

Latin American Public Opinion Project

LAPOP

The logo for the Latin American Public Opinion Project (LAPOP) features the acronym 'LAPOP' in large, bold, green capital letters with a black outline. The letter 'O' is stylized to contain a map of Latin America, showing the continents of North, Central, and South America in a dark green color against the yellow background of the letter.

Proyecto de Opinión Pública de América Latina

Democratic Values and Behaviors in Paraguay:

A Comparison of 1996 with 1998

by:

Mitchell A. Seligson. Ph.D.
Professor of Political Science
University of Pittsburgh
Pittsburgh, PA 15260
Seligson@pitt.edu
(412) 648-7268

Draft of February 26, 1999

Prepared for CIRD, Paraguay

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.

Table of Contents

Introduction	2
Chapter I. Elections and Democracy	4
Perception of Freedom and Fairness of Elections	5
Impact of Party Identification on the Legitimacy of Elections	7
Internal Party Factions and Perception of the 1998 Elections	11
Demographic and Socio-Economic Factors	14
Language	18
Religion	20
System Support and Legitimacy of Elections	22
Abstentionism	23
Demographic and Socio-economic Variation in Voting/Abstention	24
Geographical Factors	29
Reasons for Abstention	30
Election Tribunal	32
Political Parties and Elections	34
Chapter II. Local Government and Civil Society	39
Voting Behavior	40
Satisfaction with Municipal and Departmental Government	41
Coordination Among Levels of Government	45
Civil Society and Local Government	47
Chapter III. Administration of Justice	51
Explaining Opinions on the Justice System	53
Chapter IV. Support for Anti-Democratic Behavior	60
Support for a Coup	60
The “Oviedo Affair”	66
Views on Oviedo and Support for a Coup	72
Other Measures of the “Oviedo Affair”	74
Appendix: 1998 Questionnaire in Spanish	82

Introduction

This study is the second in a series carried out for USAID/Paraguay under the direction of CIRD. It reflects an attempt to examine the results of the 1998 national opinion survey conducted by CIRD, and an attempt to compare those results, when possible, to the 1996 sample of identical design.

The 1996 study was a baseline study, and as such its major purpose was to establish the basic patterns of democratic beliefs in Paraguay. That study was the first nationally representative sample ever conducted on a full range of democratic values and behaviors in the country. This 1998 study does not attempt to replicate those findings. Rather, the focus is on areas of particular interest to Paraguayans concerned about the stability of democracy in their country. It begins with a detailed examination of election attitudes and behavior. It then proceeds to examine local government and civil society. The next section turns to the question of the administration of justice. Finally, the report concludes with a discussion of anti-democratic behaviors and what is called here, "The Oviedo Affair."

After the 1996 study was completed, a team of Paraguayan social scientists reexamined the results and took a look at the data base itself. This produced a volume, *Transición en Paraguay: Cultura Política y Valores Democráticos*, edited by Agustín Carrizosa (Asunción, Paraguay: CIRD, 1998), and a symposium at which the various studies were presented and discussed. Time constraints and competing commitments prevented the author of the 1996 study from participating in that event, but a Spanish translation of that study was included as Chapter II of the Carrizosa volume. The presentation of the 1996 study was made by Ricardo Córdova, President of the FundaUngo of El Salvador. Mr. Córdova has read a draft version of the present study and made many helpful suggestions for improvement.

Budgetary constraints have severely limited the scope of the present report. Even though the contract for the study called for a report of 40 pages in length, it proved impossible to cover even the most critical areas in less than twice that many pages. A similar report prepared for USAID, Bolivia, ran to some 250 pages, covering a much wider range of topics. The amount of data not analyzed here far exceeds that which is included. For example, no effort has been made to examine issues of political tolerance and their relationship to system support to determine if Paraguay has increased its prospects for democratic stability. That was a subject covered in depth in the 1996 study but excluded here. Also absent from this report are comparisons with data from other Latin America countries. Since the 1996 report was completed, new data have become available at the University of Pittsburgh Latin American Public Opinion Project covering Guatemala in 1996, Nicaragua in 1997, Peru in 1997 and 1998 and Bolivia in 1998. Other key elements of the questionnaire, such as experience and perception of corruption and evaluations of honesty of elected officials, have been excluded from analysis here. The Paraguay

component of the data base is available at CIRD and the comparative data base at University of Pittsburgh. It is hoped that these and other analyses will be undertaken by interested researchers and development practitioners in the international development community.

Chapter I. Elections and Democracy

Elections are a *necessary* but not *sufficient* condition for democratic rule. Paraguay has had a long tradition of elections, but only recently has it become possible to characterize them as free and fair.

The traditional party system was founded in 1887, with the formation of the Colorado and Liberal parties. These parties have alternated in power since 1887, with the brief exception of the period 1936-37 when the Partido Revolucionario Febrerista was in power. But the alteration in power did not come about as a result of victories and losses at the ballot box. Rather, alternation in political control throughout the entire 19th and 20th centuries, came about as a result of coups and civil wars. During the dictatorship of President Stroessner, who ruled until 1987, elections were held from time to time, but the results were predetermined. Only since 1989, after the coup of February of that year, have elections begun to play an important role in democratic rule in Paraguay.¹ Since then, elections have been held in 1989, 1991, 1992, 1993, 1996 and, most recently, in May, 1998. General elections were held in 1989, 1993, and 1998, while municipal elections were held in 1991 and 1996 and constitutional elections held in 1991. This string of elections, some local, some national, have given Paraguayans an opportunity to vote in increasingly free and fair elections, even though at the level of the chief executive the majority Colorado (ANR) party has yet to lose. At the level of the legislature and the municipalities, however, the Colorados have lost many elections to the traditional opposition party, the Partido Liberal Radical Auténtico (PLRA).

The May, 1998 elections were held closest to the time of the national survey on which this report is based. Those elections actually involved five independent components: (1) presidential and vice-presidential; (2) senatorial; (3) congressional; (4) gubernatorial; and (5) departmental. In addition to the election of the President and Vice-President of the republic, 45 senators (and 30 “suplente” senators), 80 deputies (and 80 “suplente” deputies), 17 governors, and 17 “Juntas Departamentales” were elected by the voters. A total of 2,049,449 registered voters were eligible to take part in the elections, of whom 1,650,725 actually did. The ANR won 53.75% of the votes for president, compared to 42.61% for the opposition. The ANR also won 24 senatorial seats, compared to 20 for the “Alianza” and 1 for the Partido Blanco. In addition, the ANR won 45 of the deputy seats versus 35 for the Alianza, and 14 gubernatorial elections, versus 4 for the Alianza.

¹For a good discussion of the electoral system, past and present, see José Nicolás Morínigo Alcaraz, “Partidos políticos y comportamiento electoral: Infidelidad incipiente en un peculiar bi-partidismo,” in Agustín Carrizosa, Transición en Paraguay: Cultura política y valores democráticos, 1998. Asunción: CIRD, 1998.

What do Paraguayans think of their election system and why do they hold those beliefs? That is the subject of this analysis. Using the Seligson national surveys of 1996 and 1998, public opinion data will be examined both for patterns and changes in patterns.

Perception of Freedom and Fairness of Elections

Both the 1996 and 1998 surveys included two questions that directly attempted to measure the degree to which Paraguayans believed that the election immediately prior to the survey was free and fair. These are items B24 and B25, which in their original Spanish read this way:

B24. ¿Hasta qué punto cree Ud. que las últimas elecciones fueron libres, o sea que la gente pudo votar por el candidato que prefería?

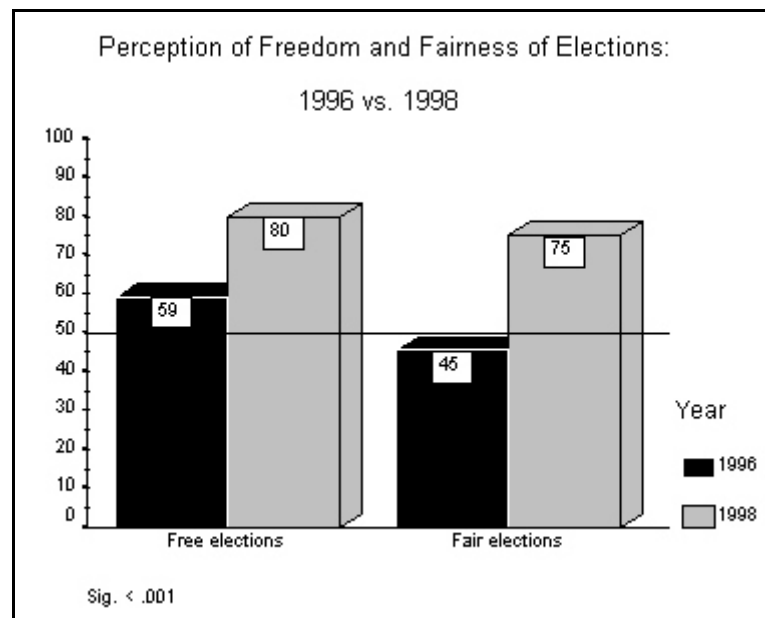
NADA 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 MUCHO NS = 8

B25. ¿Hasta qué punto cree Ud. que las ultimas elecciones fueron limpias, o sea sin trampa?

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

The format of these items follows the general format of the system support series in the survey. That is, respondents were asked to rate each item on a scale of 1-7, with 1 indicating the low end and 7 the high end. The identical wording was used in 1996 and 1998. In order to convert this 1-7 range into a range that is more meaningful, the scores were transformed to a 0-100 range.² Figure I.1 shows that there has been a statistically significant (sig. < .001) and, in absolute terms, large increase in the legitimacy of the election system of Paraguay between 1996 and 1998. It is important to clarify that the 1996 survey referred not to the November 17, 1996 municipal elections, since those had not yet been held by the time the survey was conducted, but rather to the immediately prior general elections, the one of May 9, 1993. Thus, respondents to both surveys were referring to elections at the same level (i.e., general, including the president and the legislature), making the two surveys directly comparable. Not only was there a greatly increased belief in the degree of freedom and fairness of the electoral process, but unlike the 1996 survey, when the average response for the degree of fairness of the elections was in the negative end of the 0-100 scale, in 1998, the average response on both questions was in the strongly positive end of the scale.

²This was accomplished by subtracting a unit of one from each score, dividing by six, and multiplying by 100.

**Figure I.1**

There is additional evidence that makes the above findings even stronger. In all surveys, there is a certain amount of non-response, often because those being interviewed are simply not certain of their views on a given issue.³ In the 1996 survey, 10.9% and 10.3% of those interviewed did not respond to the first and second items respectively, whereas by 1998, the non-response had declined to only 4.4% and 5.4% for the two items. This reduction of non-response by half may indicate that Paraguayans were far more likely to have formed an opinion about the legitimacy of the elections process of 1998 than they were about the process of 1993. On the other hand, the 1996 survey was conducted some three years after the event, whereas the 1998 survey was conducted only a few months after the elections. This difference in the timing of the surveys may help explain why the population were much more likely to have formed and reported an opinion on the 1998 election than on the 1993 election. While it is not possible to be certain which factor is the more important, the very low proportion of non-response in 1998 allows us to be very confident that the results represent what nearly all voting age Paraguayans believe about the legitimacy of the 1998 elections.

³There are, of course, many other reasons for non-response including the inability to comprehend the question. In this case, however, since the question was identical in both 1996 and 1998, the issue of comprehension is held constant for both surveys.

Impact of Party Identification on the Legitimacy of Elections

Paraguayans have long been divided politically along party lines. Does this division affect views of the legitimacy of the election process? To answer this question it is first necessary to eliminate from the analysis those who voted in 1996 or 1998 for the PRF, the “Febrerista” party, since too few stated that they had voted this way for the means to have any validity. In the 1996 sample, only one person said that they voted that way and in 1998 only three did so. These cases are dropped. Figure 1.2 shows the impact of vote on perception of the freedom of the elections. Three patterns clearly emerge. First, as shown by the vote in the 1993 election (reported in 1996), virtually no difference separates the Colorado voters from the Liberal voters. Only those who voted for the AEN in 1996 show a much lower belief that the elections were free. Even so, their views average on the positive end of the 0-100 continuum (mean of 54). Second, when the Liberal Party formed a coalition with the AEN party for the 1998 election, the level of confidence in the fairness of the elections was significantly lower than among those who voted for the Colorado Party. Presumably, this was because of the impact that AEN voters had on the coalition’s overall score, a point that will be demonstrated later in this discussion. Third, for all parties competing in 1998, the level of confidence in the fairness of the election system increased dramatically over the 1993 election. It should also be noted that those who voted “en blanco” (i.e., a null ballot) in both elections had lower trust than those who voted for a particular party, but those who did not respond to the question on vote had variable levels of confidence in the fairness of the elections for the two samples.

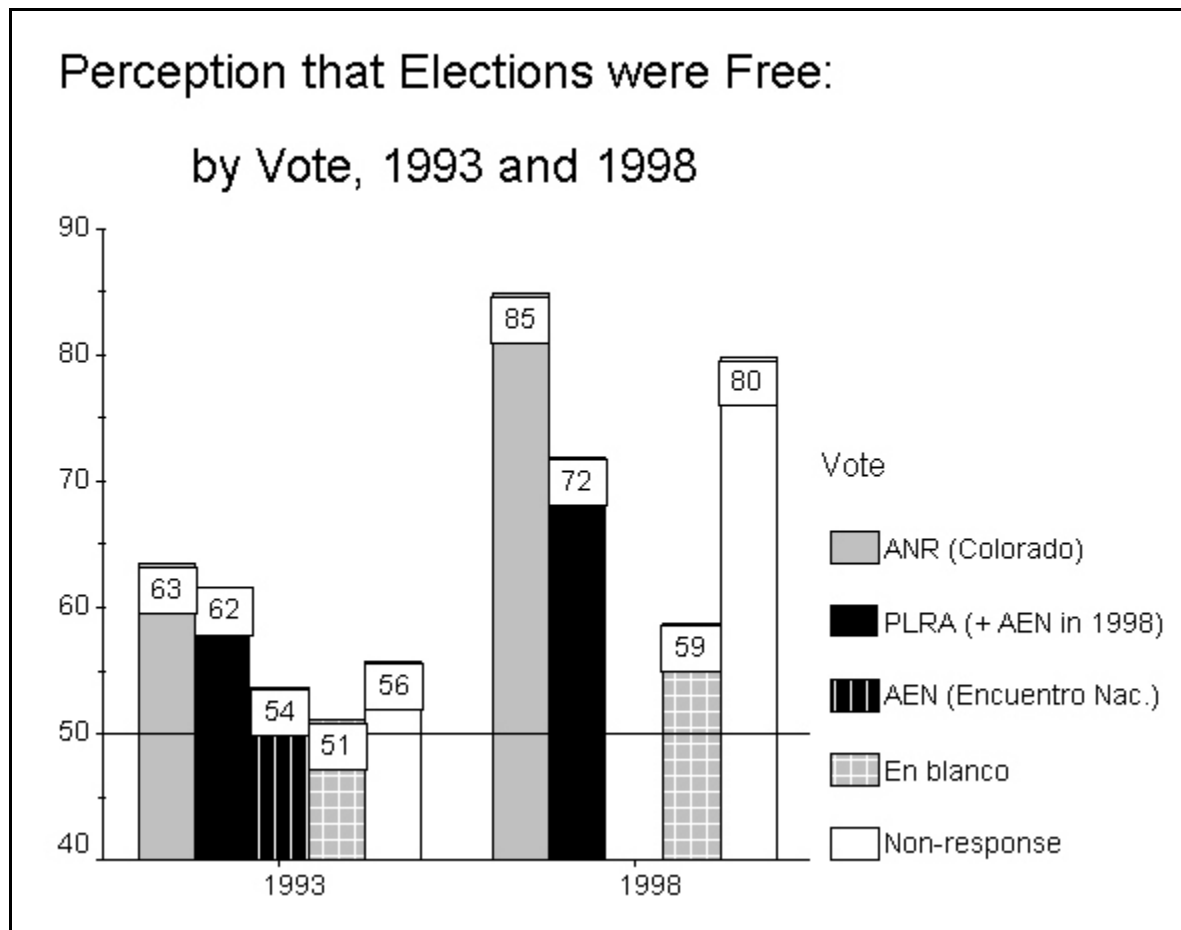
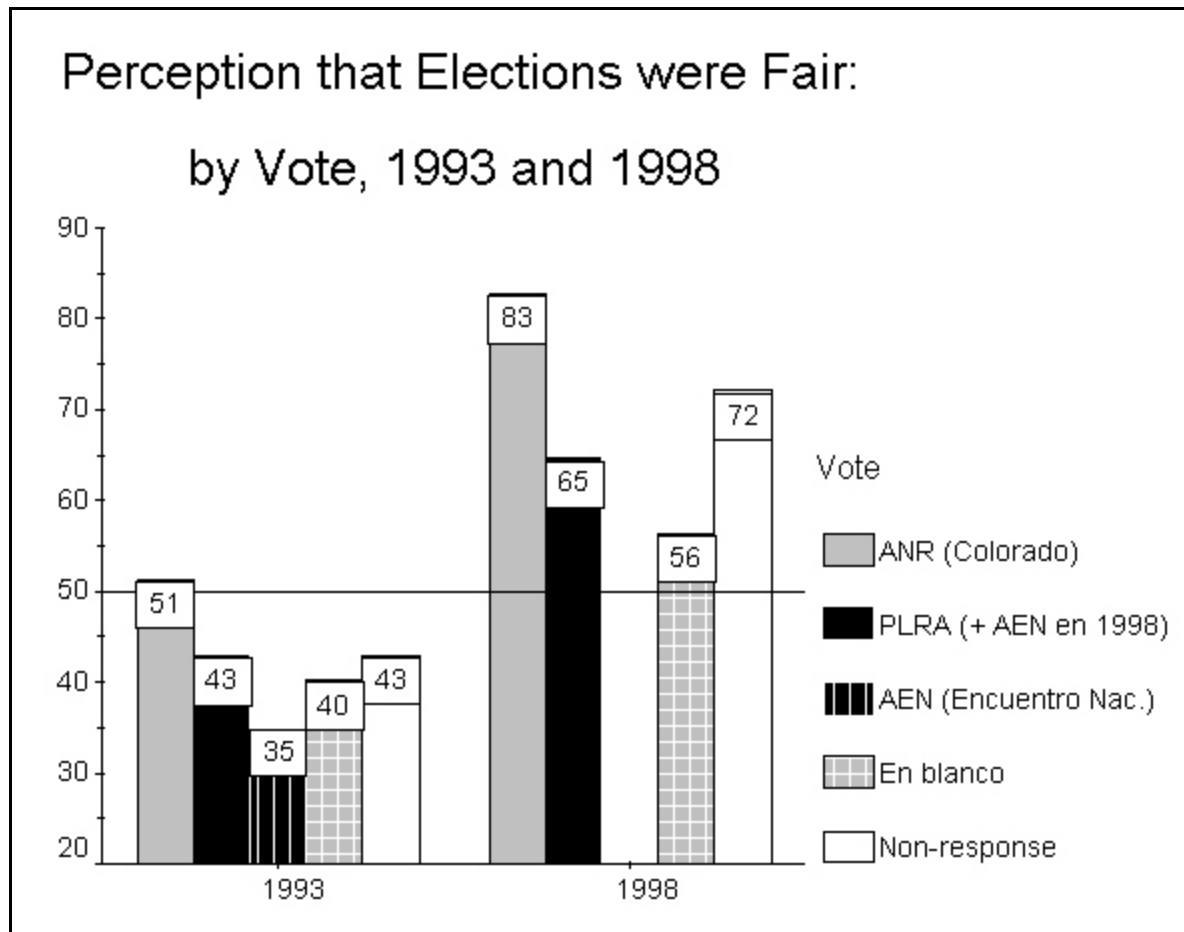
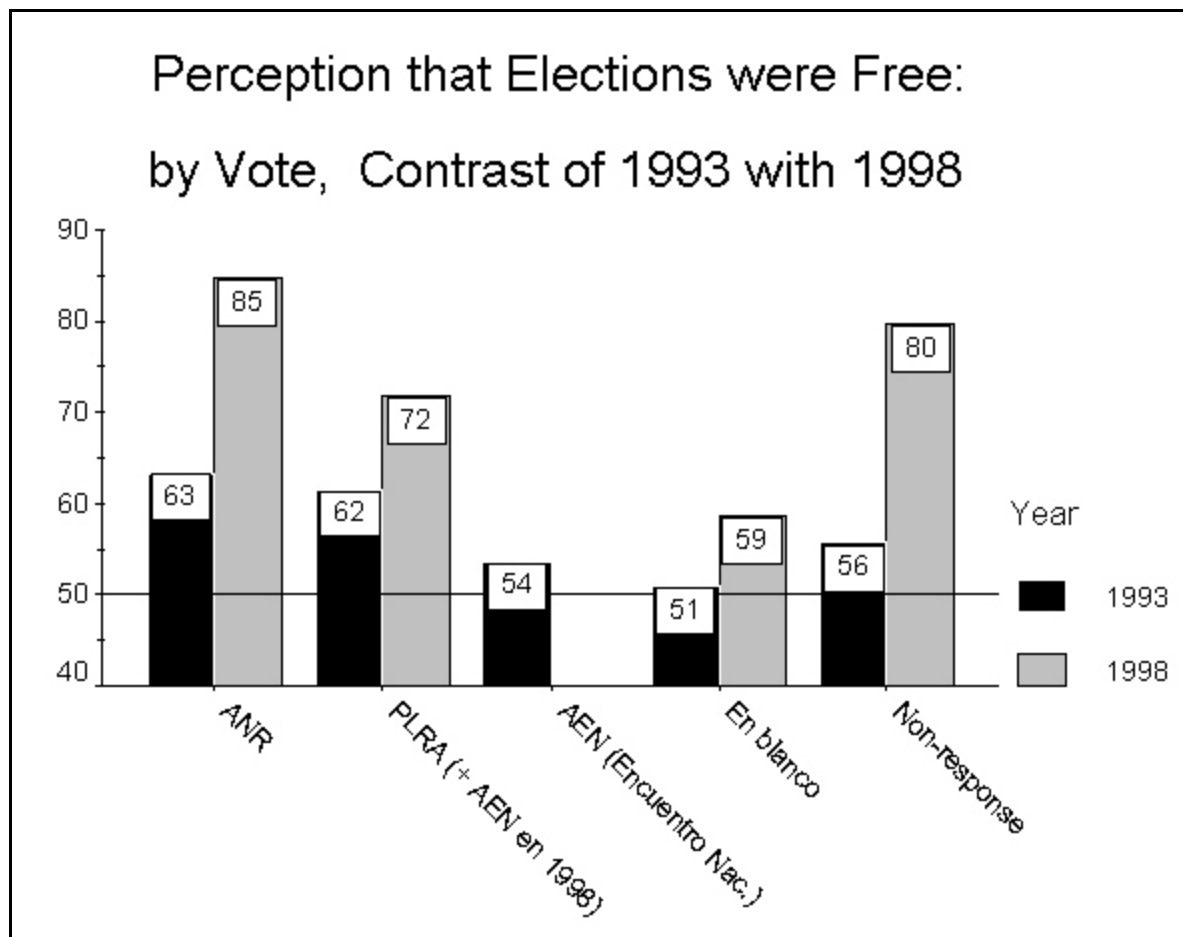


Figure I.2

An analysis of the perceived fairness of the elections is shown in Figure I.3. In this case we see similar patterns, but some important differences as well. In the 1993 elections, voters (interviewed in 1996) for the Liberal Party were less confident in the fairness of the elections than were the Colorado voters. In the 1998 coalition, the pattern remains the same. The lowest level of confidence, once again, is expressed by the AEN voters in the 1993 election.

**Figure I.3**

It is easier to see the across-the-board increases in confidence in the election system when the 1993 and 1996 votes are compared directly. Figure I.4 compares the perception of the degree to which the election was free. As can be seen, for every category confidence increased.

**Figure I.4**

The same pattern is found for the 1993/98 contrast for the fairness of the elections as perceived by Paraguayans. Figure I.5 shows the contrast.

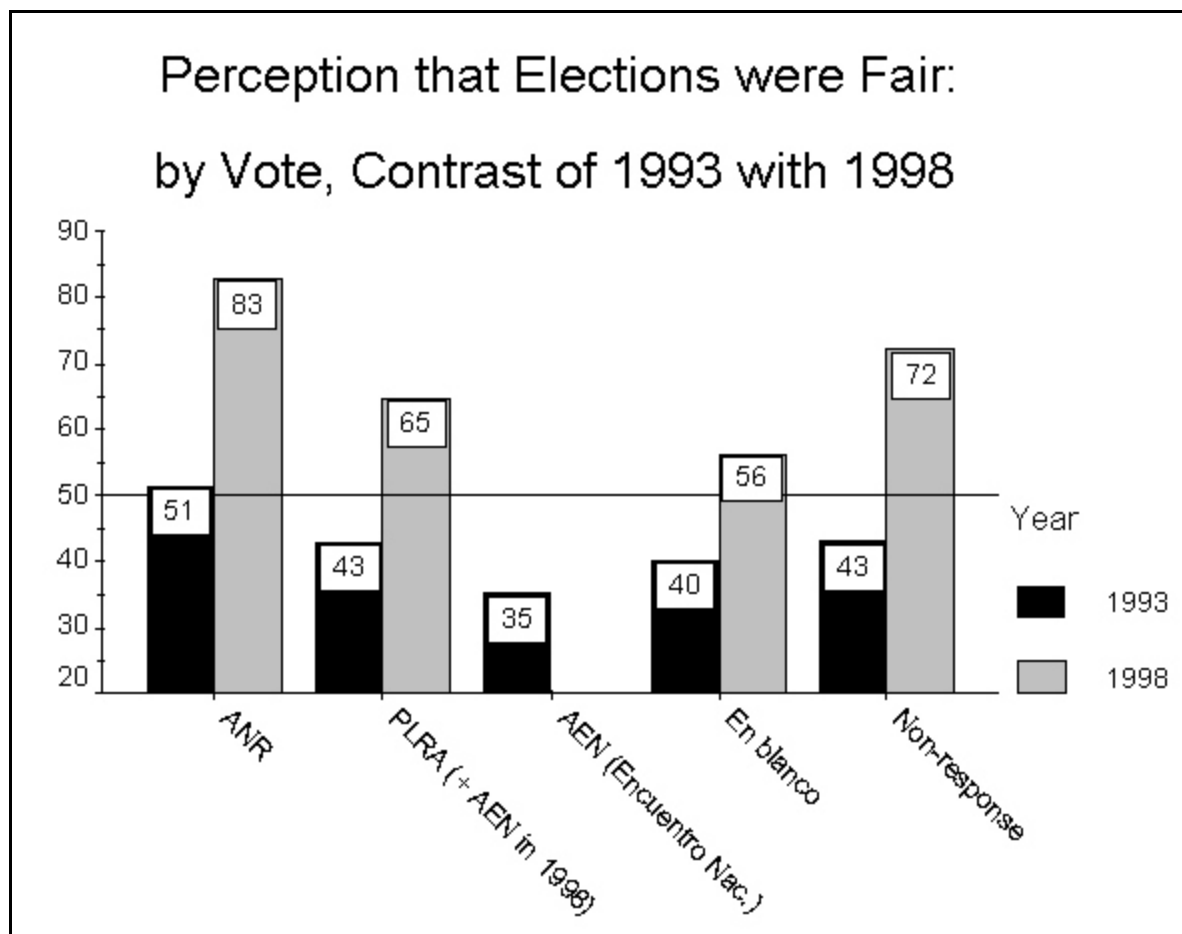


Figure I.5

Internal Party Factions and Perception of the 1998 Elections

Electoral law in Paraguay allows for the establishment of internal factions or “movements” within the political parties. These movements can actually hold their own internal elections, akin to primary elections in the United States. These internal elections were held in 1997 in the case of the Colorado Party. These elections were designed to select candidates for the national elections. These elections were held on September 7, 1997. In 1997, the Colorado Party had 1,390,000 members, of whom 988,653 were registered to vote in the internal elections of the party.

The 1997 Colorado elections were highly significant in the political life of Paraguay. In those elections, 4,947 polling places were established, involving 29,682 electoral authorities. The elections themselves were organized by the Tribunal Electoral Partidario.

Perhaps the most politically salient of these internal factions emerged within the ANR. One ANR faction, the Movimiento de Reconciliación Colorada (MRC), proposed Dr. Luis María Argañas as its candidate for the presidency. General Oviedo led the Unidad Nacional de Colorado Eticos (UNACE), which proposed him as its candidate for the presidency. Finally, the Movimiento Coloradismo Unido proposed Angel Roberto Seifart as its candidate for the presidency. In the primary elections General Oviedo narrowly won over his rival, Dr. Argañas, who at the time was serving as the president of his party.

In the survey as a whole, 52% of the 1998 respondents identified with a faction of one of the parties. In Figure I.6, the opinions of faction supporters regarding the degree to which the elections were perceived as free are shown. Those respondents who did not identify with a faction are excluded from this figure. Vertical lines separate the three sets of factions. Within the Colorados, the largest split is between UNACE and ADR, with ADR lower than UNACE. Within the Alianza, the “Movilización para el Cambio” faction scored lower than any other faction. It is important to note that the highest belief in the fairness of the elections was expressed by the UNACE faction, the one led by General Oviedo. The MRC voters, supporting Dr. Argañas, were, nonetheless, only slightly less confident in the degree to which the elections were free. This finding suggests strongly that winners and losers within the Colorado party, at least, believed in the elections.

