



**UNIVERSIDAD SAN FRANCISCO DE QUITO**

**Colegio de Ciencias Sociales y Humanidades**

**If I Beat You is Because I Love You: Authoritarian Education in  
Ecuadorian Families and its Incidence on Preferences for Authoritarian  
Rulers**

**Paula Armendáriz Miranda**

**Daniel Montalvo, PhD. , Director de Tesis**

Tesis de grado presentada como requisito para la obtención del título de Licenciada  
en Relaciones Internacionales y Ciencia Política

Quito, diciembre 2013

**Universidad San Francisco de Quito Colegio de  
Ciencias Sociales y Humanidades**

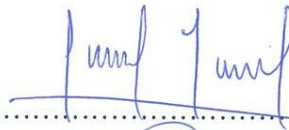
**HOJA DE APROBACION DE TESIS**

**If I Beat You is Because I Love You:**

**Authoritarian Education in Ecuadorian Families and  
its Incidence on Preferences for Authoritarian Rulers**

**Paula Armendáriz Miranda**

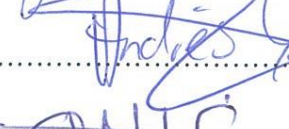
Daniel Montalvo, PhD.  
Director de la Tesis  
Miembro del Comité de Tesis



Juan Carlos Donoso, PhD.  
Miembro del Comité de Tesis



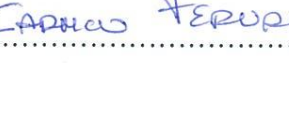
Andrés González, PhD.  
Miembro del Comité de Tesis



Carlos Meléndez, PhD (c)  
Miembro del Comité de Tesis



Carmen Fernández-Salvador, PhD.  
Decana del Colegio de Ciencias  
Sociales y Humanidades



Quito, diciembre del 2013

© DERECHOS DE AUTOR

Por medio del presente documento certifico que he leído la Política de Propiedad Intelectual de la Universidad San Francisco de Quito y estoy de acuerdo con su contenido, por lo que los derechos de propiedad intelectual del presente trabajo de investigación quedan sujetos a lo dispuesto en la Política.

Asimismo, autorizo a la USFQ para que realice la digitalización y publicación de este trabajo de investigación en el repositorio virtual, de conformidad a lo dispuesto en el Art. 144 de la Ley Orgánica de Educación Superior.

Firma:

-----

Nombre: Paula Armendáriz Miranda

C. I.: 1714279187

Fecha: Quito, diciembre 2013

## **Agradecimientos**

A mis padres por ser maravillosos, únicos y por darme más de lo que cualquier hija pudiera desear. Gracias por educarme con los valores de la Libertad, la Igualdad y la Fraternidad. Este trabajo es sólo el reflejo de la dedicación y del apoyo que me han dado a lo largo de mi vida.

A Daniel Montalvo quien me guió no sólo a lo largo de mi trabajo de investigación, si no también a lo largo de mis estudios universitarios. Gracias por el tiempo y empeño que le dedicaste a mi tesis, los conocimientos que adquirí en este proceso me servirán para toda la vida.

## **Resumen Ejecutivo**

¿Por qué algunos ecuatorianos prefieren líderes autoritarios mientras otros prefieren líderes democráticos? Las investigaciones sobre autoritarismo en el Ecuador han tratado a este fenómeno como consecuencia de la falta de desarrollo económico del país y de la presencia de gobiernos débiles y populistas que han minado la democracia en el Ecuador. No obstante, estos estudios no han tratado con el hecho de que las preferencias por líderes autoritarios pueden ser analizadas como el resultado de la transmisión de valores autoritarios dentro de la familia. En la presente investigación sostengo que la educación autoritaria dentro de las familias ecuatorianas está positivamente correlacionada con las preferencias individuales por líderes autoritarios. Consecuentemente, los ecuatorianos prefieren líderes autoritarios debido a que durante su niñez recibieron una educación autoritaria dentro de su familia. Para probar mi hipótesis utilicé métodos cuantitativos y cualitativos. Los métodos cuantitativos comprendieron el uso de datos de LAPOP de la ronda 2012 para Ecuador. Los métodos cuantitativos estuvieron compuestos por la aplicación de tests de aperccepción que fueron aplicados a niños y a sus padres. Mis resultados demuestran que los padres de clases económicas bajas aplican una educación autoritaria con sus hijos y además, prefieren líderes autoritarios. Conjuntamente, encontré que los niños que pertenecen a clases bajas reciben una educación autoritaria e interiorizan los valores y preferencias autoritarias transmitidas por sus padres. Por el contrario, los padres de clases media y alta aplican una educación liberal y prefieren líderes democráticos. Además, los niños de clases media y alta reciben una educación liberal e interiorizan los valores liberales transmitidos por sus padres.

## **Abstract**

Why some Ecuadorians prefer authoritarian instead of democratic rulers? Research regarding authoritarianism in Ecuador has argued that this phenomenon is a consequence of the country's lack of economic development and of poor and populist governments that have undermined democracy in the country. Nevertheless, these studies have not dealt with the fact that preferences for authoritarian rulers can be analyzed as the result of the transmission of authoritarian values inside families. In this study I argue that authoritarian education inside Ecuadorian families is positively correlated with individuals' preferences for authoritarian rulers. Hence, Ecuadorians prefer authoritarian rulers due to the fact that during their childhood they received an authoritarian education inside their family. In order to test my hypothesis, I employed quantitative and qualitative research methods. For quantitative data I used LAPOP's 2012 data for Ecuador and for qualitative data I applied Children Apperception Tests and Thematic Apperception Tests to children and adults respectively. I found that low-income class parents exert an authoritarian education with their children and that these parents highly prefer authoritarian rulers to democratic ones. Additionally, I found that children in low-income class families, interiorized authoritarian values and preferences transmitted by their parents. On the contrary, middle and high-income class parents exerted a liberal education with their children and preferred democratic rulers. As such, I also found that children in middle and high-income classes interiorized liberal values transmitted by their parents.

## Table of Contents

<b>Agradecimientos</b>	<b>5</b>
<b>Resumen Ejecutivo</b>	<b>6</b>
<b>Abstract</b>	<b>7</b>
<b>Introduction</b>	<b>10</b>
<b>Literature Review</b>	<b>23</b>
<b>Theory</b>	<b>40</b>
<b>Research Design</b>	<b>53</b>
<i>Table 1. Summary of Variables</i>	<i>60</i>
<i>Table 1. Summary of Variables</i>	<i>61</i>
<b>Results</b>	<b>68</b>
<i>Table 2. Multilevel Analysis of the Determinants of Authoritarianism in Ecuador 2012</i>	<i>79</i>
<i>Table 2. Multilevel Analysis of the Determinants of Authoritarianism in Ecuador 2012</i>	<i>80</i>
<i>Table 2. Multilevel Analysis of the Determinants of Authoritarianism in Ecuador 2012</i>	<i>81</i>
<b>Discussion</b>	<b>86</b>
<b>Conclusions</b>	<b>106</b>
<b>Bibliography</b>	<b>117</b>
<b>Appendix</b>	<b>122</b>
<i>Children Apperception Tests</i>	<i>122</i>
<i>Thematic Apperception Tests</i>	<i>124</i>
<i>Altemeyer's Right Wing Authoritarianism Scale</i>	<i>126</i>
<i>Bellak's Scoring System</i>	<i>128</i>



## **List of Tables and Figures**

Table 1: Summary of Variables

Table 2: Multilevel analysis of the Determinants of Authoritarianism in Ecuador

Diagram 1: Authoritarian Education Imparted to Children and Preferences for Authoritarian Rulers

Figure 1 Low-Income Class Parents' Scores on Altemeyer's Right Wing Authoritarian Scale

Figure 2 Low-Income Class Parents' Scores on Altemeyer's Right Wing Authoritarian Scale

## **Introduction**

Why some Ecuadorians prefer authoritarian instead of democratic rulers? While volunteering in a social foundation that takes care of children with cancer, Estefanía (fictitious name) a 7-year-old girl was anxious to find someone to play with. In her search, Estefanía told a volunteer “do you want to play the belt game with me?” Surprised by the girl’s suggestion, the volunteer asked the little girl “and what is that game all about?” Estefanía replied that the game is like hide and seek; she would hide somewhere and the volunteer had to try to find her. If she did, she would hit Estefanía with a belt... several times. Astonished by the nature of the game the volunteer asked the little girl who taught her that game and who did she play that game with. The girl said that her mother and father taught her that game and that she plays it at home all the time: “mom and dad say it is good for me, because in that way I learn how to behave and whom should I obey, while I get to have fun because I’m playing hide and seek with them”. Estefanía comes from a low-income class family of Quito that has suffered economic issues for a long time. Her mother and father assist to the foundation every weekend, so the volunteer had the opportunity to meet them one day.

When the volunteer met Estefanía’s mother she asked why she plays the belt game with her daughter. The mother told the volunteer that she needed to keep complete control of her daughter and that she needs to learn how to obey the authorities that are above her: “just like we need to obey our authorities from above”. Like Estefanía, a lot of children in Ecuador are taught this kind of games in their homes and, most importantly, receive this sort of education inside their families. “Obedience to authority and compliance with parent’s rules and norms are the most important elements that a mother or father should teach their children”, Estefanía’s mother said. The perpetuation and spread of this type of education has made Ecuadorians prefer authoritarian rulers that largely emulate and reflect

the sort of values that individuals received at home. This thesis develops a theory that states that the preference for authoritarian rulers is explained by authoritarian values and preferences taught inside the family.

The study of authoritarianism and of the development of authoritarian values has been widely discussed since Adorno's (1950) book, *The Authoritarian Personality*, dealt with the issue of finding specific individual characteristics that are linked to authoritarian behaviors in society. Since then, studies concerned with authoritarianism as embedded in individuals' personality and behavior have sought to explain this by dealing with the quality of formal education that is imparted to children, with the lack of economic opportunities that individuals have, and even with biological predispositions that make certain individuals more prone to authoritarian behaviors (Lipset, 1959; Milgram; 1965; Hatemi, 201).

Investigations regarding authoritarianism in Ecuador have argued that authoritarianism is a consequence of the country's lack of economic development and of poor governments that have undermined democracy in the country (O'Donnell, 1994; Pachano, 2008, 2010). Ecuador's lack of economic development has resulted in a society that is unsatisfied with its governments, which has also resulted in a lack of trust in the democratic system. As Ecuadorians have been looking for answers to their economic issues, they have been prone to accept authoritarian governments and rulers that offer quick and short-term solutions to their problems (Pachano, 2008). Moreover, the persistence of populism in the country has also been identified as a threat to democratic consolidation in the country. Populist rulers have based their governments on a confrontational rhetoric, bypass of democratic institutions as a justification of meeting people's demands and clientelist measures in order to attract citizen's votes (Sosa, 2012). Thus, the persistence of this sort of political rulers have been an obstacle to the

consolidation of democracy in Ecuador and have, instead, identified as factors that increase Ecuador's authoritarianism as part of the country's political culture (Sosa, 2012).

However, such studies carried out in Ecuador have not dealt with the fact that preferences for authoritarian rulers can be analyzed as the result of the transmission of authoritarian values inside families. Consequently, the way children are being raised and the kind of political values that are being transmitted to them inside their families are of crucial importance in order to understand the roots of authoritarianism in Ecuador. In this regard, what type of education is linked to authoritarianism? Which groups in society are more prone to practice an authoritarian education inside their families? How parents transmit values to their children and how this process affects children behavior in social institutions? Most importantly, how education inside the family can determine individual's preferences for authoritarian rulers? By answering these inquiries it will be possible to find a linkage between education inside the family and the development and manifestation of political values in societal institutions.

In this context, I argue that authoritarian education inside the family largely influences individual's preferences for authoritarian political rulers. That is, children that receive an authoritarian education inside their family, most surely will prefer authoritarian political rulers instead of democratic ones. In this regard, my hypothesis is that authoritarian education inside Ecuadorian families is positively correlated with individuals' preferences for authoritarian rulers. Hence, Ecuadorians prefer authoritarian rulers due to the fact that during their childhood they received an authoritarian education inside their family. Children interiorize values learned inside their families by emulating the behaviors of the people that raised them, normally children's mothers and fathers. As such, children identify the person that raises them as their "personal hero"; accordingly children consider that they should emulate the behaviors, values and beliefs of their "personal heroes".

Because children's "personal heroes" hold authoritarian values, children will interiorize these values and will make them part of their personality.

The gradual realization that authoritarian preferences grow from education inside the family and that these determine individual's inclination for authoritarian rulers have challenged widely held views that authoritarianism is related to a lack of formal education, of income generation and of political stability (Jennings & Niemi, 1968). Foremost among agencies of socialization into politics is the family, for the transmission of political values inside this scenario is the first linkage that little kids construct and experience with political life. In this regard, education inside the family and the values that are transmitted in this environment largely shape the way children are going to behave in social institutions outside their home. Furthermore, family education is also related with children's future political preferences. Thus, how a child was educated inside his or her home can largely influence the type of political rulers that these children will chose later on in their political life.

The importance of the education inside the family is due to the fact that it is in this scenario that children acquire and construct their political values. Studies of parent-children samples indicate that throughout life there is a high degree of correspondence between sons and daughters' political preferences and their parent's preferences (Jennings & Niemi, 1968). This is explained by the fact that children gradually acquire a wide range of attitudes and feelings about various aspects of political life and that this acquisition is a product of the education inside the family (Easton & Dennis, *The Child's Acquisition of Regime Norms: Political Efficacy*, 1967). Moreover, authors such as David Easton, Jack Dennis and Kent Jennings have investigated the transmission of political values from parents to children. Such studies have concluded that among the variety of values parents transmit to their children, political values present the highest correlation. That is, children

successfully interiorize political values transmitted to them by their parents and, as such, parent's shape children's political preferences. These investigations have found that once political values are interiorized the influences of external groups and societal institutions is not strong enough to change the nature of the political values that were transmitted during childhood (Easton & Dennis, 1967; Jennings & Niemi, 1968).

In line with these arguments, I argue that children engage in a process of identification with the individuals that they perceive as being their "personal hero"; that is the person that children consider as the figure that they should emulate in their values and preferences (Bandura, 1969). In most of the cases, children perceive their father or their mother as their "personal heroes"; which means that parent's values are of utmost importance in the process of value formation of the child. According to the theory of identification processes, children engage in a modeling process in which they perceive a certain individual in their early life that is the one they identify with. That is, they recognize this person as their main reference in value and preferences formation. In this sense, children mostly, but not always, perceive their mother or father as the figure they should emulate. This is due to the fact that children see their parents as the ones that are nurturant, they provide physical and emotional care to the child, and have power over resources, such as food, shelter and even emotional stability, that are needed by the child (Maccoby, 1992). According to Alfred Bandura, experiments in child development have shown that "because parents are both nurturant and powerful, children should be more likely to learn by observing them than by observing strangers" (Bandura, 1969, p. 215). Consequently, as children perceive the individual that raise them as their "personal hero" and as such, they identify with this individual's values; those children that have authoritarian "personal heroes" will most surely hold authoritarian values and preferences throughout their lives.

The authoritarian individual presents three core characteristics: 1) submissive, the individual puts a special emphasis on respect and unconditional obedience to authorities. 2) Aggression, expressed as intolerance of and punitiveness towards persons that do not conform to the individual's norms and rules. 3) Conventionalism, the individual emphasizes conformity with norms and rules of conduct established by superior authorities (Janowitz & Marvick, 1953). In this regard, authoritarians will prefer rulers that are repressive and that have an iron fist, because as such they fulfill their need to be submitted to authorities and to their norms (Adorno & et. al, *The Authoritarian Personality*, 1950). Moreover, because authoritarian individuals have this need to be submitted to higher authorities that tell them how they should behave and what should they believe; they also have a need to submit others that are in an inferior level. In this sense, as the authoritarian individual accepts submission coming from political rulers; he also excerpts a need to submit others as a way to transmit the authoritarian values learned during childhood. As such, "individuals that have been forced to live in systems of repression also develop resentment towards others and try to implement authoritarian measures upon weaker individuals" (Adorno & et. al, *The Authoritarian Personality*, 1950, p. 228).

Taking this into consideration, authoritarian individuals engage in a specific form of transmission of their values and preferences to their children. In this sense, authoritarian education inside the family has been widely based on the respect to authorities, fear to disobedience, lack of parental warmth, physical and emotional punishment and hierarchical rule and decision-making (Halgunseth, Ispa, & Rudy, 2006). As a result, children that grow up in these environments present a lack of competence, aggressive attitudes, lack of problem-solving skills, emotional distress, lack of autonomy, dominative desires and irritability (Roberts W. , 1999). In the long term, such education affects

political decisions and the type of rulers that are preferred and chosen by the citizens. In this sense, I argue that education inside Ecuadorian's families transmit authoritarian values and preferences to children. As a result, these children will socialize such values in societal institutions and later on will prefer authoritarian rulers.

Moreover, although authoritarian education in Ecuador is not exclusive to a particular group of the society, it is mostly found in low-income families (Halgunseth, Ispa, & Rudy, 2006). In this sense, economic problems and income generation issues inside the family have been identified as elements that create stressful environments, which affect the way in which parents behave with their children (Adorno & et. al, *The Authoritarian Personality*, 1950). Since parents are the ones in charge of providing food and shelter to the whole members of the family, economic issues create stressful situations for them. As a result, parents that live in such environment tend to discharge their frustrations with their children mostly by incurring into physical and emotional punishment; as well as the importance of respect to authorities (Roberts W. , 1999). In the case of the middle and upper class in Ecuador, these groups have also held authoritarian behaviors and political preferences, but that these preferences have been manifested in a different manner. Individuals pertaining to middle and upper class have also chosen authoritarian rulers to run the country (Halgunseth, Ispa, & Rudy, 2006). Furthermore, parents that are part of these groups tend to shape, control and evaluate the behavior and attitudes of their children in accordance with a set standard of conduct. Such standards are usually absolute and based on theological and religious motivations, which are formulated by higher authorities (Baumrind, *Effects of Authoritative Parental Control on Child Behavior*, 1966).



In order to test the theory developed above, both quantitative and qualitative methods of data collection and analysis were applied, for it is considered that with the combination of methods the investigation will have new insights and will prevent possible biases from data collection. In order to find a relation between education inside the family and preferences for authoritarian rulers, quantitative data can only provide a general view of the levels of approval for authoritarian education inside the family and levels of preferences for authoritarian rulers. Nevertheless, if only these data will be accounted for, this investigation may be incurring in providing false affirmations. Due to the fact that quantitative data cannot portray whether parents are actually transmitting authoritarian values to their children. In this sense, the use of qualitative data allows to know the sort of values parents are transmitting to their children, how they are transmitting them and whether children are interiorizing these transmissions. In regards of quantitative methods, this investigation will use data from the 2012 round of the Latin American Public Opinion Project (LAPOP) carried out in Ecuador. In the LAPOP surveys there are several questions that address the issue of authoritarianism in Ecuador. By using these data, multi-level regression models are fitted.

Several studies have related authoritarianism with personal income generation, perceptions of existent threats inside countries, genetic predispositions and an authoritarian education imparted in formal institutions (Adorno, 1950; Lipset, 1959; Simpson, 1972; Hatemi, 2011). Thus, there is a need to control the effect that the levels of approval of authoritarian education in Ecuador have in the preferences for authoritarian rulers in the country; in order to firmly establish that the relation between these two variables is not spurious. In this regard, it is expected to find a correlation between approval of authoritarian practices inside the family and the preferences for authoritarian rulers, while controlling for: sex, income, level of education, urban or rural residence, number of

children within the family, perception of the national economic situation, approval of the President's job in the country, support for democracy, corruption in the country and perception of insecurity.

Additionally, I employed four variables at municipal level, in order to capture the context effects on my dependent variable. Thus, I used four variables that measured poverty, illiteracy, infant mortality and rates of public versus private schools within Ecuador's municipalities. Income wealth in municipalities was measured according to the percentage of people in each municipality that does not have their basic necessities covered. This measure is known as the Unsatisfied Basic Needs indicator, which employs eleven variables that comprise basic services at home, educational levels and health in the population. Education in municipalities was measured by using the percentage of people above the age of 15 years old that is illiterate. Finally, health was measured by using infant mortality in each municipality; which is a widely used proxy for health.

For qualitative data, Thematic Apperception Tests (TAT) and Children Apperception Tests (CAT) were applied to parents and children respectively. The CAT is a projective method for investigations of individual's personality and socialization of values learned in specific contexts. (Bellak & Abrams, 1997). The CAT is based in the use of images that present animals in particular situations. This has as an objective that children elaborate and tell a story about their perception of the image that is being shown to them. The CAT was designed to facilitate the comprehension of the relationships between parents and children and the way in which parents transmit specific values to their children. Moreover, these tests also make possible to understand the way in which children are interiorizing and later socializing the values that are taught by their parents.

The TAT is also a projective method of investigation and will be applied to children's parents. The TAT also consists of images of specific situations, in order for

parents to elaborate a story around that image. The parent's narrations are supposed to reveal personal apperceptions in regards to a situation that reminds them of their interpersonal relations with their children (Bellak & Abrams, 1997). Along with the application of the TAT, I employed Altemeyer's Right Wing Authoritarianism Scale, which measures parent's preferences for authoritarian political rulers. This scale is based on a questionnaire of 32 statements to which parents respond whether they disagree or agree with each statement. The Right Wing Authoritarianism Scale ranges from -4 (very strongly disagree) to +4 (very strongly agree), according to which low scores portray no preferences for authoritarian rulers, whereas high scores represent high preferences for authoritarian rulers.

Qualitative data will be analyzed by employing Bellak's Standardized System of Measurement, which is based on the interpretation of the participant's stories by finding individual's repeated patterns of conduct that are reflected in the narrated stories. In order to interpret the stories, the TAT and CAT Register Protocol will be employed, which comprises ten variables in regards of the story that is told and identifies the ways in which the story manifests the values and behaviors held by the participants. The present investigation will be looking to identify authoritarian values present in children and their parents' stories, which will make possible to link such values with individuals' political preferences.

I employed the TAT and the CAT due to the fact that these projective tests allow the investigator to know individual's processes of values and preferences formation in specific contexts. In the case of the CAT used with children, the tests allow the investigator to know who is identified as children's "personal hero". That is, by analyzing the nature of the story told by the kid the investigator is able to know who is the child is seeing as the figure that he or she should emulate. Additionally, the CAT also makes possible to

establish how children are socializing the values and preferences taught to them at home. In this regard, it is possible to identify if the child is presenting or not authoritarian values in social contexts (Bellak & Abrams, 1997).

In addition, the TAT allows the investigator to know personality dynamics and how are these manifested in interpersonal relationships, especially those that are related to the transmission of values and preferences. In this sense, by applying the TAT it is possible to know how individuals are transmitting their values and preferences to children and, most importantly, which of these are being transmitted inside the family (Bellak & Abrams, 1997). Finally, these methods are used in the present investigation due to the fact that there is a need to know individual's personal characteristics that are not observed, nor measurable with the use of quantitative data.

