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Legislation References (Chronological)

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Appendix

APPENDIX CHAPTER 1

Appendix 1.1 Migrant Voting Rights in Select Countries Worldwide, 2020

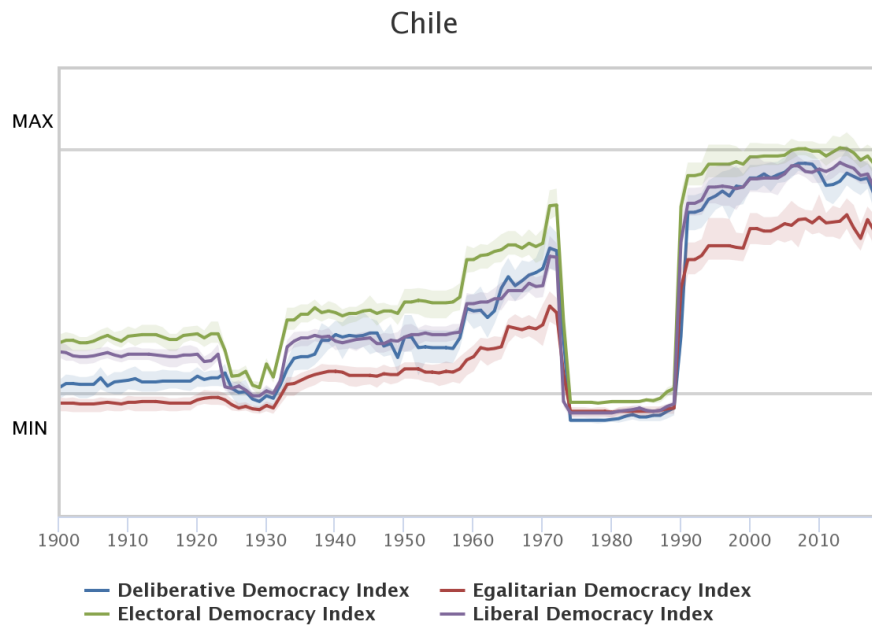
		Foreign Resident Suffrage Rights					
		None	Only Local Level		Multilevel		
			Restricted	Universal	Restricted	Universal	
Non-Resident Citizen Suffrage Rights	None	Guatemala Nicaragua Suriname	Cyprus Greece Israel+ Malta	-	Barbados+ Belize Guyana Ireland* St. Lucia St. Vincent & Grenadines Trinidad and Tobago	Ireland* Malawi^ Uruguay^	
	Only National Level	Restricted	Canada	Germany	Denmark Iceland Sweden	United Kingdom -	
		Universal	Costa Rica El Salvador Honduras Mexico Panama Switzerland United States	Austria Bolivia Bulgaria Croatia Czech Republic Italy Latvia Poland Romania Spain	Argentina Belgium Colombia Estonia Finland Hungary Lithuania Luxembourg Netherlands Paraguay Peru Slovakia Slovenia South Korea Venezuela	Australia Brazil Portugal Chile Ecuador New Zealand	
	Multi-level	Restricted	-	-	Norway	-	-
		Universal	-	-	-	-	-

Sources: Modified version based on Arrighi and Bauböck (2017: 24, Table 1), Earnest (2008), IDEA (2018), and national migration legislations.

Notes: Restricted means that suffrage is available only, e.g., to select migrants or in some locations abroad. *Ireland restricts foreign resident suffrage in national elections but is universal at the local level (Arrighi and Bauböck 2017: 24). The dissertation’s two case studies are in bold. +In Barbados and Israel, only certain groups of citizens (e.g., public officials) can vote from abroad. ^In Malawi and Uruguay, citizens who reside abroad can vote, but only if they return to the origin country to do so.

APPENDIX CHAPTER 2

Appendix 2.1 Democracy Index Scores, Chile 1900–2015



Source: V-DEM (2020)

Appendix 2.2 Newspaper Search of 1924 and 1925, Chile

Interested in public discussion or announcements prior to Chile enfranchising foreign residents in the 1925 Constitution, I looked to Chile's National Digital Library (*Biblioteca Nacional Digital de Chile*, <http://www.bibliotecanacionaldigital.gob.cl/bnd/633/w3-propertyname-661.html>). In the 1924 and 1925 sections, many of the included newspapers are from later years (thus incorrectly placed in these years). From 1924 and 1925 the library offers the following five newspapers:

1. El Esfuerzo órgano oficial de la Federación Obrera Local
2. La Opinión de Peñaflor
3. Alborada
4. El Rayo Convención Bautista de Chile
5. Horizontes

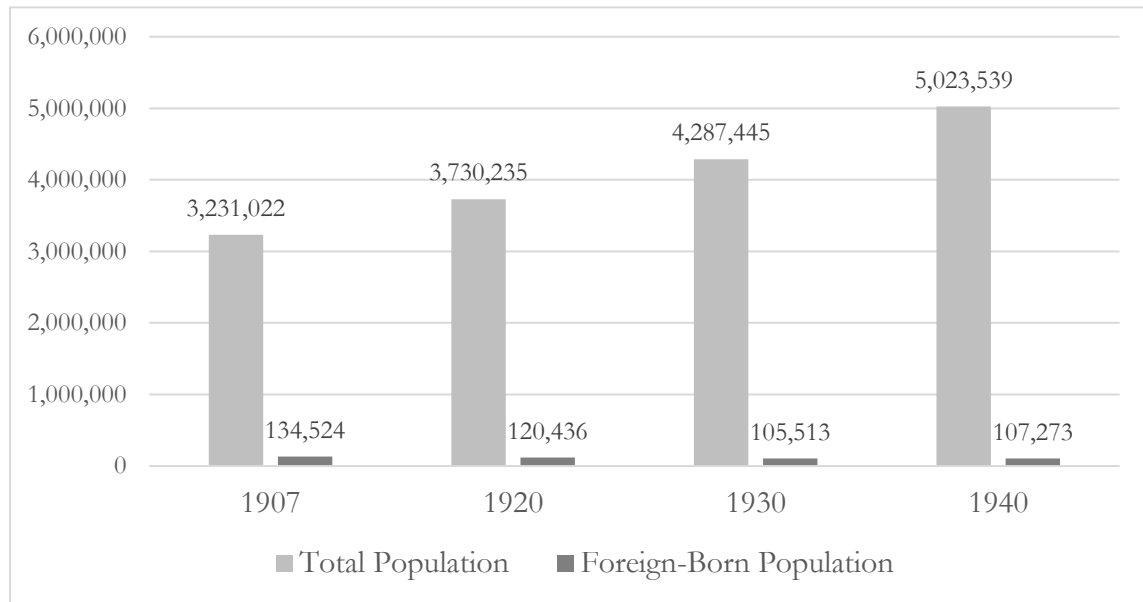
From which a keyword search was done for four words:

1. extranjeros ('foreigners')
2. 'extrangeros' (how 'foreigners' was spelled until around the end of the 19th century)
3. emigrantes (emigrants)
4. ciudadanía (citizenship)

None of these keywords brought fruitful results. Only in Alborada on June 30, 1926, was there mention of a law on workers' insurance for both nationals and foreigners (Seguro Obrero Obligatorio, Ley 4.054). Another newspaper in print in the period of interest was the Mercurio, which began in 1822. However, since it is still in print as of July 2020, the archives are held within the newspaper's office. Due to Covid-19, unfortunately in-person archival fieldwork to review enfranchisement topics in these original prints was not possible.⁸⁶

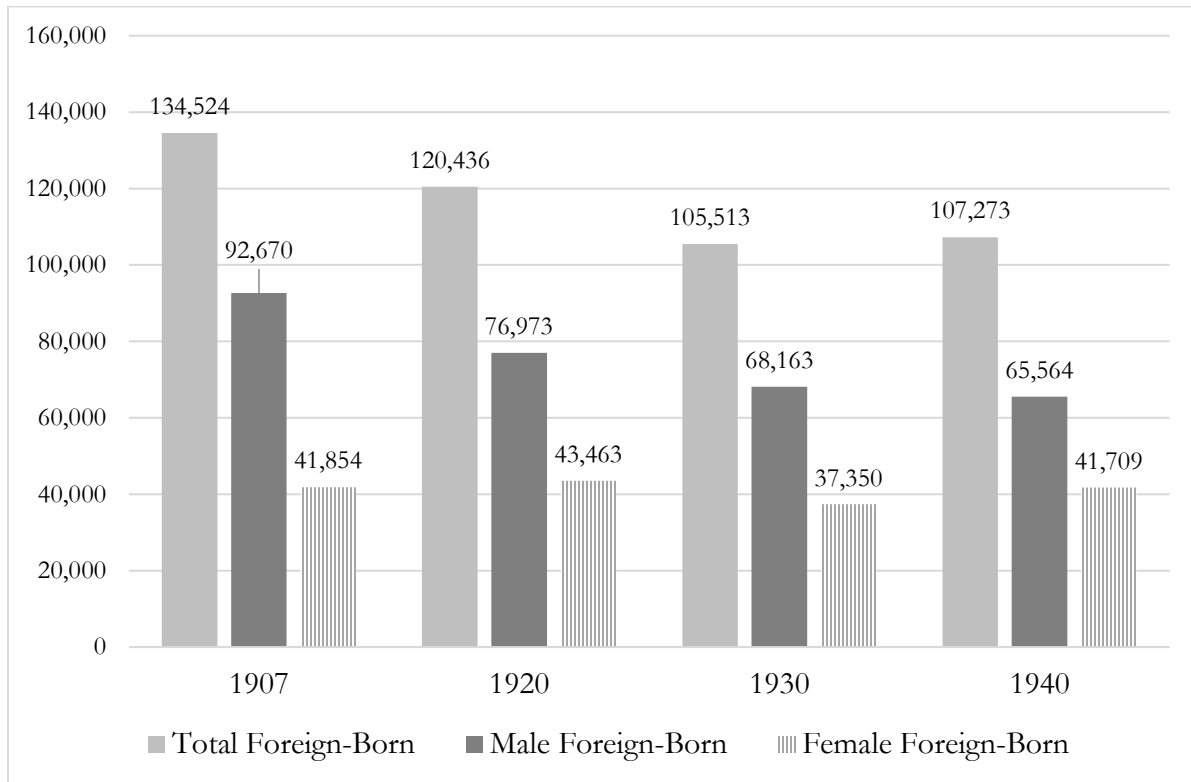
⁸⁶ I thank Germán Campos Herrera for his help on this digital archival work.

Appendix 2.3 Total Population and Foreign-Born, Chile Select Years 1907–1940



Sources: Based on INE (1907, 1920, 1930, 1940) and Gutiérrez Roldán (1975).

Appendix 2.4 Number of Foreign-Born by Sex, Chile Select Years 1907–1940



Sources: Based on INE (1907, 1920, 1930, 1940) and Gutiérrez Roldán (1975).

Appendix 2.5 Population of Foreign Residents as Voters, Chile Select Years 1907–2019

Census Year	Total Population	Number of Foreign-born	Percentage of Foreign-born in Total Population	Number of Foreign Residents Eligible to Vote	Legal Milestones in Suffrage Rights
1907	3,231,022	134,524	4.2%	0	National literate men 21 years old and older
1920	3,720,235	120,436	3.2%	0	
1930	4,287,445	105,513	2.5%	Unavailable	Foreign resident (literate men 21 years old+ with 5-year residence) added for municipal elections (1925)
1940	5,023,539	107,273	2.1%	Unavailable	Foreign residents and women (literate 21 years old+) added for municipal elections (1934)
1952	5,932,995	96,511	1.6%	Unavailable	Women added for national elections (1949)
1960	7,374,115	104,853	1.4%	Unavailable	
1970	8,884,768	90,441	1.0%	Unavailable	Voting age lowered to 18 (1969)
1982	1,1329,736	84,365	0.7%	Unavailable	Foreigners added for national elections (1980)
1992	13,348,401	105,070	0.8%	19,548*	
2002	15,116,435	187,008	1.2%	15,172*	Foreign residents automatically registered to vote after 5-year residence
2017	17,150,383	746,465	4.4%	267,116	

Sources: INE (1907; 1920; 1930; 1960; 1970; 1982; 1992; 2002; 2017); INE-DEM (2019); UN DESA (2019); Servel (1993; 2005; 2017); Chile Constitution 1833; Chile Constitution 1925,

Article 104; Law 5.357 of 1934; Law 9.292 of 1949; Law 17.284 of 1969; Chile Constitution 1980, Article 12; Law 20.568 Article 6 of 2012.