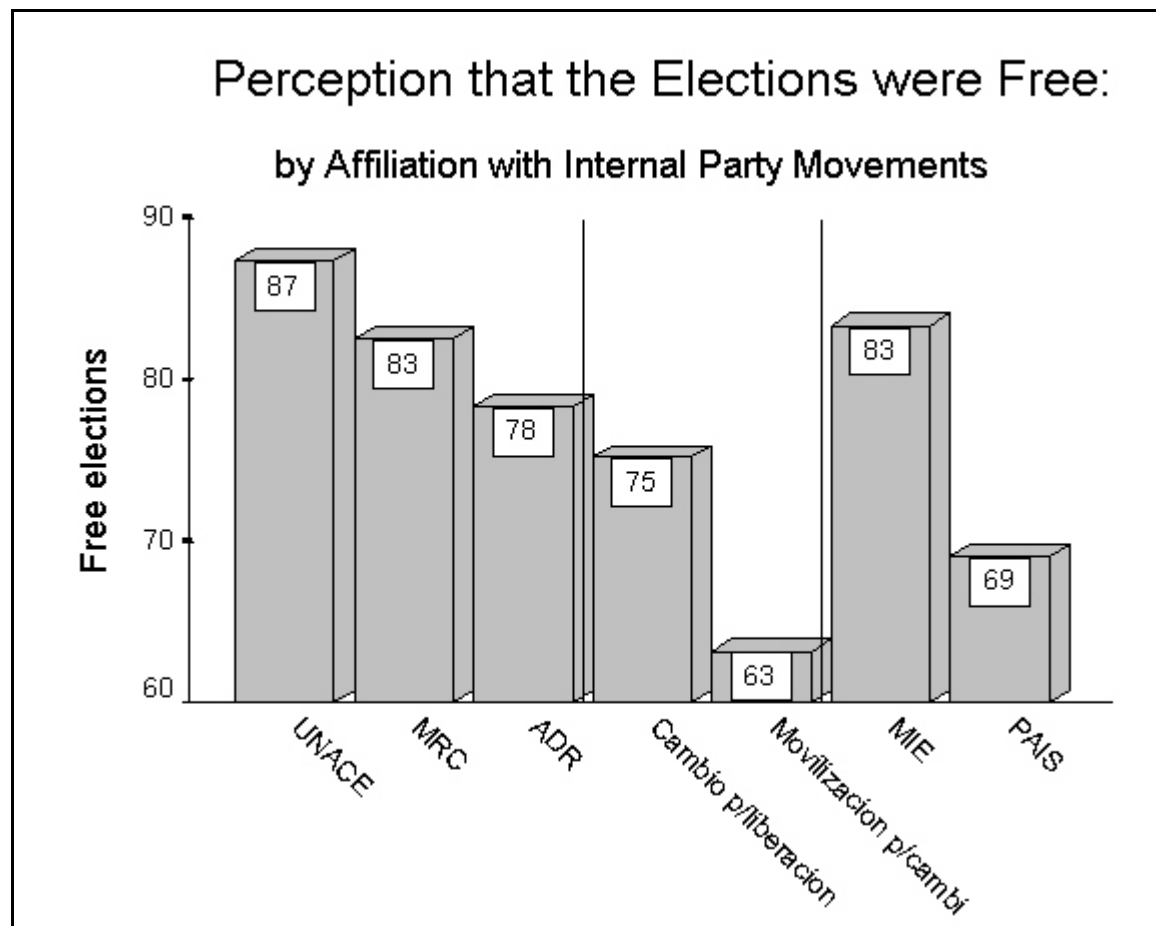


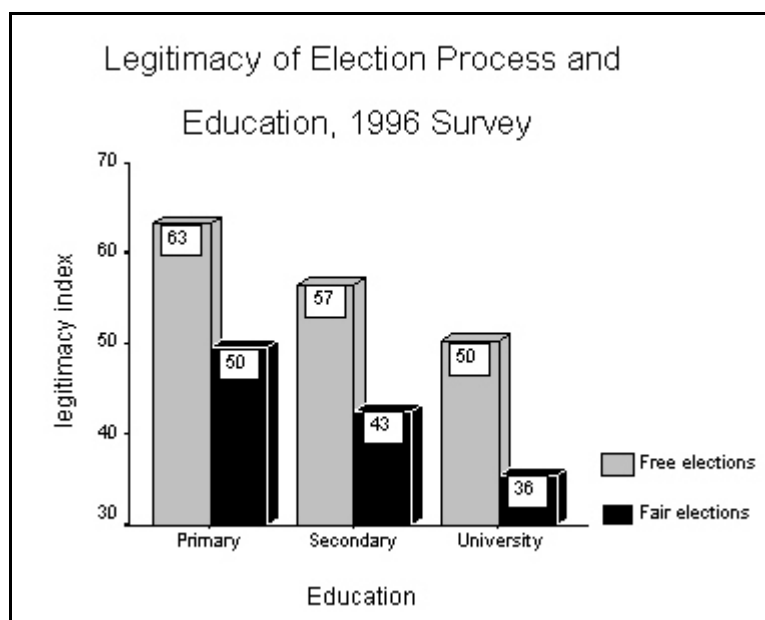
Figure I.6

Demographic and Socio-Economic Factors

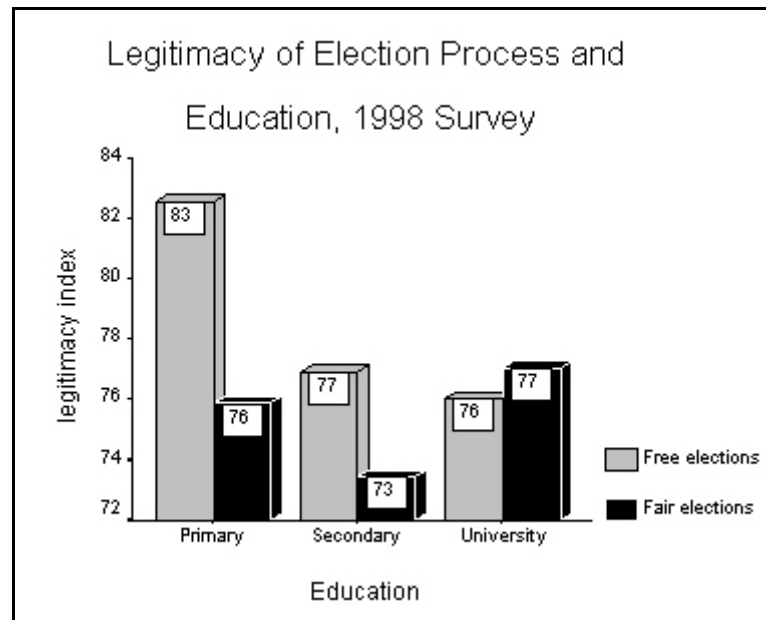
The strong and increasing levels of belief in the legitimacy of the electoral process in Paraguay is not confined to any one sector of the population. Analysis shows that for the most part, these views are held by Paraguayans of all walks of life. In particular, an analysis (using multiple regression) found that there were no significant differences of opinion on the free and fair elections questions based on the two key demographic factors of gender and age. Moreover, in socio-economic terms, no significant differences emerged based on income.⁴ A variable related to socio-economic status, unemployment (Desoc2), was also examined, but no differences emerged. Further exploration also determined that religiosity had no significant impact on belief in the legitimacy of the electoral process in the 1996 data. These items (Q3 and Q4) were not asked again in 1998, but there is no reason to assume that they would have emerged as significant predictors of belief in the legitimacy of elections if they had been included in the second survey.

The one socio-economic factor that did prove to divide Paraguayans on this issue of the legitimacy of elections was education. In other words, differences in education among the Paraguayan population had an impact on views toward the election. In the statistical analysis performed for this study (using multiple regression) for 1996, education proved to be a statistically significant predictor of belief in the legitimacy of the election. The 1996 survey results can be seen in Figure I.7. As can be seen, as education increases, belief that the elections were free and fair declines.

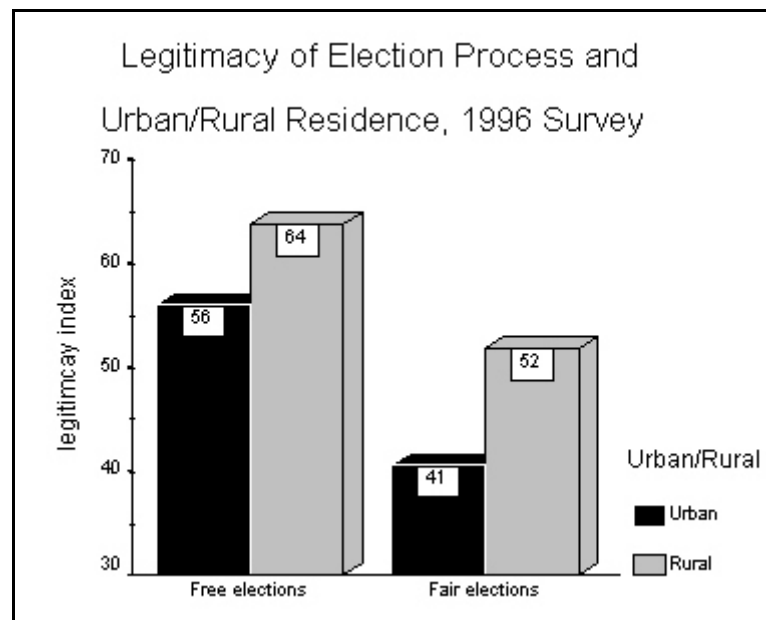
⁴Income was measured in two ways in the survey. First, respondents were asked for their monthly family income (variable Q10). But, since many individuals work in rural areas and receive little or no cash income, and other individuals are reluctant to state their income, a second way of measuring income was utilized. A series (R1-R11) of eleven questions was asked, measuring the ownership of various household appliances (TVs, washing machines, telephones, etc.). These items were all coded on a 0-1 basis and an overall summated index of 0 to 11 was created.

**Figure I.7**

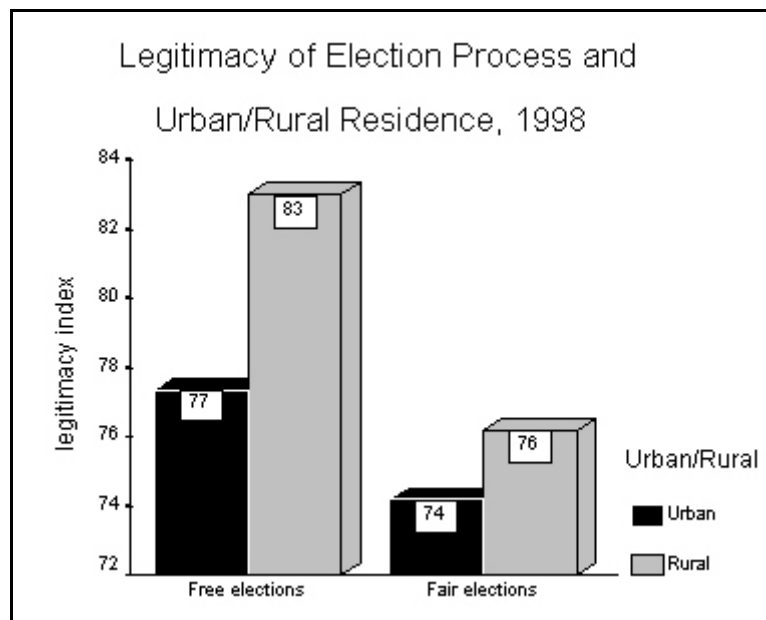
A different pattern is found for this relationship between education and the legitimacy of elections in the 1998 data set, as is shown in Figure I.8. By 1998, with the overall increase in belief in the legitimacy of the May, 1998 elections, the impact of education was very muted. As can be seen in the figure, those with a primary education are more strongly convinced that the elections were free than those with higher levels of education, but university educated Paraguayans in 1998 were no less convinced of this than were those with high school education. In terms of the fairness of the elections, no significant difference emerged. These are important findings since they show that not only did belief in the legitimacy of elections increase between the 1993 and 1998 elections, but that the increase was widespread, no longer strongly dividing Paraguayans along educational lines. Since it has already been noted that there are no significant demographic differences, nor are there economic differences (based on wealth), it would appear that by 1998, belief in the legitimacy of elections became a ubiquitous phenomenon.

**Figure I.8**

Another factor that did vary in both 1996 and 1998 was residence. In 1996 there was a sharp urban/rural divide in Paraguay, which produced lower confidence in the election system in urban areas than in rural areas. Since education, which lowers confidence in the election system, is higher in urban areas, one might assume that education, rather than residence, that explains the difference. But in a multiple regression analysis, when education is held constant (i.e., controlled for), residence still has a significant impact on belief in the legitimacy of elections. Figure I.9 shows the results for 1996.

**Figure I.9**

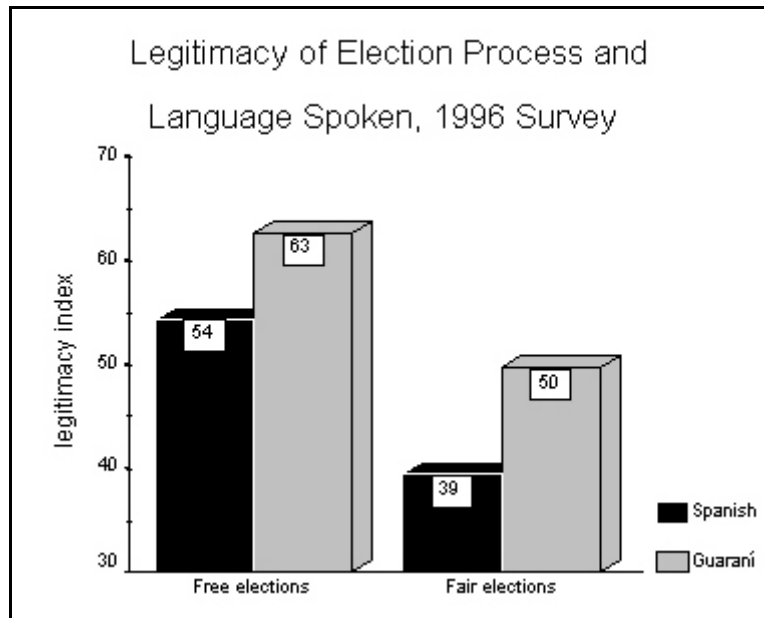
The results for 1998 are shown in Figure I.10. The same pattern is found, except that in 1998 the gaps between urban and rural have been narrowed. Indeed, the gap between urban and rural areas in the belief that the elections were fair is no longer statistically significant. This suggests an important homogenization of political views in Paraguay between 1996 and 1998.

**Figure I.10**

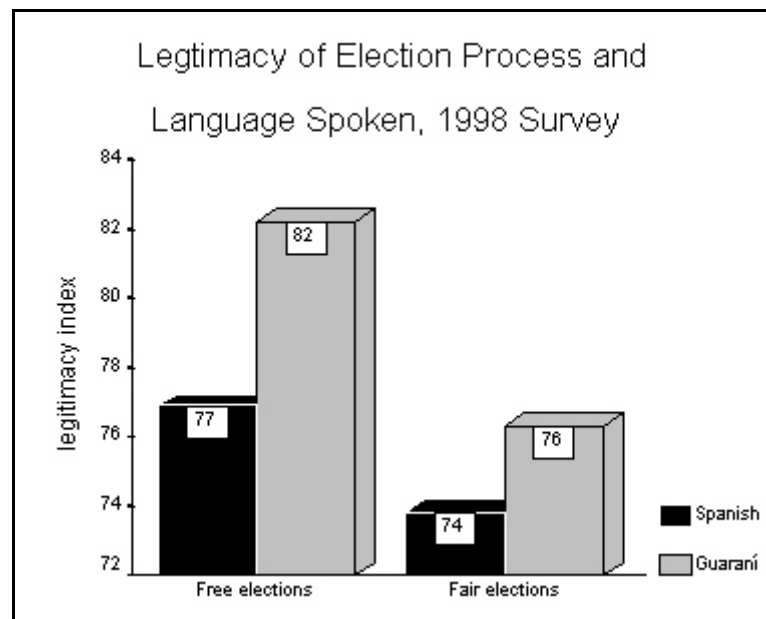
Language

Language has long been an important issue in Paraguay. Much of the population is bilingual Spanish/Guaraní. In the survey we asked which language the respondent spoke most frequently with his/her family. In both surveys, 57% of the respondents reported Guaraní as the predominant familial language.⁵ The stability of this parameter, it should be noted, gives added confidence to the reliability of the survey. As shown in Figure I.11, those who mainly spoke Guaraní within the family in 1996 were more likely to have a higher level of confidence in the election process than those who spoke Spanish.

⁵Other languages, such as Portuguese, were also coded, but they comprised no more than 2% of the sample and are therefore ignored in this analysis.

**Figure I.11**

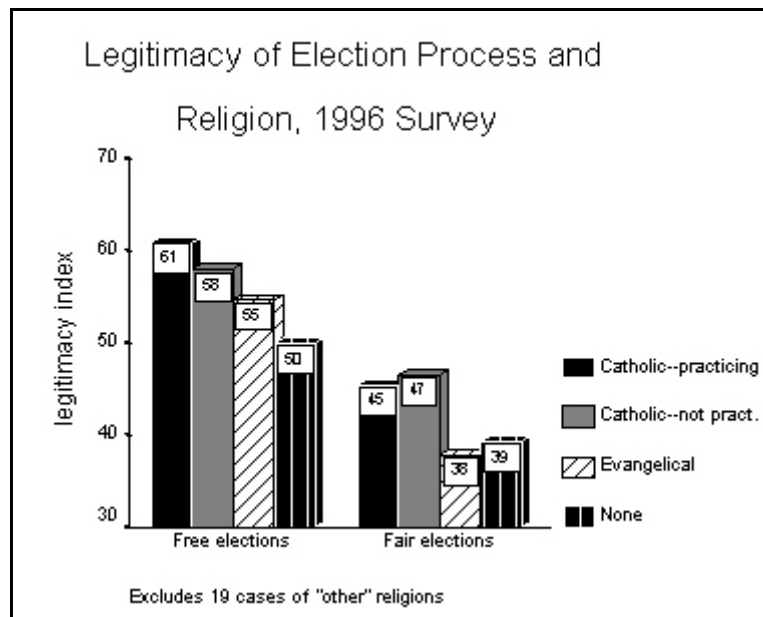
The results from the 1998 survey are shown in Figure I.12. Once again we observe the same pattern of a sharp diminution of differences among the population. Moreover, after controlling for education and urban/rural residence, language spoken at home no longer is statistically significant. However, when controlling for education alone, it remains a significant predictor of belief in the legitimacy of elections in Paraguay. Urban/rural residence is strongly associated with language use ($r = .55$ for both surveys), with Guaraní more common in rural areas. Thus, there is a complex intertwining of causality related to residence and language that explain these differences in the belief in the legitimacy of elections.

**Figure I.12**

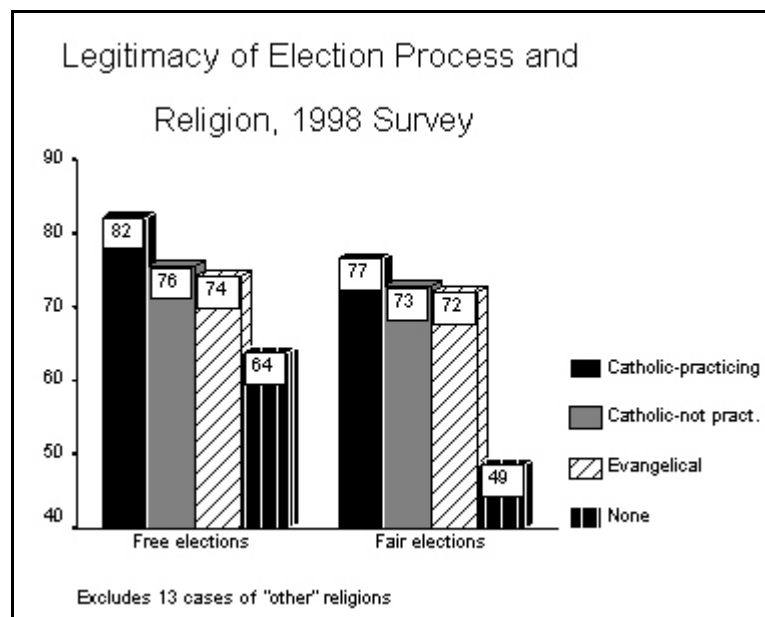
Religion

Religious belief systems are often tied closely to politics. On the one hand, some research has found that the intensity of religious practice is an important predictor of political attitudes. In Paraguay, however, the frequency of church attendance and the frequency of prayer had no significant relationship to belief in the legitimacy of elections in the 1996 survey. In 1998 these two items on religiosity were omitted from the survey and therefore it was not possible to see if the absence of patterns persisted.

The second aspect of religion found to be important in some studies is the kind of religion practiced by individuals. In Paraguay, until recently, virtually all of those who held an institutionalized religious belief were Catholics. But recently evangelical movements have become popular there, as well as elsewhere in Latin America. Figure I.13 shows the connection between various categories of religious beliefs and respondent evaluation of free and fair elections for the 1996 survey. As can be seen, Catholics were much more likely to believe in the legitimacy of the elections than evangelicals and those without a religion. Thus, although intensity of religious belief is not a significant predictor of confidence in elections, the Catholic/Evangelical divide is.

**Figure I.13**

In the 1998 survey, as shown in Figure I.14, the results differ somewhat, with the gap between Catholics and Evangelicals shrinking, while the belief in the legitimacy of elections among those with no formal religion remained far lower than the others groups.

**Figure I.14**

System Support and Legitimacy of Elections

I have shown above that there is widespread belief in the legitimacy of elections in Paraguay, especially in the 1998 sample. Is there any connection between this belief and overall belief in the legitimacy of the political system? To determine this, use is made of the system support measure employed in the 1996 study. This measure is a composite of five core items measuring the legitimacy of the system (items B1, B2, B3, B4, and B6 in the questionnaire). The items were rescaled from their original 1-7 format to a 0-100 format and an overall index for the five items was created. Figure I.15 shows the relationship is quite strong, and statistically significant ($< .001$).⁶

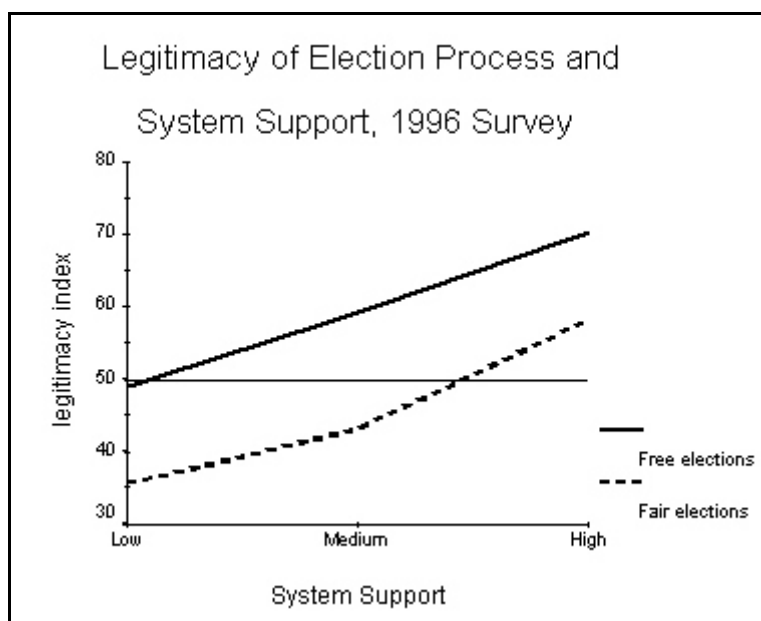


Figure I.15

⁶In order to facilitate the interpretation of this and the following chart, the 0-100 index has been divided into three categories of low, medium and high. These correspond to the values of 0-40, 40-60 and 60-100. The cut-points do not overlap, since the computer carries out the above whole numbers to at least nine decimals.

In 1998, even though overall scores on the belief in elections are higher, the relationship is as strong for both the “free” and “fair” questions as they were in 1996, and both are statistically significant. The results for 1998 are shown in Figure I.16.

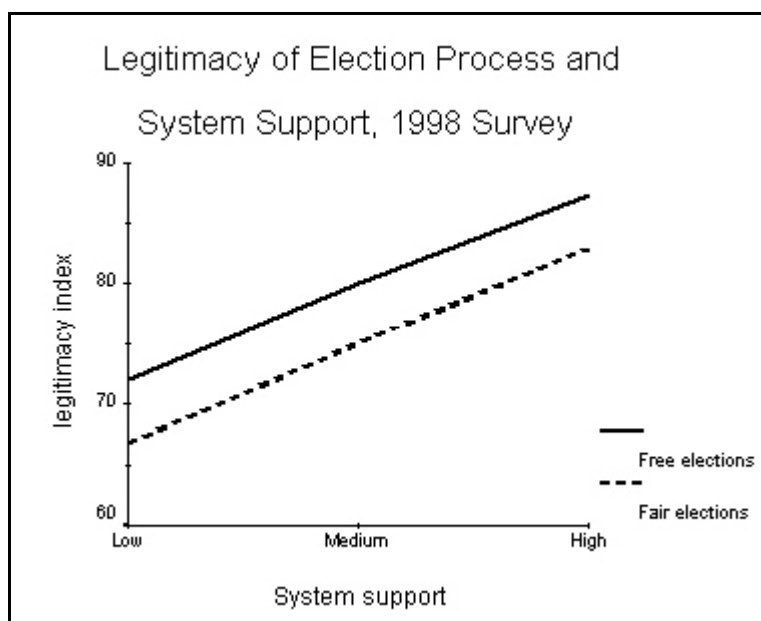
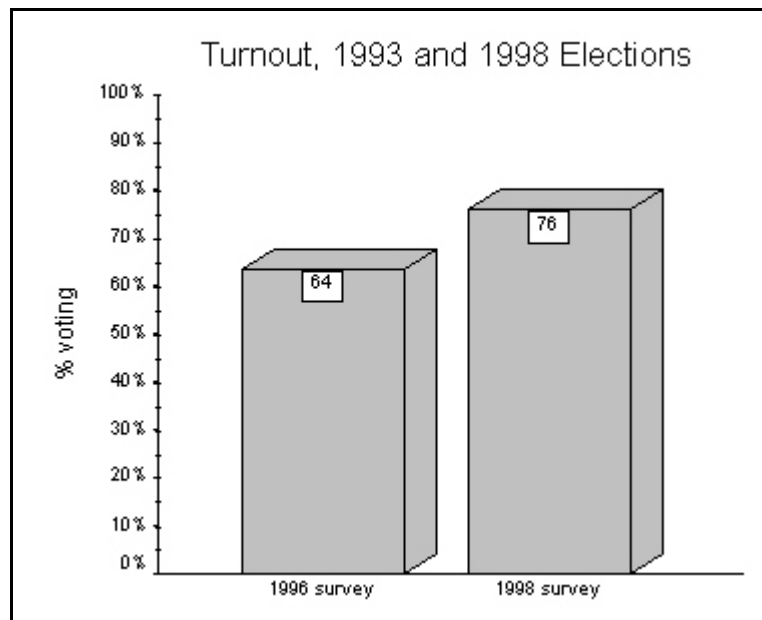


Figure I.16

Abstentionism

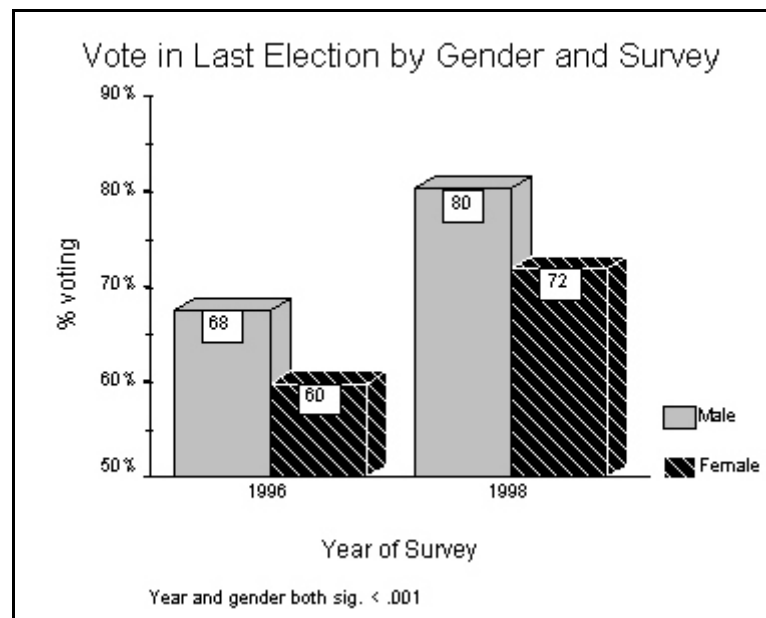
In the 1998 elections, official figures show that 80.5 % of the registered voters cast their ballot. This is certainly a very high percentage when compared to the United States, in which only about half or less of the electorate turns out. It is also an increase over the 1993 elections. In both the 1996 and 1998 surveys respondents were asked if they had voted in the last presidential election, in this case the 1993 and 1998 elections. The survey data results are shown in Figure I.17. The survey results for 1998 show that 76% of the respondents said that they had voted, slightly lower than the actual national totals, but nearly within the confidence interval (the expected level of error) of the survey. The strong increase from 1993 is noted.

**Figure I.17**

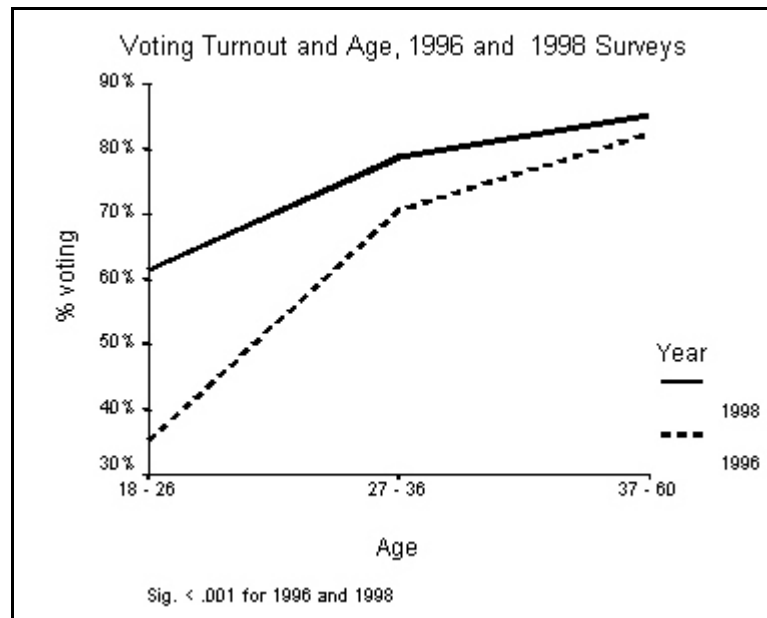
Demographic and Socio-economic Variation in Voting/Abstention

A number of demographic and socio-economic factors play a key role in determining reported turnout in both the 1996 and 1998 surveys. A multiple regression analysis found that gender, age, education and wealth (as measured by artifacts) are all important predictors of turnout for both surveys, explaining a robust 19% of the variance in 1996, when abstention was higher, and 8% when it was lower (and thus there was less variance in the dependent variable).