By using these methods I found a correlation between parental education and preferences for authoritarian rulers. The logic that follows from this assertion is that authoritarian parental education within the family initiates a process of transmission of authoritarian values and preferences to children, who will interiorize such values making them part of their personality. Later on, children externalize such values in social institutions such as the school, largely affecting the way they behave towards others and the way they perceive others as well. In this view, it is expected to find that authoritarian children present a lack of competence, aggressive attitudes, lack of problem-solving skills, emotional distress, lack of autonomy, dominative desires and irritability (Roberts W. , 1999). In the future, as a consequence of authoritarian education inside the family, children will transmit their authoritarian behavior into larger contexts. That is, they will prefer authoritarian rulers that reflect their values and early education; instead of democratic rulers which are perceived as opposed to proper behavior and conduct.

Moreover, I found that authoritarian education within the family exerts aggressive educational patterns with children, which affects behavioral and socializing competences in children. In this view, authoritarian family education is represented by the use of: physical punishment, punitive practices, emotional repression, imposition of an absolute standard of conduct and restriction of the child's autonomy (Baumrind, 1966). Hence, I found that authoritarian individuals reflect their preferences for these educational practices through their elaboration of the stories in the application of the TAT. By finding authoritarian education inside the family and authoritarian values and preferences in children, it was possible to assert that the transmission of authoritarian values inside the family; affect the way in which children behave within social and political institutions. Furthermore, I affirm that because family is the primary source of value formation; children that receive authoritarian education within their families will most surely interiorize authoritarian values in a way that these are maintained throughout the individual's life. As such, the preference for authoritarian rulers will be understood as a consequence of authoritarian education within the family.

The present investigation is organized as follows. After this introductory section, Section II analyses and presents a revision of the literature regarding what other authors have said and investigated in regards of authoritarianism. The revision of the literature comprehends a thorough analysis of several explanations of authoritarianism that have been carried out in different academic fields. In this regard, this section presents explanations that relate authoritarianism to formal education, lack of economic development, societal threats, cultural characteristics and religion. Section III presents the theory employed to prove my hypothesis; which focuses on the importance of the education inside the family as an explanation of authoritarianism in Ecuador. The theory proposed analyses how political values and preferences are transmitted inside the family

and how children interiorize such teachings. Moreover, it is also analyzed how and why children assimilate political values and preferences transmitted to them by their parents in a way that they reproduce them later on in their adult life.

Section IV presents my research design, which comprises the data and methods used in this investigation. In this investigation both quantitative and qualitative data are used, in order to provide a thorough analysis of the relation between family education and authoritarianism. Quantitative methods use Latin American Public Opinion Project data pertaining to Ecuador's 2012 round. Qualitative data were gathered after the application of Children Apperception Tests and Thematic Apperception Tests to children and their parents respectively. Section V analyses the results of the data and discusses the main findings. In this section I present the statistical significance that the levels of approval of authoritarian education have on Ecuadorians preferences for authoritarian rulers. Moreover, I also analyze the results gathered after the application of the CAT and the TAT in children and their parents. These results portray an existent and prominent relation between parent's political values and preferences and children's political values and preferences.

Finally, I analyze the results provided by Altemeyer's Right Wing Authoritarianism Scale, which portrays parent's preferences for authoritarian political rulers. Section VI provides the discussion of my results; which analyses the results of my quantitative and qualitative data. The discussion provides insights on the importance of my main findings and portrays the importance that authoritarian education inside the family has on Ecuadorians' preferences for authoritarian rulers. Finally, Section VII provides the conclusions of my investigation.

## Literature Review

Education within formal institutions has been one of the strongest areas of inquiry in seeking to explain the formation of authoritarian individual values. Such arguments are based on the notion that the type of education that is imparted in formal institutions influences the formation of children and adolescent's political values. According to these views, it has been widely suggested that education and authoritarianism have a negative correlation. That is, as education rises within a society, the probability of developing authoritarian values declines.

In this sense, authors such as Seymour Martin Lipset have affirmed that low education triggers authoritarianism within a society. This is explained by the fact that uneducated citizens tend to favor extremists and intolerant policies and political parties and associations. Consequently, lack of education within a society can determine the nature of the policies that citizens will support. Thus, uneducated individuals will most surely prefer policies that restrict and limit the civil and political liberties of those that are perceived as the enemy i.e., educated citizens (Lipset, 1959,1981). Although these arguments have received wide support, Lipset's affirmation that more education reduces authoritarianism within a society is based on an operationalization of education that is questionable. The author measures education by using literacy rates. Nevertheless, he does not take into consideration that even though certain societies may present high literacy rates, such measures do not reflect the type nor the quality of the education that is being imparted to citizens.

In line with the arguments above, studies within political psychology have seen the relation between formal education and authoritarianism from a different perspective. In this regard, studies conducted within the field of psychology have affirmed that the type

of education that is imparted in educational institutions has an effect on the formation and development of children and adolescent's political values. Miles Simpson conducted an investigation that compared the education imparted in Costa Rica, United States, Mexico and Finland. According to his hypothesis, education reduces authoritarianism within a society; as long as the education that is being imparted in educational institutions emphasizes cognitive rather than rote learning or is manned by non-authoritarian teachers (Simpson, 1972). In line with this, educationists have identified pedagogic style as an extremely important variable in shaping people's political values and conducts as citizens. In this line of argument, the most consistent positive predictor of anti-authoritarianism is the "extent to which teachers were reported to encourage the expression of opinion by students in the classroom" (Emler & Frazer, 1999, p. 257).

Additionally, it has also been argued that education in public schools differs from the one imparted in private schools, due to the fact that public schools' teachers tend to impart an authoritarian education. Henry Giroux affirmed that public schools tend to have low funding, poor infrastructures and a hierarchical organization between teachers and students. According to this, there are two important ways in which characteristics of public schools make their teachers impart an authoritarian education. Low funding means lower salaries for teachers, which in turn, also means that teachers have lower incentives to work in these schools. As such, teachers that earn low salaries and that are unmotivated with education tend to experience economic stress and anxiety. Since these teachers perceive their students as inferior, they consider that they need to be submitted to their authority in order to learn (Giroux, 1993). These arguments affirm that the type of education imparted in public schools tends to be more authoritarian than the one given in private educational institutions. As such, children that attend to public schools would be



expected to construct authoritarian values and preferences throughout their lives.

These views place an especial emphasis on the role that formal institutions of education have in the creation of political values. Nevertheless, they do not take into consideration individual's preexistent values that are already part of their personality. Thus, it is being forgotten that prior to assisting to school, children are subject to other types of influences that can also determine the sort of political values that they will develop in the future. In this regard, studies carried out in the area of children socialization have found that political values transmitted inside the family are the major predictor for subsequent political behavior of children in their adult life (Baumrind, 1966; Easton & Dennis, 1967). Moreover, several empirical studies suggest that the most basic, fundamental, and general political orientations are acquired early in life, mostly thanks to the influence that the family exerts on the child (Sears & Levy, 2003; Jennings, 2007). Hence, although education within formal institutions may exert a certain degree of influence within children's formation of political values, the influence that these institutions exert over the child is not strong enough as to determine their future political behavior and preferences. Moreover, studies centered on the influence of educational institutions in children's political values do not control for the influence that the family has over the child.

Recent investigations have sought to go beyond social and political contexts, in order to explain the origins of political behavior. Probably one of the most discussed views in this realm is bio-politics, a newly established field within political science that seeks to explain political behavior through the analysis of genetic predispositions. Within this perspective, research has presented evidence establishing that political and social attitudes can be heritable. Such insights work under the theory that political participation

and preferences can be found in specific regions of the human DNA. In this sense, the genetic perspective has incurred in twin and kinship investigations that have revealed that genetic influences account for approximately 0.53 of the variation in voter turnout (Hatemi, 2011).

Additionally, there have been several studies that have focused in explaining particular political behaviors and preferences. In this regard, Peter K. Hatemi conducted an investigation on the human genome using genome-wide linkage, which is an exploratory method that identifies a particular region of the genome “where shared ancestry between relatives correlates significantly with their similarity for the trait of interest” (Hatemi, 2011). This investigation found that in chromosomes 2, 4, 6 and 9 there were specific regions of the DNA that can be identified with particular individual political behaviors. These studies have found that in chromosome 6 there is an important presence of NMDA and serotonin, which are identified as being regulators of fear and anxiety (Dai et al. 2008; Hariri et al. 2002; Young et al. 2007). This is linked to the fact that recent investigations have found a correlation between threat, fear and anxiety and political behaviors and preferences.

Such studies argue that individuals that have increasing perceptions of threat experience higher levels of anxiety, which makes them more prone to favor authoritarian political preferences (Zechmeister, 2009). Moreover, political participation and power seeking motivations have been found significantly correlated to serotonin levels (Madsen, 1986; Fowler and Dawes, 2008). Finally, molecular genetic studies have revealed that variants of dopamine and serotonin genes influences voter turnout and general political participation (Dawes & Fowler, 2009).

These perspectives have been able to provide specific information about genetic

characteristics that explain individual's political behavior. Moreover, these studies have an increasing amount of data that makes their findings empirically strong. Nonetheless, these lines of argument have forgotten to take into consideration the fact that genetic predispositions can be counterbalanced by environmental factors that highly influence individual's formation of political values and preferences. Consequently, these do not offer an explanation that is strong enough in order to explain the formation of political values and preferences. On the other hand, political psychology explanations offer a deeper analysis of the formation of political values and preferences by focusing on the role that the environment and its factors have as a major influence in individuals' formation of political values and preferences.

In opposition to the effect of social and biological factors on the development of authoritarian values and preferences; economic development within countries has found increasing support as an explanatory variable of authoritarianism. In this sense, these views have held that economic wellbeing diminishes the probability that an individual holds authoritarian values and preferences. Seymour Martin Lipset affirmed that economic development is an essential component that helps maintain democracy in a country. Poor economic performance within a country leads individuals to live in a state of insecurity and instability, for they do not have access to their basic needs, such as: food, shelter and health. As they are willing to do anything to cover these needs, individuals living in a state of economic insecurity are more prone to prefer authoritarian rulers that offer quick and easy solutions to their economic problems. Hence, these types of individuals are also more prone to favor extremist policies that repress and subordinate minorities within a country (Lipset, 1981).

Additionally, several investigations have found a positive correlation between the

increase of GDP per capita and the maintenance of democracy within a country. That is, countries with a GDP per capita that is above \$6000 dollars have better chances to maintain a democratic regime. On the other hand, countries with lower levels of GDP per capita are more prone to have autocratic regimes or experience a weak democracy that, in the long term, will end in an autocratic government (Przeworski, Cheibub, & Limongi, 2003). Nevertheless, in this same realm there have also been contending views that have found a positive correlation between income and democracy, but these investigations highlight that there is no evidence of a causal effect between these two variables. Acemoglu and Robinson affirm that omitted historical variables appear to “have shaped the divergent political and economic development paths of various societies, leading to the positive association between democracy and economic performance” (Acemoglu, Simon, Robinson, & Yared, 2008, p. 836). According to this, empirical evidence shows that some countries may have embarked in a path that is associated with democracy and economic growth; while others chose a road that led them to authoritarian governments and more limited growth (Acemoglu, Simon, Robinson, & Yared, 2008).

In the same aspect, economic explanations have gone beyond the analysis of the correlation between economic growth and democracy and have implied that there are some exceptions to this correlation. In this sense, several scholars have affirmed, “if rising incomes can be traced to a country’s oil wealth this democratizing effect will shrink or disappear” (Ross, 2001, p. 325). This explanation has been used to explain how come high-income states pertaining to the Arab Middle East have not yet become democratic. Moreover, this perspective has also sought to predict possible political problems that oil-exporting countries may face. Empirical evidence shows that oil inhibits democracy because oil exporting and producing countries tend to have

authoritarian governments and rulers. This is due to the fact that these type of governments focus on extracting gains from oil resources by implementing extractive and populist policies that are not sustainable in the long term.

Following this line of argument, these perspectives argue that governments in oil rich countries use their oil revenues to relieve social pressures in an immediate manner, because such pressures might otherwise lead to demands of a more democratic government with more accountability in it. that there are two reasons why oil rich countries may produce authoritarian governments. The first one is that since authoritarian rulers have the opportunity to better arm themselves against popular pressures, they will use oil revenues in order to meet their needs and stay in power. The second reason is that resource wealth may cause ethnic or regional conflict, mainly for the control of oil resources. Thus, authoritarian governments have stronger military complexes that can repress such conflicts (Ross, 2001). In this sense, Skocpol noted that prior to 1979, a great amount of Iran's oil wealth was spent on the military, which produces what the author named as a "rentier absolutist state" (Skocpol, 1982). Additionally, other authors have found that in the study of the 1990s oil boom, the case of the Republic of Congo shows that the surge in revenue allowed the government to build up its military and train special guards to maintain order (Clark, 1997).

Economic perspectives on the study of authoritarianism have focused on finding a relation between economic growth and democracy; which seeks to explain why the majority of developed countries are democracies. In spite of the fact that these views have received a lot of attention within political science and political economy, the investigations in this sphere do not take into consideration that economic performance is greatly related with political and social factors that propel economic growth and

wellbeing. Moreover, these perspectives explain how democracy is maintained within a country but they do not analyze what makes democracy happen or whether the quality of those democracies is sufficient as to assure stability. In this sense, it has to be highlighted that economic explanations for the existence of democracy and authoritarianism in certain countries only take into consideration macro-level variables and circumstances. These perspectives ignore the fact that in order to experience economic growth, there must be certain circumstances that make this process possible. Such circumstances are mostly found in lower levels of analysis, such as the society and the individuals within it.

Contrary to what economic arguments have posited, political psychology has acknowledged that economic growth and the increase of per capita income are important elements that help explain why some individuals are more democratic than others. Nevertheless, psychological explanations go beyond economic perspectives because they explain the individual mechanisms by which economic insecurity creates instability and largely affects the way individuals perceive others. Adorno, Almond and Lipset have argued that individuals that face a tough economic situation inside their families develop large amounts of anxiety and stress because they must face tough situations in their struggle to access basic needs, such as food, shelter and basic health and sanitary services (Lipset S. M.; (Sales, 1973)Adorno, 1950; Baumrind, 1966). Since economic issues inside a family increase the levels of stress, in the long run such situation also affects the way individuals behave in political and social contexts. Thus, these perspectives argue that economic struggles make individuals more intolerant towards others and more prone to favor extremist political ideologies (Lipset, 1981).

In the case of contextual explanations of authoritarianism, there have been several authors that have sought to find a relation between levels of perceived threat and

authoritarianism inside a country (Fromm, 1941; Sales, 1973; Feldman and Kenner, 1997; Zechmeister, 2009). One of the first attempts to explain authoritarianism as a cause of perceived threat was carried out by political psychology. According to this area of inquiry, insecurity is the major predictor of authoritarianism; due to the fact that uncertainty propels individuals to escape from freedom in exchange of tangible solutions provided by authoritarian rulers. (Fromm, 1941; Rokeach, 1960; Wilson, 1973). Further research has argued that in time of societal stress, the levels of authoritarianism inside a country are higher than in times of low stress. Accordingly, a study done in the United States during the Great Depression period affirmed that individual's conversion rates from non-authoritarian to authoritarian denominations increased during the Great Depression (Sales, 1973). (Pharr, 2000)

Zechmeister and Merolla argue that in times of terror, especially terrorist threats, people tend to become more anxious and uncertain about the world that surrounds them. As people feel more insecure about the world and believe that at any time something can happen that greatly affects their wellbeing, they are willing to give up more liberties and favor punitive and restrictive political measures in exchange of security (Zechmeister, 2009). On the other hand, Feldman and Kenner have affirmed that there is no direct relationship between levels of societal threat and authoritarianism. Instead, the author affirms that the presence of societal threat increases and reinforces manifestations of authoritarianism such as intolerance, prejudice and punitiveness. In their study, Feldman and Kenner found that political and economic threats present the strongest correlation with increasing manifestations of authoritarianism (Feldman & Kenner, 1997). In regards of political threats, the authors found that ideological distance between individuals and the political parties in their country determines the levels of authoritarian manifestations.

That is, the wider the distance between individuals and the ideologies of the political parties in their country, the higher the level of manifestations of authoritarianism (Feldman & Kenner, 1997). Additionally, these authors have found that individual's perception of a deteriorating national economy increases the manifestations of authoritarianism. Whereas, deteriorating perceptions of the personal economy, such as the threat of unemployment, do not have a statistically significant relation with manifestations of authoritarianism (Feldman & Kenner, 1997).

Going on a deeper analysis, there have been several studies that have tried to explain the upsurge of authoritarianism by looking at different cultures around the world. According to these explanations, there are certain cultures that are more compatible with democracy whereas there are others that pave the way for authoritarianism inside a country. In this sense, Almond and Verba analyzed culture as a factor that causes authoritarianism or democracy within a country and its society. According to their theory, there are three main political cultures that help classify political cultures in different countries: the parochial, the subject-and the participant political cultures; according to which the first two are not compatible with democratic systems. Almond and Verba affirm that the parochial political culture is one in which there are no specialized political roles, for the members of these societies do not differentiate between religious and social orientations related to political roles. Moreover, in this culture there is no expectation of change that can be brought by the political system. That is, individuals do not expect anything from the political system, which largely leads to a simple and traditional society. Additionally, the authors establish that the subject political culture is one in which individuals are aware of the existence of a specialized government, but their relationship with it happens on a general level and towards the output. Hence, it is a



passive relationship between subjects and their political system because individuals only expect results from it, instead of implementing inputs for the correct function of the system (Almond & Verba, 1963). In this regard, Almond and Verba establish that the civic political culture is the one that is compatible with the existence and maintenance of democracy. Such political culture stresses the participation of individuals embedded in the political system and makes individuals have positive feelings towards their political system. Thus, “the civic culture is a participant political culture in which the political culture and political structure are congruent” (Almond & Verba, 1963, p. 30).

Other authors have focused on the presence of specific values within cultures that may lead to authoritarianism or democracy within a country. In this sense, Inglehart postulated that the impediment of authoritarianism and the viability of democracy are largely affected by specific individual attitudes. According to this author, life satisfaction, political satisfaction, interpersonal trust and support for the existing social order are variables that tend to together constitute a positive syndromes towards the world individuals live in. As a result, the presence of these attitudes has a considerable effect in shaping democratic institutions within a country (Inglehart, 1988). Clearly, the absence of these attitudes specified by Inglehart raises the probability that a country experiences authoritarian governments. Consequently, these views hold that cultural factors “have an important bearing on the durability of democracy, which seems to result from a complex interplay of economic, cultural and institutional factors” (Inglehart, 1988, p. 1229).

According to Robert Putnam, cultural factors are of great importance in shaping a society’s political system. The author establishes that the presence of social capital is crucial for the development of democratic institutions and the maintenance of democracy. Putnam affirms that certain features of social organization such as norms, interpersonal

trust and social networks form what he calls social capital. The presence of these features facilitates coordination and cooperation between individuals, which produces mutual benefits for all the individuals involved in these networks (Putnam, 2000). In this sense, the lack of social capital within a society will lead to a poor democratic performance, for individuals within the society will stop engaging in cooperation networks that were the principal mechanisms through which interpersonal trust was built. Hence, this lack of social capital would probably lead to a more authoritarian political system.

Following this line of argument, Seligson has posited that trust in the political system and political tolerance, are two elements that are of crucial importance in determining the type of political system in which a society is living. Seligson affirms that when individuals trust in their political system they will most surely participate actively in it. Thus, these individuals tend to highly participate in local and national spheres of politics. As a result, a high level of trust in the political system leads to greater support for the existent institutions and norms. In the case of democracy, such support is of utmost importance since the democratic system highly depends on its citizens' trust for its maintenance. On the other hand, in the case of autocracy citizen's trust is not necessary for political authorities and rulers have all the power concentrated in their hands and the mechanisms of accountability are practically inexistent (Seligson, 2012). In conjunction with this, Seligson also affirms that the level of tolerance in a specific society is crucial in the determining its type of political culture. Accordingly, individuals' respect towards the political and civil rights that others have, especially those that are perceived as the opposition, is of utmost importance in determining whether a society is more or less democratic. Thus, the lack of political tolerance is related to the existence of authoritarianism and authoritarian individuals within a society (Seligson, 2012).

Other authors have also established the importance of citizens' trust in their political systems and the institutions within it, as a major predictor for the failure or success of democracy. Putnam and other authors have analyzed the levels of confidence in institutions such as the judiciary, political parties and parliaments or congress that were present in the United States, Europe and Japan ranging from the 1960s to the 1990s. According to this, these authors have found that the levels of confidence in the aforementioned political institutions have diminished in the last quarter of century. In this view, declining levels of confidence in the traditional democratic institutions posit a threat to democracy. This is due to the fact that a lack of trust in these institutions is translated into a lack of legitimacy of the system per se (Pharr, Putnam, & Dalton, 2000). Consequently, low levels of confidence in the judiciary, in political parties and in congress or parliament posit a threat to democracy and may lead instead to authoritarian forms of government.

Eroding confidence in traditional political institutions can be translated into an increasing confidence on the executive branch, which in turn leads to a concentration of power in the current executive ruler. In this line of argument, there have been authors that affirm that concentration of power in the executive, in conjunction with an eroding legitimacy of political institutions, paves the way for authoritarian forms of government. According to Hagopian, democracies in Latin America have been haunted since their return to democracy by the prospect of populist political rulers. These rulers base their government on "solemn promises, made directly to the people, to solve national problems virtually single-handed and without political parties" (Hagopian, 1998, p. 104). On the institutional level, populist governments are based on the prominence of the ruler, on a relative weakness of parties and the legislature and on the use of corporatist institutions

that organize business and mobilize labor. Additionally, populist governments are based on a personalist ruler that concentrates all the power in the executive and bases his legitimacy on a direct appeal to the people. This appeal is based on the premise of giving direct power to the people by surpassing political institutions that are seen as useless and illegitimate by the people. Hence, populism erodes people's already weakened trust in political institutions and translates it to the centralized figure of the ruler (Cammack, 2000). According to this, the increasing confidence granted to the ruler and the eroding legitimacy faced by political institutions, raises the probability that a country faces a populist government. Due to the fact that populist governments present a high level of power concentration in the executive, these type of governments are more prone to fall in authoritarian practices because the ruler has acquired all the power and political institutions have lost their legitimacy (Cammack, 2000).

On a more specific level, there have also been cultural views that have sought to relate religion and the probability of developing an authoritarian or a democratic political culture. There has been a growing body of research affirming that increasing levels of religiousness within a country is directly related with the presence of authoritarianism. An investigation analyzing political trends during the 1970s and 1980s in the United States showed that when levels of religious affiliation decreased, political liberalism tended to increase (Nelson, 1988). Additionally, other investigations in Belgium and in Israel found that religious orthodoxy had major effects on non-democratic and intolerant attitudes (Duriez , Luyten, Snauwert, & Hutsebaut, 2002; Arian, Navot, & Shani, 2003). Finally, there have been investigations that have tried to link religiosity, authoritarianism and democracy; in order to find the possibility of a causal intervening link between these three variables. In this sense, Canetti-Nisim found that "authoritarianism seems to

mediate the relationship between religiosity and support for democratic values, rather than religiosity mediating the relationship between authoritarianism and support” (Canetti-Nisim, 2004, p. 388). Thus, individuals with authoritarian tendencies are more prone to go against democratic political ideals, no matter whether they are religious or not. Additionally, individuals with strong religious convictions and beliefs are more likely to also negate democratic political values, because of the strong link between religiosity and authoritarianism (Canetti-Nisim, 2004).