Notes: In 1930, the foreign population was recorded by sex and while Chile was home to 68,163 boys and men, I cannot say how many would have been eligible to vote (i.e., were literate men 21 years old and older with a 5-year residence). In 1940 and 1952, since women had been granted suffrage in municipal elections in 1934, foreign resident voters were counted with women voters, and I could not find a disaggregated data source. *Servel's historical data on registered foreign voters in the electorate (<https://www.servel.cl/resumen-historico/>) begins with the 1988 plebiscite, so the numbers reported here are for registered foreign voters in the 1993 then 2005 presidential elections. While Chile conducted a census in 2012, it was later considered invalid and its data unreliable, thus I exclude it.

Appendix 2.6 Advertisement Designed to Find Immigrant Respondents, Chile 2017



Notes: The image was advertised in color and reads “Immigrant in Chile? Your voice counts! A brief survey.”

Appendix 2.7 Informed Consent Information and Form, (original in Spanish, followed by English)

Estimada/Estimado:

Muchas gracias por tomarse el tiempo de revisar este formulario en línea. Esta encuesta forma parte de una investigación científica cuyo objetivo es analizar el voto de los inmigrantes en Chile. En el siguiente enlace se adjunta el Consentimiento informado del Estudio, que ha sido revisado y aprobado por el Comité de Ética de Investigación de la Facultad de Ciencias Sociales e Historia de la Universidad Diego Portales. En este documento se detalla el procedimiento de la investigación. Además, se detalla la confidencialidad de la encuesta. Es importante que usted sepa que su participación en esta investigación es completamente voluntaria. Además, su participación en la encuesta en línea será anónima y sus datos personales o lo que usted responda no serán conocidos por nadie; sus respuestas no quedan asociadas a su nombre. En el documento se encuentra también la información de contacto de la investigadora responsable, Victoria Finn. La encuesta tiene una duración aproximada de 7 minutos.

Título Proyecto: Participación electoral de los inmigrantes

Investigador Responsable: Victoria Finn

Unidad: Escuela de Ciencia Política de la Universidad Diego Portales

PRESENTACIÓN DEL ESTUDIO Y CONSENTIMIENTO

El propósito de esta información es ayudarle a tomar la decisión de participar o no en una **encuesta en línea** que forma parte de una investigación científica cuyo objetivo es analizar el voto de los inmigrantes en Chile, su interés en la política, sus vínculos sociales, y su conocimiento sobre el derecho a voto en Chile.

Procedimientos de la investigación: Su participación consiste en responder de manera individual un cuestionario en línea, actividad que implicará destinar aproximadamente unos siete minutos. El cuestionario trata temas relativos a vínculos sociales, al voto en elecciones nacionales y a su conocimiento sobre el derecho a voto; sus ideas respecto al voto de los inmigrantes, interés en política y su experiencia como inmigrante en Chile.

Beneficios: Usted no obtendrá beneficios personales por participar en esta investigación. Sin embargo, la información que usted nos entregue será de gran valor para conocer más sobre el interés

en política y el voto de los inmigrantes en Chile, lo que podría ayudar a otras personas como usted en relación a los vínculos sociales y políticos de inmigrantes y sus grupos con chilenos.

Riesgos: No anticipamos riesgos asociados a su participación en este estudio; en el caso de que alguna de las preguntas le produzca incomodidad, no dude en contactar al investigador responsable quien le orientará hacia la o las personas que podrían aconsejarla. Usted puede dejar de responder el cuestionario en cualquier momento.

Confidencialidad de la información: Es importante que usted sepa que su participación en la encuesta en línea será anónima y sus datos personales o lo que usted responda no serán conocidos por nadie; sus respuestas no quedan asociadas a su nombre. Toda la información que usted entregue será usada para propósitos exclusivamente académicos y conocida sólo por los miembros del equipo de investigadores. Los resultados obtenidos serán publicados en revistas académicas o libros y podrían ser presentados en conferencias, sin embargo, la identidad de las personas entrevistadas no será revelada. Los datos obtenidos de su participación y de la de otras personas que contesten este cuestionario, serán almacenados por cinco años en las dependencias de la Escuela de Ciencia Política de la Universidad Diego Portales, ubicada en Avenida Ejército Libertador 333, Santiago, Chile.

Voluntariedad: Su participación en esta investigación es completamente voluntaria. Usted tiene derecho a no aceptar participar o a retirar su consentimiento de participación en el momento que así lo decida, sin mediar explicación y sin consecuencia para usted.

Preguntas: Si tiene preguntas acerca de esta investigación, puede contactar a la investigadora responsable; Victoria Finn, Teléfono +56950015845; correo electrónico: victoria.finn@mail.udp.cl. Esta investigación ha sido revisada y aprobada por el Comité de Ética en Investigación de la Facultad de Ciencias Sociales e Historia de la Universidad Diego Portales. Si usted tiene alguna duda, pregunta o reclamo, o si considera que sus derechos no han sido respetados, puede contactar al Comité de Ética de la Ciencia Política de la Universidad Diego Portales (comitedeetica@mail.udp.cl) dirección: Manuel Rodríguez Sur 415. Teléfono: 26762197.

Informed Consent, Translated to English

Thank you very much for taking the time to review this online consent form. This survey is part of a scientific research project with an objective is to analyze immigrant voting in Chile. In the following link you will find the study's Informed Consent, which has been reviewed and approved by

the Research Ethics Committee at the Faculty of Social Sciences and History at the Diego Portales University. This document details the research project. In addition, it also explained the confidentiality for survey respondents. It is important for you to know that your participation in this research is completely voluntary. Moreover, your participation in the online survey will be anonymous and your personal information and answers will not be made known to anyone; your answers will not be associated with your name. The document also contains the contact information of the responsible researcher, Victoria Finn. The survey takes approximately 7 minutes to complete.

THE RESEARCH PROJECT AND CONSENT

The purpose of the following information is to help you decide to participate or not in an online survey, which is part of a scientific research project with an objective to analyze immigrant voting in Chile, immigrants' interest in politics, social ties, and knowledge about the right to vote in Chile.

Research project procedures: Your participation consists of individually answering an online questionnaire, an activity requiring approximately seven minutes. The questionnaire addresses issues related to social ties, voting in national elections, and your knowledge about the right to vote, as well as your views on immigrant voting, interest in politics, and experience as an immigrant in Chile.

Benefits: You will not receive personal benefits from participating in this research. However, the information you provide will be of great value in learning more about immigrant political interest and voting in Chile, which may help others such as yourself regarding the social and political ties of immigrants and their group relations with Chileans.

Risks: We do not anticipate any risks associated with your participation in this study; in the event that you are uncomfortable answering any of the questions, please do not hesitate to contact the responsible researcher who will direct you to the person(s) who can assist you. You may stop answering the questionnaire at any time.

Confidentiality: It is important for you to know that your participation in the online survey will be anonymous and your personal data and answers will not be known to anyone, since your answers are not associated with your name. All information you provide will be used exclusively for academic purposes and known only to the members of the research team. The results obtained will be published in academic journals or books and may be presented at conferences; however, the identity of the persons interviewed will not be revealed. The data obtained from your participation and that of others

who answer this questionnaire will be stored for five years on the premises of the School of Political Science of the Diego Portales University, located at Avenida Ejército Libertador 333, Santiago, Chile.

Voluntary: Your participation in this research is completely voluntary. You have the right to not accept to participate or withdraw your consent to participate any time you want, without explanation or facing consequences.

Questions: If you have questions about this research, you may contact the researcher in charge of the research project, Victoria Finn: by phone +56950015845 or by email: victoria.finn@mail.udp.cl. This research has been reviewed and approved by the Research Ethics Committee at the Faculty of Social Sciences and History at the Diego Portales University. If you have any questions or complaints, or if you consider that your rights have not been respected in any way, you may contact the Political Science Ethics Committee at the Diego Portales University (comitedeetica@mail.udp.cl), at the following address: Manuel Rodríguez Sur 415, or by telephone: 26762197.

Appendix 2.8 Online Survey Questionnaire, Conducted November and December 2017 in Chile (original in Spanish, followed by English)

Original Survey Questions

Pre-Pregunta1 ¿Acepta participar en este estudio bajo las condiciones previamente indicadas?

- Sí
- No

Pre-P2 Cuando este estudio termine, ¿desea recibir un resumen ejecutivo de sus resultados y/o una copia de la eventual publicación que se realice?

- No
- Sí. Indique su dirección de correo electrónico: _____

P1 ¿Cuántos años tiene usted? _____

P2 ¿En qué año llegó usted a Chile? _____

P3 ¿Cuál es su género?

- Femenino
- Masculino
- Otro

- Prefiero no responder.

P4 ¿En qué país nació usted?

- Argentina
- Bolivia
- Brasil
- Chile
- China
- Colombia
- Ecuador
- España
- Estados Unidos
- Haití
- Perú
- Venezuela
- Otro

P4a Por favor, indique su país de origen. _____

P5 ¿Por cuántos años más cree usted que vivirá en Chile?

- Menos de un año
- 1–4 años
- 5–10 años
- Por siempre.
- No sé.
- No vivo en Chile.

P6 En Chile durante los últimos 12 meses, ¿ha sido usted o alguien de su hogar tratado injustamente o discriminado/a, por una persona chilena, debido a: ...?

	Nunca	1–2 veces	3–5 veces	Muchas veces
Nivel socioeconómico	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Su ropa	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Su color de piel	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Ser inmigrante o extranjero/a	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Sus creencias o religión	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Su manera de hablar	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

P7 Pensando en sus ingresos y en los de su grupo familiar, ¿cuál de las siguientes alternativas describe mejor su situación actual?

- No alcanzamos a cubrir nuestras necesidades.
- Cubrimos nuestras necesidades básicas y nada más.
- Nos permite darnos pequeños gustos.
- Nos permite vivir cómodamente.

P8 Cuando usted conversa *en español* (castellano) en Chile, ¿puede comunicarse de forma clara y coherente?

- Siempre
- Frecuentemente
- Algunas veces
- Rara vez
- Nunca
- No sé.

P9 ¿Cómo están compuestos los siguientes grupos en los que usted participa activamente?

	No estoy en dicho grupo	En su mayoría son chilenos	En su mayoría son de mi país de origen	En su mayoría son de otros países
Colegas y compañeros de trabajo	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Vecinos del barrio	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Amigos	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Familia	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Centro de padres y apoderados	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
En mi iglesia u organización religiosa	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Club deportivo o recreativo	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Grupo de comunidad (juntas de vecinos, comité de aguas, comité de allegados, otros)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Agrupaciones artísticas o culturales (grupo folclórico, de teatro, de música, de baile, de danza, otros)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Grupo político o ideológico (partido político, movimiento político, otros)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

P10 Mi nivel más alto de educación completado es (seleccione uno):

- Nunca asistió a la escuela
- Básica/Primaria
- Media
- Colegio/Superior
- Formación técnica, comercial, industrial
- Estudios en una institución profesional

- Pregrado
- Posgrado
- Doctorado

P11 Actualmente, ¿cuál es su principal actividad económica?

- Tengo un trabajo estable.
- Tengo un trabajo esporádico (temporero).
- Estoy cesante y buscando trabajo.
- Estoy cesante, pero no busco trabajo.
- Estudio y trabajo.
- Solo estudio.
- Soy jubilado/a o pensionado/a.
- Ni trabajo, ni estudio.

P11a ¿Qué tipo de contrato de trabajo tiene usted?

- Temporario
- Permanente
- No tengo un contrato formal.
- No recibo un sueldo pagado.
- No lo sé.
- Otro tipo

P12 ¿Cuál de los siguientes medios de comunicación consume normalmente usted—y de dónde?

