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Extendiendo el Alcance de la Democracia



Post-electoral Perception in Ecuador

# Indigenous and Female Populations

Survey Otavalo, El Tambo Tena

## **FINAL REPORT**

Quito, September - December, 2003

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Translation of the survey into Kichwa

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#### 1. PRESENTATION -

#### a. Background of the Project

In the past few years, political systems throughout the world have shown the importance of reforming electoral systems and proceedings, the pursuit of democracy, and the promotion the universality and free access to voting. One such case is that of Ecuador.

The ethnic composition of Ecuador is one of the most important social factors. The inclusion of indigenous people in the formal political life is relatively recent and their participation has grown to such levels that they have a substantial influence on the occupation of public offices and the formation of alliances of power.

Because of their previous exclusion from political activities and their role in society, it is important that they now have representation within the government and the opportunity to directly negotiate solutions to the problems that affect their communities, and at the same time contribute to politics in Ecuador.

The gender gap illustrates another profound inequality in political involvement in Ecuador. Despite the mobilization of this social sector and the important achievements in the area of changing the exclusionary conditions of women in the political system, there has not been substantial-enough change in this area.

Many citizens carry out their duty to vote merely because it is a legal obligation and without sufficient information regarding the candidates and their platforms.

In communities that speak Kichwa and Spanish, Spanish is the language of the state, communication and external agencies, including religion. Kichwa is the spoken language for the members of the community and the towns.

The obvious methodological recommendations for this particular survey include designing bilingual instruments, carried out by intercultural teams, and redefining the classical variables of control, including paternal and maternal tongues, self-identification, and religious beliefs and practices. It is also suggested that we pay attention to the collective mechanisms of construction of political decisions, such as community assemblies, in order to better measure the opinions and perceptions of the respondents.

The investigation, the results of which are presented here, reveals details and important characteristics that delineate with greater precision the characteristics of political participation of both indigenous people and women, which is of importance for the formulation of proposals that enable promotion of active involvement of these sectors in the democracy, and its contribution to political development of the country.

## b. Objectives, Methodologies, and Products of the Investigation

This investigation combines techniques of qualitative and quantitative research.

The specific goal of the study is to increase the knowledge of the post electoral opinions and perceptions of the citizens, as residents of the urban and rural zones of Otavalo, Tambo and Tena.

#### c. Applied Theory

#### 1) Technical characteristics of the survey

To complete the objectives of the study, it was suggested that we conduct an opinion survey that would allow us to register the perceptions, attitudes, level of electoral information and degree of political participation of the population under study. We began by delineating as the universe for the study all people who were eligible to vote in the 2002 elections. It was considered necessary to determine a statistical validity for the urban and rural zones.

Three counties were selected in order to present an indigenous presence ranking 2 according to the estimations of SIISE<sup>1</sup>: Otavalo, El Tambo and Tena. It is also considered that these three counties represent the indigenous plurality of the country, covering the regions of North Sierra, South Sierra and Amazonía.<sup>2</sup>

It must be emphasized that in the selected counties, the political presence of indigenous people and women is significant, as in the case of El Tambo where political authority was until the last elections cycle in the hands of a woman, while in Otavalo and Tena there are elected officials representing the indigenous populations. This demonstrates a strong presence of the actors who are the object of this study. In the last 2 counties there exists a high level of politization of this sector, something that is

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Rank 1 implies a majority presence of the indigenous population (more than 80%). Rank 2 corresponds to a high indigenous presence (between 60% and 79%). Rank 3 expresses a significant indigenous presence (between 40% and 59%). Rank 4 (between 20% and 39%), rank 5 (between 5% and 19%) and rank 6 (between 0% and 4%) express a scarce indigenous presence.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> See Annex 1 regarding the population and electoral characteristics of the selected counties.

expressed both in the level of participation and in the exercise of local power.

We have established the confidence level at 95% and the margin of error at 3% or less. For this reason a professional statistician was contracted for the preparation of the sample.

In terms of the data collection method, the survey was conducted using direct interviews with the population in their homes. The people selected by random sampling had to comply with age and sex criteria that represented their proportion in the population according to the 2001 Census.

In light of the fact that the 2001 Census introduced the ethnicity variable for the first time, we thought it advisable not to use this value as a reference for the selection of the sample, but rather to introduce modifications to its formulation that will be explained in more detail below.

UNIVERSE	Citizens 18 years of age or older who were eligible to vote in the first round of 2002.
COUNTIES	Otavalo, El Tambo, Tena
VALIDITY	Urban and Rural
SAMPLE	780 cases: 340 in Otavalo, 280 in Tena and 160 in El Tambo. With measures of deliberation to reach an integrated result.
MARGIN OF ERROR	± 3%
CONFIDENCE	95%
INTERVIEW METHOD	Direct, in homes
SELECTION METHOD	By conglomerates of 10 cases, using typologies of age and sex
VARIABLES	Closed and pre-codified: 60 Open and semi-open: 20. Total: 80
SURVEY	Spanish and Kichwa, with adaptations for Cañar, Imbabura and

Napo.

#### 2. TRAINING

The component of training was considered a priority in all phases of the project. The technical strengthening and the training in social investigation skills were the objectives that CEPAM and Q'ellkaj focused on in order to be able to conduct later projects that involve the gathering of objective, trustworthy and technical information.

#### a. Supervisors and survey takers

Prior to the fieldwork, a training workshop was held for the supervisors of the survey. They selected local personnel from their own contact networks in Otavalo, El Tambo and Tena for the conduction of the survey. They consisted of women, young people and indigenous people who had had at least one previous job in research projects and were contacted by the two institutions from their contact networks.

The workshop had the following program:

Day One: For survey takers and supervisors

- Presentation of the project by the study coordinator
- Introduction of the concept of gender by the Executive Coordinator of CEPAM
- Introduction of the concept of ethnicity by the Director of Q'ellkaj
- Introduction to the conduction of social surveys
- Revision of the survey
- Practical dynamics of the survey by the study coordinator

This phase of the workshop allowed for the adjustment of the survey instructions and the language of the survey as well as the evaluation of the capacity of the people who had been preselected.

#### Day Two: For the supervisors

- Planning of routes and calendar of fieldwork
- Assignment of quotas and working groups
- Norms and processes for fieldwork

In this phase of the workshop the workloads for each group, the route that they must complete according to schedule and the rules and processes to be followed in all field situations were clearly established.

#### b. Data processing and analysis

Once the field work and result-entry phases were completed, a workshop was held regarding the data processing and analysis of the survey. This workshop was directed towards the technicians associated with the institutions involved in the project. This activity was primarily coordinated by Q'ellkaj, buy CEPAM also participated.

## The data processing workshop had the following program:

- Presentation of the project by the President of Q'ellkaj
- Introduction to social surveys by the Study Investigator
- Construction of typologies by the Study
   Coordinator
- Introduction to SPSS by the Data Processing
   Technician

The workshop allowed us to give the assistants the basic tools for the design, execution, processing and analysis of social surveys.

These activities were reinforced by periodic visits to CEPAM and Q'ellkaj by the investigation team to train and collaborate in the reading, interpretation and analysis of the statistical tables of the surveys.

#### 3. SAMPLE DESIGN

#### a. Methodological notes

The Statistical sample seeks to achieve an adequate representation of the study universe, that is, citizens over 18 years of age who were eligible to vote in the first round of elections on October 20, 2002. For this purpose, we turned to the data from the 2001 Census and the voter registry for those elections as references.

It was established that for the fieldwork the survey takers would work in conglomerates of 10 that would represent one working group. This would prevent, based on previous experience, a significant amount of variation.

Each conglomerate or grouping of 10 cases was defined by a typology of sex and age, which were combined until an adequate representation by age and sex of the surveyed population was reached.

To obtain an integrated value of the three counties, a factor of adjustment was calculated that would allow for the review of the number of cases by the population

proportion of each canton in relation to the total of the three defined by the universe.

### b. Sample selection<sup>3</sup>

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TENA			7337033	* <u>:</u> :
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OTAVALO			ABC	
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EUGENIO ESPEJO	r	20	1 1	
GONZALEZ SUAREZ	<u>r</u>	20	<u> </u>	
SAN JOSE DE QUICH		20	1 1	
SAN JUAN DE ILUMA		20	<u>11</u>	
SAN PABLO	1	30	111	
SAN RAFAEL	<u> </u>	20	1 1	
SELVA ALEGRE	r	10	1	
JORDAN	<u>u</u>	100	<u>523</u> 422	
SAN LUIS	u	80	4 2 2	
		340		
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PANO		10	1	
<b>PUERTO MISAHUA</b>	LLI	30	111	
PUERTO NAPO		30	2 1	
TENA	· ·	150	834	
		280		
L		200		

#### 4. PREPARATION OF THE SURVEY

The survey<sup>4</sup> was widely discussed and subjected to consensus in order to ensure that all pertinent concepts were combined in its application. To that end, a preliminary base was prepared that was

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> See Annex 1 on population characteristics

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> See Annex 2 "Survey in English"

supplied with contributions from earlier research, field tests, points of view on ethnicity and gender and observation instruments that are listed below:

#### a. Primary sources

For the construction of the primary variables we turned to:

- The Census report that allowed us to establish socio-economic and population criteria
- Electoral observation forms such as those of IND or Participación Ciudadana to verify the purity of the electoral act
- Studies related to the subject of CEPAM, Q'ellkaj and Confidential Report<sup>5</sup>
- · Discussions with experts on different subjects

### b. Pre-test and validation

To validate the relevancy of the subjects and the use of language, we found it necessary to conduct the survey with at least 5% of the estimated sample. In the pretest, we attempted to replicate the universe of the survey, and for that reason it was sent to the three counties. After considering the logistical possibilities, we decided to send 10 surveys to each canton with the recommendation that 50% be applied to rural zones.