Additionally, there have been studies that have tried to find a link between authoritarianism, religious orientation and prejudice. Altemeyer and Hunsberger carried out an investigation based on five studies of university students and their parents, in order to analyze the possibility of a link between the three aforementioned variables. According to this study, the evidence shows that authoritarians tend to carry religious teachings during their childhood into adulthood and, hence, “tend to go to church more often, pray, and read scripture more often than others” (Altemeyer & Hunsberger, 1992, p. 129). Moreover, this study affirmed that religious teachings were highly related with authoritarianism because these taught individuals to submit to authorities, to be hostile towards non-believers and sinners, and imposed strict rules about what is understood as proper and desired behavior (Altemeyer & Hunsberger, 1992). Hence, data on religious orientation, prejudice and authoritarianism showed that these three variables were positively correlated and the findings were statistically significant. Consequently, it has been also argued that religion and authoritarianism are positively correlated mainly because of the nature of religious teachings, which seem to be highly related to authoritarianism.

Samuel Huntington in his analysis of the third wave of democratization in the world

highlighted the fact that there may be certain cultures that are more compatible with democracy, while others are highly related to authoritarianism as part of their political culture. According to Huntington, the most restrictive cultural theory posits that only Occidental culture is compatible with democracy; hence, every culture that falls outside these spectrum seem to be more compatible with authoritarianism. Moreover, there have also been views that affirm that traditional Confucianism leads to an authoritarian political culture, because it posits the maintenance of order and respect for hierarchy as the most important values that should be taught to individuals within a society (Huntington, 1996). Additionally, Islam has also been classified as a culture that is incompatible with democracy and that, instead, leads to authoritarian governments mainly due to the fact that it does not establish a separation between religion and politics. Hence, in Islam religious and political rulers can be embedded in the same figure of authority (Huntington, 1996). For instance, fundamentalist Islam requires political rulers and authorities in Muslim countries to be Muslim practitioners. It also requires *sharia* to be the basic governing law and *ulema* to be the ultimate instance for governmental policies revision. Thus, it has been affirmed that as long as governmental and political legitimacy are deeply related with religion, Islam can be expected to produce authoritarian and fundamentalist governments (Huntington, 1996).

Investigations carried out in the field of political psychology have posited the probability of finding a positive correlation between authoritarianism and particular religious tendencies. Accordingly, Levinson argued that it is likely that children that have been exposed to highly conservative religious teachings are confronted with orthodox beliefs. Most importantly, these children confront a “more authoritarian culture, social structure, and emotional climate” (Levinson in Stark, 1971, p. 173). Other investigations

have found that Catholics tend to present authoritarian values and prefer authoritarian rulers on a higher degree than other religions, such as Protestantism (Adorno, 1950). The Lapeer study, carried out by the personnel of the Lapeer Michigan State Home and Training School for the Mentally Retarded, found that the highest scores on a scale that measured authoritarianism in individuals, were made by individuals who had less than a high school education, were over forty years of age and were active members of the Roman Catholic church. This study also found that protestants and other religious sects had positive high scores with their authoritarian scale; nevertheless, these were much lower than those presented by Catholics (Moss, Sabgih, Stewart, & Sheppard, 1956). Additionally, Adorno in his thorough research on the individual characteristics of authoritarianism found that Catholics tend to be more authoritarian than Protestants and that these religious groups are more authoritarian than those that do not profess any religion (Adorno, 1950).

According to cultural views, the explanation for the existence of authoritarianism within a society is found in individual's core beliefs and attitudes towards the society and the political system that surrounds them. Although these views have tried to go beyond explanations that only take into consideration variables on a macro level, cultural explanations have not been able to provide a thorough explanation for the origins of these authoritarian values and preferences. In this sense, although attitudes and beliefs towards the political system and religious affiliation may present a high correlation with authoritarianism, these factors still leave unanswered how these values, attitudes and preferences are constructed. In this regard, the study of the transmission of political values inside the family provides a more specific and detailed explanation about the possible origins of authoritarianism. According to this, studies in the field of political

psychology and children socialization of values have posited increasing attention to the way children are being raised inside their families. These studies affirm that the type of values that are transmitted to children by their families is the core determinant for future attitudes and preferences of these children. Moreover, investigations have affirmed that political values taught inside the family are the most consistent predictor for individual's future political preferences. According to this, in this research I argue that the study of the transmission of values to children inside their families provides a better explanation for the comprehension of the existence of authoritarianism inside societies. Ok, this is a rather large lit review, but leave it as is because it shows that you are familiar with the subject

## **Theory**

The origins of authoritarianism can be traced back to the transmission of values inside the family. In this regard, it has to be taken into consideration that foremost among agencies of socialization into politics is the family, for the transmission of political values inside this scenario is the first linkage that children construct and experience with political life. In this regard, education inside the family and the values that are transmitted in this environment largely shape the way children are going to behave in social institutions outside their home (Jennings M. K., 2007). Since the family has a crucial role in the construction of political values and preferences, the processes of value and preference transmission are of utmost importance for the comprehension of the roots of authoritarianism. In this regard, the manner in which a child is receiving education inside the family will affect the sort of political values and preferences that this child has in the future. Accordingly, I argue that an authoritarian education inside the family will make



children prefer authoritarian rulers as a result of the transmission of political values and preferences received at home.

#### Authoritarians: Authoritarian Rulers and Authoritarian Individuals

For the purpose of this study it is understood that authoritarian political rulers are those that are arbitrary, controlling, power oriented, coercive, punitive and close-minded. The authoritarian ruler takes full responsibility and control for decisions that affect the country and its citizens. Moreover, this ruler looks to control followers and opponents' performances, behaviors and preferences; for these are crucial for the maintenance of control and power in the ruler's hands. Finally, the authoritarian ruler has a unique ability to have reliable and devoted followers and to act as the principal authority figure that is in charge of establishing and maintaining order (Bass, 2008).

Consequently authoritarian rulers are authoritarian individuals who have acquired political power and that are concerned with power and toughness and that are prone to resolve conflict in an arbitrary manner. That is why; the authoritarian ruler has "strong and persistent desires that others submit to his outlook" (Janowitz & Marvick, 1953, p. 185). Nevertheless, recent research in political psychology has revealed that authoritarianism can have a double-sided effect in individuals. That is, authoritarian individuals that are not political rulers and authorities have a constant desire "to submit to other individuals whom he sees as more powerful" (Janowitz & Marvick, 1953, p. 185).

Amongst the first conceptualizations of the authoritarian individual is the one developed by Adorno et al, which established authoritarians as morally conventional, submissive, non-creative, superstitious, with rigid thinking, concerned with power and toughness, cynical and destructive (Adorno & et. al, 1950). In this same realm, Eckhardt affirmed that morally, authoritarian individuals are egocentric, insensitive, conventional, intolerant, suggestible, punitive and restrictive (Eckhardt, 1991). Nevertheless, these

conceptualizations leave aside several aspects of the authoritarian individual and tend to overemphasize the aggressive behavior as a main, and sometimes, unique component of authoritarianism.

Taking this into consideration, I employ a concept of the authoritarian individual that gets together several psychological perspectives of authoritarianism. Accordingly, authoritarianism is defined as an individual's belief about the appropriate relationship that should exist between the group and its individual members (Janowitz & Marvick, 1953). In this regard, the authoritarian individual presents three core characteristics: submission, aggression and conventionalism. First, authoritarian submission is understood as individual's emphasis on respect and unconditional obedience to political authorities. Thus, authoritarian individuals tend to put a great emphasis on the importance of submission to their political ruler; which comprises the submission of the will and of the liberty of the individual.

Second, aggression is represented by the presence of intolerance of and punitiveness towards individuals who are seen as not conforming to in group norms and rules. Additionally, the authoritarian individual also excerpts aggression towards those that are perceived as being inferior and weaker. Mainly because the authoritarian individual has a two-folded need of being submitted to an authority, but also to submit others who are perceived and considered as inferior and weaker. Third, conventionalism in the authoritarian individual is represented by an emphasis on behavioral and attitudinal conformity with norms and rules of conduct established by superior authorities. In this sense, authoritarian individuals do not question the norms imposed by their authorities because they consider that these are almost an absolute truth and that they ought to be followed thoroughly (Janowitz & Marvick, 1953). Following the three core characteristics of authoritarian individuals, it is possible to affirm that in order to meet their needs to be

submitted and submit others, these individuals elect authoritarian rulers that are repressive and that have an iron fist (Adorno & et. al, The Authoritarian Personality, 1950). Consequently, my first hypothesis states that:

H1: Individuals that have a need to be submitted and submit others prefer and elect authoritarian rulers, which act according to their values and political preferences.

### Authoritarian Parental Education and Ecuadorians' Preferences for Authoritarian Rulers

Ecuadorian's preference for authoritarian political rulers can be explained by citizen's levels of approval of authoritarian education imparted to children inside the family. In this sense, I argue that the higher the levels of approval of authoritarian education inside the family, the higher the probability that Ecuadorians prefer authoritarian political rulers.

The concepts of the authoritarian ruler and the authoritarian individual facilitate the comprehension of the phenomenon of authoritarianism. Nonetheless, it is still unexplained why authoritarianism in Ecuador has become a persistent and enduring phenomenon that has largely undermined the country's possibilities of reaching a consolidated democratic system. In this sense, I maintain that the persistence of authoritarianism in Ecuador is largely determined by the presence of certain social factors that are contributing to its persistence.

The process through which the transmission of authoritarianism occurs is based on the notion that the formation of political values mostly occurs inside every child's home (Easton & Dennis, 1967). Psychological studies have determined that children start to construct their political values at the age of seven and these are completely formed by the age of twelve (Baumrind, 1966). During these phases, the influence of the family in the

child's education is of utmost importance, since children perceive individuals that raise them as their personal heroes and the ones that they should emulate (Bellak & Abrams, 2000). As such, children interiorize values learned inside their families by emulating the behaviors of the people that raised them, normally children's mothers and fathers. Children identify the person that raises them as their "personal hero", as a result of which children consider that they should emulate the behaviors, values and preferences of their "personal heroes" (Baumrind, 1966; Bellak & Abrams, 2000). Consequently, the sort of political values and preferences that children's "personal heroes" hold will largely determine children's future political values and preferences.

As it was stated above, in most of the cases children perceive their father or their mother as their "personal heroes", which means that parent's political values and preferences are of utmost importance in the process of value and preference formation of the child. According to the theory of identification processes, children engage in a modeling process in which they perceive a certain individual in their early life that is the one they identify with. That is, they recognize this person as their main reference in value and preferences formation.

In this sense, children mostly, but not always, perceive their mother or father as the figure they should emulate. This is due to the fact that children see their parents as the ones that are nurturant, they provide physical and emotional care to the child, and have power over resources, such as food, shelter and even emotional stability, that are needed by the child (Maccoby, 1992). According to Alfred Bandura, experiments in child development have shown that "because parents are both nurturant and powerful, children should be more likely to learn by observing them than by observing strangers" (Bandura, 1969, p. 215). Consequently, as children perceive the individual that raise them as their "personal hero" and as such, they identify with this individual's values and preferences;

those children that have authoritarian “personal heroes” will most surely hold authoritarian values and preferences throughout their lives. In this sense, it is possible to affirm that the presence of authoritarian “personal heroes” inside the family leads to an authoritarian education in this scenario.

Authors such as David Easton, Jack Dennis and Kent Jennings have concluded that among the variety of values parents transmit to their children, political values present the highest correlation. That is, children successfully interiorize political values transmitted to them by their parents and, as such, parent’s shape children’s future political preferences. The investigations carried out by these authors have found that children start to construct their political values at the age of seven and that the political value formation process ends at the age of twelve. During this phase, children are highly sensitive to their parent’s political values, mainly due to the fact that children perceive their parents as authority figures which values and preferences should be emulated (Bandura, 1969). In this regard, it is possible to affirm that; “what is learned early in the life cycle is more difficult to displace than what is learned later” (Easton & Dennis, 1967, p. 38). Consequently, once political values are interiorized the influences of external groups and societal institutions is not strong enough to change the nature of the political values that were transmitted during childhood (Easton & Dennis, 1967; Jennings & Niemi, 1968).

Taking what has been stated here, once children interiorize the political values and preferences that were transmitted to them inside their family; these values and preferences are held throughout the child’s life and are socialized in different social institutions and interpersonal relations. Thus, political preferences are influenced by reported childhood experiences inside the family (Milburn, Conrad, & Sala, 1995). As it was stated before, the family’s influence over the child’s political values and preferences is far more important and significant than contextual influences to which the child is also linked. Hence, I argue

that the transmission of values inside the family is the most important determinant for the formation of political values and preferences.

According to the process of value and preferences transmission from the parent to the child, I propose my second hypothesis:

H2: Ecuadorians that approve imparting an authoritarian education to their children prefer authoritarian rulers to democratic ones.

### Transmission of Authoritarian Values and Preferences from Parents to Children

Political psychology has determined that authoritarian individuals engage in a specific form of transmission of their values and preferences to their children. In this sense, authoritarian education inside the family has been widely based on the respect to authorities, fear to disobedience, lack of parental warmth, physical and emotional punishment and hierarchical rule and decision-making (Halgunseth, Ispa, & Rudy, 2006). As a result, children that grow up in these environments present a lack of competence, aggressive attitudes, lack of problem-solving skills, emotional distress, lack of autonomy, dominative desires and irritability (Roberts W. , 1999). In the long term, such education affects political decisions and the type of rulers that are preferred and chosen by the citizens.

For the purpose of this study, it is established that authoritarian parents present two core features. First, authoritarian parents consider obedience as a virtue, favor punitive measures to curb the child's self-will, believes in keeping the child in his place, in restricting the child's autonomy and in inculcating an absolute obedience to authorities. Second, authoritarian parents incur in physical, psychological and emotional repression of children as a legitimate tool of punishment. According to this conceptualization of the

authoritarian parent, further explanation is needed in order to understand the way in which authoritarian parents are transmitting their values and preferences to their children.

Political psychology has found that authoritarian education inside the family presents several manners in which it is transmitted to children. First, I affirm that authoritarianism inside the family can be understood from several points of view. In a general sense, authoritarian parents attempt to shape, control and evaluate the attitudes, preferences and behaviors of their children according to a set of standards of conduct. A higher authority that is considered as an important and influential individual for the authoritarian parent formulates this standard. According to this, the authoritarian parent considers obedience as a virtue, favors punitive measures to curb the child's self-will, believes in keeping the child in his place, in restricting the child's autonomy and in inculcating an absolute obedience to authorities (Baumrind, *Effects of Authoritative Parental Control on Child Behavior*, 1966). The authoritarian parent also values the preservation of order and traditional social structures and does not encourage verbal give and take, because the authoritarian parent believes that the child should accept parent's word for what is right (Baumrind, *Effects of Authoritative Parental Control on Child Behavior*, 1966).

Moreover, authoritarian parents incur in severe punishment practices as their particular way to educate their children. In this sense, authoritarian parents tend to incur in child's physical punishment because they consider it a legitimate tool to educate their children. From the perspective of social learning, Bandura affirmed that parenting practices work as a "model from which children learn and adopt aggressive strategies. As such, children's aggressive behavior may parallel particular parenting practices enacted by their parents" (Kuppens, Grietens, Onghena, & Michiels, 2009, p. 609). That is, parents that use physical punishment as a tool to educate their children are raising children that in the

future will legitimate aggression as a appropriate social and interpersonal behavior. Moreover, children that experience harsh punishment by their parents are more likely to believe that their parents' intention was hostile. As a consequence of this perception, these children tend to respond aggressively in situations, which are uncomfortable or disturbing for them. In the future, children that received physical punishment by their parents will educate their children using the same punishment tools that were used by their parents (Milburn, Miho, & Marcus, 2013).

Baumrind also analyzed physical punishment as an essential feature of authoritarian parental education. According to Baumrind, "punitive, hostile, disaffiliated, self-righteous and non-empathic disciplinary practices are associated clearly in the studies reviewed with cognitive and emotional disturbance in the child" (Baumrind, 1966, p. 896). These disciplinary practices result in children's hostile withdrawal and acting out, personality issues, dependency, nervousness and even reduced efficiency in school (Baumrind, 1966). Moreover, parent's physical aggression is positively correlated with child's explicit aggression. That is, the higher the level of physical punishment imparted by the parents towards the child, the higher the probability that this child will be highly aggressive (Kuppens, Grietens, Onghena, & Michiels, 2009). Taking this into consideration, it can be affirmed that physical punishment is detrimental to the child's emotional and cognitive formation. Hence, punishment practices that are severe, unjustified, delayed and that are imparted by an unloving parent are harmful and ineffective educational tools, which will affect the child's future political values and preferences.

Authoritarian parenting has also been related to a lack of parental warmth, negative affection, emotional distress and a lack of problem-solving responses. Lack of parental warmth is associated with children's low levels of competence in social behavior. Competence includes "the skills to initiate and sustain positive, cooperative social



interactions, both in dyads and groups” (Roberts W. , 1999, p. 4). In this sense, parents that are emotionally distant from their children, that do not teach them how to manage their emotions and that, instead, chose to repress the child’s emotions; affect their children’s socialization skills by undermining their capacity to incur in cooperative behaviors. As such, lack of parental warmth will affect the child’s social behavior because it will make the child prone to aggressive, intolerant and uncooperative behaviors. Moreover, parents’ negative affection and emotional distress is positively correlated with children’s lack of emotional control, “because access to parents is being denied at a time when children’s approach tendencies are high” (Roberts W. , 1999, p. 8). Hence, parental negative affection and emotional distress affects children behavior by damaging their capacity to control emotions, which makes children unable to solve emotional problems by themselves. Moreover, these parental practices also make children repress their emotions instead of expressing them. In the long term, children will learn that emotional repression is a legitimate and desired behavior (Roberts W. , 1999).

Parental lack of problem-solving responses refers to the repression of the child’s emotions and behaviors, especially during difficult times. That is, when children confront a difficult situation for them or a problem that seems to be impossible to resolve, they tend to have strong emotions represented by desperation and anxiety. As such, children tend to look for their parent’s help and guidance in order to solve these difficulties. In this sense, authoritarian parents do not present problem-solving responses and, instead, prefer to repress children’s emotional expression and tell them how they ought to behave. As a result, these parents are teaching children that in order to solve their problems and difficulties they must repress their emotions and expect their authority to solve their problems and difficulties (Roberts W. , 1999). Consequently, authoritarian parental

education creates highly dependent children that are unable to resolve their problems by themselves and that believe that repression is a legitimate solution for difficult situations.

As observed, the transmission of political values and preferences from parents to children is of utmost importance in the determination of the child's present and future political values and preferences. As such, my third hypothesis states that:

H3: Children that have received an authoritarian parental education have higher probabilities to prefer authoritarian rulers in their adult life, than children that have received a liberal parental education.

#### Individual's Income Wealth and Preferences for Authoritarian Rulers

Finally, I affirm that although authoritarian education in Ecuador is not exclusive to a particular group of the society, it is mostly found in low-income families (Halgunseth, Ispa, & Rudy, 2006). In this sense, economic problems and income generation issues inside the family have been identified as elements that create stressful environments, which affect the way in which parents behave with their children (Adorno & et. al, 1950). Since parents are the ones in charge of providing food and shelter to the whole members of the family, economic issues create stressful situations for them. Because these parents perceive their children as inferior beings, they believe that they have the authority to discharge their economic frustrations with their children, mostly by incurring into physical repression (Roberts W. , 1999). Additionally, economically stressed parents are also more prone to believe that iron fist rulers are better than democratic ones. This is explained by the fact that these parents consider that authoritarian political rulers are more able to give solutions to their economic problems, mostly because such rulers are characterized for the adoption of fast but unstable solutions to economic problems faced by the people (Lipset, 1959; Easton & Dennis, 1967; Eckhardt, 1991; Feldman & Kenner, 1997).

In the case of the middle and upper class in Ecuador, these groups have also held authoritarian behaviors and political preferences, but that these preferences have been manifested in a different manner and on a far lesser degree. Individuals pertaining to middle and upper class have also chosen authoritarian rulers to run the country; but they do not necessarily have an authoritarian education with their children (Halgunseth, Ispa, & Rudy, 2006). On the other hand, parents that are part of these groups can also tend to shape, control and evaluate the behavior and attitudes of their children in accordance with a set standard of conduct. Such standards are usually absolute and based on theological and religious motivations, which are formulated by higher authorities (Baumrind, 1966). These types of parents in the middle and upper classes do not necessarily prefer authoritarian rulers to democratic ones; they only excel authoritarian education inside the family based on religious beliefs and moral standards.

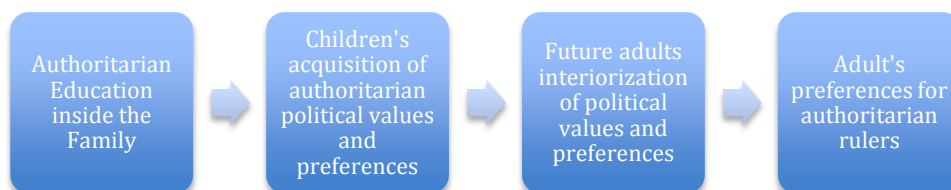
In this sense, in the case of middle and upper classes, authoritarianism is found on a far lesser and different degree. First, there is one group of authoritarian parents that pertain to the middle and upper classes in Ecuador, which has chosen authoritarian rulers but that has not necessarily excel an authoritarian education inside their family. On the other hand, there is a second group that has not chosen authoritarian rulers but that does excel authoritarian emotional education based on religious beliefs. Lastly, in middle and high economic classes there is also a group of individuals who present neither of these two aspects of authoritarianism. That is, these individuals do not exert an authoritarian education within their families and they do not prefer authoritarian rulers instead of democratic ones. Hence, the double-effect of authoritarianism, according to which authoritarian individuals look to subsume themselves to higher political authorities but they also look to subsume others to their will and beliefs, is not present in middle and high

economic classes in Ecuador. Moreover, there is also an important group in these economic classes that does not present authoritarian characteristics at all.

Due to the importance that individuals' income wealth has on the preferences for authoritarian rulers I employ a fourth hypothesis:

H4: Individuals' that pertain to low-income economic classes prefer authoritarian rulers to democratic ones.

Taking this into consideration, it is possible to affirm that physical as well as emotional and psychological forms of authoritarian education inside the family, largely determine the way children will behave in future political contexts and decisions. In order to prove my theory I employed quantitative and qualitative methods that serve as a back up of the theory proposed. In this sense, the data and methods employed in this investigation are applied in order to favor my hypothesis that affirms that education inside Ecuadorian's families transmits authoritarian values and preferences to children. As a result, these children will socialize such values in societal institutions and later on will prefer authoritarian rulers.



**Diagram 1: Authoritarian Parental Education and Individuals' Preferences for Authoritarian Rulers**

## **Research Design**

In order to test the theory developed above, both quantitative and qualitative methods of data collection and analysis were applied, for it is considered that with the combination of methods the investigation will have new insights and will prevent possible biases from data collection. The use of quantitative data allows establishing a statistical significant relation between Ecuadorians' approval of authoritarian education and their preferences for authoritarian rulers. Whereas, the use of qualitative data allows to gain deeper insights about parent's political values and preferences, the way in which these parents are transmitting their political values and preferences to their children, and whether and how are children receiving and interiorizing the political education that their parents are giving them.

