



World Justice
Project

The Rule of Law in El Salvador

Key Findings from the General
Population Poll 2022

Acknowledgements

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The production of this report was led by Ana María Montoya and Tanya Primiani. This report was prepared by Said Aarji, Erin Campbell, James Davis, Joshua Fuller, Skye Jacobs, Ana María Montoya, Santiago Pardo González, Enrique Paulin, Tanya Primiani, Hannah Rigazzi, Natalia Rodríguez Cajamarca, Jeison Sabogal Sánchez, Victoria Thomaidés, Carlos Toruño Paniagua, and Moss Woodbury.

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ABOUT THIS REPORT

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ABOUT THIS REPORT

EFFECTIVE RULE OF LAW reduces corruption, combats poverty and disease, and protects people from injustices large and small. Strengthening the rule of law is an important objective for governments, donors, and civil society organizations around the world. To be effective, rule of law development requires clarity about the fundamental features that define the rule of law, as well as an adequate basis for its evaluation and measurement.

The Rule of Law in El Salvador: Key Findings from the General Population Poll 2022 presents question-level data drawn from the General Population Poll (GPP), an original data source designed and collected by the World Justice Project. To provide a more in-depth view of trends in perceptions of rule of law in El Salvador, this report also presents select findings over time and compared to El Salvador's regional peers within the Central American subregion of Latin America and the Caribbean.

The GPP was conducted between November and December 2022 through face-to-face interviews to a nationally representative sample of 2,010 Salvadoran households. This poll was designed to capture data on the experiences and perceptions of ordinary people regarding a variety of themes related to the rule of law.

This report represents the voices of people in El Salvador and their experiences with the rule of law in their country.

The data derived from the General Population Poll is presented in this report as thematic briefs, each one highlighting a different dimension of the rule of law from the perspective of Salvadorans. These thematic briefs focus on the current rule of law ecosystem in El Salvador while simultaneously illuminating changes over time and comparisons across the following peer countries in the Central American region: Belize, Costa Rica, Guatemala, Honduras, Nicaragua, and Panama. Each section touches upon perceptions of and attitudes towards the following topics: accountability, authoritarianism, fundamental freedoms, corruption, bribery victimization, trust in institutions, the criminal justice system and its actors, police performance, crime victimization, support for victims of crime, security, access to justice, and migration.

Note on El Salvador

The data presented in *The Rule of Law in El Salvador: Key Findings from the General Population Poll 2022* represents the perceptions and experiences of individuals living in this country. The results show an increasingly favorable perception of the rule of law situation in the country, particularly when compared to results from previous years, or those of other countries with similar governance structure and level of economic development.

The data presented in this report has undergone a rigorous validation process. The team conducted five separate tests to ensure the accuracy of data:

1. **Statistical validation:** The team verified the data routing, labeling, and coding and did not find any issues.
2. **Sampling plan validation:** The team checked the consistency of the sampling plan against the data collected by the polling company. More information about the sampling plan is available in the Methodology section of this report.
3. **Internal checks against different variables:** The normalized scores of perception questions were checked against sociodemographic, socioeconomic, and political characteristics (sex, age, income, educational level, ethnicity, urbanization, crime victimization, and political affiliation).
4. **Checks against external quantitative sources:** The team normalized the General Population Poll data in El Salvador and compared these scores to other external quantitative sources, including Latin American Public Opinion Project (LAPOP)'s *AmericasBarometer*, and *Latinobarómetro*. These checks compared similar perception questions in the questionnaires as well as overall trends for a broader set of questions on trust in political institutions and actors, crime and bribery victimization, and migration. The *AmericasBarometer* and *Latinobarómetro* data revealed similar trends in that they also showed improved perceptions in El Salvador on measures of government accountability, fundamental freedoms, trust in institutions, support for victims of crime, and security.
5. **Checks against external qualitative sources:** The team reviewed current events, expert-based measures – including the WJP Qualified Respondents Questionnaires – as well as qualitative reports from other organizations such as Human Rights Watch, Transparency International, Freedom House, and Varieties of Democracy (V-Dem).

The results of our various checks confirmed the internal validity of our data, in that it accurately represents the views and experiences of respondents in El Salvador at the time the data was collected. However, there may be discrepancies between our data and other data sources coming from expert assessments. For instance, the data collected from experts in El Salvador by the WJP in the Qualified Respondents Questionnaires in 2022 presents a departure from the views of the general population. Other human rights organizations and regional experts such as Human Rights Watch, Transparency International, Freedom House, and Varieties of Democracy (V-Dem) have also expressed alternate views from the data presented in this report. These organizations highlight the challenges that El Salvador is facing with accountability, civil liberties, judicial independence, due process, security, and other thematic topics discussed in this report.

As mentioned above, the data in this report highlights significant improvements in perceptions across many measures of the rule of law in El Salvador over the last three years. El Salvador's president, Nayib Bukele, entered office in June 2019. Bukele and his *Nuevas Ideas* Party represent a significant shift from traditional party-sharing in El Salvador and have become widely popular among Salvadorans. Since taking office, Bukele has maintained an approval rating of at least 75%, with some surveys citing an approval rating as high as 91% in 2022. In our analysis of the GPP data for El Salvador, the "government supporter" variable was likely to explain statistically significant differences in perceptions. Indeed, most perception questions had higher normalized scores among respondents who identified themselves as government supporters than respondents who did not. These results suggest that, while the data is internally valid, Bukele's popularity may be influencing the perceptions of people regarding governing institutions in El Salvador. Further information on the rule of law in El Salvador can be found at the [Country Insights](#) page from the *WJP Rule of Law Index 2022*[®].

EXECUTIVE FINDINGS

The Rule of Law in El Salvador: Key Findings from the General Population Poll 2022 provides a comprehensive overview of how citizens perceive and experience the rule of law in El Salvador alongside comparative findings across the Central American region. The findings in this report indicate some positive trends in the general public's perspective on the rule of law in El Salvador, including increasing levels of trust in institutions, positive perceptions of personal safety, and relatively positive views on criminal justice system performance. Despite these positive developments, however, these findings highlight the fact that many challenges—including high perceptions of certain authoritarian behaviors and low rates of crime reporting—persist. At the regional level, prominent trends include deteriorating perceptions of fundamental freedoms, low levels of trust in institutions, and weakened confidence in criminal justice system performance.

SECTION 1

Authoritarianism, Fundamental Freedoms, and Accountability

1. Authoritarianism

On average, roughly half of all respondents in Central America agreed that top government officials engage in authoritarian behavior. Among respondents in Central America, on average, Guatemalans most often felt that top government officials engage in authoritarian behavior and Panamanians least often felt that top government officials engage in authoritarian behavior.

- When asked about authoritarian tendencies in El Salvador, respondents most often felt that top government officials **prosecute and convict members of opposition parties** (63%), **cancel information that comes from abroad** (62%), and **cancel opinions from opposition groups** (55%).
- Compared to their regional counterparts, respondents in El Salvador most often felt that top government officials **prosecute and convict members of opposition parties** (63%) and **cancel information that comes from abroad** (62%). Respondents in El Salvador least often felt that top government officials **attack or attempt to discredit the electoral system and other supervisory organs** (35%).

2. Fundamental Freedoms

On average, fewer respondents believe that their freedoms of expression, political participation, election, and religion are guaranteed in Belize, Guatemala, Nicaragua, and Panama compared to the last year of data collection. In contrast, the average percentage of respondents who believe that these freedoms are guaranteed increased in Costa Rica, El Salvador, and Honduras. Throughout the region, Costa Ricans, on average, most often felt that fundamental freedoms are guaranteed by the state, while Nicaraguans least often felt the same.

- When asked about respect for fundamental freedoms in El Salvador, respondents had more favorable views on freedom of religion, with 95% of respondents agreeing that **religious minorities can observe their holy days**. Conversely, Salvadorans had less favorable views on freedoms of expression, with 74% of respondents agreeing that **the media can express opinions against the government**.
- Between 2021 and 2022, El Salvador's most significant trends in public opinions on freedoms include improvements in the perceptions that **civil society organizations can express opinions against the government** (up 8 percentage points) and **people can attend community meetings** (up 7 percentage points).

3. Accountability

Perceptions of accountability in Central America are relatively positive compared to in the rest of Latin America. However, less than half of all respondents in Central American countries believe that high-ranking officials would be held accountable for breaking the law (with the exception of El Salvador, where 51% of respondents believe this to be the case). Respondents in Belize had the most negative perceptions of accountability when compared against regional peers in Central America (only 22% of respondents believe that high-ranking government officials would be held accountable for breaking the law).

SECTION 2

Corruption and Trust

4. Corruption

Public views on the pervasiveness of corruption within the legislature, law enforcement, the executive branch, and the judiciary improved, on average, in El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras, and Panama, whereas overall perceptions of corruption deteriorated in Belize, Costa Rica, and Nicaragua. Compared to Central American peer countries, El Salvador saw the largest decreases in the percentage of respondents who believe that some or all of the actors across all of these institutions are involved in corrupt practices, while Nicaragua saw the largest increases in the percentage of respondents who believe the same. On average, more Nicaraguans reported perceptions of corruption across all actors than their regional peers in Central America, while Salvadorans reported the same least frequently.

- Perceptions of corruption in El Salvador improved most for **members of the National Assembly and local government officers**, with 16- and 15-point decreases in the percentage of respondents who believe that most or all of these actors engage in corrupt practices.
- **Political parties** are considered the most corrupt institution in El Salvador. Approximately 38% of respondents believe that most or all members of Salvadoran political parties are involved in corrupt practices.
- **Teachers in public schools** are considered the least corrupt actors in El Salvador, with 12% of respondents reporting that they believe most or all teachers are involved in corrupt practices.

5. Bribery Victimization

On average, Central American respondents reported paying a bribe most often in Nicaragua and least often in Costa Rica. Throughout the region, respondents most frequently had to pay a bribe when requesting a government permit and least often when using public health services, on average.

6. Trust

Respondents in Central America, on average, trust people living in their community more than any other public actor and trust national government officers the least. On average, respondents in Honduras least often reported having some or a lot of trust across all institutions. In contrast, respondents in El Salvador reported the highest overall levels of trust.

- Levels of trust in El Salvador improved across every institution between 2021 and 2022.
- Trust in **police officers** improved the most between 2021 and 2022, with 66% of respondents reporting some or a lot of trust in 2022, compared to 48% in 2021.
- In 2022, respondents in El Salvador most often reported having some or a lot of trust in **police officers** (66%) and least often reported having some or a lot of trust in **local government officers** (39%).

SECTION 3

Security and Criminal Justice

7. Crime Victimization

On average, roughly one-quarter (27%) of all respondents surveyed in Central America reported experiencing a crime in the last 12 months. On average, less than half (44%) of those respondents reported their crime experience to an authority.

- Nearly one-quarter (23%) of Salvadorans reported experiencing a crime in the last 12 months, a figure below the regional average (27%).
- Most (65%) Salvadoran respondents who were victims of a crime did not report the crime to an authority, with those respondents most often indicating that they were too afraid or embarrassed to report the crime (36%).

8. Security

More than half of all Central American respondents feel safe or very safe when walking in their neighborhood at night. Perceptions of safety improved or remained the same in 5 out of 7 Central American countries between 2022 and the last year of data collection, and declined only in Panama and Nicaragua (down 5 and 8 percentage points, respectively). Compared to respondents in regional peer countries, Salvadorans most often reported feeling safe in their neighborhood at night (89%), while slightly more than half of Costa Ricans, Nicaraguans, and Panamanians (52%) reported the same.

- In El Salvador, roughly 9 in 10 (89%) respondents reported feeling safe walking in their neighborhood at night in 2022, marking a significant improvement of 29 percentage points since 2021.
- Salvadoran women and Salvadorans who had previously been a victim of a crime were less likely to feel safe walking in their neighborhood at night than respondents with other sociodemographic characteristics.

9. Criminal Justice

Throughout Central America, respondents are most confident that the criminal justice system safeguards the presumption of innocence and least confident that the criminal justice system ensures timeliness, on average. Respondents in El Salvador reported the highest levels of confidence in the criminal justice system overall, while respondents in Honduras reported the lowest levels of confidence. Average perceptions of the criminal justice system's overall performance deteriorated in 4 out of 6 Central American countries, while respondents in Costa Rica and El Salvador expressed more positive views on every function between 2022 and the last cycle of data collection.

- Salvadorans were most confident that the criminal justice system **is effective in delivering justice** (77%), **ensures widespread access** (72%), and **ensures equal treatment of the accused** (72%). Salvadorans were least confident that the criminal justice system **ensures timeliness** (60%) and **ensures uniform quality of service** (66%).
- Perceptions of overall **effectiveness in delivering justice** and adherence to **equal treatment of victims** in the Salvadoran criminal justice system improved the most between 2021 and 2022, with increase of 19 and 17 percentage points, respectively.

10. Police Performance

When asked about their impressions of police performance, respondents in Central America had the most negative views on accountability and due process and the most positive views on public service and crime control, on average.

- When asked about their impressions of police performance, respondents in El Salvador were most confident that:
 - Police help them feel safe (93%).
 - Police are available to help when needed (92%).
 - Police treat all people with respect (90%).
 - Police resolve security problems in the community (90%).
- Respondents in El Salvador were least confident that:
 - Police do not use excessive force (30%).
 - Police do not serve the interests of politicians (33%).
 - Police do not serve the interests of gangs (56%).
- In El Salvador, respondents most often indicated that suspects with tattoos and younger suspects would most likely be at a disadvantage in a criminal investigation.

11. Victim Support

In almost every country surveyed in Central America, less than half of all respondents, on average, believed that victims of crime receive adequate support and protection, with the exception of El Salvador. Respondents in El Salvador reported the most confidence in victim support practices overall, while respondents in Honduras reported the least confidence in the victim support practices overall.

- Salvadorans were most often confident that crime victims **are addressed by the police using accessible language** (65%) and **are guaranteed their rights in criminal justice proceedings** (65%).
- Salvadorans were least often confident that crime victims **are believed when they report a crime** (51%), **receive effective and timely medical and psychological care** (52%), and **receive information and legal advice** (52%).

SECTION 4

Access to Justice

12. Access to Justice

One in four (25%) respondents in Central America reported experiencing a legal problem in the last two years, on average. While the prevalence and severity of problems vary by country, the most common problems relate to housing and land disputes. On average, 57% of respondents in Central America reported that their legal problem has been resolved and nearly three-quarters (73%) of all settled problems were resolved within 6 months.

- Twenty-seven percent (27%) of Salvadorans reported experiencing a legal problem in the last two years (a figure above the regional average of 25%). The most commonly reported problems included housing issues and land disputes.
- One-quarter (25%) of surveyed Salvadorans with a legal problem obtained advice from a person or organization that could help them better understand or resolve their problem, and approximately 63% reported that it was difficult or nearly impossible to find the money required to resolve their problem.
- Nearly half (45%) of respondents in El Salvador who resolved their legal issue experienced at least one hardship during the resolution process. The most frequently cited hardship was health-related – 35% of respondents reported experiencing a physical or stress-related illness.

SECTION 5

Migration

13. Internal Migration

On average, roughly one-quarter (26%) of respondents in Central America reported having moved within their country. Throughout the region, respondents consistently cited better economic or educational opportunities and family reasons as their primary reason for moving.

- Out of all Salvadorans who migrated internally, respondents most frequently migrated to San Salvador (43% of respondents) from another city in El Salvador.
- Salvadorans who are younger than 30 and have a lighter skin tone were more likely to have migrated internally within the last three years.

14. International Migration

Compared to peer respondents in Central America, Hondurans most often reported that they would like to migrate internationally, while Panamanians least often reported the same. Throughout the region, respondents consistently cited better economic or educational opportunities and less violence and corruption as their primary reasons for wanting to move. The United States was the top international migration destination for all respondents in the region. On average, 82% of respondents desiring to migrate internationally across the region have friends or family currently living in their destination country.

- Salvadorans were less likely to want to move internationally in 2022 (29% of respondents) than in 2021 (39% of respondents). Compared to respondents in other cities in El Salvador, respondents in San Salvador most frequently reported wanting to move to another country (35% of respondents).

15. Migration to the United States

On average, 1 in 10 (10%) respondents in Central America have attempted to migrate to the United States. The majority of those who had attempted to migrate to the United States from Central America had traveled via plane or bus and most frequently reported that they traveled alone. On average, of those who had entered the United States, Central American respondents most often cited their reason for leaving the United States as family or social reasons (16%) or having been deported by ICE (14%). Of the Central American respondents that attempted to migrate to the United States, an average of 12% of respondents were subjected to violence and 22% were asked for a bribe.

- Twelve percent (12%) of respondents in El Salvador have attempted to migrate to the United States and just under half (45%) of those respondents successfully entered the United States before returning to El Salvador.
- Fifty-five percent (55%) of respondents who reported having attempted to migrate to the United States did not end up entering the country. Of those respondents, 31% were sent back by law enforcement and 20% did not enter because they ran out of funds.

Note: In addition to the data found in regional charts included in this report, comparative data for regional peer countries referenced in the Executive Findings can be found in each country's respective report.

SECTION I

AUTHORITARIANISM,
FUNDAMENTAL
FREEDOMS,
AND
ACCOUNTABILITY

12 Authoritarianism

14 Fundamental Freedoms

18 Government Accountability

AUTHORITARIANISM

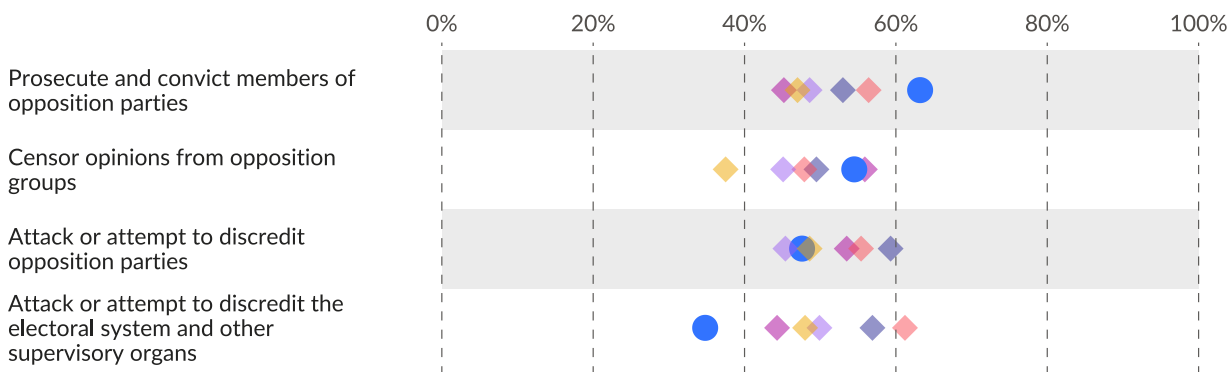
CHART 1.

Perceptions of Authoritarian Behaviors

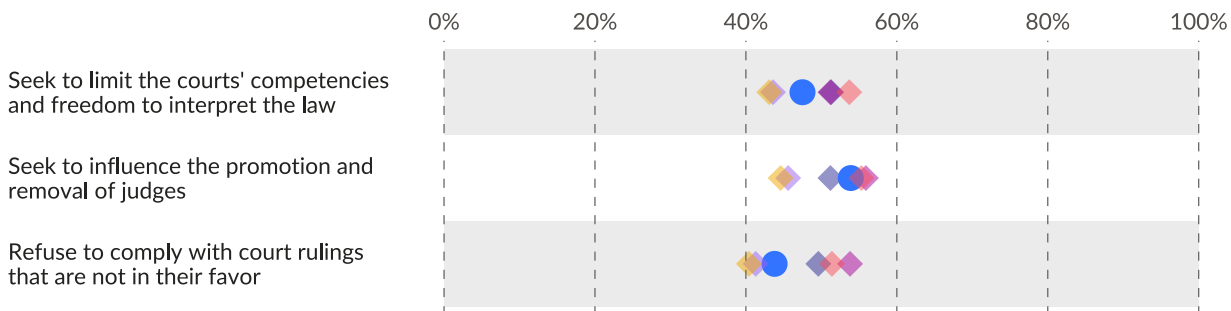
Percentage of respondents who believe that top government officials...

◆ Belize ◆ Costa Rica ● El Salvador ◆ Guatemala ◆ Honduras ◆ Panama

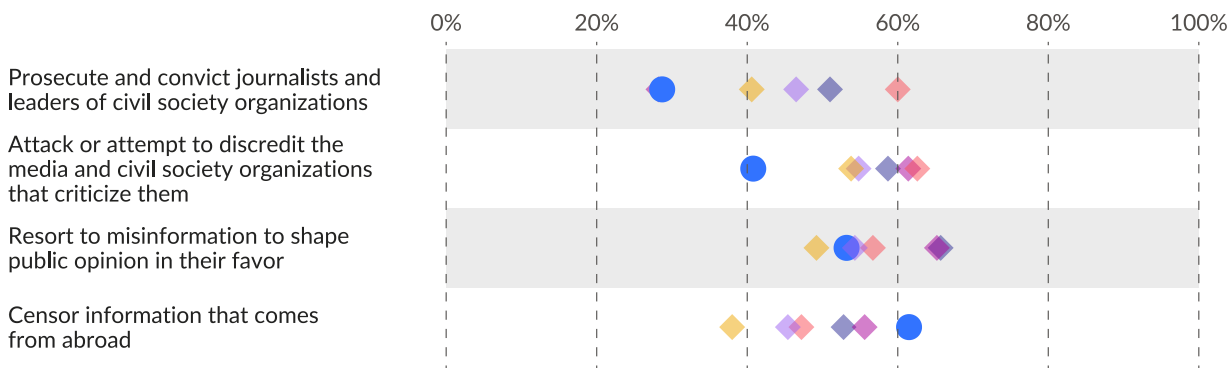
ATTACKS ON ELECTORAL SYSTEMS AND OPPOSITION PARTIES



ATTACKS ON THE JUDICIARY



ATTACKS ON THE MEDIA AND MISINFORMATION



Source: WJP General Population Poll 2022

CHART 2.

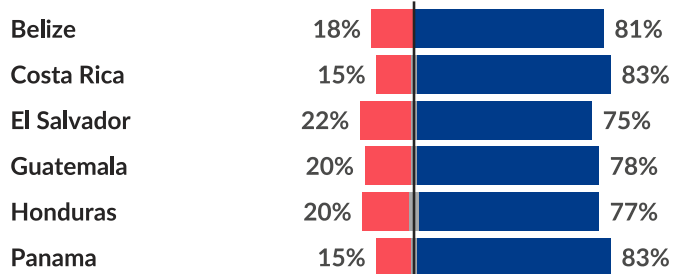
Attitudes Towards Authoritarianism and Rule of Law

Percentage of respondents who agree with the following statements

■ The president can attack the media, civil society, and opposition groups

■ The president must respect the media, civil society, and opposition groups

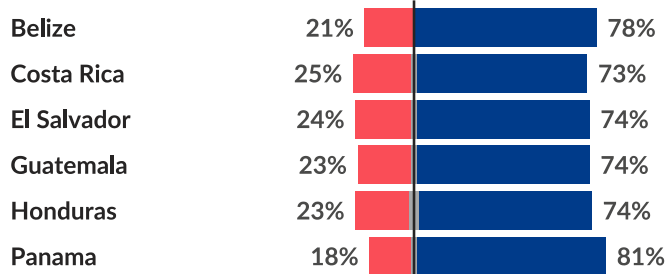
■ None of the above



■ The president can undermine independent authorities

■ The president must respect independent authorities

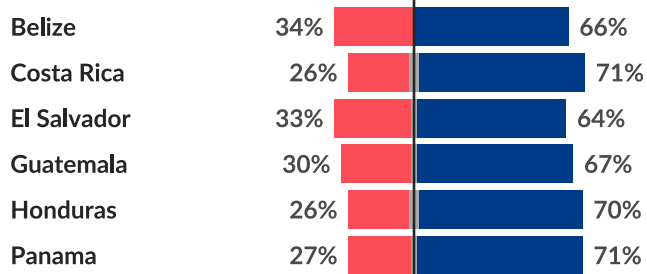
■ None of the above



■ Government efficiency is more important than citizen influence

■ It is important that citizens have a say in government matters, even at the expense of efficiency

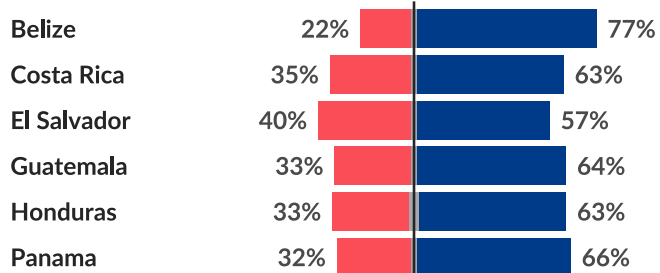
■ None of the above



■ The president should not be bound by the laws or courts

■ The president must always obey the law and the courts

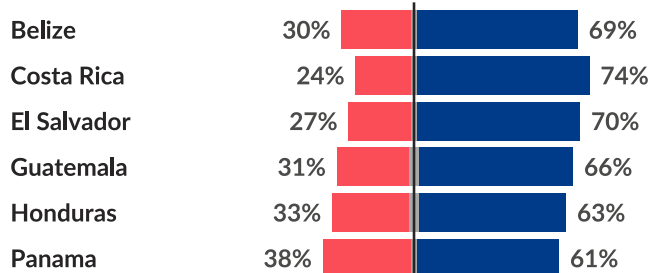
■ None of the above



■ It is not necessary to obey the laws of a government that you did not vote for

■ It is important to obey the government in power, no matter who you voted for

■ None of the above



Source: WJP General Population Poll 2022

FUNDAMENTAL FREEDOMS

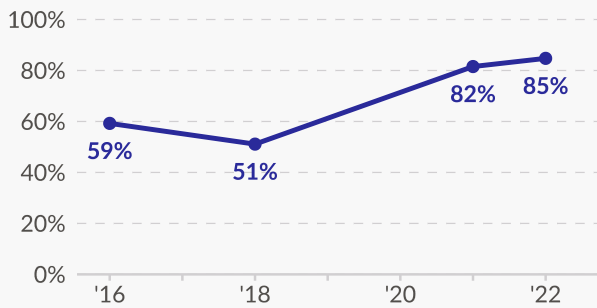
CHART 3.

Fundamental Freedoms in El Salvador Over Time

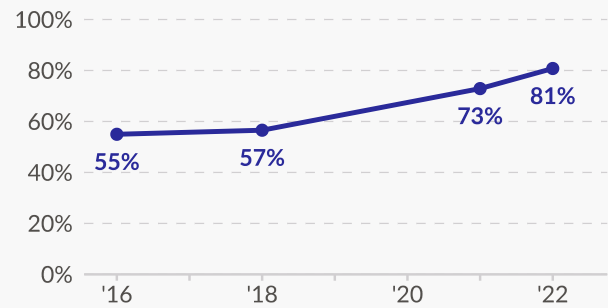
Percentage of respondents who believe the following statements

EXPRESSION

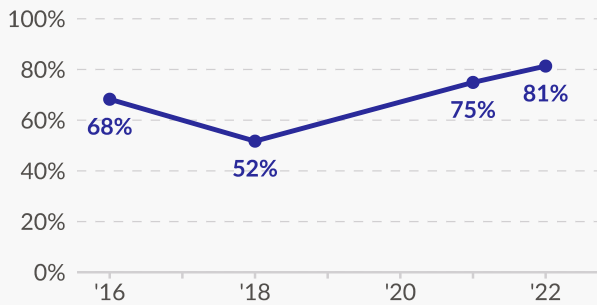
People can express opinions against the government



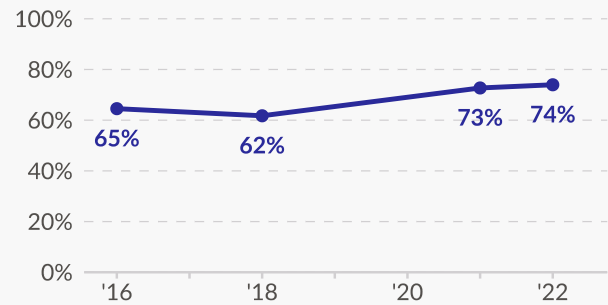
Civil society organizations can express opinions against the government



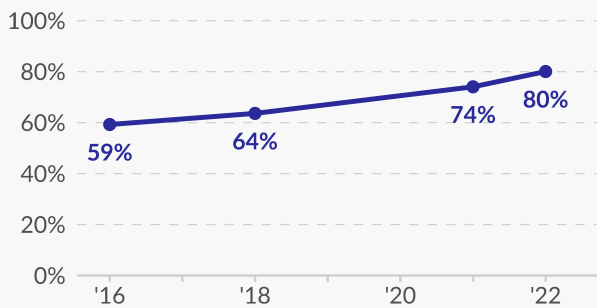
Political parties can express opinions against the government



The media can express opinions against the government without fear of retaliation



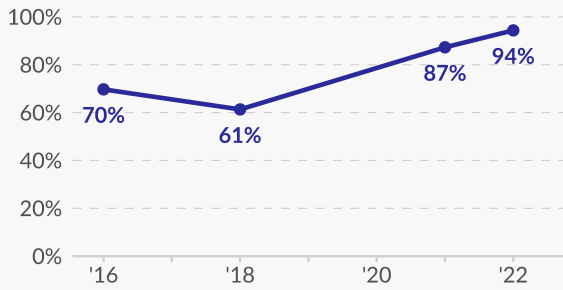
The media can expose cases of corruption



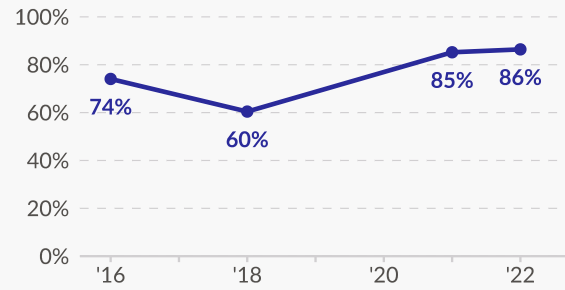
Source: WJP General Population Poll 2016, 2018, 2021, and 2022

PARTICIPATION

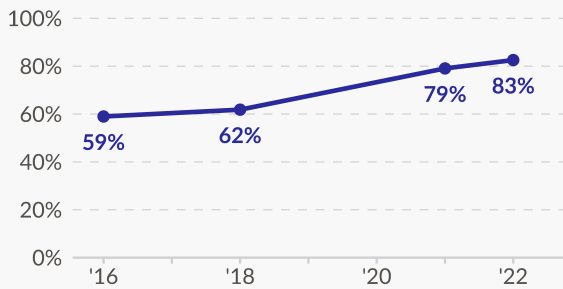
People can attend community meetings



People can join any political organization

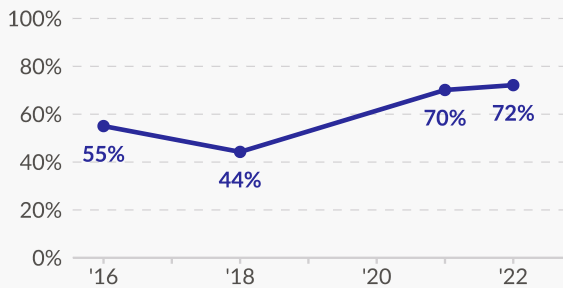


People can organize around an issue or petition

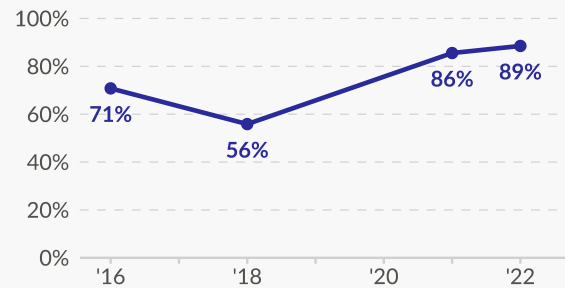


ELECTIONS

Local government officials are elected through a clean process

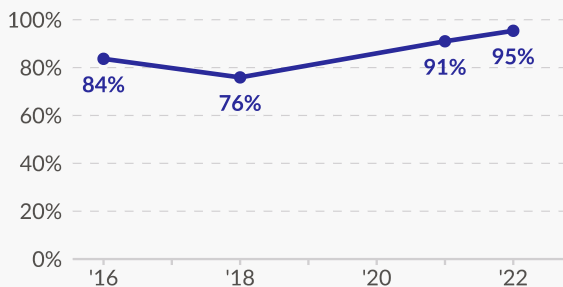


People can vote freely without feeling harassed or pressured



RELIGION

Religious minorities can observe their holy days



Source: WJP General Population Poll 2016, 2018, 2021, and 2022

CHART 4.

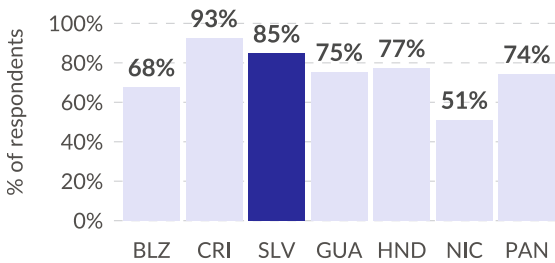
Perceptions of Fundamental Freedoms in Central America

Percentage of respondents who believe the following statements

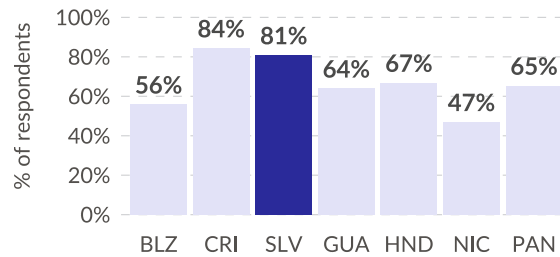
BLZ = Belize CRI = Costa Rica SLV = El Salvador GUA = Guatemala HND = Honduras NIC = Nicaragua
 PAN = Panama

EXPRESSION

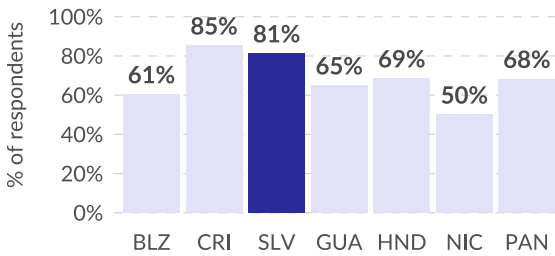
People can express opinions against the government



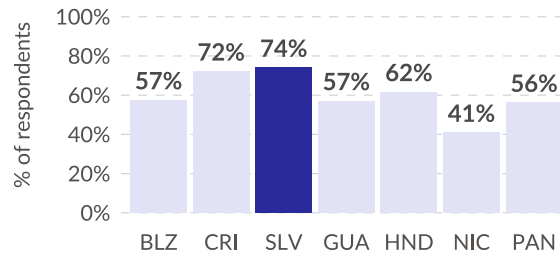
Civil society organizations can express opinions against the government



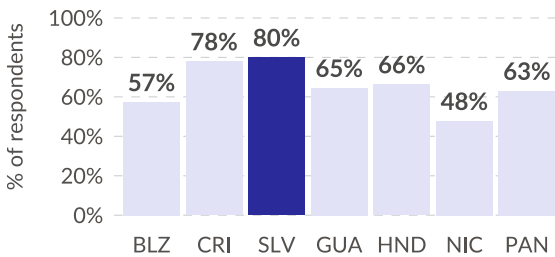
Political parties can express opinions against the government



The media can express opinions against the government without fear of retaliation



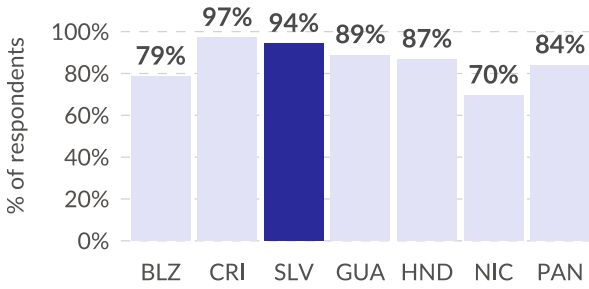
The media can expose cases of corruption



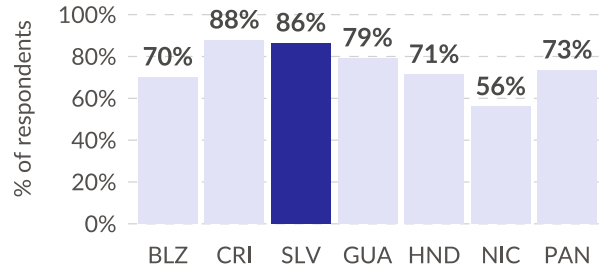
Source: WJP General Population Poll 2022

PARTICIPATION

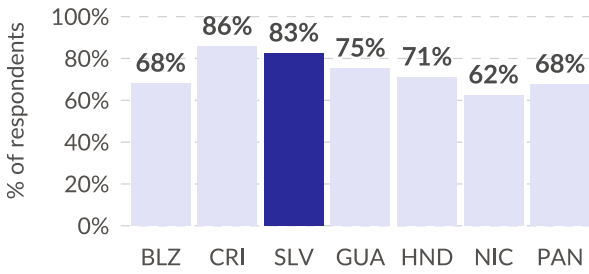
People can attend community meetings



People can join any political organization

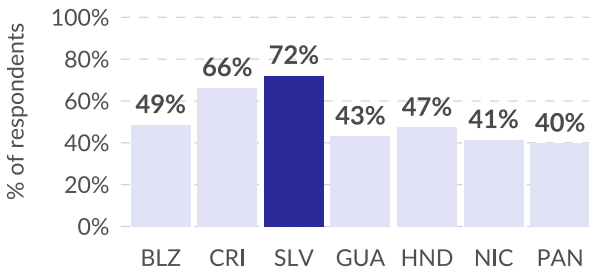


People can organize around an issue or petition

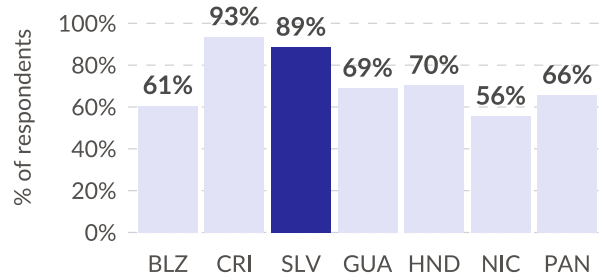


ELECTIONS

Local government officials are elected through a clean process

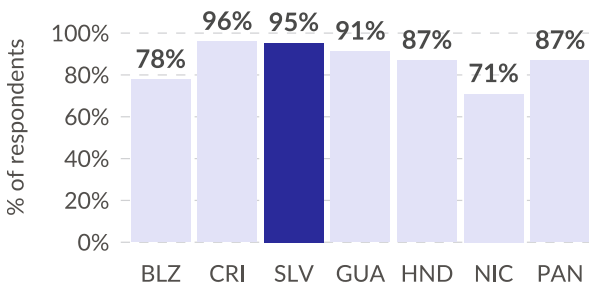


People can vote freely without feeling harassed or pressured



RELIGION

Religious minorities can observe their holy days



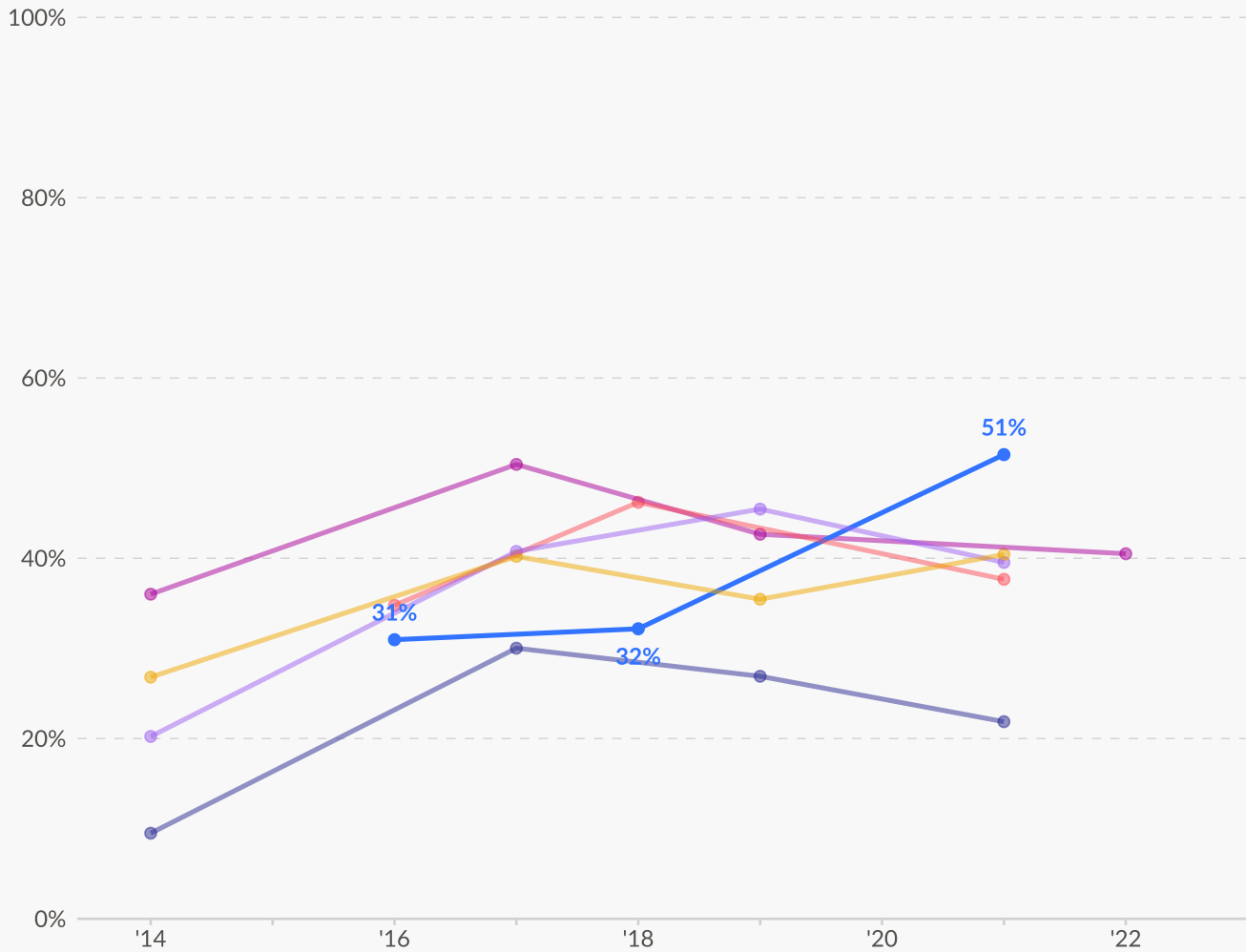
GOVERNMENT ACCOUNTABILITY

CHART 5.

Perceptions of Accountability in Central America Over Time

Percentage of respondents in El Salvador and regional peer countries who believe that high-ranking government officials would be held accountable for breaking the law

● Belize ● Costa Rica ● El Salvador ● Guatemala ● Honduras ● Panama



Source: WJP General Population Poll 2014, 2016, 2017, 2018, 2019, 2021, and 2022

SECTION II
CORRUPTION
AND TRUST

- 20 Corruption
- 23 Bribery Victimization
- 24 Trust

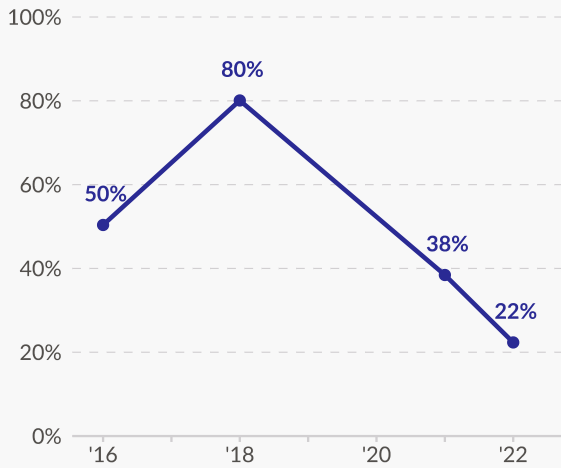
CORRUPTION

CHART 6.

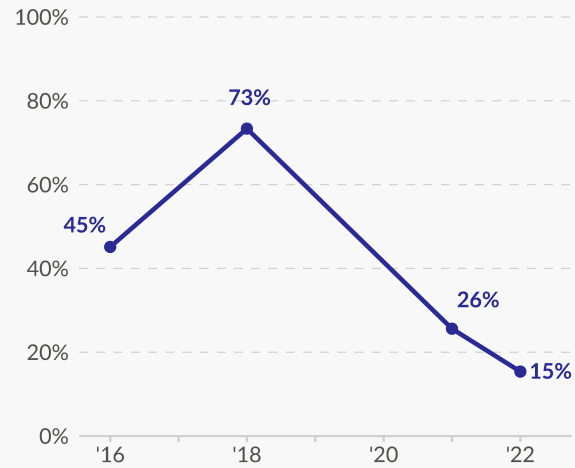
Perceptions of Corruption by Institution Over Time

Percentage of respondents who believe that most or all people working in the following institutions are corrupt

MEMBERS OF THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY

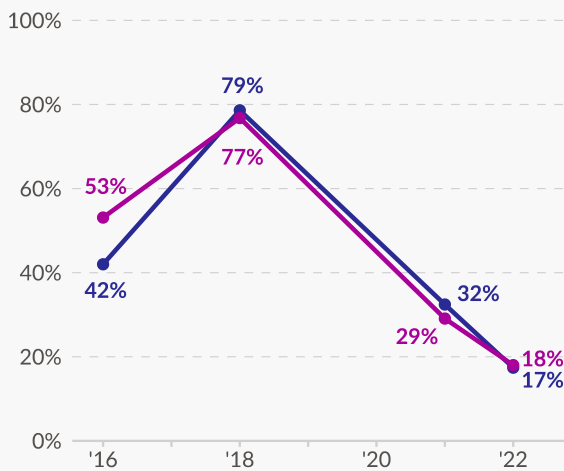


POLICE OFFICERS



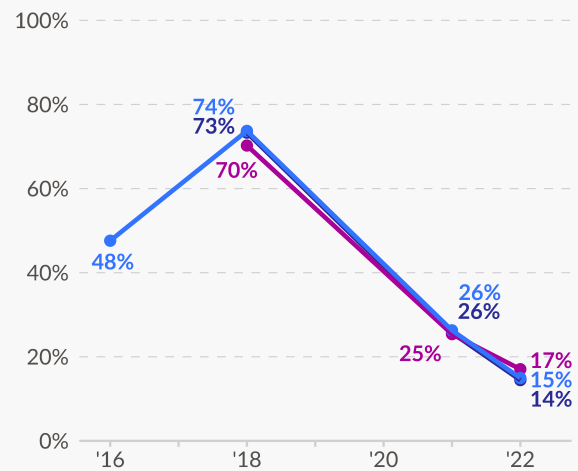
EXECUTIVE

- Local Government Officers
- National Government Officers



JUDICIARY

- Prosecutors
- Judges & Magistrates
- Public Defense Attorneys



Source: WJP General Population Poll 2016, 2018, 2021, and 2022

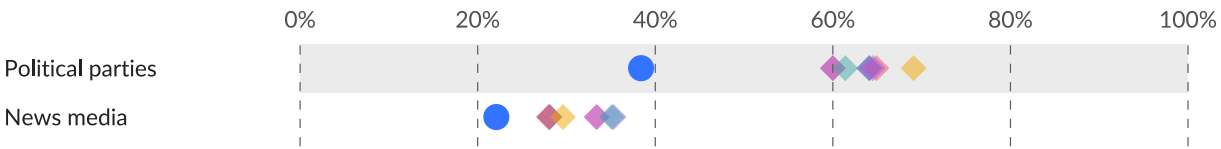
CHART 7.

Perceptions of Corruption in Central America, by Institution

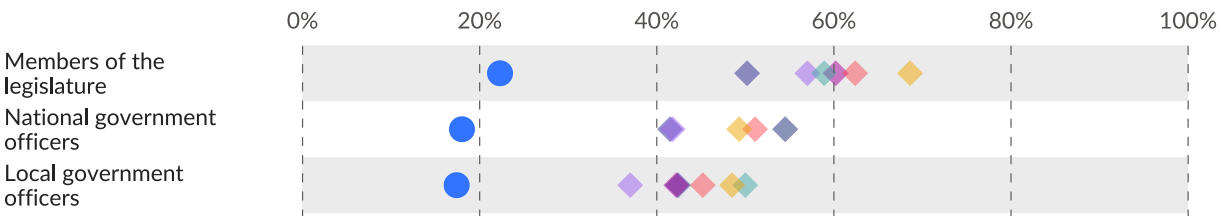
Percentage of respondents who think people in the following groups are involved in corrupt practices

◆ Belize ◆ Costa Rica ● El Salvador ◆ Guatemala ◆ Honduras ◆ Nicaragua ◆ Panama

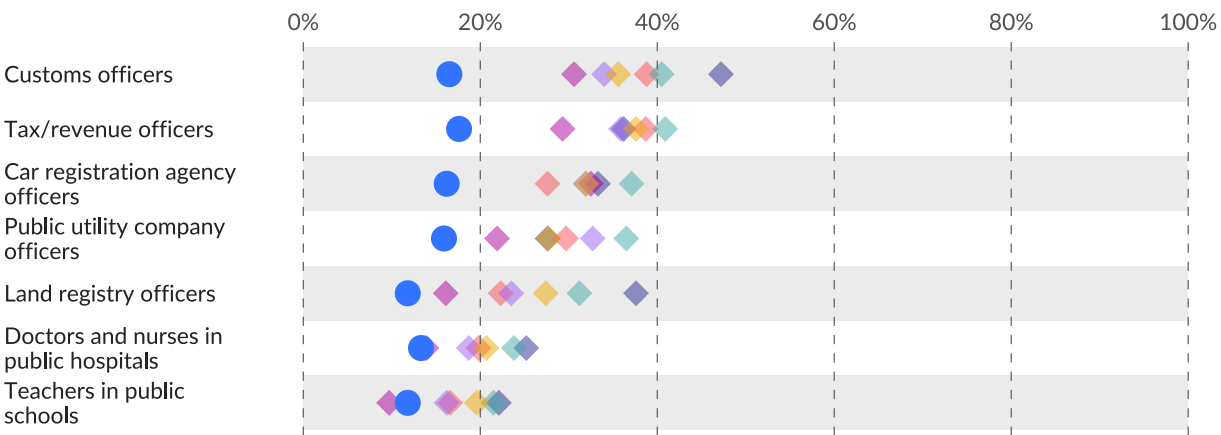
THE MEDIA AND POLITICAL PARTIES



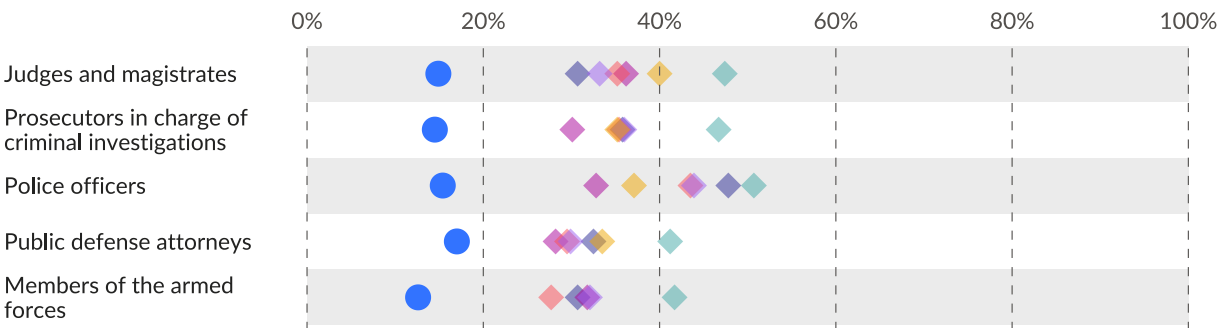
NATIONAL AND LOCAL GOVERNMENT



ADMINISTRATIVE AND BUREAUCRATIC INSTITUTIONS



SECURITY AND JUSTICE INSTITUTIONS



Source: WJP General Population Poll 2022

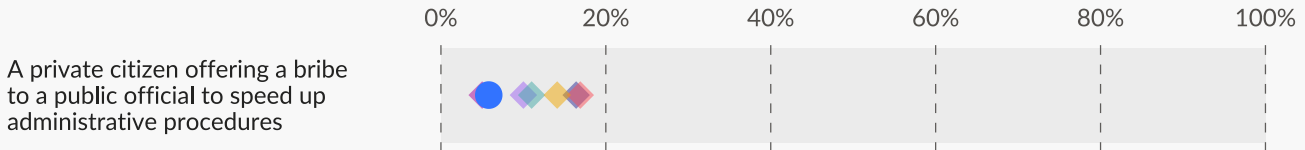
CHART 8.

Attitudes Towards Corrupt Behaviors in Central America

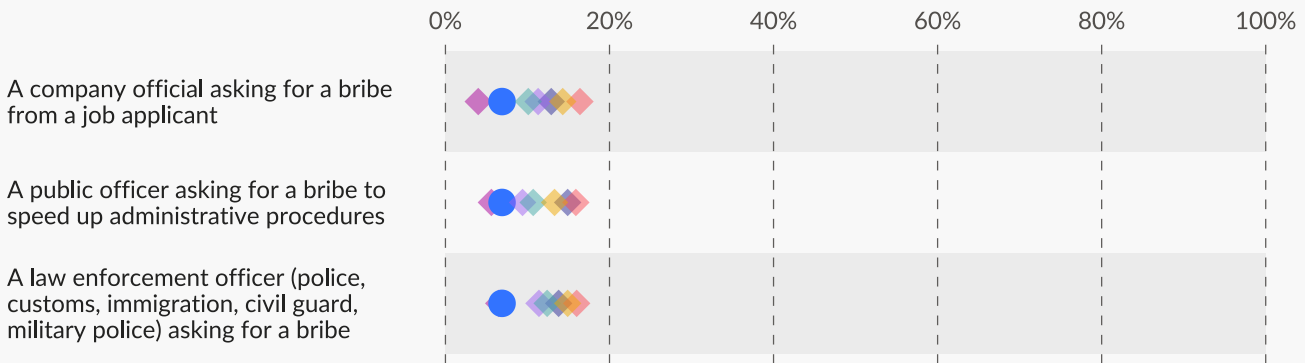
Percentage of respondents who believe the following behaviors are always or usually acceptable

◆ Belize ◆ Costa Rica ● El Salvador ◆ Guatemala ◆ Honduras ◆ Nicaragua ◆ Panama

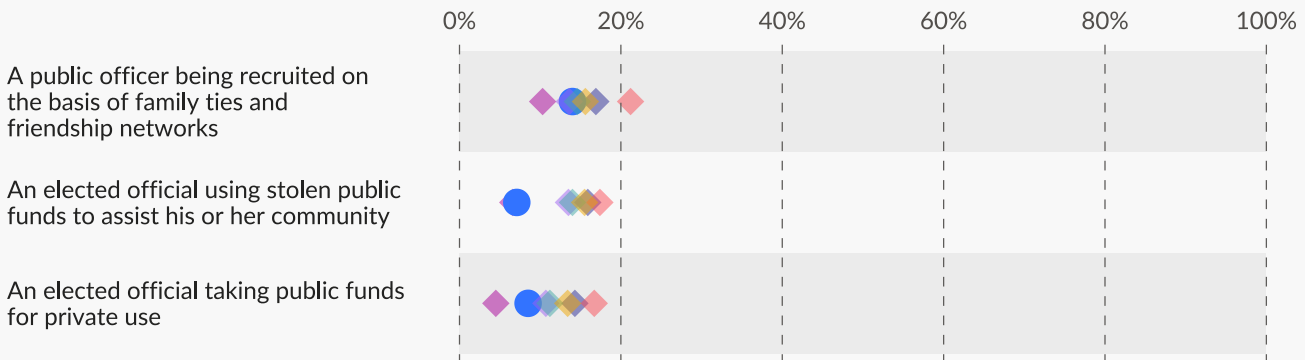
BRIBES OFFERED



BRIBES REQUESTED



NEPOTISM AND EMBEZZLEMENT



Source: WJP General Population Poll 2022

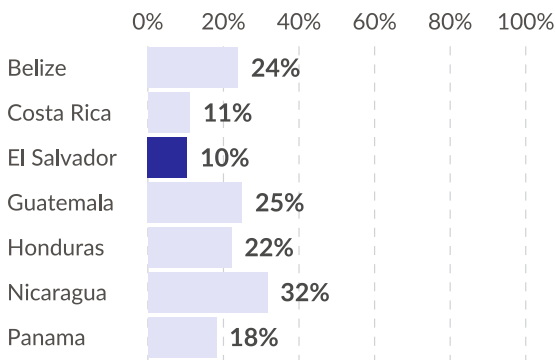
BRIBERY VICTIMIZATION

CHART 9.

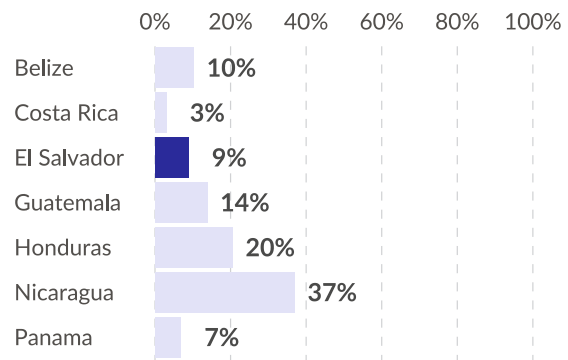
Bribery Victimization in El Salvador and Regional Peer Countries

Percentage of respondents who paid a bribe in the last three years to access the following services, out of those who used these services

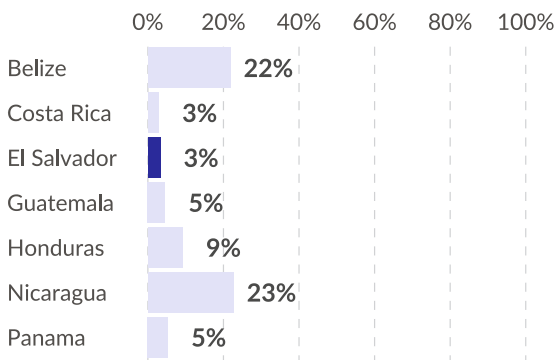
REQUEST A GOVERNMENT PERMIT OR DOCUMENT



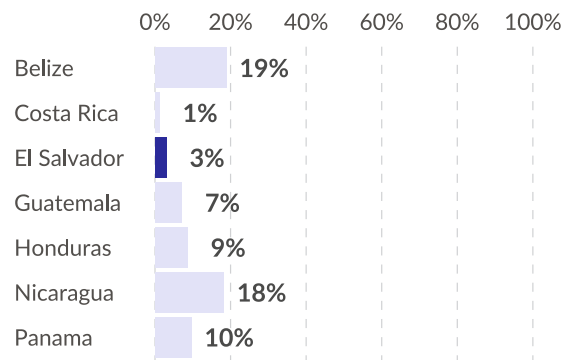
REQUEST PUBLIC BENEFITS OR ASSISTANCE



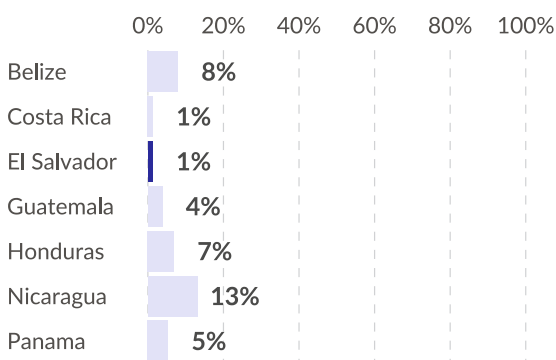
OBTAIN A BIRTH CERTIFICATE OR GOVERNMENT ISSUED ID



SECURE A PLACE AT A PUBLIC SCHOOL



USE A PUBLIC HEALTH SERVICE



Source: WJP General Population Poll 2022

TRUST

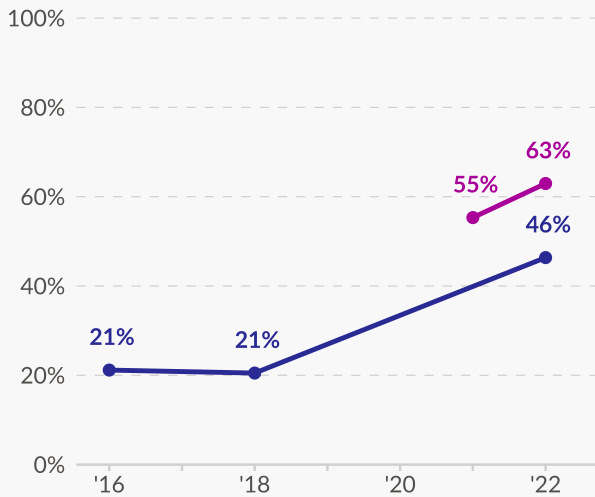
CHART 10.

Trust in Institutions Over Time

Percentage of respondents who have a lot or some trust in...

