

**Rethinking the Leaf?
Support for Marijuana Legalization in Uruguay, the United States and El Salvador**

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José Miguel Cruz, PhD
Kimberly Green Latin American and Caribbean Center,
Florida International University
Miami, Florida, United States
jomcruz@fiu.edu

Rosario Queirolo, PhD
Universidad Católica del Uruguay
Montevideo, Uruguay
rosario.queirolo@ucu.edu.uy

Maria Fernanda Boidi, PhD
Insights Research and Consulting
Montevideo, Uruguay
fboidi@insightsresearchandconsulting.com

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Abstract

What are the factors associated with approval for marijuana legalization? In the last three years, Uruguay and the states of Colorado and Washington in the U.S. have legalized the production, commercialization, and consumption of recreational marijuana. Such measures have opened a significant debate about legalization. Although the path of legalization and regulation have been different in Uruguay and the United States, these cases provide an excellent opportunity to explore the relationship between drug policy implementation and public opinion support for marijuana legalization in two very different contexts. Using data from the 2014 AmericasBarometer surveys conducted in Uruguay and the United States, this paper examines citizen views towards marijuana regulation and the political factors associated with the approval to legalization. It shows that although levels of public support on marijuana legalization are different in the United States and Uruguay, there are some similarities in the political variables related to approval of legalization of marijuana in both countries.

Introduction

Why do people support legalization of controlled substances? Why do persons who may or may not consume drugs back drug legalization measures? The recent cases of marijuana legalization in Uruguay and the several approaches to marijuana liberalization undertaken in the United States allow us to explore the conditions that are associated to the public support for drug legalization. In the United States, the move of the states of Colorado and Washington, as well as the push to relax laws on marijuana consumption and other states have created a context in which drug policy is becoming a topic of increasing political salience. In Uruguay, the swift process of total regulation led by the national government has turned this South American country in a potential model for legalization for other nations in the region.

The Uruguayan case tends to be frequently equated to that of the United States as in both cases (particularly regarding Colorado and Washington in the U.S.), legislatures are approving bills that allow the production, commercialization and consumption of cannabis (Caulkins et al. 2015; Pardo, 2014; Room, 2014). While the process in the United States is complex and multi-layered, with approaches varying from state to state, it is usually assumed that Uruguay got to legalize marijuana commercialization in the same way that the U.S. is doing, whether medical or recreational: by popular demand. Actually, nothing could be further from the truth. In Uruguay, marijuana legalization emerged as a result of a top-down process in which the President and the National Legislature agreed, with little initial support from the public, to pass the most comprehensive regulatory bill on marijuana in the Western Hemisphere and, most likely, in the world. The Uruguay's marijuana legalization law did not result from growing popular pressure

and demand, but rather from a strategy drawn in the government office (Arraras and Bello-Pardo, 2014).

In this paper, we explore the factors associated with approval for marijuana legalization. We look at the cases of Uruguay and the United States, and we add El Salvador as a contrasting case. We put special emphasis on the Uruguayan case, however, as we are interested in understanding the sources of public support, if limited, to the first national experiment of marijuana legalization. The seeming contradiction of passing marijuana legalization while having most of its citizens opposing it at the same time, makes it an interesting case for a deeper examination of the factors that can tilt the support for legalization among the public.

Marijuana legalization in Uruguay and the United States

Since 2012, the production, commercialization and consumption of marijuana has been legalized and regulated in Uruguay, as well as in the states of Colorado and Washington. These regulations represent a benchmark in the drugs' policy agenda. Prior to these recent experiences, Spain and the Netherlands attempted to regulate the marijuana market but in a partial form; Spain allowed consumers to produce and consume by organizing cannabis clubs, while the Dutch model permit the acquisition and consumption of marijuana inside coffee shops (Caulkins et al, 2012). Both of these two Europeans models give restricted permission for non-medical marijuana use, none of them regulate the whole process of production, commercialization and consumption as Washington, Colorado and Uruguay do.

However, there are important differences in the regulation process followed by each of these three cases, not only on the specific regulations adopted (Pardo 2014) but also in the policy process pursued by each of them. While in Uruguay the process could be defined as top-down; in

the United States was bottom-up. Our argument is that the way in which the marijuana regulations were developed and approved has an impact of public support. In other words, where this drug policy follows a bottom-up mechanism, popular support would be higher, as is the case for the United States. On the contrary, where the regulation was a result of a top-down process, approval would be lower.

