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DRAFT REPORT

Legislative Assembly Strengthening Project

(519-0360)

February 1993

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University of Pittsburgh

FACULTY OF ARTS AND SCIENCES
Department of Political Science

February 2, 1993

Ms Karen L. Freeman
Mission Evaluation Officer
United States Agency for International Development
c/o American Embassy
San Salvador, El Salvador

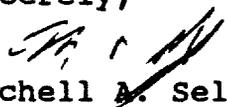
Dear Ms. Freeman:

I am enclosing one copy of the final revised English version of the evaluation of the Legislative Assembly Strengthening Project (519-0360). The remaining 13 copies will be sent to you via APO. We have attempted to address every one of the suggestions made in your January 12, 1993 letter to me.

As I noted to you when we talked in El Salvador, the Spanish translation will begin now that the final English version is complete, and it will be sent to you as soon as we have it. It will not be completed, as we discussed, within the 30 days given in your letter of January 12.

On behalf of the research team, I would like to thank you and the other members of the Mission for their assistance on this project. We learned a great deal from it, and we hope its results benefit the Mission and the legislature.

Sincerely,


Mitchell A. Seligson
Professor of Political Science, and
Research Professor, University Center for International Studies

cc: R. Drennan

A I D EVALUATION ABSTRACT

This a mid term evaluation of the Legislative Assembly Strengthening Project, whose goal is to strengthen the democratic process in El Salvador. The purpose of the project is to enhance the ability of the Assembly to engage in more analytical and informed policy dialogue internally and with other branches of government. The project has three components, each designed to achieve the project purpose: technical support services, infrastructure and constituency services.

Purpose of activity evaluated

The project has provided support to hire and train a group of eight analysts. Four of these analysts were selected by the four major parties in the legislature and serve the parties directly. The remaining four were selected competitively independent of partisan criteria and serve mainly in the committees of the legislature. The project purpose is appropriate, necessary and consistent with USAID strategy for El Salvador and Central America as a region. Unless the legislative branch can grasp and deal with the technical demands of the policy-making process, it will never develop the credibility necessary to serve as a non-violent channel of participatory energy in the hyper-mobilized world of Salvadoran politics. The evaluation has found that the project has taken small, successful steps to enhance the ability of the Assembly to engage in more analytical and informed policy dialogue internally and with other branches of government. While the technical support services component of the project is the most developed, the constituency services component of the project has yet to be developed. Legislators have received increased access to policy oriented information as a result of efforts made by project supported analysts to conduct research, write background papers, and provide comparative data for their committees. It is clear that the total effect of their work is to provide a quantum leap in action-oriented policy information for the Legislative Assembly. Perceptions of the legislature by the Salvadoran public are characterized by a lack of awareness of the body, a generally unfavorable perception of it, and limited contact with legislators.

- The project has generally accomplished its objectives. It is sound, well-managed and should be continued. The AID resident advisor and project manager are both extremely effective. The four general analysts should be reassigned to the parties or to the Technical Department (Departamento Técnico).
- The project should continue the modest efforts at evaluating the Legislative Assembly's administrative and organizational arrangements for the life of the project.
- The project should initiate a public information campaign, targeted especially at women and lower levels of socio-economic status. Inform Salvadoran citizens of the role of a legislature in a democratic society.

A I D EVALUATION SUMMARY

Purpose of Evaluation

The purpose of the evaluation is to evaluate the the Legislative Assembly Strengthening Project, whose goal is to strengthen the democratic process in El Salvador. The purpose of the project is to enhance the ability of the Assembly to engage in more analytical and informed policy dialogue internally and with other branches of government. The project has three components, each designed to achieve the project purpose: technical support services, infrastructure and constituency services.

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The project has provided support to hire and train a group of eight analysts. Four of these analysts were selected by the four major parties in the legislature and serve the parties directly. The remaining four were selected competitively independent of partisan criteria and serve mainly in the committees of the legislature. For many years, the committees have had assigned to them technicians (técnicos), who serve as a sophisticated secretariat for each committee. The analysts are not supposed to duplicate the role of the technicians, rather, they are charged with the responsibility of improving the quality of legislation.

The project purpose is appropriate, necessary and consistent with USAID strategy for El Salvador and Central America as a region. Unless the legislative branch can grasp and deal with the technical demands of the policy-making process, it will never develop the credibility necessary to serve as a non-violent channel of participatory energy in the hyper-mobilized world of Salvadoran politics.

Findings

The evaluation has found that the project has taken small, successful steps to enhance the ability of the Assembly to engage in more analytical and informed policy dialogue internally and with other branches of government. While the technical support services component of the project is the most developed, infrastructure improvements are fitfully moving forward. Only the constituency services component of the project has yet to be developed.

Legislators have received increased access to policy-oriented information as a result of efforts made by project supported analysts to conduct research, write background papers, and provide comparative data for their committees. The quality and quantity of work performed by the analysts varies in accordance with their work assignments and skills. However, it is clear that the total effect of their work is to provide a quantum leap in action-oriented policy information for the Legislative Assembly.

Research conducted by the analysts has directly contributed to the quality of the debate and to some of the legislative decisions that have been made. Specifically, one can point to several examples such as the "Consumer Protection Law" (Ley de Protección al Consumidor), where the work of the analysts enabled the Finance Committee (Comisión de Hacienda) to reject some of the proposals put forth by the executive, and to reach a consensus with relative ease. The analysts have also helped in organizing the work of both the committees' and the party's legislative agendas. When compared with the purely "rubber-stamp" nature of the legislature of some years ago, a more independent, dynamic and self confident legislative branch is emerging. It is impossible, of course, to attribute all or even most of these gains to the analysts, who, after all, have been at work for little more than half a year. Yet, interviews with numerous congressmen and women uniformly led to the conclusion that the analysts had already made their presence felt.

It is also clear that the periodic workshops held for legislators and the observational trips to other legislatures have had a positive impact on the work of the Assembly. The AID-sponsored budget

seminar was particularly well received by most legislators interviewed because it was focused and specific, rather than general and diffused. Observational trips to Argentina and Chile have had two effects. First, based on direct observation of these two legislatures the Technical Committee submitted a proposal to conduct an administrative evaluation of the Legislative Assembly. This evaluation, if and when it is carried out, can be an important catalyst for institutional change as we discuss below. The second impact is that, based on their observation of Chile's Library of Congress the legislators proposed and passed a law stipulating that every Salvadoran publishing company is obliged to give the Legislative Assembly Library a copy of all material published. The Assembly Library established with USAID support, has been used extensively by the analysts and is experiencing increasing use by the legislators and the general public.

The policy research unit created by the project has been developed in a non-intrusive manner, reporting to the Technical Committee, an ad-hoc group that has been appointed by the Executive Board (Junta Directiva) to oversee the project. The Technical Committee has representatives from each of the six parties currently represented in the Assembly. It meets once a week to discuss operational problems associated with the project. Members of the Technical Committee understand the project and endorse it.

Within the policy research unit, two categories of analysts have been supported by this project. One group of four analysts has been selected by and work for the four major parties represented in the legislature. A second group, called "core analysts" have been assigned to one or more committees. A preliminary analysis of the work presented by the analysts highlights a difference in the efforts of the core and political party analysts. The fact that core analysts work more closely with the legislative committees is reflected in the types of reports they develop, which include committee work plans and the drafting and modification of laws presented by the committees. When political parties have entrusted core analysts with a particular request it has mostly concerned drafts of laws that they would like to propose before the National Assembly. Political party analysts, in contrast, have been assigned a wider variety of tasks, reflecting the particular concerns of each party.

A potentially serious problem presents itself in the day-to-day control and management of the four core analysts. How can they be accessed by the legislators? Given the delicate nature of the project itself and the extremely politicized milieu in which it finds itself, the current ad-hoc method can be subject to criticism from within the Assembly.

Another contradiction in the design and development of the project concerns the role of the eight full-time and two part-time technicians. Their role has been institutionalized in the management of the Assembly as committee secretaries. The core analysts have been artificially grafted onto the committees resulting in some conflicts between technicians and analysts. This problem has been exacerbated by the salary differential that exists between the newly hired analysts and the less well-paid técnicos. Further, the technicians have the associated problems of working in a highly centralized (and politicized) organization whose behavioral covenant is dominated by the personalistic drives of the Oficial Mayor, whose working knowledge of the legislature is far deeper than theirs. In the long-term, the ad-hoc floating nature of the policy research unit will need to be addressed. This report makes specific recommendations on this point.

Yet, there is another element of contradiction. It is the explicit decision of the project to avoid the major internal legislative management issue of administrative reform within the Assembly. The central issue here is the role and responsibilities of the Oficial Mayor, who by all accounts has masterfully and skillfully gained control over the legislative process in all its multifaceted aspects. The result is excessive centralization and antiquated procedures. This is a problem that must be addressed by the project. First, the efficiency of the body is limited by this centralization. Second, legislators find themselves constrained by the limitations imposed by this centralization.

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Another effort to improve the legislature, one funded by the Government of El Salvador (GOES), is the remodeling of the offices in the assembly building and the reconstruction of the annex. Once a source of pride, the Assembly's office remodeling effort has become a major source of embarrassment and frustration. Construction delays have rendered over fifty percent of the Assembly's office building unusable now for over 18 months. Where reconstruction and remodeling has been completed, the facilities are conducive to office productivity.

Perceptions of the legislature by the Salvadoran public are characterized by a lack of awareness of the body, a generally unfavorable perception of it, and limited contact with legislators. Only about one in ten Salvadorans know how many legislators there are in the legislature, compared with over one-third of those in Honduras and Costa Rica, less than three per cent of the citizens had contacted a legislator to assist them with a personal or communal problem, compared to five times that proportion in Honduras. We further found that only 17 percent of the respondents believed that the legislators pay attention to the views of their constituents. Given the history of the legislature in El Salvador, these findings were not unexpected. These conclusions were reached on the basis of a public opinion poll of over 1,200 citizens in all parts of the country, with comparisons made to a similar poll in the other countries of Central America.

Not all Salvadorans hold the same image of the legislature. Knowledge of the body varies directly with demographic and socio-economic status, women, the young, those with low levels of education and the poor are particularly ignorant of it. Evaluation of the quality of the legislature and its legislators, however, is not a function of socio-economic factors, but is related instead to party identification, those who favor the incumbent administration are more positive than those who do not.

Despite the very low level of knowledge of and interaction with the legislature on the part of Salvadoran females in the general public, one cannot overlook the increased participation of women in political parties and in the legislature. In the present Legislative Assembly, approximately ten percent of the legislators are women, two of whom are the heads of their respective political parties. While ten percent is far lower than the approximately fifty percent of the Salvadoran population that is female, it is far higher than it has been in the past.

All of the female legislators are very active members of the legislature and, according to the interviews we held with some of them, they are interested in modifying some of the laws to make them more appropriate for the existing social and economic situation faced by women. One example could be the revision of the Family Code law which would provide greater legal and economic protection for the growing number of women who are in common law marriages and later become female heads of households. A second example has to do with the declining number of and effectiveness of health services for the poor. A great percentage of the poor consists of households headed by women who work in the informal sector and, therefore, have no access to social security health benefits. Hence, they depend completely on government sponsored health services such as free immunization programs, health education programs, emergency care, etc. Due to the war and economic crisis that has affected the region as a whole, these government services have been declining over the years, leading to an increase in health problems especially among children. The female legislators we interviewed, as well as the female policy analysts, mentioned that they were working on ways to introduce better health care legislation.

Females chair two committees, and the Vice-President of the ARENA party is a woman. The presence of these women is already being felt in a number of key areas, especially in family-related legislation.

It is clear to the review team that many legislators have understood that the Assembly is one of the few mechanisms for channeling and enhancing through peaceful means the pluralism in the country. Insofar as pluralism is a constant and enduring component of democracy and insofar as the

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peaceful resolution of conflict is a hallmark of democracy, the Legislative Assembly of the country can play a critical role in maintaining and consolidating the country's democratic efforts

Lessons learned and recommendations

I The project has generally accomplished its objectives. It is sound, well managed and should be continued. The AID resident advisor and project manager are both extremely effective. Within this context, we propose a number of modifications that may help ensure continued success.

A The four general analysts should be reassigned to the parties or to the Technical Department (Departamento Técnico). Under the current configuration, they are not in the mainstream of the legislative process.

B A thorough inventory of analyst procedures and administration should be conducted promptly with a goal of enhancing the quality of their work product as well as the perception of their contribution within the assembly.

C The project should address the on-going problems of coordination between the analysts and the technicians. While it seems as if the problems between them are not growing, the gap in communication can and should be narrowed. Perhaps joint training programs can be effected.

D The project should develop a skills enhancement effort for the technicians themselves. There is no reason why they have not been more directly targeted for training. In practice, they play a large role in the development and administration of legislative proposals and final legislative acts. Given the likely intensity of the legislative debate in the coming years, skills will have to be raised to meet the growing demand for political responsiveness. They especially need training in project management, so as to better meet the hectic demands of planning the legislative calendar, as well as microcomputer skills (especially word processing and spreadsheets).

II Enhance informal communications and relations with the Oficial Mayor. The project can not afford to be openly at odds with this powerful individual. If internal problems are to be avoided, relations with him have to be enhanced. Such relations could include informal but regular personal briefings by the resident advisor as well as periodic briefings by the analysts on specific projects in which they are involved. The assumption underlying this recommendation is that the Oficial Mayor can be a catalyst for change.

A Continue the modest efforts at evaluating the Legislative Assembly's administrative and organizational arrangements for the life of the project. Consider tying the follow-on project to a large scale evaluation of the legislature's administrative procedures to be completed by the time of the elections in 1994.

B Break the information logjam in the Legislative Assembly. Provide immediately each of the political parties in the Assembly, the library, and the analysts with the copy machines, faxes, and budgets to run and maintain them. Analysts should also have local travel costs covered to ensure that they can consult widely within the academic and public affairs community.

III Initiate a public information campaign, targeted especially at women and lower levels of socio-economic status. Inform Salvadoran citizens of the role of a legislature in a democratic society.

CONTENTS

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY	1
INTRODUCTION	7
FINDINGS	9
Increased Access to Action-Oriented Policy Information	12
Current Relationship of the Policy Research Unit to the Assembly's Technical Department	17
Role of the Library	27
Public Understanding of the Role of the Legislature	29
Infrastructure Support	33
Women in Development	35
Project Strategy, Goals, Objectives	40
CONCLUSIONS	45
RECOMMENDATIONS	47
APPENDICES	
1. Abstracts of Policy Analysts' Reports	
2. A Brief Summary of Analysts' Accomplishments	
3. Public Understanding of the Legislature: Results of Public Opinion Polls	
3A. Univariate Distributions of Gallup Poll	
3B. Questionnaire of Gallup Poll	
4. Interviews	
5. Scope of work	

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

The goal of the Legislative Assembly Strengthening Project is to strengthen the democratic process in El Salvador. The purpose is to enhance the ability of the Assembly to engage in more analytical and informed policy dialogue internally and with other branches of government. The project has three components, each designed to achieve the project purpose: technical support services, infrastructure and constituency services.

For many years the legislative function in El Salvador was suspended, as military governments ruled by decree. In the early 1980s, however, democratic practices began to revive and the legislature was restored as a functioning body by the mid-1980s. The unicameral legislature 84 representatives (called legislators) elected by popular vote, 64 of them at the district level and twenty from a national list. The legislature is dominated by the ruling party, ARENA, which is also the party of the current President of El Salvador. The President of the legislature is from the ARENA party, and sits at the head of the most powerful committee. The legislature meets throughout the year, with committee meetings held from Monday to Wednesday and plenary sessions on Thursday. All spending bills are submitted by the executive branch of government, as, indeed, are most other bills. Nonetheless, in recent years there have been signs of increasing initiative coming from the legislature.

The project has provided support to hire and train a group of eight analysts. Four of these analysts were selected by the four major parties in the legislature and serve the parties directly. The remaining four were selected competitively independent of partisan criteria and serve mainly in the committees of the legislature. For many years, the committees have had assigned to them technicians (técnicos), who serve as a sophisticated secretariat for each committee. The analysts are not supposed to duplicate the role of the technicians, rather, they are charged with the responsibility of improving the quality of legislation.

The project purpose is appropriate, necessary and consistent with USAID strategy for El Salvador and Central America as a region. Unless the legislative branch can grasp and deal with the technical demands of the policy-making process, it will never develop the credibility necessary to serve as a non-violent channel of participatory energy in the hyper-mobilized world of Salvadoran politics.

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infrastructure improvements are fitfully moving forward. Only the constituency services component of the project has yet to be developed.

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It is also clear that the periodic workshops held for legislators and the observational trips to other legislatures have had a positive impact on the work of the Assembly. The AID-sponsored budget seminar was particularly well-received by most legislators interviewed because it was focused and specific, rather than general and diffused. Observational trips to Argentina and Chile have had two effects. First, based on direct observation of these two legislatures, the Technical Committee submitted a proposal to conduct an administrative evaluation of the Legislative Assembly. This evaluation, if and when it is carried out, can be an important catalyst for institutional change, as we discuss below. The second impact is that, based on their observation of Chile's Library of Congress, the legislators proposed and passed a law stipulating that every Salvadoran publishing company is obliged to give the Legislative Assembly Library a copy of all material published. The Assembly Library, established with USAID support, has been used extensively by the analysts and is experiencing increasing use by the legislators and the general public.

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A potentially serious problem presents itself in the day-to-day control and management of the four core analysts: How can they be accessed by the legislators? Given the delicate nature of the project itself and the extremely politicized milieu in which it finds itself, the current ad-hoc method can be subject to criticism from within the Assembly.

Another contradiction in the design and development of the project concerns the role of the eight full-time and two part-time technicians. Their role has been institutionalized in the management of the Assembly as committee secretaries. The core analysts have been artificially grafted onto the committees resulting in some conflicts between technicians and analysts. This problem has been exacerbated by the salary differential that exists between the newly hired analysts and the less well-paid técnicos. Further, the technicians have the associated problems of working in a highly centralized (and politicized) organization whose behavioral covenant is dominated by the personalistic drives of the Oficial Mayor, whose working knowledge of the legislature is far deeper than theirs. In the long-term, the ad-hoc floating nature of the policy research unit will need to be addressed. This report makes specific recommendations on this point.

Yet, there is another element of contradiction. It is the explicit decision of the project to avoid the major internal legislative management issue of administrative reform within the Assembly. The central issue here is the role and responsibilities of the Oficial Mayor, who by all accounts has masterfully and skillfully gained control over the legislative process in all its multifaceted aspects. The result is excessive centralization and antiquated procedures. This is a problem that must be addressed by the project. First, the efficiency of the body is limited by this centralization. Second, legislators find themselves constrained by the limitations imposed by this centralization.

Another effort to improve the legislature, one funded by the Government of El Salvador (GOES), is the remodeling of the offices in the assembly building and the reconstruction of the annex. Once a source of pride, the Assembly's office remodeling effort has become a major source of embarrassment and frustration. Construction delays have rendered over fifty percent of the Assembly's office building unusable now for over 18 months. Where reconstruction and remodeling has been completed, the facilities are conducive to office productivity.

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Despite the very low level of knowledge of and interaction with the legislature on the part of Salvadoran females in the

general public, one cannot overlook the increased participation of women in political parties and in the legislature. In the present Legislative Assembly, approximately ten percent of the legislators are women, two of whom are the heads of their respective political parties. While ten percent is far lower than the approximately fifty percent of the Salvadoran population that is female, it is far higher than it has been in the past.

All of the female legislators are very active members of the legislature and, according to the interviews we held with some of them, they are interested in modifying some of the laws to make them more appropriate for the existing social and economic situation faced by women. One example could be the revision of the Family Code law which would provide greater legal and economic protection for the growing number of women who are in common law marriages and later become female heads of households. A second example has to do with the declining number of and effectiveness of health services for the poor. A great percentage of the poor consists of households headed by women who work in the informal sector and, therefore, have no access to social security health benefits. Hence, they depend completely on government sponsored health services such as free immunization programs, health education programs, emergency care, etc. Due to the war and economic crisis that has affected the region as a whole, these government services have been declining over the years, leading to an increase in health problems especially among children. The female legislators we interviewed, as well as the female policy analysts, mentioned that they were working on ways to introduce better health care legislation.

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It is clear to the review team that many legislators have understood that the Assembly is one of the few mechanisms for channeling and enhancing through peaceful means the pluralism in the country. Insofar as pluralism is a constant and enduring component of democracy and insofar as the peaceful resolution of conflict is a hallmark of democracy, the Legislative Assembly of the country can play a critical role in maintaining and consolidating the country's democratic efforts.

In order to enhance the effectiveness of the project, the evaluation team made a number of recommendations:

- I. The project has generally accomplished its objectives. It is sound, well-managed and should be continued. The AID resident advisor and project manager are both extremely effective. Within this context, we propose a number of modifications that may help ensure continued success.

A. The four general analysts should be reassigned to the parties or to the Technical Department (Departamento Técnico) Under the current configuration, they are not in the mainstream of the legislative process

B A thorough inventory of analyst procedures and administration should be conducted promptly with a goal of enhancing the quality of their work product as well as the perception of their contribution within the assembly.

C. The project should address the on-going problems of coordination between the analysts and the technicians. While it seems as if the problems between them are not growing, the gap in communication can and should be narrowed. Perhaps joint training programs can be effected.

D. The project should develop a skills enhancement effort for the technicians themselves. There is no reason why they have not been more directly targeted for training. In practice, they play a large role in the development and administration of legislative proposals and final legislative acts. Given the likely intensity of the legislative debate in the coming years, skills will have to be raised to meet the growing demand for political responsiveness. They especially need training in project management, so as to better meet the hectic demands of planning the legislative calendar, as well as microcomputer skills (especially word processing and spreadsheets).

II. Enhance informal communications and relations with the Oficial Mayor. The project can not afford to be openly at odds with this powerful individual. If internal problems are to be avoided, relations with him have to be enhanced. Such relations could include informal but regular personal briefings by the resident advisor as well as periodic briefings by the analysts on specific projects in which they are involved. The assumption underlying this recommendation is that the Oficial Mayor can be a catalyst for change.

A. Continue the modest efforts at evaluating the Legislative Assembly's administrative and organizational arrangements for the life of the project. Consider tying the follow-on project to a large scale evaluation of the legislature's administrative procedures to be completed by the time of the elections in 1994.

B. Break the information logjam in the Legislative Assembly. Provide immediately each of the political parties in the Assembly, the library, and the analysts with the copy machines, faxes, and budgets to run and maintain them. Analysts should also have local travel costs covered to ensure that they can consult widely within the academic and public affairs community.

III Initiate a public information campaign, targeted especially at women and lower levels of socio-economic status. Inform Salvadoran citizens of the role of a legislature in a democratic society.

INTRODUCTION

During November and December 1992, a team of political scientists from the University of Pittsburgh conducted an evaluation of the Legislative Assembly Strengthening Project (AID Project No. 519-0360). Evaluators were asked to appraise project implementation progress and to assess the likelihood of achieving project objectives as well as to identify elements constraining its successful execution. Evaluators were also asked to identify lessons learned and to provide recommendations for any possible follow-on funding.

The study was undertaken under the general direction and guidance of the Office of Democratic Initiatives, USAID, El Salvador, and its Director, Deborah Kennedy, Deputy Director, John Anderson, and project manager, Mauricio Herrera. We would like to thank each of those officials, as well as the members of the legislature, the analysts, and others who took time away from their busy schedules to respond to our many questions.

In the following sections, findings, conclusions and recommendations are provided. In an appendix, we identify project evaluators, list interviews conducted, documents consulted and methodology followed.

FINDINGS

Background

El Salvador is now embarking upon a transition from civil war to domestic peace. A critical issue in this transition is the growth and credibility of primary democratic institutions and the continued reduction of the political role of the armed forces in public life. Political institutions, in the context of competitive democratic elections, will be called upon to resolve conflict, allocate resources and channel participation.

The renewed attention to democracy throughout Latin America and the Caribbean has led to greater interest in the critical roles that legislatures can play in strengthening and fortifying democracy. Despite their importance to democratic consolidation, most legislatures are in fact quite weak institutions as a result of years of neglect, low professionalism, little overall respect for and attention to the legislative process, little public understanding about the roles of legislatures and legislators and even lower expectations about the institution and its elected representatives.