(seleccione *todos* los relevantes)

	No consumo dicho medio	Chilenos	De mi país de origen
Diarios/periódicos (incluso en la red/online/digital)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Noticieros de television	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Programas de radio	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Media social (por ejemplo, en Twitter o Facebook)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

P13 ¿Cuál de los siguientes medios de comunicación *políticos* consume normalmente usted—y de dónde? (seleccione *todos* los relevantes)

	No consumo dicho medio	Chilenos	De mi país de origen
Diarios/periódicos (incluso en la red/online/digital)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Noticieros de television	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Programas de radio	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Media social (por ejemplo, en Twitter o Facebook)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

P14 ¿Cuán interesado/a está usted en política?

- Muy interesado/a
- Poco interesado/a
- Desinteresado/a
- Complemente desinteresado/a

P15 ¿Usted tiene el derecho a voto en las próximas elecciones presidenciales en Chile?

- Sí
- No
- No lo sé.

P16 En el pasado, ¿ha votado usted en por lo menos una elección presidencial *en su país de origen*?

- Sí
- No

P17 Mientras usted viva en Chile, ¿votará desde aquí en la próxima elección presidencial *en su país de origen*?

- Sí
- No

P17a ¿Por qué no votará desde aquí en la próxima elección presidencial en su país de origen?

P18 En el pasado, ¿ha votado usted en por lo menos una elección presidencial *en Chile*?

- Sí

- No

P19 ¿Votará en la próxima elección presidencial *en Chile*?

- Sí
- No

P19a ¿Por qué no votará en la próxima elección presidencial en Chile?

P20 grupo 1 En Chile, los inmigrantes tienen el derecho a voto después de haber vivido legalmente 5 años en el país. El gobierno chileno da dicho derecho porque está muy interesado en escuchar voces como la suya. Supongamos que usted ya tiene el derecho a voto, ¿votaría usted en la elección presidencial del 19 de noviembre de 2017 en Chile?

- Sí
- No

P20a ¿Por qué no votaría?

P20b ¿Por quién votará usted en la próxima elección presidencial en Chile?

- José Antonio Kast
- Alejandro Guillier Álvarez
- José Antonio Kast
- Alejandro Navarro Brain
- Carolina Goic Boroevic
- Marco Enríquez-Ominami
- Beatriz Sánchez Muñoz
- Sebastián Piñera Echenique

P20 grupo 2 En Chile, los inmigrantes tienen el derecho a voto después de haber vivido legalmente 5 años en el país. El gobierno chileno da dicho derecho porque está muy interesado en escuchar voces, como la suya. Imagine que ya varias personas en su grupo de comunidad—como sus amigos, vecinos, colegas o familia—han conversado frecuentemente con usted sobre la importancia de votar para representar los inmigrantes/no-chilenos en la democracia chilena. Supongamos que usted ya tiene el derecho a voto, ¿votaría usted en la elección presidencial del 19 de noviembre de 2017 en Chile?

- Sí
- No

P20c ¿Por qué no votaría?

P20d ¿Por quién votará usted en la próxima elección presidencial en Chile?

- José Antonio Kast
- Alejandro Guillier Álvarez
- José Antonio Kast
- Alejandro Navarro Brain
- Carolina Goic Boroevic
- Marco Enríquez-Ominami
- Beatriz Sánchez Muñoz
- Sebastián Piñera Echenique

Survey Questions, translated to English

Pre-Question1 Do you accept participating in this study under the previously listed conditions?

- Yes
- No

Pre-Q2 When this study is finished, would you like a summary of the survey results and/or the eventual publication?⁸⁷

- No
- Yes. Note your email address: _____

Q1 How old are you? _____⁸⁸

Q2 In which year did you arrive in Chile? _____

Q3 What is your gender?

- Female
- Male
- Other

⁸⁷ As stated here, on February 6, 2018, I emailed a summary of the survey results to all 1,043 Respondents who had left their email address (of which 41 were returned to me as incorrect or unfound email addresses). The Executive Summary was a three-page document thanking them for their participation and presenting the demographic and electoral participation results.

⁸⁸ Such a line indicates an open-ended response hence Respondents could write in their answers.

- I prefer not to answer.

Q4 In which country were you born?

- Argentina
- Bolivia
- Brazil
- Chile
- China
- Colombia
- Ecuador
- Haiti
- Perú
- Spain
- United States
- Venezuela
- Other

Q4a In the case of 'Other', please write your origin country. _____

Q5 For how many more years do you plan on living in Chile?

- Less than a year
- 1–4 years
- 5–10 years
- Forever.
- I don't know.
- I don't live in Chile.⁸⁹

⁸⁹ If the Respondent selected "I don't live in Chile," the survey closed.

Q6 Over the last 12 months in Chile, have you or someone in your household been treated unfairly or discriminated against by a Chilean, for:

	Never	1–2 times	3–5 times	Many times
Socioeconomic standing	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Your clothing	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Your skin color	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Being an immigrant or foreigner	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Your beliefs or religion	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Your way of speaking	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

Q7 Considering your household income, which of the following best describe your current financial situation?

- We don't cover our basic needs.
- We cover our basic needs but nothing more.
- Our income allows for a treat now and again.
- Our income allows us to live comfortably.

Q8 When you speak Spanish in Chile, how often are you able to communicate clearly and coherently?

- Always
- Frequently
- Sometimes
- Rarely
- Never
- I don't know.

Q9 Of the following groups, in which do you participate and how would you best describe your fellow members?

	I'm not in this group	Mostly Chileans	Mostly from my origin country	Mostly from other countries
Colleagues	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Neighbors	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Friends	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Family	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
School board or parents' school groups	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
In my church or religious group	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Sports or recreational clubs	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Community groups (for example, neighborhood groups)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Cultural or artistic groups (folklore, theater, music, dance, others)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Political or ideological group (political party, movement, others)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

Q10 My highest completed level of education is (choose one):

- I never went to school.
- Primary school
- Middle school
- High school
- Technical training in trade or industrial
- Professional training

- Undergraduate degree
- Postgraduate degree
- Doctoral degree

Q11 What is your main current economic activity right now?

- I have a steady job.
- I have a temporary or sporadic job.
- I'm unemployed and looking for work.
- I'm unemployed but not looking for work.
- I study and work.
- I only study.
- I'm retired.
- I'm not working or studying.

Q11a What type of employment contract do you have?

- Temporary
- Permanent
- I don't have a formal contract.
- I am not paid for my work.
- I don't know.
- I have another type of contract.

Q12 Which of the following media outlets do you normally use? (Select all that apply)

	I don't use this	Chilean	From my origin country
Newspapers (including online/digital versions)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Television news	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Radio programs	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Social media (for example, Twitter or Facebook)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

Q13 Which of the following *political* media outlets do you normally use? (Select all that apply)

	I don't use this	Chilean	From my origin country
Newspapers (including online/digital versions)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Television news	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Radio programs	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Social media (for example, Twitter or Facebook)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

Q14 How interested are you in politics?

- Very interested
- Somewhat interested
- Uninterested
- Very uninterested

Q15 Do you have the right to vote in the upcoming presidential elections in Chile?

- Yes
- No
- I don't know.

Q16 In the past, have you voted at least once in a presidential election in your *origin country*?

- Yes
- No

Q17 While living in Chile, will you vote from here in the next presidential election in your *origin country*?

- Yes
- No

Q17a Why will you not vote from here in the next presidential election in your origin country?

Q18 In the past, have you voted at least once in a presidential election *in Chile*?

- Yes
- No

Q19 Will you vote in the upcoming presidential election *in Chile*?

- Yes
- No

Q19a Why will you not vote in the upcoming presidential election in Chile?

Q20 group 1 In Chile, immigrants have the right to vote after legally living in the country for five years. The Chilean government gives this right because it is interested in hearing voices, such as yours. Suppose that you already had the right to vote; would you vote in the presidential election on November 19, 2017 in Chile?

- Yes
- No

Q20a Why would you not vote?

Q20b For whom will you vote in the upcoming presidential election in Chile?⁹⁰

- José Antonio Kast
- Alejandro Guillier Álvarez
- José Antonio Kast
- Alejandro Navarro Brain
- Carolina Goic Borojevic
- Marco Enríquez-Ominami
- Beatriz Sánchez Muñoz
- Sebastián Piñera Echenique

Q20 group 2⁹¹ In Chile, immigrants have the right to vote after legally living in the country for five years. The Chilean government gives this right because it is interested in hearing voices, such as yours. Imagine that numerous people in your community—such as friends, neighbors, colleagues, or family—had frequently spoken to you about how important it is to vote in order to represent

⁹⁰ Note that I used the Qualtrics feature to randomize the order of the candidate list (eight in the first round, two in the second round.)

⁹¹ This question includes the treatment, which is the extra phrase about social network influence on the individual decision to exercise suffrage.

immigrants/non-Chileans in the Chilean democracy. Suppose that you already had the right to vote; would you vote in the presidential election on November 19, 2017 in Chile?

- Yes
- No

Q20c Why would you not vote?

Q20d For whom will you vote in the upcoming presidential election in Chile?⁹²

- José Antonio Kast
- Alejandro Guillier Álvarez
- José Antonio Kast
- Alejandro Navarro Brain
- Carolina Goic Borojevic
- Marco Enríquez-Ominami
- Beatriz Sánchez Muñoz
- Sebastián Piñera Echenique

⁹² Again, the candidate list was randomized.

Appendix 2.9 Immigrants in Chile: Nationality, Age, and Region, 2017

Number and Nationality of Immigrants in Chile, 2017		
Country of Birth (from most to least represented)	Number	Percentage within Total Immigrant Population
Peru	187,756	25.2%
Colombia	105,445	14.1%
Venezuela	83,045	11.1%
Bolivia	73,796	9.9%
Argentina	66,491	8.9%
Haiti	62,683	8.4%
Ecuador	27,692	3.7%
Spain	16,675	2.2%
Brazil	14,227	1.9%
United States	12,323	1.7%
Dominican Republic	11,926	1.6%
China	9,213	1.2%
Cuba	6,718	0.9%
Mexico	5,806	0.8%
Germany	5,736	0.8%
France	5,447	0.7%
Uruguay	5,172	0.7%
Paraguay	4,492	0.6%
Italy	4,097	0.5%
Other country	34,243	4.6%
No country reported	3,482	0.5%
<i>Total</i>	746,465	100%

Age Groups of Immigrants Versus Total Residents in Chile, 2017				
Age Groups	Number of Total Population	Number of Foreign-Born Residents	Foreign-Born Residents, per Age Group (Percentage of Total Population)	Foreign-Born Residents, per Age Group (Percentage of Total Foreigners)
0–14 years old	3,402,123	78,839	2.3%	10.6%
15–64 years old	11,792,868	640,925	5.4%	85.8%
65+ years old	1,955,392	26,701	1.3%	3.6%
<i>Total</i>	17,150,383	746,465	4.3%	100%

Number, Sex, and Percentage of Immigrants in Total Population in Chile, 2017					
Region of Residence	Total Population	Total Number of Immigrants	Number of Immigrant Men	Number of Immigrant Women	Percentage of Immigrants of Total Population, per Region
Arica and Parinacota	220,254	18,015	8,117	9,898	8.2%
Tarapacá	319,289	43,646	20,360	23,286	13.7%
Antofagasta	571,446	62,663	28,604	34,059	11.0%
Atacama	282,268	8,798	4,226	4,572	3.1%
Coquimbo	739,977	14,741	7,381	7,360	2.0%
Valparaíso	1,765,261	40,166	20,586	19,580	2.3%
Santiago Metropolitan	6,962,102	486,568	243,502	243,066	7.0%
O'Higgins	893,155	13,242	6,962	6,280	1.5%
Maule	1,020,162	10,780	5,773	5,007	1.1%
Ñuble	469,542	3,736	1,987	1,749	0.8%
Biobío	1,531,365	12,144	6,094	6,050	0.8%
Araucanía	929,307	10,674	5,298	5,376	1.1%
Los Ríos	371,518	3,768	1,926	1,842	1.0%
Los Lagos	807,046	10,034	4,898	5,136	1.2%
Aysén	98,427	2,083	932	1,151	2.1%
Magallanes and the Chilean Antarctica	160,220	4,714	2,103	2,611	2.9%
<i>Total</i>	17,141,339	745,772	368,749	377,023	4.4% (average)

Source: INE (2018).

