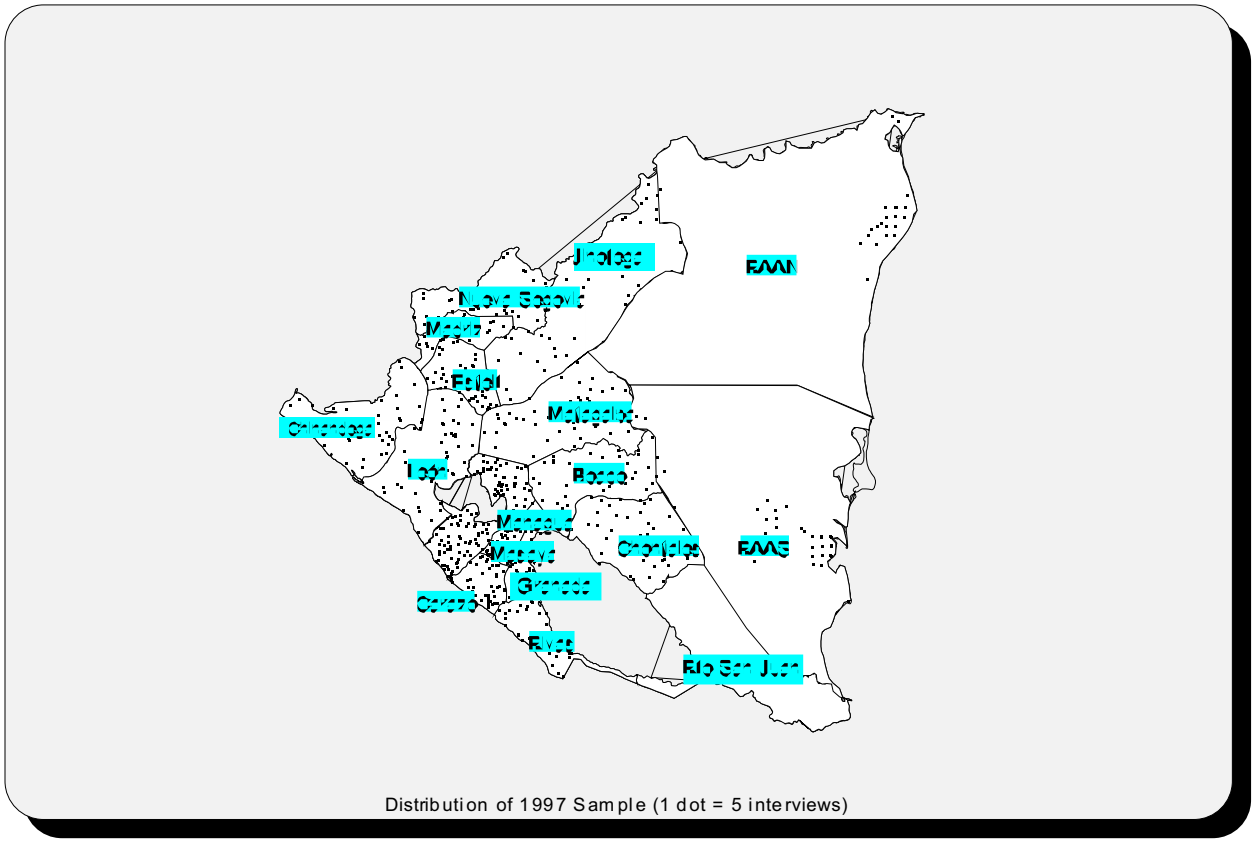
Latin American Public Opinion Project

LAPOP

Proyecto de Opinión Pública de América Latina

Democratic Values in Nicaragua: 1991-1997



by:

Mitchell A. Seligson

Latin American Public Opinion Project
Department of Political Science
Voice: (412) 648-7268

University of Pittsburgh
Pittsburgh, PA 15260
Fax: (412) 648-7277

e-mail: Seligson+@pitt.edu

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Mitchell A. Seligson is currently Centennial Professor of Political Science and Fellow of The Center for the Americas, Vanderbilt University. He is Founder and Director of the Latin American Public Opinion Project, LAPOP. Contact: m.seligson@vanderbilt.edu, Department of Political Science Vanderbilt University, Box 1817 Station B, Nashville, TN 37325, voice: (615) 322-6328; fax (615) 343-6003.

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Acknowledgments

Studies of public opinion require a team effort, and this one, which involved interviews with 3,600 Nicaraguans, required a larger effort than most studies. I would like to acknowledge my deep debt of gratitude to Professor Andrew Stein of Tennessee Technological University for conducting the pre-tests, advising on the questionnaire, training of the interviewers, and reading and commenting on the draft of this entire report. Dr. Stein has been a student of Nicaragua for nearly ten years, and has been responsible for several prior surveys of democratic values there, including the 1991 survey utilized in this report. Borge y Asociados of San José, Costa Rica was responsible for field work and data entry. I would like to especially thank Victor Borge, San José and Marco Lacayo, Managua, for the exceptional care and professionalism with which they went about their tasks. Gary Russell and Alexi Panehal at USAID did many things, both large and small, to pave the way for the study. At the University of Pittsburgh José René Argueta and Kattie Good, my graduate and undergraduate assistants respectively, helped with numerous technical details of this study. Michelle Pupich, executive administrator of the Department of Political Science at the University of Pittsburgh, efficiently handled all of the administrative details of the project. Most of all, I would like to thank the thousands of Nicaraguans who took time away from their busy lives to answer our questions so that we could better understand their views on democracy.

Executive Summary

This report is a sequel to an earlier study on the democratic attitudes and behaviors of Nicaraguans. It analyzes the results of an August, 1997 survey conducted in Nicaragua under the auspices of the University of Pittsburgh Latin American Public Opinion Project, with funding from the United States Agency for International Development. The prior study, in turn, was based upon surveys conducted in Nicaragua in 1991, 1995 and 1996.[1] In this report, the focus will be on the 1997 survey of public opinion, but where appropriate, comparisons will also be made to the earlier surveys.

Sample. In July and August, 1997, a total of 3,600 Nicaraguans were interviewed in their homes or place of work. Of these 3,600 interviews, 2,500 formed a national sample representative of each department in the country with the exception of Río San Juan, which was excluded for cost considerations. Río San Juan contains 1.6% of the population of the country, and outside of a small urban concentration, the population is very widely scattered, and thus costly to interview. The exclusion of Río San Juan means that the findings presented here actually refer to the 98.4% of the population of the country. For the overall sample, we can speak about the results with considerable accuracy: 95% of the time, the results of our sample will be no more than approximately 2% higher or lower of the views of the entire voting-age Nicaraguan population. The sample design was based on the frame provided by the revised definitive 1995 population census. At the level of the Department, samples of 150 interviews were conducted covering both urban and rural areas, but the level of accuracy is much lower than the national sample, about ± 8%. Thus, while we can feel quite confident in the accuracy of our results at the national level, at the departmental level the possible range of error due to the size of the sample is wider, but sufficiently narrow so as to be able to say meaningful things about the individual departments when wide variation is found among them. Subtle variation in opinion will not be detected by our survey at the Departmental level, except for Managua in which 300 interviews were conducted and where our results are accurate at approximately the ±5.6% level as a result of the larger sample size. The costs of providing a random sample of the Atlantic region are extraordinarily high, so it was decided to represent it by concentrating the survey in three main population centers, Rama, Bluefields, and Puerto Cabezas and their surrounding neighborhoods. A total of 250 interviews were conducted in the Atlantic region, 100 in RAAN and 150 in RAAS. While the sample design had as a target

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[1] See Mitchell A. Seligson and Ricardo Córdova Macías, "Nicaragua 1991-1995: Una Cultura Política en Transición," and Ricardo Córdova Macías and Mitchell A. Seligson, "El Desencanto con la Política y los Partidos en Nicaragua," in *Cultura Política y Transición Democrática en Nicaragua*, ed. Ricardo Córdova Macías and Gunther Maihold (Managua: Fundación Ebert, Fundación Guillermo Ungo, Instituto de Estudios Nicaragüenses y Centro de Análisis Socio-Cultural, 1996).

150 interviews per department, for the overall results to faithfully represent the proportion of the population contained in each department, it is necessary to weight the sample. Thus, the results presented in this paper reflect the *weighted* sample, accurately portraying a picture of Nicaragua. The questionnaire utilized drew heavily on the earlier surveys of Nicaragua, but also included some new items to explore themes not previously covered.

In addition to the national sample, which allows comparison of Nicaraguans by gender, education, socio-economic status, department of residence, etc., there is particular interest in what will be called here "specialized groups." A total of 1,100 interviews were conducted among these groups. These groups are divided into two main categories. First, there are groups who were beneficiaries of USAID-supported civic education programs. Second, there are specialized groups of citizens whose values are important for the growth of democracy in Nicaragua, but whose numbers in a national sample would be too small to make valid generalizations possible. As a result, special samples of high school teachers (both public and private), judges, soldier and police officers were collected. The study refers to these special groups and compares their opinions to the national population.

System Support and Political Tolerance. As noted in the report based on the 1995 data, Nicaraguan system support suffered a dramatic decline between 1991 and 1995. The 1991 sample, however, focused largely on Managua, so the initial comparisons in this report are made for Managua alone. Apparently for most Nicaraguan political institutions, 1995 was the low-point, and by 1997 confidence has increased in six of the nine measures. We should not exaggerate those increases, since they are not large and no institution has returned to the levels of 1991, but the overall trend seems to be clear. Furthermore, one key democratic institution, the courts, experienced the largest increase of any of the nine items. One troubling finding is that even though the general trend is positive, declines in support are still being experienced for the electoral tribunal and the legislature.

A very different and much more positive picture emerges when we are able to look at the entire country. While it is true that "Rome was not built in a day," it is also true that "Rome is not Italy." Apparently, Managua is not Nicaragua. Six of the nine measures increased, all of them to a statistically significant degree. The increase in support for the courts is again the most dramatic, increasing from 34 to 48, almost moving into the positive end of the continuum. A related measure, the protection of basic rights, also increased substantially and significantly. The overall item on "support" has moved into positive territory. Whereas the Managua comparison showed continued erosion in support for the legislature, the national sample shows no such decline in the period 1995-97, although there is no notable increase either. The one institution that seems to be losing the trust of Nicaraguans, both Managua-based and in the country as a whole, is the Electoral Tribunal.

As shown in Figure A.1, of the twelve institutions included in both the 1995 and 1997 surveys, eight increased, two remained approximately the same, and only two declined. Of the two that declined, one was the general question about "institutions," but this variable is already very high compared to the others. On the other hand, the decline in support for the

electoral tribunal is relatively sharp and statistically significant (< .001), dropping from a score of 50, to 44. On the positive side, there are notable and statistically significant increases for journalists, the "support" item, pride, the courts, the government, the army, basic rights and parties. Since political parties have declined notably in public support in most countries in recent years, the increase here is especially significant. One should hasten to note, however, that parties remain in last place among all institutions surveyed.

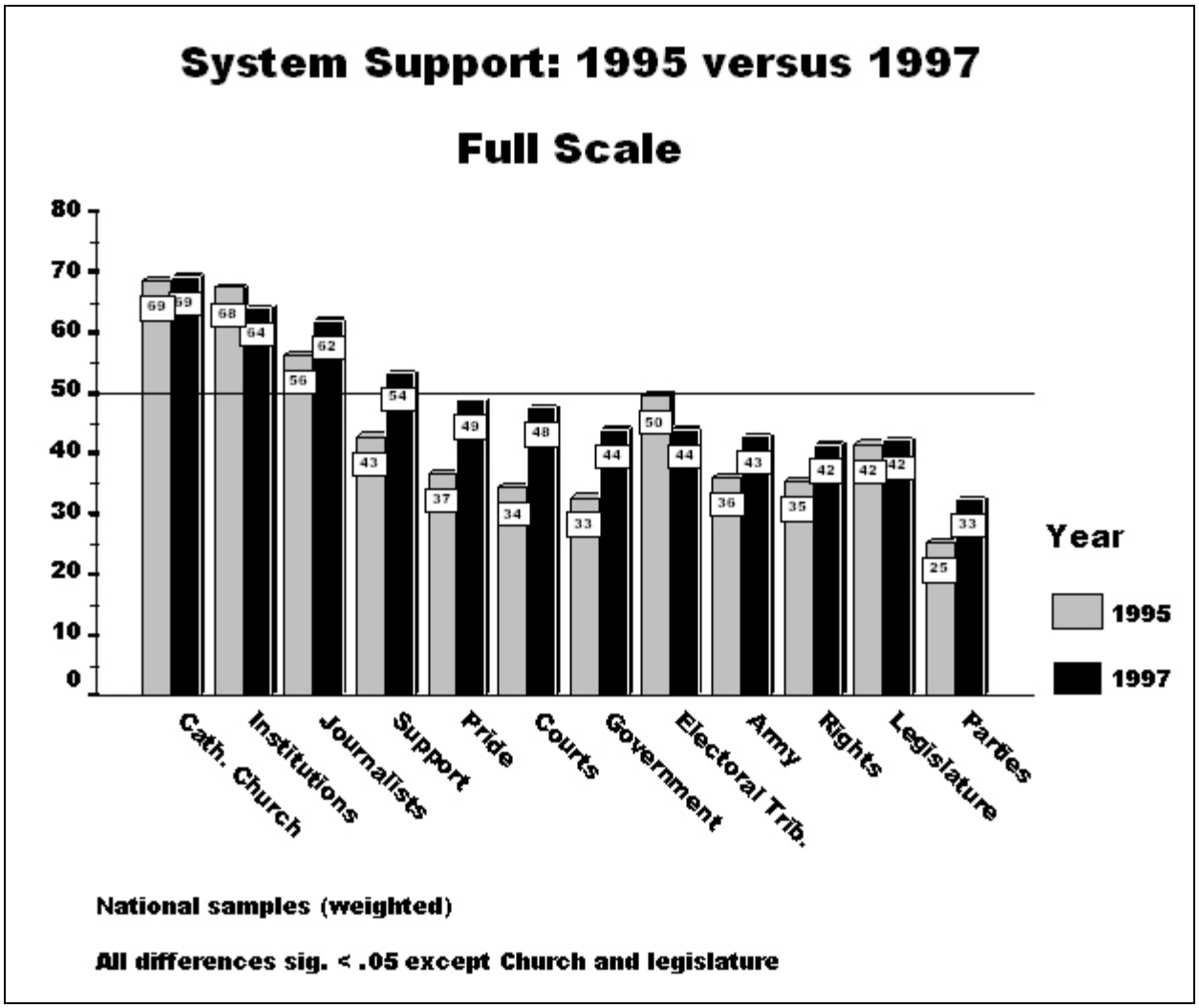

Figure A

Additional specific findings about system support from the 1997 national data set are as follows:

❂ As education increases, system support declines.

❂ Males are systematically more supportive of the system than females (indeed most of the differences are statistically significant). The gender gap in absolute terms is not particularly large, however.

❂When gender is examined by level of education, females continue to have lower levels of support than males for each institution except the municipality, where the gender gap closes.

❂ System support, not surprisingly is related to key political behaviors, such as the vote. In the 1996 election, most Nicaraguans voted, yet for whom they voted was linked to system support.

❂ Those who voted for Alemán, were much higher on the support measure than those who voted for Ortega. This finding is not affected by education differences (Ortega voters averaged 8.1 years versus Alemán voters averaging 7.5 years). On the other hand, this finding is, no doubt, closely related to the fact that the Sandinistas were out of power at the time of the election.

❂ Nicaraguan attitudes toward their system vary considerably by region of the country. A clear pattern emerges, with lower pride in the Managua area, and greater pride in regions further removed. Part of this difference in regions is a function of the higher level of education in the Managua area.

❂ Among the specialized groups in the survey only one, judges, stand out from the rest as having much higher levels of system support.

In terms of political tolerance, no overall trend is shown for the 1991-97 period when the sample is confined to the Managua area. Looking at the nation as a whole (see Figure A.2), however, between 1995 and 1997, support for the civil liberties of dissidents increased significantly on three of the four measures, and remained essentially the same for the fourth (the right to vote). Of equal importance is that in contrast to 1991, now all four measures of political tolerance are in the positive end of the 0-100 continuum. At the same time, one should hasten to note that the right to run for office is still not strongly supported by Nicaraguans.

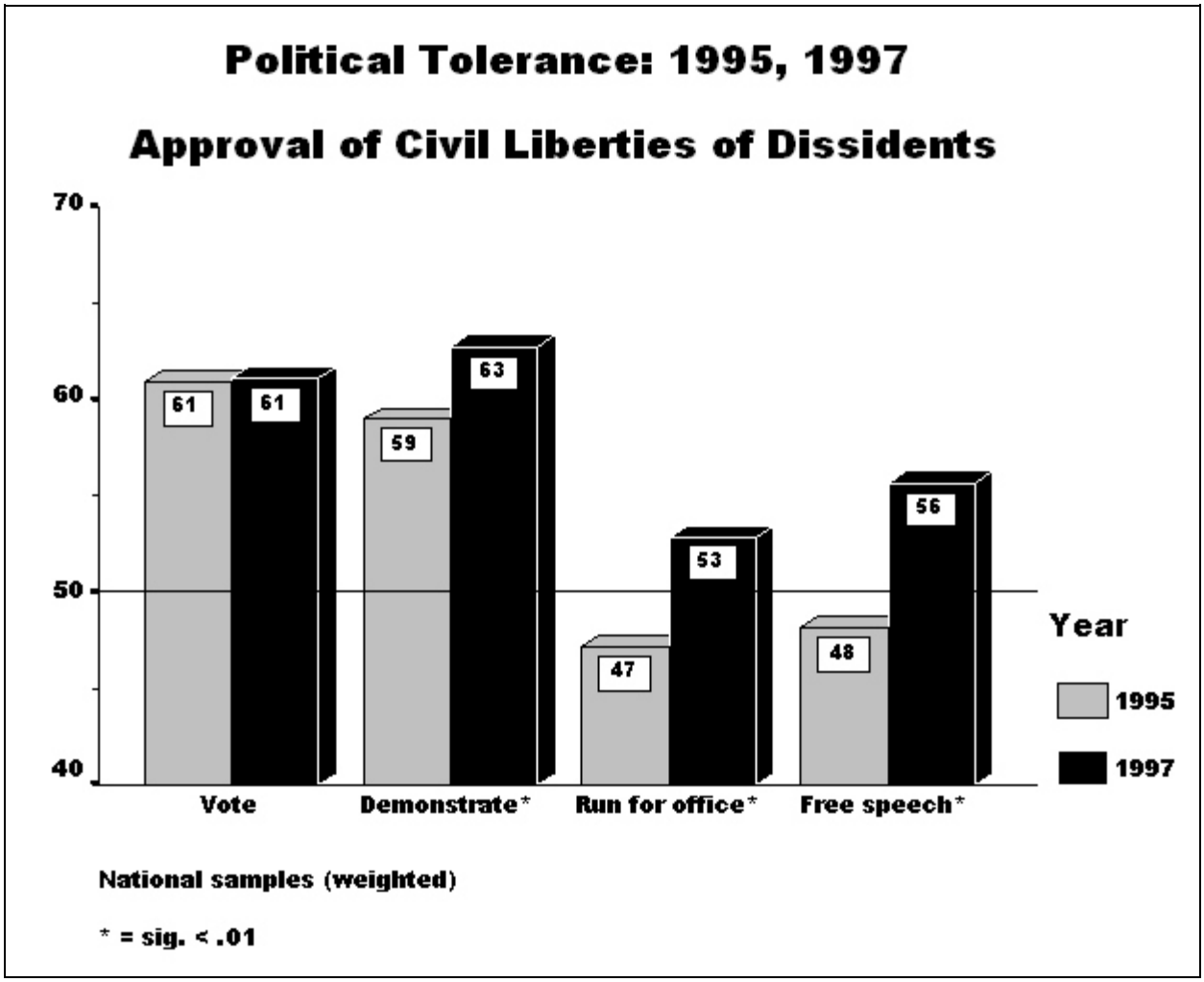

Figure A

Political tolerance in 1997 did not vary widely in Nicaragua by socio-economic and demographic characteristics. Men are more tolerant (mean of 59) than women (mean of 57), but the gap is not wide in absolute terms and is statistically insignificant. Wealth shows little relationship to tolerance, and even education is only weakly related (r = .06, sig. < .001). Each of the civil society training groups except CENDEL scores above the national average for the mass public. In addition, judges and private school teachers are well above the public.

A preference for order over liberty is widespread in Nicaragua, and while it is related closely to ideological preferences, even among the extreme left order is preferred to liberty. Figure A.3 shows the relationship between ideology, measured in the survey by the standard "left-right 10-point scale," and a question on order versus liberty. The figure makes two things very clear. First, those on the political left are much more likely to select "liberty" over "order," a finding that is entirely expected and helps validate the survey. Second, even among those

on the left, order is preferred over liberty by about two-thirds or more of the population of Nicaragua in 1997.

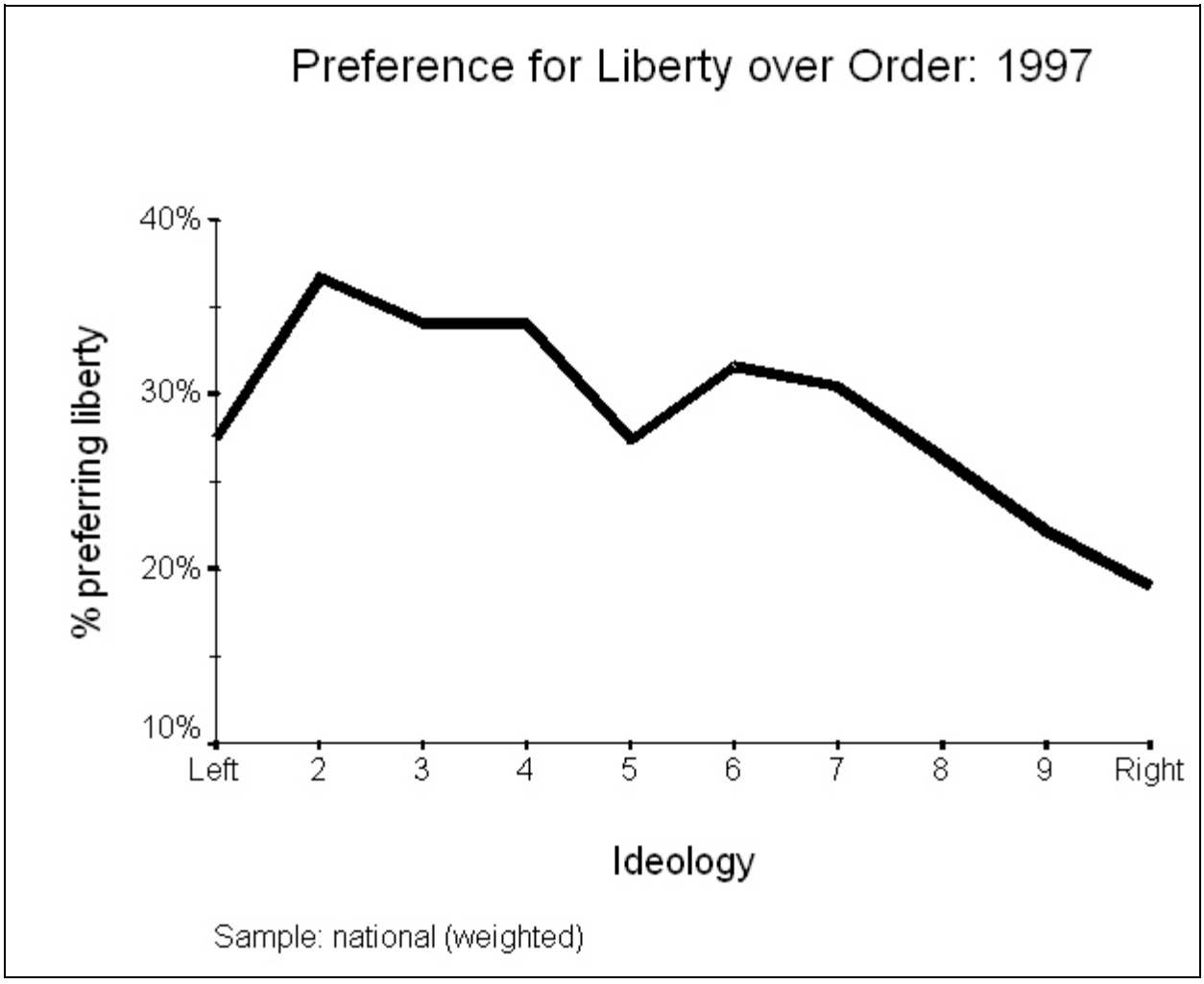

Figure A

The analysis presented above of system support and tolerance has demonstrated important changes since our first study in 1991. In prior studies emerging from the University of Pittsburgh project, the relationship between system support and tolerance has also been explored in an effort to develop a predictive model of democratic stability. Political systems with individuals who predominantly have high system support and high political tolerance are those we would predict would be most stable. This prediction is based on the logic that high support is needed in non-coercive environments for the system to be stable. If citizens do not support their political system, and they have the freedom to act, system change would appear

to be the eventual inevitable outcome. Systems that are stable, however, will not necessarily be democratic unless minority rights are assured.

It is clear from the 1995-1997 comparisons that for Nicaragua as a whole (see Table A.1), the stable democracy cell increased considerably, a result of the already noted increases in system support and tolerance. Looking at the other extreme of the model, the "democratic breakdown" cell, we also see change, but not as dramatic. In 1995, this cell accounted for 28 per cent of the population, but by 1997 it had dropped to 22 per cent. It is also of note that the stable democracy cell in 1995 was far smaller than the democratic breakdown cell (19 per cent versus 28 per cent), whereas in 1997, the stable democracy cell was the largest of the four cells.

Table A
Empirical Relationship Between
Tolerance and System Support
in Nicaragua 1995-1997[a]

	Tolerance			
System support	High		Low	
High	Stable Democracy		Authoritarianism	
	1995: 19%	1997: 30%	1995: 18%	1997: 23%
Low	Unstable Democracy		Democratic Breakdown	
	1995: 35%	1997: 25%	1995: 28%	1997: 22%

[a]National weighted samples for both 1995 and 1997.

Civil Society, Local Government and Democracy. Interest in increasing civil society participation has grown in recent years, largely as a result of Robert Putnam's work on Italy that shows that an active civil society has helped democracy work. Research in the U.S. has shown that when such participation increases among young people it tends to produce a life-time of increased democratic participation, including voting. Therefore, programs designed to increase civil society participation in Nicaragua might also have the same effect. The surveys for 1995 and 1997 contained a series of questions measuring participation in a wide variety of civil society organizations. Specifically, respondents were asked if they attend meetings of the following: church (or temple) committees or societies; parents' school associations; community development/improvement associations; associations of professionals, business people or producers; unions; cooperatives; or a civic association, such as a women's group, peace committee, etc.). A comparison of the national data of 1995 with 1997 reveals that for each kind of organization, a statistically significant increase in participation occurred. Figure A.4 shows the level of participation in each kind of organization, with comparisons for 1995 with 1997. By far, church and education groups are the most popular in Nicaragua, as they are throughout Central America. The only other type of organization attended by a large portion of the population are community development associations.

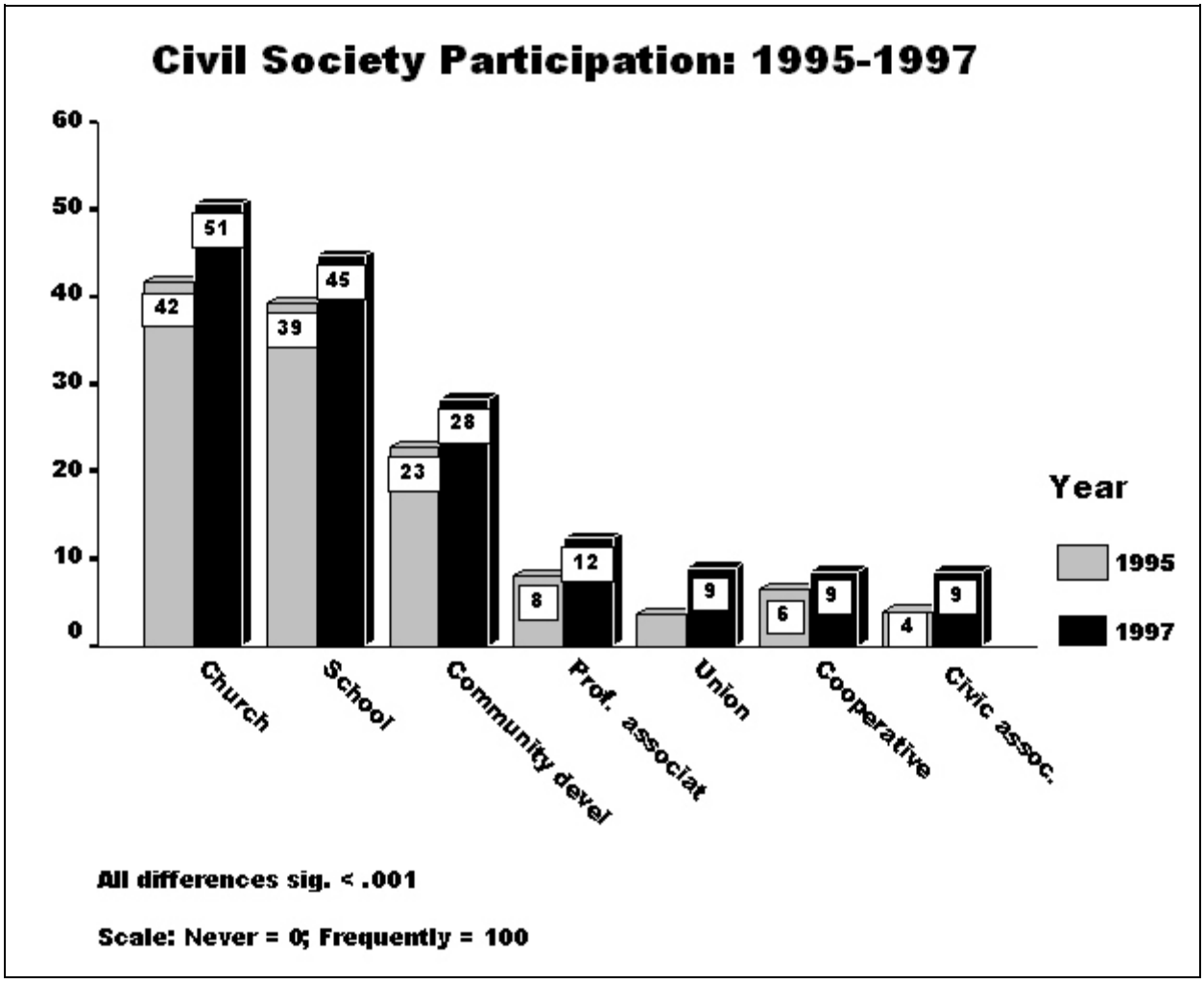

Figure A

Other findings about participation are as follows:

❂ Fewer than one out of five of Nicaraguans were not participant in <u>any</u> civil society organization, while also about one-fifth participated in three groups. Indeed, two-fifths of Nicaraguans participated in three or more civil society organizations.

❂ Males and females do not differ in their overall level of participation.

❂ Education also does not play a role in participation, but age does. Participation is relatively low among the young, but then increases and stays high throughout life.

❂ On the overall 7-item scale, urban participation averages 2.4 versus 2.2 for rural areas, a difference which is statistically significant (.03), but not large at all in absolute terms. Geographic variation by department is also not great. Participation is higher in Managua, averaging 2.5, and especially low in Chinandega (1.7), but most of the departments hover about 2.0 on the 7-point scale. Income differences, as measured by ownership of appliances and other capital goods, are also not important predictors of civil society participation.

❂ Among the civil society training groups, the respondents overwhelmingly reported that they were highly motivated to express their own point of view in the workshops they attended. For the four groups as a whole, 87.7 per cent reported being very motivated, and an additional 8.8 per cent somewhat motivated. Only 3.6 per cent of the respondents reported not being motivated to express their point of view. There was no significant difference among the four groups, so the percentage for each group is not reported here.

❂ Satisfaction with the workshops was also very high. Only 4 percent of the respondents were dissatisfied with the workshops, and 85.7 per cent were very satisfied with them. There was no significant difference among the four groups, so the individual results are not presented here.

❂ Another key finding from this examination of civil society participation by group is that teachers are the real stand-outs. Public school teachers' participation, for example, is double that of the mass public. This finding provides some very important policy guidance. Teachers have contact with the youth of Nicaragua and play a central role in socializing them. Teachers (public and private) are also the single most active civil society participants of any group we were able to study in 1997. This suggests that teachers can lead by example in encouraging more civil society participation among their students. It also suggests that if educational campaigns for civic education were undertaken in the school system, teachers would be perceived as being credible sources of information.

Local government is the institution that is most accesible to the average citizen, or at least it should be. National governments are often far away in the capital city, and most citizens have problems that deal with very local issues. Attendance at municipal meetings and demands made by citizens on their local governments are not significantly different in 1997 than they were in 1995. The positive evaluation of the services of local government (on a 5-point scale that ranges from excellent to very poor, but transformed here into 0-100) did increase significantly, but in absolute terms the change is minimal. The picture that emerges is one of stability rather than change in the 1995-1997 period. The survey also found that a significantly higher proportion of the residents of the AID project areas believe that local government has responded better to local problems as compared to the rest of the country. A majority of Nicaraguans would be willing to have municipal government assume a larger role, and if they could be assured better service, then a total of 69 per cent would support increased responsibility. Less than one-quarter would wish to have increased responsibility in the hands of central government.

It was noted above that Nicaraguans in 1997 displayed a relatively high level of system support for their municipal government. But how do system support and the detailed items in the municipal series relate? Specifically, is there evidence that general support is related to increased satisfaction with municipal services and increased satisfaction to demands made on local government? The answer is quite clearly "yes" as each of these relationships proves to be statistically significant. The more that citizens attend municipal meetings, and the more that they make demands on them, the greater the level system support for municipal government.

An even stronger relationship is found between satisfaction with local government services and system support. Indeed, this is one of the strongest relationships in the data set. Figure A.5 shows that system support increases from below 40 (on the 0-100 scale) to above 60, as satisfaction goes from low to high.

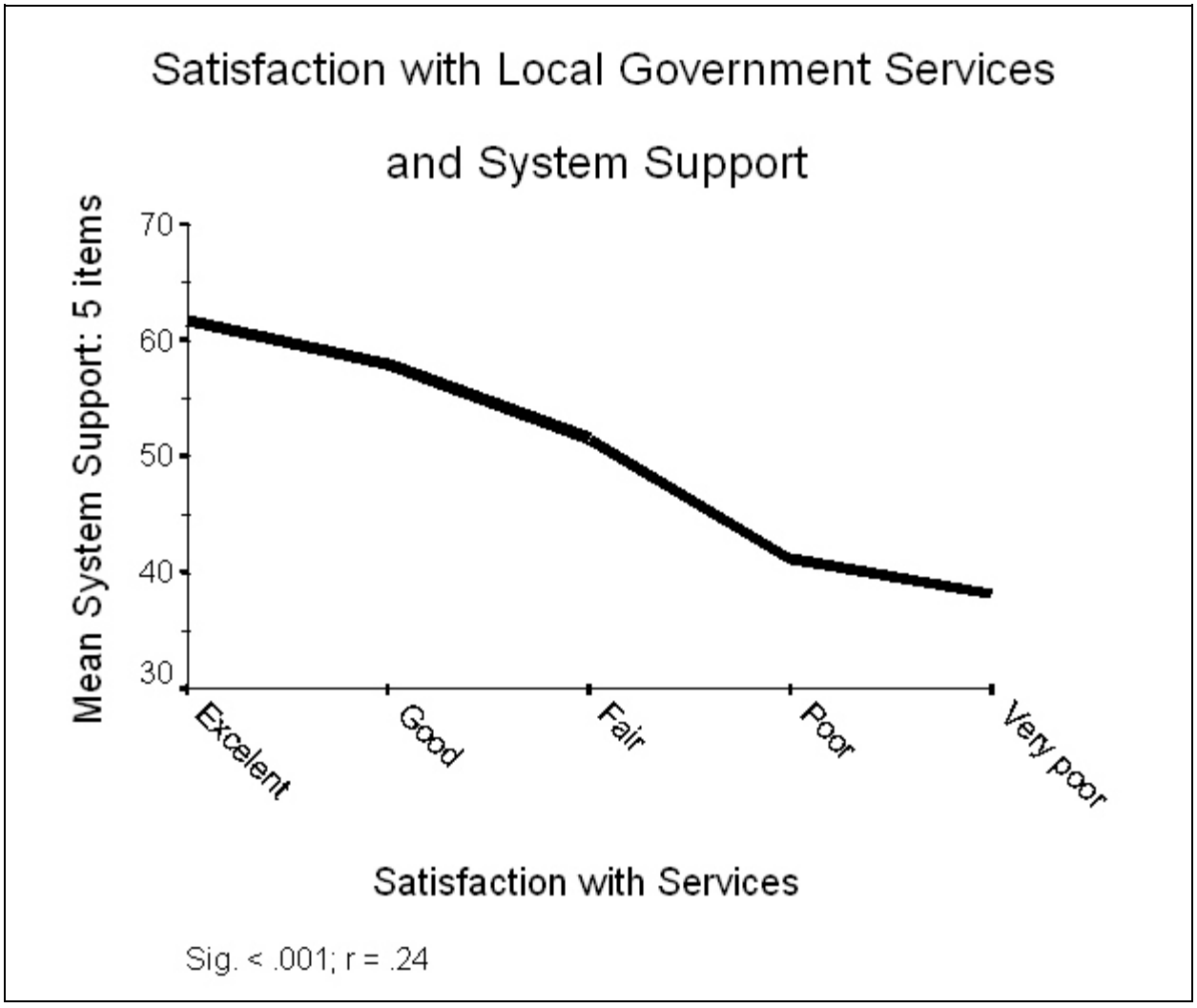

Figure A

The relationship is stronger still when we examine the treatment citizens receive from their local government and system support. Figure A.6 shows that among those who say that they were treated very poorly, system support is only about 30 on the 0-100 scale, when the national average is 51.

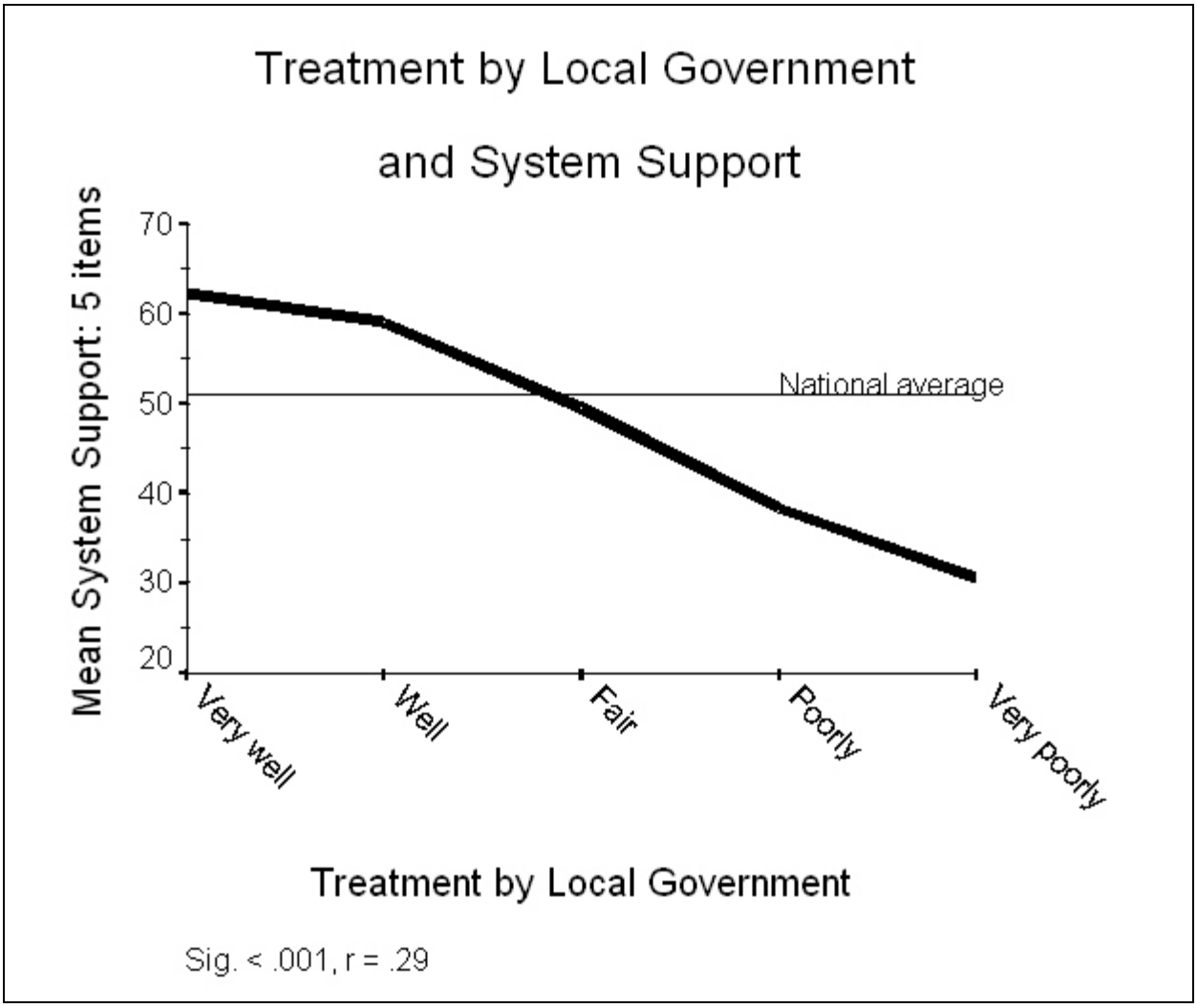

Figure A

The data set also reveals a very clear, and statistically significant relationship between civil society participation and attendance at municipal meetings. Fewer than 8 per cent of Nicaraguans who are not active in any of the civil society organizations included in a 7-item scale have attended a municipal meeting within the prior 12 months, whereas 30 per cent of citizens who participate in 5 civil society organizations have attended municipal meetings. Among those completely inactive in civil society (as measured here), fewer than 10 per cent make demands on local officials, whereas for those who attend 6 such organizations, about 30 percent make demands.

Participation in local government does not, of course, equate to satisfaction with it. Citizens who attend local government meetings and/or make demands on their local governments maybe highly dissatisfied with the way they are treated. Since local government resources are so highly limited, and many demands must be met with a negative response, citizens active in civil society might become frustrated with their local governments. Thus, participation could turn out to have a negative effect. In Nicaragua, however, this is not the case. It has already been shown that participation and demand making are linked to a more positive level of system support for municipal government. The analysis of the data shows that the greater level of municipal participation associated with civil society participation is also linked to a more positive evaluation of municipal government. Participants in the CONCIENCIA civil society training programs, participate in municipal meetings at levels nearly three times as high, and each of the civil society training groups have participation rates no less than double the rate of the public as a whole (see Figure A.7). It is not surprising that judges are active in local level government since there are numerous points of interface between the judiciary and local government regarding local ordinances. Finally, we note that teachers (especially public teachers) are far more likely than the general public to participate in municipal meetings. These findings reinforce those noted earlier about the active role of school teachers in civil society.

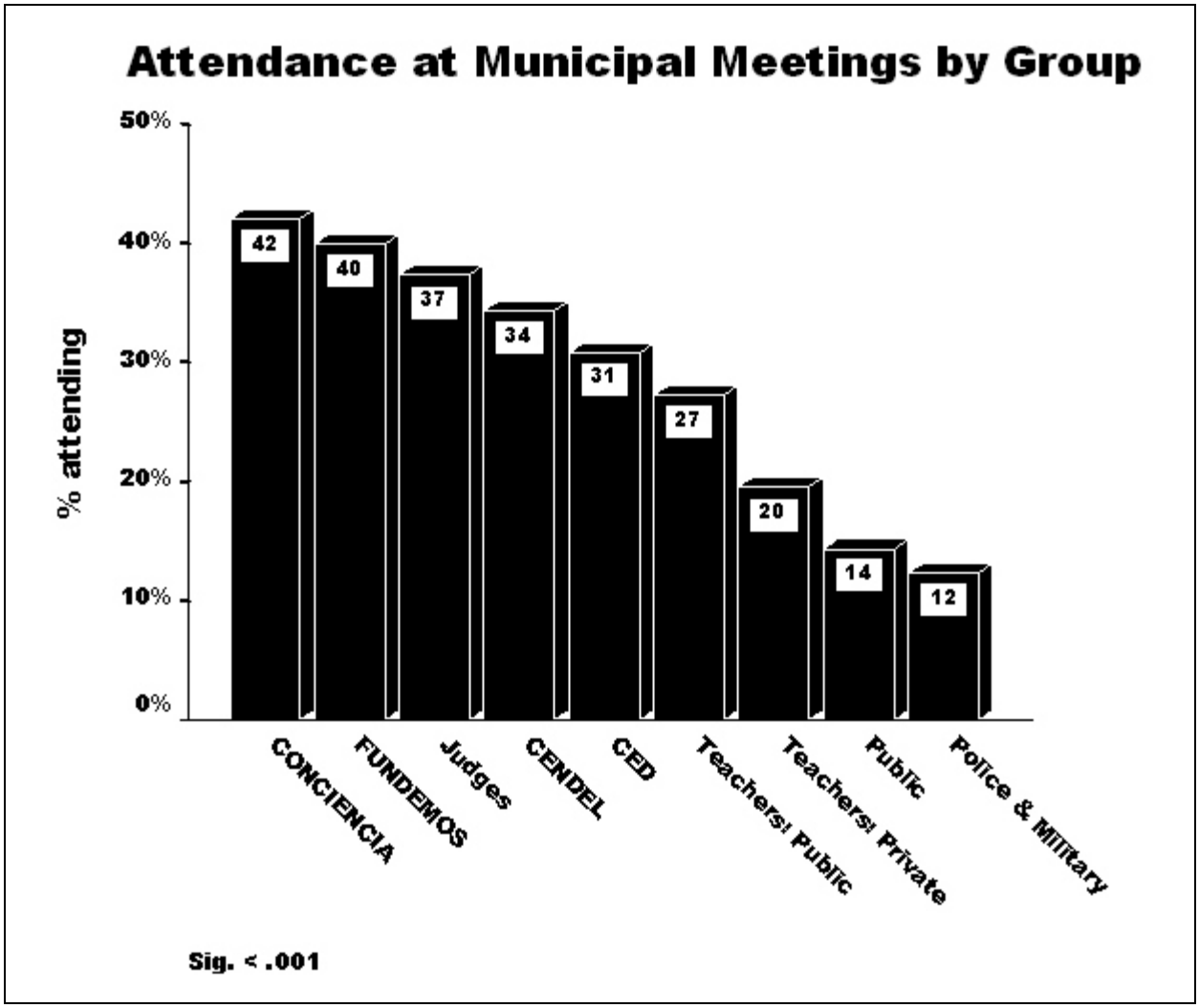

Figure A

Elections and Democracy. In the survey, 87 per cent of the respondents said that they had voted.[2] We asked those who did not vote why they did not do so. By far the most common reason was mistrust or disbelief in the elections. But since this response came from a (weighted) total of 48 respondents out of a sample of 2,400, it would be a serious mistake to conclude that anything but a small segment of the Nicaraguan electorate did not believe in the election system in October of 1996. We also sought to determine if the general perception of why some Nicaraguans did not vote matched the response given by the non-voters

[2]Those who responded "no" or would not respond, are counted as non-voters for the purposes of this calculation.

themselves. Figure IV.8 shows the results. Distrust of the elections also emerged as the most common reply.

Is there any difference in the level of system support for those who voted for Alemán versus those who voted for Ortega? Figure A.8 shows that there is consistent (and in most cases significantly) higher system support expressed by the Alemán voters as compared to the Ortega voters. On nearly all of the other measures of system support the same statistically significant patterns emerge.

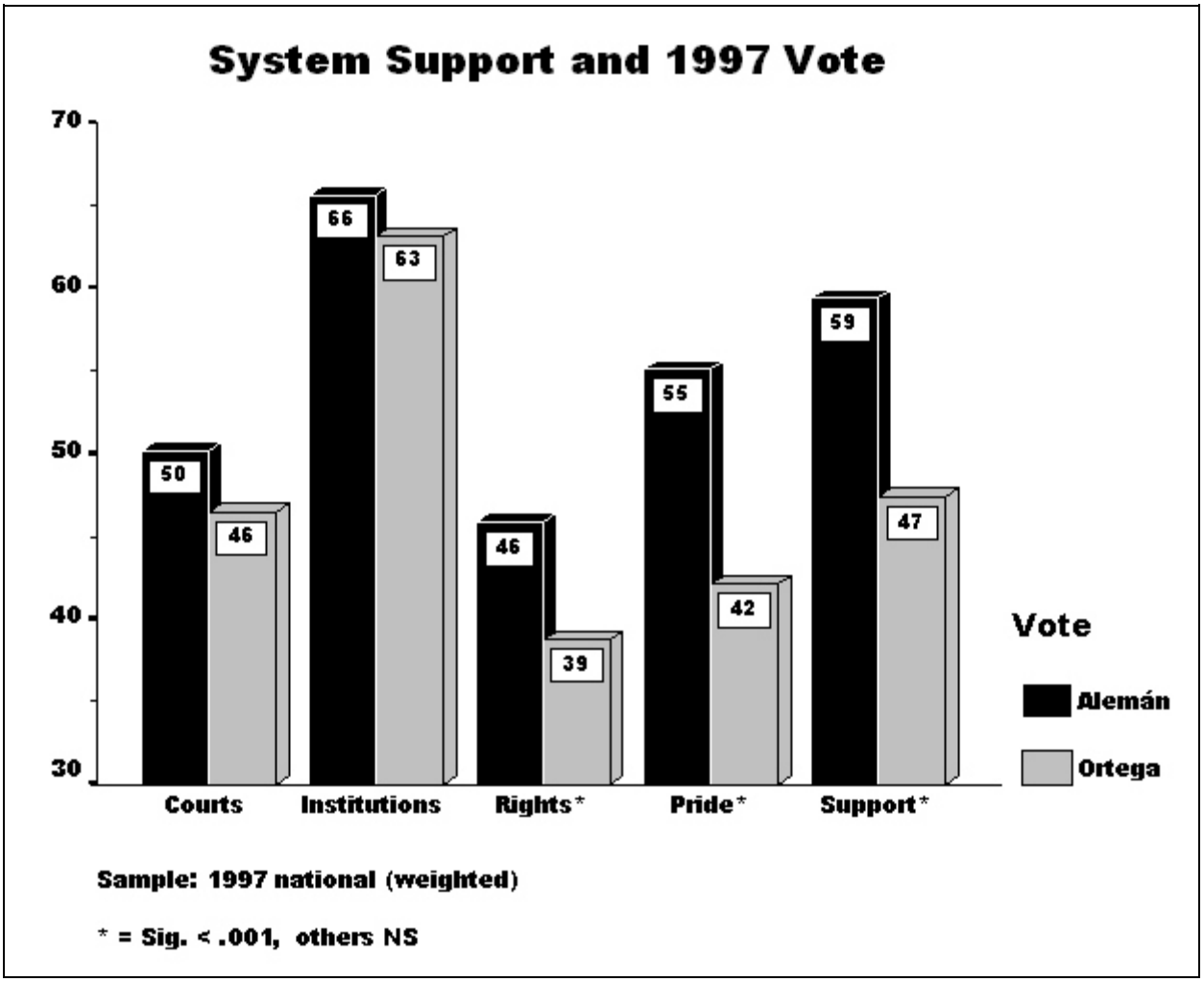

Figure A

Those who voted for the candidate who lost the 1996 election also expressed much lower confidence in the election system itself. Support for the electoral tribunal as an institution is significantly lower among Ortega supporters than for Alemán supporters. Two

questions were also asked about the 1996 elections themselves. The first asked about the extent to which voters were able to vote for their candidate of choice (i.e., free elections) and the second asked about how free the elections were of fraud. On the scale of 1-100, there is a yawning gap between Alemán voters and Ortega voters on this last question, with most of the former reporting that the elections were clean, while most of the later believing that they were not. Nonetheless, it is important to note that among Ortega supporters, on the 1-100 scale, the voters scored the election a 47 on the "free dimension," indicating perhaps surprising support for an election that was won by the opposing side.

While system support is clearly higher among the Alemán supporters, the reverse situation emerges among Ortega supporters. Ortega supporters are more politically tolerant, as measured by the support for minority rights. Since the Ortega supporters were out of power both before and after the 1996 election, this greater support for the civil liberties of political minorities is understandable. Figure A.9 shows that for each of the four tolerance variables, Ortega voters are significantly more tolerant than Alemán voters.

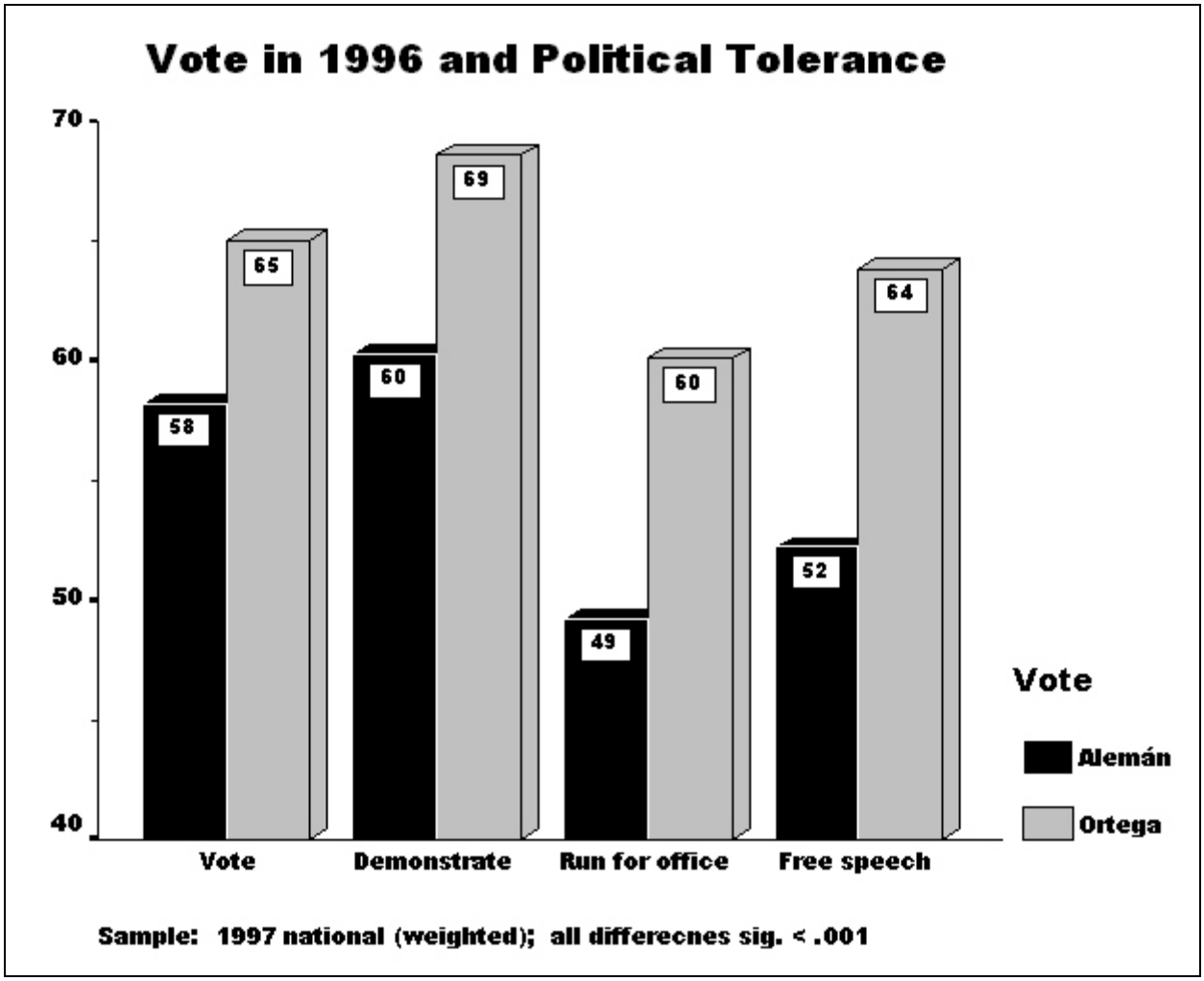

Figure A

The survey team asked each respondent in the RAAN and RAAS zones if they were intending to vote in the 1998 elections. Overwhelmingly the response was "yes": 73% in RAAS and 90% in RAAN.

Women's Equity and Democratic Responsibilities. There is widespread agreement that there is discrimination against women in Nicaragua. It turns out that nearly all Nicaraguans believe that discrimination against women exists in the country, but a much smaller percentage believe that it is manifested in terms of equality of opportunity. Females are significantly more likely to believe that discrimination against women exists than do males. At all levels of education, right up through university, females are more likely to believe that in Nicaragua there is discrimination against women. Ideology, measured by party identification, also has an influence on perception of discrimination against women. Figure V.1 shows that supporters of the FSLN (Ortega) were significantly more likely to believe that there is

discrimination against women than supporters of Alemán. When system support is low, there is a greater perception of discrimination against women than when system support is high. Perception of discrimination in the workplace is not related to economic status. Also, there is very little systematic variation by special group. It is, however, significantly related to education. Both males and females seem to agree that the most common problems faced by women are their difficulty in finding work if they admit to being pregnant and to the problem of sexual harassment.

Obeying the laws is almost universally considered to be a very important democratic responsibility in Nicaragua. Voting and paying taxes are also overwhelmingly considered to be important responsibilities. Less strongly supported as important responsibilities was the importance of being informed by paying attention to political life, and participation in community decisions. Nonetheless, even this last area, three-out-four Nicaraguans believe this to be a very important democratic responsibility. In four of the five variables presented in this series, men were significantly more likely to select the “very important” response than women, but in the community participation question, the difference disappeared. Those on the political right, as measured by the survey’s left-right scale, are significantly more likely to believe that these responsibilities are very important, when compared to the left.

Details of all of the above points can be found in the analysis of the survey data that follows in chapters I-V of this report.

Chapter I:

Methodology

This report is a sequel to an earlier study on the democratic attitudes and behaviors of Nicaraguans.[1] It analyzes the results of an August, 1997 survey conducted in Nicaragua under the auspices of the University of Pittsburgh Latin American Public Opinion Project, with funding from the United States Agency for International Development.[2] The prior study, in turn, was based upon surveys conducted in Nicaragua in 1991, 1995 and 1996.[3] In this report, the focus will be on the 1997 survey of public opinion, but where appropriate, comparisons will also be made to the earlier surveys. The 1997 study, it should be noted, is the most comprehensive of the four, since the questionnaire covers more areas and the sample design is more elaborate, allowing for finer-grained comparisons.[4]

The purpose of this first chapter is to provide some details of the methodology, as well as information on the three samples to be compared in the report. The full questionnaire is reproduced in Appendix A. The reader interested primarily in the substantive conclusions should proceed immediately to Chapter II. It is important, however, for those who wish to understand the methodological apparatus, to take a careful look at this chapter so as to have

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[1]Mitchell A. Seligson, *Political Culture in Nicaragua: Transitions, 1991-1995*, Report to USAID (Managua, Nicaragua, January, 1996).

[2]The University of Pittsburgh has expanded this project from its earlier focus on Central America alone to include Latin America more generally. The initial project was known as the "University of Pittsburgh Central American Public Opinion Project."

[3]See Mitchell A. Seligson and Ricardo Córdova Macías, "Nicaragua 1991-1995: Una Cultura Polítca en Transición," and Ricardo Córdova Macías and Mitchell A. Seligson, "El Desencanto con la Política y los Partidos en Nicaragua," in *Cultura Política y Transición Democrática en Nicaragua*, ed. Ricardo Córdova Macías and Gunther Maihold (Managua: Fundación Ebert, Fundación Guillermo Ungo, Instituto de Estudios Nicaragüenses y Centro de Análisis Socio-Cultural, 1996).

[4]In the 1996 report cited above, comparisons were made with the 1994 CID Gallup survey conducted by USAID. That study contained data on the population as a whole as well as for numerous special groups, some of which are also included in the present study. Differences in the wording of the questions used by CID Gallup in 1994 from the 1991, 1995 and 1997 studies reported on here, however, limit the utility of comparison between the University of Pittsburgh and the Gallup studies.

a complete grasp of the fairly complex nature of the samples gathered in 1997, and their comparison with 1995 and 1991.

Sample Design

The 1997 survey of democratic values for Nicaragua involved an effort to accomplish many goals, and as a result the sample design was necessarily complex. In this section the sample design is briefly described. The sample was divided into two main strata: 1) the national population, and 2) samples of special groups.

National Sample Design

Perhaps the single most important goal of the survey was to provide another "snapshot" of Nicaraguan attitudes toward democracy and their participation in the democratic life of the country. The reason the current sample is referred to as "another snapshot" is that this survey replicates earlier work conducted by the University of Pittsburgh Central American Public Opinion Project. The first survey was conducted in 1991, and covered Managua, Granada, León and Masaya (sample N = 704). While that survey was not national in scope, it provided a solid baseline for the surveyed areas, covering over 43 per cent of the national population. When comparisons are made in the present report to the 1991 data set, those comparisons are limited to the areas covered in 1991 so that any variations that might emerge from the more recent surveys are not attributed to the exclusion of other departments. In comparing the 1991 sample to the others, however, it was discovered that the samples of Granada, León and Masaya were somewhat higher in socio-economic status than the comparable samples in 1995 and 1997. In order not to distort those comparisons, the 1991 data set will focus on Managua alone. In 1995, a second study was carried out with the support of the Friedrich Ebert Foundation (Germany).[5] That sample was national in scope (sample N = 1,200), and can be directly compared to the 1997 survey undertaken for the present study.[6]

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[5]For details of that study see, Mitchell A. Seligson and Ricardo Córdova Macías, "Nicaragua 1991-1995: Una Cultura Política en Transición," in *Cultura Política y Transición Democrática en Nicaragua*, ed. Ricardo Córdova Macías and Gunther Maihold (Managua, Nicaragua: Fundación Friedrich Ebert, Fundación Guillermo Ungo, Instituto de Estudios Nicaragüenses y Centro de Análisis Socio-Cultural, 1996). Also see, Ricardo Córdova Macías and Mitchell A. Seligson, "El Desencanto con la Política y los Partidos en Nicaragua," in *Cultura Política y Transición Democrática en Nicaragua*, ed. Ricardo Córdova Macías and Gunther Maihold (Managua, Nicaragua: Fundación Ebert, Fundación Guillermo Ungo, Instituto de Estudios Nicaragüenses y Centro de Análisis Socio-Cultural, 1996). A 1994 study was conducted by USAID as well, but the analysis is on the 1995.

[6]The 1995 study as reported on here has been weighted by the data contained in the

Before describing in more detail the 1997 survey, it is also of note to point out that the Nicaraguan results will be compared in this study to other surveys conducted under the supervision of the University of Pittsburgh project. These include Costa Rica (1995) , El Salvador (1995), Paraguay (1996) and Peru (1996) . Each of these nations, of course, has its own political history and distinguishing cultural characteristics, but placing the Nicaraguan data in both the context of its own past (from prior surveys) as well as in the context of surveys generated in other Latin American countries, helps make the findings presented here take on greater meaning.

In order to talk about public opinion of Nicaraguans with any accuracy, it is best to be working with a national sample, and that is what has been carried out for this study. In July and August, 1997, a total of 2,500 Nicaraguans were interviewed in their homes. The questionnaire utilized drew heavily on the earlier surveys of Nicaragua, but also included some new items to explore themes not previously covered. The questionnaire is contained in Appendix A of this report.