There is no better example than El Salvador, where a decade-long Civil War stunted all democratic institutional development while allowing for a strengthening of the Salvadoran military. One legislator explained during an interview (November 20, 1992) that the country's turbulent 20th century history has been "characterized by a centralized presidentialist system reinforced

by military rule." Now, as the society confronts peace, political institutions such as the legislature and the court system have become critical to conflict resolution and the consolidation of democracy. During the interviews, there seemed to be multi-party consensus that the Legislative Assembly is an important institution that will help to legitimize pluralistic expression in the country.

For many years the legislative function in El Salvador was suspended, as military governments ruled by decree. In the early 1980s, however, democratic practices began to revive and the legislature was restored as a functioning body by the mid-1980s. The unicameral legislature has 84 representatives (called diputados) elected by popular vote, 64 of them at the district level and twenty from a national list. The legislature is dominated by the ruling party, ARENA, which is also the party of the current President of El Salvador. The President of the legislature, Roberto Angulo, is from the ARENA party, and sits at the head of the most powerful committee. The legislature meets throughout the year, with committee meetings held from Monday to Wednesday and plenary sessions on Thursday. The committees review legislation submitted by the executive branch, and make recommendations to the full body. On occasion, they initiate their own bills.

The administration of the legislature is carried on by the "official mayor," a highly efficient and very powerful individual who has held his post for many years. All requests for resources

(e.g., phones, copies, faxes, etc.), but be approved by this individual

All spending bills are submitted by the executive branch of government, as, indeed, are most other bills. Nonetheless, in recent years there have been signs of increasing initiative coming from the legislature.

The project has provided support to hire and train a group of eight analysts. Four of these analysts were selected by the four major parties in the legislature and serve the parties directly. The remaining four were selected competitively independent of partisan criteria and serve mainly in the committees of the legislature. For many years, the committees have had assigned to them technicians (técnicos), who serve as a sophisticated secretariat for each committee. The analysts are not supposed to duplicate the role of the technicians; rather, they are charged with the responsibility of improving the quality of legislation.

The goal of the Legislative Assembly Strengthening Project is to strengthen the democratic process in El Salvador. The purpose is to enhance the ability of the Assembly to engage in more analytical and informed policy dialogue internally and with other branches of government. The project has three components, each designed to achieve the project purpose: technical support services, infrastructure and constituency services.

The project is entirely consistent with AID's Economic Assistance Strategy for Central America, 1991-2000 (January

1991), especially that component emphasizing the need to strengthen legislative processes and institutions. It also supports the Mission's LAC Objective II, which is support for the evolution of stable, participatory democratic societies-- emphasizing the need to strengthen civilian government institutions.

Our findings concerning the project are as follows

Increased Access to Action-Oriented Policy Information

In general, legislators have received increased access to policy oriented information as a result of efforts made by project supported analysts to conduct research, write background papers, and provide comparative data for their committees. While the quality and quantity of work performed by the analysts varies immensely in accordance with their work assignments and skills, it is clear that the total effect of their work is to provide a quantum leap in action-oriented policy information for the Legislative Assembly. In Appendix 1, we have provided an abstract of representative reports that have been prepared by the analysts.

While it is difficult to judge whether the quality of debate has been improved within the Assembly as a result, it is clear that legislators feel very good about the work of the analysts and want more analysts and more assistance from them (a point to which we will return later). For instance, with few exceptions, interviews with legislators revealed their very positive feelings

toward the work of the analysts, particularly those associated directly with the parties (analistas de fracción). Indeed, the president of the Legislative Assembly would like to have an individual analyst assigned to each member of the Governing Board of the Assembly. According to the body's president, this would enable the Board to give more thoughtful study to the range of bills that are placed before the Board (Interview, November 21, 1992)

One of the major problems in initiating or amending legislation in the Legislative Assembly is that legislators have little access to information. Most of the "proyectos de ley" come directly from the Executive, and the information on which they are based is often inaccessible to legislators. This centralization of information, coupled with the relatively low level of expertise among legislators, leads to a situation where the Legislative Assembly becomes by and large a rubber stamp institution.

In addition, there is little effort to publicize the laws once they have been approved so that in many cases legislators themselves are unaware of which laws have been approved and of the content of these laws. This problem is compounded by the fact that legislative agendas are not distributed to all legislators far enough in advance, so that legislators come into the Assembly meeting not knowing exactly which motions will be presented. All these problems contribute to a very low level of policy debate in the Assembly.

Since the hiring of the eight policy analysts this situation has slowly begun to change. For example, several legislators cited the "Consumer Protection Law" (Ley de Protección al Consumidor), the "National Science and Technology Council Law" (Ley del Consejo Nacional de Ciencia y Tecnología), and the "Law to Increase the Special Patrimony of the ISTA) (Ley para Incrementar el Patrimonio Especial del ISTA), (all of which have been approved) as cases in which the research done by the analysts directly contributed to the quality of the debate and the decision that was finally adopted. Specifically, one can point out the Ley de Protección al Consumidor, which was presented by the Executive. Research conducted by the party analysts yielded similar conclusions, which led the Comisión de Hacienda to reach a consensus more easily and to question, revise or reject some of the proposals put forth by the Executive.

Another way in which policy analysts have contributed to the work of the legislators is by organizing the work of both the committees' and the party's legislative agendas. Two examples can be used to illustrate this point. With respect to the work of the committees, one analyst laid down a committee workplan which specified its duties, scope of work and division of labor. This plan was approved and is being used to guide the work of the committee.

With respect to party legislative agendas, another analyst worked on compiling a list of all the petitions and "ante-proyectos de ley" (preliminary draft of a law) presented by the

party and assigning each petition or "anteproyecto de ley" to the party member responsible before the appropriate committee. As was mentioned before, the lack of adequate records indicating which pieces of legislation have been introduced and what their final status is, leads to a general ignorance of where the party stands in terms of most issues. A project such as the one just described can greatly help in keeping track of items that have been presented and can eventually impact on the number of laws passed by each party.

A preliminary analysis of the work presented by the analysts highlights a difference in the functions undertaken by core and political party analysts. The fact that core analysts work more closely with the legislative committees is reflected in the types of reports they develop. Reports presented by the core analysts include committee work plans and the drafting and modification of laws presented by the committees. When political parties have entrusted core analysts with a particular request it has mostly concerned drafts of laws that they would like to propose before the National Assembly.

Political party analysts have been in charge of a wide variety of jobs. Because of their close connections to the parties they work for, party analysts have carried out analyses that reflect the particular concerns of each party. Each party differs in the type of work they have commissioned most to their analyst. Convergencia Democrática has requested more studies of certain social issues, such as health care provision. The PDC

has used its analyst to compile a list of all the laws that have been presented by the party to the Legislative Assembly, and also has entrusted the analyst with drafting legislative petitions (piezas de correspondencia) to be presented by the party to the Legislative Assembly. ARENA has commissioned studies on the advantages and disadvantages of certain proposals, such as the consumer tax. The analyst of the Partido de Conciliación Nacional has presented no written work but seems to be engaged in a full range of activities, some of those extending beyond the project-conceived notion of his role as an analyst.

Moving beyond the analysts, the project has developed a series of workshops and observational trips to other legislatures. It is clear that these activities have had a positive impact on the work of the Assembly. Up until the initiation of these activities, there had been only minimal effort in the Assembly to provide for training, either for permanent staff or for legislators themselves. Since the legislative function itself has rarely been respected in the country, and since there is really little prior legislative experience, any seminars or training efforts are novel and well-received. These efforts take place in a context of extremely low professionalism among legislators, a minimal level of support services within the Assembly itself, and minimal party-based support for any enhancements within the legislature.

The AID-sponsored budget seminar was particularly well-received by most legislators interviewed because it was focused

and specific, rather than general and diffused. Since there is a virtual absence of knowledge of technique among legislators and since there is such centralization in the legislative process, there seems to be a hearty appetite for such focused seminars.

Observational trips to Argentina and Chile have had two direct effects. First, based on direct observation of these two legislatures, the Technical Committee submitted a proposal to conduct an administrative evaluation of the Legislative Assembly. This evaluation, if and when it is carried out, can be an important catalyst for institutional change, as we discuss below. The second impact is that, based on their observation of Chile's Library of Congress, the legislators proposed, and passed, a law by which every publishing company in the country is obliged to give the Legislative Assembly Library a copy of all material published.

*Current Relationship of the Policy Research Unit
to the Assembly's Technical Department*

The policy research unit has been developed in a non-intrusive manner, reporting to the Technical Committee, an ad-hoc group that has been appointed by the Executive Board to oversee the project. The Technical Committee has representatives from each of the six parties currently represented in the Assembly. It meets once a week to discuss operational problems associated

with the project. Members of the Technical Committee understand the project and endorse it. Some members were worried about the often desultory manner in which the committee has been run by the ARENA legislator. The resident advisor has discussed this issue with the president of the Legislative Assembly's governing board. Changes have not yet been effected.

A problem that might present itself during the next few months related to the Technical Committee concerns its ad-hoc nature. Since it is not accounted for in the internal rules and regulations (reglamento interno), it essentially sits at the pleasure of the Executive Board. Such an ephemeral position for such an important committee might present problems for the project.

However, we have found that the genesis of the policy research unit carried with it a contradiction. Since it was designed on an experimental basis for a one year period, we have been told that many legislators did not take it too seriously. As such, its possible impact was limited initially by the perception that it would not be a serious force to support the legislative process.

Another element of the contradiction concerns the explicit choice of the project to avoid the major internal legislative management issue if there is to be fundamental change within the Assembly--namely the role and responsibilities of the Oficial Mayor, who by all accounts has masterfully and skillfully gained control over the legislative process in all its multifaceted

aspects. The result is excessive centralization and antiquated procedures. One very senior legislator from the PCN gave the following graphic description: "the Legislative Assembly has the most obsolete administration in the entire public administration of the country" (Interview, November 20, 1992).

The project has attempted to work directly with the committee and the representatives, which has had the consequence of limiting contact with the Official Mayor. This may make short-term sense, but his absence from decision-making in the Technical Committee (he does have a representative sitting on the Committee) and his periodic withholding of support for the analysts (e.g. unwillingness to make copies), looms over the project as a major and significant impediment to its long-term success. We will return to this issue later.

A potentially serious problem also presents itself in the day-to-day control and management of the four general analysts. How can they be accessed by the legislators? According to the resident advisor, interested legislators can either approach the analyst directly or they can be accessed through the advisor. Given the delicate nature of the project itself and the extremely politicized milieu in which it finds itself, such an ad-hoc method can be subject to criticism from within the Assembly.

Another contradiction in the design and development of the project concerns the role of the eight full-time and two part-time technicians. Although they essentially serve as committee secretaries, their role has been institutionalized in the

management of the Assembly. It appears as if the project made no explicit attempt to include them as well. In essence, it grafted artificially onto the Assembly the new analysts, rather than promoting a mechanism that could strengthen the role of the technicians even while new staff capacity was being added through the analysts. Indeed, a number of interviews suggested that there has been minimal if any training provided to the technicians, who essentially function as if they were committee managers.

Understandably there have been difficulties as a result. An interview with a key private sector organization (December 14, 1992) revealed confusion as to the role of the technicians (técnicos) and the analysts. Such confusion may stem from the understated, cautious and modest manner in which the whole project was initiated. Within the Assembly, technicians are paid on average about 2,000 colones less per month than analysts. Their operational norms are much more clearly defined. For instance, while it is clear how and where technicians fit into the operation of each of the committees, less clear is the fit of the analysts. Some sit at the committee table as if they were legislators. Others sit behind the committee tables. Some are consulted and participate in committee meetings as if they were legislators. Others do not speak at committee meetings at all. This variability may reflect the plurality of leadership and political styles within the Assembly. It also reflects the

difficulty of smoothly incorporating analysts into the working fabric of the Assembly.

Further, the technicians have the associated problems of working in a highly centralized (and politicized) organization whose behavioral covenant is dominated by the personalistic drives of the Oficial Mayor, whose working knowledge of the legislature is every bit as high and certainly more definitive than theirs. While it is clear that the technicians themselves vary in their views of and relations with the analysts, the seeds of a significant internal conflict have been planted with the arrival of the latter.

In the long-term, the ad-hoc floating nature of the policy research unit will need to be addressed. Where will it be located within the Legislative Assembly? What will be its relation to the Oficial Mayor? What will be its relation to the technicians? Who will be responsible for the coordination, review and evaluation of the analysts? Who will determine how they allocate their time? How will they get trained? These issues will be addressed in the recommendations.

From the interviews that we conducted, there seemed to be consensus on a number of issues. Most important, there seemed to be a recognition that serious and significant change could not be accomplished in the Legislative Assembly unless the administrative and organizational ethos of the body was modified. The major focus of frustrations was of course the Oficial Mayor, who not only has operational control over apparently every aspect

of the functioning of the Assembly, but who also serves as the institutional memory of the body

The Oficial Mayor knows and understands parliamentary procedure. He skillfully and apparently adroitly manages budgets. He has good interpersonal skills. He is extremely adaptive. The point is that the Oficial Mayor competently runs the Legislative Assembly essentially along highly personalistic lines.

According to the internal rules and regulations of the Legislative Assembly (Reglamento Interno), the Executive Board is charged with hiring all Legislative Assembly employees in accordance to the Civil Service Law and to the Wage Law. The Oficial Mayor is entrusted only with overseeing the work of these employees. In addition, his oficial obligations include receiving and taking note of the date and time of all written motions and petitions to the Legislative Assembly; and to take all these and other matters to be discussed before the Assembly to the Secretariate (formed by the three first Secretaries and three Second Secretaries of the Assembly) before each of each Legislative session. In reality, however all aspects of the Assembly come under the Oficial Mayor's purview, including the recruitment and hiring of clerical and support personnel for the parties, access to photocopying and office supplies, and development and management of the Assembly's budget. He seems to have the Assembly leadership, including parties (fracciones), in a position of extreme dependency. Many legislators suggested

that unless the management of the Assembly is modified, other changes designed to strengthen the legislative process, such as the addition of the analysts, are doomed to failure

Another but less significant obstacle to significant change is related to the reported disinterest on the part of ARENA legislators to challenge the policy-making hegemony of the executive branch. Several interviews suggested that many ARENA legislators viewed the legislative branch as an extension of the executive branch and therefore not to be taken seriously

The previous discussion has highlighted two types of problems that directly affect the sustainability of the project and the need to be taken into account for the long-term success of the project. The first group of problems are political in nature. Among the political problems are the disinterest on the part of ARENA to challenge executive branch's policy hegemony; the extremely politicized nature of the organization, which means that legislators distrust anyone who does not belong to their own party; and, the ad-hoc nature of the Technical Committee, which detracts from its power to make and implement decisions regarding the project. The second group of problems are technical in nature. These include problems such as the excessive centralization of power (in the Oficial Mayor); antiquated administrative procedures; lack of a clear definition of duties for the analysts and the technicians; and, lack of logistic support such as access to copier and working materials.

Within this context, the following viable options can be presented.

Option 1 Assign all analysts to the parties rather than maintaining a two-tiered structure. According to many legislators interviewed, a major component of their willingness to rely upon analysts revolves around the trust ("confianza") that they have for the individual. If the analysts were working within the folds of their respective parties, this "confianza" could be more easily and rapidly effected. Although many legislators were willing to sacrifice the direct support that the current structure provides for the legislative committees, some legislators offered that faction-based analysts could be assigned to members of the party who were serving on committees, rather than to the committees themselves. In other words, the committees could continue to be served, but through party-based analysts. (This modified structure most closely resembles the US Congressional staff system, which acknowledges and institutionalizes a partisan-based structure of staff support.)

Option 2 Maintain the two-tier analyst structure. The dominant parties could keep their individually-assigned analysts, but the general analysts would be detailed to work directly with the Assembly's Executive Board. Under this

scenario, it is likely that the committees would lose the direct support that they are currently receiving because a skillful use of the general analysts by the Junta would absorb all of their time.

Option 3: Maintain the two-tier analyst structure, but expand the number of general purpose analysts, assigning some to the Executive Board and some to provide support for the committees. The rationale for this option is based upon the expressed interest of some legislators to in fact maintain direct analyst support for the committees, and the belief among the general analysts that they are having a growing impact upon the work of their committees

Option 4: Merge the analysts into the Technical Department, which has responsibility for the technicians. Such an action would have the affect of consolidating all Assembly professional into the same office and would presumably enhance coordination and cooperation among the analysts and the technicians. Given its present leadership configuration, however, it is unlikely that the analysts would be well-utilized if such an option were exercised.

Under any of these options, there will be several issues that need to be addressed. First, there seems to be great variation in the quality and quantity of effort that the analysts

are giving to their work. This variation is greatest between the general- and the fracción-based analysts, but it also is very high within the fracción-based analysts themselves.

Second, wherever they are finally assigned, the general analysts will need some kind of coordination, review and quality control mechanism, as well as formal location within the Legislative Assembly. Options for their physical location vary, although there was some consensus that they would need and should have a closer working relation with the group of technicians.

It is important to note that within the Legislative Assembly, the analysts have better working conditions than do most of the legislators. Each has a permanent desk and a physical location where they can work. However, several of the analysts, especially the three core analysts, mentioned that one of the main problems they have in completing their work is the lack of logistic support. Specifically, they mentioned the lack of a photocopier, a fax machine and a petty cash fund from which they could conveniently get money to make photocopies at university libraries and other research centers.

The Legislative Assembly has now agreed to pay the salary costs of the four analysts that are assigned to the parties. The salary costs of the other four general analysts will be paid from jointly programmed host country owned local currency generations for the next year.

Role of the Library

The Legislative Assembly Library was born out of a 1986 Agreement with AID. The purpose of this agreement was to increase the ability and knowledge of the legislators to improve the quality of the debates within the Legislative Assembly. This agreement consisted of a grant of 500,000 colones, which was used to buy furniture, office supplies and books for the library. The Library became operational in 1989. At that time, a memo was sent to all legislators about the availability of the Library. However, since then the Library staff has been unable to send other notices with more information due to lack of resources and most of all due to the lack of regular and predictable access to a photocopy machine.

This year AID, through the Legislative Assembly Strengthening Project, donated an additional 200,000 colones that were used to buy 1027 books and journal subscriptions. The preliminary selection procedure for these materials is controlled by the head librarian, who compiles a list of applicable books and receives suggestions from the policy analysts. The selection of these books is ultimately approved by the Technical Committee. According to the head librarian, Lic. Argentina Leonor Barraza, most of the books requested by the policy analysts were purchased.

Usage of the library has slowly increased since its inception in 1989. During the first few years, usage was low primarily because of the lack of information about the library

and the services it provides. During the course of this year, however, the traffic has increased. Why? First, several TV and radio interviews have served to inform the public about the existence of the library. Second, interest in the peace accords, where the Legislature has played a more important role, has spilled over into more intense use of the facility. Finally, the physical location of the policy analysts in the library has translated into increased use of the materials, creating an awareness of the facility among the legislators who consult with the policy analysts.

The library is now mostly used by the policy analysts, university students, lawyers and some government institutions. According to the head librarian, about 15 representatives consult library materials every month. The head librarian has suggested that usage could be increased if the Library had access to its own photocopy machine. This would enable the library to send out more information about library holdings, hours and services, as well as periodic updates on new materials as they become available.

One final comment that should be made is that, as mentioned before, the Executive Committee, influenced by what they observed in their observational trip to Chile and Argentina, managed to introduce a law which requires all publishing companies to donate to the Legislative Assembly a copy of any book/journal they publish. This should have a very positive effect on the number and quality of the Legislative Assembly Library holdings. As the

number and quality of materials increases, usage of the library should also increase. In turn, this will help legislators become better informed about current social, political and economic problems and ways to solve them

Public Understanding of the Role of the Legislature

Appendix 3 of this report contains a full analysis of the survey of public opinion that was undertaken for this study. That survey, which involved a national random sample of 1,256 Salvadorans, was compared to a similar survey of Central Americans in the other countries of the region. Several significant findings emerged from that study.

It was determined that the public image of the legislature in El Salvador is rather low, even when compared to other countries in Central America. As is shown in Figure 1 below, only about one in ten Salvadorans knew how many representatives serve in their legislature.

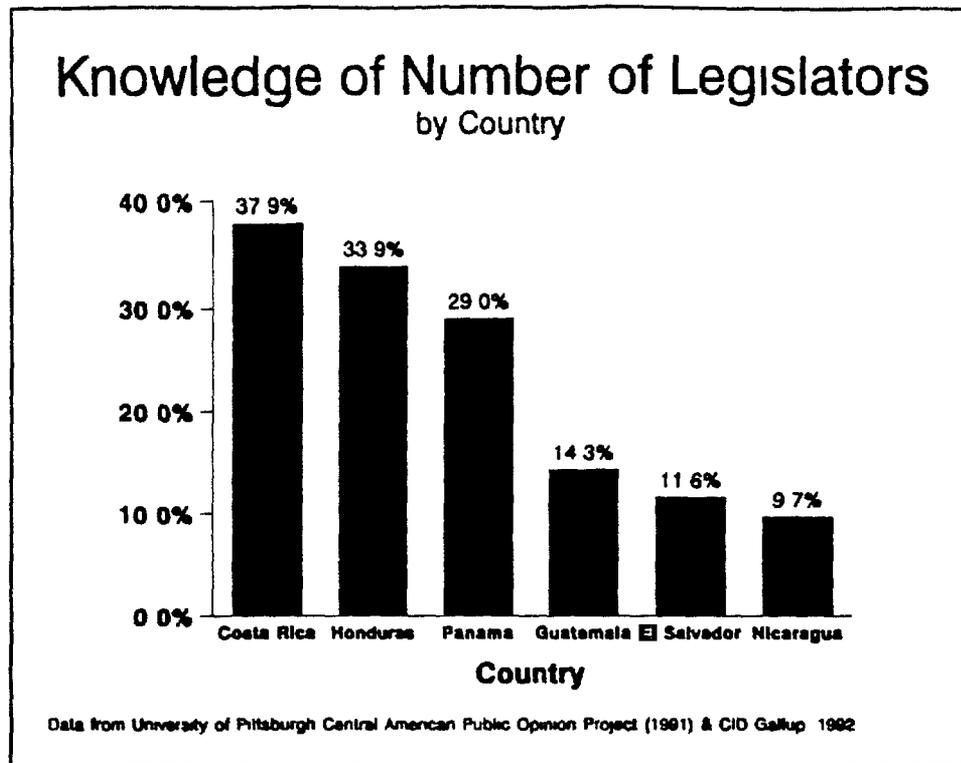


Figure 1

Since, however, the number of representatives has only recently been increased, this may not provide a fair indication of public awareness. We therefore also determined contact of citizens with legislators, a variable not affected by recent changes in their number. As is shown in Figure 2, contacts with legislators is low, even for Central American standards. We found that this knowledge was higher, however, among the male, older, better educated, wealthier, higher status occupation and ideologically leftist citizens of the country.