CEPAM and Q'ellkaj presented a set of observations for the refinement of the survey which were incorporated into the final instrument.

#### b. Translation and adaptation

The survey<sup>6</sup> was translated to Kichwa by indigenous professionals. The translation was adapted to the linguistic peculiarities unique to Cafiar, Imbabura and Napo by informants from those zones.

In keeping with the idea that the Kichwa-speaking people surveyed, especially the elderly, understand the questions completely and respond according to the intention of the questions, Spanish terms used in the everyday speech of adult indigenous people were used in the survey (2%).

The text that served as a guide for those adaptations is contained in the Annex: Survey in Kichwa.

### 5. FIELDWORK

#### a. Background

Before beginning the fieldwork it was necessary to review two indispensable requirements to organize the gathering of information in the counties: El Tambo, Otavalo and Tena.

#### Sample:

The total of all cases that should have been completed in the three counties, divided by sex, age and urban and rural zones, we shall call the "sample." The geographical placement of the teams, the number of surveys per sector, the essential human resources and the time frame necessary to complete all cases were organized around this sample.

#### Typology:

Typology refers to the mode of segmenting the population using pre-defined variables for a determined study. In our case those variables were age and sex.

#### b. Revision of the survey

To obtain the final version of the survey, the changes suggested in the Training Workshop were included. The recommendations of the institutions involved in the process were also kept in mind.

At the same time, the external aids for the survey were redesigned to make them more practical and manageable: question cards with multiple options and one circle in order not to suggest an order or categorization in choosing communications media (questions 17, 40 and 61 respectively).

The survey takers were aware of these changes. For that reason we found it necessary to organize mini workshops in the three counties to review the reformulated questions and their correct application, the use of the answer cards, and the logic of a circle of communication media. These workshops also reviewed details of the presentation of the project to the public, the ... of questions with various answers, and measure the time it takes to conduct a survey. Regarding the latter it was additionally calculated that the survey would take 40 to 50 minutes, but with the changes and the practice this time was reduced considerably to 25 minutes.

It was very important to take care of the most minute details of the research tools because, considering that the time spent was somewhat extensive, it was indispensable to avoid any waste.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> See Bibliography

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> See Annex 3 (survey in Kichwa)

#### c. Fieldwork

In terms of fieldwork, CEPAM was in charge of the urban zones and occasionally a rural zone. In the three counties work started at 7:00am in order to take advantage of daylight.

Before the actual conduction of the survey the area was divided up geographically, for both urban and rural zones, according to the sectors selected in the sample. With the help of a map of the city and those survey takers who were from the area, the territory was mobilized and distributed in such a way that it included the most representative and heavily-populated segments.

The working groups were divided in two: one supervisor per group, one consisting of three survey takers and the other consisting of two survey takers.

The supervisors were in charge of doling out a certain number of cases for each survey taker according to the table of typologies, guiding the route through the neighborhoods, verifying that the people being surveyed conform with the pre-established requirements, correcting possible mistakes or misunderstandings in the survey, have available copies of response material in case of the loss or destruction of the original and above all to provide clear and detailed explanations to people who ask why the survey is being conducted.

In each canton groups of five survey takers were formed, divided into two working groups. The survey taker was to proceed house by house within a previously agreed-upon parameter. Once a person to be surveyed was found, the survey taker was to present the institutions that were sponsoring the project, to explain its goals briefly and to conduct the survey.

Everyone who participated in the activity was identified as required with the organizations that sponsored the project: CEPAM and Q'ELLKAJ.

• IN THE COUNTIES:

#### EL TAMBO

Only one day was allotted for El Tambo because the size of the city and the rural area was relatively small. The application of the tools experienced no problems. The only thing that made the job difficult was the distance that separated some houses in areas where there was no vehicle access, requiring the teams to walk in certain sections and delaying the job. Another notable problem was the difficulty in finding men of all ages, particularly those between 18 and 25.

#### OTAVALO

The degree of compromise and teamwork amongst the five survey takers from CEAMOS ensured that the two working days in this city very productive and free of complications. Still, there were four interesting things that occurred in Otavalo: first, the survey was conducted on Friday and Sunday because on festival Saturday it is difficult to find anyone in their home; second, on Sunday we found many adult men, older than 35, in a state of intoxication; third, on two occasions males older than 50 did not allow their wives to be interviewed; and fourth, in the Rumiñahui complex we got the impression that the indigenous families were not willing to speak with us which meant that we interviewed few indigenous people in this uppermiddle class urban-residential zone.

#### TENA

Of all of the problems that we had during the information-gathering period one stands out clearly. In the Tena canton the five original survey takers, originally convened because of their membership in the city's Women's Political Coordination, were changed. The reason for this was that, upon revising the profile of the survey takers it was recommended that they have no ties to political organizations in order to prevent any misunderstandings on something as important as avoiding tying the project to any political movement. We apologized to the women and a new group of university students with previous experience in survey taking was gathered. To train this team a workshop was put together on the morning and part of the afternoon of October 24th. The topics were the same was the other training workshop: presentation of the project, presentation of CEPAM and Q'ellkaj, administration of the survey and the distribution of the sample by survey taker. Because they were young people with experience, the training session was a success.

In this canton the data was gathered without difficulty. The experience in the two other counties left us wellprepared to confront the problem of transportation through the neighborhoods farthest from the city. An interesting occurrence is that the current president, Lucio Gutiérrez, was born and raised in Tena and the people took advantage of the opportunity to tell stories and express both positive and negative opinions on the government. At first this made the survey takers nervous, but by the second round of the first day they had already found polite ways to avoid excessive interruptions.

#### d. Conclusions

Most likely because we presented such a divisive local and national political issue (...), we found ourselves in a universe of multiple reactions by the people we surveyed, who realized the political frustrations of the "common" people and realized the injurious effects that the manner in which the candidates (now members of government) has on citizens' opinions. In any case, in the homes that we went to the people were very friendly towards us and were in a good mood at the time that the survey takers asked them questions.

To this we must add the solidarity demonstrated by the twp teams of supervisors and survey takers from Q'ellkaj and CEPAM. They supported each other in, amongst other things, the preparation of the survey and in the logistics of the vehicle that accompanied the route through the three cities.

#### 6. PROCESSES

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The survey analysis process consisted of four phases which ensured a trustworthy database for future analyses. The four phases were as follows: codification of open variables, data entry, preparation of statistical tables' and preparation of the data entry for SPSS.

#### **Codification of Open Variables**

In total, 20 open variables were included in the survey.<sup>8</sup> Of those, some were pre-codified with possible answers and others were left completely open in order to register opinions and perceptions without suggesting possible answers.

The questions that dealt with the thoughts of the people surveyed in terms of the central themes of the survey were worked on in internal workshops in which some preliminary hypotheses were postulated for the construction of typologies.

The semi-open variables that were only used to collect additional information, such as religion or creed, were closed in terms of the number of new responses outside of the codes.

#### Data Entry

The responses to the survey were entered into Excel tables by Canton. All of the open answers are in the

<sup>7</sup> See Annex 4 – Crosstabs by Sex

original database. The entry of the data into tables took a total of one week and was coordinated by Q'ellkaj.

## Preparation of Statistical Tables, Graphs, and Indexes

Once SPSS was installed on the computers at Q'ellkaj and CEPAM, the SPSS database was loaded and the survey was run to verify that it contained no errors. The statistical tables summarize the main results, the general frequency of the results and the cross tab of each one by sex, age, and ethnicity of the person surveyed.

#### SPSS Database

The SPSS database contains the results of each survey variable converted into numerical values. A final cell contains the weighted value for each canton which allows us to calculate the weighted value of the whole sample.

The data entry and the code label were given to Q'ellkaj and CEPAM so that they could analyze them in depth at a later date.

### 7. SURVEY RESULTS<sup>9</sup>

#### a. Identification of the interviewees

- For every 10 people interviewed, 6 were married, 2 were single, 1 was involved and the rest were either divorced or widowed. Among those between 18 and 27 years old most were either single or open relationship (63%) while divorces and separations were most common among people between 28 and 37 years old.
- 9 out of 10 people surveyed could read and write. The illiteracy rate calculated for the three counties is 11%. The rate is highest in El Tambo (18%), in the rural areas (18%), and amongst women (13%) and indigenous people (20%).

See Annex 5 - Crosstabs by Ethnicity

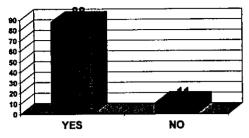
See Annex 6 – Crosstabs by Zone

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> See Annex 7 – Codification of Open Variables by Age

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> This section is complemented by the presentation of the survey results tables and a PowerPoint presentation: See Annex 8

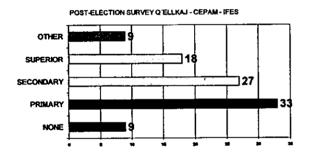
#### CAN YOU READ AND WRITE?

POST-ELECTION SURVEY Q'ELLKAJ - CEPAM - IFES



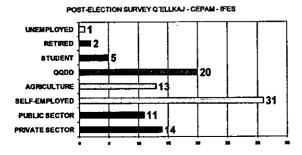
 The people who responded to the survey had mostly completed primary or secondary school (60%) and 18% had some superior education. Those who had only completed primary school were mainly located in El Tambo (48%), the rural areas (41%) and were mostly indigenous (40%). The main educational difference between men and women centered on access to superior education (22% of men versus 14% of women).