### Quantitative Methods

In regards of quantitative methods, this investigation uses data from the 2012 round of the Latin American Public Opinion Project (LAPOP) carried out in Ecuador. LAPOP is an academic project founded more than two decades that focuses on the investigation of the political culture of democracy in the Americas. LAPOP's research focuses on the measurement of countries' democratic values and behaviors using national probabilistic samples of voting-age adults. The first study of democratic values in one country began in Costa Rica and currently LAPOP studies are carried out openly in virtually all countries in the Americas region. This research applies surveys at the national level according to the samples drawn. In this thesis I use Ecuador's data from the 2012 round of the Latin American Public Opinion Project (LAPOP). These data was gathered from a sample of 1500 individuals. In LAPOP's questionnaire there are several questions that address the issue of authoritarianism in Ecuador. Multi-level regression models are fitted in order to analyze this data.

Based on LAPOP data, my main variables are focused on a direct and positive correlation between authoritarian education in Ecuadorian families and the preferences for authoritarian rulers. As it was argued above, authoritarianism is highly represented by individuals' preferences for authoritarian rulers. As such, in order to measure the levels of preferences for authoritarian rulers in Ecuador I employed a dichotomic variable that measures preference for strong rulers, in contraposition for preferences of electoral democracy. In this sense, for my main dependent variable I chose Ecuadorians' preferences for authoritarian rulers, which is presented in the following manner:

<b>AUT1.</b> There are people who say that we need a strong ruler who does not have to be elected by the vote of the people. Others say that although things may not work, electoral democracy, or the popular vote, is always best. What do you think?	1. We need a strong ruler who does not have to be elected
	2. Electoral democracy is the best

**Source:** LAPOP Ecuador's Questionnaire 2012

As it was argued in the literature review, authoritarianism can be understood from several points of view. As such, the existence of authoritarianism inside Ecuador's society can also be related to citizens' preferences for authoritarian governments and citizens' approval of authoritarian policies and political measures. According to this, I employed additional dependent variables that serve as robustness checks for the level of preference of authoritarian rulers in Ecuador. First, I employed a measurement of the preferences for iron fist governments versus democratic governments in Ecuador. This is a dichotomic variable that portrays Ecuadorians preferences between authoritarian and democratic governments. Although, the central aim of this investigation is focused on the preferences for authoritarian rulers, levels of preference for authoritarian governments are a different way to observe Ecuadorians attitudes towards authoritarianism on a general level.

<b>DEM11.</b> Do you think that our country needs a government with an iron fist, or do you think that problems can be resolved with everyone's participation?	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Iron Fist</li> <li>2. Everyone's Participation</li> </ol>
--	---

**Source:** LAPOP Ecuador's Questionnaire 2012

Second, the justification of the closure of the Congress by the president in difficult times is used as a measurement of individual's approval of authoritarian measures in times of societal threat or instability. Thus, this variable allows measure citizen's approval of authoritarian political measures that undermine democracy as a justification that the country is facing difficult times.

<b>JC15A.</b> Do you believe that when the country is facing very difficult times it is justifiable for the president of the country to close the Congress and govern without Congress?	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Yes it is justified</li> <li>2. No, it is not justified</li> </ol>
---	--

**Source:** LAPOP Ecuador's Questionnaire 2012

In close relation with the previous variable, I used a measurement of the level of justification that the president closes the Supreme Court in difficult times and governs without the Supreme Court. This variable also serves as a proxy for the measurement of Ecuadorian's approval of authoritarian measures during difficult times.

<b>JC16A.</b> Do you believe that when the country is facing very difficult times it is justifiable for the president of the country to dissolve the Supreme Court and govern without the Supreme Court?	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Yes, it is justified</li> <li>2. No, it is not justified</li> </ol>
--	---

**Source:** LAPOP Ecuador's Questionnaire 2012

Finally, I employed a measurement for the levels of approval that the president limits the voice and the vote of the opposition in order for the country to

progress. This variable portrays Ecuadorians levels of acceptance for authoritarian policies and mechanisms in order for the country to progress

<b>POP101.</b> It is necessary for the progress of this country that our presidents limit the voice and vote of opposition parties, how much do you agree or disagree with that view?	1 Strongly Agree
	7 Strongly Disagree

**Source:** LAPOP Ecuador's Questionnaire 2012

As it was argued in my theory, I affirm that Ecuadorian's preferences for authoritarian rulers are highly determined by the presence of authoritarian parental education inside Ecuadorians' families. Accordingly, in order to test this hypothesis I chose Ecuadorians' approval of beating children in order to educate them, as a measure of authoritarian education. In LAPOP's surveys this variable was asked in the questionnaire in the following way:

<b>VOL207.</b> Suppose that in order to teach a child, a parent hits the child each time he or she disobeys. Would you approve of the parent hitting the child, or would you not approve but understand, or would you neither approve nor understand?	1. Would Approve
	2. Would not approve but understand
	3. Would not approve or understand

**Source:** LAPOP Ecuador's Questionnaire 2012

Due to the fact that the existence of authoritarianism inside a country has been related with several factors, it is necessary to control the effect that the levels of approval of authoritarian education in Ecuador have in the preferences for authoritarian rulers in the country. This allows affirming that the relation between these two variables is not spurious.

As it was observed in my literature review section, there are several factors that can contribute to the existence of authoritarianism in a society. According to authors such as Lipset, one the most important and discussed factors that is said to determine the existence of authoritarianism in a society is individuals' income-wealth. In this sense, I introduced



in my model individuals' income wealth in order to control the effect on my main dependent variable.

Individuals' education has also been widely argued as a determinant of authoritarianism. According to Simpson, Emler and Frazer the more educated is an individual the lower the probabilities that this individual prefers authoritarian ruler to democratic ones. As such, I used Ecuadorians' years of schooling completed in order to measure individuals' level of education and control its effect.

In the case of cultural factors, authors such as Altemeyer, Huntington, Hurnsberger, Duriez and others have argued that there may be some correlation between religion and the presence of authoritarianism in a society. Moreover, Adorno and several other authors have affirmed that Catholics tend to prefer authoritarian rulers and governments more, than individuals that identify with other religions. In this sense, I employed Ecuadorians' identification to a specific religion in order to test and control the effect of religion on preferences for authoritarian rulers in the country.

In regards of contextual factors, individuals' perception of the existence of possible threats has also been established as a determinant of the existence of authoritarianism. First, individuals' perception of the national economy can also be regarded as an important factor in the existence of authoritarianism. According to Feldman and Kenner, individuals' perception of the existence of an economic threat is positively correlated with the existence of authoritarianism. Thus, I employed Ecuadorians' perception of the national economy in order to capture citizens' perceptions of the possibility of economic threats. Second, individuals' perception of the existence of a political threat in the country can also be related to the presence of authoritarianism. As such, I introduced Ecuadorians' perception of the security in the country and Ecuadorians' corruption victimization as measures that capture perceptions of political threat in the country.

Politically, Ecuador has been haunted by the presence of populist rulers who have sought to concentrate the power in their hands (Sosa, 2012). Since populist rulers give direct benefits to their people, citizens tend to highly approve and trust these rulers. According to Hagopian, citizens' approval of the Executive's job raises the probability that these citizens' prefer authoritarian rulers. As such, I employed citizens' approval of the Executive's work in order to measure its possible incidence with individual's preferences for authoritarian rulers. In contraposition, I used citizens' support for the democratic system in order to measure individuals' trust in order political institutions different from the Executive.

Lastly, I employed sex, urban or rural residence and number of children in the family as socio-demographic controls for my model. These variables are important since they allow capturing whether there are socio-demographic individual characteristics that may also have an incidence on Ecuadorians' preferences for authoritarian rulers.

Additionally, for the multilevel analysis I employed four municipal control variables in order to capture the context effects on my dependent variable. In this regard, I employed four variables that measured poverty, rate of public schools, infant mortality, illiteracy and population in Ecuador's municipalities. Poverty, infant mortality and illiteracy were employed as proxies for income, health and education. The data for these four variables at the municipal level were taken from the latest version of Ecuador's national census carried out in 2010. This data is available at Ecuador's National Institute of Statistics and Census.

Poverty in municipalities was measured according to the percentage of people in each municipality that does not have their basic needs covered. This measure is known as the Unsatisfied Basic Needs Indicator, which employs eleven variables that comprise basic services at home, educational levels and health in the population. Illiteracy was used as a

proxy for measuring levels of education in each municipality. As such, illiteracy was measured by using the percentage of people above 15 years old that is illiterate. Infant mortality was employed as a proxy for measuring health in municipalities. Accordingly, infant mortality was measured employing the number of deaths of infants under one year old in a given year per 1,000 live births in the same year. Finally, the presence of public schools in municipalities was measured as the rate of public schools versus private schools in each municipality.

Table 1 depicts a summary of all the variables used in the multilevel models. The table portrays each variable mean, standard deviation; as well as each variable minimum and maximum values.

**Table 1. Summary of Variables**

<b>Variables</b>	<b>Mean</b>	<b>Standard Deviation</b>	<b>Minimum</b>	<b>Maximum</b>
<b>Dependent Variables</b>				
Preferences for authoritarian vs democratic rulers	0.17227	0.3777	0	1
Democracy vs. Iron Fist Government	0.30997	0.46264	0	1
Close the Congress	27.02899	44.427	0	100
Dissolution of the Supreme Court	21.07988	40.8027	0	100
Limited Freedom of Speech	45.2156	33.6398	0	100
<b>Independent Variables at the Municipal Level</b>				
Public Schools	0.6315	0.23885	0.28	0.99
Mortality	0.21869	0.0766	0	0.40426
Education	0.06903	0.0492	0.029	0.267
Poverty	0.5885	0.2047	0.297	0.944
Population	902564.4	1039269	6092	2350915

**Table 1. Summary of Variables**


---

<b>Variables</b>	<b>Mean</b>	<b>Standard Deviation</b>	<b>Minimum</b>	<b>Maximum</b>
<b>Independent Variables at the Individual Level</b>				
Sex	0.50067	0.50017	0	1
Education	10.48953	4.2673	0	18
Age	2.779116	1.4533	1	6
Place of Living	1.344667	0.4754	1	2
Income Wealth	2.977333	1.3974	1	5
Religion	0.10944	0.3123	0	1
No Religion	0.0629	0.2429	0	1
Other Religions	0.02326	0.1508	0	1
Perception of the National Economy	54.9362	20.122	0	100
Executive Approval	68.26408	22.332	0	100
System Support	1.42654	0.49474	1	2
Corruption Victimization	40.86957	49.17573	0	100
Insecurity Perception	44.00336	27.018	0	100
Number of Children	1.953347	1.807	0	12

---

### Qualitative Data

For qualitative data, Thematic Apperception Tests (TAT) and Children Apperception Tests (CAT) were applied to parents and children respectively. The sample consisted of 40 Ecuadorian children, of which there were 20 girls and 20 boys. For 36 children both parents participated in the study; while for the remaining 4 children, only their mothers participated in this investigation. Children's age ranged from 7 to 12 years old and all of the children were of Ecuadorian origin. Of the total of 40 children, 20 pertained to low economic classes and 20 pertained to middle and high economic classes.

The CAT is a projective method for investigations concerned in the development of individual's personality and socialization of values learned in specific contexts. The CAT was designed to facilitate the comprehension of the relationships between parents and children and the way in which parents transmit specific values to their children. Moreover, these tests also make possible to understand the way in which children are interiorizing and later socializing the values and preferences that are taught by their parents. The CAT is based in the use of images that present animals in particular situations. This has as an objective that children elaborate and tell a story about their perception of the image that is being shown to them. The use of animals in the images allow the children to tell their stories without fearing that they are directly confessing something about their relationships with their parents that they should not be saying. This is because children perceive that the animals in the images are only cartoons that do not represent any specific person that is related to them (Bellak & Abrams, 1997).

The TAT is also a projective method of investigation and it is applied to children's parents. The TAT consists of images of individuals that are in specific situations. The purpose of the TAT is that parents elaborate a story around that image. The parent's

narrations are supposed to reveal personal apperceptions in regards to a situation that reminds them of their interpersonal relations with their children (Bellak & Abrams, 1997).

The application of the CAT was carried out with children pertaining to low, middle and high economic classes. For the application of the tests, children were divided into groups of three comprising boys and girls. The reason to divide children into groups is due to the fact that, since they are children, they cannot work in groups that are above 5 people without getting distracted. In this sense, it is highly recommendable that for the application of apperception tests, large groups of children are divided into smaller groups that permit children to be fully concentrated in the tests. Moreover, the CAT is not applied to one child at a time, because it is of utmost importance to watch the way in which children interact between them in the elaboration of the stories. Especially because such behaviors may help the investigator to get some further conclusions and impressions about children's behavior (Bellak & Abrams, 2000).

In the case of the TAT, the tests were applied to each child's parents separately. This is due to the fact that adults tend to have greater difficulties in developing creative tasks in the presence of unknown adults. Since the TAT needs adult's creativity at its maximum, it is highly recommended that these tests be applied to each child's parents. Both the CAT and the TAT were applied separately for children and their parents, in order to control that the parents do not influence children's responses.

Qualitative data will be analyzed by employing Bellak's Standardized System of Measurement, which is based on the interpretation of the participant's stories by finding individual's repeated patterns of conduct that are reflected in the narrated stories. In order to interpret the stories, the TAT and CAT Register Protocol will be employed, which comprises ten variables in regards of the story that is told and identifies the ways in which

the story manifests the values and preferences held by children and their parents. The variables of the Register Protocol comprise:

- 1. Main Theme of the Story:** this represents the essence of the story being told by the participant, which has two core components. First, the nature of the theme portrays the individual's experiences in every day life situations. Second, the main theme of the story also portrays the participant's relationship with other members of his or her family.
- 2. Main Hero of the Story:** this is the most important figure of the story that is being told by the participant. The hero of the story represents the person to which the participant identifies with. In this sense, it is important to understand that the main hero is understood in different ways for adults and for children. In the case of children, their main hero is often a paternal figure who is the one that they see as their personal hero and the one that they believe they should emulate. On the other hand, adult's main hero reflects the way they perceive themselves in real life.
- 3. Hero's Main Needs:** this component reflects the hero's main needs and desires. This variable is divided in two core components.
  - a. **Behavioral Needs:** these constitute the way the participant behaves during the application of the test. That is, whether the individual behaves aggressively, quietly, enthusiastically, etc.
  - b. **Latent Needs:** these portray the main hero's needs that are not normally expressed in every day life situations, due to the fact that social pressures may suppress them. For example, latent needs may be portrayed such as sexual desires, aggressiveness towards other characters of the story, feelings of abandonment, necessity of being taken care of and lack of love.



- 4. Concept of the World:** this concept comprises elements of past and present experiences of the participant. That is, the situations presented in each story represent the individual's past as well as present experiences in the context of the family. The clearer the situations presented by the individual, the stronger the relationship between these situations and the individual's personality. Moreover, these situations also portray the way in which the participant reacts in difficult and problematic situations inside the family.
- 5. Parental Figures/Other Figures:** this variable allows determining the individuals that the participant considers as having a major impact in his or her life. This variable must be understood from two different perspectives:
- a. **Children's Figures:** in the application of the CAT, the main characters of the story are often those that the child identifies with. In most cases, children portray their mother and/or father as the main characters of their story. Children's figures presented in the story are those individuals that highly influence the child in his or her value formation.
  - b. **Parent's Figures:** in the application of the TAT, the main characters of the story portray those individuals that are part of the adult's every day life experiences. Specifically, figures that are portrayed as younger individuals are considered as a representation of the adult's children.
- 6. Significant Conflicts:** this variable determines the participant's main conflicts in everyday life situations and the way in which he or she deals with these conflicts. For example, if within the story the main character is in trouble and in order to solve the situation he reacts with anger; it is possible to extract that the participant tends to respond aggressively when problematic situations arise.

- 7. Nature of the Anxieties:** this variable identifies the nature and the type of the anxieties presented by the story's main hero and by the characters inside the story. The anxieties portrayed in the story serve as a proxy to determine the participant's anxieties and unfulfilled needs in the context of the family. That is, the anxieties portrayed in the participant's story allow the identification of elements that are lacking in the relationships between the individuals that constitute a family.
- 8. Main Defenses against Conflicts:** this component identifies the participant's defenses against conflicts and fears. This variable is understood from two aspects:
- a. **Children's main defenses:** the way in which the story's main hero reacts to difficult or problematic situations represents the way children's parents react towards these same situations with their children in real life. For example, if the story's main hero uses physical punishments or psychological repression in problematic situations; it is possible to extract that the child's personal hero uses such mechanisms in situations that bother him or her and that he or she believes are uncontrollable.
  - b. **Adult's main defenses:** the way in which the story's main hero reacts to difficult or problematic situations represents the way the participants behave in such situations. That is, the hero's main defenses are a projection of the participant's reactions in difficult and problematic situations.
- 9. Suitability of the Superego manifested against punishment:** this element comprises the way in which the participant perceives punishment.
- a. **Children's Superego:** reveals the sort of punishment applied to children's misbehavior. That is, if a character of the story carries out an unwanted behavior, the type of punishment applied by the hero is the child's projection of the way his or her parents are punishing him.

- b. **Adult's Superego:** reveals the sort of punishment that adults consider to be proper, necessary and justified.

**10. Manifestation of the I:** this variable is a projection of the participant's personality and his or her capacity to deal with conflicts. It reveals participant's characteristics such as creativity,

By using the TAT and the CAT, I hoped to identify authoritarian values present in children and parents' stories. The identification of such values makes possible to find a link between parent's authoritarian, which will make possible to link such values with individuals' political preferences.

I employed the TAT and the CAT due to the fact that these projective tests allow the investigator to know individual's processes of values and preferences formation in specific contexts. In the case of the CAT used with children, the tests allow the investigator to know who is identified as children's "personal hero". That is, by analyzing the nature of the story told by the kid the investigator is able to know who is the child seeing as the figure that he or she should emulate. Additionally, the CAT also makes possible to establish how children are socializing the values and preferences taught to them at home. In this regard, it is possible to identify if the child is presenting or not authoritarian values in social contexts (Bellak & Abrams, 1997).

In the case of the parents, the TAT allows the investigator to know personality dynamics and how are these manifested in interpersonal relationships, especially those that are related to the transmission of values and preferences. In this sense, the application of the TAT allows to identify two core elements of interest for this investigation. First, based on the nature of the relationships of the characters of parents' stories it is possible to identify parent's political values and preferences. Second, by analyzing character's behaviors it is possible to identify the way parents are transmitting their political values

and preferences to their children. Thus, by applying the TAT it is possible to know how individuals are transmitting their values and preferences to children and, most importantly, which of these are being transmitted inside the family (Bellak & Abrams, 1997). It is important to state that both the CAT and the TAT are used in this investigation because they allow knowing children and parent's personal characteristics and behaviors, which cannot be observed nor measured with the application of quantitative data.

According to empirical studies carried out in political psychology, in order to know individual's preferences for authoritarian rulers it is highly recommended that the investigator apply a scale that measures this sort of individual's preferences. In this regard, together with the TAT, I employed an authoritarianism scale in order to know the kind of political rulers that children's parents prefer. In order to do this, I employed Altemeyer's Right-Wing Authoritarianism Scale, which measures individual's preferences for authoritarian rulers and submission to the ruler's rules and decisions. Altemeyer's Right-Wing Authoritarianism Scale comprises 32 statements to which individuals respond whether they disagree or agree with each statement, according to a scale ranging from -4 (very strongly disagree) to +4 (very strongly agree).<sup>1</sup>

## **Results**

### Multilevel Analysis

“In the modeling of human behavior, context can be terribly important. Individual action may be determined by independent variables operating at different levels, from the micro to the macro” (Luke, 2004, p. V). Due to the fact that Ecuadorians' preferences for authoritarian rulers can be understood as the result of individual and contextual characteristics and factors I consider that it is necessary to take into consideration

---

<sup>1</sup> See the Appendix for a detailed presentation of Altemeyer's Right Wing Authoritarianism Scale

individual level variables along with contextual variables in order to gain further insight on Ecuadorian's preferences for authoritarian rulers. As such, the importance of employing a multilevel analysis relies on the fact that this statistical approach takes into consideration characteristics or processes occurring at a higher level of analysis (level 2) that can influence characteristics or processes at a lower level (level 1). Hence, my multilevel analysis allows predicting values of my main dependent variable "based on a function of predictor variables at more than one level" (Luke, 2004, p. 7).

Additionally, multilevel regression models present two core advantages over individual-level statistical models, such as OLS and logit regression models. Several approaches in social sciences have disaggregated group-level information and characteristics in order for these data to be used as individual level data. By doing this, all of the data become tied to the individual-level of analysis.

The use of these data disaggregation processes results in two core problems. First, due to the fact that contextual data is un-modeled it ends up pooled into the single individual error term of the model. This is of utmost importance because it depicts the fact that individuals that pertain to the same context portray the same statistical errors, that is, they will have correlated errors. As such, this approach violates one of the key assumptions of regression analysis, according to which errors are independent from each other. It is important to note that when errors are not independent of each other, "statistical tests of the significance of the parameters and the confidence limits for the predicted values are not correct" (Brant, 2007, p. 6).

Second, due to the fact that disaggregated level 2 data ignores the context, individual-level regression models assume that the regression coefficients apply equally to all contexts" (Luke, 2004, p. 7). Thus, they affirm that processes and characteristics are the same in different contexts.

According to this, my multilevel analysis demonstrates that my main independent variable, levels of approval of beating children, is positively correlated with all the five dependent variables used in my models. Thus, I carried out five multilevel regression models using as dependent variables: preferences for authoritarian rulers over democratic ones, preferences for authoritarian versus democratic governments, levels of justification that the President closes the Congress in difficult times, levels of justification that the President closes the Supreme Court in difficult times and levels of approval that the President limits the opposition's voice in order for the country to progress. The following analysis will present the results obtained in each one of these models.

In my first model I employed my main dependent variable, which measures Ecuadorians' preferences for authoritarian rulers over democratic ones. In this model, individual's levels of approval of beating children are positively correlated and are statistically significant with levels of preference for authoritarian rulers in Ecuador ( $p=0.002$ ). The effect of my independent variable does not disappear when control variables are included. That is, the levels of approval of beating children are statistically significant for the determination of levels of preference for authoritarian rulers, even when other factors are included. Nevertheless, there are other factors that also present a statistically significant correlation with my dependent variable.

At the municipal level, infant mortality is measured by using number of deaths of infants under one year old in a given year per 1,000 live births in the same year. This variable is negatively correlated with the preference for authoritarian rulers in the country and its effect is statistically significant ( $p=0.028$ ). According to this, municipalities that have lower levels of child mortality are more prone to prefer authoritarian rulers to

democratic ones. On the other hand, municipalities that have higher levels of child mortality are more prone to prefer democratic rulers to authoritarian ones.

Individual's income seems to have a significant effect on individual's levels of preference for authoritarian rulers. Individual's income is measured as quintiles of wealth, this measure takes into consideration households' monthly income ranges. According to my multilevel analysis, individual's income wealth is negatively correlated with individual's levels of preferences for authoritarian rulers ( $p=0.005$ ). That is, individuals that have lower levels of income wealth are more prone to prefer authoritarian rulers to democratic ones.