Appendix 2.10 Descriptive Characteristics of Survey Respondents, Chile, N=650

Variables	Responses	Number of Respondents	Percentage of Respondents
Knowledge of voting rights in the residence country	Yes	377	57.3%
	No	176	26.7%
	I don't know	105	16.0%
Linguistic communication	High	409	62.2%
	Low	249	37.8%
Interest in politics	Uninterested	70	10.6%
	Somewhat interested	254	38.6%
	Very interested	334	50.8%
Intention to stay	Short, 0–5 years	49	7.4%
	Medium, 6–10 years	79	12.0%
	Long, >10–forever	322	48.9%
	I don't know	208	31.6%
Tenure in the residence country	Medium, 6–10 years	301	45.7%
	Long, 11–>20 years	357	54.3%
Age	16–24	32	4.9%
	25–33	118	17.9%
	34–42	214	32.5%
	43–50	138	21.0%
	> 50	156	23.7%
Education	High school or less	211	32.1%
	Professional training	222	33.7%
	University	225	34.2%
Sex	Woman	414	62.9%
	Man	244	37.1%
Socioeconomic status	Low	214	32.5%
	Medium	249	37.8%
	High	191	29.0%
Top origin countries	Colombia	145	22.0%
	Peru	187	28.4%

	Venezuela	38	5.8%
External voting rights	No	46	7.0%
	Yes	612	93.0%
Subsample	November	336	51.1%
	December	322	48.9%
<i>Total</i>		650	100%

Source: Adapted from Finn (2020a).

Notes: Short tenure (0–5 years) is excluded because these individuals would not have gained immigrant voting rights yet in Chile.

Appendix 2.11 Multinomial Logistic Regression Results by Migrant Voting Types, Prior Voting
N=658

Variables	Responses	Abstention	Immigrant Voting	Dual Transnational Voting
Knowledge of voting rights in the residence country	Yes	0.46 (0.27)	4.41*** (1.06)	4.98*** (0.50)
	No/I don't know (base category)	.	.	.
Linguistic communication	High (base category)	.	.	.
	Low	0.40 (0.27)	0.06 (0.47)	-0.26 (0.26)
Interest in politics	Uninterested	0.49 (0.40)	-0.58 (0.89)	-1.61** (0.49)
	Somewhat interested	0.55* (0.28)	0.17 (0.47)	-0.57* (0.27)
	Very interested (base category)	.	.	.
Intention to stay	Short, 0–5 years	0.49 (0.44)	-0.98 (1.15)	0.19 (0.49)
	Medium, 6–10 years (base category)	.	.	.
	Long, >10–forever	0.35 (0.38)	-0.37 (0.73)	0.04 (0.43)

	I don't know	-0.05 (0.29)	-0.50 (0.52)	0.00 (0.28)
Tenure in the residence country	Medium, 6–10 years	-0.79** (0.29)	-1.37** (0.51)	-0.92*** (0.28)
	Long, 11–>20 years (base category)	.	.	.
Age	16–24	1.84*** (0.47)	0.67 (1.21)	-0.15 (0.76)
	25–33	0.17 (0.36)	0.59 (0.63)	-0.18 (0.39)
	34–42 (base category)	.	.	.
	43–50	-0.15 (0.37)	-0.07 (0.59)	0.52 (0.34)
	> 50	-0.29 (0.38)	-0.78 (0.62)	0.38 (0.34)
Education	High school or less	-0.05 (0.32)	-0.98 (0.59)	-0.03 (0.32)
	Professional training	-0.04 (0.33)	0.11 (0.50)	0.32 (0.30)
	University (base category)	.	.	.
Sex	Woman	0.10 (0.26)	-0.59 (0.45)	0.07 (0.26)
	Man (base category)	.	.	.
Have emigrant voting rights	Yes (base category)	.	.	.
	No	-1.02 (0.53)	-1.34 (0.67)	0.28 (0.55)
Top origin countries	Colombia	0.18 (0.32)	-0.72 (0.59)	-0.53 (0.35)
	Peru	-0.82* (0.34)	-1.63* (0.65)	-0.34 (0.31)
	Venezuela	-1.13	-16.55	-0.72

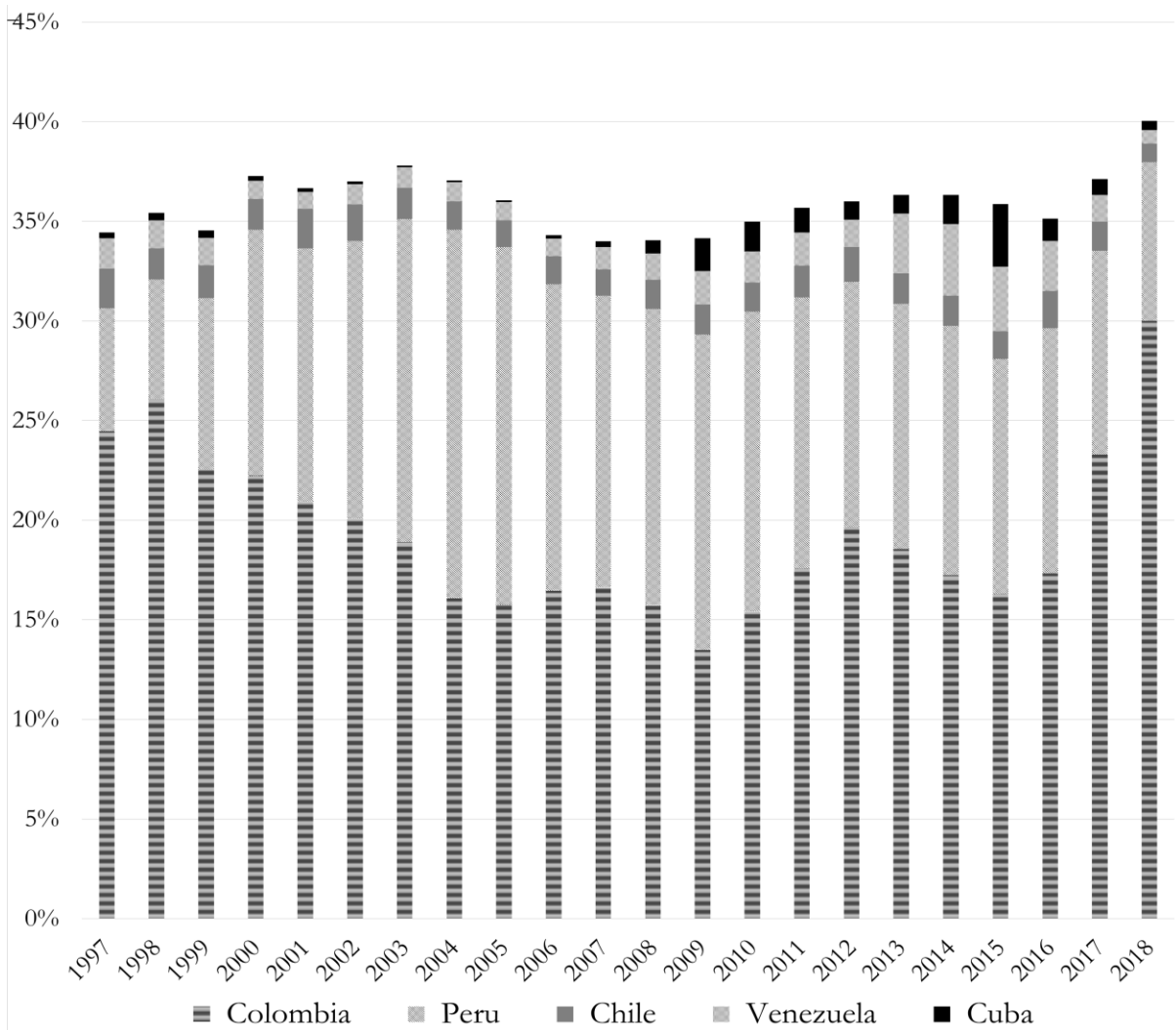
		(0.79)	(2154.1)	(0.57)
Subsample	November	0.07 (0.28)	-0.11 (0.46)	-1.03*** (0.27)
	December (base category)	.	.	.
Intercept		-0.71 (0.61)	-2.41 (1.30)	-3.18*** (0.77)
	Log-likelihood	-521.6		
	Chi-square	460.96		
	McFadden Test	0.31		
	N	650		

Source: Adapted from Finn (2020a).

Notes: Significance level: * <0.05 , ** <0.01 , *** <0.001 ; standard errors are in parentheses. Emigrant voting is the reference category since this is the most populated quadrant in the respondent group; all other base categories for answers are marked with a period (.); the reference categories were chosen because they were the most selected response, except for sex, using man as the base category. Short tenure (0–5 years) is excluded altogether because these individuals would not have gained immigrant voting rights yet in Chile. As a non-probabilistic sample, the results apply only to this group of 658 Respondents.

APPENDIX CHAPTER 3

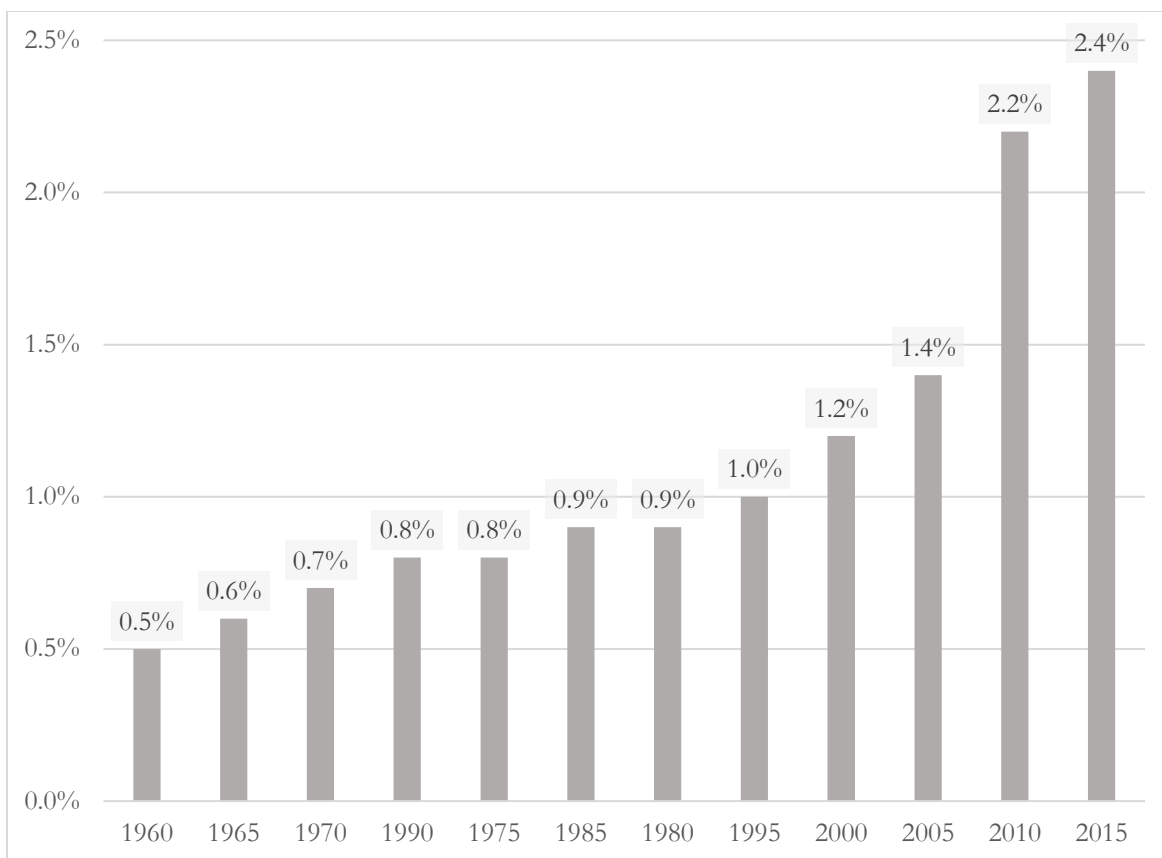
Appendix 3.1 Percentage of Select Foreign Residents in Total Immigrants, Ecuador, 1997–2018



Sources: Based on data from the National Institute of Statistics and Censuses, Ecuador (INEC 2020).