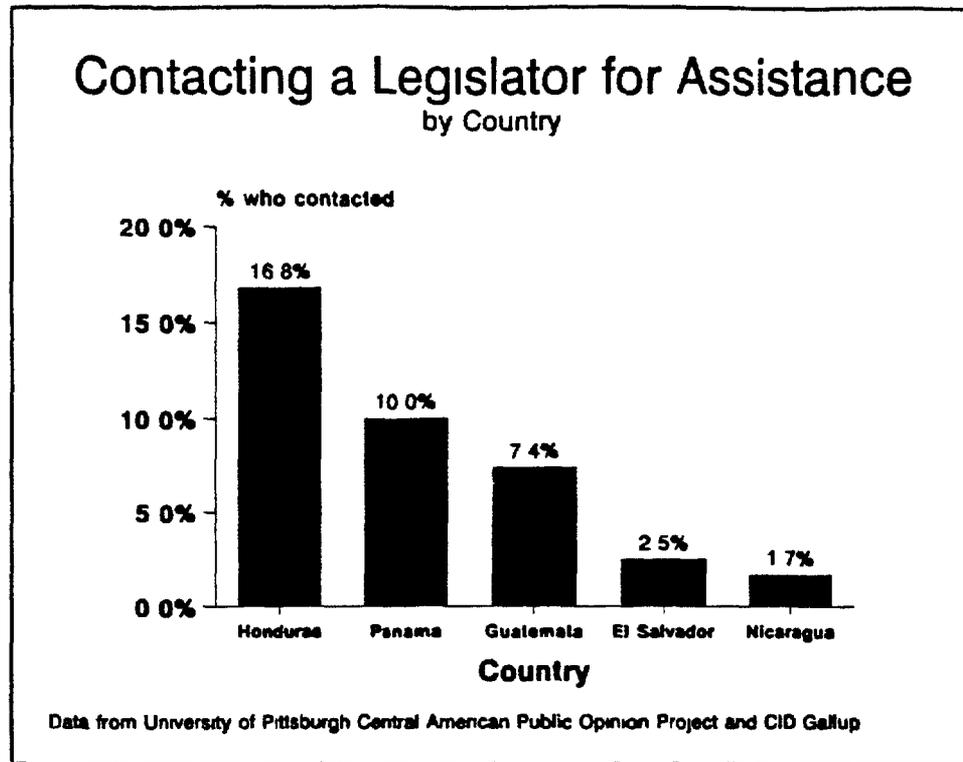


Figure 2

The evaluation of the Assembly by the population was not very positive, with less than 20 per cent of the respondents saying that the legislature was "good" or "very good." We further found that only 17 percent of the respondents believed that the legislators pay attention to the views of their constituents. This evaluation of the legislature did not, however, vary by socio-economic and demographic factors that affected knowledge of it. Rather, they were affected by party identification, with those who favor the incumbent administration more positive than those who do not. For example, the following

figure shows how strong an impact partisan affiliation has on the perceived responsiveness of the representatives

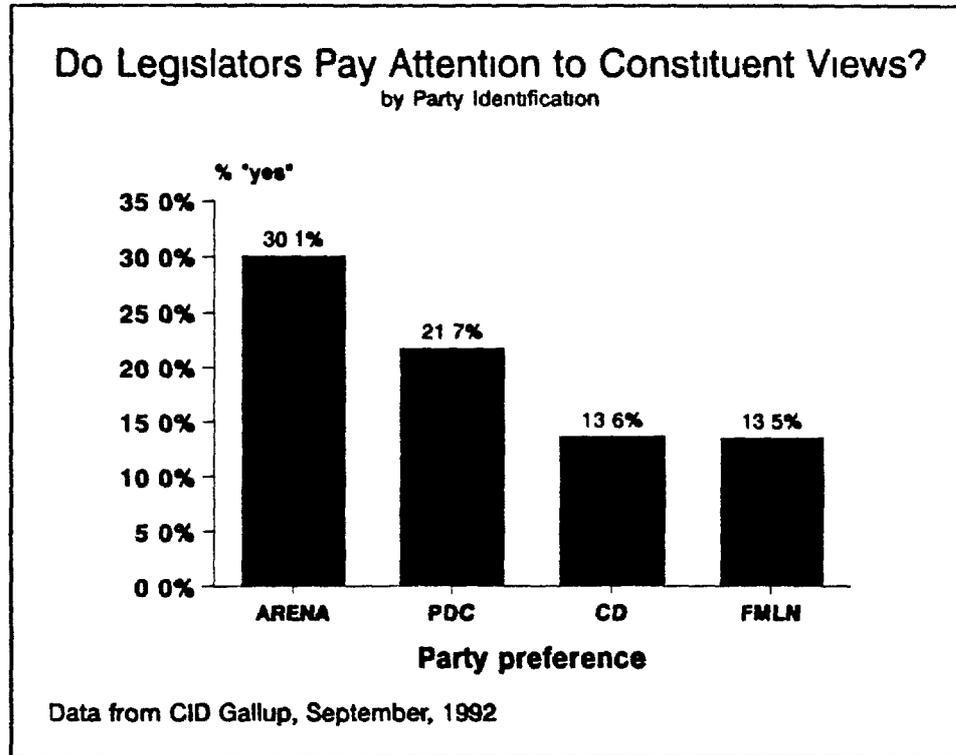


Figure 3

Our conclusion was that knowledge of the legislature could well be increased by a public education campaign, especially one directed at those with the least knowledge (women, poorly educated, etc). Evaluation of the legislature's performance, however, we believe will only improve as the quality of the legislature itself improves.

Since the constituency services component of the project has not yet been implemented, it would be a good time to consider the implications of these findings for that component. Social

scientists have long recognized that political attitudes result from socialization process that develop in childhood. Although it is believed that this process is a continuous one, continuing on through adulthood, the key foundations are established during the primary and secondary school years. Since a significant proportion of El Salvador's poor population does not go beyond primary school, this suggests that the campaign be focused on the poor youth of El Salvador. This would mean making contact with the Ministry of Education and learning what is the content of their civic curriculum. Given the long history of totalitarian rule, it is doubtful if this component of the curriculum is well developed at present and therefore a pilot project in selected school districts might be welcome. To be fair, however, one should not attempt to develop a program that would suggest that the legislature in El Salvador is a more mature body than it is. This would only serve to create a hollow ring to the material being taught. Rather, it would be best to focus on the nature of democracy, the rights and responsibilities of citizens, and the functions of the various branches of government.

Infrastructure Support

Once a source of pride, the Assembly's office remodeling effort has become a major source of embarrassment and frustration. Construction delays have rendered over fifty percent of the Assembly's office building unusable now for over 18 months. There is little knowledge among legislators about

exactly what is delaying the completion of construction. One fracción (The Christian Democratic Party), made the decision to abandon the building and temporarily relocate in a nearby house until the construction is completed. This decision and the physical absence of the party from the legislature has apparently generated much internal conflict within the party delegates.

Although the Executive Board through the Technical Committee nominally has responsibility for construction management, this responsibility is diffused and it is difficult to get an authoritative explanation of the delays, much less a timetable for project completion.

Where reconstruction and remodeling has been completed, the facilities are conducive to office productivity. The offices of the Assembly president and his conference room are appropriate to the role and stature as well as the work requirements of the position. The library in particular is a handsome facility that is very adequate for the needs of analysts (see above) and legislators alike.

Unlike in many other Latin American countries, where the Legislative Assembly occupies a prominent strategic location in the city, the Salvadoran Assembly premises are neither prominent nor accessible. The Assembly's physical location and access to the building are not conducive at present to the open, participatory message that it is intended to send to citizens. Access to the Assembly itself is now difficult because of the unattractive surroundings and unimproved passageway leading to

the public access area of the Assembly. The narrow vehicle-clogged passageway is bordered by temporary justice-related buildings (built after the last earthquake) surrounded by chain-link and barbed-wire. It is understood that once the annex construction is complete, people will have two ways to access the building. However, the security guards currently restrict access to the building to all but those who can show written proof of their reason for being there. This level of security was probably necessary during the war years, but even after the peace was signed on December 15, 1992, the policies continued. Something must be done to make this "forum of the people" more accessible to citizens.

Women in Development

The importance of women as bread winners and heads of household has increased in the past few years due to the war and to the severe economic crisis that has affected El Salvador. However, despite their growing importance both in the family and in the economy, they remain severely underrepresented in the content and enforcement of laws. This is due to several factors but one important factor to point out is their limited knowledge of and access to the political system.

An analysis of the survey conducted by CID Gallup in El Salvador indicates that women tend to have less knowledge of the total number of legislators in the Legislative Assembly and of

their departmental representative in the Assembly. According to this survey, men are almost three times more likely than women to know the number of legislators in the Assembly. Some studies have suggested that the lower level of knowledge of the political system among women might be caused by a lower level of education among women. However, our analysis indicates that even when we control for education, the difference in knowledge of the number of legislators between men and women is still statistically significant. With respect to knowledge of the names of legislators, the analysis yields similar results. That is, women are approximately one third less likely than men to know the name of one of their department's Legislative representative. The survey shows that a very small percentage of the population has requested help from a legislator. In the case of women, only 3.1 percent have ever contacted their legislator for assistance. This low level of communication between constituents and legislators means that legislators have little knowledge of the actual needs and opinions of the people that they are supposed to represent. In part, this is a function of the nature of the system of representation in El Salvador (i.e., the absence of single-member districts), and in part is a function of the peripheral role that the legislature has had over the years. As a result, it is not surprising that the existing laws are inadequate for women's needs and prevent them from achieving adequate gains in both the economic and political arenas. Over time, as the legislature becomes more central and civic education

on the role of the legislature begins to have an impact on citizen attitudes, it can be expected that this situation will improve

An analysis of these results suggests that one way to address this problem is to increase public education about the political process and to especially emphasize efforts to educate women. Increased knowledge by women will help them to participate more actively in the political process and to press for changes that will be beneficial to them. At the same time, legislators must be encouraged to get out and see their constituents more often. How to do this, however, is not readily apparent since legislators are elected by their departments not by their municipalities. There are only 14 departments in El Salvador, many spanning wide geographic zones. As a result, many of the 260 municipalities are left without a representative. One cannot expect that legislators will attempt to cover all of the municipalities within their departments since so long as their party has the support of the major urban centers they can expect to be reelected.

Even today, however, there are signs of improvement as a result of the increased participation of women in political parties and in the legislature. In the present Legislative Assembly, approximately 10% of the legislators are women, two of whom are the heads of their respective political parties. All of the women legislators are very active members of the legislature. According to the interviews we held with some of

them, they are very interested in improving some of the current laws and/or introducing new ones that would help women to improve their current social and economic situation. One of the legislators, for example, has been a very strong proponent of the "Anteproyecto del Código de Familia," (preliminary Family Code bill) which will give women more rights and more protection. According to one of the legislators, increased public awareness of the role of women in the legislature can help to increase the willingness of women to contact their representatives and can eventually encourage more women to become active participants of the political process. This same legislator mentioned that open public fora "cabildos abiertos" have also helped women have a better access to legislators because they do not require long travel times or leaving their children behind (interview, Nov 19, 1992). Another legislator believes that changes that will benefit women will come about more rapidly as the number of women in the Legislative Assembly increases. Therefore, she advocates "giving women an initial push" by concentrating more efforts on educating them on the nature of the political process and on how they can get more actively involved in this process (interview, Nov. 19, 1992).

Women are important not only because of their economic participation but also because of the extremely important function they perform in the initial socialization of the child. Women have the closest contact with children both in terms of the family and in terms of school, since a significant number of pre-

school and elementary school teachers are women. The way they perceive of and participate in the political process will, therefore, have a strong impact on the type of impressions of the political process they convey to the children

To conclude this section, we will address some of the questions that were raised in the entry interview with AID. However, it is first necessary to point out that the project did not place a special emphasis on women, but, rather, was targeted towards the general population (of Legislators as well as the population at large) First, with regard to design, appraisal and implementation, the project did not seem to give special attention to the particular needs and interests of women. Because the project is still in its first stages, it was geared to all legislators alike, without regard for gender. Women seemed to be just as likely as men to participate in and benefit from the observational trip, the workshops and the physical infrastructure provided by the project. The pilot public education program has not yet been implemented and, therefore, we cannot comment on that. However, the baseline data that we have provided should give some important insights as to how to integrate the needs of women into the public education program Specifically, it has been noted that since women have lower levels of knowledge about the Legislative branch, they should be especially targeted when designing and implementing the public education component of the program.

The second question raised, that is, the effects and impacts of the project, is not completely applicable because women's interests were not specified in the design of the project

With respect to data availability, the only gender-specific data is the evaluation itself. This includes the interviews conducted with some female legislators and policy analysts and the results of the CID Gallup survey.

Finally, the sustainability question raises the issues of whether inclusion of women in the project affected the sustainability of it and whether the results of the project are "equally sustainable between men and women beneficiaries". The inclusion of women in the project is crucial. First, because they form approximately 10% of the Legislative Assembly and second because, as our analysis of the surveys show, women tend to have a significantly lower level of information about the Legislative branch of government than males. Our interviews with female legislators and policy analysts indicate that the results of the project are sustainable and that, in fact, the project should continue.

Project Strategy, Goals, Objectives

Contending forces in El Salvador have now demonstrated their commitment to peaceful reconciliation and democracy. If the democratic process is to be advanced, the country's Legislative Assembly will have to play a key role because it alone as a

political institution will provide the contending forces with a procedural vehicle to resolve their outstanding differences

The project purpose, to strengthen the ability of the Legislative Assembly to engage in more analytical and informed policy dialogue internally and with other branches of the government, is appropriate and necessary. Unless the legislative branch can grasp and deal with the demands of the policy-making process, it will never develop the credibility necessary to serve as a non-violent channel of participatory energy in the hyper-mobilized world of Salvadoran politics.

An interview (December 14, 1992) in the Ministry of Finance revealed just how important it is to enhance the technical and professional skills of the Assembly. One of the major worries in the Ministry of Finance concerning the Assembly is its lack of technical preparation, especially on such issues as budget formulation and review. Without enhanced capacity to deal with complicated budgets and revenue generation methodology, the Ministry of Finance worries that the driving logic guiding Assembly oversight will be highly politicized, and therefore harmful to the national interest.

The project is entirely consistent with the Agency for International Development's *Economic Assistance Strategy for Central America, 1991-2000* (Washington, DC: January 1991), especially those elements focusing on the strengthening of the legislative processes and institutions of the region (p. 11). It is also consistent with "Strategic Objective No. 3" of the US

Agency for International Development's *El Salvador Program Objectives Document FY 1993-97*, which is to "promote enduring democratic institutions and practices (p. 22) "

The project's operating procedures are quite modest within a context of almost unlimited needs. However, given the delicate nature of legislative intervention and the almost unlimited potential for political in-fighting and partisanship around any issue, the project is appropriately tempered and forged for the times. Indeed, a key factor accounting for the acceptance of the project in the Legislative Assembly relates to the leadership style of Allan Austin, the resident advisor. Interviews revealed that Dr. Allan Austin is liked and respected by legislators and analysts alike. His careful, respectful and non-confrontational style is appropriate and credible in a context of extreme politicization and hyper-sensitivity, particularly as the 1994 presidential and legislative elections approach and partisan lines deepen in the legislature.

At this point in the project's evolution, it is generally on track in meeting objectives. Analysts have been hired in a manner that has minimized hostility and resentment, they are providing a new and improved level of information and service for the legislature, and almost every deputy with whom we spoke was favorable toward the project. However, some procedures should be modified as a means to correct unanticipated issues and respond to new opportunities that present themselves. Especially important is the nature of assigning analysts to their

committees, the informal and ad-hoc manner in which they relate to the technicians, and the limited access that the analysts have to photocopying and fax machines that could facilitate their research.

Any discussion of the project's extension and modification however, must bear in mind that El Salvador is about to embark on a new electoral journey, culminating with the 1994 presidential, legislative and municipal elections. The next 18 months promise intense political debate, competition and partisanship, further complicated by the incorporation of the FMLN forces into the political arena. To this complex political mix, add the likely reduction of political power of the country's military, a singular political force for the past fifty years. Although this period of intense change opens political spaces for complementary reforms throughout the public administration, all political forces are likely to be hyper-mobilized and sensitive to externalities that can disturb the delicate political mix that will be evolving.

If the modest momentum of the Legislative Strengthening Project is to be maintained, proposed modifications will need to be carefully calibrated in terms of their ability to maintain a multi-partisan support base and consensus within the Legislative Assembly. Further, they should continue to be limited and incremental in their impact. Major leaps forward should not be contemplated until after completion of the 1994 elections,

particularly if there is no serious effort to reform the internal administrative structure of the Assembly

CONCLUSIONS

Our evaluation has found that the project has taken small, successful steps to enhance the ability of the Assembly to engage in more analytical and informed policy dialogue internally and with other branches of government. While the technical support services component of the project is the most developed, infrastructure improvements are fitfully moving forward. Only the constituency services component of the project has yet to be developed. Apparently the project's concentration on hiring, training and nurturing the analysts has prevented the resident advisor from concentrating on this component of the project up to the date of our evaluation.

It is clear to the review team that many legislators have understood that the Assembly was one of the few mechanisms for channeling and enhancing through peaceful means the pluralism in the country. Insofar as pluralism is a constant and enduring component of democracy and insofar as the peaceful resolution of conflict is a hallmark of democracy, the Legislative Assembly of the country can play a critical role in maintaining and consolidating the country's democratic efforts.

The task of strengthening legislative capacity however is more than just grafting on a few well-educated and highly motivated analysts. Even though the legislature is limited in terms of its overall impact on Salvadoran policy and even though it has low visibility to the public, it does maintain its own

sub-culture and norms. An understanding of and appreciation for these qualities and how they affect and reinforce, or nullify the presence of the analysts, is critical.

A major obstacle to successful reform of the legislature is its organizational structure, which by all accounts is centralized, personalized and idiosyncratic. If there is to be a successful general outcome to the efforts to enhance the ability of the Assembly to engage in informed policy analysis, then some serious effort at administrative reform will be necessary. However, whether the current Assembly leadership has the political will to attempt such reform at all, and whether such an effort at reform is desirable so close to the next elections, remains to be seen.

Given the backdrop of administrative uncertainty coupled with growing political uncertainty as a result of the forthcoming elections, the Legislative Assembly Strengthening Project should continue its modest and cautious efforts until after the new government takes place in mid-1994.

RECOMMENDATIONS

The project has generally accomplished its objectives. It is sound, well-managed and should be continued. We strongly support the idea of an extension of the project. We believe that the number of analysts currently working with the legislature is adequate for present needs, although we expect that there will be pressure from within the body for an increase in the years to come. We also believe, as noted below, that the funded but not yet initiated constituency services component should begin as soon as possible. Within this context, we propose a number of modifications that will ensure continued success. They are as follows:

I. Rationalize the role of the analysts

A. The four general analysts should be assigned to the parties or to the Technical Department. Under the current configuration, they are not in the mainstream of the legislative process. They have been grafted onto the Assembly rather than absorbed. Relocation would allow a more intense utilization of their skills and capacities.

B. Conduct a thorough inventory of analyst procedures and administration with a goal of enhancing the quality of their work product as well as the perception of their contribution within the assembly. There should be a more self-conscious discussion

among Assembly officials (Heads of party and Committee presidents) about what they want out of the analysts (Many interviews revealed the ignorance of the legislators toward the potential uses and benefits of the analysts) The purpose of this discussion could be to increase the leaderships' understanding of the work product as well as the value of the analysts' contributions

C Address the on-going problems of coordination between the analysts and the technicians While it seems as if the problems between them are not growing, the gap in communication can and should be narrowed. Perhaps joint training programs can be effected. These programs might have both a procedural as well as a substantive focus. In the former, emphasis should be placed on the identification of methods to promote greater efficiency in the evolution of the country's legislative process. In the latter, there should be a systematic effort to evaluate the kinds of policy options that could be explored by the Assembly on key issues Analysts and technicians might also be asked to develop an inventory of training programs and seminars that elected officials might attend.

D Develop an enhancement effort for the technicians themselves. There is no compelling reason why they have not been more directly targeted for training. In practice, they play a large role in the development and administration of legislative proposals and final legislative acts. Given the likely intensity

of the legislative debate in the coming years, skills will have to be raised to meet the growing demand for political responsiveness. They especially need training in project management, so as to better meet the hectic demands of planning the legislative calendar, as well as microcomputer skills (especially word processing and spreadsheets).

II. Enhance informal communications and relations with the Official Mayor. The project can not afford to be openly at odds with this powerful individual. If internal problems are to be avoided, relations with him have to be enhanced. Such relations could include informal but regular personal briefings by the resident advisor. The assumption underlying this recommendation is that the Official Mayor can be a catalyst for change. At the very least, he should not be an open opponent of the project, particularly in an approaching election period.

A. Continue the modest efforts at evaluating the Legislative Assembly's administrative and organizational arrangements for the life of the project. Consider tying the follow-on project to a large scale evaluation of the legislature's administrative procedures. This conditionality should only be directed at the development of the study rather than the implementation of its findings. Such should be left to the discretion of senior officials in the Assembly.

B Break the information logjam in the Legislative Assembly Provide each of the political parties in the Assembly, the library, and the analysts with the copy machines and faxes Some analysts would also like to have travel costs covered to ensure that they can consult widely within the academic and public affairs community.

III. Initiate a constituency services component.

A. We believe that these efforts should be targeted especially at women and lower levels of socio-economic status. A public education campaign would be quite appropriate, conducted in conjunction with the Ministry of Education. As noted in the report, we believe that this campaign should be directed at primary school students, especially those from poor areas of the country The campaign would inform Salvadoran citizens of the role of a legislature in a democratic society, perhaps by giving examples from other countries in the region, especially Costa Rica. Indeed, it would be wise to examine the civics curriculum of Costa Rica for primary and secondary schools so as to get a flavor of the approach taken there.

B. In the past, the legislature would broadcast on radio some of its sessions. While it was argued that audiences were small, this practice should be reinstated on a regular basis. Citizens throughout the country should come to expect to hear their representatives debating key issues

of public policy. Obviously, not all will listen to all debated. But the mere fact that discussion is taking place in an open forum will help to ingrain the notion of free speech. Indeed, after a time, it can be expected that citizens would protest if their access to those debates are cut off, thereby serving as a constraint on those who might wish to exclude the public from the public policy debate. In addition, legislators can be expected to increase the level of their debate and the quality of their oratory, knowing that voters may be listening.

Appendix I

Abstracts of Policy Analysts' Reports

CORE ANALYSTS

ANNETTE REBECCA BERRIOS de GONZALEZ

I. Organizational Map and Description of the Legislative Assembly (La Departamentalización de la Asamblea Legislativa)

This report was prepared as part of the orientation program for members and staff of the Legislative Assembly. It describes the organization of the Assembly and the hierarchy and functions of both, the members and the administrative departments of the Legislative Assembly.

The report is useful because it presents not only the information contained in the Salvadoran political constitution and the Legislature's Internal Regulations, but it is updated with information drawn from personal interviews with key staff members of the Legislative Assembly.

II Workplan for the International Relations and Central American Integration Committee (Plan de Trabajo para la Comisión de Relaciones Internacionales e Integración Centroamericana).

This workplan was developed for the Legislative period beginning on January 1992. It outlines the proposed objectives, functions and actions for the Committee on International Relations and Central American Integration.

The workplan defines as the major objective of the committee, "to receive and act on all matters concerning El Salvador's international relations and Central American integration." It also lists the equipment that will be needed by the committee for the fulfillment of its functions.

With respect to the committee's functions, the workplan states not only those that concern internal committee duties and rotation of responsibilities, but also those that have to do with external political bodies. These include other legislative committees as well as external bodies such as the Ministries of Foreign Relations, of Planning and of Economics; the Central American Parliament's Commission on Foreign Relations; Diplomatic Missions; and, international organizations.

III Marriage or Common Law Unions (Unión Matrimonial o Unión de Hecho)

This paper was developed for Dip Lillian Díaz Sol, president of the Committee on the Family, Women and Children, to be presented at the VIII Congress of Women held in San Salvador in November of 1992

The paper is divided into three main sections. The first section discusses the socio-economic problems facing El Salvador. According to the paper, common law unions actually surpass the number of legal marriages in El Salvador. Since common law unions are much more likely to occur in low income households, the consequence of this is that an increasing number of children will be born in poverty and with little chance of reaching adequate social and economic well-being. The seriousness of this problem has prompted succeeding governments to respond by implementing health and education programs designed to inform child-bearing age women to begin using family planning methods and pre-natal care.

The second part of the paper discusses the legal and administrative framework which exists to deal with the problem of poverty and child mortality. It describes the laws that are contained in the actual political constitution and in the Organizational Law (Ley Orgánica) of the Ministry of Public Health and of the Procuraduría (Attorney General's Office)

Finally, the paper presents recommendations for the improvement of the conditions of women and children. Among these recommendations is the contents of a preliminary Family Code Law (Anteproyecto del Código de Familia), which aims at regulating family relations including unions not formalized by marriage, in an integral form.