Religious affiliation also has a statistical significant effect on individual's levels of preference for authoritarian rulers. Religion was measured by creating a variable that measures the percentage of Ecuadorians that consider themselves as Catholics, Protestants, other religions or as having no religion. According to this measure, Protestantism is negatively correlated with authoritarianism in the country and its effect is statistically significant ( $p=0.005$ ). That is, Protestants have lower probabilities of preferring authoritarian rulers than Catholics have.

It is important to highlight that although income wealth, religion and health in municipalities are also factors that have a statistical significance for the levels of preference for authoritarian rulers; the presence of these factors do not undermine nor eliminate the significant statistical effect of the levels of approval of beating children. Consequently, in this model the effect of the levels of approval of beating children on Ecuadorian's preferences for authoritarian rulers is statistically significant and its effect does not disappear with the presence of other factors that also present a statistical significance with my dependent variable.

In my second model I used as the dependent variable Ecuadorian's preferences for authoritarian versus democratic governments. In the multilevel analysis the effects that the levels of approval of beating children is positively correlated with this dependent variable and its effect is statistically significant ( $p=0.000$ ). Hence, the higher the level of approval of beating a child, the higher the probability that individual's prefer authoritarian governments over democratic ones. The effect of my independent variable does not disappear with the presence of control variables. Moreover, only health at the municipal level, levels of approval of the President's work and corruption victimization show a statistically significant effect over Ecuadorian's preferences for authoritarian versus democratic governments.

Health at the municipal level has a negative relation with Ecuadorian's preferences for authoritarian versus democratic governments and its effect is statistically significant ( $p=0.03$ ). Thus, municipalities that have high levels of child mortality in municipalities tend to produce lower levels of preference for authoritarian governments. Approval of the President's work has a positive and statistical significant correlation with individual's preferences for authoritarian versus democratic governments ( $p=0.000$ ). Individuals that believe that the President has had a good job performance are more prone to prefer authoritarian governments to democratic ones. Finally, individuals that have experienced higher levels of victimization by corruption are more prone to prefer authoritarian governments to democratic ones ( $p=0.004$ ).

In this sense, health at the municipal level, approval of the President's work and victimization by corruption are variables that have a statistically significant effect on Ecuadorian's preferences for authoritarian governments over democratic ones. Nevertheless, the effect that the levels of approval of beating a child has over the



preference for authoritarian governments over democratic ones does not disappear nor it is diminished.

In the third model I used as a dependent variable the levels of justification that the President closes the Congress in difficult times. In my multilevel analysis the levels of approval of beating a child is positively correlated with this variable and its effect is statistically significant ( $p=0.003$ ). Additionally, it was found that the perception of the national economy, approval of the President's work and victimization by corruption also have a statistically significant effect on this dependent variable. Nevertheless, the effect that these three control variables has on the levels of justification that the President closes the Congress in difficult times does not undermine the effect that my principal independent variable has.

Perception of the national economy has a positive and statistically significant effect over the levels of justification that the President closes the Congress in difficult times ( $p=0.003$ ). Thus, individuals that perceive that the national economy is performing better have higher probabilities to justify that the President closes the Congress in difficult times. Approval of the President's work is also positively correlated with this dependent variable ( $p=0.000$ ). Finally, corruption victimization is positively correlated with the levels of justification that the President closes the Congress in difficult times ( $p=0.014$ ).

In the fourth model, I used as a dependent variable the levels of justification that the President closes the Supreme Court in difficult times. With this variable, my independent variable presents a positive correlation and a statistical significant effect ( $p=0.016$ ). Thus, Ecuadorians that have higher levels of approval of beating children have higher probabilities to justify that the President closes the Supreme Court in difficult times. In this model, perception of the national economy and approval of the President's work also exert a statistical significant effect over the chosen dependent variable.

Perception of the national economy is positively correlated with the levels of justification that the President closes the Supreme Court in difficult times and is statistically significant ( $p=0.012$ ). Additionally, approval of the President's work is also positively correlated with this variable and has a statistically significant effect ( $p=0.026$ ). Consequently, it can be affirmed that Ecuadorians that have a positive perception of the national economy and that have high levels of approval of the President's work have higher probabilities to justify that the President closes the Supreme Court in difficult times. The effect of these two variables does not undermine nor eliminate the effect that my independent variables has over the levels of justification that the President closes the Supreme Court in difficult times.

Lastly, I employed Ecuadorian's levels of approval that the President limits the opposition's voice in order for the country to progress as my final dependent variable to be tested. In this sense, levels of approval of beating a child exert a positive and statistically significant effect over the aforementioned variable ( $p=0.000$ ). Hence, Ecuadorians that approve beating children as a way to educate them have higher probabilities to approve that he President limits the opposition's voice in order for the country to progress. Additionally, in this model municipal formal education, municipal literacy, place of living, income wealth, religion, perception of the national economy, approval of the President's work and trust in the system also exert a statistically significant effect over Ecuadorian's levels of approval that the President limits the opposition's voice in order for the country to progress.

Municipal formal education is measured by the percentage of public schools in municipalities. In this model, the percentage of public schools is negatively correlated with Ecuadorian's levels of approval that the President limits the opposition's voice in order for the country to progress and its effect is statistically significant ( $p=0.012$ ). Thus,

municipalities that have lower percentages of public schools have higher probabilities to approve that the President limits the opposition's voice in order for the country to progress. Also at the municipal level, literacy in municipalities is measured by the percentage of people over 15 years old that is illiterate. According to this variable, the higher the percentage of illiterates in municipalities the higher the probability that these municipalities approve that the President limits the opposition's voice in order for the country to progress ( $p=0.04$ ).

Moreover, at the individual level whether individuals live in urban or rural areas exerts a statistical significant effect over the levels of approval that the President limits the opposition's voice in order for the country to progress ( $p=0.003$ ). Accordingly, individuals living in rural areas are more prone to approve the limitation of the opposition's voice, than individuals that live in urban areas. Income wealth is negatively correlated with this variable ( $p=0.032$ ), according to which individuals with lower income levels have higher probabilities to approve the limitation of the opposition's voice. In the case of religion, Catholics are more prone to approve the President's limitation of the opposition's voice, than those that are Protestants ( $p=0.004$ ). Perception of the national economy is also important since it has a positive statistical significant effect over this variable ( $p=0.002$ ). Hence, individuals that consider that the national economy is performing well have higher probabilities to approve the limitation of the opposition's voice. Individuals that portray higher levels of approval of the President's work have higher probabilities to approve that the President limits the opposition's voice during difficult times ( $p=0.000$ ). Finally, trust in the system as measured by individual's trust in the democratic system portrays a negative correlation with approval that President limits the opposition's voice during difficult times and its effect is statistically significant ( $p=0.000$ ). Thus, individuals that have lower levels

of trust in the democratic system have higher probabilities to approve that the President limits the opposition's voice in difficult times.

The analysis of the five aforementioned models portrays that Ecuadorian's approval of beating children as an acceptable way to educate them has a statistically significant effect with all the dependent variables employed to measure preferences for authoritarian rulers in the country. In this sense, even after controlling for individual factors- sex, income, level of education, urban or rural residence, number of children within the family, religion, perception of the national economic situation, approval of the President's job in the country, support for democracy, corruption in the country and perception of insecurity- and municipal factors- income wealth, education and health in Ecuador's municipalities-, the effect that Ecuadorian's approval of beating children has on citizen's preferences for authoritarian rulers does not disappear. Thus, it is possible to affirm that authoritarian education inside the family is positively correlated with Ecuadorian's preferences for authoritarian rulers and its effect is statistically significant at the  $p \leq 0.05$  level, even after controlling for individual and municipal factors.

According to my multilevel analysis, it is possible to affirm that there is a strong and clear correlation between authoritarian education imparted to children inside their families and the preferences for authoritarian political rulers in the country. Moreover, these findings are held even after other contextual factors are introduced in the multilevel analysis. That is, no matter the context in which Ecuadorians are embedded in, those that support and exert an authoritarian education inside the family are more prone to prefer authoritarian rulers to democratic ones. The importance of my independent variable is also reflected by the fact that its effect is held with all the dependent variables that I employed in the models. Thus, it is possible to affirm that Ecuadorians' acceptance of imparting an authoritarian education to their children is related with these individual's preferences for

authoritarian rulers, governments and policies. Nevertheless, it is also important to note that there are certain contextual factors that also seem to be related with Ecuadorians' preferences for authoritarian political rulers.

In this sense, Ecuadorian's levels of income wealth seem to have a negative and statistically significant correlation with preferences for authoritarian political rulers. The statistical effect of income wealth is significant with my main dependent variable; that is, Ecuadorians' preferences for authoritarian rulers. Additionally, income wealth is also statistically significant with my dependent variable that measures levels of approval that the President limits the opposition's voice in order for the country to progress. Nevertheless, income wealth seems not to hold its effect with the rest of my dependent variables. Thus, income's wealth statistical effect in the other three dependent variables is not held.

According to this, it is important to highlight that income wealth exerts a statistical significant influence in Ecuadorians' preferences for authoritarian rulers. Since the correlation between these two variables is negative, then it is possible to affirm that individuals that have lower levels of income are more prone to prefer authoritarian rulers to democratic ones. This finding is of utmost importance since it reinforces my theory, according to which individuals that have lower incomes are more prone to prefer authoritarian rulers because they believe that these rulers will provide quick solutions to their economic problems and insecurities. Moreover, the effect of income is also important because it reaffirms that there are certain groups within Ecuador's society that have higher probabilities to prefer authoritarian rulers to democratic ones.

In conjunction with individuals' income wealth, the effect of religion also exerts a statistical significant effect over my main dependent variable. According to the multilevel analysis, I found that Ecuadorians that identify themselves as Catholics are more prone to

prefer authoritarian rulers to democratic ones. Conversely, Protestants have higher probabilities to prefer democratic rulers to authoritarian ones. Additionally, religion is also statistically significant with my dependent variable that measures Ecuadorians' acceptance that the President limits the opposition's freedom of speech in order for the country to progress. As happened with my main dependent variable, Ecuadorians that identify themselves as Catholics have higher probabilities to accept that the President limits the opposition's freedom of speech. In opposition, Ecuadorians that identify themselves as Protestants are more prone to be against the limitation of freedom of speech. It is important to highlight that the effect of religion with the rest of my dependent variables disappears and, hence, it is not statistically significant. The effect that religion has in my main dependent variable is of utmost importance since it highlights the fact that there are certain religions that seem to have a relation with authoritarianism.

Finally, at the municipal level, the analysis and results of my second level variables showed that only health, measured as municipal mortality rates, is statistically significant with my main dependent variable. In this sense, municipalities that have lower levels of mortality portray a higher probability of preferring authoritarian rulers to democratic ones. Additionally, mortality is also statistically significant with my dependent variable that measures Ecuadorians' preferences for democratic versus iron fist governments. According to my results, municipalities that have lower levels of mortality have higher probabilities of preferring authoritarian governments to democratic ones. It is important to highlight that with the rest of my dependent variables, mortality in municipalities does not exert a statistical significant effect. The results of my quantitative data discussed in this section can be observed in Table 2. This table portrays the results of my multilevel analysis and the statistical significance found for specific variables employed.

**Table 2. Multilevel Analysis of the Determinants of Authoritarianism in Ecuador 2012\***

	<b>Strong Leader vs. Everyone's Participation</b>	<b>Democracy vs. Iron-Fist Government</b>	<b>Close the Congress</b>	<b>Dissolution of the Supreme Court</b>	<b>Limited Speech</b>	<b>Freedom of</b>
<b>Municipal Variables</b>						
<b>Public Schools</b>	-0.755 (0.778)	-0.0889 (0.1166)	-0.486 (0.788)	-1.314* (0.798)	-2.270** (0.907)	
<b>Mortality</b>	-3.427** (1.559)	-0.458** (0.213)	-0.385 (1.441)	-1.313 (1.435)	0.137 (1.597)	
<b>Education</b>	1.077 (3.502)	0.545 (0.478)	-3.099 (3.288)	-0.058 (3.290)	7.200** (3.582)	
<b>Poverty</b>	-0.2078 (1.0662)	0.069 (0.149)	1.154 (1-058)	1.756* (1.080)	2.039* (1.100)	
<b>Population</b>	0.000 (0.000)	0.000 (0.000)	0.000 (0.000)	0.000 (0.000)	0.000 (0.000)	
<b>Number of Observations:</b>	1275	1328	1269	1245	1269	
<b>Number of Groups:</b>	51	51	51	51	51	

Standard Errors in parenthesis  
 \*\*\* p<0.01 \*\* p<0.05 \*p<0.1

\* I treated my main independent variable- preferences for authoritarian vs democratic rulers- as continuous.

Table 2. Multilevel Analysis of the Determinants of Authoritarianism in Ecuador 2012

	Preference for iron fist rulers	Democracy vs. Iron Fist Government	Close the Congress	Dissolution of the Supreme Court	Limited Freedom of Speech
<b>Individual Variables</b>					
<b>Approval of beating children</b>	0.3451*** (0.111)	0.649*** (0.0179)	0.287** (0.0964)	0.2508** (0.1045)	0.392*** (0.113)
<b>Sex</b>	.0744 (0.157)	-0.0333 (0.025)	-0.0245 (0.13478)	-0.1613 (0.1452)	-0.0515 (0.1523)
<b>Education</b>	0.0025 (0.0216)	-0.0014 (0.0034)	0.0150 (0.0186)	0.0227 (0.01999)	0.0007 (0.0217)
<b>Age</b>	0.003 (0.0615)	-0.00069 (0.0097)	0.059 (0.052)	0.0125 (0.0569)	-0.0067 (0.0605)
<b>Place of living</b>	0.124 (0.197)	-0.0088 (0.0304)	0.0601 (0.1697)	0.167 (0.18118)	-0.5514*** (0.1839)
<b>Income wealth</b>	-0.187*** (0.066)	-0.0187* (0.0104)	0.00775 (0.0572)	-0.0173 (0.0611)	-0.1382** (0.0644)
<b>Protestant</b>	-0.896*** (0.323)	-0.0416 (0.0409)	-0.3062 (0.2277)	-0.0492 (0.2423)	-0.6771*** (0.23397)
<b>No religion</b>	-0.0713 (0.314)	-0.0478 (0.0509)	-0.2673 (0.296)	0.1737 (0.289)	-0.10062 (0.2966)
<b>No. Observations</b>	1275	1328	1269	1245	1269
<b>No. Groups</b>	51	51	51	51	51

Standard Errors in parenthesis

\*\*\* p&lt;0.01 \*\* p&lt;0.05 \*p&lt;0.1



Table 2. Multilevel Analysis of the Determinants of Authoritarianism in Ecuador 2012

	Preference for iron fist rulers	Democracy vs. Iron Fist Government	Close the Congress	Dissolution of the Supreme Court	Limited Freedom of Speech
<b>Individual Variables</b>					
<b>Other religions</b>	0.77559* (0.4435)	0.06709 (0.0855)	0.0304 (0.4287)	-0.03473 (0.5000)	-0.4374 (0.48609)
<b>Perception of the national economy</b>	0.00248 (0.0042)	-0.00079 (0.00068)	0.0109*** (0.0037)	0.0100*** (0.004)	0.01249*** (0.00407)
<b>Executive Approval</b>	-0.0032 (0.00384)	0.0027 *** (0.0006)	0.01506*** (0.0036)	0.0083** (0.00372)	0.01368*** (0.0036)
<b>System Support</b>	-0.1024 (0.1679)	0.0354 (0.0266)	0.2751* (0.1449)	0.1177 (0.1564)	-0.89375*** (0.16137)
<b>Corruption victimization</b>	0.0014 (0.0016)	0.00075*** (0.00026)	0.00345*** (0.0014)	0.00202 (0.0015)	0.00122 (0.00161)
<b>Insecurity perception</b>	-0.0003 (0.003)	0.00014 (0.0005)	0.00299 (0.00259)	0.00447* (0.00277)	-0.00018 (0.0029)
<b>Number of children</b>	0.034 (0.0498)	0.0052 (0.00807)	0.0705* (0.04287)	0.05519 (0.04605)	0.08256* (0.05238)
<b>Constant</b>	-8.146 (1.0467)	0.1119 (0.1556)	-4.6064 *** (1.0108)	-3.9433*** (1.0436)	1.33749 (1.0611)
<b>No. Observations</b>	1275	1328	1269	1245	1269
<b>No. Groups</b>	51	51	51	51	51

Standard Errors in parenthesis

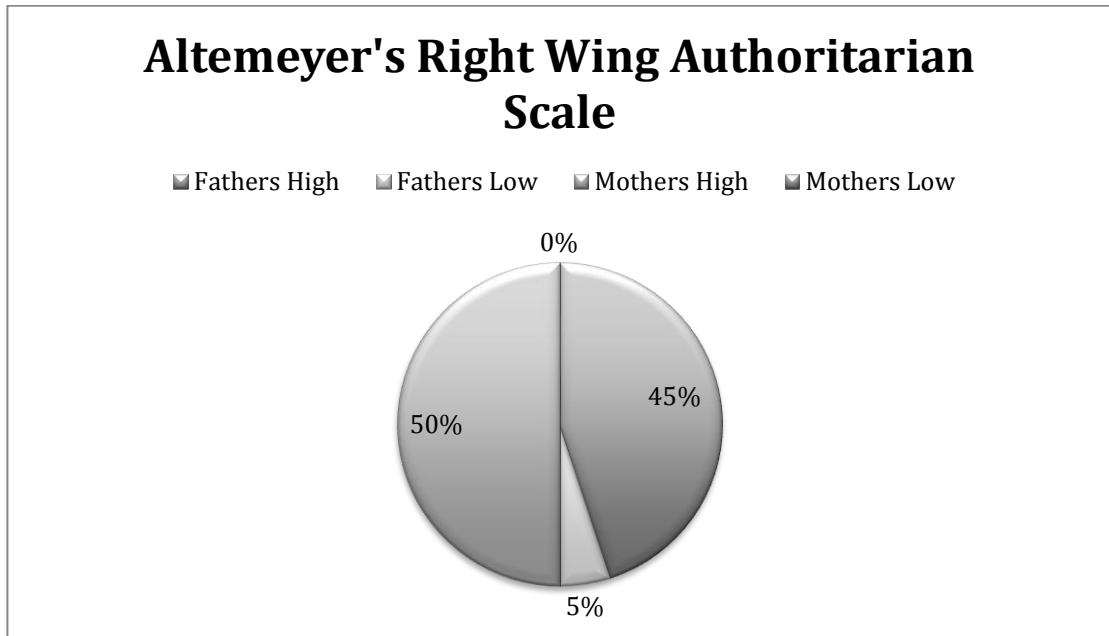
\*\*\* p&lt;0.01 \*\* p&lt;0.05 \*p&lt;0.1

Children Apperception, Thematic Apperception Tests and Altemeyer's Right Wing  
Scale Results

The application of the Thematic Apperception Tests to children's parents portrayed that parents that pertained to low-income classes employ physical, emotional and psychological repression, which are identified as authoritarian forms of education inside the family. Physical repression was mostly represented by the presence of beating children as a result of unwanted behaviors. Beating children was present as a result of children not following their parent's rules, orders or desires. This repression was also present in cases in which parents believed that their children were bothering them. Emotional and psychological repression was represented by the presence of silencing and abandoning children, repression of children's emotions and submission of children's desires to those of parents. This type of repression was also observed by parent's unwillingness to help their children solve their problems and their incapacity to explain their children the reason why they punished them. In sum, it is possible to see that low-income class Ecuadorian parents portray an authoritarian education inside their families and that they are transmitting authoritarian values and preferences to their children.

Additionally in the case of low-income class parents, results for Altemeyer's Right Wing Authoritarianism Scale show that parents pertaining to these economic classes have a clear preference for authoritarian rulers. That is, 9 of the 10 fathers that took the RWA rated high on the scale. Additionally, 10 of the 10 mothers that took the RWA also rated high on the scale. According to this, it is possible to affirm that low-income class Ecuadorian parents have a clear tendency to prefer authoritarian rulers to democratic ones. This finding is of utmost importance, because it enables me to assess that those parents that exert and authoritarian education to their children also prefer authoritarian rulers. Thus, it

is possible to establish that there is a connection between individual's preferences for authoritarian rulers and the type of education that they are imparting in their families.

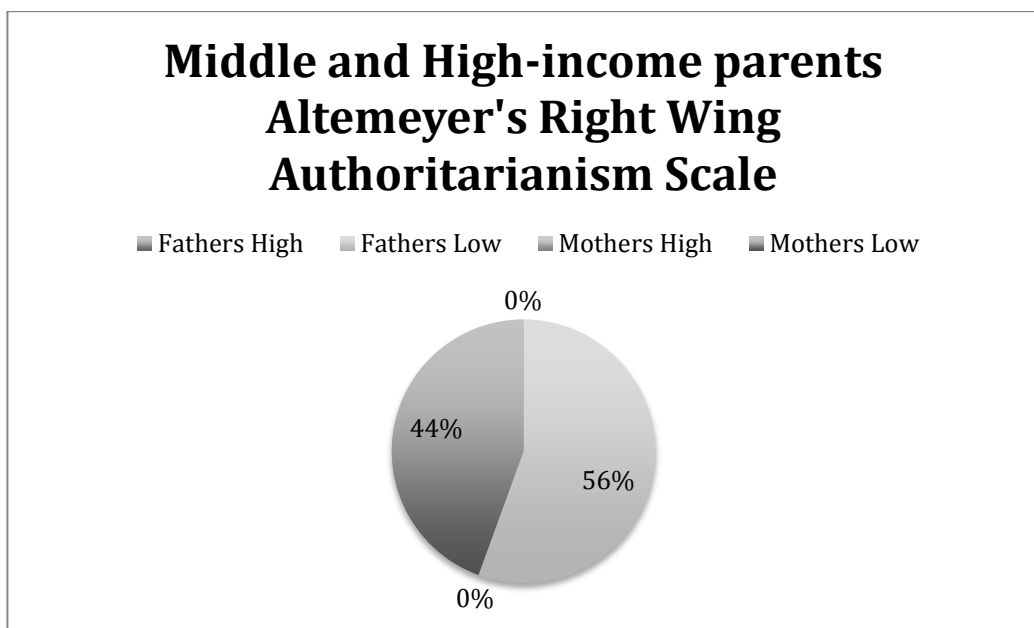


**Figure 1 Low-Income Class Parents' Scores on Altemeyer's Right Wing Authoritarian Scale**

On the other hand, in the case of parents that pertain to middle and high economic classes authoritarian educational practices were practically absent. In this sense, it was found that parents pertaining to middle and high economic classes apply educational practices that are based on the rationalization of children's acts, benevolent punishments and a motivation of children's creativity. It is important to highlight that some of these parents affirmed that in some cases their parents did exert repression of some kind. Nevertheless, they asserted that those practices coming from their parents were undesirable and that they have never applied them with their children. Moreover, middle and high-income class Ecuadorian parents strongly affirmed that they believed that parents from lower economic classes exerted an authoritarian education with their children. This was mostly due to the fact that they were convinced that low-income class parents beat their

children and that this was a clear expression of authoritarianism in these families.