Notes: The selected origin countries are listed in order of size of immigrant population in Ecuador, with Colombians being the largest group and Cubans the smallest.

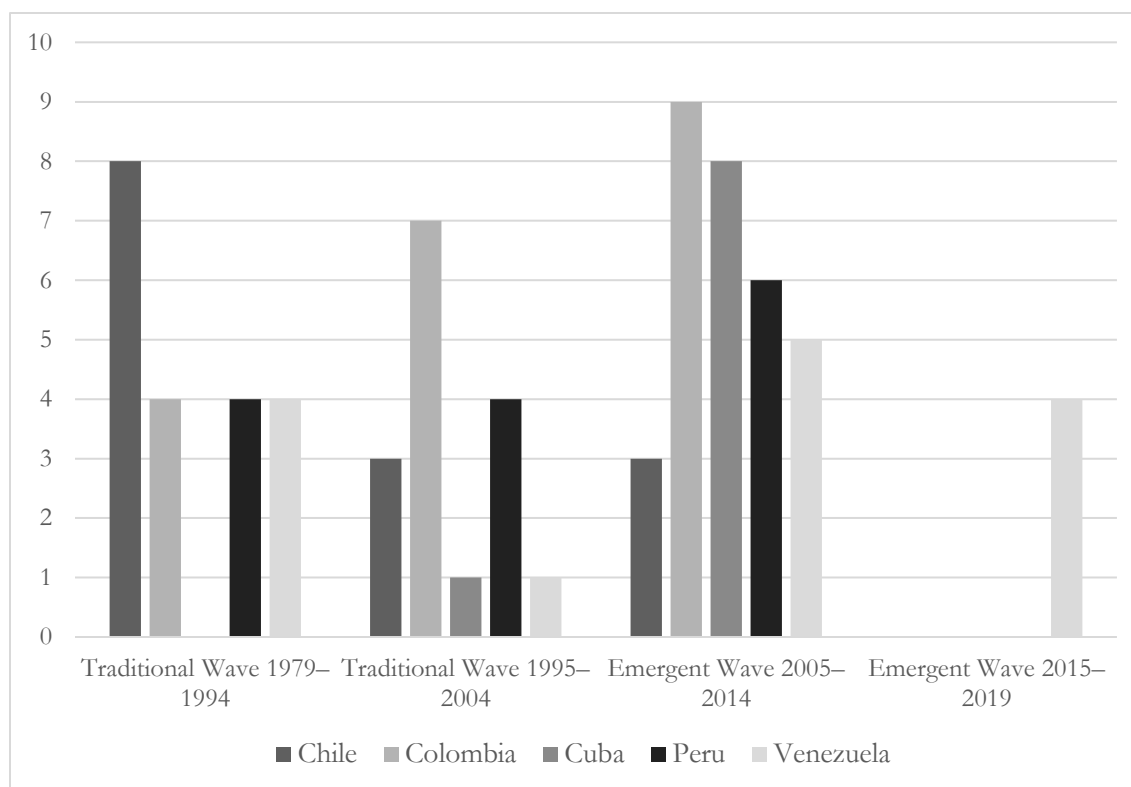
Appendix 3.2 Percentage of Foreign Residents in Total Population, Ecuador, select years 1960–2015



Source: World Bank.

Notes: The top three stocks by nationality in Ecuador come from Colombia, the United States, and followed by Peru. The graph further depicts percentage stocks of Chile, Venezuela, and Cuba since these are the selected origin countries in the present study.

Appendix 3.3 Interviewed Migrants' Year of Arrival to Ecuador, Traditional Versus Emergent Waves, 1979–2019, N=71



Notes: More Respondents arrived during the traditional wave, given its longer time span and its relative importance for the present study of socialization in nondemocracy. I separate the most emergent wave since these foreign residents have not yet reached the five-year residence requirement to gain suffrage rights in Ecuador, thus cannot partake in immigrant voting.

Appendix 3.4 Selection Requirements for Choosing Interviewees, (original in Spanish, followed by English)

1. Requisitos mínimos (obligatorios)

- Individuos de 18 años o más.
- Residentes o ciudadanos con doble ciudadanía en Ecuador, pero que hayan nacido en el extranjero, con padre y/o madre no-ecuatoriano/a.
- Individuos que lleven al menos cinco años con residencia ininterrumpida en Ecuador (*con la excepción de la última ola de llegada de venezolanos).

- Extranjeros residentes pertenecientes a las siguientes diásporas: colombiano/a, cubano/a, chileno/a, español/a, peruano/a, venezolano/a.

2. Requisitos secundarios (facultativos)

- Individuos que migraron a Ecuador desde su respectivo país de origen (i.e. Chile, Colombia, Cuba, España, Perú o Venezuela) entre 1979 a 2014.
- Individuos que hayan votado, por lo menos, una vez en el pasado en elecciones ecuatorianas a nivel nacional (sea presidenciales, legislativas o para la elección de los miembros del CPCCS).

3. Características a considerar dentro para la muestra

- La muestra tiene que reflejar una proporción equitativa entre hombres y mujeres a la población estimada de la diáspora en Ecuador.
- La muestra tiene que estar compuesta proporcionalmente por las dos olas de migración: emergente (2008–2018) y tradicional (1979–2007).
- En la muestra tiene que haber un balance en relación a la edad. No es admisible que la muestra se concentre en un rango determinado de edad, sino idealmente que haya un equilibrio entre el número y los rangos de edad.
- La muestra debe estar compuesta de residentes de distintas ciudades de Ecuador. En consecuencia, no pueden ser (casi) todos elegidos en la misma ciudad. Las áreas rurales también cuentan como diversidad geográfica.
- La muestra no puede estar compuesta por individuos con lazos familiares directos (hermanos, padres, hijos o primos de primer grado de consanguinidad). En otras palabras, los participantes (entrevistados) no deben estar emparentados o ser miembros de la misma familia.
- La doble nacionalidad no cuenta, si el entrevistado nació en Ecuador.
- Tener cuidado especial con los refugiados, ya que la mayoría de ellos tienen otro estatus legal y por ende, otros derechos políticos-electorales, tanto en su país de origen como en su país de destino.

Requirements, translated to English

1. Minimum Requirements (mandatory)

- Individuals 18 years old and older.

- Residents or citizens with dual citizenship in Ecuador, but who were born abroad, to a non-Ecuadorian father or mother.
- Individuals with at least five years of uninterrupted residence in Ecuador (*with the exception of the last arrival wave of Venezuelans).
- Foreign residents belonging to at least one of the following nationalities: Colombian, Cuban, Chilean, Spanish, Peruvian, or Venezuelan.

2. Secondary requirements (optional)

- Individuals who migrated to Ecuador from their respective countries of origin (i.e. Chile, Colombia, Cuba, Spain, Peru, or Venezuela) between 1979 and 2014.
- Individuals who have voted at least once in the past in Ecuadorian elections at the national level (either presidential, legislative, or to elect CPCCS members).

3. Characteristics to consider within the selected group

- The group should aim to reflect a balanced gender ratio within each target nationality population in Ecuador.
- The group should be relatively balanced between the two waves of immigration: emerging (2008–2018) and traditional (1979–2007).
- The group must be balanced regarding age. It is unacceptable to concentrate only on particular age ranges; ideally a balance should exist between the age and age ranges.
- The group should be composed of residents from different cities in Ecuador. Consequently, (almost) all should not be selected within the same city. Rural areas also count as geographical diversity.
- The group cannot contain individuals with direct family ties (siblings, parents, children, or first cousins). In other words, the Participants (Respondents) must not be related or be members of the same family.
- Dual nationality does not count if the Interviewee was born in Ecuador.
- Pay special attention to refugees since their legal status differs, therefore most have a different set of political-electoral rights, both in their origin country and the residence country.

Appendix 3.5 Informed Consent Information and Form, (original in Spanish, followed by English)

CONSENTIMIENTO INFORMADO

Estimado/a Sr./Sra./Srta.: _____

Usted ha sido invitado/a a participar en la investigación “Democracia, ideología y partidismo en perspectiva transnacional. Evidencia del voto migrante desde y en Ecuador (1979–2018)”, dirigido por los investigadores de la Universidad Casa Grande (Ecuador), Sebastián Umpierrez de Reguero y Gabriela Baquerizo Neira, y apoyado por Victoria Finn de la Universidad Diego Portales (Chile) y la Universidad de Leiden (Holanda), como investigadora externa. El objetivo de esta investigación académica es contribuir al acervo bibliográfico del voto migrante, sobre todo porque Ecuador permite que sus extranjeros residentes puedan participar en elecciones nacionales. Por intermedio de este documento se le está solicitando que participe en esta investigación al ser un actor relevante en el tema de estudio. El propósito de esta investigación es identificar patrones sobre el voto migrante y la relación con la democracia, la ideología y la identificación partidaria de los posibles votantes chileno/as, colombiano/as, cubano/as, español/as, peruano/as y venezolano/as a través del tiempo. En resumen, los objetivos de la investigación y del proyecto son estrictamente académicos universitarios; no tenemos ninguna vinculación con el gobierno de ningún país.

Su participación es voluntaria, consistirá en responder a una entrevista de diseño semi-estructurado, que se podrá realizar entre agosto a octubre de 2019. Esta investigación tiene fines académicos, eso significa que se guardará el derecho de anonimato y confidencialidad de sus respuestas. Se codificará sus respuestas antes de publicar cualquier resultado derivado de las entrevistas con el propósito de que su nombre, carrera y reputación no sufra ningún tipo de efecto colateral por su colaboración en esta investigación (i.e. su nombre no aparecerá en ninguna publicación). Para ello, una vez transcrita de forma literal la entrevista, se va a revisar la información proporcionada entre el equipo de investigación y se crearán códigos numéricos para cada entrevista con la meta de guardar procesos de fidelidad. El almacenamiento de la codificación estará a cargo de los investigadores del proyecto. Usted, en caso de necesitarla, puede obtener una copia del documento transcrito. El participar en este estudio no tiene costos para usted ni recibirá ningún pago de parte nuestra por su participación. Usted puede negarse a participar en cualquier momento del estudio y también podrá elegir qué preguntas del cuestionario contestar y a cuáles abstenerse, lo que no perjudicará ni tendrá consecuencias para Usted.

La información obtenida se va a utilizar en producción científica (universitaria), respetando los criterios arriba indicados. En caso de existir publicaciones académicas, podrá solicitar una copia

electrónica o ejemplar del documento a los investigadores. Su colaboración en esta investigación es muy importante para nosotros. Si tiene dudas o consultas respecto de su participación en la investigación puede contactar a los investigadores responsables de este estudio, PhD. Gabriela Baquerizo Neira y PhD. (c) Sebastián Umpierrez de Reguero, que trabajan en la Universidad Casa Grande con dirección: Avda. Las Palmas # 304 y calle 4ta, ciudadela Miraflores, Guayaquil-Ecuador. Teléfono de contacto: 593-4-2202180.

Parte del procedimiento normal en este tipo de investigación es informar a los participantes y solicitar su autorización. Para ello le solicitamos contestar y devolver firmada la hoja adjunta (ACTA DE CONSENTIMIENTO INFORMADO) a la brevedad.

Quedando claro los objetivos del estudio, las garantías de confidencialidad y la aclaración de la información, acepto voluntariamente participar de la investigación, firmando la siguiente autorización.