#### EDUCATION LEVEL



 The primary profession in Otavalo and Tena is self-employed (36% and 23%, respectively); while in El Tambo it is agriculture (26%). Men are primarily self-employed (38%); work in the private sector (18%), or in agriculture (15%). Women are primarily homemakers (36%) or self-employed (25%).

#### PRIMARY PROFESSION

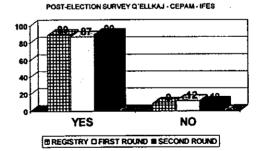


- 82% of the people surveyed considered themselves to be Catholic while 11% were Evangelicals, 4% said they subscribed to no religion, and 3% had another religious preference. Considering that it is an emerging group, it is interesting to note where Evangelicals appear most frequently: in El Tambo (16%), among women (13% as opposed to 8% of men), among people between 28 and 37 years old (13% to 6% of those over 53), among indigenous people (13% to 7% of Mestizos) and among people with a primary school education or less (13% to 7% of university-educated people).
- 3 out of 10 people surveyed were direct or indirect beneficiaries of the Human Development Bond. These people live primarily in the rural areas (47%), are women (36%) and indigenous (47%).
- To verify the intensity of the migratory phenomenon, they were asked "Do you receive money from friends or relatives who live outside the country?" 9% responded yes. A positive response occurred most frequently among women (12%) and in El Tambo (29%).

#### b. Observation of the electoral process

 9 out of 10 people surveyed were registered to vote and voted in both the first and second round of the 2002 elections.

#### IN LAST YEAR'S ELECTIONS ...



- Looking at the crosstab for sex, there is no major variation between these three variables.
- In terms of ethnicity, we can see that the percentage of people who did not vote in the first round is 18% for indigenous people but only 9% for Mestizos. The percentage of people who did not vote in the second round

is 13% for indigenous people and only 7% for Mestizos.

- Of the reasons people were not registered to vote in their parish, the most common was that they were registered in another parish (4%). This was most frequent in El Tambo (7%) and Tena (5%) and in the rural areas (5%).
- The primary reasons for not having voted in the first or second round had to do with the following obstacles: absence from the parish, being out of the country, not being able to obtain identification, and not being able to get to the polling station because of a lack of money or living too far away. These reasons represent more than half of the electoral absenteeism. The other half is made up of those for whom voting is optional because they are over 65, those who were legally prevented from voting or those who were ill.
- Among indigenous people, the most important factors preventing people from getting to the polling station were absence from the parish, distance from the station and a lack of resources for travel.
- We showed the people surveyed a card containing some commonly-used phrases that represent a cross-section of the diverse attitudes toward voting. We helped them to read each phrase and then asked them to tell us which phrase they identified with the most. We then calculated an index weighting the first response twice as much as the second.<sup>10</sup>
  - The majority in all social groups chose the first phrase, which shows a distance from and disinterest toward voter participation as it is seen as an obligation and a formal act. Women yield one point higher in this phrase (133), signifying that women feel farther from the democratic process than other groups.
  - The second-most common phrase was the one that expressed the opposite, positive feeling toward participation. This phrase had close to half the score of the first one. It was

expressed most in Tena among men and Mestizos.

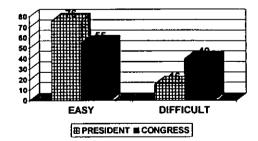
- With almost half the score of the second phrase, in third place was the phrase that alluded to political support as the motivation for voting. In this case, the populations that manifested this attitude most frequently were in El Tambo and Tena and were mostly men and Mestizos.
- In fourth place is the phrase that implies a clientelistic attitude toward voting. This phrase is regularly distributed among all groups with 20 points on our index.
- The phrases that imply the important role of the family or the partner, more "traditional" attitudes toward politics, occupy a minority position in this survey for all social groups studied.

#### c. Evaluation of the ballots

- We showed the people being surveyed copies of the ballots that were used in the general elections on October 20, 2002 and we asked them to evaluate the ease or difficulty of using them.
  - Almost 7 out of 10 people had no problems using the ballots, but an average of 40% of people in the three counties admitted to having difficulty with the congressional ballot.

#### **BALLOT EVALUATION**

POST-ELECTION SURVEY Q'ELLKAJ - CEPAM - IFES



- Those who had trouble with the provincial congressional ballot were primarily women (53% of those who had problems) and indigenous people (54% of those who had problems.
- o Those who found it easy to use the presidential ballot said that it was due to

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> Obligation: I vote because it is my obligation and to obtain the ballot. Support: I vote to support the political party or movement that I like. Partner: I vote because my partner inspires me and brings me to vote. Family: I vote because my family inspires me and brings me to vote. Participation: I vote because I like to participate and for the good of the country. Offers: I vote if a candidate offers me things or work.

the pictures on the ballot (37%) and the fact that the candidates were well-known (36%).

- Those who found it difficult to use the presidential ballot indicated that there were too many candidates (42%) and that they were unknown (25%).
- Those who found it easy to vote with the congressional ballot indicated that it was because of the pictures (36%), the list numbers (23%) and the party symbols (21%).
- Those who found it difficult to vote with the congressional ballot stated that they perceived too many candidates (51%) and that the pictures were too small (22%).

#### d. Process transparency

- This section was prepared using the electoral observation forms implemented by Citizen Participation in the 2002 elections as a guide. They will allow the comparison of pertinent information. In the following table we summarize the main problems derived from this observation:
- The main aspect indicated is the lack of a guarantee of voter secrecy due to the placement of the voting booth and the ballot box. Nevertheless, this problem was noted by only 1 out of 10 people surveyed. For that reason it cannot be considered an overlyfrequent occurrence.
  - In some places the main worry came out of the fact that propaganda from lists or candidates was present inside of the polling station. This happened most often in El Tambo (19%) and in the indigenous areas (16%).
  - Another specific problem that we detected was that in Tena some 18% of people surveyed complained that they could see candidates campaigning inside of the polling station.
  - The good treatment by the military and the absence of marked ballots can be noted as the most positive aspects of the last election.
- 29% of the voters of these three counties were able to realize that there were indigenous people amongst the election officials and 31% remember having heard some of the officials speaking in Kichwa. 70% of the indigenous

people responded that they identified a member of their ethnic group amongst the election officials.

- This is a factor that inspires more trust in the process, most of all amongst indigenous people themselves.
- 84% of the population remembers having seen women amongst the elections officials. The women, more than anyone else, feel more confident in voting because of this.

## e. Attitudes toward and perceptions of the electoral process

### **Decision to Vote**

- 80% affirmed that they decide who they will vote for days before the election, while 11% acknowledged that they decide the day of.
   Women (13%), people living in rural areas (15%) and indigenous people (16%) decide on the same day most frequently.
- We showed the people surveyed a second card with some commonly used phrases that represent a cross-section of attitudes regarding the decision of who to vote for. We helped them to read each phrase and then asked them to tell us which phrase they identified with the most. We then calculated an index weighting the first response twice as much as the second.<sup>11</sup>
  - The primary factor in the decision of who to vote for is that which refers to a direct relationship between the citizen and candidate via modern media. This option obtained the highest score in all groups, but it reached the highest levels in Tena (145), among men (130) and Mestizos (144).
  - The "useful" vote refers to voting for the candidate who seems to have the best chance of winning. This vote obtained the second highest score. It was the strongest in Tena (44).

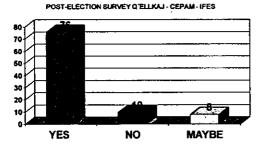
<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> Information: I inform myself about the candidates and their platforms. Organization: the members of my organization meet and we decide which candidates to support. Community: I listen to the advice of my community leaders. Church: I listen to the advice of my church leaders. Winner: I vote for the candidate with the best chance of winning.

- The organizational vote had the third highest score, very close to the number two, and obtained second place in El Tambo with an elevated score (79).
- It was also in El Tambo and amongst indigenous people that the community vote reached its highest levels (30 in both).
- The vote guided by the churches or creeds had little significance amongst the population of this study.

#### f. Vote for women

 76% of respondents stated that they would vote for a female candidate, 10% stated they would not vote for a female candidate, and 8% said that the decision depended on other factors.

#### WOULD YOU VOTE FOR A FEMALE CANDIDATE?



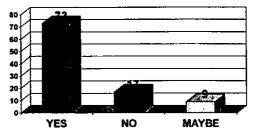
In case the direct question was unable to obtain all of the opinions regarding women's participation in politics, we followed up with a question that reinforced the different positions with colloquial arguments: "Some people say that it would be good for women to participate as candidates because by doing so they are able to exercise their rights. Others disagree with women being candidates because they will neglect their housework and their children. Which do you agree with?" The result is practically identical to the previous question: 83% think that having women as candidates would be a good thing and 11% think that it would be bad.

#### g. Vote for indigenous people

 73% of respondents said that they would vote for an indigenous candidate, 16% said they would not, and 9% said that their decision would depend on other factors.

#### WOULD YOU VOTE FOR AN INDIGENOUS CANDIDATE?

POST-ELECTION SURVEY O'ELLKAJ - CEPAM - IFES



- Women (52%), young people (37%) and indigenous people (68%) are more inclined to vote for indigenous candidates.
- We asked a follow-up question that reinforced the different positions with colloquial arguments: "Some people say that it would be good if indigenous people participated as candidates because by doing so they are able to exercise their rights. Other people disagree because they think that indigenous people are not ready. Which do you agree with more?" 80% of respondents think that it would be good for indigenous people to be candidates and 15% think that it would be a bad thing.