IV. Analysis of the Preliminary Labor Code (Análisis del Anteproyecto de Código de Trabajo)

This report is divided into two sections. The first section presents the arguments advocated by two opposing groups: the labor unions coalition (Intergremial de Trabajadores) and the Fundación Salvadoreña de Desarrollo Económico y Social (FUSADES). The first group is composed of several worker unions and organizations such as the National Labor Union (Unión Nacional de Trabajadores--UNOC), the National Union of Salvadoran Workers (Unión Nacional de Trabajadores Salvadoreños--UNTS), the General Confederation of Workers (Confederación General de Trabajadores--CGT), and General Association of Public and Municipal Employees (Asociación General de Empleados Públicos y Municipales--AGEPYM)

This group presents its demands as a right based on Social Justice, Individual Rights, Collective Rights, etc. It argues for workplace conditions which will help to generate an real

equilibrium between the factors of production in order to establish economic democracy

The second group, represented by FUSADES, also argues for a more harmonious relationship both between factors of production and between producers and consumers. However, its arguments are based mainly on the principles of a market economy. FUSADES argues that a labor legislation that grants too many privileges to the workers will lead to an inefficient and unproductive economy, where the workers will be the main victims

Despite important differences in their arguments, both the Intergremial de Trabajadores and FUSADES agree on one point: the need to create a new, more modern Labor Code. This is an important starting point for the development of a proyecto de ley that will be acceptable to all

The second section of this paper is a table comparing the principal modifications to the Labor Code that appear in the preliminary law presented by the labor unions coalition ("Cuadro comparativo de las principales modificaciones al Código de Trabajo que aparecen en el Anteproyecto elaborado por la Intergremial de Trabajadores"). As the name suggests, this section compares the articles contained in the current Labor Code to those proposed in the preliminary law presented by the labor unions coalition (Intergremial de Trabajadores)

FREDDY RODRIGUEZ

- I. Law to Increase the Special Patrimony of the Salvadoran Institute for Agrarian Transformation--ISTA (Ley para incrementar el patrimonio especial del Instituto Salvadoreño de Transformación Agraria--ISTA)

This paper presents and analyzes the objectives of the proposed law, which are: (1) to increase the patrimony of the ISTA; (2) to legally transfer the parcels of land to the actual occupants in order to guarantee their legal ownership over their lands; (3) to claim for state ownership those properties such as: drainage systems, roads, administrative buildings and infrastructure, and demonstration farms; (4) to declare forestry zones, and, (5) to transfer the administration of structures built by the state to the legally constituted Asociaciones Regantes.

- II National Energy Council Law (Ley del Consejo Nacional de Energía--co-written with José Baraona)

This document presents a proposal of law for the establishment of the Consejo Nacional de Energía (National Energy Council). In this document, the main objectives, functions and distribution of duties are outlined.

The main objective of this Council is to investigate, formulate and direct energy policy, for the achievement of social and economic development. The Council's main functions will be to (a) formulate in the short-, medium-, and long-terms the nation's National Energy Policy Program (Programa Nacional de Políticas Energéticas), (b) to investigate, analyze and evaluate programs and projects for the development of the nation's energy system, (c) coordinate with the government and those sectors in charge of energy research the distribution of the funds allocated by national and international institutions; (d) to promote the participation of public and private entities, who actions affect the formulation, implementation and coordination of the plans and programs directed towards the energy sector, (e) to prepare the investment program necessary for the implementation of the proposed projects; (f) to authorize the contracting of internal and external resources to dispose of funds for the investment program; and, (g) to supervise, oversee and control the implementation by public and private institutions of the energy policies that emanate from the Council.

JOSE BARAONA

I. National Energy Council Law (Ley del Consejo Nacional de Energía)

This paper was co-written with Freddy Rodriguez. This document presents a proposal of law for the establishment of the Consejo Nacional de Energía (National Energy Council). In this document, the main objectives, functions and distribution of duties are outlined.

POLITICAL PARTY ANALYSTS

MIRNA RODRIGUEZ

I Statement of Alternative Solutions to Health Problems in El Salvador (Planteamiento de soluciones alternativas ante los problemas de salud existentes en El Salvador)

This paper contains a discussion of health care in El Salvador. According to this paper, the 1991 Household Survey for Multiple Purposes (Encuesta de Hogares de Propósitos Múltiples), found that more than 66% of the population in El Salvador lives at or below the poverty line. This problem is compounded by the fact that most of the population is not covered by social security services. Actually, only 6% of the Salvadoran population is covered by social security and the paradox is that this group is comprised of middle class employees. In contrast, countries such

as Uruguay, Argentina, Chile, Cuba, Brazil and Costa Rica provide coverage to between 69% and 100% of the population

The previous discussion points to an urgent need for health care reform in El Salvador. However, the paper argues that, before any reform is proposed, serious consideration should be given to the characteristics of the current social security system. For example, it is pointed out that, while countries that cover between 69% and 100% of the population devote no more than 11% of the GDP, El Salvador will need to use 21% of its GDP to cover 100% of its population. This points to an extremely inefficient social security system and one that will not make universal social security coverage feasible, especially under the current economic crisis.

The paper finally describes how other countries have chosen to deal with the problem of health care. Special emphasis is placed on the methods implemented by other Central American countries.

II. Analysis on the Preliminary Law Initiative to Reduce the Tax Rate on Cigarettes and Beer (Análisis impositivo: Iniciativa de ley disminución de tasa impositiva para los cigarrillos y la cerveza)

The public sector in El Salvador is presently confronting a dilemma caused by, on the one hand, a need to increase or at least maintain its current level of expenditures, and, on the other hand, a decrease in its principal sources of income. Paradoxically, the state is still continuing to grant tax incentives that were first instituted with the Central American Agreement on Fiscal Incentives for Industrial Development (Convenio Centroamericano de Incentivos Fiscales al Desarrollo Industrial). This paper analyzes the content and objectives of the Central American Agreement on Fiscal Incentives for Industrial Development and the consequences on the current economy. It concludes, for example, that if the state had not provided these tax credits, the current fiscal deficit would be one fourth less than it actually is. Therefore, one of the recommendations of this paper is to redistribute tax burdens equally and to eliminate unnecessary fiscal sacrifices.

An analysis of the fiscal income points points to beer and cigarettes as important contributors to fiscal income. During 1990 and 1991, beer contributed 127.4 and 154.5 million colones respectively to the fiscal income. Likewise, cigarettes contributed 121.2 and 156.0 million colones respectively for 1990 and 1991. A reduction in the tax rate of these two products would seriously decrease the income received by the state. The paper, therefore, proposes not to cut the tax on these two products.

An Appendix of the paper highlights the advantages and disadvantages of cutting the tax rate on beer and cigarettes.

ERNESTO LIMA

I Analysis of the Consumer Tax (Análisis del Impuesto al Consumidor)

This paper gives a brief history of consumer taxes and discusses the advantages and disadvantages of adopting this type of tax. The paper concentrates on two different types of taxes: those preferred by Latin countries, particularly France, and those preferred by Anglo-Saxon countries, particularly England. The first type of tax is collected by the departments and the local communities, and is applied in commerce, at the time of sale. The second type is collected by the central government and is applied at the factory level.

The recommendation offered by this paper is to use the proportional tax rate in order to ensure progressivity in taxes and to avoid, as much as is possible, harming the poor.

LAZARO TADEO BERNAL

I. Petitions presented by the PDC to the Legislative Assembly for the Period May 1, 1991 to May 1 1992 (Piezas presentadas por el PDC ante la Asamblea Legislativa en el período 1 de mayo 1991 y 1 de mayo 1992)

One of the main problems cited by members of different parties is that there is little information about which laws have been introduced, which ones have been passed and which ones are still pending. In light of this problem, the PDC commissioned this project that had as its main objective to identify petitions and preliminary laws that have been introduced but are still pending.

This paper lists all the petitions (solicitudes) and the preliminary laws (anteproyectos de ley) presented by the Christian Democratic Party of El Salvador for the legislative period beginning on May 1, 1991 and ending on May 2, 1992. This listing contains a brief description of the item presented, the date on which it was presented, the committee to which this item was assigned and, finally, it lists the name of the party member that will be responsible for that particular item.

II. Petitions to the Legislature -- various (Piezas de correspondencia --varias)

This analyst includes several petitions, which are appeals of varied nature to the Legislative Assembly.

MARCOS ALFREDO VALLADARES MELGAR

----- No written work -----

Appendix 2:

A Brief Summary of Analysts' Accomplishments

Analysts	Education / Experience	Significant Achievement	Written Analysis	Main Problem
CORE ANALYSTS				
José Baraona	B A Pol Science / UCA Prof Pol Sci	Named as Advisor to the Political Committee	Anteproyecto de Ley de Comisión Nacional de Energía	Material & logistic support, low salary
Annette Rebeca Berríos	B A Int'l Relations UNAM / Housing Fund Public Chief	Lecture on Legislative Assembly to staff, Plan on Int'l Relations	Workplan for the Int'l Relations Committee of the Legislative Assembly	Logistic support
Freddy Rodríguez	B A Economics / UCA manager credit department	Developed law to increase support for land reform	Anteproyecto de Ley Comisión Nacional de Energía	Logistic support
PARTY ANALYSTS				
Myrna Rodríguez (Convergencia Democrática)	B A Bus Admin / IAF	Study of macroeconomic impact of a lower cigarette/beer/soda tax and, study of the National Reconstruction Plan	Research on health care situation in El Salvador	Too many demands for a limited number of analysts
Lázaro Bernal (Democracia Cristiana)	Lawyer, Univ of El Salvador	Ley de Protección al Consumidor, Coments on Ley IVA, Reformas al Código de Salud Publica	Listing of all petitions presented by the PDC to the Legislative Assembly	Logistic support, photocopies, etc
Marcos Alfredo Valladares Meigar (PCN)	Lawyer, Univ of El Salvador	Ley de Protección al Consumidor Advice about the IVA Advice about the tax on beer, soda and cigarettes	No written work (mostly oral reports to party members)	Politics over technical
Ernesto Lima (ARENA)	Lawyer	Acceptance by diputados of the suggestions in some of his written reports	Proyecto Ley de Antejucio Observations to the Law for "Liciados e Incapacitados de Guerra"	Politics over technical Not having access to neutral expert (i.e. non political) opinions

Appendix 3: Public Understanding of the Legislature

One component of the project is to develop a pilot public education program. The component is to finance technical assistance, material and other support that would "improve citizen understanding of the role and function of the legislature in a democratic society" (USAID Project Paper, p. 20). As envisioned, the program is to focus on the development of materials for school-age children

As of the date of this evaluation, this component has not yet been developed or implimented. Hence, it is impossible to measure impacts of a program that has not yet been implemented. The evaluation, however, can serve the important purpose of providing input into the project team's decisions regarding the design of the pilot education program

The major component of the project deals with the legislature itself, improving both its infrastructure and its access to technical support. Eventually, it is hoped by the framers of the project that public perceptions of the legislative branch of government will improve. However, little was known about public perceptions of the legislature when the project was conceived. It was, of course, a reasonable assumption that the image was not particularly good given the history of El Salvador. At the time of the evaluation, however, one central element in the project, the construction of expanded and improved office facilities, had not yet been completed. In addition, a second component, the policy advisors ("analistas") had only been working for several months and their impact on the legislature was just beginning to be felt. Therefore, it is not reasonable to assume that public perceptions would have improved by the time this evaluation took place.

In this section of the report, we provide baseline data that can help address both concerns raised above. That is, the baseline data can help the project staff target the public education program to those sectors in which it is felt that such education is most needed or could be most effective. For example, if it were determined that the image of the legislature was poorest in rural areas, the pilot program could begin there. Similarly, the baseline data enables the project to compare public perceptions at the outset of the project with those perceptions that emerge later, after the project has had an opportunity to function for some years.

Public Opinion and Democracy in El Salvador

A decade ago, public opinion counted for very little in Latin America. At that time, almost all of the countries were being ruled by military dictatorships which based their right to rule on force rather than on popular legitimacy. Elections were held, of course, but most were manipulated and fraudulent. Legislatures, when they were allowed to operate at all, were no more than rubber stamps for executive decisions. Not infrequently, legislatures were suspended indefinitely.

Today, we are in a new age of democracy in Latin America. With the prominent exception of Mexico, competitive, free and fair elections have become the norm rather than the exception. Even in Peru, where the executive staged an "auto-golpe" last year when faced with its inability to gain the upper hand in a brutal guerrilla war, elections were held in December, 1992 which eventually are supposed to restore the legislative function. Most important, throughout the region the militaries have gone back to their barracks. The change is perhaps most dramatic in Central America, where, with the exception of Costa Rica, authoritarian rule had been the norm for centuries. In each of the countries of the Isthmus, elections are now regularly held that have been certified by most international observers as free and fair.

Yet, democracy has become institutionalized in these countries. Rather, most observers believe that there is a slow process underway during which democratic procedures and norms eventually may become deeply entrenched. Institutionalization of democracy is being undertaken, however, during very difficult economic times, making the process all the more difficult to sustain.

While much attention in the early years of the establishment of democracy in Latin America was focused on elections, concern is now being directed toward a deepening of the process. USAID has focused most heavily upon reform of the judicial sector, in an effort to help assure citizens to the right of a speedy and fair trial as well as to provide guarantees against human rights abuses.

The project being evaluated in this exercise is focused on the legislative branch of government. The tradition in El Salvador has been similar to that found elsewhere in Latin America, namely, that the legislature has frequently been closed by the military, and even when it has been permitted to operate it was little more than a rubber stamp for executive fiat. It would not at all be surprising to find, therefore, that in the public mind, the Legislative Assembly in El Salvador is neither prominent nor distinguished. Institutions are not granted

legitimacy by the public merely because they exist, legitimization is a process that can be slow and fitful

The current Legislative Assembly in El Salvador dates its existence to the 1982 Constitution and hence is still a very new institution. What does the public think about it? Are there differences of opinion based upon socio-economic, demographic or political factors? What is the level of interaction between representatives and their constituencies, and what factors favor increasing that contact? We attempt to answer those questions in this report.

Data Base

There are two primary sources of data to be employed in this analysis. First, a cross-national data base that places the data from El Salvador in comparative perspective. Second, a national sample of Salvadorans interviewed by CID Gallup in late September, 1992. We discuss each of these in turn, noting at the outset that the great bulk of the analysis is derived from the Gallup survey. We should also note that we have based our analysis of that survey on the raw data rather than the report issued by Gallup. That written report does not, however, provide the ability of comparing important subsets of the sample (e.g., supporters of each of the political parties), nor does it allow for statistical analyses (e.g., test of significance, correlation and regression). Only by processing the raw data can we develop a clear picture of the popular view of the legislature in El Salvador.

The first data base covers all six Spanish-speaking countries in Central America and was gathered as part of the University of Pittsburgh Central American Public Opinion Project. The major advantage of utilizing this data set is that it provides a relevant set of points of comparison. It would be of little use to compare the responses for El Salvador to those from long-established democracies outside of the Iberian cultural tradition. Hence, comparing opinion data from the U.S. and Canada, for example, with data from El Salvador would tell us very little. Within Central America, however, the comparisons obviously are far more relevant.

The Central American Public Opinion Project of the University of Pittsburgh was designed to tap the opinion of Central Americans on a wide variety of issues. The study received funding support from a wide variety of sources.¹

¹The funding sources included the Andrew Mellon Foundation, the Tinker Foundation, Inc., the Howard Heinz Endowment, the University of Pittsburgh Central Research Small Grant Fund and the Instituto de Estudios Latinoamericanos (IDELA). The collabo-

A basic decision made early on in the design of the sample was that it was to be urban in nature. Hence, whenever we refer to Central American public opinion we are referring to urban public opinion. The comparison made with the Gallup national survey, then, is made based on the urban portion of that study.²

rating institutions in Central America were: Guatemala--Asociación de Investigación y Estudios Sociales (ASIES), El Salvador--the Instituto de Estudios Latinoamericanos (IDELA); Honduras--Centro de Estudio y Promoción del Desarrollo (CEPROD) and the Centro de Documentación de Honduras (CEDOH), Nicaragua--Centro de Estudios Internacionales (CEI), and the Escuela de Sociología, Universidad Centroamericana (UCA); Costa Rica--Universidad de Costa Rica; Panama--Centro de Estudios Latinoamericanos "Justo Arosemena" (CELA). Collaborating doctoral students in Political Science at the University of Pittsburgh were Ricardo Córdova (El Salvador), Annabelle Conroy (Honduras), Orlando Pérez (Panama), and Andrew Stein (Nicaragua). Collaborating faculty were John Booth, University of North Texas (Nicaragua and Guatemala), and Jon Hurwitz, University of Pittsburgh (Costa Rica).

²The decision to focus on the urban populations, rather than the nation as a whole was made principally on pragmatic grounds. The cost of national samples, involving transportation of interview teams to often highly inaccessible rural villages, was too great for our limited budget.

The sample was of a multi-stage stratified design. The first level of stratification was the most obvious; we divided the entire population to be studied into the six nations; hence, each country represents a stratum in the design. Then, within each country, the urban area was defined. Unfortunately, official census definitions are of little help since they define urban areas with population concentrations so low as to barely make them distinguishable from rural villages. For example, in some countries populations over 2,500 are considered urban when, in fact, these places are at best no more than very small towns. We sought to narrow our definition of urban to include the areas of major population agglomeration. In Guatemala, this meant Guatemala City, Esquintla, Quezaltenango and other major concentrations. In El Salvador, it meant greater metropolitan San Salvador, including the city of San Salvador (divided into 14 zones) and the eight surrounding municipios: Soyapango, Cuscatancingo, Ciudad Delgado, Mejicanos, Nueva San Salvador, San Marcos, Ilopango, and Antigua Cuscatlán. In Honduras, it meant the nation's two large metropolitan areas, Tegucigalpa (the capital) and San Pedro Sula. In Nicaragua, this definition included Managua (the capital) and the regional cities of León, Granada, and Masaya. In Costa Rica, the sample covered the greater metropolitan region, incorporating San José (the nation's capital) and the provincial capitals of the meseta central--

Country samples were of area probability design. In each country, the most recent population census data were used. Within each stratum, census maps were used to select, at random, an appropriate number of political subdivisions (e.g., districts) and, within each subdivision, the census maps were used to select an appropriate number of segments from which to draw the interviews.³ Within the household, all voting age residents were eligible for selection, and one was chosen at random (using either the "next birthday system" or a sex/age quota system).

Costa Rica was established as the country for the pilot test of the survey items. That sample was gathered in fall 1990. The surveys in the other five countries were then carried out during the summer of 1991 and the winter of 1991-92. The design called for samples in the range of at least 500 to a maximum of 1,000 respondents from each country. The lower boundary of 500 respondents was established so as to provide a sufficient number of cases from each country to allow for reliable statistical analysis at the level of the country. The sample sizes for each country are as follows: Guatemala, N = 904; El Salvador, N = 910; Honduras, N = 566; Nicaragua, N = 704; Costa Rica, N = 597, Panama, N = 500.

The second source of data comes from the September, 1992 CID Gallup survey of El Salvador. As part of this evaluation 15 items were purchased in the CID omnibus survey. The raw data (in ASCII file format) were delivered to the evaluators by CID and all analyses that appear here are based on the original (i.e., raw) data rather than the summary percentages reported by CID

Cartago, Heredia, and Alajuela. Finally, the Panama sample was confined to the metropolitan Panama City area.

³In Central America, census bureaus divide the census maps into small areas designed to be covered by a single census taker. The maps are sufficiently detailed to show all of the dwelling units. In places like Panama City, where there are a large number of apartment buildings, lists are available that show the number of dwelling units within each building. In the larger buildings, this sometimes results in more than one census segment per building. In El Salvador, census maps completed two years prior to the survey were available, but the census itself had not yet been taken. The maps were not of sufficient detail to show each dwelling unit, but they did show the major streets and landmarks (e.g., churches) and did provide a housing count for each census segment. In Nicaragua the census maps were very out of date, so the cities were divided into geographic zones and population estimates were made based on data from the census bureau and the election tribunal. Stratification was based upon locally obtained information about the socio-economic character of the neighborhoods.

The major advantage of the CID survey is that it was national in scope, whereas the Central America comparative data come from the major cities of the Isthmus. Comparisons, therefore, between the two data sets are based only upon the San Salvador subset of the survey. In all other instances, when the data set from El Salvador is being examined alone, the entire national sample is utilized.

The CID Gallup survey interviewed 1256 Salvadorans of voting age. The sample was drawn from the entire country and was based on personal interviews. The sample was probability in design, using quotas for sex and age within the household. The study was conducted between the 22nd and 30 of September, 1992. Some areas included in the survey, in addition to San Salvador were Ahuachapán, Chalchuapa, Sonsonate, Arcadia, Dulce Nombre de María, San Pedro Peruladán and Santiago Monvallo.

The results presented here are based on the "weighted" sample. In an apparent (and justifiable) effort to reduce field costs, CID Gallup interviews a significantly smaller proportion of respondents in rural areas than the actual distribution of population in El Salvador would warrant. In order to correct for any bias that this sampling procedure might induce, the urban data are assigned a lower weight and the rural data a higher weight. In effect, this means that each urban interview in the weighted sample counts for less than one interview, whereas each rural interview counts for more.⁴

The analysis that appears below focuses on AID's main areas of concern for AID. At the end of this report appears an appendix that lists the univariate distributions for all of the Gallup poll results.

Visibility of the Assembly

The unicameral structure of the legislatures in Central America makes it somewhat easier for the average citizen to be informed of the basic facts about those legislatures. In the

⁴In fact, the weighting procedure is a bit more complicated than this simplified description makes it appear. There are actually three strata used for weighting purposes: (1) San Salvador, (2) other cities and (3) the rest of the country. The actual and weighted number of interviews conducted in each stratum was are as follows:

<u>Stratum</u>	<u>Actual</u>	<u>Weighted</u>
San Salvador	439	233
Other cities	354	135
Rest of country	463	889

It should be noted that the "rest of the country" stratum is 87.9 percent rural.

64

U.S., in contrast, while many citizens know that there are 100 senators (the round number perhaps makes it easier to remember), many fewer know the number of representatives. To determine the degree of knowledge of such basic facts about the Salvadoran Legislative Assembly, we asked the respondents two questions: how many deputies sit in the legislature and what is the name of any deputy representing the respondent's department.

One factor that reduces the ability of Salvadorans to know the number of deputies in the legislature is that as of the most recent election, the number was increased. Hence, from 1982 until 1991 there were 60 deputies. Then, in 1991 20 at-large deputies were elected and estimates of population growth expanded the department-based deputies by four. Hence, at present, there are 84 deputies.

Only one in ten (10.4%) Salvadorans knows the number of deputies in the Legislative Assembly. This is a low number in absolute terms and in relative terms as well. As shown in Figure 1 below, only in Nicaragua is knowledge of the number of deputies lower than it is in El Salvador. For this chart we have examined only the respondents in San Salvador, whose knowledge was slightly higher (11.6%) than for the country as a whole.

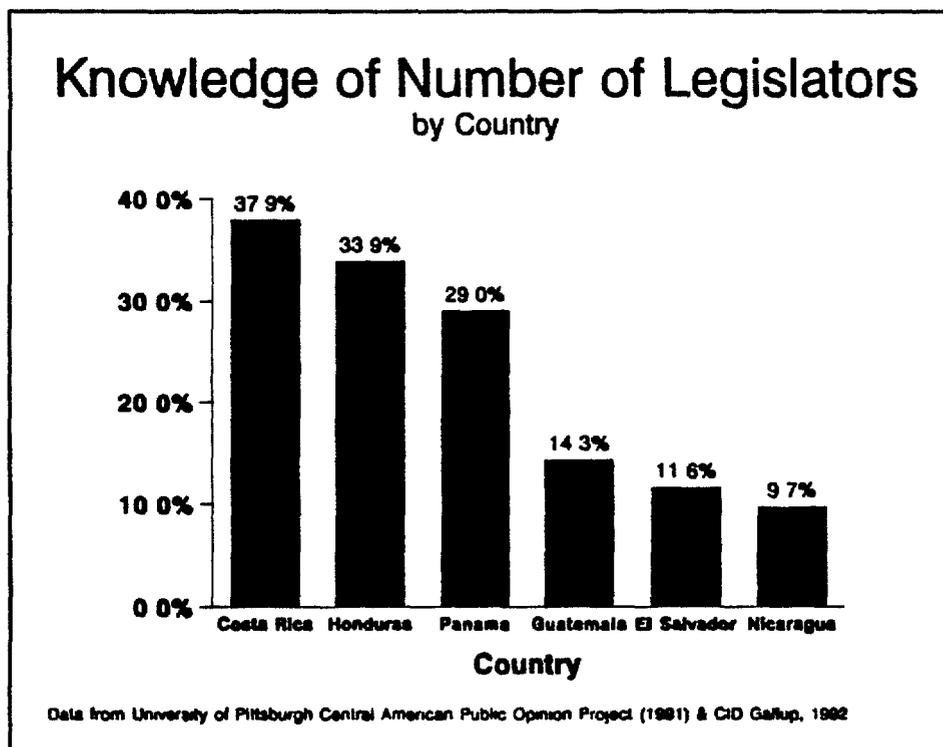


Figure 1

One might guess that knowledge of the Assembly is lower in areas where the media are less prevalent and higher where they are more widely available. Hence, a comparison of San Salvador with other cities and other parts of the country might reveal substantial differences. As can be seen in Figure 2 below, however, this is not the case. While it is true that knowledge of the number of legislators is somewhat higher in San Salvador than in other cities of the country, the areas beyond these major cities actually have higher levels of knowledge than in these cities themselves.