The goal of the national sample was not only to allow for an analysis of public opinion for the country as a whole, but to be able to talk about Nicaragua's individual departments, since the political histories and levels of development of each department vary so much.[7] In the United States, for example, public opinion studies often compare opinions in the South to those of the Northeast. In Nicaragua, the current survey allows comparisons among each of the departments.[8] However, since the sample size within each department is relatively small (150 interviews), the sampling errors for opinions expressed there are higher than for the national sample, as is explained below.

The study was conducted in each of the departments of the country, with the exception of Río San Juan, which was excluded for cost considerations. Río San Juan contains 1.6% of the population of the country, and outside of a small urban concentration, the population is very widely scattered and thus costly to interview. The exclusion of Río San Juan means that the

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1995 national population census, information that was not available at the time the 1995 sample was constructed. The 1997 survey, as explained below, is also weighted based upon the 1995 population census, although the sample design itself was of a somewhat different nature. The interested reader should refer to the previously cited publications that were based on the 1995 study.

[7]The idea for a sample design for Nicaragua of the nature described here was first developed for a 1996 study of perception of and experience with corruption in Nicaragua. The current study represents a refinement of that initial design. See Mitchell A. Seligson, *Nicaraguans Talk About Corruption: A Study of Public Opinion*, A Report to USAID, Nicaragua (Crystal City, VA.: Casals and Associates, 1997).

[8]Technically speaking, each department constitutes a separate "stratum" in the sample.

findings presented here actually refer to the 98.4% of the population of the country. In each Department six voting precincts (Juntas Receptoras de Votos, JRVs) were selected at random, and within each of those precincts an average of 25 interviews were conducted for a total target of approximately 150 interviews per department. Managua was an exception, in which 300 interviews were conducted divided among 12 JRVs because of its demographic and political importance. For the overall sample, we can speak about the results with considerable accuracy: 95% of the time, the results of our sample will be no more than approximately 2% higher or lower of the views of the entire voting-age Nicaraguan population. As is well known, the precision of the sample depends on the number of interviews conducted, which is independent of the size of the population from which the sample is drawn as long as the size of the population is large. It is for this reason that the precision of the sample declines when the departmental data are examined in comparison to the results at the national level. At the level of the Department, with samples of 150 interviews, the level of accuracy is much lower, about ± 8%. Thus, while we can feel quite confident in the accuracy of our results at the national level, at the departmental level the possible range of error due to the size of the sample is wider, but sufficiently narrow so as to be able to say meaningful things about the individual departments when wide variation is found among them. Subtle variation in opinion will not be detected by our survey at the Departmental level, except for Managua, where our results are accurate at the ± 5.6% level as a result of the large sample size.

The Atlantic region of Nicaragua has always presented survey researchers with serious challenges. Zelaya was incorporated into Nicaragua in 1894, but in the mid-1980s was divided into two regions, renamed Región Autónoma Atlántico Norte (RAAN) and Región Autónoma Atlántico Sur (RAAS). This is a vast region of more than half the territory of Nicaragua, yet contains only 10.9% of the population. Much of the population is accessible only by small boat or helicopter. The costs of providing a random sample of this region are extraordinarily high, so it was decided to represent it by concentrating the survey in three main population centers, Rama, Bluefields, and Puerto Cabezas and their surrounding neighborhoods. A total of 250 interviews were conducted in the Atlantic region, 100 in RAAN and 150 in RAAS. Two JRVs produced the interviews for Pto. Cabezas, with 3 Juntas each being utilized for Rama and Bluefields. In the latter two, the sample covers the urban area as well as surrounding rural areas.

While the sample design had as a target 150 interviews per department, for the overall results to faithfully represent the proportion of the population contained in each department, it is necessary to weight the sample. Thus, the results presented in this paper reflect the *weighted* sample, accurately portraying a picture of Nicaragua. Sample weights are given in Table I.1 below.

Sample Design for 1997 Survey

1. Department	2. 1995 Population (census data)	3. % of Population	4. Survey N	5. Fraction of national pop	6. Desired N: (#5 * 2,500)	7. Weight factor (#6/#4)
Managua	1,093,760	25.51%	300	0.2551	638	2.126
Matagalpa	383,776	8.95%	150	0.0895	224	1.492
Chinandega	350,212	8.17%	150	0.0817	204	1.362
León	336,894	7.86%	150	0.0786	197	1.310
Masaya	241,354	5.63%	150	0.0563	141	0.938
RAAS	272,252	6.35%	150	0.0635	159	1.058
RAAN	192,716	4.50%	100	0.0450	113	1.125
Jinotega	257,933	6.02%	150	0.0602	151	1.003
Estelí	174,894	4.08%	150	0.0408	102	0.680
Granada	155,683	3.63%	150	0.0363	91	0.605
Nueva Segovia	148,492	3.46%	150	0.0346	87	0.577
Carazo	149,407	3.49%	150	0.0349	87	0.582
Rivas	140,432	3.28%	150	0.0328	82	0.547
Chontales	144,635	3.37%	150	0.0337	84	0.562
Boaco	136,949	3.19%	150	0.0319	80	0.532
Madriz	107,567	2.51%	150	0.0251	63	0.418
Total	4,286,956	100.00%	2,500	1	2,500	

Source: Instituto Nacional de Estadísticas y Censos, INEC, *Resumen Censal: VII Censo nacional de población y III de vivienda, 1995.* Managua, Nicaragua, Diciembre, 1996. The table and sample excludes Nicaragua's least populous Department, Río San Juan, with 70,143 people, or 1.6% of the entire national population of 4,357,099. RAAN covers Puerto Cabezas, and RAAS covers Bluefields and Rama.

It should be noted that in the 1996 study on perceptions of corruption in Nicaragua, which used a similar sample design, the preliminary census tabulations were utilized (Instituto Nacional de Estadísticas y Censos, INEC, *Censos nacionales 1995, 25 de abril, 1995.* Cifras Oficiales Preliminares, Recuento Manual, Nicaragua, Septiembre, 1995). See Mitchell A. Seligson, *Nicaraguans Talk About Corruption: A Study of Public Opinion*, A Report to USAID, Nicaragua (Washington, D. C.: Casals and Associates, March, 1997).

Table I.1

Specialized Groups

In addition to the national sample, which allows comparison of Nicaraguans by gender, education, socio-economic status, department of residence, etc., there is particular interest in what will be called here "specialized groups." These groups are divided into two main categories. First, there are groups who were beneficiaries of USAID-supported civic education programs, the details of which are given below. Second, there are specialized groups of citizens whose values are especially important for the growth of democracy in Nicaragua, but whose numbers in a national sample would be too small for it to be possible to make any valid generalizations. These groups are also detailed below. The analysis of these groups allows comparison of them to the population as a whole.

Civil Society Training Participants:

USAID provided lists of Nicaraguans who received civic education training. The lists provided are divided into four distinct groups. The original plan was to interview 125 respondents from each list, but some of the lists did not contain 125 names. Therefore, a different strategy has been employed in those cases. In the following summary, the word "universe" refers to the total number of beneficiaries on the list.

Mujeres Nicaragüenses "Conciencia"

Universe = 179.
Expected sample size = 50.
Actual sample size =39
There were a total of 4 lists in this group. One is from Managua, two from León and one from Masaya. All of the addresses were clearly specified, although no phone numbers were given. The age and occupation of the respondents were also given. The total number of people on this list is 179. Since it was unrealistic to assume that we would have been able to locate all 179, and that all would be willing to be interviewed, the expected sample size from this list was 50. In fact, it was possible to locate only 39.

Centro de Estudios Laborales, CENDEL

Universe = 405.
Expected sample size = 150.
Actual sample size = 104
These respondents are all in the Mangua/Masaya area. Their address was always given, and many times their phone number was provided, as well. We drew what is known as a *systematic sample* from these lists. Starting with the first list, we selected the first person on the list, and then selected every other person. This should have yielded 405/2 = 202.5. We attempted to interview all 202 people. In fact, even using the entire list, we were only able to interview 104 respondents.

Grupo FUNDEMOS
Universe: 616
Expected sample size = 150.
Actual sample size = 108
Comments: These respondents are spread all over Nicaragua, but the main problem we had is that we did not have addresses for any of them. New lists provided by USAID directly to Borge, however, provided the address and allowed the systematic selection of 150 respondents. Only 108 could be located and interviewed.

Centro de Educación para la Democracia CED
Universe: 1,050
Expected sample size = 150.
Actual sample size = 150
These respondents are school teachers located throughout the country. The lists are organized in two parts. The first part contains the address of the school, while the second part the names of the teachers who were trained. Once again we used a systematic sample here, interviewing 1 out of seven persons on each list. However, when the list was very small (e.g. Madriz, which has only 15 names), we allowed interviewing up to 7 persons on any given list in order to reduce travel time and costs. Contact was made with the school and its director, and interviews took place at the school. That way only one interviewer was sent to a school. The full sample of 150 was interviewed.

Groups Key for Democracy:

Three groups of special interest have been targeted by USAID for intensive study. The sample design for each group is to match as closely as possible the samples drawn by CID Gallup in 1994 for USAID.

High school teachers

A national, representative sample of 300 high school teachers was drawn and interviewed. A list of all high schools, both public and private was obtained by Borge & Associates, each list containing the number of teachers at that institution. The lists were stratified between public and private and the sample was drawn using "probability proportional to size" techniques. Five interviews took place in each school, or at the homes of the teachers in the selected schools, for a total of 60 schools nationwide. A total of 194 public sector teachers and 105 private sector teachers were interviewed.

Judges

The initial intention was to draw a national, representative sample of 300 judges, following the CID study. Borge & Associates, however, made contact with the Ministry of

Justice and learned that there are only 215 judges in all of Nicaragua. A decision was made to proceed as follows. First, an effort was made to interview all of the judges in Managua. Second, all of the judges in each of the departmental capitals were contacted for an interview. Third, at least one rural municipality in each Department was visited and an effort was made to interview the judges there. Finally, appellate judges rounded out the sample of 100 judges.

Soldiers and police officers

The objective was to interview a total of 300 soldiers and police officers. A list of the national distribution of police officers was obtained from the Ministerio de Gobernación. Permission for the interviews was also obtained. This lists were stratified by Department, and selection based on probability proportional to size. It is not possible to obtain a list of all of the nation's soldiers, but the plan was to interview 150 soldiers with the permission of the Estado Mayor in at least three separate military bases. This permission was secured, with interviews of 150 soldiers, divided into three groups: 1) cadets in an officers training academy; 2) cadets in a skills training schools for foot soldiers; and 3) Officers. Thus, the military sample does not represent the rank-and-file of the military, but rather those who are its current and future leadership. The results presented in the substantive chapters combine the police and the military as a single group.

Municipal Project Areas

USAID/Nicaragua has a municipal development project operating in five municipalities. It was decided not to draw a special sample of these areas, but to designate the areas after the national sample randomly selected municipalities in Nicaragua. In order to be able to compare the residents of these municipalities to the general population, the residents in each of the project areas that were also included in the national sample were given a special code in the data file. The following municipalities were included in the national sample that were also municipal project areas: Chichigalpa, Department of Chinandega; Matagalpa, Department of Matagalpa; Ciudad Darío, Department of Matagalpa; and Boaco, Department of Boaco. One project area, El Tuma-La Dalia in the Department of Matagalpa, was not covered in the sample. The total (weighted) sample size in the municipal project area was 159 respondents. The sample of municipal project areas does not differ significantly from the national population as a whole in either gender or age, but is more highly educated than the general population (8.8 years in the project areas, vs. 7.6 for the population as a whole). When analyzing the project areas, it is important to keep this difference in mind, and to control for it as needed.

Overall Distribution of Sample

The total sample, comprised of 3,600 respondents, as divided into its various components (i.e., strata) is displayed in Table I.2.

Strata (number corresponds to coding scheme in questionnaire)	Respondents	%
1 Public	2,500	69.4%
3 Judges	100	2.8%
50 Police	150	4.2%
51 Officer cadets	50	1.4%
52 Sargent cadets	50	1.4%
53 Military officials	50	1.4%
60 Teachers: public	194	5.4%
61 Teachers: private	105	2.9%
101 FUNDEMOS	108	3.0%
102 CED	150	4.2%
103 CONCIENCIA	39	1.1%
104 CENDEL	104	2.9%
Total	3,600	100.0%

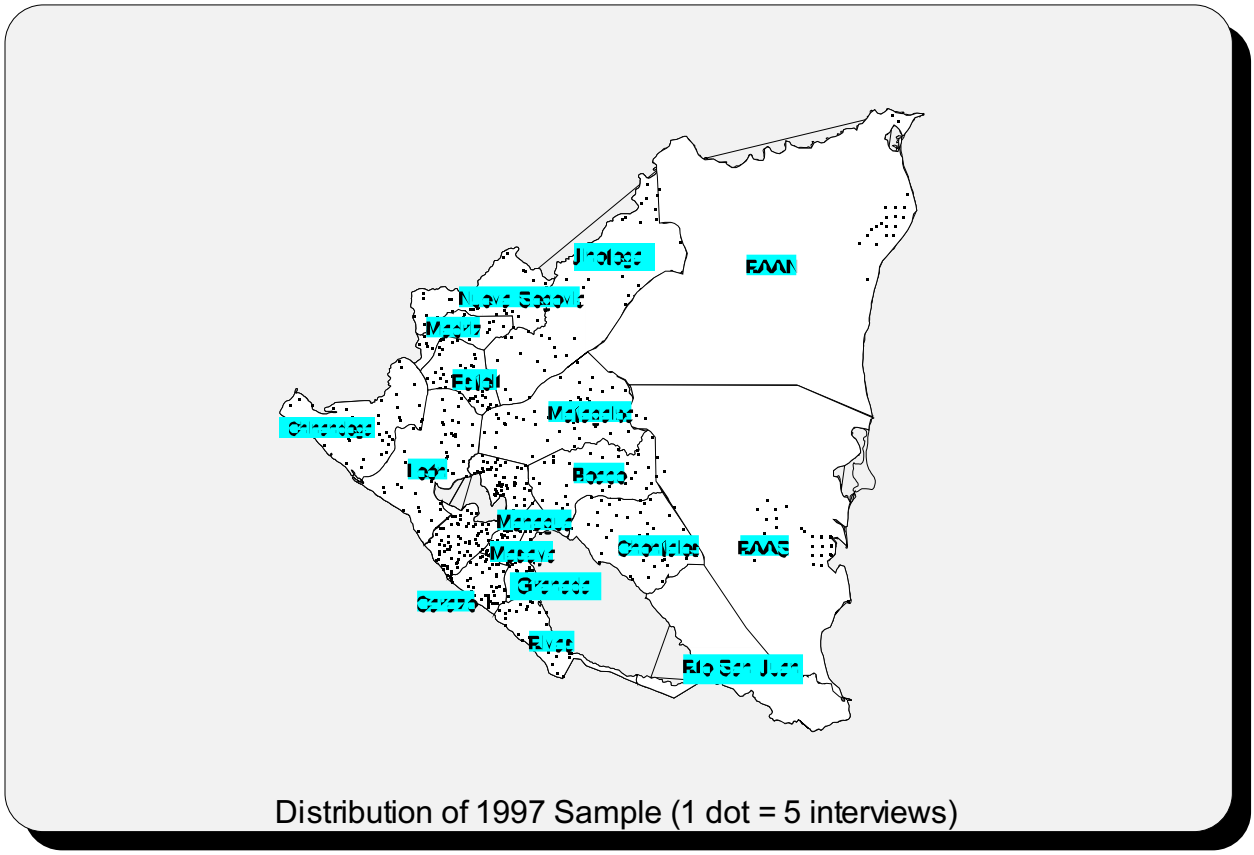
Table I.2

The entire sample, distributed by Department is shown in Table I.3 These are the *unweighted* totals, and exclude the military since those respondents were interviewed on their military bases not in their home residences. Although the national sample was comprised of 300 respondents from Managua, the interviews with respondents from some of the special groups (especially judges and the police) were more heavily concentrated in Managua than in other Departments, and for that reason the sample there is larger. Nonetheless, when the data are analyzed in this report, the national sample will be reported in *weighted* form so as to correctly represent the population of each Department, and the special groups will be analyzed as separate strata, excluded from the national sample.

	Department	
	Sample	%
1 Managua	622	18.0%
2 León	242	7.0%
3 Chinandega	209	6.1%
4 Granada	194	5.6%
5 Masaya	211	6.1%
6 Carazo	192	5.6%
7 Rivas	168	4.9%
8 Matagalpa	214	6.2%
9 Jinotega	187	5.4%
10 Nueva Segovia	177	5.1%
11 Madriz	173	5.0%
12 Estelí	202	5.9%
13 Boaco	171	5.0%
14 Chontales	179	5.2%
15 RAAS	175	5.1%
16 RAAN	134	3.9%
Total	3450	100.0%

Table I.3

It is often helpful to the reader if the sample can be visualized on a map of the country. In Map I.1 the entire sample in its unweighted form is displayed in a stylized fashion. That is, this map shows the distribution by Department of all of the interviews conducted for the 1997 survey, with the exclusion of the interviews with the Army. It is important to emphasize "stylized" since the dots on the map show a representation of interviews for each Department, but the mapping software in use here does not locate the interviews within the Department in their correct geographic location. The map helps to show the relatively high density of interviews in the Managua area when compared to RAAN and RAAS. This is in part because of the large number of judges and civil society training respondents located there, but more because of the relatively small land area of Managua compared to RAAN and RAAS. The map also makes clear that interviews were conducted in each Department of Nicaragua except Río San Juan.



Distribution of 1997 Sample (1 dot = 5 interviews)

Map I.1

Departmental Location of Entire Unweighted Sample, 1997
Each dot = 5 interviews
(dot positions within departments are illustrative, military excluded)

Comparison of 1991, 1995, and 1997 Samples

As noted earlier in this chapter, comparisons will be made in this report between the samples from 1991, 1995 and 1997. In order to demonstrate the validity of those comparisons it is important to examine the basic demographic and socio-economic characteristics of the three samples in order to determine if any of the variation over the years could be attributable to those characteristics. Figure I.1 below shows the comparison for the Managua portion of the three samples for sex, age and education. The 1991 sample is somewhat lower in males than the other two samples. In terms of age, the samples are virtually identical. This is probably a function of a difference in within-household selection criteria used in 1991 versus 1995. In the earlier sample, the "next birthday" system was used, and since many households in Managua are headed by females, it is likely that they were interviewed. In 1995, however, a quota for sex was used, thus producing an equal number of males and females. Finally, in terms of education, the 1991 sample is slightly more educated than the other years, a factor that we need to control for when we compare variables that differ by education.

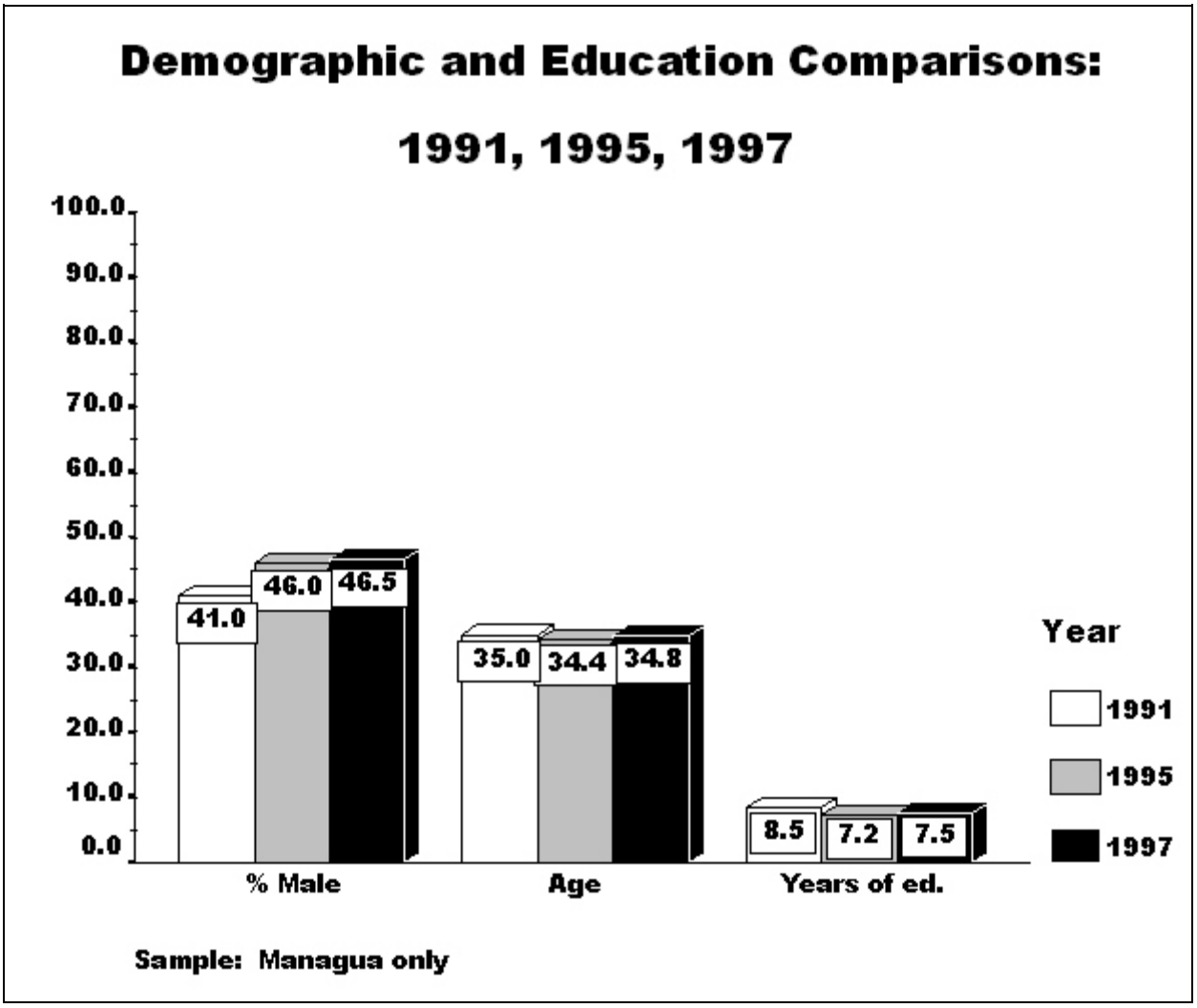


Figure I

Comparisons of wealth are difficult to make for two reasons. First, income is rarely reported with any accuracy in surveys such as this. Second, over the period since 1991, macro-economic factors have changed, with declines in the GNP, while at the same time individuals continued to acquire modern capital goods. As a result, it is difficult to determine what impact these factors might be having on the samples. Figure I.2 shows the comparisons. We can note that color TV ownership has increased, but this is probably not a sign that the 1997 sample is wealthier than the 1991 sample, but an indication of the increasing prevalence of color TVs world-wide and to market liberalization. This hypothesis is confirmed by the decline in black-and-white TVs in 1997 vs. 1991. Similarly, the increase in telephones in 1997 may be a function of the increase in phone service available in Managua since 1991. The decline in automobile and refrigerator ownership may be an indication of a somewhat higher SES level for the 1991 sample, but this is disconfirmed by ownership of washing machines,

which has remained about the same for all three samples. Overall, then, we can conclude that there are minor differences in the samples, but none that would indicate a dramatic bias in them that could be responsible for major differences in opinion.

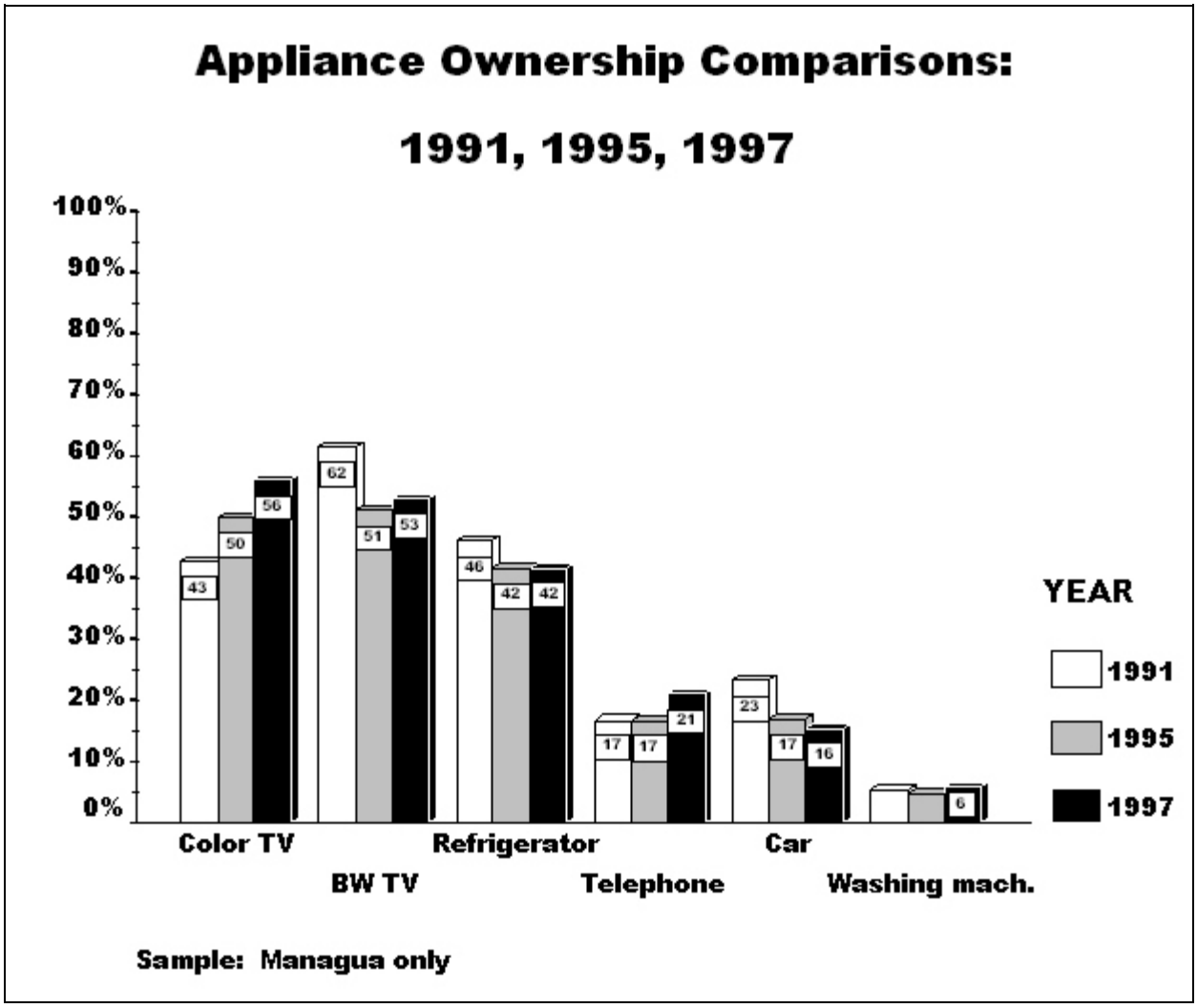


Figure I

Comparison of National Sample with Special Groups

The national sample serves as the benchmark against which we examine each of the special groups interviewed in the 1997 surveys. If the special groups differ markedly in demographic or socio-economic characteristics from the national sample, we would need to

take note of those difference since they alone might account for any variation found in the attitudinal and behavioral results. In these comparisons, the unweighted national sample is utilized.

Age comparisons for the 1997 national sample with the special groups are shown in Figure I.3. The national sample, labeled "public" in the figure, has an average age that is almost indistinguishable from most of the groups. The only notable deviations are that the CONCIENCIA group is, on average, five years older, and the cadets at the military academies average five to six years younger. CONCIENCIA's principal target group is women, although men are also invited to participate in their workshops. The younger age of the military cadets is easily explained by the fact that military training schools select their members from among the young. At the same time, the military officer's average age is identical to that of the national population.

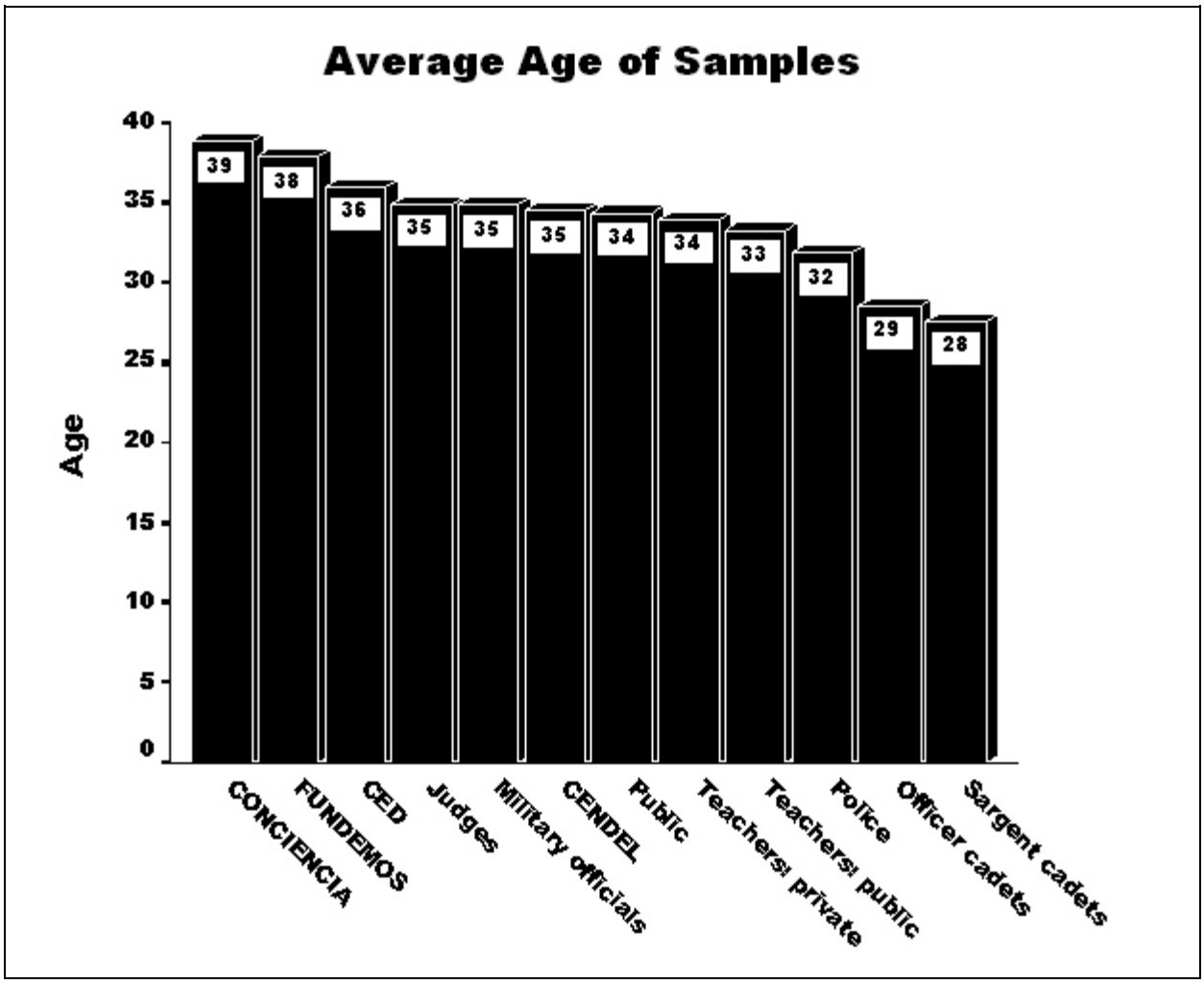


Figure I

As can be seen, the army and the police are largely male professions, while teachers are heavily female professions. CENDEL is a labor studies center which provide training to female and male union members in roughly equal proportions. Although gender does vary considerably among the samples, the statistical analysis presented in the following chapters reveals that gender is not an important characteristic in defining many of the values and behaviors reported here. For that reason, the gender differences of the samples are to be noted, but not much significance should be attached to them.

While the ages of the samples do not differ markedly, gender does. Figure I.4 shows the results.

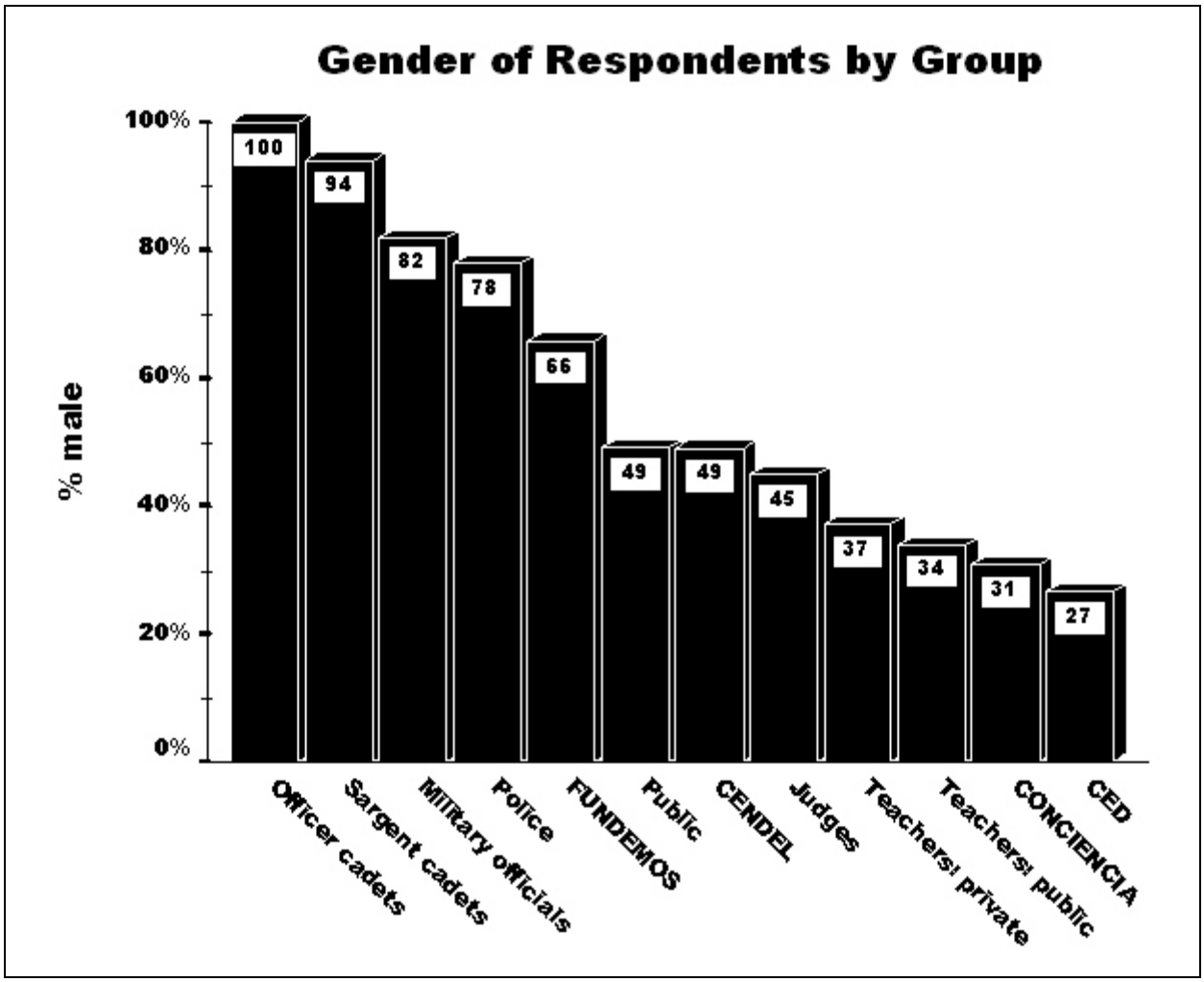


Figure I

Perhaps the single largest difference between the characteristics of the national sample of the Nicaraguan public and the special groups emerges in education. It was to be expected that when a sample consists of groups as diverse as judges, teachers, police officers, etc., that educational differences would be prominent, and Figure I.5 shows that this is indeed the case. The mass public has the lowest average level of education, and the judges the highest. It may be surprising to some that the military officers have such a high level of education, slightly higher than the high school teachers in the sample. It may also be surprising that police officers are more educated than the general public. It must be realized, however, that each of these occupations have educational requirements as an explicit component of selection, whereas the mass public consists of many poor, rural Nicaraguan farmers with little or no formal education. In any event, it will be important to control for the level

of education whenever we examine data on the special groups versus the national population since each of those groups are more educated than the population as a whole.

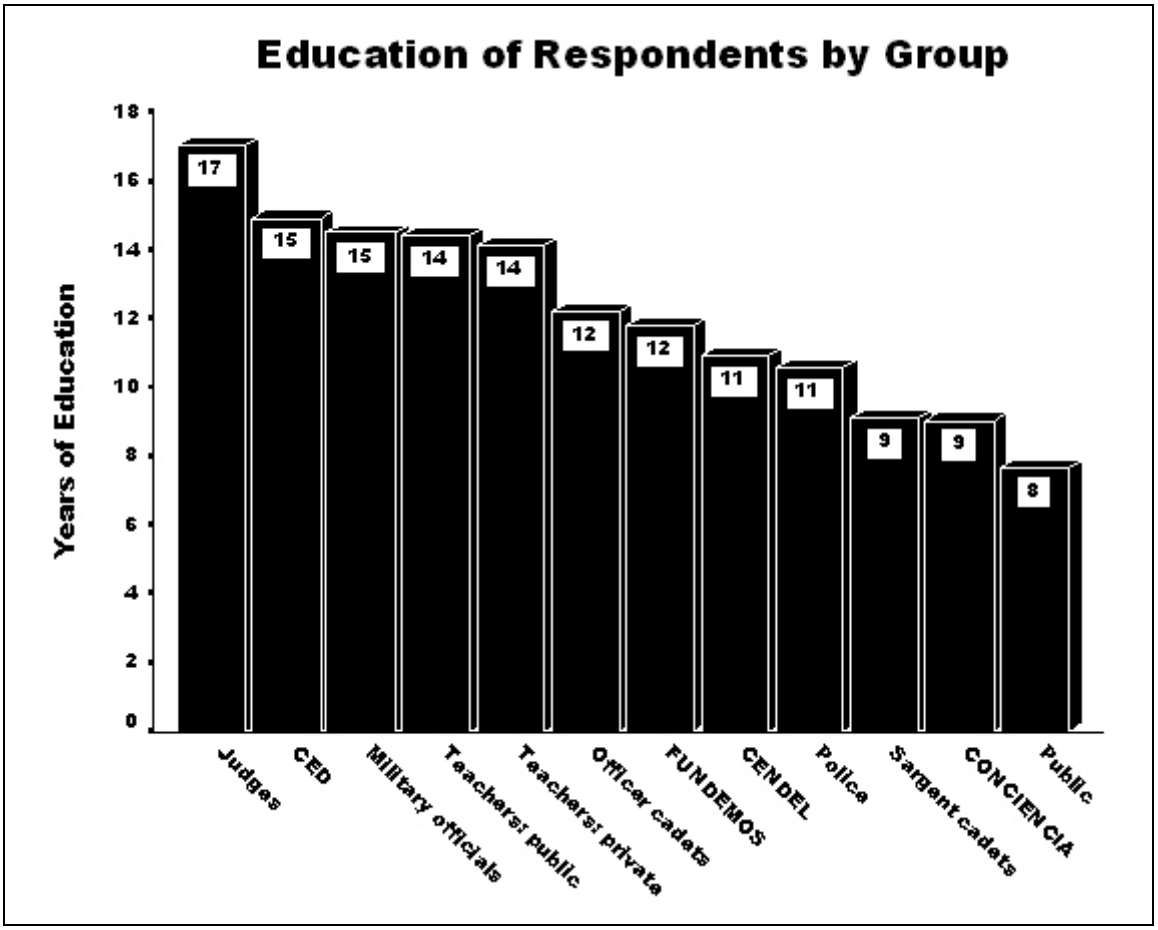


Figure I

While education differs markedly between the mass public and the special groups, for the most part, income does not. Figure I.6 shows that only one group, judges, earn markedly more than the public or the other groups studied in 1997. The income was recorded by handing the respondent a card with a range of family incomes from a low of zero to a high of 4,001 or more Córdobas. Most respondents reported an income in the range of 4-5, equivalent to 751-1,000 for the 4-range, and 1,001-1,500 for the 5-range. The full scale is shown in the questionnaire in Appendix A of this report, p. 14, Q8. With the exception of judges, then, income is not a major factor differentiating the samples.

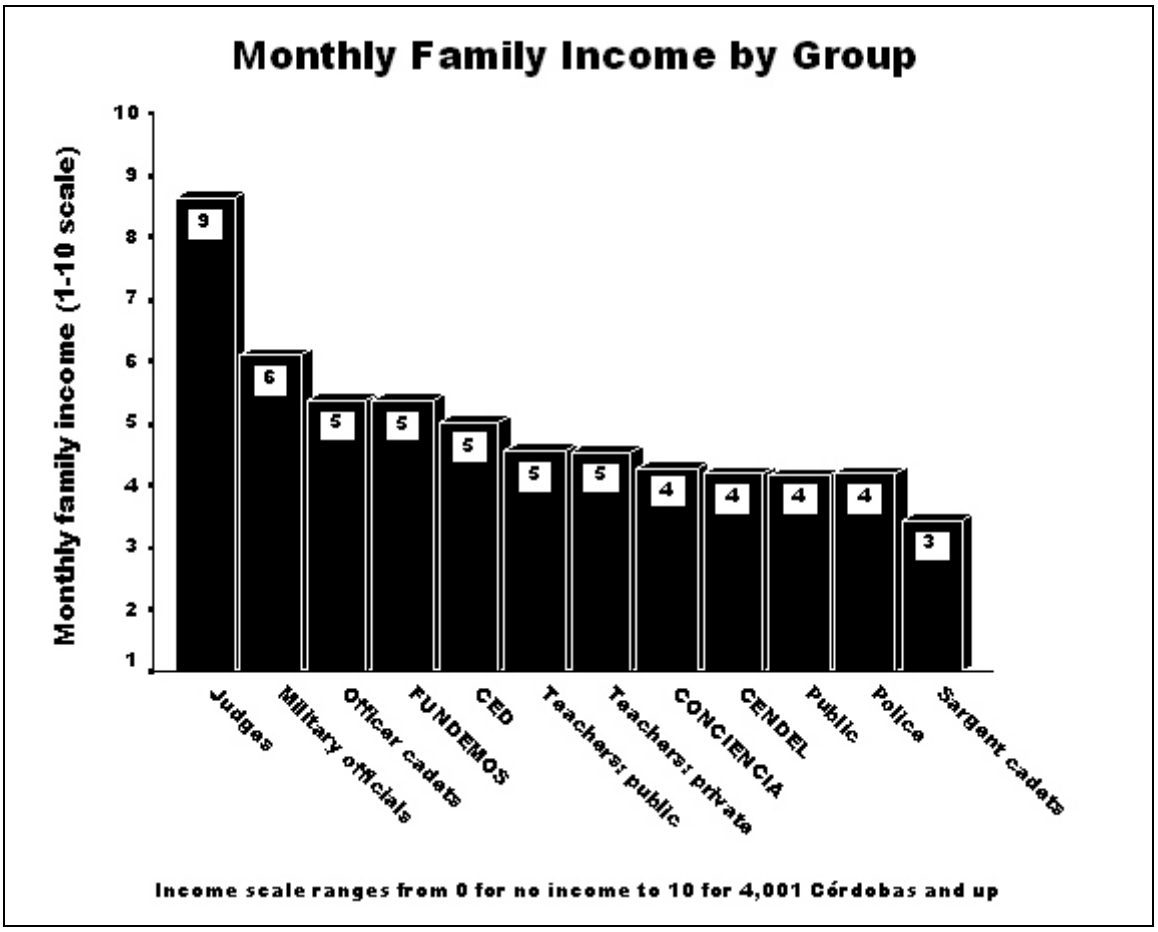


Figure I

Summing up, the special groups and the national population differ in predictable ways. The special groups are, on average, more educated than the national sample, while the military/police group is more likely to be comprised of males than the national sample. Other differences are less notable.

Chapter II: System Support and Political Tolerance

Prior studies of democratic values and behaviors in Nicaragua have looked carefully at system support (i.e., legitimacy) and political tolerance, as two key components of a political culture conducive to democracy. The argument will not be repeated here in detail since it has been made in those reports. In this study, we are looking primarily at changes over time, but we are also interested in additional system support items not measured in the prior studies.

The approach is to examine first the data from all three years included in the current data base. Doing so limits the comparison to Managua since the 1991 survey was not a national sample, but focused on Managua, with some additional interviews in León, Granada and Masaya. Since it has already been shown in Chapter I of this report that the survey outside of Managua in 1991 picked up too large a proportion of better-off respondents, the comparison in this chapter will be with the Managua samples alone.

As noted in the report based on the 1995 data, Nicaraguan system support suffered a dramatic decline between 1991 and 1995. The reasons for this decline were obvious. In 1991 a new, democratic administration had just taken the reigns of power from the Sandinista regime. The Contra War had wound down and Nicaraguans looked toward a more peaceful and more prosperous future. But it was not easy to turn around a political and economic system that had undergone over a decade of revolution, violence and economic decline. Moreover, from a political point of view, redesigning Nicaragua's political institutions proved to be a daunting task, once again proving the old adage, "Rome was not built in a day."[1] In any event, as noted in the prior report, and as shown clearly in Figure II.1, system support dropped on every single indicator on which we had data in the 1991-1995 period, with most of those declines being very steep. Examining the items one-by-one reveals that whereas in 1991 seven of the nine items scored on the positive end of the continuum, by 1995 only one item, the Supreme Electoral Council (i.e., the electoral tribunal) still averaged a positive score.

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[1]For a discussion of institutional restructuring see Shelley A. McConnell, "Institutional Development," in Thomas W. Walker, ed., *Nicaragua without Illusions: Regime Transition and Structural Adjustment in the 1990s (Wilmington, DE: Scholarly Resources, 1997).*

Apparently for most Nicaraguan political institutions, 1995 was the low-point, and by 1997 confidence has increased significantly in six of the nine measures. We should not exaggerate those increases, since they are not large and no institution has returned to the levels of 1991, but the overall trend seems to be clear. Furthermore, one key democratic institution, the courts, experienced the largest increase of any of the nine items.

One troubling finding is that even though the general trend is positive, declines in support are still being experienced for the electoral tribunal and the legislature, and the general question about "institutions," which is not specific to any one institution, also declined substantially in 1997. The decline for the electoral tribunal may well be a reaction to various difficulties that have emerged in the election process. One problem had been the process of ballot counting which received a great deal of media coverage in the general confusion that prevailed in the post-election process.

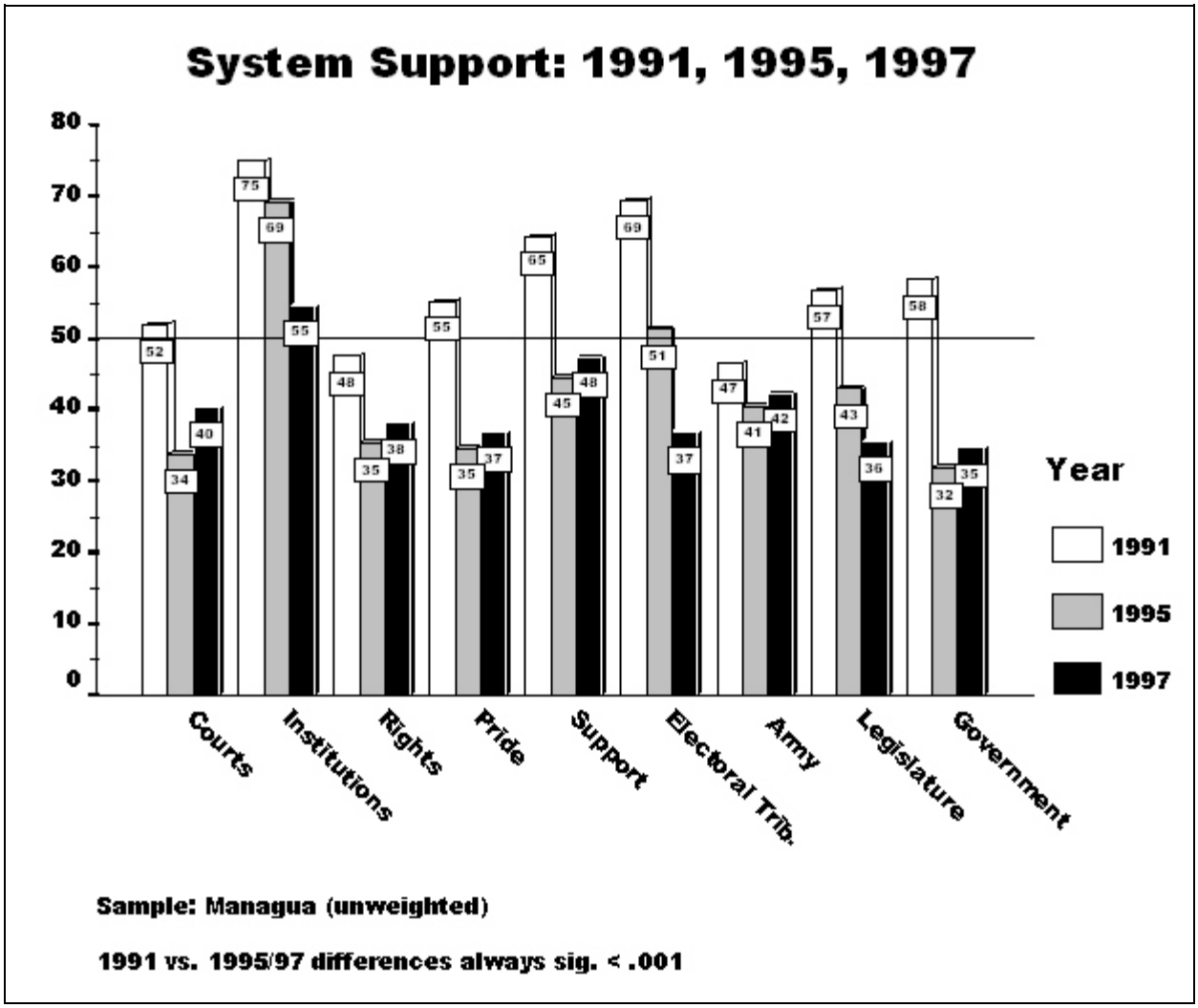


Figure II

A very different and much more positive picture emerges when we are able to look at the entire country. While it is true that "Rome was not built in a day," it is also true that "Rome is not Italy." Apparently, Managua is not Nicaragua. Figure II.2 shows the comparison for Nicaragua between 1995 and 1997 using the weighted sample of the entire country. Six of the nine measures increased, all of them to a statistically significant degree. The increase in support for the courts is again the most dramatic, increasing from 34 to 48, almost moving into the positive end of the continuum. A related measure, the protection of basic rights, also increased substantially and significantly. The overall item on "support" has moved into positive territory. Whereas the Managua comparison showed continued erosion in support for the legislature, the national sample shows no such decline in the period 1995-97, although there is no notable increase either. The one institution that seems to be losing the trust of Nicaraguans, both Managua-based and in the country as a whole, is the Electoral Tribunal.

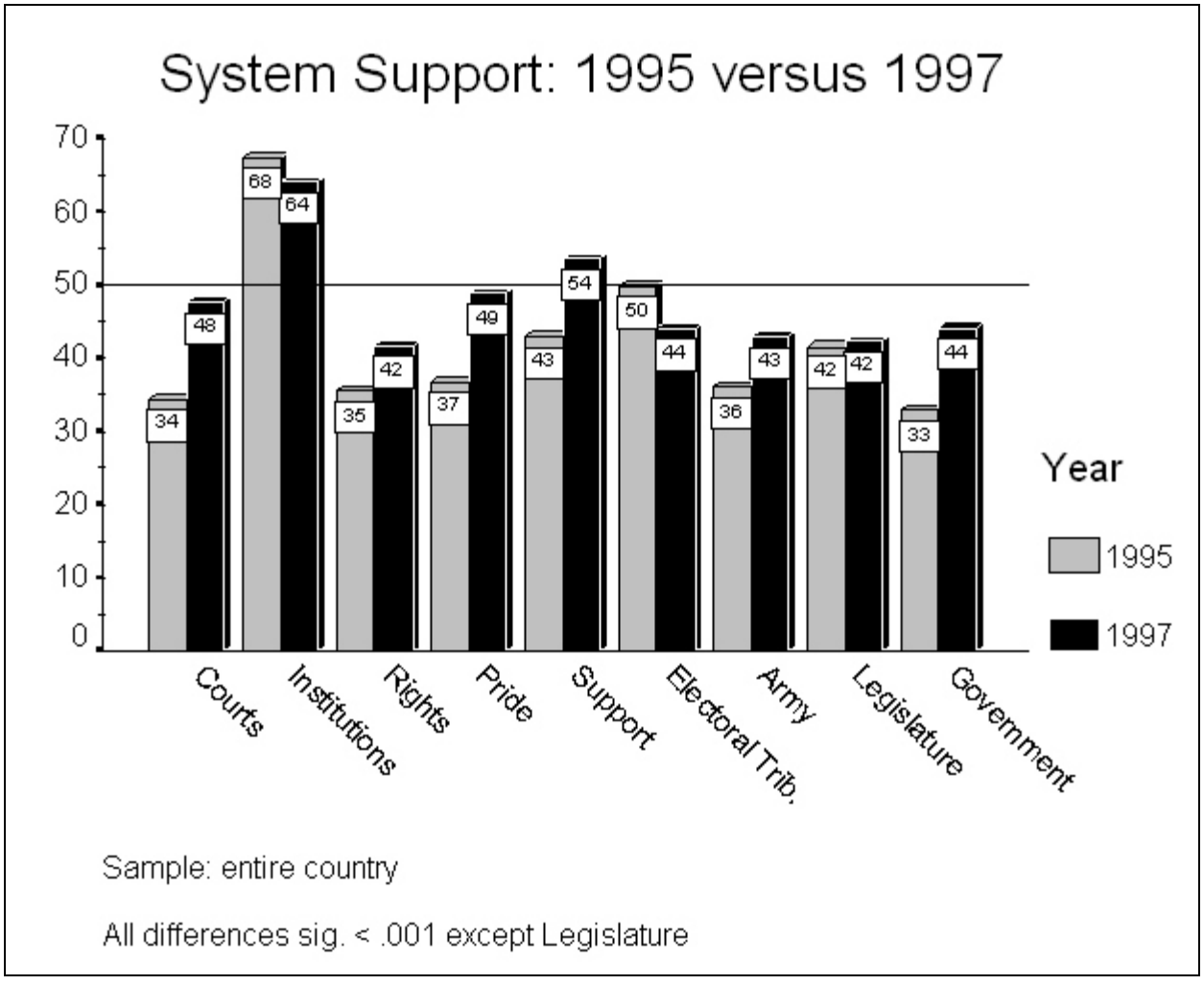


Figure II

In 1995, a few items were added to the system support series that were not included in 1991. In 1997, additional items were added as well. Figure II.3 presents the full scale for all of the variables that are included in 1995 and 1997. The figure is organized based on the 1997 survey, with the institutions enjoying the highest support on the left and those with the lowest on the right. These results are the most positive presented thus far. Of the twelve institutions included in both the 1995 and 1997 surveys, eight increased, two remained approximately the same, and only two declined. Of the two that declined, one was the general question about "institutions," but this variable is already very high compared to the others. On the other hand, the decline in support for the electoral tribunal is relatively sharp and statistically significant (< .001), dropping from a score of 50, to 44. On the positive side, there are notable and statistically significant increases for journalists, the "support" item, pride, the courts, the government, the army, basic rights and parties. Since political parties have declined notably in public support in most countries in recent years, the increase here is especially significant. One should hasten to note, however, that parties remain in last place among all institutions surveyed.

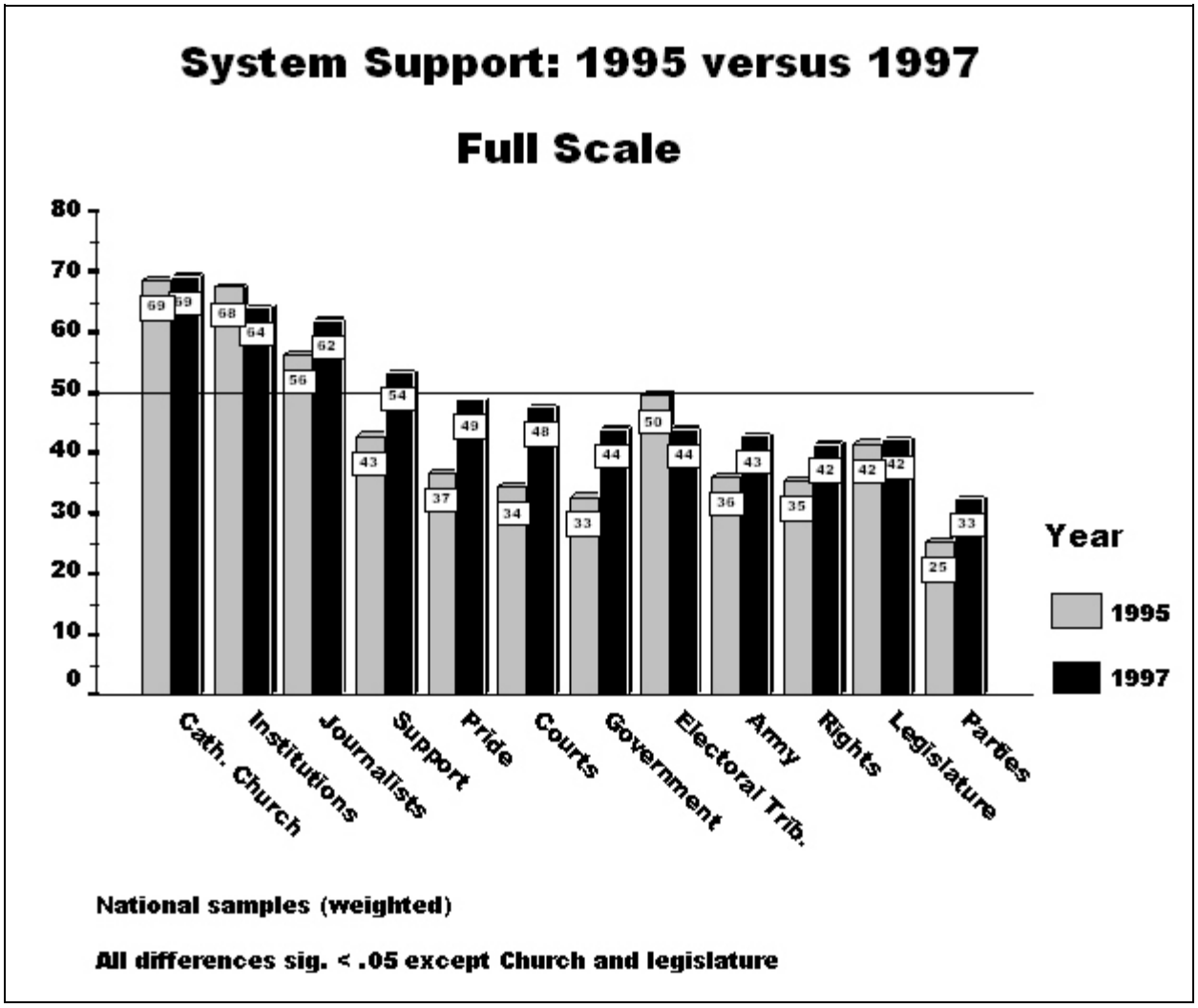


Figure II

The inclusion of the Catholic Church was based on a decision to attempt to find the upper limits institutional support in Nicaragua. Even though the Church is clearly not a government institution, it plays a significant role in society and is an actor on par with many of the major political institutions of the country. This has been made evident by the important role of the Church in the negotiated settlement of the Contra War, mediation in hostage crises and in other political events.[2] Support for the Church among the non-Catholic population is, not surprisingly, far lower than for the Catholic population (Figure II.4 shows). It is probably fair to say that the upper limit of support on our 0-100 scale is near 80, the figure given by practicing Catholics to the Catholic Church. It is unrealistic to think that any political institution would surpass this level.

[2]See Andrew Stein's discussion of the Church in Walker, op. cit., 1997.

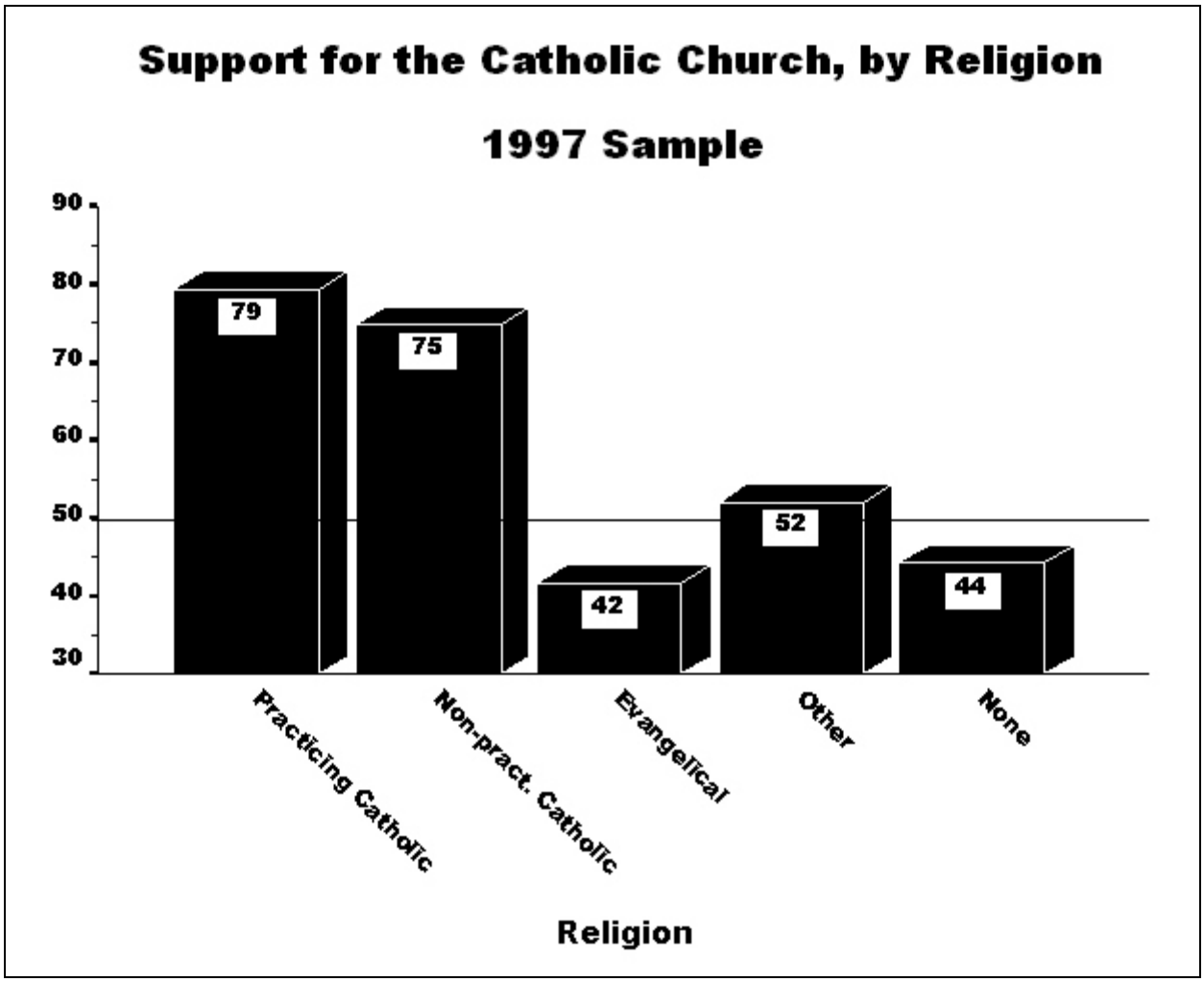


Figure II

The final group of system support items are those that were added to the survey in 1997 for the first time. The results are shown in Figure II.5 The strongest support is shown for the municipality and the Comptroller, with higher support levels than any of the specific governmental institutions examined thus far for 1997. The lowest level of support is expressed for unions, with only political parties, out of all of the institutions measured in 1997, scoring lower.