ACTA CONSENTIMIENTO INFORMADO

Yo....., Número del Documento de Identidad/Pasaporte....., acepto participar voluntaria y anónimamente en la investigación “Democracia, Ideología y Partidismo en Perspectiva Transnacional: Evidencia del Voto Migrante desde y en Ecuador (1979–2018)”, dirigida por los docentes investigadores de la Universidad Casa Grande (Ecuador), PhD. Gabriela Baquerizo Neira y PhD (c). Sebastián Umpierrez de Reguero, en conjunto con PhD (c). Victoria Finn de la Universidad Diego Portales (Chile) y la Universidad de Leiden (Holanda).

Declaro haber sido informado/a de los objetivos y procedimientos del estudio y del tipo de participación que se me solicita. En relación a ello, acepto participar en una entrevista que se realizará durante el periodo entre agosto a octubre de 2019. Declaro saber que la información entregada será confidencial y anónima. La información que se obtenga será guardada y analizada por el equipo de investigación, resguardada en las dependencias de la Universidad Casa Grande y su utilización será para fines académicos y producción científica.

_____ Nombre del/ de la Participante	_____ Nombre de la Investigadora
_____ Firma	_____ Firma
_____ Fecha	_____ Fecha

Informed Consent Information and Form, translated to English

INFORMED CONSENT

Dear Mr./Mrs./Ms.: _____

You have been invited to participate in the research project, “Democracy, Ideology, and Partisanship from a Transnational Perspective: Evidence of migrant voting in and from Ecuador (1979–2018),” led by researchers from Casa Grande University (Ecuador), Sebastián Umpierrez de Reguero and Gabriela Baquerizo Neira, and supported by Victoria Finn from the Diego Portales University (Chile) and Leiden University (the Netherlands), as an external researcher. The objective of this academic research project is to contribute to the literature on migrant voting, especially because Ecuador allows its foreign residents to participate in national-level elections. Through this document, you are being asked to participate in this research project by being a relevant actor within the study area. The purpose of this research is to identify patterns of migrant voting and its relationship with democracy, ideology, and party identification of Chilean, Colombian, Cuban, Spanish, Peruvian and Venezuelan migrant voters over time. In sum, the objectives of the research project are strictly academic—we have no connections with a government of any country.

Your participation is voluntary; it will consist of responding to a semi-structured interview, which will be carried out between August and October 2019. This research has academic purposes, which means the right to anonymity and confidentiality for all your answers. Your answers will be coded before publication of any results derived from the interviews, so that your name, career, and reputation would not be affected in any way from collaborating in this research (i.e., your name will not appear

in any publication). As such, once the interview has been transcribed verbatim, the information provided will be reviewed by the research team and numerical codes will be created for each interview, with the goal of maintaining a strictly confidential process. The project researchers will be in charge of storage of the coding information. You can obtain a copy of the transcribed document if you need it. There is no cost to you to participate in this study, nor will you receive any payment for your participation. You may refuse to participate at any time during the study and you may also choose which questions on the questionnaire to answer, and which to abstain from, for which you will face no consequences.

The information obtained will be used in scientific (university) production, abiding to the criteria indicated above. In the case of academic publications, you may request an electronic copy or a copy of the document from the researchers. Your collaboration in this research is very important to us. If you have any questions or concerns regarding your participation in the research project, you can contact the researchers in charge of this study, PhD Gabriela Baquerizo Neira and PhD (C) Sebastián Umpierrez de Reguero at the Casa Grande University, located at the following address: Avenida Las Palmas # 304 and calle 4ta, ciudadela Miraflores, Guayaquil-Ecuador; their contact phone number is: 593-4-2202180.

Part of the normal procedure in this type of research is to inform the participants and request their authorization. For this purpose, we ask you to answer and return the attached sheet (INFORMED CONSENT FORM) as soon as possible.

As the research study's aims, guaranteed confidentiality, and the information are all clear, I voluntarily accept to participate in the research, by signing the following authorization.

INFORMED CONSENT FORM

I, of the following identity card or passport number,, accept to participate voluntarily and anonymously in the research project, "Democracy, Ideology, and Partisanship from a Transnational Perspective: Evidence of migrant voting in and from Ecuador (1979–2018)," led by research professors at the Casa Grande University (Ecuador), PhD Gabriela Baquerizo Neira and PhD (C) Sebastián Umpierrez de Reguero, in conjunction with PhD (C) Victoria Finn from the Diego Portales University (Chile) and Leiden University (the Netherlands).

I declare that I have been informed about this study's objectives and procedures, as well as the type of participation requested of me. In turn, I agree to participate in an interview to be held during the

period between August and October 2019. I declare that I know the information provided will be confidential and anonymous. The information obtained will be stored and analyzed by the research team, protected within the premises of the Casa Grande University, and its use will be only for academic purposes and scientific production.

Name of Participant	Name of Researcher
Signature	Signature
Date	Date

Appendix 3.6 Interview Questionnaire, Conducted August through October 2019 in Ecuador, (original in Spanish, followed by English)

SECCIÓN A. IDENTIFICACIÓN GENERAL

(1) ¿Cuál es su edad?	(_____) años.
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(2) ¿Cuál es su género?					
1. Femenino		2. Masculino		3. Prefiero no decirlo	

(3) ¿En qué país nació Usted?					
1. Chile		2. Colombia		3. Cuba	
4. España		5. Perú		6. Venezuela	

(4) ¿Cuál es su último nivel terminado de educación?					
1. Enseñanza primaria no terminada		2. Enseñanza primaria		3. Enseñanza Secundaria (Bachillerato)	

4. Formación técnica		5. Pregrado (Título Universitario)		6. Postgrado (Maestría, Diplomado, Doctorado)	
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(5) ¿En qué año llegó Usted al Ecuador?					
1. Entre 1979–1984		2. Entre 1985–1989		3. Entre 1990–1994	
4. Entre 1995–1999		5. Entre 2000–2004		6. Entre 2005–2009	
7. Entre 2010–2014		8. Entre 2015–2019		9. Antes de 1979	

(6) Antes de migrar al Ecuador, ¿Usted migró a otro país?					
0. No		1. Sí		En caso de que haya respondido sí, puede indicarnos ¿qué país(es) y por cuánto tiempo?:	(a) _____ (____ años) (b) _____ (____ años) (c) _____ (____ años)

(7) ¿Cuántos años más cree que vivirá Usted en Ecuador?					
1. Menos de un año		2. Entre 1 y 4 años		3. Entre 5 y 10 años	
4. Por siempre		5. No lo sé		6. No quiero decirlo	

SECCIÓN B. PARTICIPACIÓN ELECTORAL

(8.1) Pensando en <i>Ecuador</i>. ¿Cuán interesado está usted en la política aquí?					
1. Muy interesado/a		2. Poco interesado/a		3. Desinteresado/a	4. Completamente desinteresado/a

(8.2) Pensando en su <i>país de origen</i>. ¿Cuán interesado está usted en la política allá?					
1. Muy interesado/a		2. Poco interesado/a		3. Desinteresado/a	4. Completamente desinteresado/a

(9) ¿Está Usted registrado para votar en elecciones ecuatorianas?					
0. No		1. Sí		2. No lo sé	

(10.1) ¿Ha votado Usted en al menos una elección en Ecuador?					
0. No		1. Sí		2. No me acuerdo	

(10.2.) En caso de haber respondido sí: ¿se acuerda Usted cuándo? (Puede marcar varias opciones)					
1. 2019 (seleccionales y CPCCS)		2. 2018 (Consulta popular)		3. 2017 (Presidenciales y Legislativas)	

4. 2014 (seleccionales)		5. 2013 (Presidenciales y legislativas)		6. 2011 (referéndum y consulta popular)	
7. 2009 (presidenciales, legislativas y seccionales)				8. Elecciones previas	

(11) ¿Votará Usted en la elección presidencial de Ecuador en 2021?					
0. No		1. Sí		2. No lo sé	

(12) ¿Está Usted registrado para votar en elecciones de su país de origen?					
0. No		1. Sí		2. No lo sé	

(13) En el pasado, mientras Usted vivía todavía en su país de origen (antes de migrar), ¿votó en al menos una elección presidencial o parlamentaria <i>de allá</i>?					
0. No		1. Sí		2. No me acuerdo	

(14) En el pasado, mientras Usted residía en Ecuador (o sea, después de migrar), ¿votó en al menos una elección presidencial o parlamentaria de su país de origen, <i>desde aquí</i>?					
0. No		1. Sí		2. No me acuerdo	

(15) En el futuro, si Usted sigue residiendo en Ecuador, ¿votará <i>desde aquí</i> en la próxima elección de su país de origen?					
0. No		1. Sí		2. No lo sé	

(16) En la siguiente escala: ¿cómo se auto-identifica Usted en la política? (Por favor solo marque un número).												
Izquierda →	1	2	3	4	5	← Centro →	6	7	8	9	10	← Derecha

(17) ¿Qué tan de acuerdo está Usted con la siguiente afirmación: “La democracia es el mejor tipo de gobierno”?					
1. Totalmente de acuerdo		2. De Acuerdo		3. Ni en acuerdo ni en desacuerdo	
4. En desacuerdo		5. Totalmente en desacuerdo		6. Prefiero no opinar al respecto	

SECCIÓN C. PREGUNTAS ABIERTAS [ESTILO CONVERSACIÓN]

Sobre participación electoral:

- Por favor hábleme sobre una de sus experiencias electorales, sea en Ecuador o en su país de origen (nota: es relevante saber cuándo y dónde ocurrió la experiencia, en qué tipo de elección votó [por ejemplo: las presidenciales] y su contexto sociopolítico).
- En su opinión, ¿cuál es el principal obstáculo o limitante para votar en Ecuador? Así mismo, ¿cuál es el principal obstáculo o limitante para votar en su país de origen desde el exterior?
- Por el contrario, ¿qué lo motiva a Usted a votar en Ecuador? ¿Qué lo motiva a votar en su país de origen? ¿Cuáles son las razones más importantes para estas decisiones?
 - a. *Solo para quienes NO votan en Ecuador y/o en su país de origen*, ¿cuáles son las razones para abstenerse de ejercer su voto, sea en Ecuador, en su país de origen o ambos?
- ¿Cree Usted que su voto impacta o genera un cambio en su país de origen? De igual manera, ¿cree que su voto impacta o genera un cambio en Ecuador? Sí es así, ¿cómo y de qué forma? [Por favor haga la diferencia entre los dos países].

Sobre cultura política y la socialización política:

- ¿Recuerda si su familia hablaba de política en la mesa o cuándo se reunía, mientras Usted era pequeño/a o en la adolescencia? ¿Su familia, por ejemplo, iba en grupo a votar o cada uno iba por su cuenta?
- ¿Se acuerda Usted de la primera vez que votó? ¿Su experiencia fue en Ecuador o en su país de origen? ¿En qué elecciones participó, eran ecuatorianas o de su país de origen? Por favor no dude en explayarse.
- ¿Siente que votar en un país (sea Ecuador o su país de origen) afecta sus decisiones o preferencias electorales futuras? Sí es así, ¿por qué y de qué manera? Por favor haga la diferencia entre los dos países.

Sobre democracia y la (re-)socialización política:

- ¿Cuál es o ha sido su percepción de la democracia *en su país de origen*, tanto cuándo decidió migrar al Ecuador, como en la actualidad mientras reside en el Ecuador? En la misma línea, ¿cuál es o ha sido su percepción de la democracia *ecuatoriana* antes de migrar y ahora que reside aquí?

- ¿Cree Usted que sus experiencias con la política de su país de origen cuando era pequeño/a, adolescente o antes de migrar al Ecuador, afectan actualmente cómo Usted interactúa o se relaciona con otras personas sobre política? Sí es así, ¿por qué y de qué manera?

Sobre identificación partidaria:

- ¿Su identificación partidaria es igual en los dos países? Es decir, ¿vota normalmente por partidos de izquierda o partidos de derecha en los dos países? Si no es así, ¿cuál sería la diferencia?
- ¿Cómo definiría su relación con los partidos y movimientos políticos ecuatorianos? ¿Se siente representado/a? ¿Podría hacer una breve comparación con su país de origen?
- En este sentido, ¿siente Usted que la perspectiva que tenía hacia los partidos políticos en su país de origen *vía* a la perspectiva que tiene sobre los partidos ecuatorianos, o son casos diferentes?
- ¿Siente que su manera de votar cambió después de vivir en Ecuador? En particular, ¿siente que su relación con conceptos como la derecha o la izquierda, la democracia o los partidos políticos, cambió después de vivir en Ecuador?

