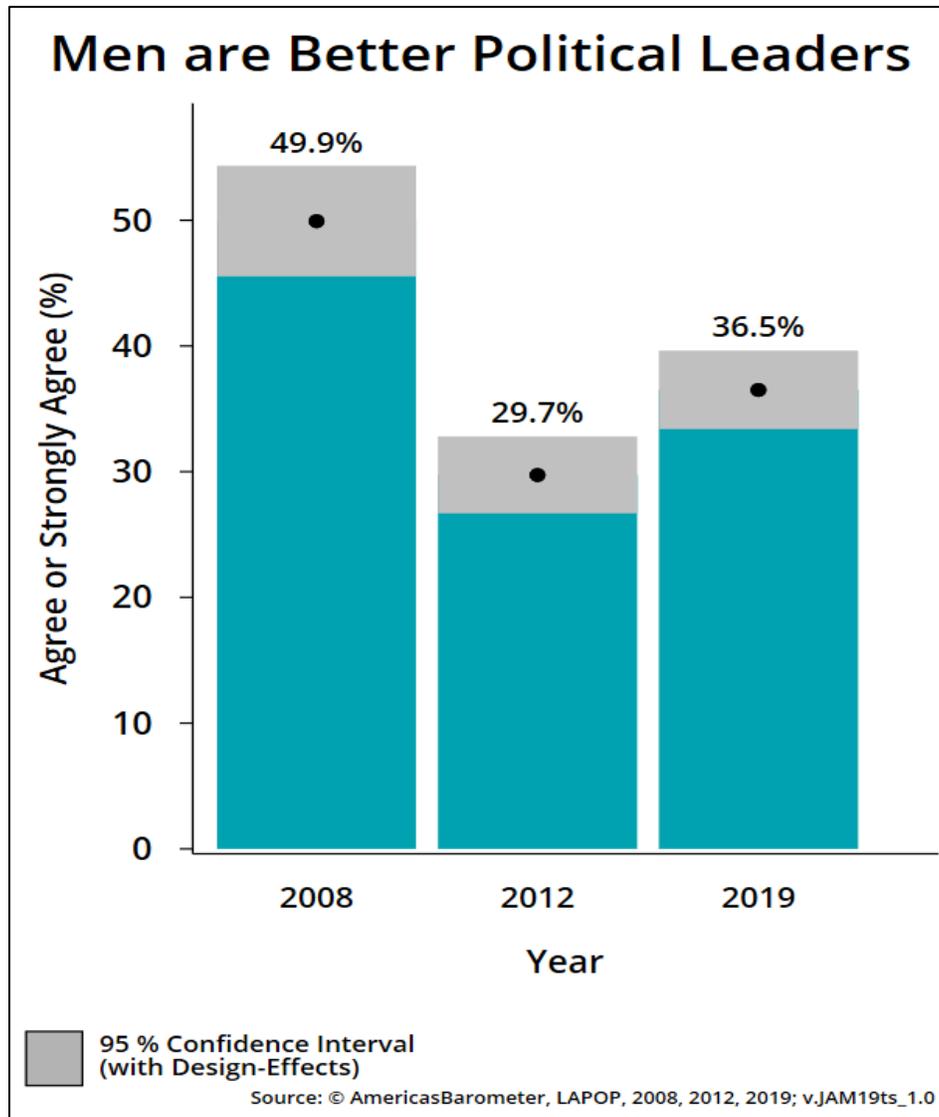


Figure 5.3. Perceptions of Influence of Sex on Political Leadership and Economic Management, 2008-2019

Questions about the impact of gender representation in politics and government on corruption in public affairs have attracted much attention in research and public policy debates. The emerging ‘Fairer sex thesis’, the notion that women have greater trustworthiness and inclination towards honesty, as well as a greater sense of duty and public-spiritedness, posits that women are less likely to participate in or even tolerate corruption (Dollar, Fisman & Gatti, 2010). This perspective



is supported by an increasing body of recent research. For example, a study of local councils in 20 European Union countries found strong evidence that the proportion of local female political representatives is associated with lower levels of grand, as well as petty corruption (Bauhr, Charron, & Wangnerud, 2018). In Jamaica, a large portion of the of the citizenry believe politicians are highly corrupt (about half or more depending on the question)³. In this section, we inquired whether sex is an important factor in gauging the integrity of politicians by posing the following question:

VB51. Who do you think would be more corrupt as a politician, a man or a woman, or are both the same?

(1) A man (2) A woman (3) Both the same

(888888) **[DON'T READ]** Don't know

(988888) **[DON'T READ]** No answer

(999999) **[DON'T READ]** Inapplicable

Figure 5.4 shows that among those who feel sex matters in judgements about likely corruption among politicians, the overwhelming majority considers men to be more corrupt. Notably, three out of four Jamaicans expressed the view that sex doesn't matter; that women can be just as corrupt as men.

³ In 2019, half of the respondents were asked question EXC7: "Taking into account your own experience or what you have heard, corruption among public officials is ... Very Widespread, Somewhat Widespread, Not Very Widespread, or Not Widespread at All". The other half of respondents were asked EXC7NEW: "Thinking of politicians in Jamaica, how many do you believe are involved in corruption? None, Less than half of them, Half of them, More than half of them, All". 49% of respondents who were asked EXC7 responded "Very Widespread". 62% of respondents who were asked EXC7NEW responded "More than half of them" or "All".

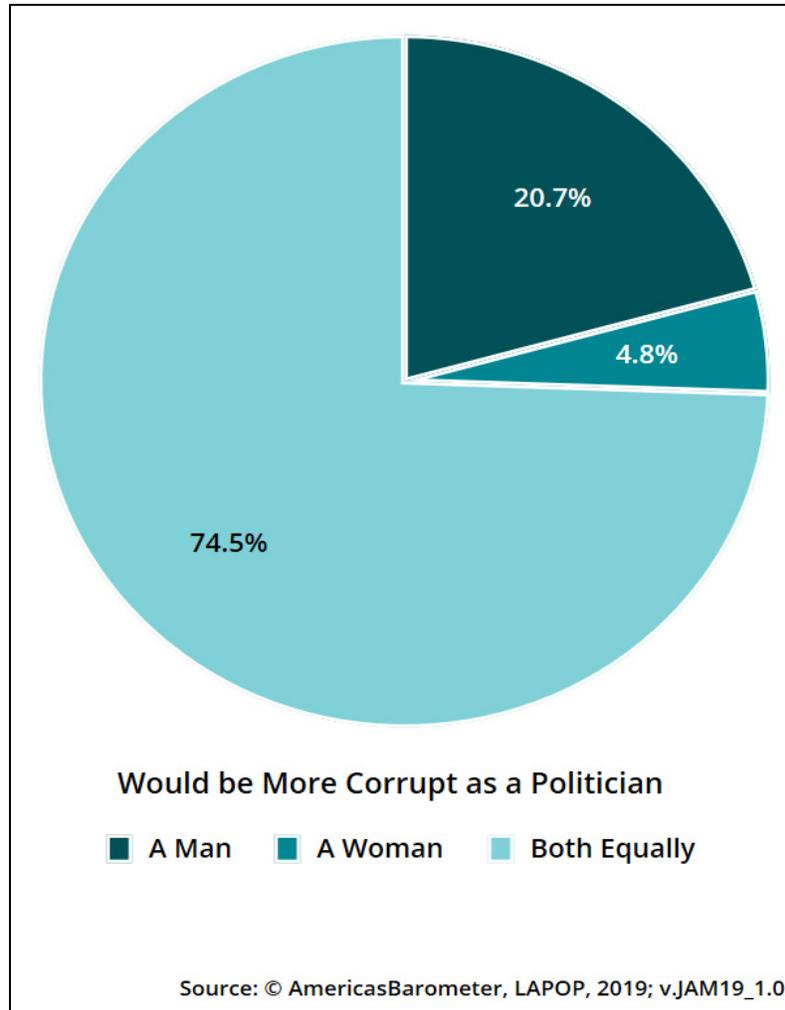


Figure 5.4. Perceptions of the Influence of Sex on Integrity of Political Leader, 2019

V. Can a woman successfully raise children and pursue a career, at the same time?

Gender norms significantly influence the role that men and women play in the home, in the economic sphere, and society in general. In the workplace, they shape assumptions about what positions and roles are acceptable for males and females, hence determining scope for career advancement and the structure of occupational rewards (Afolabi, 2015). More often than not, it is women who are placed in a disadvantaged position, with restricted access to opportunities for social and economic empowerment, including barriers to meaningful labor force participation (Koomson, 2017).

With regard to gender-related workplace challenges, role prescriptions pertaining to childcare responsibilities remain a formidable barrier to women’s participation in the labor force. The notion that a ‘mother’s palace is in the home’ continues to enjoy some support, not always because of



some misogynistic mindset, but also out of concerns for the welfare of children in cases where mothers work outside the home. One study reported that, among women who actively participate in career pursuits and family life simultaneously, a majority reported that they work ‘out of necessity’ and would opt to be ‘a stay at home mom’ if they had a choice (Polanen et al, 2017). Indeed, the many benefits of ‘maternal parenting’, especially during the formative years in a child’s development, is well documented in family life and childcare studies literature (Lamb, 2008). Therefore, the question is not about the merits of such a childcare arrangement. The discussion here focuses on the presumption that a mother working outside the home might be detrimental to the proper care and upbringing of children.

We examine the views of Jamaicans on this issue by analyzing responses to the following question:

VB58. How strongly do you agree or disagree with the following statement? When a mother works outside the home, the children suffer. **[Read alternatives]**
(1) Strongly agree (2) Agree (3) Disagree (4) Strongly disagree
(888888) **[DON'T READ]** Don't know
(988888) **[DON'T READ]** No answer

As shown in Figure 5.5, 34.2 percent of respondents indicate agreement or strong agreement with the statement that when a mother works outside the home, children suffer. This supports the narrative that based on the importance of her childcare responsibilities a woman should not work outside the home. In other words, one in three Jamaicans are of the opinion that women with children should not participate in the workforce because a mother’s absence from fulltime childcare responsibilities is inimical to the welfare of her children.

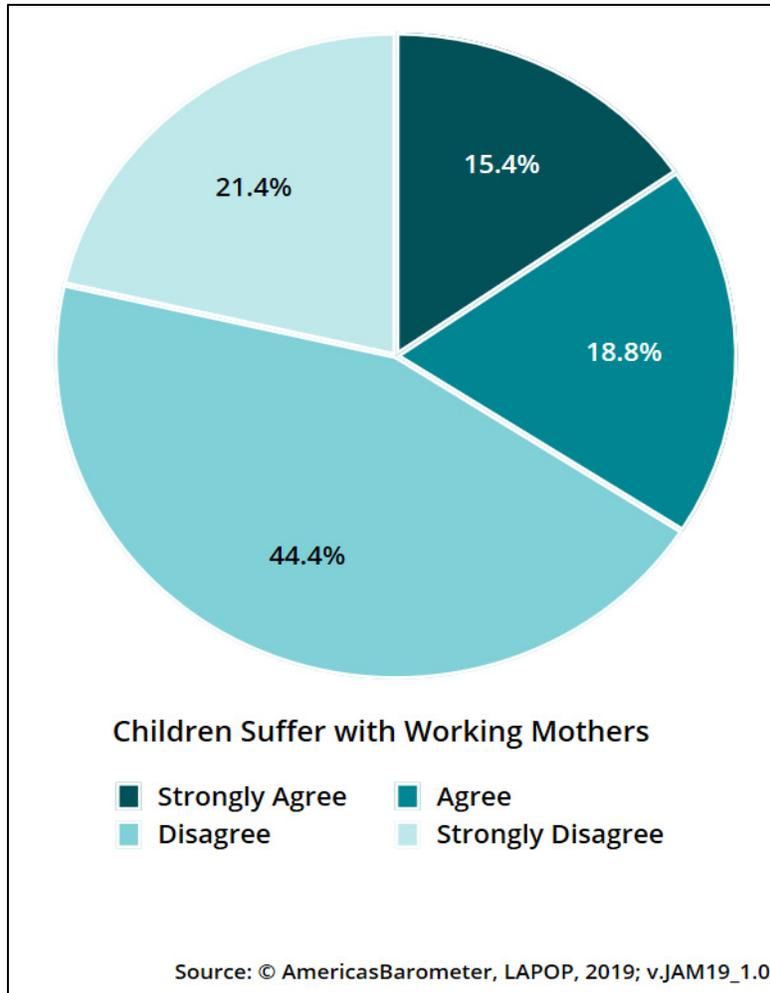


Figure 5.5. Perceptions of the Impact of Women Working Outside the Home on Children’ Welfare, 2019

VI. Should a woman have the right to opt for an abortion if her health is in danger?

Women’s ability to access abortion is restricted in law in most countries; and even where it is permissible in given circumstances, social disapproval tends to be widespread and typically expressed, officially, by the denial of abortion rights. However, only in a very few jurisdictions is the practice usually totally prohibited. The literature shows that virtually everywhere, abortion is allowed, at least, to save the pregnant woman’s life, and in some countries, where the pregnancy is the result of rape or incest.

Human rights organizations across the world have fought for easier access to abortion for decades, justifying their demand with arguments centering on ‘a woman’s right to choose’ and sexual and reproductive rights principles. ‘Right to life and health’ rationale has also been advanced, given the



dangers that are known to be associated with illegal abortions and the risks a pregnancy may sometimes pose to a mother's wellbeing (Guillaume & Rossier, 2018).

Over the years, the Jamaican government has facilitated reviews of the country's official abortion policy, recognizing 'a need to enact new legislation given evidence of the dangers of unsafe abortions to women's health and safety'. The World Health Organization (WHO) estimates that thousands of abortions are performed in Jamaica annually and that complications resulting from unsafe termination practices rank among the top 10 causes of death among young mothers (Campbell 2014).

Sections 72 and 73 of the Offences Against the Person Act stipulates that any pregnant woman who unlawfully takes action to procure an abortion, may be guilty of a felony and if convicted shall be liable to be imprisoned for life. Currently, doctors have the option of terminating pregnancies for cases in which the mother life or health is deemed to be at risk. Some argue that this option should be extended to circumstances involving rape and incest. In fact, the Parliament is currently deliberating legislative measures to loosen the abortion law to give women the right to request a termination of pregnancies in these circumstances (Observer, September 30, 2019).

However, as highlighted by Maxwell (2012), resistance to any notion of a woman's say in abortion decisions has always been strong in Jamaica, particularly within the church and among those publicly advancing a pro-life agenda. Presumably, the rhetoric of recent anti-abortion discussions and protest events is indicative of continued widespread opposition to the practice.

In this study, we focus on citizens' attitude to a right that currently exists in law; the right to opt for a termination in situations involving a risk to the mother's health. To obtain citizens' position on this woman's 'right to life and health' issue, we posed the following question:

W14A. And now, thinking about other topics. Do you think it's justified to interrupt a pregnancy, that is, to have an abortion, when the mother's health is in danger?
 (1) Yes, justified (2) No, not justified
 (888888) Don't know **[DON'T READ]** (988888) No answer **[DON'T READ]**

As Figure 5.6 shows, there is divided support among Jamaicans for the right to interrupt a pregnancy in circumstances where the woman's health is deemed to be at risk. What is interesting in this result, though, is that one out two Jamaicans do not believe a woman and her doctor should have the right to opt for an abortion, even in situations where the mother's health is in danger.