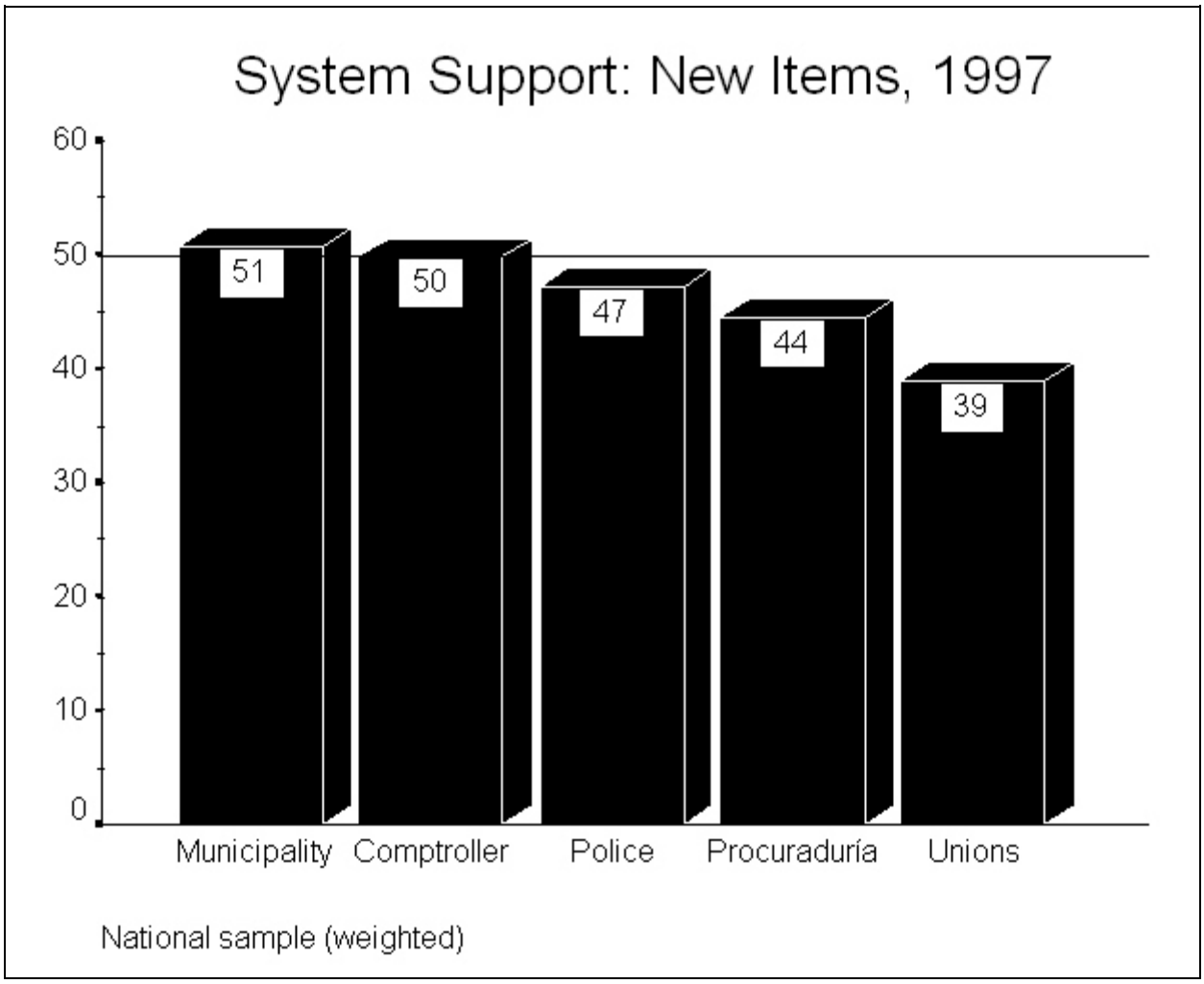


Figure II

An overall look at the 1997 survey data is given in Figure II.6. In this figure, only the political system variables are included, thus items such as the Church and unions reported on above are excluded. An observation on this figure is that in contrast to several other countries in which municipal government is ranked substantially above most other institutions, in Nicaragua this is not the case. In Nicaragua, municipalities are certainly ranked higher than key institutions such as the courts, the legislature and political parties, but the gap is not as great as found elsewhere. Finally, when looking at the set of system support indicators as a whole, we note in 1997, that with the exception of parties, all score higher than or are relatively close to the mid-point on the 0-100 scale. This is certainly a positive shift since 1995.

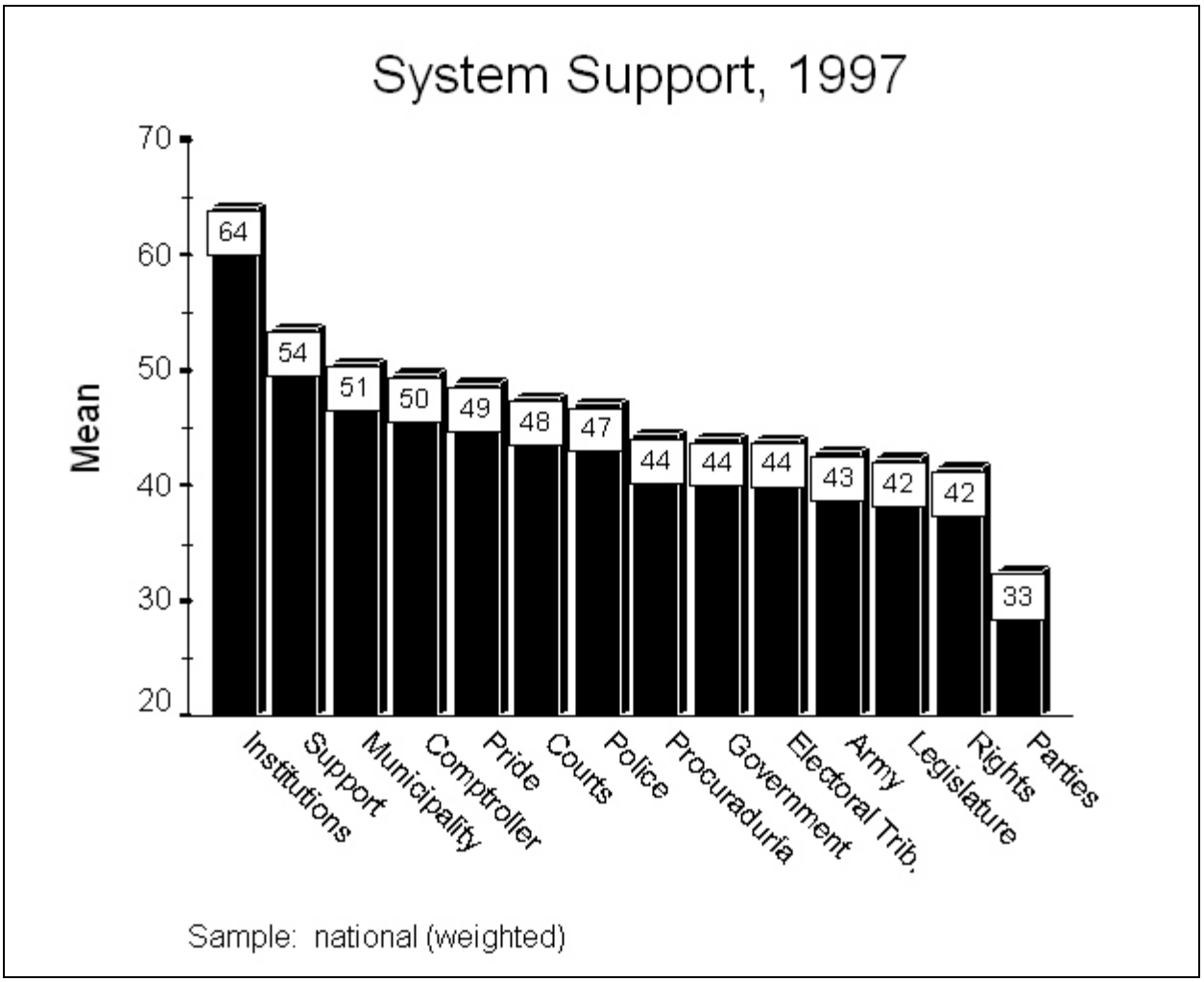


Figure II

Since males are somewhat more highly educated in Nicaragua than females (average for males is 8.0 years versus 7.5 for females) it is possible that the gender differences in system support stem from education. Figure II.7 shows the relationship between education and system support. The key democratic institutions are shown in that figure, and education is shown to have the same relationship to each of them: as education increases support declines. This means that the higher system support found among males is not a function of their higher level of education. Indeed, their higher level of support emerges in spite of their higher education. The lines on the chart are arranged from those institutions with the highest level of support (municipality) to those with the lowest (parties), and the pattern is virtually the same for each of them. When gender is examined by level of education, females continue to

have lower levels of support than males for each institution except the municipality, where the gender gap closes.[3]

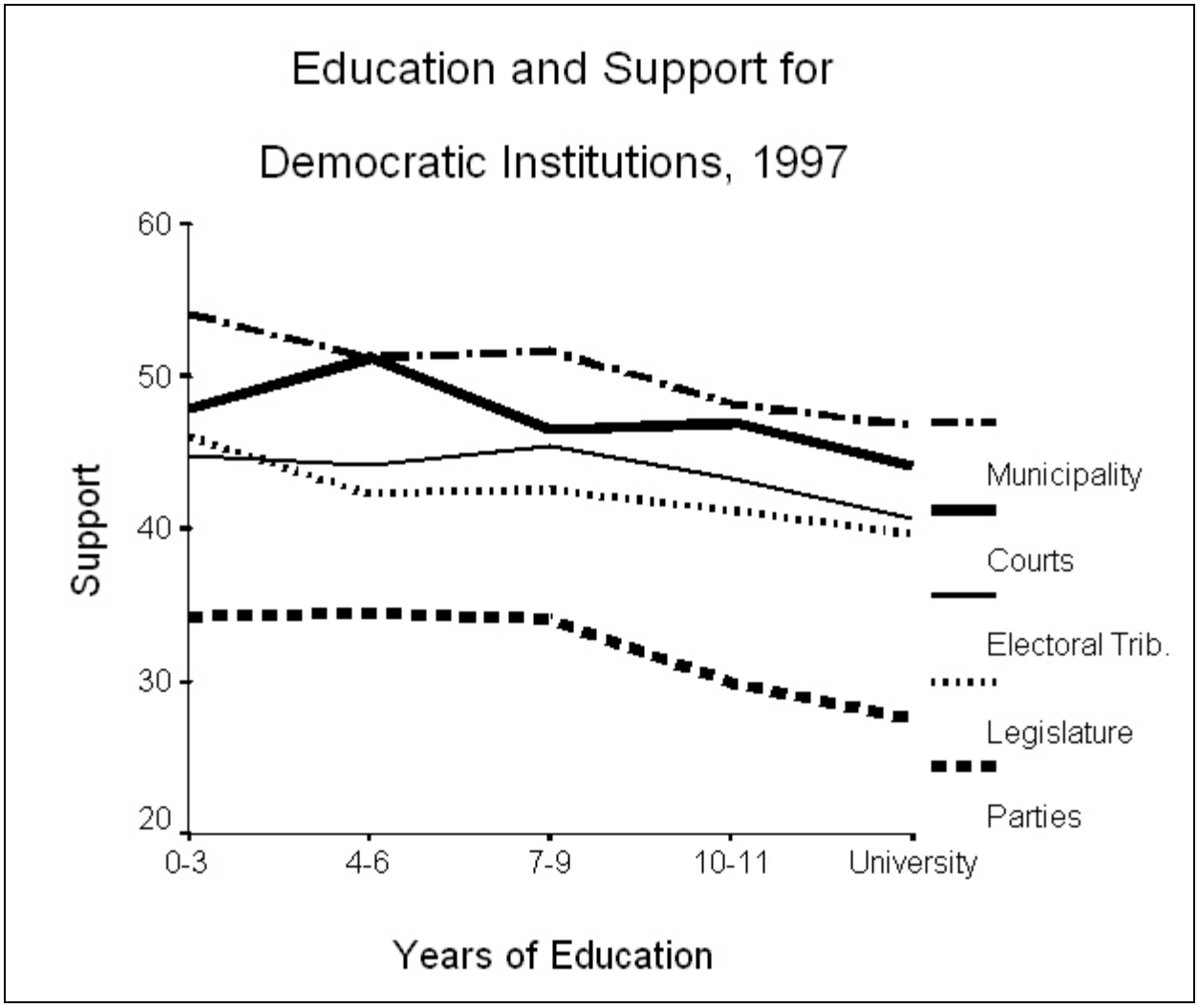


Figure II

System support, not surprisingly is related to key political behaviors, such as the vote. In the 1996 election, most Nicaraguans voted,[4] yet for whom they voted was linked to system

[3]This determination was made by employing multiple regression, and comparing the joint effect of gender and education on support for the institutions shown in this figure. In each case, except for municipal government, both education and gender had a significant impact on system support.

[4]According to the survey, 87% of those in the national sample said that they had voted. When the non-response category is excluded, voting reaches 91%.

support. Figure II.8 shows one key system support item, "pride in the Nicaraguan system of government" and vote for the main political parties. Those who voted for Alemán, were much higher on the support measure than those who voted for Ortega. This finding is not, however, affected by education differences (Ortega voters averaged 8.1 years versus Alemán voters averaging 7.5 years).[5] No doubt, this finding is closely related to the fact that the Sandinistas were out of power at the time of the election. Each of the system support items has the same basic relationship with vote in the 1996 election, as shown here, so there is no need to show each of those figures.

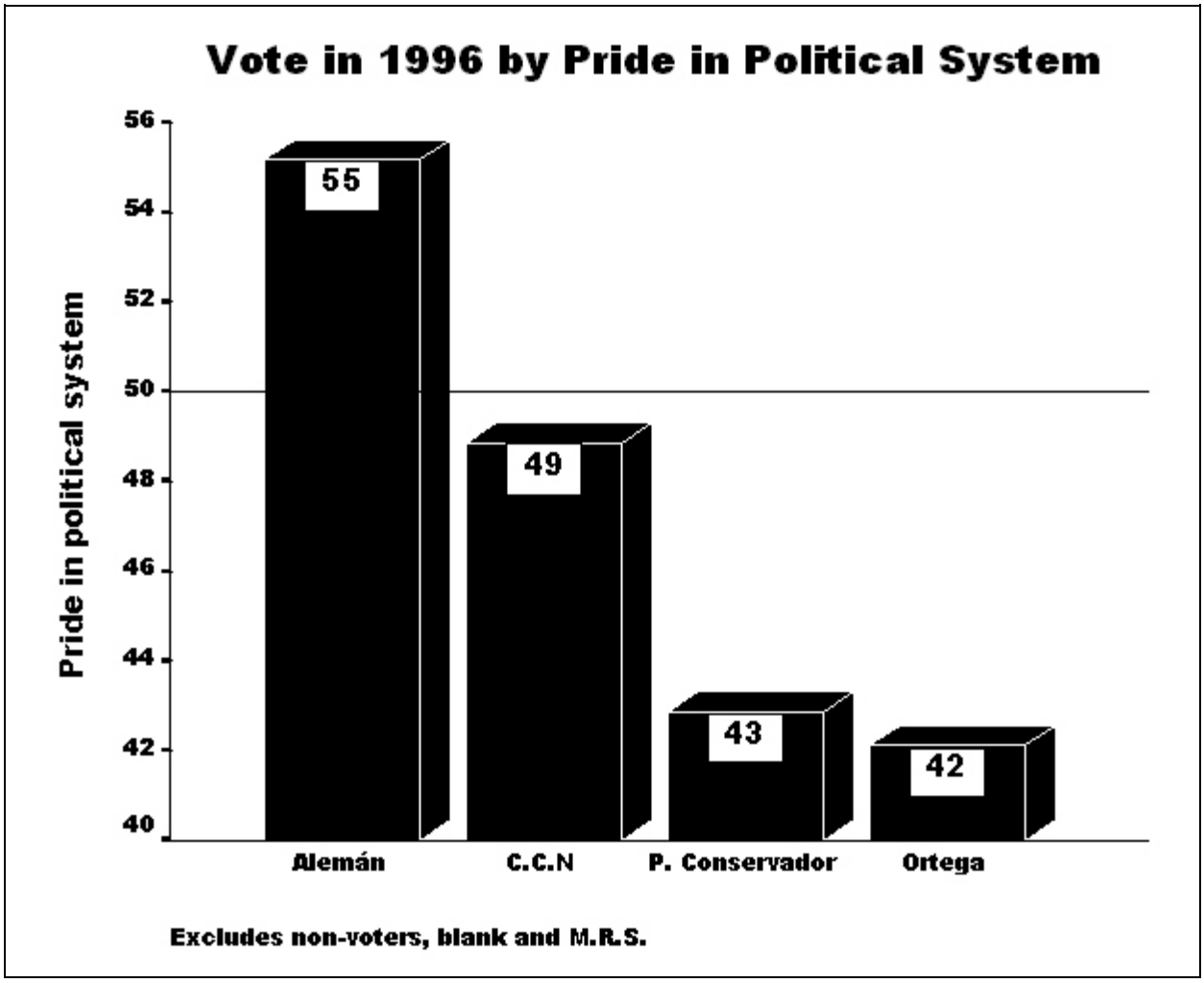
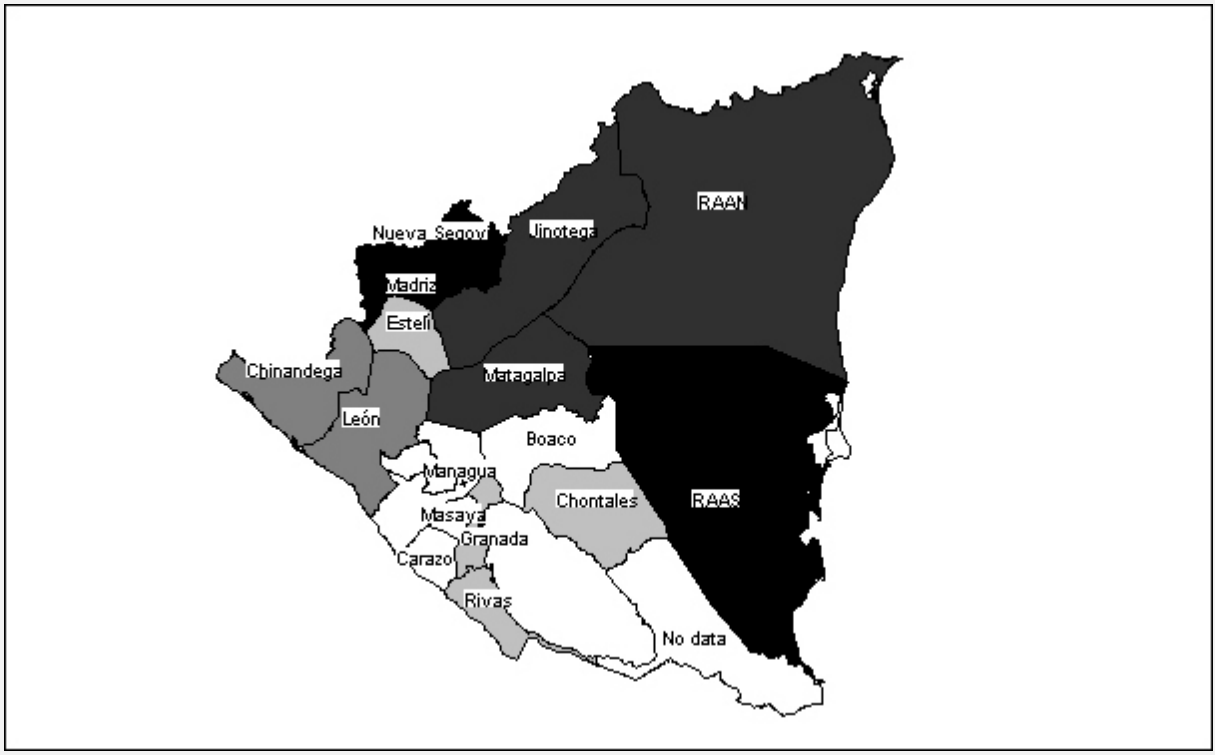


Figure II

[5]Education was included in a regression with vote, but only vote affected pride, the dependent variable.

Nicaraguan attitudes toward their system vary considerably by region of the country. In Map II.I the system support item that measures the degree of pride in the Nicaraguan political system is shown for each Department. A clear pattern emerges, showing lower pride in the Managua area, and greater pride in regions further removed. Part of this difference in regions is a function of the higher level of education in the Managua area. It has already been shown that higher education is associated with lower system support.



Map II.1

Pride in the Nicaraguan Political System, 1997
(greater pride = darker shading)

Special Groups

The analysis provided thus far in this chapter has focused on the national samples of 1991-1997. It will be recalled from Chapter I, however, that the 1997 sample contained a

number of "special groups," of direct interest to USAID. These groups are: judges, the police, soldiers (including samples of officers, officer cadets and Sargent cadets), high school teachers (public and private), and four groups of Nicaraguans who participated in civil society training programs (FUNDEMOS, CED, CONCIENCIA and CENDEL). It would be impossible to replicate the analysis of the national sample for each of these groups without making this report overly long and tedious. Nonetheless, it is important to highlight significant differences that do emerge between the groups and the national sample data. It should be recalled, as noted in Chapter I, that on average, the special groups are better educated than the population as a whole and that the military/police are more likely to be males. Judges earn higher incomes than the population as a whole.

One key test of the validity of the system support series of questions is available by examining these special groups. We hypothesize that judges should be more likely to believe in the fairness of trials than other Nicaraguans. If that were not the case, we should be suspicious of the validity of this questionnaire item. Figure II.9 shows very clearly that judges are overwhelmingly more in agreement with the opinion that getting a fair trial in the legal system is the norm. The results are not affected by level of education (recall that judges have a higher level of education than the other groups studied here), and so are not an artifact of an extraneous factor.[6] It is also of note that the police officers are significantly less confident in the fairness of trials than judges. No doubt this is a universal phenomenon, as police officers see those they have arrested set free as a result of one "technicality" or another.

[6]Education was introduced as a covariate in an analysis of variance, but had no significant relationship to opinion on the fairness of trails in Nicaragua.

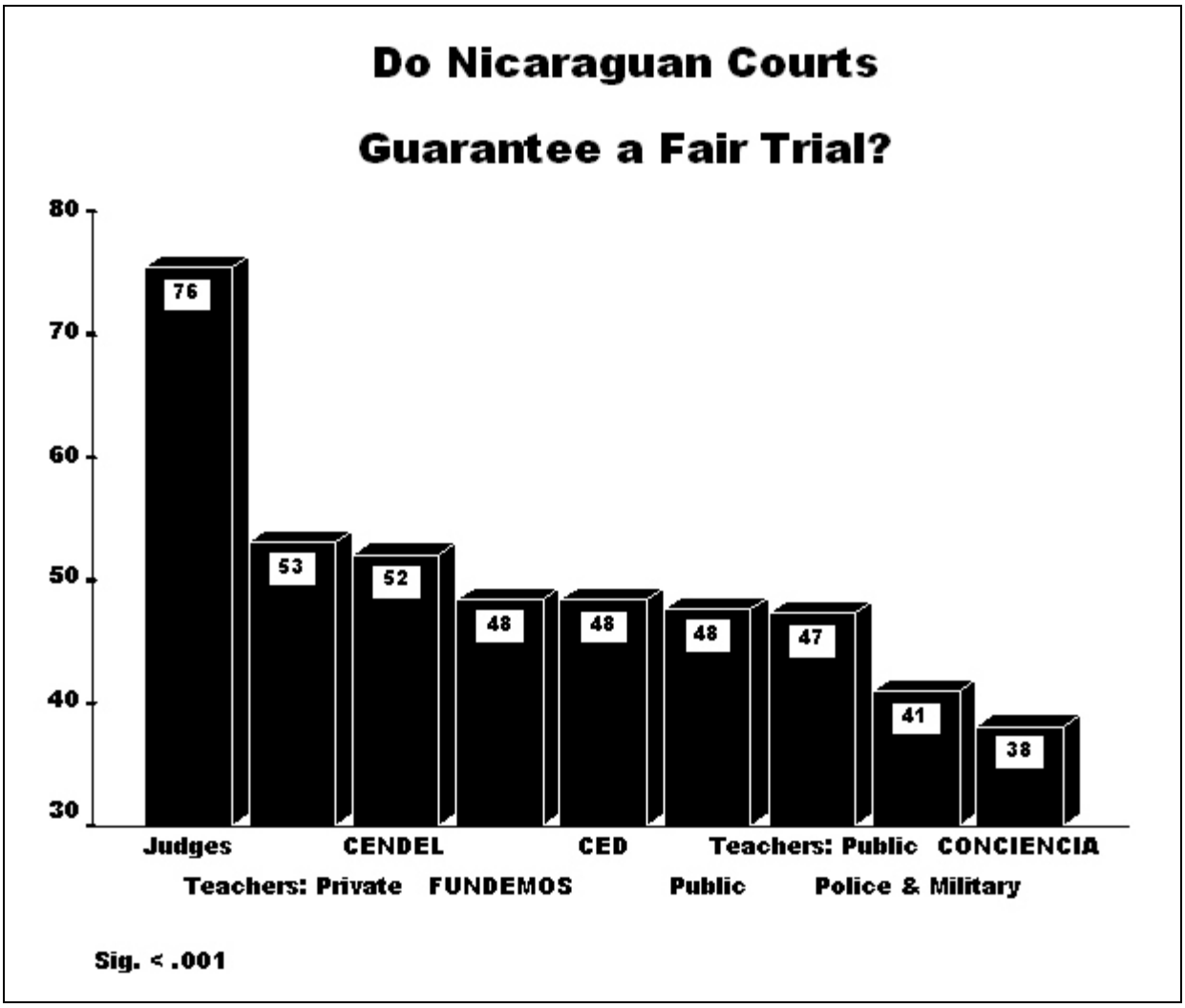


Figure II

Now that the validity of the system support measure is established, and some idea of the range of views among the various samples has been presented, it is appropriate to turn once again to the key system support item: pride. As already noted, pride in one's political system is a key indicator of the perception of the legitimacy of that system. Figure II.10 shows the results. Several things become apparent in this analysis. Once again judges score at the very top and military officers score at the very bottom. These results suggest that even though the findings on the "fair trial" item could have been idiosyncratic, with respect to the groups at the two extremes they were not. In fact, the two variables are very strongly correlated (r = .45, sig. < .001). The pride item also locates the teachers in about the same places as they were on the "fair trial" question: private school teachers have higher support

than public school teachers. Similarly, the military and police groups score at the lower end of the continuum on both questions. The only major shift is with the CONCIENCIA group, an indication that the low system support on the fair trail question may have been idiosyncratic. Indeed, each of the civil society training groups score above the national average on the "pride" item.

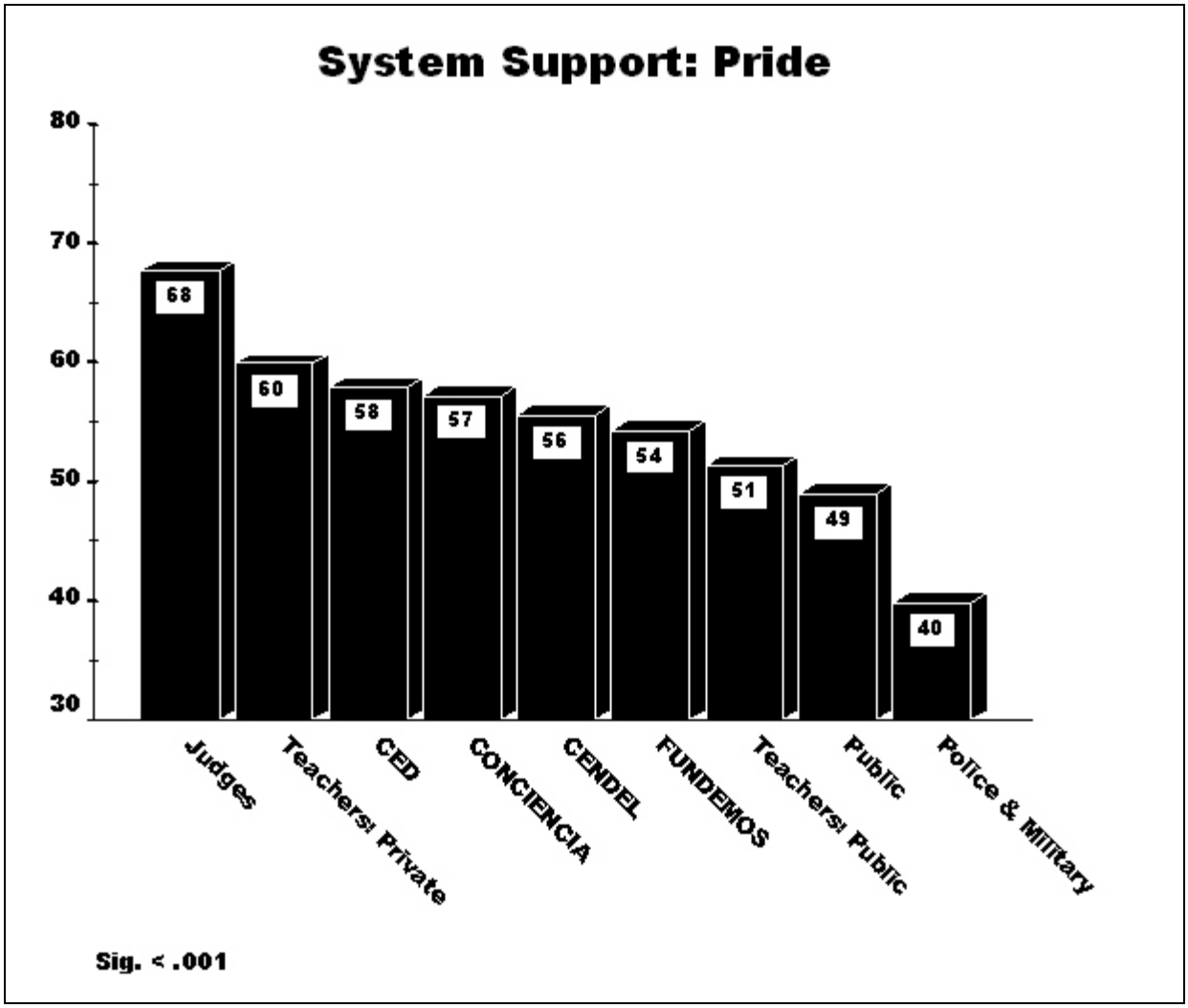


Figure II

An overall look at system support is obtained through the construction of a five-item system scale. This scale consists of the core items that have been used on other surveys in the University of Pittsburgh Latin America Public Opinion Project. The method of construction is described later in this chapter, but the interested reader should turn to the questionnaire in the appendix of this report and consult items B1, B2, B3, B4, B6 on page 8. Figure II.11

shows the results. The mass public, with an overall score of 51 on the 0-100 scale is the benchmark to which we wish to compare the special groups. Once again, the judges stand out at the top of the list, but all of the civil society groups as well as the teachers score higher than the national public as a whole. The police and military score below the mass public on this overall scale.

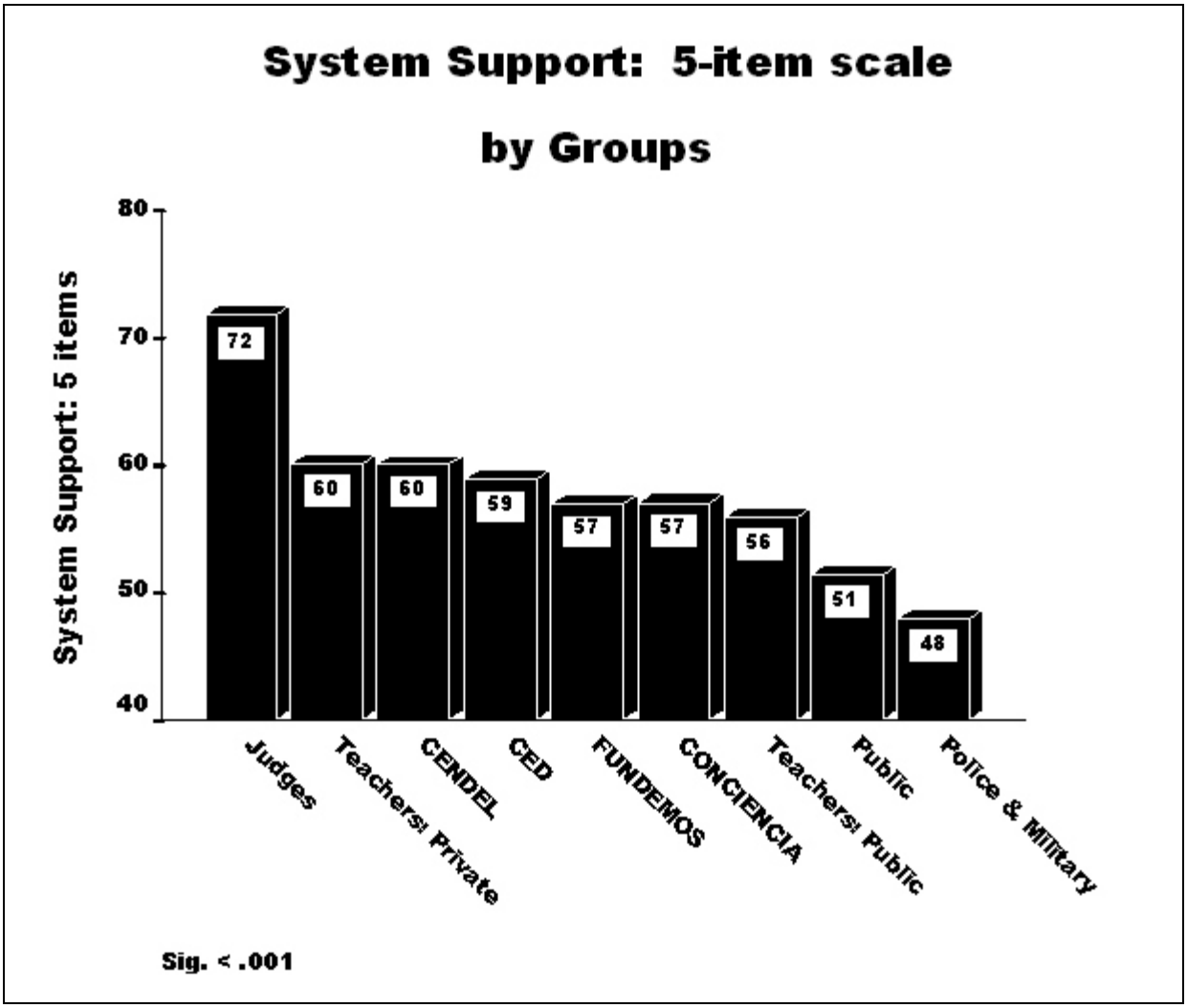


Figure II

It is relevant to compare Nicaragua's level of system support with that of other countries in Latin America. In prior reports, Nicaragua's system support for 1991 and 1995 was compared to other countries in Central America. Updated information for the period 1995-96 is now available from the University of Pittsburgh Latin American Public Opinion

Project that covers El Salvador, Costa Rica, Paraguay and Peru. Inserting the 1997 Nicaragua results into that framework for the 5-item set of base items in the system support scale produces the results show in Figure II.12. As can be seen, Costa Rica still remains far above Nicaragua, yet Nicaragua's 1997 levels compare favorably with El Salvador and Paraguay, and far exceed the level of Peru.

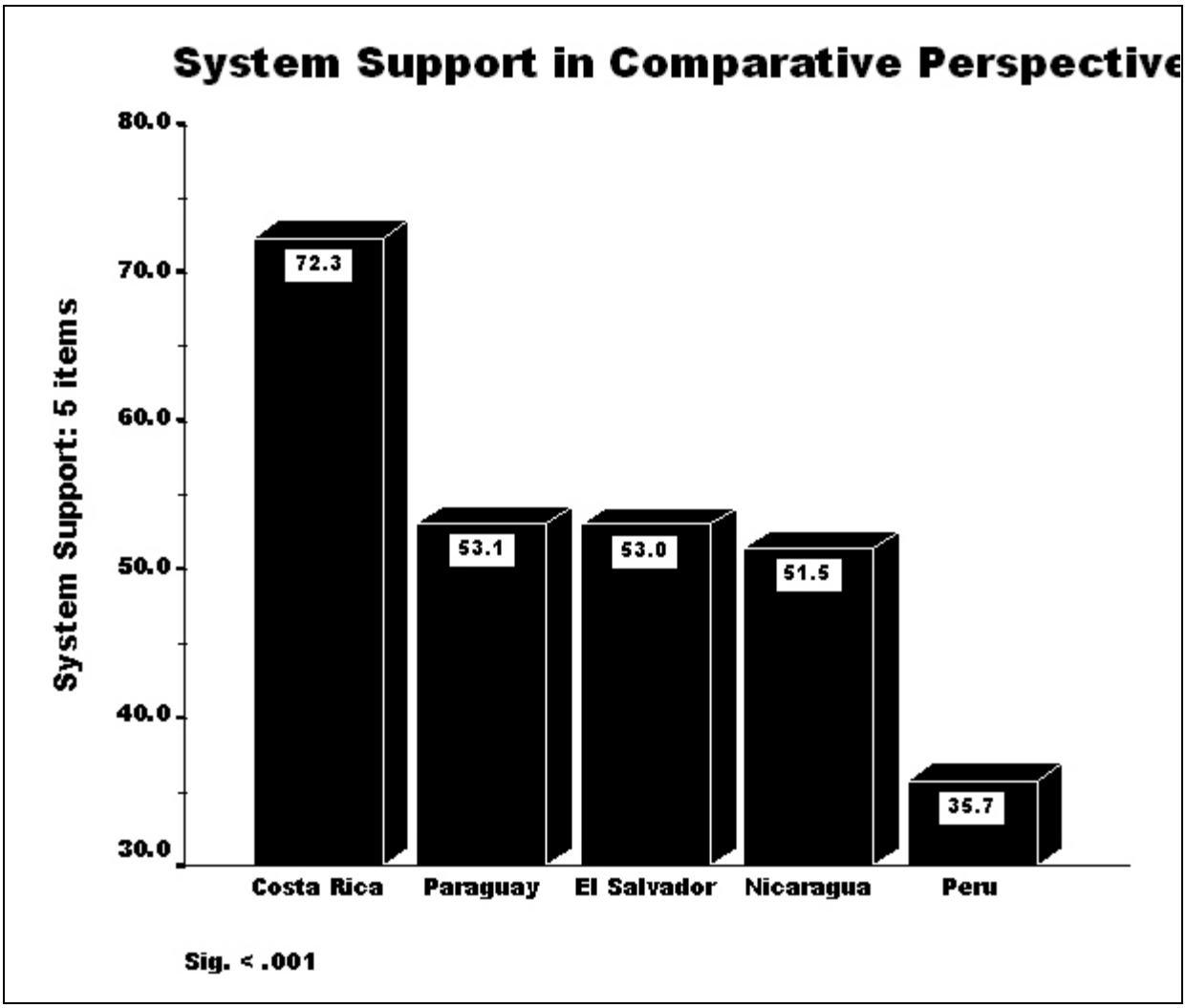


Figure II

Political Tolerance

Political tolerance is necessary if democracies are to protect the rights of minorities. In a country like Nicaragua, in which fundamental issues of governance, ideology and the state divide many citizens, tolerance for the views of others is perhaps more important than in other countries less riven by division.[7] The prior studies in the University of Pittsburgh series have examined levels of political tolerance and found them to be far more stable than system support. Figure II.13 shows a comparison of 1991, 1995 and 1997, again only for the Managua area. Studies in other countries have confirmed the basic pattern that the first two rights, the right to vote and to demonstrate, are more strongly supported than the right to run for office. In Nicaragua, the right to free speech (in the form of making a speech on TV), is also not as strongly supported as the other rights. In terms of the overall trends, however, there is some change. The only significant difference is the increase in support for the right to run for office, from a low in 1991 of 42 to a high of 48 in 1997 (ANOVA sig. = .05). Support for free speech also increased, and by 1997 had reached the mid-point on the 0-100 scale. The other two civil liberties, however, have been less strongly supported, but the change is not statistically significant for this Managua-based comparison.

[7]Andrew Stein, "The Consequences of the Nicaraguan Revolution for Political Tolerance Among the Mass Public, Catholic Priests and Secular Elites," *Comparative Politics* (forthcoming).

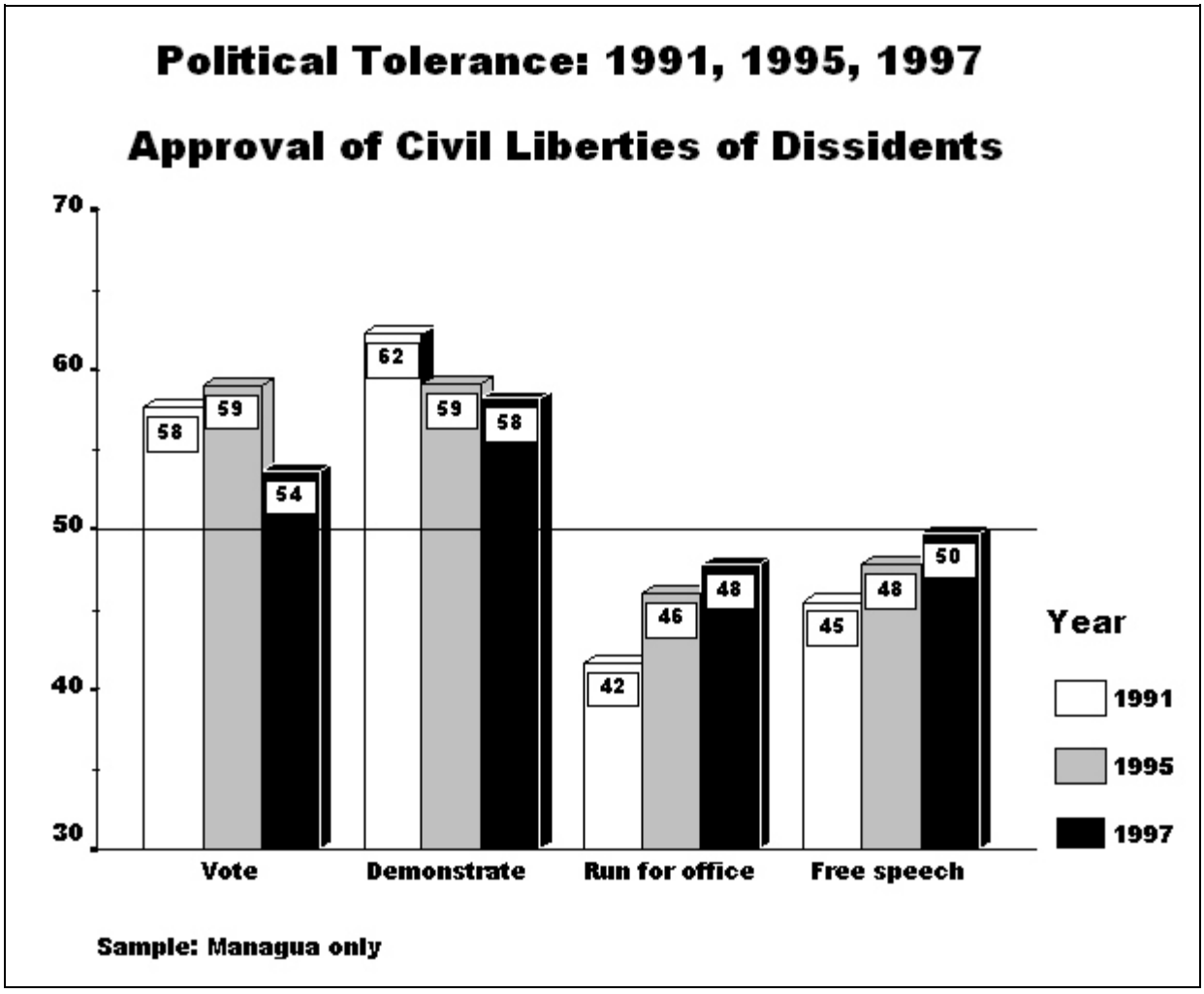


Figure II

In order to move away from the limited sample of Managua, we need to turn to the 1995 and 1997 surveys, where we can compare the entire nation. The results of the comparison of those two years are shown in Figure II.14. A rather different and more positive picture emerges. Between 1995 and 1997, looking at the nation as a whole, support for the civil liberties of dissidents increased significantly on three of the four measures, and remained essentially the same for the fourth (the right to vote). Of equal importance is that in contrast to 1991, now all four measures of political tolerance are in the positive end of the 0-100 continuum. At the same time, one should hasten to note that the right to run for office is still not strongly supported by Nicaraguans.

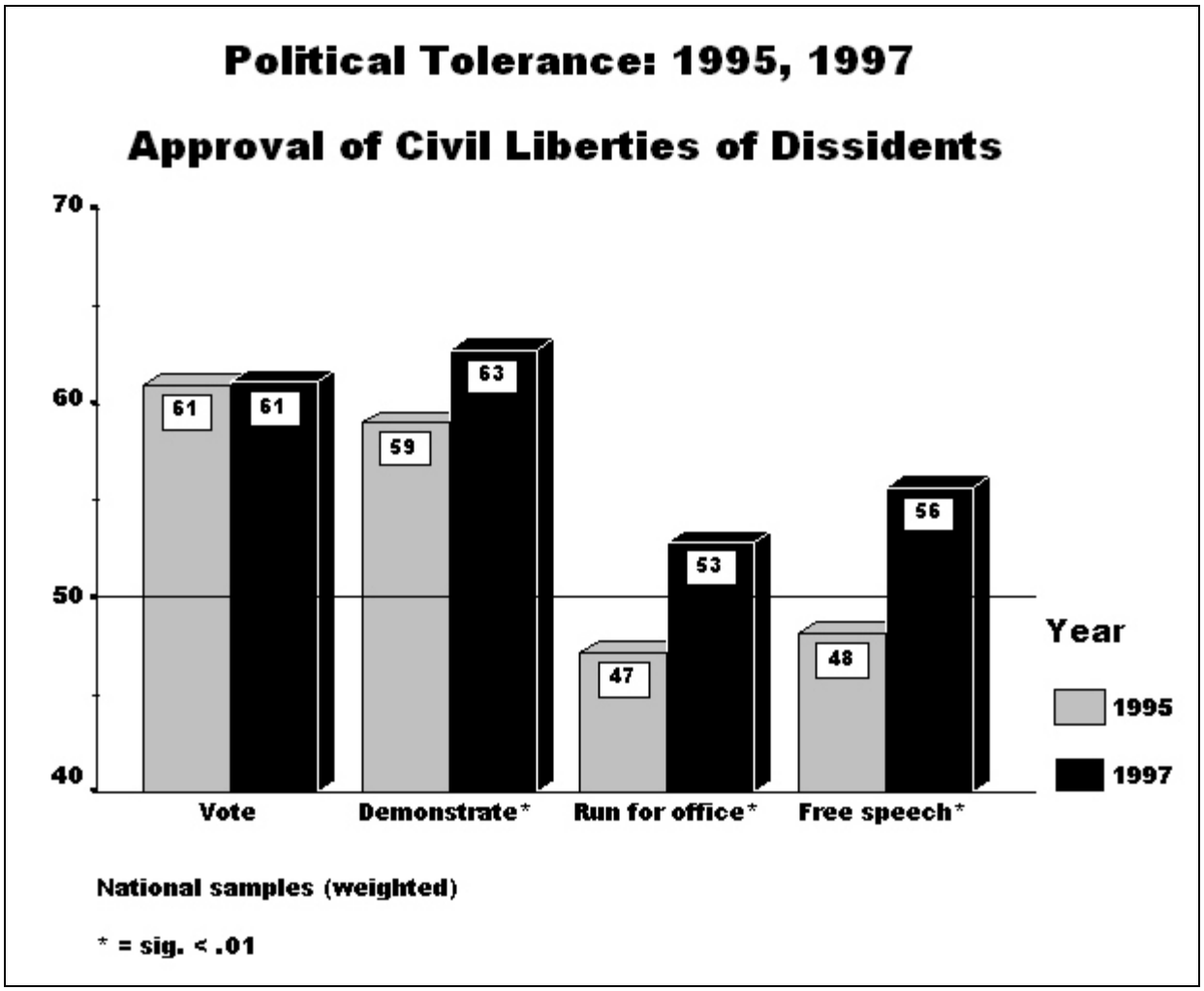


Figure II

Political tolerance in 1997 did not vary widely in Nicaragua by socio-economic and demographic characteristics. Men are more tolerant (mean of 59) than women (mean of 57), but the gap is not wide in absolute terms and is statistically insignificant. Wealth shows little relationship to tolerance, and even education is only weakly related (r = .06, sig. < .001).[8] The gender differences are shown in Figure II.15.

[8]Wealth is measured by an index of ownership of artifacts as well as household monthly income. The income measure does produce a statistically significant association with tolerance, but an inspection of the plot of the 4-item tolerance measure with income shows no clear pattern.

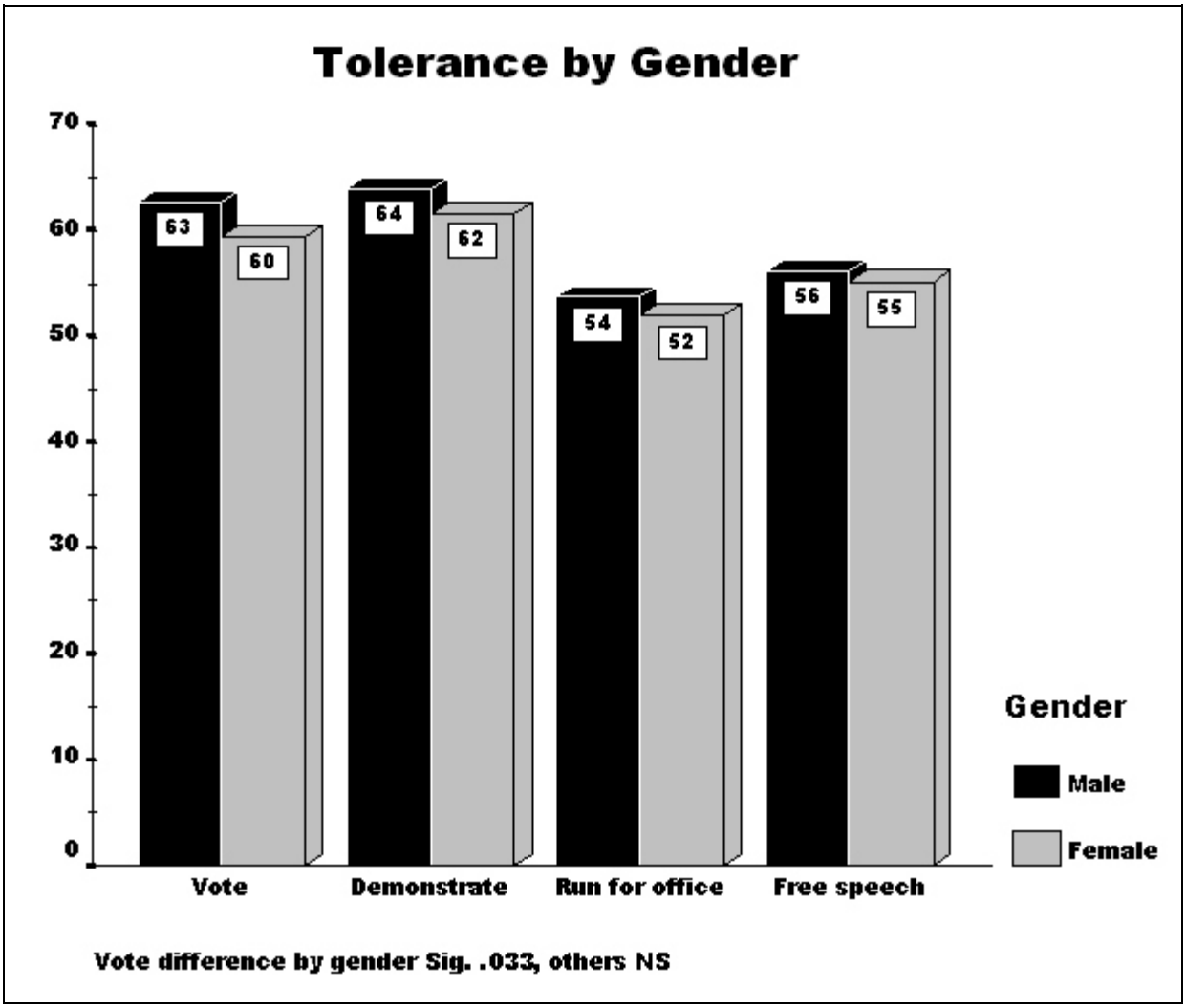
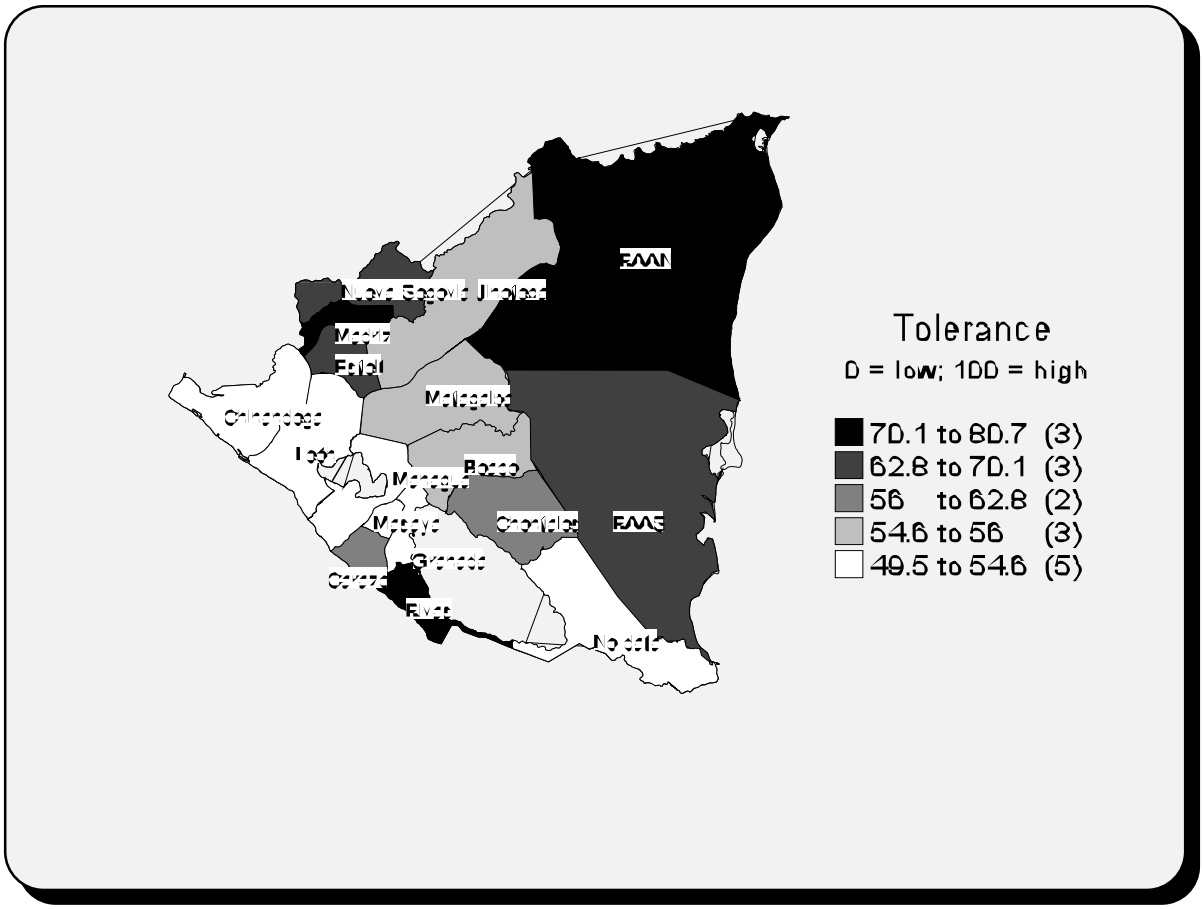


Figure II

There is, however, geographical variation that exceed the socio-economic variation. In Map II.II tolerance levels are shown for each department in Nicaragua (except, of course, Río San Juan, for which we do not have any data). Tolerance varies from relatively moderate levels (around 50 on the 0-100 scale) for five departments including Managua and nearby departments to much higher levels in RAAN Rivas and Madriz. As noted, tolerance is higher

among the better educated, but when the impact of education is controlled for, no differences in these inter-departmental patterns emerge.[9]



Map II.2

How do the special groups fare in this discussion of political tolerance? Figure II.16 shows the overall tolerance scale (based on the four items discussed above), for each of the

[9]To control for the impact of education, an ANCOVA analysis was run, using education as a covariate, and then examining the Multiple Classification Analysis (MCA) mean scores both before and after the impact of education was included. Tolerance scores did not vary by more than one point on the 0-100 scale in any Department as a result of the inclusion of the education covariate.

special groups and the mass public. The mass public's tolerance score is 58 on the 0-100 4-item measure. Youth, those 25 or younger, score at 58.2, essentially the same as the national average. Each of the civil society training groups except CENDEL scores above the national average for the mass public. In addition, judges and private school teachers are well above the public in general.

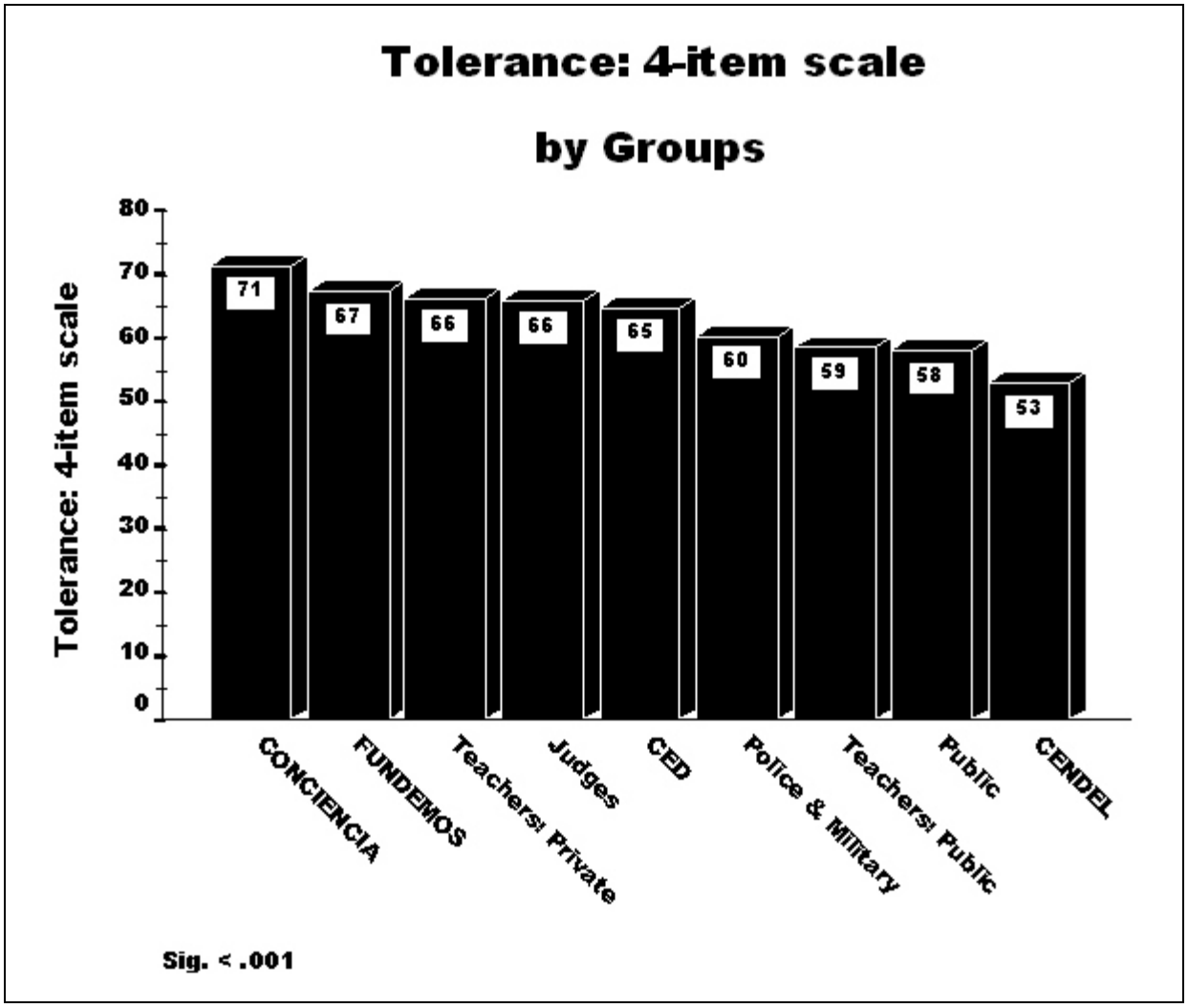


Figure II

Given the higher level of education of the special groups (see Chapter I for data), and the overall association between tolerance and education, the higher tolerance of the groups

as compared to the national population is to be expected. In order to control for the impact of education on tolerance, a "Multiple Classification Analysis (MCA) using education as a covariate was performed, and is reported on in Table II.1. The column labeled "adjusted" is the "true" tolerance score for each group after the impact of education has been removed. For example, judges, who score at 65.9, decline to 63.4 after controlling for their high level of education. But the overall picture changes little even after this adjustment, so the tolerance levels for each group shown in the bar chart above is a good representation of their actual tolerance independent of their level of education.

MCA: Tolerance by Group: Adjusted for the Impact of Education [a]

			Predicted Mean		Deviation	
		N	Unadjusted	Adjusted for Factors and Covariates	Unadjusted	Adjusted for Factors and Covariates
TOL	1.00 Public	2463	58.1082	58.6903	-1.2226	-.6405
	3.00 Judges	98	65.9297	63.1670	6.5988	3.8362
	55.00 Police & Military	281	60.2774	59.5816	.9466	.2508
	60.00 Teachers: Public	194	58.7152	56.9154	-.6157	-2.4155
	61.00 Teachers: Private	104	66.3373	64.6196	7.0064	5.2888
	101.00 FUNDEMOS	108	67.4468	66.5772	8.1160	7.2463
	102.00 CED	147	64.8148	62.8285	5.4840	3.4977
	103.00 CONCIENCIA	39	71.4625	71.5693	12.1316	12.2385
	104.00 CENDEL	104	52.9202	52.3652	-6.4106	-6.9657

a. TOL by ESTRATOR with ED

Table II

In the 1997 survey, two additional questions were added in the area of political tolerance. First, we wanted to know how important it is for Nicaraguans to arrive at a compromise with their political opponents. We asked: "Some people say that it is dangerous to arrive at a deal with one's political opponents, while others say that it is a good thing. What do you think?" Figure II.17 shows that Nicaraguans are overwhelmingly in favor of arriving at a compromise with their political opponents. The second question in some ways reverses the equation, forcing the respondents to chose between order and freedom. The question asks: "Some say that it is more important to live in an orderly society than to have a lot of liberty. In your opinion, which is more important: order or liberty?" The results show a similarly lopsided distribution of responses, with nearly three-quarters of respondents in Nicaragua supporting order more than freedom. These questions suggest a great deal

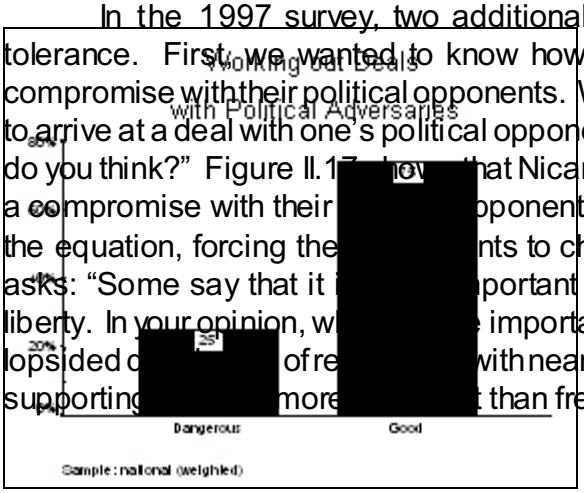


Figure II

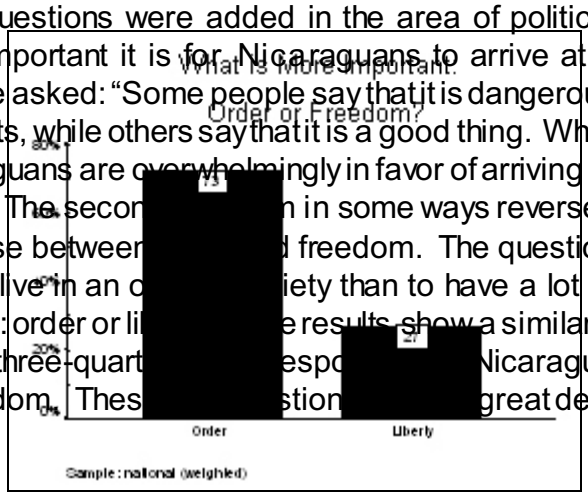


Figure II

about Nicaraguan attitudes. It would appear that most Nicaraguans opt for political tranquility, even if this comes at the cost of political liberty. That is, most Nicaraguans believe that it is a good idea to seek a compromise with political opponents, and this may be because most Nicaraguans would sacrifice their political freedom in order to achieve a more orderly society. In light of the tumultuous political history of Nicaragua over the past twenty years, these choices are understandable, and may drive more Nicaraguans toward a centrist political position, eschewing extremes.

A preference for order over liberty is widespread in Nicaragua, and while it is related closely to ideological preferences, even among the extreme left order is preferred to liberty.

Figure II.19 shows the relationship between ideology, measured in the survey by the standard "left-right 10-point scale," and the question on order versus liberty. The figure makes clear two things. First, those on the political left are much more likely to select "liberty" over "order," a finding that is entirely expected and helps validate the survey. Second, even among those on the left, order is preferred over liberty by about two-thirds or more of the population of Nicaragua in 1997. It is also of interest to note that among those selecting the extreme left position (1 on the 10 scale) a slight decline in preference for liberty emerges compared to the less extreme leftists, suggesting that among those on the extreme left there appears to be an authoritarian bias normally associated with the extreme right.[10]

[10] Extensive research by Altemeyer has shown a very strong authoritarian streak among the right-wing. His research on the left has not shown a similar tendency, but his samples have been from Canadian universities, where the left has not gone through anything remotely paralleling the Sandinista years in Nicaragua. See Bob Altemeyer, *The Authoritarian Specter* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1996).

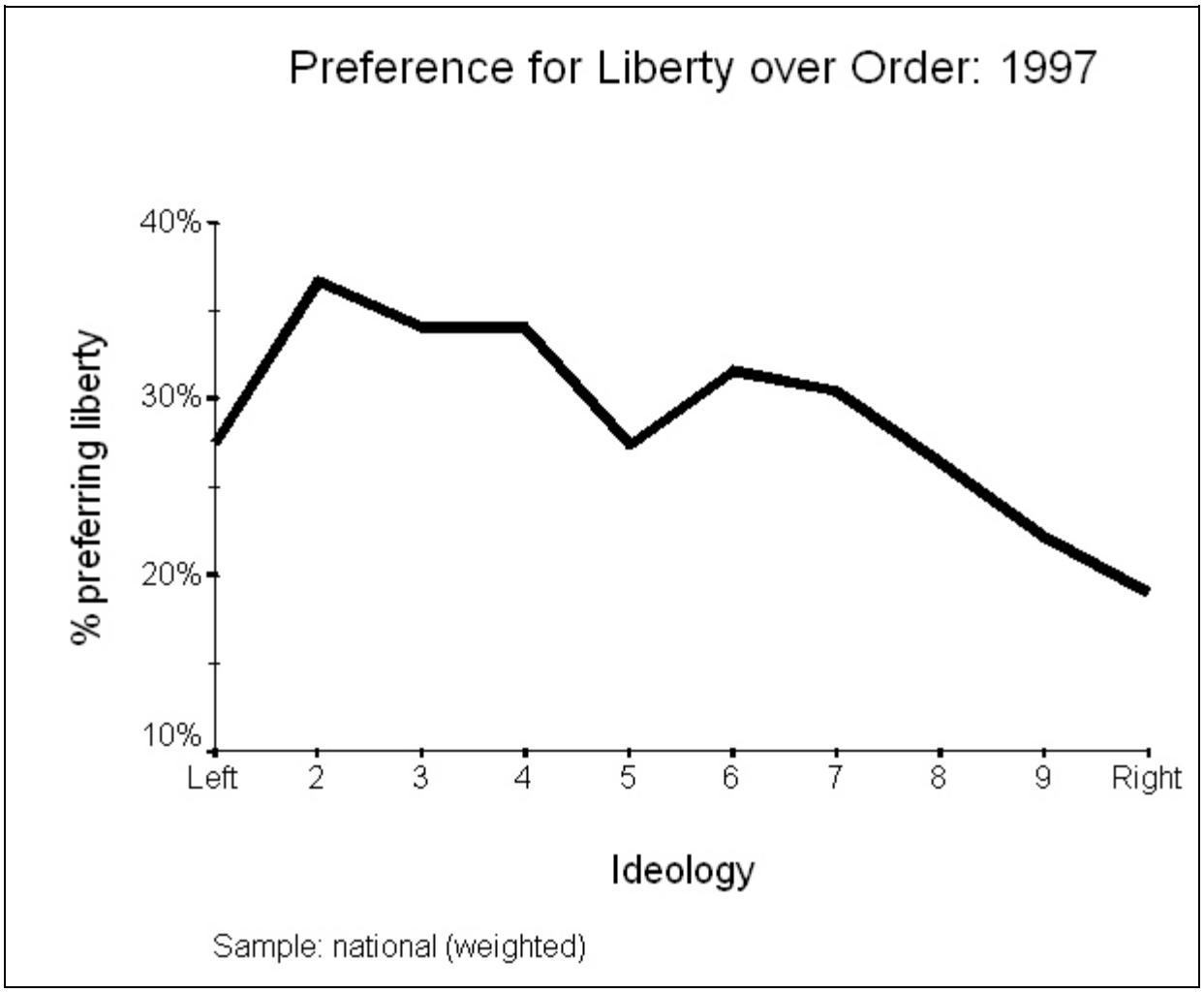


Figure II

One final analysis of tolerance is to place Nicaragua in comparative perspective, just as was done earlier in this chapter with respect to system support. Figure II.20 shows that Nicaragua, which fared well in prior studies, is now higher than the other countries in the study. The differences, while statistically significant (as they would be with large samples such

as this) are not great in absolute terms. Nonetheless, the relatively high tolerance levels is an encouraging finding.

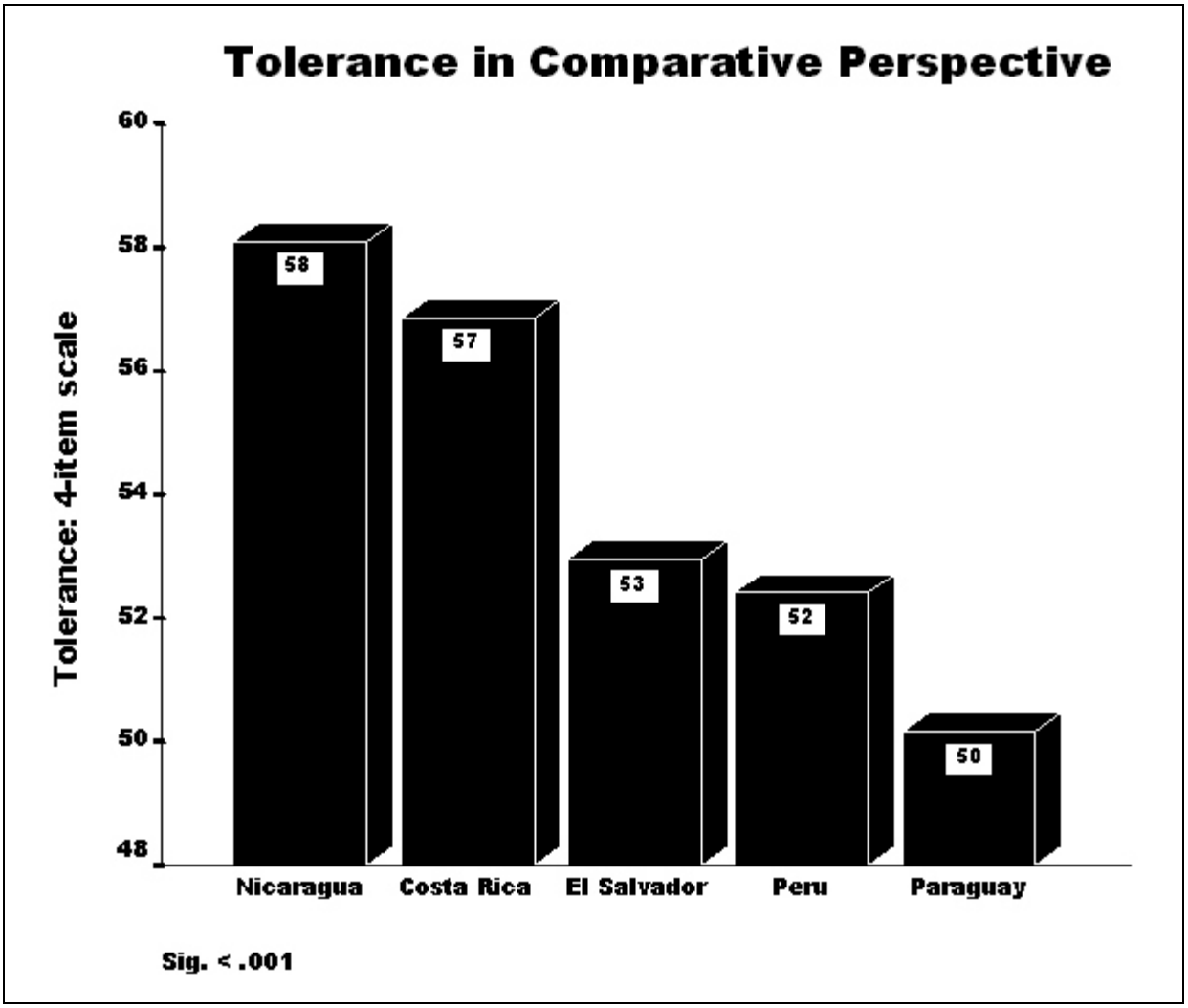


Figure II

The Relationship Between Tolerance and System Support

The analysis presented above of system support and tolerance has demonstrated important changes since our first study in 1991. In prior studies emerging from the University of Pittsburgh project, the relationship between system support and tolerance has also been explored in an effort to develop a predictive model of democratic stability. In this report, I draw on that earlier discussion in order to remind the reader (or to present for the first time to those who have not seen those studies) what these relationships are.[11] Table II.2 represents all of the theoretically possible combinations of system support and tolerance when the two variables are divided between high and low.[12]

Table II
Theoretical Relationship Between
Tolerance and System Support
in Institutionally Democratic Polities

	Tolerance	
System support	High	Low
High	Stable Democracy	Authoritarianism
Low	Unstable Democracy	Democratic Breakdown

[11]This framework was first presented in Mitchell A. Seligson and Ricardo Córdova Macías, *Perspectivas para una democracia estable en El Salvador* (San Salvador: IDELA, 1993). See also Mitchell A. Seligson and Ricardo Córdova M., *El Salvador: De la Guerra a la Paz, una Cultura Política en Transición* (San Salvador: IDELA y FUNDAUNGO, 1995). The Nicaragua study, based on the 1991 and 1995 data sets is found in Mitchell A. Seligson, *Political Culture in Nicaragua: Transitions, 1991-1995.* (Managua, Nicaragua: United States Agency for International Development, 1996). The discussion in this report draws directly on the explanatory material contained in the 1996 study.

[12]The scale ranges from 0-100, so the most natural cut-point is 50. In actuality, since the zero also counts as a valid value in the scale, there are 101 points to the scale, and the arithmetic division would be 50.5. In this and other studies we have used 50 because it is more intuitive.

Let us review each cell, one-by-one. Political systems with individuals who predominantly have high system support and high political tolerance are those we would predict would be most stable. This prediction is based on the logic that high support is needed in non-coercive environments for the system to be stable. If citizens do not support their political system, and they have the freedom to act, system change would appear to be the eventual inevitable outcome. Systems that are stable, however, will not necessarily be democratic unless minority rights are assured. Such assurance could, of course, come from constitutional guarantees, but unless citizens are willing to tolerate the civil liberties of minorities, there will be little opportunity for those minorities to run for and win elected office. Under those conditions, of course, majorities can always suppress the rights of minorities. Systems that are both politically legitimate, as demonstrated by positive system support and who have citizens who are reasonably tolerant of minority rights, are likely to enjoy stable democracy.[13]

When system support remains high, but tolerance is low, then the system should remain stable (because of the high support), but democratic rule ultimately might be placed in jeopardy. Such systems would tend to move toward authoritarian (oligarchical) rule in which democratic rights would be restricted.

Low system support is the situation characterized by the lower two cells in the table, and should be directly linked to unstable situations. Instability, however, does not necessarily translate into the ultimate reduction of civil liberties, since the instability could serve to force the system to deepen its democracy, especially when the values tend toward political tolerance. Hence, in the situation of low support and high tolerance, it is difficult to predict if the instability will result in greater democratization or a protracted period of instability characterized perhaps by considerable violence. On the other hand, in situations of low support and low tolerance, democratic breakdown seems to be the obvious eventual outcome.

It is important to keep in mind two caveats that apply to this scheme. First, note that the relationships discussed here only apply to systems that are already institutionally democratic. That is, they are systems in which competitive, regular elections are held and widespread participation is allowed. These same attitudes in authoritarian systems would have entirely different implications. For example, low system support and high tolerance might produce the breakdown of an authoritarian regime and its replacement by a democracy. Second, the assumption being made is that over the long run, attitudes of both elites and the mass public make a difference in regime type. Attitudes and system type may remain incongruent for many years. Indeed, as Seligson and Booth have shown for the case of Nicaragua, that is what may well have occurred. But the Nicaraguan case we studied was

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[13]Robert Dahl, *Polyarchy: Participation and Opposition*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1971.

one in which the extant system was authoritarian and repression had long been used to maintain an authoritarian regime, perhaps in spite of the tolerant attitudes of the citizens.[14]

Empirical Relationship Between Tolerance and System Support in Nicaragua

It is now time to put together the two variables that have been the focus of this chapter by examining the joint distribution of the two variables. To do this, both variables are dichotomized into "high" and "low." An index of tolerance was created, by summing up the scores each respondent gave for each of the four tolerance items. Since each item ranged from 0 to 100, the total scale ranged from a low of 0 to a high of 400. In order to reconvert it back to the 0-100 metric, this scale was then divided by 4. The scale was divided into high and low at the 50-point. System support is scaled in a similar way, with the five items ranging from 0 to 500, divided by 5 and split at the 50-point to distinguish between high and low.[15]

In the 1996 report to USAID analyzing the 1991 and 1995 data sets, Table II.3 was presented. The analysis was limited by the fact that in 1991, the survey covered Managua and urban areas of León, Granada and Masaya. As noted earlier in this report, those results do not appropriately represent Nicaragua as a whole. Nonetheless, they did show a large decrease in the stable democracy cell between 1991 and 1995, moving from nearly one-third

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[14]Mitchell A. Seligson and John A. Booth, "Political Culture and Regime Type: Evidence from Nicaragua and Costa Rica," *Journal of Politics*, Vol. 55, No. 3, August, 1993, pp. 777-792. A different version appears as "Cultura política y democratización: vías alternas en Nicaragua y Costa Rica." In Carlos Barba Solano, José Luis Barros Horcasitas y Javier Hurtado, *Transiciones a la democracia en Europa y América Latina*. México: FLACSO y Universidad de Guadalajara, 1991, pp. 628-681. Also appears as "Paths to Democracy and the Political Culture of Costa Rica, Mexico and Nicaragua," Larry Diamond, ed., *Political Culture and Democracy in Developing Countries*. Boulder: Lynne Reinner Publishers, 1994, pp. 99-130.

[15]It is important to note that the results presented here differ from those in prior presentations of the University of Pittsburgh Public Opinion Project. In many of those presentations the expanded scale of items was utilized, whereas here the focus is on the core list. In addition, in this study an algorithm is used for missing data (i.e., non-response) so as to minimize the number of missing cases in the overall scale. In the tolerance scale, when two or more of the four items are answered, the overall scale score is based on the valid responses. If fewer than two are answered, the case is scored as missing. For the system support measure, a valid score is accepted when at least three of the five questions are answered. As a result of these changes, the percentages reported in the following tables vary somewhat from some earlier reports and publications.

of the population to less than one-fifth of the population. At the same time, there was a major increase in the democratic breakdown cell, nearly doubling from 17% to 30%. There was a corresponding decline in the authoritarianism cell, down from 36% to 16%. In sum, whereas Nicaraguan citizens were predominantly in the stable cells in 1991, by 1995 they were predominantly in the unstable cells.

Table II
Empirical Relationship Between
Tolerance and System Support
in Managua, urban León, Granada and Masaya 1991-1995[a]

	Tolerance			
System support	High		Low	
High	Stable Democracy		Authoritarianism	
	1991: 29%	1995: 19%	1991: 36%	1995: 16%
Low	Unstable Democracy		Democratic Breakdown	
	1991: 18%	1995: 35%	1991: 17%	1995: 30%

[a]These percentages are based on the five core items of the system support scale rather than the nine- and eleven-item series reported on elsewhere.

In order to get a broader, national-level picture of the relationship between system support and tolerance, it is necessary to return to the data sets that have been utilized as the core of the analysis presented in this report, namely the 1995 and 1997 national samples described in Chapter I. In Table II.4 the results of a comparison of the national samples for 1995 and 1997 are shown, utilizing the same variables as employed in 1991 and 1995, and using the same 0-100 scales dichotomized into low and high at the 50-point.[16]

[16]There is, however, one difference between the two tables. In the earlier work, the scale for each dimension was created by summing up the scores of each respondent for each variable. When a respondent did not reply to a single question in the system support series, or a single item in the tolerance series, the entire case was deleted from the analysis. In order

Important differences emerge between 1995 and 1997, and these are not surprising given the analysis of system support and trust as presented earlier in this chapter. In 1995, the Managua and urban León, Granada and Masaya data showed that 19 per cent of the respondents were in the "stable democracy" cell, a marked drop from 29% in 1991. The national 1995 survey also places 19 per cent of the respondents in the stable democracy cell, but by 1997, this number had increased substantially to 30 per cent, slightly exceeding the level achieved in 1991, for the Managua, León, Granada and Masaya sample. The appropriate comparison, however, is to focus on the 1995 and 1997 national samples, rather than attempting to make comparisons between those samples and the more limited 1991 data base. It is clear from the 1995-1997 comparisons that for Nicaragua as a whole, the stable democracy cell increased considerably, a result of the already noted increases in system support and tolerance. Looking at the other extreme of the model, the "democratic breakdown" cell, we also see change, but not as dramatic. In 1995, this cell accounted for 28 per cent of the population, but by 1997 it had dropped to 22 per cent. It is also of note that the stable democracy cell in 1995 was far smaller than the democratic breakdown cell (19 per cent versus 28 per cent), whereas in 1997, the stable democracy cell was the largest of the four cells.

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to prevent the loss of such cases, for the current study a more refined method of calculating scale scores was employed. In this method, if the respondent answered two or more of the four tolerance questions, the score given was the mean of the valid answers. For example, if a respondent answered the first three tolerance questions, but not the fourth, the scale score for that person was the average of the responses on the first three items. In the earlier work, that person would have been dropped entirely from the analysis. In the case of the 5-item system support measure, a mean score was given if the respondent answered at least three out of the five items. Of course, if all items were answered on either scale, the score was the mean of the entire series.

Table II
Empirical Relationship Between
Tolerance and System Support
in Nicaragua 1995-1997[a]

	Tolerance			
System support	High		Low	
High	Stable Democracy		Authoritarianism	
	1995: 19%	1997: 30%	1995: 18%	1997: 23%
Low	Unstable Democracy		Democratic Breakdown	
	1995: 35%	1997: 25%	1995: 28%	1997: 22%

[a]National weighted samples for both 1995 and 1997.

It would appear that the data on system support and tolerance show that 1995 was a low-point in Nicaragua for support for stable democracy. It may well be that we have evidence in this study that at least some of the tumultuous decades of revolution and rapid change are being left behind as Nicaragua returns to a calmer time in which political stability will become more the norm than the exception. At the same time, one hastens to note that Nicaragua faces enormous problems in its economy (including unemployment, trade deficits, and inequality in the distribution of income and wealth) and still confronts basic conflicts over fundamental issues. It will be important to monitor closely the trends uncovered in this study.

One final comment on the relationship between system support and tolerance on the one hand and education on the other. In this chapter it has been shown that higher levels of education are associated with higher tolerance. This finding is one that is not unique to Nicaragua, but emerges in many countries. Educated individuals are ones who develop the capacity to empathize with people different from oneself. As a result, higher levels of tolerance emerge from higher levels of education. On the other hand, education does not have the same relationship to system support. In Nicaragua, it seems, that the more that one knows about the political system, the more likely one is to be critical of it. This pattern is not

universal, and presumably is directly related to the quality of the political system itself. It may be that over time, as the Nicaraguan political system consolidates and proves itself to be efficacious in the handling of governance, education and system support might develop the same relationship as does education and tolerance.

Chapter III.
Civil Society, Local Government and Democracy[1]

Social scientists have proposed numerous theories to explain why some nations develop stable democracies, while others do not. In recent years, there has been increasing attention to an idea popularized over a century ago by the French social philosopher, Alexis de Tocqueville in his classic work, *Democracy in America*, published in 1835. Tocqueville's observation was that the strength of democracy in the United States emanated from the highly active involvement of its citizens in community life. Today, we refer to community life as "civil society," and by it we mean the wide range of non-governmental associations, organizations, clubs, committees, etc., that exist throughout the world in societies in which they are not prohibited by repressive governments.[2]

The current renewed attention being paid to civil society is largely linked to a prize-winning book published by Robert Putnam of Harvard University. In his study of democracy in Italy, Putnam found that, "the performance of government and social institutions is powerfully influenced by citizen engagement in community affairs, or what I termed *social capital*."[3] That is, Putnam has found that when citizens get involved in community affairs through their participation in civil society organizations, they build social capital and, in so doing, are able to make effective demands on their governments, especially at the local level. Strong civil societies help ensure accountability of governments, both local and national. Using long-term data from as early as the turn of the century, Putnam shows how regions of Italy with high levels

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[1]The introductory paragraphs of this chapter in which the theoretical background is laid out draws from a similar study undertaken by the author for USAID/Guatemala in 1997.

[2]See Sidney Verba, Kay Lehman Scholzman and Henry E. Brady, *Voice and Equality: Civic Voluntarism in American Politics* (Cambridge, MA.: Harvard University Press, 1995).

[3]Italics in original. The basic study is contained in Robert D. Putnam, *Making Democracy Work: Civic Traditions in Modern Italy* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1993). The quote is from a related study, looking at the U.S. See, Robert D. Putnam, "Tuning In, Tuning Out: The Strange Disappearance of Social Capital in America," *PS: Political Science and Politics* 28.4 (December 1995): 664. For a recent discussion on the thesis see: Bob Edwards and Michael W. Foley, *American Behavioral Scientist*, "Social Capital, Civil Society, and Contemporary Democracy," vol. 40 (March/April) (1997).

of citizen involvement in civil society organizations have been able to secure much higher levels of institutional performance from their regional governments. As Putnam argues:

> Civic regions were characterized by a dense network of local associations, by active engagement in community affairs, by egalitarian patterns of politics, by trust and law-abidingness. In less civic regions, political and social participation was organized vertically, not horizontally. Mutual suspicion and corruption were regarded as normal. Involvement in civic associations was scanty. Lawlessness was expected. People in these communities felt powerless and exploited.[4]

The interest in increasing civil society participation is more than purely academic; some research in the U.S. has shown that when such participation increases among young people it tends to produce a life-time of increased democratic participation, including voting.[5] Therefore, programs designed to increase civil society participation in Nicaragua might also have the same effect.

The Levels of Civil Society Participation

The surveys for 1995 and 1997 contained a series of questions measuring participation in a wide variety of civil society organizations. Specifically, respondents were asked if they attend meetings of the following: church (or temple) committees or societies; parents' school associations; community development/improvement associations; associations of professionals, business people or producers; unions; cooperatives; or a civic association, such as a women's group, peace committee, etc.. While this list is certainly not exhaustive, it covers the main kinds of organizations in which Nicaraguans involve themselves. The only significant missing element are sports associations, veterans associations, and youth groups, organizations that might be included in future surveys.

A comparison of the national data of 1995 with that of 1997 reveals that for each kind of organization, a statistically significant increase in participation occurred. Figure III.1 shows the level of participation in each kind of organization, with comparisons for 1995 with 1997. By far, church and education groups are the most popular in Nicaragua, as they are throughout

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[4] Putnam, op. cit., 1993, p. 182.

[5] James Youniss, Jeffrey A. McLellan and Miranda Yates, "What we Know about Engendering Civic Identity," *American Behavioral Scientist, 40*, March/April, 1997, pp. 620-631.

Central America. On the scale of 0-100, by 1997, Nicaraguans score near the mid-point of 50. The only other type of organization attended by a large portion of the population are community development associations.

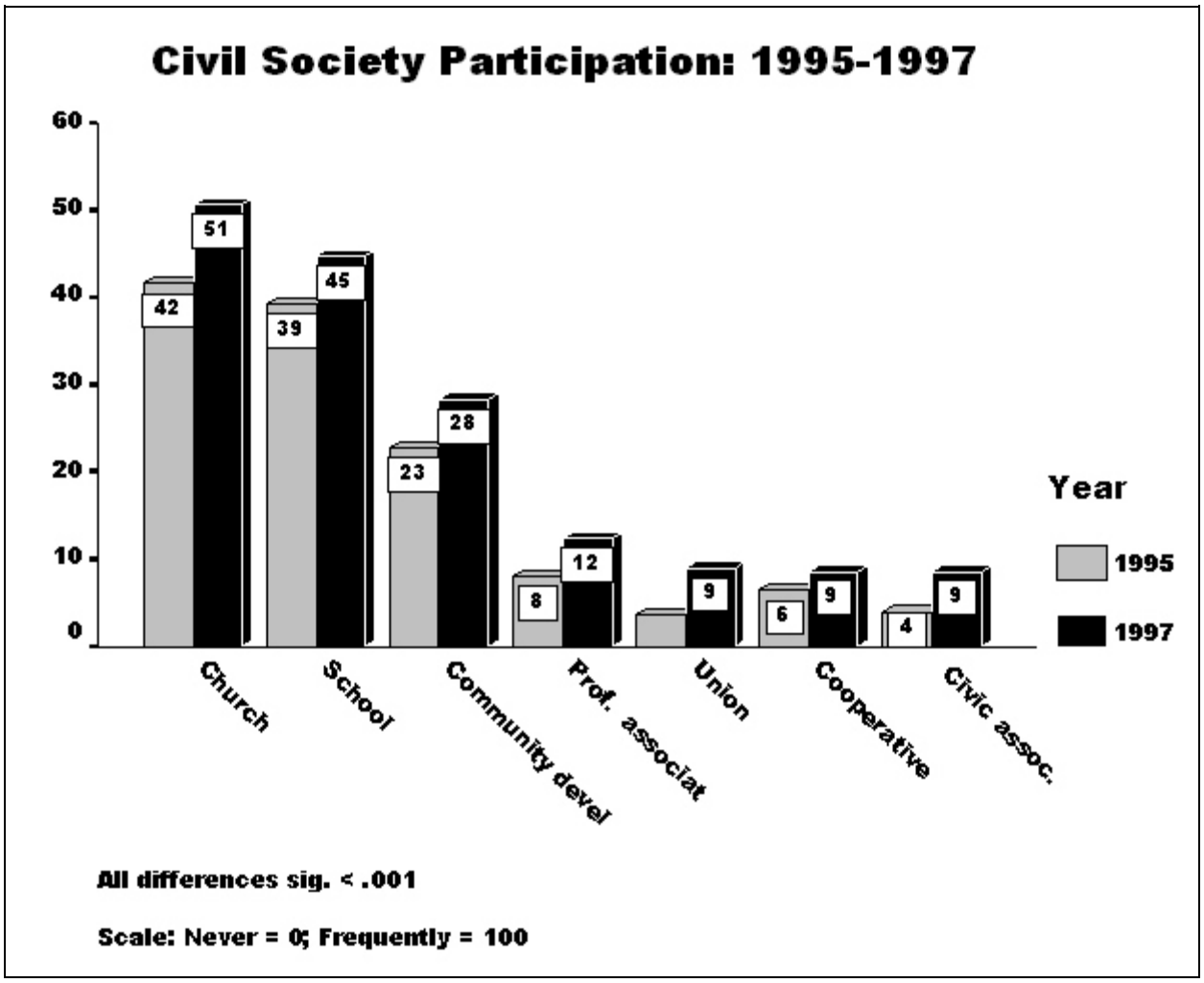


Figure III

In order to get an overall picture of civil society participation, it is necessary to take a comprehensive look at all of the forms of organization shown in the above figure. To do that, a single index is created combining the seven forms of civil society organizations.[6] Figure III.2 shows that the overall scale, which ranges from a low of zero groups to a high of seven groups, has increased significantly between 1995 and 1997. In 1995, total participation was 1.6

[6] This index was created by first recoding the 4-point scale in the original questionnaire into participant/non-participant. The coding is 0 for non-participation and 1 for participation. The individual scores are then summed, to range from a low of 0 to a high of 7.

groups per Nicaraguan, whereas in 1997 this had risen to 2.2 per person. It also shows that males and females do not differ from each other in either year.

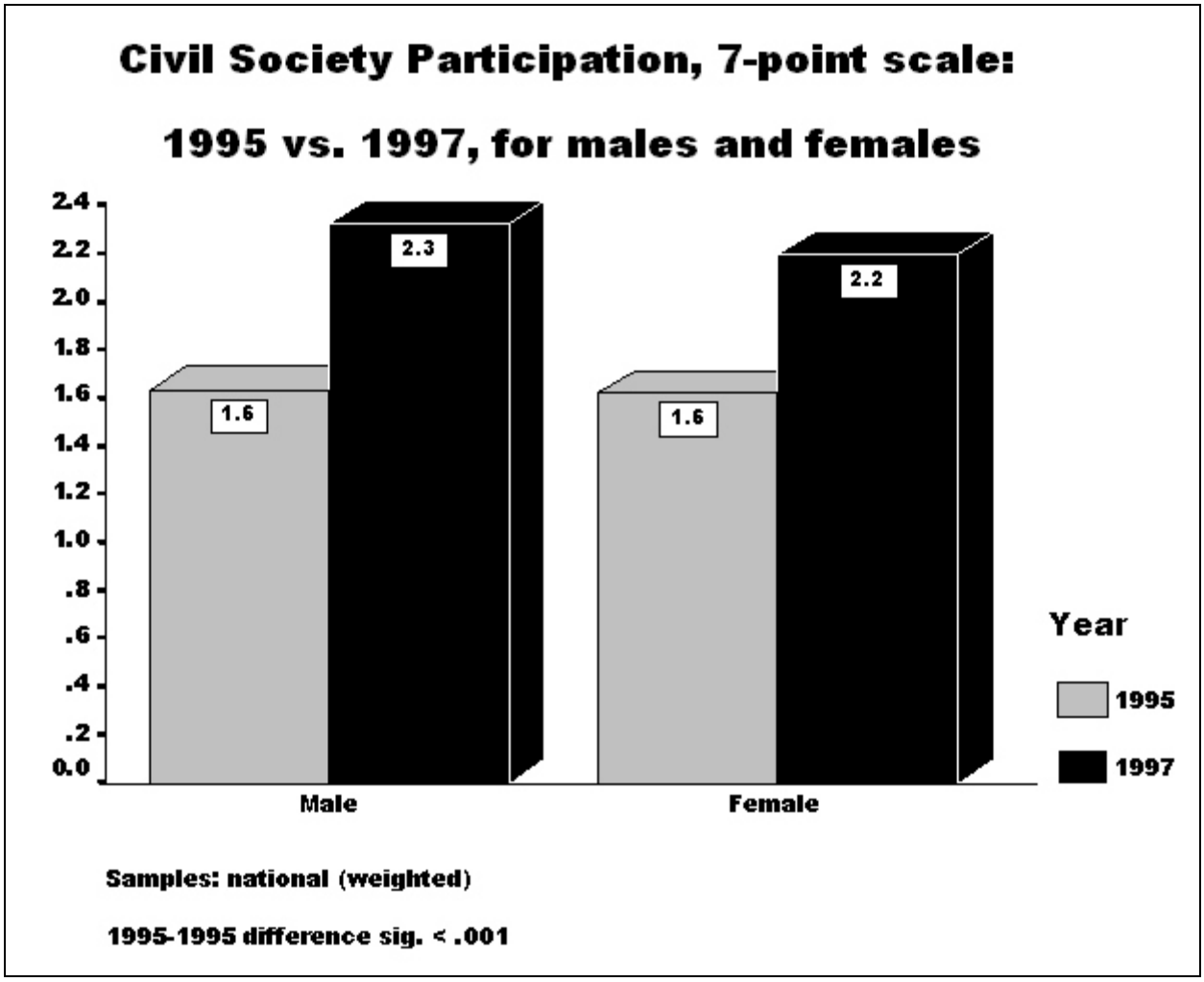


Figure III

In order to distinguish between non-participants, those who participate at moderate levels and those who participate a great deal, it is necessary to look at the data in a different way. Figure III.3 shows that fewer than one out of five of Nicaraguans were not participant in any civil society organization, while also about one-fifth participated in three groups. Indeed, two-fifths of Nicaraguans participated in three or more civil society organizations. When compared to the 1997 survey of Guatemala, Nicaraguans emerge more active. In Guatemala one-quarter of the population are non-participants (using a seven-organization scale), and only 22 per cent of Guatemalans are active in three or more groups.

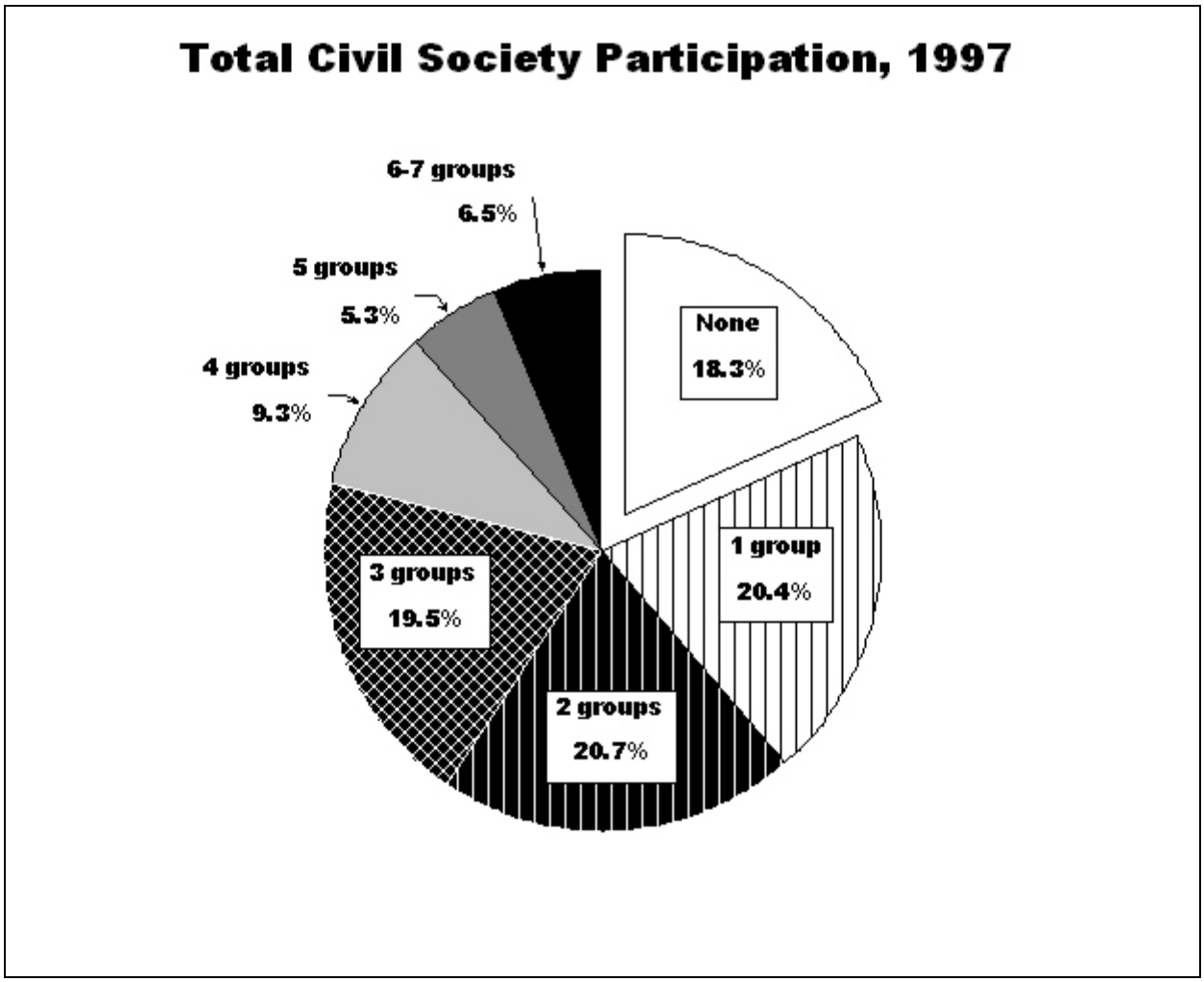


Figure III

Factors Accounting for Variation in Civil Society Participation

Socio-Economic, Demographic and Geographic Factors

Unlike many other countries in Latin America, the overall index of civil society participation does not vary by gender (as already noted) nor by education.[7] Age, however, does make a difference. Figure III.4 shows that participation is relatively low among the young, but then increases and stays high throughout life. This pattern contrasts sharply with

[7]Based on the 1997 sample, and using simple correlation between the 7-item scale and gender and education.

other countries, in which participation forms an inverted "U-curve." In those countries civil society participation is highest in the middle years when respondents have children in school, and tends to drop off a great deal among those in their 50s and beyond.

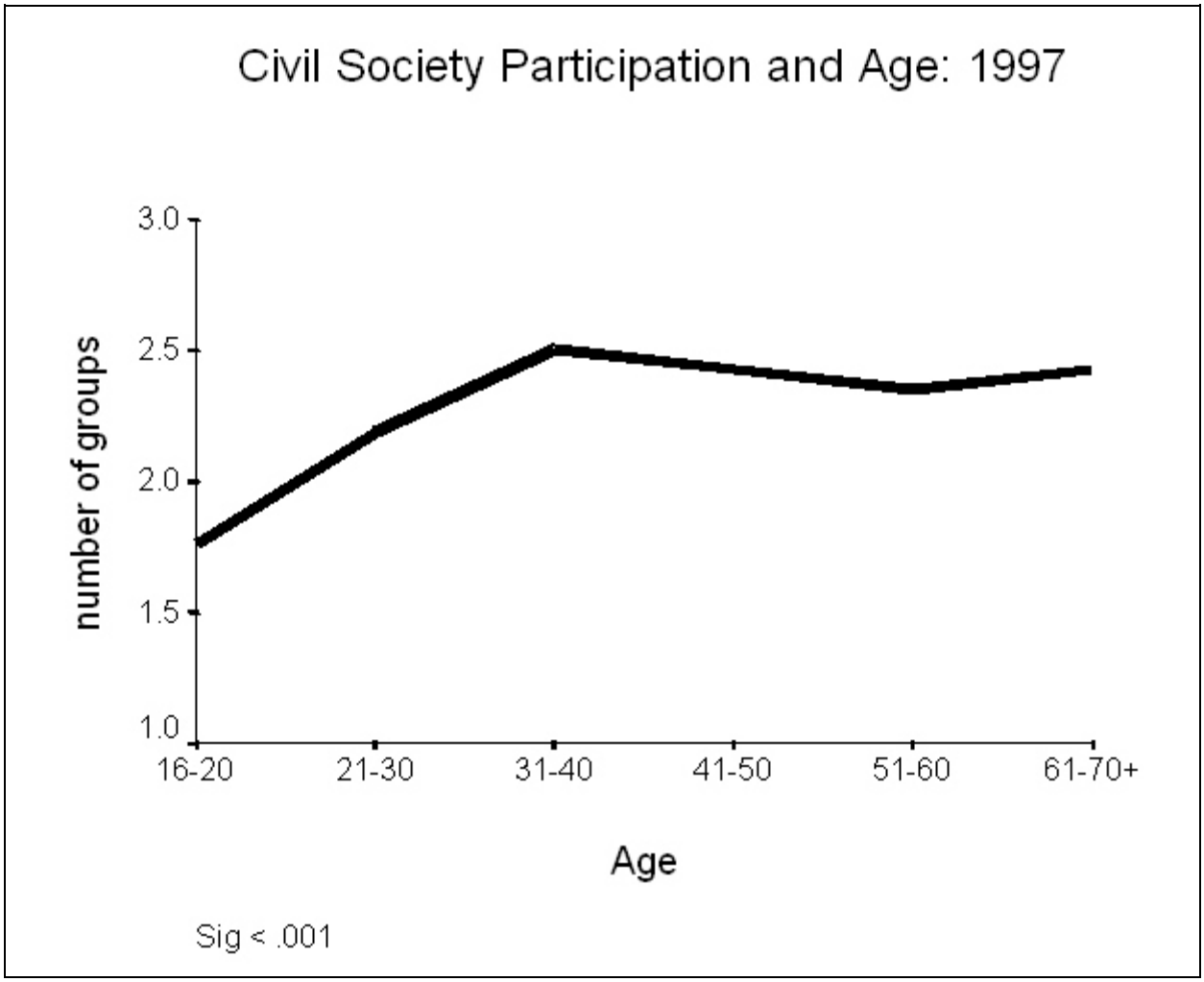


Figure III

Education and gender do make a difference when it comes to individual type of civil society participation. Consider participation in church-related organizations, as shown in Figure III.5. Nicaraguans with higher education participate far less in these kinds of organizations than those with lower levels of education. Males and females do not differ much except at the higher levels of education, where the fall-off for females is not as great as for males.

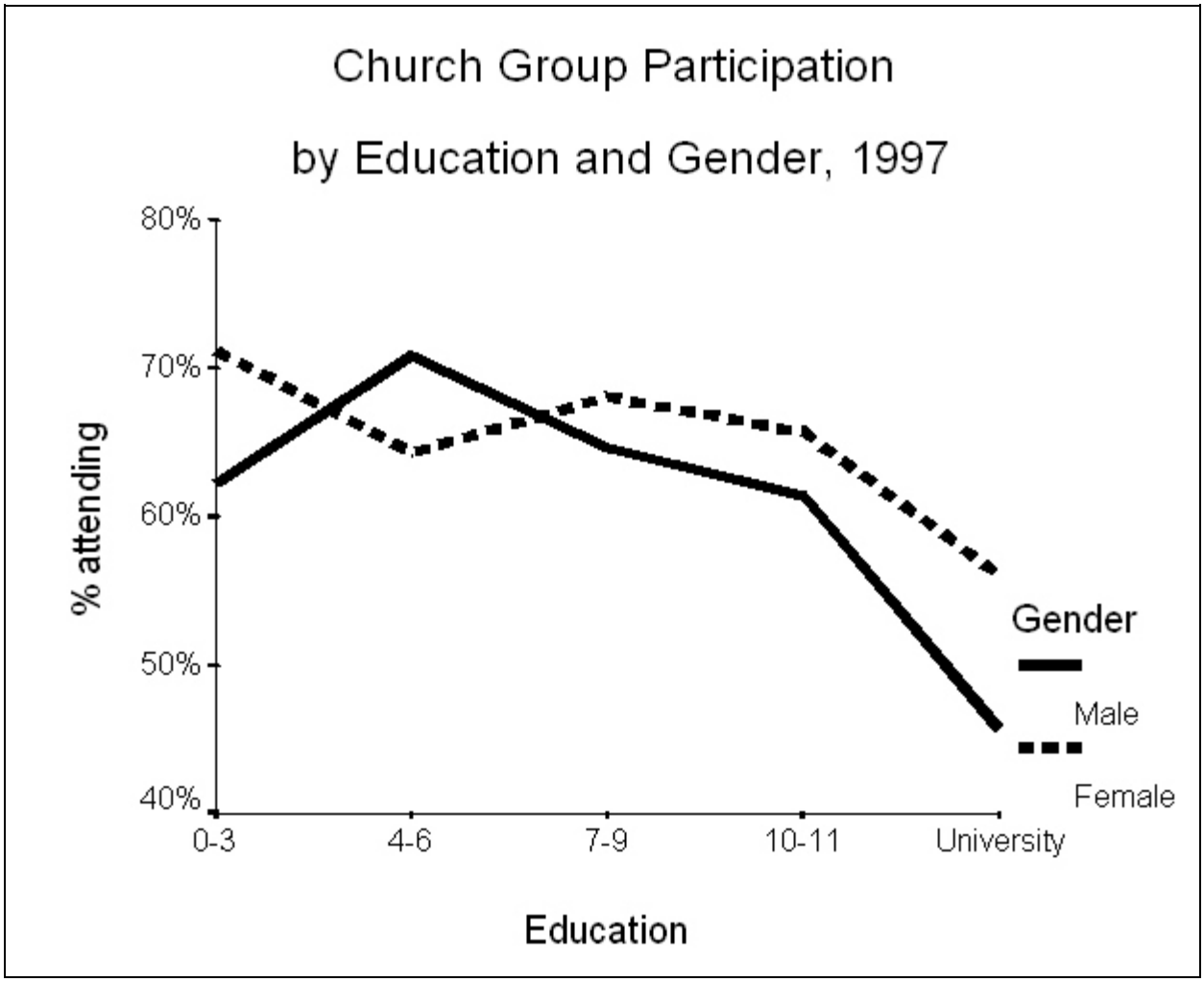


Figure III

A similar pattern is found for school-related participation. In Figure III.6 we see that the male-female gap opens widely among the most highly educated, with males being far less participant than females.

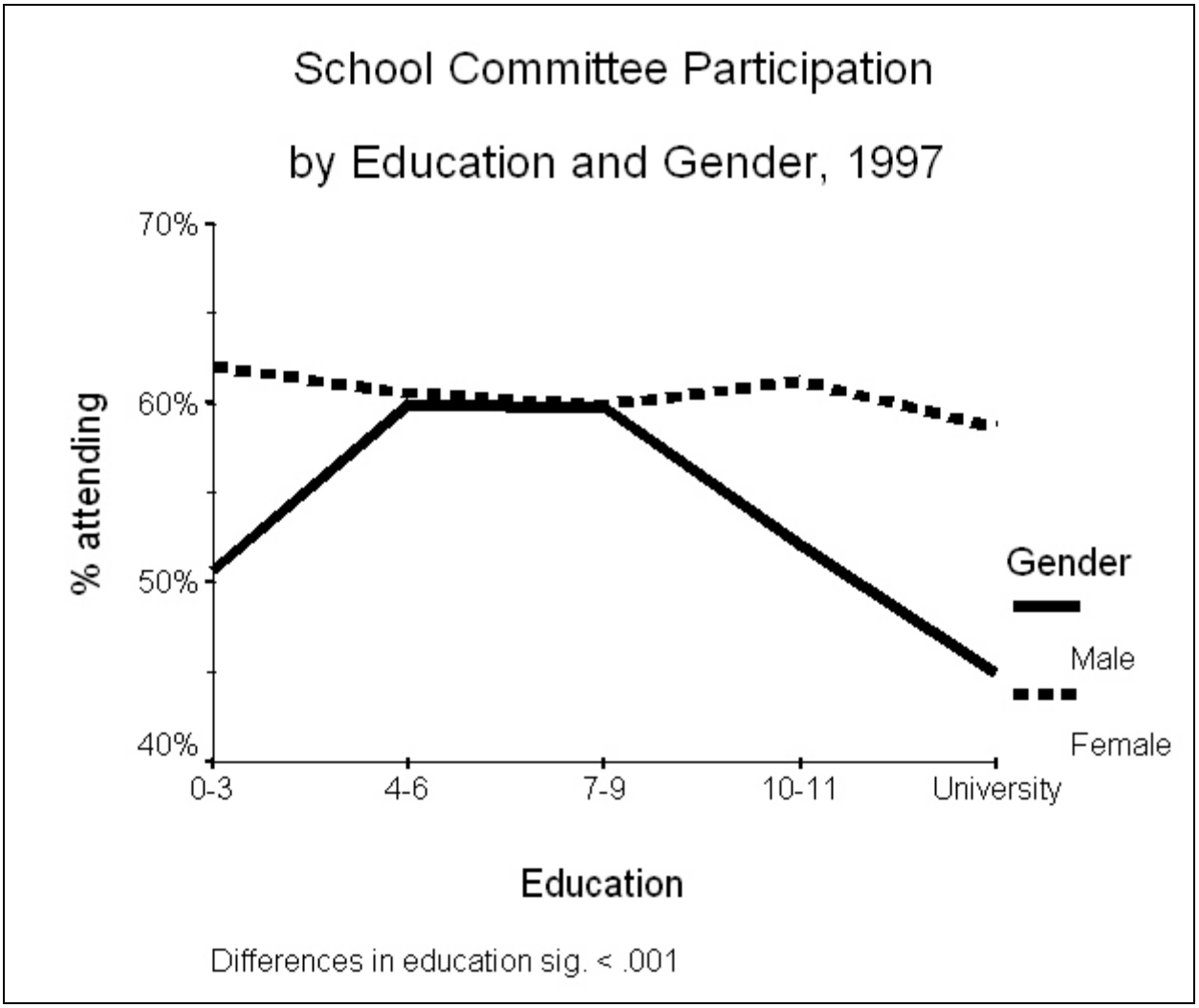


Figure III

Often rural-urban differences in Latin America are wide, but in the case of civil society participation in Nicaragua they are not. On the overall 7-item scale, urban participation averages 2.4 verus 2.2 for rural areas, a difference which is statistically significant (.03), but not large at all in absolute terms. Geographic variation by department is also not great. Participation is higher in Managua, averaging 2.5, and especially low in Chinandega (1.7), but most of the departments hover about 2.0 on the 7-point scale. Income differences, as measured by ownership of appliances and other capital goods, are also not important predictors of civil society participation.

Overall, then, one can say that socio-economic, demographic and geographic differences in civil society participation in Nicaragua are not especially notable. This suggests

a national uniformity of a relatively highly participant society, in which most Nicaraguans participate in two or more civil society organizations.

Civil Society Participation of Special Groups vs. the General Public

Chapters I and II of this study referred to several special groups that were interviewed in 1997 along with the national population sample. Among these special groups were four civil society organizations that had undergone training designed to promote greater civil society participation. We now turn our attention to those groups, as well as the other special groups (the military, the police, teachers and judges), to see how they compare to each other and to the general public.

Before describing the nature of civil society participation among these special groups, it is important to take a brief look at the nature of the training received by them. A module of the questionnaire was included that was asked exclusively of the four civil society training groups included in this study.

The training received by the 401 respondents who participated in various workshops sponsored by the four organizations included in the study was relatively recent. For the four groups as a whole, the workshops had occurred on average 6.4 months prior to the survey. While ten per cent of the respondents had received the training within the month prior to the survey, half had received it between one and five months prior to the survey. This information is important because it suggests two things. First, the training should have been relatively fresh in the minds of most respondents. Second, the impact of the training in their civil society participation may not have had much of an opportunity to "kick in." It would be unreasonable to expect, for example, for a participant in a civil society training group to emerge from the training and immediately join several civil society organizations. Over the long run, we would hope that this impact would emerge. In any event, Figure III.7 shows the differences among the four groups in terms of the timing of their training. As can be seen, the FUNDEMOS training, on average occurred at a point in time most distant from the survey, whereas the CONCIENCIA training occurred closest to the survey. These differences were not great, however, as all of the groups received their training, on average, between four and eight months before the survey.

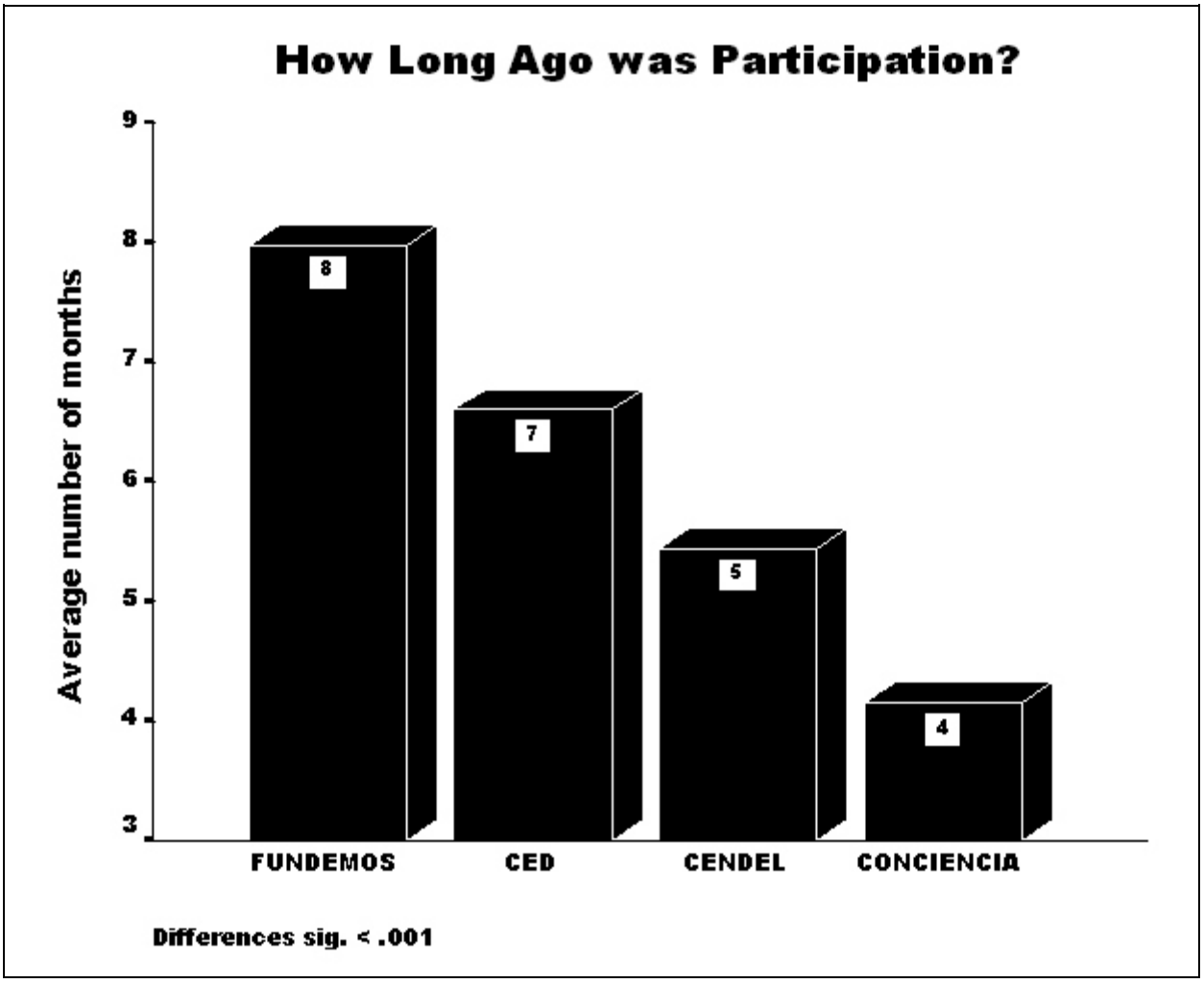


Figure III

Participants attended an average of 3 workshops each. There was, however, significant variation in this number by group. Figure III.8 compares the four groups. Those who attended the CONCIENCIA workshops attended an average of 4.1 of them, the highest of the four groups, whereas the CENDEL participants averaged 2.3 workshops.

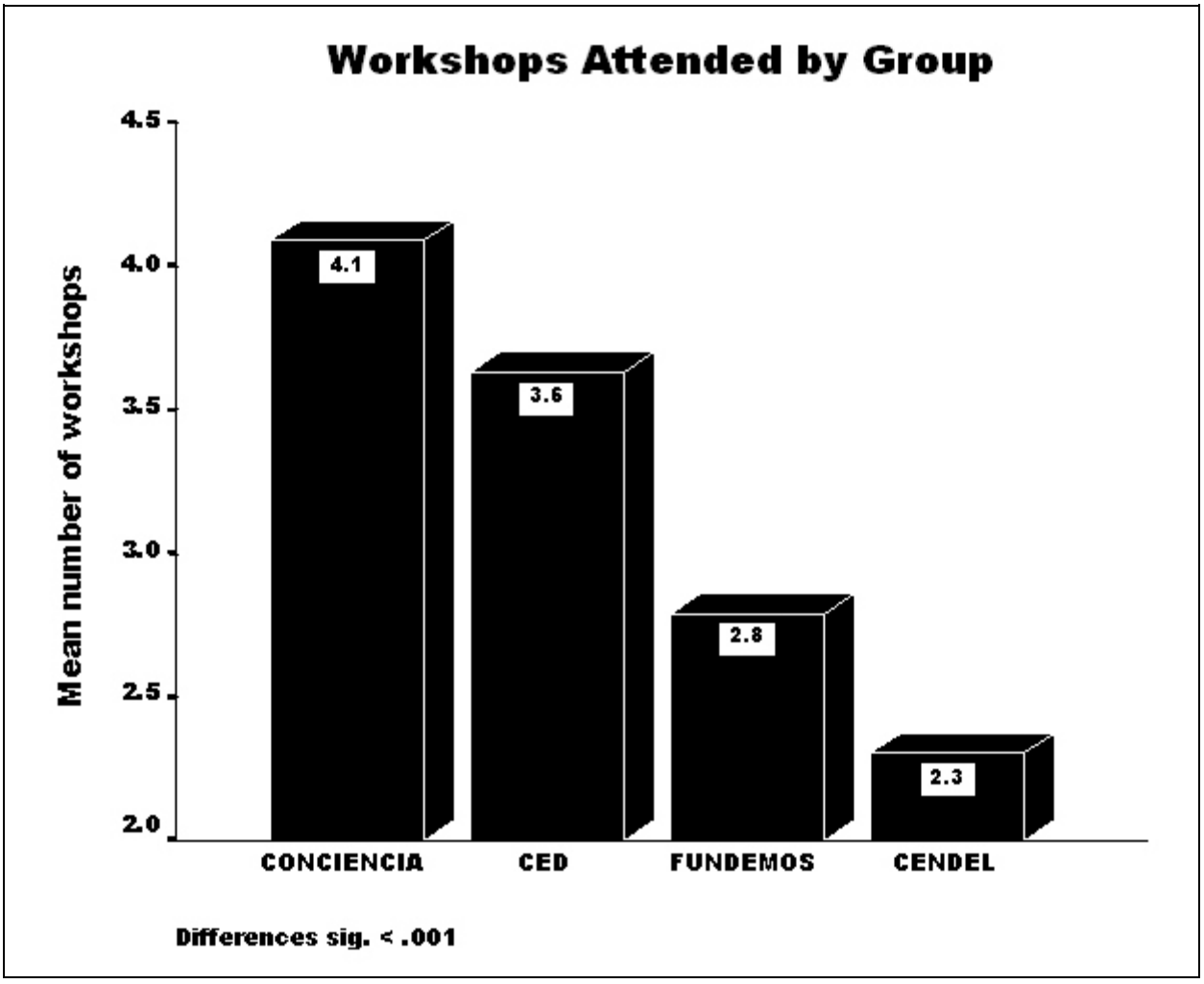


Figure III

In the workshops it was almost universal practice to divide up into small discussion or work groups. For the four organizations as a whole, 94 percent of the participants reported dividing up into small groups. Nonetheless, there was significant variation among the four, with CENDEL workshops being less likely to have small-group work than the others. Figure III.9 shows the differences by group. As the figure shows, only in the CED workshops were there fewer than one-in-ten participants not exposed to small group work.

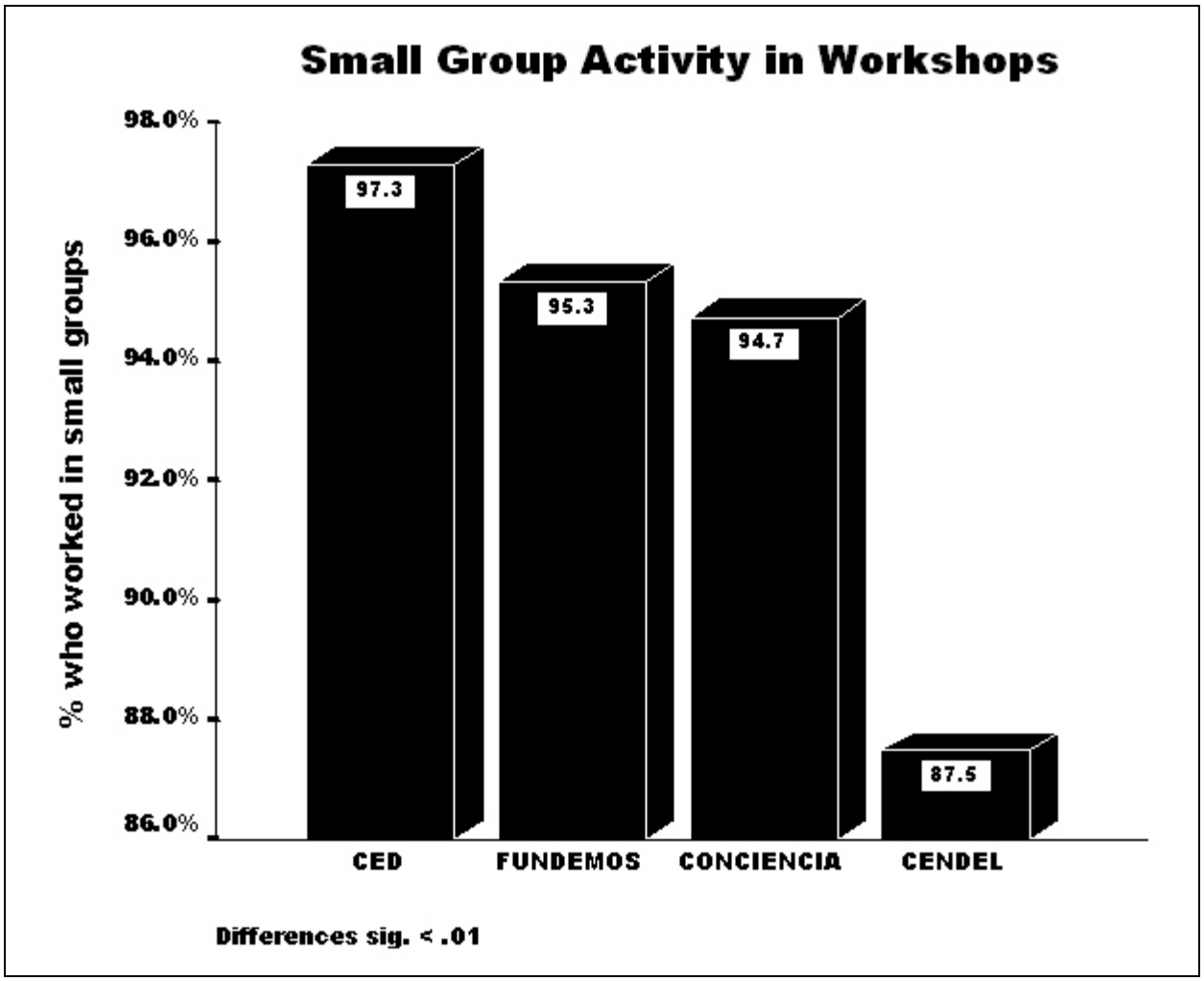


Figure III

The respondents overwhelmingly reported that they were highly motivated to express their own point of view in the workshop. For the four groups as a whole, 87.7 per cent reported being very motivated, and an additional 8.8 per cent somewhat motivated. Only 3.6 per cent of the respondents reported not being motivated to express their point of view. There was no significant difference among the four groups, so the percentage for each group is not reported here.

Satisfaction with the workshops was also very high. Only 4 percent of the respondents were dissatisfied with the workshops, and 85.7 per cent were very satisfied with them. There was no significant difference among the four groups, so the individual results are not presented here.

Finally, satisfaction with the quality of the presentations made by the promoters was also overwhelmingly positive. Only 3.3 per cent of the participants consider the training to have been only "fair" or "poor." Once again, no statistically significant differences emerged among the four groups, so the data on each group are not presented here.

In sum, the civil society training that took place in these Nicaraguan NGOs seems to have been astonishingly well done. This researcher has never seen evaluations this positive for training programs. The question, of course, is the impact of the training. To examine that question takes us beyond the four groups themselves and into a comparison of each of the special groups with the national population.

We can now examine the differences among these groups, focusing on the 7-item civil participation scale discussed earlier in this chapter. The differences are large and statistically significant. Figure III.10 shows the results. The reader should focus first on the national sample, labeled "public." As can be seen, the public participate at a lower level than any group except the police and CONCIENCIA. The low level of participation of the CONCIENCIA group does come as a surprise, especially since these individuals received motivational training in civil society participation. In marked contrast, each of the other civil society training groups had levels of participation significantly above those found in the mass public.

Another key finding from this examination of civil society participation by group is that teachers are the real stand-outs. Public school teachers' participation, for example, is double that of the mass public. This finding provides some very important policy guidance. Teachers have contact with the youth of Nicaragua and play a central role in socializing them. Teachers (public and private) are also the single most active civil society participants of any group we were able to study in 1997. This suggests that teachers can lead by example in encouraging more civil society participation among their students. It also suggests that if educational campaigns for civic education were undertaken in the school system, teachers would be perceived as being credible sources of information.

Yet another important finding emerges from the comparison of civil society by group. Teachers are real standouts here, both public and private. The civic education groups, except for CONCIENCIA, are also more participant than the general public.

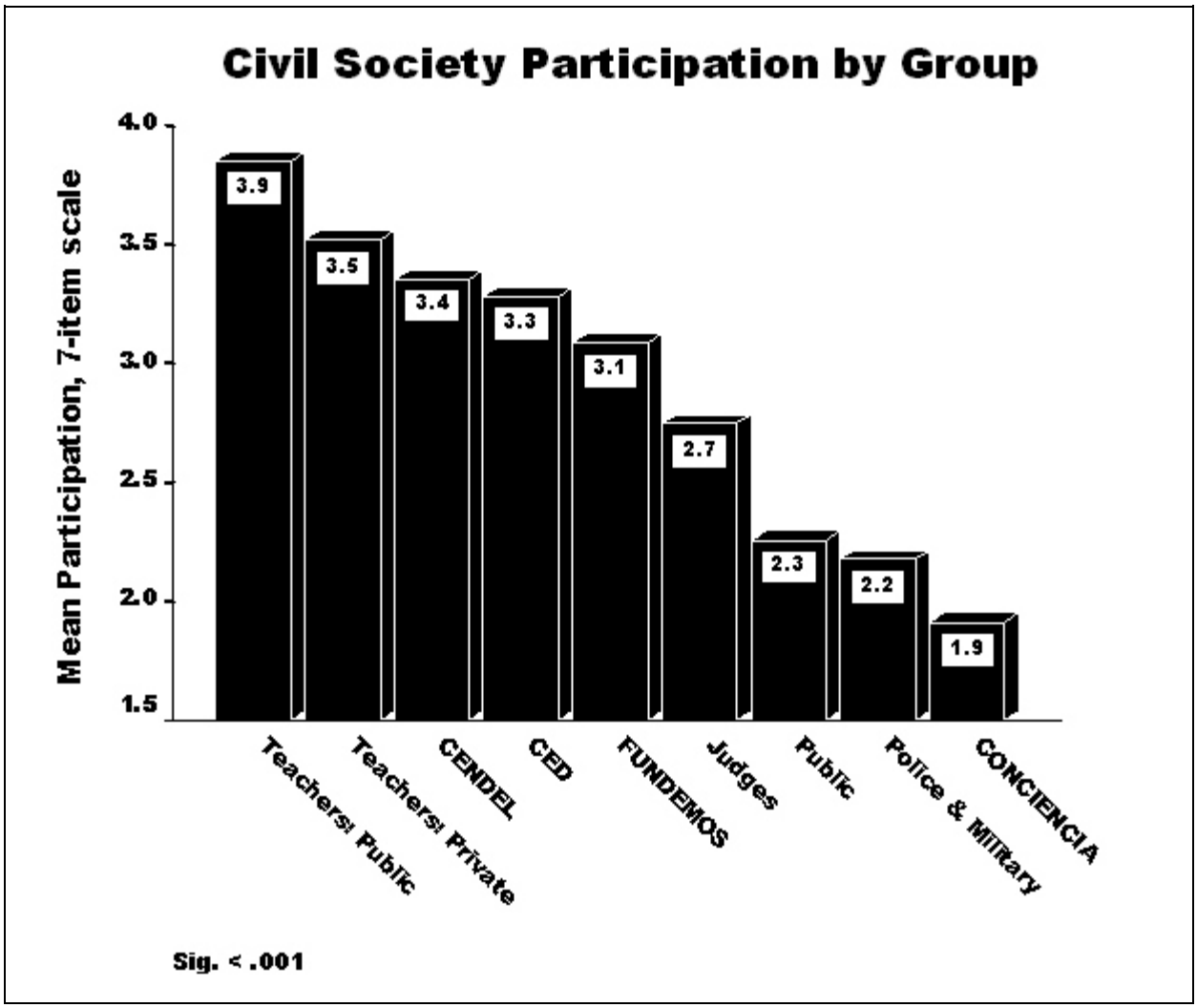


Figure III

As noted in Chapter I, the special groups do differ from the national population in terms of education, age and gender. For that reason it is important to control for those effects to see if they change the findings presented above. In fact, as shown in Table III.1, the adjustment of the civil society participation scores by education, age and gender, does not appreciably alter the picture. The reader should focus on the column labeled "adjusted for Factors and Covariates" and compare with the unadjusted figures shown in the bar chart above.

MCA: Civil Society Participation by Group, controlled for Education, Gender and Age

			N	Predicted Mean		Deviation	
				Unadjusted	Adjusted for Factors and Covariates	Unadjusted	Adjusted for Factors and Covariates
CIVPPT7 Civil Society Participation 7-item scale	ESTRATOR	1.00 Public	2334	2.26	2.28	-.23	-.21
		3.00 Judges	95	2.75	2.63	.26	.14
		55.00 Police & Military	278	2.18	2.18	-.31	-.31
		60.00 Teachers: Public	182	3.86	3.82	1.37	1.33
		61.00 Teachers: Private	104	3.52	3.47	1.03	.98
		101.00 FUNDEMOS	103	3.09	2.98	.60	.49
		102.00 CED	142	3.28	3.19	.79	.70
		103.00 CONCIENCIA	35	1.91	1.85	-.58	-.64
		104.00 CENDEL	103	3.36	3.33	.87	.84

a. CIVPPT7 Civil Society Participation 7-item scale by ESTRATOR with ED, Q1 Gender, Q2 EDAD

Table III.1

Municipal Project Areas

As noted in Chapter I, four of the five municipal project areas were included in the national sample. Respondents from those areas did not differ from the national sample in terms of gender or age, but were more highly educated than the population as a whole. In the next section of this chapter participation in local government will be explored for this sample and the nation as a whole. Here, a comparison is made between the municipal project areas and civil society participation. Figure III.11 shows the comparisons. As can be seen, for three of the seven forms of civil society participation studied in this report, participants in the project area were significantly lower. In the other four forms of participation there was no statistically significant difference, although in absolute terms, civic association participation (see the last bars on the right of the chart) were higher. The analysis was re-run controlling for education, but the results did not change.[8]

[8]Education was used as a covariate in the ANOVA analysis.

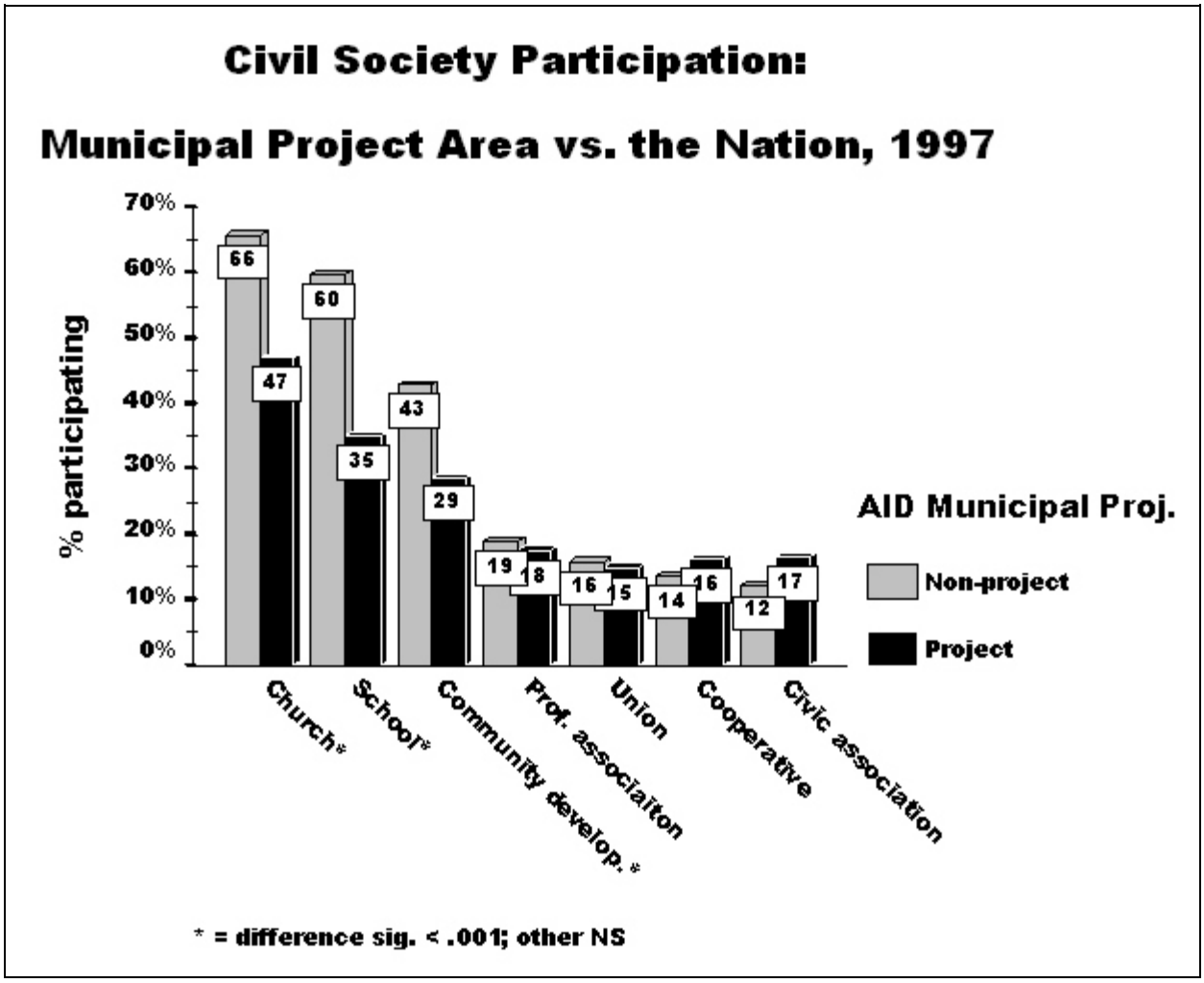


Figure III

Civil Society and Local Government

Local government is the institution that is most accessible to the average citizen, or at least it should be. National governments are often far away in the capital city, and most citizens have problems that deal with very local issues.[9] Both the 1995 and 1997 data set contain some comparable items that measure participation in and satisfaction with local

[9] See Mitchell A. Seligson, *Central Americans View Their Local Governments*, Report to USAID, Regional Office for Urban Development and Housing (RHUDO) (Guatemala City, Guatemala, 1994a).

government. The overall patterns are presented in Figure III.12. As can be seen, attendance at municipal meetings and demands made by citizens on their local governments are not significantly different in 1997 than they were in 1995. The positive evaluation of the services of local government (on a 5-point scale that ranges from excellent to very poor, but transformed here into 0-100) did increase significantly, but in absolute terms the change is minimal. The picture that emerges is one of stability rather than change in the 1995-1997 period.

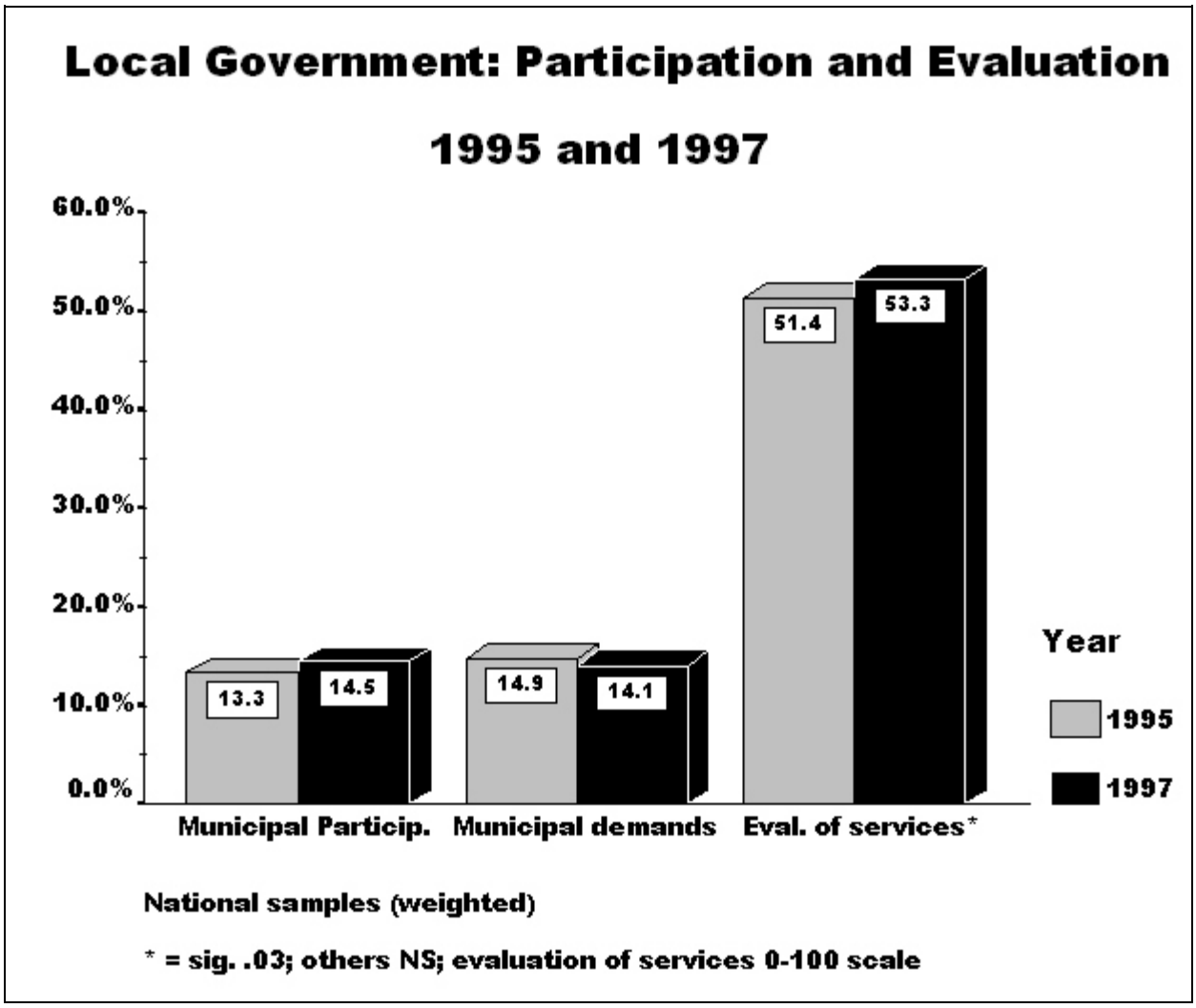


Figure III

A similar lack of difference is found between the municipal project area and the remainder of Nicaragua. Figure III.13 shows the comparison for the same set of variables displayed immediately above.

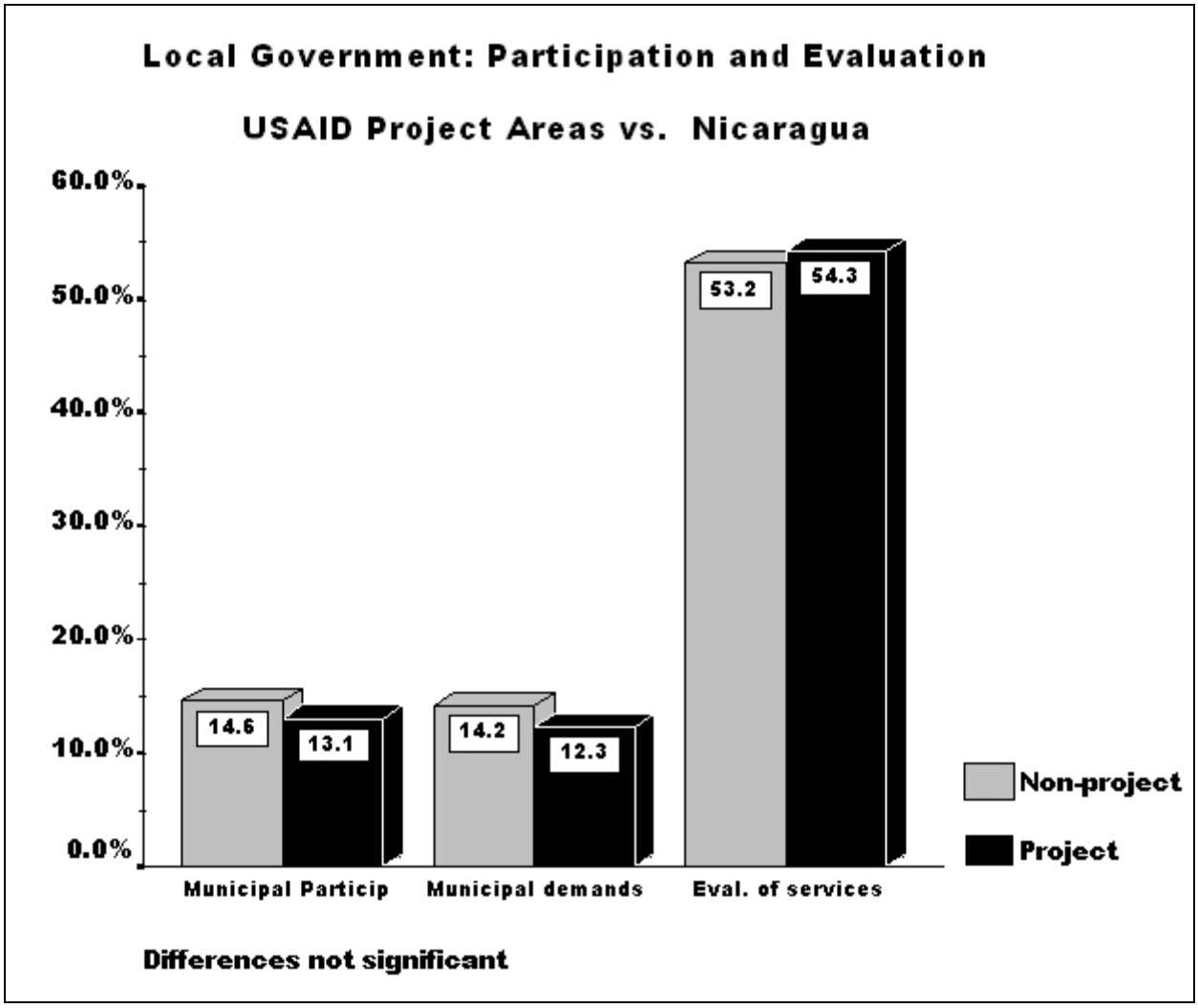


Figure III

Although little change emerges on the participation in and evaluation of local government, either from 1995 to 1997 or from the USAID project areas as compared to the non-project areas, other questions in the local government series do show a very important shift. The survey asked respondents: "Who has responded better to help resolve problems of this community? The central government? The Legislature? or The Municipality?" Even though the following choices were not read to respondents, it was noted by the interviewers: "None of them," and "they are all the same." Figure III.14 shows two things. First, there was

a very large decline in the "none" category, dropping from 39 per cent in 1995 to 21 per cent in 1997. This indicates that more Nicaraguans in 1997 feel that some level of government is capable of resolving their local problems as compared to 1995. It suggests a declining alienation from government. Second, those selecting municipal government as the best solution for community problems increased, from 48 per cent to 57 per cent. This suggests that local government is seen more favorably than it was in 1997.

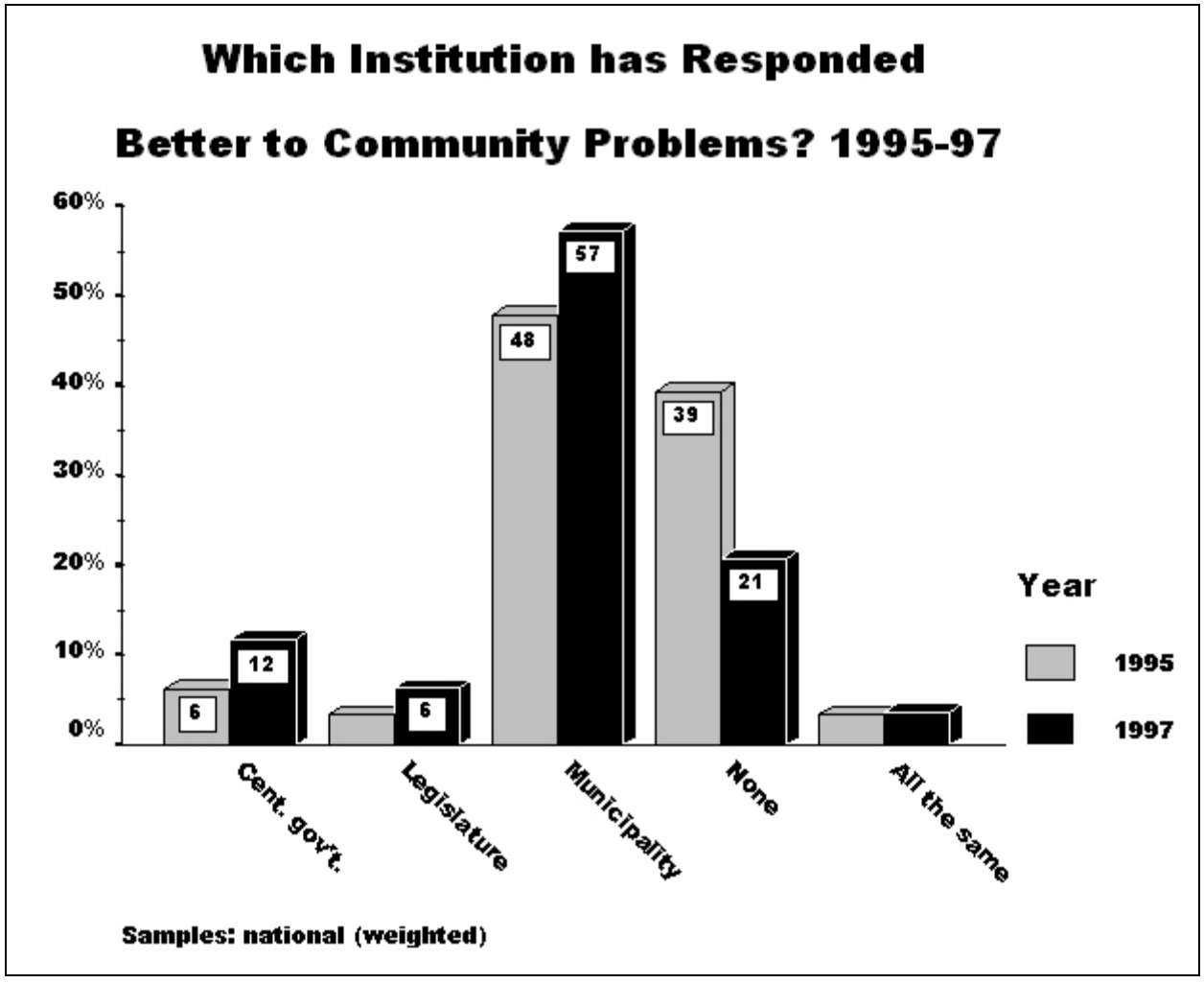


Figure III

It is revealing to compare the USAID project areas and the rest of the country on this question. Figure III.15 shows that a significantly higher proportion of the residents of the AID

project areas believe that local government has responded better to local problems as compared to the rest of the country.

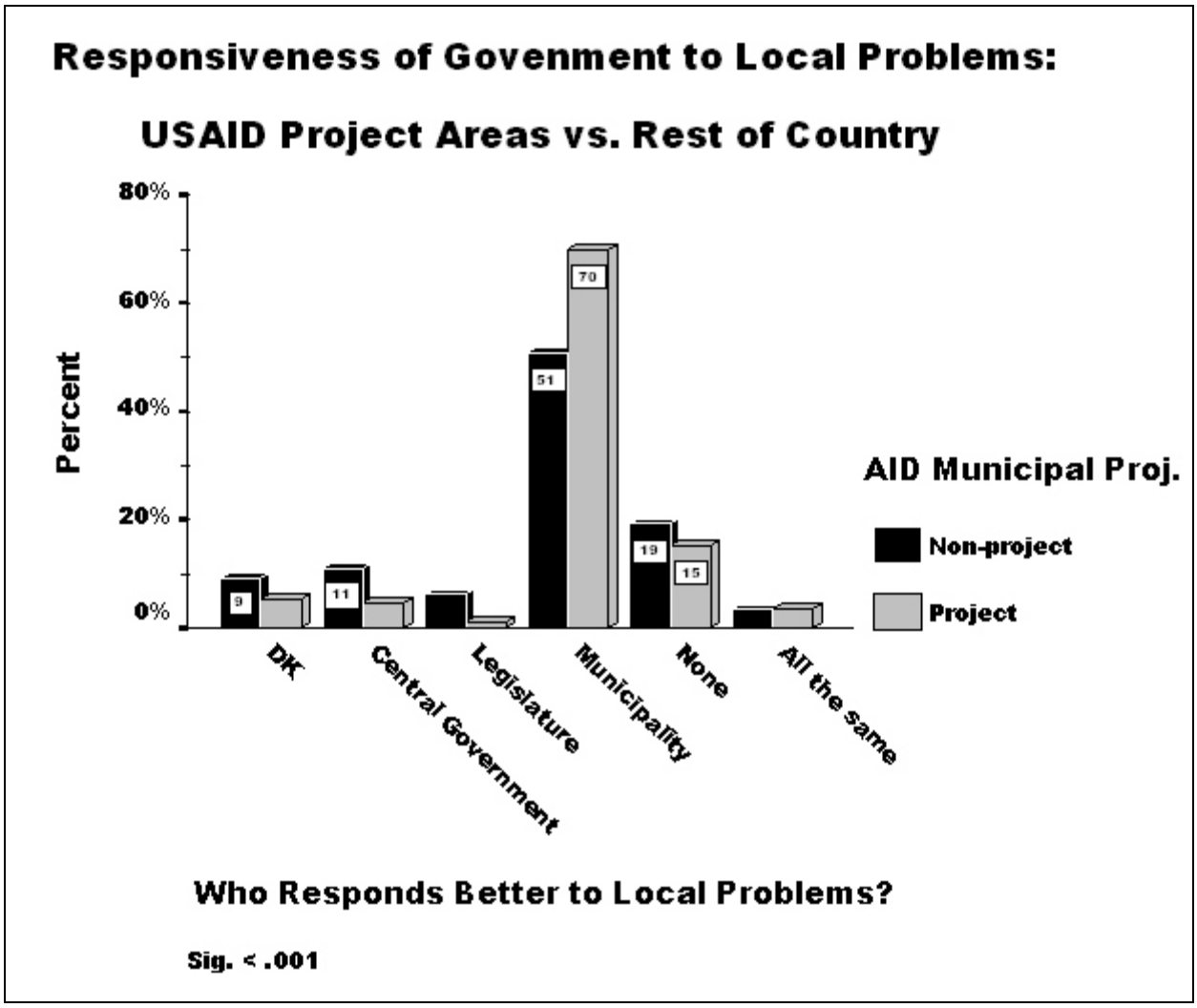


Figure III

A second question in this same series also reveals a growing willingness of Nicaraguans to support an increased role for municipal government, and a decline willingness

of those who would not make any changes. Figure III.16 shows the results. By 1997, a majority of Nicaraguans would be willing to have municipal government assume a larger role, and if they could be assured better service, then a total of 69 per cent would support increased responsibility. Less than one-quarter would wish to have increased responsibility in the hands of central government. These findings need to be placed in the context of the very small share of the national income currently received by local government (about one per cent).

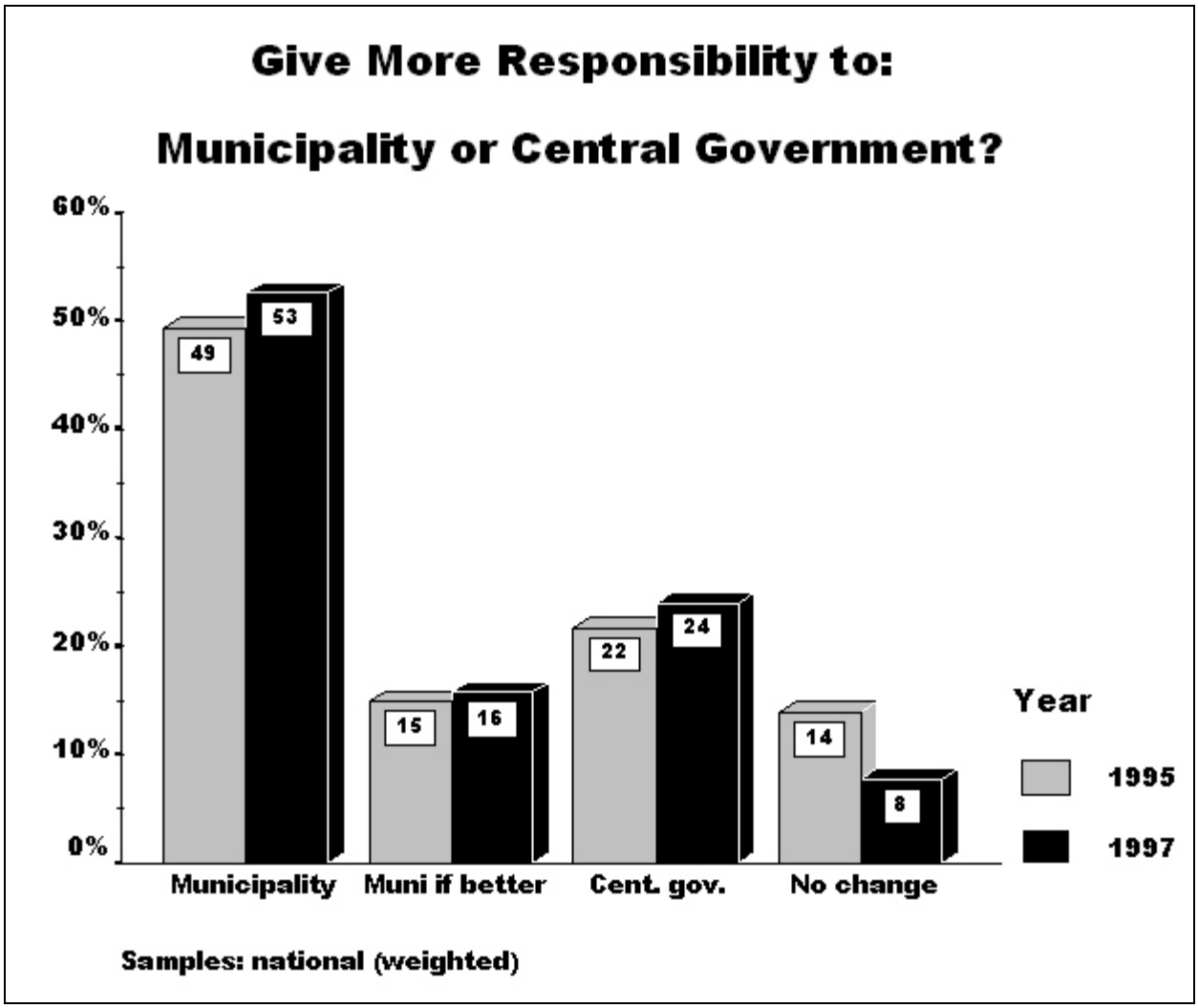


Figure III

The final question in the series also indicates support for municipal government. This item asks: "Would you be willing to pay more municipal taxes so that better services could be rendered, or are you not willing to pay more?" In 1997 the item allowed for a third response "Yes, if I have the money to do so." Since this response was not allowed in 1995, a direct

comparison cannot be made between the two surveys. In 1995, however, only 26 per cent of the respondents were willing to pay more taxes to their local governments. Figure III.17 shows the 1997 results, where a combined total of 55 per cent of the respondents would be willing to pay more taxes (or pay them if they had the money to do so). No significant differences emerged in the USAID project areas when compared to the rest of the country.

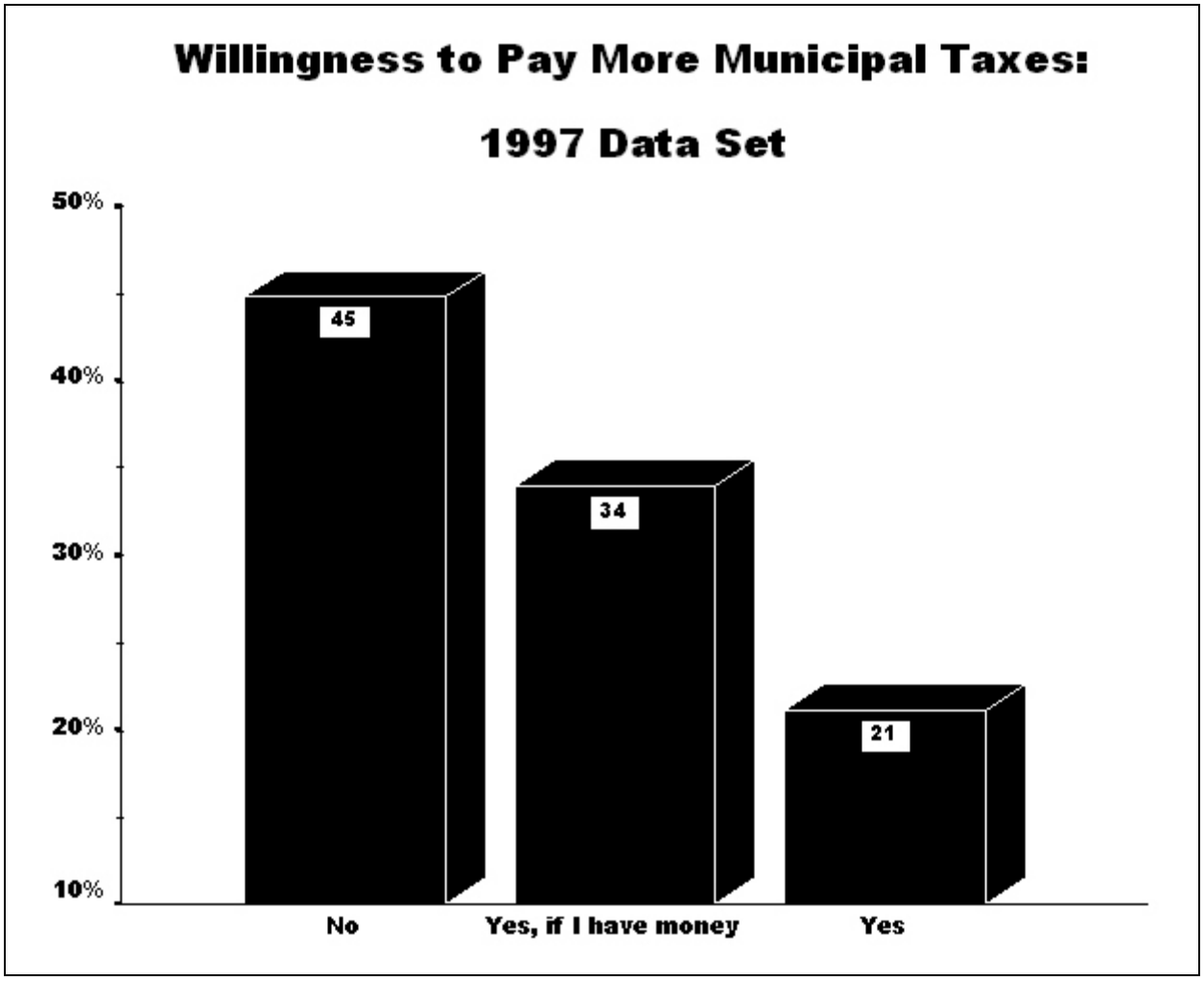


Figure III

In Chapter II of this report, it was noted that Nicaraguans in 1997 displayed a relatively high level of system support for their municipal government. But how do system support and the detailed items in the municipal series relate? Specifically, is there evidence that general support is related to increased satisfaction with municipal services and increased satisfaction with demands made on local government? The answer is quite clearly "yes," as each of these relationships proves to be statistically significant. Figure III.18 shows the results graphically.

For example, the top (solid) line in the figure shows satisfaction with the quality of municipal service. The five-point scale increases from just over 40 to nearly 60 as system support for municipal government increases. Satisfaction with the responsiveness of municipal government for those Nicaraguans who made demands (question NP2A) shows a similar relationship. Only about one-third of those who express low system support for municipal government were satisfied with the response, whereas nearly 80 per cent were satisfied among those who express high system support. These findings clearly indicate the tight connection between overall attitudes toward local government and experience with it.

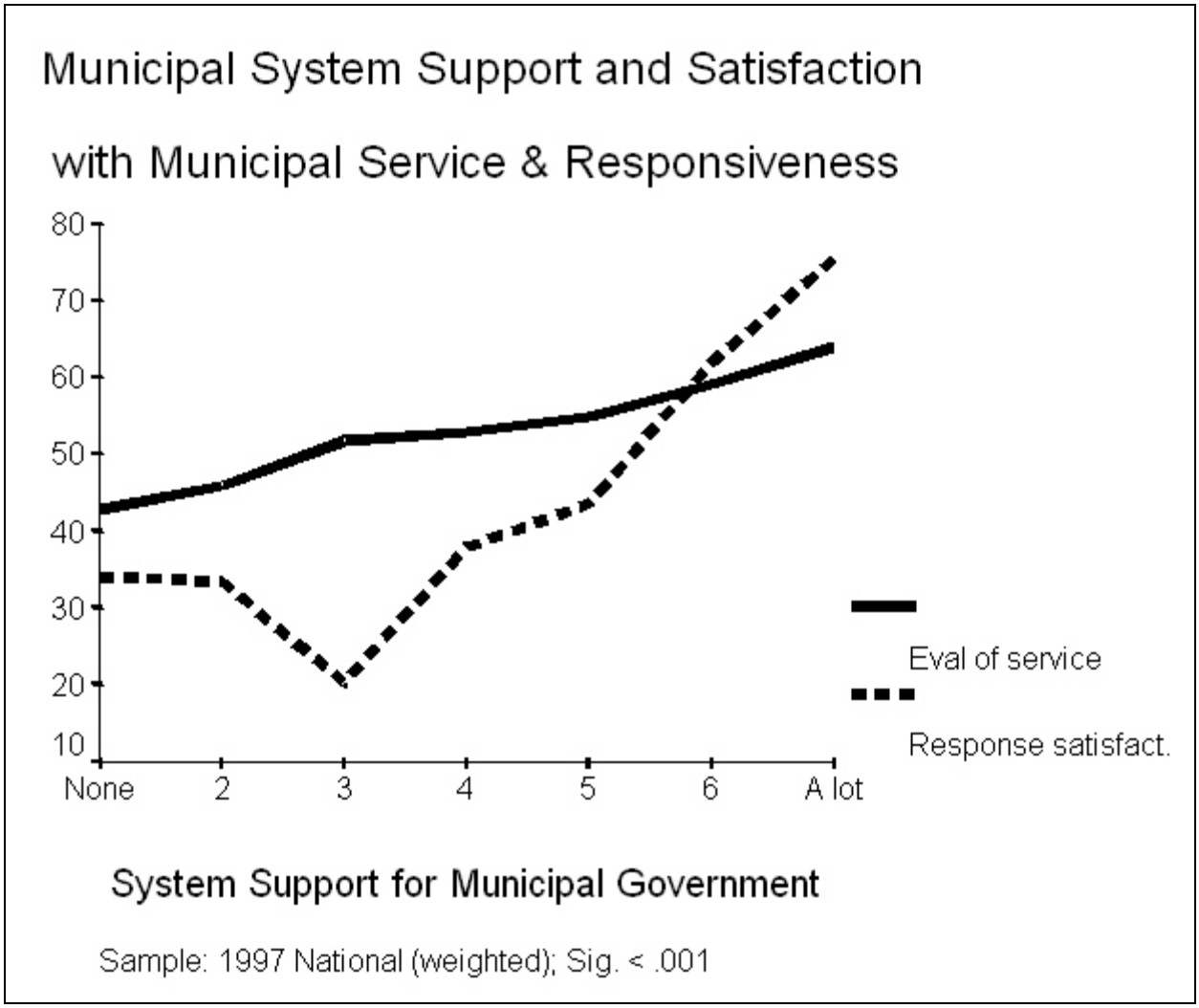


Figure III

Further evidence that system support is tied with experience is shown in Figure III.19. There we see a clear relationship between participation in municipal meetings, demand-

making on local officials and overall system support for municipal government. The more that citizens attend municipal meetings, and the more that they make demands on them, the greater the level system support for municipal government.

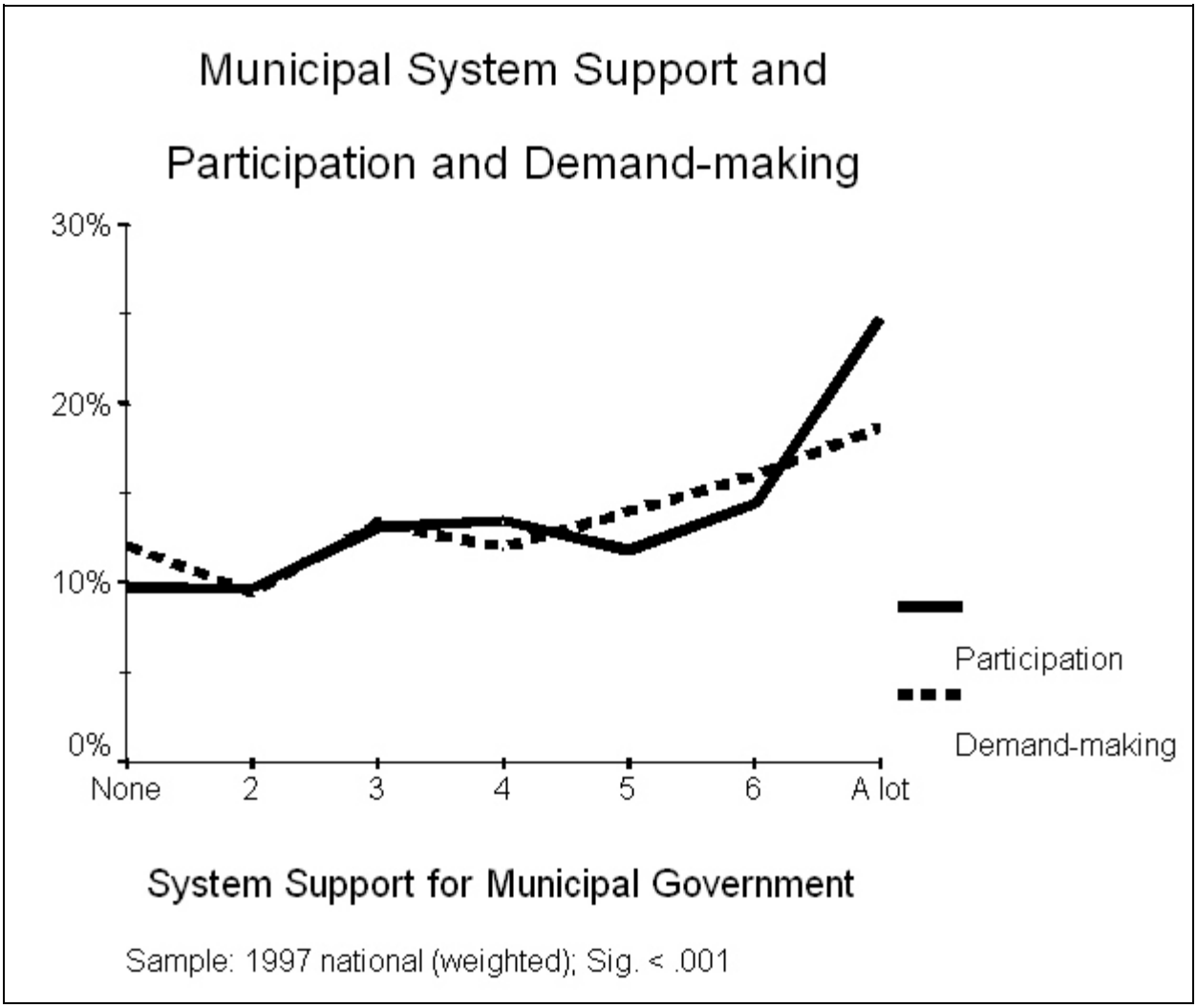


Figure III

Some citizens are very active, attending municipal meetings and making demands on their local government. This combination is a heady brew for system support for local government. Figure III.20 shows that there is a clear association between high system support for local government and the increased probability of both attending meetings and making demands (Sig. < .001). The conclusion is inescapable: active citizens who make demands on their local governments are those who are most likely to support those very governments. The reverse is also the case: when Nicaraguan citizens are passive, their support for their local governments is low.

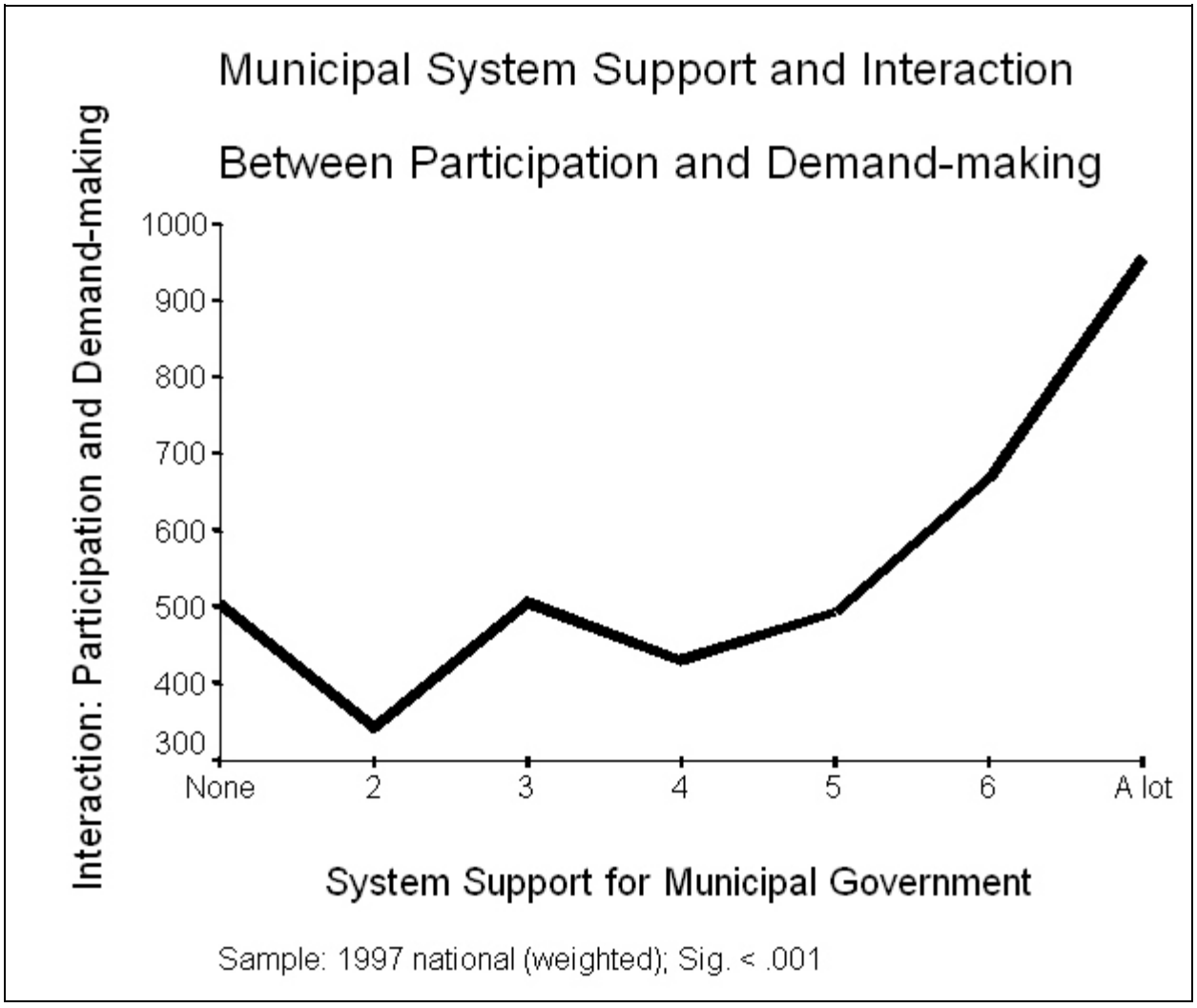


Figure III

Perhaps one of the most interesting findings to emerge from the 1995 survey in Nicaragua was that there was a close linkage between citizen interaction with local government and system support at the national level. This suggested that an important way to increase system support is to do so by stimulating democracy at the local level. The findings of 1995 are also present in the 1997 data set. In 1997, there is a significant

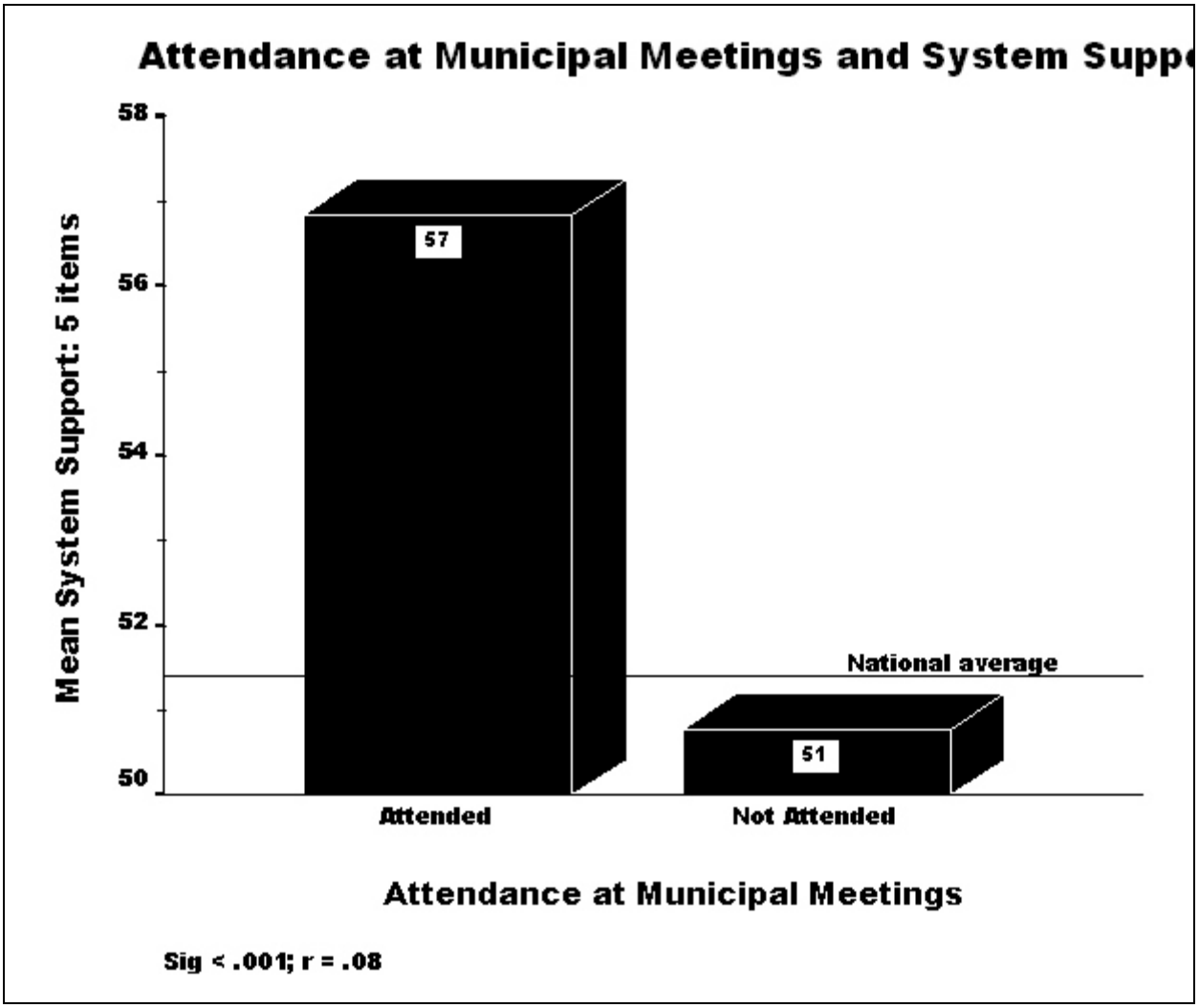


Figure III

relationship between attendance at municipal government meetings (NP1) and system support (using the 5-item standard scale). Figure III.21 shows the results.

An even stronger relationship is found between satisfaction with local government services and system support. Indeed, this is one of the strongest relationships in the data set.

Figure III.22 shows that system support increases from below 40 (on the 0-100 scale) to above 60 as satisfaction goes from low to high.

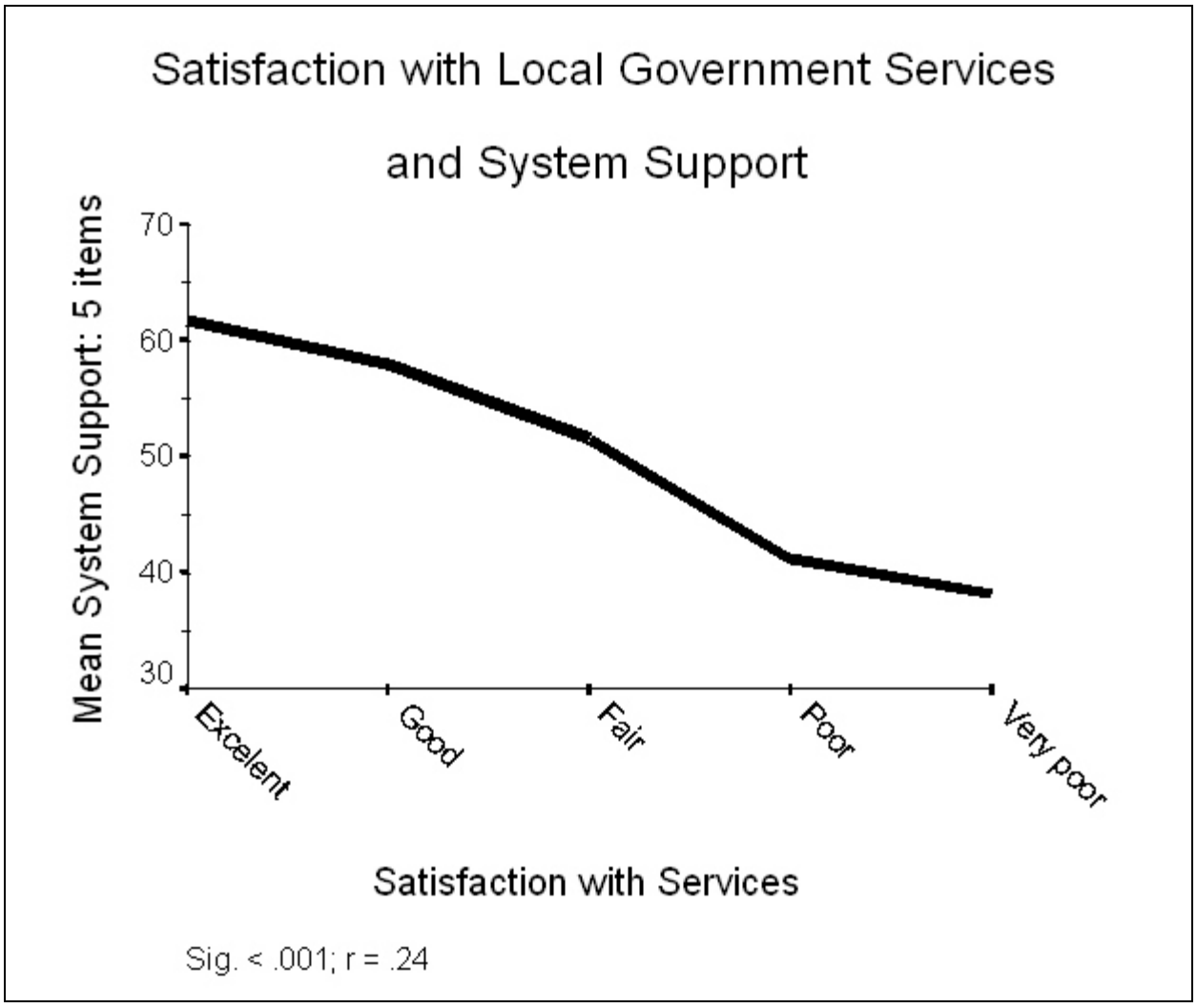


Figure III

The relationship is stronger still when we examine the treatment citizens receive from their local government and system support. Figure III.23 shows that among those who say that they were treated very poorly, system support is only about 30 on the 0-100 scale, when the national average is 51.

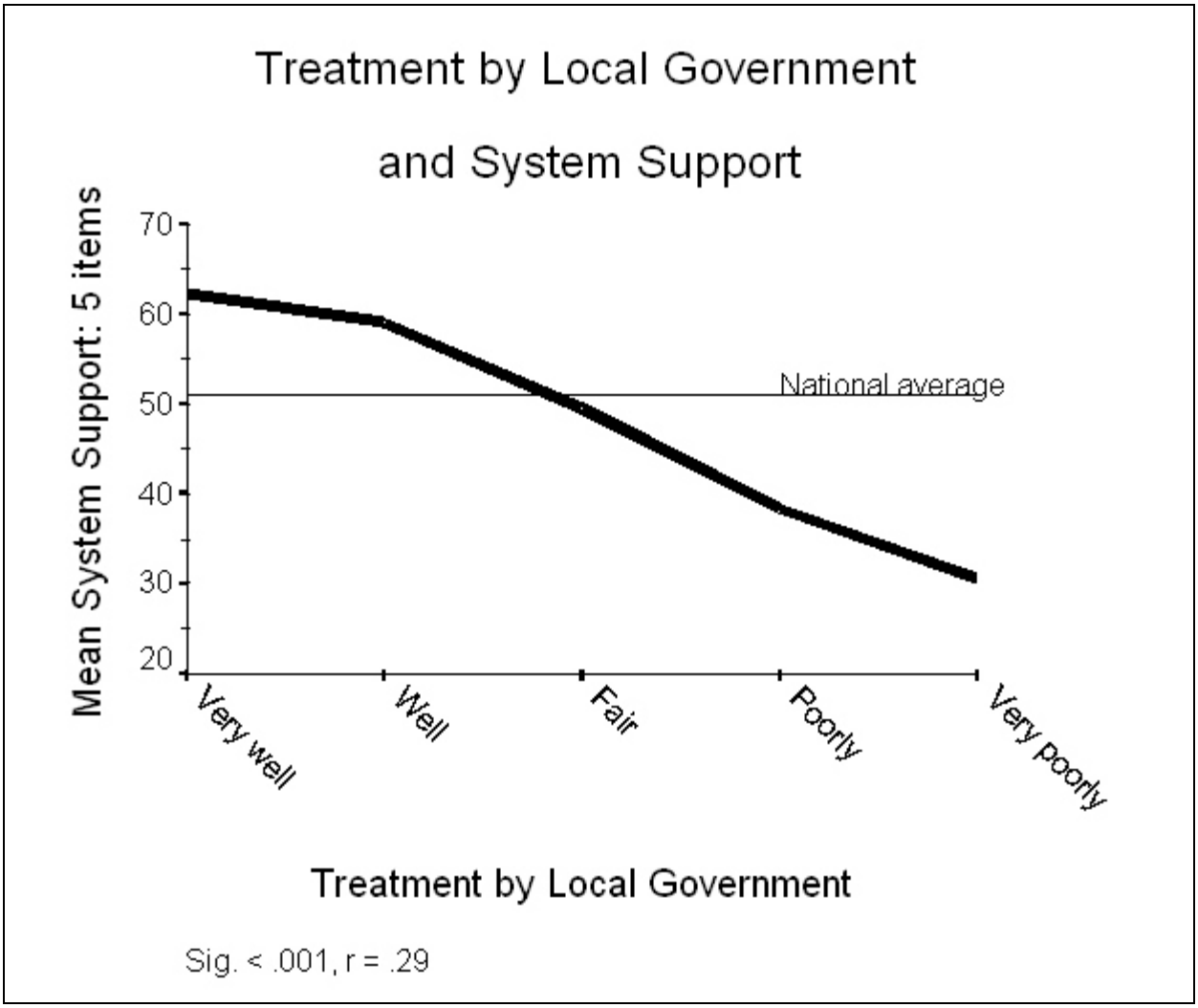


Figure III

These findings take on even greater relevance if we put them in comparative perspective. How active are Nicaraguans compared to other Latin Americans? Using comparable survey data from the University of Pittsburgh Latin American Public Opinion Project shows that attendance at municipal meetings in Nicaragua is not high. Figure III.24 shows the comparisons. Perhaps, if participation were to increase, there might be a corresponding boost in system support at the national level.

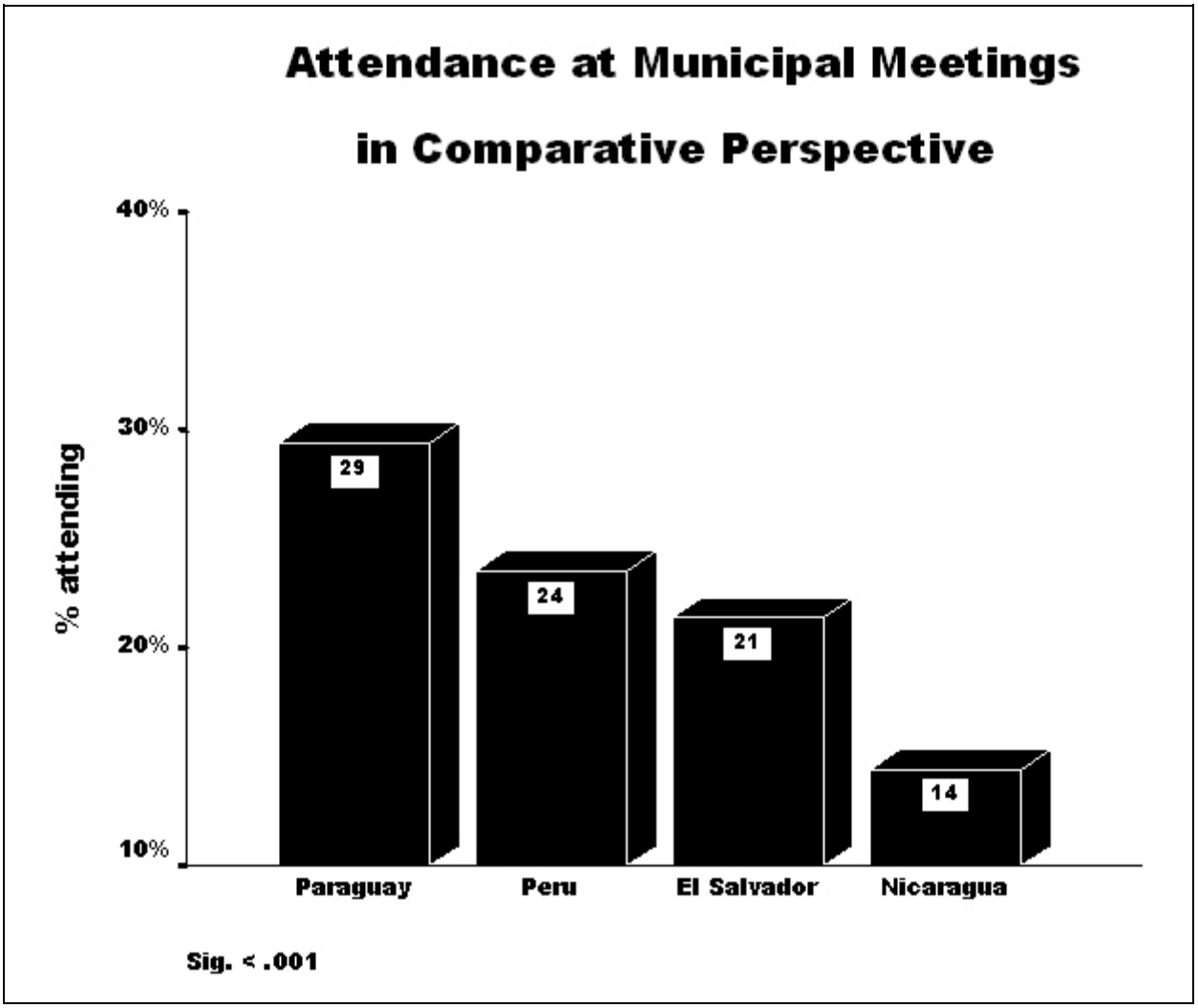


Figure III

While participation in Nicaragua in local government is not high, satisfaction does not differ much from other countries in the region. Figure III.25 shows the results, which, while statistically significant, do not differ much at all in absolute terms.

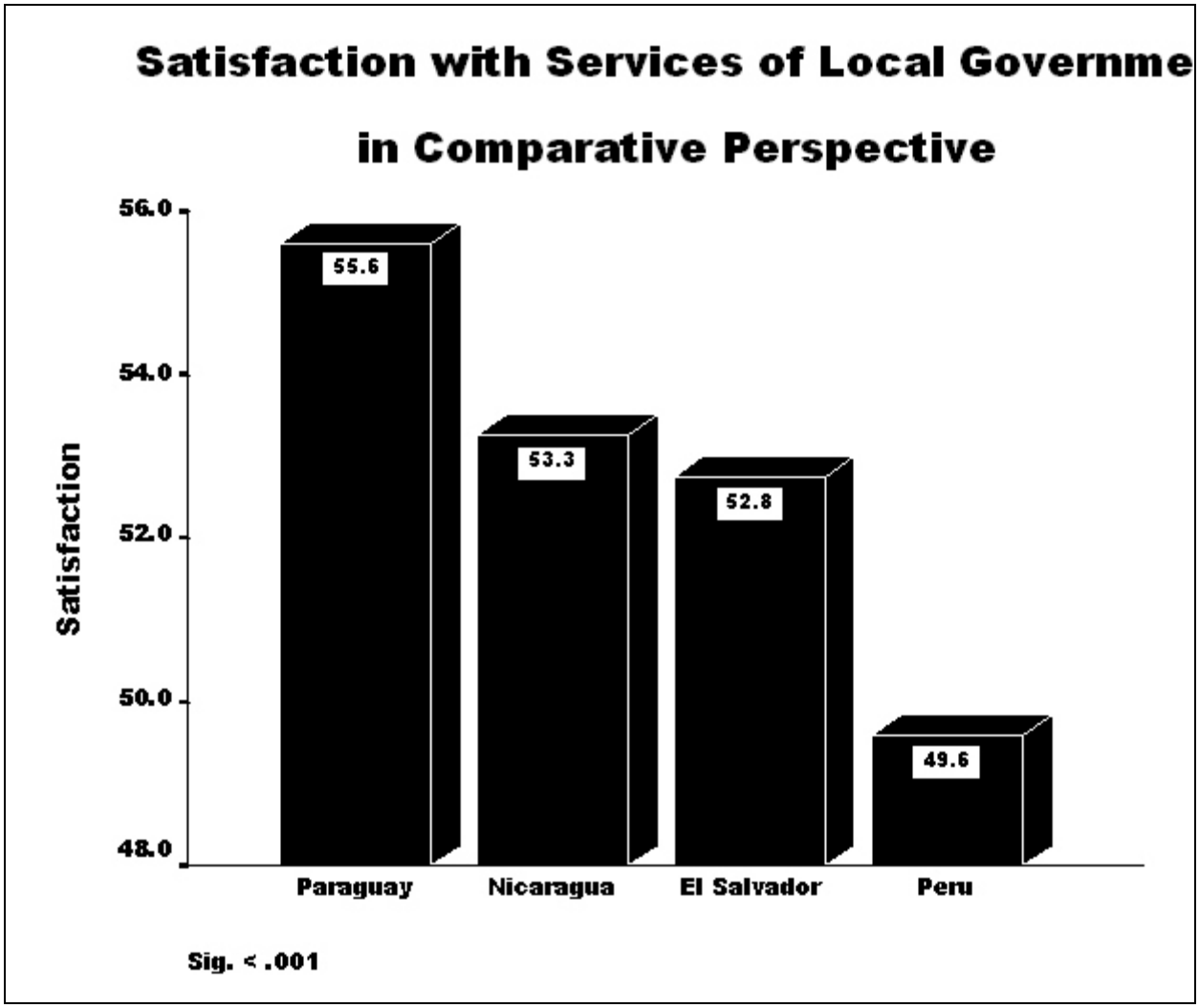


Figure III

Participation in local government varies greatly in Nicaragua. Figure III.26 shows the national distribution of participation in municipal meetings based on the 1997 sample. It should be recalled that the samples for each department are relatively small (unweighted N =150, except for Managua), so that the true value could vary by as much as 8 per cent from the sample value. Nonetheless, the differences shown in this figure are greater than 8 per cent between the highest and lowest participating departments, so these figures should be taken as indicative of real differences in participation. These findings bear directly on the earlier results regarding the USAID municipal project areas. Those projects are taking place in Chinandega, Matagalpa and Boaco, three departments that are only modest in their level of participation. Of course, departmental averages are for the entire department, and our survey did not cover each municipality in every department, so caution must be exercised in drawing any firm conclusions. But it would appear that the project areas are in departments that are not especially active or inactive in terms of municipal participation.

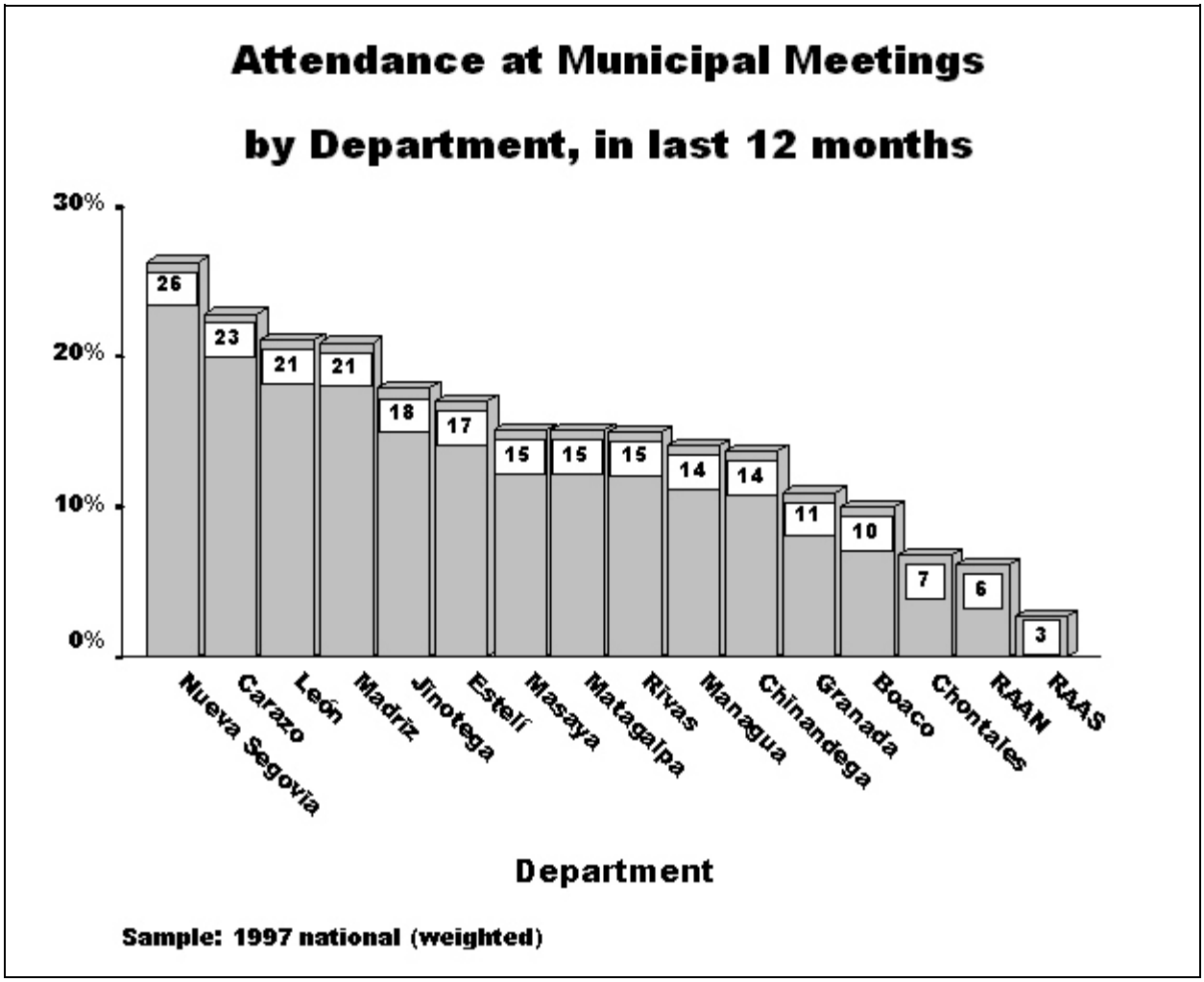
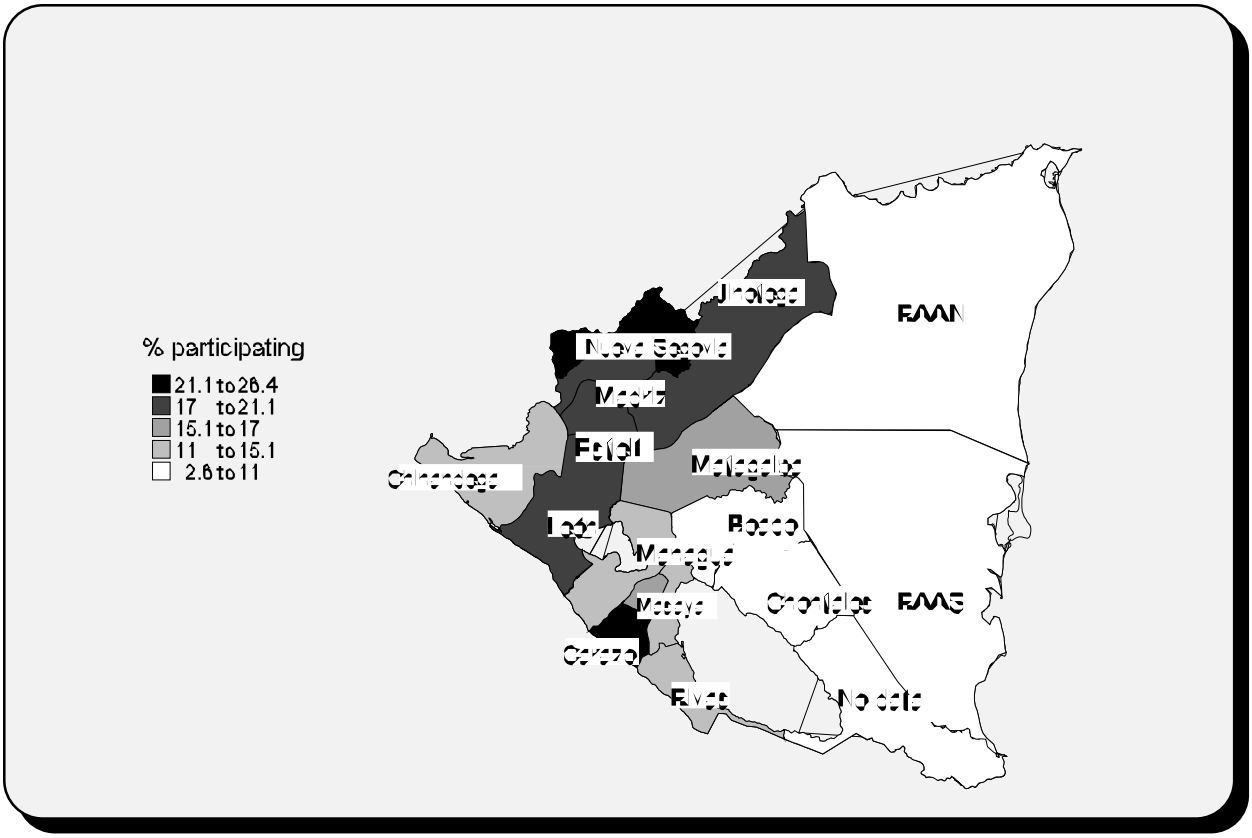


Figure III

It is easier to comprehend the national pattern of municipal attendance by examining a map of Nicaragua. Map III.I shows the national distribution, with the clear pattern of higher participation along Nicaragua's border with Honduras, and far lower participation in municipal meetings along the Atlantic coast. Once again it must be stressed that the Atlantic zone sample was drawn from a limited set of municipalities, largely urban in nature, and this component of the sample, unlike the samples for the remaining Departments, does not fully represent the area.



Map III.1

Municipal attendance increased substantially in most departments between 1995 and 1997, as is shown in Figure III.27. The only major exception is Estelí, where participation was cut almost in half. There were also declines of a lesser magnitude in Chinandega, Boaco and Chontales.

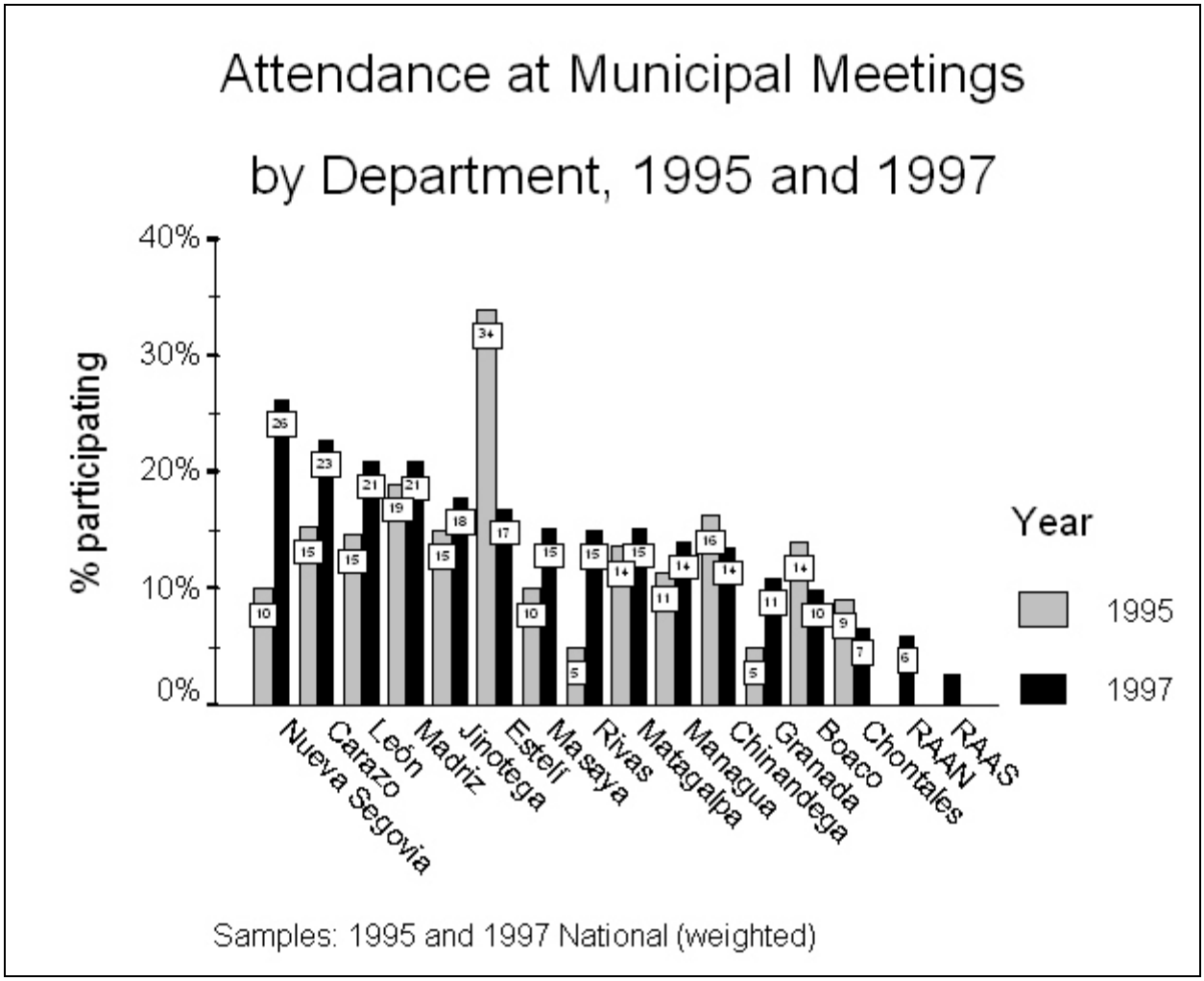


Figure III

Civil Society Participation and Links to Local Government Participation

Does participation in civil society organizations relate to participation in local government? There are many reasons to suspect that it does.[10] Perhaps the most important factor is that civil society organizations are often involved in seeking solutions to local problems, and municipal governments are a fundamental source of resources to solve such problems. For example, if a school committee wants to add a classroom onto an overcrowded primary school, local government can help provide the materials and/or help pressure the Ministry of Education to build the classroom. A second factor is that civil society

[10]This logic is drawn from Seligson and Young, op. cit., 1997, Chapter II.

organizations have numerous mechanisms to empower their members, indeed, to embolden them, to participate in municipal meetings. It is one thing for a lone individual to be crusading for a project and quite another for a group to be doing so; feelings of solidarity can do a great deal to motivate participation. Rather than speculate further about the pattern, let us examine it.

Figure III.28 shows a very clear, and statistically significant relationship between civil society participation and attendance at municipal meetings. Fewer than 8 per cent of Nicaraguans who are not active in any of the civil society organizations included in the 7-item scale have attended a municipal meeting within the prior 12 months, whereas 30 per cent of citizens who participate in 5 civil society organizations have attended municipal meetings. The downturn in municipal attendance among the small percentage of Nicaraguans who are hyper-active in civil society (i.e., 6 or 7 groups) may be a function of limited time to do all things. That is, among some of those who are very active, they may have decided to dedicate themselves to civil society organizations and allow others to pursue issues with their municipal governments.

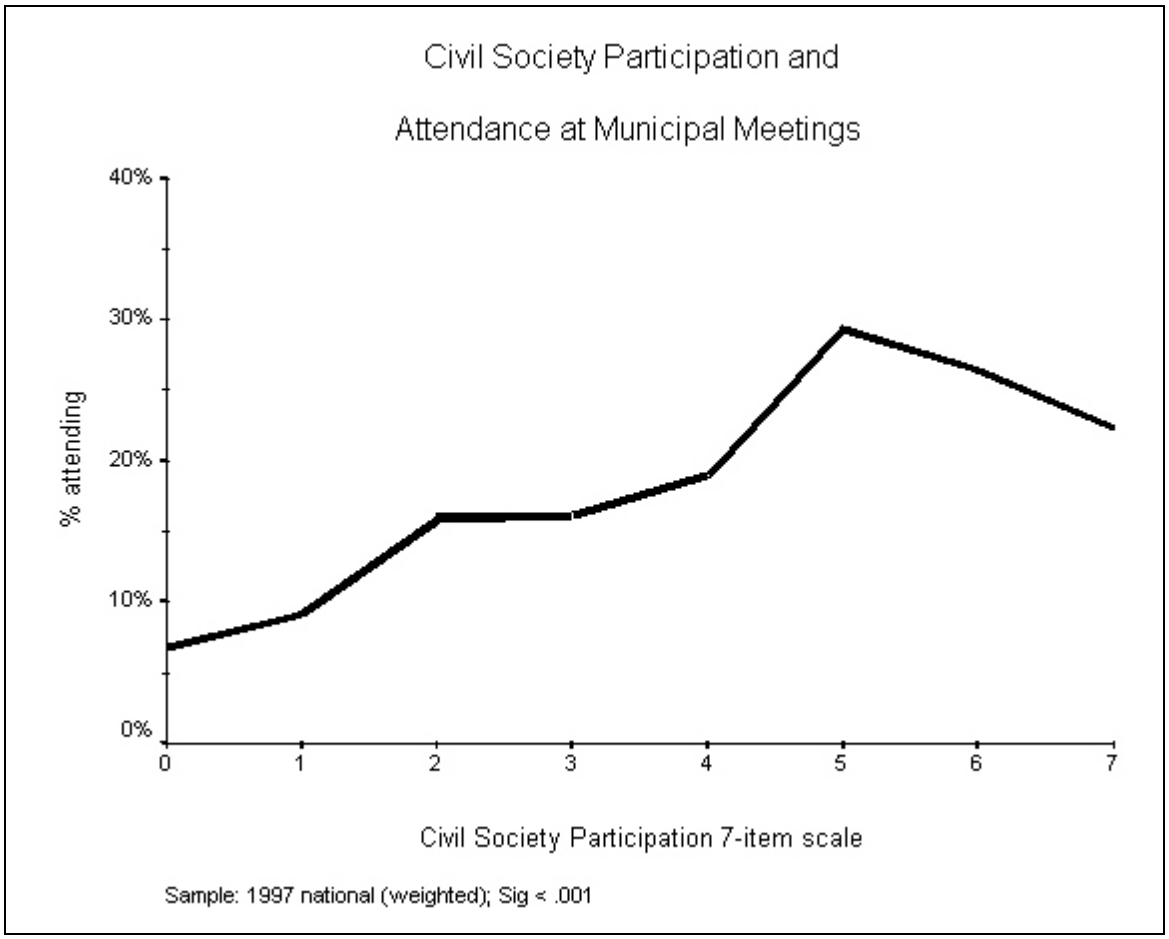


Figure III

A very similar pattern to the one just displayed is exhibited between civil society participation and demand-making at the local level. Figure III.29 shows the results. Among those completely inactive in civil society (as measured here), fewer than 10 per cent make demands on local officials, whereas for those who attend 6 such organizations, about 30 percent make demands. Once again we see a trailing off among the "hyper-active."

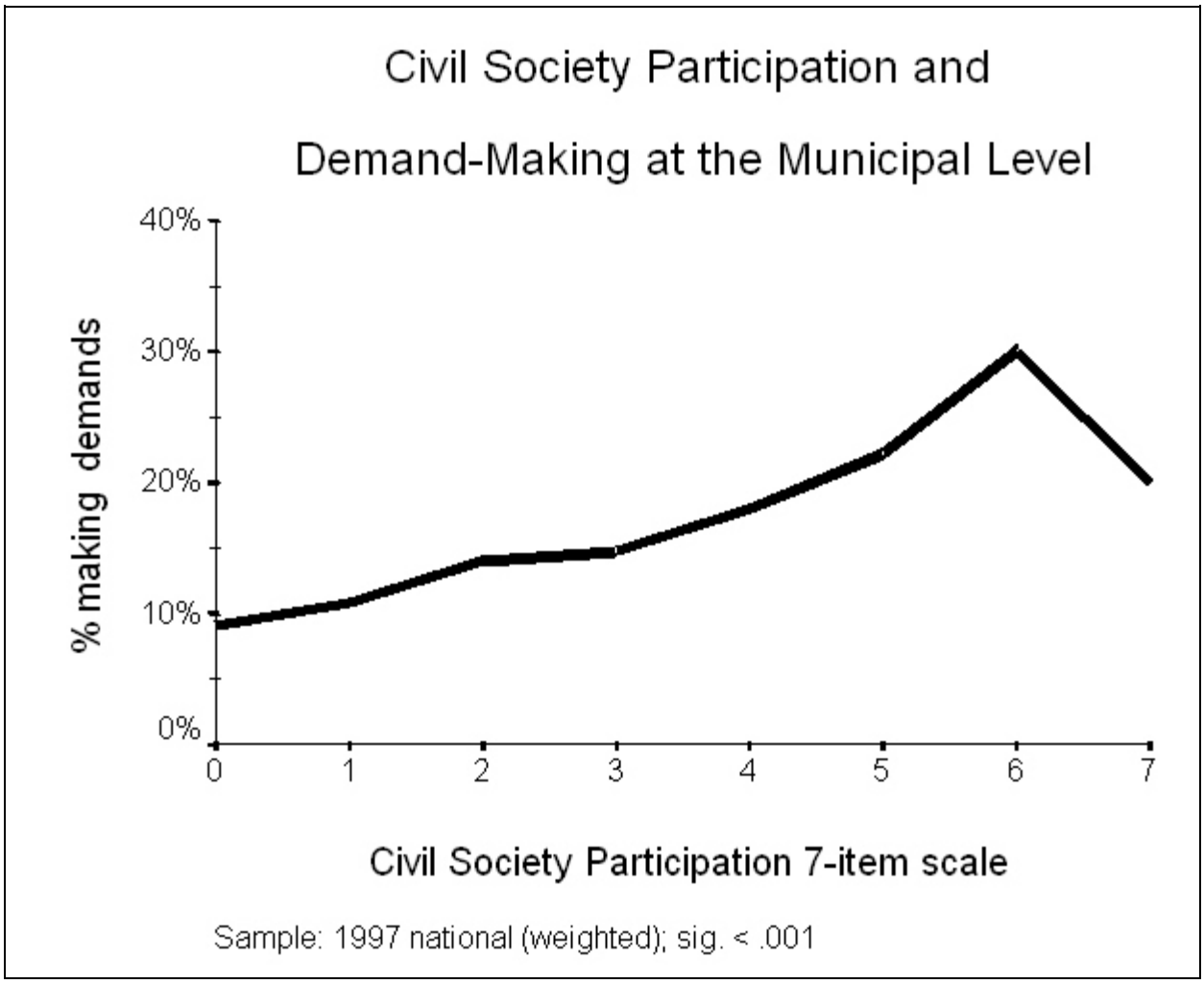


Figure III

Participation in local government does not, of course, equate to satisfaction with it. Citizens who attend local government meetings and/or make demands on their local governments may be highly dissatisfied with the way they are treated. Since local government resources are so highly limited, and many demands must be met with a negative response, citizens active in civil society might become frustrated with their local governments. Thus, participation could turn out to have a negative effect. In Nicaragua, however, this is not the

case. It has already been shown that participation and demand making are linked to a more positive level of system support for municipal government. It is now also possible to show that the greater level of municipal participation associated with civil society participation, is also linked to a more positive evaluation of municipal government. Even though many citizens may well be frustrated by the inability of impoverished local governments to solve problems in Nicaragua, citizens who are very active in civil society are more satisfied with the treatment they receive by municipal officials. In the survey we asked: "How do you feel that you or your neighbors were treated when you (they) have gone to the Municipality to conduct a transaction?" While there is little systematic variation among those who participate in fewer than six civil society organizations, among the most active, satisfaction increases. Figure III.30 shows the results.

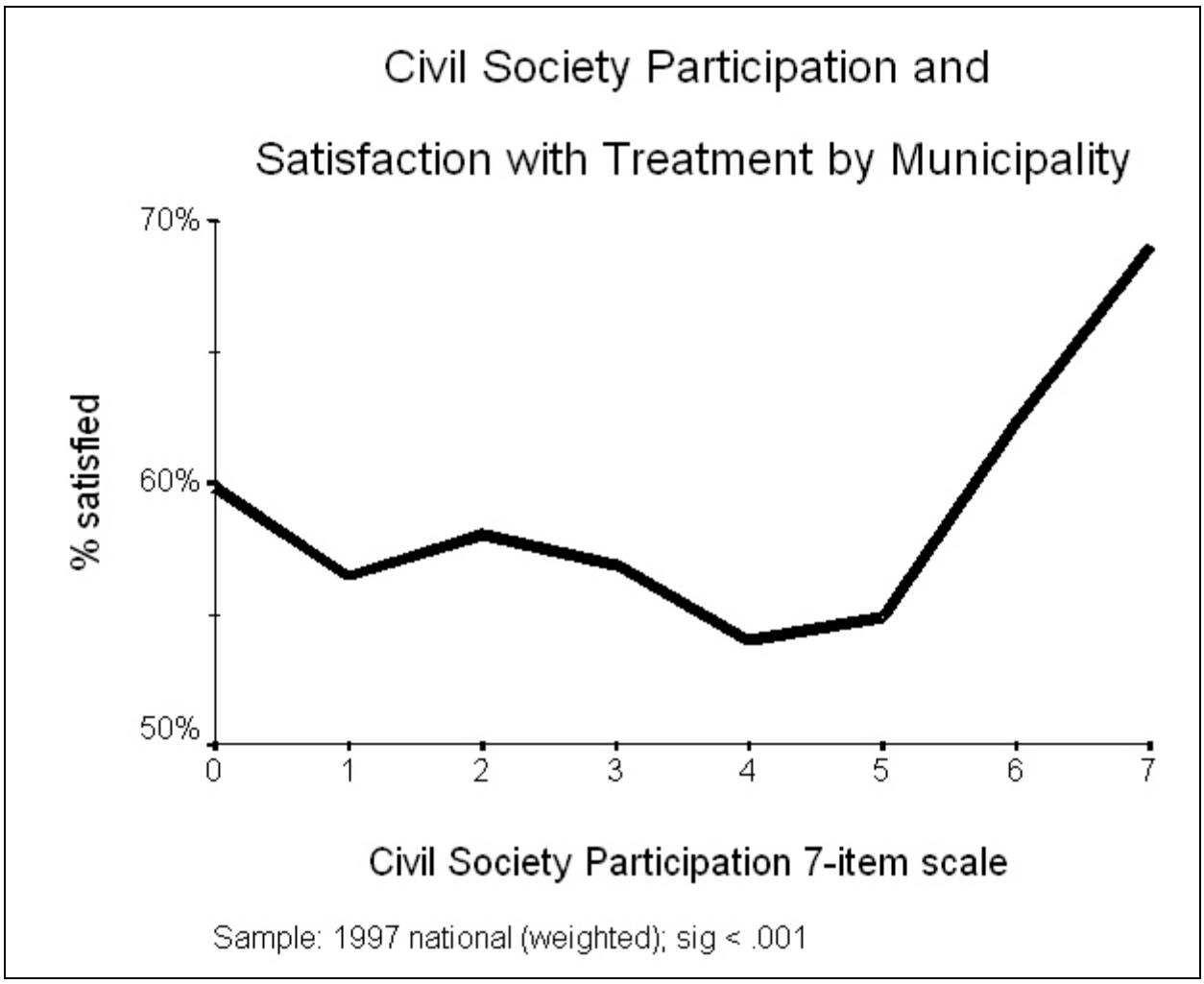


Figure III

It is possible to dissect more finely this relationship between civil society participation and municipal participation by examining participation in each of the seven different forms of

civil society participation included in the questionnaire rather than using the 7-item scale. Figure III.31 shows the results. Each pair of bars compares the per cent participant in the given civil society organization with those who either attend or do not attend municipal meetings. For example, the first pair of bars shows that among those Nicaraguans who attend municipal meetings, 56 per cent attend church groups (grey bar), whereas among those who do not attend municipal meetings, 50 per cent attend church groups (black bar). While church group participation is not significantly related to municipal participation, each of the other forms of civil society participation is. The most striking differences are the comparisons of the community development association and the civic association. For example, among those who attend municipal meetings, 47 per cent also participate in community development associations compared to 25 per cent for those who do not participate in municipal meetings. While the direction of causality is not known from the survey, the presumption is that active civil society participation, especially in community development associations, has a major impact on municipal attendance. Demand-making shows a similar pattern, with community development organizations also showing the largest impact. This finding is confirmed on a Central-America wide basis by other recent research.[11]

[11] Amber L. Seligson, "Civic Association and Democratic Participation in Central America: A Cross National Test of the Putnam Thesis" *Comparative Political Studies* (forthcoming).

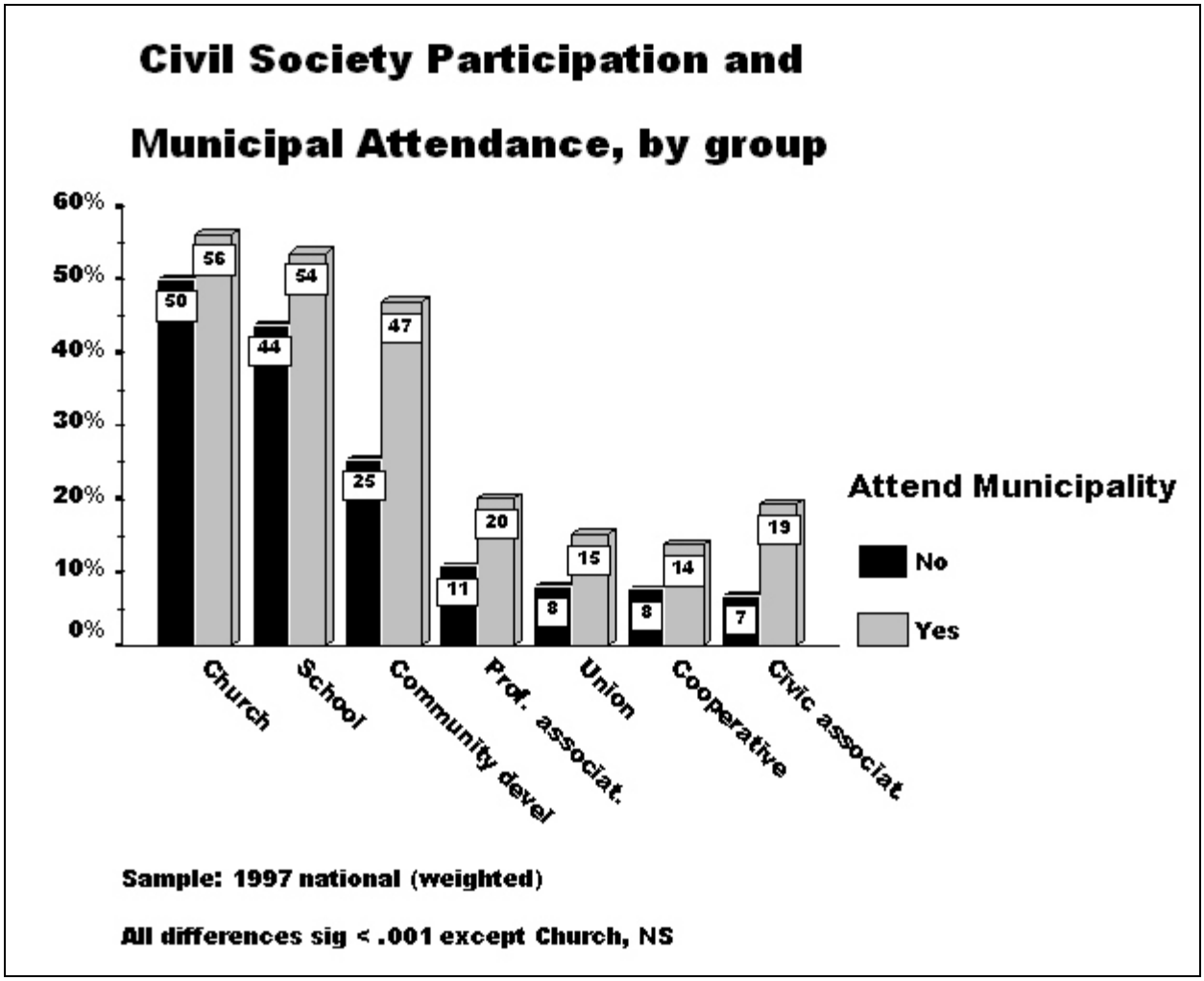


Figure III

Local Government Participation and Special Groups

Earlier in this chapter we examined the participation in civil society organizations of the various special groups included in the 1997 sample. Attention is now turned to participation in local government, where once again major differences emerge. Figure III.32 shows the results. The mass public is the benchmark, and as shown, about 14 per cent of the mass public have attended a municipal meeting in the last year. Participants in the CONCIENCIA civil society training programs, however, participate at levels nearly three times as high, and each of the civil society training groups have participation no less than double the rate of the public as a whole. It is not surprising that judges are active in local level government since there are numerous points of interface between the judiciary and local government regarding local ordinances. Finally, we note that teachers (especially public teachers) are far more likely

than the general public to participate in municipal meetings. These findings reinforce those noted earlier about the active role of school teachers in civil society.

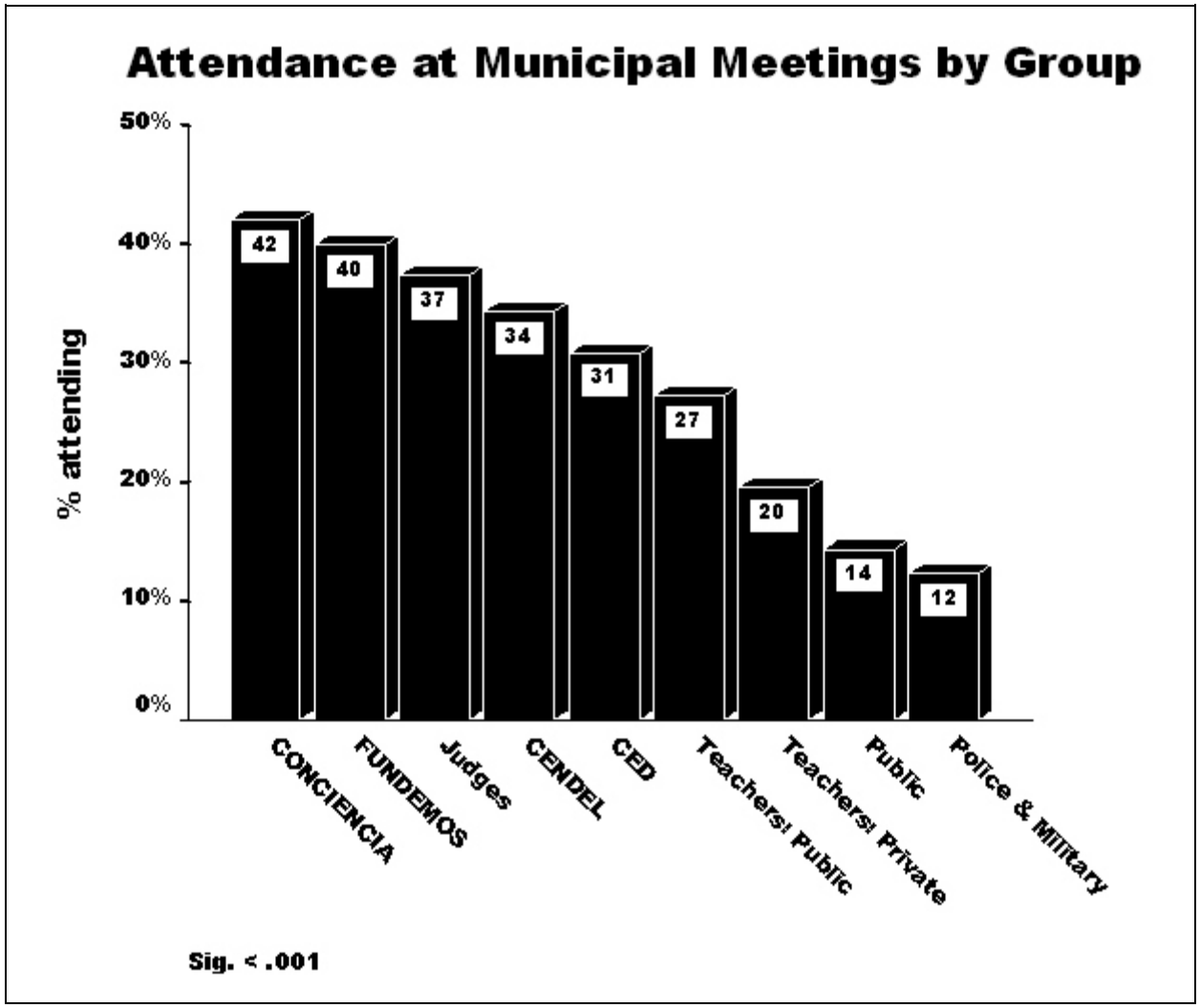


Figure III

In addition to wide differences among groups in attendance at municipal meetings, demand-making also varies significantly. Figure III.33 shows the results. Once again, Nicaraguans trained in civil society courses stand out as being highly active in local government by making demands on that institution at a level about twice as high as the general public, except for the CENDEL participants. Similarly, teachers, especially public

teachers, are highly active. Members of the military and police are less active, as perhaps their role in society demands.

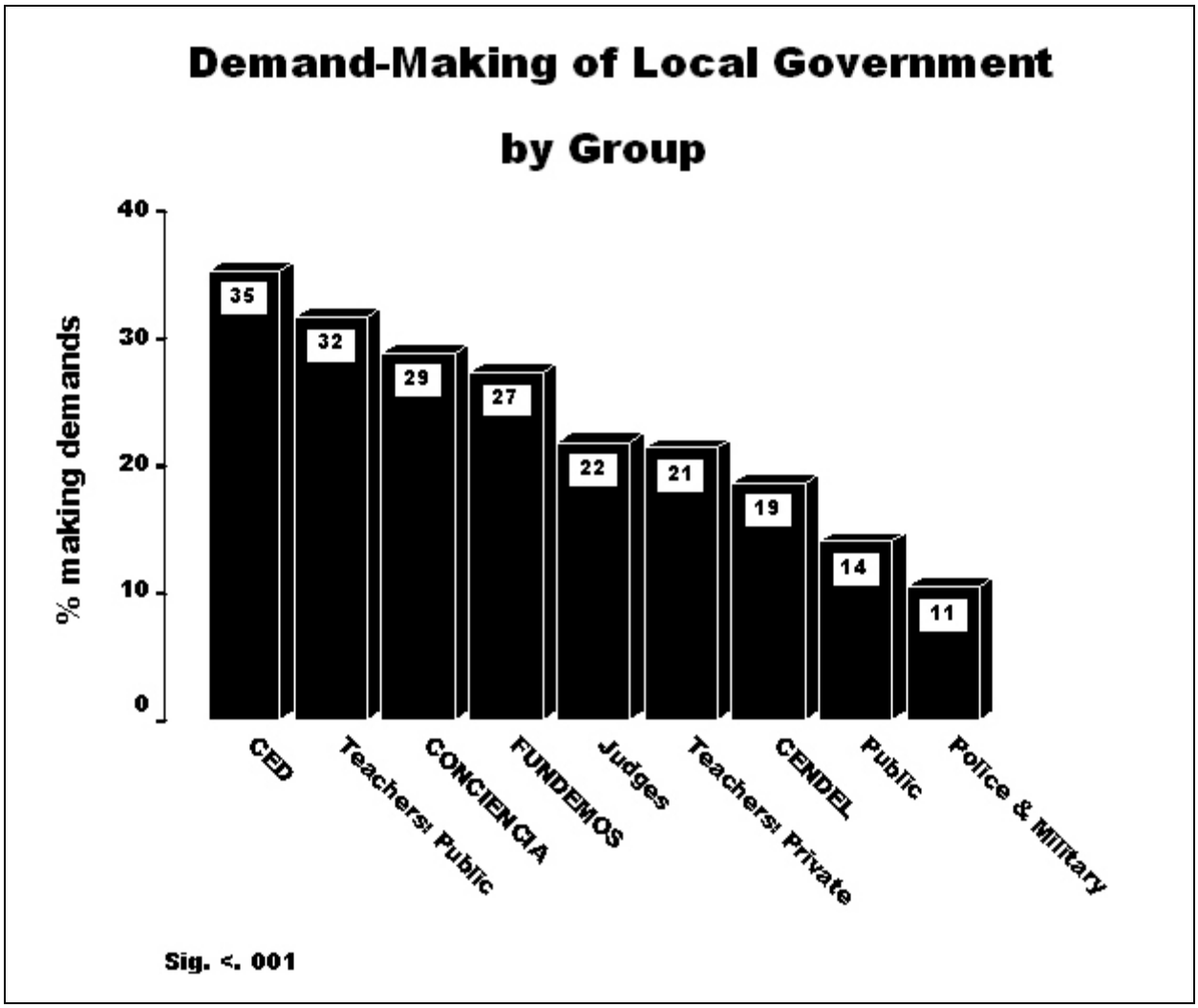


Figure III

Chapter IV.
Elections and Democracy

While regular, competitive, free and fair elections are not sufficient conditions for a country to be considered democratic, they are certainly necessary conditions. The 1997 survey contained a module of questions on the October 20, 1996 elections, and also contained a smaller set of questions on the upcoming February, 1998 Atlantic Coast elections (covering municipal government and governors). The Atlantic Coast questions were only asked in that zone. In this chapter, the survey information on both of these elections is presented, along with important relationships between the electoral data and the measures of democracy included in prior chapters.

The 1996 Vote

Survey data are widely used to predict the outcome of elections and to examine relationships between voting behavior and other variables of interest. Survey data results, however, suffer from at least two weaknesses. First, in Nicaragua (as elsewhere) one's vote is secret and many people do not disclose their vote to others, including survey researchers. As a result, surveys have many "don't know" responses in any study of elections. Second, there are many reasons for the actual vote of an individual to differ from the reported vote, especially in post-election surveys. One factor that causes a systematic bias in most post-election surveys is the "bandwagon effect." That is, after a victor is declared in an election, some respondents to surveys want to jump on the bandwagon of the winner, and so claim to have voted for that candidate, when in fact they did not. In addition, faulty memory reduces the accuracy of the survey result, especially when the time between the election and the survey is long and the commitment of the voter to his/her candidate is not particularly strong.

With all of these factors conspiring together, the results of the 1997 survey being analyzed here, conducted about 10 months after the 1996 elections, are remarkably accurate. The "bandwagon" effect is likely responsible for the 6.4 per cent over-reporting of votes for the victorious candidate, Arnoldo Alemán, and similarly responsible for the erosion in the FSLN vote by 3.7 per cent. Since the survey results are also subject to sampling error (based on the sample size) of nearly 2 per cent, the survey came very close to the actual result.

1996 Presidential Election: Official and Survey Results		
Candidate/Party	Election Result: %	Survey Result: %[a]
Arnold Alemán Lacayo (Alianza Liberal, PLC and others)	51.0	57.4
Daniel Ortega Saavedra (FSLN)	37.7	34.0
Guillermo Osorno (PCCN)	4.1	3.9
Noel José Vidaurre (PCN)	2.3	1.4
Other (and "nulo," "blanco")	4.9	3.3
Total	100.0	100.0

[a] Excludes 23 per cent non-response.

Table IV.1

The 1996 elections had a very high turnout rate when compared to elections in the United States. In the survey, 87 per cent of the respondents said that they had voted.[1] We asked those who did not vote why they did not do so. Of those who provided a reply to this question, the results are shown in Figure IV.1.[2] These results must be treated with caution since they represent only the relatively small sub-sample who both did not vote and who were willing to explain why they did not do so. By far the most common reason was mistrust or disbelief in the elections. But since this response came from a (weighted) total of 48 respondents out of a sample of 2,400, it would be a serious mistake to conclude that anything but a small segment of the Nicaraguan electorate did not believe in the electoral system in October of 1996. It should be recalled, however, that the Consejo Supremo Electoral did suffer notable declines in system support from 1991 through 1997 in our survey data, a point that will be explored in a bit more detail below.[3] The second two largest reported causes for

[1] Those who responded "no" or would not respond, are counted as non-voters for the purposes of this calculation.

[2] Only 139 out of the possible 315 (weighted) respondents gave a reply to this question.

[3] See John A. Booth and Mitchell A. Seligson, *Elections and Democracy in Central America* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1989) and Mitchell A. Seligson and John A. Booth, *Elections and Democracy in Central America, Revisited* (Chapel Hill, North Carolina: University of North Carolina Press, 1995).

non-voting were illness and not being in the country. Together, these two explanations match the frequency of those who did not vote because of their distrust of the elections. Finally, it seems that only a relatively small portion of the electorate was affected by problems of documentation (lost identification cards, voting documents not recognized at the polls, etc.). A very small number of respondents turned 16 (the voting age) after the 1996 election and thus were not eligible to vote but were eligible to be interviewed.

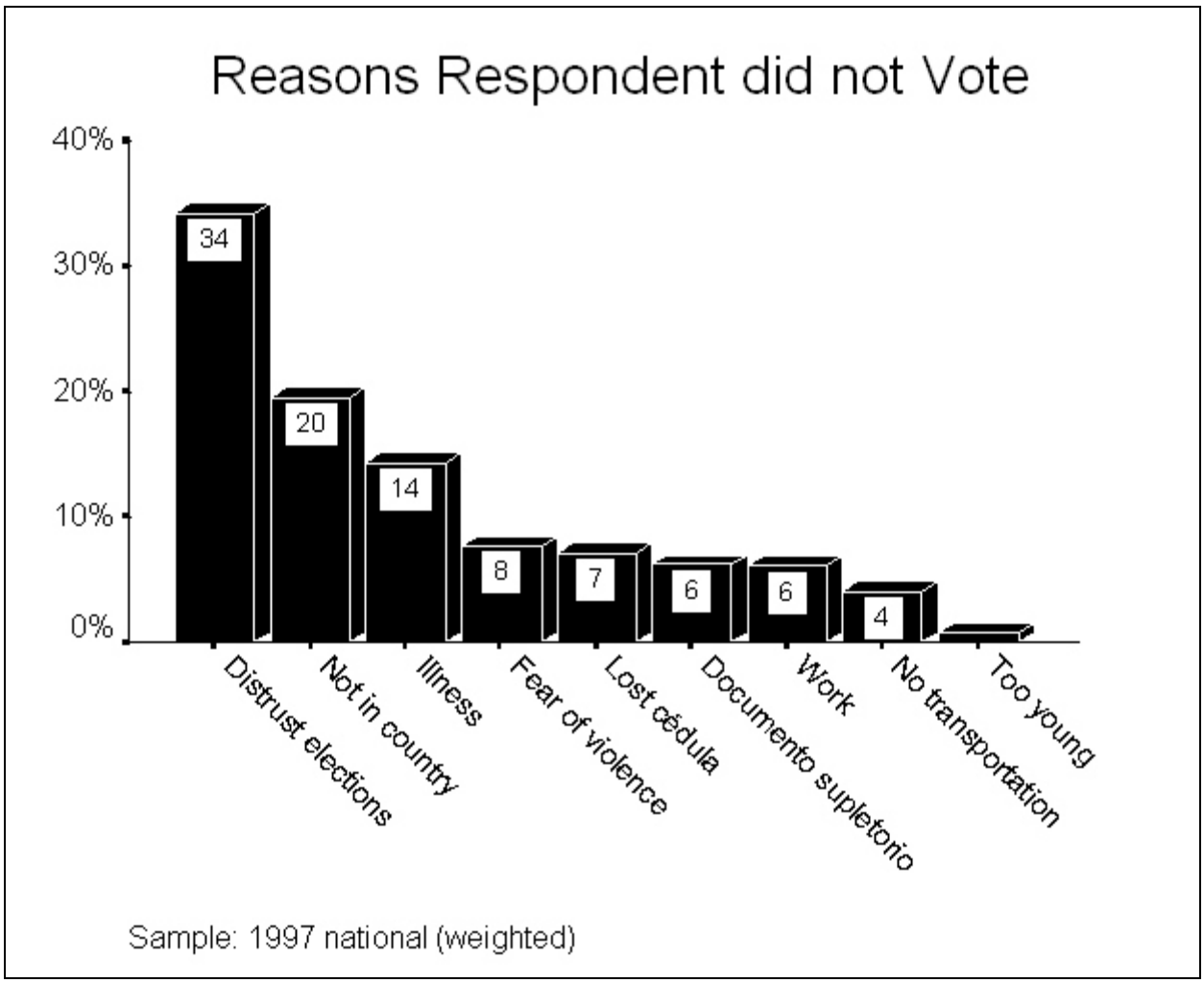


Figure IV.1

We also sought to determine if the general perception of why some Nicaraguans did not vote matched the response given by the non-voters themselves. Figure IV.2 shows the results. Distrust of the elections also emerged as the most common reply, but from a smaller proportion of the respondents, only one-fifth as opposed to one-third. Violence was given as

the explanation for the non-vote of others more frequently than as the explanation given by the non-voters themselves. Each of the other reasons is shown in the figure.

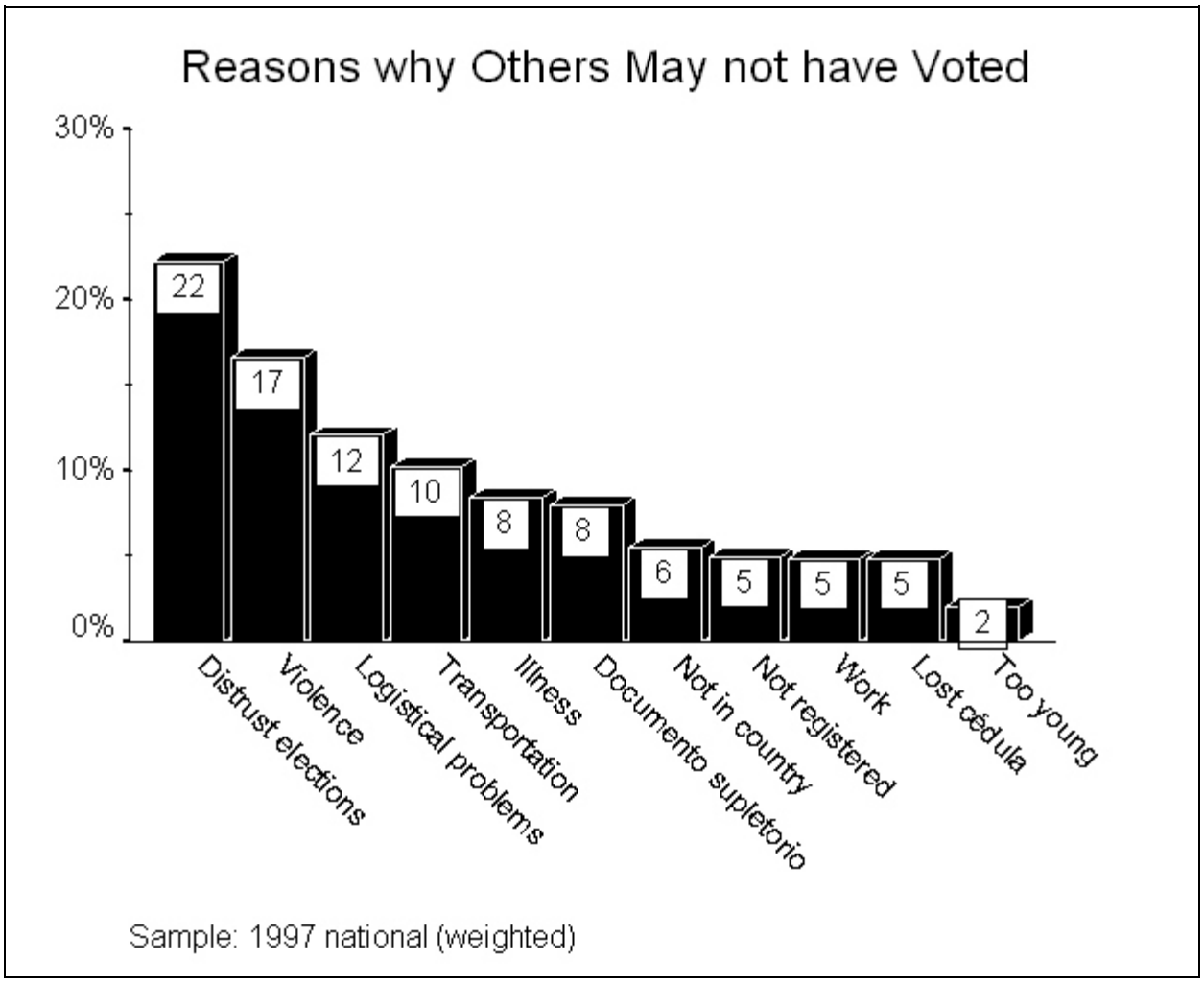


Figure IV.2

Voting and System Support

In Chapter II of this study, a comprehensive look was taken at system support. Is there any difference in the level of system support for those who voted for Alemán versus those who voted for Ortega? Figure IV.3 shows that there is consistent (and in most cases significantly) higher system support expressed by the Alemán voters as compared to the Ortega voters. On nearly all of the other measures of system support the same statistically significant patterns emerged.

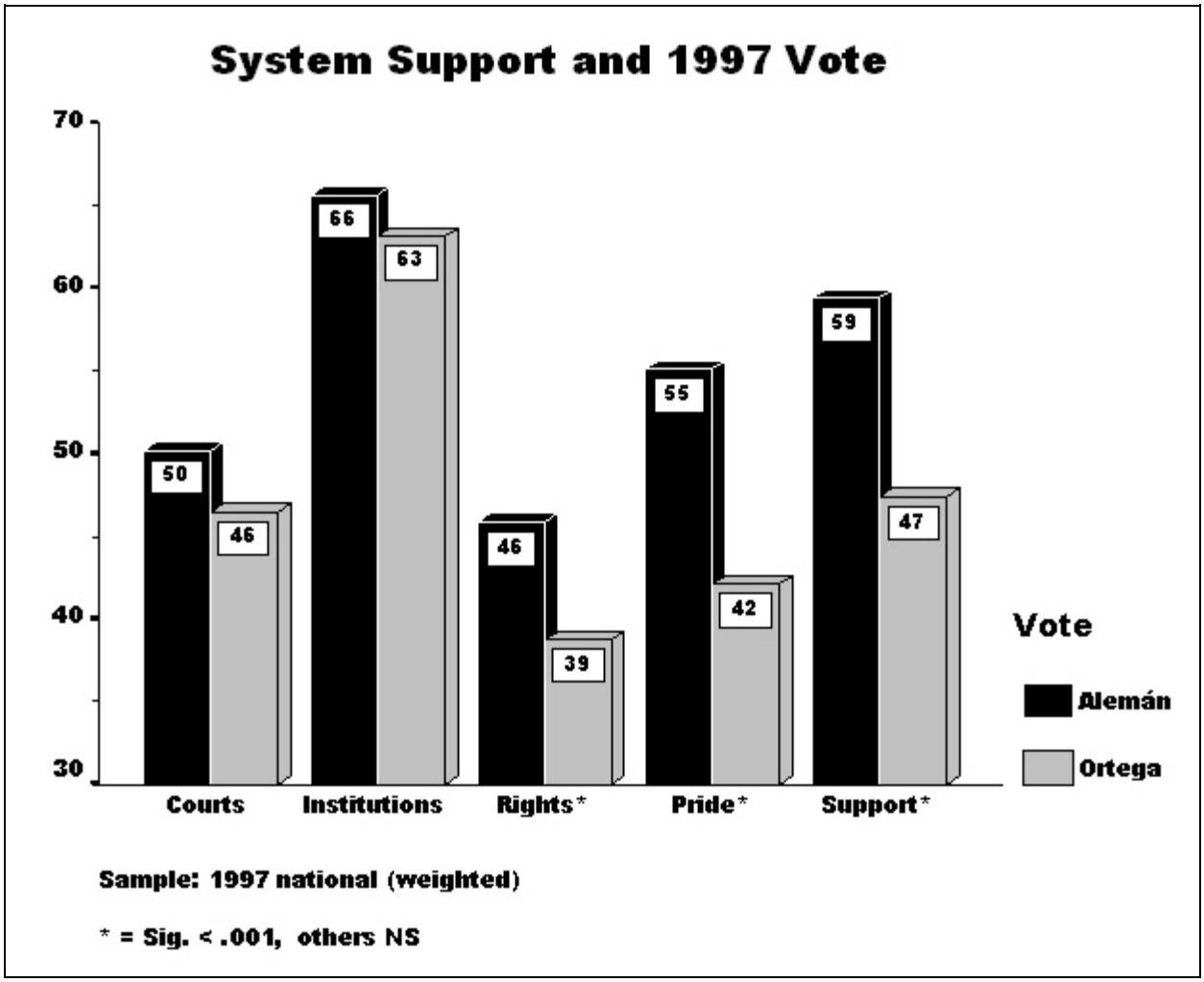


Figure IV.3

Earlier in this chapter an examination was made of the magnitude of non-voting. How do the non-voters, as well as those who refused to disclose their vote compare to the candidates for the two major parties. Figure IV.4 shows that the non-respondents match closely the Ortega (i.e., FSLN) voters in exhibiting lower levels of system support.

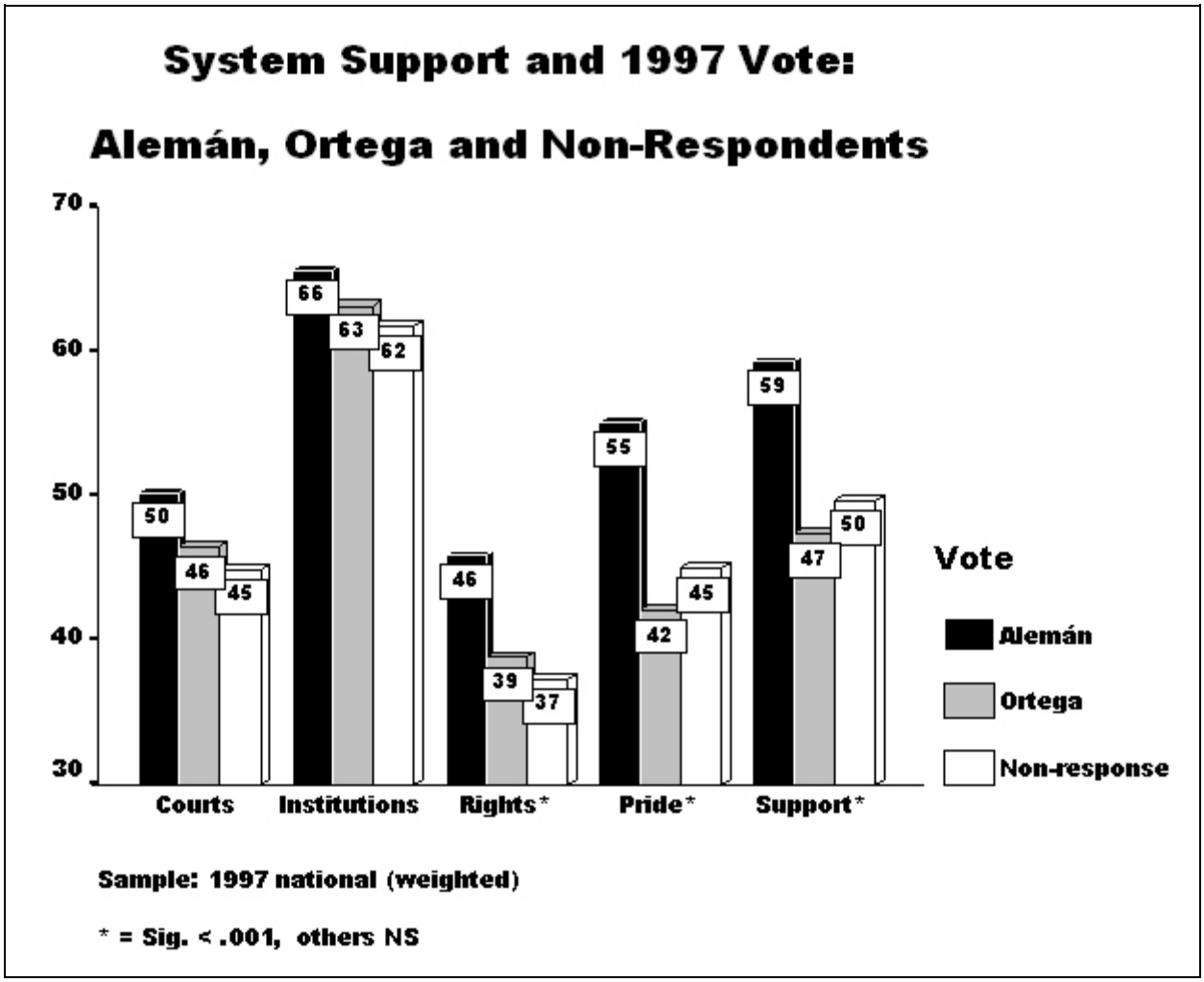


Figure IV.4

Those who supported the candidate who lost the 1996 election also expressed much lower confidence in the election system itself. Two questions were also asked about the 1996 elections themselves, wheras we had earlier reported on the electoral tribunal. The first asked about the extent to which voters were able to vote for their candidate of choice (i.e., free elections) and the second asked about how free the elections were of fraud. Figure IV.5 shows the results. A composite score on the evaluation of elections can be obtained by averaging the three variables in this series (the tribunal, "free" and "non-fraudulent").[4] This score is 51.1.

[4]The score is computed by summing the three 0-100 items and taking the mean. If a respondent answered only two of the three items, his/her score was the mean of those two. If only one item was answered, the respondent was dropped from the total. Only 42 respondents were dropped because of missing data.

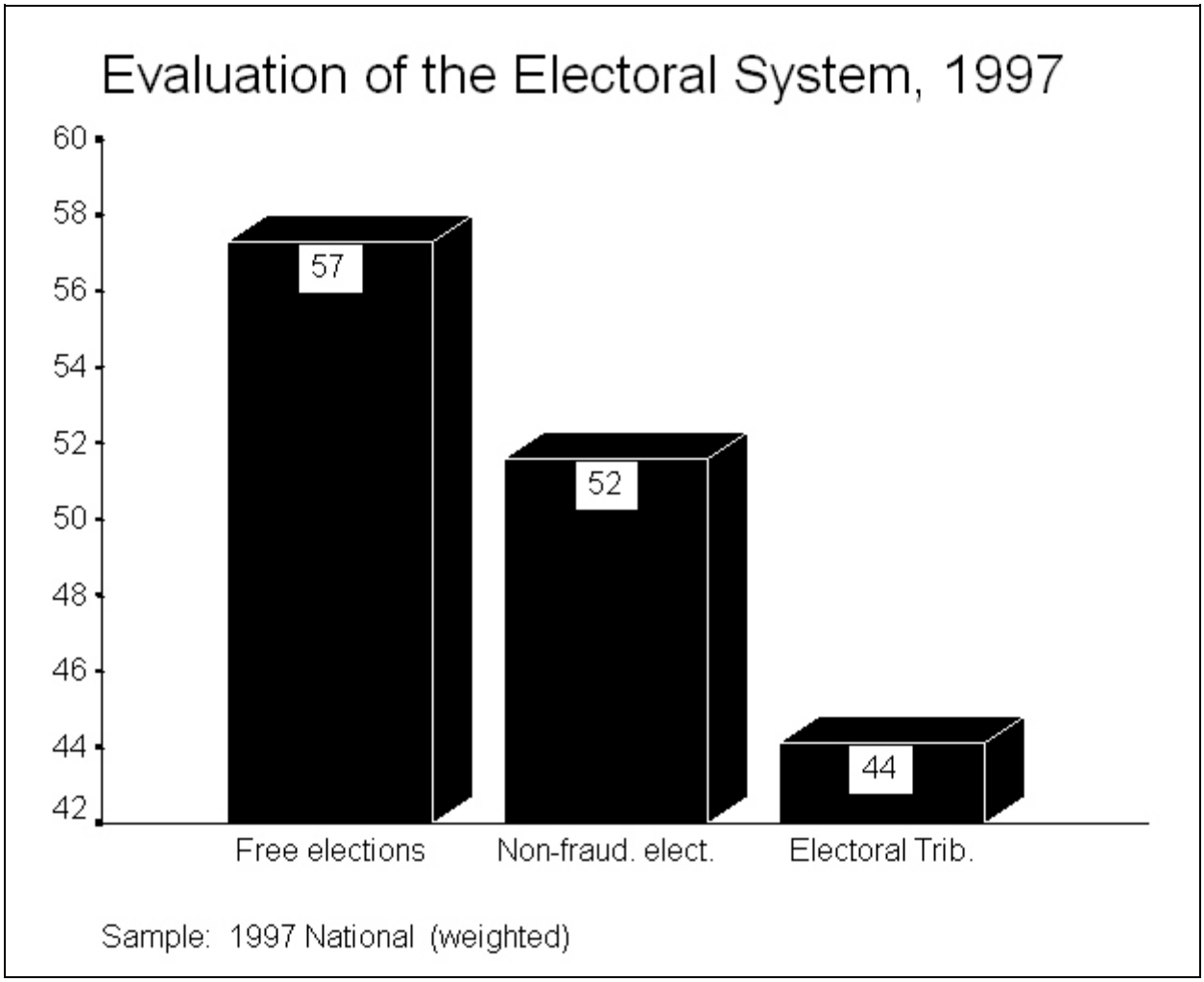


Figure IV.5

Voting and Political Tolerance

While system support is clearly higher among the Alemán supporters, the reverse situation emerges among the Ortega supporters. Now we see that Ortega supporters are more politically tolerant, as measured by the support for minority rights. Since the Ortega supporters were out of power both before and after the 1996 election, this greater support for the civil liberties of political minorities is understandable. Figure IV.6 shows that for each of the four tolerance variables, Ortega voters are significantly more tolerant than Alemán voters.

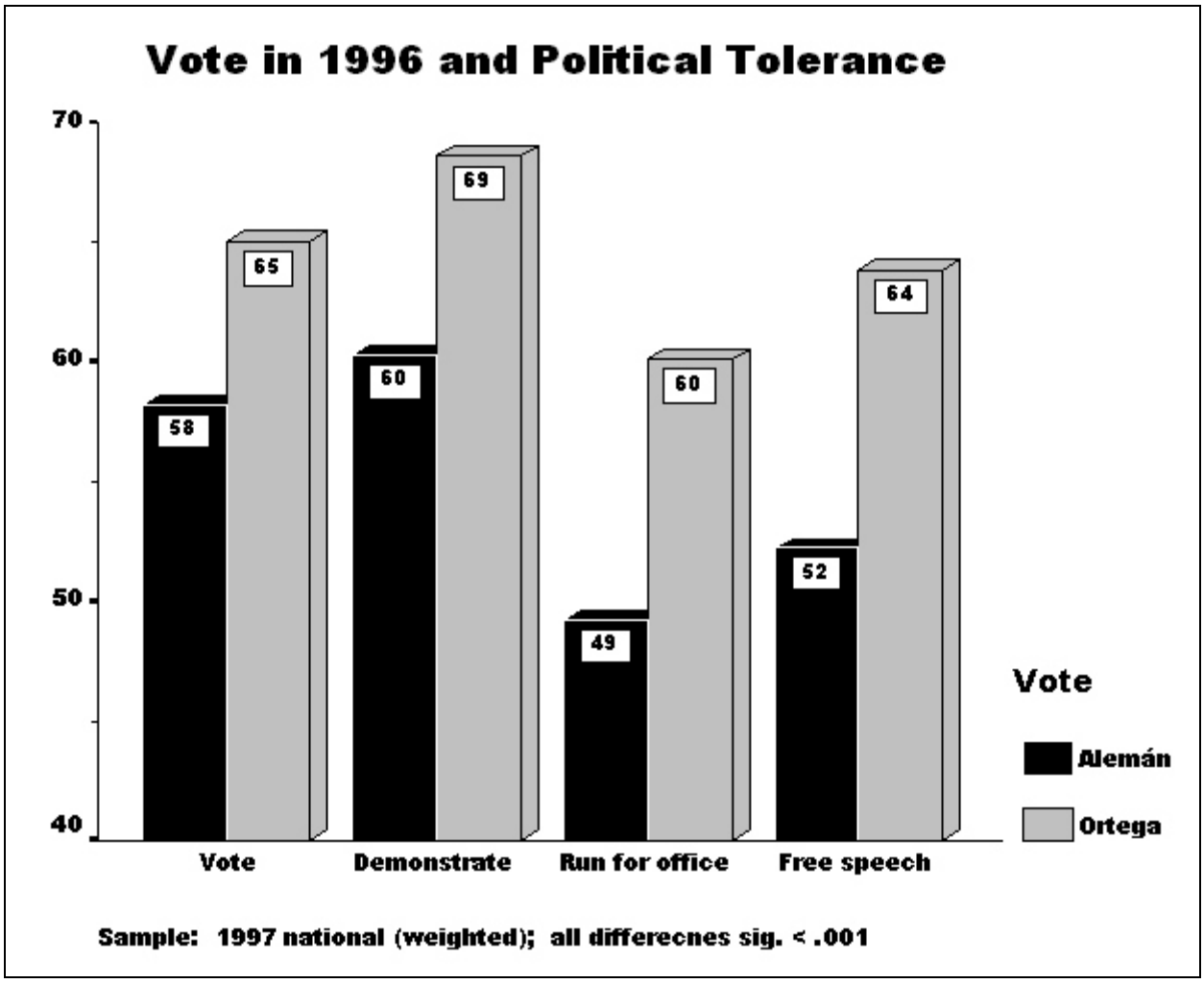


Figure IV.6

Voting in the Upcoming Atlantic Zone Municipal Elections

Regional elections are scheduled in the Atlantic Zone (RAAN and RAAS) in March of 1998. The questionnaire included a few items regarding voting intention in that election. Voting intention, of course, is not a very precise predictor of actual voting when the survey is conducted many months before the actual election, as was the case in the present survey. The questions on this topic were asked exclusively in RAAN and RAAS. Once again it is important to note that the samples in these two Departments did not cover the entire geographic area because of the inaccessibility of many areas, and the very high costs of collecting data in remote rural parts of the autonomous regions.

The survey team asked each respondent in the RAAN and RAAS zones if they were intending to vote in the 1998 elections. Overwhelmingly the response was “yes”: 73% in RAAS and 90% in RAAN (see Figure IV.7). The pattern is quite different in these two areas,

mainly as a result of the large group of respondents in RAAS who were unsure in mid-1997 about their intended behavior for February of 1998. In RAAN, on the other hand, there were no unsure respondents.

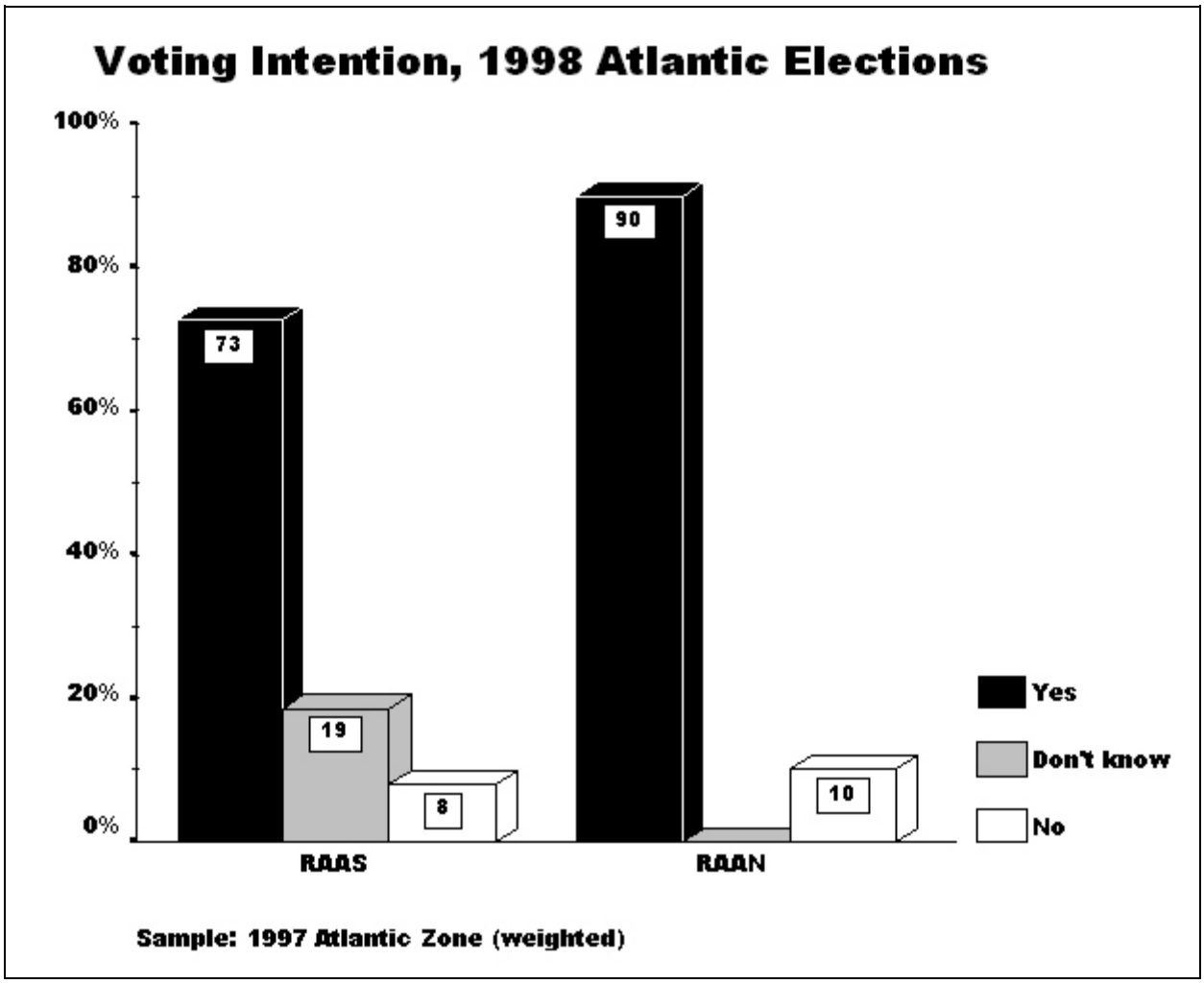


Figure IV.7

It is not possible to make any confident prediction about the actual behavior of the uncertain voters in RAAS based on the data in the survey. We did, however, ask those who said that they did not plan to vote, why this was the case. The sample size is so small for this subgroup, consisting only of those in the two Atlantic departments who stated the reason for their not planning to vote, that the actual frequencies of the responses are presented in Table IV.2. As can be seen, the only response which is offered with any frequency is "distrust in the elections." But again, it must be stressed that this is based on a total sample size of responses of only 20.

Reason for planning not to vote	Responses	
	Count	%
Illness	2	11.5%
Lack of transporation	1	5.7%
Violence	1	5.4%
Not registered	2	10.8%
Work	1	5.7%
Distrust elections	10	50.0%
Lost cédula	2	10.8%
Total	20	100.0%

Table IV.2

In concluding this brief discussion of the Atlantic Zone, it is important to note once again that the survey data are from the mid-1997 and the election will not take place until February, 1998. From the data presented here, it is evident that the overwhelming majority in RAAS and RAAN, within the survey areas covered by the sample, do plan to vote.

Voting and Special Groups

An examination of the registration and voting data of the special groups when compared to the mass public produced no major variation. As noted, most Nicaraguans were registered and most voted. Partisan identification, however, did vary substantially from one group to the other. Table IV.3 shows the results for each of the groups and each of the parties. It is important to emphasize that there is a considerable amount of non-response on this question; voters like to keep their vote a secret, as is their right. The table shows the distribution of votes for those who did disclose it to our interviewers. About one-third of the national sample voted for Ortega, while 57 per cent of them voted for Alemán. These percentages did not vary much for the civil society training groups, but did for the teachers, the police and the military. Teachers, and to a far greater extent the police and the military, voted for Ortega as opposed to Alemán.

Vote by Group in Presidential Election (excludes missing data)

			Group									
			1 Public	3 Judges	55 Police & Military	60 Teachers: Public	61 Teachers: Private	101 FUNDEMOS	102 CED	103 CONCIENCIA	104 CENDEL	Total
VB2A	1 ALEMAN /ALIANZA LIBERAL, PLC Y ALIADOS)	Count	1106	22	20	45	23	36	42	9	33	1336
		% within ESTRATOR	57.4%	44.9%	10.6%	32.4%	28.4%	43.4%	41.2%	36.0%	44.0%	50.1%
	2 ORTEGA (FSLN)	Count	655	18	158	81	38	23	40	11	30	1054
		% within ESTRATOR	34.0%	36.7%	83.6%	58.3%	46.9%	27.7%	39.2%	44.0%	40.0%	39.5%
	3 CAMBIO CRISTIANO NICARAGUENSE (CCN)	Count	75	2	2	3	7		3		6	98
		% within ESTRATOR	3.9%	4.1%	1.1%	2.2%	8.6%		2.9%		8.0%	3.7%
	4 PARTIDO CONSERVADOR	Count	28	2	1	3	6	3	5	3	3	54
		% within ESTRATOR	1.5%	4.1%	.5%	2.2%	7.4%	3.6%	4.9%	12.0%	4.0%	2.0%
	5 MRS	Count	6	2	1	1	4	1	4	1		20
		% within ESTRATOR	.3%	4.1%	.5%	.7%	4.9%	1.2%	3.9%	4.0%		.7%
	6 OTRO	Count	41	3	5	4	2	19	5	1	3	83
		% within ESTRATOR	2.1%	6.1%	2.6%	2.9%	2.5%	22.9%	4.9%	4.0%	4.0%	3.1%
	7 VOTO NULO (BLANCO)	Count	15		2	2	1	1	3			24
		% within ESTRATOR	.8%		1.1%	1.4%	1.2%	1.2%	2.9%			.9%
Total		Count	1926	49	189	139	81	83	102	25	75	2669
		% within ESTRATOR	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Table IV.3

Chapter V.
Issues
Women's Equity.
Democratic Responsibilities and Human Rights

The 1997 survey contained three blocks of questions on issues very important to Nicaragua today. One of these attempted to determine the extent to which Nicaraguans believe that women are discriminated against, and if so, to what degree and in what ways. Another group of questions sought to determine the views that Nicaraguans hold regarding their democratic responsibilities. Finally, we examine the perception of the state of human rights in Nicaragua. In this chapter, each of those series is analyzed.

Women's Equity Issues

There is widespread agreement that there is discrimination against women in Nicaragua. The survey asked three questions on this subject. First, it asked if the respondent believes that in Nicaragua, discrimination against women exists. It followed this question, for those who said that there exists discrimination, with one question measuring the degree of severity of discrimination. Finally, all respondents were asked if there exists equality of opportunity for women. It is possible to create an overall index measuring belief in the existence of discrimination against women by summing the responses for the first and third items (since the second item depends on the response to the first, this one cannot be incorporated into an index that would cover the entire sample). The overall index, on a scale of 0-100 for these two items averaged 63.3. This distribution of this index can be seen graphically in Figure V.1. In some ways, however, this index is misleading, as we shall see in a moment. It turns out that nearly all Nicaraguans believe that discrimination against women exists in the country, but a much smaller percentage believe that it is manifested in terms of equality of opportunity. Thus, presumably there are other ways in which Nicaraguans believe that such discrimination manifests itself, but these were not measured in the survey. Details on the individual items appear in the analysis presented below.

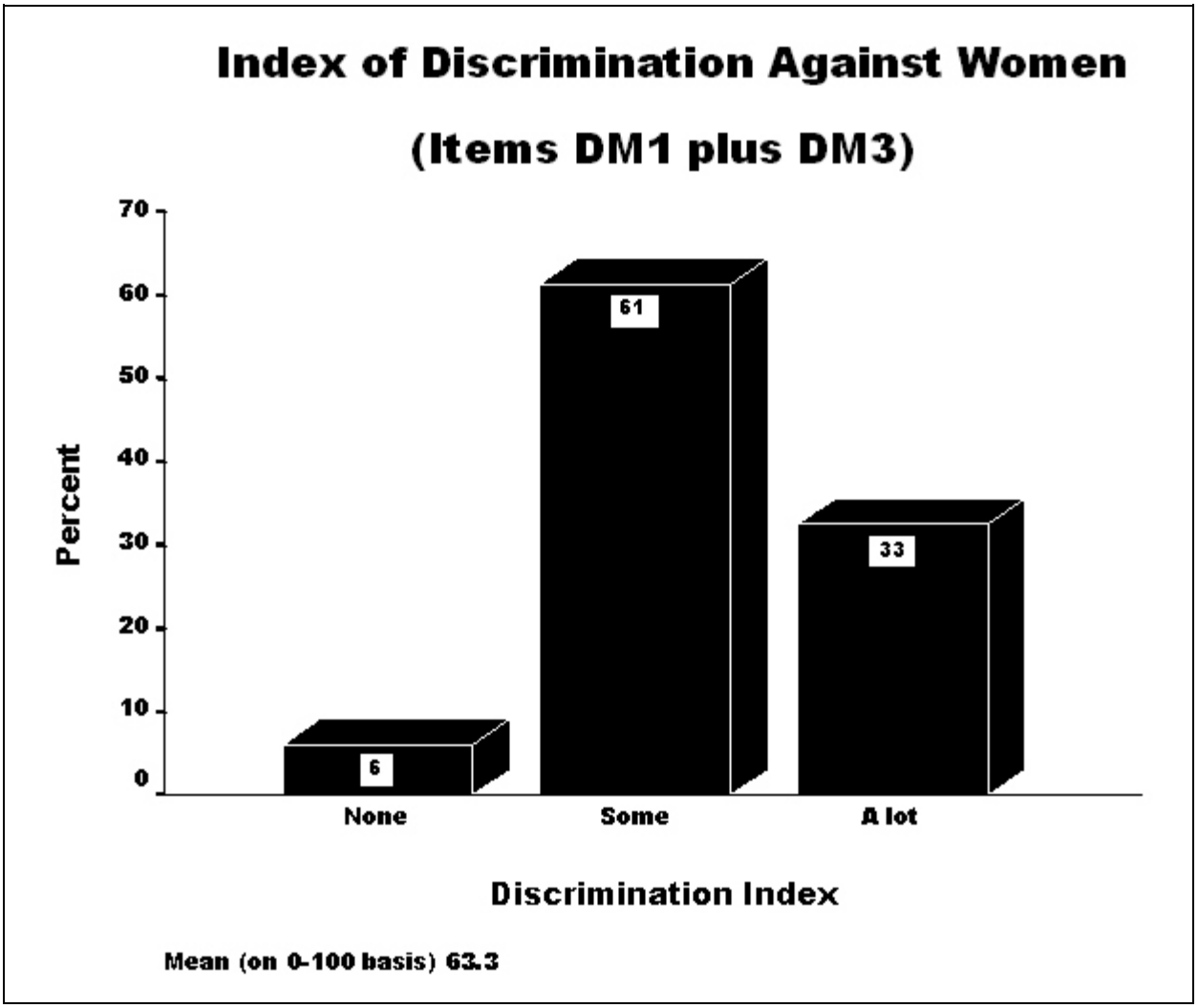


Figure V.1

The responses to the first discrimination item are given in Figure V.2, which shows that both men and women agree that such discrimination exists, but that females are significantly more likely to believe that discrimination against women exists than do males. Even though there is a gender difference in the perception of discrimination, the salient fact is that there appears to be a high level of sensitivity to discrimination among Nicaraguans.

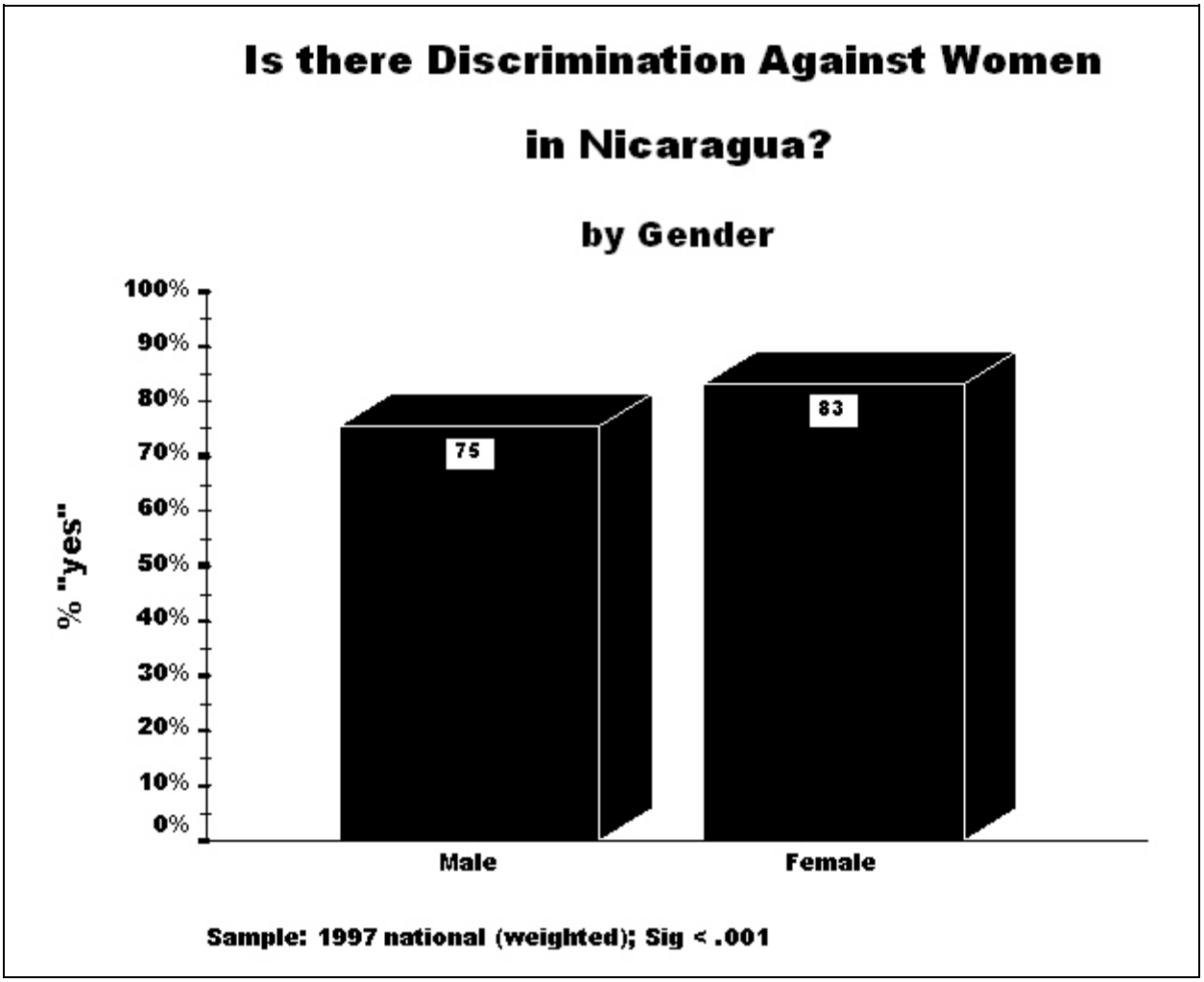


Figure V.2

Education plays little role in sensitizing Nicaraguans to discrimination against women. Figure V.3 shows that, as expected, University educated women are more sensitive to discrimination than are those with somewhat lower levels of education, but the difference is trivial and statistically insignificant. The major finding from this figure is that at all levels of education, right up through university, females are more likely to believe that in Nicaragua there is discrimination against women.

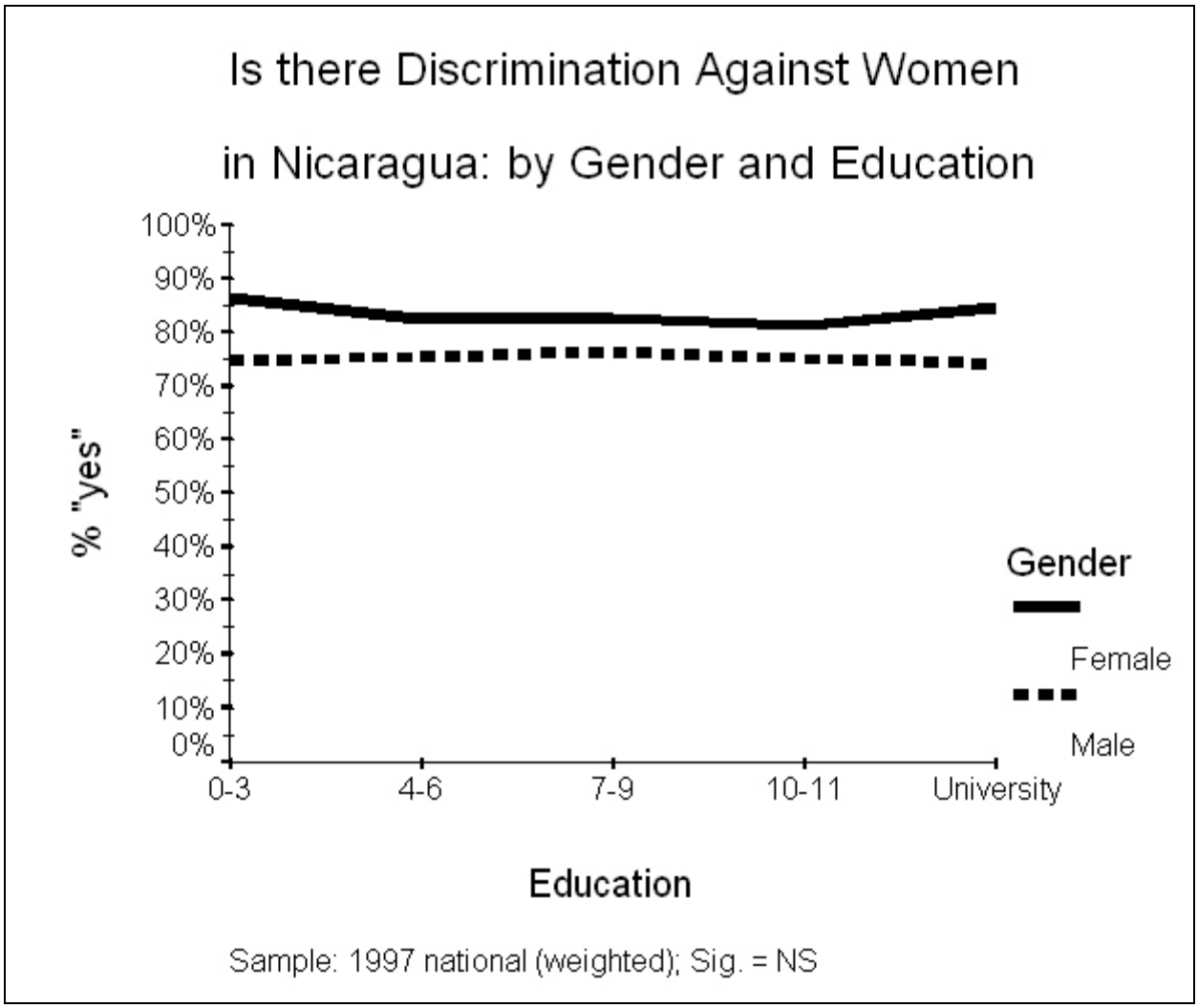


Figure V.3

Age has a predictable and significant impact on the perception of discrimination against women. Figure V.4 shows the gap once more, albeit small, between men and women of all ages, but it also shows that older Nicaraguans of both sexes are somewhat less likely

to believe that there is discrimination, but this trend is not linear for women. Among the oldest women in the sample, discrimination is as keenly felt as it is for the younger women, whereas for men, the relationship is linear with age.

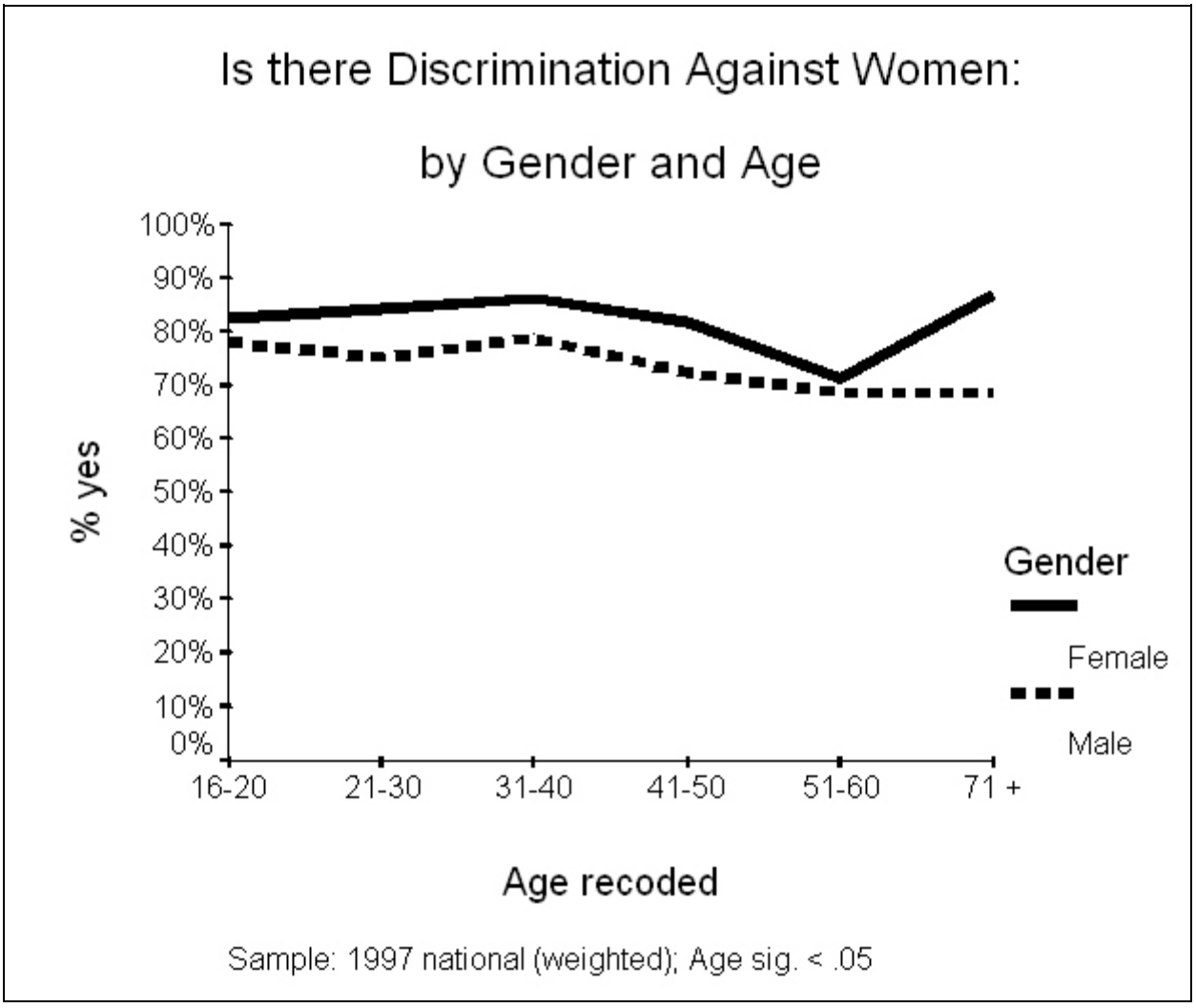


Figure V.4

Ideology, measured by party identification, also has an influence on perception of discrimination against women. Figure V.5 shows that supporters of the FSLN (Ortega) were significantly more likely to believe that there is discrimination against women than supporters of Alemán. In this figure, voters for the Partido Conservador are also included to show that supporters of this rightist party are, as would be expected, even less likely to believe that there is discrimination against women. Nonetheless, the overall point is more important: irrespective of party identification, even among those who support parties on the right,

Nicaraguans overwhelmingly believe that there is discrimination against women in their country.

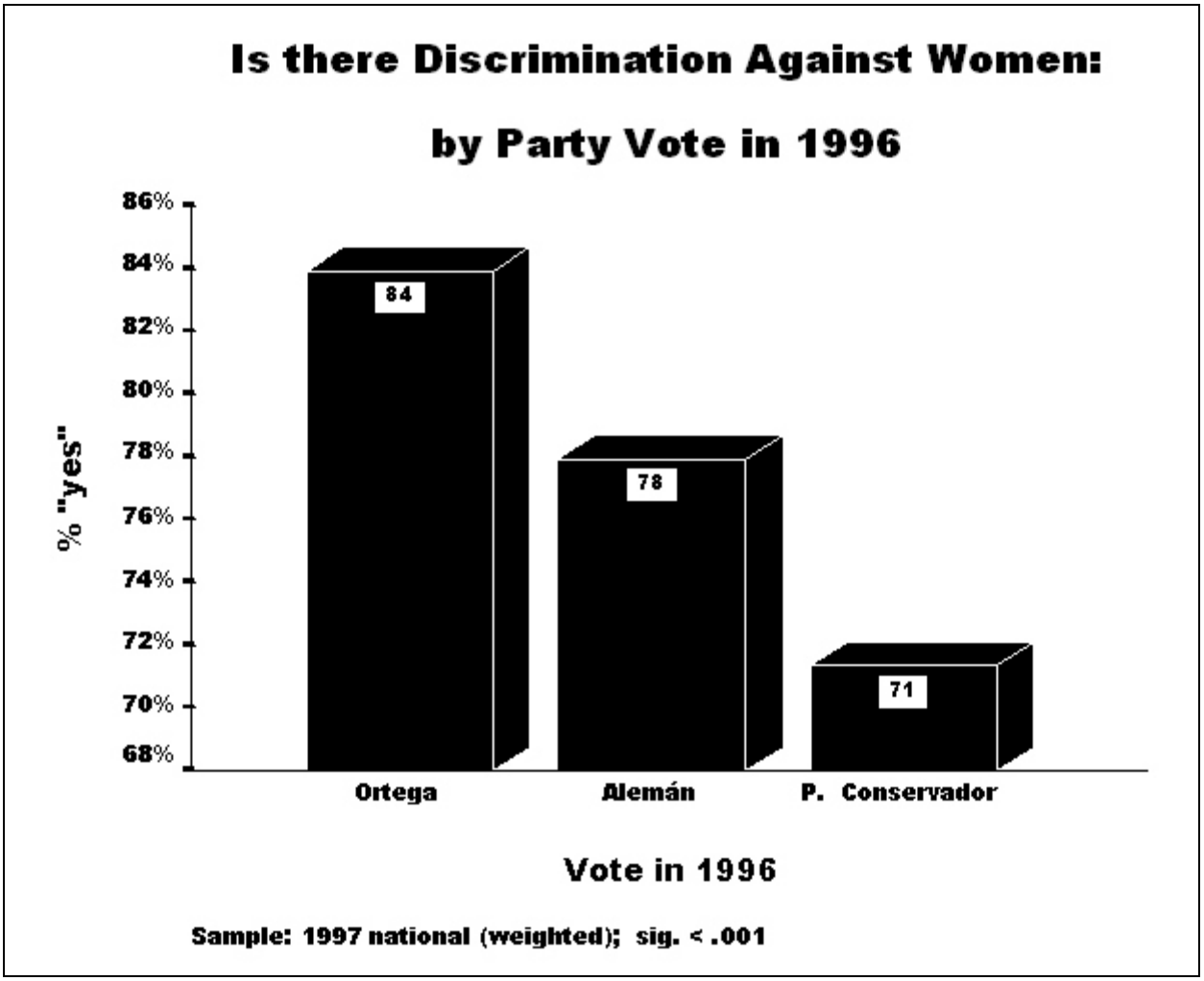


Figure V.5

System support is also related to perception of discrimination against women. Figure V.6 shows that there is a significant negative relationship between these two variables. When system support is low, there is a greater perception of discrimination against women than when system support is high. Of course, the causal arrows may go the other way; those who feel that women are being discriminated against might express less support for the political system that is perceived as allowing such discrimination.

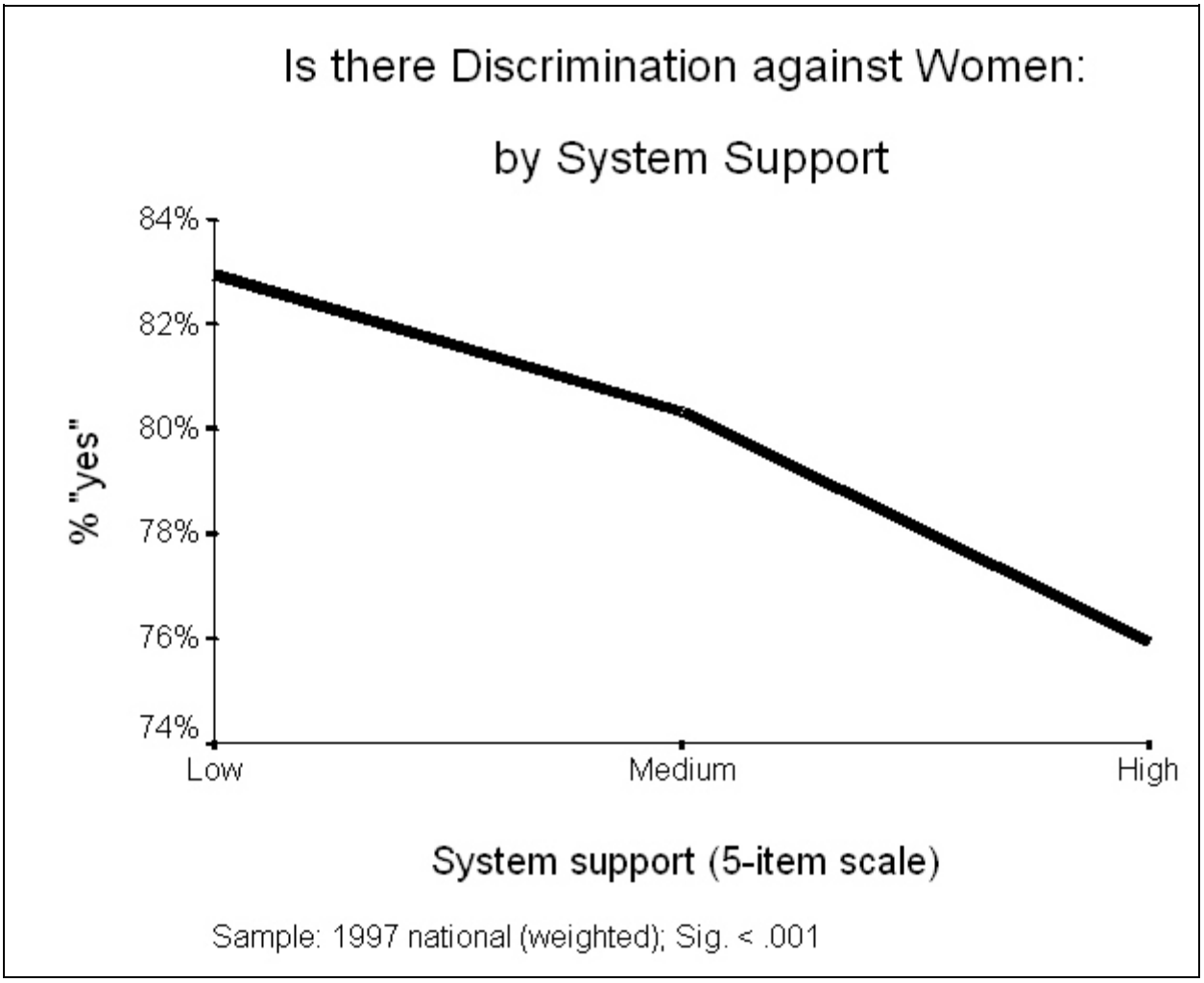


Figure V.6

Region of country makes very little difference, except in one important area. Figure V.7 shows that the two Atlantic Zone Departments of RAAN and RAAS are far less likely to perceive discrimination against women. However, women of each department in the country, including RAAN and RAAS, are more likely to perceive discrimination than men.

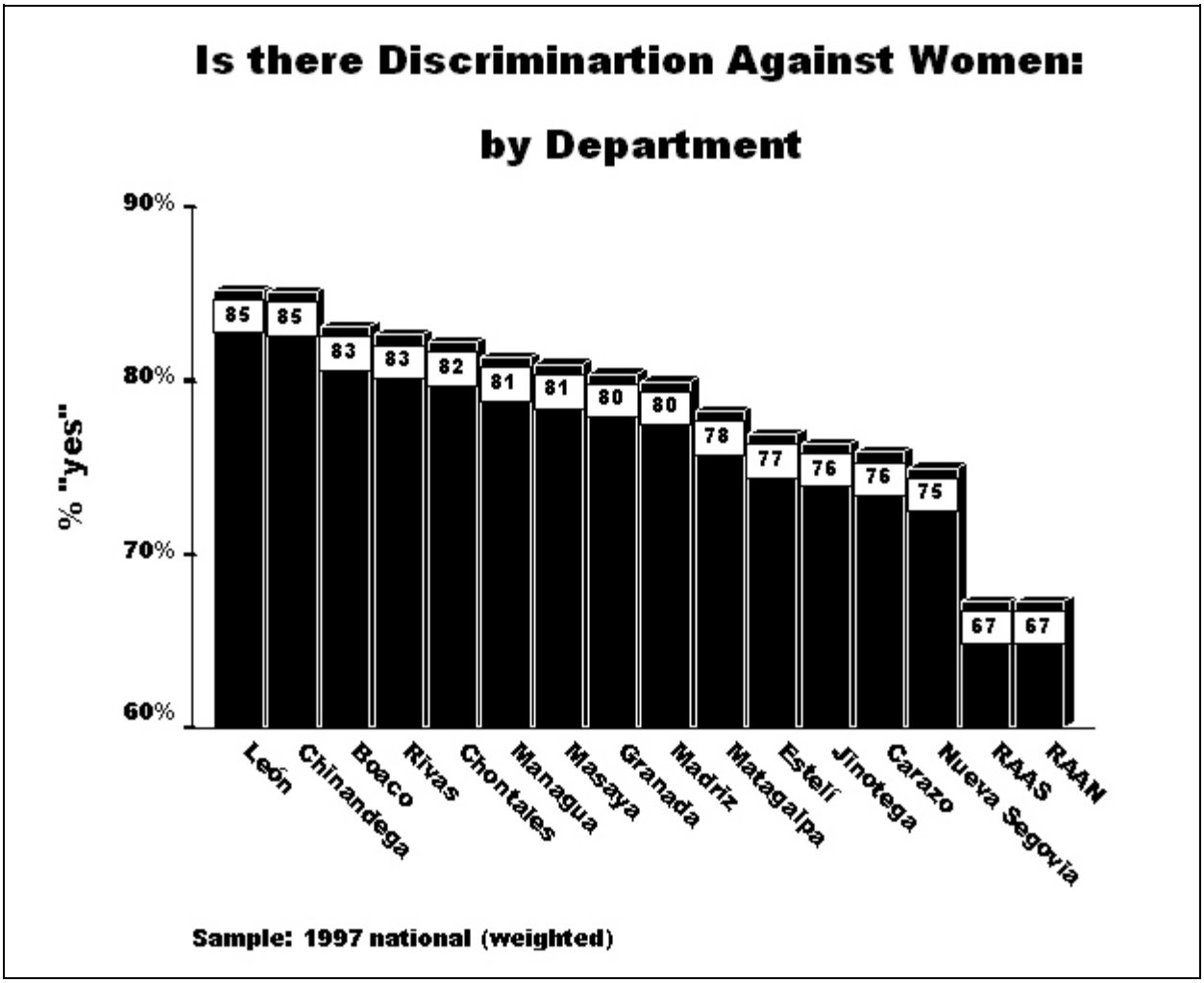


Figure V.7

The data for the special groups allow us to compare how members of these groups feel about discrimination when compared to the general public. In this comparison, we divide each special group into their male and female components. Doing so produces some minor problems in sample size since only 3 women were in the sargents' training school sample, and only eight women in the military officials group, and none in the officer's training group.

Figure V.8 shows the results. For the most part, both males and females in the special groups in the 1997 survey were somewhat less likely than the mass public to say that discrimination against women exists in Nicaragua. An important exception is the CONCIENCIA group.

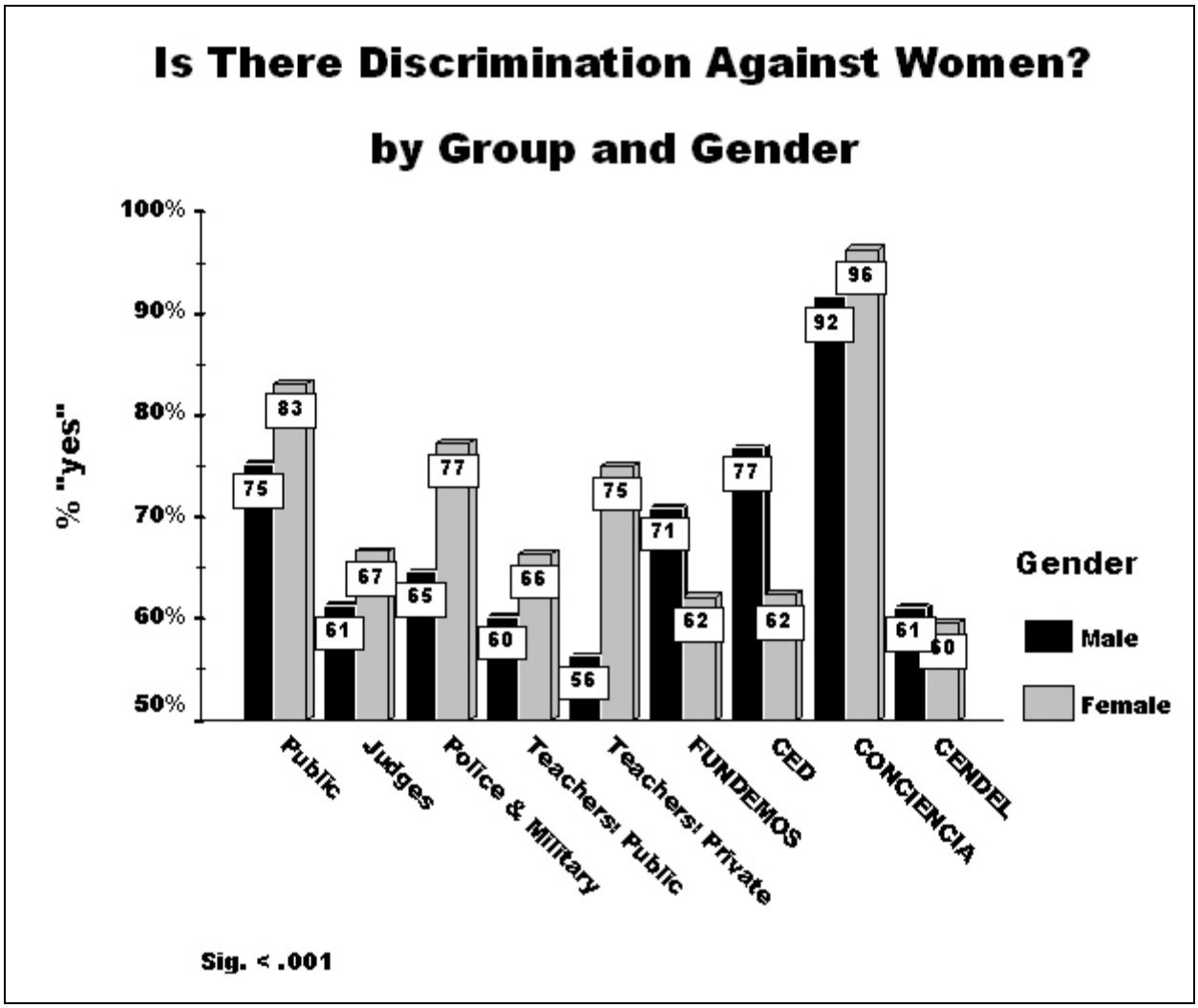


Figure V.8

Intensity of Feeling

While it is clear that most Nicaraguans, male and female alike, believe that there is discrimination against women in their country, the findings thus far do not allow us to determine the intensity of the belief. Perhaps Nicaraguans believe that discrimination is a problem, but not a very serious one. In order to investigate this possibility, a follow-up question was asked to all of those who responded that discrimination against women is a

problem in Nicaragua.[1] The results, for the nation as a whole, but broken down by gender are shown in Figure V.9. It is clear that most Nicaraguans, male and female alike, believe that gender discrimination is a very serious or a serious problem. Moreover, although the gender gap emerges, with women seeing the problem as more serious than men, the differences are very small.

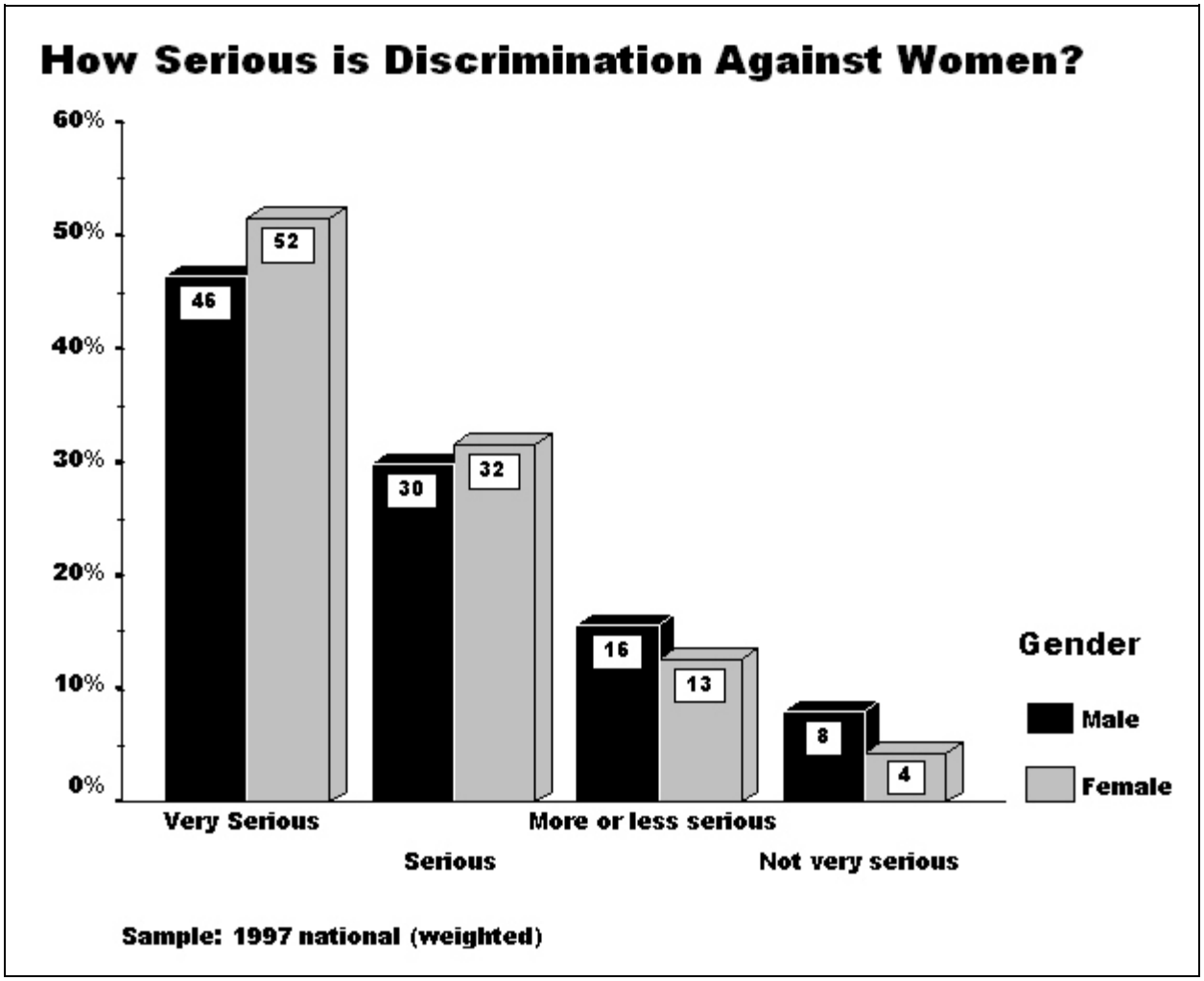


Figure V.9

While education plays no role in the overall perception of the existence of gender discrimination, it does play a role in the perception of its seriousness. The correlation between education and perception of the seriousness of gender discrimination is statistically significant (sig. < .001) but negative. This means that the higher the education, the lower the

[1] Of course, for the 22 per cent of the respondents who said that gender discrimination was not a problem, this question was not asked.

level of seriousness the problem is perceived. However, even this relationship is more complex than it initially appeared, since among university educated women, the pattern is reversed. That is, among those women, the perception of discrimination against women increases. Figure V.10 makes these relationships clear.

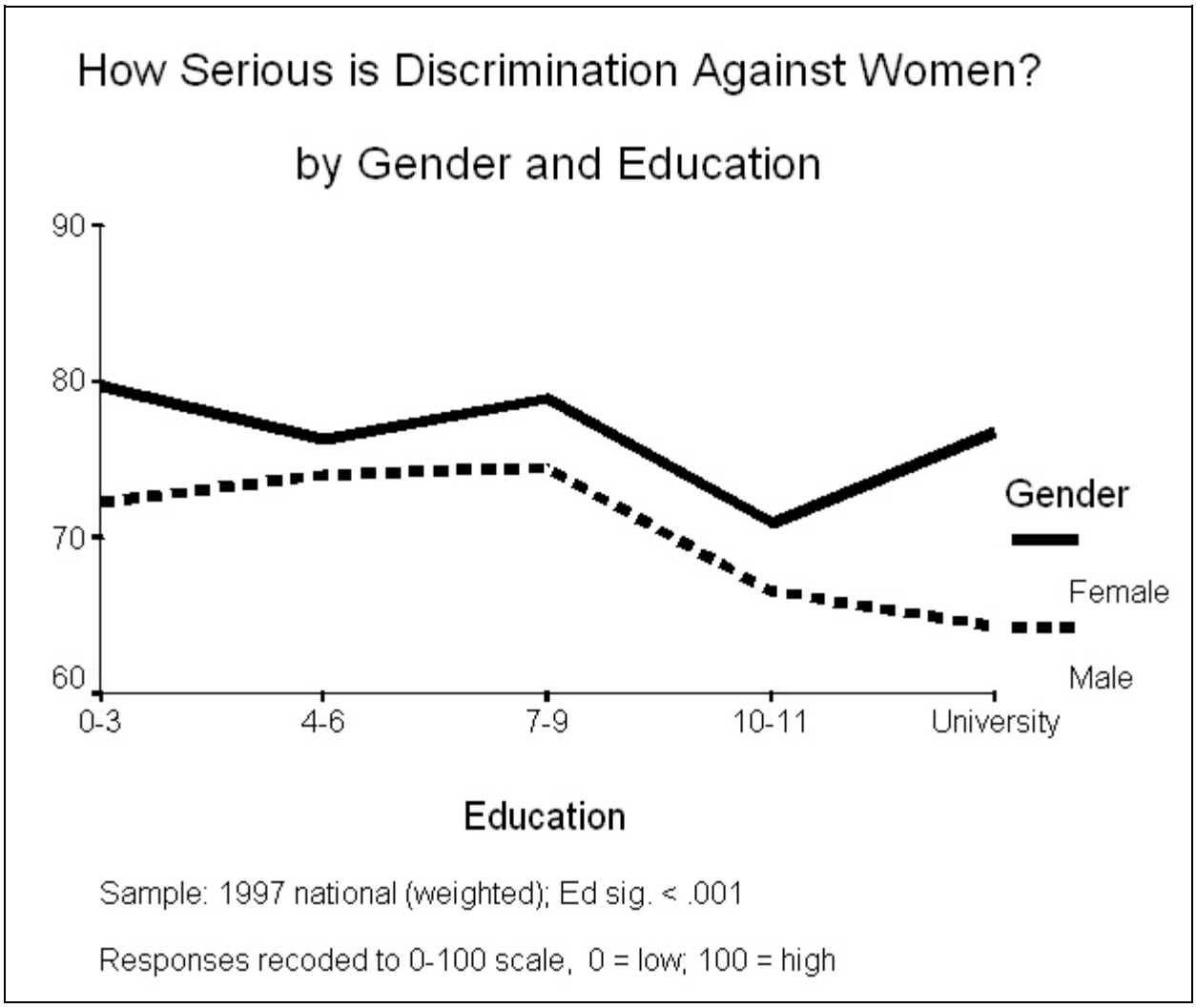


Figure V.10

Age turns out not to have any statistically significant association with the perception of the seriousness of the gender discrimination issue. Party identification, as defined by 1996 presidential vote also matters little, except once again the Partido Conservador supporters express lower level of concern for this issue. Regional differences also exist, but not nearly as markedly as they did for the prior item analyzed above. That is, RAAS and RAAN do turn out to be somewhat lower than the other departments, but the gap is not very large.

Equality of Employment Opportunity

The questionnaire also included an item that read: "Is there equality of opportunity to obtain employment opportunities, as much for women as for men? This item is, of course, closely related to the overall question on discrimination against women, but focuses on the work place. The two items are correlated (sig. < .001), but the proportion of those responding that women have equal employment opportunity than do men, is much lower than it was for the overall discrimination question. In addition, there is not statistically significant difference between responses of males versus females on this question. Figure V.11 shows the results.

Figure V.11

These findings suggest that while Nicaraguans overwhelmingly believe that women are discriminated against in their country, slightly fewer than half of them believe that such discrimination affects the workplace. This suggests that there are other areas in which

discrimination against women is also felt (e.g. in the home, in the community, in health care, etc.). Unfortunately, the questionnaire did not contain any items that could probe these other areas.

Perception of discrimination in the workplace is not related to economic status. Also, there is very little systematic variation by special group. It is, however, significantly related to education. Figure V.12 shows clearly that as education increases the proportion of Nicaraguans of both sexes who believe that there is equality of opportunity in the workplace declines. Thus, the more educated Nicaraguans are, the more both males and females believe that women do not have an equal opportunity for employment than do men.

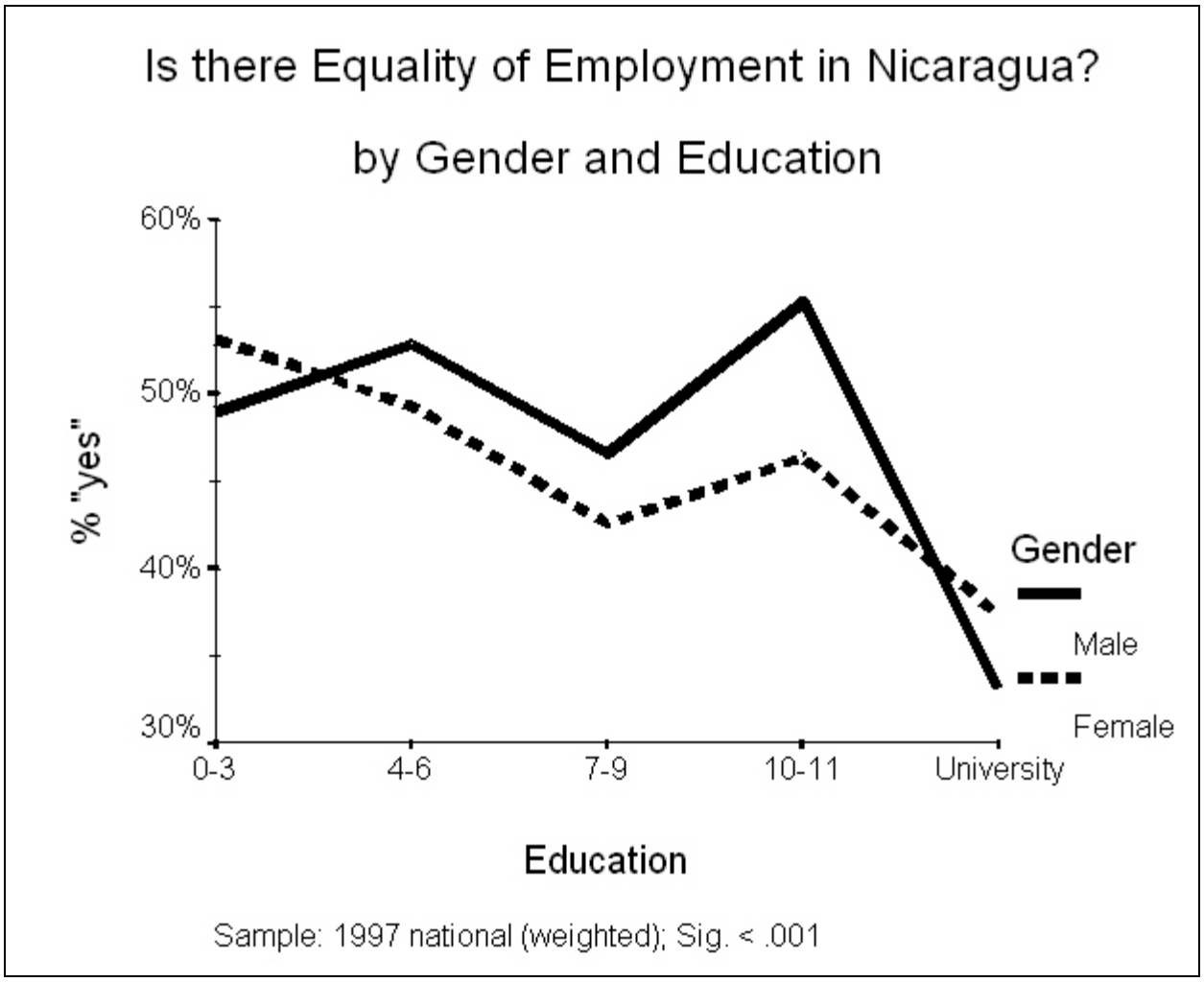


Figure V.12

Ideology also plays a role, having a significant relationship to the perception of equality of employment opportunity. Figure V.13 shows that FSLN voters in 1996 believed that there was less equality in employment than those who voted for Alemán.

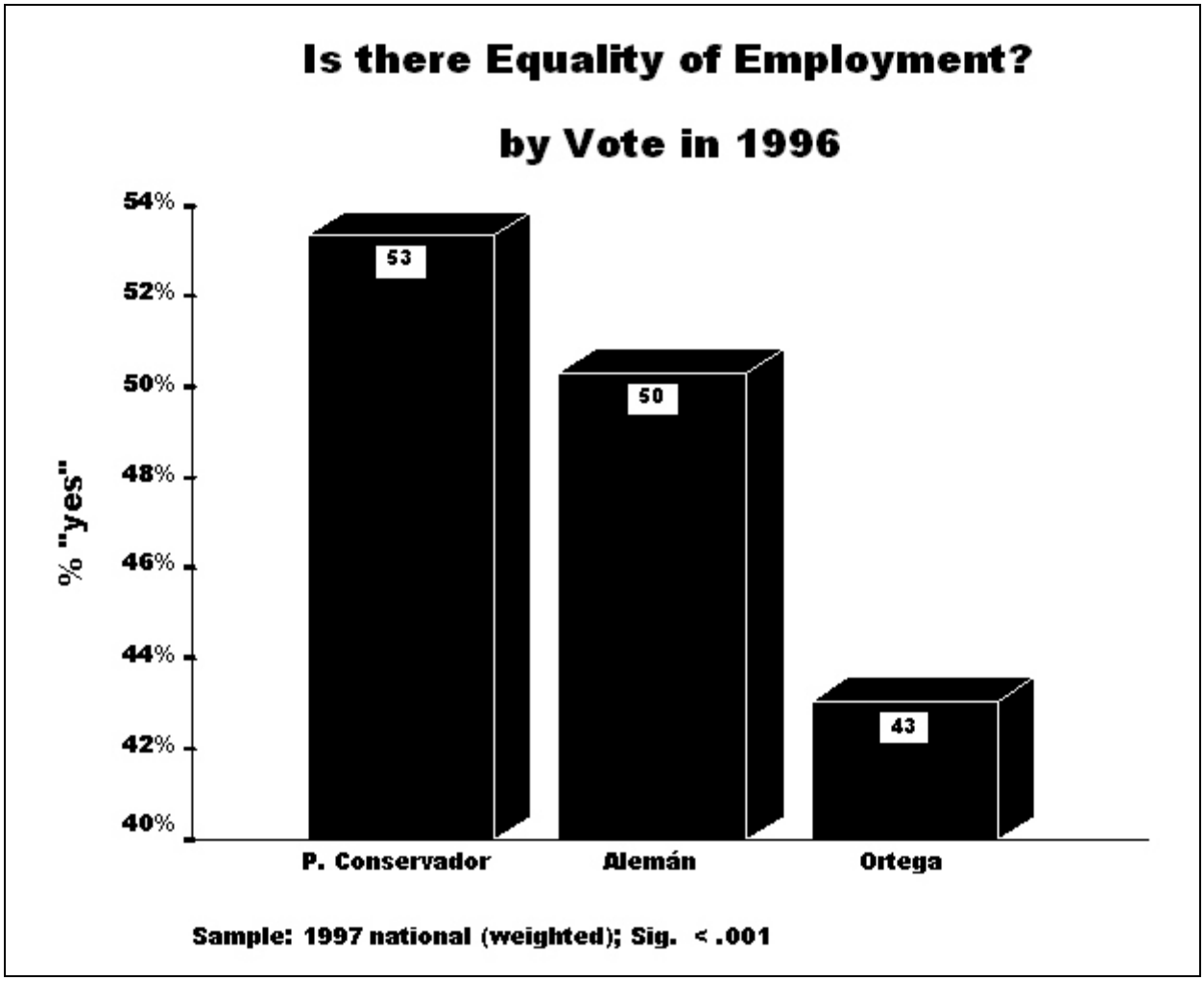


Figure V.13

Nature of Employment Discrimination

The final item in the series on equality of opportunity for women was focused on the types of problems that women face in the workplace. Figure V.14 shows the results. Both males and females seem to agree that the most common problems faced by women are their difficulty in finding work if they admit to being pregnant and to the problem of sexual harassment. It is interesting to note that a somewhat higher percentage of men are concerned with the issue of sexual harassment, perhaps because they fear that their own mates will be

harassed in the workplace, but most differences are not significant. Only a small percentage of Nicaraguans say that there are no problems faced by women in the workplace.

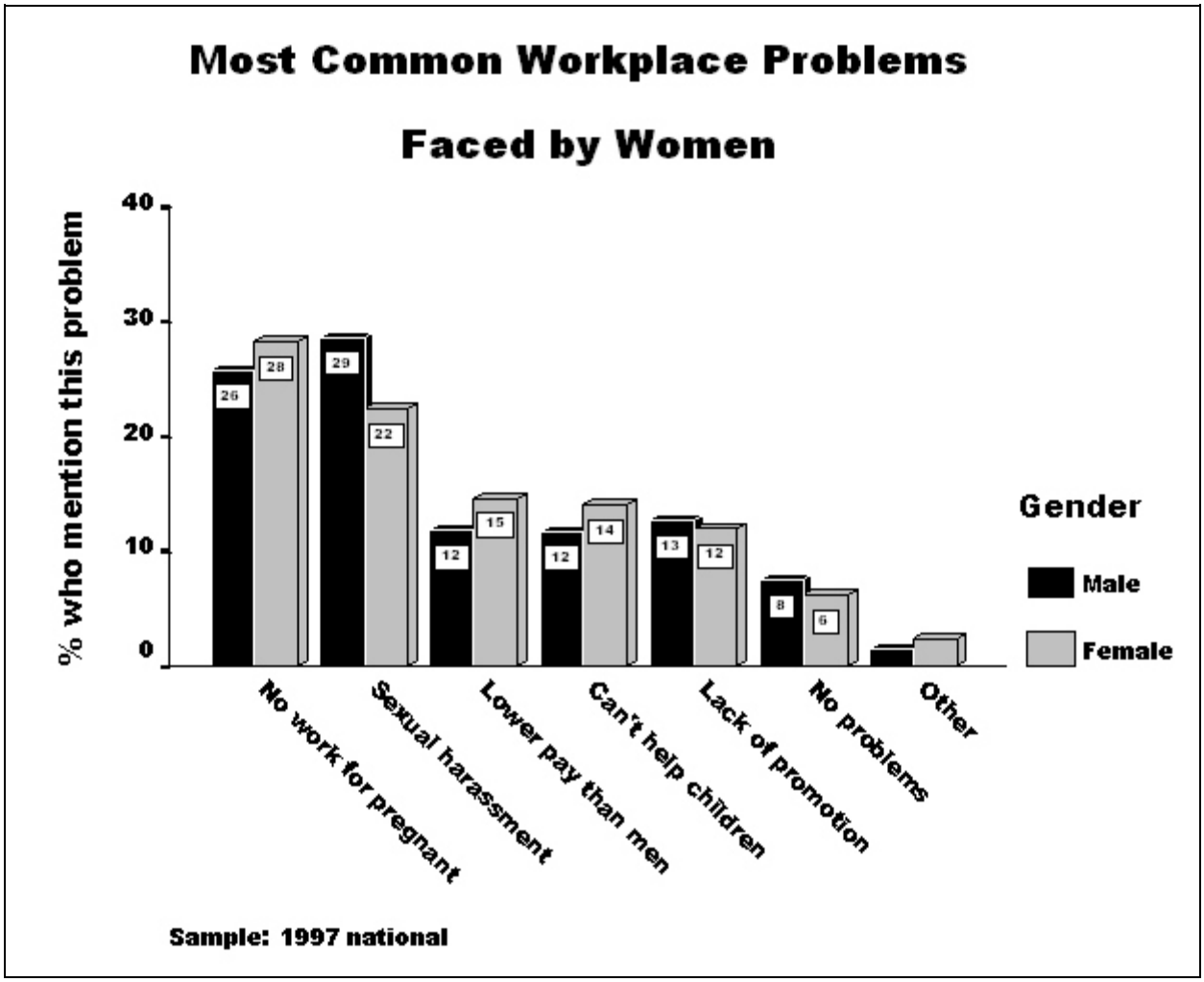


Figure V.14

Democratic Responsibilities

The second series of items to be covered in this chapter are five items that begin with the following introduction: "There are different opinions regarding the responsibilities of citizens in a democracy. How important is it to:

1. Pay taxes?
2. Vote in national elections?
3. Obey the laws?
4. Pay attention to what is happening in politics?
5. Participate in political decision-making that affects your community?

Respondents were allowed to express their opinion on the degree of importance of these responsibilities on a 3-point scale that ranged from very important, to somewhat important to not important.

In terms of democratic theory, these questions present some problems. In theory, at least, one could have a well functioning democracy with citizens adhering to none of these principles except, perhaps, the third, obeying the laws. Democracy is, of course, a system of participation, but such participation could be voluntary and the system could still work well. In some formal democracies, however, constitutional provisions require adherence to some or all of the above principles. For example, a number of Latin American countries require citizens to vote, and virtually all systems require citizens to obey laws.

With that caveat in mind, we examine how the Nicaraguan public reacted to these questions in the 1997 survey (they were not included in the previous surveys). In analyzing the responses to these items, it was found that at most, only 3 per cent of the respondents believed that the responsibility was not important. The only variation, therefore, occurred in the extent to which the respondents felt that the responsibility was "very important" or merely "somewhat important." To highlight these differences, the analysis presented here distinguishes between those who responded "very important" and the other respondents.

Age, education and the special groups had no significant overall relationship to these questions on responsibility, but gender did. Figure V.15 compares the responses to the five items based on gender. Obeying the laws is almost universally considered to be a very important democratic responsibility in Nicaragua. Voting and paying taxes are also overwhelmingly considered to be important responsibilities. Less strongly supported as important responsibilities was the importance of being informed by paying attention to political life, and participation in community decisions. Nonetheless, even in this last area, three-out-four Nicaraguans believe this to be a very important democratic responsibility. In four of the five variables presented in this series, men were significantly more likely to select the "very

important" response than women, but in the community participation question, the difference disappeared.

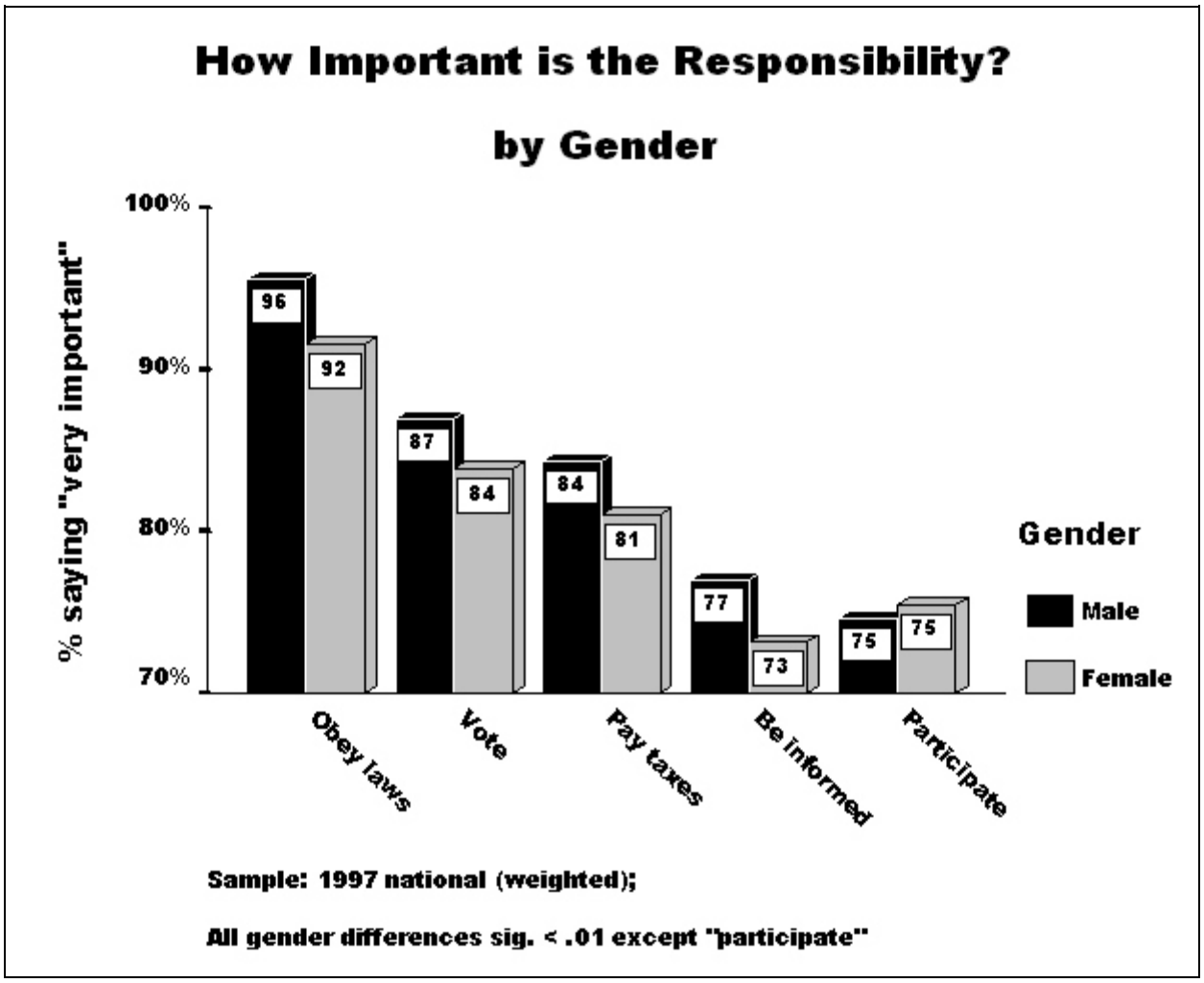


Figure V.15

Only small differences separated Nicaraguans based on their vote for the major parties in the 1996 elections. These differences emerge somewhat more clearly, however, when we use left-right ideology to differentiate among Nicaraguans. Those on the political right, as measured by the survey's left-right scale, are significantly more likely to believe that these responsibilities are very important, when compared to the left. These findings are shown in Figure V.16. Although the differences are significant, it is important to emphasize that the

overall pattern is high agreement with the importance of these democratic responsibilities, and even those on the extreme left are supportive of them, on average.

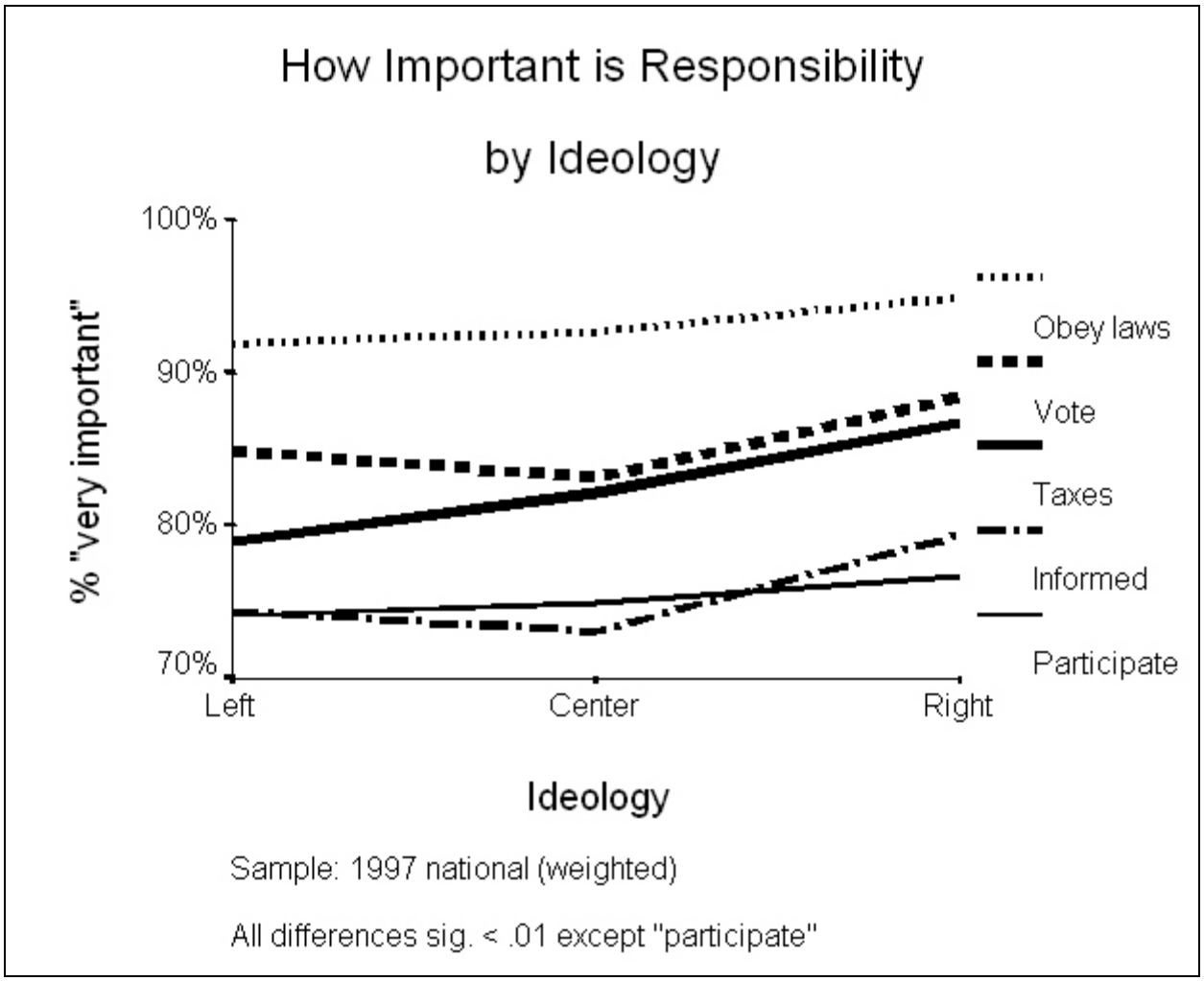


Figure V.16

Human Rights

The questionnaire contained a single item measuring the perception of the state of human rights in Nicaragua. The item (GI10) read: Do you think that the human rights situation has improved since 1990? For the country as a whole, 55 per cent of the population said that the situation had improved, 30 per cent said it had remained the same and 15 per cent said

that it had worsened. Figure V.17 shows how this perception varied by department, focusing on those who said that the situation had improved. Most of the departments do not differ dramatically from each other, although Managua is the lowest, along with León and Masaya. But residents in all of the remaining departments scored 50 percent or higher on this item. Chinandega, Boaco, Chontales and RAAN scored above the average, with RAAN being the outlier.

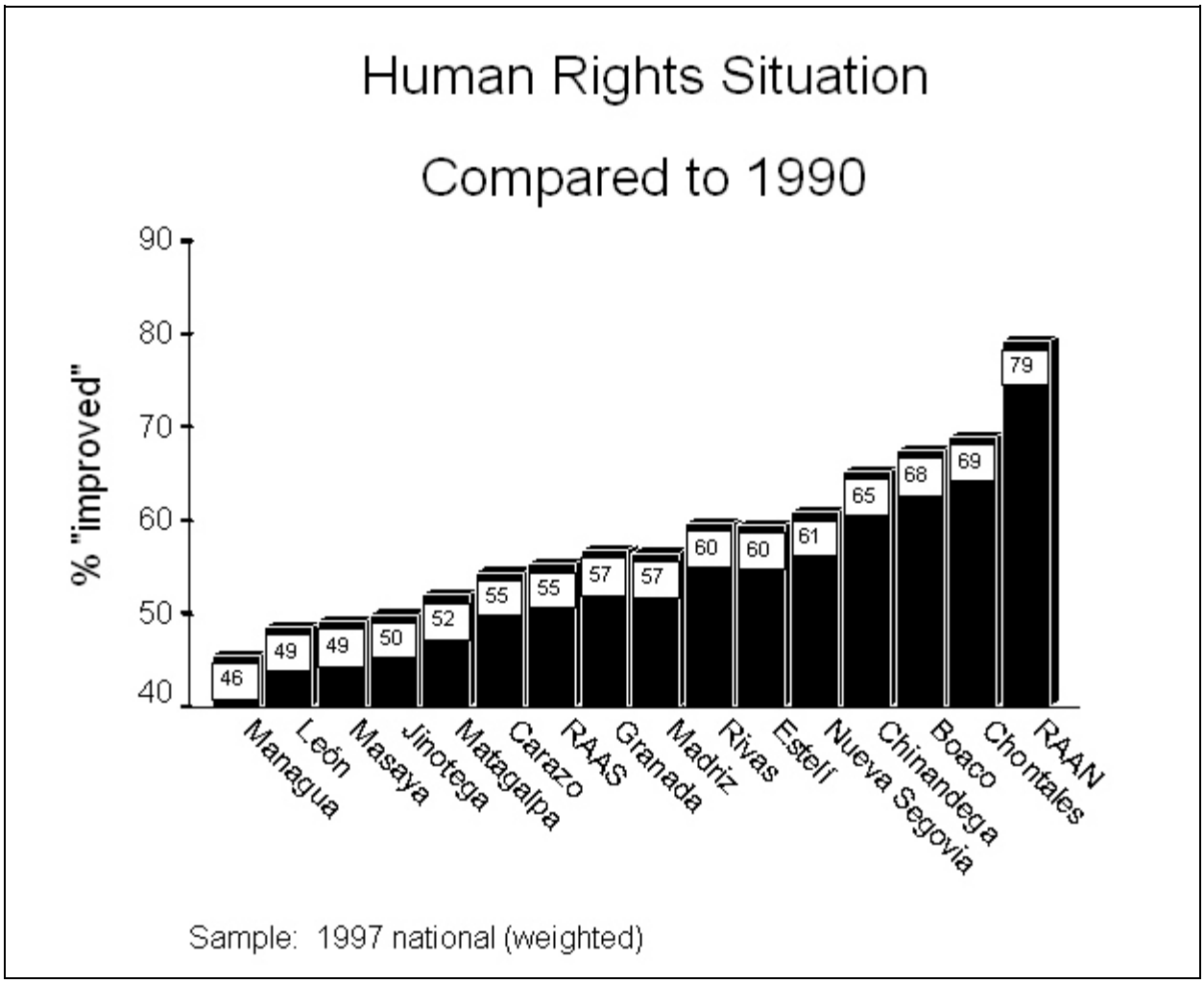


Figure V.17

APENDICE A: Versión: 23 de julio, 1997

Universidad de Pittsburgh

Encuesta de Opinion Pública

Número del Cuestionario: _____ ID |__|__|__|__|

Estrato: Público = 1

GRUPOS ESPECIALES: Jueces = 3 Policía = 50 Soldados = 51

Maestros/Público = 60 Maestros/Privado = 61

EDUCACIÓN CÍVICA: FUNDEMOS = 101 Maestros (CED) = 102

Mujeres Conciencia = 103 CENDEL = 104 |__|__|__|

Departamento: _____ DPT|__|__|

Municipio: _____ MUNI|__|__|

Nº de Junta Receptora de Votos: _____ JRV |__|__|__|__|__|__|__|__|

Tipo de Zona: Rural = 1 Urbana = 2 ZONA |__|

Sr. (a): Estamos haciendo una encuesta por parte del Centro de Estudios Latinoamericanos de la Universidad de Pittsburgh para conocer las opiniones de la gente sobre diferentes aspectos de la situación nacional. Usted ha sido seleccionado(a) por sorteo para hacerle una entrevista y quisiéramos pedirle que colabore con nosotros. La naturaleza confidencial de todas sus respuestas será respetada. Nos interesa su opinión como parte de la percepción global del público.

PREGUNTAS ESPECIALES SOLO PARA LOS GRUPOS DE EDUCACIÓN CIVICA:	**VAR.**	**CÓDIGO**
EC1. ¿Es usted el Sr. (Sra.; Srta.) _____ ? (Llenar con nombre de la lista) (**Si no es la persona de la lista, terminar la entrevista y buscar esa persona**) ¿Participó usted en una actividad dirigida por _____? Elegir aquí el nombre de la organización que corresponde: FUNDEMOS = 101 Centro de Educación para la Democracia (CED) = 102; Mujeres Nicaragüenses "Conciencia" = 103; Centro Nicaragüense de Estudios Laborales (CENDEL) = 104	EC1	|__|__|__|
EC2. ¿Hace cuántos meses participó usted en esta actividad? _____ meses (menos de un mes = 1) (1 año = 12 meses).	EC2	|__|__|
EC3. ¿En cuántos talleres ha participado usted? _____ Ninguno = 00 NS/NR = 99 NO APLICA = 88	EC3	|__|__|
EC4. En los talleres que usted asistió, ¿a veces se dividieron los asistentes en grupos pequeños? 1. Si 2. No 8. NS/NR 9. NO APLICA	EC4	
EC5. En los talleres que usted asistió, ¿hasta que punto le animaron para expresar su punto de vista? 1. Mucho 2. Algo 3. Poco 4. Nada 8. NS/NR 9. NA	EC5	
EC6. ¿Qué tan satisfecho quedó usted con los talleres? 1. Mucho 2. Algo 3. Poco 4. Nada 8. NS/NR 9. NA	EC6	

EC7. ¿Cree usted que los promotores que enseñaron los talleres presentaron la materia en una forma... 1. Excelente 2. Buena 3. Regular 4. Mala 8. NS/NR 9. NA	EC7	

LAS PREGUNTAS A CONTINUACIÓN SON PARA TODOS LOS ENTREVISTADOS

Q1 1.Hombre 2. Mujer	Q1	
Q2: ¿Cuál es su edad en años cumplidos? |___|___|	Q2	
ED:¿Cuál fue el último año de enseñanza que Ud. aprobó? [Ejemplos: Ninguna = 0; Primaria completa = 6; 3 de secundaria = 9; Secundaria completa = 12; 4 de universidad = 16] Ninguna 0 Escuela (primaria) 1 2 3 4 5 6 Colegio (secundaria) 7 8 9 10 11 Universidad 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19	ED	
A1. Para empezar, ¿Escucha frecuentemente algún programa de noticias por radio? 0. No 1. Sí 8. NS/NR	A1	
A2. ¿Ve frecuentemente algún programa de noticias por televisión? 0. No 1. Sí 8. NS/NR	A2	
A3. ¿Acostumbra leer frecuentemente algún periódico? 0. No 1. Sí 8. NS/NR	A3	
A4. En su opinión ¿Cuál es el problema más grave que enfrenta el país? [No leer lista, sino usar código. Si menciona más de uno, pregunta por el más importante]: 1. Desempleo (Falta de trabajo); 2. Inflación, altos precios, costo de la vida 3. Pobreza; 4. Delincuencia; crimen; 5. Peligro de golpe de estado; 6. Falta de tierra para cultivar; 7. Falta de crédito; 11. Corrupción; 12. Problemas ecológicos; 13. La droga; 14. Grupos armados 15. La violencia doméstica 16. El problema de la Propiedad. 17. gobernabilidad y polarización 18. FSLN no deja gobernar 19. la conducta en el poder del Pdte. Alemán 20. incumplimiento de las leyes 50. NO HAY PROBLEMAS; 88. NS/NR Otro: _____	A4	

A veces la gente y las comunidades tienen problemas que no pueden resolverse por sí solos. Algunos tratan de resolver tales problemas pidiéndole ayuda a algún funcionario u oficina del gobierno.

CP1. ¿Alguna vez ha pedido ayuda o cooperación del Presidente de la República? 1. Sí 2. No 8.NS	CP1	
CP2. ¿Alguna vez ha pedido ayuda o cooperación de algún diputado de la Asamblea Nacional? 1. Sí 2. No 8.NS	CP2	
CP3. ¿Alguna vez ha pedido ayuda o cooperación del Alcalde o del concejal? 1. Sí 2. No 8.NS	CP3	

CP4. Alguna vez ha pedido ayuda o cooperación de alguna oficina o agencia del gobierno nacional, como ministerios, delegados, policía u otros? 1. Sí 2. No 8.NS	CP4	

Ahora le voy a leer algunas preguntas sobre esta comunidad y los problemas que tiene.		
CP15a. ¿Cuánta influencia cree que Ud. tiene sobre las decisiones que toman los grupos de esta comunidad? ¿Diría que Ud. tiene mucha influencia, poca o nada de influencia? 1. Mucha 2. Poca 3. Nada 8. NS 9. No aplica (no participa)	CP15a	
CP5. ¿Alguna vez ha trabajado o tratado de resolver algún problema de la comunidad o de los vecinos de aquí? 1. Sí (seguir con CP5a) 2. No (**Pase a CP6**) 8.NS	CP5	
CP5a. ¿Ha donado dinero o materiales para ayudar con algún problema o con alguna mejora? 1. Sí 2. No 8.NS 9. No aplica	CP5a	
CP5b. ¿Ha dado su propio trabajo o mano de obra? 1. Sí 2. No 8.NS 9. No aplica	CP5b	
CP5c. ¿Ha asistido a reuniones sobre algún problema o sobre alguna mejora? 1. Sí 2. No 8.NS 9. No aplica	CP5c	
CP5d. ¿Ha tratado de ayudar Ud. a organizar algún grupo nuevo para resolver algún problema local, o para buscar alguna mejora? 1. Sí; 2. No: 8.NS 9. No aplica	CP5d	

Ahora le voy a leer una lista de grupos y organizaciones. Por favor, dígame si Ud. asiste a reuniones de ellos frecuentemente, de vez en cuando, casi nunca o nunca, de:		
CP6. ¿De algún comité o sociedad de la Iglesia o templo? 1. Frecuentemente 2. De vez en cuando 3. Casi nunca 4. Nunca 8. NS	CP6	
CP7. ¿De una asociación de padres de familia de la escuela? 1. Frecuentemente 2. De vez en cuando 3. Casi nunca 4. Nunca 8. NS	CP7	
CP8. ¿De un comité o junta de mejoras para la comunidad? 1. Frecuentemente 2. De vez en cuando 3. Casi nunca 4. Nunca 8. NS	CP8	
CP9. ¿De una asociación de profesionales, negociantes o productores? 1. Frecuentemente 2. De vez en cuando 3. Casi nunca 4. Nunca 8. NS	CP9	
CP10. ¿De un sindicato? 1. Frecuentemente 2. De vez en cuando 3. Casi nunca 4. Nunca 8. NS	CP10	
CP11. ¿De una cooperativa? 1. Frecuentemente 2. De vez en cuando 3. Casi nunca 4. Nunca 8. NS	CP11	
CP12. ¿De alguna asociación cívica (como grupo de mujeres, comisión de paz, etc.)? 1. Frecuentemente 2. De vez en cuando 3. Casi nunca 4. Nunca 8. NS	CP12	

L1. En esta hoja hay una escala que va de izquierda a derecha. Cuando se habla de tendencias políticas, se dice que una persona es de izquierda o que es de derecha. Dígame, por favor, según el sentido que "la izquierda" y "la derecha," en política, tienen para Ud., ¿en que punto de la escala se colocaría Ud.? Ponga una X en la casilla que se aproxima más a su propia posición. **Izquierda** _____:_____:_____:_____:_____:_____:_____:_____:_____:_____ **Derecha** 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10	L1	

LS3. Ahora, algunas opiniones: ¿Hasta qué punto se encuentra satisfecho con **su vida**? ¿Diría Ud. que se encuentra muy satisfecho, algo satisfecho, algo insatisfecho, o muy insatisfecho? 1.Muy satisfecho 2.Algo satisfecho 3.Algo insatisfecho 4.Muy insatisfecho 8. NS	LS3	

IT1. Hablando en general de la gente de aquí, ¿diría que la gente en general es muy confiable, algo confiable, poco confiable, o nada confiable? 1. Muy confi. 2. Algo confi. 3. poco confi. 4. Nada confi. 8. NS/NR	IT1	
IT2. ¿Cree que la mayoría de las veces la gente se preocupa solo por sí misma, o cree que la mayoría de las veces la gente trata de ayudar al prójimo? 1. Preocupa por sí misma 2. Ayudarle al prójimo 8. NS/NR	IT2	
IT3. ¿Cree que la mayoría de la gente trataría de aprovecharse de Ud. si se les presentara la oportunidad, o cree que no se aprovecharían? 1. Si se aprovecharían 2. No se aprovecharían 8. NS/NR	IT3	

CCI2. En general, ¿cómo considera que le han tratado cuando ha tenido que tratar con una oficina del gobierno? Le han tratado muy bien, bien, mal, o muy mal? 1. Muy Bien 2. Bien 3. Mal 4. Muy mal 8. NS/NR 9. No trataron con el gobierno	CCI2	
M1. Hablando en general del actual gobierno, diría que el trabajo que está realizando el Presidente Alemán es: muy bueno, bueno, regular, malo o muy malo? 1. Muy Bueno 2. Bueno 3. Regular 4. Malo 5. Muy Malo 8.NS/NR	M1	

Ahora, vamos a hablar de las elecciones....		
SOLO PARA ENTREVISTAS EN RAAS Y RAAN: VBATL1. ¿Piensa votar en las elecciones de las regiones autónomas de RAAS y RAAN de 1998? 1. Sí [Pasar a VBATL3] 2. No [Pasar a VBATL2]	VBATL1	

SOLO PARA ENTREVISTAS EN RAAS Y RAAN: VBATL2. ¿Porqué no piensa votar? 1. Enfermedad; 2. Falta de transporte (vive lejos de JRV);. 3. Violencia/falta de seguridad; 4. No inscrito, con edad; 5. Tener que trabajar; 6. No creer en las elecciones; 7. Perdió Cédula; 14. No tener edad; 15. Afuera del país; 16. Tenía documento supletorio o libreta cívica pero no cédula; 88. NS 99. Inap (si votó). Otro (especificar) _____.	VBATL2	
SOLO PARA ENTREVISTAS EN RAAS Y RAAN: VBATL3. Tiene ahora una cédula? 1. Sí 2. No	VBATL3	
VB1. ¿Estaba usted inscrito para votar en las pasadas elecciones? 1. Sí 2. No [pasar a **VB4**] 8. NS	VB1	
VB2. ¿Votó usted en las elecciones pasadas (octubre de 1996) ? 1. Sí 2. No [pasar a **VB2b**] 8. NR [pasar a **VB2b**]		
VB2a. [Si votó] ¿Por cuál partido votó por Presidente? *[NO LEER ALTERNATIVAS]* 1. Alemán (Alianza Liberal, PLC y Aliados) 2. Ortega (FSLN) 3. Camino Cristiano Nicaragüense (C.C.N.) 4. Partido Conservador 5. MRS 6. Otro 7. Votó en nulo (blanco) 8. No responde o no quiere decir [pasar a VB4] 9. No aplica	VB3	
VB2B. **[Si <u>no</u> votó]** ¿Por qué no votó? 1. Enfermedad; 2. Falta de transporte (vive lejos de JRV);. 3. Violencia/falta de seguridad; 4. No inscrito, con edad; 5. Tener que trabajar; 6. No creer en las elecciones; 7. Perdió Cédula; 14. No tener edad; 15. Afuera del país; 16. Tenía documento supletorio o libreta cívica pero no cédula; 88. NS 99. Inap (si votó). Otro (especificar) _____.	VB5	

VB4. ¿Por qué motivo piensa usted que algunas personas no pudieron votar en las pasadas elecciones presidenciales de octubre de 1996? 1. Enfermedad; 2. Falta de transporte (vive lejos de JRV);. 3. Violencia/falta de seguridad; 4. No inscrito, con edad; 5. Tener que trabajar; 6. No creer en las elecciones; 7. Perdió Cédula; 14. No tener edad; 15. Afuera del país; 16. Tenía documento supletorio o libreta cívica pero no cédula; 17. Problemas de logística del C.S.E. (confusión de papeletas, juntas cerradas, etc.) 88. NS 99. N.A. (si votó). Otro (especificar) _____.	VB10	
VB6. ¿Es Ud. miembro de algún partido político? 1. Sí 2. No 8. NR	VB6	
VBM. ¿Que tan importante es votar en las eleciones municipales? ¿Diría que es.... 1. Muy importante 2. Algo importante 3. No importante	VBM	
PP55. [PP2 en 1991]. Hay personas que trabajan por uno de los partidos o candidatos durante las campañas electorales. ¿Ha trabajado para algún candidato o partido en estas elecciones o en las pasadas? 1.Sí trabajó 2. No trabajo 8. NS/NR	PP55	

Ahora vamos a hablar de la Alcaldía de este municipio...		
NP1. ¿Ha tenido usted la oportunidad de asistir a un cabildo abierto, una sesión municipal u otra reunión convocada por la Alcaldía o concejo municipal durante los últimos 12 meses? 1. Sí 2. No. 8. No sabe/ no recuerda	NP1	
NP2. ¿Ha solicitado ayuda o presentado una petición a alguna oficina, funcionario o concejal de la Alcaldía durante los últimos 12 meses? 1. Sí (**pasara a NP2A**) 2. No. (**Pasar a SGL1**) 8. No sabe/ no recuerda (**Pasar a SGL1**)	NP2	
NP2A. ¿Quedó contento con la respuesta que le dieron? 1. Sí 2. No 8. No sabe/no respuesta 9. Inap	NP2A	
SGL1. ¿Diría usted que los servicios que la Alcaldía está dando a la gente son excelentes, buenos, regulares, malos o pésimos? 1. Excelente 2. Bueno 3. Regular 4. Malo 5. Pésimo 8. No sabe	SGL1	
SGL2. ¿Como considera que le han tratado a usted o a sus vecinos cuando han ido a la Alcaldía para hacer trámites? ¿Le han tratado muy bien, bien, regular, mal o pésimo? 1. Muy bien 2. Bien 3. Regular 4. Mal 5. Muy Mal 8. No sabe	SGL2	
LGL1. En su opinión, ¿quien ha respondido mejor para ayudar a resolver los problemas de esta comunidad? Sería ¿El gobierno central? ¿La Asamblea? o ¿La Alcaldía? 1. El gobierno central 2. La Asamblea 3. La Alcaldía 4. Ninguno 5. Todos igual 8. No sabe/ no contesta [**No leer #4 o #5**]	LGL1	
LGL2. En su opinión ¿se le debe de dar más obligaciones y más dinero a la Alcaldía, o debemos dejar que el gobierno central asuma más obligaciones y servicios municipales (agua, basura, etc.) ? 1. Más a la Alcaldía 2. Más al gobierno central 3. No cambiar nada 4. Más a la Alcaldía si dan mejores servicios 8. No sabe **[No leer # 3 o # 4**]	LGL2	

LGL3. ¿Estaría dispuesto a pagar más impuestos a la Municipalidad para que ésta pueda prestar mejores servicios municipales o cree que no vale la pena pagar más? 1. Más impuestos 2. No vale la pena pagar más **[NO LEER]** 3. Sí, si hubiera empleo/dinero 8. No sabe	LGL3	

Cree Ud. que el régimen del Presidente Alemán ha ayudado o perjudicado a la solución de los siguientes problemas:

BC1. Ayudó o perjudicó el crecimiento económico. 1. Ayudó 2. Perjudicó. (No leer: 3. Ni lo uno ni lo otro) 4. Muy temprano para decir 8.NS	BC1	
BC2. Ayudó o perjudicó en reducir el alto desempleo. 1. Ayudó 2. Perjudicó. (No leer: 3 Ni lo uno ni lo otro) 4. Muy temprano para decir 8.NS	BC2	
BC5. Ayudó o perjudicó en reducir la delincuencia 1. Ayudó 2. Perjudicó. (No leer: 3 Ni lo uno ni lo otro) 4. Muy temprano para decir 8.NS	BC5	
BC7A. Ayudó o perjudicó a los pobres. 1. Ayudó 2. Perjudicó. (No leer: 3 Ni lo uno ni lo otro) 4. Muy temprano para decir 8.NS	BC7A	
BC7B. Ayudó a resolver los problemas de la propiedad. 1. Ayudó 2. Perjudicó. (No leer: 3 Ni lo uno ni lo otro) 4. Muy temprano para decir 8.NS	BC7B	

DÉLE LA TARJETA "A" AL ENTREVISTADO

Ahora vamos a usar esta tarjeta...Esta tarjeta contiene una escalera de 7 gradas; cada una indica un puntaje que va de 1-NADA hasta 7- que significa MUCHO. Por ejemplo, si yo le preguntara hasta qué punto le gusta ver televisión, si a Ud. no le gusta nada, elegiría un puntaje de 1, y si por el contrario le gusta **mucho** ver televisión me diría el número 7. Si su opinión está entre **nada** y **mucho** Ud. elegiría un puntaje intermedio. ¿Entonces, hasta qué punto le gusta a Ud. ver televisión? Léame el número. (ASEGÚRESE QUE EL ENTREVISTADO ENTIENDA CORRECTAMENTE).

NADA 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 MUCHO NS = 8

Ahora, usando la tarjeta "A," por favor conteste estas preguntas.

B1.¿Hasta qué punto cree que los tribunales de justicia de Nicaragua garantizan un juicio justo? [SONDEE: Si Ud. cree que los tribunales no garantizan en **nada** la justicia, escoja el número 1; si cree que los tribunales garantizan **mucho** la justicia escoja el número 7.] NADA 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 MUCHO NS = 8	B1	
B2.¿Hasta qué punto tiene respeto por las instituciones políticas de Nicaragua? NADA 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 MUCHO NS = 8	B2	
B3. ¿Hasta qué punto cree que los derechos básicos del ciudadano están bien protegidos por el sistema político Nicaragüense? NADA 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 MUCHO NS = 8	B3	
B4. ¿Hasta qué punto se siente orgulloso de vivir bajo el sistema político nicaragüense? NADA 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 MUCHO NS = 8	B4	
B6. ¿Hasta qué punto piensa que se debe apoyar el sistema político nicaragüense? NADA 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 MUCHO NS = 8	B6	
B10. ¿Hasta qué punto tiene confianza en los partidos políticos? NADA 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 MUCHO NS = 8	B10	

B11. ¿Hasta qué punto tiene confianza en el Consejo Supremo Electoral? NADA 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 MUCHO NS = 8	B11	
B12. ¿Hasta qué punto tiene confianza en el ejército? NADA 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 MUCHO NS = 8	B12	
B13. ¿Hasta qué punto tiene confianza en La Asamblea Nacional ? NADA 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 MUCHO NS = 8	B13	
B14. ¿Hasta qué punto tiene confianza en el gobierno central? NADA 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 MUCHO NS = 8	B14	
B15. ¿Hasta qué punto tiene confianza en la Contraloría General de la República? NADA 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 MUCHO NS = 8	B15	
B18. ¿Hasta qué punto tiene confianza en la Policía? NADA 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 MUCHO NS = 8	B18	
B20. ¿Hasta qué punto tiene confianza en la Iglesia Católica? NADA 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 MUCHO NS = 8	B20	
B21. ¿Hasta qué punto tiene confianza en los periodistas? NADA 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 MUCHO NS = 8	B21	
B21A. ¿Hasta qué punto tiene confianza en el Presidente? NADA 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 MUCHO NS = 8	B21A	
B22. ¿Hasta qué punto tiene confianza en el gobierno municipal? NADA 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 MUCHO NS = 8	B22	
B23. ¿Hasta qué punto tiene confianza en el los sindicatos? NADA 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 MUCHO NS = 8	B23	
B23A. ¿Hasta qué punto tiene confianza la Procuraduría General? NADA 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 MUCHO NS = 8	B23A	
B24. ¿Hasta qué punto cree Ud. que las últimas elecciones fueron libres, o sea que la gente pudo votar por el candidato que prefería? NADA 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 MUCHO NS = 8	B24	
B25. ¿Hasta qué punto cree Ud. que las ultimas elecciones fueron limpias, o sea sin fraude? NADA 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 MUCHO NS = 8	B25	
B26. ¿Hasta qué punto cree Ud. que el Gobierno Central responde a las necesidades de la gente? NADA 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 MUCHO NS = 8 **RECOGER LA TARJETA "A"**	B26	

ENTRÉGUELE AL ENTREVISTADO TARJETA "B"

Ahora vamos a cambiar a otra tarjeta. Esta nueva tarjeta tiene una escalera de 10 gradas, que van de 1 a 10, con el 1 indicando que Ud. desaprueba firmemente y el 10 indicando que Ud. aprueba firmemente. Estas preguntas que siguen son para saber su opinión sobre las diferentes ideas que tienen las personas que viven en Nicaragua. Favor de usar la escalera "B" de 10 gradas para contestar.

DESAPRUEBA 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 APRUEBA 88= NS

FIRMEMENTE FIRMEMENTE

D1. Hay personas que **solamente** hablan mal de la forma de gobierno Nicaragüense. ¿Con qué firmeza aprueba o desaprueba Ud. el derecho de votar de esas personas? Por favor léame el número:(SONDEE: ¿Hasta que punto?) DESAPRUEBA 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 APRUEBA 88= NS MUCHO MUCHO	D1	
D2. Pensando siempre en aquellas personas que **solamente** hablan mal de la forma de gobierno Nicaragüense, ¿con qué firmeza aprueba o desaprueba el que estas personas puedan llevar a cabo manifestaciones pacíficas con el propósito de expresar sus puntos de vista? Por favor léame el número. DESAPRUEBA 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 APRUEBA 88= NS MUCHO MUCHO	D2	
D3. ¿Con qué firmeza aprueba o desaprueba que a las personas que **sólo** hablan mal de la forma de gobierno Nicaragüense, les permitan postularse para cargos públicos? DESAPRUEBA 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 APRUEBA 88= NS MUCHO MUCHO	D3	
D4. Pensando siempre en aquellas personas que **solamente** hablan mal de la forma de gobierno Nicaragüense, ¿con qué firmeza aprueba o desaprueba que salgan en la televisión para hacer un discurso? DESAPRUEBA 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 APRUEBA 88= NS MUCHO MUCHO **No Recoja Tarjeta "B"**	D4	

Ahora le voy a leer una lista de algunas acciones o cosas que las personas pueden hacer para llevar a cabo sus metas y objetivos políticos. Quisiera que me dijera hasta que punto aprobaría o desaprobaría que las personas hagan estas acciones. Use siempre la escalera de 10 gradas

Usar la tarjeta "B"

DESAPRUEBA 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 APRUEBA 88= NS

MUCHO MUCHO

E5. Que las personas participen en manifestaciones permitidas por la ley. DESAPRUEBA 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 APRUEBA 88= NS	E5	|____||____|

E8. Que las personas participen en una organización o grupo para tratar de resolver problemas de las comunidades. DESAPRUEBA 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 APRUEBA 88= NS MUCHO MUCHO	E8	|____||____|
E11. Que las personas trabajen en campañas electorales para un partido político o candidato. DESAPRUEBA 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 APRUEBA 88= NS MUCHO MUCHO	E11	|___||____|
E15. Que las personas participen en un cierre o bloqueo de calles. DESAPRUEBA 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 APRUEBA 88= NS MUCHO MUCHO	E15	|___||____|
E14. Que las personas invadan propiedades privadas. DESAPRUEBA 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 APRUEBA 88= NS MUCHO MUCHO	E14	|___||____|
E2. Que las personas se apoderen de fábricas, oficinas y otros edificios. DESAPRUEBA 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 APRUEBA 88= NS MUCHO MUCHO	E2	|___||____|
E3. Que las personas participen en un grupo que quiera derrocar por medios violentos a un gobierno elegido. DESAPRUEBA 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 APRUEBA 88= NS MUCHO MUCHO	E3	|___||____|
C3. ¿Si se pasara una ley que prohibiera las manifestaciones públicas, con qué firmeza la aprobaría o desaprobaría? DESAPRUEBA 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 APRUEBA 88= NS MUCHO MUCHO	C3	|___||____|
C5. ¿Con qué firmeza aprobaría o desaprobaría que se prohibiera reuniones de cualquier grupo que critique el sistema político Nicaragüense? DESAPRUEBA 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 APRUEBA 88= NS MUCHO MUCHO	C5	|___||____|
C6. ¿Con qué firmeza aprobaría o desaprobaría que en la radio, en la televisión y en los periódicos se censure la propaganda que critique al sistema político Nicaragüense? DESAPRUEBA 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 APRUEBA 88= NS MUCHO MUCHO	C6	|___||____|

C7. ¿Con qué firmeza aprobaría o desaprobaría que las mayorías deben gobernar? DESAPRUEBA 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 APRUEBA 88= NS MUCHO MUCHO **Recoja la Tarjeta "B"**	C7	

ACR1. Ahora le voy a leer tres frases. Por favor dígame cual de las tres describe mejor su opinión: 1. La forma en que nuestra sociedad está organizada debe ser completa y radicalmente cambiada por medios revolucionarios. 2. Nuestra sociedad debe ser gradualmente mejorada o perfeccionada por reformas. 3. Nuestra sociedad debe ser valientemente defendida de los movimientos revolucionarios. 8. NS	ACR1	

Hay diferentes opiniones en cuanto a las responsabilidades de los ciudadanos en una democracia. ¿Que tan importante es:

RC1. Pagar impuestos es: 1. Muy importante 2. Algo importante 3. No importante 8. NS	RC1	
RC2. Votar en elecciones nacionales es: 1. Muy importante 2. Algo importante 3. No importante 8. NS	RC2	
RC3. Obedecer las leyes es: 1. Muy importante 2. Algo importante 3. No importante 8. NS	RC3	
RC4. Poner atención a lo que pasa en la vida política es: 1. Muy importante 2. Algo importante 3. No importante 8. NS	RC4	
RC5. Participar en la toma de las decisiones políticas que afectan a su comunidad es: 1. Muy importante 2. Algo importante 3. No importante 8. NS	RC5	

GI1. ¿Recuerda cómo se llama el Presidente de los Estados Unidos ? (Clinton) 0. No correcto (o no sabe) 1. Correcto	GI1	
GI2. ¿Recuerda cómo se llama el jefe de gobierno de Rusia? (Yeltsin) 0. No correcto (o no sabe) 1. Correcto	GI2	
GI3. ¿Recuerda cómo se llama el Presidente de Costa Rica? (Figueres) 0. No correcto (o no sabe) 1. Correcto	GI3	
GI4. ¿Cuantos diputados hay en la Asamblea Nacional? (93) 0. Incorrecto (o no sabe) 1. Correcto	GI4	
GI5. ¿Recuerda como se llama el Presidente de la Asamblea Nacional? (Ivan Escobar Fornos) 0. No correcto (o no sabe) 1. Correcto	GI5	
GI6. ¿Recuerda el año de las próximas elecciones presidenciales? (2001) 0. Incorrecto (o no sabe) 1. Correcto	GI6	
GI7. ¿Recuerda cual partido político tiene más diputados ahora en la Asamblea Nacional? (Alianza Liberal) 0. Incorrecto (o no sabe) 1. Correcto	GI7	

GI8. ¿Recuerda como se llama el alcalde de su municipio? 0. Incorrecto (o no sabe) 1. Correcto	GI8	
GI9. ¿Recuerda como se llama uno de los diputados de este Departamento? 0. Incorrecto (o no sabe) 1. Correcto	GI9	
GI10. ¿Cree que la situación de los derechos humanos ha mejorado desde 1990? 1. Sí 2. Lo Mismo 3. No 8. NS	GI10	
GI11. ¿Ud. se siente mejor informado hoy sobre la situación de derechos humanos que en 1990? 1. Sí, mejor 2. Lo mismo 3. No mejor 8. NS	GI11	
GI12. ¿Cree que el ejercito debe estar bajo el control de: 1. El presidente 2. El ministro de Defensa 3. El Ministro de Gobernación 4. Los generales 8. NS	GI12	
GI13. ¿Cree que el presupuesto militar debe ser: 1. Aumentado 2. Reducido 3. No cambiado 8. NS	GI13	

(SRC Pol Eff, 1978=V44-V46; CR87) KK1. Alguna gente dice que a los funcionarios públicos les importa mucho lo que piensen las personas como Ud. ¿Está Ud. de <u>acuerdo</u> o en <u>desacuerdo</u> con esa opinión? 1. Acuerdo 2. Desacuerdo 8. NS	KK1	
URG21B7. ¿Ud. piensa que vale la pena votar, o que no vale porque a final de cuentas siempre es lo mismo? 1. Sí vale la pena 2. No vale la pena 8.NS	URG 21B7	
KK5. Algunas dicen que es peligroso llegar a un arreglo con los adversarios políticos, mientras otros dicen que esto es bueno. ¿Que piensa Ud.? 1. Peligroso 2. Bueno 8. NS	KK5	
KK6. Algunos dicen que es más importante vivir en una sociedad ordenada que tener mucha libertad. En su opinión, ¿qué es más importante: el orden o la libertad? 1. Orden 2. Libertad 8. NS	KK6	
DM1. Considera Ud. que ¿En Nicaragua hay discriminación contra las mujeres? 1. Si 2. No (Pasar a DM3) 8. NS/NR		
DM2. Considera Ud. que ¿La discriminación contra las mujeres es: 1. Muy Grave 2. Grave 3. Más o Menos Grave 4. No muy Grave 8. NS/NR 9. N.A.		
DM3. ¿Existe igualdad de oportunidades para conseguir empleo tanto para mujeres como para hombres? 1. Sí Existe 2. No Existe		

DM4. Según su experiencia el problema más común de las mujeres en el trabajo es... **[No leer las alternativas]** 1. No les dan empleo si dicen que están embarazadas 2. Las "enamoran" los jefes (patrones) o compañeros 3. Es mal vista por pedir permiso para atender a sus hijos 4. Les pagan menos que a los hombres 5. Les cuesta mucho ascender a un mejor puesto 6. No tiene ningún problema 7. Otro_____		

Q3. ¿Cual es su religión? 1. Católica (practicante) 2. Católica (no practicante) 3. Evangélica 4. Otra. 5. Ninguna	Q3	
Q4. ¿Cuántas veces ha asistido a la iglesia (culto o templo) durante el mes pasado? |____| (0=cero veces, 1= una vez, etc.,7 o más = 7; 8=NS/NR)	Q4	
Q5. Qué tan frecuentemente reza u ora Ud.? Lo hace diariamente, una vez a la semana, de vez en cuando o casi nunca. 1. diariamente 2. semanalmente 3. de vez en cuando 4. casi nunca 8. NS/NR	Q5	
RF6. La religión es un aspecto importante de su vida. ¿Está 1. Muy de acuerdo 2. Algo de acuerdo 3. Algo en contra 4. Muy en contra 8. NS/NR	RF6	

¿Podría decirme si en su casa (o en su finca) tienen: [LEER TODOS]		
R1.Televisor a color? 0. No. 1. Uno 2. Dos o más 8. NS/NR	R1	
R2.Televisor en blanco y negro? 0. No. 1. Uno 2. Dos o más 8. NS/NR	R2	
R3. Refrigerador(Mantenedora)? 0. No. 1. Sí 8. NS/NR	R3	
R4. Teléfono? 0. No. 1. Sí 8. NS/NR	R4	
R5. Automóvil o camión? 0. No. 1. Sí 8. NS/NR	R5	
R6. Lavadora? 0. No. 1. Sí 8. NS/NR	R6	
R7. Horno de Microondas? 0. No. 1. Sí 8. NS/NR	R7	
R8. Motocicleta (Moto)? 0. No. 1. Sí 8. NS/NR	R8	
R9. Tractor? 0. No. 1. Sí 8. NS/NR	R9	
R10. Energía eléctrica 0. No. 1. Sí 8. NS/NR	R10	
R11. Agua potable 0. No. 1. Sí 8. NS/NR	R11	
R12. Piso de la habitación : 1. Tierra 2. Madera 3. Cemento, ladrillo, terrazo, embaldozado	R12	
R13. Bicicleta 0. No. 1. Sí 8. NS/NR	R13	
R14. Alcantarillado 0. No. 1. Sí 8. NS/NR	R14	
R15. Recolección de Basura 0. No 1. Sí 8. NS/NR	R15	

OCUP1. ¿En que trabaja Ud.? (sondear para poder codificar entre las categorías abajo):Si desocupado(a), anotar ocupación normal. 1. Profesional (ingeniero, médico, enfermera, abogado, Profesor/maestro, contador, etc.) 2. Oficinista (sector público como secretaria) 3. Oficinista (sector privado, como secretaria) 4. Obrero de fabrica, otro trabajo físico urbano, transportista, vendedor ambulante 5. Obrero rural (trabajador agrícola) o pesquero 6. Dueño de finca (o trabaja en finca familiar) 10. Alquila tierra rural para cultivar 11.Dueño de negocio (tienda, restaurante, fabrica) 12. Estudiante 13. Ama de casa 14. Jubilado 15. Soldado o Policía 16. Empleado(a) doméstico(a) 17. Vive de rentas, rentista		
DESOC1 ¿Ha estado desocupado durante el último año? 0. No [**Pasara a Q10]** 1. Sí **[Seguir con DEOC2]** 9. Estudiante, ama de casa, jubilado	DESOC1	
DESOC2. [Para los que dicen Sí] ¿Por cuántas semanas durante el último año no ha tenido trabajo? ____ _____ [01 = 1; 00= no fue desocupado]	DESOC2	|____| |_____|
Q10. En cual de los siguientes rangos ubicaría Ud. el ingreso total mensual de las personas de su hogar? [**MOSTRAR TARJETA D**] 0. Nada (ama de casa, desocupado) 5. De 1,001 a 1.500 1. Menos de 250 Córdobas 6. De 1,501 a 2,000 2. De 251 a 500 7. De 2,001 a 4,000 3. De 501 a 750 10. 4,001 y más 4. De 751 a 1,000 88. NS/NR **(RECOGER TARJETA D)** 5. De 1,001 a 1,500	Q10	|____||____|
Q11. ¿Cuál es su estado civil? (no leer alternativas)1. Soltero(a) 2. Casado(a) 3. Unión libre (unido(a); acompañado(a) 4. Divorciado(a) 5. Separado(a) 6. Viudo(a) 8. NS/NR	Q11	
Q12. ¿Cuantos hijos tiene Ud.?_____	Q12	|___||___|
Q13. [Solo para los que tiene niños en la escuela] Los niños suyos asisten una: 1. escuela pública 2. escuela privada 3. pública autónoma 4. varios tipos 8. NS 9. Inap (no tiene hijos en la escuela).	Q13	
Q14. ¿Hasta que punto esta satisfecho con la calidad de educación que esta recibiendo sus hijos? Esta: 1. Muy satisfecho 2. Algo satisfecho 3. Algo insatisfecho 4. Muy insatisfecho 8. NS 9. Inap (no tiene hijos en la escuela).	Q14	

Hora terminada: HORA_____: ____ _____	Tiempo de entrevista:_____MINUTOS	TI |_____| |_____||____|

Yo juro que esta entrevista fue llevada acabo con la persona seleccionada. Firma del Supervisor_____

Fecha _____ Revisión del supervisor de campo _____