SECCIÓN D. PERFIL MIGRANTE

(18.1) Actualmente, ¿cuál es su estatus legal en Ecuador?					
1. No tengo visa actualmente, o nunca la tuve		2. Estoy renovando mi visa		3. Tengo visa temporal (incluida Visa MERCOSUR)	
4. Tengo visa permanente		5. Tengo doble ciudadanía/nacionalidad		6. Hoy en día, soy solo ecuatoriano/a	
7. Estoy en trámite de asilo o soy asilado		8. Tengo estatus de refugiado		9. Prefiero no decirlo	
(18.2) Solo para quienes NO son actualmente ecuatorianos: ¿ha considerado Usted solicitar la nacionalidad ecuatoriana en el futuro?					
1. Sí, estoy tramitando la nacionalidad		2. Sí, muy probablemente		3. Quizás algún día lo considere	
4. No, no lo creo		5. Nunca lo haría		6. Prefiero no decirlo	
(18.3) Solo para quienes tienen doble ciudadanía/nacionalidad: ¿cuáles son sus dos ciudadanía/nacionalidades?					
(a) _____.					
(b) _____.					

(19) En Ecuador durante los últimos 12 meses, ¿ha sido Usted o alguien de su hogar discriminado/a o tratado injustamente, por una persona ecuatoriana, debido a ...? (Puede marcar varias opciones)			
1. Su nivel socioeconómico		2. Su ropa	
			3. Sus creencias o religión
4. Ser inmigrante o extranjero/a		5. Su color de piel	
			6. Su manera de hablar
7. No me he sentido discriminado/a		8. Otras formas de discriminación:	a) _____ b) _____

(20) Actualmente, ¿cuál es su principal actividad económica?			
1. Trabajo estable		2. Trabajo esporádico (temporal)	
			3. Cesante y buscando trabajo
4. Cesante, pero no busco trabajo		5. Estudio y trabajo	
			6. Solo estudio
7. No trabajo ni estudio		8. Jubilado/a o pensionado/a	

(21) Pensando en sus ingresos y en los de su grupo familiar, ¿cuál de las siguientes alternativas describe mejor su situación actual?			
1. No alcanzamos a cubrir nuestras necesidades		3. Nos permite darnos pequeños gustos	
2. Cubrimos nuestras necesidades básicas y nada más		4. Nos permite vivir cómodamente	

(22) ¿Qué tan frecuente viaja Usted a su país de origen?			
1. Nunca (ni una vez al menos en estos últimos cinco años)		2. Rara vez (una o dos veces en los últimos 5 años)	
3. Ocasionalmente (cada año o año por medio)		4. Frecuentemente (una hasta tres veces al año)	

(23.1) ¿Qué tan frecuente envía remesas a su país de origen al año?			
1. Nunca envió remesas		2. Solo en una emergencia	
			3. Entre 1 y 3 envíos por año
4. Entre 4 y 6 envíos por año		5. Entre 7 y 10 envíos por año	
			6. Más de 10 envíos por año
(23.2) Si envía remesas a su país de origen, ¿cuál es el monto promedio que manda por envío?			
1. Menos de \$100		2. Entre \$101 y \$250	
			3. Entre \$251 y \$500
4. Entre \$501 y \$1000		5. Superior a \$1000	
			6. No quiero decirlo

(24.1) En Ecuador: ¿Usted es un miembro activo de...? (Puede marcar varias opciones)							
1. Partido político ecuatoriano		2. Asociación civil de migrantes		3. ONG ecuatoriana		4. Ninguna de las opciones	
(24.2) Pensando en su país de origen ¿Usted actualmente es un miembro activo de...?							
1. Partido político del país de origen		2. Servicio diplomático		3. ONG de su país de origen		4. Ninguna de las opciones	

(25.1) Por favor, califique de 1 a 5 (siendo 1 nada y 5 mucho) su nivel de confianza hoy en día en relación a las instituciones de su país de origen:												
1. Partidos políticos	1	2	3	4	5	2. Presidencia	1	2	3	4	5	
3. Policía	1	2	3	4	5	4. Fuerzas Armadas	1	2	3	4	5	
5. Sistema Judicial	1	2	3	4	5	6. Sistema Legislativo	1	2	3	4	5	
7. Entidad Electoral	1	2	3	4	5	8. Embajada/consulado	1	2	3	4	5	

(25.2) Por favor, califique de 1 a 5 (siendo 1 nada y 5 mucho) su nivel de confianza hoy en día en relación a las siguientes instituciones ecuatorianas:												
1. Partidos políticos	1	2	3	4	5	2. Presidencia	1	2	3	4	5	
3. Policía Nacional	1	2	3	4	5	4. Fuerzas Armadas	1	2	3	4	5	
5. Sistema Judicial	1	2	3	4	5	6. Asamblea Nacional	1	2	3	4	5	
7. CNE	1	2	3	4	5	8. Extranjería	1	2	3	4	5	

¡Muchas gracias por haber participado de esta entrevista!

Interview Questionnaire, translated to English

SECTION A. GENERAL IDENTIFICATION

(1) How old are you?	(_____) years old.
-----------------------------	--------------------

(2) What is your gender?			
1. Feminine		2. Masculine	
3. I prefer not to say.			

(3) In which country were you born?			
1. Chile		2. Colombia	
3. Cuba			
4. Spain		5. Peru	
6. Venezuela			

(4) What is your highest completed level of education?			
1. Unfinished basic education (primary/ middle school)	2. Basic education (primary/middle school)	3. High school	
4. Technical training	5. Undergraduate (university degree)	6. Postgraduate (master's, diploma, doctoral degree)	

(5) Which year did you move to Ecuador?			
1. Between 1979–1984	2. Between 1985–1989	3. Between 1990–1994	
4. Between 1995–1999	5. Between 2000–2004	6. Between 2005–2009	
7. Between 2010–2014	8. Between 2015–2019	9. Before 1979	

(6) Before moving to Ecuador, did you first migrate to another country?			
0. No	1. Yes	If you responded “yes,” could you answer, which country (or countries) did you live in, and for how long?	(a) _____ (____ years) (b) _____ (____ years) (c) _____ (____ years)

(7) How many more years do you plan to live in Ecuador?			
1. Less than a year	2. Between 1 and 4 years	3. Between 5 and 10 years	
4. Forever	5. I don't know.	6. I'd rather not say.	

SECTION B. ELECTORAL PARTICIPATION

(8.1) Thinking about <i>Ecuador</i>. How interested are you in politics here?			
1. Very interested	2. Somewhat interested	3. Uninterested	4. Completely uninterested

(8.2) Thinking about your <i>origin country</i>. How interested are you in politics there?			
1. Very interested	2. Somewhat interested	3. Uninterested	4. Completely uninterested

(9) Are you registered to vote in Ecuadorian elections?			
0. No	1. Yes	2. I don't know.	

(10.1) Have you voted in at least one election in Ecuador?			
0. No	1. Yes	2. I don't remember.	

(10.2.) If you responded “yes”: Do you remember when you voted? (Select all that apply)			

1. 2019 (local/regional elections and CPCS ⁹³)		2. 2018 (referendum)		3. 2017 (presidential, legislative elections)	
4. 2014 (local/regional elections)		5. 2013 (presidential, legislative elections)		6. 2011 (referendums)	
7. 2009 (presidential, legislative, local/regional elections)				8. Prior elections	

(11) Will you vote in the 2021 presidential election in Ecuador?					
0. No		1. Yes		2. I don't know.	

(12) Are you registered to vote in elections in your origin country?					
0. No		1. Yes		2. I don't know.	

(13) In the past, while you still lived in your origin country (before emigrating), did you vote in at least one presidential or parliamentary election <i>there</i>?					
0. No		1. Yes		2. I don't remember.	

(14) In the past, while you were already living in Ecuador (after immigrating), have you voted in at least one presidential or parliamentary election for your origin country, voting <i>from here</i>?					
0. No		1. Yes		2. I don't remember.	

(15) In the future, if you continue living in Ecuador, will you vote <i>from here</i> in the next election in your origin country?					
0. No		1. Yes		2. I don't know.	

(16) In the following scale, where would you self-identity regarding politics? (Please select only one number)												
Left →	1	2	3	4	5	← Center →	6	7	8	9	10	← Right

(17) To what extent do you agree with the following statement: "Democracy is the best type of government"?					
1. Completely agree		2. Agree		3. Neither agree nor disagree	
4. Disagree		5. Completely disagree		6. I prefer not to offer an opinion.	

⁹³ CPCS (*Consejo de Participación Ciudadana y Control Social*, or the Council for Citizen Participation and Social Control) was a one-time election to choose a group of members to serve on the council.

SECTION C. OPEN-ENDED QUESTIONS [CONVERSATION STYLE]

Regarding electoral participation:

- Please tell me about an electoral experience you have had, either in Ecuador or in your origin country [Note: it is relevant to know when and where the experience occurred, in what type of election you voted, for example, presidential elections, and the sociopolitical context].
- In your opinion, what is the main obstacle or limitation for voting in Ecuador? Also, what is the main obstacle or limitation for voting in your origin country from abroad?
- Contrarily, what motivates you to vote in Ecuador? What motivates you to vote in your origin country? What are the most important reasons for you to make these decisions?
 - a. *Only for those who do NOT vote in Ecuador and/or in their origin country*, what are the reasons to abstain from voting in Ecuador, the origin country, or both?
- Do you think your vote impacts, or generates a change, in your origin country? Similarly, do you think your vote impacts or generates a change in Ecuador? If so, how, and in what way? Please differentiate between the two countries.

Regarding political culture and political socialization:

- Do you remember if your family talked about politics at the dinner table or when they met, when you were young, or in your teenage years? Did your family, for example, go as a group to vote, or did they each go out on their own?
- Do you remember the first time you voted? Was your experience in Ecuador, or in your origin country? Which elections did you participate in—were they Ecuadorian or for your origin country? Please feel free to elaborate on the memory.
- Do you feel that voting in one country (either Ecuador or your origin country) affects your future electoral decisions or preferences? If so, why, and how? Please distinguish between the two countries.

Regarding democracy and political (re)socialization:

- What is, or has been, your perception of democracy in your origin country—both before moving to Ecuador and since living here? Along the same lines, what is or has been your perception of Ecuadorian democracy, both before migrating and now residing here?

- Do you think that your experiences with politics in your origin country—when you were a child, teenager, and before migrating to Ecuador—affect how you interact with or relate to others about politics today? If so, why, and how?

Regarding party identification:

- Is your political party identification the same in both countries? That is, do you normally vote for left-leaning or right-leaning parties in both countries? If not, what is the difference for you?
- How would you define your relationship with Ecuadorian political parties and movements? Do you feel represented? Could you make a brief comparison with those in your origin country?
- Along the same lines, do you feel that the perspective you had towards political parties in your origin country ‘travels’ to your views on Ecuadorian political parties, or are they different cases for you?
- Do you feel that your way of voting has changed since living in Ecuador? Specifically, do you feel that your relationship with concepts such as right- or left-leaning, democracy, or political parties, has changed since living in Ecuador?

SECTION D. MIGRANT PROFILE

(18.1) What is your current legal status in Ecuador?					
1. I don't currently have a visa, or I never had one.		2. I'm currently renewing my visa.		3. I have a temporary visa (including the Mercosur visa)	
4. I have a permanent visa.		5. I have dual citizenship/nationality.		6. I'm only Ecuadorian.	
7. I'm in the process of asking for asylum.		8. I have refugee status.		9. I prefer not to say.	
(18.2) Only for those who are NOT currently Ecuadorian: Have you considered applying for the Ecuadorian nationality sometime in the future?					
1. Yes, I'm currently in the processes of applying.		2. Yes, it's very likely.		3. Maybe someday I would consider it.	
4. No, I don't think so.		5. I would never apply.		6. I prefer not to say.	
(18.3) Only for those who have dual citizenship/nationality: What are your two citizenships/nationalities?					
(a) _____.					
(b) _____.					