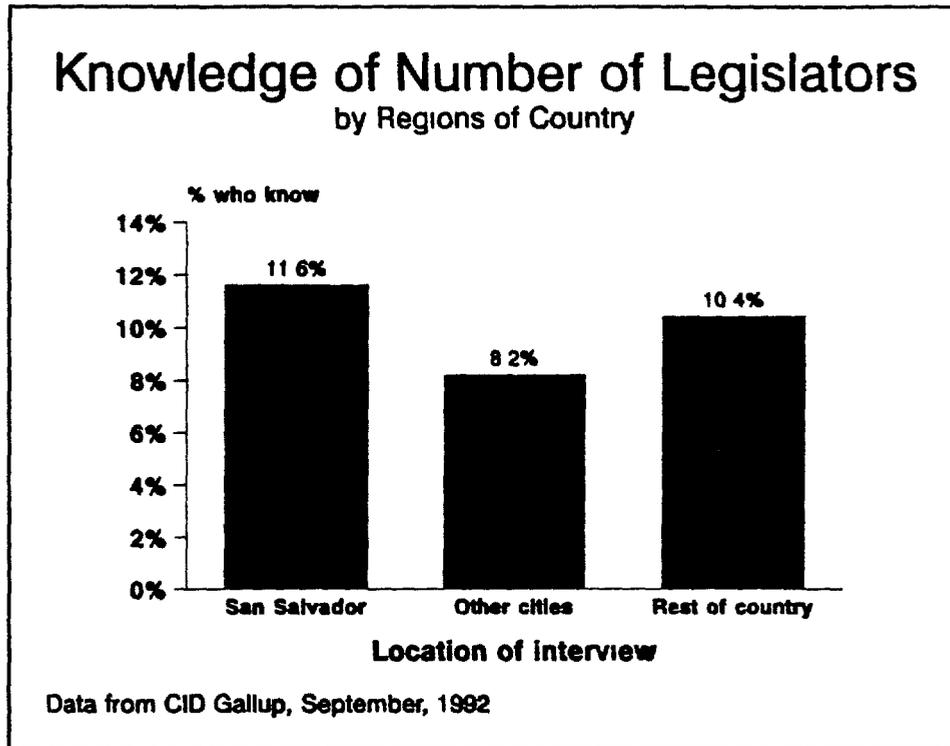


Figure 2

This finding suggests that perhaps there might be an important rural-urban division of knowledge about the legislature. But, as can be seen in Figure 3 below, this is not the case. We find that urban areas actually have slightly less knowledge of the number of legislators than rural areas.

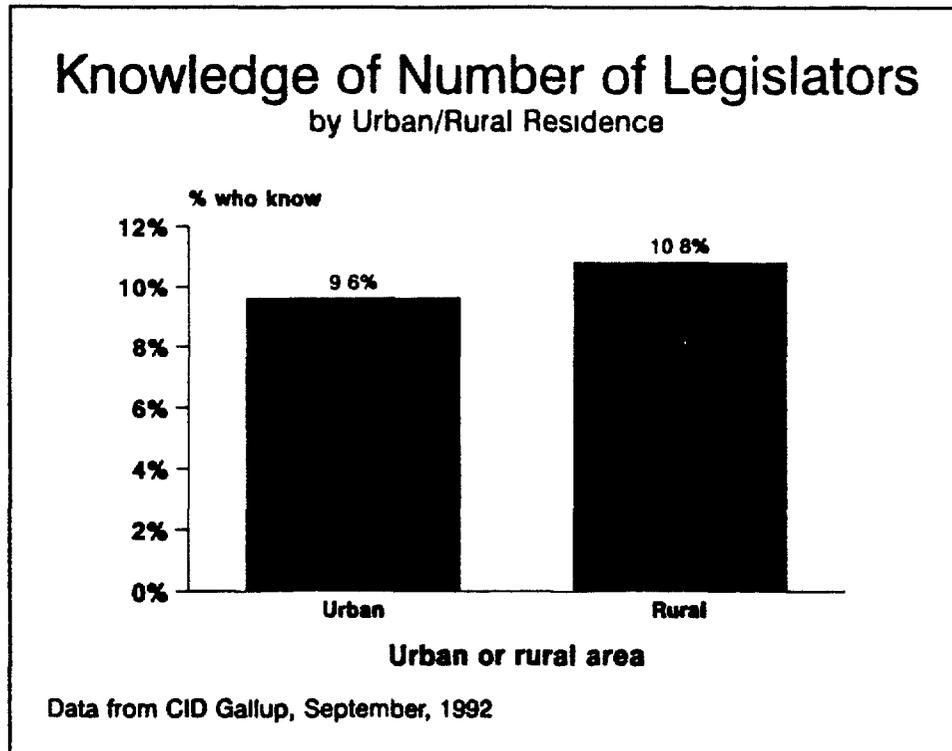


Figure 3

Although the level of knowledge of the number of diputados is low for the country as a whole and in both rural and urban areas, among some sectors of the population it is substantially higher. In particular, knowledge of the number of legislators is considerably higher among males, those with higher education and higher socio-economic status.

We first examine the relationship of gender to knowledge of the number of legislators in the Assembly. Through the analysis of this data, it should be possible to obtain some findings relevant to Women In Development (W.I.D.) issues. As can be seen in Figure 4 below, males are nearly three times more knowledgeable of the number of legislators than females. Taken alone, this data would indicate that education efforts should be targeted more directly at women than men. But, this finding may be spurious, since the lower level of knowledge of females may be entirely a function of lower levels of overall education, assum-

ing that such education is linked to knowledge of the number of legislators in the Assembly

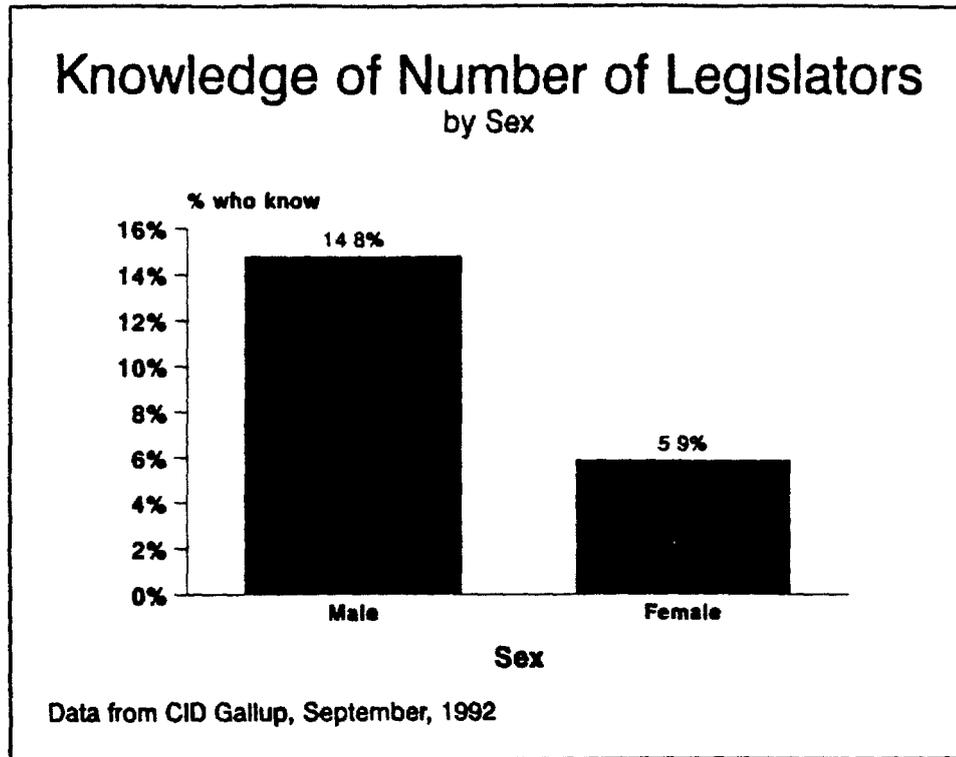


Figure 4

Before examining the impact of gender controlled for education, it is necessary to examine the impact of education on knowledge of the number of legislators. In Figure 5 below, we see there is indeed a very clear link. At the lowest levels of education, less than three percent of the respondents were correctly able to indicate the correct number of legislators, whereas at the highest levels of education, this figure rose to nearly one-quarter.

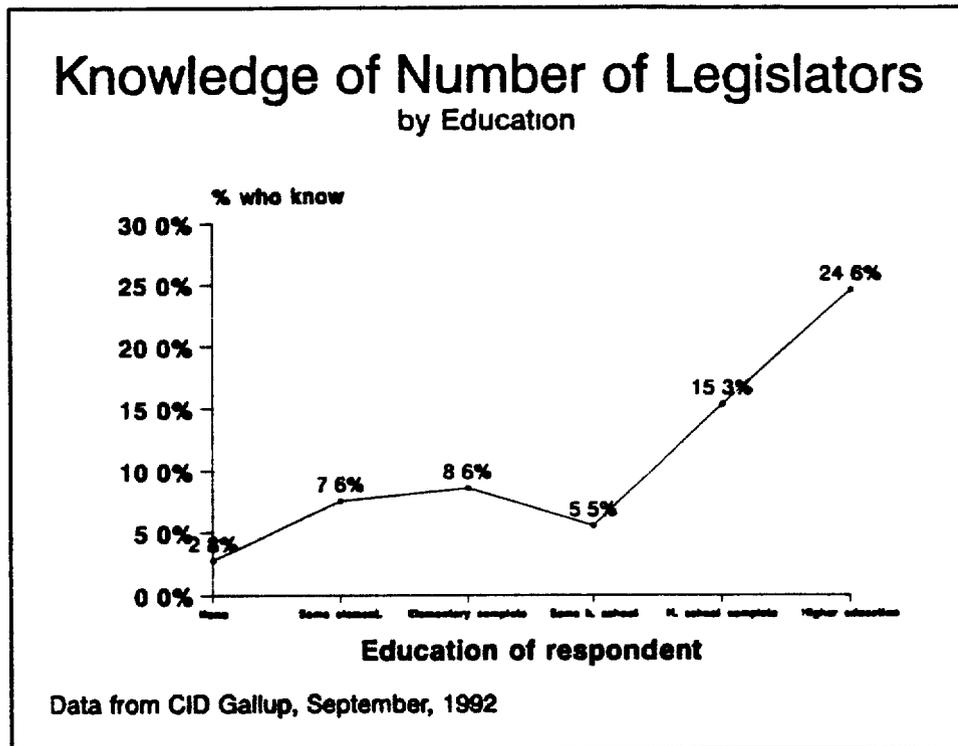


Figure 5

We now know that education affects knowledge of the number of legislators. We then examined the data to determine if there also was a gender-based difference in levels of education. In fact, there was; males were more educated than females, but the differences were not dramatic.⁵ It therefore became appropriate

⁵The mean education level for males was 3.6 and for females was 3.2. This is not the years of education, but their score on a scale, in which a "3" indicates having completed primary school and a "4" indicates some secondary education.

to explore the impact of gender on knowledge of the Assembly while controlling for education. To do this we performed a regression analysis⁶ and found that even when education is controlled, gender differences are still statistically significant and strong. Indeed, although education is the more important factor in predicting knowledge of the legislature, gender is nearly as important.⁷ This result is shown in Figure 6 below, in which it can be seen that for every level of education, males are more knowledgeable than females. The differences are most dramatic at the higher levels of education

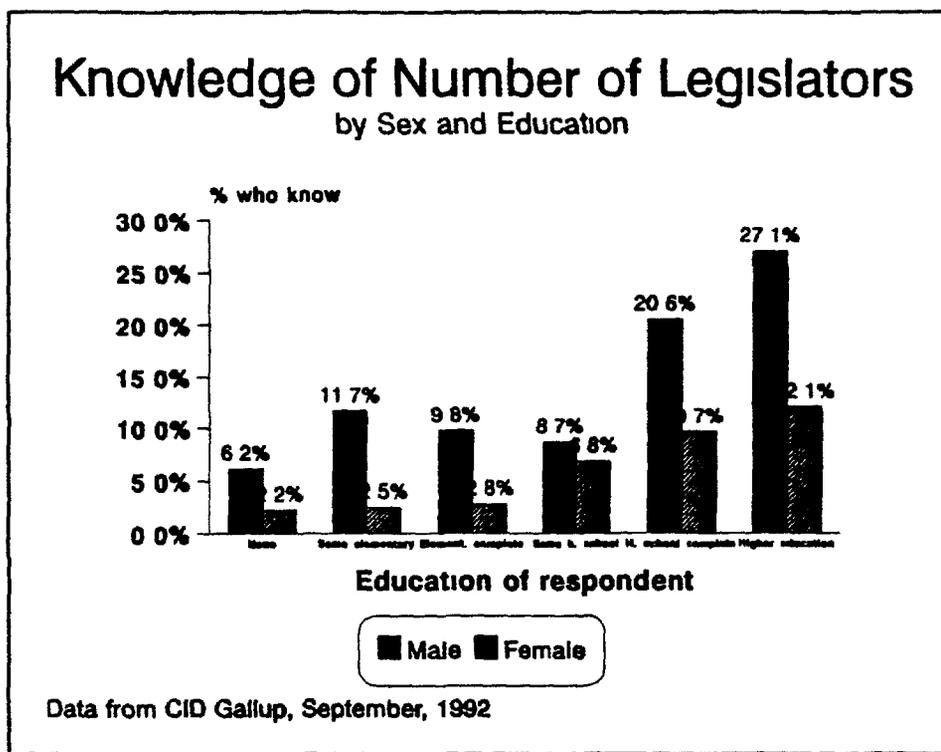


Figure 6

⁶"Regression" is a technique that allows the analyst to determine the impact of two or more predictors (also called independent variables) on a dependent variable. In this case, the predictors were sex and education, and the dependent variable, knowledge of the number of legislators. Regression results will determine which, if any of the predictors have a statistically significant relationship with the dependent variable, which one(s) are more important and which ones less, and how much of the variation in the dependent variable is predicted by the cluster of independent variables.

⁷That is, the beta weights in the regression equation were nearly as high for gender as they were for education.

Another important background characteristic of respondents is that of age. Many studies have found that interest in politics is low among the younger cohorts of the population, but increases as age increases. Presumably, this is because as one grows older, the stake one has in society increases (as a result of increased wealth, concerns about security in old age, and a desire for a better life for one's children). We should expect, therefore, that knowledge of the number of legislators would increase along with age. As is shown in Figure 7 below, this is precisely what we find. Knowledge of the number of legislators is less than five percent among the youngest respondents in the survey, but increases over three times by the time the respondents are in their early 40s. Beyond that age, knowledge does not increase. Indeed, it likely falls off among the oldest respondents.⁸

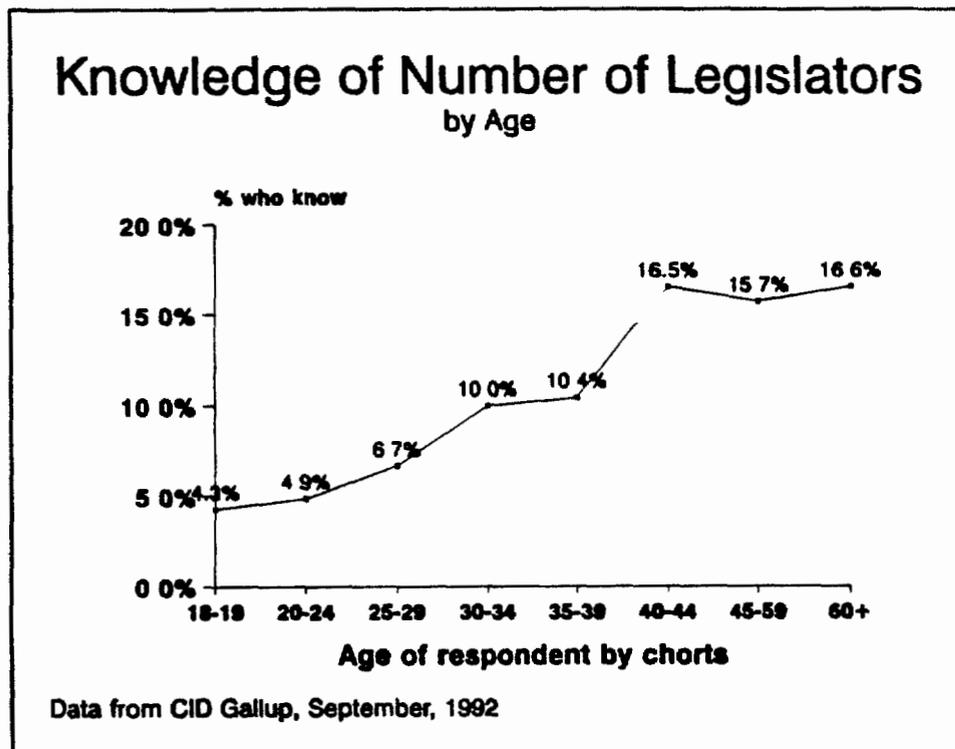


Figure 7

⁸Unfortunately, we were unable to test for this phenomenon because CID Gallup does not report the respondents' age in years but only in cohorts, the oldest cohort being 60 and older. The evaluation team requested that actual age be reported by CID Gallup, but they were unwilling to alter their standard methodology for this study.

We then sought to examine the impact of income and occupation on knowledge of the number of diputados. We expected, based on the earlier findings of higher education being strongly associated with greater knowledge, that both income and occupation also would be positively associated with knowledge. This is precisely what we found as is shown in Figures 8 and 9 below. The relationship of family income to knowledge is clear, but not linear. That is, there is some variation, such that the respondents with the highest incomes had lower knowledge than those in the middle income categories. We explain this result by suggesting that among the middle classes, the legislature is seen as a way of gaining political power, since the legislators are accessible to that class. Among the wealthiest Salvadorans, who have long had direct access to executive political power, the legislature is seen as less relevant to politics. The dramatic decline in knowledge of the number of legislators among those with the highest incomes is troubling, since it may signal a lack of support for the body among individuals who, presumably, have the greatest political power.

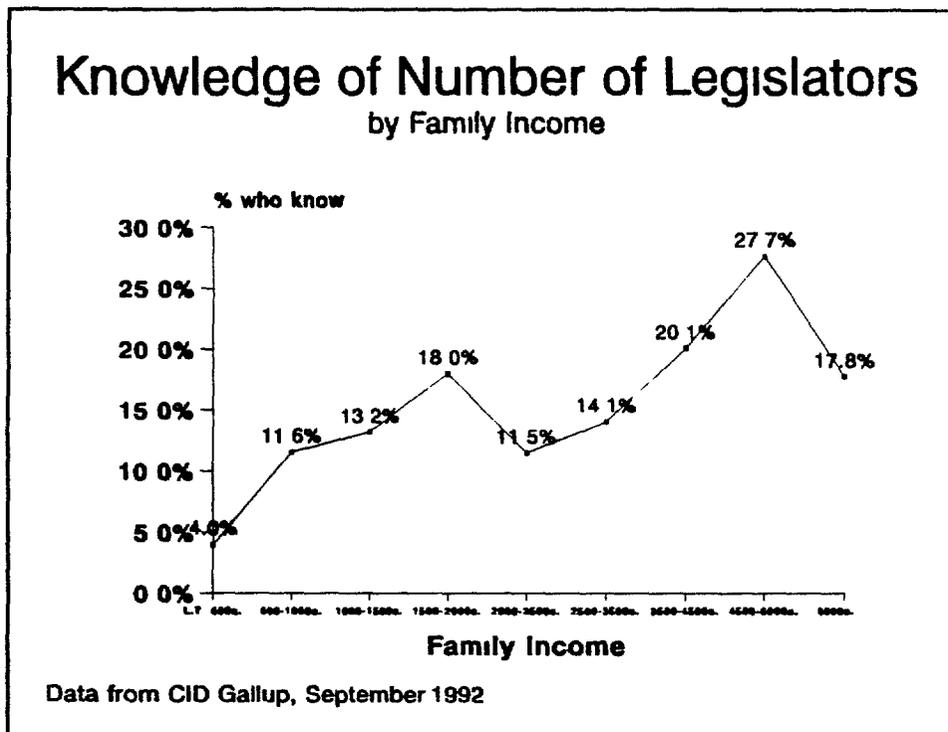


Figure 8

The impact of occupation on knowledge of the number of legislators is shown in Figure 9. As can be seen, those with higher status occupations are generally more knowledgeable than those with lower status occupations. The exception to this is among those classified as "students." The relatively low knowledge among this relatively prestigious occupation (presumably university student, since the sample minimum age is 18) is explained directly by their young age. Whereas the overall sample averaged between 40-44 years of age, the students averaged between 18 and 19. We have already shown that the young have lower knowledge of the legislature. Similarly, the low knowledge among housewives, is linked to their sex, a factor already shown to be related to low knowledge.

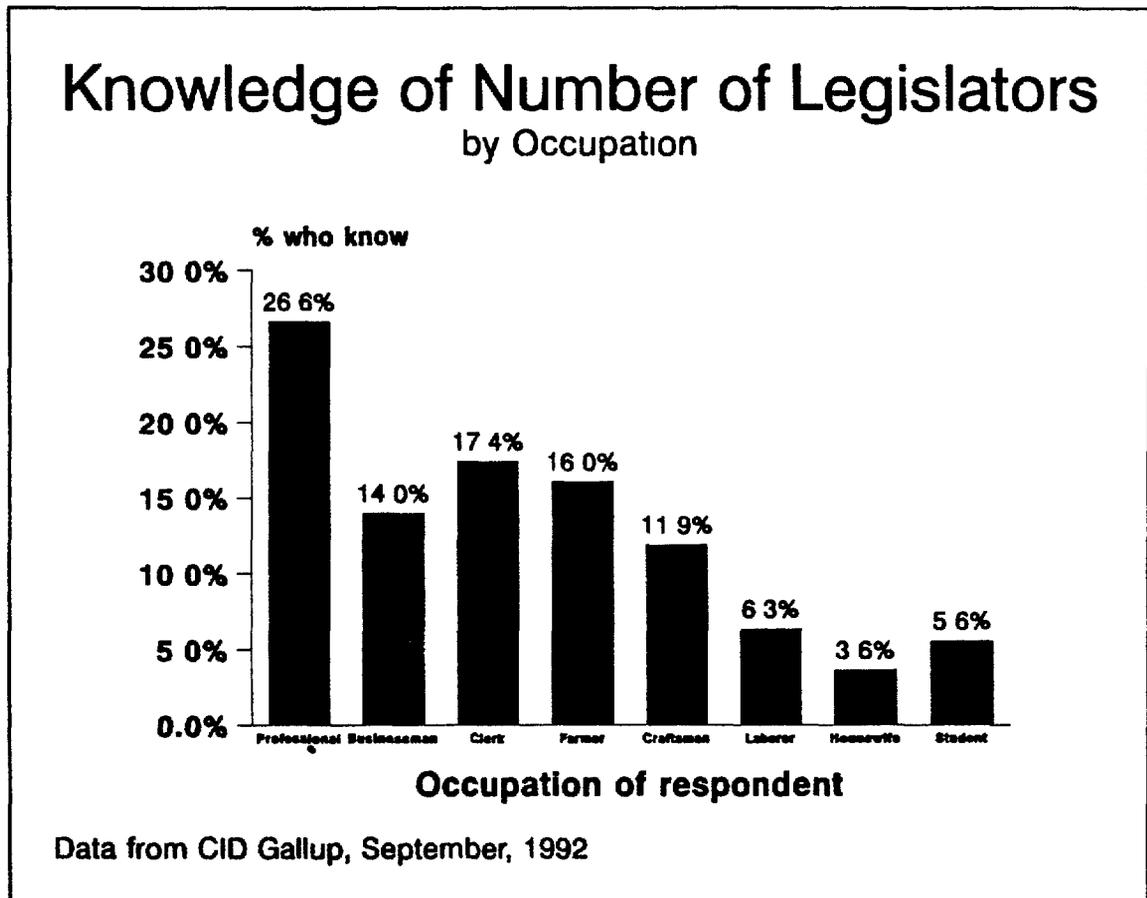


Figure 9

In sum, we find few surprises in this exploration of the demographic and socio-economic factors associated with knowledge of the number of legislators. Older respondents, males, those with more education, higher (but not the highest) income, and more prestigious occupations are more knowledgeable than the young, female, poorly educated, low income, low status occupation respondents.