### h. Vote for black people

 62% of respondents stated that they would vote for a black person to be President, 24% said they would not, and 7% said that it depended on other factors. There was less inclination to vote for a black candidate in Otavalo (27%) and among women (30%).

### i. Social perceptions

 We showed the respondents a number of phrases taken from daily communication and asked them to indicate if they completely agreed, agreed, disagreed, or completely disagreed with each one. The result has been calculated with an index that is expressed in the following formula: completely agree \* 2 + agree – disagree – completely disagree \* 2.<sup>12</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> Elderly: the elderly know more than young people and for that reason young people should listen to them when they say who to vote for. Holiday: I like election days because people get together as if it were a holiday. **Trustworthy**: It is more important to me that a candidate is trustworthy than the party that they belong to. No

- The phrase that generated the most agreement was the one concerning the selection of a candidate by virtue of his personal attributes rather than his party affiliation (88). This attitude is strongest in EI Tambo (103) and in the population that identified itself as Mestizo (105).
- The phrase with the second-highest level of agreement was that which expressed a belief in the lack of usefulness of voting (33) with higher levels in El Tambo (46) and among women (50).
- In third place is the phrase that captures the idea of enthusiasm for voting because election days seem like holidays (30), with elevated levels in Tena (50) and among indigenous people (47).
- The idea that young people should listen to the advice of their elders is ascribed to most frequently in El Tambo (68) and in Tena (34).
- The phrase that minimized the capacity of women to make decisions obtained negative values across the board, meaning that there was always a majority who opposed it. This rejection is strongest among women (-83) and Mestizos (-89).

#### j. Political participation practices

 Only 3 out of 10 respondents admitted that they would like to be a candidate and to hold public office while the remainder rejected the possibility. Men (53% responded positively while 52% of women responded negatively) and indigenous people (53% saying yes compared to 48% of Mestizos saying no) showed more interest in participating in electoral races.

	Attend	Bronoganda	Sign	Saw Cand.
		Propaganda_	Sign	
Total	29	37	21	63
Otavalo	24	32	17	54
Tambo	39	41	19	71
Tena	41	48	31	81
Man	30	40	22	64
Woman	29	33	19	61
Indig.	32	37	19	59
Mestizo	27	37	22	65

women: women don't know about politics and the husband decides who to vote for. Vote doesn't matter: because it won't change my economic situation.

- To measure the level of participation in the diverse manifestations of campaigning, we asked the respondents if they had participated in one of the following campaign activities:<sup>13</sup>
- The indirect form of participation, seeing the candidate where one lives, is the most frequently mentioned of all the alternatives. The candidates showed up most often in Tena (81%) and in Mestizo areas (65%).
- Placing propaganda in the home, workplace or vehicle is the most frequent form of direct participation (37%), practiced primarily in Tena (48%) in the last elections.
- Attending meetings, demonstrations and caravans is a voter behavior that no more than 3 out of 10 respondents participated in. However this practice is most common in Tena (41%) and among indigenous people (32% as opposed to 27% of Mestizos).
- Signing petitions in support of candidates or parties is a form of participation for 21% of respondents and is most popular in Tena (31%).
- If we add up the values of those that responded positively to the previous variables, we can calculate a participation index:

Tena	201
Tambo	170
Man	156
Mestizo	151
Indigenous Person	147
Woman	142
Otavalo	127

• Tena heads the list of groups by degree of participation, having experienced an

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup> Attend: a demonstration, meeting, or caravan to aid a candidate. **Propaganda**: from a particular candidate and placed it in the home, workplace, or vehicle. Sign: a petition in support of a candidate or party. Saw candidate: campaigning where respondent lives.

atypical phenomenon during the last electiona presidential candidate (from the city) with a chance of winning-which caused a wide mobilization in all sectors of the canton.

 At the tail end of the list are women and the residents of Otavalo who demonstrate a distance from the diverse forms of voter participation.

#### k. Electoral Information

- For 65% of respondents the media provided sufficient information about how to vote. 27% felt that the information was insufficient. Overall, men felt less informed (29% as opposed to 25% of women).
- 40% of indigenous respondents received information in Kichwa while 43% did not.
- More than half of the respondents said that they did not know who organizes elections, gave the wrong name when asked the name of the institution, or did not answer the question. Only 47% were able to respond correctly that the TSE is in charge of organizing elections. The highest percentages of respondents who could not identify the TSE were registered in El Tambo (33%), rural areas (35%), among women (41%) and indigenous people (35%).
- The job done by the TSE is regarded positively by 57% of respondents and negatively by 13%. 31% were unable to answer the question.
- For 45% of respondents the government was very or somewhat impartial in the last election cycle. 24% considered it to be a little or not at all impartial and 31% could not respond to this question.
- 66% of respondents chose television as their preferred method of learning about elections.
   18% preferred the radio, 7% the newspaper and 6% community or organization meetings.

#### I. Variables regarding gender

 In 49% of the homes we surveyed, a man was the head of the household, in 15% a woman was the head, and in 32% it was both. A woman was indicated as head of household most frequently when the respondent resided in the urban areas (17%), was a woman (21%) or was Mestizo (19%).

#### WHO IS THE HEAD OF HOUSEHOLD OR THE PRIMARY BREADWINNER?

POST-ELECTION SURVEY Q'ELLKAJ - CEPAM - IFES



- MAN WOMAN BOTH OTHER We asked: "Who controls the money in your household?" 47% of the respondents said both, 26% indicated the wife, and in 21% the husband made the decisions. Women make the decisions most often in Otavalo (29%), urban areas (27%) and among Mestizos
- All variables have been cross-referenced by the sex of the respondent.

(30%).

- Direct and indirect questions allow for the assessment of sexist attitudes throughout the survey.
- We can surmise from these graphs that the majority of citizens from the rural and urban areas view the electoral process as more of an indispensable and obligatory requirement of citizenship than a vital civil right that has a significant effect on their life.
- Women 38 and over who live in rural areas are most likely to consider voting to be an obligation. Urban areas have higher percentages of topics referring to participating for the good of the country than rural areas.
- All in all it should be considered positive that 30% of the population thinks that is important to vote in order to participate and for the good of the country.
- The obligatory nature of the vote ensures the distortion or simply pushes aside the attitude of the promotion of civil rights while at the same time promoting the idea that one is completing a requirement. That is to say, the desire for civil rights *should* hold the same importance to voters as their obligations.

- An interesting exercise in democracy would be to observe the elimination of compulsory voting. It is possible that the mechanisms for convincing voters should re-orient their objectives and reposition the discourse within a social framework of incredulity and apathy generated by demagoguery, politicking and corruption at all levels of power and its popular exercise. And although this would not be a subject directly related to this study, it must be considered as a secondary source of influence on the population when they are forming their opinion on the democratic process.
- The urban and rural sectors have converged in that the majority of respondents in both stated that they inform themselves about the platform of a candidate. Community meetings were the second-most commonly selected option, above all in the rural areas.
- Another notable aspect of the results is that in the urban sector people prioritized being wellinformed about the platforms of the candidates, meaning that they analyzed the political views and ideologies of the candidates and that there was some thought behind their eventual choice.
- The most telling example is the union of movements and parties that carried Colonel Lucio Gutiérrez to the presidency in October of 2002. At that time the people voted in favor of an apparently progressive government who supported the poor.
- In the rural areas community meetings have gained more prominence due to the presence of political parties representing the indigenous sectors (Pachakutic and Amauta Jatari) that promote their candidates at the same time that they promote the electoral process, or viceversa, but with equal importance. (This was the third option chosen, but with much less support than the first two).
- The partial data indicate a population widely in favor of the female vote, particularly among the youngest voters, demonstrating that the years of struggle for equal rights are already bearing fruit.
- A small fraction of the population maintains a traditional form of thinking about politics in which women do not participate in public events "by their nature." The highest

concentration of these responses is among rural women.

- In the following graphs two favorable tendencies for the female candidates can be observed. These include the "yes I would vote" and the "it depends," which is positive but dependent on other factors. For example, it depends on: the party she belongs to, if she is well known, if I like her platform, etc.
- The same rights. This refers to the recognition that we all have the right to be elected freely, regardless of race or gender.
- Change. This refers to new ideas, better platforms, and to the honesty of women.
- Social Recognition. This refers to whether the candidate is capable, is she is educated, her charisma.
- The interesting data are related to the similarity of the yes and no responses, that is to say that women consider the possibility of occupying public office at almost the same rate (though slightly smaller) than men. In terms of age, it cannot be said that young people are politically apathetic because the interest is insignificantly smaller in respondents between 28 and 37 years of age.
- The lack of interest on behalf of the general public in occupying public office is worrisome.
- In the urban areas there is a higher tendency toward complete disagreement than in the rural areas while in the rural areas complete agreement and agreement are superior all in total. It could be that the people who live in the city have a different perspective because governmental works and regulations affect them directly and positively.
- As we know, rural areas must wait for lengthy periods to see the benefits of the infrastructure constructed with public funds. They are almost always the ones who feel abandoned, marginalized and voiceless.
- This question elucidates another of the great sources of hopelessness for people. It shows that they are convinced that their vote will not positively affect their social and

1

economic condition. That is to say, this demonstrates not only their lack of confidence in and mistrust of the system and its functioning but also their lack of understanding of the democratic process and its reaches. Instead they insert the conflicts of political finance, of exploitation, and of corruption.