The top-down process in Uruguay

In Uruguay, consuming marijuana is legal since 1974,¹ however the production and commercialization of marijuana was completely prohibited, which represented a loophole for the legal system (Arraras and Bello-Pardo 2014, Gariboto 2010). This ambiguity in the law was on the roots of the social and political mobilizations towards decriminalizing access to marijuana for consumers that started at the beginning of the 2000s. Jorge Batlle was the first Uruguayan President to put on the table the possibility of legalization in 2001. Later, in 2010, a group of national representatives² wrote a proposal to regulate self-cultivation of cannabis plants and the amount allowed for personal use. One prominent political leader of the group, Luis Lacalle-Pou sent to the Congress a bill proposal that was ultimately unsuccessful. Several civil society organizations also mobilized in favor of a more comprehensive legalization law (Garat 2015). However, the Law 19,172, which was approved by the Congress in 2013, was a President José Mujica's initiative.

¹ Law 14,294, Article 3 established that “The planting, growing, harvesting and marketing of any plant that can be used to extract drugs or other substances that lead to physical or psychological dependence is prohibited, except for purposes of exclusively scientific research or for the development of therapeutic products for medical use.” http://www.infodrogas.gub.uy/html/marco_legal/documentos/02-DecretoLey14294.pdf

² This group was formed by Daniel Radío (Partido Independiente), Luis Lacalle Pou (Partido Nacional), Fernando Amado (Partido Colorado), and Sebastián Sabini, Nicolás Pereyra and Nicolás Núñez (Frente Amplio):

We argue that the cannabis regulation in Uruguay through the Law 19,172 is a top-down process because President Mujica announced it as one measure of his plan named *Estrategia para la Vida y la Convivencia* (*Strategy for Life and Coexistence*).³ Therefore, the decision to regulate the production, commercialization, and consumption of marijuana was made by the president, and later modified and approved by the legislature where Frente Amplio, the party of the president, had a majority. In Uruguay, there is no consensus about the way in which the public policy regarding marijuana was developed. Although social activists and government officials consider that civil society was crucial in the development of the law (Garat 2015), there is little evidence that civil mobilization played an important role in the government's decision (Arraras and Bello-Pardo, 2014). Despite the influence that pro legalization' activists played in pushing this change of policy, it is highly doubtful that the regulation of cannabis would have been approved if it had depended on Uruguayans' votes, following the U.S. model of referendum to advance legalization.

The “kaleidoscopic” approach in the United States

The situation about attitudes and marijuana legalization is very different in the United States. For many years the U.S. has sustained a model of federal prohibition to any form of use of marijuana despite the general cultural acceptance and extensive consumption among the population. In fact, according to Allen St. Pierre (2014), director of the National Organization for the Reform of Marijuana Laws, cannabis ranks as a top-five domestic cash crop in the U.S. However, at the local level, laws that regulate—but mostly penalize—the use of marijuana are very different

³ *Estrategia para la Vida y la Convivencia*, available at: http://medios.presidencia.gub.uy/jm_portal/2012/noticias/NO_E582/Estrategia.pdf

from state to state and even from county to county. For instance, as of 2015, in New Mexico, any cultivation of marijuana is considered a felony and would carry a 9-year incarceration sentence; whereas in the neighbor state to the north, Colorado, residents can plant up to 6 plants without being considered an arrestable offense.

In Colorado, Washington, Alaska, Oregon and the District of Columbia, voters were the ones making the decision to legalize marijuana through referenda. As Pardo (2014: 728) states “the referendum-driven changes in Colorado and Washington caught many legislators and policymakers by surprise, commercialized the market, and constrained the design of future laws and regulations.” Even in 2014, observers were also surprised with the wave of support received in the polls of Alaska, Oregon, and DC. Only in Florida, legalization of medical marijuana did not pass, not because people voted against it, but because it failed to clear the 60% required for the state’s constitutional amendment (Fischer, 2014). In fact, in most of the United States, support for marijuana legalization surpasses more than 50% of the population and it reaches 70% among the group of 18 to 29 year olds (Pew Research Center, 2014)

In the states of Colorado and Washington, where referenda results have gone now into effect, laws that legalize the production and commercialization of cannabis conflict with federal laws, which remain resolutely restrictive. Yet, these states, as well as those which are in the process of implementing liberalizing laws following their voters’ decisions, had to figure out institutional mechanisms and regulations, which were subjected to debate in public hearings and assemblies (Pardo, 2014). In Washington, for instance, the state delegated the regulation process to the Washington State Liquor Control Board and this agency put together teams and expert who would draw the rules and procedures while consulting with citizens across the state (Pardo, 2014; Room, 2014).