We now move beyond these relatively immutable characteristics of Salvadorans and examine other factors that might influence knowledge of the assembly. We first examine religious identification, but find that there were only minor differences between the Catholic population and the growing minority of evangelical religions and therefore we do not present a figure for these results. We did find that those who identified themselves as Protestant were more knowledgeable, but the number who so identified was too small to make reliable statements about them.

We turned to an examination of political factors, focusing on party identification. Even though a sequence of questionnaire items was utilized to increase the response rate on party ID, only 59 percent chose to reveal their preference.⁹ Figure 10 shows the responses for those who identified in some way with a political party. The results are partially misleading. The score for the category "other" is particularly high, while the score for two minor parties (UDN and PCN) are very low. In each of these cases, the very small size of the number of respondents makes the mean scores of the category very unstable and hence unreliable. In future analyses in this report on party identification, we exclude the minor parties in order to avoid misleading the reader. The other results in the figure are, however, more reliable. They show that the most knowledgeable citizens are those who identify with the left (F.M.L.N. and CD). Further analysis revealed that since followers of these two parties are, on the whole, better educated and generally of higher status, their greater knowledge of the number of legislators is at least in part a function of that education status.

⁹Respondents were first asked which party they were affiliated with. Those who did not give a response to the first item were asked which party they "prefer." The two items together were then combined to create a new variable of party ID.

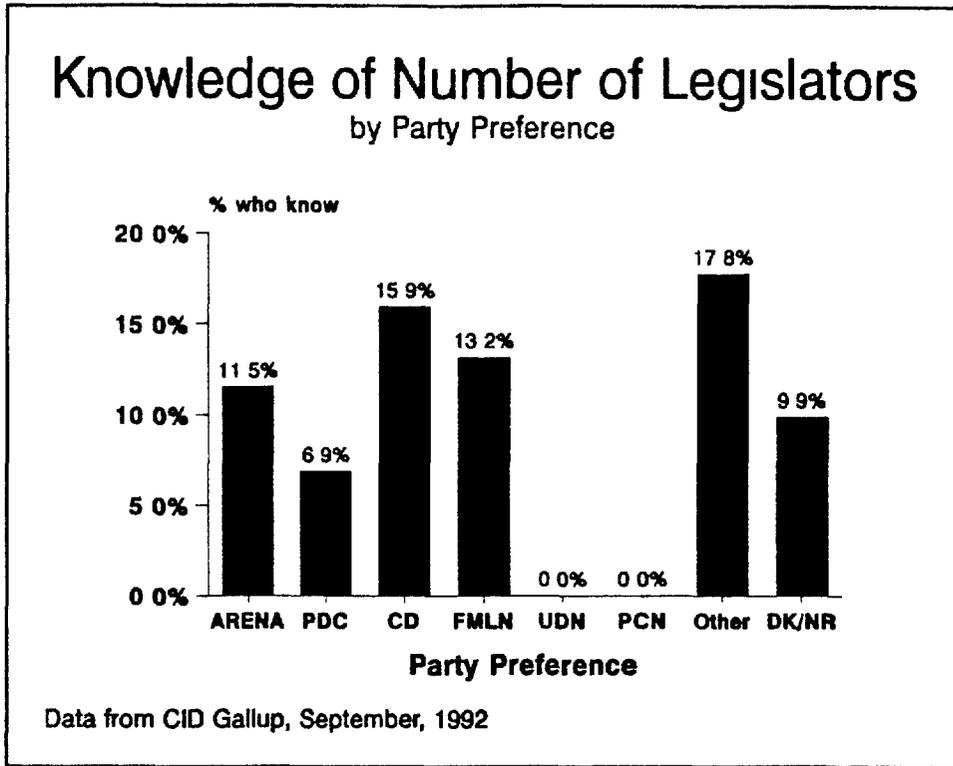


Figure 10

75

A further and rather clear indication of the greater awareness of those on the left is shown in Figure 11 below. The respondents were asked to think about future presidential elections and the kind of candidate they would prefer. As shown in the figure, those who supported the guerrillas in the war were much more likely to be able to correctly state the number of legislators in the assembly than those who supported the government.

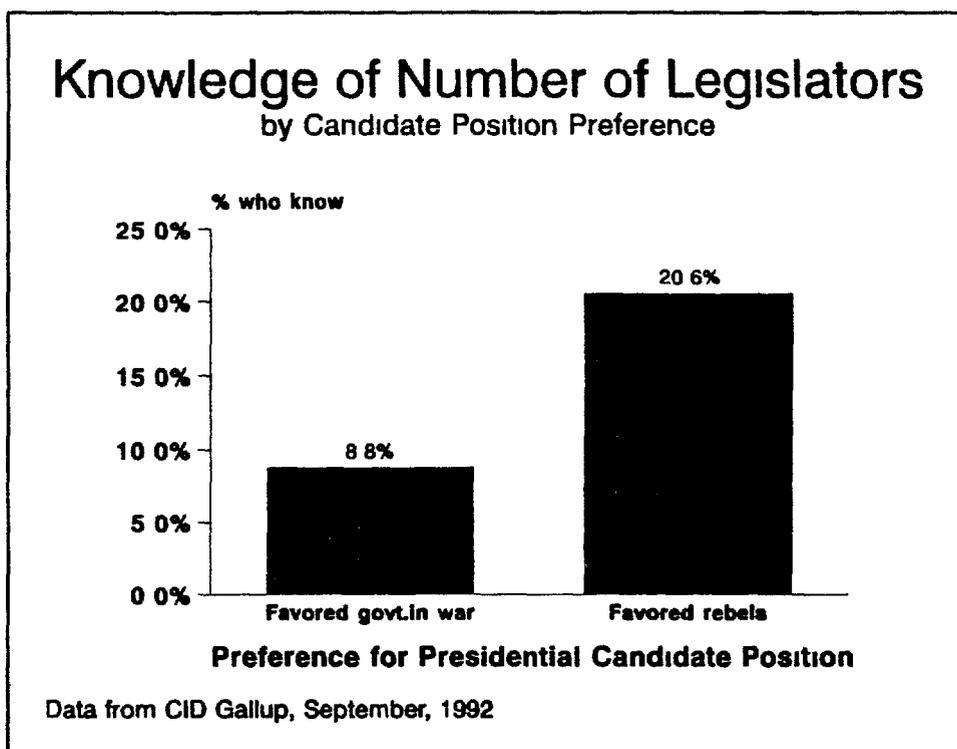


Figure 11

We have seen that numerous factors are linked to knowledge about the legislature in El Salvador. But since several of these factors are themselves related to each other, we need to know which ones are the most important. For example, we know that income is linked closely with education and occupation. Which one stands out as the best predictor of knowledge of the number of legislators? We turn again to regression analysis to answer that question.¹⁰

The regression analysis reveals that only three variables significantly predict knowledge of the number of legislators when all variables are entered into the regression analysis simultaneously. These variables are, in order of predictive power: education, age and sex. Other factors, such as income, occupation and party identification (coded from left to right) become statistically insignificant.

We conclude the analysis of knowledge of the number of deputies by suggesting that there are very clear patterns to be observed. Respondents who are male, older, better educated, wealthier (but not the wealthiest), of higher status occupation and ideologically leftist are significantly more knowledgeable of this basic political fact in El Salvador. We now proceed to see if the same pattern emerges in the knowledge of the name of local deputies.

¹⁰Since the dependent variable is a dichotomy, the more appropriate technique would have been "logistic regression." Prior research has shown, however, that the two techniques normally produce similar results, and since multiple regression is far more widely known, it is used here.

Knowledge of Name of Departmental Deputy

We now turn our attention away from the more general question of the number of representatives in the legislature to what we believe to be a more relevant issue, namely that of knowing who is one's departmental representative. In El Salvador, 64 out of the 84 deputies are elected from the individual departments, with the number of representatives being proportional to the estimated population of the department. As is noted in other portions of this report, El Salvador has not (yet) developed a strong tradition of legislative service to constituents. Nonetheless, many deputies to whom we spoke reported attempting to assist their departments by pressing various government agencies to carry out projects in their jurisdiction.

We wanted to know how many of the respondents to our survey could name at least one deputy from their department. We found that the knowledge of these names was nearly three times higher than was knowledge of the correct number of representatives in the assembly; 27.9 percent of respondents nation-wide knew the name of at least one deputy from their department.

We first sought to determine if the knowledge of deputy names varied by place of residence (urban vs. rural, San Salvador vs. other regions) and found that it did not. Hence, the results were similar to the previous analysis of knowledge of the number of representatives. In contrast to that analysis, however, we did not uncover any systematic variation of knowledge of deputy name by occupation. We did, however, find that sex, education, age, income and party identification each influenced knowledge of deputy names.

In Figure 12 below the relationship between knowing the name of a departmental deputy and gender is shown. Males are considerably more likely to be able to name a deputy than females. We noted in our prior discussion of gender that there are some small differences between the level of education among males and females in El Salvador. We also found that those differences were not large enough to vitiate the impact of gender on knowledge of the number of legislators. The same is true on the question of naming a departmental deputy. For this reason, we will only show here the relationship between education and knowledge, leaving for the regression analysis at the end of this section the sorting out of impact of sex vs education.

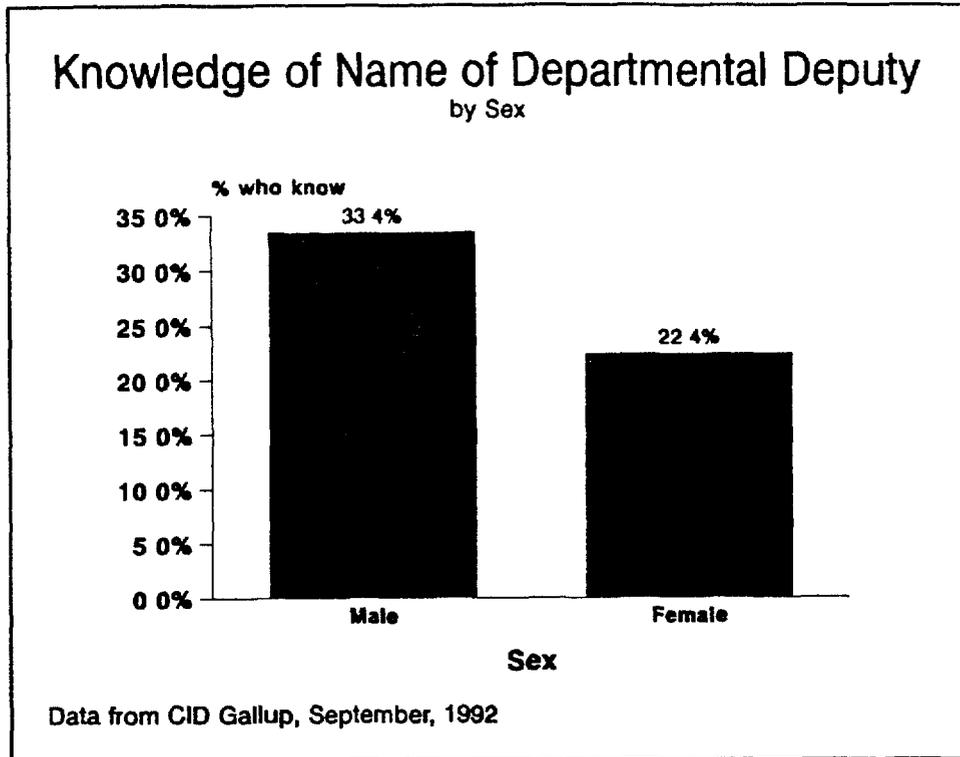


Figure 12

We now turn to education. Figure 13 shown below reveals a dramatic impact of education on knowledge of the name of a departmental deputy. As can be seen, those with the highest level of education are over three times more likely to know a deputy name than those with the lowest level of education. Indeed, among those with at least some college education, knowledge rose to nearly 45 percent of those interviewed, a level we suspect that is on par with that found in many industrialized countries.

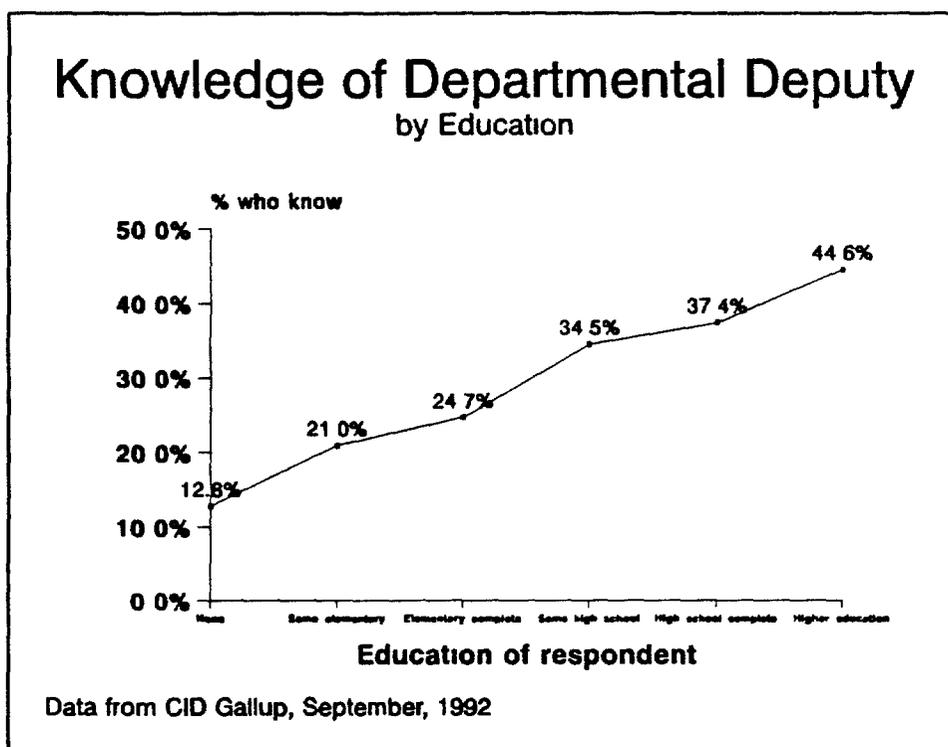


Figure 13

Figure 14 shows the relationship between age and knowledge of a departmental deputy. Although the pattern is rather uneven, it is clear that older respondents, those 40 and above, have somewhat higher knowledge than younger respondents.

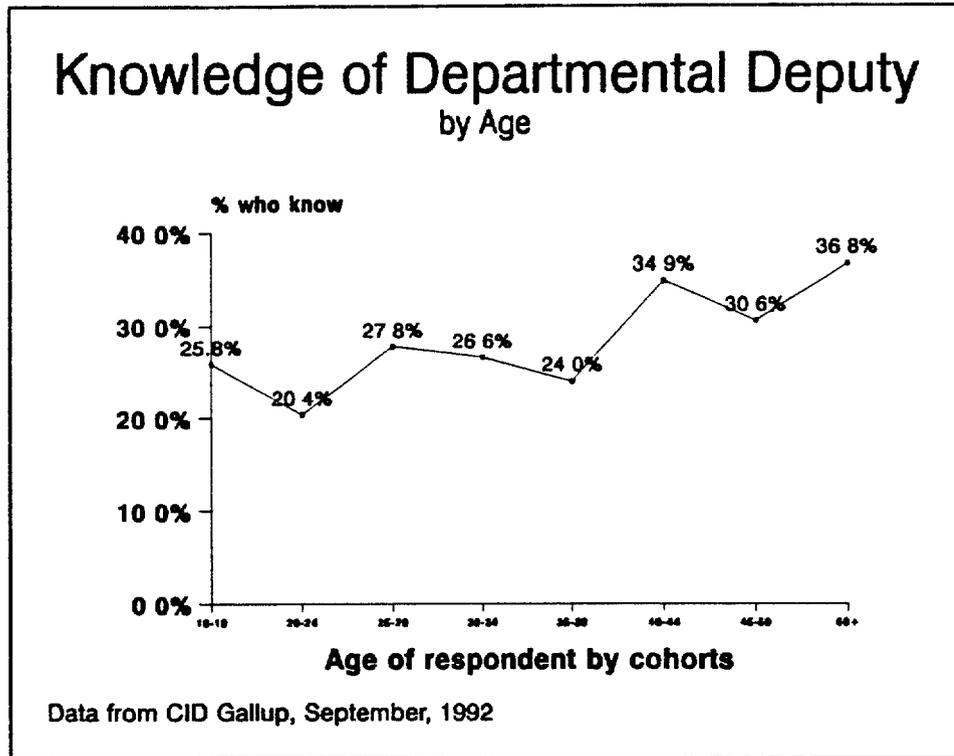


Figure 14

Income is also closely related to knowledge, as is shown in Figure 15 below. Among the highest income earners, nearly two-thirds know the name of a deputy. This is the highest level of knowledge we have yet found among any group in the study.

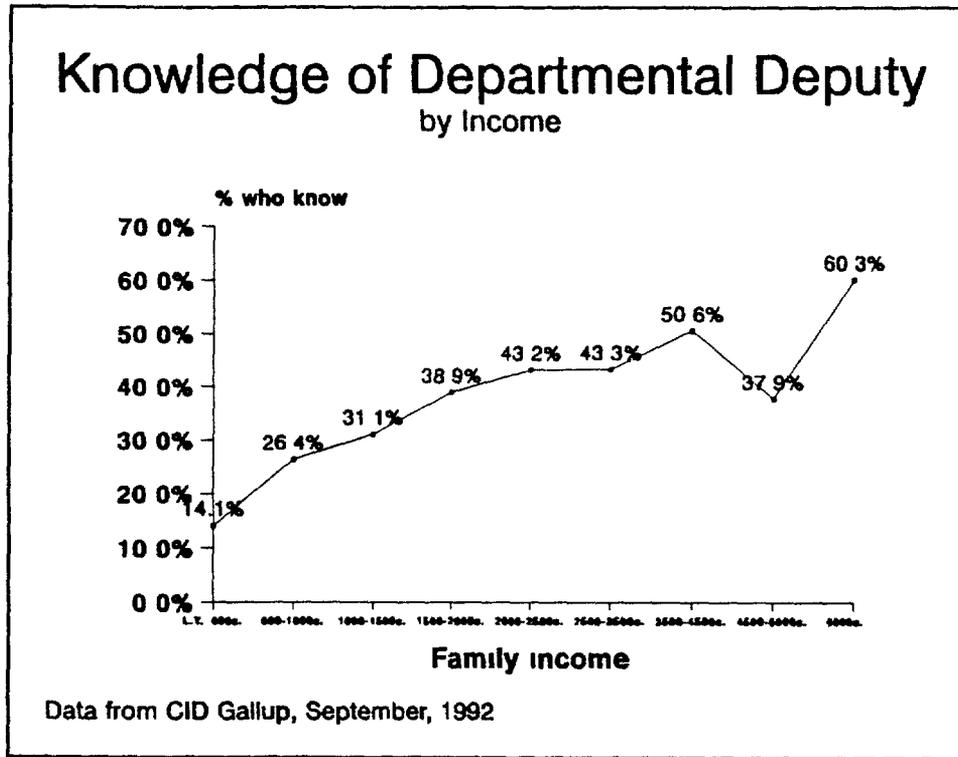


Figure 15

Once again, we find that party identification has an influence on knowledge. As is shown in Figure 16 below, the left is far more informed as a group than the center or the right. The FSLN supporters are by far the best informed. What is surprising is the relatively lower proportion of ARENA supporters who were able to identify a deputy. Perhaps this can be explained by the fact that their party is in power and constituent attention is focused on the President, who has great political power, and not on the deputies. The opposition parties, however, only have their deputies to look to as a symbol of their party. We should also again point out that the sample size for the minor parties is too small to draw any meaningful conclusions.

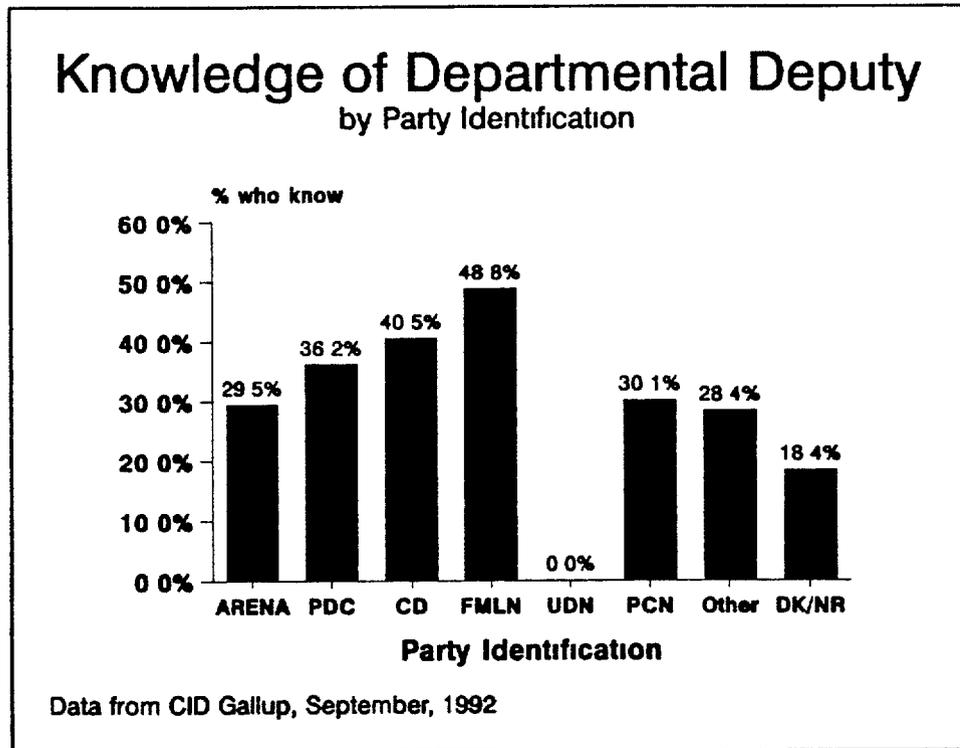


Figure 16

A further indication of the greater political knowledge among the left is shown in Figure 17. This is the same pattern uncovered with respect to knowing the number of deputies.