- When we highlight the difference in the performance of domestic work between men and women we can see that an elevated presence of women persists. Women continue to labor primarily in the home, meaning that they don't receive any salary and that they depend directly on the income of their husband or another relative, and in the rural sectors on working the land and raising small animals. The primary group involved in domestic work is women between 38 and 52 years of age.
- It is impossible to forget that a majority of female heads-of-household are the wives of migrants or indigenous single mothers who have no other income (like in the majority of male-headed households).
- For the statistics that involve questions about traditional attitudes toward and relations within the family it is important to not small but significant changes in the behavior of men and women.
- In this data table we can see that men are the sector of the population that is not only in charge of the home but also the primary breadwinner. What is interesting is the growing tendency among 28 to 52 year olds toward a sharing of head of household duties. Among 18 to 27 year olds and those older than 53 the tendency is still toward a masculine head of household.
- The current socio-economic reality has forced many women to look for work outside the home, giving them more independence and greater influence over household decisions. Despite this the gap between men and women continues to be very large. Another reflection on this topic revolves around the conception of the man as head of the household despite the fact that the couple receives similar salaries and makes decisions about money and other family issues together. In this attitude macho conceptions of what it means to be "head of the household" prevail, such as the strong paternal figure, the person who makes decisions, the person who provides security and protection to

the family, etc. This goes beyond whether he fulfills his role as provider, giving him more power in the relationship.

- Although the majority of household heads are men, the decision of how to manage the money is primarily a joint one and secondarily the responsibility of the woman. This applies to all age groups as well as to both urban and rural areas.
- In any case each one takes their own side as the majority of both men and women say that they each make decisions about family expenses.
- These results confirm the contradiction expressed in the previous results. We can surmise that although it is obvious that women's roles within the family have changed, there are still social and cultural factors that determine who is the head of the household and why. This is frequently supported by women themselves.
- Female head of households have their own specific nature.
- In terms of the media, the data return us to the topic of the influence and importance of the media in spreading voter and political party information, particularly now when its position in public and political life is so widely-discussed.
- Information provided by television, radio, and the press (in that order) dominates in both the urban and rural areas.
- As we well know, the media can contribute towards the elimination of prejudices based on gender and ethnicity. It can greatly motivate, inform and educate people on the existing democratic institutions in the country.
- Spaces for civic contributions should be equally important as paid advertisements by political parties in order not to distort concepts regarding the right to choose, the right to accurate information and the real importance of the popular vote.

#### m. Variables regarding ethnicity

The methods of data collection employed in the survey on post-electoral perceptions on the ethnic variable are different from those established in the

national census and in some way have influenced the result. In the present study there is a higher percentage of participation by indigenous people than in other surveys applied in the national census, as 45% of respondents identified themselves as indigenous. Therefore it is necessary to reflect on how the ethnic variable should be considered in other research studies, censuses and any other related project as the legitimacy of the results depends on it.

Aspects to be kept in mind include: the observation filter, that the survey take be indigenous and from the area, and that he/she speaks the language in order to give the survey in Kichwa and to adapt it to the dialect of the area. These things can be considered as helpful to the research, as is demonstrated by the results.

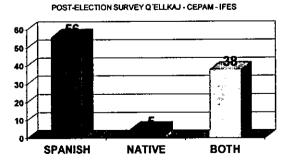
Because the study considered the universe of the sample to be among indigenous people and Mestizos from the rural and urban zones respectively, the information comes given with 45% of the respondents being self-identified indigenous people. For later studies, we suggest that the sample should be taken from a 100% indigenous universe.

The low level of instruction and a lack of training on how to vote with the different ballots negatively affect voter participation. For example, the handling of the ballots and the lack of information about the candidates provoke insecurity and fear at the moment of voting.

 The respondents spoke primarily in Spanish (56%) although an important population spoke in Spanish and Kichwa (38%). Only a minority of 5% spoke exclusively in their native tongue, in this case Kichwa. We found a higher monolingual Kichwa-speaking population in the rural areas (10%), among women (9%) and the elderly.

#### Anexo 8

#### LANGUAGE SPOKEN



 47% of all respondents in the three counties identified themselves as Mestizos, 45% as indigenous, and the rest identified themselves in other ways. The percentage of indigenous people found in Otavalo was 53%, 54% in El Tambo and 35% in Tena. The indigenous people resided primarily in the rural areas.

- All of the variables have been crosstabulated by the ethnicity of the respondent.
- Direct and indirect variables throughout the survey tried to register possible discriminatory attitudes toward the political participation of indigenous people.

#### 8. CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

#### a. Electoral Observation

#### 1. Electoral act

#### Conclusions:

- The majority of people interviewed were registered to vote and they did vote. Nevertheless, 9% of the people were not registered, and that is not an optimum result compared to international standards.
- The majority of respondents vote because they consider it an obligation and only to obtain the voting ticket. Indigenous people have the same attitudes, but it exists most of all among women.
- Absenteeism instead of abstention. By process of deduction we can conclude that absenteeism doesn't have anything to do with the register imperfections.
- 4. The principal factors that affect voter absenteeism, with respect to indigenous people and women, are the distance from the home to the voter and lack of economic resources to go to the voting sites.

#### Recommendations:

- a. It is recommended that the National Directory of Civil Registration and TSE continue their efforts to improve the electoral register
- b. That they maintain, continue,
- c. and intensify the residence change campaigns through the tables of electoral information
- d. That they improve the pre-electoral information
- e. That they improve the distribution and conditions of the voting reception centers

### 2. Voting ballots

### **Conclusions:**

- 1. The congressional ballot is difficult to handle for 4 out of 10 people.
- 2. Those who have the most difficulty are indigenous people (54%) and women (53%).
- 3. The elements of the presidential and the congressional ballots that present the greatest difficulty have to do with the large number of candidates.

#### **Recommendations:**

- a. That better information be available regarding the candidates and their positions. This should come from a joint effort by the TSE, the political parties and movements, the media, and the civic organizations
- b. That the difficulty of using the ballot for the congressional elections be recognized and that this be a seed for the debate on electoral reform regarding multi-candidate elections.
- c. To improve information regarding who the candidates are and who supports them.

### 3. Transparency of the process

#### **Conclusions:**

- In general terms it was observed that the have the perception that the process was transparent and comply with the basic norms of adequate electoral system
- 2. Undoubtedly problems remain: there is not an adequate mechanism for voting confidentiality, that is to say, it is not guaranteed en all cases; also the existence propaganda at the polling station. Women and indigenous people feel most poorly treated in the voter reception centers.

#### **Recommendations:**

- a. Better training for the soldiers and members of the JRV to guarantee a confidential vote
- b. We propose that in the designation and training processes of the JRV in the country, contemplate the obligatory inclusion of two components: multiculturalism and gender perspective

#### 4. Electoral information

### **Conclusions:**

1. Men feel less informed than women

- 2. The large number of indigenous people (43%) did not receive information in Kichwa
- More than half of those interviewed are unfamiliar with TSE as an institution. As a general conclusion, it has had little institutional presence due to the fact that it is principally active in the electoral processes.

### **Recommendations:**

- a. It is recommended that the TSE carry out permanent training and information programs for the population beginning in the secondary schools.
- b. It is recommended that the TSE provide information in Kichwa with intercultural contents and orientation.
- c. It is recommended that the TSE to take advantage of the spaces of the parochial boards and community assemblies to fortify and promote democracy
- d. It is recommended that the TSE take advantage of health centers, motherhood committee meetings, and other places where women will be to cater to the female population.

### 5. Electoral participation

### General:

- People feel distant from the forms of political and electoral participation. The political parties and movements appear far from the daily activities of this population, a characteristic highlighted more strongly by the female and indigenous populations.
- 2. Men and indigenous people were more interested in participation. Women showed the least interest in voter participation.
- The reduced level of voter participation by women appears to be determined by the specific use of time characterized by the roles assigned to women.
- 4. Contrary to what has been said lately and despite being a marginalized population, indigenous people showed greater interest in being candidates and holding public office. This is surely due to the strengthening of the indigenous movement in recent years, allowing traditional aspects of community power to be respected.

#### **Recommendations:**

a. A challenge for the political parties and movements: the renovation of their advanced programs and of their practices on every level, in order to incorporate the specific interests of women in relation to daily life familial structure, as a central aspect of political innovation.

- b. The political parties should facilitate access for women to electoral participation by adapting their political practices and membership drives to the hours in which women have greater availability.
- c. In the proposals for electoral reform the possibility of promoting forms of community participation in election processes at the local level should be included.
- d. We suggest the promotion of the case of the indigenous movement, which participates with enthusiasm in electoral processes and is an exemplary model for other excluded and marginalized sectors of the population.
- e. It is indispensable to carry out educational programs for leaders that permit the linkage of community political participation and political participation in daily life with the electoral participation.

#### **b.** Typologies

#### **Conclusions**:

#### -Rights-

- 1. There is a growing internalization in general terms of the rights of "others". And therefore there is a reduced base for discriminatory, sexist and exclusive demonstrations.
- 2. Also, there is a growing recognition of the citizen's formal rights, that is, the consideration that the electoral process is important; nevertheless, it also detects a scarce motivation about the usefulness and validity of the process.