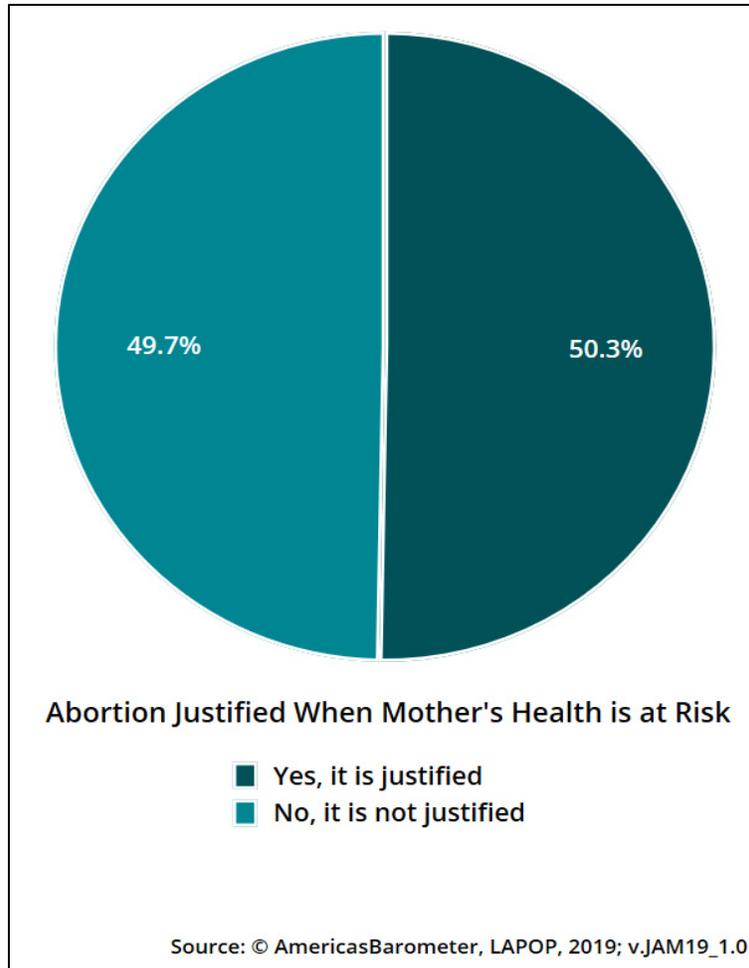


Figure 5.6. Support for Right to Abortion to Protect Woman's Health, 2019

Figure 5.7 shows marked change in this indicator of a 'woman's right to choose' over a five-year period. This 20-percentage point drop in support for a measure undertaken to protect the mother's health could be attributed to popular anti-abortion promotions gaining ground as many see traditional values being replaced by what is considered as foreign influences on Jamaican values.

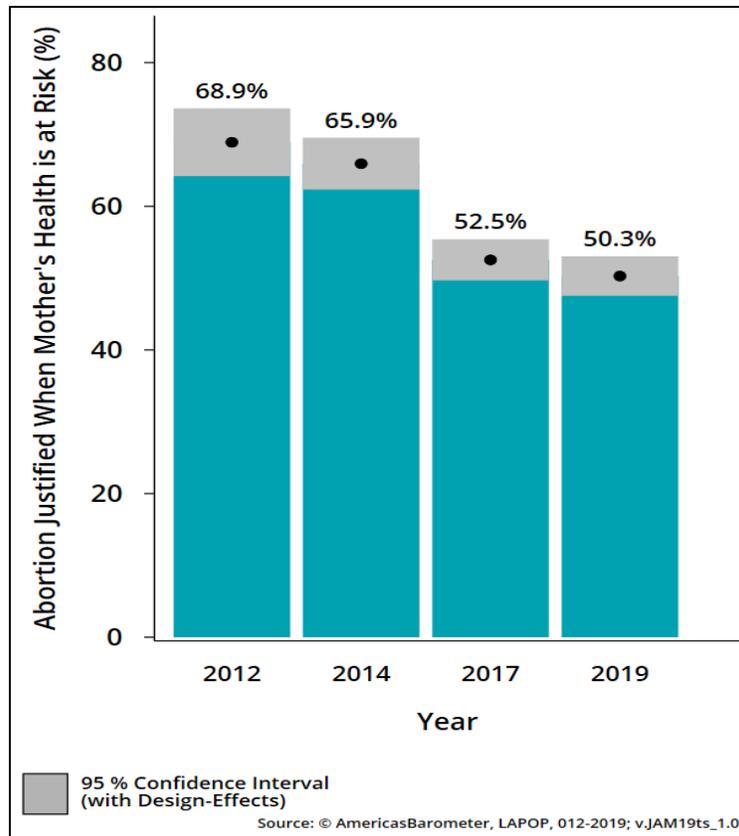


Figure 5.7. Support for Right to Abortion to Protect Woman's Health, 2012 - 2019

VII. Conclusion

In this chapter, we noted that despite the global movement to attain gender equality, women all over the world continue to find themselves constrained by certain gender norms that restrict the exercise of many of their basic citizenship rights, including their right to representation, active participation and autonomous decision-making. With that in mind, this chapter explored some of the attitudes, perceptions, expectations and narratives that account for the discriminatory treatment of women and girls in Jamaica.

The results of this survey are mixed. Significant proportions of citizens report attitudes and perceptions that are favorable to the goals and ideals of gender equality. However, we also see that women generally do not engage with associations and groups geared towards advancing their interest and concerns. Eighty-five percent of women have never attended any of these meetings in the past year. Such limited engagement in these fora suggests that women, for the most part, do not take advantage of the networking opportunities that may assist in their social and economic empowerment. Given that membership and participation in these interest groups can provide access to opportunities and resources that help women navigate many of the structural and individual barriers to development, the cause of gender equality in Jamaica could benefit

immensely from an appreciable improvement in the involvement of women in the activities of these bodies.

On a positive note, the results show that women enjoy a relatively high degree acceptance as political leaders. Sixty-five percent of respondents think that women are as good at political leadership as men. However, it is still concerning that more than a third of citizens believe that men are better at political leadership. On the question of the leadership of the economy, nearly three out four Jamaicans dismiss the notion that men would do a better job in managing the economy. Similarly, Jamaicans overall do not think that sex plays an important role in determining the integrity of political leaders, with 74.5 percent of the populace indicating that sex is not a factor in political corruption.

Although the prevailing attitudes seem to portend well for gender equality, measurable unfavorable percentages on some indicators are causes for concern. These negative impressions about the roles and entitlements of women tend to reproduce themselves in society, creating barriers for women in their pursuit of role congruence in the minds of voters. Role congruence is perceptions that individuals are fit for the position for which they aspire or occupy (Perrone et al., 2005). So even if women are deemed by many to be as effective at political leadership or economic management, they may not get the support necessary to serve or to prove themselves, as many may think the role is best suited for men.

On the issue of equity in childcare responsibilities and respect for women's reproductive rights, Jamaicans seem to have has grounds to cover. Norms and beliefs about childcare and abortion have implications for women's opportunity to meaningfully participate in different aspects of economic and social life. In Jamaica, the nearly sixty-six percent of the population that disagreed with the notion that children suffer when a mother works outside the home many still believe that childcare is primarily a woman's responsibility. The International Labour Organization promotes childcare facilities in workspaces or other convenient as a means to empower women in their roles as mothers and workforce participant (Hein & Cassierer, 2010). With regard abortion, one-half of the Jamaican population thinks that under no circumstances is abortion justified, even to save the life of the mother.



Chapter 6.

Satisfaction with Public Services and Sense of Social Responsibility in Jamaica

Anthony A. Harriot¹ and Balford A. Lewis²

I. Introduction

In liberal democracies, government relies on accomplishing concrete goals such as economic growth, citizen security, health and wellness, social stability, and adequate public infrastructure to sustain confidence in the political system over which it presides (Zhao 2009). By extension, it benefits from favorable evaluation of its performance in the delivery of the related tasks (Kumlin and Haugsgjerd 2016; Kumlin 2004; Vigoda-Gadot and Yuval 2003), given the importance of citizens' level of satisfaction with public services to its legitimacy (Kamlen, Van de Walle, and Bouckaert 2006).

Performance and integrity are the foundational pillars in the architecture of democratic governance (Berg and Dahl, 2019). Performance legitimacy, or the assurance that “governmental policies and actions are sufficient, appropriate, and beneficial to the populace” (Zhu 2011, p. 428), is especially important in this regard. It inspires confidence in public policies and programs, and trust in the institutions of government. Higher levels of trust typically lead to more favorable evaluation of the overall performance of government, and in turn, engenders stronger support for the political system (Nye, Zelikow & King 1997).

Trust is a complex phenomenon with multiple and varied antecedents. Declining citizens' satisfaction with the performance of public institutions has been a major cause of the growing mistrust in politics and government, globally (Miller 2003). In Jamaica, on-going public sector modernization initiatives are being pursued with the primary goal of enhancing institutional efficiency, particularly as manifested in the quality of public service delivery (GOJ, Ministry Paper No. 56/02, 2002), and in turn, to restore trust in government.

Good governance initiatives seek, among other things, to build integrity in government and enhance the quality and the procedural fairness of service delivery (Matsiliza and Zonke 2017; Earle 2010). Critical to this mix of requirements for good democratic governance are the contributions of an actively engaged and responsible citizenry. An important element in this regard is the notion of social responsibility—a dimension of good citizenship that requires that people are mindful of the interest of society as a whole in the pursuit of personal gain or societal good (see, e.g., Andre

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and Velasquez 1992). This concept is also linked with sustainable development, which is “development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs” (International Institute for Sustainable Development, 1987).

In essence, having a ‘sense of social responsibility’ presumes two key understandings. First is the recognition that peoples’ basic needs, especially those of the less fortunate in society, should be high on the agenda for attention by those with greater means. Second is the notion of preservation, which speaks to the “limitations imposed by the state of technology and social organization on the environment’s ability to meet present and future needs” (World Commission on Environment and Development 1987, p. 43).

This chapter explores citizens’ evaluations and perspectives on the aforementioned issues and concerns. Part 1 focuses on citizens’ evaluation of the performance of government with regard to the delivery of selected basic public services. Part 2 examines citizens’ sense of social responsibility as it relates to their perception of the role of government in reducing income inequality, followed by a look at their attitudes toward dealing with problems of climate change and environmental protection.

II. Main Findings

In this chapter, we present results pertaining to questions about citizens’ satisfaction with the services of selected public entities, perceptions about the role of government in reducing income inequality, and attitudes of Jamaicans toward addressing some of the problems relating to climate change. The following are key findings:

- More Jamaicans (54.4%) are dissatisfied with the services of the public health delivery system than those who are satisfied. Satisfaction with the performance of public schools are, however, comparatively high with two out three respondents reporting being satisfied with its services. Reported level of satisfaction with services remained roughly stable over last four round of this survey
- Using police response time as measure of citizens’ satisfaction with the performance of the police, it is found that the estimated time the police would take to arrive at the scene of an emergency has remained virtually the same for the three periods observed in this series of surveys.
- Despite major road construction and rehabilitation programs over recent years, six out of ten of those surveyed remain dissatisfied with the condition of roads. However, there was a statistically significant increase in aggregate satisfaction in 2014, a period when improvements to the road network due to the then JDIP would have become visible. With the on-going developments under MIDP, those offering positive evaluation in 2019 was only marginally higher than in 2014.
- Jamaicans clearly support the prioritizing of an economic growth agenda over actions to slow the progress and effects of climate change. The majority of respondents, 53.4%, favors

measures to grow the economy, with an additional 22.5% indicating that both factors should receive due attention in the thrust for national development.

III. Citizens' Satisfaction with Essential Public Services

How Satisfied is the Populace with Public Education and the Public Health Services?

Historically, public officials relied on so-called 'hard indicators' such as total resource outlay, measurable targets and actual outcomes as a means to monitor the performance of public agencies. More recently, however, with the increased emphasis on transparency and accountability in public administration, the complementary use of 'soft' measures such as reported satisfaction with services and citizens' level of trust and support have become increasingly more popular.

In Jamaica, the "Government at your Service: Public Sector Modernisation Strategy 2002-2012" (year) envisions a public sector that is "organised around the needs of citizens, directly accountable to them through guarantees of service that is of the highest quality and accessibility" characterized by a performance culture that is "client-focused and results-oriented, constantly seeking ways to improve the delivery of public services." (GOJ, Ministry Paper No. 56/02; 2002). As the document further explains, the attainment of these efficiency, effectiveness and accessibility goals are critical to the "Vision 2030" mission of making "Jamaica the place of choice to live, work, raise families and do business" (Vision 2030 Jamaica: National Development Plan, p. vii).

In 2015, the Government's Cabinet Office commissioned a study that aimed, on the one hand, to identify the concerns that needed to be addressed in developing a framework for customer service improvement, and on the other, to establish an empirical baseline against which such improvements could be assessed. A critical component of this study was a module that assessed the level of customer service delivery by public sector entities and evaluated clients' level of satisfaction with these services. Results of this mixed methods study were critical to the service improvement initiatives that followed. For example, public medical and health services customers had a satisfaction rate of less than 50% in the baseline report. Findings of the 2018 assessment show, however, that reported satisfaction rate increased to 80.4%, in line with the Government's target of 80% customer service satisfaction (GOJ, Office of Cabinet Report, 2019)

In this nationally representative sample study, we gauge performance in public service delivery by examining citizens' satisfaction with the quality of services offered by the public education system and the medical and public health providers by posing the following questions:

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
 (888888) Don't know **[DON'T READ]** (988888) No answer **[DON'T READ]**
 (999999) Inapplicable (Does not use) **[DON'T READ]**

SD3NEW2. And with the quality of public schools? Are you... **[Read alternatives]**

- (1) Very satisfied (2) Satisfied
- (3) Dissatisfied (4) Very dissatisfied
- (888888) Don't know **[DON'T READ]** (988888) No answer **[DON'T READ]**
- (999999) Inapplicable (Does not use) **[DON'T READ]**

Figure 6.1 shows the distribution of responses in terms of reported satisfaction and dissatisfaction with the quality of services provided by the respective public entities. Both variables were recoded to allow us to group respondents into two categories, those expressing satisfaction (very satisfied and satisfied) and those indicating their dissatisfaction (dissatisfied and very dissatisfied). As depicted in chart 1, more Jamaicans (54.4%) are dissatisfied with the services of the public health delivery system than those who are satisfied. Satisfaction with the performance of public schools are, however, comparatively high with two out three respondents reporting being satisfied with its services.

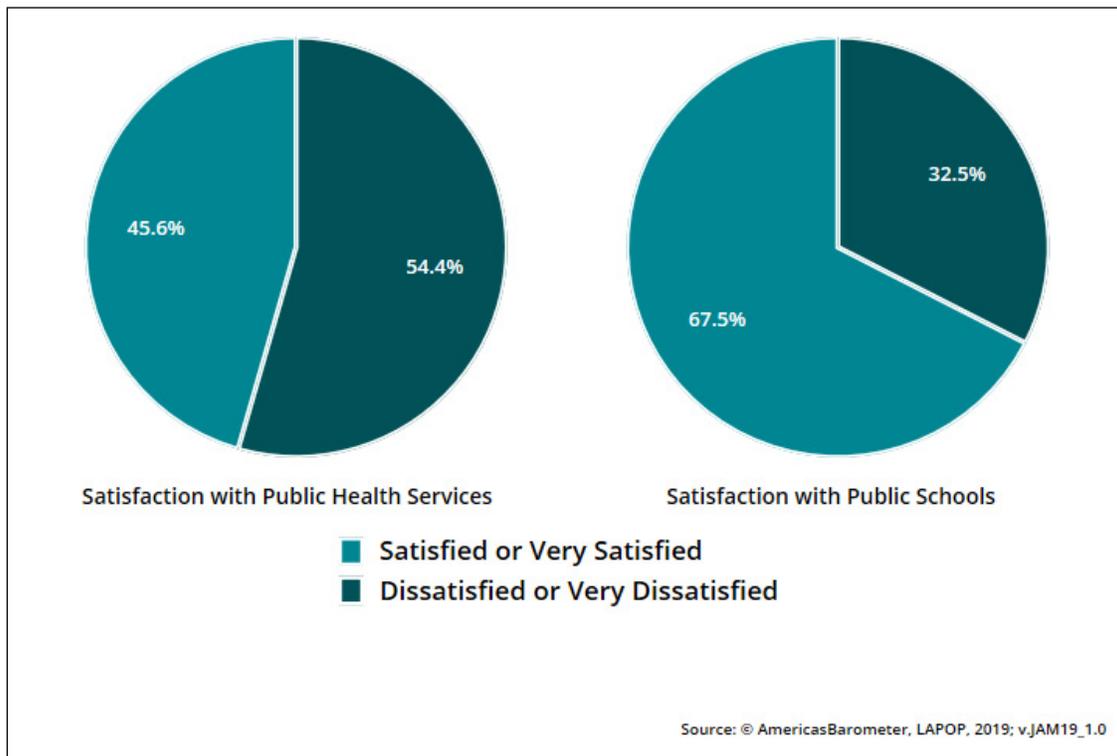


Figure 6.1. Citizens' Satisfaction with Public Education and Health Services

We charted the percentage of those reporting they were satisfied or very satisfied with public health services and public education. As illustrated in Figure 6.2, in both cases, satisfaction with services remained roughly stable over last four round of this survey. Notably, the anomalous higher level of satisfaction with the services of public health providers in 2014 was followed by statistically significant decline in subsequent years, resulting in an average reported satisfaction level of less than 50% for the period.