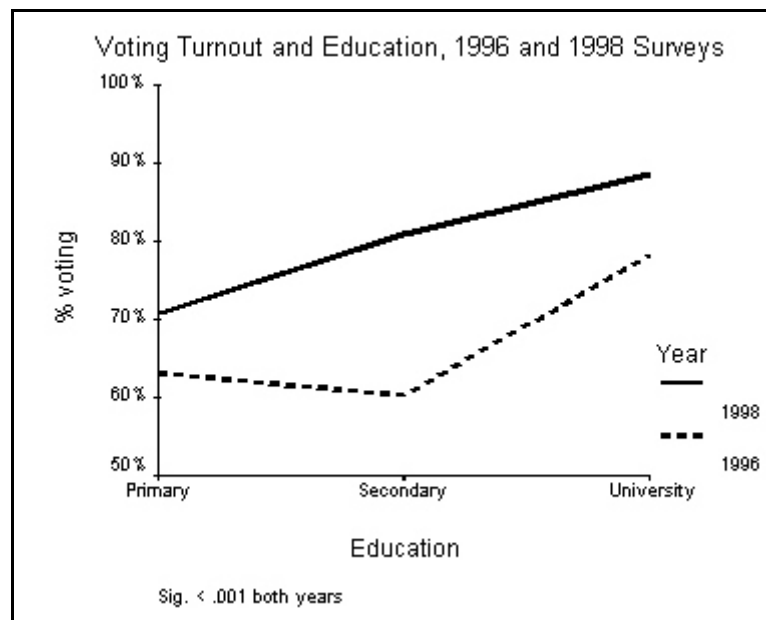
Figure I.18 shows the impact of gender on turnout. In both years, significantly more males voted than females.

**Figure I.18**

Age has an even stronger impact on turnout than does gender. As shown in Figure I.19, in both surveys, the young voted at much lower rates than the older population. In the 1996 survey, referring to the 1993 election, only about one-third of those in the 18-26 year old group voted, compared to over three-quarters of those in 37-60 cohort. In the 1998 election, the impact of age was attenuated, with over 60% of the young voting. Nonetheless, even in 1998, the young voted at a far lower rates than did the older age cohorts.

**Figure I.19**

Education is positively associated with turnout in both years, as is shown in Figure I.20. In 1998 the pattern is stronger and clearer, with those Paraguayans with a secondary education voting at higher levels than those who had earned only a primary education. The survey also shows that nearly 90% of those with a university education voted in that election.

**Figure I.20**

Wealth, as measured by the combined index of ownership of various appliances and capital goods,⁷ had a significant impact on turnout in both surveys, with the relationship being stronger in 1998. Figure I.21 shows the patterns for both years. In 1996 and 1998, those who were the poorest were least likely to vote, with about 45% abstention. In both years, as wealth increased, voting increased as well, so that in 1998, over 90% of the wealthiest respondents voted in the May, 1998 election according to the survey data. An odd pattern emerges in the 1996 data set among the very wealthiest respondents, who report voting at a lower level than would be expected. It may be that among this group of citizens, voting is considered unnecessary.

⁷Because there are too few cases in the highest categories (10 and 11 artifacts owned), for meaningful analysis, these categories were combined with category 9, leaving a scale with a range of 0-9.

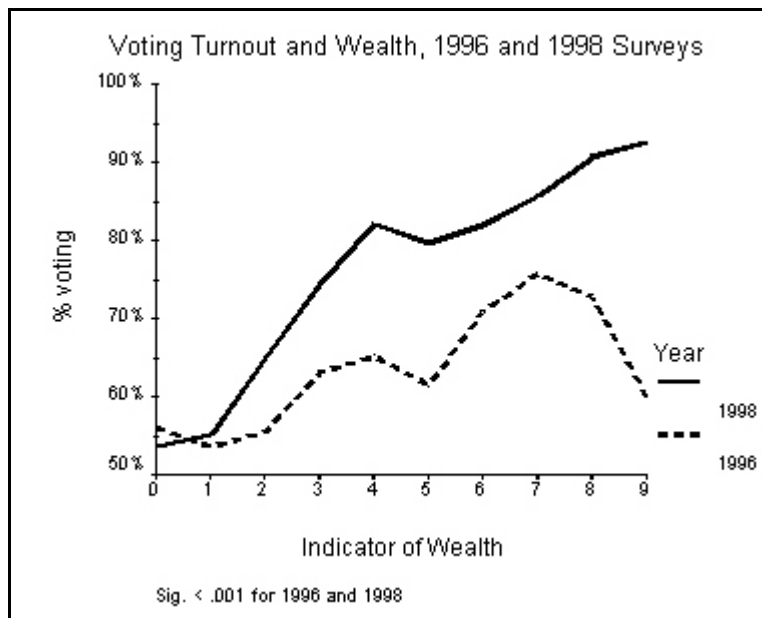


Figure I.21

The overall impact of demographic and socio-economic factors in voting turnout is shown by the multiple regression model. Logit analysis is the appropriate technique, since the dependent variable is dichotomous. The results are shown below in Tables I.1 and I.2. As can be seen, each of the terms is significant (at .05 or better), with age, education and gender having a greater impact than wealth in 1996, whereas wealth, age and gender have a greater impact than education in 1998.

Table I.1 Logistic Regression of Turnout, 1996 Data

----- Variables in the Equation -----

Variable	B	S.E.	Wald	df	Sig	R	Exp (B)
SEX	.3666	.1250	8.5973	1	.0034	.0606	1.4428
AGE	1.1955	.0837	204.2112	1	.0000	.3352	3.3054
EDUCATION	.3550	.1161	9.3480	1	.0022	.0639	1.4262
WEALTH	.0637	.0316	4.0607	1	.0439	.0338	1.0658
Constant	-2.7423	.2602	111.0421	1	.0000		

Table I.2 Logistic Regression of Turnout, 1998 Data

----- Variables in the Equation -----							
Variable	B	S.E.	Wald	df	Sig	R	Exp (B)
SEX	.4795	.1344	12.7377	1	.0004	.0827	1.6153
AGE	.7238	.0840	74.1740	1	.0000	.2143	2.0622
EDUCATION	.2867	.1375	4.3452	1	.0371	.0386	1.3320
WEALTH	.2237	.0355	39.7679	1	.0000	.1550	1.2508
Constant	-1.7876	.2689	44.1802	1	.0000		

Geographical Factors

The survey was designed to represent the major geographical areas of the country. These areas vary widely in terms of their socio-economic status, urbanization, etc. In order to examine how the regions differ, including this socio-economic variation, voting turnout is examined by region. Figure I.22 shows the results.

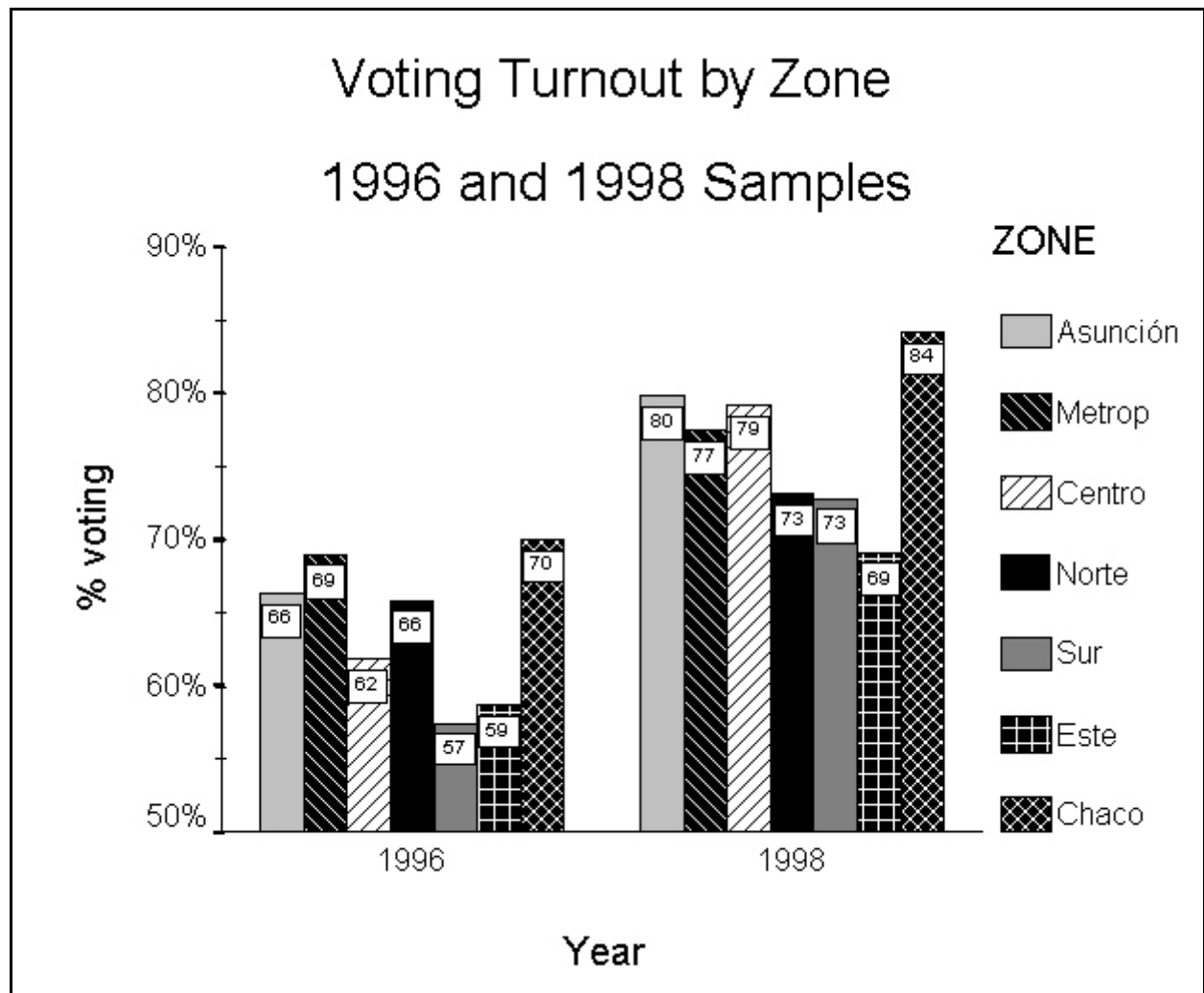
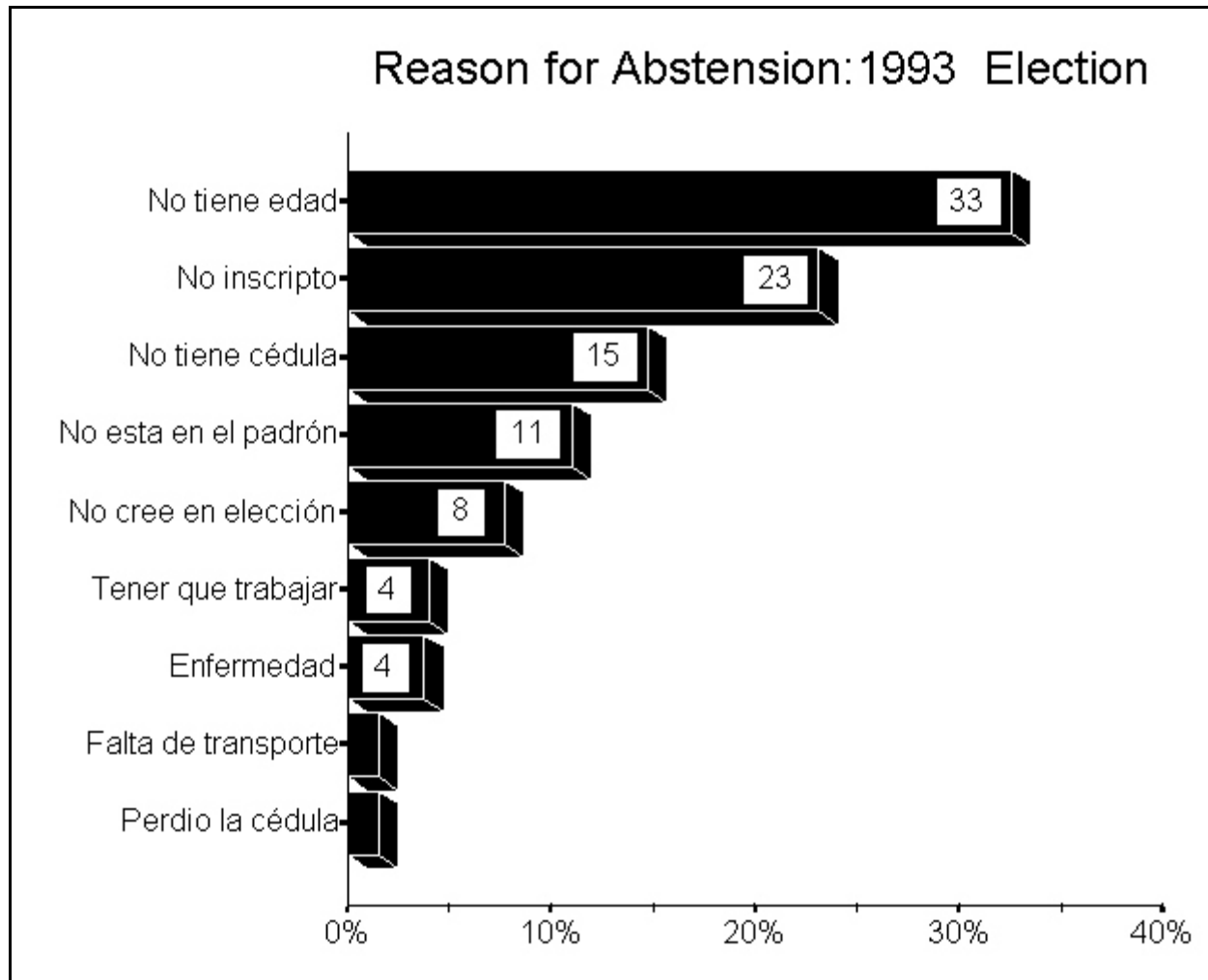


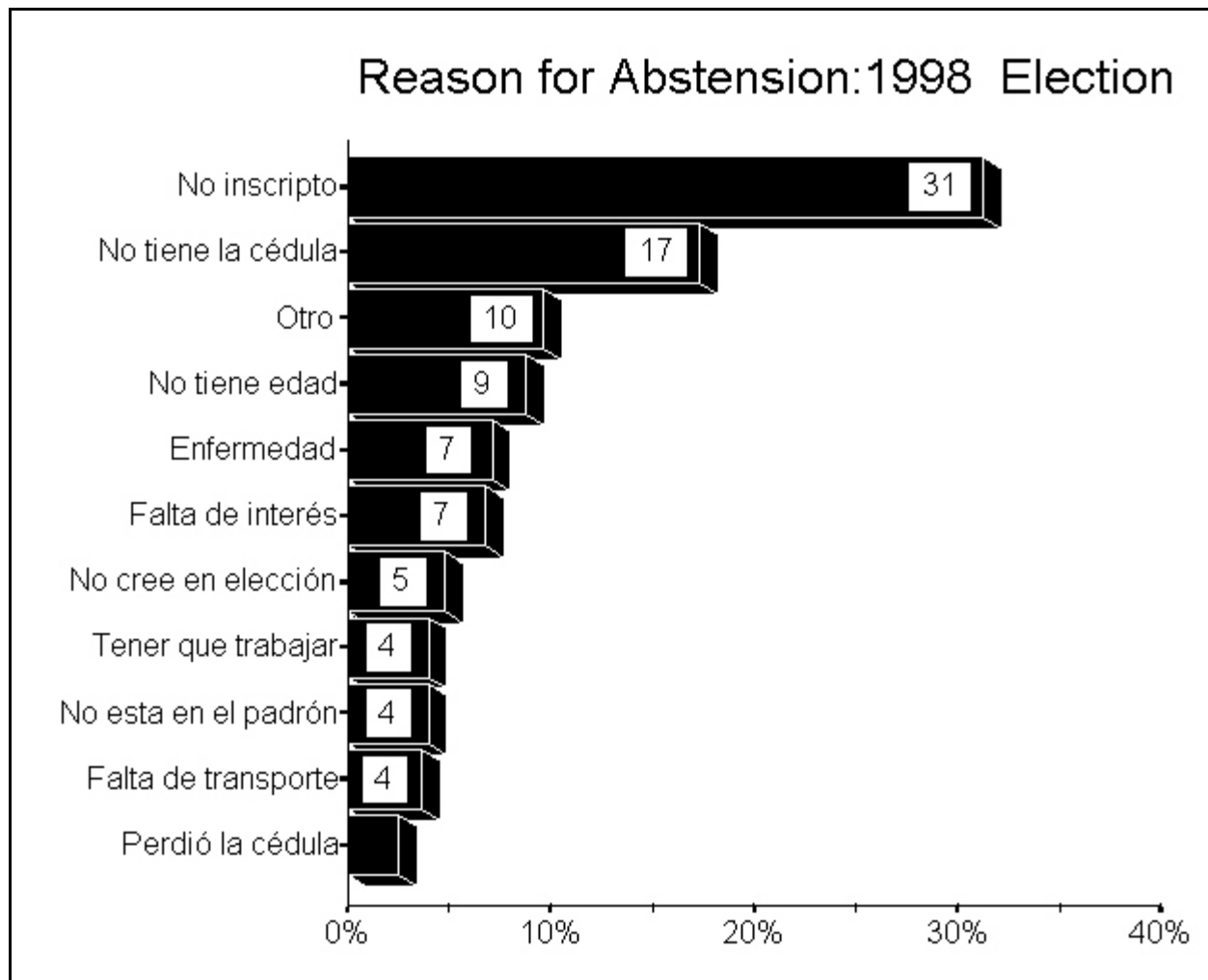
Figure I.22

Reasons for Abstention

Even though most eligible Paraguayans voted, some did not. The survey asked those respondents why they did not and found a variety of responses. The results for the 1993 presidential election (given in the 1996 survey), are shown in Figure I.23. The most common reason was not being old enough to vote or not being registered to vote (or not having an ID). These reasons alone cover 71% of the cases of non-voting. Only 8% of the respondents said that they did not believe in the election, a finding consistent with the high level of legitimacy of elections indicated earlier in this study.

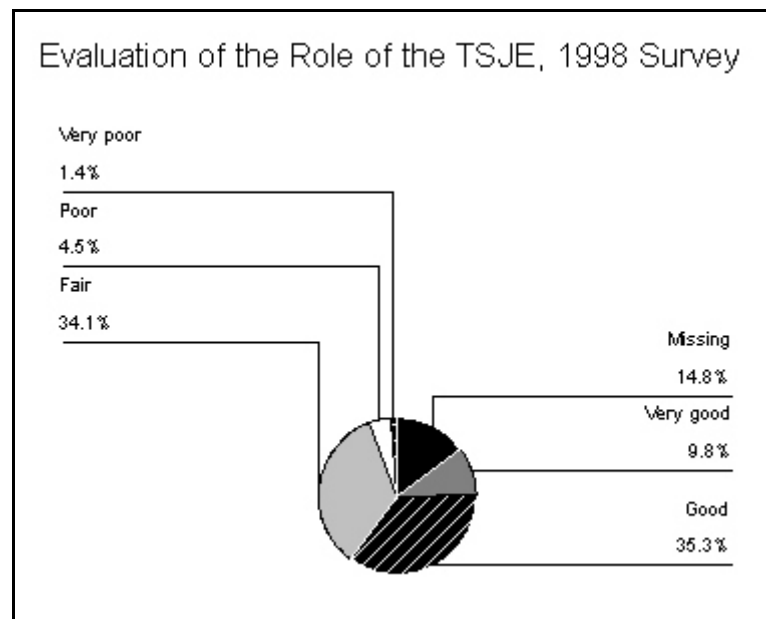
**Figure I.23**

Similar results are found for 1998, as shown in Figure I.24. The proportion who did not vote because they did not believe in the election had declined to only 5%.

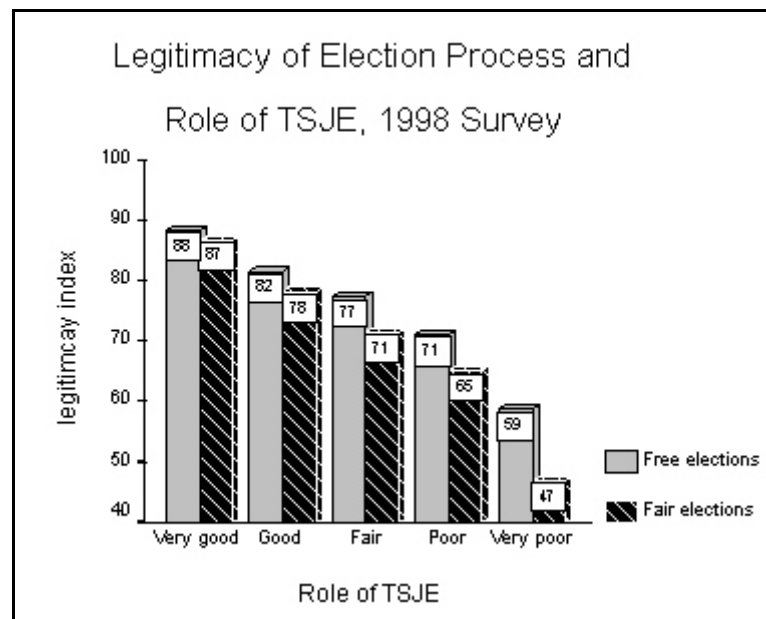
**Figure I.24**

Election Tribunal

In Paraguay, elections are supervised by the Supreme Tribunal of Electoral Justice (TSJE). In the 1998 survey, respondents were asked for their evaluation of the quality of the role that this institution played in the most recent election. As this question was not asked in 1996, no comparable data are available. The 1998 results, however, show strong support for this institution, as shown in Figure I.25. Only 5.9% of the entire sample said that the TSJE performed poorly or very poorly.

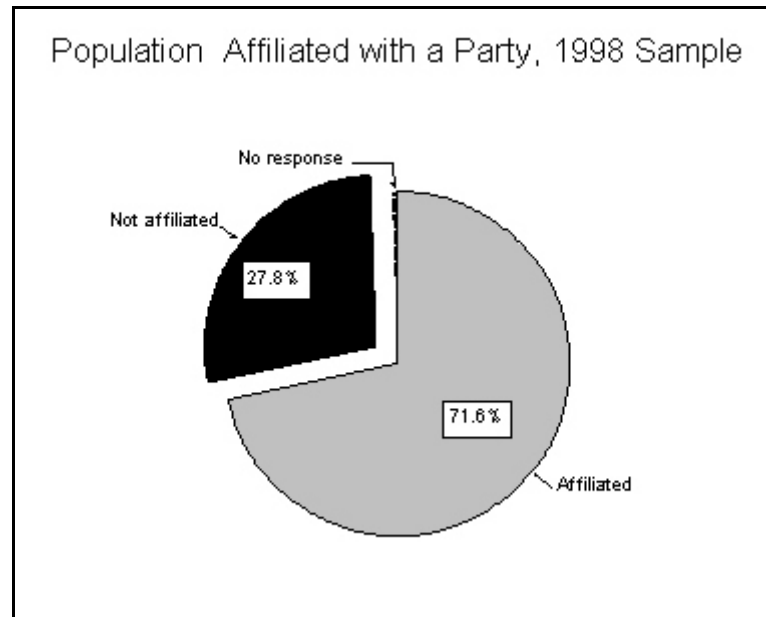
**Figure I.25**

Not surprisingly, those who believed that the elections were free and fair were also likely to give a favorable evaluation of the TSJE. Figure I.26 shows the results. Thus, the impact of the positive role of the institution of the TSJE can clearly be seen on Paraguayan belief in the legitimacy of the election process.

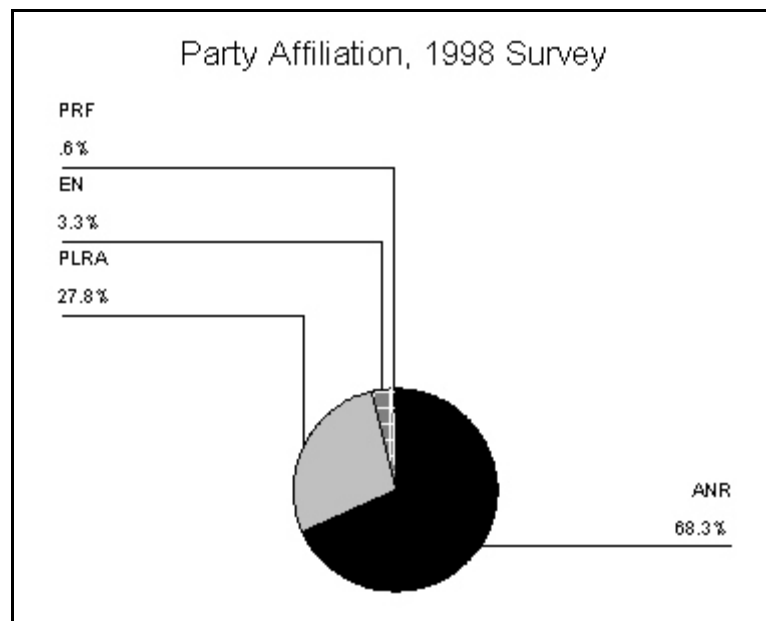
**Figure I.26**

Political Parties and Elections

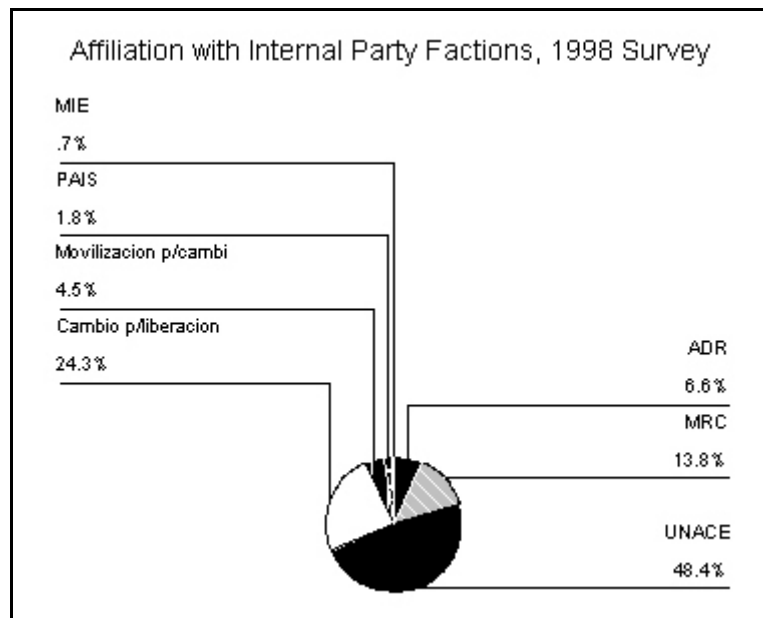
The 1998 survey expanded its focus on political parties by including a number of items not asked in 1996. In 1998, respondents were asked if they were affiliated with a political party. As can be seen in Figure I.27, nearly three-quarters of Paraguayans are affiliated with a party, a percentage that is very high by international standards.

**Figure I.27**

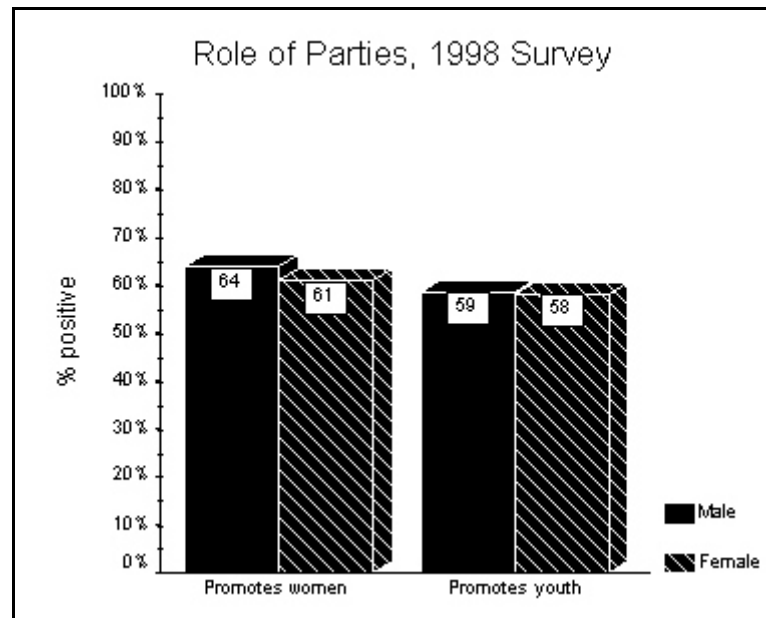
Among those who are affiliated with a political party, the ANR (i.e., Colorado) party enjoys support from the largest proportion of Paraguayans. Figure I.28 shows the breakdown of the affiliated population by party.

**Figure I.28**

Within the political parties of Paraguay, there are internal divisions. Figure I.29 shows these divisions. Within the Colorado Party, the UNACE is clearly the most popular faction, followed by the MRC and the ADR. Within the Liberals (PLRA), the “Cambio para la Liberación” faction is by far the most popular.

**Figure I.29**

Two items in the 1998 survey relate to the role of parties in promoting women and the young for political office. Respondents were asked if they believed that the parties were promoting these groups for election to office or not. A regression analysis of the impact of socio-economic and demographic factors that relate to these results did not produce any significant findings. The results are shown in Figure I.30. There we see two things. First, over 60% of respondents believe that the parties promote women for office, and slightly under 60% say that they promote the youth. Second, there is virtually no difference between men and women in their answers to these questions.