Parents that pertain to middle and high-income classes rated low in the application of Altemeyer's Right Wing Authoritarianism Scale. 8 out of the 8 mothers that took the RWA rated low on the scale. Additionally, 10 out of the 10 parents that took the RWA also rated low on the scale. Consequently, it is possible to affirm that middle and high-income class Ecuadorian parents clearly prefer democratic rulers to authoritarian ones. As in the case of low income-class parents, the results of the RWA Scale enables me to assert that parents that pertain to middle and high economic classes prefer democratic rulers and, as such, they exert a liberal education inside their families. Moreover, these results show that there is also a connection between parent's preferences for political rulers and the type of education that they exert with their children. Thus, parents that raise their children with a liberal education also prefer democratic rulers to authoritarian ones.



**Figure 2: Middle and High-Income Class Parents' Scores on Altemeyer's  
Right Wing Authoritarian Scale**

In the case of children, those that pertained to low-income class families affirmed that their parents used physical, emotional and psychological repression in order to educate them. These children affirmed that their parents often beat them when they did not follow their parents' orders, desires or rules. Moreover, these children also asserted that their parents often beat them when they cried in the middle of the night or when they called their parents because they were having nightmares. Additionally, low-income class children also established that their parent's were emotionally distant, that they often abandoned them when they were crying or experiencing fear, that they silence them when they wanted to talk, that they never explained why they were punishing them and that they were afraid to act without their parents' consent because of the harsh consequences that it may carry.

On the other hand, children that pertained to middle and high economic classes affirmed that their parents were always emotionally available for them, that they explained to them the reasons behind punishments, that their parents have never beat them, that they never experienced emotional repression by their parents and that they have always felt that they can trust their parents. Moreover, these children asserted that they felt that their parents enjoyed spending time with them and that they could rely on their parents to protect them under all circumstances.

Children's results in the CAT portray that children pertaining to low-income class families receive an authoritarian education represented by parental physical, emotional and psychological repression. The fact that these children interiorize their parents' authoritarian values and preferences makes possible to affirm that there is a clear connection between parent's political preferences and children's future political preferences. That is, children that are raised by parents who exert an authoritarian education interiorize their parents' authoritarian political preferences and, as such, are more prone to prefer in their adult life authoritarian rulers to democratic ones. On the contrary, children that pertain to middle and

high-income classes do not experience this sort of authoritarian education. Actually, these children receive a liberal parental education inside their families and, therefore, they interiorize liberal values and preferences. In this regard, children that have received a liberal education coming from their parents interiorize such values and preferences and, thus, are more prone to prefer liberal and democratic rulers in their adult life.

## **Discussion**

### Quantitative Results

In Ecuador there are certain people who believe that beating children is a legitimate mechanism to educate them. Because these individuals have authoritarian values and preferences they also tend to prefer authoritarian rulers to democratic ones. Thus, Ecuadorians that consider physical repression should be used in order to educate children can be identified as authoritarian individuals. Nevertheless, authoritarian individuals do not only exert a tacit acceptance of physical repression inside their families; they also present a need to be submitted to higher authorities that tell them what to do, how to behave and how to command their lives.

As it was observed in the results of my multilevel analysis, the importance of the type of education inside Ecuadorians families is undeniable. The effect that individuals' approval of beating children has on Ecuadorians' preferences for authoritarian rulers is held even when other social and contextual variables are introduced. Accordingly, Ecuadorians' preferences for authoritarian rulers can be largely explained by the existence of an authoritarian education inside the family.

In contraposition to the importance of family education, several studies have argued that formal education has an important effect on the presence of authoritarianism. According to Lipset, as education rises within a society, the probability of developing

authoritarian values and preferences declines (Lipset, 1959). Additionally, Simpson argued that education imparted in schools reduces authoritarianism within a society; as long as the education that is being taught in these institutions emphasizes cognitive, liberal and participatory learning and it is manned by non-authoritarian teachers (Simpson, 1972). Nevertheless, in the case of Ecuador these findings cannot be held.

In my results there is no statistical significant relation between individuals' level of education and preferences for authoritarian rulers. According to this, Ecuadorians' acquisition of formal education does not influence citizens' preferences for authoritarian rulers. Hence, the presence of authoritarianism in Ecuador is not related to educational levels in the country. As such, by raising the percentage of people that have attended and finished primary, secondary or tertiary education will not diminish Ecuadorians' preferences for authoritarian rulers.

Additional to individuals' level of education, in my model I also employed the rate of public versus private schools in Ecuador's municipalities; in order to test whether municipalities that have higher rates of public schools tend to prefer authoritarian rulers to democratic ones. This belief is based on Giroux arguments, which affirm that teachers in public schools tend to impart an authoritarian education with their students. This is explained by teachers' lack of incentives to apply a liberal education with their students and by the fact that these teachers perceive their students as inferior individuals that have to be submitted in order for them to learn in school (Giroux, 1993).

If Giroux's arguments could be applied to Ecuador then, I would have found that municipalities that have higher rates of public schools tend to prefer authoritarian rulers to democratic ones. Nonetheless, my results showed no significant correlation between these two variables. Thus, in the case of Ecuador preferences for authoritarian rulers cannot be explained by the presence of an authoritarian education inside public schools; for there is

no relation between the education that children receive in educational institutions and preferences for authoritarian rulers. Accordingly, although it has been argued that formal educational institutions, such as the school, have a leading role in children's values and preferences formation, in the case of Ecuador these affirmations cannot be sustained. As such, I affirm that the type of education imparted in Ecuadorian schools does not have an effect on children's values and preferences. This sustains my argument according to which, it is inside the family where children construct their political values and preferences that will become part of their personality. Thus, the education that does have a relation with the presence of authoritarianism in Ecuador is the one imparted inside the family.

Authors such as Seymour Martin Lipset have argued that individuals' income-wealth is an important determinant on individuals' preferences for authoritarian rulers. According to my results, low-income class individuals tend to prefer authoritarian rulers to democratic ones. On the contrary, middle and high-income class individuals have higher probabilities to prefer democratic rulers. According to this, those individuals that have low-income levels have higher probabilities to prefer an authoritarian ruler to a democratic one. This finding is of utmost importance since it portrays that Ecuadorians that face economic struggles and that pertain to low-income social classes tend to prefer authoritarian rulers. As it was stated in my theory, individuals that face economic struggles are more prone to prefer authoritarian rulers because they believe that these rulers will give them fast and tangible solutions to their economic problems (Lipset, 1959).

Ecuador's political history has been embedded by the presence of populist rulers who have undermined democracy in the country. As such, Ecuadorians have tended to posit a great amount of approval and trust in the Executive, which has undermined their trust in other political institutions. Authors such as Hanopi, Pharr and Putnman have argued that citizens' increasing trust in the figure of the Executive undermines democracy



and raises the probability that these citizens prefer authoritarian rulers to democratic ones. According to this, it would be expected that Ecuadorians' approval of the Executive's work to be significantly correlated with their preferences for authoritarian or democratic rulers. Nonetheless, my results show that there is no such effect. Hence, the argument according to which Ecuadorians' increasing levels of trust and approval of the President is translated into preferences for authoritarian rulers is void. In this sense, the presence of authoritarianism in Ecuador's society cannot be explained by citizens' increasing trust in the figure of the President. This also puts into question arguments that relate authoritarianism in Ecuador with the presence of populist rulers in the country.

Individuals' identification with a specific religion has also been found to have an incidence on individuals' preferences for authoritarian rulers. I found that Ecuadorians that identify themselves as Catholics are more prone to prefer authoritarian rulers to democratic ones. This may imply that there are certain values present in Catholic religion that makes individuals that identify with it more prone to favor authoritarian rulers. Authors such as Altemeyer and Hunsberger have argued that Catholicism is based on individual's submission to religious authorities, on intolerance towards non-believers and sinners, and on an imposition of strict rules about what is considered to be proper and desired behavior (Altemeyer & Hunsberger, 1992). These religious teachings are highly related to authoritarianism, because they give obedience and submission to authorities a great amount of importance. As such, I consider that these religious values are making Ecuadorians that identify themselves as Catholics more prone to prefer authoritarian rulers to democratic ones.

On the contrary, Ecuadorians that identify themselves as having no religion or as Protestants tend to have lower probabilities to prefer authoritarian rulers to democratic ones. In the case of Protestantism, it has been argued that parents that are Protestants are

“more likely than other parents to practice warm and expressive emotion work with their children” (Wilcox, 1998, p. 807). This is important since parental emotional proximity positively affects children, because they grow up in an ambient where they feel secure and protected. As it was argued in my theory, parents that are emotionally available for their children raise children that are competent, cooperative and that are able to solve problems by themselves (Roberts W. , 1999). Moreover, Protestants have been historically linked to democracy and democratic values and, as such, Protestantism has been positively correlated with the existence of democracy within a society. The fact that Protestantism puts an emphasis on the importance of freedom of religion, tolerance and the development of the individual as essential factors that a society must have in order to develop itself; makes possible to argue that these values are more related to democracy than those excreted by Catholicism (Woodberry & Shah, 2004).

As discussed above, individuals’ characteristics have an important incidence on Ecuadorians’ preferences for authoritarian rulers. Nonetheless, the context in which these individuals live may also be important in their political preferences. According to my multilevel analysis, municipalities that have higher rates of infant mortality are less prone to favor authoritarian rulers and, thus, have higher probabilities to prefer democratic rulers. Nevertheless, there is no clear explanation for the relationship between these two variables. According to the data, the municipalities that portray the highest levels of infant mortality rates are Quito, Guayaquil and Cuenca. Since these are Ecuador’s biggest municipalities, it is possible that the effect of mortality on the preferences for authoritarian or democratic rulers is actually spurious. Hence, it is could be thought that the correlation may be explained by characteristics and contextual factors of these municipalities. One possible explanation is that, since these are Ecuador’s biggest municipalities, there are not enough healthcare centers for all the children that are born every year. Thus, people that have

children cannot access to a proper healthcare for their recently born children and, as such, are forced to put their children's life at risk.

Individuals' perceptions of the context that they are embedded in have been largely studied as a strong determinant of authoritarianism. In this sense, it has been argued that individuals that perceive their country is facing economic or security threats, have higher probabilities to prefer authoritarian rulers to democratic ones (Fromm, 1941; Sales, 1972; Feldman and Kenner, 1997; Zechmeister, 2009). According to these views, it would be expected that Ecuadorians' perception of the national economy and security have an incidence on their preferences for authoritarian or democratic rulers. On the contrary, my results portrayed that these perceptions do not have a significant effect on Ecuadorians preferences for authoritarian rulers. Hence, whether Ecuadorians perceive that the national economy is performing bad or whether insecurity levels are so high that their personal safety is being threatened these perceptive factors do not propel Ecuadorians to prefer authoritarian rulers to democratic ones.

Consequently, the effect of infant mortality on citizen preferences for authoritarianism can be related to lower children healthcare coverage in larger cities. Nevertheless, in order to know this it would be necessary to know the percentage of children that have access to healthcare centers during their first year of life. By knowing this, it would be possible to know if there is a relation between this variable and the preferences for authoritarian or democratic rulers. Nonetheless, this is not the objective of my investigation. Thus, I consider that for future investigations in this realm it would be necessary to know whether there is a correlation between infant mortality in Ecuador's municipalities and individuals' preferences for authoritarian or democratic rulers.

Since infant mortality was the only variable at the municipal level that exerted a statistical significant effect on Ecuadorians' preferences for authoritarian rulers and its

correlation with this dependent variable is unclear; I consider that contextual factors seem to have no effect on individuals' preferences for authoritarian rulers. According to this no matter the context in which individuals are embedded in, if they believe that beating children is a legitimate mechanism to educate them they will most probably prefer authoritarian rulers to democratic ones.

The discussion of my multilevel results provides a general description and analysis regarding the relationship between Ecuadorian's approval of beating children as a way to educate them and their preferences for authoritarian rulers. As it was analyzed above, this relationship is positively correlated and statistically significant. Nevertheless, these results are not sufficient to know the way in which authoritarian parental education is applied inside the family. Most importantly, these analyses are unable to explain whether children are actually interiorizing the type of values and preferences that their parents are transmitting to them. As such, quantitative results provide a good start for establishing that there is a positive and significant correlation between authoritarian education inside the family and Ecuadorians' preferences for authoritarian rulers. Nonetheless, these results are not sufficient to affirm that parents are actually transmitting authoritarian values and preferences to their children. Neither is possible to establish whether children perceive their parents as figures that they should emulate and, as such, believe that their parents' values must be interiorized and socialized. Finally, quantitative results do not allow knowing whether parents' values have been successfully transmitted to children in a way that these are kept throughout children's life so that they reproduce such values and preferences in their adult life.

## Qualitative Results

On the southern cone of the Americas one can find the small country of Ecuador. Independent since 1822, Ecuador has faced a long story of unstable governments, authoritarian and populist rulers and an existent but trembling democratic regime. Ecuadorians have lived up with this political instability for a long time and, as such, they have managed to confront their political environment by creating a political culture that is filled with a mixture of political values that have endured through time.

As one goes deeper into Ecuador's culture, it is possible to see that Ecuadorians have developed different ways of manifesting their political values and preferences. As such, within this small country one can find diverse forms of political culture that coexist in the whole unit. Ecuadorians that pertain to low-income classes have mostly suffered economic issues that have affected the way they live and how they perceive the world. Moreover, these citizens have characterized their political preferences by openly manifesting that what they are looking for are political rulers that give them quick answers to their problems and that put an end to their economic struggle. Low-income class citizens have manifested that they believe that only an iron fist ruler can solve Ecuador's problems and only by electing such rulers the country will progress. On the other hand, Ecuadorians that pertain to middle and high economic classes live another reality. They have not faced major economic issues and have mostly enjoyed a relatively stable economic situation. Still, these citizens believe that democracy in the country is constantly being undermined and that there are still a lot of political issues to take care of. Middle and high economic class Ecuadorians have manifested that democratic rulers are needed in order for the country to progress, but that these have never come and as such some iron fist measures may be acceptable.

Parents' authoritarian education and preferences for authoritarian rulers in Ecuador\*

These two confronting realities are taken into deeper and more disaggregated levels of Ecuador's society. Individuals pertaining to each of these groups manifest within their families their own perspectives of Ecuador's political reality. As such, Ecuadorian families live different realities according to the economic class that they are part of. Low-income families manifest a strong believe that in order to educate children it is "necessary for them to have parents that tell them what to do, how to behave and what to believe, because otherwise they would not know who they should obey" (low income-class mother). Parents that are part of this group are mostly concerned on educating their children with rigid and absolute standards of conduct, in order for their children to learn that "authorities are authorities and as such, their rules must always be followed". It is of no wonder that parents of low-class income families believe that physical repression is necessary to raise their kids "if children do not eat all their food their parents should beat them, because first they must eat so that they are healthy and second if they don't eat all their food it is because they are not obeying my orders and that is something that must be corrected". Moreover, it is not only about whether parents are beating their children; it is also about the way parents behave towards their children in every day life. "Children that cry in the middle of the night should be locked up in their rooms alone, they ought to learn not to disturb their parents". Abandonment and emotional repression portray how parents distance themselves from their children, because they perceive them as inferior individuals, who are there only to obey their parents' rules.

The application of physical and psychological punishment portrays two important

---

\* All the quotes used in this section of the discussion are testimonies from parents that participated in my investigation.

characteristics of authoritarian education in Ecuadorian families. First, it elicits the fact that authoritarian parents believe that repression of any kind is legitimate in cases where individuals do not obey their authorities rules and orders. Second, it allows observing that authoritarian parents believe that because they are the authorities in the family they are always right and as such their decisions and points of view are not arguable. Hence, whenever these type of parents repress their children's emotions and needs are exerting an authoritarian parental education because they are not giving their children the freedom to express their needs and they are limiting their children's possibilities to gain access to their parents in times of need.

Low-income class families in Ecuador have typically exerted authoritarianism by the application of repression without differentiating whether it is the mother or the father the one that exerts it. Thus, authoritarianism can be found both in mothers and fathers pertaining to low-income classes in Ecuador. Nevertheless, the way in which authoritarianism is reproduced and exerted over children varies from mothers to fathers. On a typical every day life situation in which a mother is feeding her children and the children do not want to finish their meal, it is very common to find that mothers threaten their children with the possibility of beating them if they do not finish their food: "I always tell my children to eat all their food, because if they do not their father comes and beats them". Moreover, mothers legitimize the use of physical punishment by threatening their children with the possibility of beating them and, also, by not doing anything when fathers beat their children. It is also important to take into consideration that even though most of the times physical punishment is not exerted by the mother psychological and emotional repression are very common techniques used by mothers. "Whenever my kids are bothering me I lock them up in their rooms and do not let them out until I want to see them again... Children should learn not to disturb adults". This type of punishment techniques

highly applied by low-income class mothers may seem to be not quite disturbing for the child's development. Nevertheless, these techniques are also a clear expression of authoritarianism inside the family because children's freedom is being forbidden and their inherent right to receive attention from their parents is taken away from them.

Parental authoritarian education in low-income class families is an essential prove of the presence of authoritarianism in Ecuador's political culture. Nevertheless, the sole fact that low-income class parents exert an authoritarian education inside their families is not enough to know whether these parents actually transfer their authoritarian parental education to other political spheres, such as preferences for certain types of political rulers. According to this, it is necessary to know whether these parents actually prefer authoritarian rulers to democratic ones in order to affirm that there is an existent and tangible connection between authoritarian parental education and the preference for authoritarian rulers in Ecuador.

The application of Altemeyer's Right Wing Authoritarianism Scale (RWA) made possible to know political preferences of low-income class parents. According to the application of the RWA, all the parents pertaining to low-income classes in Ecuador rated high in the RWA and, most importantly, all of them affirmed that: "there is a need for an iron fist and strong political ruler to come and govern Ecuador". Consequently, it is possible to affirm that parents that prefer authoritarian rulers also exert an authoritarian education inside their families and that this phenomenon is highly pronounced in low-income class families.

Low-income class Ecuadorian parents can be considered great examples of the authoritarian individual; for they are willing to subsume to higher political rulers but they also want to submit others that they perceive as inferior (Baumrind, 1966). By preferring authoritarian rulers to democratic ones, by believing that iron fist rulers are needed in



Ecuador and by reproducing an authoritarian culture inside their home; low-income class parents represent the perfect example of the authoritarian personality. Even though low-income class parents can portray authoritarian characteristics, if their children do not interiorize such characteristics it is impossible to affirm that authoritarianism is an essential feature of Ecuador's political culture.

Children's construction of values and preferences transmitted by their parents\*

"My dad beats me whenever I disobey him, he says that I have to listen to him". Children that pertain to low-income class families believe that it is normal that their parents beat them in order to educate them. In every day life situations, these children face physical repression as a measure used by their parents to educate them; "I always eat all my meals... if I don't my dad beats me or my mom gives me a cold bath in the tub". Beating and cold bathing are common measures used by low-income class parents in order to punish their children, whenever they do not follow their parent's rules. As a consequence of this repetition of authoritarian measures, children perceive that these are normal and that their application is acceptable: "every father beats his kids when they do not eat all their food right?" Nevertheless it is not only about physical repression, low-income children receive a lot of emotional and psychological repression coming from their parents.

Children that are part of low-income class families assert that it is very common that their parents abandon them when they are crying or experiencing fear of some kind. When these children cry in the middle of the night because they are afraid of something or because they are having a nightmare, their parents shut the door leaving them completely alone and feeling unprotected: "parents shut the door when their children are crying and having nightmares because they do not want to be disturbed". Moreover, children learn

---

\* All the quotes used in this part of the discussion are quotes from children that participated in my study.

that having fear or calling their parents when they find themselves in emotional stressful situations is wrong and that they will never receive comfort or support coming from their parents. “I never call my mom or my dad when I’m afraid in the middle of the night.... They never come and when they do they shout at me and tell me that I should not be coward”.

Emotional situations of this kind are of utmost importance during childhood, because these define the way children will deal with such situations in their adult life. When children experience strong emotional situations their parents’ response is highly important. Parents can respond in two possible manners, they can help their children understand that their emotions have to be controlled and help them solve the problem that they are facing or they can punish their children for expressing their emotions and asking for help. Clearly, low-income class parents apply punishment and repression when their children find themselves in stressful situations. By using such mechanisms they are teaching their children to repress their emotions and find quick but instable solutions to their problems (Roberts W. , 1999). Additionally, the use of emotional and psychological repression has important consequences in the child’s behavior and socialization skills.

According to what has been stated above, it is important to highlight that there are two core consequences of parent’s application of emotional and psychological repression with their children. First, emotional repression teaches children that they should repress their emotions and feelings in times of trouble or in difficult situations. Accordingly, children learn that repression is legitimate and that it is perfectly acceptable to use it when difficulties arise. Second, emotional repression affects children’s ability to solve problems on their own. This is due to the fact that parents do not teach their children how to deal with problems and difficult situations that may arise. As such, children that do not know how to solve their problems become dependent on their perceived authorities, mostly their

parents, in order to find solutions. This lack of problem solving skills affects children in significant ways, mostly due to the fact that in adult life children transmit this dependence onto others that are perceived as the legitimate authorities. Consequently, children that have experienced emotional repression during their childhood learn that repression is a legitimate mechanism of control and become highly dependent upon their authorities in order to solve their problems and difficulties.

Interestingly, children perceive that there are different ways in which their mothers and their fathers educate them. Fathers are the ones that most of the times carry out the punishment, especially when this is physical. Hence, children believe that their fathers are the one in charge of punishing them when they disobey or when they have done something wrong. Mothers, on the other hand, are perceived as the ones that use threats and emotional repression with their children. Rarely, mothers are the ones that apply physical punishment; mostly due to the fact that children believe that their fathers are the ones that have the authority to physically punish them: “my mother does not beat me when I misbehave because she says that my father is the one that is in charge of punishing me”. This is important to understand because it highlights two important elements of authoritarianism inside low-income Ecuadorian families. First, that most of the time fathers are the ones that apply physical punishment to children, because they are perceived as the legitimate authority in the family. Second, even though mothers are not the ones that apply physical punishments they legitimize authoritarian education by threatening their children with physical punishment and by accepting that fathers beat children as a way to educate them. Consequently, I affirm that authoritarianism is present both in fathers and mothers pertaining to low-income classes. The only difference is the way in which authoritarianism is expressed and exerted over children.

Physical, emotional and psychological repressions are crucial characteristics of

authoritarian education inside low-income class Ecuadorian families. Moreover, the fact that parents that pertain to this economic class exert a clear preference for authoritarian rulers makes possible to affirm that authoritarian parental education is linked with individual's preferences for authoritarian rulers over democratic ones. The presence of authoritarian education inside low-income class Ecuadorian families exerts an important influence on children that are part of these families. That is, children that have received an authoritarian education inside their families are more prone to reproduce authoritarian values and preferences throughout their lives. This is possible to assert due to the fact that children that have received an authoritarian education interiorize the values and preferences exerted by their parents, because children see them as authority figures whose behavior should be emulated: "I have always admired my father I want to be like him when I grow up". The fact that children consider their parent's behavior, values and preferences as something that should be reproduced shows the importance that parental education has in the child's development of political values and preferences.