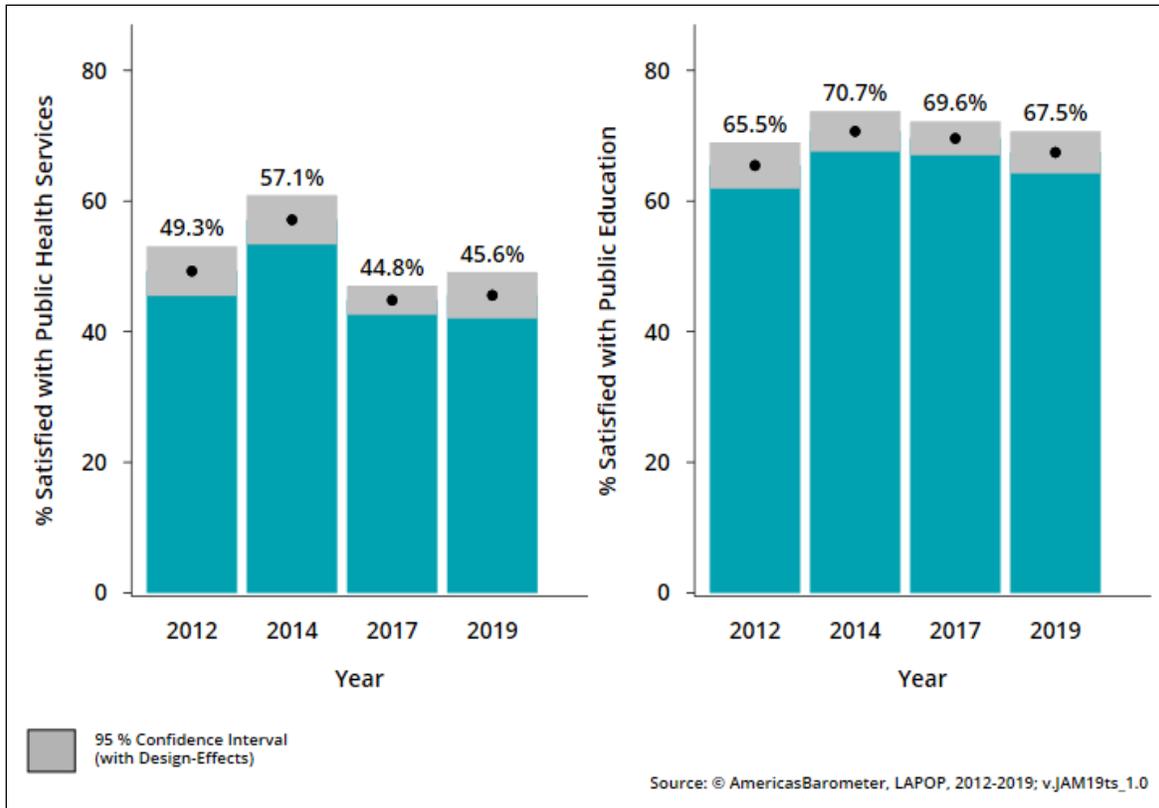


Figure 6.2 Citizens' Satisfaction with Public Education and Health Services Over Time

What are the Expectations of Citizens of the Average Police Response Time?

In high crime societies such as Jamaica, police performance is ideally evaluated in terms of reductions in the frequency of serious crime. However, the systematic measurement of police successes or failures in terms of crime rates is problematic, primarily due to credible concerns about the overall reliability of crime statistics. In previous rounds of this series of survey, police effectiveness was assessed by asking the citizens how they view the job the police are doing in their communities (see *AmericasBarometer* 2012). In this round, we focus on perceived emergency response time as a measure of police performance.

Research on the association between response time and policing outcomes such as detection and apprehension, and crime reduction in general, or saved lives, has produced mixed results (Shultz 2019). Studies by a number of police departments in the US have found, for example, that marked improvements in police arrival time have had no measurable impact on reported incidence of violent assault, robbery, domestic violence, sexual assault, break-ins, and other serious crimes for which most urgent calls are made (see, e.g., Sherman 2013; Russo 2016). However, Shultz (2019) acknowledges that “while research shows little correlation between faster arrival on scenes of crime and arrest rates, response time does play a big role in public satisfaction with the police” (Abstract, p. 1). Indeed, when faced with a crime or similar emergency, regardless of the location

of such incident, it is always comforting to know that first responders are typically only a few minutes away.

Accordingly, in this survey, we assessed perception of police effectiveness by asking citizens to estimate the time it would take for the police to respond to a break-in call by posing the following questions:

INFRA. Suppose someone enters your home to burglarize it and you call the police. How long do you think it would take the police to arrive at your house on a typical day around noon?

[Read alternatives]

- (1) Less than 10 minutes
- (2) Between 10 and 30 minutes
- (3) More than 30 minutes and up to an hour
- (4) More than an hour and up to three hours
- (5) More than three hours
- (6) **[DON'T READ]** There are no police/they would never arrive
- (888888) Don't know **[DON'T READ]** (988888) No answer **[DON'T READ]**

It has been aptly observed that “complicating any analysis using response times is the fact that different police agencies face very different circumstances, both in the nature of the calls they respond to and in the geographic realities of the areas they serve” (Shultz, 2019: p.1). Making sense of these estimates is even more problematic in resource-constrained jurisdictions such as Jamaica, where subpar mobility solutions and communication technology are added to the mix. Presumably though, timely response increases the likelihood of more favorable police intervention outcomes.

Figure 6.3 presents a breakdown of the estimated time that citizens think it would take for the police to arrive in response to an emergency call on a typical day and time. As illustrated, only about 10% would expect the police to arrive in fewer than 10 minutes; with the plurality (27%) believing it may take up to an hour. Interestingly, a little over 2% don't expect the police to turn up, at all.

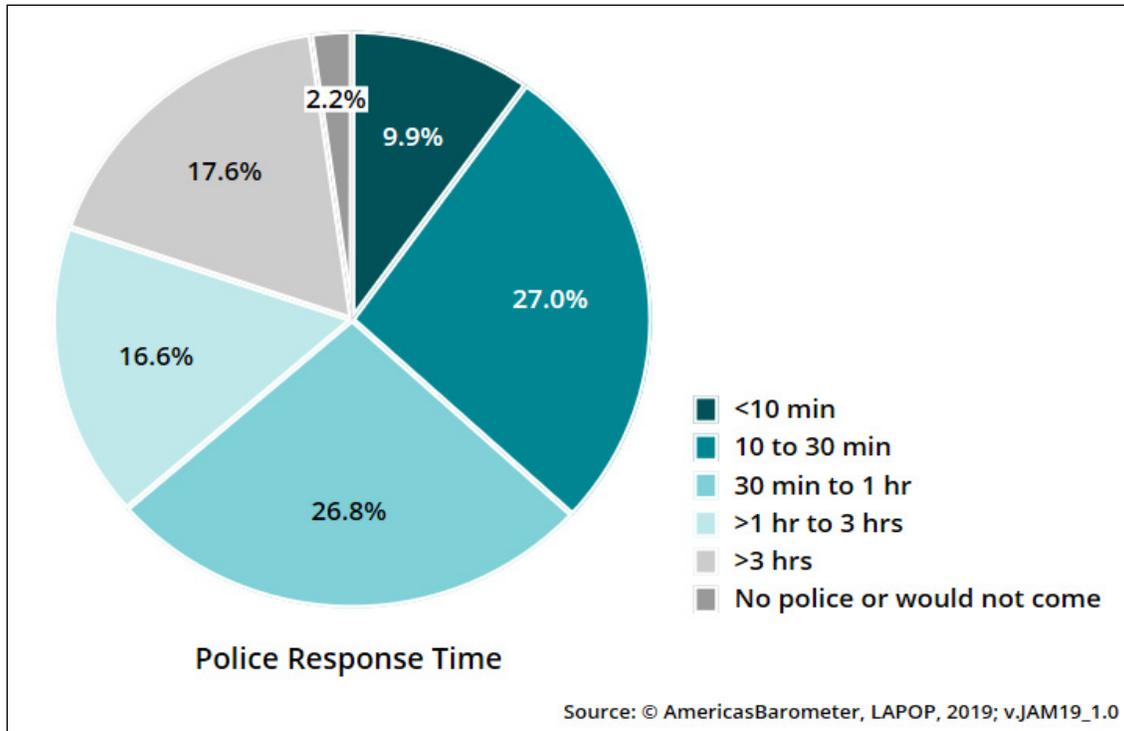


Figure 6.3. Citizens Estimate of Police Response Time in Jamaica

Notwithstanding the uncertainties about the association between response time and police effectiveness, the lowering of police arrival time has always been purposively pursued by police departments as an efficiency enhancing goal (Wroblewski & Hess, 2005). With citizens placing so much weight on prompt response to emergency calls, tracking response time seems a useful way of assessing changes in satisfaction with the services of the police. Figure 6.4 shows that citizens' perception of the time the police would take to arrive at the scene of an emergency has been remained virtually the same for the three periods observed.

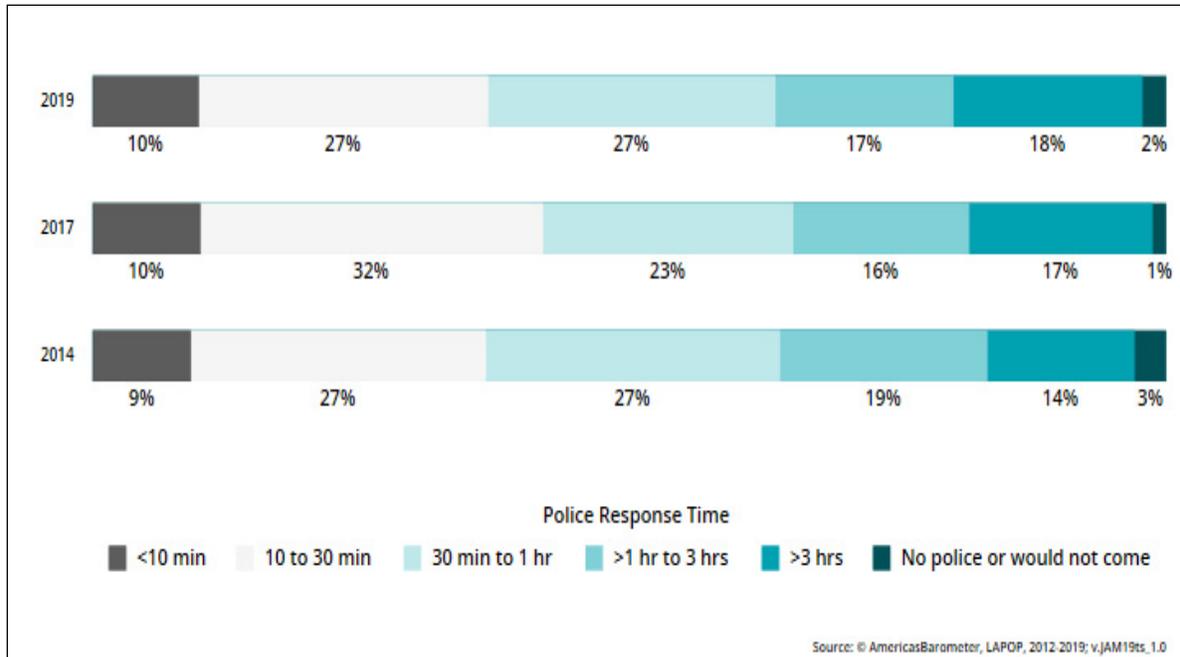


Figure 6.4. Citizens’ Estimate of Police Response Time over Time

How satisfied are Jamaicans with the Conditions of their Roads?

Jamaica’s road network comprises just over 22,000 kilometers of mostly paved roadways, or a road density (km of road per sq. km of land area) of approximately 201 sq. km (World Bank Development Indicators, 2019). The prohibitive maintenance costs associated with this comparatively high road density has been blamed for the longstanding problem of predominantly poor condition of the nation’s roads. A 2005 study of road quality concluded that only about 12% of the island’s main roads could be categorized as “good” (IDB, 2019, p. 2). The rate would obviously be much lower for the extensive parochial and feeder road systems across the island.

In recognition of the association between the quality of the road network and national development, successive governmental administrations have pursued some highly visible, multi-billion dollar road infrastructure development projects, with the aim of improving a number of important corridors through new construction; rehabilitation; widening and realignment; bridge building; and rain water drainage, where necessary. Of note in this regard are the well-publicized Jamaica Development Infrastructure Programme (JDIP) and the on-going Major Infrastructure Development Programme (MIDP).

With outcomes of these major road infrastructure upgrading initiatives quite visible across the island, we asked Jamaicans to express their degree of satisfaction with the current condition of the roadways in their areas by asking the following question:

And thinking about this city/area where you live...

SD2NEW2. Are you very satisfied, satisfied, **dissatisfied**, or very **dissatisfied** with the condition of the streets, roads, and highways?

(1) Very satisfied

(2) Satisfied

(3) Dissatisfied

(4) Very dissatisfied

(888888) Don't know **[DON'T READ]** (988888) No answer **[DON'T READ]**

(999999) Inapplicable (Does not use) **[DON'T READ]**

Again, in order to simplify the analysis and the presentation of the results, we recoded this variable by grouping respondents into two categories, those expressing satisfaction (very satisfied and satisfied) and those declaring their dissatisfaction (dissatisfied and very dissatisfied). The first panel of figure 6.5 shows that despite major road construction and rehabilitation programs over recent years, six out of ten of those surveyed remain dissatisfied with the condition of their roads. The second panel of figure 6.5 shows changes in the proportion of Jamaicans expressing satisfaction over time. As illustrated, there was a statistically significant increase in aggregate satisfaction in 2014, a period when improvements to the road network due to the then JDIP would have become visible. With the on-going developments under MIDP, those offering positive evaluation in 2019 was only marginally higher than in 2014.

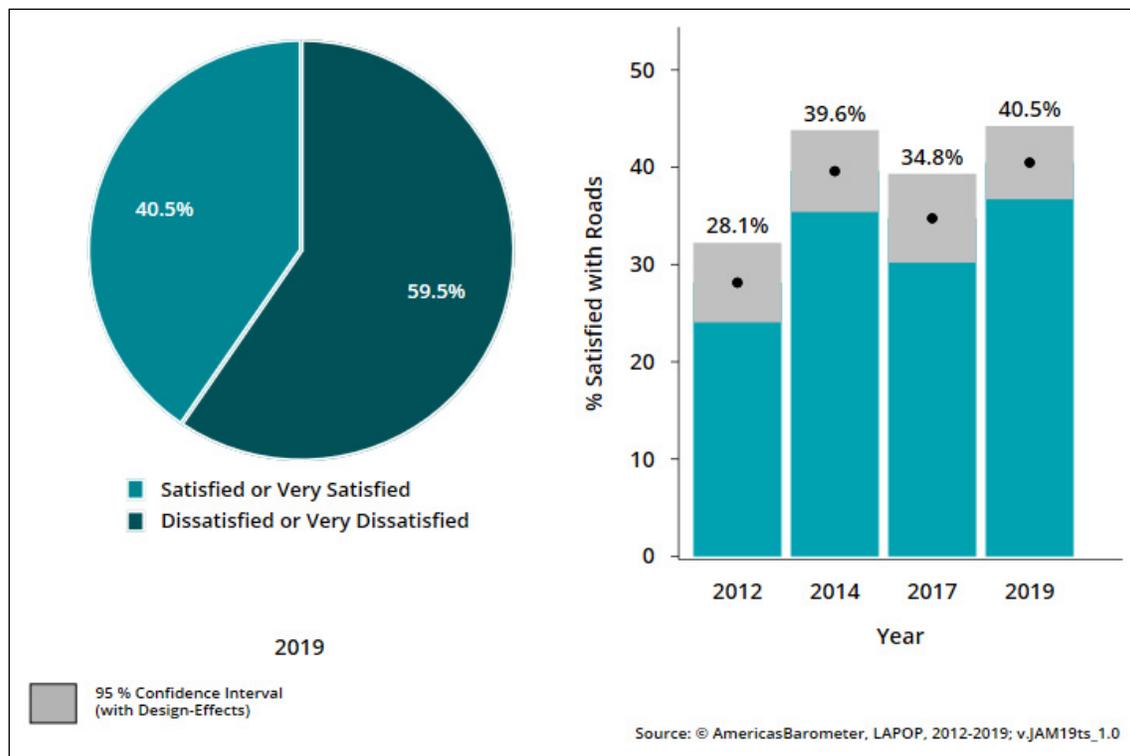


Figure 6.5. Citizens' Satisfaction with Roads, and Highways in Jamaica

IV. Social Responsibility

In this section of this chapter, we focus on sense of social responsibility among the Jamaican citizenry. As noted in the introductory remarks, the concept of social responsibility provides a framework for evaluating the extent to which the actions and omissions of individuals and organizations sufficiently account for the short as well as the long-term interest of society and its members. In the following section, we examine attitudes and perceptions regarding the role of government in addressing prevailing disparities in the social and economic wellbeing of the populace. Subsequently, we explore citizens' attitudes to the widely promoted value of sustainable development; that is, the ideal that human activities should maintain a balance between the economy and the ecosystems.

Perception the Role of Government in Reducing Income Inequality

While elsewhere in the Developing World most countries have become increasingly more unequal in past decades, the Latin America and Caribbean Region stands out as an important exception (Lustig, López-Calva, Ortiz-Juarez 2013). As observed at the turn of the last decade, “having long been the region with the widest income and asset disparities, major recent improvements have been the result of more progressive public spending and targeted social policies” (UNDP 2010, p. 6). This notion of public spending and targeted social policies raises the question of the role of government in the redistribution of opportunities and resources in the economy. Indeed, a key feature of modern organized societies is the important, albeit, varying role of the state in attending to the social and economic well-being of its citizens, particularly the vulnerable and the most disadvantaged (UNDP, 2012; UNECLAC, 2011).

With regard to Jamaica, evidence of increasing poverty and a widening income gap (GOJ, Ministry Paper #50, June 10, 2019), and concerns about the associated disparities in quality of life in general, have reignited a debate on the possible modes of government intervention the address the prevailing income inequality. In the past, conditional cash transfers measures such as the Programme of Advancement through Health and Education (PATH) have been implemented and supported by different political administrations. In general, these social assistance programs provide income to poor families with the condition that those transfers are linked to the human capital development of children (such as regular school attendance) in the respective households (UNDP 2010, p. 6). Such interventions not only address the problems of immediate and inter-generational poverty, but also foster social inclusion by explicitly targeting the poor; focusing on children and delivering transfers to women, changes social accountability relationships between beneficiaries and the state (de la Briere & Rawlings, 2006). Other routinely used measures are state regulated minimum wage limits and periodic adjustment of the income tax threshold.

Reducing income inequality benefits not only the poor but society in general (Rosenberg, 2019). Yet, government initiatives aimed at achieving greater income equality do not always enjoy popular support among the populace. Since the 2008, the AmericasBarometer survey has asked citizens' to indicate their level of support for state intervention to reduce income inequality by selecting a point on a 7-point scale, on which “1” signifies strong disagreement and “7” indicates strong agreement with the following statement:

Now I am going to read some statements. Please tell me to what extent you agree or disagree with the following statements:

ROS4. The Jamaican government should implement **strong** policies to reduce income inequality between the rich and the poor. To what extent do you agree or disagree with this statement?

As shown in Figure 6.6 there is very strong support among the citizenry for the government to introduce policy measures to reduce the income gap between the rich and the poor in Jamaica. Seventy-three percent of those surveyed selected “5” or above on the scale, with, 47.4% expressing unreserved support for government intervention by choosing the highest number on the seven-point scale.

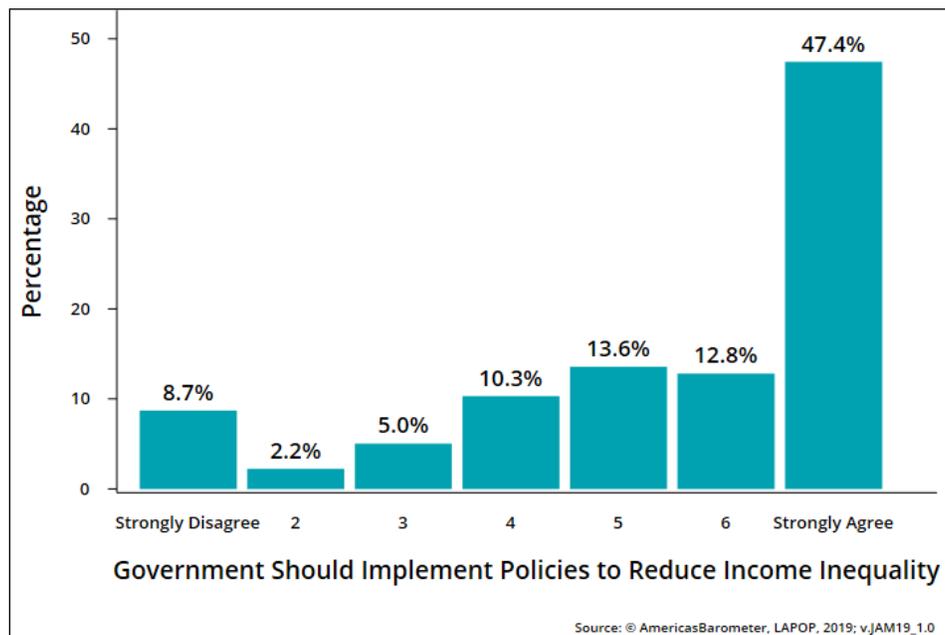


Figure 6.6. Citizens' Support for Government Intervention to Reduce Inequality in Jamaica, 2019

How has this support for government intervention evolved over time? To facilitate this analysis, we present the proportions of those who have expressed strong support for state intervention (by selecting 5 to 7 on the 7-point scale) in each round of this survey. Figure 6.7 shows that there is a trend of strong support among citizenry for government initiatives to bridge the poverty gap. With the exception of 2014 when there was a statistically significant decline in reported support, roughly 3 out of 4 Jamaicans have expressed consistently strong support for measures to reduce income inequality over the periods examined.

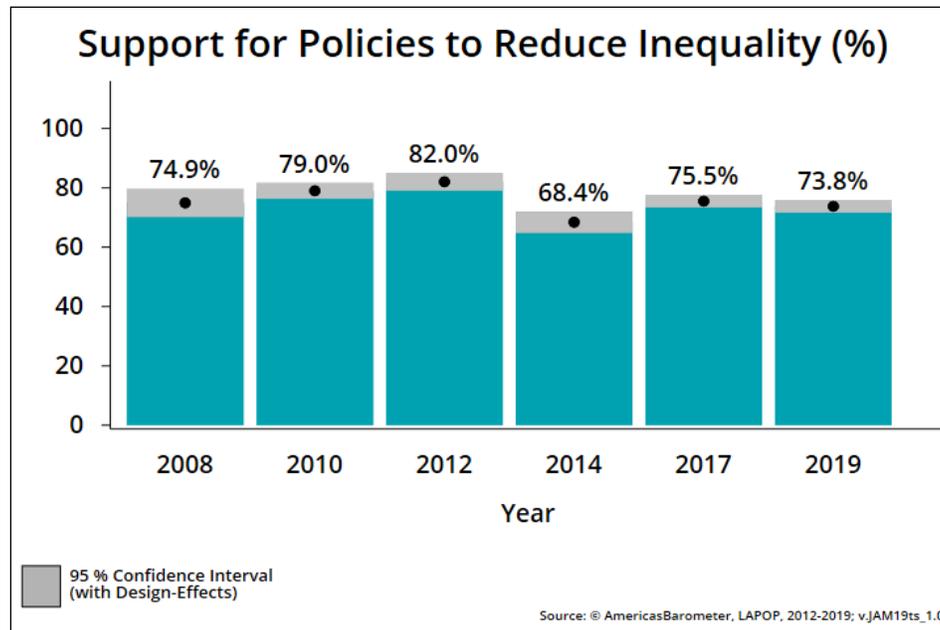


Figure 6.7. Support for Government Intervention to Reduce Inequality in Jamaica, 2008-2019

Environmental Protection or an Economic Growth Agenda?

As previously noted, sustainable development is development that caters to present social, economic, and environmental needs and demands without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs. Actually, though, development initiatives with the potential for greatest economic impact, and by extension, lower poverty and inequality, often conflict with established environmental preservation imperatives. In the case of Jamaica, there are some notable development prospects for which the authorities have had to respond to concerns about the likelihood of adverse environmental outcomes if these projects were pursued. Increasingly, the notion that the “struggle against poverty and the challenges of climate change are two sides of the same coin” (Naidoo 2010, p. 107) is finding expression in the realities of Jamaicans of all walks of life.

Two cases that illustrate the conflict between economic development and environmental preservation have attracted much controversy. The first is the aborted multi-billion Goat Island Project, the proposed use of a protected cay within the Portland Bight as the central point in the development of a logistic hub in Jamaica. (see JET “Save Goat Island, 2014” and JIS “Portland Bight/Goat Island,” 2014). Environmental protection organizations were quick in pointing to endangered flora and fauna that would be adversely affected; and livelihoods that would be interrupted, especially that of the network of small fisher-folks relying on the areas resources. The second is the on-going debate about mining activities in the protected Cockpit Country. While for some the dispute is about boundaries and allegations of encroachment on the protected areas, for many it is a discussion about the balance between concerns about the economy versus the environment. In fact, the policy for “National System of Protected Areas” (1997) has among its aims,

to promote environmental conservation as well as facilitating responsible economic development (ICPD Beyond 2014, p.11-United Nations).

Given the fact that economic growth and environmental protection can be at odds, Jamaicans were asked whether environmental protection or economic growth should be prioritized with the following question:

ENV1C. Some people believe that protecting the environment should be given priority over economic growth, while others believe that growing the economy should be prioritized over environmental protection. On a 1 to 7 scale where 1 means that the environment should be the highest priority, and 7 means the economic growth should be the highest priority, where would you place yourself?

In a context of sluggish economic growth and high unemployment, Jamaicans express strong preference for prioritizing economic growth over an environmental protection agenda (Figure 6,8). The plurality of respondents (31.4%), were unequivocally in favor of measures to grow the economy while only 17.8% declaring similar unreserved support for prioritizing the environment. In order to better understand citizens' attitudes regarding these issues, we aggregated the values displayed at 1 – 3 on the scale to indicate support for prioritizing protection of the environment and 5–7 as a measure of support for economic growth. The results highlight that the majority (53.4%) favors initiatives that give economic growth the highest priority; that is, more than double the proportion (24.2%) of those supporting prioritizing environmental protection. Using the mid-point (4) on the scale to represent those supporting balance in such development decisions, we conclude that about 1 in 5 respondents believe that both factors should receive due attention when considering priorities.

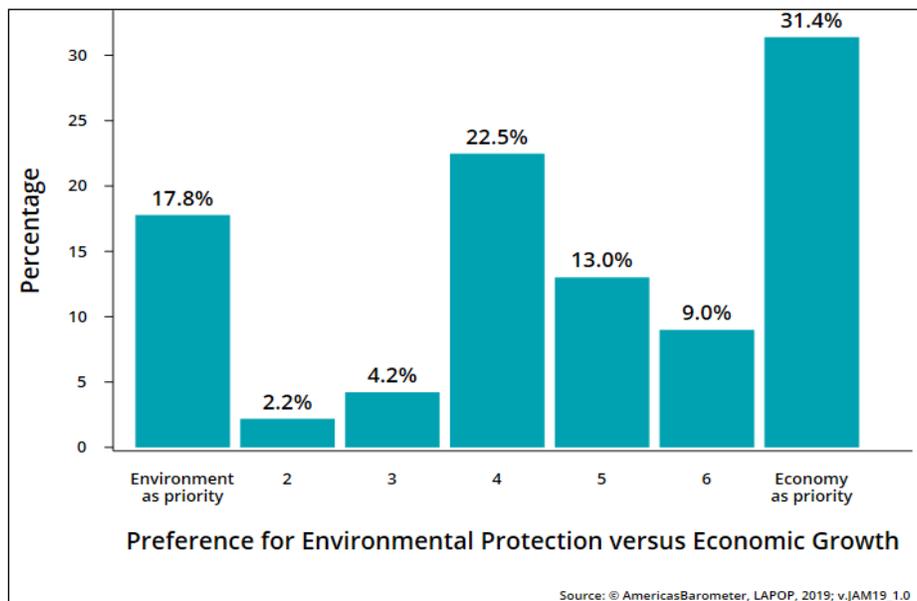


Figure 6.8. Preference for Environmental Protection versus Economic Growth Priorities in Jamaica, 2019

Skepticism regarding climate change varies from outright denial of the phenomenon to unwarranted doubt about the seriousness of its consequences (Matthews, 2015). There is also what one source refers to as ‘implicit denial’, where there is acknowledgement of the existence of the problem, but there is ambivalence or little concern about its current and future effects, or a failure to translate acceptance into action (Björnberg, Karin Edvardsson, et al., 2017). And of course, there will always be significant portion of any population that will have limited awareness or understanding of the science of climate change and as a consequence will be incapable of forming an opinion on the issue.

In every society, nonetheless, there are activities and conditions such as changes in weather patterns and conditions that are frequently attributed to climate change. In Jamaica, a case in point is the problem faced by residents of the popular fishing and entertainment village of over 3,000 residents in the south coastal district of Alligator Pond in central Jamaica. Community members have complained publicly about damage to their properties and livelihoods, as well as further potential damage as a result of continued erosion of the coastline, and of the seemingly inadequate response by the responsible government agencies. In this and similar situations, the problem seems dire, especially for those who are directly impacted.

It has been noted, however, that among policymakers and other stakeholders, there remains a tendency to ignore or downplay the impact of human activities on such climate change-related degradation (Jaysawal 2013, 7), hence insufficient actions to mitigate its occurrence and effects. So given the majority support among Jamaicans for the prioritization of economic development activities over environmental protection, we asked respondents for their perspectives as to the seriousness of the problem of climate change, if no action is taken to control its progression. The following question was posed:

ENV2B. If nothing is done to reduce climate change in the future, how serious of a problem do you think it will be for Jamaica? **[Read alternatives]**

(1) Very serious
 (2) Somewhat serious
 (3) Not so serious
 (4) Not serious at all
 (888888) Don't know **[DON'T READ]**
 (988888) No answer **[DON'T READ]**

As shown in Figure 6.9, Jamaicans overwhelmingly believe that the negative consequences for Jamaica will be serious if no action is taken to slow the pace of climate change. The results show that when we sum the percentages of those who believe the problem is serious or very serious, about 9 of every 10 Jamaicans believe the problem will be consequential we fail to act.

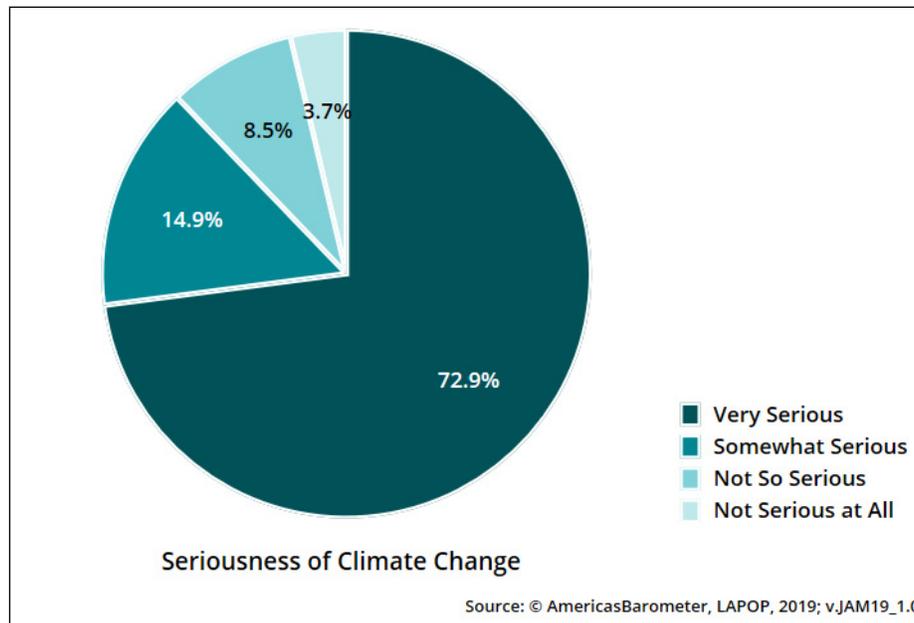


Figure 6.9. Citizens Perceptions about the Seriousness of Climate Change

V. Conclusion

This chapter presents results pertaining to questions about citizens' satisfaction with the services of selected public entities, perceptions about the role of government in reducing income inequality, and attitudes of Jamaicans to addressing some of the problems relating to climate change.

The results show that more Jamaicans (54.4%) are dissatisfied with the services of the public health delivery system than those who are satisfied. Satisfaction with the performance of public schools are, however, comparatively high with two out three respondents reporting being satisfied with its services. Reported level of satisfaction with services have remained roughly stable over last four round of this survey.

Despite extensive road construction and rehabilitation programs over recent years, six out of ten of those surveyed remain dissatisfied with the condition of their roads. However, there was a statistically significant increase in aggregate satisfaction in 2014, a period when improvements to the road network due to the then JDIP would have become visible. With the on-going developments under MIDP, those offering positive evaluation in 2019 was only marginally higher than in 2014.

Using police response time as measure of citizens' satisfaction with the performance of the police, the estimated time the police would take to arrive at the scene of an emergency has remained virtually the same for the three periods observed in this series of surveys.

Regarding the issue of sustainable development, findings revealed that 9 out of 10 Jamaicans believe that climate change is an extremely serious national problem; yet in the context of sluggish economic growth and high unemployment, the majority, 53.4%, favors prioritizing measures to grow the economy, compared to 24.2% favoring environmental protection initiatives. Roughly 23% of those surveyed believe that both concerns should receive equal attention in the thrusts for national development.

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



Appendix B. Study Information Sheet

Centre for Leadership & Governance,
University of the West Indies, Mona



January 10, 2019

Dear Sir/ Ma'am:

You have been selected at random to participate in a study of public opinion on behalf of Centre for Leadership and Governance, University of the West Indies. 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 Jamaica. Even though we cannot offer you any specific benefit, we do plan to make general findings available to the media and researchers.

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

If you have any questions about the study, please do not hesitate to contact Balford Lewis at 322-7089, or at the email balfordlewis@yahoo.com.

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

Are you willing to participate?

Appendix C. Questionnaire

AmericasBarometer 2018/19 Jamaica Questionnaire Version # 12.0.2.3 IRB Approval # 170076

		Centre for Leadership & Governance, University of the West Indies, Mona 	
		AmericasBarometer <i>Barómetro de las Américas</i>	
			

LAPPOP: Jamaica, 2019

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PAIS. Country:				
01. Mexico	02. Guatemala	03. El Salvador	04. Honduras	05. Nicaragua
06. Costa Rica	07. Panama	08. Colombia	09. Ecuador	10. Bolivia
11. Peru	12. Paraguay	13. Chile	14. Uruguay	15. Brazil
16. Venezuela	17. Argentina	21. Dom. Rep.	22. Haiti	23. Jamaica
24. Guyana	25. Trinidad & Tobago	26. Belize	40. United States	41. Canada
27. Suriname	28. Bahamas	29. Barbados	30. Grenada	31. Saint Lucia
32. Dominica	33. Antigua and Barbuda	34. Saint Vincent and the Grenadines	35. Saint Kitts and Nevis	
IDNUM. Questionnaire number [assigned at the office]				
ESTRATOPRI: (2301) KMA (2302) Surrey (except Urban St Andrews and Kingston) (2303) Middlesex (2304) Cornwall				
ESTRATOSEC. Size of the Municipality [voting age population according to the census; modify for each country, using the appropriate number of strata and population ranges]: (1) Large (more than 200,000) (2) Medium (between 100,000-200,000) (3) Small (< 100,000)				
UPM [Primary Sampling Unit] _____				
PROV. Parish: (2301) Kingston (2306) St. Ann (2311) St. Elizabeth (2302) St. Andrew (2307) Trelawny (2312) Manchester (2303) St. Thomas (2308) St. James (2313) Clarendon (2304) Portland (2309) Hanover (2314) St. Catherine (2305) St. Mary (2310) Westmoreland				
MUNICIPIO. Constituency: _____				
UR. (1) Urban (2) Rural				
TAMANO. Size of place: (1) National Capital (Metropolitan area) (2) Large City (3) Medium City (4) Small City (5) Rural Area				
IDIOMAQ. Questionnaire language: (2) English				
Start time: ____:____				
FECHA. Date Day: ____ Month: _____ Year: 2019				

ATTENTION : It is compulsory to always read the STUDY INFORMATION SHEET and obtain consent before starting the interview.

Q1. Sex [Record but DO NOT ask]: (1) Male (2) Female

Q2. How old are you? _____ years [RECORD AGE IN YEARS COMPLETED. Age cannot be less than 18 years]

A4. In your opinion, what is the most serious problem faced by the country? [DO NOT read alternatives; Accept only ONE answer]

Armed conflict	30	Inequality	58
Bad government	15	Inflation, high prices	02
Corruption	13	Kidnappings	31
Credit, lack of	09	Land to farm, lack of	07
Crime	05	Malnutrition	23
Discrimination	25	Migration	16
Drug addiction; consumption of drugs	11	Politicians	59
Drug trafficking	12	Popular protests (strikes, blocking roads, work stoppages, etc.)	06
Economy, problems with, crisis of	01	Population explosion	20
Education, lack of, poor quality	21	Poverty	04
Electricity, lack of	24	Roads in poor condition	18
Environment	10	Security (lack of)	27
External debt	26	Terrorism	33
Forced displacement of persons	32	Transportation, problems of	60
Gangs	14	Unemployment	03
Health services, lack of	22	Violence	57
Housing	55	War against terrorism	17
Human rights, violations of	56	Water, lack of	19
Impunity	61	Other	70
Don't know	888888	No answer	988888

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

(888888) Don't know [DON'T READ] (988888) No answer [DON'T READ]

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

(888888) Don't know [DON'T READ] (988888) No answer [DON'T READ]

Now, let's talk about your local government...

NP1. Have you attended a town meeting, parish council meeting or other meeting in the past 12 months?

(1) Yes (2) No

(888888) Don't know [DON'T READ] (988888) No answer [DON'T READ]

I am going to read you a list of groups and organizations. Please tell me if you attend meetings of these organizations at **least** once a week, once or twice a month, once or twice a year, or never. **[Repeat “once a week,” “once or twice a month,” “once or twice a year,” or “never” to help the interviewee]**

	Once a week	Once or twice a month	Once or twice a year	Never	Don't know [DON'T READ]	No answer [DON'T READ]	Inapplicable [DON'T READ]
CP6. Meetings of any religious organization? Do you attend them...	1	2	3	4	888888	988888	
CP7. Meetings of a parents' association at school? Do you attend them...	1	2	3	4	888888	988888	
CP8. Meetings of a community improvement committee or association? Do you attend them...	1	2	3	4	888888	988888	
CP13. Meetings of a political party or political organization? Do you attend them...	1	2	3	4	888888	988888	
CP20. [WOMEN ONLY] Meetings of associations or groups of women or home makers? Do you attend them...	1	2	3	4	888888	988888	999999

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

(1) Very trustworthy (2) Somewhat trustworthy

(3) Not very trustworthy (4) Untrustworthy

(888888) Don't know [DON'T READ]

(988888) No answer [DON'T READ]

[GIVE CARD “A” TO THE INTERVIEWEE]

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

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	Don't know [DON'T READ] (888888)	No answer [DON'T READ] (988888)
Left										Right	

[TAKE BACK CARD “A”]

PROT3. In the **last 12 months**, have you participated in a demonstration or protest march?

(1) Yes (2) No

(888888) Don't know [DON'T READ]

(988888) No answer [DON'T READ]

QUESTIONNAIRE A

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...**[Read alternatives]:**

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	Don't know [DON'T READ] (888888)	No answer [DON'T READ] (988888)	Inapplicable [DON'T READ] (999999)
--	--	--	---	--	---

QUESTIONNAIRE B

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...**[Read alternatives]:**

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	Don't know [DON'T READ] (888888)	No answer [DON'T READ] (988888)	Inapplicable [DON'T READ] (999999)
---	--	--	---	--	---

QUESTIONNAIRE A

JC15A. Do you believe that when the country is facing very difficult times it is justifiable for the Prime Minister of the country to close the Parliament and govern without Parliament?

(1) Yes, it is justified

(2) No, it is not justified

Don't know
[DON'T READ]
(888888)

No answer
[DON'T READ]
(988888)

Inapplicable
[DON'T READ]
(999999)

QUESTIONNAIRE B

JC16A. Do you believe that when the country is facing very difficult times it is justifiable for the Prime Minister of the country to dissolve the Supreme Court and govern without the Supreme Court?

(1) Yes, it is justified

(2) No, it is not justified

Don't know
[DON'T READ]
(888888)

No answer
[DON'T READ]
(988888)

Inapplicable
[DON'T READ]
(999999)

VIC1EXT. Now, changing the subject, have you been a victim of any type of crime in the past 12 months? That is, have you been a victim of robbery, burglary, assault, fraud, blackmail, extortion, violent threats or **any other type** of crime in the past 12 months?

(1) Yes **[Continue]** (2) No **[Skip to AOJ11]**
(888888) Don't know **[DON'T READ]** **[Skip to AOJ11]**
(988888) No answer **[DON'T READ]** **[Skip to AOJ11]**

VIC1EXTA. How many times have you been a crime victim during the last 12 months? _____

[Fill in number] _____ **[HIGHEST NUMBER ACCEPTED: 20]**
(888888) Don't know **[DON'T READ]** (988888) No answer **[DON'T READ]**
(999999) Inapplicable **[DON'T READ]**



<p>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?</p> <p>(1) Very safe (2) Somewhat safe (3) Somewhat unsafe (4) Very unsafe (888888) Don't know [DON'T READ] (988888) No answer [DON'T READ]</p>	
<p>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]</p> <p>(1) A lot (2) Some (3) Little (4) None (888888) Don't know [DON'T READ] (988888) No answer [DON'T READ]</p>	

[GIVE CARD "B" TO THE INTERVIEWEE]

B0. On this card there is a ladder with steps numbered 1 to 7, where 1 is the lowest step and means NOT AT ALL and 7 the highest and means A LOT. For example, if I asked you to what extent do you like watching television, if you don't like watching it at all, you would choose a score of 1, and if, in contrast, you like watching television a lot, you would indicate the number 7 to me. If your opinion is between not at all and a lot, you would choose an intermediate score. So, to what extent do you like watching television? Read me the number. **[Make sure that the respondent understands correctly].**

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	888888	988888
Not at all				A lot			Don't know [DON'T READ]	No Answer [DON'T READ]

Note down a number 1-7, or 888888 Don't know and 988888 No answer

<p>I am going to ask you a series of questions. I am going to ask that you use the numbers provided in the ladder to answer. Remember, you can use any number.</p> <p>B1. To what extent do you think the courts in Jamaica guarantee a fair trial? <i>[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.]</i></p> <p>B2. To what extent do you respect the political institutions of Jamaica?</p> <p>B3. To what extent do you think that citizens' basic rights are well protected by the political system of Jamaica?</p> <p>B4. To what extent do you feel proud of living under the political system of Jamaica?</p> <p>B6. To what extent do you think that one should support the political system of Jamaica?</p> <p>B12. To what extent do you trust the Jamaica Defense Force?</p> <p>B13. To what extent do you trust the Parliament?</p> <p>B18. To what extent do you trust the National Police?</p> <p>B21. To what extent do you trust the political parties?</p> <p>B21A. To what extent do you trust the Prime Minister?</p> <p>B31. To what extent do you trust the Supreme Court?</p> <p>B32. To what extent do you trust the local government?</p> <p>B37. To what extent do you trust the mass media?</p> <p>B47A. To what extent do you trust elections in this country?</p>	
<p>JAMB50. To what extent do you trust the Office of Utilities Regulations (OUR)?</p>	
<p>JAMB51. To what extent do you trust the Office of the Contractor General (OCG)?</p>	
<p>JAMB52. To what extent do you trust The Independent Commission of Investigations (INDECOM)?</p>	

[TAKE BACK CARD "B"]

M1. Speaking in general of the current administration, how would you rate the job performance of Prime Minister Andrew Holness? **[Read alternatives]**
 (1) Very good (2) Good (3) Neither good nor bad (fair) (4) Bad (5) Very bad
 (888888) Don't know **[DON'T READ]** (988888) No answer **[DON'T READ]**

And thinking about this city/area where you live...
SD2NEW2. Are you very satisfied, satisfied, **dissatisfied**, or very **dissatisfied** with the condition of the streets, roads, and highways?
 (1) Very satisfied (2) Satisfied
 (3) Dissatisfied (4) Very dissatisfied
 (888888) Don't know **[DON'T READ]** (988888) No answer **[DON'T READ]**
 (999999) Inapplicable (Does not use) **[DON'T READ]**

SD3NEW2. And with the quality of public schools? Are you... **[Read alternatives]**
 (1) Very satisfied (2) Satisfied
 (3) Dissatisfied (4) Very dissatisfied
 (888888) Don't know **[DON'T READ]** (988888) No answer **[DON'T READ]**
 (999999) Inapplicable (Does not use) **[DON'T READ]**

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
 (888888) Don't know **[DON'T READ]** (988888) No answer **[DON'T READ]**
 (999999) Inapplicable (Does not use) **[DON'T READ]**

INFRAx. Suppose someone enters your home to burglarize it and you call the police. How long do you think it would take the police to arrive at your house on a typical day around noon? **[Read alternatives]**
 (1) Less than 10 minutes
 (2) Between 10 and 30 minutes
 (3) More than 30 minutes and up to an hour
 (4) More than an hour and up to three hours
 (5) More than three hours
 (6) **[DON'T READ]** There are no police/they would never arrive
 (888888) Don't know **[DON'T READ]**
 (988888) No answer **[DON'T READ]**

[GIVE CARD "C" TO THE INTERVIEWEE]

Now we will use a ladder where 1 means "strongly disagree" and 7 means "strongly agree." A number in between 1 and 7 represents an intermediate score.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	888888	988888	
Strongly disagree						Strongly agree		Don't know [DON'T READ]	No answer [DON'T READ]

[Note down 1-7, 888888 = Don't know, 988888=No answer]

Now I am going to read some statements. Please tell me to what extent you agree or disagree with the following statements.

ROS4. The Jamaican government should implement **strong** policies to reduce income inequality between the rich and the poor. To what extent do you agree or disagree with this statement?

[RANDOMIZE ORDER OF APPEARANCE FOR REDIST1, REDIST2A AND REDIST3]

REDIST1. The government should spend more on helping the poor. To what extent do you agree or disagree with this statement?

REDIST2A. It is okay that the rich pay a lot in taxes but get very little back in government services. To what extent do you agree or disagree with this statement?

REDIST3. Most unemployed people could find a job if they wanted one. To what extent do you agree or disagree with this statement?



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?	
EFF1. Those who govern this country are interested in what people like you think. How much do you agree or disagree with this statement?	
EFF2. You feel that you understand the most important political issues of this country. How much do you agree or disagree with this statement?	
AOJ22NEW. To reduce crime in a country like ours, punishment of criminals must be increased. To what extent do you agree or disagree with this statement?	

[Continue using Card “C”]

[Note down 1-7, 888888= Don’t know, 988888 = No answer]

DST1B. The government should spend more money to enforce building codes to make homes safer from natural disasters, even if it means spending less on other programs... How much do you agree or disagree with this statement?

[TAKE BACK CARD “C”]

DRK1. How likely do you think it is that you or someone in your immediate family here in Jamaica could be killed or seriously injured in a natural disaster, such as floods, earthquakes, hurricanes, landslides, or storms, in the next 25 years? Do you think it is... **[Read alternatives]**
 (1) Not likely (2) A little likely (3) Somewhat likely (4) Very likely
 (888888) Don’t know **[DON’T READ]**
 (988888) No answer **[DON’T READ]**

[GIVE CARD “N” TO THE INTERVIEWEE]

Now, we are going to use this new card

[Note down 1-7, 888888= Don’t know, 988888 = No answer]

ENV1C. Some people believe that protecting the environment should be given priority over economic growth, while others believe that growing the economy should be prioritized over environmental protection. On a 1 to 7 scale where 1 means that the environment should be the highest priority, and 7 means the economic growth should be the highest priority, where would you place yourself?

[TAKE BACK CARD “N”]

ENV1CALT. Imagine the central government has two options when it comes to implementing environmental protections: it could either transfer resources to your local government so that it can implement those protections. Or it can transfer resources to other groups, such as non-governmental or community organizations who can then decide how to implement and manage the protections. The government can only carry out one option. Which option do you prefer? **[Read alternatives]**
 (1) Give resources to local government
 (2) Give resources to non-governmental or community organizations
 (888888) **[DON’T READ]** Don’t know
 (988888) **[DON’T READ]** No answer

ENV2B. If nothing is done to reduce climate change in the future, how serious of a problem do you think it will be for Jamaica? **[Read alternatives]**
 (1) Very serious
 (2) Somewhat serious
 (3) Not so serious
 (4) Not serious at all
 (888888) Don’t know **[DON’T READ]**
 (988888) No answer **[DON’T READ]**

Now, changing the topic...

PN4. In general, would you say that you are very satisfied, satisfied, **dissatisfied** or very **dissatisfied** with the way democracy works in Jamaica?
 (1) Very satisfied (2) Satisfied (3) Dissatisfied (4) Very dissatisfied
 (888888) Don’t know **[DON’T READ]** (988888) No answer **[DON’T READ]**

DEM30. In your opinion, is Jamaica a democracy?

- (1) Yes (2) No
 (888888) [DON'T READ] Don't know
 (988888) [DON'T READ] No answer

[GIVE CARD "D" TO THE INTERVIEWEE]

Now we are going to use another card. The new card has a 10-point ladder, which goes from 1 to 10, where 1 means that you *strongly disapprove* and 10 means that you *strongly approve*. I am going to read you a list of some actions that people can take to achieve their political goals and objectives. Please tell me how strongly you would approve or disapprove...

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	888888 Don't know [DON'T READ]	988888 No Answer [DON'T READ]
Strongly disapprove					Strongly approve						

[Note down 1-10, 888888= Don't know, 988888= No answer]

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

D1. There are people who only say bad things about the Jamaican form of government, not just the current (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: [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 Jamaican 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**?

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

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

[TAKE BACK CARD "D"]

	Very little	Enough	Too much	Don't know [DON'T READ]	No answer [DON'T READ]
LIB1. Do you believe that nowadays in the country we have very little, enough or too much freedom of press?	1	2	3	888888	988888
LIB2C. And freedom to express political views without fear. Do we have very little, enough or too much?	1	2	3	888888	988888

	N/A Did not try or did not have contact	No	Yes	Don't know [DON'T READ]	No answer [DON'T READ]
Now we want to talk about your personal experience with things that happen in everyday life...					
EXC2. Has a police officer asked you for a bribe in the last twelve months?		0	1	888888	988888
EXC6. In the last twelve months, did any government employee ask you for a bribe?		0	1	888888	988888

	N/A Did not try or did not have contact	No	Yes	Don't know [DON'T READ]	No answer [DON'T READ]
EXC20. In the last twelve months, did any soldier or military officer ask you for a bribe?		0	1	888888	988888
EXC11. In the last twelve months, did you have any official dealings in the parish council office? If the answer is No → mark 999999 If it is Yes→ ask the following: In the last twelve months, to process any kind of document in your local government, like a permit for example, did you have to pay any money above that required by law?	999999	0	1	888888	988888
EXC13. Do you work? If the answer is No → mark 999999 If it is Yes→ ask the following: In your work, have you been asked to pay a bribe in the last twelve months?	999999	0	1	888888	988888
EXC14. In the last twelve months, have you had any dealings with the courts? If the answer is No → mark 999999 If it is Yes→ ask the following: Did you have to pay a bribe to the courts in the last twelve months?	999999	0	1	888888	988888
EXC15. Have you used any public health services in the last twelve months? If the answer is No → mark 999999 If it is Yes→ ask the following: In order to be seen in a hospital or a clinic in the last twelve months, did you have to pay a bribe?	999999	0	1	888888	988888
EXC16. Have you had a child in school in the last twelve months? If the answer is No → mark 999999 If it is Yes→ ask the following: Have you had to pay a bribe at school in the last twelve months?	999999	0	1	888888	988888
EXC18. Do you think given the way things are, sometimes paying a bribe is justified?		0	1	888888	988888

QUESTIONNAIRE A

EXC7. Taking into account your own experience or what you have heard, corruption among **public officials**

is: **[Read alternatives]**

(1) Very common (2) Common (3) Uncommon
or (4) Very uncommon?

(888888) **[DON'T READ]** Don't know

(988888) **[DON'T READ]** No answer

(999999) **[DON'T READ]** Inapplicable



VB20. If the next general elections were being held this week, what would you do? **[Read alternatives]**

- (1) Wouldn't vote
 (2) Would vote for the current (incumbent) candidate or party
 (3) Would vote for a candidate or party different from the current administration
 (4) Would go to vote but would leave the ballot blank or would purposely cancel my vote
 (888888) **[DON'T READ]** Don't know (988888) No answer **[DON'T READ]**

QUESTIONNAIRE A

CLIEN4A. Sometimes in Jamaica, candidates or people from political parties offer favors, money, gifts or other benefits to individuals in exchange for their vote. To what extent do you approve this type of activity? **[Read alternatives]**

- (1) Strongly approve
 (2) Approve
 (3) Do not approve, but understand
 (4) Disapprove
 (5) Strongly disapprove
 (888888) **[DON'T READ]** Don't know
 (988888) **[DON'T READ]** No answer
 (999999) **[DON'T READ]** Inapplicable

CLIEN1N. Thinking of the last general elections, any candidate or political party offered a favor, gift, or other benefit to a **person whom you know** in exchange for that person's support or vote?

- (1) Yes (2) No
 (888888) **[DON'T READ]** Don't know
 (988888) **[DON'T READ]** No answer

CLIEN1NA. And thinking about the last general elections of 2016, did someone offer **you** something, like a favor, gift or any other benefit in return for your vote or support?

- (1) Yes (2) No
 (888888) **[DON'T READ]** Don't know
 (988888) **[DON'T READ]** No answer

QUESTIONNAIRE B

CLIEN4B. Sometimes in Jamaica, candidates or people from political parties offer favors, money, gifts or other benefits to individuals in exchange for their vote. To what extent do you approve this type of activity? **[Read alternatives]**

- (1) Strongly approve
 (2) Approve
 (3) Do not approve, but understand
 (4) Disapprove
 (5) Strongly disapprove
 (888888) **[DON'T READ]** Don't know
 (988888) **[DON'T READ]** No answer
 (999999) **[DON'T READ]** Inapplicable

Changing the subject...

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

- (1) Strongly agree (2) Agree (3) Disagree (4) Strongly disagree
 (888888) **[DON'T READ]** Don't know
 (988888) **[DON'T READ]** No answer

QUESTIONNAIRE A

VB51. Who do you think would be more corrupt as a politician, a man or a woman, or are both the same?
 (1) A man (2) A woman (3) Both the same
 (888888) [DON'T READ] Don't know
 (988888) [DON'T READ] No answer
 (999999) [DON'T READ] Inapplicable

VB52. If a politician is responsible for running the national economy, who would do a better job, a man, or a woman or does it not matter?
 (1) A man (2) A woman (3) It does not matter
 (888888) [DON'T READ] Don't know
 (988888) [DON'T READ] No answer
 (999999) [DON'T READ] Inapplicable

VB58. How strongly do you agree or disagree with the following statement? When a mother works outside the home, the children suffer. [Read alternatives]
 (1) Strongly agree (2) Agree (3) Disagree (4) Strongly disagree
 (888888) [DON'T READ] Don't know (988888) [DON'T READ] No answer

W14A. And now, thinking about other topics. Do you think it's justified to interrupt a pregnancy, that is, to have an abortion, when the mother's health is in danger?
 (1) Yes, justified (2) No, not justified
 (888888) Don't know [DON'T READ] (988888) No answer [DON'T READ]

[GIVE CARD "H" TO THE INTERVIEWEE]

Now, changing the topic...

FOR5N. In your opinion, which of the following countries ought to be the model for the future development of our country? [Read alternatives]
 (1) China (2) Japan
 (3) India (4) United States
 (5) Singapore (6) Russia
 (7) South Korea (10) Brazil
 (11) Venezuela, or (12) Mexico
 (13) [DON'T READ] None/we ought to follow our own model
 (14) [DON'T READ] Other
 (888888) Don't know [DON'T READ]
 (988888) No answer [DON'T READ]

[TAKE BACK CARD "H"]

QUESTIONNAIRE B

Now, I would like to ask you how much you trust the governments of some countries. For each country, tell me if in your opinion it is very trustworthy, somewhat trustworthy, not very trustworthy, or not at all trustworthy, or if you don't have an opinion.

	Very trustworthy	Somewhat trustworthy	Not very trustworthy	Not at all trustworthy	Don't know/ No opinion	No answer [DON'T READ]	Inapplicable [DON'T READ]
MIL10A. The government of China. In your opinion, is it very trustworthy, somewhat trustworthy, not very trustworthy, or not at all trustworthy, or do you not have an opinion?	1	2	3	4	888888	988888	999999

MIL10E. The government of the United States. In your opinion, is it very trustworthy, somewhat trustworthy, not very trustworthy, or not at all trustworthy, or do you not have an opinion?	1	2	3	4	888888	988888	999999
--	---	---	---	---	--------	--------	--------

WF1. Do you or someone in your household receive regular assistance in the form of money, food, or products from the government, not including pensions and benefits under the National Insurance Scheme (NIS)?

(1) Yes (2) No

(888888) Don't know **[DON'T READ]** (988888) No answer **[DON'T READ]**

CCT1B. Now, talking specifically about the Programme of Advancement Through Health and Education (PATH), are you or someone in your house a beneficiary of this program?

(1) Yes (2) No

(888888) Don't know **[DON'T READ]** (988888) No answer **[DON'T READ]**

ED. How many years of schooling have you completed?

_____ Year _____ (primary/preparatory, secondary, 6th form/ "A" level, University/Tertiary If UWI, University/Tertiary if other universities) = _____ total number of years **[Use the table below for the code]**

(0) 0 years	None
(1) 1 year	1st year primary/preparatory school
(2) 2 years	2nd year primary/preparatory school
(3) 3 years	3rd year primary/preparatory school
(4) 4 years	4th year primary/preparatory school
(5) 5 years	5th year primary/preparatory school
(6) 6 years	6th year primary/preparatory school
(7) 7 years	1st year secondary
(8) 8 years	2nd year secondary
(9) 9 years	3rd year secondary
(10) 10 years	4th year secondary
(11) 11 years	5th year secondary
(12) 12 years	1st year 6th form/"A" level/ 1st year University/Tertiary if other universities
(13) 13 years	2nd year 6th form/"A" level/2nd year University/tertiary if other universities
(14) 14 years	3rd year University/Tertiary if other universities/1st year University/Tertiary if UWI
(15) 15 years	4th year University/Tertiary if other universities/2nd year University/Tertiary if UWI
(16) 16 years	5th year University/Tertiary if other universities/3rd year University/Tertiary if UWI
(17) 17 years	4th year University/Tertiary if UWI or more
(888888) Don't know [DON'T READ]	
(988888) No answer [DON'T READ]	

<p>Q3CN. What is your religion, if any? [DO NOT read alternatives] [If the respondent says that he/she has no religion, probe to see if he/she should be located in option 4 or 11] [If interviewer says “Christian” or “Evangelical”, probe to verify if he is catholic (option 1), Pentecostal (option 5) or non-pentecostal evangelical (option 2). If he is unsure, select (2)].</p> <p>(01) Catholic [Continue] (02) Protestant, Mainline Protestant or Protestant non-Evangelical (Christian; Calvinist; Lutheran; Methodist; Presbyterian; Disciple of Christ; Anglican; Episcopalian; Moravian). [Continue] (03) Non-Christian Eastern Religions (Islam; Buddhist; Hinduism; Taoist; Confucianism; Baha’i). [Continue] (05) Evangelical and Pentecostal (Evangelical; Pentecostals; Church of God; Assemblies of God; Universal Church of the Kingdom of God; International Church of the Foursquare Gospel; Christ Pentecostal Church; Christian Congregation; Mennonite; Brethren; Christian Reformed Church; Charismatic non-Catholic; Light of World; Baptist; Nazarene; Salvation Army; Adventist; Seventh-Day Adventist; Sara Nossa Terra). [Continue] (07) Traditional Religions or Native Religions (Santería, Candomblé, Voodoo, Rastafarian, Mayan Traditional Religion; Umbanda; Maria Lonza; Inti; Kardecista, Santo Daime, Esoterica). [Continue] (04) None (Believes in a Supreme Entity but does not belong to any religion) [Continue] (11) Agnostic, atheist (Does not believe in God). [Skip to Q5B] (77) Other [Continue] (888888) Don’t know [DON’T READ] [Continue] (988888) No answer [DON’T READ] [Continue]</p>	
<p>Q5A. How often do you attend religious services? [Read alternatives] (1) More than once per week (2) Once per week (3) Once a month (4) Once or twice a year (5) Never or almost never (888888) Don’t know [DON’T READ] (988888) No answer [DON’T READ] (999999) Inapplicable [DON’T READ]</p>	
<p>Q5B. Could you please tell me: how important is religion in your life? [Read alternatives] (1) Very important (2) Somewhat important (3) Not very important (4) Not at all important (888888) No answer [DON’T READ] (988888) Don’t answer [DON’T READ]</p>	



<p>OCUP4A. How do you mainly spend your time? Are you currently [Read alternatives]</p> <p>(1) Working? [Continue] (2) Not working, but have a job? [Continue] (3) Actively looking for a job? [Skip to Q10A] (4) A student? [Skip to Q10A] (5) Taking care of the home? [Skip to Q10A] (6) Retired, a pensioner or permanently disabled to work [Skip to Q10A] (7) Not working and not looking for a job? [Skip to Q10A] (888888) Don't know [DON'T READ] [Skip to Q10A] (988888) No answer [DON'T READ] [Skip to Q10A]</p>	
<p>[Use card OCUPOIT for back-up only. DO NOT show to interviewee]</p> <p>OCUPOIT. What is your occupation or the type of job you perform? [Probe: What does your job consist of?] [DO NOT read alternatives]</p> <p>(1) Directors and Managers (2) Professionals, Scientists, and Intellectuals (3) Technicians and Associate Professionals (4) Administrative Support Staff (5) Service Workers and Sales Workers (6) Farmers and Skilled Agricultural, Forestry, and Fishery Workers (7) Mechanical, Craft, and Related Trade Workers (8) Plant and Machine Operators, and Assemblers (9) Elementary Occupations (10) Armed Forces Occupations (888888) [DON'T READ] Don't know (988888) [DON'T READ] No answer (999999) [DON'T READ] Inapplicable</p>	
<p>OCUP1A. In this job are you: [Read alternatives]</p> <p>(1) A salaried employee of the government or an independent state-owned enterprise? (2) A salaried employee in the private sector? (3) Owner or partner in a business? (4) Self-employed? (5) Unpaid worker? (888888) Don't know [DON'T READ] (988888) No answer [DON'T READ] (999999) Inapplicable [DON'T READ]</p>	
<p>FORMAL. For this job, do you or your employer make contributions to the National Insurance Scheme (NIS)?</p> <p>(1) Yes (2) No (888888) [DON'T READ] Don't know (988888) [DON'T READ] No answer (999999) [DON'T READ] Inapplicable</p>	
<p>Q10A. Do you or someone else living in your household receive remittances (financial support), that is, economic assistance from abroad?</p> <p>(1) Yes (2) No (888888) Don't know [DON'T READ] (988888) No answer [DON'T READ]</p>	

[GIVE CARD "F TO THE INTERVIEWEE"]

Q10NEW. And into which of the following ranges does the total monthly income of this household fit, including remittances from abroad and the income of all the working adults and children?
[If the interviewee does not get it, ask: “Which is the total monthly income in your household?”]

(00) No income
 (01) Less than \$6,500
 (02) \$6,500 - \$10,000
 (03) \$10,001 - \$14,000
 (04) \$14,001 - \$19,000
 (05) \$19,001 - \$23,000
 (06) \$23,001 - \$27,000
 (07) \$27,001 - \$33,000
 (08) \$33,001 - \$39,000
 (09) \$39,001 - \$46,000
 (10) \$46,001 - \$56,000
 (11) \$56,001 - \$65,000
 (12) \$65,001 - \$76,000
 (13) \$76,001 - \$95,000
 (14) \$95,001 - \$130,000
 (15) \$130,001 - \$185,000
 (16) More than \$185,000
 (888888) Don't know **[DON'T READ]**
 (988888) No answer **[DON'T READ]**

[TAKE BACK CARD “F”]

Q14. Do you have any intention of going to live or work in another country in the next three years? (1) Yes
 (2) No
 (888888) Don't know **[DON'T READ]**
 (988888) No answer **[DON'T READ]**

Q10E. Over the past two years, has the income of your household: **[Read alternatives]**
 (1) Increased?
 (2) Remained the same?
 (3) Decreased?
 (888888) Don't know **[DON'T READ]** (988888) No answer **[DON'T READ]**

Now I am going to read you some questions about food.

	No	Yes	Don't know [DON'T READ]	No answer [DON'T READ]
FS2. In the past three months, because of a lack of money or other resources, did your household ever run out of food?	0	1	888888	988888
FS8. In the past three months, because of lack of money or other resources, did you or some other adult in the household ever eat only once a day or go without eating all day?	0	1	888888	988888

Q11N. What is your marital status? **[Read alternatives]**
 (1) Single (2) Married
 (3) Common law marriage (Living together) (4) Divorced
 (5) Separated (6) Widowed
 (7) Civil union
 (888888) Don't know **[DON'T READ]**
 (988888) No answer **[DON'T READ]**

Q12C. How many people in total live in this household at this time? _____
 (888888) Don't know **[DON'T READ]**
 (988888) No answer **[DON'T READ]**



<p>Q12BN. How many children under the age of 13 live in this household? _____ 00 = none, (888888) Don't know [DON'T READ] (988888) No answer [DON'T READ]</p>	
<p>ETID. Do you consider yourself black, Indian, white, Chinese, Mixed, or of another race? [If respondent says Afro-Jamaican, mark (4) Black]</p> <p>(1) White (4) Black(5) Mixed (2306) Indian (2309) Chinese (7) Other (888888) Don't know [DON'T READ] (988888) No answer [DON'T READ]</p>	
<p>G10N. About how often do you pay attention to the news, whether on TV, the radio, newspapers or the internet? [Read alternatives]:</p> <p>(1) Daily (2) A few times a week (3) A few times a month (4) A few times a year (5) Never (888888) Don't know [DON'T READ] (988888) No answer [DON'T READ]</p>	
<p>SMEDIA1. Do you have a Facebook account?</p> <p>(1) Yes [Continue] (2) No [Skip to SMEDIA4] (888888) [DON'T READ] Don't know [Skip to SMEDIA4] (988888) [DON'T READ] No answer [Skip to SMEDIA4]</p>	
<p>SMEDIA2. How often do you see content on Facebook? [Read alternatives]</p> <p>(1) Daily [Continue] (2) A few times a week [Continue] (3) A few times a month [Continue] (4) A few times a year [Continue] (5) Never [Skip to SMEDIA4] (888888) [DON'T READ] Don't know [Continue] (988888) [DON'T READ] No answer [Continue] (999999) [DON'T READ] Inapplicable</p>	
<p>SMEDIA3. How often do you see political information on Facebook? [Read alternatives]</p> <p>(1) Daily (2) A few times a week (3) A few times a month (4) A few times a year (5) Never (888888) [DON'T READ] Don't know (988888) [DON'T READ] No answer (999999) [DON'T READ] Inapplicable</p>	
<p>SMEDIA4. Do you have a Twitter account?</p> <p>(1) Yes [Continue] (2) No [Skip to SMEDIA7] (888888) [DON'T READ] Don't know [Skip to SMEDIA7] (988888) [DON'T READ] No answer [Skip to SMEDIA7]</p>	
<p>SMEDIA5. How often do you see content on Twitter? [Read alternatives]</p> <p>(1) Daily [Continue] (2) A few times a week [Continue] (3) A few times a month [Continue] (4) A few times a year [Continue] (5) Never [Skip to SMEDIA7] (888888) [DON'T READ] Don't know [Continue] (988888) [DON'T READ] No answer [Continue] (999999) [DON'T READ] Inapplicable</p>	

<p>SMEDIA6. How often do you see political information on Twitter? [Read alternatives]</p> <p>(1) Daily (2) A few times a week (3) A few times a month (4) A few times a year (5) Never (888888) [DON'T READ] Don't know (988888) [DON'T READ] No answer (999999) [DON'T READ] Inapplicable</p>	
<p>SMEDIA7. Do you have a WhatsApp account?</p> <p>(1) Yes [Continue] (2) No [Skip to R3] (888888) [DON'T READ] Don't know [Skip to R3] (988888) [DON'T READ] No answer [Skip to R3]</p>	
<p>SMEDIA8. How often do you use WhatsApp? [Read alternatives]</p> <p>(1) Daily [Continue] (2) A few times a week [Continue] (3) A few times a month [Continue] (4) A few times a year [Continue] (5) Never [Skip to R3] (888888) [DON'T READ] Don't know [Continue] (988888) [DON'T READ] No answer [Continue] (999999) [DON'T READ] Inapplicable</p>	
<p>SMEDIA9. How often do you see political information on WhatsApp? [Read alternatives]</p> <p>(1) Daily (2) A few times a week (3) A few times a month (4) A few times a year (5) Never (888888) [DON'T READ] Don't know (988888) [DON'T READ] No answer (999999) [DON'T READ] Inapplicable</p>	

Could you tell me if you have the following in your house: **[Read out all items]**

R3. Refrigerator	(0) No	(1) Yes	Don't know [DON'T READ] (888888)	No answer [DON'T READ] (988888)		
R4. Landline/residential telephone (not cellular)	(0) No	(1) Yes	Don't know [DON'T READ] (888888)	No answer [DON'T READ] (988888)		
R4A. Cellular telephone. (Accept smartphone)	(0) No	(1) Yes	Don't know [DON'T READ] (888888)	No answer [DON'T READ] (988888)		
R5. Vehicle/car. How many? [If the interviewee does not say how many, mark "one."]	(0) No	(1) One	(2) Two	(3) Three or more	Don't know [DON'T READ] (888888)	No answer [DON'T READ] (988888)
R6. Washing machine	(0) No	(1) Yes	Don't know [DON'T READ] (888888)	No answer [DON'T READ] (988888)		
R7. Microwave oven	(0) No	(1) Yes	Don't know [DON'T READ] (888888)	No answer [DON'T READ] (988888)		
R8. Motorcycle	(0) No	(1) Yes	Don't know [DON'T READ] (888888)	No answer [DON'T READ] (988888)		

R12. Drinking water pipe to the house	(0) No	(1) Yes	Don't know [DON'T READ] (888888)	No answer [DON'T READ] (988888)
R14. Indoor bathroom/toilet	(0) No	(1) Yes	Don't know [DON'T READ] (888888)	No answer [DON'T READ] (988888)
R15. Computer (Accept tablet, iPad)	(0) No	(1) Yes	Don't know [DON'T READ] (888888)	No answer [DON'T READ] (988888)
R18. Internet from your home (included phone or tablet)	(0) No	(1) Yes	Don't know [DON'T READ] (888888)	No answer [DON'T READ] (988888)
R1. Television	(0) No [Skip to PSC1]	(1) Yes [Continue]	Don't know [DON'T READ] (888888)	No answer [DON'T READ] (988888)
R16. Flat panel TV	(0) No	(1) Yes	Don't know [DON'T READ] (888888)	No answer [DON'T READ] (988888)
				Inapplicable [DON'T READ] (999999)

PSC1. What is the main source of drinking-water for members of your household? [DO NOT read alternatives. Mark only one answer] [If respondent mentions more than one source, ask for the one most used]
[If respondent only says piped water or public water probe or check if the connection goes (1) inside the household or (2) outside the household]

- (01) Piped water into house
- (02) Piped water to yard
- (03) Irregular/illegal connection to public water pipe
- (04) Public standpipe
- (05) Tubewell/borehole (with pump)
- (06) Protected well (without pump)
- (07) Unprotected well (without pump)
- (08) Protected spring
- (09) Unprotected spring
- (10) Rainwater collection
- (11) Bottled water
- (12) Cart with small tank/drum
- (13) Tanker-truck
- (14) River, creek, stream, canal, irrigation channels
- (77) Other
- (888888) [DON'T READ] Don't know
- (988888) [DON'T READ] No answer

<p>PSC2. What is the main source of water used by your household for other purposes, such as cooking and hand washing? [DO NOT read alternatives. Mark only one answer.] [If respondent mentions more than one source, ask for the one most used] [If respondent only says piped water or public water probe or check if the connection goes (1) inside the household or (2) outside the household]</p> <p>(01) Piped water into home [Continue] (02) Piped water to yard [Continue] (03) Irregular/illegal connection to public water pipe [Continue] (04) Public standpipe [Skip to PSC11] (05) Tubewell/borehole (with pump) [Skip to PSC11] (06) Protected well (without pump) [Skip to PSC11] (07) Unprotected well (without pump) [Skip to PSC11] (08) Protected spring [Skip to PSC11] (09) Unprotected spring [Skip to PSC11] (10) Rainwater collection [Skip to PSC11] (11) Bottled water [Skip to PSC11] (12) Cart with small tank/drum [Skip to PSC11] (13) Tanker-truck [Skip to PSC11] (14) River, creek, stream, canal, irrigation channels [Skip to PSC11] (77) Other [Skip to PSC11] (888888) [DON'T READ] Don't know [Skip to PSC11] (988888) [DON'T READ] No answer [Skip to PSC11]</p>	
<p>[Ask only if there is water piping– If answer to PSC2 was (01) (02) or (03)] PSC7. How many days a week do you receive water from the public water supply? (0) Less than once a week (1) One day a week (2) Two days per week (3) Three days per week (4) Four days per week (5) Five days per week (6) Six days per week (7) Seven days per week (888888) [DON'T READ] Don't know (988888) [DON'T READ] No answer (999999) [DON'T READ] Inapplicable</p>	
<p>[Ask only if there is water piping– If answer to PSC2 was (01) (02) or (03)] PSC8. How many hours of water per day do you get during the days you have service? Write down amount of hours _____ [Attention, if time reported in minutes or fractions of hours, round up to the hour] [It refers to supply through the pipeline, with independence from the home storage system they might have]</p> <p>[Maximum value accepted: 24] (888888) [DON'T READ] Don't know (988888) [DON'T READ] No answer (999999) [DON'T READ] Inapplicable</p>	
<p>[Ask only if there is water piping– If answer to PSC2 was (01) (02) or (03)] PSC9. During the past four weeks, how many times has the regular water service been interrupted? [Write down how many times] _____ [Maximum value accepted: 50]</p> <p>(888888) [DON'T READ] Don't know (988888) [DON'T READ] No answer (999999) [DON'T READ] Inapplicable</p>	



<p>[Ask only if answer to PSC2 was (01) or (02)] PSC10. Sometimes, people do not pay their water bills for different reasons: they do not believe it is important, they believe water should be free, or they cannot afford it. Of the past six water bills you received, did you not pay any? [If respondent say “Yes” Ask how many and write down number] _____ [Values accepted 1-6] (0) No (7) [DO NOT READ] Did not pay because did not receive the bill (888888) [DON'T READ] Don't know (988888) [DON'T READ] No answer (999999) [DON'T READ] Inapplicable</p>	
<p>PSC11. The bathroom in this household is connected to... [Read alternatives] [Probe if necessary. Attention: Options (1) to (5) and (7) imply connection to a system or discharge outside the household] (1) Piped sewer system [Skip to PSC12] (7) Connected to treatment plant/system [Skip to PSC12] (2) Septic tank/hole outside the house [Skip to PSC12] (3) Tubing flowing to creek/waterway [Skip to PSC12] (4) Other [flows/discharges somewhere else] [Skip to PSC12] (5) Flows/discharges to unknown place/not sure/does not know where [Skip to PSC12] (6) Cesspit not connected to any system [Continue] (888888) [DON'T READ] Don't know [Skip to PSC12] (988888) [DON'T READ] No answer [Skip to PSC12]</p>	
<p>[Ask only if not connected to any system, response (6) in PSC11] PSC11A. What do you use in your household as a bathroom? [Read alternatives] (1) Ventilated pit latrine (2) Pit latrine with slab/toilet (3) Pit latrine without slab/toilet/open pit (4) Composting toilet (5) Bucket (6) Hanging toilet (7) No facilities or uses bush or field (77) Other (888888) [DON'T READ] Don't know (988888) [DON'T READ] No answer (999999) [DON'T READ] Inapplicable</p>	
<p>PSC12. Do you share this facility with other households? (1) Yes (2) No (888888) [DON'T READ] Don't know (988888) [DON'T READ] No answer</p>	
<p>PSC13. Please, can you tell me how do you dispose of the garbage in this household? [DO NOT read alternatives. Mark all that apply] [Probe to find out if household waste collection is formal (01) or informal (02), and for recycling if formal (12) or informal (13)] (01) Household waste collection (formal service/National Solid Waste Management Authority (NSWMA)) (02) Household waste collection (private garbage collectors) (03) Disposal at neighborhood/community waste containers (04) Take it to municipal landfill (05) Bury it (06) Make fertilizer/compost (07) Burn it (08) Disposal in vacant lot/waste land or in waterway (09) Disposal in other/any place (10) Recycle at home (not compost) (11) Take it to recycling center (12) Household recycling collection (formal/National Solid Waste Management Authority (NSWMA)) (13) Household recycling collection (private garbage collectors) (888888) [DON'T READ] Don't know (988888) [DON'T READ] No answer</p>	

<p>PSC3. I am going to mention some problems many of us Jamaicans have faced in the last years. Which ones of these have you personally, or someone from your household, experienced in the last three years? [Read alternatives. Mark all that apply]</p> <p>(0) [DON'T READ] None (1) Droughts that have as a consequence water outages or lack of water (2) Electricity outages (3) Floods (888888) [DON'T READ] Don't know (988888) [DON'T READ] No answer</p>	
<p>PSC4. Who do you think is primarily responsible for droughts that have as a consequence water outages or lack of water? [Read alternatives]</p> <p>(1) Central government (3) Local government (4) Water service company/[National Water Commission (NWC)] (5) Climate change or extreme weather conditions (6) People/ourselves (77) Other (888888) [DON'T READ] Don't know (988888) [DON'T READ] No answer</p>	
<p>PSC5. Who do you think is primarily responsible for the electricity outages? [Read alternatives]</p> <p>(1) Central government (3) Local government (4) Electricity company/[Jamaica Public Service (JPS)] (5) Climate change or extreme weather conditions (6) People/ourselves (77) Other (888888) [DON'T READ] Don't know (988888) [DON'T READ] No answer</p>	
<p>PSC6. Who do you think is primarily responsible for the floods? [Read alternatives]</p> <p>(1) Central government (3) Local government (5) Climate change or extreme weather conditions (6) People/ourselves (77) Other (888888) [DON'T READ] Don't know (988888) [DON'T READ] No answer</p>	

To conclude...

INTEVAL. On a 1 to 10 scale, where 1 is not at all interesting and 10 is very interesting, how interesting did you find this survey?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	Don't know [DON'T READ] 888888	No answer [DON'T READ] 988888	
Not at all interesting							Very interesting					

These are all the questions I have. Thank you very much for your cooperation.

<p>FORMATQ. Please indicate the format in which THIS specific questionnaire was completed.</p> <p>(1) Paper (2) ADGYS (3) Windows PDA (4) STG</p>	
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<p>COLORR. [When the interview is complete, WITHOUT asking, please use the color chart and circle the number that most closely corresponds to the color of the face of the respondent] _____</p> <p>(97) Could not be classified [Mark (97) <i>only</i> if, for some reason, you could not see the face of the respondent]</p> <p>Time interview ended _____ : _____</p>	
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<p>[When the interview is complete, WITHOUT asking, please complete the following questions]</p>	
<p>NOISE1. Was there anyone else present during the interview besides the interviewee? (0) No [Skip to CONOCIM] (1) Yes, but in another room/in the distance [Continue] (2) Yes, near the interviewee but without interfering [Continue] (3) Yes, interfering/participating sporadically [Continue] (4) Yes, interfering a great deal/jeopardizing the interview [Continue]</p>	
<p>NOISE2. Who was present? [Mark all that apply] (1) Spouse/partner (2) Son/daughter (child) (3) Son/daughter (adult) (4) Parents/ parents-in law/step-parents (5) Another relative (child) (6) Another relative (adult) (7) Another person, non-relative (child) (8) Another person, non-relative (adult) (9) Another child (relationship unknown) (10) Another adult (relationship unknown) (888888) Don't know (999999) Inapplicable</p>	
<p>CONOCIM. Using the scale shown below, please rate your perception about the level of political knowledge of the interviewee. (1) Very high (2) High (3) Neither high or low (4) Low (5) Very low</p>	

<p>TI. Duration of interview [<i>minutes, see page # 1</i>] _____</p>	
<p>INTID. Interviewer ID number: _____</p>	
<p>SEXI. Note interviewer's sex: (1) Male (2) Female</p>	
<p>COLORI. Using the color chart, note the color that comes closest to your own color.</p>	

<p><i>I swear that this interview was carried out with the person indicated above.</i> Interviewer's signature _____ Date ____/____/____</p> <p>Field supervisor's signature _____</p> <p>Comments: _____</p> <p>_____ [Not for PDA/Android use] Signature of the person who entered the data</p> <p>_____ [Not for PDA/Android use] Signature of the person who verified the data</p>

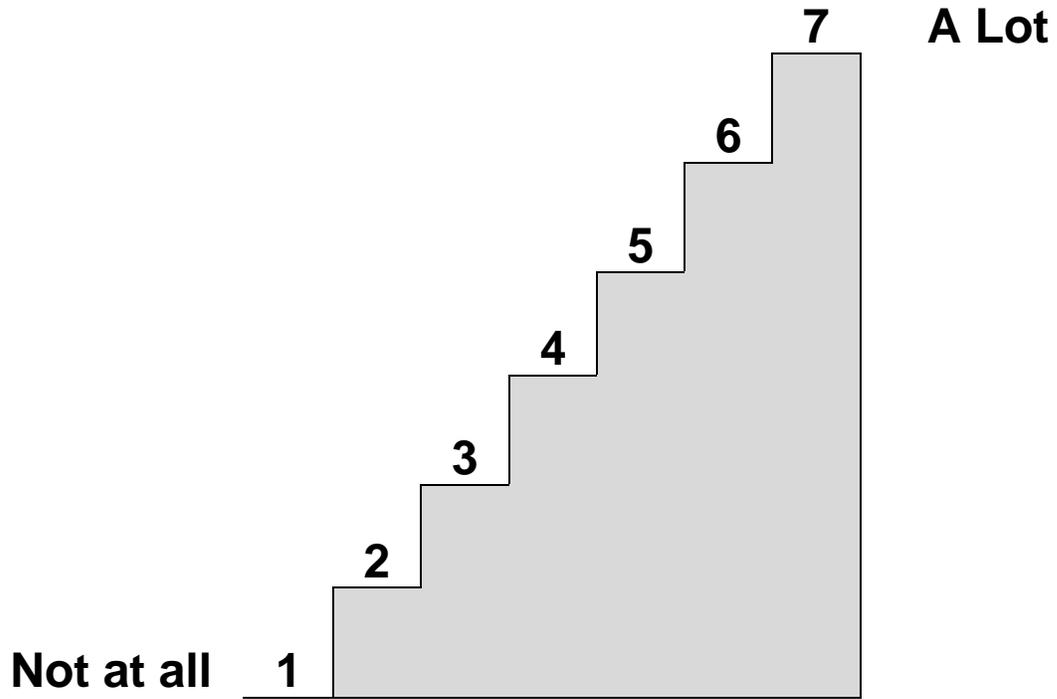


Card A (L1)

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Left					Right				

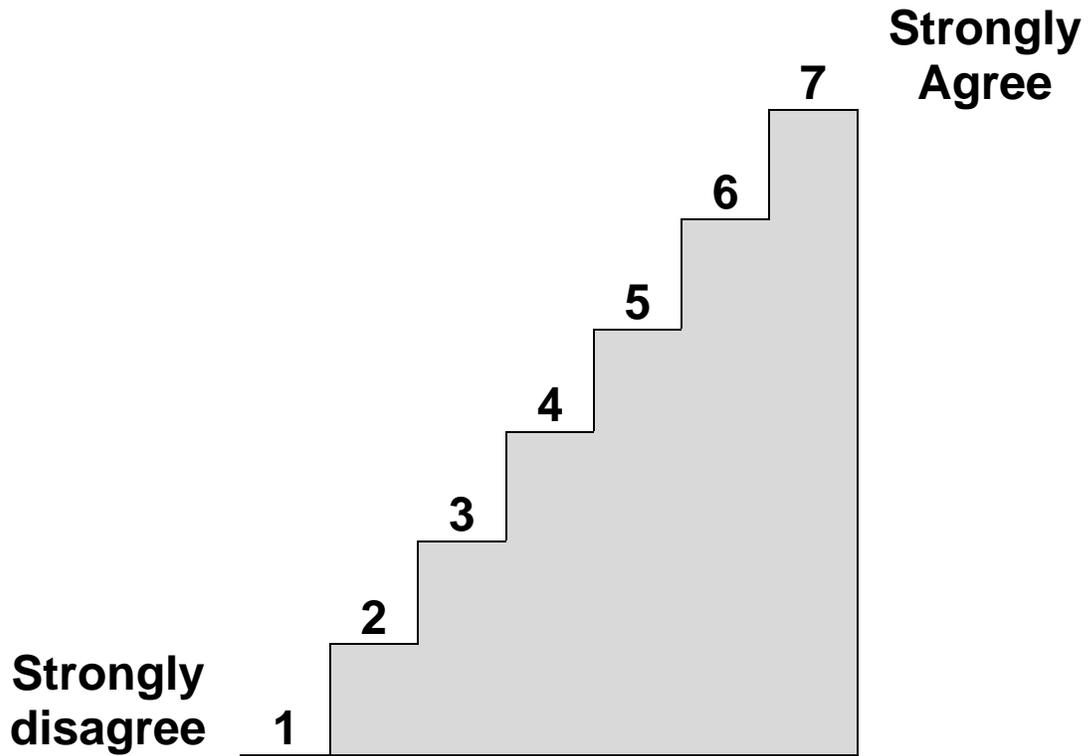


Card B





Card C



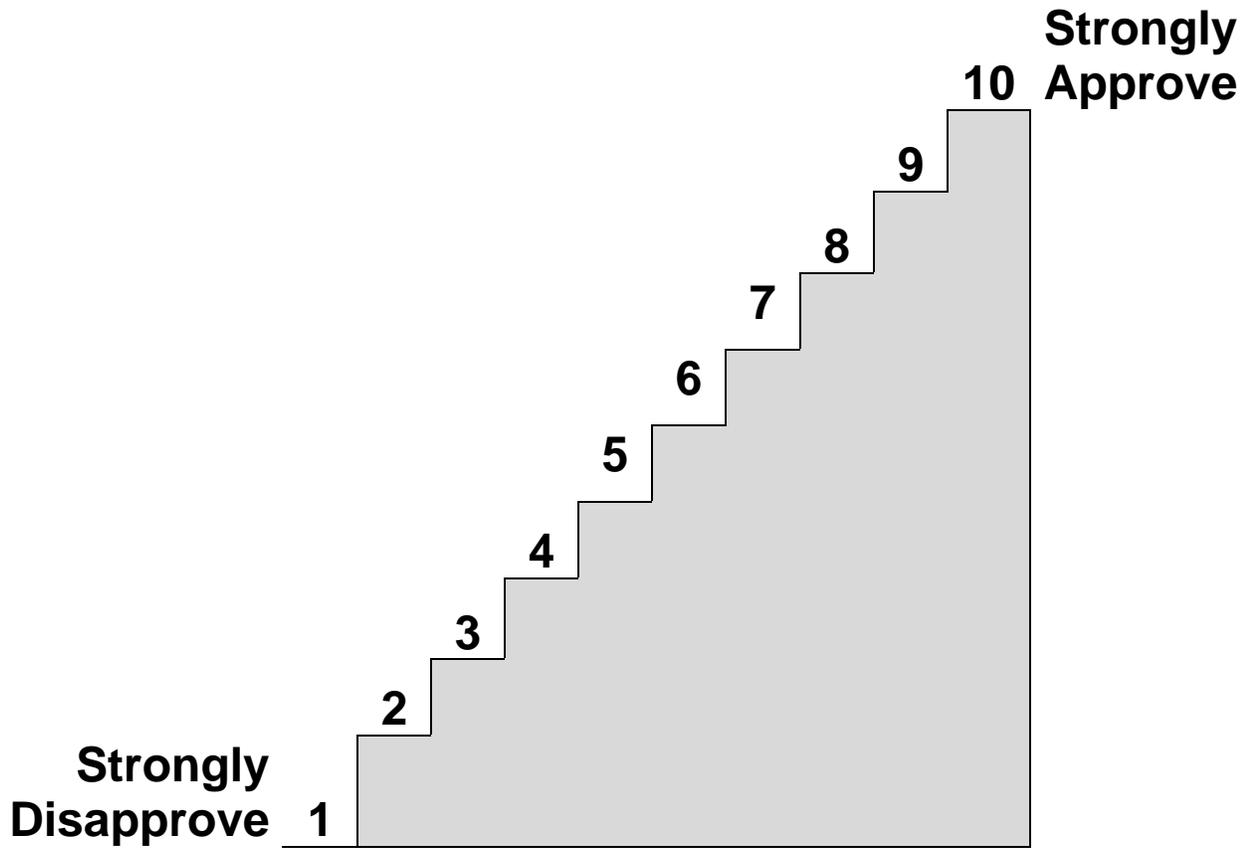


Card N

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Environment is priority					Economic growth is priority	



Card D





Card H

China

Japan

India

United States

Singapore

Russia

South KOrea

Brazil

Venezuela

Mexico

Card F

- (00) No income
- (01) Less than \$6,500
- (02) \$6,500 - \$10,000
- (03) \$10,001 - \$14,000
- (04) \$14,001 - \$19,000
- (05) \$19,001 - \$23,000
- (06) \$23,001 - \$27,000
- (07) \$27,001 - \$33,000
- (08) \$33,001 - \$39,000
- (09) \$39,001 - \$46,000
- (10) \$46,001 - \$56,000
- (11) \$56,001 - \$65,000
- (12) \$65,001 - \$76,000
- (13) \$76,001 - \$95,000
- (14) \$95,001 - \$130,000
- (15) \$130,001 - \$185,000
- (16) More than \$185,000

Card OCUPOIT

[DO NOT SHOW, only for the interviewer]

(1) Directors and Managers

Chief Executives, Senior Officials and Legislators.
Administrative and Commercial Managers
Production and Specialized Services Managers
Hospitality, Retail and Other Services Managers

(2) Professionals, Scientists, and Intellectuals

Science and Engineering Professionals
Health Professionals
Teaching Professionals
Business and Administration Professionals
Information and Communication Technology Professionals
Legal, Social and Cultural Professionals

(3) Technicians and Associate Professionals

Science and Engineering Associate Professionals
Health Associate Professionals
Business and Administration Associate Professionals
Legal, Social, Cultural and Related Associate Professionals
Information and Communications Technicians

(4) Administrative Support Staff

General and Keyboard Clerks
Customer Services Clerks
Numerical and Material Recording Clerks
Other Clerical Support Workers

(5) Service Workers and Sales Workers

Personal Service Workers
Sales Workers
Personal Care Workers
Protective Services Workers (Firefighters, Police)

(6) Farmers and Skilled Agricultural, Forestry, and Fishery Workers

Market-Oriented Skilled Agricultural Workers
Market-Oriented Skilled Forestry, Fishery and Hunting Workers
Subsistence Farmers, Fishers, Hunters and Gatherers

(7) Mechanical, Craft, and Related Trade Workers

Building and Related Trade Workers (Excluding Electricians)
Metal, Machinery and Related Trades Workers
Handicraft and Printing Workers
Electrical and Electronic Trades Workers
Food Processing, Woodworking, Garment and Other Craft and Related Trade Workers

(8) Plant and Machine Operators, and Assemblers

Stationary Plant and Machine Operators
Assemblers
Drivers and Mobile Plant Operators

(9) Elementary Occupations

Cleaners and Helpers
Agricultural, Forestry and Fishery Laborers
Laborers in Mining, Construction, Manufacturing and Transport
Food Preparation Assistants
Street and Related Sales and Services Workers
Refuse Workers and Other Elementary Workers

(10) Armed Forces Occupations

Commissioned Armed Forces Officers
Non-commissioned Armed Forces Officers
Armed Forces Occupations, Other Ranks



Color Palette



The AmericasBarometer 2018/19

The AmericasBarometer is a regional survey carried out by the Latin American Public Opinion Project (LAPOP). LAPOP has deep roots in the Latin America and Caribbean region, via public opinion research that dates back over four decades. Its headquarters are at Vanderbilt University, in the United States. The AmericasBarometer is possible due to the activities and support of a consortium of institutions located across the Americas. To carry out each round of the survey, LAPOP partners with local individuals, firms, universities, development organizations, and others in 34 countries in the Western Hemisphere. These efforts have three core purposes: to produce objective, non-partisan, and scientifically sound studies of public opinion; to build capacity and strengthen international relations; and to disseminate important findings regarding citizens' experiences with, assessments of, and commitment to democratic forms of government.

Since 2004, the AmericasBarometer has received generous support from the United States Agency for International Development (USAID) and Vanderbilt University. Other institutions that have contributed to multiple rounds of the survey project include 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 and academic institutions in the continent.

The 2018/19 AmericasBarometer was carried out via face-to-face interviews in 18 countries across the Latin America and Caribbean region, and via the internet in Canada and the U.S. All samples are designed to be nationally representative of voting-age adults and electronic devices were used for data entry in all countries. In all, more than 31,000 individuals were interviewed in this latest round of the survey. The complete 2004-2018/19 AmericasBarometer dataset contains responses from over 300,000 individuals across the region. Common core modules, standardized techniques, and rigorous quality control procedures permit valid comparisons across individuals, subgroups, certain subnational areas, countries, supra-regions, and time.

AmericasBarometer data and reports are available for free download from the project website: www.LapopSurveys.org Datasets from the project can also be accessed via 'data repositories' and subscribing institutions at universities across the Americas. Through such open access practices and these collaborations, LAPOP works to contribute to the pursuit of excellence in public opinion research and ongoing discussions over how programs and policies related to democratic governance can improve the quality of life for individuals in the Americas and beyond.

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