The sources of support for marijuana legalization

What are the factors behind the support—or not—for marijuana legalization? Does the performance of the government matter? Does the government's stance on policies have any effect on how citizens would manifest support for marijuana legalization? With Resko (2014), we believe that the study of public opinion about drug policy have been noticeably absent from the research literature and it is important to study the context whereby drug policy decisions take place. The Uruguayan government passed what is considered the most ambitious marijuana regulatory bill in the world in a public opinion environment decisively against it. At the same time, the current U.S. administration “steadfastly opposes legalization of marijuana and other drugs” (Office of National Drug Control Policy, 2015) in a context in which public opinion is predominantly and increasingly in favor of legalization. Yet, the factors that lie behind the opinions of support or disagreement with the initiatives are scarcely known, even when they can help us to understand the mechanisms whereby drug policy can shape the cultural attitudes over drug use and traffic.

Data

The main source of data for this study is the 2014 AmericasBarometer survey in Uruguay, the United States and El Salvador. The AmericasBarometer is conducted by the Latin American Public Opinion Project at Vanderbilt University. It taps political opinions, as well as perceptions about security, institutions, and attitudes toward government performance. The survey is unique in its scope, nature, and commitment to the scientific method, and operates with the assumption that people's attitudes and experiences are valuable inputs for political analysis. The surveys

from which these data are drawn were conducted in Uruguay during the months of March and April of 2014, during the month of July in the United States, and during April and May in El Salvador. Questions were designed by the authors in agreement with the LAPOP leadership. In each country, stratified probabilistic national samples were designed to precisely represent the population. A total of 1,512 interviews were conducted in Uruguay using face to face interviews; while in the United States, the total interviews reached 1,500. As a way of control, we also included the question about marijuana legalization in a third country, El Salvador. This Central American nation provides an ideal contrasting case for the other two countries, given its nearly inexistent debate on drug policy. In fact, authorities of this country have not expressed any intention to modify the extant drug policy based on a prohibitionist regime, and there is no significant movement from the civil society or public opinion to advance the agenda of marijuana legalization.⁴

Measuring Support for Legalization in Uruguay and the United States

To measure support for legalization, we asked the following question in Uruguay: “Since a few weeks ago, the marijuana market in Uruguay is no longer penalized and it is regulated by the government. Do you strongly agree with this measure, agree with this measure, disagree with this measure or strongly disagree with this measure? In the United States, the wording of the question was similar but referred to the cases of Colorado and Uruguay: “Now, changing the subject, last year, the governments of two U.S. states, Colorado and Washington, legalized the production and consumption of marijuana. Would you strongly agree, agree, disagree, or strongly disagree with the legalization of the production and consumption of marijuana in all

⁴ In El Salvador, a total of 1,512 interviews were made. For more information about the methodology of the AmericasBarometer and the questionnaire used in every country in 2014, visit: <http://www.americasbarometer.org/>.

U.S. states? In El Salvador, the question was slightly modified to accommodate for the fact that no debate exists as to whether legalize marijuana or not: In December, the Uruguayan government legalized the production and consumption of marijuana in this country. Would you strongly agree, agree, disagree or strongly disagree if the Salvadoran government legalized the production and consumption of marijuana in the country?

As pointed out by several outlets, support for legalization in the United States is particularly high in comparison with Uruguay—or El Salvador for that matter (see Figure 1). Responses were recoded and categorized in two groups: those who support the measure and those who do not. More than 51% of the U.S. population favored the legalization of marijuana following the experiences of Colorado and Washington. This results confirms the findings of other studies pointing out the apparent growingly popularity of policy change in the U.S. In Uruguay, conversely, support for legalization reached only one-third of the population, even when this survey was conducted some months after the approval of the bill. In El Salvador, a country whose governments have consistently opposed any movement toward legalization or decriminalization of marijuana, the results showed poor support (less than 10%) for legalization “à la Uruguay.”

[FIGURE 1 ABOUT HERE]

To determine the factors associated with support for legalization in these three nations, we ran a logistic regressions for each of the countries tested. Given the importance of the political variables surrounding the policy making process in the United States and Uruguay, we not only included the socio-demographic variables usually linked to support for marijuana legalization, but we also added variables that tapped government performance, political views,

and other variables related to the specific context in which the debate on legalization has taken place. For instance, we included variables of perceptions of insecurity and crime victimization because in Uruguay the government of Jose Mujica framed the draft bill as part of the strategy to reduce crime in the country. When possible, we also included variables referring to previous personal or family and friends' experiences with marijuana use.⁵

The results show interesting differences in the way support for marijuana legalization is articulated in terms of the basic socio-demographic variables. Only in El Salvador, for instance, being a female yields a significant lower support for policies legalizing marijuana than being a male; in Uruguay and the United States, gender identity does not convey significant differences in the support for drug policy change. In Uruguay and El Salvador, years of education are significantly associated with acceptance toward marijuana legalization. The implication seems to be clear: the more educated people are, the more they are willing to support legalization, at least in the two Latin American countries examined here. In the U.S., this relationship runs in the opposite direction, although it is not statistically significant. The variable of family income suggest the same direction of relationships in the countries studied here, but without statistical significance in any of the cases.

[TABLE 1 ABOUT HERE]

However, in the three countries, previous personal experiences with marijuana yield a significant and substantive support for marijuana legalization. The relationship is especially strong in the United States, where having tried marijuana increases the odds of backing

⁵ See table in the appendix for a description of the questions utilized to tap variables and their treatment in the statistical analysis.

legalization by 1.443, in comparison with odds of 1.155 and 1.091 in Uruguay and El Salvador respectively. In Uruguay, the likelihood of supporting the drug's legalization also increases with the presence of relatives and close friends who consume marijuana.⁶ These results suggest the effect of substance use in the broader public support toward its legalization. People who have used marijuana and who are closely related to others who may have used it are more interested in lifting its prohibition than the rest of the population. Thus, consumption ends up being an important broker of marijuana legalization and regulation. In fact, according to the surveys' results, marijuana is reportedly more used in the United States (57.9%) than in Uruguay (22.1%) and the El Salvador (11%). Interestingly, these data also indicate that in the U.S. and El Salvador the share of population who report the use of marijuana at least once in their lifetime is slightly higher than the percentage of people who support its legalization. In Uruguay, conversely, the percentage of people who admitted having tried marijuana is significantly less than those who are willing to endorse its regulation.

There are two ways of interpreting the disparity of these results between consumption and support for legalization. The first one is that these findings suggest underreporting in the use of marijuana in Uruguay. The implication being that people who have tried marijuana would be significantly higher than those who are willing to admit it to an interviewer. However, these findings roughly match the results from another source, the 2012 national household survey on drug consumption in Uruguay, conducted by the Uruguayan drug observatory (Observatorio Nacional de Drogas, 2012). According to the survey, 20% of Uruguayans had consumed marijuana at least once in their lives. Hence, it is plausible that the results of AmericasBarometer in Uruguay 2014 are close to what can be estimated using household surveys. The second

⁶ Unfortunately, the question about marijuana consumption by relatives and close friends could not be included in the surveys of the United States and El Salvador.

explanation suggests that the process of enacting a bill regulating the marijuana markets has created spaces of endorsement that go beyond the limited circles in which the drug is utilized. The public debate about marijuana legalization would have boosted a favorable view of legalization among the population who have not had contact with the substance in the past. However, since we do not have available prior measurements about attitudes on marijuana legalization in Uruguay, we can only speculate about the reasons why support for regulation is significantly above the seeming baseline of the drug's life prevalence. Thus, this is an area that needs further exploration in future research to understand the ensuing impact of legalization.

But going back to the results of the logistic regressions, the variable of crime victimization, which was measured as the individual report of having been victim of a crime in the last 12 months, did not show a significant relationship with the endorsement of legalization policy in any of the tested countries. Still, perceptions of insecurity did return a statistically significant association with the attitudes toward legalization in Uruguay and in El Salvador, although in different directions. In Uruguay, people who feel more insecure due to crime are more likely to endorse marijuana regulation than those who feel safe. In El Salvador, contrariwise, citizens who feel less insecure are more likely to endorse the legalization of the drug. These findings would suggest that Uruguayans are buying the government's narrative about the reasons behind the enactment of the marijuana legalization bill. Support for regulation is coming precisely from residents who feel more threatened by crime as they perhaps would expect that legal control over the substance will contribute to reduce criminal violence. In fact, the Uruguayan survey, which incorporated more questions about attitudes toward the law, shows that nearly 43% of those who supported regulation believe that the bill will have a positive effect of public security, as opposed to 8% people who did not approve the marijuana regulation.

Yet, other than the variable about prior experience with marijuana, the most important factors in explaining the approval of marijuana legalization are of political nature, especially in Uruguay and the United States, countries in which drug policy are now being more broadly debated. While support for the political system did not turn out to be significantly associated with positive opinions toward legalization in any of the countries tested,⁷ approval for the president's performance came out strongly related to the endorsement of marijuana legalization in Uruguay and the U.S.⁸ The more people approve the performance of the president, the more endorsement they show toward marijuana regulation or legalization. In Uruguay, the followers of president Mujica showed an extraordinary level of support for marijuana regulation, much higher than the followers of president Obama did in the U.S. This is to be expected. As we have seen above, the initiative of marijuana regulation in Uruguay came primarily from the office of the president, as part of a national plan to tackle the problem of insecurity. In the U.S., on the other hand, initiatives for legalization are sprouting from states' referenda, even when the White House has signaled opposition to marijuana legalization. Yet, the fact that the current federal administration has pledged not to enforce provisions of the federal law in states that are passing legalization bills places Obama in the odd position of appearing as backing some degree of marijuana liberalization (Chokshi, 2015; Sullum, 2015). In any case, these findings attest to the importance of political support in the creation of sponsorship toward drug policy. For Uruguayans, approval of the president's job emerges as the most important factor explaining the support for regulation in Uruguay.

⁷ Support for the system is a composite indicator of five different items in the AmericasBarometer. These items tap the levels of public trust in the diffuse institutions of the regime. See the appendix for a detail account of the questions that form the variable of support for the system.

⁸ Approval for the president's job performance was measured using the following question in all countries: "Speaking in general of the current administration, how would you rate the job performance of President [name current president]: very good, good, neither good nor bad (fair), bad or very bad?"

Moreover, political tolerance is clearly and significantly linked to public endorsement of marijuana legalization in all three countries.⁹ It means that people with high levels of tolerance has greater odds to view legalization positively than people with scant tolerance attitudes. Again, political variables seem to play an important role in explaining the views of legalization. This relevance comes clearer when looking at the political ideology of the respondents.¹⁰ The findings show people who self-identify themselves with the political left (liberals in the case of the United States) have an increased likelihood of supporting marijuana regulation in Uruguay and marijuana legalization in the United States. In both countries, especially in Uruguay, it seems as though citizens with left-of-center political views embrace legalization more enthusiastically than people in the center. In fact, Uruguayans are sharply divided along ideological lines over the initiative of marijuana regulation: people who identify with the political right tend to show more opposition to legalization than citizens in the center of the political spectrum. This association does not occur in the United States, where, according to the results, conservatives do not differentiate from the residents in the ideological center. In other words, in the United States, being a liberal increases the odds of supporting marijuana legalization; but being a conservative not necessarily decreases the endorsement to marijuana legalization. Conversely, in Uruguay, the attitudes toward marijuana regulation are deeply marked by the ideological stance of the citizen. Even if we take into consideration that the government that passed the regulation bill sat on the

⁹ Our indicator of political tolerance was created from four questions tapping tolerance to opinions that criticize the government. In all three countries, Cronbach's alphas indicated high levels of reliability (> 0.80).

¹⁰ Political ideology is understood here in the classic left-right dimension and was measured using the following question: "On this card there is a 1-10 scale that goes from left to right. One means left and 10 means right. Nowadays, when we speak of political leanings, we talk of those on the left and those on the right. In other words, some people sympathize more with the left and others with the right. According to the meaning that the terms "left" and "right" have for you, and thinking of your own political leanings, where would you place yourself on this scale?" Then, two dummy variables were created: people who placed themselves between 1 and 4 in the scale were grouped as "left", whereas those who indicated that their political leanings were between 7 and 10 were grouped as "right."

left side of the ideological spectrum and that only a third of Uruguayans endorsed the new drug bill, it is clear that their stance toward marijuana is linked to their political views. However, such alignment is not universal. In El Salvador, where support for cannabis legalization is very low, political ideology seems to make no difference at all, as well as most of the political variables included in the analysis.

Conclusions

The results of this paper point out to the role of political variables in the public approval of marijuana legalization, especially in Uruguay. In this country, support for marijuana regulation seems to be related to a number of factors that range from demographics to the citizens' political and ideological stances. The findings show that approval for the new regulation of cannabis is closely related to higher education, previous personal experimentation with marijuana and a history of marijuana consumption among relatives and close friends. Other related variables include heightened perceptions of insecurity, which seems to endorse the purpose outlined by the government with the policy change. Yet, the most important factors that seem to predict positive attitudes toward marijuana regulation are political. As shown throughout the paper, approval for cannabis regulation is widespread among President Mujica's supporters and among people who position themselves in the political left within the ideological spectrum in Uruguay.

The U.S. and Salvadoran cases provide useful contrasts to the Uruguayan model. In the U.S. relatively widespread support for marijuana legalization is not as strongly associated with political variables as in Uruguay; and in El Salvador, where support for legalization is practically inexistent, only political tolerance seems to increase the odds of public opinion approval.

These are all preliminary findings, but they provide some clues for the interpretation of the seemingly successful history of drug policy change in Uruguay. These results suggest that, despite the unfavorable environment to legalization in Uruguay, the government of this country was able to advance and pass a bill based on a political climate that view the government and its president in very positive terms.

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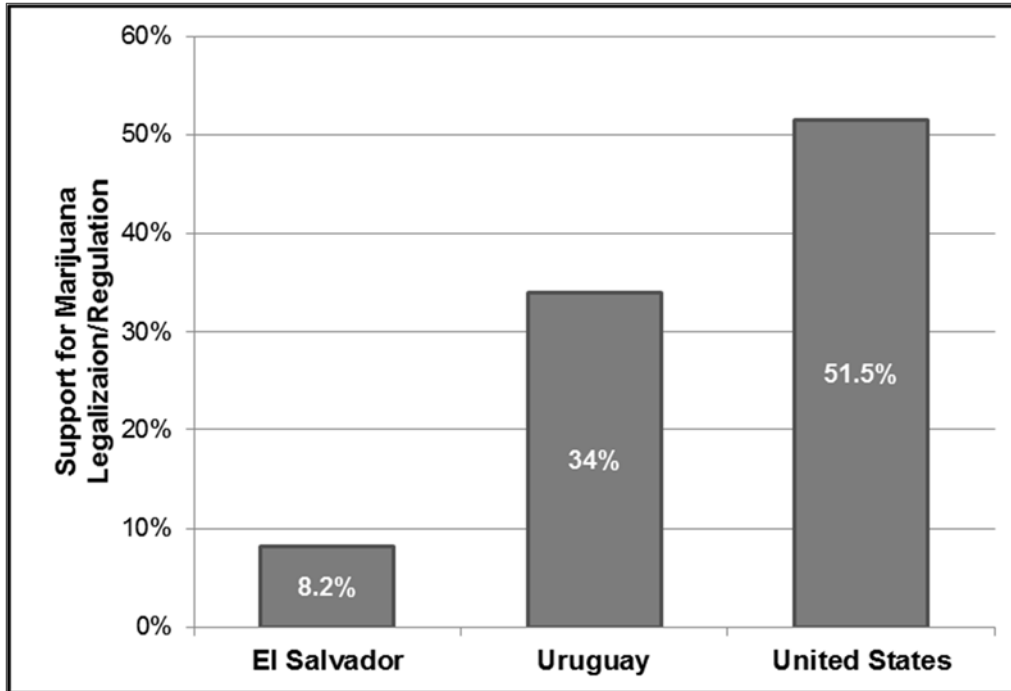


Figure 1. Support for Legalization in three countries of the Americas.
Source: AmericasBarometer 2014.

Table 1. Factors associated to support for marijuana legalization/regulation in Uruguay, the United States, and El Salvador

	Uruguay	United States	El Salvador
Female	0.037 (0.14)	-0.193 (0.18)	-0.683* (0.24)
Age	-0.001 (0.004)	-0.009 (0.005)	-0.005 (0.008)
Years of education	0.097** (0.02)	-0.039 (0.06)	0.087* (0.03)
Family income	0.027 (0.02)	-0.026 (0.02)	0.043 (0.03)
Have tried marijuana?	1.155** (0.18)	1.443** (0.18)	1.091** (0.26)
Family or friends consume marijuana	0.3303** (0.088)		
Crime victimization	-0.0005 (0.001)	0.0005 (0.002)	0.004 (0.002)
Perceptions of insecurity	0.006* (0.002)	0.0005 (0.003)	-0.008* (0.003)
Support for the political system	0.006 (0.003)	-0.004 (0.004)	-0.006 (0.005)
Political tolerance	0.005* (0.002)	0.018** (0.004)	0.012* (0.004)
President's approval	0.0337** (0.004)	0.015** (0.003)	0.009 (0.005)
Left ideology self-placement	0.006** (0.001)	0.007* (0.002)	-0.001 (0.002)
Right ideology self-placement	-0.005* (0.002)	-0.003 (0.002)	0.0007 (0.002)
Constant	-5.777** (0.50)	-1.725** (0.538)	4.018** (0.76)
Pseudo R ²	0.272	0.243	0.142
N observations	1,250	718	1,183