(19) In Ecuador over the last 12 months, have you or someone in your household been treated unfairly or discriminated against by an Ecuadorian, for...? (Check all that apply)					
1. Your socioeconomic standing.		2. Your clothing		3. Your beliefs or religion	
4. Being an immigrant or foreigner		5. Your skin color		6. Your way of speaking	
7. I haven't felt discriminated against.		8. Another form of discrimination:	a) _____.	b) _____.	

(20) What is your main current economic activity right now?					
1. I have a steady job.		2. I have a temporary or sporadic job.		3. I'm unemployed and looking for work.	
4. I'm unemployed but not looking for work.		5. I study and work.		6. I only study.	
7. I'm not working or studying.		8. I'm retired.			

(21) Considering your household income, which of the following best describe your current financial situation?					
1. We don't cover our basic needs.		3. Our income allows for a treat now and again.			
2. We cover our basic needs but nothing more.		4. Our income allows us to live comfortably.			

(22) How often do you travel to your origin country?					
1. Never (not even once in the last five years)		2. Rarely (once or twice in the last five years)			
3. Occasionally (once a year or every year and a half)		4. Frequently (even sometimes three times a year)			

(23.1) How often do you send remittances to your origin country every year?					
1. I never send remittances.		2. Only in emergencies		3. Between 1 and 3 times a year	
4. Between 4 and 6 times a year		5. Between 7 and 10 times a year		6. More than 10 times a year	
(23.2) If you send remittances to the origin country, on average, how much do you send each time?⁹⁴					

⁹⁴ Remittances were asked in USD because Ecuador uses the US Dollar.

1. Less than \$100	2. Between \$101 and \$250	3. Between \$251 and \$500
4. Between \$501 and \$1000	5. More than \$1000	6. I prefer not to say.

(24.1) In Ecuador, are you an active member of...? (Check all that apply)			
1. Ecuadorian political party		2. Migrant civil association	
		3. Ecuadorian NGO	
		4. None of these	
(24.2) Thinking about your origin country, are you an active member of...? (Check all that apply)			
1. Political party in the origin country		2. Diplomatic service	
		3. NGO in the origin country	
		4. None of these	

(25.1) Please mark your confidence level from 1 to 5 (1 being very low and 5 being very high) in each of the following institutions in your origin country:											
1. Political parties	1	2	3	4	5	2. Office of President	1	2	3	4	5
3. Police	1	2	3	4	5	4. Armed forces	1	2	3	4	5
5. Judicial system	1	2	3	4	5	6. Legislative system	1	2	3	4	5
7. Electoral body	1	2	3	4	5	8. Embassy/Consulate	1	2	3	4	5

(25.2) Please mark your confidence level from 1 to 5 (1 being very low and 5 being very high) in each of the following institutions in Ecuador:											
1. Political parties	1	2	3	4	5	2. Office of President	1	2	3	4	5
3. National Police	1	2	3	4	5	4. Armed forces	1	2	3	4	5
5. Judicial system	1	2	3	4	5	6. Legislative system	1	2	3	4	5
7. CNE	1	2	3	4	5	8. Office of Foreign Affairs	1	2	3	4	5

Thank you for participating in this interview!

Appendix 3.7 Leaders in Selected Origin and Residence Countries, First Year of Regime and Full Name, 1979–2020 (Excluding Acting Presidents)

Chile

- 1973 (coup of Salvador Allende) Augusto José Ramón Pinochet Ugarte
- 1989 Patricio Aylwin Azócar
- 1994 Eduardo Alfredo Juan Bernardo Frei Ruiz-Tagle
- 2000 Ricardo Froilán Lagos Escobar

- 2006 Verónica Michelle Bachelet Jeria (1st term)
2010 Miguel Juan Sebastián Piñera Echenique (1st term)
2014 Verónica Michelle Bachelet Jeria (2nd term)
2018 Miguel Juan Sebastián Piñera Echenique (2nd term)

Source : www.memoriachilena.gob.cl/602/w3-article-3573.html#cronologia

Colombia

- 1978 Julio César Turbay Ayala
1982 Belisario Antonio Betancur Cuartas
1986 Virgilio Barco Vargas
1990 César Augusto Gaviria Trujillo
1994 Ernesto Samper Pizano
1998 Andrés Pastrana Arango
2002 Álvaro Uribe Vélez (1st term)
2006 Álvaro Uribe Vélez (2nd term)
2010 Juan Manuel Santos Calderón
2014 Juan Manuel Santos Calderón
2018 Iván Duque Márquez

Source : www.colombia.com/colombia-info/historia-de-colombia/presidentes-de-colombia/

Cuba

- 1959 Fidel Alejandro Castro Ruz
2008 Raúl Modesto Castro Ruz (acting President in 2006; officially President in 2008)
2018 Miguel Díaz-Canel Bermúdez

Source : www.ecured.cu/Presidente_de_Cuba

Ecuador

- 1979 Jaime Roldós Aguilera
1981 Luis Osvaldo Hurtado Larrea
1984 León Esteban Francisco Febres-Cordero Ribadeneyra

- 1988 Rodrigo Borja Cevallos
1992 Sixto Durán-Ballén Cordovez
1996 Abdalá Jaime Bucaram Ortíz
1997 Lupe Rosalía Arteaga Serrano
1997 Fabián Ernesto Alarcón Rivera
1998 Jorge Jamil Mahuad Witt
2000 Gustavo José Joaquín Noboa Bejarano
2003 Lucio Edwin Gutiérrez Borbúa
2005 Luis Alfredo Palacio González
2007 Rafael Vicente Correa Delgado (1st term)
2009 Rafael Vicente Correa Delgado (2nd term)
2013 Rafael Vicente Correa Delgado (3rd term)
2017 Lenín Boltaire Moreno Garcés

Sources : Mejía Acosta (2002); <http://cne.gob.ec/es/component/tags/tag/atlas-electoral-del-ecuador>

Peru

- 1975 Francisco Morales-Bermúdez Cerruti
1980 Fernando Belaúnde Terry
1985 Alan García Pérez (1st term)
1990 Alberto Fujimori (1st term)
1995 Alberto Fujimori (2nd term)
2000 Alberto Fujimori (3rd term)
2000 Valentín Paniagua Corazao
2001 Alejandro Toledo Manrique
2006 Alan Gabriel Ludwig García Pérez (2nd term)
2011 Ollanta Moisés Humala Tasso
2016 Pedro Pablo Kuczynski Godard
2018 Martín Alberto Vizcarra Cornejo

Sources : www.congreso.gob.pe/biblioteca/presidentes/2000-2021;
<https://www.bbc.com/news/world-latin-america-16097439>

Venezuela

- 1979 Luis Antonio Herrera Campíns
- 1984 Jaime Ramón Lusinchi
- 1989 Carlos Andrés Pérez Rodríguez
- 1993 Ramón José Velázquez Mújica
- 1994 Rafael Antonio Caldera Rodríguez
- 1999 Hugo Rafael Chávez Frías (1st term)
- 2000 Hugo Rafael Chávez Frías (2nd term)
- 2002 Hugo Rafael Chávez Frías (3rd term)
- 2007 Hugo Rafael Chávez Frías (4th term)
- 2013 Hugo Rafael Chávez Frías (5th term)
- 2013 Nicolás Maduro Moros (1st term)
- 2013 Nicolás Maduro Moros (2nd term)
- 2019 Nicolás Maduro Moros (3rd term; only partially recognized)
- 2019 Juan Gerardo Antonio Guaidó Márquez (only partially recognized)

Sources : https://www.venezuelatuya.com/historia/presidentes_de_venezuela.htm; www.cne.gob.ve

Appendix 3.8 Regimes of the World (RoW) Definitions and Operationalization

I used the following typology to classify regimes (in Table 3.4); after which I include the definition of each of the four types as well as a brief overview of operationalization.

Closed Autocracy	Electoral Autocracy	Electoral Democracy	Liberal Democracy
No <i>de-facto</i> multiparty, or free and fair elections, or Dahl's institutional prerequisites not minimally fulfilled		<i>De-facto</i> multiparty, free and fair elections, and Dahl's institutional prerequisites minimally fulfilled	
No multiparty elections for the chief executive or the legislature	<i>De-jure</i> multiparty elections for the chief executive and the legislature	The rule of law, or liberal principles not satisfied	The rule of law, and liberal principles satisfied

Source: Recreated from Lührmann, Tannenberg, and Lindberg's (2018) Table 1.

According to the researchers' justification (Lührmann *et al.* 2018, pp. 3–4), *de-jure* multiparty elections are insufficient to make a regime a democracy because there is a lack of accountability between voters being able to reward or punish incumbents (or 'rulers') at the ballot—which is why they argue that democracy “requires not only free and fair elections but also the freedoms that make them meaningful.” The main difference between the two types of autocracies is about direct or indirect elections for the executive and national legislature.

Regime Definitions

These definitions are from Lührmann and colleagues' (2018) RoW work.

1) Closed autocracy: “the chief executive and the legislature are either not subject to elections, or there is no *de-facto* competition in elections such as in one-party regimes. Regimes with elections that do not affect who is the chief executive (even if somewhat competitive) also fall into this category.”

2) Electoral autocracy: “the chief executive is dependent on a legislature that is itself elected in *de-jure* multiparty elections (in parliamentary systems), directly elected alongside a separately elected legislature (in presidential systems), or a combination of both (in semi-presidential systems). In an

electoral autocracy, these institutions are de-facto undermined such that electoral accountability is evaded.”

3) Electoral democracy: this regime achieves the basic criteria of “*de-facto* multiparty and free and fair elections” since this dimension is a “necessary, qualitative criteria for labelling a regime as a democracy.”

4) Liberal democracy: “In addition to fulfilling the criteria for electoral democracy, liberal democracies are characterized by an additional set of individual and minority rights beyond the electoral sphere, which protect against the ‘tyranny of the majority’, thus having limits on government is intrinsic to democracy itself.”

Operationalization Overview

The RoW regime typology is operationalized with data from Varieties of Democracy (V-Dem). Lührmann, Tannenberg, and Lindberg (2018: 5) explain the overall operationalization as follows: two main variables, which mirror V-DEM indicators, distinguish between autocracy and democracy: a) multiparty elections and b) free and fair elections. Only democracies have a sufficient score of each and meet the Electoral Democracy Index cut-off. Lacking one or the other indicators, or not meeting the cut-off, results in autocracy. On one hand, within autocracy, two variables distinguish between closed and electoral autocracies: a) multiparty elections executive and b) multiparty elections legislature. Insufficient scores on either one results in a closed autocracy. On the other hand, within democracy, not sufficiently meeting two variables, a) access to justice men/women and b) transparent law enforcement, results in electoral democracy. Meeting these two, plus being higher than the Liberal Component Index cut-off, results in liberal democracy. (For exact score cut-offs and their relation to V-Dem data, consult Lührmann, Tannenberg, and Lindberg 2018).

Accordingly, I code the selected origin and residence countries starting in 1979 when Ecuador returned to democracy, up until present, 2020, as:

Regimes of the World classification for selected origin countries and residence country: 0=closed autocracy; 1= electoral autocracy; 2=electoral democracy; 3=liberal democracy											
Chile		Colombia		Cuba		Ecuador		Peru		Venezuela	
1979–1988	0	1979–1990	1	1979–Pres.	0	1979	1	1979	0	1979–2002	2
1989	1	1991–Pres.	2			1980–Pres.	2	1980	1	2003–Pres.	1
1990–1995	2							1981–1991	2		
1996–Pres.	3							1992–1994	0		
								1995–2000	1		
								2001–Pres.	2		

Source: Lührmann, A., Tannenber, M., & Lindberg, S. I. (n.d.). Regimes of the World - the RoW measure (www.v-dem.net/en/analysis/VariableGraph/).

Notes: 'Pres.' means present, as of 2020.