There is a different reality present in middle and high-income families in Ecuador. Parents that pertain to these economic classes have very different relationships with their children, than parents from low-income classes. On every day life situations, parents of middle and high-income families believe that physical punishment exerted to their children is not justified under any circumstance: "Parents should educate their children with patience, love and comfort... I cannot remember one time that I raised my hand to my children". Moreover, these parents strongly affirm that physical punishment is not only undesirable, but that they have never even thought of using it when they have to punish or educate their children: "Those parents that beat their children in order to educate them are fooled by the idea that physical punishment actually works. I cannot think of something dumber than that idea". Parents pertaining to middle and high economic classes maintain

that it is tough to know up to which point a parent can be rigid in the way he or she is educating their children. They affirm that most of the time parents find themselves in a disjunctive when they have to punish their children because they have misbehaved: “Punishing children is one of the hardest tasks for parents, because one wants to educate children but at the same time one wants children to know what is wrong and what is right”.

In this regard, parents in middle and high economic classes admit that in order to educate their children they have had to think of ways in which they tell their children the difference between right and wrong. At the same time these parents make their children reason in order for them to understand why there is a difference between right and wrong. This is of utmost importance and is one crucial aspect of parental education in middle and high economic classes, because parents in these classes believe that rationalization of children’s actions and behavior is of utmost importance in order to raise a child properly: “Explaining the reason why children are being punished by their parents is really important, because only in that way little kids understand the difference between right and wrong”. The presence of rationalization is really important in parental education, because by making children understand the reason why they are being punished engages them in a process of rationalized thinking in which they understand the reasons behind their punishment. On the contrary to unexplained physical punishment applied by low-income class parents, middle and high economic class parents emphasize that it is really important for them to explain their children why they are punishing them, “otherwise children would continue to behave in ways that are undesired not only for us, but for other people that surrounds them”.

Interestingly, punishments applied by middle and high-income class parents can be identified as punishments that are carried out in order for children to learn that there are things that they must do if they want to live a healthy life: “My children normally do not

want to eat their vegetables so in order to teach them to eat them I usually put in their plates less meat and rice and more vegetables, especially at lunch. They are so hungry at that time of the day that there is practically no way out than eating the vegetables in their plates”. Such measures are hardly seen in low-income class parents, because they normally beat their children or lock them up if they do not want to eat all their food. On the contrary, middle and high economic class parents prefer to apply punishments that are more related with the limitation of children’s liberty and decision-making capacity.

“When children misbehave, as this child that did not listen to his mother and hurt himself playing outside when it was dark, their parents must take away some of their toys so in that way children learn that whenever they misbehave there are going to be consequences”. These punishments are applied in order to limit the child’s capacity of deciding which toy to play with and the child’s freedom in the sense that he or she is not able to choose from the same array of toys. Additionally, middle and high-class Ecuadorian parents believe that by taking away their children’s favorite toy they are teaching them that there will always be consequences when they misbehave. Nevertheless, these consequences are never related to repression of any kind mostly due to the fact that parents that pertain to these economic classes strongly assert that repression is nothing but “a short term solution to problems that may arise when educating children”. The fact that middle and high-class Ecuadorian parents believe that rationalization and punishments that are proportional to children’s misbehavior are crucial elements for raising children shows that, these parents exert extremely different practices than low-income class parents. Such beliefs put middle and high-income class parents in a very different political position, for they do not exhibit an authoritarian parental education inside their families.

Additional to this, it is important to highlight that middle and high-income class parents do not exert emotional or psychological repression with their children. “I hear my

child cry in the middle of the night probably two to three times a week because he is having nightmares. Every time that I hear him cry I ask him what is going on and explain him that nothing is going to happen because I will protect him from those ghosts that are scaring him”. The sole fact that these parents explain to their children that they are there to protect them when they are afraid of something that is out of their control shows that these parents are emotionally available for their children. This is of crucial importance because it shows that, on the contrary to low-income class Ecuadorian parents, middle and high-class parents believe that emotional and psychological support is important for their children’s education. Mostly due to the fact that, middle and high-class parents give great importance to their children’s emotions and consider that being available for them influences and affects the way in which their children are going to behave in the future: “I know that all that happens in my child’s life is going to affect the way she behaves in the future. Maybe if I don’t give her my support she will not grow up properly and she will feel insecure all her life”.

The fact that middle and high class Ecuadorian parents believe that physical and emotional repression are undesirable measures to raise their children portrays that these parents apply a very different type of education inside their families. This education can be identified as liberal parental education, because it highlights the importance of giving children the freedom necessary to make their own decisions when it is possible, it is based on rationalization in the presence of children’s misbehavior and it highlights the importance of giving children emotional comfort and stability (Baumrind, 1966; Roberts W. , 1999). Nevertheless, as in the case of low-income class Ecuadorian parents, it is necessary to know whether middle and high-class parents’ education inside their families is reflected in their preferences for political rulers. In this sense, it is important to know these parents political preferences in order to actually affirm that middle and high-class

Ecuadorian parents prefer democratic rulers to authoritarian ones and as such they also exert a liberal parental education inside their families.

Results from the application of Altemeyer's RWA Scale show that middle and high-income class Ecuadorian parents prefer democratic rulers to authoritarian ones. Most of the parents that pertain to these classes believe that "democratic rulers are needed in order for Ecuador to progress" and that "there is no justification for the presence of authoritarian rulers in the country, even when the country may be facing very difficult times". According to this, it is possible to affirm that middle and high-class Ecuadorian parents do not only exert a liberal education with their children but it is also observed that they highly prefer democratic rulers to authoritarian ones. Consequently, these parents are influencing their children's future political preferences by raising them with a liberal parental education. Nevertheless, if these parents' children do not show that they are interiorizing the values and preferences taught to them at home; then, it is not possible to assert that there is actually a connection between parents' education and children future political preferences.

According to what has been stated above, it is necessary to see the way children perceive their parents are raising them; in order to know if there is a link between parents' education and their children's perception of such education. Middle and high-income class children affirm that they have a good relationship with their parents, mostly due to the fact that they like to spend time with their mother and father because they always show that they are interested in spending time with them: "I like to spend time with mom and dad because even though I do not get to see them much because of their jobs, when I do they always play with me or ask me how was school". This is really important for children because parents' emotional availability portrays that they care about the way their children perceive them and shows that parents are there to support and comfort their children.



Moreover, children pertaining to middle and high-income classes affirm that their parents have never used physical punishment in order to educate them: “Mom and dad are very strict with me, but they have never raised a hand to me”. Due to the absence of physical repression, children in these economic classes feel protected and safe with their parents. The fact that their parents have never exerted physical punishment over them demonstrates that middle and high-class parents are always emotionally available for their children, which makes their children feel protected by their parents. Emotional availability is also demonstrated by typical events in children’s every day life, mostly reflected in the fears and difficulties that children face.

It is very common that children have nightmares in the middle of the night or are afraid of some unknown creature that is in their rooms. Such scenarios are very difficult for children of all ages because, most of the times, they are insecure about calling their parents due to the fact that they do not want to bother them or they do not want to appear to be weak. How children perceive their parents react to such situations is of utmost importance for the child’s emotional security and stability: “when I think monsters are in my room my mom comes and hugs me very hard... I feel safe when she does that”. By feeling that their parents respond to emotionally stressful situations, children learn that in difficult times they can count on their parents to help them feel safe and protected. In this same aspect, it is possible to affirm that homework is another area that is problematic for children when facing difficulties. “I usually have problems with my math class, so I ask my father to help me with homework. He is a genius! And he explains me everything that I cannot understand”. Parents that help their children to understand their homework and that take the time to help them do their school chores, create in children a feeling of self-security and confidence that is of utmost importance in children’s development.

According to what was stated above, children that perceive that their parents are

there to help them understand those things that they cannot understand by themselves are far more confident and self-secured than other children. This is explained by the fact that parents that are emotional and psychologically available for their children raise children that are able to solve their problems by themselves, because they have been raised use reason and logic in order to find solutions in difficult situations. As such, these children are independent and do not need others in order to solve their problems. When these children reach their adult life they are able to solve problems by themselves and, on the contrary to children that received an authoritarian education in their family, they do not rely on their political authorities in order to find solutions to their problems. Consequently, I affirm that children that received a parental education that is based on giving them self-confidence portray three core characteristics. First, these children are independent and are able to solve their problems by themselves and do not depend on their authorities, mostly their parents, to solve their problems. Second, in the future these children will not rely on higher political authorities in order to solve their issues. Finally, children that are raised by parents that are emotionally and psychologically available for them are competent children who are active because they set goals for themselves and they are persistent in pursuing these goals (Baumrind, 1966; Jennings & Niemi, 1968; Roberts W. , 1999).

## **Conclusions**

The study of authoritarianism has been of increasing interest in many areas of inquiry, especially in the field of political science. As such, there have been numerous studies carried out in order to find arguments that explain the existence of authoritarianism throughout different societies around the world. In the case of Ecuador, the persistence of authoritarianism has been mostly related to the country's lack of economic development and to the continuous existence of weak and populist governments that have undermined

democracy in the country (O'Donnell, 1994; Pachano, 2008; Sosa, 2012). Nevertheless, these arguments have focused on the social and contextual factors that are related to authoritarianism but that do not explain why authoritarianism is a persistent phenomenon in Ecuador's political culture. Additionally, these arguments are unable to explain the possible roots of authoritarianism, because they are focused on macro-level explanations that treat authoritarianism as a result of social and contextual factors exclusively. Thus, these arguments do not analyze the possibility that there may be certain individual tendencies and preferences that are related to the existence of authoritarianism.

In my study I argue that authoritarian education inside Ecuadorian families is positively correlated with individual's preferences for authoritarian rulers. Hence, Ecuadorians prefer authoritarian rulers due to the fact that during their childhood they received an authoritarian education inside their family. This means that the way in which children are being raised and the kind of political values that are being transmitted to them inside their families are of crucial importance in order to understand the roots of authoritarianism in Ecuador. According to this, the existence of an authoritarian education inside Ecuadorian families largely influences individuals' preferences for authoritarian political rulers. Hence, children that receive an authoritarian education inside their family, most surely will prefer authoritarian political rulers instead of democratic ones. Due to the fact that children interiorize values learned inside their families by emulating the behaviors of their parents; children that have authoritarian parents will most surely emulate authoritarian values and preferences throughout their lives.

The results of my multilevel analysis showed that Ecuadorians' approval of beating children is positively and significantly correlated with individuals' preferences for authoritarian rulers. Hence, Ecuadorians that approve beating children as a way to educate them have higher probabilities of preferring an authoritarian ruler to a democratic one.

This is explained by the fact that Ecuadorians that exert physical repression as a way to educate their children can be identified as authoritarian individuals for they believe that repression is a legitimate and acceptable mechanism to educate children. As it was explained, individuals that have lived in repressive environments and families are convinced that repression is needed in order for others to follow their rules. Thus, parents that approve and exert physical repression with their children are convinced that people should be punished for unwanted behaviors, that is, when not obeying the proper social norms. Therefore, these parents employ aggressive behaviors and actions against their children, when they are not following their parents' orders and desires.

Moreover, these results also showed that individuals' income wealth is negatively correlated with Ecuadorians' preferences for authoritarian rulers. Thus, Ecuadorians that pertain to low-income strata have higher probabilities to prefer an authoritarian ruler to a democratic one. As it was argued above, individuals that face economic stressful situations tend to prefer political rulers that offer them fast solutions to their issues; because they believe that their situation unsustainable and, as such, they need rapid answers that alleviate their economic stress. Additionally, it is also affirmed that individuals that face economic stressful situations experience higher levels of anxiety and, as such, have a necessity to discharge this anxiety with other individuals that are around them. Due to the fact that children are perceived as weak and inferior individuals; parents that are experiencing economic stressful situations tend to discharge their anxieties and stress with their children, mostly by incurring in physical repression. Consequently, low-income class individuals are more prone to prefer authoritarian rulers because they offer quick solutions to economic stressful situations experienced by these individuals.

Religion was also found to be an important factor in the determination of Ecuadorians' preferences for authoritarian rulers. In this sense, those individuals that

identified themselves as Catholics had higher probabilities of preferring an authoritarian ruler; than those that identified with Protestantism or with no religion at all. Since a large proportion of Ecuador's population identifies with Catholicism, these findings are of utmost importance for they portray that there is a large proportion of Ecuador's society that is highly prone to prefer authoritarian rulers, due to their religious affiliation and identification.

At the level of municipalities, it was found that Ecuador's municipalities that had high levels of infant mortality were more prone to prefer authoritarian rulers. This finding was of striking surprise for there is no clear explanation for this correlation between mortality and preferences for authoritarian rulers. As it was argued before, the correlation found between mortality and Ecuadorians' preferences for authoritarian or democratic rulers may be explained by people's lack of access to healthcare centers for their children. Nevertheless, it was observed that in order to do this it is necessary to know the percentage of children that have assisted to healthcare centers. Only by establishing this, it would be possible to know if there is a correlation between infant mortality rates in Ecuador's municipalities and preferences for authoritarian or democratic rulers. It would be also possible to know if the correlation between these two variables is actually spurious and it is only a coincidence.

In conjunction with the results of my multilevel analysis, the results of the application of the Children's Apperception Tests, Thematic Apperception Tests and Altemeyer's Right-Wing Authoritarian Scale allowed observing the way in which authoritarian parental education is being transmitted to children in Ecuador. Moreover, these results reaffirmed that there is an existent connection between individual's income-wealth and preferences for authoritarian rulers. Also, they provided a new insight on the importance of income as a determinant for the existence of authoritarianism. As such,

individuals that pertained to low-income classes do not only prefer authoritarian rulers; they also exert an authoritarian education inside their families.

Parents in low-income classes educate their children based on an authoritarian education, which is represented by the application of physical, emotional and psychological repression. This is explained by the fact that low-income class parents can be classified as authoritarian individuals that need submit others to their orders and desires. As such, these authoritarian parents believe that repression is a legitimate mechanism to educate their children and are convinced that it is the best way to raise their children. Nevertheless as authoritarian individuals, low-income class parents also have a need to be submitted to higher authorities that they perceive as more powerful. As such, these parents highly prefer authoritarian political rulers that tell them what to do, how to behave and what to believe. In my results, it was observed that low-income class parents highly prefer authoritarian rulers to democratic ones. Moreover, they believe that it is necessary for Ecuador to have iron-fist rulers in order for the country to progress.

Additionally, it was observed that children that pertain to low-income class families receive an authoritarian parental education. Thus, parents in this economic stratum applied physical, emotional and psychological repression to their children, because they believe that these are legitimate mechanisms to educate their children. Moreover, children believe that this type of education is normal and perceived their parents as their “personal heroes”. By observing their parents as their “personal heroes”, these children believe that their parents’ behaviors, values and preferences should be emulated. Consequently, it was found that children that received an authoritarian education interiorized the values and preferences transmitted by their parents. Because, children interiorize their parents’ authoritarian values and preferences they will most surely hold and exert these values and preferences throughout their lives. Most importantly, since these children’s parents highly

prefer authoritarian rulers to democratic ones; it is possible to affirm that children that received an authoritarian education inside their families will also prefer authoritarian rulers in their adult life.

On the other hand, parents that pertain to middle and high-income classes mostly exert a liberal education to their children. This is observed by the fact that these parents do not consider physical repression as a legitimate mechanism to educate children. Moreover, it was found that these parents most of the time are emotionally available for their children. Contrary to what was found in low-income class parents, middle and high-class parents believe that emotional proximity, rationality and benevolent punishments are necessary tools to educate children properly. Additionally, it was identified that parental emotional proximity is very important for children's development since this factor makes them competent, cooperative and able to solve problems on their own. Finally, I also found that middle and high-income class parents highly prefer democratic rulers to authoritarian ones. This demonstrates that these parents do not only exert a liberal education towards their children but that they also reflect their liberal values in their political preferences.

Children that pertain to middle and high economic classes affirmed that they get along very well with their parents and that they felt that their parents were always there to support and protect them. These children said that their parents always took care of them when they were in trouble and that they always explained to them the things that they should or should not do. Moreover, children in these social classes maintained that their parents before inflicting any punishment to them explained the reason why they are being punished. This is of utmost importance since it probes that these parents exert a rational education, in which they explain to their children what they have done wrong in order for them to receive a punishment. As such, children rationalize the reasons behind the punishment being inflicted to them and understand why they are being punished.

Consequently punishment is understood, as a rational mechanism that is applied to children and it is not an arbitrary tool used by parents. It is important to understand that middle and high-income children affirmed that their parents have never used physical aggression as a way to educate or punish them. Finally, it was also observed that these children perceive their parents as their “personal heroes” and, as such, consider that their values and preferences should be emulated. As in the case of low-income class, middle and high-income class children also have high probabilities to hold their parents’ values and preferences throughout their lives. Thus, if these children perceive their parents as their “personal heroes” and they interiorize their parents’ values and preferences, it is possible to affirm that these children, in their adult life, will also prefer democratic rulers to authoritarian ones.

The results of my investigation allow me to assert that education inside Ecuadorian families is one of the most important predictors for individuals’ preferences for authoritarian rulers. My results showed that authoritarian education inside the family is a phenomenon that can be mostly found in low-income class families. Accordingly, parents that pertain to these economic classes exert an authoritarian education that is based on the application of physical, emotional and psychological repression. The use of physical repression is one of the core aspects for identifying parental authoritarian education, for this mechanism proves the existence of aggression inside the family. Moreover, the application of emotional and psychological repression is also related to the presence of authoritarianism inside the family. This sort of repression makes children less competent, unable to solve problems by themselves and incapable to have proper social relations with other children.

In consequence, parents that exert physical, emotional and psychological repression can be identified as authoritarian parents and individuals. By wielding aggression towards



their children, these parents are proving that they can be classified as authoritarian individuals who have an inherent need to submit others to their will. Additionally, as authoritarian individuals these parents also exert a need to be submitted to higher authorities that they consider as being more powerful and capable of making better decisions than themselves. As it was expected, I also found that low-income class parents have a clear preference for authoritarian rulers and that they strongly affirm that iron fist rulers are needed in order for Ecuador to progress.

As it was observed above, the importance of the education inside the family relies on the fact that it is in this scenario where children construct their political values and preferences. According to this, I observed that children that pertain to low-income class families have received an authoritarian education and, as such, have been exposed to physical, emotional and psychological aggression. These children perceive their parents as their “personal heroes” and, hence, believe that their values and preferences must be emulated. Consequently, children that have received an authoritarian parental education interiorize authoritarian values and preferences and make them part of their personality.

This process of internalizing values makes possible to affirm that children that have received an authoritarian education coming from their parents, will hold these values and preferences throughout their lives. In their adult life, these children socialize in different institutions and contexts the authoritarian values and preferences transmitted by their parents. Moreover, because these children’s parents strongly prefer authoritarian rulers and transmit this preference to their children in the education imparted to them inside their families; I affirm that, in their adult life, these children will also prefer authoritarian rulers.

On the contrary, it was found that parents that pertain to middle and high-income classes exert a more liberal education inside their families. This was observed by the fact that these parents imparted an education that is based in emotional proximity, rationality

and benevolent punishments. Emotional proximity was the most observed feature in the education imparted by these parents. This characteristic was of utmost importance because parents that are emotionally available for their children make them feel that they are there to protect them, to help them solve problems and to rationally explain to them the difference between right and wrong. These practices raise competent children who are cooperative, capable of having social relations with other kids and able to solve problems by themselves. Liberal education exerted by middle and high-income class parents is also related to these parents' political tendencies. In this sense, I also found that parents in these economic classes strongly prefer democratic rulers to authoritarian ones. Consequently, I argue that parents in middle and high-income classes exert a liberal education with their children and they also prefer democratic rulers to authoritarian ones. As such, I affirm that the correlation between education inside Ecuadorian families and individuals' preferences for authoritarian or democratic rulers is also present in middle and high-income strata.

I also found that children that pertain to middle and high-income classes believed that their parents were always supportive and emotionally available for them. These children also affirmed that their parents have never exerted physical punishment as a way to educate them and that they have always explained the reason behind a punishment before inflicting it. Finally, I also found that these children believed and strongly asserted that their parents were their role models. This allows me to affirm that children that receive a liberal parental education interiorize the values and preferences transmitted by their parents, because they believe that their parents' behavior should be emulated. Hence, I sustain that Ecuadorian children that have received a liberal education and have interiorized the values and preferences exerted by their parents will hold liberal values and preferences throughout their lives. Most importantly, since political values are also transmitted from parents to children; in the future, children that have been raised with a

liberal education will also prefer political rulers that reflect the values and preferences transmitted by their parents. As such, in their adult life these children will prefer democratic rulers to authoritarian ones, just as their parents did.

My findings allow me to assert that Ecuadorians' preferences for authoritarian rulers or democratic ones can be traced back to the type of education that is being imparted inside the family. Since there is a striking difference between the type of parental education exerted in low-income families and in middle and high-income families, I also assert that parent's income levels influence in the type of education that they are imparting to their children. There are X possible conclusions that can be traced to my study: 1) Low-income class parents tend to exert an authoritarian education with their children 2) Children in low-income class families receive and interiorize authoritarian values and preferences transmitted by their parents 3) In their adult life, children in low-income class families will prefer authoritarian rulers, just as their parents did 4) Middle and high-income class parents tend to exert a liberal education with their children 5) Children in middle and high-income class families receive and interiorize liberal values and preferences transmitted by their parents 6) In their adult life, children in middle and high-income class families will prefer liberal rulers, just as their parents did.

According to this, I sustain that in order to find the possible roots for Ecuadorians' preferences for authoritarian rulers it is necessary to analyze the type of education that is being imparted inside families. After all, it is in this scenario where authoritarian political values and preferences are being transmitted from one generation to another. Thus, as long as authoritarian parents continue to exert an authoritarian education with their children, it is expected that preferences for authoritarian rulers in the country continue to exist.

The vicious circle of authoritarianism in Ecuador could be broken when the type of education imparted inside Ecuadorian families is based on liberal values and not on

authoritarian ones. I can surely assert that the transmission of authoritarian values inside Ecuadorian families is making the country live in a continuous circle of authoritarianism, where preferences for authoritarian rulers are still found in significant proportion of Ecuador's population. Moreover, the fact that authoritarian education has been transmitted from one generation to another makes possible to affirm that the phenomenon of authoritarianism has been enduring for a long time and it is quite possible that it will continue doing so. This is not to say that Ecuador is condemned to live in an authoritarian political culture, what I sustain is that it is necessary to change the way children are being educated in certain segments of Ecuador's population in order to tackle the vicious circle of authoritarianism.