**p<0.05

*p<0.001

Appendix

Table. Variables used in the analyses

Personal variables	Items in AmericasBarometer 2014	Values
Support for marijuana legalization	Uruguay. For weeks, the marijuana market has been decriminalized and regulated by the government. Do you strongly agree, agree, disagree or strongly disagree with this measure?	Recoded to: Disagree or strongly disagree=0 Agree or strongly agree=1
	United States. Now, changing the subject, last year, the governments of two U.S. states, Colorado and Washington, legalized the production and consumption of marijuana. Would you strongly agree, agree, disagree, or strongly disagree with the legalization of the production and consumption of marijuana in all U.S. states?	
	El Salvador. Turning now to another topic, last December, the Uruguayan government legalized production and consumption of marijuana there. Would you strongly agree, agree, disagree or strongly disagree if the Salvadoran government legalized the production and consumption of marijuana in the country?	
Have tried marijuana?	Some people use or have at least experimented with marijuana. Have you ever tried marijuana? (1) No, never; (2) Yes, one time; (3) Yes, two or more times	No=0 Yes=1
Family or friends consume marijuana	Do you have friends or relatives who consume marijuana?	
Crime victimization	Have you been a victim of any type of crime in the past 12 months? That is, have you been a victim of robbery, burglary, assault, fraud, blackmail, extortion, violent threats or any other type of crime in the past 12 months?	No=0 Yes=100
Perception of insecurity	Speaking of the neighborhood where you live and thinking of the possibility of being assaulted or robbed, do you feel very safe, somewhat safe, somewhat unsafe or very unsafe?	Very safe=0 Safe=33 Unsafe=66 Very unsafe=100
Support for the political system	To what extent do you think the courts in (country) guarantee a fair trial? (Read: If you think the courts do not ensure justice at all, choose number 1; if you think the courts ensure justice a lot, choose number 7 or choose a point in between the two.)	Average score scale 0-100
	To what extent do you respect the political institutions of (country)?	
	To what extent do you think that citizens' basic rights are well protected by the political system of (country)?	
	To what extent do you feel proud of living under the political system of (country)?	
	To what extent do you think that one should support the political system of (country)?	
Political tolerance	There are people who only say bad things about the American form of government, not just the incumbent government but the system of government. How strongly do you approve or disapprove of such people's right to vote?	Average score scale 0-100
	How strongly do you approve or disapprove that such people be allowed to conduct peaceful demonstrations in order to	

	express their views?	
	Still thinking of those who only say bad things about the American form of government, how strongly do you approve or disapprove of such people being permitted to run for public office?	
	How strongly do you approve or disapprove of such people appearing on television to make speeches?	
President's job approval	Speaking in general of the current administration, how would you rate the job performance of President [name current president]: very good, good, neither good nor bad (fair), bad, or very bad	Average score scale 0-100
Political ideology: Dummy for Left Dummy for Right	<p>United States. Now, to change the subject.... The following scale goes from liberal to conservative. One means liberal and 10 means conservative. Nowadays, when we speak of political leanings, we talk of liberals and conservatives. In other words, some people sympathize more with the liberals and others with the conservatives. According to the meaning that the terms "liberals" and "conservatives" have for you, and thinking of your own political leanings, where would you place yourself on this scale?</p> <p>Uruguay and El Salvador. "On this card there is a 1-10 scale that goes from left to right. One means left and 10 means right. Nowadays, when we speak of political leanings, we talk of those on the left and those on the right. In other words, some people sympathize more with the left and others with the right. According to the meaning that the terms "left" and "right" have for you, and thinking of your own political leanings, where would you place yourself on this scale?"</p>	<p>Left =100 No left =0</p> <p>Right=100 No right= 0</p>