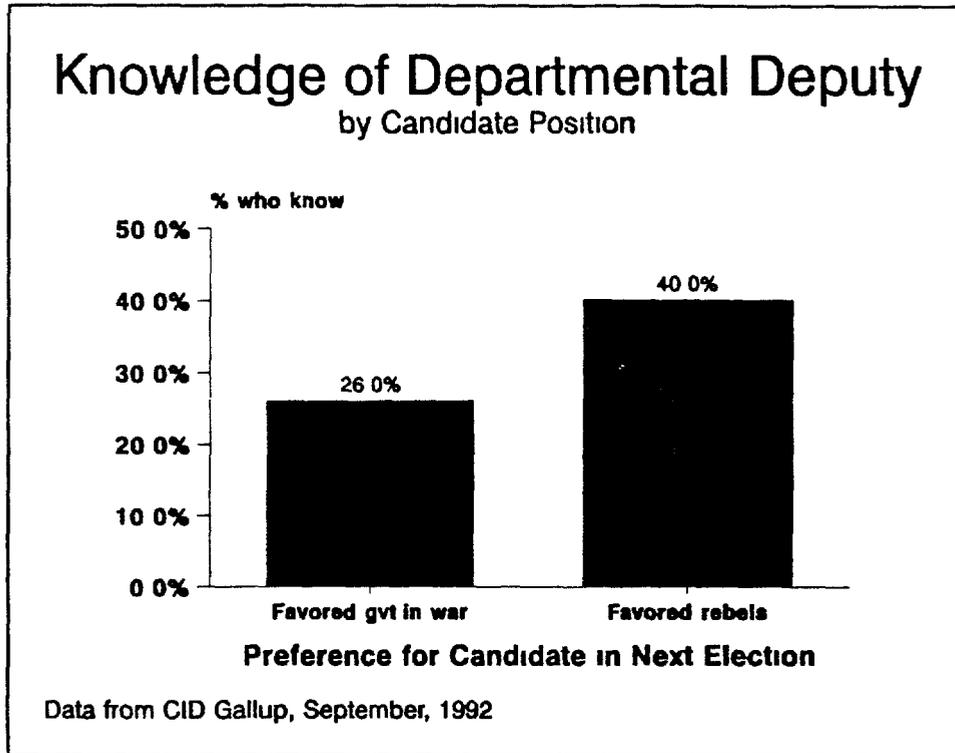


Figure 17

In order to examine the impact of all of the predictors of knowledge of deputies, once again a multiple regression analysis has been performed. The most important predictor is education, followed by age, income and sex. The party identification variables and occupation are not statistically significant. These results are quite similar to those found with respect to knowledge of the number of deputies. The only difference is that whereas income is significant in this equation, it was not in the previous equation. In both cases, however, education is the most important single predictor of knowledge of the assembly.

The results of the two regression equations provide a very clear indication as to how to increase public awareness of the legislature in El Salvador: education. While age and sex are also important factors, neither one is subject to manipulation by this project (or by any other for that matter). Educated Salvadoran citizens know more about their legislative body than the less educated. To increase that awareness further, it is necessary to increase education. Education, our results show, has its

impact across all levels of income, and ranges of occupation and party identification. Hence, it would appear to be a universal "cure" for the comparatively low level of knowledge of the Legislative Assembly in El Salvador

Seeking Help from a Diputado

One additional item in the questionnaire measured the visibility of the legislature for Salvadorans. This question asked: "Have you ever asked for help or the cooperation of a deputy to resolve personal problems or problems of your community?" In countries where legislators are viewed as a source of direct assistance to the local community, such requests are relatively common. In systems of executive dominance, where representatives have no access to "pork barrel" legislation, such contacts would be expected to be less frequent. In El Salvador, no "partidas específicas" (i.e., pork barrel budget lines providing a line item budget for a specific community purpose) are employed. Consequently, one would anticipate fairly low direct citizen contact with legislators

Our survey results reveal that as expected, contact with legislators in El Salvador is fairly rare. For the sample as a whole, only 4.2 per cent of the respondents had ever requested help from a deputy. This contrasts with more frequent contacts in every other Central American country except Nicaragua, as is shown in the following figure (no data for Costa Rica)

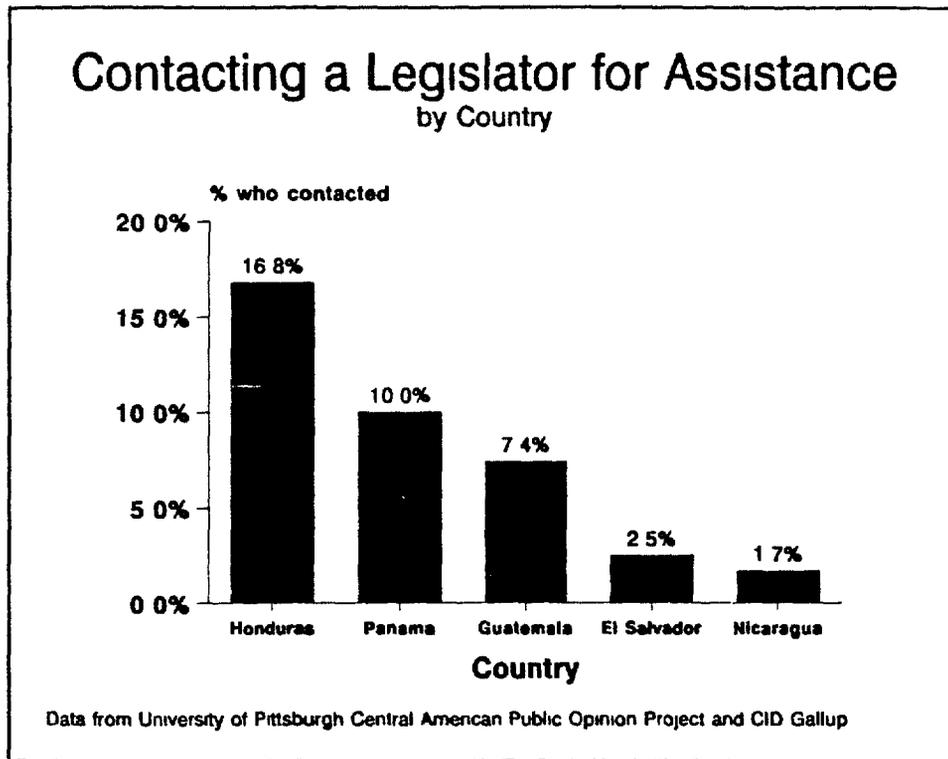


Figure 18

Given this low level of response in El Salvador it would not be meaningful to attempt to examine the factors that explain these infrequent requests. Hence, we will not examine the role of age, sex, education, and profession as we did for the other variables examined this far in this report. There are differences, such that 4.4 percent of males had contacted a deputy compared to 3.1 percent of females, but these differences are smaller than the confidence intervals of the study and therefore are not significant.

We did find, however, that even though the differences are small, there is a clear pattern to contacting based on region. As is shown in Figure 19 below, contacting is greater as one moves from San Salvador to the other cities and increases again in rural areas of the country. This is a pattern found elsewhere in Latin America. It seems to result from the lower level of infrastructure (electricity, water, roads) in rural areas as compared to the main cities, and hence this produces a greater level of demands from constituents in rural areas.

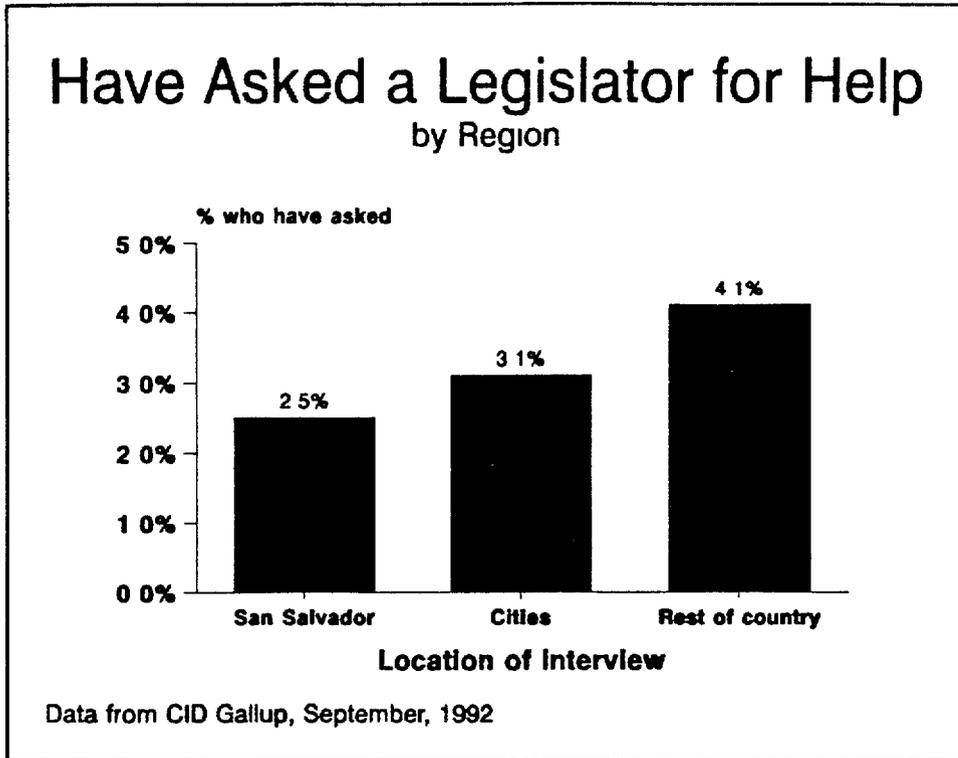


Figure 19

Evaluation of the Legislature

Knowing about the legislature is not the same as having an opinion as to its quality. Many citizens neither know how many representatives they have nor have they ever had any direct contact with a legislator, yet they may have very strong opinions about the legislature and its members. Hence, we now turn our attention to citizen evaluation of the legislature. We asked the respondents: "Speaking generally of the Legislative Assembly, would you say that the work that the deputies are carrying out is very good, good, so-so, poor or very poor." Very few respondents answered at either extreme, with only approximately 2 percent rating the legislature as either "very good" or "very bad." Approximately two-thirds of the respondents selected the middle response, "so-so" (in Spanish, "regular"). The chart below presents the results.

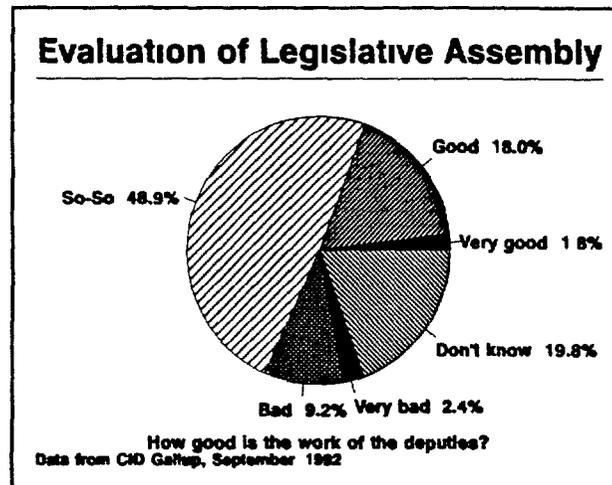


Figure 20

We sought to determine if this evaluation was a function of the socio-economic and demographic variables explored previously in this report. In fact, there were no significant (and monotonic) relationships on any of those variables. Hence, attitude toward the legislature is not determined by respondent background characteristics.

We did find, however, that the evaluation of the legislature was significantly related to party identification. To demonstrate this we converted the data from the pie chart above into a scale, that ranged from a low of 1 (very bad) to a high of 5 (very good). Figure 21 below shows that the evaluation of the legislature declines as party identification moves from right to left. The higher numbers on the vertical axis indicate a more positive evaluation. Only the major parties are included because

the sample size for the minor parties produce unreliable means. The most positive evaluations were from ARENA supporters, whereas the most negative evaluations were given by FMLN supporters. Although the degree of difference is not great (as shown by the bars on the chart) because most of the sample clustered itself around the middle response, the differences are statistically significant. The explanation for this finding will become clear when we examine additional data below.

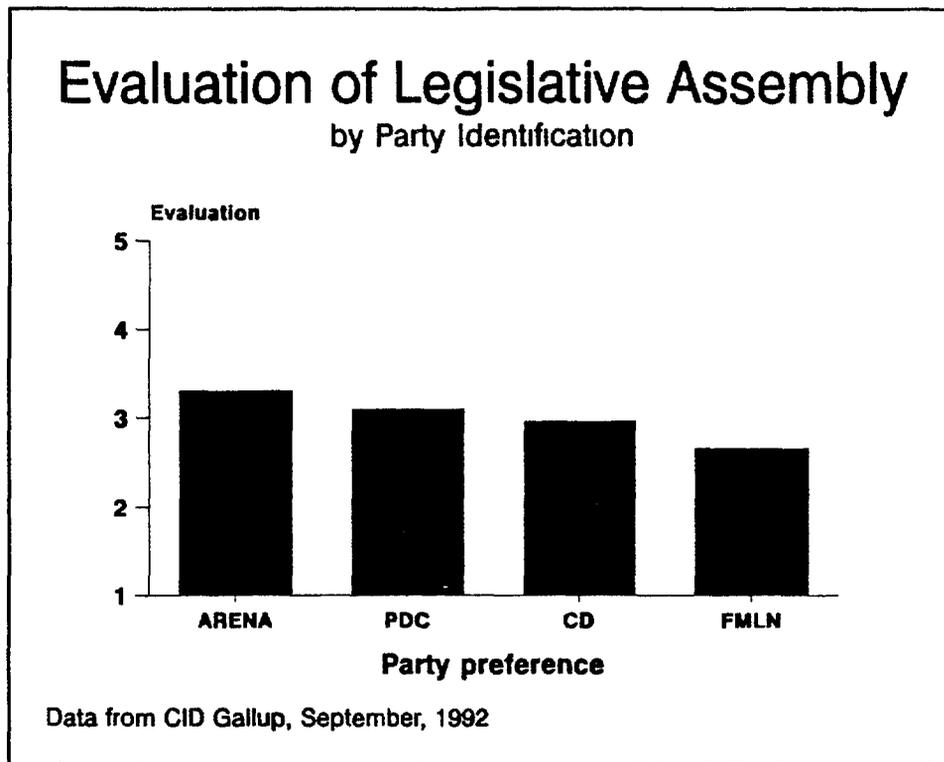


Figure 21

Another indication of the impact of partisan factors in the evaluation of the legislature emerges in the analysis of the question on the preferred characteristics of future presidential candidates. As is shown in Figure 22 below, respondents who prefer candidates who supported the government are more favorable to the legislature than those who supported the guerrillas. These differences are statistically significant.

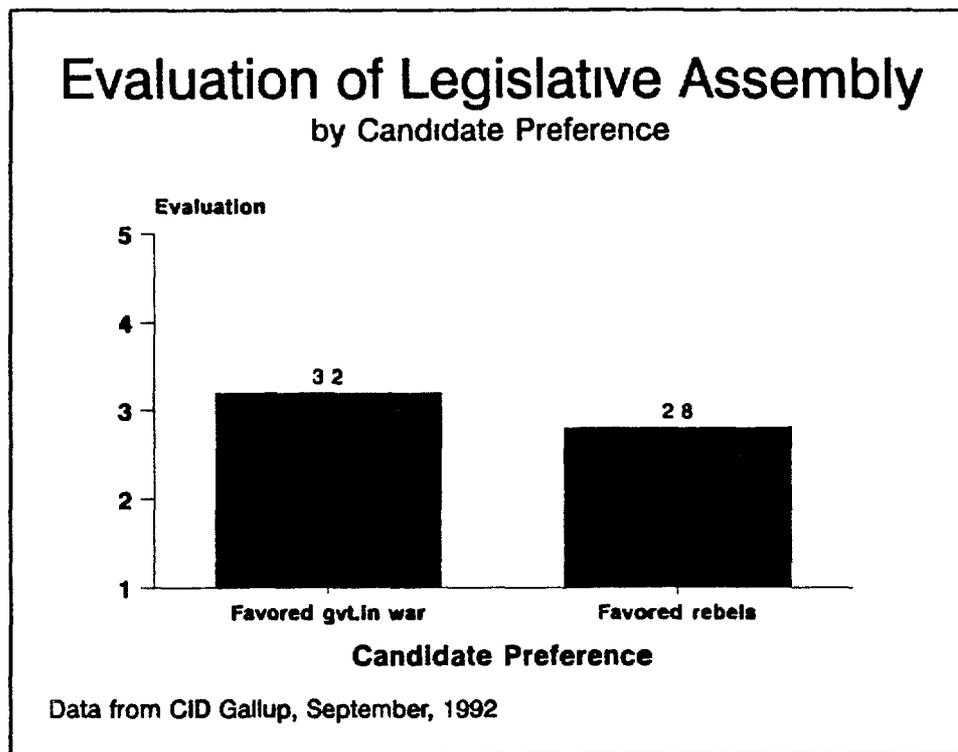


Figure 22

Further evidence that constituent views of the legislature is revealed in the analysis of an additional item in the questionnaire. Respondents were asked, "Do you think that the deputies take into account the opinion of people like you when they decide things in the Assembly?" For the sample as a whole, 17 per cent of the respondents felt that legislators do consider constituent views, as is shown in Figure 23 below

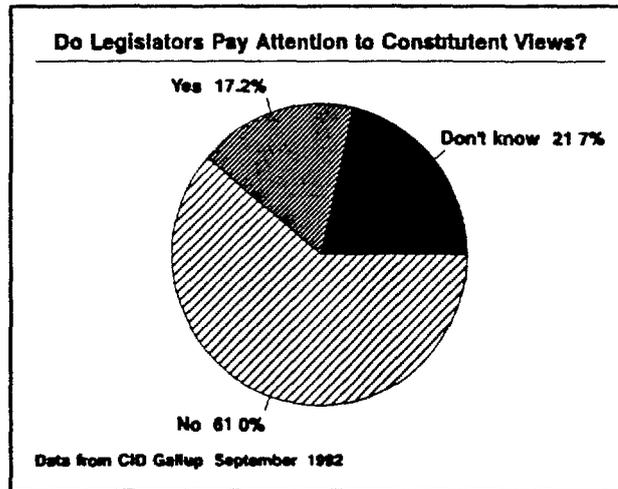


Figure 23

An analysis of the socio-economic and demographic factors revealed, as was the case with the overall evaluation of the legislature, that none of them had a significant, monotonic relationship. Once again, however, party identification did have a statistically significant relationship.

Figure 24 shows that the parties on the left are far less likely to feel that their views are being taken into account by the deputies than are those who support parties on the right. The more centrist political position lies between the left and right in terms of their perception of their being listened to by legislators.

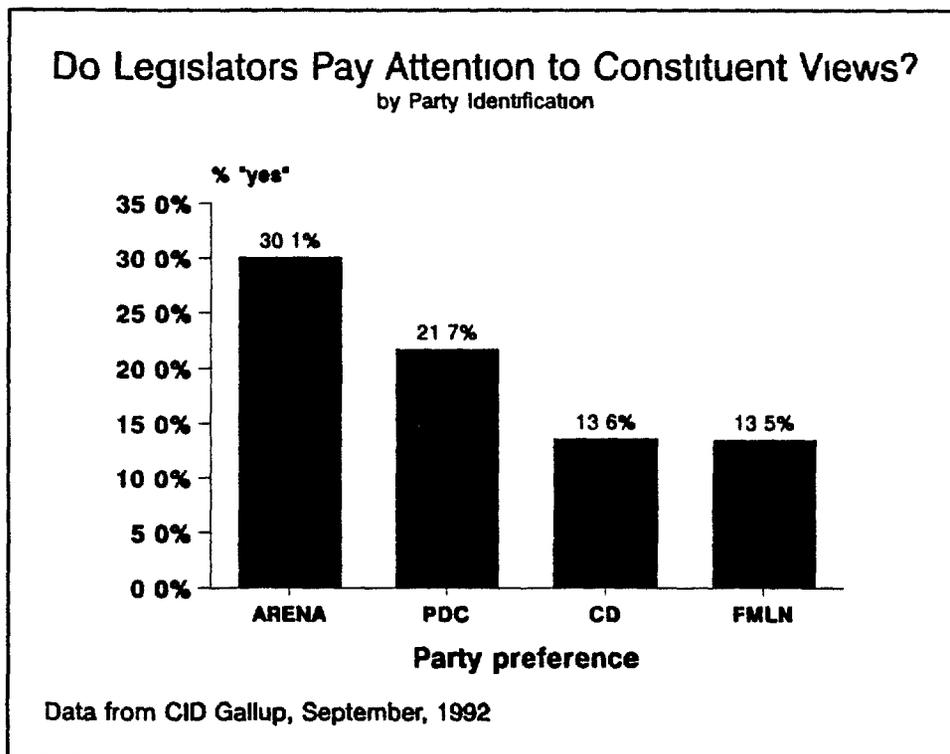


Figure 24

Further support for this finding is revealed in Figure 25. There it is shown that those who support candidates who supported the government in the armed conflict were much more likely to believe that deputies pay attention to constituent views than those who support candidates who took the guerrilla side during the war.

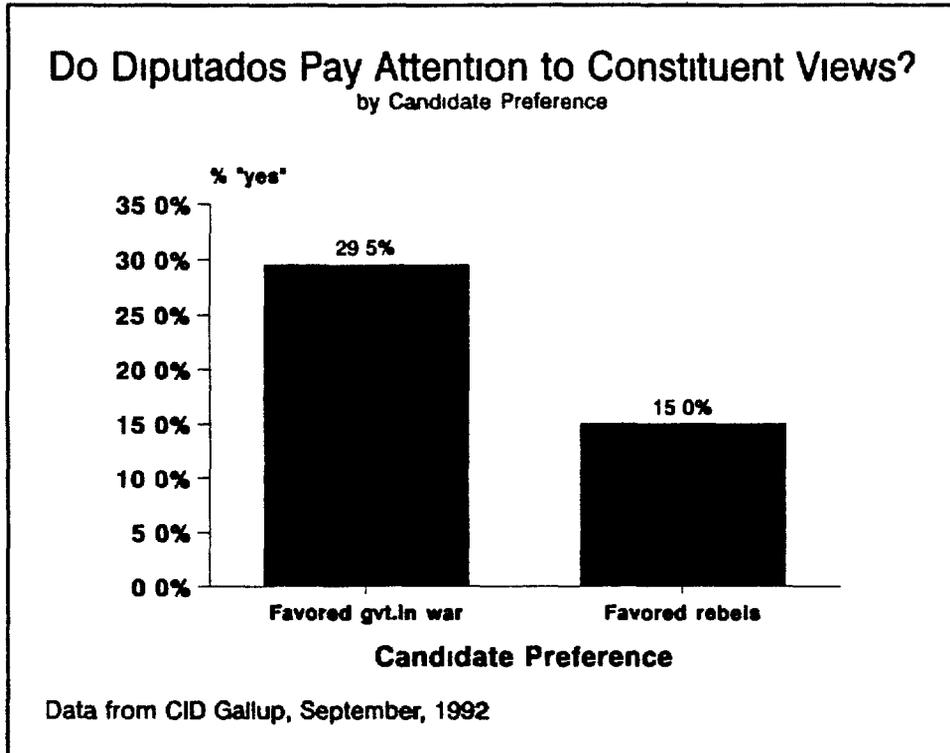


Figure 25

Trust in the Legislature

A final item in the survey evaluates the legislature and the results are similar to those already presented. We asked "Do you have a lot, a little or no trust in the Legislative Assembly?" The responses were heavily weighted on the negative end of the continuum. As shown in Figure 26 below, only 9.9 percent of the total sample expressed a lot of trust, whereas 46.7 percent expressed little trust and 24.5 percent no trust.

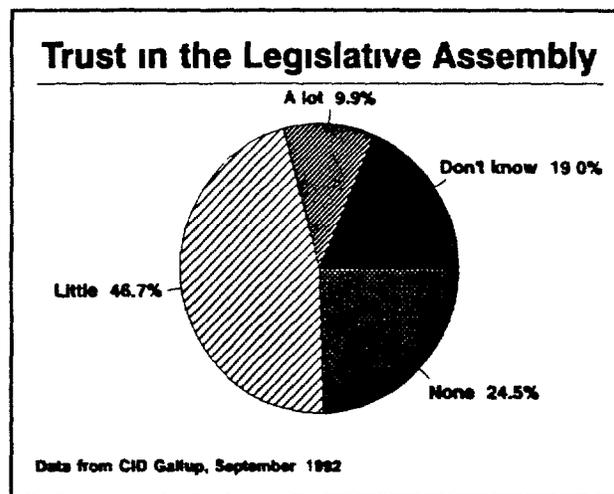


Figure 26

The analysis of predictors of trust in the assembly found, once again, that socio-economic and demographic factors played no statistically significant role. In contrast, party identification did. As is shown in Figure 27 below, the by now familiar pattern of greater support for the legislature was demonstrated among those on the right, with less support among those on the left.