Surely my explanations will leave several inquiries, for there is still a lot of fields that can be covered in the study of authoritarian parental education. For future research it would be desirable to contemplate the possibility of investigating where and when did authoritarian parental education began and how it spread to specific segments of Ecuador's society. One possible explanation for this is that during the Enlightenment, there were academic elites that had the opportunity to travel to Europe and acquire knowledge on democracy and its values and principles. These scholars spread the ideas of political freedom, equality and education for all. Nevertheless, these ideas were limited to a particular segment of Ecuador's society; mostly, economic elites that had access to knowledge and education. Due to the fact that democratic and liberal ideas were available only for these elites, it is possible that throughout time only those that have gained certain economic and political status have had access to democratic and liberal knowledge. Nonetheless, as it was argued before, this is only one possible explanation for the phenomenon of authoritarianism in Ecuador. Future research will provide insights on these aspects

## Bibliography

- Acemoglu, D., Simon, J., Robinson, J., & Yared, P. (2008). Income and Democracy. *American Economic Review* , 808-842.
- Adorno, T. (1950). *The Authoritarian Personality*. New York: Harper and Brothers.
- Adorno, T., & et. al. (1950). *The Authoritarian Personality*. New York: Harper & Brothers.
- Almond, G., & Verba, S. (1963). *The Civic Culture: Political Attitudes and Democracy in Five Nations*. London: Sage.
- Altemeyer, B., & Hunsberger, B. (1992). Authoritarianism, Religious Fundamentalism, Quest, and Prejudice. *International Journal for the Psychology of Religion* , 113-133.
- Bandura, A. (1969). Social Learning Theory of Identification. In D. Goslin, *Handbook of Socialization Handbook of Research*. Rand McNally & Company.
- Bass, B. (2008). *The Bass Handbook of Leadership*. New York: Free Press.
- Baumrind, D. (1966). Effects of Authoritative Parental Control on Child Behavior . *Child Development* , 887-907.
- Baumrind, D. (1966). Effects of Authoritative Parental Control on Child Behavior. *Child Development* , 887-907.
- Bellak, L., & Abrams, D. (2000). *T.A.T, C.A.T y S.A.T Uso clínico*. México D.F: El Manual Moderno.
- Bellak, L., & Abrams, D. (1997). *The Thematic Apperception Test, the Children's Apperception Test, and the Senior Apperception Technique in clinical use* . Needham Heights: Allyn & Bacon.
- Brant, R. (2007). *Multiple Linear Regression*. Vancouver: University of British Columbia.

- Cammack, P. (2000). The Resurgence of Populism in Latin America . *Bulletin of Latin American Research* , 149-161 .
- Canetti-Nisim, D. (2004). The Effect of Religiosity on Endorsement of Democratic Values: The Mediating Influence of Authoritarianism. *Political Behavior* , 377-398.
- Clark, J. (1997). Petro-politics in Congo. *Journal of Democracy* , 62-76.
- Duriez , B., Luyten, P., Snauwert, B., & Hutsebaut. (2002). The importance of religiosity and values in predicting political attitudes: evidence for the continuing importance of religiosity. *Mental Health, Religion and Culture* , 35-54.
- Easton, D., & Dennis, J. (1967). The Child's Acquisition of Regime Norms: Political Efficacy. *The American Political Science Review* , 25-38.
- Easton, D., & Dennis, J. (1967). The Child's Acquisition of Regime Norms: Political Efficacy. *The American Political Science Review* , 25-38.
- Eckhardt, W. (1991). Authoritarianism. *Political Psychology* , 97-124.
- Emler, N., & Frazer, E. (1999). Politics: The Education Effect. *Oxford Review of Education* , 251-273.
- Feldman, S., & Kenner, K. (1997). Perceived Threat and Authoritarianism. *Political Psychology* , 741-770.
- Fromm, E. (1941). *Escape from freedom*. New York: Rineharat and Winston.
- Giroux, H. (1993). *La escuela y la lucha por la ciudadanía: pedagogía crítica de la época moderna*. Buenos Aires: Siglo XXI Editores.
- Halgunseth, L., Ispa, J., & Rudy, D. (2006). Parental Control in Latino Families: An Integrated Review of the Literature . *Child Development* , 1282-1297.
- Hatemi, P. (2011). A Genome-Wide Analysis of Liberal and Conservative Political Attitudes . *The Journal of Politics* , 1-15.

- Huntington, S. (1996). La Tercera Ola. In L. Diamond, & P. Marck, *El Resurgimiento Global* (pp. 3-23). México D.F: Universidad Autónoma de México.
- Inglehart, R. (1988). The Renaissance of Political Culture. *American Political Science Review* , 1203-1230.
- Inglehart, R., & Welzel, C. (2003). Political Culture and Democracy: Analyzing Cross-Level Linkages. *Comparative Politics* , 61-79.
- Janowitz, M., & Marvick, D. (1953). Authoritarianism and Political Behavior. *The Public Opinion Quarterly* , 185-201.
- Jennings, K., & Niemi, R. (1968). The Transmission of Political Values from Parent to Child. *The American Political Science Review* , 169-184.
- Jennings, M. K. (2007). Political socialization. In R. Dalton , & H. Klingemann, *The Oxford handbook of political behavior* (pp. 29-44). Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Kuppens, S., Grietens, H., Onghena, P., & Michiels, D. (2009). Associations between parental control and children's overt and relational aggression. *British Journal of Developmental Psychology* , 607-623.
- Lipset, S. (1959). Democracy and Working class authoritarianism. *American Sociological Review* , 482-501.
- Luke, D. (2004). *Multilevel Modeling*. Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications Inc.
- Maccoby, E. (1992). The Role of Parents in the Socialization of Children: A Historical Overview. *Developmental Psychology* , 1006-1017.
- Milburn, M., Conrad, S., & Sala, F. (1995). Childhood Punishment, denial and political attitudes. *Political Psychology* , 447-478.
- Milburn, M., Miho, N., & Marcus, P. (2013). Authoritarianism, Anger, and Hostile Attribution Bias: A Test of Affect Displacement. *Political Psychology* , 1-19.

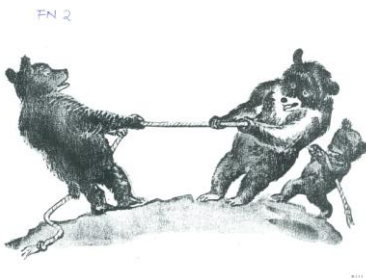
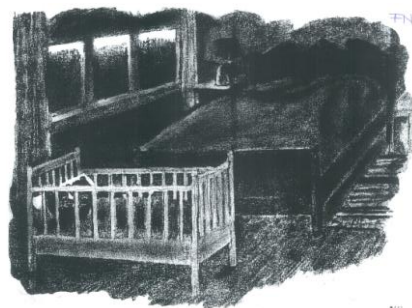
- Moss, L., Sabghir, F., Stewart, D., & Sheppard, H. (1956). *Exploratory Study of Psychiatric Aides at a Homeland Training Center for the Mentally Retarded*. Detroit: Wayne State University.
- O'Donnell, G. (1994). Democracia Delegativa. *Journal of Democracy* .
- Pachano, S. (2008). Calidad de la democracia y colapso del sistema de partidos en Ecuador. *Ponencia presentada al seminario Partidos políticos y calidad de la democracia* (pp. 1-26). México D.F: FLACSO.
- Pachano, S. (2010). La Democracia Inconclusa: Derechos Fundamentales, Instituciones y Rendimientos Gubernamentales en Ecuador (1979-2008). *Revista de Ciencia Política* , 65-85.
- Pharr, S. J. (2000). A quarter-century of declining confidence. *Journal of democracy* , 5-25.
- Przeworski, A., Cheibub, J., & Limongi, F. (2003). Culture and Democracy. In I. Shapiro, R. Dahl, & J. Cheibub, *The Democracy Sourcebook*. Boston: MIT.
- Roberts, W. (1999). The Socialization of Emotional Expression: Relations with Prosocial Behavior and Competence in Five Samples . *Canadian Journal of Behavioral Science* , 72-85.
- Roberts, W. (1999). The Socialization of Emotional Expression: Relations with Prosocial Behavior and Competence in Five Samples . *Canadian Journal of Behavioural Science* , 79-85.
- Ross, M. (2001). Does oil hinder democracy? *World Politics* , 325-361.
- Sales, S. (1973). Threat as a factor in authoritarianism: an analysis of archival data. *ournal of personality and social psychology* , 44-60.



- Sears, D., & Levy, S. (2003). Childhood and adult political development. In D. Sears, & S. Levy, *The Oxford handbook of political psychology* (pp. 60-109). Oxford: Oxford University Press .
- Simpson, M. (1972). Authoritarianism and Education: A Comparative Approach. *Sociometry* , 223-234.
- Skocpol, T. (1983). Rentier state and Shi'a Islam in the Iranian Revolution. *Theory and society* , 265-283.
- Sosa, X. (2012). Populism In Ecuador. From José M. Velasco Ibarra to Rafael Correa. In M. Conniff, *Populism in Latin America* (pp. 159-184). Tualosa: The University of Alabama Press.
- Stark, R. (1971). Psychopathology and Religious Commitment. *Review of Religious Research* , 165-176.
- Wilcox, W. B. (1998). Conservative Protestant Child-rearing: Authoritarian or Authoritative? *American Sociological Review* , 796-809.
- Woodberry , R., & Shah, T. (2004). The Pioneering Protestants. *Journal of Democracy* , 47-61.
- Zechmeister, E. (2009). *Democracy at Risk*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

# Appendix

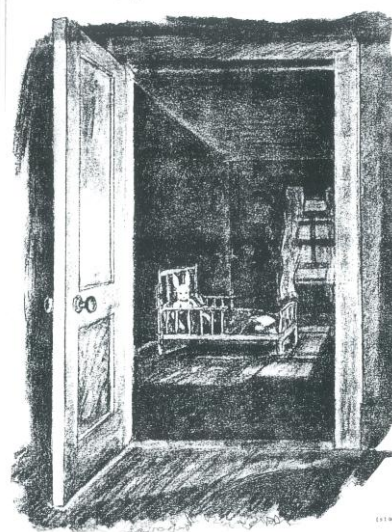
## Children Apperception Tests



FN 6



FN 9



FN 10



FN 11



FN 8



### Thematic Apperception Tests





## Altemeyer's Right Wing Authoritarianism Scale

### EXHIBIT 1. The 1997 Right-Wing Authoritarianism Scale

This survey is part of an investigation of general public opinion concerning a variety of social issues. You will probably find that you *agree* with some of the statements, and *disagree* with others, to varying extents. Please indicate your reaction to each statement by blackening a bubble on the bubble sheet, according to the following scale:

Blacken the bubble labeled	-4 if you <i>very strongly disagree</i> with the statement.
	-3 if you <i>strongly disagree</i> with the statement.
	-2 if you <i>moderately disagree</i> with the statement.
	-1 if you <i>slightly disagree</i> with the statement.
Blacken the bubble labeled	+1 if you <i>slightly agree</i> with the statement.
	+2 if you <i>moderately agree</i> with the statement.
	+3 if you <i>strongly agree</i> with the statement.
	+4 if you <i>very strongly agree</i> with the statement.

If you feel exactly and precisely *neutral* about an item, blacken the "0" bubble.

You may find that you sometimes have different reactions to different parts of a statement. For example, you might very strongly disagree (-4) with one idea in a statement, but slightly agree (+1) with another idea in the same item. When this happens, please combine your reactions, and write down how you feel "on balance" (i.e., a -3 in this case).

1. The established authorities generally turn out to be right about things, while the radicals and protestors are usually just "loud mouths" showing off their ignorance.
2. Women should have to promise to obey their husbands when they get married.
3. Our country desperately needs a mighty leader who will do what has to be done to destroy the radical new ways and sinfulness that are ruining us.
4. Gays and lesbians are just as healthy and moral as anybody else.\*
5. It is always better to trust the judgment of the proper authorities in government and religion than to listen to the noisy rabble-rousers in our society who are trying to create doubt in people's minds.
6. Atheists and others who have rebelled against the established religions are no doubt every bit as good and virtuous as those who attend church regularly.\*
7. The only way our country can get through the crisis ahead is to get back to our traditional values, put some tough leaders in power, and silence the troublemakers spreading bad ideas.
8. There is absolutely nothing wrong with nudist camps.\*
9. Our country needs free thinkers who will have the courage to defy traditional ways, even if this upsets many people.\*
10. Our country will be destroyed someday if we do not smash the perversions eating away at our moral fiber and traditional beliefs.
11. Everyone should have their own lifestyle, religious beliefs, and sexual preferences, even if it makes them different from everyone else.\*
12. The "old-fashioned ways" and "old-fashioned values" still show the best way to live.
13. You have to admire those who challenged the law and

- the majority's view by protesting for women's abortion rights, for animal rights, or to abolish school prayer.\*
14. What our country really needs is a strong, determined leader who will crush evil, and take us back to our true path.
  15. Some of the best people in our country are those who are challenging our government, criticizing religion, and ignoring the "normal way things are supposed to be done."\*
  16. God's laws about abortion, pornography, and marriage must be strictly followed before it is too late, and those who break them must be strongly punished.
  17. It would be best for everyone if the proper authorities censored magazines so that people could not get their hands on trashy and disgusting material.
  18. There is nothing wrong with premarital sexual intercourse.\*
  19. Our country will be great if we honor the ways of our forefathers, do what the authorities tell us to do, and get rid of the "rotten apples" who are ruining everything.
  20. There is no "ONE right way" to live life; everybody has to create their *own* way.\*
  21. Homosexuals and feminists should be praised for being brave enough to defy "traditional family values."\*
  22. This country would work a lot better if certain groups of troublemakers would just shut up and accept their group's traditional place in society.
  23. There are many radical, immoral people in our country today, who are trying to ruin it for their own godless purposes, whom the authorities should put out of action.
  24. People should pay less attention to the Bible and the other old forms of religious guidance, and instead develop their own personal standards of what is moral and immoral.\*
  25. What our country needs *most* is discipline, with everyone following our leaders in unity.
  26. It's better to have trashy magazines and radical pamphlets in our communities than to let the government have the power to censor them.\*
  27. The facts on crime, sexual immorality, and the recent public disorders all show we have to crack down harder on deviant groups and troublemakers if we are going to save our moral standards and preserve law and order.
  28. A lot of our rules regarding modesty and sexual behavior are just customs which are not necessarily any better or holier than those which other people follow.\*
  29. The situation in our country is getting so serious, the strongest methods would be justified if they eliminated the troublemakers and got us back to our true path.
  30. A "woman's place" should be wherever she wants to be. The days when women are submissive to their husbands and social conventions belong strictly in the past.\*
  31. It is wonderful that young people today have greater freedom to protest against things they don't like, and to make their own "rules" to govern their behavior.\*
  32. Once our government leaders give us the "go ahead," it will be the duty of every patriotic citizen to help stomp out the rot that is poisoning our country from within.

*Note.* Only items 3–32 are scored. Items 1 and 2 are "table-setters" to help familiarize the respondent with the subject matter and the –4 to +4 response format.

\*indicates a coo-trait item, for which the 1–9 scoring key is reversed.

## Bellak's Scoring System

Sistema de calificación de Bellak • 125

Nombre \_\_\_\_\_ Historia núm. 4 (Lámina del TAT núm. 6 VH)

1. Tema principal: (interpretativo) (Si un) hombre mata a una mujer porque ella le ha sido infiel, la madre lo matará.

2. Héroe principal: edad adulto sexo M vocación dramaturgo  
 intereses escribir rasgos ninguno señalado capacidades ninguna señalada  
 idoneidad (V, VV, VVV) 0? imagen corporal, autoimagen o ambas ninguno señalado

3. Principales necesidades del héroe:

a) necesidades conductuales del héroe (como en la historia): de castigar (matar) a la muchacha que le ha sido infiel  
 inferencia dinámica: tema edípico; sentimiento de rechazo; concepto agresivo del sexo

b) personajes, objetos o circunstancias introducidos: actor; público; policía; pistola; la muchacha a la que mató  
 que implican necesidad de o para: castigo por sentimientos de culpa edípicos; agresión; necesidad de exhibicionismo

c) personajes, objetos o circunstancias omitidos: ninguno  
 que implican necesidad de o para: \_\_\_\_\_

4. Concepto del ambiente (mundo) como: hostil; castigador y rechazantes

5. Figuras parentales (m \_\_\_\_\_, f ) vistas como castigador la reacción del sujeto es agresión  
 Figuras contemporáneas (m \_\_\_\_\_, f ) vistas como rechazo la reacción del sujeto es agresión  
 Figuras más jóvenes (m \_\_\_\_\_, f \_\_\_\_\_) vistas como \_\_\_\_\_ y la reacción del sujeto es \_\_\_\_\_

6. Conflictos significativos: \_\_\_\_\_

7. Naturaleza de las ansiedades: ()  
 de daño físico, castigo o ambas  de enfermedad o lesión   
 de desaprobación  de privación \_\_\_\_\_  
 de falta o pérdida de amor  de ser devorado \_\_\_\_\_  
 de ser abandonado \_\_\_\_\_ de ser dominado e indefenso \_\_\_\_\_  
 otra \_\_\_\_\_

8. Principales defensas contra conflictos y temores: ()  
 represión \_\_\_\_\_ formación reactiva \_\_\_\_\_ racionalización \_\_\_\_\_ aislamiento \_\_\_\_\_  
 regresión \_\_\_\_\_ introyección \_\_\_\_\_ negación \_\_\_\_\_ anulación \_\_\_\_\_ escisión \_\_\_\_\_  
 identificación proyectiva \_\_\_\_\_ otro proyección

9. Severidad del superyó que se manifiesta por: ()  
 castigo por el "delito" \_\_\_\_\_ inmediato  justo \_\_\_\_\_ demasiado severo \_\_\_\_\_  
 demorado \_\_\_\_\_ injusto \_\_\_\_\_ demasiado indulgente \_\_\_\_\_  
 inhibiciones \_\_\_\_\_ tartamudeo \_\_\_\_\_ respuesta inicial demorada o pausas \_\_\_\_\_

10. Integración del yo que se manifiesta en: (, , )  
 idoneidad del héroe 0? desenlace: feliz \_\_\_\_\_ infeliz   
 realista \_\_\_\_\_ irreal   
 solución: adecuada \_\_\_\_\_ inadecuada \_\_\_\_\_  
 los procesos de pensamiento como se revelan, porque la trama es: (, , )  
 estructurada  desestructurada \_\_\_\_\_ estereotipada \_\_\_\_\_ original \_\_\_\_\_ apropiada \_\_\_\_\_  
 racional \_\_\_\_\_ extraña  completa \_\_\_\_\_ incompleta \_\_\_\_\_ inapropiada \_\_\_\_\_

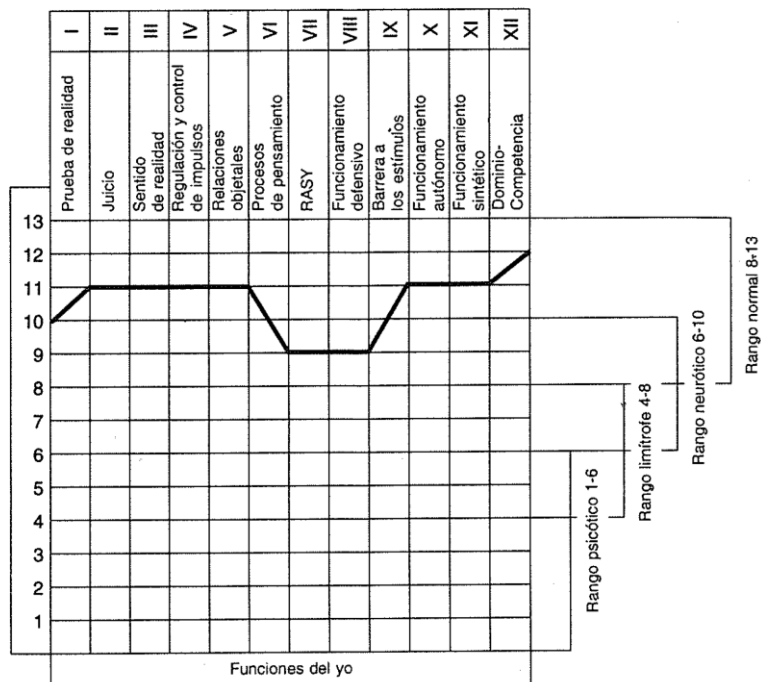
Inteligencia: () superior \_\_\_\_\_ superior al promedio \_\_\_\_\_ promedio \_\_\_\_\_ inferior al promedio \_\_\_\_\_ deficiente \_\_\_\_\_

Hoja de Análisis para utilizarse con el Protocolo de Registro del TAT de Bellak



	Historia 1	Historia 2
1. Tema principal: (nivel diagnóstico: si se desean niveles descriptivos e interpretativos, utilice una hoja adicional o la página 345)	Necesidad de autonomía, evidencia de sumisión del superyó ante las figuras de autoridad.	Se identifica con la madre. Sienta que la competencia agresiva puede conducir a daño
2. Héroe principal: edad <u>7</u> sexo <u>M</u> vocación _____ capacidades <u>verbal- motora</u> intereses _____ rasgos _____ imagen corporal _____ idoneidad (✓, ✓✓, ✓✓✓) _____ y/o autoimagen _____	Niños	Niño que ayuda a la madre
3. Principales necesidades y pulsiones del héroe: a) necesidades conductuales del héroe (como en la historia): _____ que implican: _____ b) personajes, objetos o circunstancias introducidos: _____ que implican necesidad de o para: _____ c) personajes, objetos o circunstancias omitidos: _____ que implican necesidad de o para: _____	Niño que tiene que aprender Percance en el arroyo. ¿Enuresis?	Rompimiento de cuerda Temor al daño debido a agresión
4. Conceptos del ambiente (mundo) como: _____		
5. a) Figuras parentales (m _____) (f <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ) vistas como <u>restrictivas</u> y la reacción del sujeto ante a es _____ b) Figuras contemporáneas (m _____) (f _____) vistas como _____ y la reacción del sujeto ante b es _____ c) Figuras más jóvenes (m _____) (f <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ) vistas como _____ y la reacción del sujeto ante c es <u>protectora</u>	Ambos padres vistos como capaces de enseñar y nutrir	Competitivos
6. Conflictos significativos: <u>superyó fuerte que vence la necesidad de agresión, autonomía y curiosidad sexual</u>	Entre superyó y agresión	Entre superyó y agresión
7. Naturaleza de las ansiedades: (✓) de daño físico, castigo o ambos <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> de desaprobación _____ de falta o pérdida de amor _____ de enfermedad o lesión _____ de ser abandonado _____ de privación _____ de ser dominado e indefenso _____ de ser devorado _____ otra _____	Daño físico leve	Temor al daño resultante de competencia agresiva
8. Principales defensas contra conflictos y temores: (✓) represión _____ formación reactiva <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> regresión _____ negación _____ introyección _____ aislamiento _____ anulación _____ racionalización _____ otro <u>intelectualización</u> identificación proyectiva _____ escisión _____		
9. Idoneidad del superyó como se manifiesta porque el "castigo" para el "delito" es: (✓) apropiado <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> inapropiado _____ demasiado severo (también indicado por la inmediatez del castigo) _____ inconsistente _____ demasiado indulgente _____ también: <u>leve y considerado</u> respuesta inicial demorada o pausas _____ tartamudeo _____ otras manifestaciones de interferencia del superyó _____		Demasiado severo e inmediato
10. Integración del yo, que se manifiesta en: (✓, ✓✓, ✓✓✓) Héroe: adecuado <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> inadecuado _____ desenlace: feliz <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> infeliz _____ realista _____ irreal _____ control de impulsos _____ procesos de pensamiento como se revelan, porque la trama es: (✓, ✓✓, ✓✓✓) estereotipada _____ original _____ apropiada _____ completa _____ incompleta _____ inapropiada _____ sincrética _____ concreta _____ contaminada _____ Inteligencia <u>superior al promedio</u> Nivel madurativo <u>alto</u>	Feliz, realista	Feliz Realista

Evaluación de la función del yo a partir de los datos del CAT:



(De Bellak, Hurvich y Gediman, *Ego functions in schizophrenics, neurotics, and normals*. Copyright © 1973, de C. P. S., Inc. Reproducido con autorización de John Wiley & Sons, Inc.)

Funciones yoicas observadas durante la aplicación de la prueba: