Decoding the Ecuador Elections:

Analyzing the Election Outcomes and Their Implications

Part 2
Acknowledgments

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Ecuadorians went to the polls on October 15 for what has been described as the deadliest elections in the country's history. Experts reported over eighty-eight cases of political violence and the murder of one of the presidential candidates during this electoral process. This tragic event shook the nation and fueled discussions about the future direction of Ecuador. Amid this ongoing wave of violence, the Ecuadorian electorate had to carefully consider their options and make a decision that would shape the country's course for the next eighteen months.

The runoff election saw Luisa González, representing Revolución Ciudadana (Citizen Revolution Movement), and Daniel Noboa, from Acción Democrática Nacional (National Democratic Action), emerge as the final two candidates. The competition between these two individuals was fierce, as they presented vastly different visions for Ecuador's future. The primary concerns that influenced the election results were crime, the state of the economy, and political corruption. These pressing issues ignited passionate debates and drove voters to carefully evaluate the candidates' proposed solutions.

In the end, Daniel Noboa secured the majority of the electorate's votes, but by a narrow margin of 51.83 percent compared to 48.17 percent for González. This result was a reversal from the first round of elections, where González received 33.61 percent compared to Noboa's 23.47 percent. The final outcome of the presidential elections highlighted the divided opinions among Ecuadorians and emphasized the importance of each individual's vote in shaping the country's future.

The outcome of Ecuador's election has significant implications for its political future. With Daniel Noboa emerging as the winner, it reflects a shift in the electorate's preferences. Going forward, it will be crucial to observe how President Noboa's administration addresses the aforementioned concerns and navigates other political difficulties, such as polarization and legislative challenges.

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4 Ibid.
Voter Turnout: How Results Differed from Expectations

As predicted by many analysts going into the second round of voting, the contest was a tight one, though eventually a decisive victory for Daniel Noboa. Voter turnout was higher than in the first round, mainly due to a reduction in null votes as voters determined which of the two candidates would be more aligned with their views.\textsuperscript{5} Though ultimately decided along much of the same line as President Guillermo Lasso’s victory in 2021, Noboa was able to make inroads into numerous Revolución Ciudadana strongholds, decreasing the disparity between the candidates in most coastal provinces and flipping El Oro province, one of the few jurisdictions which has been Correista in every election since 2006.\textsuperscript{6}

In an echo of women’s influence in the recent defeat of PiS in Poland,\textsuperscript{7} women voted mainly against the autocratic threat represented by Correa’s Revolución Ciudadana—hundreds of thousands more women than men voted for Noboa, and similarly, tens of thousands more men than women supported González.\textsuperscript{8} This was surprising considering González had put much more effort into courting women voters than Noboa and had heavily emphasized her achievement as the first woman to win the first round of voting.\textsuperscript{9}

In a similar vein, many of the traditionally left-wing and indigenous Amazon provinces chose to back Noboa rather than risk the return of Correa.\textsuperscript{10} Turnout in the Amazon provinces was higher than average, while turnout in the coastal and Sierra provinces remained much of the same as in earlier presidential contests or even decreased.\textsuperscript{11} Noboa’s voiced support for a referendum banning continued oil drilling in Yasuni could also explain his indigenous backing, while González was more equivocal.\textsuperscript{12}

Many analysts believe that the significant factor in Noboa’s victory may have been his ability to sway the youth vote—who make up nearly a third of the Ecuadorian electorate.\textsuperscript{13} Noboa spent much of the past month meeting with students and campaigning for his youth employment plans,

\textsuperscript{6} Ibid.,
while González paid more attention to women and families. While González based her legitimacy on experience and the past under Correa, Noboa’s campaign was primarily focused on the future. For many young voters, who don’t have as strong of memories of Correa’s time in office, this may have proved the difference. González seemed to have noticed this after the first round, when she shifted to a more future-oriented campaign strategy. By then, it was already too late.

Though González lost the election, one of the biggest takeaways for Ecuadorian politics post-2023 may be the resiliency of Revolución Ciudadana’s relevance with Correa in exile. While early polling after the first round of presidential voting had suggested Noboa would quickly sweep a second round with a 10-to-12-point lead, the reality was a far narrower contest with an assured Noboa victory coming only after 90 percent of the vote had been counted. For the most part, the party maintained its dominance in its coastal heartlands. It won far and away the most seats in the newly elected legislature—with at least 50 seats compared to Noboa’s Acción Democrática Nacional (ADN)’s 13 seats. All this, while exit polls showed that fewer Ecuadorians than at any other time since Correa first took office nearly two decades ago identified either as Correista or anti-Correista. Such phenomenon is perhaps the beginning of a paradigm shift in Ecuadorian politics.

15 Ibid.
Key Factors That Influenced Voter’s Decisions

The Ecuadorian election was heavily influenced by significant issues and concerns such as crime, the state of the economy, and political corruption. The candidates’ stances on security and the economy were crucial to their electoral success. Voters sought solutions to these urgent problems and assessed the candidates' proposed strategies for tackling them. The election outcome signifies a change in the electorate's preferences and underscores the divergent opinions within the Ecuadorian population.

The emergence of Daniel Noboa as the youngest presidential candidate in Ecuador's history drew considerable attention from voters. His ascent as a formidable contender for the presidency can be attributed to his impressive performance in the presidential debate on August 13, as well as his grassroots strategy that resonates with families, young individuals, entrepreneurs, business owners, and investors. Noboa's campaign has capitalized on his family's political background, leveraging the campaign and voter targeting expertise acquired from his father's past presidential campaigns. Noboa's vision for the country is progressive and focuses on three main areas: addressing the security crisis, creating employment opportunities for the youth, and improving access to healthcare.

His proposed approach to addressing the security issue focuses on enhancing intelligence capabilities, such as drones and advanced military equipment, to combat organized crime. Additionally, he suggests creating isolated maritime maximum-security prisons and investing in police training and de-escalation. However, the most pressing issue for Noboa to tackle might be economic stability, which is likely what his electorate expects him to prioritize. In 2023, Ecuador is projected to have the fourth lowest growth rate in Latin America, following Haiti, Chile, and Peru. The country is currently facing a shortage of funds, limited reserves, and an economy that is highly dependent on external financing and investment. Noboa has a multifaceted stance on driving Ecuador's economy forward. This includes propelling the technology sector to promote employment growth, supporting the development of small and medium-sized enterprises, and modernizing minimum wage regulations.

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22 Ibid.
Just days after Noboa was elected, Ecuador’s country risk decreased from 1,839 basis points to 1,748 basis points. Experts, such as the Barclays firm in Britain, viewed Noboa's presidency as a relief, as a return to Correismo could have potentially signaled a reluctance to repay foreign debt. However, Ecuador's country risk premium remains one of the highest in the region, alongside Venezuela and Argentina. Despite this, Noboa's victory has been met with optimism and positive reception among Ecuadorian business people and entrepreneurs who see it as a step towards economic growth and development.

29 Ibid.
Impact on Relations with China and the United States

The election outcomes in Ecuador have had a significant impact on the country's international perception and relations. With Daniel Noboa assuming the presidency, it will be crucial to observe how his foreign policy approach unfolds, particularly in relation to China and the United States. China has been a key player in Ecuador's economy, with significant investments and a recently signed free trade agreement. The relationship between the two countries has drawn attention and raised concerns about China's influence in Latin America. On the other hand, the United States remains an important trade partner for Ecuador but lacks a free trade agreement or a preference program that could further boost economic ties. The election of Daniel Noboa may bring changes or adjustments to Ecuador's approach to these relationships, and it will be crucial to monitor any developments in the country's foreign policy moving forward.

China remains one of the largest investors in Ecuador. In May 2023, Ecuador and China signed a free trade agreement, strengthening their economic ties and causing frustration for the U.S., which opposes China's influence in Latin America. This agreement is expected to increase Ecuador's non-oil exports to China by USD 3 to 4 billion over the next decade. China is currently Ecuador's biggest trading partner outside of the oil industry and is a significant contributor to financing infrastructure and energy projects. The agreement also offers favorable access to Chinese markets for agricultural and agro-industrial products. However, the National Assembly of Ecuador has yet to approve the agreement due to the unavailability of a legislative plenary session to facilitate the process.

Chinese mining companies are also heavily involved in Ecuador’s commercial activities but have faced opposition and protests from local communities due to their controversial practices. These companies have been known to disrupt community unity and democratic principles, often in indigenous areas, through the use of violence, occupation, and displacement. The strong ties between the Chinese government and influential Ecuadorian individuals have enabled Chinese mining companies to exert influence over Ecuador's mining policies at the national level.

The relationship between Ecuador and the United States is an additional essential aspect of Ecuador's foreign policy to analyze. Although the U.S. is a major trade partner—with Ecuador importing USD 8.6 billion and exporting USD 9.0 billion to the U.S. in 2022—there is currently no free trade agreement or preference program in place to further strengthen economic ties between the two nations. This lack of a formal trade agreement has restricted Ecuador's access to the U.S.

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32 Ibid.,
market for its products. However, there is potential for increased trade with the United States. If a bill such as the U.S. Innovation and Development in Ecuador (IDEA) Act is approved, it could significantly benefit Ecuador's economy by providing greater access to Ecuadorian products in the U.S. market. This would stimulate economic growth and development in the country. It would also make Ecuador eligible for the Caribbean Basin Economic Recovery Act, which would lower tariffs on Ecuador's exports to the U.S. and counter Chinese influence.37

Furthermore, maintaining close ties with the United States has been seen as the most straightforward option for Ecuador, especially with the upcoming presidency of Daniel Noboa. Previous administrations, such as those of Lenín Moreno and Guillermo Lasso, have strengthened diplomatic and security relations with Washington. It is expected that Noboa's administration will continue this trend, as he is inclined towards the existing international order.38 There could have been a potential shift towards China and Russia if Luisa González had won the presidency, as seen during Correa's leadership. However, with Noboa in office, it is unlikely that there will be a significant change in Ecuador's foreign policy towards the United States.39

The relationship between Ecuador, China, and the United States is of significant importance. It will be crucial to observe how President Noboa's administration handles and advances these relationships, especially in trade and economic cooperation. As Ecuador navigates its political landscape and addresses various challenges, maintaining strong ties with the United States could be beneficial for fostering growth and development in the country.

39 Ibid.,
The most apparent political challenge facing Noboa will be the lack of time he has to achieve his goals. With less than two years until the next presidential elections, Noboa will be averse to making any risky changes to current government policies that could hamper his chances of remaining in office for another term.\(^{40}\) Even so, he takes the reins of a country in crisis—and too little change by the 2025 elections would allow Revolución Ciudadana to tie him to the ineffective Lasso regime in their inevitable future campaign against him.

Much will depend on whether Noboa can form a broader governing coalition, potentially even including some support from within Revolución Ciudadana.\(^ {41}\) His party holds only 13 seats, and even with the likely support of the next largest two parties, Construye with 28 seats and Partido Social Cristiano with 14 seats, he would fall far short of the 66 deputies necessary for a majority in the legislature.\(^ {42}\) González conceded the presidential election gracefully, promising her party’s support in addressing the crises facing Ecuadorians without backing Noboa’s more right-wing economic vision.\(^ {43}\) If this proposed partnership is a genuine reaction to the crises facing Ecuador, it is possible that a broader political unity could begin to tackle insecurity and economic problems in the country.\(^ {44}\) However, Revolución Ciudadana has historically served as an obstructionist opposition under recent presidents. Noboa’s short-term length could incentivize similar behavior to create a defensible campaigning record as an actual opposition to Noboa’s right-wing government. Even if González and her party are willing to collaborate with Noboa, such a partnership could be hampered by state investigations into corruption, which have roiled Revolución Ciudadana in recent years. Such a tradeoff could cost Noboa further legitimacy and support from Ecuador’s second-largest party, Construye.\(^ {45}\)

Suppose Noboa develops the same adversarial relationship with Revolución Ciudadana as the past two presidents. In that case, he is likely going to have a difficult time making any of his proposed changes via the legislative process. This may incentivize him to rely on executive powers as Lasso did, and his vice president has already declared that their first action will be to undertake a referendum to make rapid security and justice reforms\(^ {46}\)—a step likely to provoke the ire of the legislature. Such a decision would repeat Lasso’s overconfidence in the extent of his mandate. Like Lasso, Noboa won mainly due to a recuperation of anti-Correrista, centrist, and right-wing


forces rather than significant support for his own party, ADN, or himself. Were he to govern by decree or executive power alone, he would likely engender much the same reaction from the legislature as Lasso has, furnishing comparisons to military dictators of the country’s past and inflaming left-wing anger and polarization.

48 Ibid.,
Conclusion

The upcoming 18 months are expected to be challenging for Ecuador and its recently elected president, Daniel Noboa. As he assumes office, he faces numerous obstacles requiring careful navigation and decisive action. One of the critical challenges for him will be the need to unite a deeply divided electorate. The election results highlighted the divergent opinions within the Ecuadorian population, with Noboa securing a narrow electoral victory and lacking a clear path to legislate through the National Assembly. To govern effectively, he must find common ground and bridge the gaps between different political and societal groups. This will require skillful diplomacy and the ability to listen to and address the concerns of all Ecuadorians.

Addressing the urgent issues of crime and security, the state of the economy, and political corruption will be another critical task for Noboa's administration. These pressing problems have been significant factors influencing voter decisions and have contributed to the country's current challenges. Noboa's proposed solutions, such as enhancing security measures and driving economic growth, will be closely watched by the Ecuadorian population. They will expect tangible results and swift action in tackling these issues.

Additionally, Noboa's approach to international relations, particularly with China and the United States, will play a significant role in shaping Ecuador's future trajectory. The relationship between Ecuador and China has been characterized by significant investments and a recently signed free trade agreement. Balancing the economic benefits and potential risks associated with China's influence will be a delicate task for Noboa's administration. Similarly, maintaining close ties with the United States, a major trade partner, will be essential for fostering economic growth and development. Navigating these international relationships will require diplomatic finesse and carefully assessing Ecuador's national interests.

Without much support in the legislature, Noboa will be forced to rely on a disparate coalition of partners with vastly different visions for the country’s future, many of whom reject his economic vision. The state bureaucracy he inherits is not a more robust option for realizing his vision, as successive presidents have politicized and slashed various agencies and institutions.

In conclusion, the road ahead for Ecuador and President Daniel Noboa is filled with challenges. Uniting a divided electorate, addressing urgent issues such as crime, the economy, and corruption, and managing international relations will require strong leadership and effective governance. The following 18 months will be crucial in shaping the country's future, and the success of Noboa's administration will be measured by its ability to navigate these challenges and deliver positive outcomes for the Ecuadorian people.
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