**Figure I.30**

Chapter II. Local Government and Civil Society

In the 1996 study it was shown that Paraguayans are far more likely to participate in local government than the citizens of Nicaragua or El Salvador. In a subsequent study conducted with 1998 data from Bolivia, it was found that Bolivians are also less participatory in local government than are Paraguayans.⁸ In addition, it was found that Paraguayans are more likely to make demands on local government than citizens of the other countries studied. Yet, local governments in Paraguay have small budgets and very limited resources to respond to the demands of their citizens. An important analysis of the situation of local government in Paraguay has been carried out by José Carlos Rodríguez using the 1996 survey and was reported on elsewhere.⁹ This chapter will examine changes in participation and satisfaction with local government between 1996 and 1998. It will also look at some of the new items added to the 1998 questionnaire.

Legislation governing sub-national government in Paraguay is regulated by two main laws. First, Law 1294, known as the Ley Orgánica Municipal, was approved by the Congress in December, 1987. This law, therefore, dates back to the period under Stroessner and it regulates virtually all of municipal action. Departmental governance, however, is regulated by Law 426, which was approved by the Senate in September, 1994. Paraguay is divided into 212 districts, each of which is considered a separate municipality. Some of these are very small, with fifty municipalities having fewer than 5,000 residents.¹⁰

What has changed dramatically in Paraguay is the introduction of democratic elections at the municipal level. The May 1991 elections were the first to allow for the direct election of mayors, a sharp contrast with a century-long tradition of the central government appointing the heads of local government. In addition, the 1991 elections were the first to allow for proportional representation rather than winner-take-all. The significance of this reform is that multiparty rule at the local level became possible for the

⁸Mitchell A. Seligson, *The Political Culture of Democracy in Bolivia, 1998*, Report for the United States Agency for International Development, Bolivia (La Paz, Bolivia, 1998).

⁹José Carlos Rodríguez, "Revolución y conformismo: la confianza en los municipios." En *Transición en Paraguay: Cultura Política y Valores Democráticos*, ed. Agustín Carrizosa, (Asunción, Paraguay: CIRD, 1998).

¹⁰See R. Andrew Nickson, *Local Government in Latin America* (Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 1995).

first time, whereas previously the Colorado Party had complete control of the system. In that first election, the Colorado Party won 43 municipalities.¹¹

Voting Behavior

In 1998 a new question was inserted to measure voting in the municipal elections of 1996. Since the subject of voting in this election was not covered in the chapter of this report on elections, it will be briefly dealt with here.

Figure II.1 shows that voting increased notably from one sample to the other. In 1996 respondents were asked about their vote in the May, 1991 elections, whereas in the 1998 survey they were asked about their vote in the November, 1996 municipal elections.

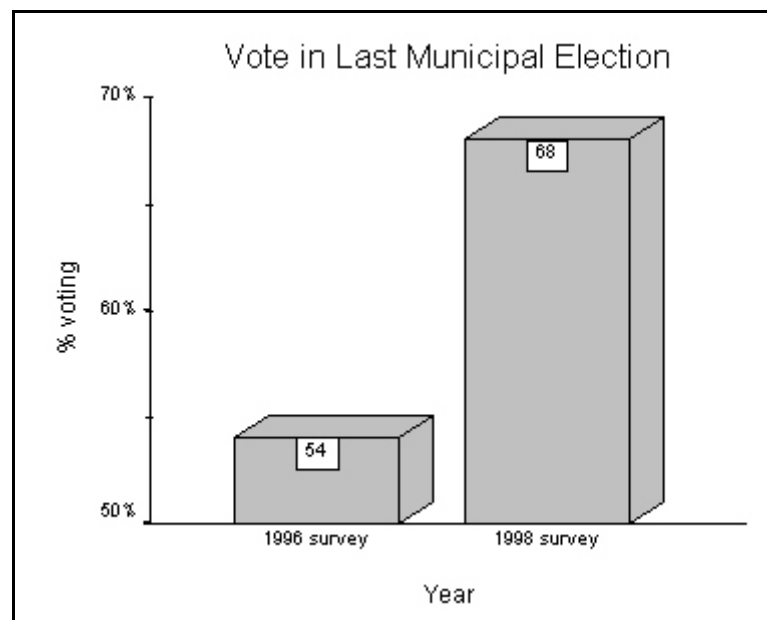


Figure II.1

¹¹Nickson, p. 229.

Satisfaction with Municipal and Departmental Government

Unlike many other countries in Latin America, Paraguay has two levels of elected government below that of the central government. At the most local level there is the municipality. These governments are common to virtually all of Latin America. But since 1993 Paraguay has also held elections for the position of governor of each department, as well as for “Juntas Departamentales.”

The 1996/98 data¹² on satisfaction with local government is shown in Figure II.2. Several findings merit comment. First, in both survey years, satisfaction with departmental government is notably higher than with municipal government. This is unusual since satisfaction with the government closest to the citizen is often the highest. Second, satisfaction has declined since 1996, but the drop is small for municipal government and insignificant for departmental government.

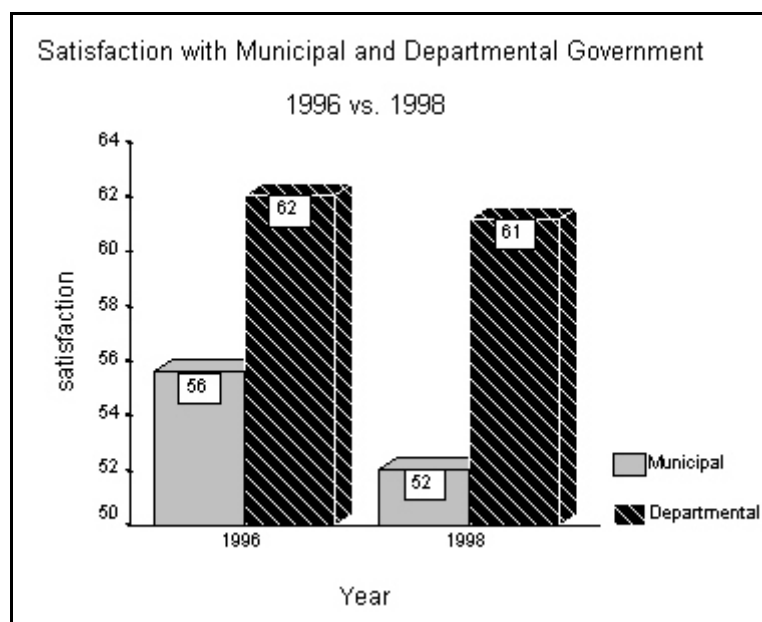


Figure II.2

Despite the modest decline in satisfaction with municipal services, the strong links between this level of satisfaction and support for the system of government at the national

¹²Note that in the brief report presented to USAID in December, 1998, a rounding error was made on SGL1 for the 1998 data set. The score reported was 53, but the correct score should have been 52.

level remain. Figure II.3 shows the results, in which 1996 and 1998 are compared. The pattern is virtually the same for both years, with minor variation at the upper and lower levels.



Figure II.3

A very similar pattern is found in satisfaction with departmental government, as is shown in Figure II.4.

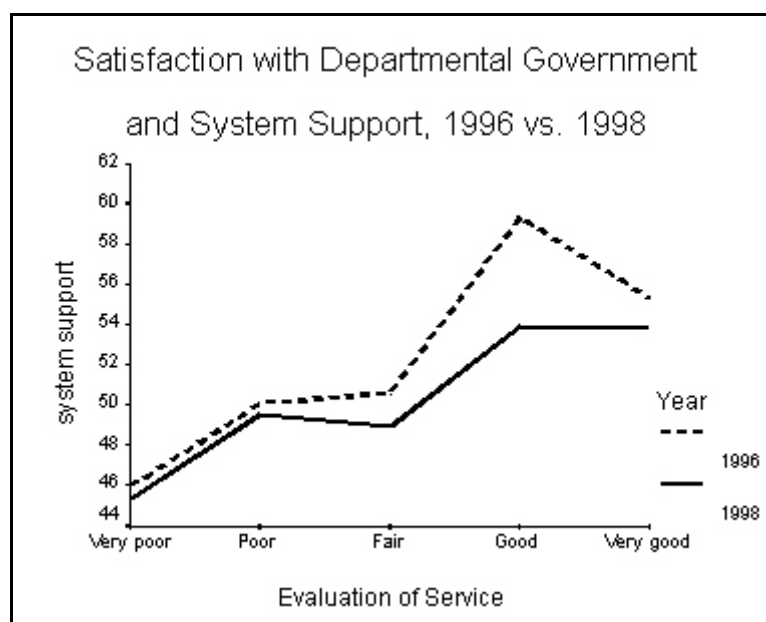


Figure II.4

Taken together, these findings suggest quite strongly that increased system support can be achieved via increasing satisfaction with municipal and departmental services. This can be demonstrated statistically by creating a composite variable of satisfaction with local and departmental services.¹³ This composite index reflects the joint effect of satisfaction at the municipal level and satisfaction at the departmental level. The results in Table II.1 (examine the coefficients that are in bold type) show that the composite index of satisfaction with municipal and departmental government has a stronger correlation with system support than does either variable alone. For example, in 1996 the composite index has a correlation coefficient of .204 with system support, whereas departmental satisfaction alone is .159 and municipal satisfaction alone is .160. Perhaps even more important, the strength of the association increases substantially in 1998 as compared to 1996.

¹³Technically, this is an interactive term, multiplying the two variables together.

Table II.1 Correlations of Satisfaction with Local/Departmental Government with System Support

Year			System support	Composite index	Satisfaction with Departmental Services	Satisfaction with municipal services
1996	Composite Index	Pearson Correlation	.204		.720	.835
		Sig. (2-tailed)	.000		.000	.000
		N	752	773	731	772
	Department	Pearson Correlation	.159	.720	1.000	.294
		Sig. (2-tailed)	.000	.000	.	.000
		N	724	731	745	730
	Municipality	Pearson Correlation	.160	.835	.294	
		Sig. (2-tailed)	.000	.000	.000	
		N	1311	772	730	1392
1998	Composite index	Pearson Correlation	.258		.675	.852
		Sig. (2-tailed)	.000		.000	.000
		N	883	926	862	924
	Department	Pearson Correlation	.108	.675		.258
		Sig. (2-tailed)	.002	.000		.000
		N	857	862	900	860
	Municipality	Pearson Correlation	.209	.852	.258	1.000
		Sig. (2-tailed)	.000	0	.000	.
		N	1302	924	860	1389

All correlations significant at the <0.01 level or better.

Coordination Among Levels of Government

In the 1998 survey, three new questions were added to the questionnaire. The first of these asked the respondent to evaluate the quality of the coordination of activities that exists between the municipality and the central government. Figure II.5 shows the results. What most stands out from this figure is that nearly half of all respondents have no opinion. While this is an unusually high proportion of non-response in survey data, especially for the Paraguayan study in which most people answered most questions, it is understandable. After all, the question asks respondents to give an opinion about a topic about which most people are very unfamiliar. How is one to know if the inter-governmental coordination is good or bad, unless one works in local or central government? This high level of non-opinion also helps give us confidence in the validity of the other survey items, for which non-opinion was much lower. In any event, among those with an opinion, more are favorable than unfavorable.

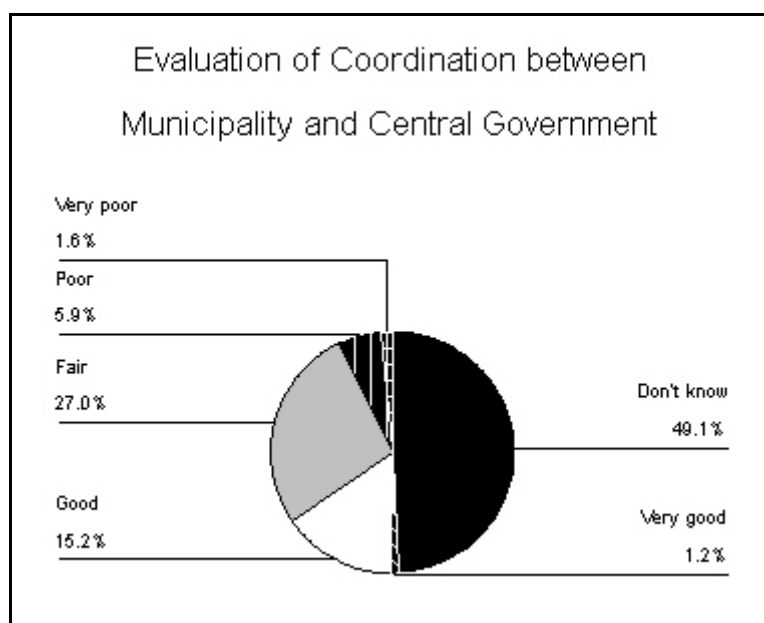
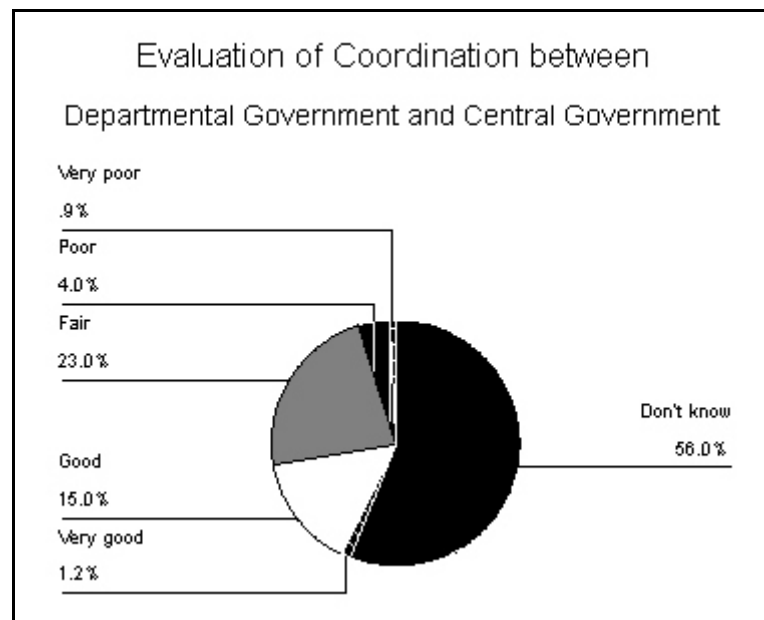


Figure II.5

The second item measures respondent evaluation of coordination between departmental government and the central government (see Figure II.6). Here non-response was even higher. Again, this was to be expected, given how remote this matter is from the average individual. It is to be noted that among those who had an opinion, the positive views outweighed the negative views.

**Figure II.6**

The final item in the series looks at coordination between municipal and departmental government. Figure II.7 shows the results. The pattern is very similar to the previous two questions. The large proportion of missing data in these three items makes it very difficult to conduct further analysis on them. That is because the missing data are non-random. For example, those with higher education are more likely to have answered the items than those with little education. As a result, it is hard to determine the impact of education on the evaluation of coordination among the various levels of government other than to say that it affects non-response. In future surveys, it is best to avoid questions in which pre-tests show a high level of non-response.

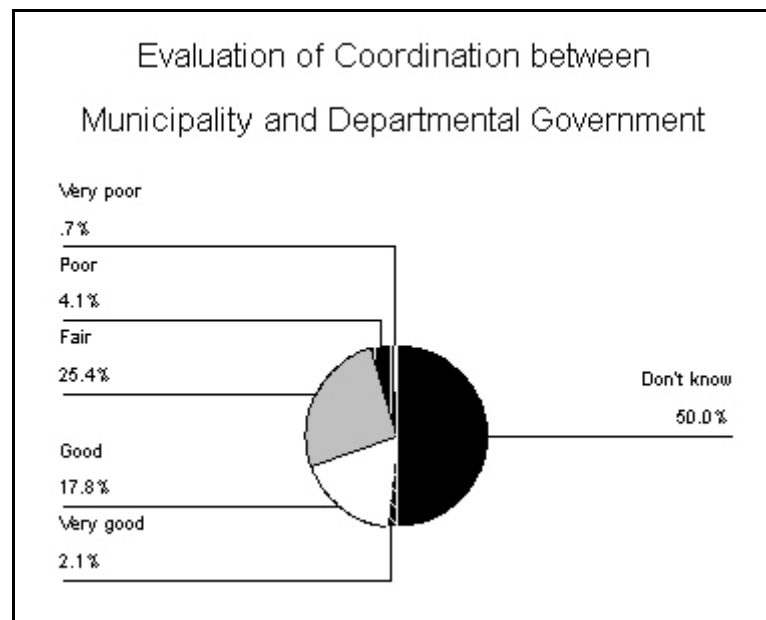
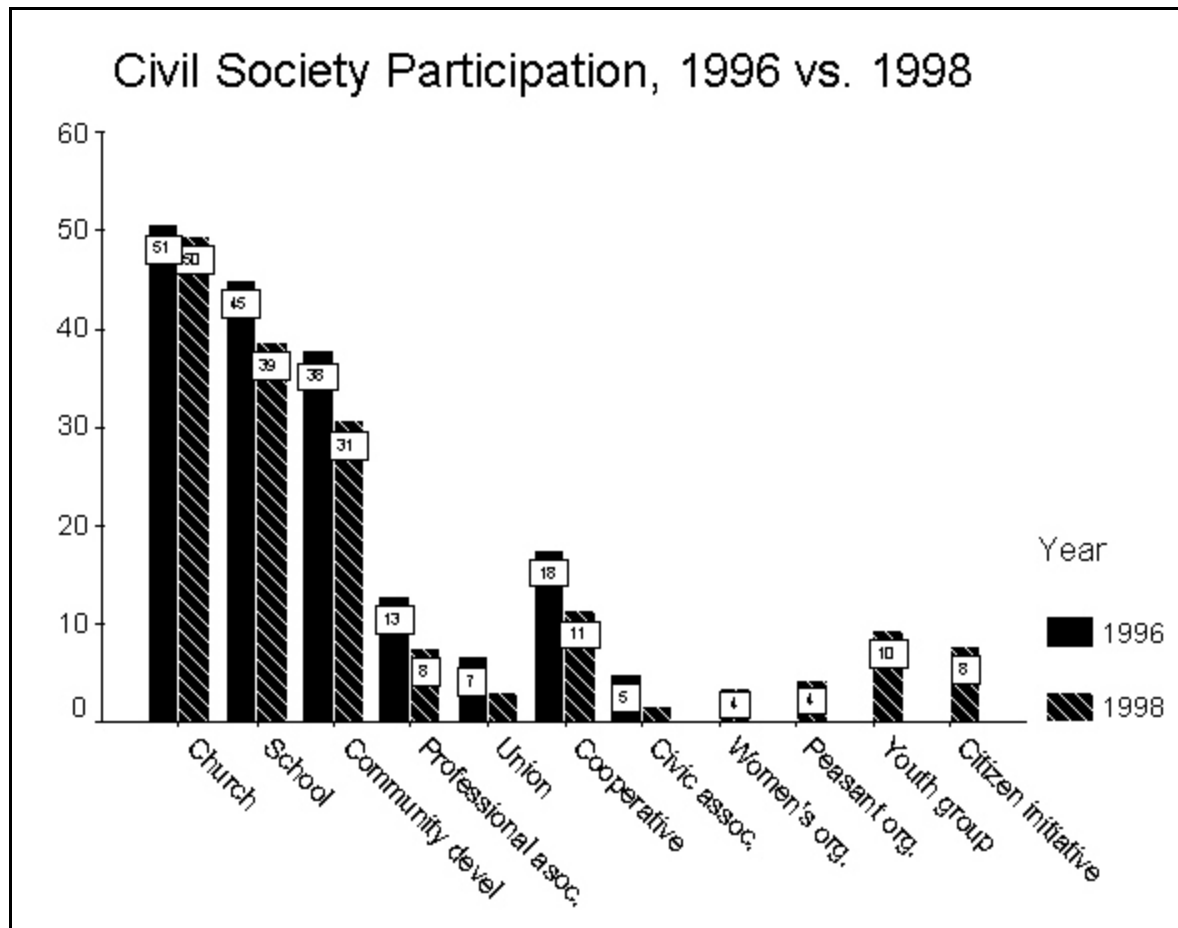


Figure II.7

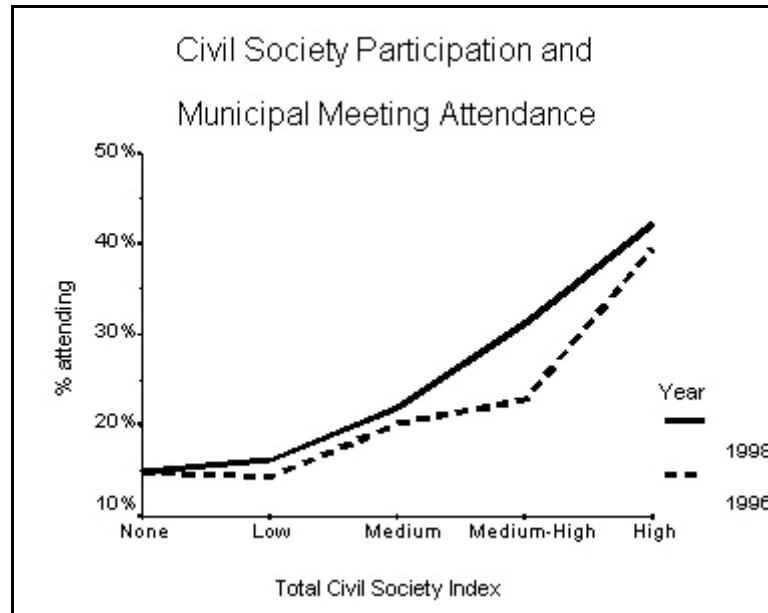
Government

Civil Society and Local

Civil society organizations help organize and channel citizen demands on government. It is vitally important for local (and departmental) government in Paraguay to be receptive to citizen demands and not view them as an illegitimate and mettlesome interference in their decision-making process. In the 1998 survey, a series of new organizations was added to the list of those studied in 1996. These new organizations are: women's organizations, peasant organizations, youth organizations, and NGOs that promote citizen initiatives. Figure II.8 compares 1996 with 1998. Three findings stand out. First, between 1996 and 1998 civil society participation declined in Paraguay. The declines are not especially large, but they are statistically significant in all cases except for church participation. Second, the new items added in 1998 do measure a lot of participation not counted in 1996, except for the youth groups. Third, women's organizations seem especially low in participation in Paraguay, with a score of "4" on the 0-100 scale. Indeed, 95% of respondents did not participate (scale score of 0) in these groups.

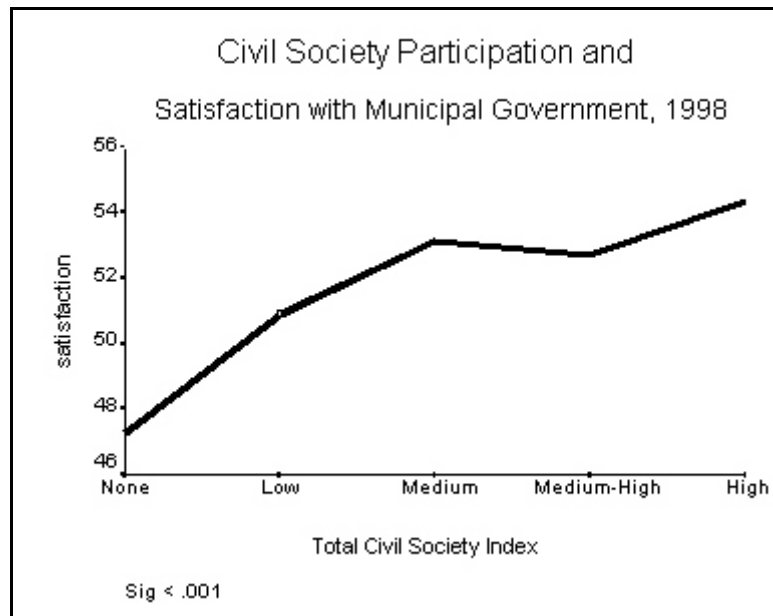
**Figure II.8**

Does civil society participation link to participation in local government? Most definitely "yes." Figure II.9 shows that for both 1996 and 1998, the patterns are nearly identical. Among those who are completely inactive in civil society, only about 15% have attended a municipal meeting in the last year. On the other hand, among those who are very active in civic groups, attendance at municipal meetings reaches nearly 40%.

**Figure II.9**

The key issue, however, is the impact of civil society participation on satisfaction with local government. Figure II.10 shows that for 1998 (with the full set of 11 indicators included), there is a direct and statistically significant relationship of greater participation with greater satisfaction.¹⁴

¹⁴The total civil society participation index is comprised of the 11 items discussed above. If a respondent did not reply to seven or more of the 11 items, the case was considered missing. Otherwise, the score was the average of the non-missing questions for each respondent.

**Figure II.10**

Chapter III. Administration of Justice

World-wide, it has become increasingly recognized that unless citizens can expect to receive just treatment from their judicial systems they will not be fully supportive of their political systems. Thus, elections alone, even when free and fair, are not enough to win the support of citizens for democratic rule. Paraguay has had a long history of serious problems with its judicial system. In this chapter the perceptions that Paraguayans have of their judicial system are analyzed.

The 1998 survey contained three key questions regarding the justice system, one of which was also asked in 1996. The first item (B1) is perhaps the most direct and central. It measures the extent to which Paraguayans believe that they can get a fair trial. In the period 1996-1998 there have been several high profile court decisions, not the least of which concerned the very question of eligibility for the position of head of state. The decision of the court was highly controversial within Paraguay. These decisions, no doubt, left their impact on citizen perception of the court system. The comparison of 1996 with 1998 are shown in Figure III.1 As can be seen, confidence in the ability of the Paraguayan courts to guarantee a fair trial dropped significantly. This item is scaled in a 0-100 range, with a score of 50 or over presumed to represent the positive end of the continuum. As can be seen, neither in 1996 or in 1998 did the average opinion come close to this level.

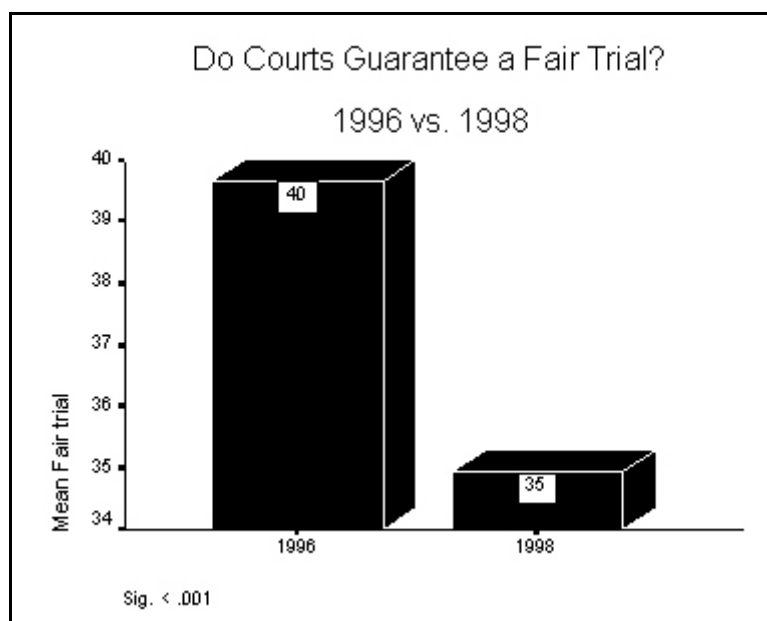


Figure III.1

The second and third items in the series are new to the 1998 survey, and therefore there is no comparable data. The first of these items (B30), however, was scaled identically to the above-analyzed item on fair trials, so comparisons can be made with that item. Figure III.2 compares the 1998 data for the fair trial item to a question measuring degree of trust in the Paraguayan Supreme Court, the institution that denied General Oviedo's right to run for the presidency of the country. As can be seen, confidence in the Supreme Court is substantially higher than confidence in the right of individuals to get a fair trial.

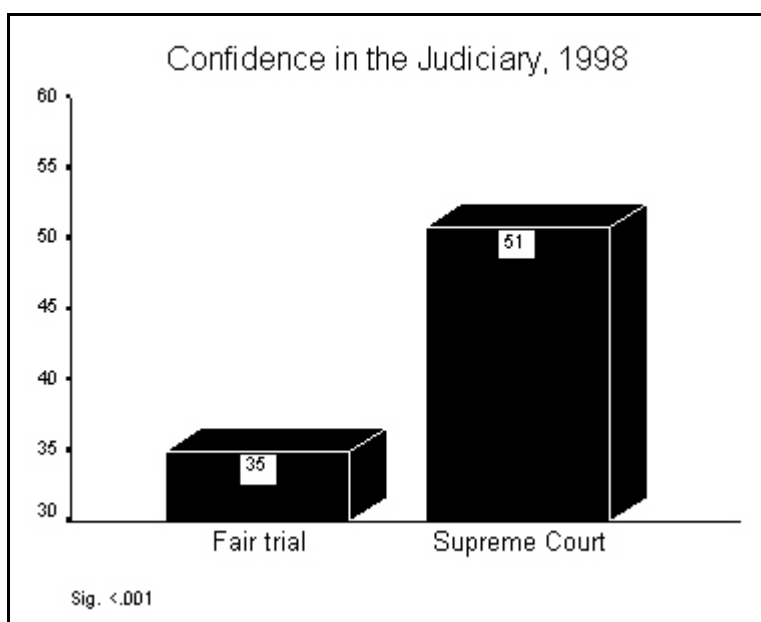


Figure III.2

The last item in this series was also asked only in 1998. This item (JUS1) asked for the respondent to provide an overall assessment of the administration of justice in Paraguay. It was asked on a 1-5 choice scale, the results of which are presented in Figure III.3. The results present a mixed picture, with a somewhat larger proportion of the sample providing a negative answer ("very poor" or "poor"), compared to a positive answer ("very good" or "good"). Most respondents answered in the middle.

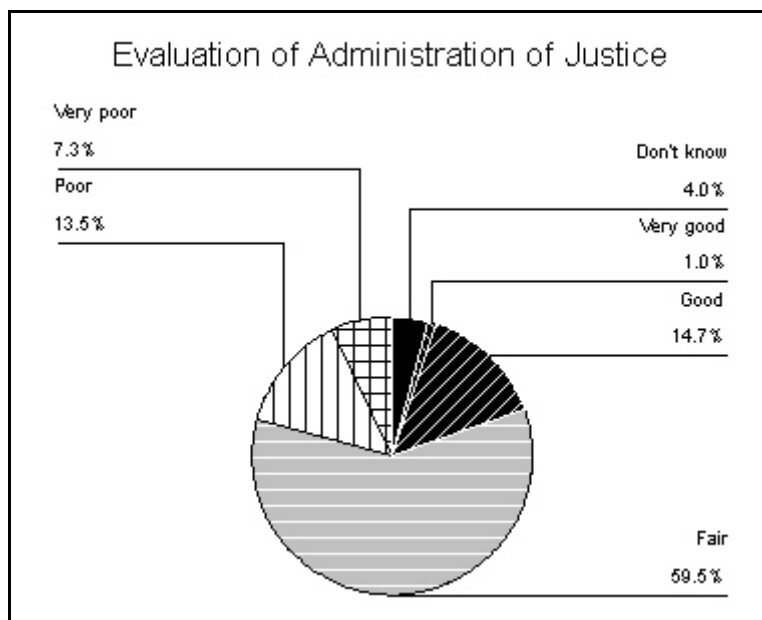


Figure III.3

Explaining Opinions on the Justice System

The above analysis presents a rather mixed picture of Paraguayan views of the justice system. What factors explain why some Paraguayans are more positive about the system than others? In order to answer this question, the first two items analyzed will be utilized primarily because the third item, the one directly asking about the administration of justice, found that nearly 60% of the respondents were “on the fence,” that is, they responded in the middle category. The first two items, however, the one on the prospects for getting a fair trial and the one measuring confidence in the Supreme Court, exhibit a much wider dispersion of views and therefore facilitate the task of explanation. In fact, these two items are very strongly related to each other ($r = .34$, $\text{sig.} < .001$). Since only in 1998 were both items asked, analysis will be confined to the 1998 sample.

Important regional differences emerge on support for the Supreme Court. Figure III.4 shows that support is far lower in Asunción and the surrounding metropolitan areas than it is elsewhere in the country. This is not a function of the higher levels of education

in Paraguay's capital since education plays no role in determining attitudes on the Supreme Court. It is also not an urban/rural difference, since that variable also has no impact.¹⁵

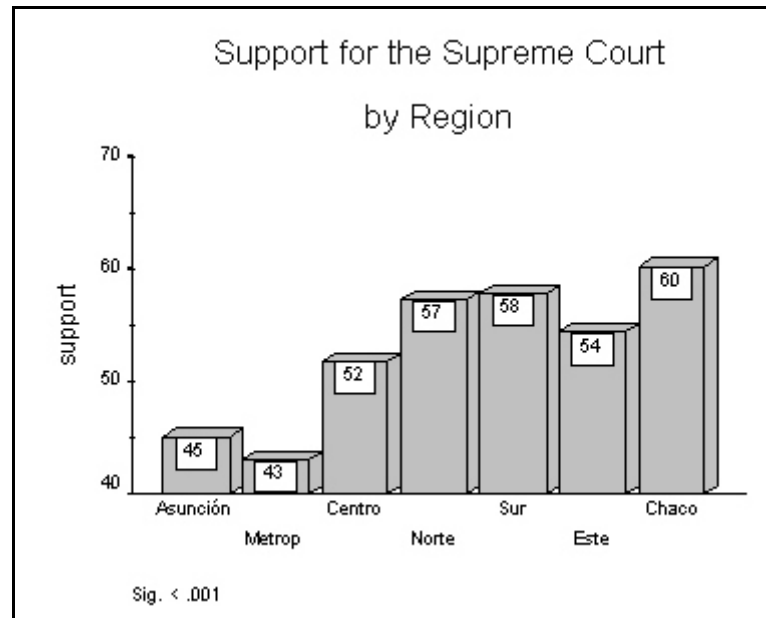
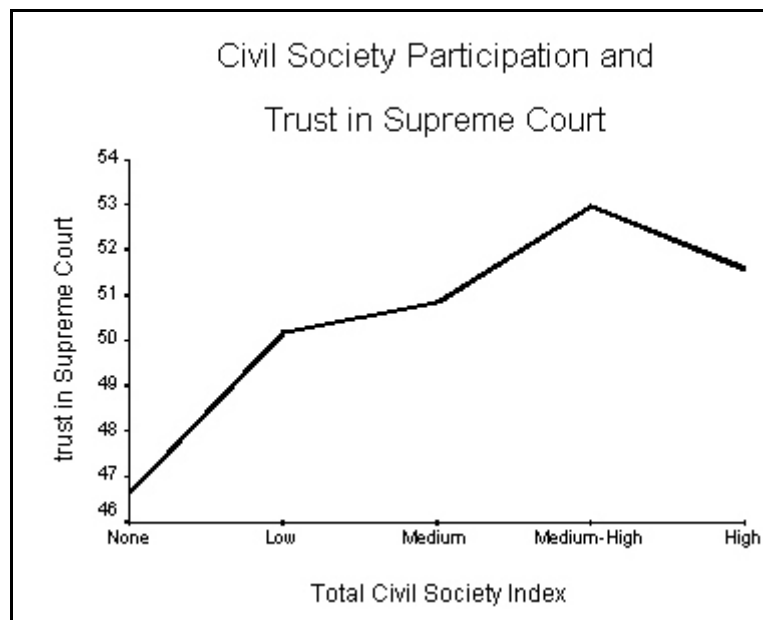


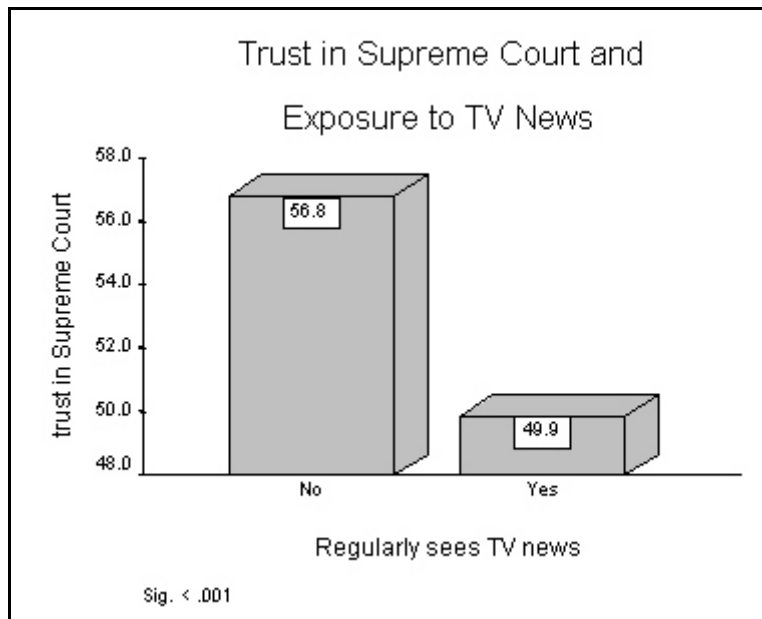
Figure III.4

An individual's participation in civil society tends to increase his/her support for the judiciary, especially for the Supreme Court, but the relationship is not a strong one. Figure III.5 shows the results.

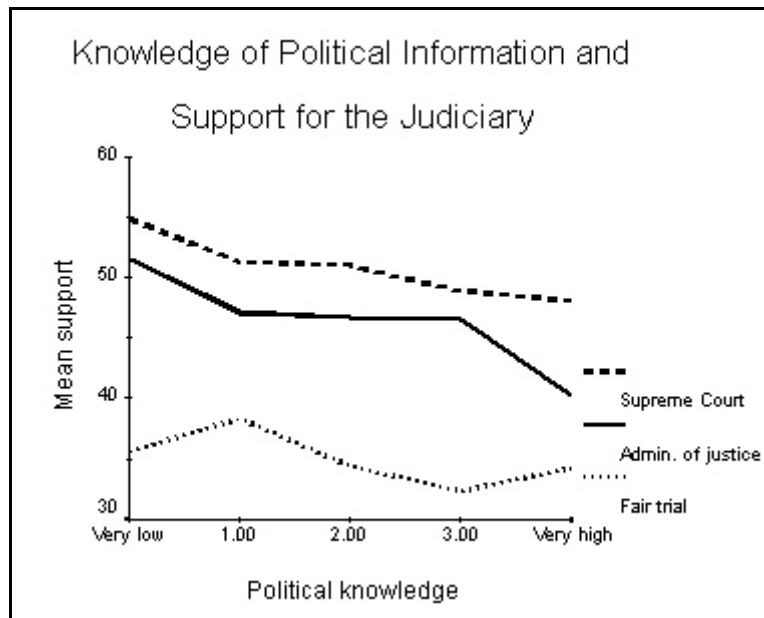
¹⁵These conclusions were determined by OLS regression, but are not shown here for space reasons.

**Figure III.5**

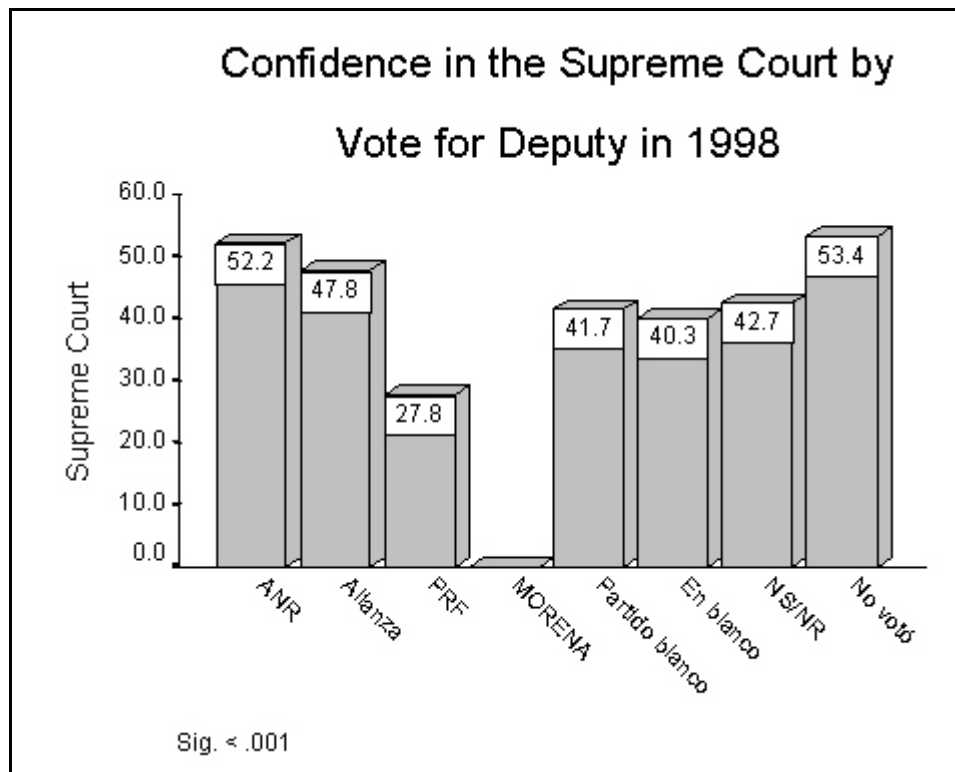
Trust in the Supreme Court also is affected by attentiveness to TV news, but not in the way perhaps most development practitioners would desire. Exposure to TV news **decreases** support for the court to a statistically significant degree, as is shown in Figure III.6. Perhaps negative publicity surrounding the Oviedo decision causes this relationship, but since we do not have data on the Supreme Court from the 1996 survey, we cannot test this hypothesis.

**Figure III.6**

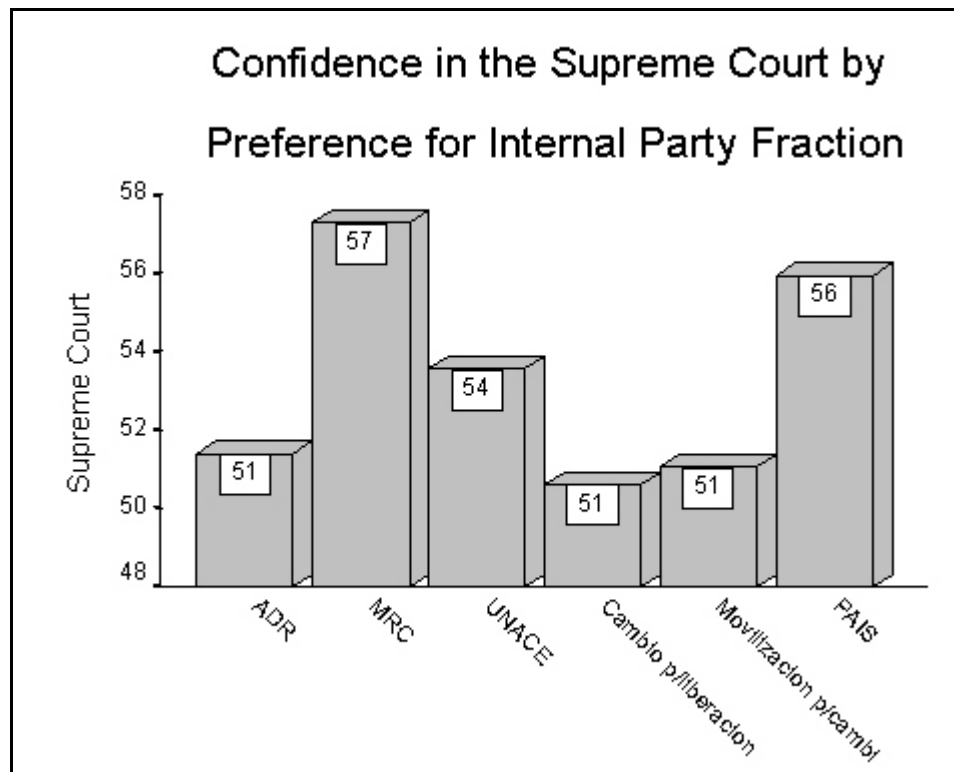
This finding, however, is complemented by a more general set of findings regarding the degree to which a respondent is informed and his/her evaluation of the judiciary. The questionnaire concluded with a series of items measuring knowledge of key political facts (e.g., knowing the name of the president of Brazil). An index of these items (see GI series) shows that a higher knowledge level is associated with lower support for each of our measures of the judiciary, although the relationship is not especially strong (see "fair trial item). Figure III.7 shows the results.

**Figure III.7**

The final area of analysis of confidence in the judiciary relates to the impact of partisan preference. Figure III.8 shows these preferences by vote for deputy in the May, 1998 election. As can be seen, the Colorado (ANR) voters are more confident in the Supreme Court than are the Alianza voters, but the difference is very small. On the other hand, the Febrerista (PRF) voters are far less trusting of the Court. It is not surprising that those who voted “en blanco” (i.e., a null ballot), or who gave no opinion to the interviewer, had lower trust. Those who did not vote, however, were quite trusting, perhaps an indication that this group consists of the very young and the very old.

**Figure III.8**

Within the parties even smaller differences are found in confidence in the Supreme Court. Figure III.9 shows minor differences among each of the factions.

**Figure III.9**

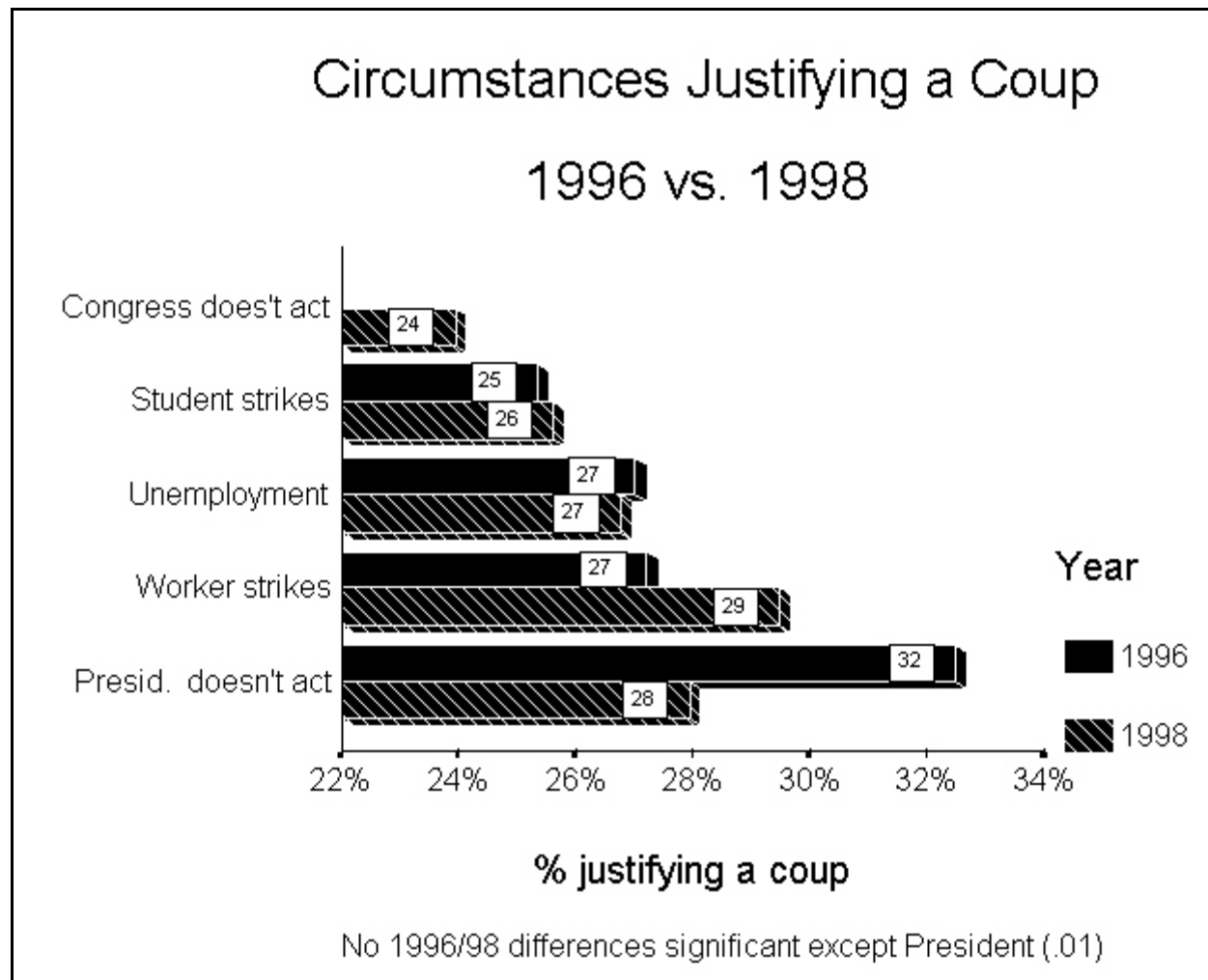
Chapter IV. Support for Anti-Democratic Behavior

Paraguay has had a long history of military rule. While it may seem to some that this rule was unilaterally imposed on the population, in fact the study of the 1996 data set showed that a significant minority of Paraguayans justified military take-overs in a wide variety of circumstances and saw benefits to military rule over civilian rule. Since 1996 the question of the role of the military in politics has taken on greater importance. The “Oviedo Affair” demonstrated quite clearly that threats to civilian democracy were not entirely a problem of the past. In this chapter, support for military rule as well as support for other anti-democratic behaviors is examined.

Support for a Coup

The key series of questions (JC1-JC11) in the area of support for a military take-over (i.e., a coup d’etat) posed the following hypothetical question to the respondents. “Some people say that it is justifiable, under certain circumstances, for the military to take power. In your opinion, a military take-over would be justified or unjustified when... 1) unemployment is very high; 2) if the President does not fulfill his duties; 3) if there were many university student strikes; 4) if there were many strikes of unionized workers. In 1998, an additional item was added to this series: if the Congress stops fulfilling its duties.

The comparisons between 1996 and 1998 are shown in Figure IV.1. Three findings emerge. First, about one-quarter of the Paraguayan population would justify a military take-over, irrespective of the kind of problem that emerges. Second, there was no significant change in support for a coup (increase or decrease) in most of the hypothetical situations. Third, support for a coup against the President when he/she does not fulfill his/her functions declined significantly between 1996 and 1998. Indeed, support for a coup for non-fulfillment of functions of the president dropped from nearly one-third of the population in 1996 to 28% in 1998. This finding suggests that the Oviedo Affair may have been responsible for the decline, a subject that will be explored later in this chapter.

**Figure IV.1**

In the prior report on the 1996 survey, it was found that gender and education were two factors related to support for a coup. Females were more supportive, and the more highly educated were less supportive. Education is also clearly related to coup support in 1998, as is shown in Figure IV.2, with higher education linked to lower coup support.

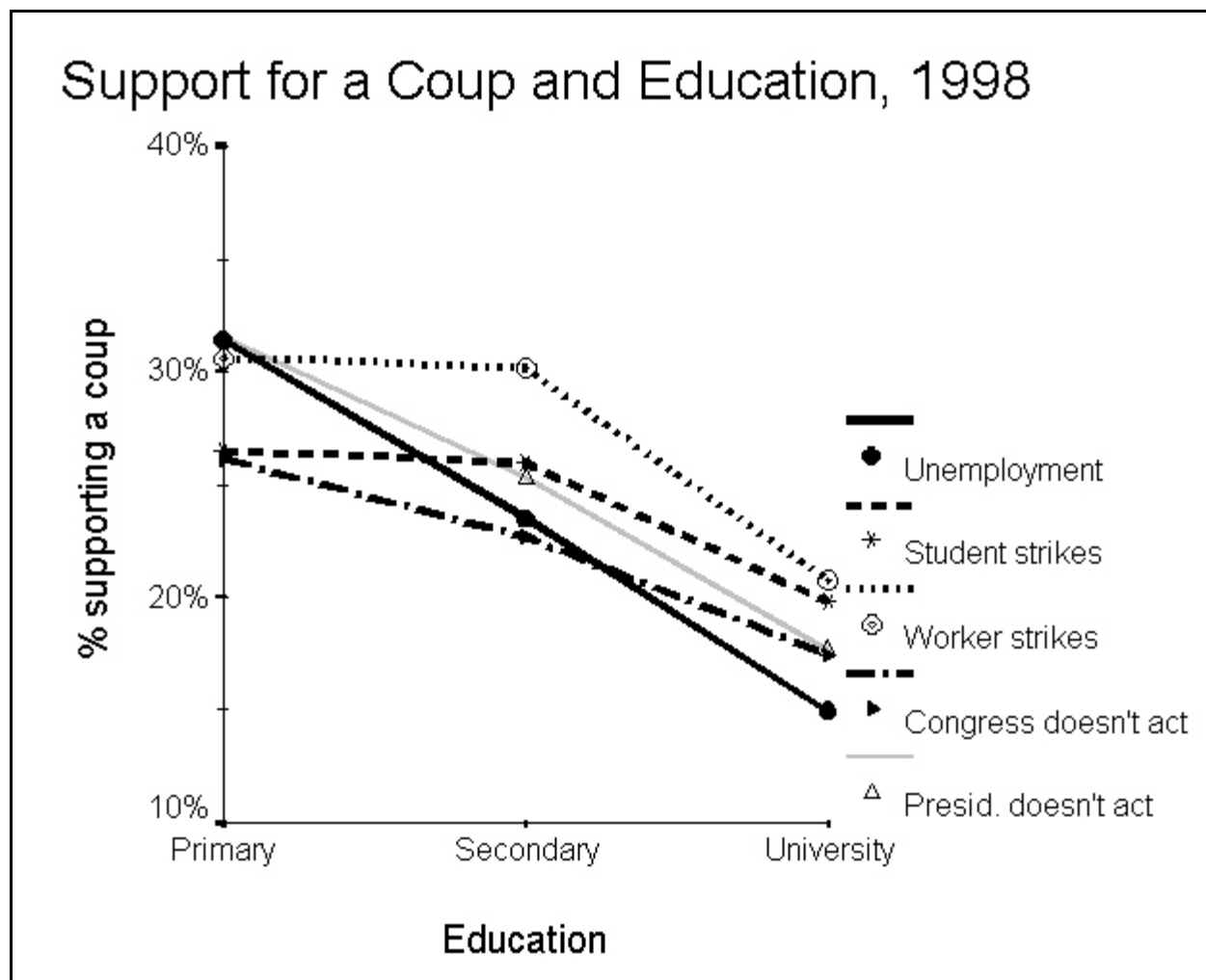
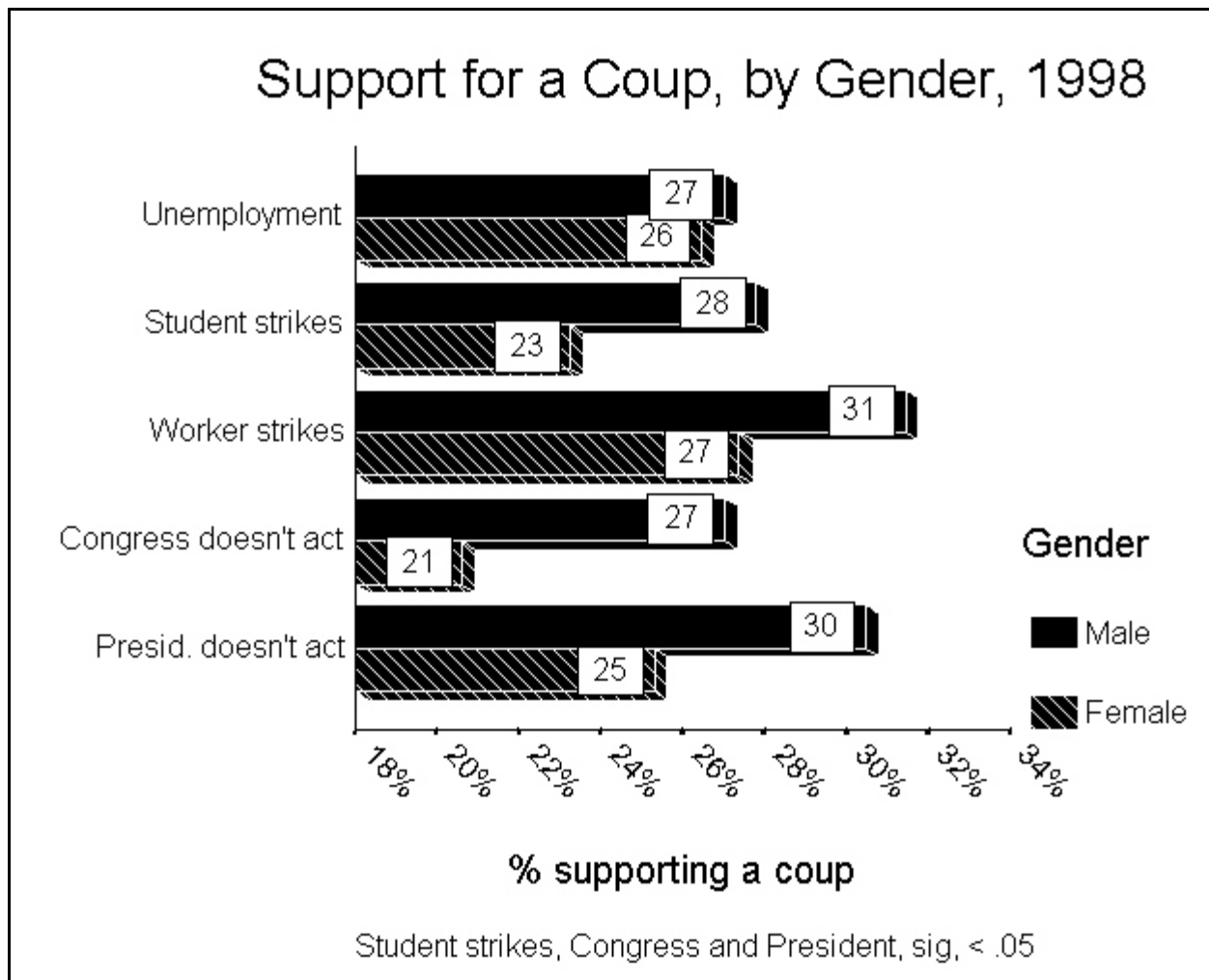


Figure IV.2

Gender also plays a role, especially on student strikes, and Presidential and Congressional failure to function. As can be seen, men favor a coup more than women.

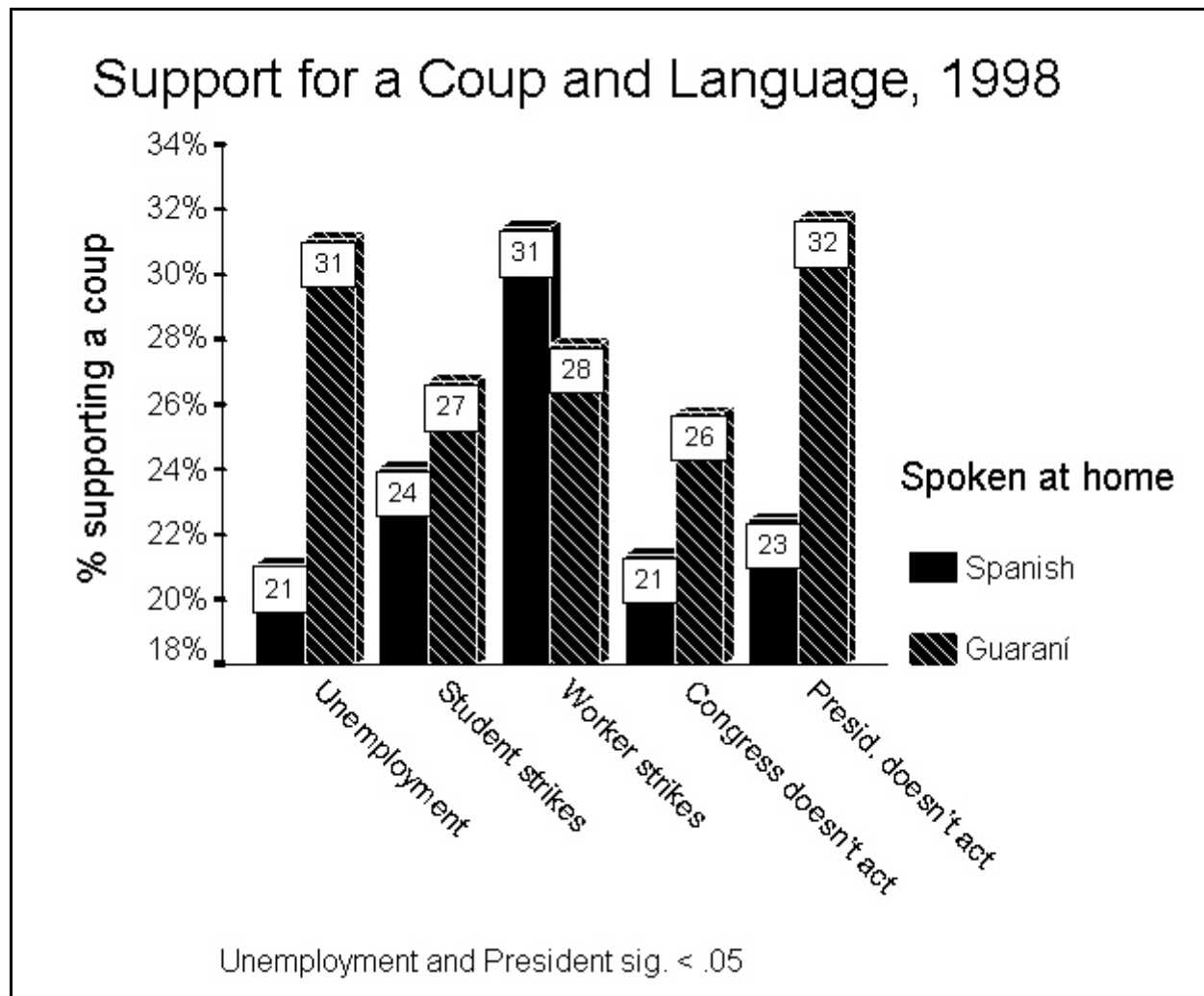
**Figure IV.3**

What makes these findings especially interesting, and puzzling, is that they represent a reversal of the role of gender between 1996 and 1998. As noted above, in the 1996 survey, females more strongly supported coups than males, whereas in 1998, the reverse is the case. At first it was thought that there had been an error in the analysis of the 1996 data set by the author. In fact, double checking the results reveals that there is no error. As evidence, the raw information is presented for both years in Table IV.1 that follows. The means in the table show the reversal. This finding certainly deserves further investigation. One wonders if the Oviedo Affair has shifted attitudes on this subject along gender lines. Further analysis of gender will be undertaken below in this chapter.

Table IV. 1 Support for a Coup by Gender, 1996 vs. 1998

YEAR Year	SEX Gender		JC1R Unemploy ment	JC4R Student strikes	JC9R Worker strikes	JC11R Congress doesn't act	JC3AR Presid. doesn't act
1996	1 Male	Mean	23.6607	22.5710	24.8876		29.3686
		N	672	669	667		681
		Std. Deviation	42.5316	41.8362	43.2686		45.5784
	2 Female	Mean	30.4747	28.1776	29.5455		35.7143
		N	653	653	660		658
		Std. Deviation	46.0653	45.0210	45.6593		47.9522
	Total	Mean	27.0189	25.3404	27.2042		32.4869
		N	1325	1322	1327		1339
		Std. Deviation	44.4225	43.5125	44.5179		46.8501
1998	1 Male	Mean	27.0431	27.7946	31.4286	27.0229	30.4606
		N	673	662	665	655	673
		Std. Deviation	44.4513	44.8325	46.4580	44.4417	46.0583
	2 Female	Mean	26.4659	23.2745	27.3752	20.6219	25.3086
		N	631	623	621	611	648
		Std. Deviation	44.1502	42.2920	44.6243	40.4921	43.5116
	Total	Mean	26.7638	25.6031	29.4712	23.9336	27.9334
		N	1304	1285	1286	1266	1321
		Std. Deviation	44.2898	43.6609	45.6091	42.6847	44.8842

A variable not reported on in 1996, but that has an impact on coup support in both years, is language spoken at home. As can be seen in Figure IV.4, those who grew up speaking Guaraní were more likely to support a coup except when it came to the question on strikes by workers, when they were less likely to support a coup.

**Figure IV.4**

Support for a coup also varied by zone of the country. Since there are nine zones and five coup variables, an overall index of coup support was created in order to simplify the presentation. The five coup variables form a reliable index (Standardized Item Alpha = .88). Figure IV.5 shows the results. Support is lowest in Asunción, the Chaco and the Metropolitan area.

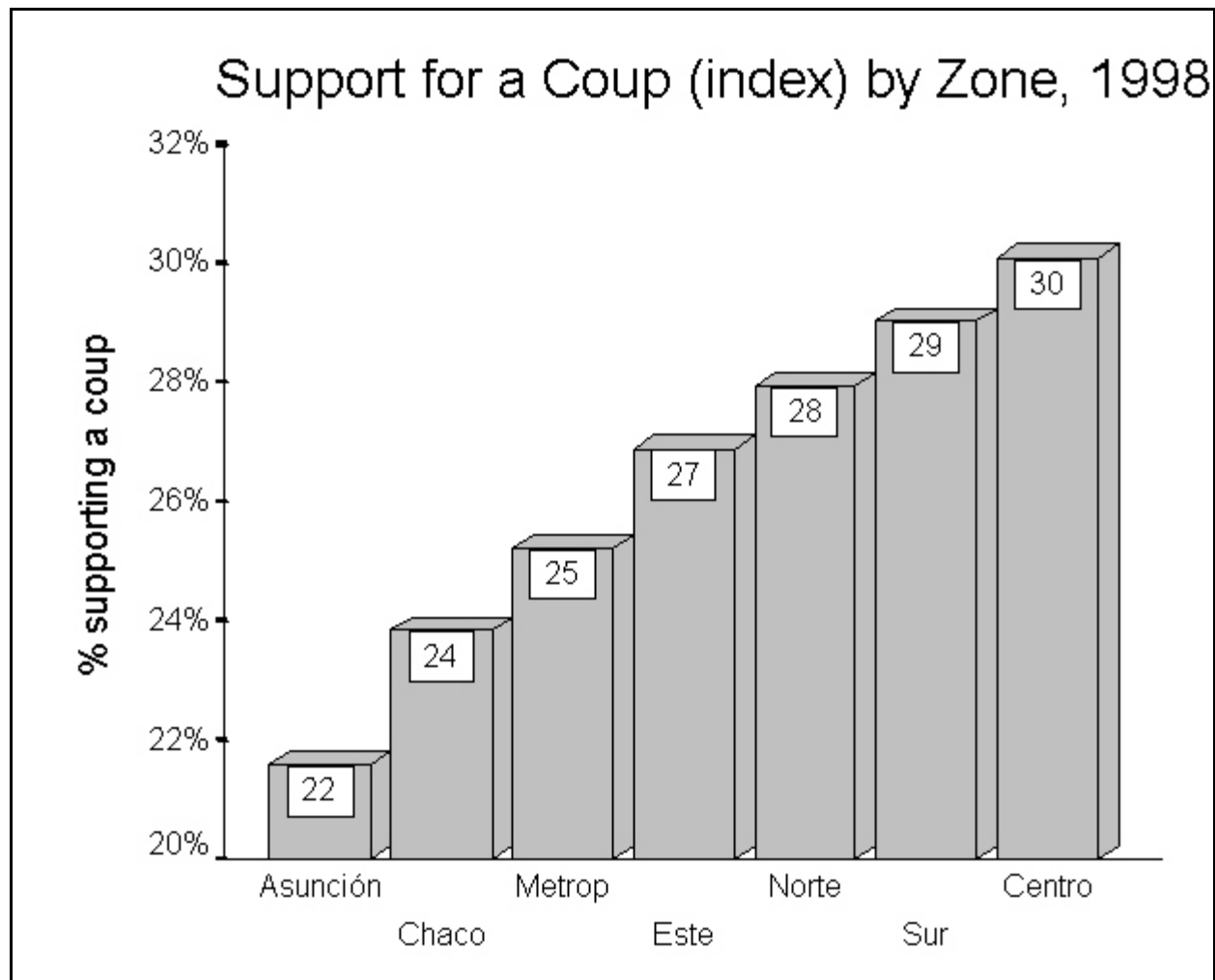


Figure IV.5

The “Oviedo Affair”

In the internal party elections of September 7, 1997, retired General Lino César Oviedo won the support of the Colorado Party for his candidacy for the Presidency. On March 8, 1998, however, a special military tribunal sentenced General Oviedo to ten years in military prison for his role in an attempted coup in 1996.¹⁶ The national Supreme Court, whose level of system support was discussed in the previous chapter, in May, 1998, ruled General Oviedo ineligible to run for office. These decisions forced the Colorado Party to revise its slate for the presidency for the May, 1998 elections, substituting Ing. Cubas, vice-

¹⁶For a summary of these events see Arturo Valenzuela, “Paraguay: The Coup that Didn’t Happen.” *Journal of Democracy*, Vol. 8, No. 1, January, 1997.

presidential candidate on the original slate, in the position as presidential candidate, and Dr. Argañas (the main rival to Oviedo) as the vice-presidential candidate. In the May elections, Ing. Cubas was elected President, but immediately upon taking the office he granted clemency to General Oviedo. In this chapter, this entire matter will be referred to as the “Oviedo Affair.”

The 1998 survey included a series of questions related to the Oviedo affair. Perhaps the most direct question in this regard was (VB43) : “Are you in agreement with the decision of the Supreme Court of April, 1998, by which the candidacy of General Oviedo for the President of the Republic was not allowed?” Figure IV.6 shows the results. As can be seen, over 86% of the public had an opinion on this matter, with about one-third agreeing and over half disagreeing.

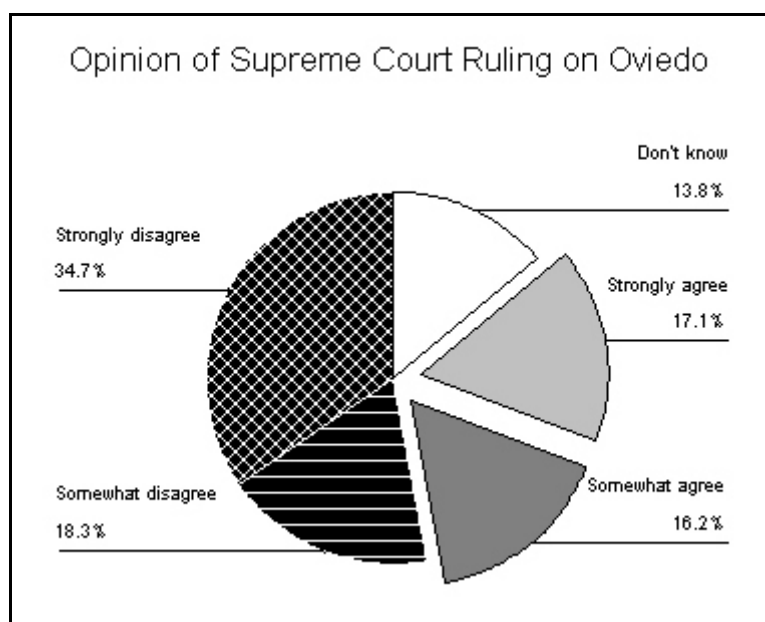
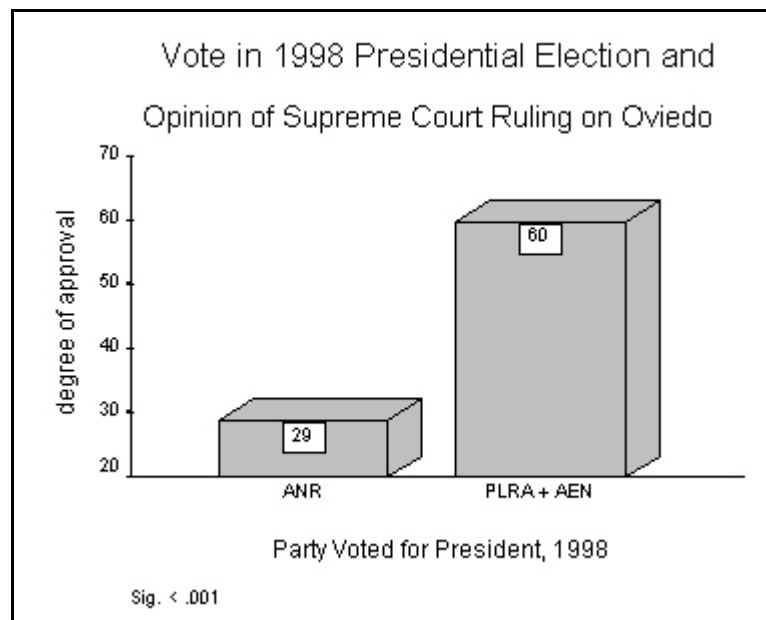
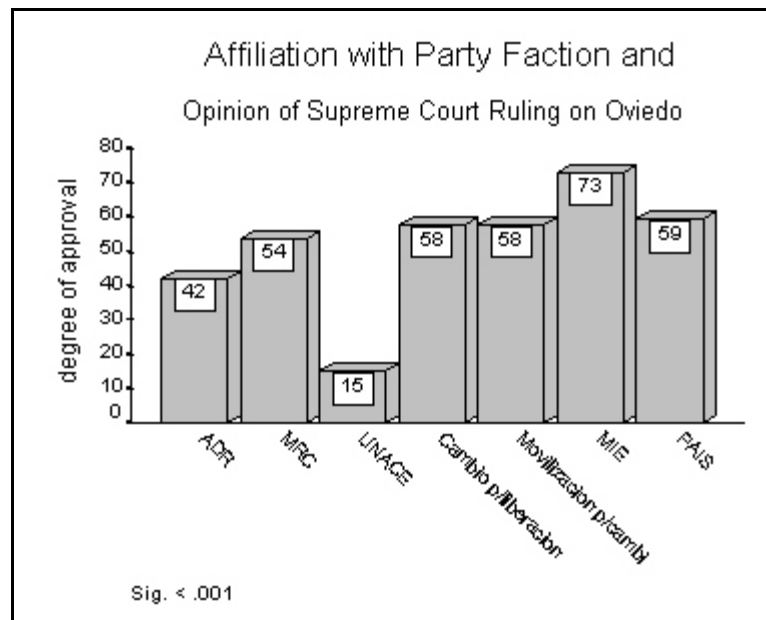


Figure IV.6

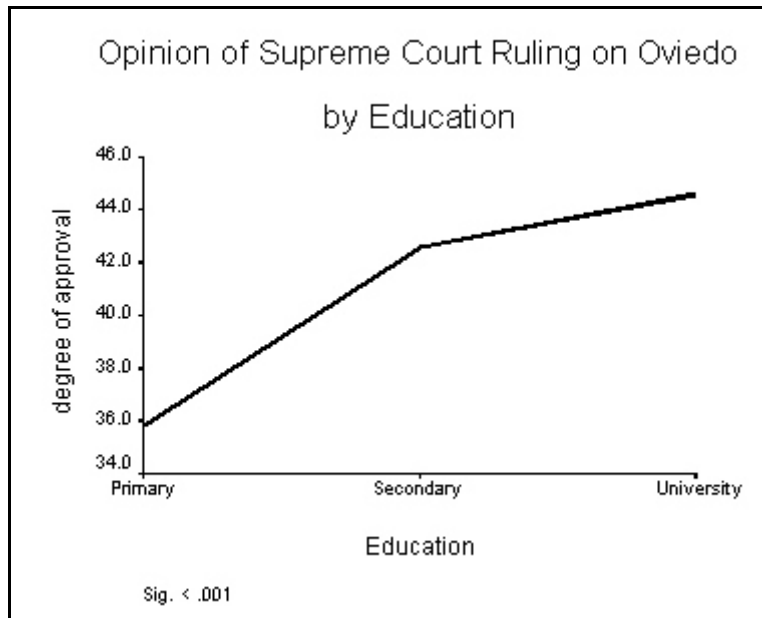
Opinions on the Supreme court ruling are sharply drawn along party lines, as is shown in Figure IV.7. Those who voted for the Colorado Party are far more opposed to the decision than are those of the opposition Liberal Party. These findings come as no surprise, given the close identification between Oviedo and the Colorado Party. Still, the results serve as a sharp reminder that politics in Paraguay is highly partisan. Indeed, a multiple regression analysis carried out for this study, in which age, gender, education, income, urban/rural residence, language spoken at home, and civil society participation were used as predictors, only one, education, had any significant impact.

**Figure IV.7**

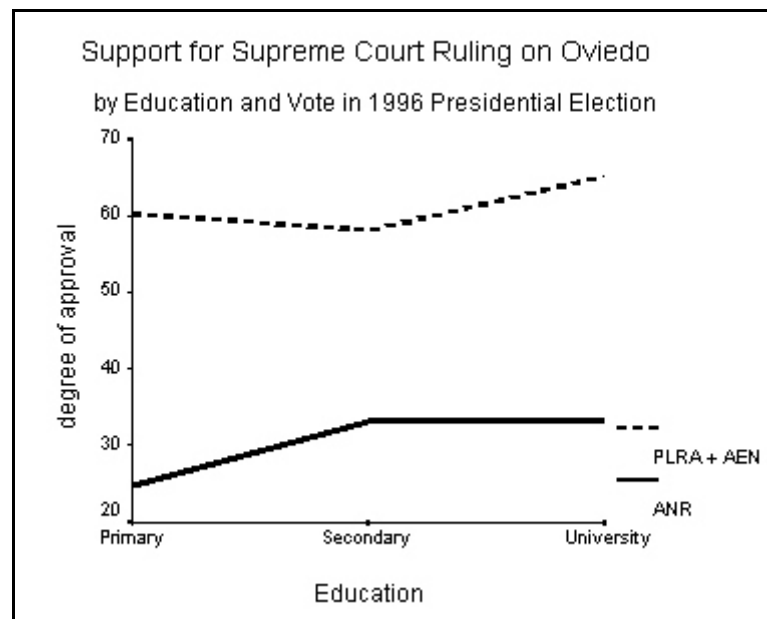
Nearly as dramatic are the differences within the parties. Figure IV.8 shows how opinions varied within the party factions on the Supreme Court ruling on Oviedo. It is not at all surprising to find that the supporters of the UNACE faction, those who had selected Oviedo as their candidate, were extremely opposed to the decision, whereas members of the other factions were much more supportive of it.

**Figure IV.8**

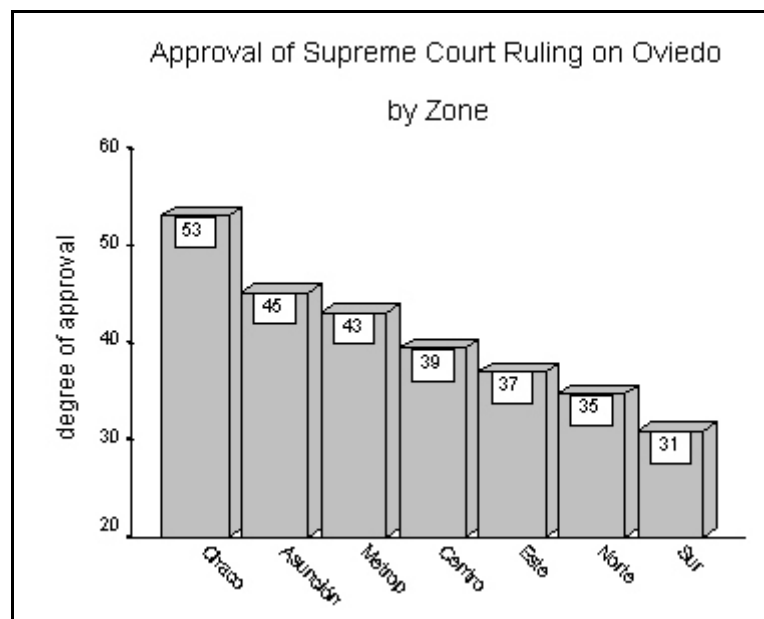
Turning to socio-economic factors, we find that the higher the level of education, the greater the support for the Supreme Court ruling on Oviedo. Figure IV.9 shows the results.

**Figure IV.9**

This pattern holds within the two parties as well. Figure IV.10 shows that for both the Colorado and Liberal voter, higher education means higher support for the Supreme Court ruling. Nonetheless, there is no point at which the two parties intersect. That is, even among those with the highest levels of education in both parties, support for the decision was far higher among the Liberals than among the Colorados.

**Figure IV.10**

Approval of the Supreme Court decision on Oviedo also varied by zone of the country, as is shown in Figure IV.11.

**Figure IV.11**

While the regions differ markedly, within each region, the party-line split we have seen above is plainly in evidence, as is shown in Figure IV.12.

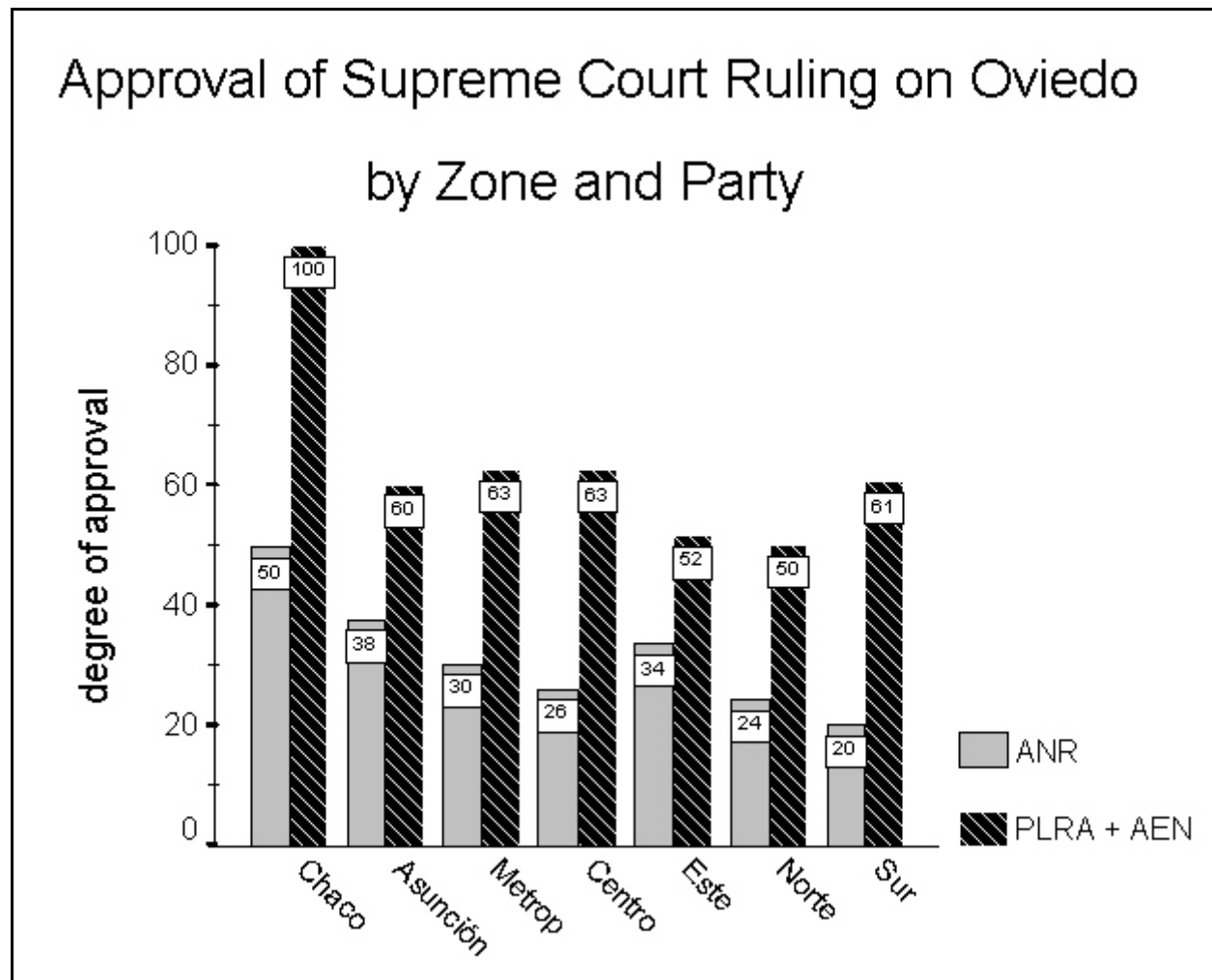


Figure IV.12

Views on Oviedo and Support for a Coup

One could argue that Paraguayan opinion on the Supreme Court ruling had nothing to do with feelings about the military but that those views were based instead on democratic principles. That argument would be wrong, however, based on the 1998 survey data. Figure IV.13 shows a very strong association on three of the measures of coup

support. In each case, for those who strongly agreed with the decision to bar General Oviedo from running for office, approval of a coup is about 15 on the 0-100 scale, whereas among those who strongly disagreed with the decision, support for a coup was over 30.

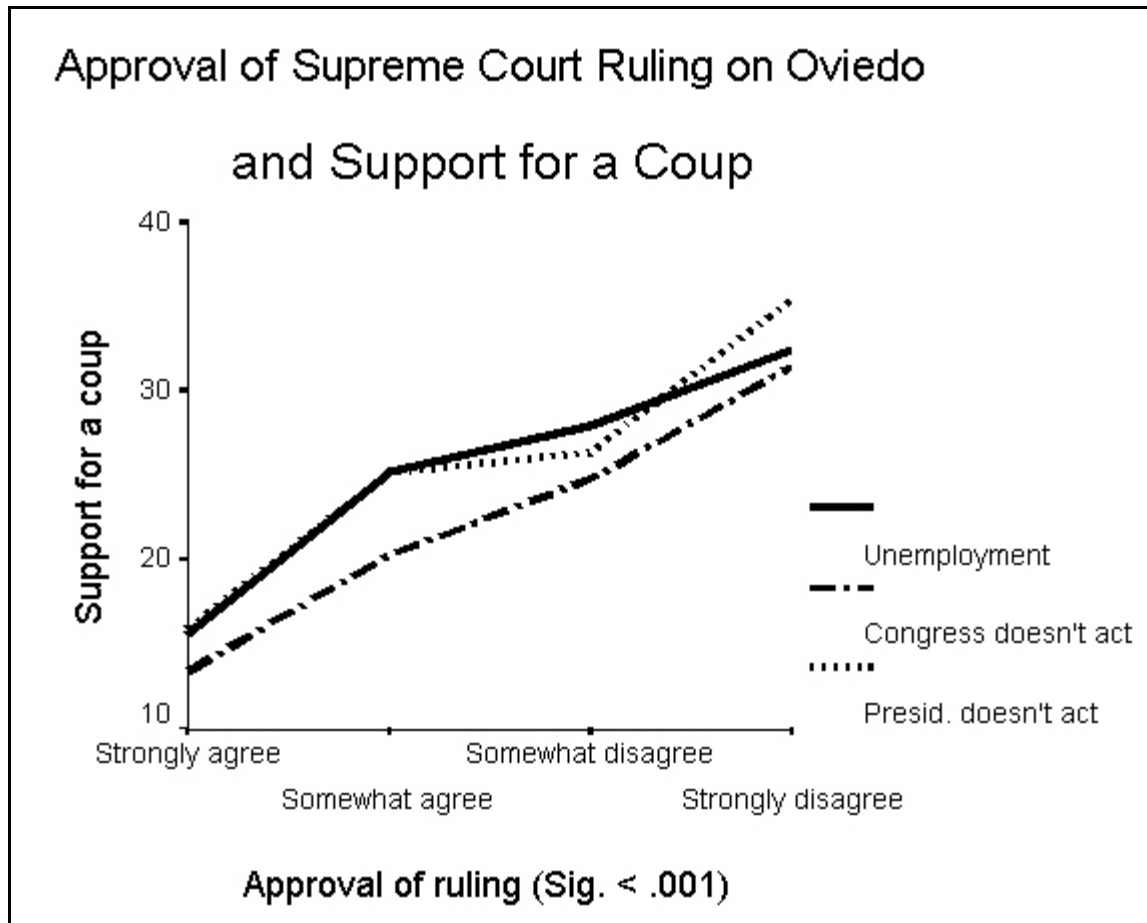


Figure IV.13

The linkage between attitudes toward the Supreme Court ruling and support for a coup are strongest and clearest among the Colorado voters. For those who voted Colorado for President in 1998, each of the five coup support variables is significant, as is shown in Figure IV.14.

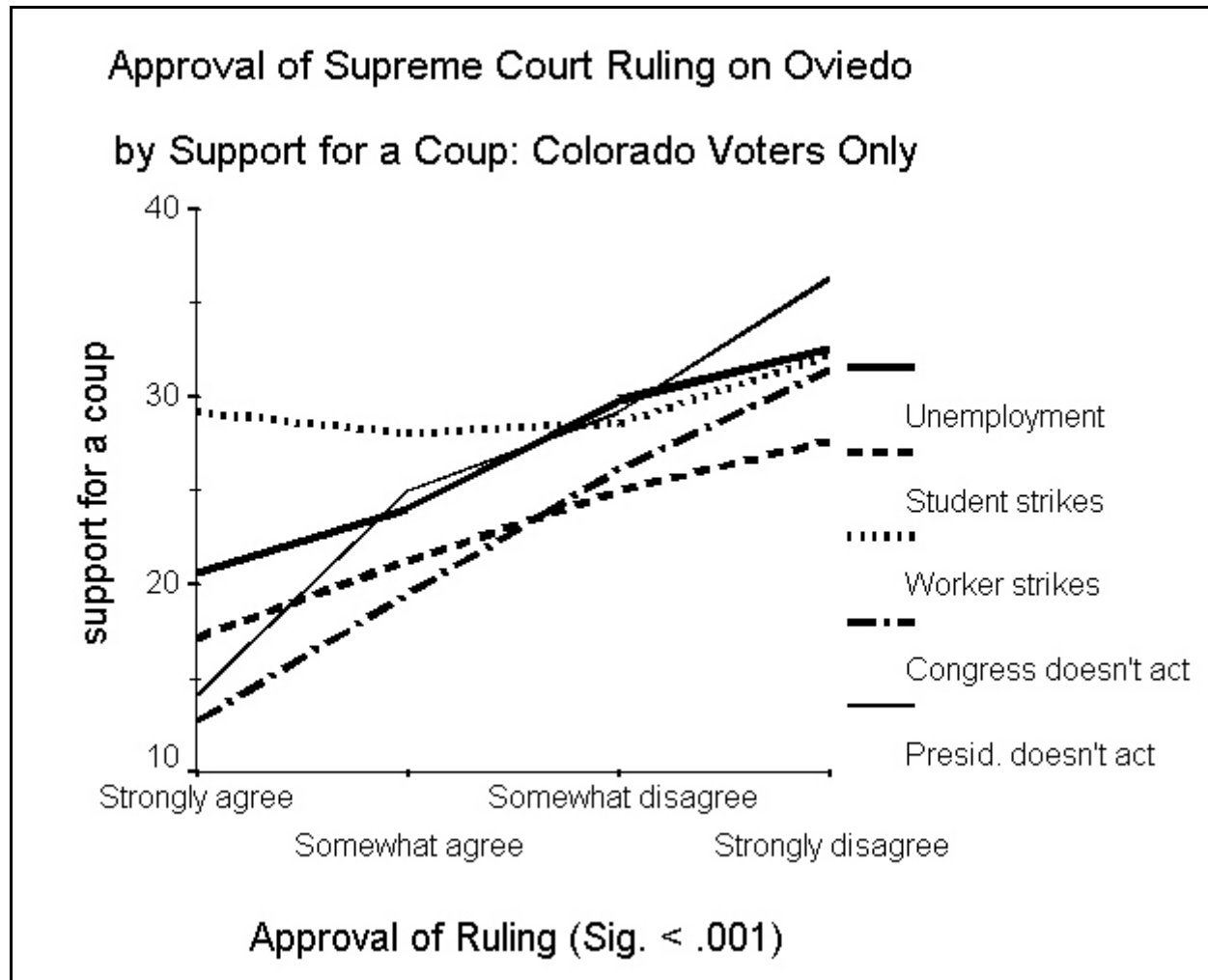
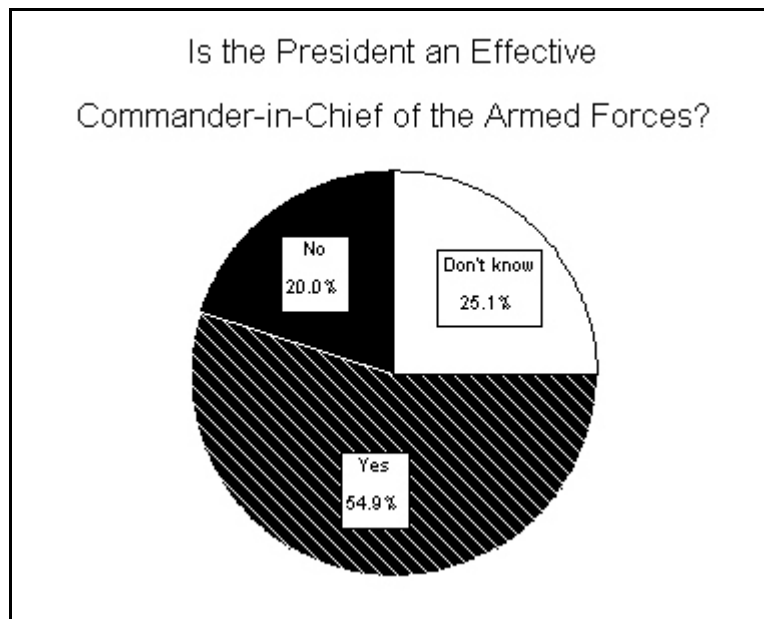


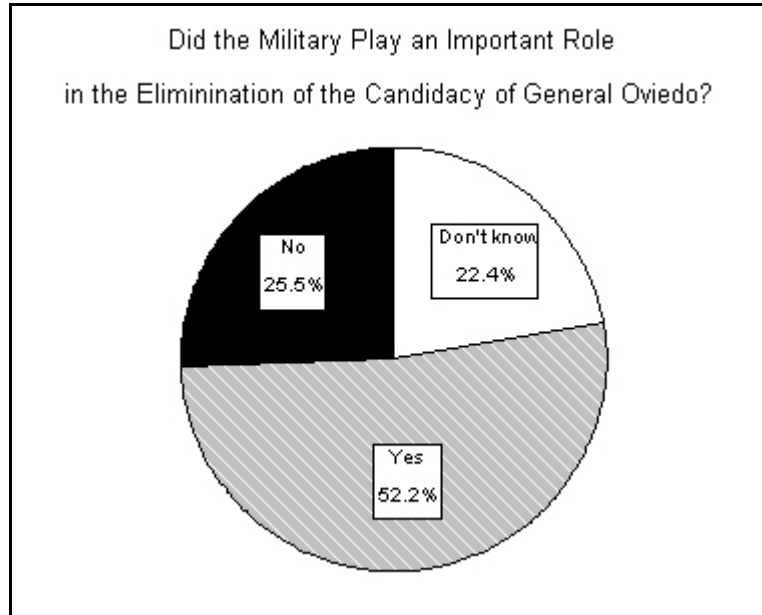
Figure IV.14

Other Measures of the "Oviedo Affair"

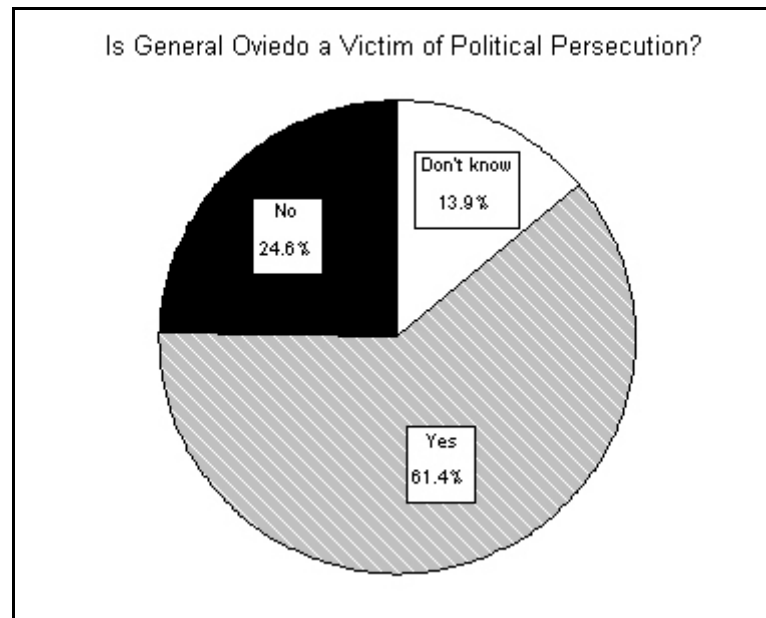
As noted, the 1998 survey included several items dealing with the Oviedo "Affair." These are items BC30-BC32 in the questionnaire. Respondents were first asked if they believe that the President of the country effectively exercises the role of Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces. Figure IV.15 shows the results. As can be seen, one-quarter of the respondents have no opinion on this matter. This is not surprising since it is very difficult for the average citizen to know how effective the President is in his role as Commander-in-Chief. About half of the respondents answered this question in the affirmative.

**Figure IV.15**

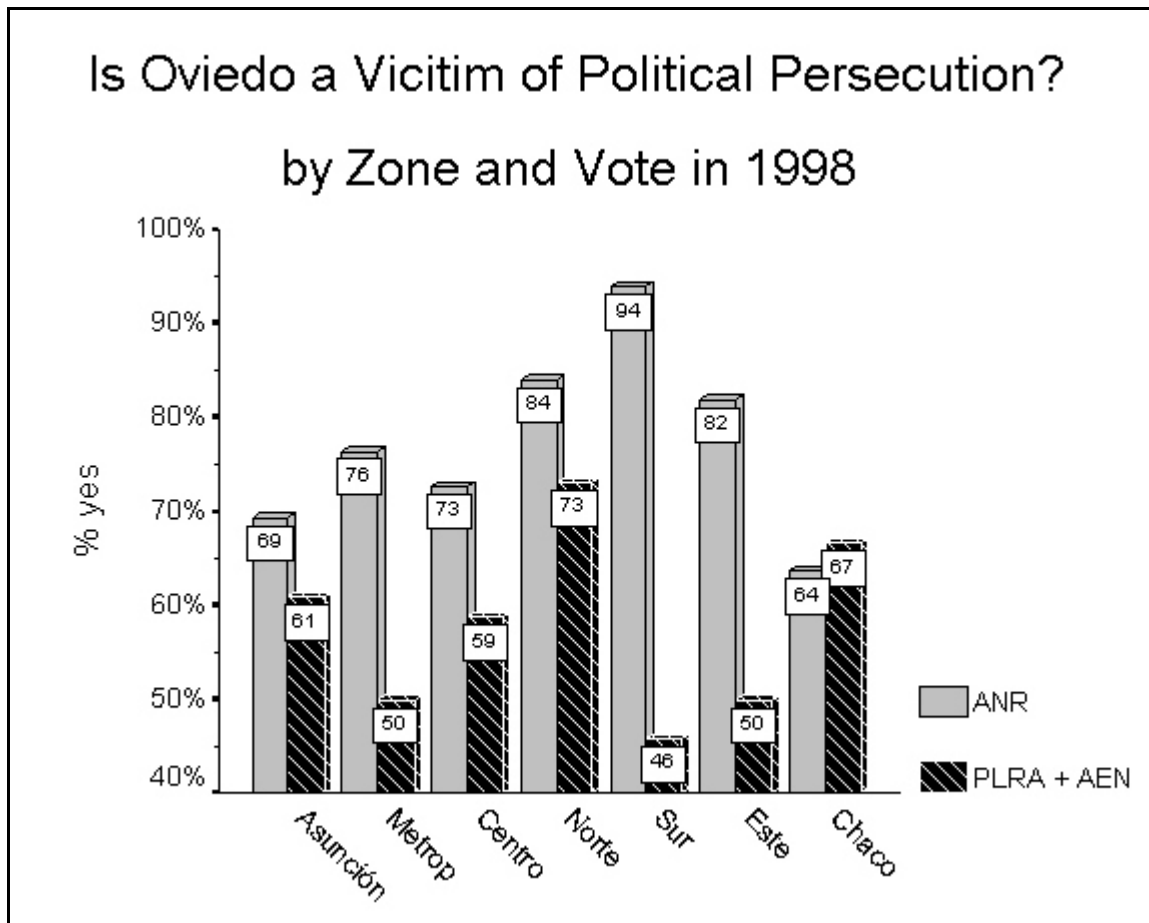
The next item in the series asked the respondents if they believe that the military played an important role in the elimination of the candidacy of General Oviedo. Figure IV.16 shows that there is a similar problem with nearly one-fourth of the sample giving no response. A majority of the sample believes that the military did play this role.

**Figure IV.16**

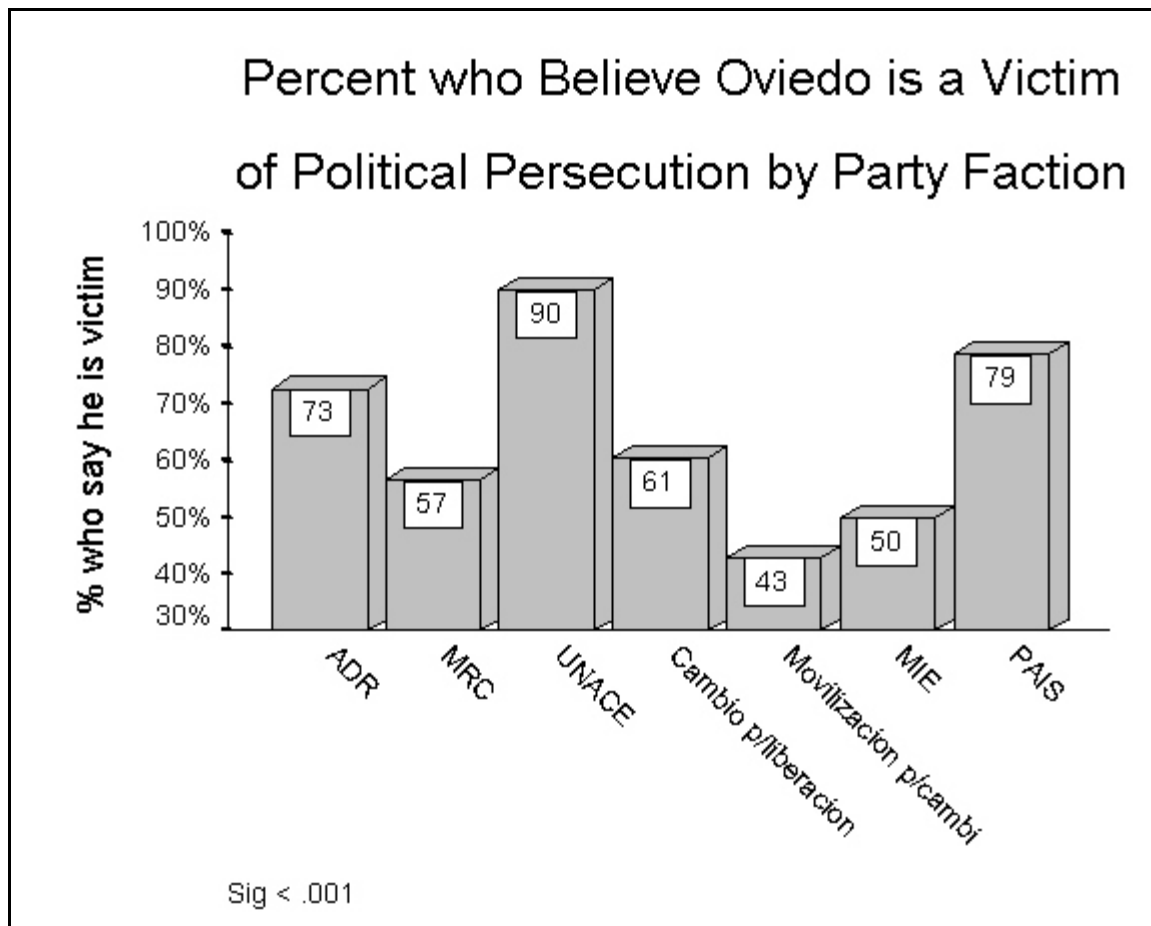
The third item asks: “Do you consider that General Oviedo is a victim of political persecution?” Figure IV.17 shows that non-response drops a bit for this item, but it is still over half of the population. Clearly far more respondents think that Oviedo has been a victim of political persecution than those who did not think so.

**Figure IV.17**

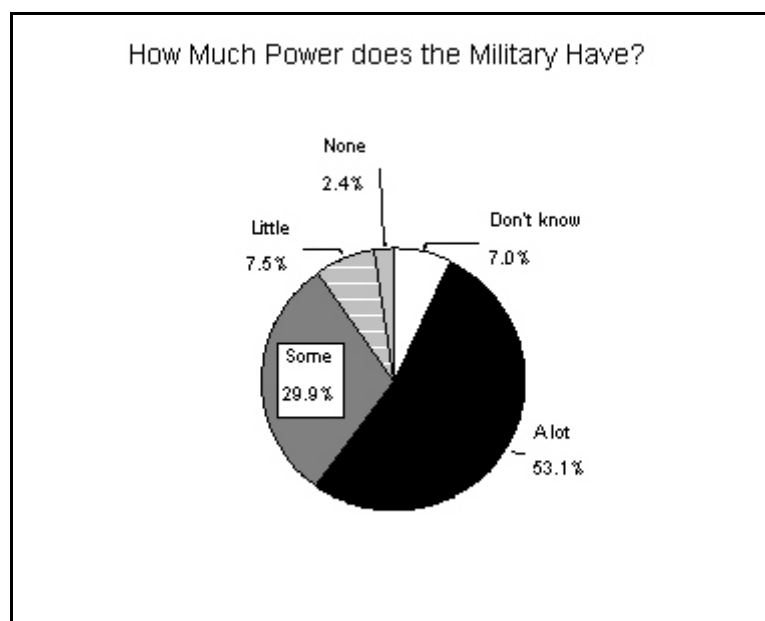
Because this item has the smallest amount of missing data in the series, it is the most appropriate for further analysis. Figure IV.18 shows that the results vary by both party and zone of the country. In every zone except the Chaco, the Colorado voters are far more likely than the Liberals to believe that Oviedo was a victim of political persecution. But, it must also be stressed that even among the Liberal voters, majorities or near majorities agreed. Thus, it is fair to conclude that Paraguayans widely believe that Oviedo has been a victim.

**Figure IV.18**

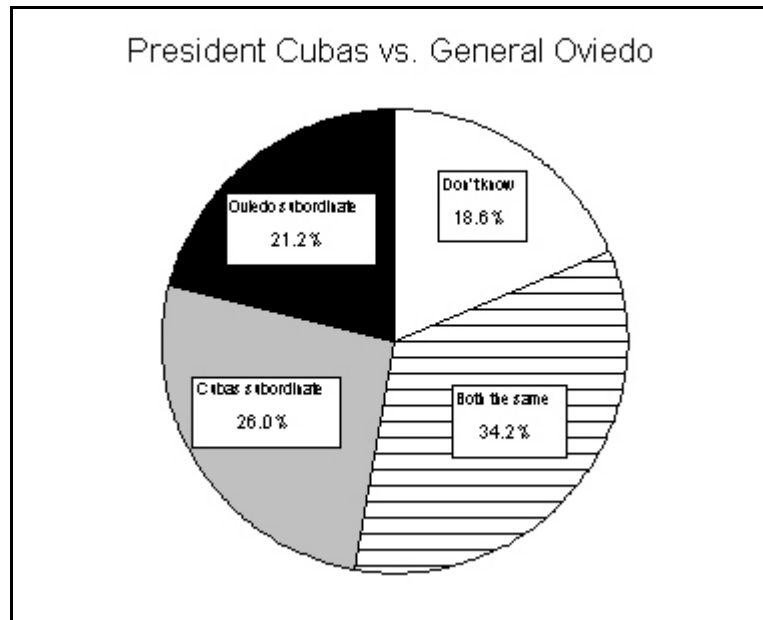
Although belief that General Oviedo is a victim of political persecution is widespread, there is strong variation within the party factions, as is shown in Figure IV.19. There it is shown that members of the UNACE faction are nearly unanimous in believing that he is a victim of political persecution.

**Figure IV.19**

The final item in this series asks respondents how much power the military has in Paraguay. Figure IV.20 shows that most people believe that the military has a great deal of power.

**Figure IV.20**

In another section of the questionnaire (VB42), respondents were asked if they believed that President Cubas is subordinate to General Oviedo, if Oviedo is subordinate to President Cubas or if the two are equal. This question is relevant because Cubas freed Oviedo from prison shortly after the former took office. This action has produced a constitutional crisis, since the Supreme Court has ruled that General Oviedo must return to prison. As of this writing, proceedings have begun to impeach President Cubas for his actions in this matter. Figure IV.21 shows how Paraguayans feel about this dispute. While nearly one-fifth of respondents expressed no opinion, only a minority of about one-quarter of Paraguayans believed that Cubas was subordinate, with an additional one-fifth believing that General Oviedo is subordinate to the President, and an additional one-third believing the two are on an equal plane. In other terms, only one-fifth of Paraguayans believe that the civilian President is clearly in a superior position to a retired General who was a prisoner up until President Cubas took office.

**Figure IV.21**

Appendix: 1998 Questionnaire in Spanish

Nota: Negrilla ("bold") indica cambios 1996/1998.

1998, Centro de Información y Recursos para el Desarrollo, con la autorización de la Universidad de Pittsburgh.

Versión 12 de agosto de 1998, 11:00 am

Encuesta de Opinión: Paraguay 1998

Hora iniciada:	<input type="text"/> : <input type="text"/>	
	hora minuto	
ID (Número del cuestionario, asignado en la oficina)	ID	<input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/>
Estrato (cluster)(asignado por supervisor de campo):	ESTRATO	<input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/>
Departamento	DEPT 00. Capital (Asunción); 01. Concepción; 02. San Pedro; 03. De la Cordillera; 04. Guairá; 05. Caaguazú; 09. Paraguarí 06. Caazapá; 07. Itapú; 8. Misiones; 10. Alto Paraná 11. Central 12. Neembucú 13. Amambay; 15. Presidente Hayes 16. Boquerón	<input type="text"/> <input type="text"/>
Municipio	MUNI	<input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/>
Segmento (barrio o compañía rural)	SEG	<input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/>
Manzana o Equivalente	MANZ	<input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/>
1. Urbano 2. Rural	UR	<input type="text"/>

Sr.(a): Estamos haciendo una encuesta por parte de CIRD, El Centro de Información y Recursos para el Desarrollo y ejecutado por el **CDE Centro de Documentación y Estudios**, 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, dedicándonos una media hora de su tiempo. La naturaleza confidencial de todas sus respuestas será respetada. No vamos a preguntarle su nombre.

SEXO: 1. Hombre 2. Mujer	SEXO	<input type="text"/>
EDAD: ¿Cuál es su edad en años cumplidos	EDAD	<input type="text"/> <input type="text"/>

<p>(1)EDUC:¿Cuál fue el último año de enseñanza que Ud. aprobó?</p> <p>Ninguna = 0</p> <p>Primaria completa= 1,2,3,4,5,6</p> <p>Secundaria = 7,8,9, 10, 11, 12</p> <p>Universidad, licenciatura = 13,14,15,16,17</p> <p>Universidad Maestría = 18,19</p> <p>Universidad Doctorado = 20,21,22</p>	EDUC	<input type="text"/> <input type="text"/>
<p>IDIO1. ¿En qué idioma acostumbra Ud. hablar más frecuentemente con su familia?</p> <p>1.Español; 2. Guaraní; 3. Portugués; 4. Otro indígena; 5. Otro no indígena</p>	IDIO1	<input type="text"/>
<p>IDIO2. ¿Habla Ud otro idioma con su familia?</p> <p>1 SI; 2 No (Pasar a A1)</p>	IDIO2	<input type="text"/>
<p>IDIO3. ¿Cual otro idioma?</p> <p>1.Español; 2. Guaraní; 3. Portugués; 4. Otro indígena; 5. Otro no indígena</p> <p>9. Inap</p>	IDIO3	<input type="text"/>
<p>A1.Para empezar, ¿Escucha Ud. habitualmente algún programa de noticias por radio?</p> <p>0. No 1. Sí 8. NS/NR</p>	A1	<input type="text"/>
<p>A2. ¿Ve habitualmente algún programa de noticias por televisión?</p> <p>0. No 1. Sí 8. NS/NR</p>	A2	<input type="text"/>
<p>A3. ¿Acostumbra Ud. leer algún periódico?</p> <p>0. No 1. Sí 8. NS/NR</p>	A3	<input type="text"/>
<p>A4: En su opinión ¿Cuál es el problema más grave que enfrenta el país?</p> <p>[No leer lista, sino usar código. Si menciona más de uno, pregunta por el más importante]:</p> <p>1. Desempleo (Falta de trabajo); 2. Inflación, altos precios, costo de la vida</p> <p>3 Pobreza; 4. Delincuencia; crimen; 5. Peligro de golpe de estado;</p> <p>6. Falta de tierra para cultivar; 7. Falta de crédito; 11. Corrupción;</p> <p>12. Problemas ecológicos; 13. La droga; 50. NO HAY PROBLEMAS;</p> <p>88. No sabe/No responde</p> <p>Otro: _____</p>	A4	<input type="text"/> <input type="text"/>

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 Ud. ayuda o cooperación del Presidente de la República? 1. Sí 2. No 8.NS	CP1	____
CP2. ¿Alguna vez ha pedido Ud. ayuda o cooperación de algún senador o diputado del Congreso? 1. Sí 2. No 8.NS	CP2	____
CP3. ¿Alguna vez ha pedido Ud. ayuda o cooperación del Intendente? 1. Sí 2. No 8.NS	CP3	____
CP4. ¿Alguna vez ha pedido Ud. ayuda o cooperación de algún Ministerio u oficina del gobierno nacional? 1. Sí 2. No 8.NS	CP4	____
(1) CP20. ¿Alguna vez ha exigido o demandado que algún Senador o Diputado intervenga para que el Congreso cumpla con una función que le corresponde y que no lo está haciendo? 1. Sí 2. No 8.NS	CP20	____
(1) CP21. ¿Alguna vez ha exigido o demandado que algún Ministerio o dependencia del Gobierno central cumpla con una función que le corresponde y que no lo está haciendo? 1. Sí 2. No 8.NS	CP21	____
(1) CP22. ¿Alguna vez ha exigido o demandado que alguna Intendencia cumpla con una función que le corresponde y que no lo está haciendo? 1. Sí 2. No 8.NS	CP22	____
Ahora le voy a leer algunas preguntas sobre esta comunidad y los problemas que tiene.		
CP15a. ¿Cuánta influencia cree Ud. tener 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 Ud. de resolver algún problema de la comunidad o de los vecinos de aquí? 1. Sí 2. No 8.NS	CP5	____

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 alguna comisión o sociedad de la Iglesia o templo? 1. Frecuentemente 2. De vez en cuando 3. Casi nunca 4. Nunca 8. NS	CP6	<input type="text"/>
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	<input type="text"/>
CP8. ¿De una comisión o junta de mejoras para la comunidad? 1. Frecuentemente 2. De vez en cuando 3. Casi nunca 4. Nunca 8. NS	CP8	<input type="text"/>
CP9. ¿De una asociación de profesionales, negociantes o productores? 1. Frecuentemente 2. De vez en cuando 3. Casi nunca 4. Nunca 8. NS	CP9	<input type="text"/>
CP10. ¿De un sindicato? 1. Frecuentemente 2. De vez en cuando 3. Casi nunca 4. Nunca 8. NS	CP10	<input type="text"/>
(1) CP20a. ¿De una organización de mujeres? 1. Frecuentemente 2. De vez en cuando 3. Casi nunca 4. Nunca 8. NS	CP20	<input type="text"/>
(1) CP21a. ¿De una asociación u organización campesina? 1. Frecuentemente 2. De vez en cuando 3. Casi nunca 4. Nunca 8. NS	CP21	<input type="text"/>
(1) CP22a. ¿De una organización juvenil? 1. Frecuentemente 2. De vez en cuando 3. Casi nunca 4. Nunca 8. NS	CP22	<input type="text"/>
(1) CP23a. ¿De una organización sin fines de lucro que promueve iniciativas ciudadanas? 1. Frecuentemente 2. De vez en cuando 3. Casi nunca 4. Nunca 8. NS	CP23	<input type="text"/>
CP11. ¿De una cooperativa? 1. Frecuentemente 2. De vez en cuando 3. Casi nunca 4. Nunca 8. NS	CP11	<input type="text"/>
CP12. ¿De alguna asociación como Rótary, Leones o Scaut? 1. Frecuentemente 2. De vez en cuando 3. Casi nunca 4. Nunca 8. NS	CP12	<input type="text"/>

Ahora le voy a mencionar algunas cosas que son importantes en la vida de las personas. Deseo que Ud. me diga su grado de satisfacción o insatisfacción con las siguientes situaciones.		
LS1. ¿Hasta qué punto se encuentra satisfecho con la casa en que Ud. vive? ¿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	LS1	<input type="text"/>
LS2. ¿Hasta qué punto se encuentra satisfecho con el ingreso familiar ? ¿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	LS2	<input type="text"/>
LS3. En general ¿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	<input type="text"/>

IT1. Ahora, hablando en general de la gente de aquí, ¿diría Ud. 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	<input type="text"/>
--	-----	----------------------

IT2. ¿Cree Ud. 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	<input type="text"/>
IT3. ¿Cree Ud. 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	<input type="text"/>

CCI2. En general, ¿cómo considera que le han tratado cuando ha tenido que tratar con una oficina del gobierno central? Le han tratado muy bien, bien, mal, o muy mal? 1. Muy bien 2. bien 3. mal 4. muy mal 8. NS 9. No trataron con el gobierno	CCI2	<input type="text"/>
(1) CCI9. En general, ¿cómo considera que le han tratado cuando ha tenido que tratar con una oficina de la Intendencia? Le han tratado muy bien, bien, mal, o muy mal? 1. Muy bien 2. bien 3. mal 4. muy mal 8. NS 9. No trataron con la Intendencia	CCI9	<input type="text"/>
(1) M1. Hablando en general del gobierno actual, diría Ud. que el trabajo realizado por el Presidente Cubas es: muy bueno, bueno, regular, malo o muy malo? 1. Muy bueno 2. Bueno 3. Regular 4. Malo 5. Muy malo 8.NS	M1	<input type="text"/>
(1) M4. Hablando en general del anterior gobierno, diría Ud. que el trabajo realizado por el ex-Presidente Wasmosy fue: muy bueno, bueno, regular, malo o muy malo? 1. Muy bueno 2. Bueno 3. Regular 4. Malo 5. Muy malo 8.NS	M4	<input type="text"/>

Ahora, vamos a hablar de las elecciones....		
VB1. ¿Tiene Ud. Cédula de Identidad vigente, vencida, o no la tiene? 1. Vigente; 2. Vencida 3. No tiene (Pasar a VB10); 4. En trámite (Pasar a VB10)	VB1	<input type="text"/>
(1) VB20. ¿Estuvo inscripto para poder votar en las pasadas elecciones de mayo de 1998? 1 Si; 2 No; 3 En trámite; 8.NS/NR	VB20	<input type="text"/>
(1) VB30. ¿Cuándo se inscribió? 1. Antes de las elecciones municipales de 1996 2. Después de las elecciones municipales de 1996 3. No recuerda 8.NS/NR	VB30	<input type="text"/>
(1) VB4. ¿Votó usted en las pasadas elecciones Presidenciales de Mayo de 1998? 1. Sí (pasar a VB25) 2. No (seguir con VB5) 8. NS	VB4	<input type="text"/>

VB5. [Si no votó] ¿Por qué no votó? 1. Enfermedad; 2. Falta de Transporte; 3. Violencia/falta de seguridad; 4. No inscripto; 5. Tener que trabajar; 6. No creer en las elecciones; 7. Perdió Cédula; 11. Falta de interés 12. No tiene cédula 14. No tener edad; 15. No esta en el padrón electoral; 88. NS 99. Inap (si votó). Otro (especificar) _____.	VB5	<input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>
(1) VB25. ¿Está Ud. afiliado a un partido político? 1. Si 2. No 8. NS/NR.	VB25	<input type="checkbox"/>
(1) VB27. En caso afirmativo, ¿a cuál partido político? 1. ANR (Colorado); 2. PLRA (Liberal); 3. PRF (Febrerista) 4. AEN (Encuentro Nacional); 88. NS/NR Otro _____	VB27	<input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>
(1) VB26. A lo interno de su partido ¿en cuál movimiento participa usted? ANR (Colorado): 11.ADR 12.MRC 13.UNACE PLRA : 21.Cambio para la liberación 22. Movilización para el cambio PEN: 31. MIE 32.PAIS 33.Sociedad Democrática Otro _____ 88. NS/NR 99. No Aplica (no está afiliado)	VB26	<input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>
(1) VB28. ¿Votó usted en las pasadas elecciones internas de su partido? 1. Si 2. No 8. NS/NR 9.No aplica (no está afiliado)	VB28	<input type="checkbox"/>
(1) VB6. [Si votó] ¿Por cuál partido votó para Presidente en Mayo de 1998? 1.ANR (Colorado); 2. Alianza PLRA (Liberal)- AEN (Encuentro Nacional); 3. PRF (Febrerista); 4. PDC 5. Morena 10.En blanco/nulo; 88. NS/NR 99. Inap (no votó)	VB6	<input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>
(1) VB7. [Si votó] ¿Por cuál partido votó para Diputado en las elecciones de Mayo de 1998? 1.ANR (Colorado); 2. Alianza PLRA (Liberal)- AEN (Encuentro Nacional); 3. PRF (Febrerista); 4. PDC 5. Morena 6.Partido Blanco 10.En blanco/nulo; 88. NS/NR 99. Inap (no votó)	VB7	<input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>
(1) VB8. [Si votó] ¿Por cuál partido para Senador en las elecciones de Mayo de 1998? 1.ANR (Colorado); 2. Alianza PLRA (Liberal)- AEN (Encuentro Nacional); 3. PRF (Febrerista); 4. PDC 5. Morena 6.Partido Blanco 10.En blanco/nulo; 88. NS/NR 99. Inap (no votó)	VB8	<input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>
(1) VB9. [Si votó] ¿Por cuál partido para Gobernador en las elecciones de Mayo de 1998? 1.ANR (Colorado); 2. Alianza PLRA (Liberal)- AEN (Encuentro Nacional); 3. PRF (Febrerista); 4. PDC 5. Morena 6.Partido Blanco 10.En blanco/nulo; 88. NS/NR 99. Inap (no votó)	VB9	<input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>

<p>(1) VB31. [Si votó] ¿Por cuál partido para Juntas Departamentales en las elecciones de Mayo de 1998? 1.ANR (Colorado); 2. Alianza PLRA (Liberal)- AEN (Encuentro Nacional); 3. PRF (Febrerista); 4. PDC 5. Morena 6.Partido Blanco 10.En blanco/nulo; 88. NS/NR 99. Inap (no votó)</p>	VB31	<input type="text"/>
<p>(1) VB10. ¿Por qué motivo piensa usted que algunas personas no pudieron votar en las pasadas elecciones presidenciales de Mayo de 1998? 1. Enfermedad 2. Falta de Transporte. 3. Violencia/falta de seguridad. 4. No inscripto, con edad. 5. Tener que trabajar 6. No creer en las elecciones 7. Perdió cédula 11. Falta de interés. 12. No tiene cédula 14. No tener edad 15. No está en el padrón electoral 88. NS/NR. Otro (especificar) _____.</p>	VB10	<input type="text"/>
<p>(1) VB11. Considera Ud. que los candidatos que ganaron las últimas elecciones presidenciales de 1998 fueron realmente aquellos preferidos por la gente? 1. Sí 2. No 8. NS/NR</p>	VB11	<input type="text"/>
<p>(1) VB12. ¿Votó usted en las pasadas elecciones Municipales de Noviembre de 1996? 1.Sí (seguir con a VB13); 2. No (pasar a VB15) 3. No inscripto; 8. NS/NR</p>	VB12	<input type="text"/>
<p>VB13. [Si votó] ¿Por cuál partido para Intendente Municipal? 1. ANR (Colorado); 2. PLRA (Liberal); 3. PRF (Febrerista); 4. APT/Independiente; 5. Otros; 6 En blanco/nulo 8. NS/NR 9. Inap (no votó)</p>	VB13	<input type="text"/>
<p>VB14. [Si votó] ¿Por cuál partido para la Junta Municipal? 1. ANR (Colorado); 2. PLRA (Liberal); 3. PRF (Febrerista); 4. APT / Independiente; 5. Otros; 6 En blanco/nulo; 8. NS/NR 9. Inap (no votó)</p>	VB14	<input type="text"/>
<p>VB15. [Si no votó] ¿Por qué no votó? 1. Enfermedad; 2. Falta de Transporte; 3. Violencia/falta de seguridad; 4. No inscripto, con edad 5. Tener que trabajar; 6. No creer en las elecciones; 7. Perdió Cédula; 11.Falta de interés; 12. No tiene cédula 14. No tener edad 15. No en el padrón 88. NS 99. Inap (si votó). Otro (especificar) _____.</p>	VB15	<input type="text"/>
<p>(1) VB29. Hablando en general del papel del Tribunal Supremo de Justicia Electoral en la administración de las pasadas elecciones, le parece que fue: muy bueno, bueno, regular, malo o muy malo. 1. Muy Bueno 2. Bueno 3. Regular 4. Malo 5. Muy Malo 8. NS/NR</p>	VB29	<input type="text"/>
<p>(1) VB40. ¿Ud. cree que los partidos promovieron la postulación de mujeres a los cargos de elección popular? 1. Si 2. No 8.NS/NR</p>	VB40	<input type="text"/>
<p>(1) VB41. ¿Ud. cree que los partidos promovieron la postulación de jóvenes a los cargos de elección popular? 1. Si 2. No 8.NS/NR</p>	VB41	<input type="text"/>

(1) VB42. En su opinión, la relación entre el Presidente Cubas y el General Oviedo es de: 1.Equivalencia 2. Subordinación de Cubas a Oviedo 3.Subordinación de Oviedo a Cubas 8.NS/NR	VB42	<input type="text"/>
(1) VB43. ¿Está Ud. de acuerdo o en contra del fallo emitido en abril de 1998 por la Corte Suprema de Justicia, mediante el cuál no se permitió la candidatura del General Oviedo a la Presidencia de la República? 1. Muy de acuerdo 2. Algo de acuerdo 3. Algo en contra 4.Muy en contra 8.NS/NR	VB43	<input type="text"/>

PP1. Durante las elecciones algunas personas tratan de convencerles a otras personas de votar por algún partido o candidato. Ha tratado Ud. de convencer a otros de como votar: frecuentemente, de vez en cuando, rara vez o nunca? 1. Frecuentemente 2. De vez en cuando 3. Rara vez 4. Nunca 8. NS/NR	PP1	<input type="text"/>
PP2. Hay personas que trabajan por uno de los partidos o candidatos durante las campañas electorales. ¿Ha trabajado Ud. para algún candidato o partido en estas elecciones o en las pasadas? 1. Pasadas elecciones 2. Ultimas elecciones 3. En las dos 4. Ninguna 8. NS/NR	PP2	<input type="text"/>

Ahora vamos a hablar de la Intendencia de este municipio...		
NP1. ¿Ha tenido usted la oportunidad de asistir a una reunión de vecinos, una sesión de la junta municipal u otra reunión convocada por la Intendencia durante los últimos 12 meses? 1. Sí 2. No. 8. No sabe/ no recuerda	NP1	<input type="text"/>
NP2. ¿Ha solicitado ayuda o presentado una petición a alguna oficina, funcionario o concejal de la Municipalidad durante los últimos 12 meses? 1. Sí (pasara a NP2A) 2. No. (Pasar a SGL1) 8. No sabe/ no recuerda (Pasar a SGL1)	NP2	<input type="text"/>
NP2A. ¿Quedó contento con la respuesta que le dieron? 1. Sí 2. No 8. No sabe/no respuesta 9. Inap	NP2A	<input type="text"/>
SGL1. ¿Diría usted que los servicios que la Municipalidad 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	<input type="text"/>
SGL2. ¿Cómo considera que le han tratado a usted o a sus vecinos cuando han ido a la Municipalidad para hacer trámites? ¿Le han tratado muy bien, bien, regular, mal o muy mal? 1. Muy bien 2. Bien 3. Regular 4. Mal 5. Muy mal 8. No sabe	SGL2	<input type="text"/>

LGL1. En su opinión, ¿quien ha respondido mejor para ayudar a resolver los problemas de esta comunidad? Sería ¿El gobierno central? ¿El parlamento? O ¿La Municipalidad? 1. El gobierno central 2. El Parlamento 3. El gobierno departamental 4. La Municipalidad 5. Ninguno 6. Todos igual 8. No sabe/ no contesta [No leer #5 o #6]	LGL1	<input type="text"/>
LGL2. En su opinión ¿se le debe de dar más obligaciones y más dinero a la Municipalidad, o debemos dejar que el gobierno central asuma más obligaciones y servicios municipales? 1. Más a la Municipalidad 2. Más al gobierno central 3. No cambiar nada 4. Más a la Intendencia si dan mejores servicios 8. No sabe [No leer # 3 o # 4]	LGL2	<input type="text"/>
LGL3. ¿Estaría usted dispuesto a pagar más impuestos a la Municipalidad para que ésta pueda prestar mejores servicios municipales o cree usted que no vale la pena pagar más? 1. Más impuestos 2. No vale la pena pagar más 8. No sabe	LGL3	<input type="text"/>
(1) LOCG1. ¿Cómo considera la coordinación existente entre la Municipalidad y el Gobierno Central? 1. Muy buena 2. Buena 3. Regular 4. Mala 5. Muy Mala 8. NS/NR	LOCG1	<input type="text"/>
(1) LOCG2. ¿Cómo considera la coordinación existente entre la Gobernación y el Gobierno Central? 1. Muy buena 2. Buena 3. Regular 4. Mala 5. Muy Mala 8. NS/NR	LOCG2	<input type="text"/>
(1) LOCG3. ¿Cómo considera la coordinación existente entre la Municipalidad y la Gobernación? 1. Muy buena 2. Buena 3. Regular 4. Mala 5. Muy Mala 8. NS/NR	LOCG3	<input type="text"/>

Para Asunción: pasar a JC1

Ahora vamos a hablar de la Gobernación de este Departamento...

DNP0: Desde 1993 los departamentos tienen autoridades electas. ¿Escuchó hablar del Gobernador y la Junta Departamental? 1. Si 2. No (pase a JC1)	DNP0	<input type="text"/>
DNP1. ¿Ha asistido a una reunión donde estuvo presente el Gobernador o el Gobernador Electo en los últimos 12 meses? 1. Sí 2. No. 8. No sabe/ no recuerda	DNP1	<input type="text"/>
DNP2. ¿Ha solicitado ayuda o presentado una petición a alguna oficina, funcionario, o miembro de la Gobernación de su Departamento durante los últimos 12 meses? 1. Sí 2. No. 8. No sabe/ no recuerda	DNP2	<input type="text"/>
DSGL1. ¿Diría usted que lo que hace la Gobernación para la gente es excelente, bueno, regular, malo o pésimo? 1. Excelente 2. Bueno 3. Regular 4. Malo 5. Pésimo 8. No sabe	DSGL1	<input type="text"/>
DSGL2. ¿Como considera que le han tratado a usted o a sus vecinos cuando han ido a la Gobernación para pedir algo? ¿Le han tratado muy bien, bien, regular, mal o muy mal? 1. Muy bien 2. Bien 3. Regular 4. Mal 5. Muy mal 8. NS/NR	DSGL2	<input type="text"/>

DLGL1. En su opinión, ¿quien ha respondido mejor para ayudar a resolver los problemas de esta comunidad? Sería ¿El gobierno central? ¿El Congreso? ¿La Gobernación? o ¿La Municipalidad? 1. El gobierno central 2. Los diputados 3. El gobierno departamental 4. La Municipalidad 5. Ninguno 6. Todos igual 8. No sabe/ no contesta [No leer #5 o #6]	DLGL1	<input type="text"/>
DLGL2. En su opinión ¿se le debe de dar más obligaciones y más dinero a la Gobernación, o debemos dejar que el gobierno central asuma más asuntos y servicios municipales? 1. Más a la Gobernación 2. Más al gob. central 3. No cambiar nada 8. No sabe [No leer # 3]	DLGL2	<input type="text"/>

Algunas personas dicen que se justificaría, bajo ciertas circunstancias, que los militares tomen el poder. En su opinión, la toma del poder por los militares:		
JC1. Se justifica o no si el Desempleo es muy alto. 1. Se justifica 2. No se justifica 8.NS	JC1	<input type="text"/>
JC3A. Se justifica o no si el Presidente deja de cumplir con sus funciones. 1. Se justifica 2. No se justifica 8.NS	JC3A	<input type="text"/>
JC4. Se justifica o no si hay muchas huelgas estudiantiles en las universidades 1. Se justifica 2. No se justifica 8.NS	JC4	<input type="text"/>
JC9. Se justifica o no si hay un gran número de huelgas por trabajadores sindicalizados. 1. Se justifica 2. No se justifica 8.NS	JC9	<input type="text"/>
(1) JC11. Se justifica o no si el Congreso deja de cumplir con sus funciones. 1. Se justifica 2. No se justifica 8.NS	JC11	<input type="text"/>
Cree Ud. que el régimen del Presidente Stroessner ayudó o perjudicó a la solución de los siguientes problemas:		
BC1. Ayudó o perjudicó para el crecimiento económico. 1. Ayudó 2. Perjudicó. (No leer: 3. Ni lo uno ni lo otro) 8.NS	BC1	<input type="text"/>
BC2. Ayudó o perjudicó a reducir el alto desempleo. 1. Ayudó 2. Perjudicó. (No leer: 3 Ni lo uno ni lo otro) 8.NS	BC2	<input type="text"/>
BC5. Ayudó o perjudicó para reducir la delincuencia 1. Ayudó 2. Perjudicó. (No leer: 3 Ni lo uno ni lo otro) 8.NS	BC5	<input type="text"/>
BC7A. Ayudó o perjudicó a los pobres. 1. Ayudó 2. Perjudicó. (No leer: 3 Ni lo uno ni lo otro) 8.NS	BC7A	<input type="text"/>
BC15. Considera Ud. que hay alguna razón por la cual se justifique un golpe de estado que interrumpa el proceso democrático? 1. Sí 2. No (No leer: 3 Ni lo uno ni lo otro) 8. NS	BC15	<input type="text"/>
BC16. Considera Ud. que hoy día las FF.AA. de hecho obedecen al Presidente de la República, todo el tiempo, de vez en cuando, casi nunca o nunca? 1. Todo el tiempo 2. De vez en cuando 3. Casi nunca 4. Nunca 8. NS	BC16	<input type="text"/>
(1) BC30. ¿Considera Ud. que el Presidente ejerce efectivamente la Comandancia de la Fuerza Armada? 1. Si 2.No 8.NS/NR	BC30	<input type="text"/>

(1) BC31. ¿Ud. cree que los militares jugaron un papel importante en la eliminación de la candidatura del Gral. Oviedo? 1. Si 2.No 8.NS/NR	BC31	<input type="text"/>
(1) BC33. ¿Considera Ud. que el Gral. Oviedo es víctima de una persecución política? 1. Sí 2. No 8.NS/NR	BC33	<input type="text"/>
(1) BC32. ¿Ud. cree que los militares en Paraguay tienen mucho poder, algo de poder, poco poder o nada de poder? 1. Mucho poder 2.Algo de poder 3.Poco poder 4.Nada de poder 8.NS/NR	BC32	<input type="text"/>

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 Ud. que los tribunales de justicia de Paraguay 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	<input type="text"/>
B2.¿Hasta qué punto tiene Ud. respeto por las instituciones políticas de Paraguay? NADA 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 MUCHO NS = 8	B2	<input type="text"/>
B3. ¿Hasta qué punto cree Ud. que los derechos básicos del ciudadano están bien protegidos por el sistema político Paraguayo? NADA 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 MUCHO NS = 8	B3	<input type="text"/>
B4. ¿Hasta qué punto se siente Ud. orgulloso de vivir bajo el sistema político Paraguayo? NADA 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 MUCHO NS = 8	B4	<input type="text"/>
B6. ¿Hasta qué punto piensa Ud. que se debe apoyar el sistema político Paraguayo? NADA 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 MUCHO NS = 8	B6	<input type="text"/>
B10. ¿Hasta qué punto tiene confianza Ud. en los partidos políticos? NADA 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 MUCHO NS = 8	B10	<input type="text"/>
B11. ¿Hasta qué punto tiene confianza Ud. en el Tribunal Supremo de Justicia Electoral? NADA 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 MUCHO NS = 8	B11	<input type="text"/>

B12. ¿Hasta qué punto tiene confianza Ud. en las Fuerzas Armadas? NADA 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 MUCHO NS = 8	B12	<input type="text"/>
B13. ¿Hasta qué punto tiene confianza Ud. en el Congreso ? NADA 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 MUCHO NS = 8	B13	<input type="text"/>
B14. ¿Hasta qué punto tiene confianza Ud. en el Gobierno? NADA 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 MUCHO NS = 8	B14	<input type="text"/>
B15. ¿Hasta qué punto tiene confianza Ud. en la Contraloría General de la República? NADA 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 MUCHO NS = 8	B15	<input type="text"/>
B18. ¿Hasta qué punto tiene confianza Ud. en la Policía? NADA 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 MUCHO NS = 8	B18	<input type="text"/>
B20. ¿Hasta qué punto tiene confianza Ud. en la Iglesia Católica? NADA 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 MUCHO NS = 8	B20	<input type="text"/>
B21. ¿Hasta qué punto tiene confianza Ud. en los periodistas? NADA 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 MUCHO NS = 8	B21	<input type="text"/>
B22. ¿Hasta qué punto tiene confianza Ud. en el gobierno municipal? NADA 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 MUCHO NS = 8	B22	<input type="text"/>
B23. ¿Hasta qué punto tiene confianza Ud. en el gobierno departamental? NADA 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 MUCHO NS = 8 9. Inap (Asunción)	B23	<input type="text"/>
(1) B30. ¿Hasta qué punto tiene confianza Ud. en la Corte Suprema de Justicia? NADA 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 MUCHO NS = 8	B30	<input type="text"/>
(1) B31. ¿Hasta qué punto tiene confianza Ud. en los Medios de Comunicación? NADA 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 MUCHO NS = 8	B31	<input type="text"/>
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	<input type="text"/>
B25. ¿Hasta qué punto cree Ud. que las ultimas elecciones fueron limpias, o sea sin trampa? NADA 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 MUCHO NS = 8	B25	<input type="text"/>
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	B26	<input type="text"/>
RECOJER LA TARJETA "A"		

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 Paraguay. 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

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

<p>E5. Que las personas participen en manifestaciones permitidas por la ley.</p> <p>DESAPRUEBA 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 APRUEBA 88= NS</p> <p>MUCHO MUCHO</p>	E5	_ _ _
<p>E8. Que las personas participen en una organización o grupo para tratar de resolver problemas de las comunidades.</p> <p>DESAPRUEBA 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 APRUEBA 88= NS</p> <p>MUCHO MUCHO</p>	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	<input type="text"/> <input type="text"/>
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	<input type="text"/> <input type="text"/>
E14. Que las personas invadan propiedades privadas. DESAPRUEBA 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 APRUEBA 88= NS MUCHO MUCHO	E14	<input type="text"/> <input type="text"/>
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	<input type="text"/> <input type="text"/>
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	<input type="text"/> <input type="text"/>
C3. ¿Si se pasara una ley que prohibiera las manifestaciones públicas, con qué firmeza la aprobaría o desaprobaría Ud.? DESAPRUEBA 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 APRUEBA 88= NS MUCHO MUCHO	C3	<input type="text"/> <input type="text"/>
C5. ¿Con qué firmeza aprobaría o desaprobaría Ud. que se prohibiera reuniones de cualquier grupo que critique el sistema político paraguayo? DESAPRUEBA 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 APRUEBA 88= NS MUCHO MUCHO	C5	<input type="text"/> <input type="text"/>
C6. ¿Con qué firmeza aprobaría o desaprobaría Ud. que en la radio, en la televisión y en los periódicos se censure la propaganda que critique al sistema político paraguayo? DESAPRUEBA 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 APRUEBA 88= NS MUCHO MUCHO Recoja la Tarjeta “B”	C6	<input type="text"/> <input type="text"/>

(1) JUS1. Hablando en general de la administración de justicia en el país, le parece que es: muy buena, buena, regular, mala o muy mala 1. Muy buena 2. Buena 3. Regular 4. Mala 5. Muy Mala 8. NS/NR	JUS1	<input type="text"/>
--	------	----------------------

Ahora queremos hablar de su propia experiencia personal con estas cosas que pasan en la vida...		
EXC5 ¿Sabe de alguien que ha pagado una coima a un empleado público por cualquier tipo de favor? 0. No 1. Si 8. NS/NR	EXC5	<input type="text"/>
EXC6. ¿Algún empleado público le ha solicitado una coima en los últimos dos años? 0. No 1. Si 8. NS/NR	EXC6	<input type="text"/>

EXC7. ¿Cree usted que el pago de coima a los funcionarios públicos es? 1. Muy común; 2. Común; 3. Poco común; 4. Nada común; 8. NS/NR	EXC7	<input type="text"/>
EXC9. ¿Cree usted que el uso de coimas en el Paraguay hoy es 1. Mayor que en la época de Stroessner 2. Menor que en la época de Stroessner 3. Igual que antes 8. NS/NR	EXC9	<input type="text"/>
EXC14. ¿Conoce a alguien que ha pagado una coima en los juzgados? 0. No 1. Si 8. NS/NR	EXC14	<input type="text"/>

Voy a nombrar a varias instituciones públicas. Me interesa saber hasta que punto cree usted que los representantes en estas instituciones son honestos, o sea honrados; o corruptos, o sea deshonestos.

Usando la tarjeta “C”

Favor de indicarme el punto en la escala que acerca más a su punto de vista

MUY CORRUPTOS 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 MUY HONESTOS

(o sea honrados) 88. NS/NR

(1) PC1.¿Hasta que punto diría usted que los Diputados son honestos o corruptos? Favor de usar la escala de 1 al 10 (Sondear: “en general” “basado en lo que usted ha oído, escuchado) MUY CORRUPTOS 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 MUY HONESTOS (o sea honrados) 88.NS/NR	PC1	<input type="text"/>
(1) PC2.¿Hasta que punto diría usted que los ministros son honestos o corruptos? MUY CORRUPTOS 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 MUY HONESTOS (o sea honrados) 88.NS/NR	PC2	<input type="text"/>
(1) PC3.¿ Hasta que punto diría usted que los Intendentes son honestos o corruptos? MUY CORRUPTOS 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 MUY HONESTOS (o sea honrados) 88.NS/NR	PC3	<input type="text"/>
(1) PC4.¿ Hasta que punto diría usted que los concejales municipales son honestos o corruptos? MUY CORRUPTOS 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 MUY HONESTOS (o sea honrados) 88.NS/NR	PC4	<input type="text"/>
(1) PC5.¿ Hasta que punto diría usted que los policías son honestos o corruptos? MUY CORRUPTOS 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 MUY HONESTOS (o sea honrados) 88.NS/NR	PC5	<input type="text"/>
(1) PC12.¿ Hasta que punto diría usted que los jueces son honestos o corruptos? MUY CORRUPTOS 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 MUY HONESTOS (o sea honrados) 88.NS/NR	PC12	<input type="text"/>
(1) PC13.¿ Hasta que punto diría usted que los militares son honestos o corruptos? MUY CORRUPTOS 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 MUY HONESTOS (o sea honrados) 88.NS/NR	PC13	<input type="text"/>

(1) PC14.¿ Hasta que punto diría usted que los líderes de los partidos políticos son honestos o corruptos? MUY CORRUPTOS 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 MUY HONESTOS (o sea honrados) 88.NS/NR	PC14	<input type="text"/> <input type="text"/>
RECOJER LA TARJETA “C”		
GI1. ¿Recuerda Ud. cómo se llama el Presidente de los Estados Unidos ? (Clinton) 0. No correcto (o no sabe) 1. Correcto	GI1	<input type="text"/>
(1) GI5. ¿Recuerda Ud. la fecha en que se realizaron las últimas elecciones presidenciales en el Paraguay? (10 de mayo de 1998) 0. No correcto (o no sabe) 1. Correcto	GI5	<input type="text"/>
GI3. ¿Recuerda Ud. cómo se llama el Presidente de Brasil? (Cardoso) 0. No correcto (o no sabe) 1. Correcto	GI3	<input type="text"/>
(1) GI6.¿Recuerda Ud. el nombre del vice-presidente de Wasmosy? (Angel Roberto Seifart) 0. No correcto (o no sabe) 1. Correcto	GI6	<input type="text"/>
GI4. ¿En que año fue aprobada la actual Constitución? (1992) 0. Incorrecto (o no sabe) 1. Correcto	GI4	<input type="text"/>

Q3. ¿Cual es su religión? 1. Católica (practicante) 2. Católica (no practicante) 3. Evangélica 4. Otra. 5. Ninguna 8.NS/NR	Q3	<input type="text"/>
---	----	----------------------

¿Podría decirme si en su casa (o en su finca) tienen: [LEER TODOS]		
R1.Televisor a color? 0. No. 1. Uno 2. Dos 8. NS/NR	R1	<input type="text"/>
R3.Televisor en blanco y negro? 0. No. 1. Uno 2. Dos 8. NS/NR	R2	<input type="text"/>
R2. Heladera (nevera)? 0. No. 1. Sí 8. NS/NR	R3	<input type="text"/>
R3. Teléfono? 0. No. 1. Sí 8. NS/NR	R4	<input type="text"/>
R5. Automóvil o camión? 0. No. 1. Sí 8. NS/NR	R5	<input type="text"/>
R6. Lavaropa? 0. No. 1. Sí 8. NS/NR	R6	<input type="text"/>
R7. Microonda? 0. No. 1. Sí 8. NS/NR	R7	<input type="text"/>
R8. Motocicleta? 0. No. 1. Sí 8. NS/NR	R8	<input type="text"/>
R9. Tractor? 0. No. 1. Sí 8. NS/NR	R9	<input type="text"/>
R10. Energía eléctrica 0. No. 1. Sí 8. NS/NR	R10	<input type="text"/>
R11. Agua corriente 0. No. 1. Sí 8. NS/NR	R11	<input type="text"/>
R12. Piso de la habitación : 1. Tierra 2. Madera 3. Cemento, ladrillo, terrazo, baldoso	R12	<input type="text"/>

<p>OCUP1. ¿En que trabaja Ud.? (sondear para poder codificar entre las categorías abajo): Si desocupado(a), anotar ocupación normal.</p> <p>1. Profesional (ingeniero, médico, enfermera, abogado, Profesor/maestro, contador, etc.)</p> <p>2. Oficinista (sector público como secretaria)</p> <p>3. Oficinista (sector privado como secretaria)</p> <p>4. Obrero de fabrica, otro trabajo físico urbano, transportista, vendedor ambulante</p> <p>5. Obrero rural (trabajador de chacra o estancia, sin tierra) o pesquero</p> <p>6. Dueño de finca (o trabaja en finca familiar)</p> <p>10. Alquila tierra rural para cultivar</p> <p>11. Dueño de negocio (tienda, restaurante, fabrica)</p> <p>12. Estudiante</p> <p>13. Ama de casa</p> <p>14. Jubilado</p> <p>15. Soldado o policía</p> <p>16. Empleado(a) doméstica</p> <p>17. Vive de rentas, rentista</p>	OCUP1	<div style="border: 1px solid black; width: 40px; height: 40px; margin: 0 auto;"></div>
<p>DESOC1. ¿Ha estado desocupado durante el último año?</p> <p>0. No [Pasara a Q10] 1. Sí [Seguir con DEOC2] 9. Estudiante, ama de casa, jubilado</p>	DESOC1	<div style="border: 1px solid black; width: 40px; height: 40px; margin: 0 auto;"></div>
<p>DESOC2. [Para los que dicen Sí] ¿Por cuántas semanas durante el último año no ha tenido trabajo? _____ [01 = 1; 99= no fue desocupado]</p>	DESOC2	<div style="border: 1px solid black; width: 40px; height: 40px; margin: 0 auto;"></div>
<p>Q10. En cual de los siguientes rangos ubicaría Ud. el ingreso total mensual de las personas de su hogar? [MOSTRAR TARJETA I]</p> <p>1. Menos de 500.000</p> <p>2. De 500.000 a 999.999</p> <p>3. De 1.000.000 a 1.499.999</p> <p>4. De 1.500.000 a 1.999.999</p> <p>5. De 2.000.000 a 2.499.999</p> <p>6. De 2.500.000 a 2.999.999</p> <p>7. De 3.000.000 o Más</p> <p>8. NS/NR [RECOGER TARJETA I]</p>	Q10	<div style="border: 1px solid black; width: 40px; height: 40px; margin: 0 auto;"></div>
<p>Q11. ¿Cuál es su estado civil? (no leer alternativas) 1. Soltero(a) 2. Casado(a) 3. Unión libre (unido(a); concubinado(a)) 4. Divorciado(a) 5. Separado(a) 6. Viudo(a)</p> <p>8. NS/NR</p>	Q11	<div style="border: 1px solid black; width: 40px; height: 40px; margin: 0 auto;"></div>

<p>Hora terminada: ____:____</p> <p style="text-align: center;">hora minuto</p>	<p>Tiempo de duración de la entrevista: _____ (minutos)</p>	<p>DUR <div style="border: 1px solid black; width: 40px; height: 40px; display: inline-block;"></div> <div style="border: 1px solid black; width: 40px; height: 40px; display: inline-block;"></div> <div style="border: 1px solid black; width: 40px; height: 40px; display: inline-block;"></div></p>
--	---	---

Yo juro que esta entrevista fue llevada acabo con la persona seleccionada. Nombre y Firma del entrevistador _____ ENT |_____| |_____|

Fecha _____ FECHA |_____| |_____| |_____| |_____|
(día) (mes)

Nombre y firma del supervisor de campo _____ SUPERVI |_____| |_____|

Firma de la persona que ingresó los datos _____

Firma de la persona que verificó los datos _____