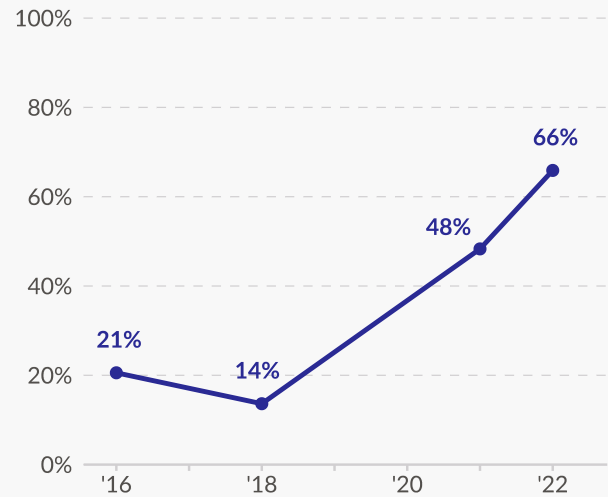
PEOPLE LIVING IN THEIR COUNTRY

- People in their country
- People in their community



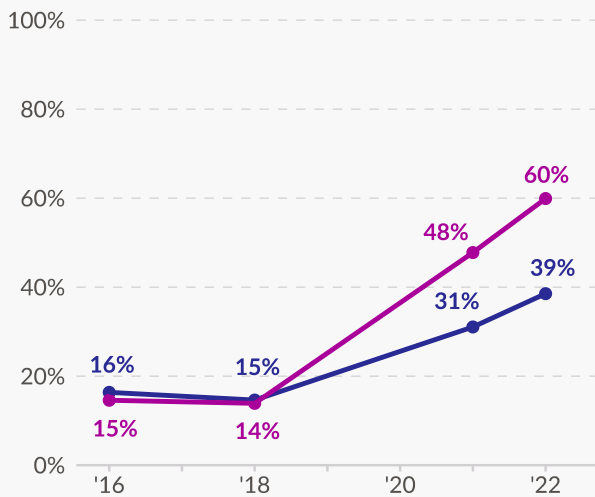
LAW ENFORCEMENT

- Police Officers



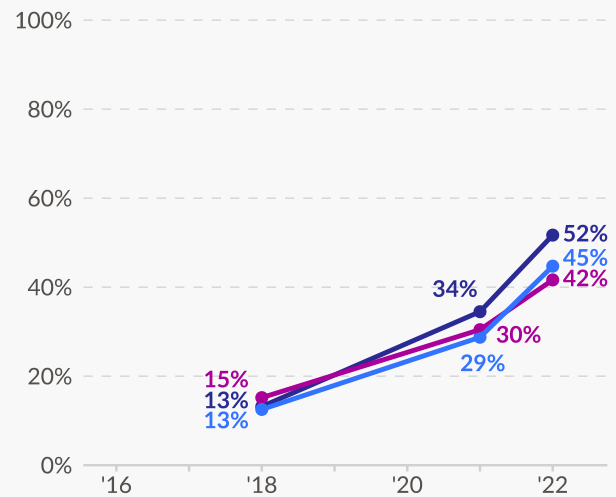
EXECUTIVE

- Local Government Officers
- National Government Officers



JUDICIARY

- Prosecutors
- Judges & Magistrates
- Public Defense Attorneys



Source: WJP General Population Poll 2016, 2018, 2021, and 2022

SECTION III
**SECURITY AND
CRIMINAL
JUSTICE**

26 Crime Victimization

27 Security

28 Criminal Justice

30 Police

33 Victim Support

CRIME VICTIMIZATION

CHART 11.1

Types of Crimes Experienced by People in El Salvador

Victimization rate, by type of crime

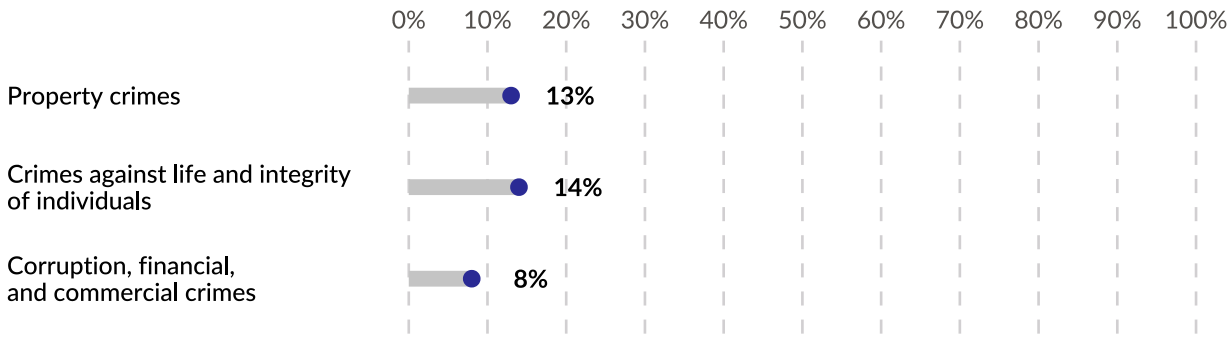
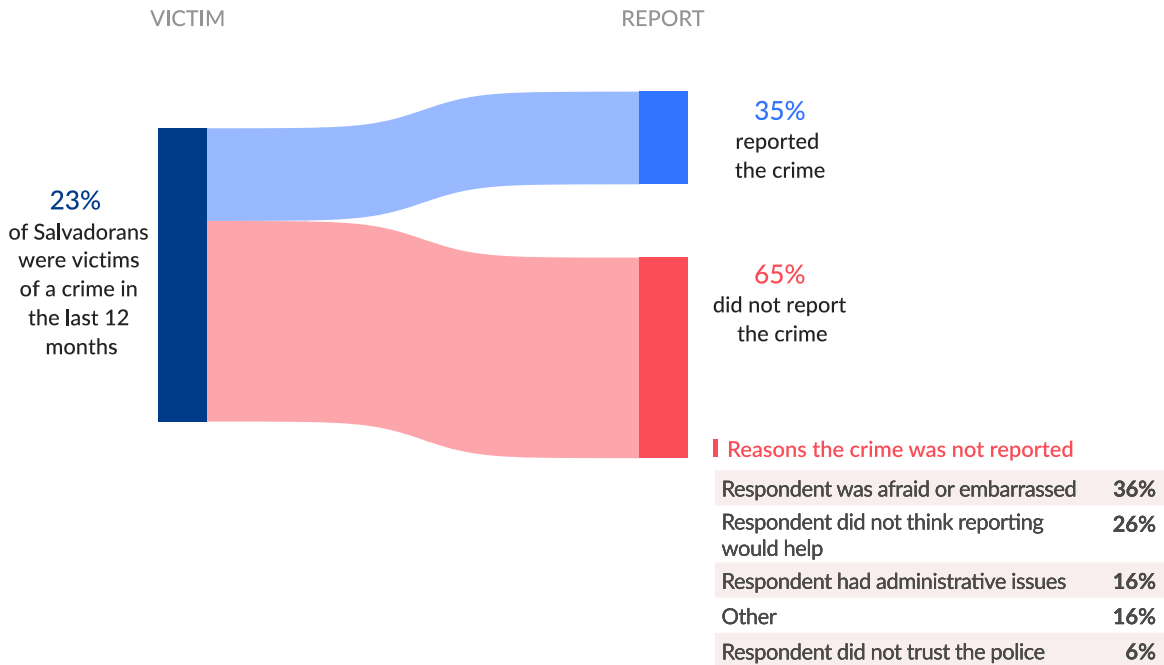


CHART 11.2

Crime Victimization Rates and Reporting

Data on crime victimization and reporting in El Salvador



Note: For additional information on how Chart 11.1 and 11.2 were produced, please see the Appendix.

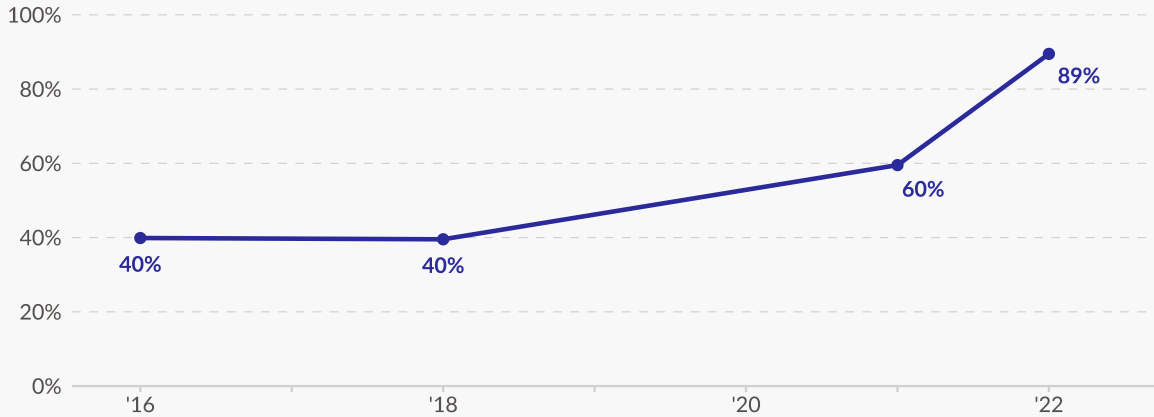
Source: WJP General Population Poll 2022

SECURITY

CHART 12.1

Perceptions of Security in El Salvador Over Time

Percentage of respondents who reported that they feel safe or very safe walking in their neighborhood at night

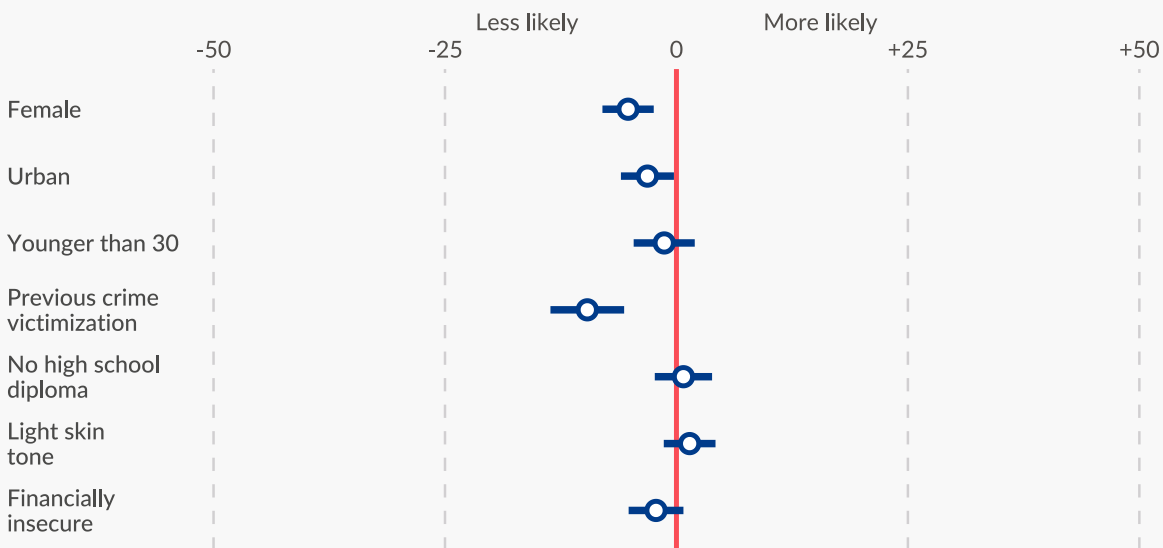


Source: WJP General Population Poll 2016, 2018, 2021, and 2022

CHART 12.2

Impact of Sociodemographic Characteristics on Perceptions of Safety

Likelihood that respondents feel safe or very safe walking in their neighborhood at night



Note: The results in this infographic were obtained from a logit regression. Each point indicates the average marginal effect of the corresponding sociodemographic characteristic on the predicted probability of a respondent to answer “safe” or “very safe” to the question “How safe do you feel walking in your neighborhood at night?” The lines indicate the 95% confidence intervals of each average marginal effect. For additional information on how Chart 12.2 was produced, please see the Regression Key linked in the Appendix.

Source: WJP General Population Poll 2022

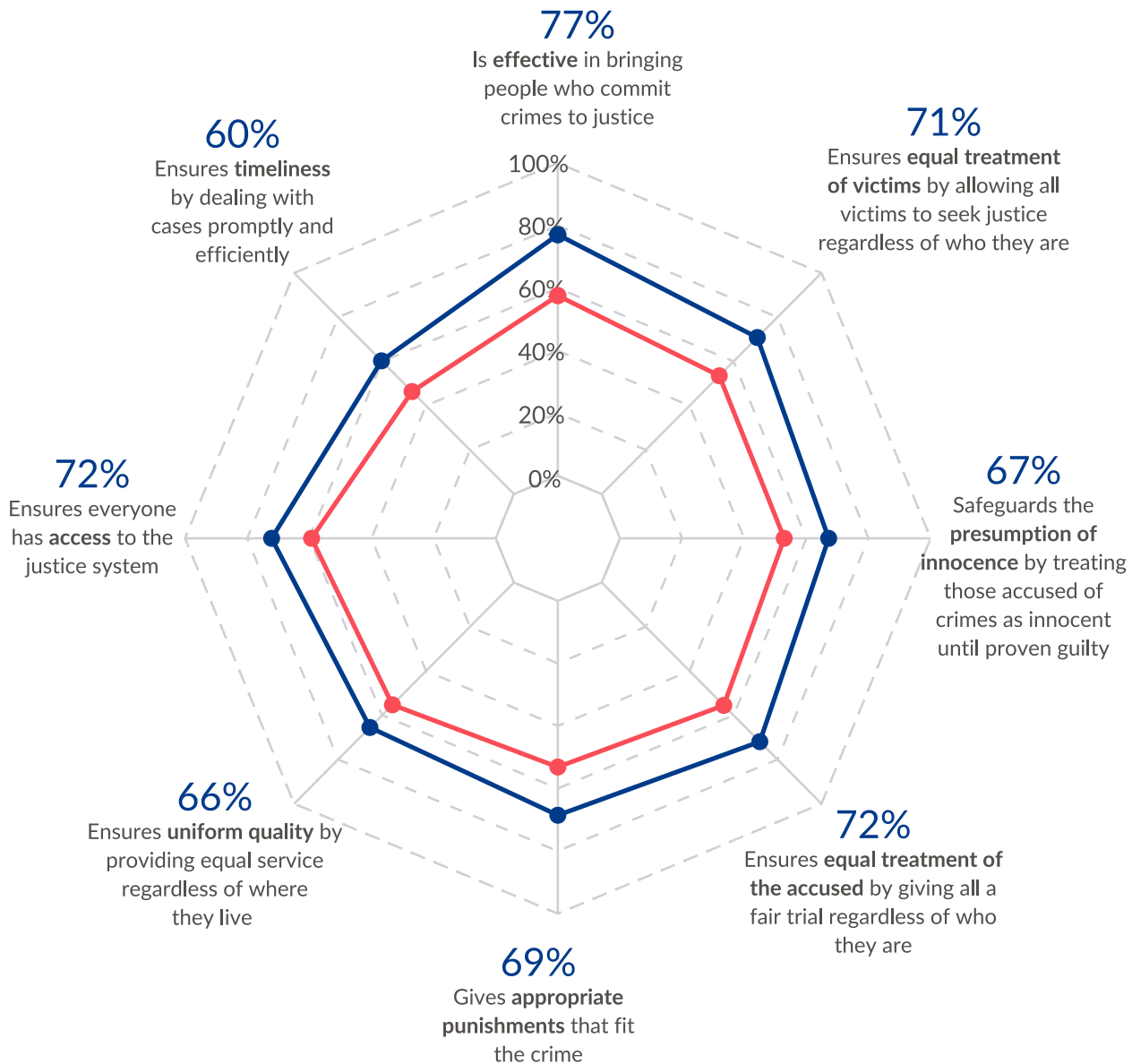
CRIMINAL JUSTICE

CHART 13.

Perceptions of the Criminal Justice System in El Salvador

Percentage of respondents who are confident that the criminal justice system...

● 2022 ● 2021



Note: For additional information on how Chart 13 was produced, please see the Appendix.

Source: WJP General Population Poll 2021 and 2022

CHART 14.

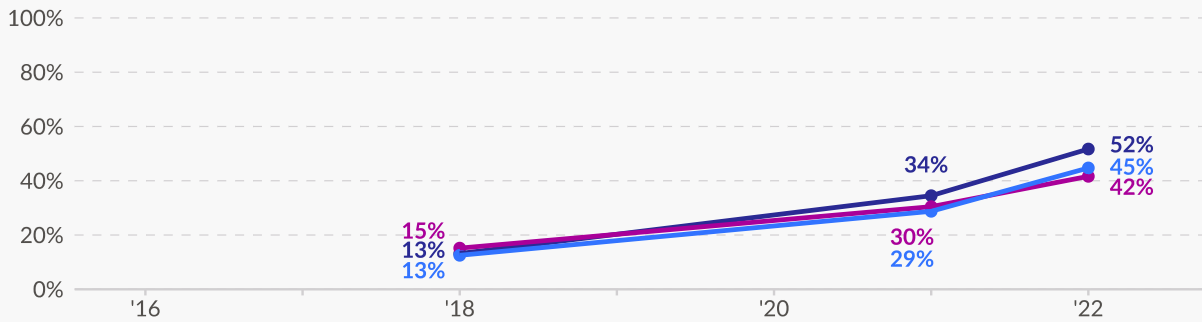
Criminal Justice Actors

Perceptions of criminal justice actors in El Salvador

● Prosecutors ● Public Defense Attorneys ● Judges & Magistrates

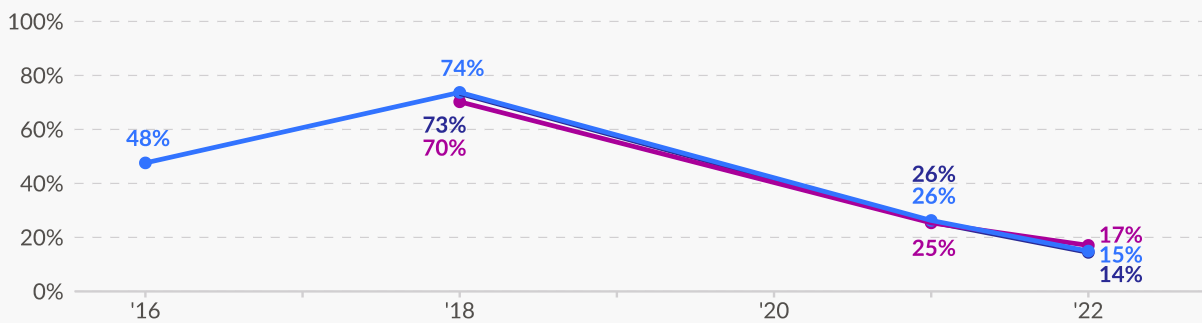
TRUST IN CRIMINAL JUSTICE ACTORS OVER TIME

Percentage of respondents who have a lot or some trust in prosecutors, public defense attorneys, and judges and magistrates



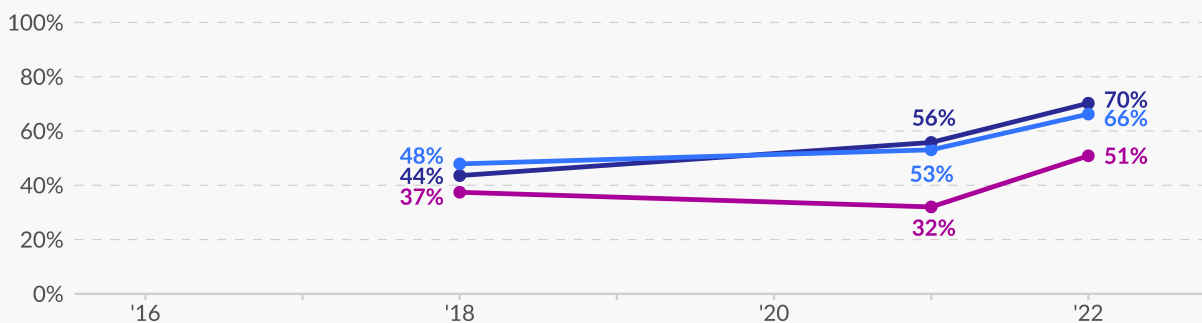
PERCEPTIONS OF CORRUPTION ACROSS CRIMINAL JUSTICE ACTORS OVER TIME

Percentage of respondents who believe that most or all prosecutors, public defense attorneys, and judges and magistrates are corrupt



PERCEPTIONS OF EFFECTIVENESS ACROSS CRIMINAL JUSTICE ACTORS OVER TIME

Percentage of respondents who believe that prosecutors, public defense attorneys, and judges and magistrates do their job well



Note: Variables in Effectiveness category are as follows: Prosecutors prosecute crimes committed in an independent manner and are not subject to any sort of pressure; Public defenders do everything they can to defend poor people that are accused of committing a crime; Judges decide cases in an independent manner and are not subject to any sort of pressure.

Source: WJP General Population Poll 2016, 2018, 2021, and 2022

POLICE

CHART 15.

Perceptions of the Police

Opinions on the effectiveness and legitimacy of law enforcement

EFFECTIVENESS

Serve the Public

Percentage of respondents who believe that the police...

Are available to help when needed
92%

Serve the interests of the community
85%

Serve the interests of regular citizens
85%

Crime Control and Safety

Percentage of respondents who believe that the police...

Respond to crime reports
65%

Resolve security problems in the community
90%

Perform effective and lawful investigations
68%

Help them feel safe
93%

LEGITIMACY

Due Process

Percentage of respondents who believe that the police...

Act lawfully
69%

Do not use excessive force
30%

Respect the rights of suspects
60%

Treat all people with respect
90%

Discrimination

Percentage of respondents who believe that the police do not discriminate against suspects based on...

Age
40%

Tattoos
31%

Indigenous identity
72%

Skin color
72%

Gender
50%

Source: WJP General Population Poll 2022

Corruption

Percentage of respondents who believe that the police...

Are not involved in corrupt practices



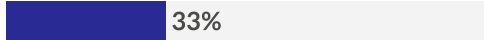
Investigate crimes in an independent manner



Do not serve the interests of gangs



Do not serve the interests of politicians



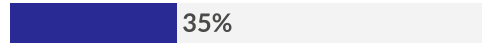
Trust and Crime Reporting

Percentage of respondents who...

Trust the police



Report a crime when they are a victim



Feel safe in their neighborhoods



Accountability

Percentage of respondents who believe that the police...

Are held accountable for violating laws



Are held accountable for seeking bribes



Are held accountable for accepting bribes



Are investigated for misconduct



Note: For additional information on how Chart 15 was produced, please see the Appendix.

Source: WJP General Population Poll 2022

CHART 16.

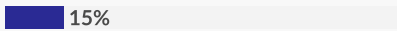
Interactions with the Police

Experiences of respondents in El Salvador who interacted with the police

VOLUNTARY

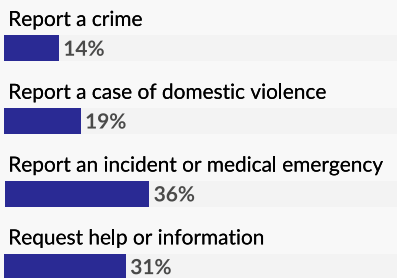
Total voluntary interactions

Percentage of respondents who contacted the police



Causes

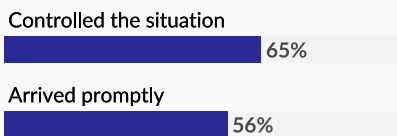
Reasons reported by respondents who contacted the police



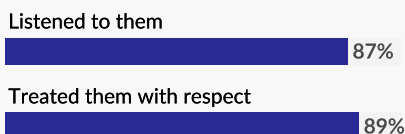
Experience during the last interaction

Percentage of respondents who said that the police...

SERVE THE PUBLIC



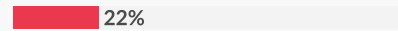
DUE PROCESS



INVOLUNTARY

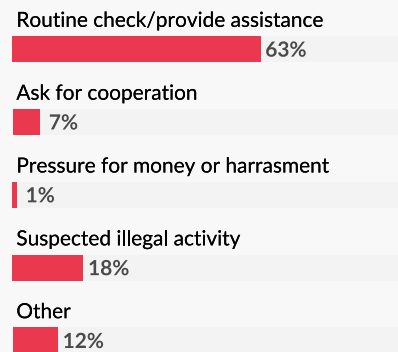
Total involuntary interactions

Percentage of respondents who were contacted by the police



Causes

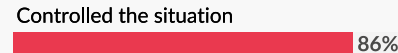
Reasons reported by respondents who were contacted by the police



Experience during the last interaction

Percentage of respondents who said that the police...

SERVE THE PUBLIC



DUE PROCESS



Note: For additional information on how Chart 16 was produced, please see the Appendix.

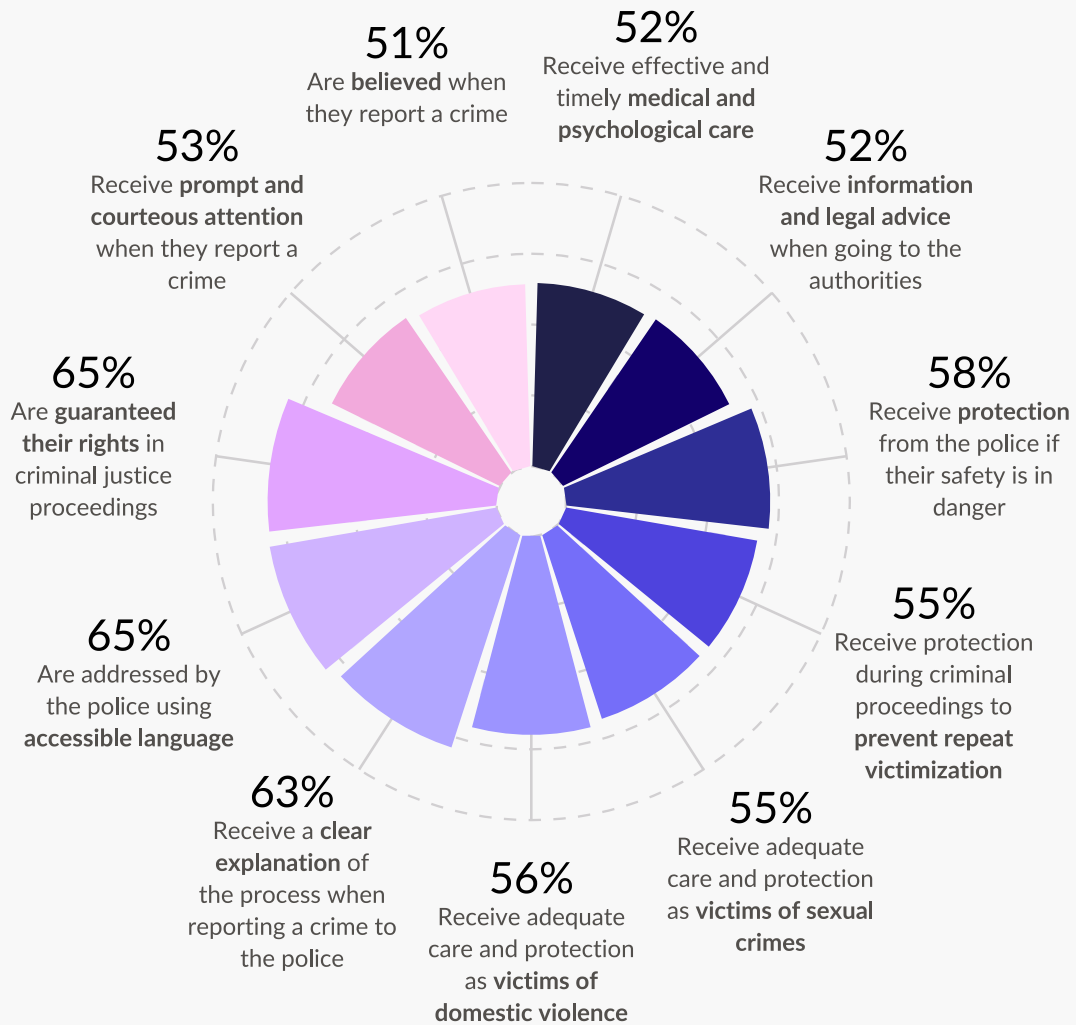
Source: WJP General Population Poll 2021

VICTIM SUPPORT

CHART 17.

Perceptions of the Treatment of Crime Victims

Percentage of respondents who are confident that crime victims...



Note: For additional information on how Chart 17 was produced, please see the Appendix.

Source: WJP General Population Poll 2022

SECTION IV
ACCESS TO
JUSTICE

ACCESS TO JUSTICE JOURNEY

CHART 18.

Justice Journey in El Salvador

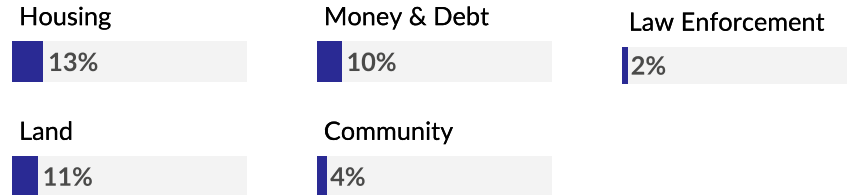
Paths followed by Salvadorans who experienced a legal problem in the last two years

▶ PART 1. Legal Problems

27%

Experienced a legal problem in the past 2 years

Incidence by type of problem:



▶ PART 2. Legal

Information

70%

Knew where to get advice and information

Expert Help

66%

Felt that they could get all the expert help they wanted

Confidence

74%

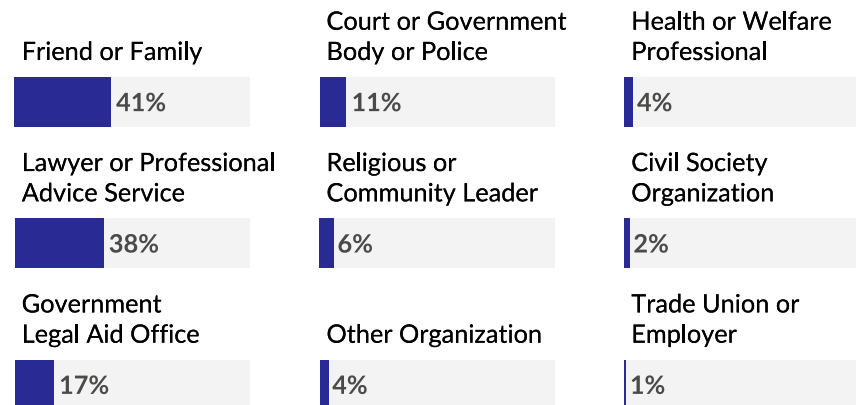
Were confident that they could achieve a fair outcome

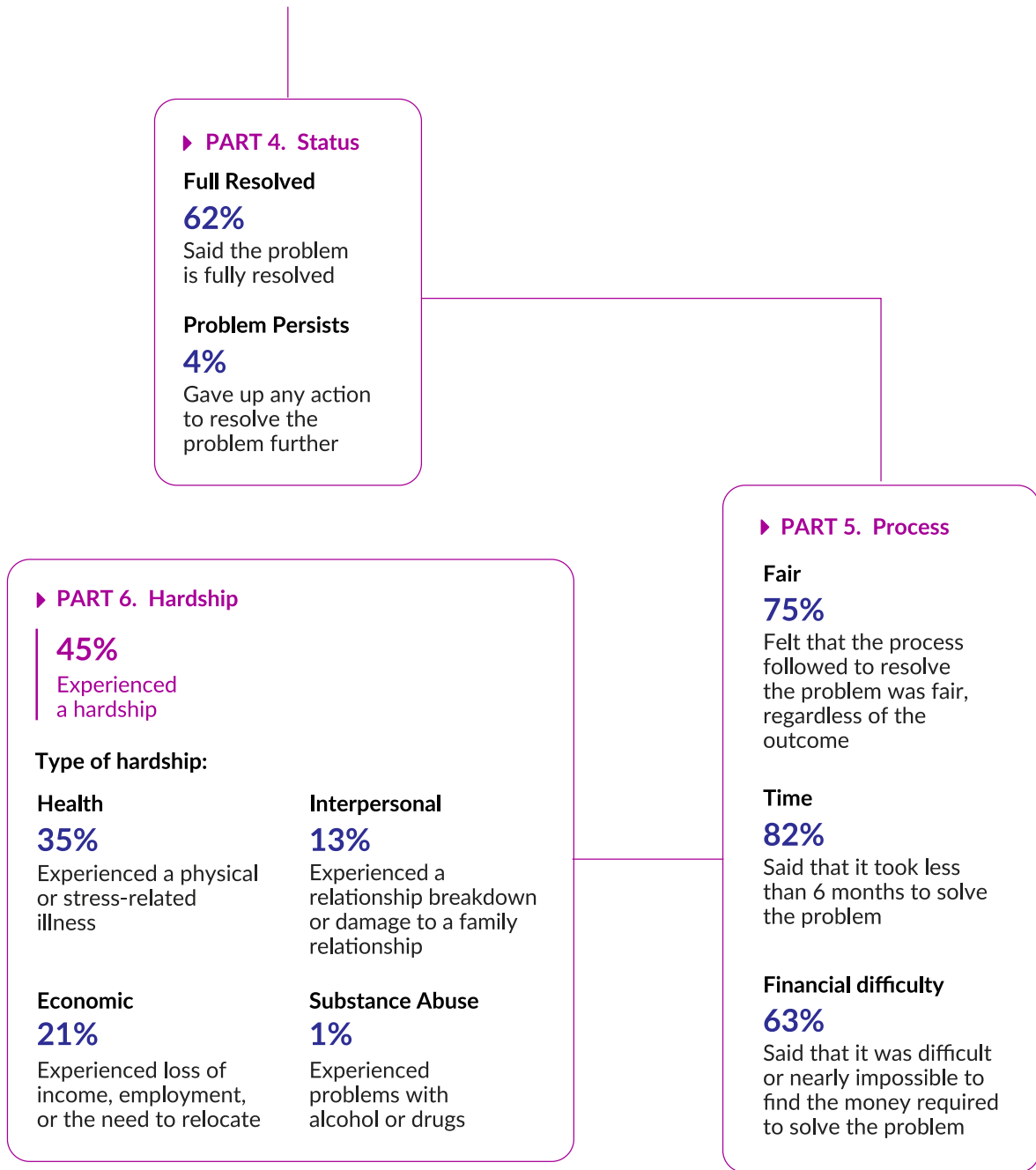
▶ PART 3. Sources of Help

25%

Were able to access help

Type of advisor:





Note: For additional information on how Chart 18 was produced, please see the Appendix.

Source: WJP General Population Poll 2022

SECTION V
MIGRATION

38 Internal Migration

39 International Migration

40 Migration to the United States

INTERNAL MIGRATION

CHART 19.1

Rates of Internal Migration, by City

Percentage of respondents who moved within El Salvador and reasons for migration

34%

Rate of Migration at the National Level

Reasons for Migration

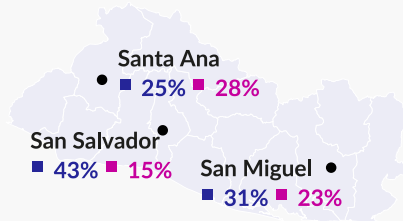
45%
Better economic or educational opportunities

50%
Family reasons

24%
Less violence, corruption, or harassment

Percentage of respondents who:

- have moved to each city within El Salvador
- have moved to each city within El Salvador in the past three years



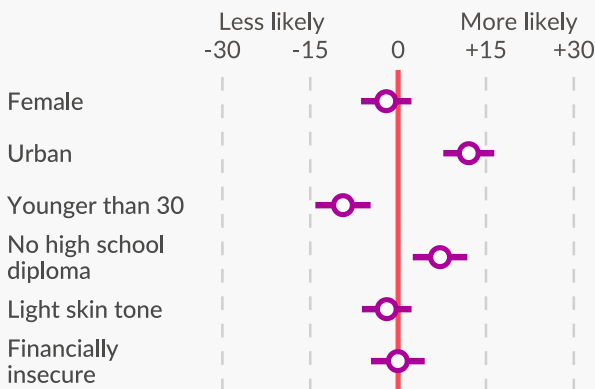
Note: For additional information on how Chart 19.1 was produced, please see the Appendix.

CHART 19.2

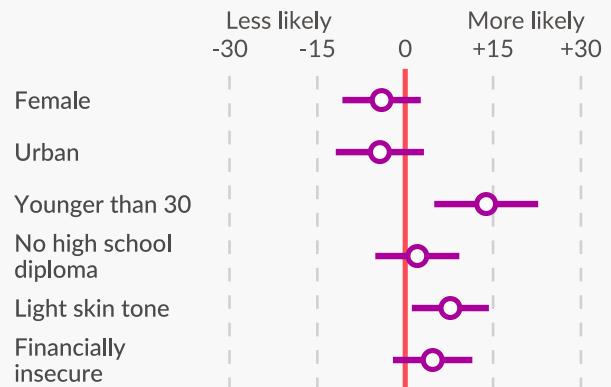
Impact of Sociodemographic Characteristics on Internal Migration

Likelihood that respondents...

HAVE MIGRATED WITHIN EL SALVADOR



HAVE MIGRATED WITHIN EL SALVADOR IN THE LAST 3 YEARS



Note: These figures show the results of two logit regressions. On the left, each point indicates the average marginal effect of the corresponding sociodemographic characteristic on the predicted probability that a respondent answers “no” to the question “Do you live in the same city in which you were born?” On the right, each point indicates the average marginal effect of the corresponding sociodemographic characteristic on the predicted probability that a respondent answers “less than a year” or “1-3 years” to the question “How long have you lived in this city?” The lines indicate the 95% confidence intervals of each average marginal effect. For additional information on how Chart 19.2 was produced, please see the Appendix.

Source: WJP General Population Poll 2022

INTERNATIONAL MIGRATION

CHART 20.1

International Migration Intentions

Percentage of respondents who would like, or have plans, to move internationally, by country

● Percentage of respondents who would like to move internationally
 ● Percentage of respondents who have plans to move internationally
 ● 2021 percentage

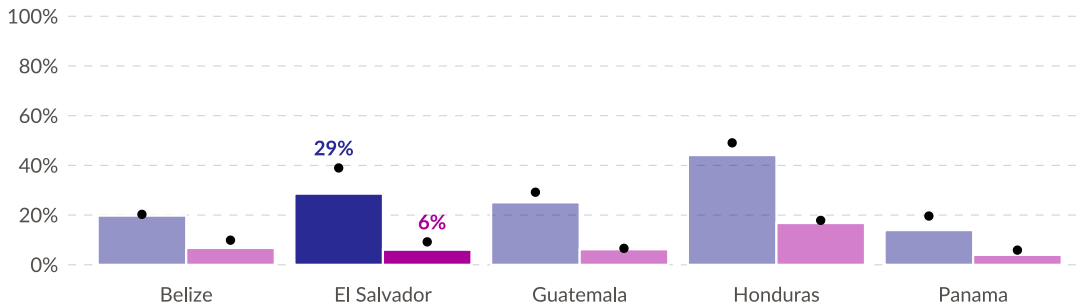
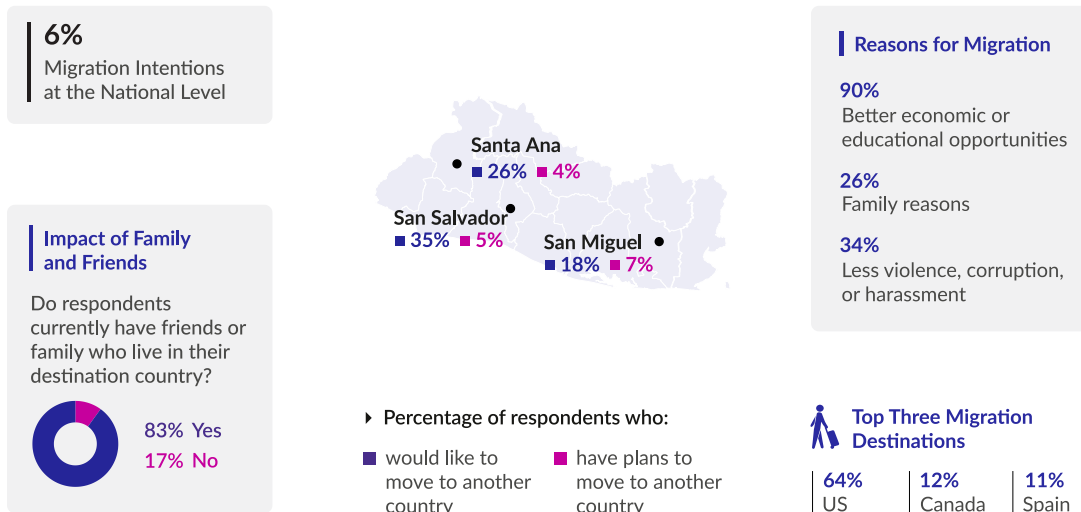


CHART 20.2

International Migration by City

Percentage of respondents who would like, or have plans, to migrate internationally, by city



Note: For additional information on how Chart 20.2 was produced, please see the Appendix.

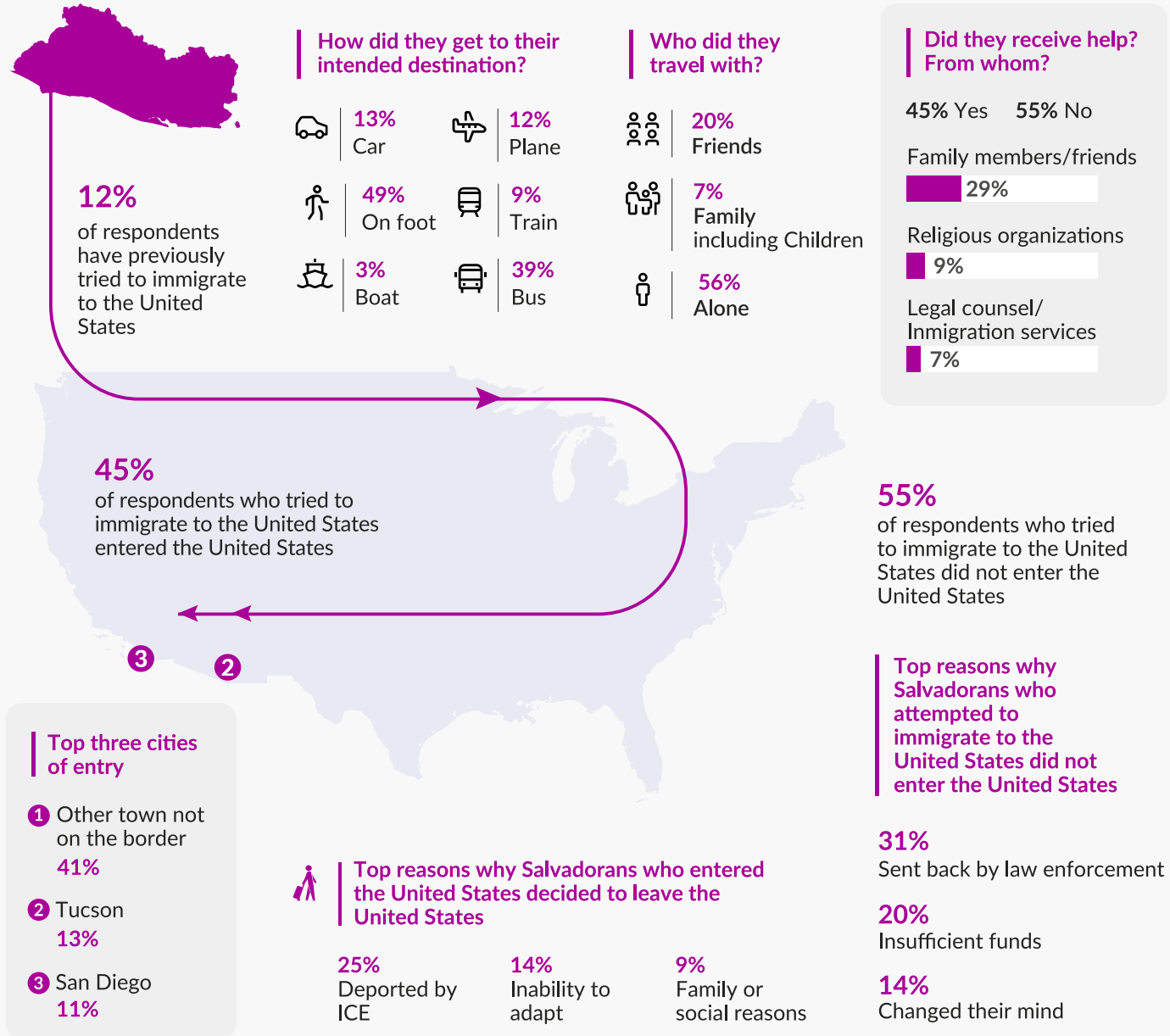
Source: WJP General Population Poll 2021 and 2022

MIGRATION TO THE UNITED STATES

CHART 21.

Pathway to the United States

Experiences of Salvadorans who reported attempting to migrate to the United States



Note: In Chart 21, "Family or social reasons" reflects related responses under the "To visit family or friends, go on vacation, or attend a social or religious event" and "Other (specify)" categories in the question "What was the main reason you left the US?"

Source: WJP General Population Poll 2022

CHART 22.1.

Insecurity on the Journey to the United States

Percentage of respondents who were subjected to violence or had to pay a bribe during their journey to the United States

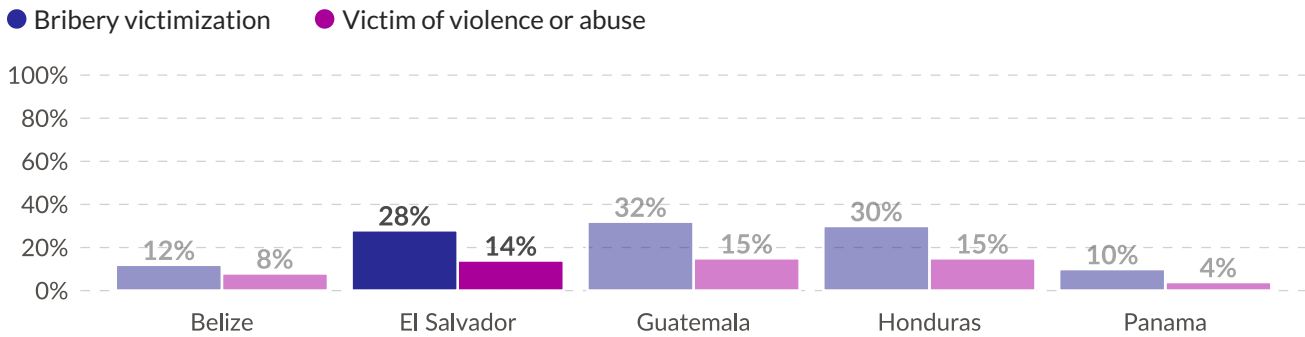


CHART 22.2.

Violence Experienced by Migrants from El Salvador

Victimization rates, by type of violence

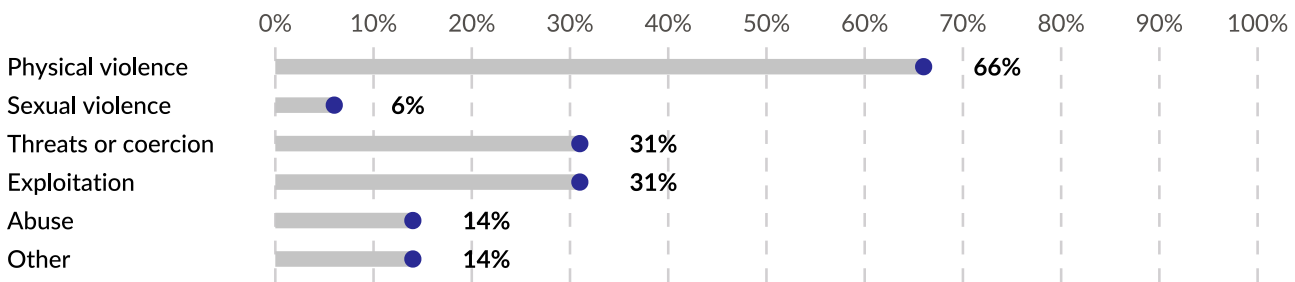
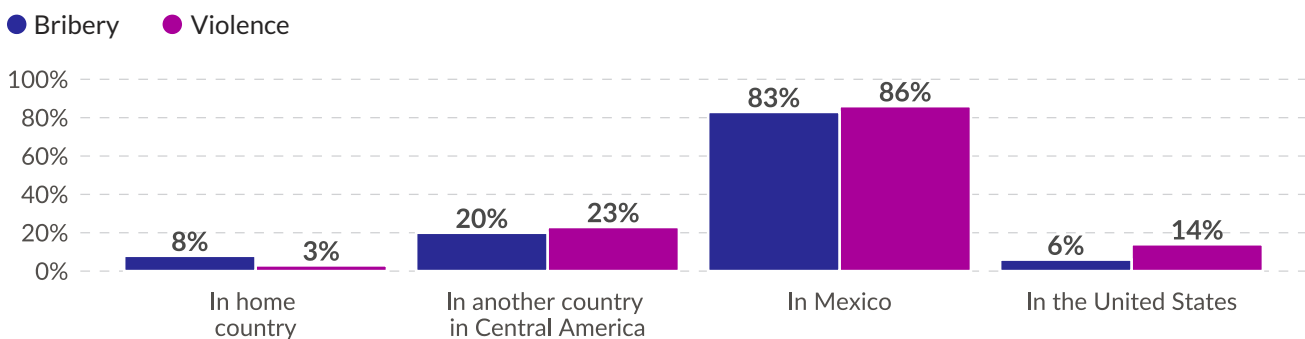


CHART 22.3.

Violence and Bribery Victimization, by Stage of the Journey

Percentage of Salvadorans who were subjected to violence or had to pay a bribe during each stage of the journey to the United States



Source: WJP General Population Poll 2022

PROJECT DESIGN

43 Methodology

METHODOLOGY

To present an image that accurately portrays the rule of law as experienced by ordinary people, data in this report is drawn from the General Population Poll (GPP), an original data source designed and collected by the World Justice Project (WJP). The GPP captures the experiences and perceptions of ordinary citizens concerning the performance of the state and its agents and the actual operation of the legal framework in their country.

The General Population Poll used to collect data in El Salvador in 2022 features several new questions that highlight perceptions on issues salient to the region, including corruption, authoritarian behaviors, police performance, criminal justice, and security. In total, the General Population Poll questionnaire includes 162 perception-based questions and 86 experience-based questions, along with sociodemographic information on all respondents. Additionally, the GPP in El Salvador was administered to a sample of 2,010 respondents.

Data Collection

The GPP in El Salvador was conducted for the WJP's *The Rule of Law in El Salvador: Key Findings from the General Population Poll 2022* with sampling, fieldwork, and data processing by CID Gallup, based in San José, Costa Rica. CID Gallup administered the surveys between November and December 2022, conducting face-to-face interviews using a multi-stage stratified random sampling design. The target population group for this survey included Salvadorans aged 18 years or older residing across all 14 departments throughout the country.

SAMPLE SIZE AND SAMPLE FRAME

The General Population Poll in El Salvador represents an achieved total sample size of 2,010 interviews distributed proportionally across four regions. CID Gallup based the sampling frame on 2018 population figures from the General Directorate of Statistics and Census of El Salvador (DIGESTYC), acquiring a proportionally stratified sample by region, age, gender, socioeconomic status, and level of urbanization.

In order to address all relevant topics while controlling the questionnaire length, the World Justice Project split three of the survey modules into two versions (Option A and Option B) and randomly assigned one option to each respondent for each module. These modules included: Hypothetical Situations, Civic Participation, and Institutional Performance. Aside from these modules, the questionnaires are identical. A link to the complete survey instrument, in English and Spanish, can be found in the Appendix of this report.

SAMPLING

Regions and departments were selected to achieve a nationally representative sample of the country based on population density and geographic coverage. Municipalities were then selected as the primary sampling unit using probability proportionate to size sampling. Individual enumeration areas were selected at the *cantón*, or neighborhood, level via simple random sampling. The number of enumeration areas assigned to each municipality was determined based on relative population size. Within each enumeration area, survey administrators performed a systematic random route to sample households and used a Kish grid to select respondents. If the selected respondent declined to be interviewed or otherwise did not meet the characteristics of the target quota, the interviewer moved on to the next household.

DESCRIPTION OF THE SAMPLE

COVERAGE: Interviews were distributed across regions to create a nationally representative sample. Forty-eight percent (48%) of the interviews took place in the Central region, followed by 22% in the Western region, 19% in the Eastern region, and the remaining 11% in the Paracentral region.

GEOGRAPHY: Thirty-seven percent (37%) of respondents resided in rural areas and municipalities, while 63% of respondents resided in metro areas or cities.

RACIAL AND ETHNIC BACKGROUND: Most (63%) respondents identified themselves as Mestizo, followed by 20% of respondents who did not identify with any ethnicity and 11% who identified as Indigenous.

GENDER: Fifty-five percent (55%) of respondents were female and 45% were male.

EDUCATION: Most respondents (53%) reported that they had received up to a middle school diploma, and the remaining 47% of respondents received at least a high school diploma or vocational degree.

RESPONSE RATES

Eligible household, non-interview	1,626
Refusals	1,261
Break-off	68
Non-contact	297
Ineligible household	209
No eligible respondent in the household	84
Quota filled	125

INTERVIEWING AND QUALITY CONTROL

In total, 43 interviewers worked on this project, including 28 female interviewers. Enumerators worked in 11 groups of four interviewers with one supervisor each. Interviews were conducted in Spanish.

The supervisory team directly oversaw 34% of all interviews in the field. During data processing, 744 interviews (approximately 37% of the sample) were selected for audio review by the central office. Additional quality control measures included geofencing, audio quality checks, and checks for abnormal interview length. Interviews averaged 46 minutes in length and ranged from 34 to 97 minutes.

DATA REVIEW AND JUSTIFICATION

As part of the data analysis process, the team consulted several third-party sources in order to contextualize and validate perception-based data captured by the General Population Poll and compare it with the objective rule of law situation in-country. Peer data sources consulted include select indicators measured by the Latin American Public Opinion Project (LAPOP)'s *AmericasBarometer*, *Latinobarómetro*, *Varieties of Democracy (V-Dem)*, *Transparency International's Corruption Perceptions Index*, the Bertelsmann Stiftung's *Transformation Index (BTI)*, and *Freedom House's Freedom in the World*. While certain trends captured by the 2022 General Population Poll in El Salvador are comparable to trends in perceptions data measured by other indices, the experiences and perceptions presented in this report may not always coincide with the reality of El Salvador's rule of law performance as measured by other sources.

HISTORICAL DATA

Historical data in this report derives from the *WJP Rule of Law Index®*'s General Population Poll that is typically administered every two to three years using a nationally representative probability sample ranging from 500 to 1,000 respondents. These household surveys were administered in the three largest cities of most countries until 2018, when the World Justice Project transitioned to nationally representative coverage as the preferred methodology for polling. The historical polling data used in this year's reports was collected in the following intervals: Data for Belize, Costa Rica, and Honduras was collected in 2014, 2017, 2019, and 2022. Data for Panama was collected in 2014, 2017, 2019, and 2022. Data for El Salvador and Guatemala was collected in 2016, 2018, and 2022.

ADDITIONAL COUNTRIES

The Rule of Law in El Salvador: Key Findings from the General Population Poll 2022 includes comparisons to the following Central American countries surveyed by the World Justice Project during the same period: Belize, Costa Rica, Guatemala, Honduras, Nicaragua and Panama. This report is additionally part of a series that presents findings from the following five sub-regions within Latin America and the Caribbean: Andes (Bolivia, Colombia, Ecuador, Peru); Southern Cone (Argentina, Brazil, Paraguay); Eastern Caribbean (Barbados, Dominica, Grenada, St. Lucia, St. Vincent and the Grenadines, Trinidad and Tobago); Greater Antilles, The Bahamas, and the Guianas (The Bahamas, the Dominican Republic, Guyana, Haiti, Jamaica, Suriname); and Central America (Belize, Costa Rica, El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras, Nicaragua, Panama). Together, these 26 countries are a portion of the 140 countries and jurisdictions included in the *WJP Rule of Law Index 2022* report. Detailed information regarding the methodology of the *Rule of Law Index* is available at: www.worldjusticeproject.org.

Country	Polling Company	Methodology	Sample
Argentina	StatMark Group	Face-to-face	759
The Bahamas	DMR Insights Ltd.	Face-to-face	500
Barbados	DMR Insights Ltd.	Face-to-face	500
Belize	CID Gallup	Face-to-face	1,500
Bolivia	Captura Consulting	Face-to-face	1,000
Brazil	About Brazil Market Research	Face-to-face	1,109
Colombia	Tempo Group SA	Face-to-face	1,000
Costa Rica	CID Gallup	Face-to-face	1,005
Dominica	DMR Insights Ltd.	Face-to-face	500
Dominican Republic	CID Gallup	Face-to-face	1,002
Ecuador	StatMark Group	Face-to-face	1,005
El Salvador	CID Gallup	Face-to-face	2,010
Grenada	DMR Insights Ltd.	Face-to-face	500
Guatemala	Mercaplan	Face-to-face	2,002
Guyana	StatMark Group	Face-to-face	500
Haiti	CID Gallup	Face-to-face	507
Honduras	Mercaplan	Face-to-face	2,000
Jamaica	StatMark Group	Face-to-face	1,001
Nicaragua	CID Gallup	Telephone	1,014
Panama	CID Gallup	Face-to-face	2,023
Paraguay	Datum Internacional S.A./BM Business Partners	Face-to-face	1,000
Peru	Datum Internacional S.A.	Face-to-face	1,029
St. Lucia	DMR Insights Ltd.	Face-to-face	500
St. Vincent and the Grenadines	DMR Insights Ltd.	Face-to-face	500
Suriname	D3: Designs, Data, Decisions	Face-to-face	502
Trinidad and Tobago	CID Gallup	Face-to-face	1,001

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APPENDIX

Methodological Materials

GENERAL POPULATION POLL (GPP)

The General Population Poll in Central America was designed to capture high-quality data on the realities and concerns of ordinary people on a variety of themes related to the rule of law, including authoritarianism, government accountability, bribery, corruption, police, crime and security, access to justice, and migration.

[World Justice Project General Population Poll 2022 – Central American Survey Instrument \(English Versions A & B\)](#)

[World Justice Project General Population Poll 2022 – Central American Survey Instrument \(Spanish Versions A & B\)](#)

VARIABLES USED IN INFOGRAPHICS ON CRIME VICTIMIZATION

This table lists the question-level variables from the General Population Poll used to construct Chart 11.1 and the “Reasons the crime was not reported” table in Chart 11.2.

[World Justice Project Crime Rates and Reporting Variable Map](#)

VARIABLES USED IN INFOGRAPHIC ON THE CRIMINAL JUSTICE SYSTEM

This table lists the question-level variables from the General Population Poll used to construct Chart 13.

[World Justice Project Criminal Justice System Variable Map](#)

VARIABLES USED IN INFOGRAPHICS ON THE POLICE

This table lists the question-level variables from the General Population Poll used to construct Chart 15 and Chart 16.

[World Justice Project Police Performance Variable Map](#)

VARIABLES USED IN INFOGRAPHIC ON PERCEPTIONS OF THE TREATMENT OF CRIME VICTIMS

This table lists the question-level variables from the General Population Poll used to construct Chart 17.

[World Justice Project Victim Support Variable Map](#)

VARIABLES USED IN INFOGRAPHIC ON ACCESS TO JUSTICE

This table lists the question-level variables from the General Population Poll used to construct Chart 18.

[World Justice Project Access to Justice Variable Map](#)

VARIABLES USED IN INFOGRAPHICS ON MIGRATION BY CITY

This table lists the question-level variables from the General Population Poll used to construct the “Reasons for Migration” tables in Chart 19.1 and Chart 20.2.

[World Justice Project Migration Variable Map](#)

REGRESSION TABLES FOR REGRESSION ANALYSIS USED IN INFOGRAPHICS ON PERCEPTIONS OF SECURITY AND MIGRATION

This document includes the question-level variables from the General Population Poll used in the regression analysis and the regression results featured in the following infographics: Chart 12.2 and Chart 19.2.

[World Justice Project Regression Tables](#)



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ABOUT THE WORLD JUSTICE PROJECT

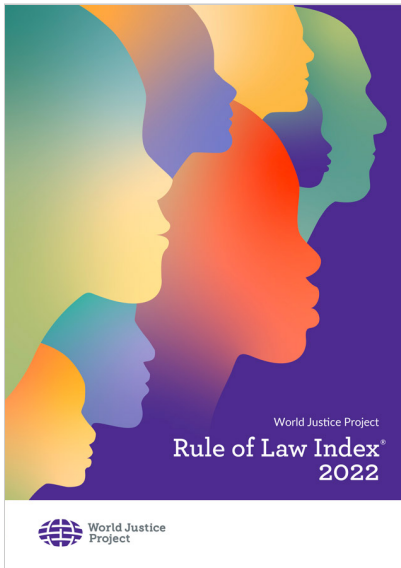
The World Justice Project (WJP) is an independent, multidisciplinary organization working to create knowledge, build awareness, and stimulate action to advance the rule of law worldwide. Effective rule of law is the foundation for communities of justice, opportunity, and peace—underpinning development, accountable government, and respect for fundamental rights.

The WJP builds and supports a global, multidisciplinary movement for the rule of law through three lines of work: collecting, organizing, and analyzing original, independent rule of law data, including the World Justice Project Rule of Law Index; supporting research, scholarship, and teaching about the importance of the rule of law, its relationship to development, and effective strategies to strengthen it; and connecting and building an engaged global network of policymakers and advocates to advance the rule of law through strategic partnerships, convenings, coordinated advocacy, and support for locally led initiatives.

Learn more at: worldjusticeproject.org.

OTHER PUBLICATIONS

For more information click on the publication.



WJP Rule of Law Index 2022



WJP Rule of Law Index 2022 Insights
Highlights and data trends from the
WJP Rule of Law Index 2021



WJP Mexico States Rule of Law Index 2020-2021
Perceptions and experiences in 32 states



World Justice Challenge 2021
Outcome Report



Grasping the Justice Gap 2021



Environmental Governance Indicators for Latin America & the Caribbean 2020

For more information or to read these reports, visit worldjusticeproject.org/our-work



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