#### -Innovation-

- The general population recognizes the contributions of indigenous and women's participation and are generators of innovation in national politics.
- 2. There is a growing self-recognition by indigenous people and women as important actors in the current political arena; for this selfperception electoral participation appears as charged with innovation regarding the traditional models of effective politics.
- There is a lack of knowledge about the amount of social recognition required on the part of indigenous people and women to advance as actors in the political arena occupying public office.
- Tradition-

- 1. There has been a significant drop in the traditionalist attitudes that excluded the participation of indigenous people and/or women.
- At the moment of decision on who to vote for, indigenous people rescue the weight of the community organizations, a highly positive aspect that counterbalances the traditional political system.

#### c. Final recommendation

The results of this research reaffirm the fact that, despite the changes experienced, institutional mechanisms and cultural stereotypes regarding the political participation of indigenous people and women that exclude these populations persist. Despite the advances regarding their political participation, products of transformations in social norms and also of the mobilization, selfconsciousness and the vindication of the movements that inspire them, elements continue to exist not only in the institutional sphere but also in the social and individual arenas that impede the widening of democracy to all parts of society.

We believe that there is an imperative necessity to carry out projects integral to the promotion of democratic political participation of indigenous people and women on a national level. The central objectives of these projects should be:

- To strengthen the democratic institutions that regulate and control the electoral process in order to offer training to their members on gender and multicultural perspectives.
- To observe and monitor the electoral process to guarantee the rights of women and indigenous people (and of other marginalized sectors such as blacks, disabled people, etc.)
- To inform and educate about the rights of these groups excluded from the general population.
- Strengthen the specific forms of electoral participation of women and indigenous people.

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Susana Oyagata: Otavalo Kichwa Gladys Quinde: Cañar Kichwa Edmundo Cerda: Amazonic Kichwa

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### Annex 2

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<i>OTAVALO EL TAMBO TENA</i> SU OCTOBER 2003	JRVEY Q`ELLKAJ -CEPAM -IFES
1. MALE OR FEMALE: 1.Male 2.Female	50.6 % 49.4%
2. HOW OLD ARE YOU? 18 27 28 37 38 52 53 +	34.3% 25.4% 19.6% 20.7%
<ol> <li>ARE YOU CURRENTLY: //// SEPARATED?         <ol> <li>Involved</li> <li>Single</li> <li>Married</li> <li>Divorced</li> <li>Widowed</li> <li>Separated</li> <li>No answer</li> </ol> </li> </ol>	7.1% 22.6% 61.8% 2.2% 4.7% 1.7% 0.0%
4. HOW MANY CHILDREN DO none 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 no answer	YOU HAVE? 18.4% 14.1% 19.4% 14.8% 9.3% 7.4% 4.4% 3.5% 3.0% 1.3% 2.0% 0.4% 0.3% 0.1% 0.2% 1.5%
<ol> <li>WHAT LANGUAGE DO YOU</li> <li>Only Spanish</li> <li>Only native language</li> <li>Spanish and native language</li> <li>Other</li> </ol>	56.3% 5.4%
6. DO YOU CONSIDER YOU MESTIZO, MULATTO, WHIT	JRSELF: INDIGENOUS, BLACK (AFRO-ECUADORIAN), E OR OTHER?

meoneo, moenno, r	
1. Indigenous	44.6%
2. Black	1.1%
3. Mestizo	47.9%
4. Mulatto	.9%

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5. White	4.4%
6. Other	0.1%
0. No answer	1.1%

7. WHICH RELIGION OR CREED TO YOU PERSCRIBE TO?

- 1. Catholic 81.6%
- 2. Evangelical 10.5%
- 3. None 3.8%
- 4. Other
   3.1%

   0. No answer
   1.0%

8. IN LAST YEAR'S ELECTIONS (2002), WERE YOU REGISTERED IN THIS PARISHES'S VOTER REGISTRY?

1. Yes	89.3%
2. No	8.8%
0. No answer	1.9%

#### 9. WHY WEREN'T YOU REGISTERED?

- 1. Registered in another parish 36.8%
- 2. Errors in name or ID number 9.2%
- 3. Could not obtain identification 9.2%
- 4. Outside of the country 1.1%
- 5. Other 15.0%
- 0. No answer 28.7%

## 10. DID YOU VOTE IN THE FIRST ROUND OF THE PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION THAT TOOK PLACE ON OCTOBER 20, 2002?

1. Yes	87.2%
2. No	12.5%

0. No answer 0.3%

## 11. WHY DIDN'T YOU VOTE IN THE FIRST ROUND OF THE PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION OF OCTOBER 20, 2002?

- 1. Not applicable, did vote 87.2%
- 2. Absent from the parish 1.4%
- 3. Did not have identification 1.5%
- 4. Not registered 2.4%
- 5. Lives far from polling station 0.1%
- 6. Optional (65+ or illiterate) 1.3%
- 7. Not important 0.5%
- 8. Lack of funds for transport 0.1%
- 9. Had family/work obligations 0.5%
- 10. Was impeded/prohibited 0.1%
- 11. Health problems/sickness 0.5%
- 12. Outside of the country 1.1%
- 13. Other 3.3%

## 12. DID YOU VOTE IN THE SECOND ROUND OF PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS WHICH TOOK PLACE ON NOVEMBER 24, 2002?

 1. Yes
 89.8%

 2. No
 9.9%

 0. No answer
 0.3%

#### 13. WHY DID YOU NOT VOTE IN THE SECOND ROUND ON NOVEMBER 24, 2002? 1. Not applicable, did vote 89.8%

2

- 2. Absent from the parish 1.7% 3. Did not have identification 0.9% 4. Not registered 1.8% 5. Lives far from polling station 0.0% 6. Optional (65+ or illiterate) 1.5% 7. Not important 0.5% 8. Had family/work obligations 0.0% 9. Was impeded/prohibited 0.0% 10. Health problems/sickness 0.9% 11. Not aware it was election day 0.2% 12. Outside of the country 1.1%
- 13. Other 1.5%

## 14. ON THIS CARD ARE SOME THINGS THAT PEOPLE SAY. WITH WHICH DO YOU IDENTIFY THE MOST?

#### 15. WHAT IS THE SECOND PHRASE THAT YOU IDENTIFY WITH THE MOST?

	1 <sup>st</sup> PHRASE	2 <sup>ND</sup> PHRASE
I vote because it is obligatory and to get the ballot.	53.2%	21.3%
I vote to support the political party or movement that I like.	6.9%	17.1%
I vote because my significant other inspires me and brings me		
to vote.	0.8%	2.5%
I vote because my family inspires me and brings me to vote.	0.7%	2.8%
I vote because I like to participate and for the good of the country.	27.7%	21.9%
I vote if a candidate offers me a job or offers to do something in my community.	4.2%	12.0%
None of the above	1.8%	9.9%
No answer	4.7%	12.5%

#### **REGARDING LAST YEARS VOTING PROCESS:**

## I AM NOW GOING TO SHOW YOU THE SAME BALLOT THAT WAS USED FOR THE FIRST ROUND OF THE PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS OF OCTOBER 20, 2002.

16. DOES IT SEEM EASY TO YOU TO VOTE WITH THIS PRESIDENTIAL BALLOT?

1. Easy	75.6%
2. Difficult	16.1%
3. Neither	1.5%
0. No answer	6.8%

#### 17. WHY DO YOU THINK IT IS EASY TO VOTE WITH THIS BALLOT?

24.4%
25.7%
9.4%
6.4%
0.8%
24.8%
2.6%
6.0%

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18. WHY DO YOU THINK IT IS DIFFICULT TO VOTE WITH THIS BALLOT?

1. Not applicable	75.6%
2. Small pictures	1.7%
3. Too many candidates	5.4%
4. List numbers	0.8%
5. Small writing	0.7%
6. Unknown candidates	2.6%
7. Voting for first time	0.2%
8. Other	6.7%
0. No answer	6.4%

## NOW I AM GOING TO SHOW YOU ONE OF THE BALLOTS THAT WAS USED FOR THE CONGRESSIONAL ELECTIONS OF OCTOBER 20, 2002.

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19. DOES IT SEEM EASY OR DIFFICULT TO VOTE WITH THIS CONGRESSIONAL

BALLOT?

1. Easy	54.5%
2. Difficult	40.2%
3. Neither	1.8%
0. No answer	3.5%

#### 20. WHY DO YOU THINK IT IS EASY TO VOTE WITH THIS CONGRESSIONAL BALLOT?

1. Not applicable	45.5%
2. Pictures	17.4%
3. Party symbols and colors	9.6%
4. List numbers	10.5%
5. Ballot size	0.2%
6. Mixed system	5.1%
7. Knows candidates	4.6%
8. Other	5.9%
0. No answer	1.3%

## 21. WHY DO YOU THINK IT IS DIFFICULT TO VOTE WITH THIS CONGRESSIONAL BALLOT?

1. Not applicable	59.8%
2. Small pictures	5.9%
3. Too many candidates	13.9%
4. List numbers	0.7%
5. Small writing	0.6%
6. Unknown candidates	4.1%
7. Mixed system	1.3%
8. Other	10.5%
0. No answer	3.2%

## ANSWER YES OR NO TO THE FOLLOWING QUESTIONS. IN LAST YEAR'S ELECTIONS...:

22. DID ANY OF THE BALLOTS THAT THEY GAVE YOU HAVE A MARK OR A SIGN THAT WAS NOT FROM THE PRINTER?

1. Yes	3.5%
2. No	79.0%
3. Belives so	1.7%
4. Belives not	5.3%
5. Not applicable	5.6%

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0. No answer 4.8%

## 23. WAS THERE PROPAGANDA FOR ANY OF THE CANDIDATES INSIDE THE POLLING STATION?

1. Yes	12.9%
2. No	75.7%
3. Believes so	0.6%
4. Believes not	2.4%
5. Not applicable	5.6%
0. No answer	2.9%

#### 24. WERE YOU AWARE OF ANYONE CAMPAIGNING OR BUYING VOTES INSIDE OF THE POLLING STATION?

1. Yes	9.0%
2. No	79.6%
3. Believes so	1.0%
4. Believes not	2.0%
5. Not applicable	5.2%
0. No answer	1.7%

### 25. DID THE ELECTION OFFICIALS TREAT ALL OF THE VOTERS WELL?

1. Yes	81.9%
2. No	10.4%
3. Believes so	0.3%
4. Believes not	0.4%
5. Not applicable	5.4%
0. No answer	1.7%

#### 26. DID THE SOLDIERS WHO WERE IN THE STATION TREAT PEOPLE WELL?

1. Yes	84.6%
2. No	6.5%
3. Believes so	1.1%
4. Believes not	0.6%
5. Not applicable	5.0%
0. No answer	2.3%

#### 27. DID THE PLACEMENT OF THE VOTING BOOTH GUARANTEE SECRECY?

1. Yes	78.4%
2. No	13.8%
3. Believes so	0.2%
4. Believes not	0.3%
5. Not applicable	5.3%
0. No answer	2.0%
4. Believes not 5. Not applicable	0.3% 5.3%

#### 28. WERE THERE INDIGENOUS PEOPLE AMONGST THE ELECTION OFFICIALS?

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1. Yes	59.6%
2. No	29.3%
3. Believes so	0.8%
4. Believes not	3.3%
5. Not applicable	5.0%
0. No answer	2.5%

#### 29. DID THIS GIVE YOU MORE CONFIDENCE TO VOTE?

1. Yes	45.6%
2. No	13.0%

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3. Believes so	0.6%
4. Believes not	0.8%
5. Not applicable	9.9%
6. Same	23.1%
0. No answer	6.9%

### 30. COULD YOU TELL IF ONE OF THE ELECTION OFFICIALS SPOKE KICHWA?

1. Yes	31.4%
2. No	53.3%
3. Believes so	2.5%
4. Believes not	0.6%
5. Not applicable	6.7%
0. No answer	5.5%

### 31. WERE THERE FEMALE ELECTIONS OFFICIALS?

84.2%
6.0%
1.0%
1.1%
5.5%
2.2%

#### 32. DID THIS GIVE YOU MORE CONFIDENCE TO VOTE?

1. Yes	47.0%
2. No	12.1%
3. Believes so	0.6%
4. Believes not	0.0%
5. Not applicable	6.0%
6. Same	29.5%
0. No answer	4.8%

## 33. WHEN YOU ARE DECIDING WHO DO VOTE FOR, DO YOU THINK ABOUT IT DAYS BEFORE OR DO YOU DECIDE ON ELECTION DAY?

1. Decides days before	80.4%
2. The same day	11.2%
3. Indifferent	2.2%
4. Doesn't remember	0.4%
5. Not applicable, didn't vote	3.3%
0. No answer	2.4%

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### 34. HOW DO YOU CHOOSE WHICH CANDIDATE YOU WILL VOTE FOR?

#### 35. WHAT IS THE SECOND PHRASE THAT YOU IDENTIFY WITH THE MOST?

	1 <sup>st</sup> PHRASE	
I inform myself about the candidates and their platforms.	54.1%	14.6%
I meet with members of my organization and we decide which candidates to support.	9.4%	14.8%
I listen to the advice of my community leaders.	6.2%	9.9%
I listen to the advice of my church leaders.	1.9%	4.6%
I vote for the candidate with the best chance of winning.	10.1%	14.5%
None of the above	12.7%	21.4%
No answer	5.6%	20.2%

### 36. WOULD YOU VOTE FOR A FEMALE CANDIDATE?

1. Yes	76.0%
2. No	10.1%
3. Depends	8.1%
0. No answer	5.7%

### 37. WHY WOULD YOU VOTE FOR A FEMALE CANDIDATE (FIRST RESPONSE)?

1. Not applicable	24.0%
2. Same rights as men	35.5%
3. Well-being of women	4.4%
4. It's a good thing/It was time	3.9%
5. Women are better	7.5%
6. Change	7.3%
7. Recognition	7.7%
8. Other	3.7%
0. No answer	5.9%

### 38. WHY WOULD YOU VOTE FOR A FEMALE CANDIDATE (SECOND RESPONSE)?

1. Same rights as men	4.5%
2. Well-being of women	2.3%
3. It's a good thing/It was time	2.8%
4. Women are better	2.7%
5. Change	2.5%
6. Recognition	4.0%
7. Other	2.7%
0. No answer	78.5%

#### 39. WHY WOULD YOU VOTE FOR A FEMALE CANDIDATE (THIRD RESPONSE)?

1. Same rights as men	1.4%
2. Well-being of women	0.7%
3. It's a good thing/It was time	0.8%
4. Women are better	0.7%
5. Change	0.7%
6. Recognition	1.3%
7. Other	0.9%
0. No answer	93.6%

### 40. WHY WOULDN'T YOU VOTE FOR A FEMALE CANDIDATE (FIRST RESPONSE)?

1. Not applicable	89.9%
2. They neglect household	0.4%
3. It's a man's job	0.5%
4. Women don't know enough	0.3%
5. They are not educated	1.1%
6. Because they are women	0.4%
7. Recognition	3.4%
8. Other	2.6%
0. No answer	1.4%

### 41. WHY WOULDN'T YOU VOTE FOR A FEMALE CANDIDATE (SECOND RESPONSE)?

- 1. They neglect household0.2%2. Women don't know enough0.4%3. They are not educated0.2%4. Because they are women0.2%
- 5. Recognition 0.2%

6. Other	1.2%
0. No answer	97.6%

### 42. WHY WOULDN'T YOU VOTE FOR A FEMALE CANDIDATE (THIRD RESPONSE)?

1. They are not educated	0.1%
2. Because they are women	0.0%
3. Other	0.0%
A 11	00.00

- 0. No answer 99.9%
- 43. WHAT WOULD CAUSE YOU TO VOTE OR NOT TO VOTE FOR A FEMALE CANDIDATE (FIRST RESPONSE)?
  - 1. Not applicable 14.6%
  - 2. Change 8.1%
  - 3. Rights 6.6%
  - 4. Other 7.1%
  - 0. No answer 59.3%

44. WHAT WOULD CAUSE YOU TO VOTE OR NOT TO VOTE FOR A FEMALE CANDIDATE (SECOND RESPONSE)?

1. Change	2.0%
2. Rights	1.4%
3. Other	3.8%
0. No answer	92.8%

45. WHAT WOULD CAUSE YOU TO VOTE OR NOT TO VOTE FOR A FEMALE CANDIDATE (THIRD RESPONSE)?

1. Change	0.7%
2. Rights	0.2%
3. Other	0.8%
0. No answer	98.3%

- 46. SOME PEOPLE SAY THAT IT WOULD BE GOOD IF WOMEN PARTICIPATE AS CANDIDATES IN ORDER TO EXERCISE THEIR RIGHTS. OTHERS DISAGREE WITH WOMEN BEING CANDIDATES BECAUSE THEY WILL NEGLECT THEIR HOUSEWORK AND THEIR CHILDREN. WHICH DO YOU AGREE WITH?
  - 1. Female candidates are good. 82.8%
  - 2. Female candidates are bad 11.1%
  - 3. Indifferent 2.6%
  - 0. No answer 3.6%

47. WOULD YOU VOTE FOR AN INDIGENOUS CANDIDATE?

1. Yes	72.5%
2. No	16.5%
3. Depends	8.5%
A 11	0.40/

0. No answer 2.4%

48. WHY WOULD YOU VOTE FOR AN INDIGENOUS CANDIDATE (FIRST RESPONSE)?

- 1. Not applicable 27.5%
- 2. Same rights as mestizos 36.5%
- 3. Well-being of indigenous people 5.8%
- 4. It's a good thing 3.4%
- 5. Indigenous people are better 7.4%
- 6. Because they can support the indigenous candidate with their vote
  - 3.4% 2.6%
- 7. Change

8. Recognition	6.2%
9. Other	2.8%
0. No answer	4.2%

49. WHY WOULD YOU VOTE FOR AN INDIGENOUS CANDIDATE (SECOND RESPONSE)?

1. Same rights as mestizos 5.6%

2. Well-being of indigenous people 1.5%

3. It's a good thing 1.1%

4. Indigenous people are better 1.5%

5. Because they can support the indigenous candidate with their vote

	1.9%
6. Change	0.5%
7. Recognition	2.7%
8. Other	1.1%

0. No answer 84.2%

50. WHY WOULD YOU VOTE FOR AN INDIGENOUS CANDIDATE (THIRD RESPONSE)?

- 1. Same rights as mestizos 0.2%
- 2. Well-being of indigenous people 0.2%
- 3. It's a good thing 0.5%
- 4. Indigenous people are better 0.1%

#### 5. Because they can support the indigenous candidate with their vote

-	0.6%
6. Change	0.1%
7. Recognition	0.7%
0. No answer	97.7%

## 51. WHY WOULDN'T YOU VOTE FOR AN INDIGENOUS CANDIDATE (FIRST RESPONSE)?

1. Not applicable	83.5%
2. They lack education	2.1%
3. Different culture	0.4%
4. Different language/kichwa	0.2%
5. Racism	0.8%
6. They feel used/deceived	0.4%
7. Because they are Indian	0.7%
8. Change	2.4%
9. Recognition	7.8%
10. Other	1.6%

## 52. WHY WOULDN'T YOU VOTE FOR AN INDIGENOUS CANDIDATE (SECOND RESPONSE)?

REDFORUEJ:	
1. Different culture	0.0%
2. Change	0.2%
3. Recognition	1.1%
4. Other	0.2%
0. No answer	98.5%

## 53. WHY WOULDN'T YOU VOTE FOR AN INDIGENOUS CANDIDATE (THIRD RESPONSE)?

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1. Because they are Indian	0.0%
2. Recognition	0.4%
0. No answer	99.6%

54. WHAT WOULD CAUSE YOU TO VOTE OR NOT TO VOTE FOR AN INDIGENOUS CANDIDATE (FIRST RESPONSE)?

1. Not applicable	28.7%
2. Change	16.8%
3. Indigenous rights	7.1%
4. Other	4.6%
0. No answer	42.8%

55. WHAT WOULD CAUSE YOU TO VOTE OR NOT TO VOTE FOR AN INDIGENOUS CANDIDATE (SECOND RESPONSE)?

1. Change	6.5%
2. Indigenous rights	0.8%
3. Other	1.5%
0. No answer	91.2%

56. WHAT WOULD CAUSE YOU TO VOTE OR NOT TO VOTE FOR AN INDIGENOUS CANDIDATE (THIRDRESPONSE)?

1. Change	1.8%
2. Indigenous rights	0.7%
3. Other	1.3%
0. No answer	96.3%

57. SOME PEOPLE SAY THAT IT WOULD BE GOOD IT INDIGENOUS PEOPLE PARTICIPATE AS CANDIDATES SO THAT THEY CAN EXERCISE THEIR RIGHTS. OTHER PEOPLE DISAGREE BECAUSE THEY THINK THAT INDIGENOUS PEOPLE ARE NOT READY. ¿WHICH DO YOU AGREE WITH MORE?

- 1. Indigenous candidates are good 80.1%
- 2. Indigenous candidates are bad 14.7%
- 3. Indifferent 3.2%
- 0. No answer 1.9%

58. WOULD YOU VOTE FOR A BLACK PERSON FOR PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC?

1. Yes	62.4%
2. No	24.3%
3. Maybe	7.0%

 3. Maybe
 7.0%

 0. No answer
 6.3%

59. WOULD YOU LIKE TO BE A CANDIDATE AND HOLD PUBLIC OFFICE?

1. Yes	27.9%
2. No	64.6%
3. Maybe	2.9%

0. No answer 4.6%

#### IN PAST ELECTIONS, DO YOU THINK THAT:

#### 60. THE MEDIA GAVE ENOUGH INFORMATION ABOUT HOW TO VOTE?

1. Yes	65.3%
2. No	26.8%
3. Believes so	2.3%
4. Believes not	1.0%
0. No answer	4.5%

#### 61. INDIGENOUS PEOPLE GOT INFORMATION IN KICHWA?

1. Yes	38.8%
2. No	36.5%

3. Believes so	6.6%
4. Believes not	5.7%
0. No answer	12.5%

62. DO YOU KNOW WHO ORGANIZES ELECTIONS?

1.	Doesn't	know	47.4%	1

2. Supreme Electoral Tribunal (TSE) 43.9%

- 3. Other 2.6%
- 0. No answer 6.1%

63. HOW WOULD YOU RATE THE SUPREME ELECTORAL TRIBUNAL'S WORK IN ORGANIZING LAST YEAR'S ELECTIONS: VERY GOOD, GOOD, BAD, OR VERY BAD?

11.7%
44.8%
9.5%
3.3%
30.8%

64. HOW IMPARTIAL DO YOU THINK THAT THE NATIONAL GOVERNMENT WAS IN THE ELECTORAL PROCESS: VERY, SOMEWHAT, A LITTLE OR NOT AT ALL?

1. Very	19.7%
2. Somewhat	25.2%
3. A little	16.2%
4. Not at all	8.2%
0. No answer	30.7%

#### 65. HOW DO YOU LEARN ABOUT THE ELECTIONS (FIRST RESPONSE)?

1. Television	66.3%
2. Radio	17.9%
3. Newspaper	6.5%
4. Community meetings	6.0%
5. Doesn't learn	0.5%
6. Other	0.5%
0. No answer	2.3%

#### 66. HOW DO YOU LEARN ABOUT THE ELECTIONS (SECOND RESPONSE)?

1. Television	16.0%
2. Radio	42.0%
3. Newspaper	9.6%
4. Community meetings	6.0%
5. Other	1.0%
0. No answer	25.4%

#### 67. HOW DO YOU LEARN ABOUT THE ELECTIONS (THIRD RESPONSE)?

1. Television	2.2%
2. Radio	6.0% /
3. Newspaper	16.6%
4. Community meetings	6.4%
5. Doesn't learn	0.2%
6. Other	1.3%
0. No answer	67.4%

#### IN THE LAST ELECTORAL CAMPAIGN DID YOU:

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## 68. ATTEND A MEETING, DEMONSTRATION OR RALLY TO SUPPORT A CERTAIN CANDIDATE?

1. Yes	29.2%
2. No	69.8%
0. No answer	1.0%

69. PUT A CANDIDATE'S SIGN OR DECAL IN YOUR HOUSE, VEHICLE OR OFFICE?

1. Yes	36.6%

2. No 62.2% 0. No answer 1.3%

## 70 SIGN A PETITION IN FAVOR OF A CANDIDATE OR MOVEMENT?

<b>U</b> I		111171	OIV C		
1.	Yes			20.6	%

- 2. No 78.0%
- 0. No answer 1.4%
- 71. SEE A CANDIDATE CAMPAIGNING WHERE YOU LIVE?
  - 1. Yes 62.5%
  - 2. No 35.5%
  - 0. No answer 2.0%

#### I AM GOING TO READ YOU SOME THINGS THAT PEOPLE TYPICALLY SAY. TELL ME IF YOU COMPLETELY AGREE, AGREE, DISAGREE, OR COMPLETELY DISAGREE WITH EACH PHRASE:

- 72. OLD PEOPLE KNOW MORE THAN YOUNG PEOPLE. FOR THAT REASON YOUNG PEOPLE SHOULD LISTEN TO OLD PEOPLE WHEN THEY TELL THEM WHO TO VOTE FOR.
  - 1. Completely agree
     20.8%

     2. Agree
     29.8%

     3. Disagree
     32.5%

     4. Completely disagree
     13.0%

     0. No answer
     3.9%

#### 73. I LIKE ELECTION DAYS BECAUSE I SEE PEOPLE AS IF IT WERE A HOLIDAY.

1. Completely agree	19.9%
2. Agree	36.4%
3. Disagree	29.6%
4. Completely disagree	8.4%
0. No answer	5.7%

## 74. WHEN DECIDING WHO TO VOTE FOR, I CARE MORE THAT THE CANDIDATE IS TRUSTWORTHY THAN WHAT PARTY THEY BELONG TO.

1. Completely agree	35.4%
2. Agree	38.7%
3. Disagree	12.8%
4. Completely disagree	4.1%
0. No answer	9.0%

75. WOMEN DON'T UNDERSTAND POLITICS AND THE HUSBAND SHOULD DECIDE WHO TO VOTE FOR.

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1. Completely agree	5.3%
2. Agree	15.7%
3. Disagree	47.2%
4. Completely disagree	27.1%
0. No answer	4.7%

76. IF I DON'T VOTE IT DOESN'T MATTER BECAUSE IT WON'T CHANGE MY ECONOMIC SITUATION

1. Completely agree	23.3%
2. Agree	33.1%
3. Disagree	28.1%
4. Completely disagree	9.3%
0. No answer	6.3%

## TO CONCLUDE, I AM GOING TO ASK YOU A FEW QUESTIONS ABOUT YOUR ACTIVITIES:

#### 77. ¿DO YOU KNOW HOW TO READ AND WRITE?

1. Yes	87.9%
2. No	10.6%
0. No answer	1.5%

### 78, WHAT IS THE HIGHEST LEVEL OF EDUCATION YOU HAVE ACHIEVED?

9.3%
1.5%
32.6%
27.1%
2.3%
3.7%
2.0%
2.0%
17.6%
0.4%
1.4%

#### 79. WHAT IS YOUR PRIMARY PROFESSION CURRENTLY?

14.0%
11.2%
31.2%
12.8%
20.1%
5.0%
2.4%
1.3%
2.1%

## 80. DO YOU OR DOES ANYONE IN YOUR HOME RECIEVE THE SOLIDARITY BOND OR THE HUMAN DEVELOPMENT BOND?

1. Yes	32.1%
2. No	67.4%
0. No answer	0.5%

## 81. DO YOU RECIEVE MONEY FROM FAMILY MEMBERS OR FRIENDS WHO LIVE ABROAD?

1. Yes	9.0%
2. No	90.8%
0. No answer	0.2%

#### 82. WHO IS THE HEAD OF YOUR HOUSEHOLD OR THE MAIN BREADWINNER? 1. Man 49.0%

2. Woman	14.9%
3. Both	32.4%
4. Other	2.6%
0. No answer	1.1%

### 83. WHO CONTROLS THE MONEY IN YOUR HOUSEHOLD?

1. Husband	21.2%
2. Wife	25.6%
3. Both	47.3%
4. All	3.6%
5. Other	1.7%
0. No answer	0.5%

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