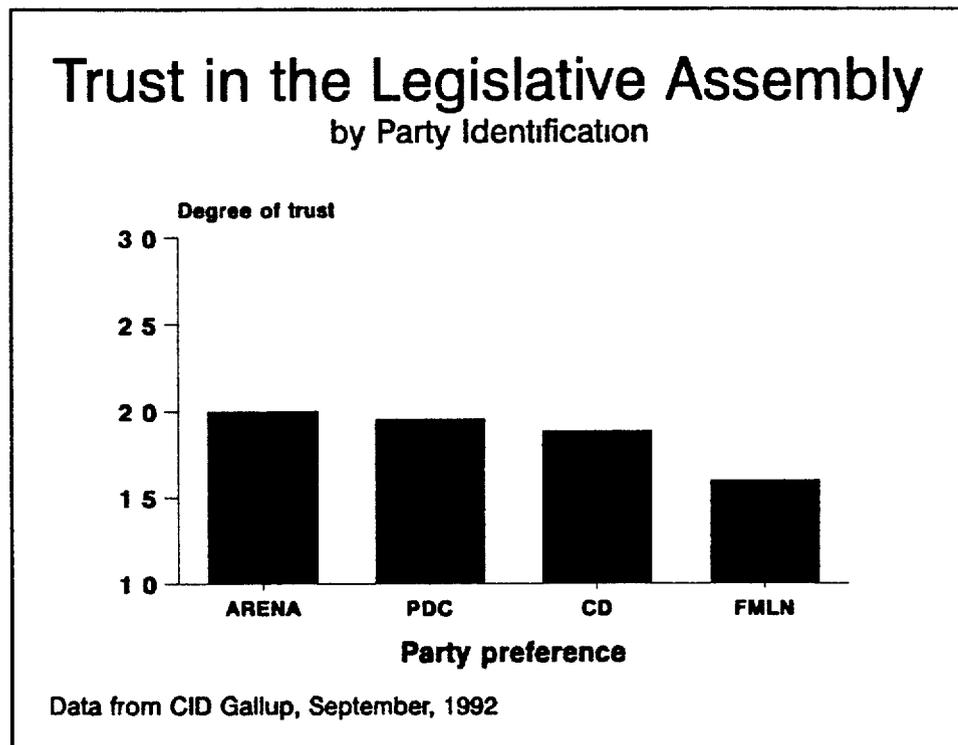


Figure 27

Summary Knowledge vs Evaluation

This analysis of the evaluation of the legislature presents a contrast with the analysis of opinions on knowledge of the legislature. In that analysis, although both background characteristics and partisan identification were found to relate to knowledge of the legislature, the regression analysis demonstrated that education, gender, age and income explained the variation in knowledge of the legislature, making party factors spurious. In the evaluation of the legislature, however, the only significant predictor is partisan identification.

The implication of these findings are that knowledge of the legislature can be increased through education, but improvement in the image of the legislature is much more subject to political loyalties. One can assume, for example, that should the left obtain a legislative majority in future elections, that the evaluations would shift, with the left being more positive and the right less so.

Political Parties vs the Legislature

Thus far we have found that the evaluation of the legislature is not particularly positive in El Salvador. We suspected that this evaluation was linked to an evaluation of the political parties to which the deputies belong. Hence, immediately after asking the respondents about their degree of trust in the Legislative Assembly, we asked them an almost identically worded question about their trust in political parties. "Do you have a lot, a little or no confidence in the political parties of El Salvador?" The table below presents a comparison of the evaluation of the legislature to an evaluation of the political parties. As can be seen, the proportion of the respondents who express no confidence in the parties is far higher (37.7%) than those who express no confidence in the legislature (24.5%). Hence, confidence in the parties is even more problematical than confidence in the legislature itself.

Table 1 Comparison of Trust in Legislature and Parties

Panel A Trust in the Legislative Assembly

None		
% . . . . .	.	24 5%
(N) . . . . .	.	(307)
Little		
%.....	.....	46.7%
(N) . . . . .	.....	(586)
A lot		
% . . . . .	.	9 9%
(N) . . . . .	..	(124)
Doesn't know		
% . . . . .	.	19 0%
(N) . . . . .	.	(238)
TOTAL		
%.....	.....	100 0%
(N).....	.....	(1256)

Panel B: Trust in Political Parties

None		
% . . . . .	..	37 7%
(N) . . . . .	..	(474)
Little		
% . . . . .	.....	38 0%
(N) . . . . .	.....	(477)
A lot		
%.....	.....	7 9%
(N).....	.....	(99)
Doesn't know		
%.....	.	16 5%
(N).....	..	(207)
TOTAL		
%.....	.....	100 0%
(N) .. . . .	.	(1256)

Trust in political parties in El Salvador is related to education and gender but not to political party identification. This is the pattern we had found earlier when we looked at knowledge about the legislature, but not what we found when we examined the evaluation of it. As far as education is concerned, higher levels of education are associated with a somewhat more positive evaluation of parties. The difference is statistically significant but not dramatic as is shown in Figure 28. In terms

of gender, although the difference is statistically significant, males are slightly more positive than females. We do not show a chart for this relationship.

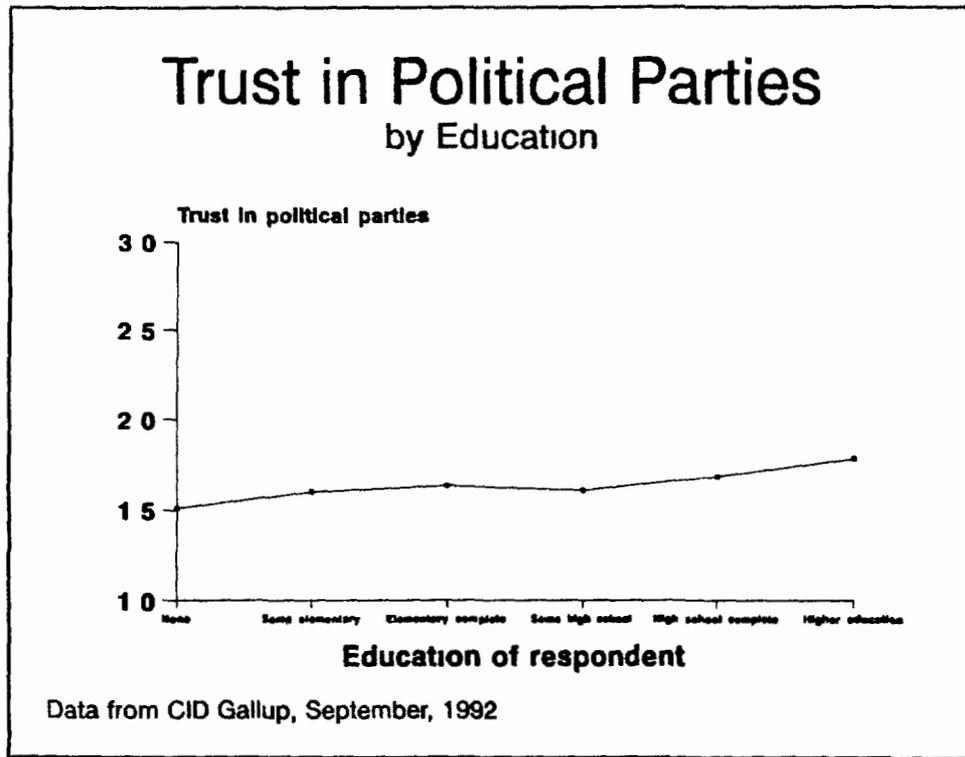


Figure 28

We also find that trust in the parties is linked to expectations about one's own future economic situation; the more positive the expectation, the more positive one evaluates political parties (see Figure 29). This means that better economic times might serve to improve the image of political parties in El Salvador.

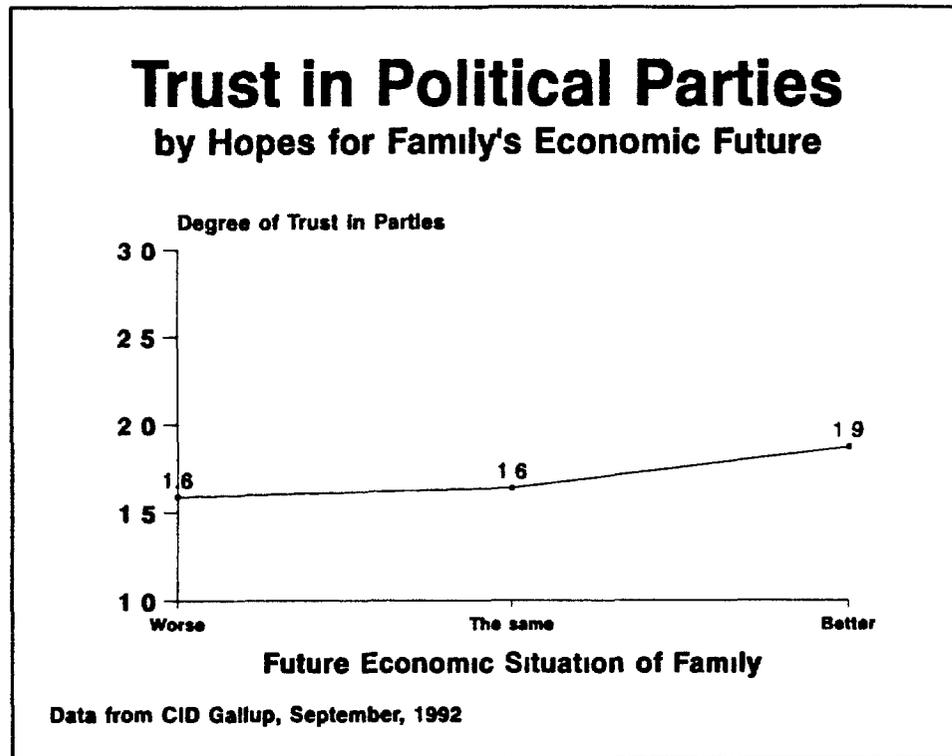


Figure 29

Yet, the lack of association between evaluation of parties, as shown in Figure 30 below, and the respondent's own party identification indicates that the low level of affect toward the parties is shared by Salvadorans of all political persuasions, from left to right. Consequently, one can conclude that the poor evaluation is not a function of a particular set of parties not being well received, but by a general failure of the party system to legitimate itself. Improved economic times might help improve the image of parties, but much more would likely need to be done for the negative images to shift to positive.

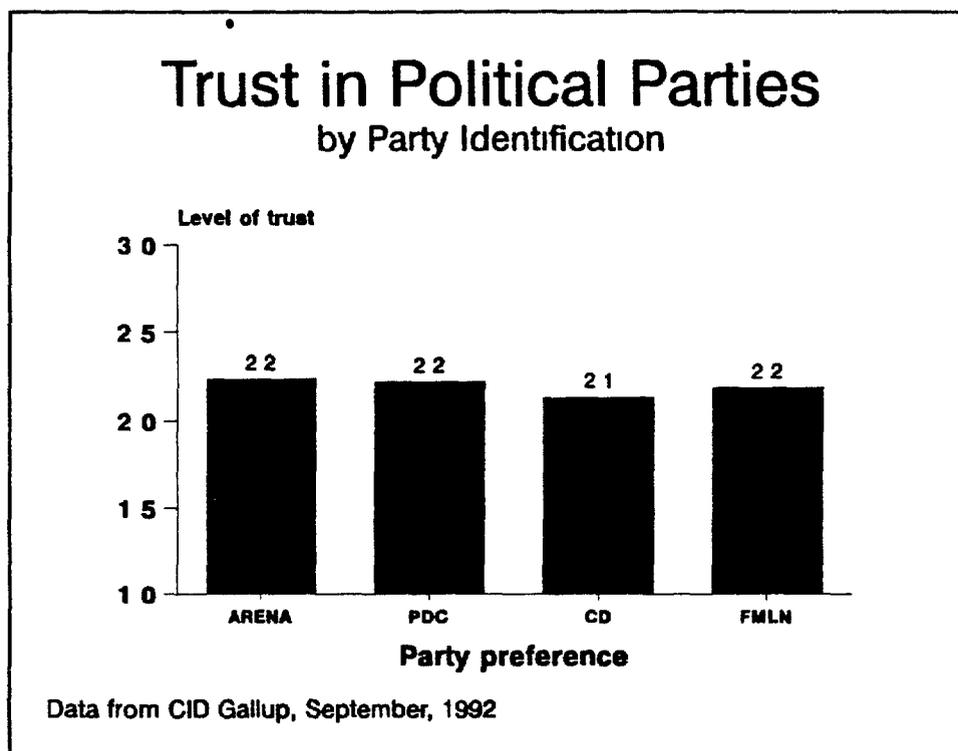


Figure 30

**Univariate Distributions
CID Gallup Survey
El Salvador, September, 1992**

Location of interview

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
San Salvador Metropo Cities	1	233	18.5	18.5	18.5
Rest of country	2	135	10.7	10.7	29.2
	3	889	70.8	70.8	100.0
		-----	-----	-----	
	Total	1256	100.0	100.0	
Valid cases	1256				
Missing cases		0			

AREA Urban or rural area

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
Urban	1	471	37.5	37.5	37.5
Rural	2	785	62.5	62.5	100.0
				--	
	Total	1256	100.0	100.0	

Valid cases 1256 Missing cases 0

SEX

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
Male	1	632	50.3	50.3	50.3
Female	2	624	49.7	49.7	100.0
			--		
	Total	1256	100.0	100.0	

Valid cases 1256 Missing cases 0

ED Education of respondent

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
None	1	159	12.7	12.7	12.7
Some elementary	2	327	26.1	26.1	38.7
Elementary complete	3	253	20.2	20.2	58.9
Some high school	4	131	10.4	10.4	69.3
High school complete	5	246	19.6	19.6	88.9
Higher education	6	140	11.1	11.1	100.0
			--		
	Total	1256	100.0	100.0	

Valid cases 1256 Missing cases 0

AGE Age of respondent by chorts

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
18 19	1	132	10.5	10.5	10.5
20 24	2	210	16.7	16.7	27.2
25 29	3	184	14.7	14.7	41.8
30 34	4	147	11.7	11.7	53.5
35 39	5	124	9.8	9.8	63.4
40 44	6	110	8.8	8.8	72.1
45 59	7	206	16.4	16.4	88.5
60+	8	144	11.5	11.5	100.0
	Total	1256	100.0	100.0	

Valid cases 1256 Missing cases 0

V1 Principal problem of the country

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
Govt corruption	1	105	8.4	8.5	8.5
Violence & crime	2	192	15.3	15.5	24.0
Unemployment	3	266	21.2	21.5	45.5
Public services	4	8	.6	.6	46.2
Drugs	5	62	5.0	5.0	51.2
Lack of products in	6	2	.2	.2	51.4
Deficient public tra	7	20	1.6	1.6	53.0
High cost of living	8	536	42.7	43.3	96.3
Other	9	46	3.6	3.7	100.0
DK/NR	0	18	1.4	Missing	
	Total	1256	100.0	100.0	

Valid cases 1238 Missing cases 18

V2 Principal problem of the youth?

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
Drugs	1	778	62.0	63.4	63.4
Unemployment	2	143	11.4	11.7	75.1
Violence and crime	3	64	5.1	5.2	80.3
Lack of moral values	4	67	5.3	5.5	85.7
Corruption	5	22	1.7	1.8	87.5
Alcoholism	6	30	2.4	2.5	90.0
Family problems	7	41	3.3	3.3	93.3
Lack of education	8	57	4.6	4.7	98.0
Other	9	25	2.0	2.0	100.0
DK/NR	0	29	2.3	Missing	

	Total	1256	100.0	100.0	

Valid cases 1227 Missing cases 29

V3 Economic situation of family vs last ye

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
Better	1	129	10.2	10.4	10.4
The same	2	430	34.3	34.6	45.0
Worse	3	683	54.4	55.0	100.0
DK/NR	0	14	1.1	Missing	
		----	----		
	Total	1256	100.0	100.0	

Valid cases 1242 Missing cases 14

V7 Crime victim (R or family)

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
No	0	991	78.9	78.9	78.9
Yes	1	265	21.1	21.1	100.0
	Total	1256	100.0	100.0	

Valid cases 1256 Missing cases 0

V8 Location of crime

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
DK/NR	0	23	1.8	8.0	8.0
Home	1	51	4.0	17.6	25.7
Street	2	195	15.5	68.0	93.7
Workplace	3	18	1.4	6.3	100.0
	8	969	77.2	Missing	
	Total	1256	100.0	100.0	

Valid cases 287 Missing cases 969

V9 Evaluation of Cristian

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
Very good	1	105	8.4	9.1	9.1
Good	2	280	22.3	24.3	33.4
More or less	3	547	43.5	47.5	80.9
Bad	4	220	17.5	19.1	100.0
DK/NR	0	104	8.3	Missing	
	Total	1256	100.0	100.0	

Valid cases 1152 Missing cases 104

V11A Second largest foreign aid donor

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
	0	813	64.7	64.7	64.7
	1	52	4.1	4.1	68.9
	2	85	6.8	6.8	75.7
	3	93	7.4	7.4	83.0
	4	20	1.6	1.6	84.6
	5	96	7.6	7.6	92.3
	6	40	3.2	3.2	95.4
	7	17	1.3	1.3	96.8
	8	17	1.4	1.4	98.2
	9	23	1.8	1.8	100.0
	--	--	--	--	--
	Total	1256	100.0	100.0	

Valid cases 1256 Missing cases 0

V12 Has family benefited from foreign aid?

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
No	0	1222	97.3	97.6	97.6
Homes	1	7	.6	.6	98.2
Food	2	7	.5	.5	98.7
Scholarships	3	3	.3	.3	99.0
	5	1	.1	.1	99.1
	6	2	.2	.2	99.2
Other	9	10	.8	.8	100.0
		5	.4	Missing	
		----	----	----	----
	Total	1256	100.0	100.0	

Valid cases 1251 Missing cases 5

V13 Freedom to criticize government

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
More freedom	1	590	47.0	54.2	54.2
same degree of freed	2	397	31.6	36.4	90.7
Less freedom	3	101	8.1	9.3	100.0
DK/NR	0	168	13.4	Missing	
		---	-		
Total		1256	100.0	100.0	

Valid cases 1088 Missing cases 168

V14 Freedom to criticize the FMLN

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
More freedom	1	561	44.6	52.8	52.8
Same degree of freed	2	403	32.1	37.9	90.7
Less freedom	3	99	7.8	9.3	100.0
DK/NR	0	194	15.4	Missing	
		----	-----	-	
Total		1256	100.0	100.0	

Valid cases 1062 Missing cases 194

V15 Evaluation of National Reconstruction Se

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
Very good	1	93	7.4	13.2	13.2
Good	2	210	16.7	29.7	42.9
More or less	3	301	24.0	42.6	85.5
Bad	4	74	5.9	10.4	95.9
Very bad	5	29	2.3	4.1	100.0
DK/NR	0	549	43.7	Missing	
		-----	-----	-	
Total		1256	100.0	100.0	

Valid cases 707 Missing cases 549

V16 Evaluation of colonization by Spain

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
Very thankful	1	385	30.7	35.0	35.0
Somewhat thankful	2	275	21.9	24.9	59.9
Indifferent	3	135	10.8	12.3	72.2
Hardly thankful	4	153	12.2	13.9	86.1
Not thankful at all	5	153	12.2	13.9	100.0
DK/NR	0	155	12.3	Missing	
		-----		----	
	Total	1256	100.0	100.0	

Valid cases 1101 Missing cases 155

V17 Eval Ruben Zamora

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
Favorable	1	381	30.3	69.0	69.0
Unfavorable	2	171	13.6	31.0	100.0
DK/NR	0	704	56.1	Missing	
		-----		----	
	Total	1256	100.0	100.0	

Valid cases 552 Missing cases 704

V18 Eval Fidel Chavez Mena

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
Favorable	1	422	33.6	59.1	59.1
Unfavorable	2	292	23.2	40.9	100.0
DK/NR	0	542	43.2	Missing	
		-----		----	
	Total	1256	100.0	100.0	

Valid cases 714 Missing cases 542

V19 Knowledge of Hauge border settlement

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
A lot	1	103	8.2	9.4	9.4
Something	2	249	19.8	22.9	32.3
A little	3	368	29.3	33.8	66.2
Nothing	4	368	29.3	33.8	100.0
DK/NR	0	169	13.5	Missing	
	Total	1256	100.0	100.0	

Valid cases 1087 Missing cases 169

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V20 Satisfaction with border settlement

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
Very satisfied	1	18	1.4	1.4	1.4
Somewhat satisfied	2	57	4.5	4.6	6.0
Barely satisfied	3	59	4.7	4.7	10.8
Not satisfied	4	206	16.4	16.7	27.4
NA	8	898	71.5	72.6	100.0
DK/NR	0	18	1.4	Missing	
	Total	1256	100.0	100.0	

Valid cases 1238 Missing cases 18

V21 Blame for border settlement

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
Government	1	78	6.2	7.3	7.3
President	2	17	1.4	1.6	8.9
Representative	3	20	1.6	1.9	10.8
Court at The Hague	4	22	1.7	2.0	12.8
	8	903	71.8	84.5	97.3
Other	9	29	2.3	2.7	100.0
DK/NR	0	188	15.0	Missing	
	Total	1256	100.0	100.0	

Valid cases 1068 Missing cases 188

V22 Eval Armando Calderon Sol

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
Favorable	1	623	49.6	73.5	73.5
Unfavorable	2	224	17.8	26.5	100.0
DK/NR	0	409	32.5	Missing	
	Total	1256	100.0	100.0	

Valid cases 847 Missing cases 409

V23 Eval Mario Aguinada

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
Favorable	1	185	14.8	49.9	49.9
Unfavorable	2	186	14.8	50.1	100.0
DK/NR	0	885	70.4	Missing	
	Total	1256	100.0	100.0	

Valid cases 371 Missing cases 885

V24 Respondent's religion

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
DK/NR	0	14	1.1	1.1	1.1
Christian	1	67	5.4	5.4	6.5
Evangelical	2	113	9.0	9.0	15.5
Protestant	3	6	5	5	16.0
Adventist	4	7	6	6	16.6
Jewish	5	2	2	2	16.7
Catholic	6	849	67.6	67.6	84.3
Mormon	7	2	2	2	84.5
Jehovah Witness	8	22	1.8	1.8	86.3
Other	9	9	7	7	87.0
None	A	164	13.0	13.0	100.0
	Total	1256	100.0	100.0	

Valid cases 1256 Missing cases 0

V25 Religion at birth

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
DK/NR	0	9	7	7	7
Christian	1	46	3.7	3.7	4.4
Evangelical	2	52	4.2	4.2	8.6
Protestant	3	2	2	2	8.7
Adventist	4	5	4	4	9.2
Jewish	5	2	2	2	9.3
Catholic	6	1089	86.7	86.7	96.0
Jehovah's Witnesses	8	4	3	3	96.3
Other	9	1	1	1	96.4
None	A	45	3.6	3.6	100.0
	Total	1256	100.0	100.0	

Valid cases 1256 Missing cases 0

V26 Eval Alfredo Cristiani

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
Favorable	1	825	65.7	79.3	79.3
Unfavorable	2	216	17.2	20.7	100.0
DK/NR	0	216	17.2	Missing	
	Total	1256	100.0	100.0	

Valid cases 1040 Missing cases 216

V27 Cost of living

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
A lot	1	1054	83.9	85.3	85.3
Somewhat	2	116	9.3	9.4	94.7
Not much	3	49	3.9	3.9	98.6
Stayed the same	4	17	1.3	1.4	100.0
DK/NR	0	20	1.6	Missing	
	Total	1256	100.0	100.0	

Valid cases 1237 Missing cases 20

V28 Women have same rights as men

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
Yes, a lot	1	320	25.5	26.4	26.4
Yes, somewhat	2	318	25.4	26.2	52.6
No, a lot	3	442	35.2	36.4	88.9
No, somewhat	4	135	10.7	11.1	100.0
DK/NR	0	41	3.2	Missing	
	Total	1256	100.0	100.0	

Valid cases 1215 Missing cases 41

V29 Eval Roberto Murray Meza

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
Favorable	1	162	12.9	66.7	66.7
Unfavorable	2	81	6.5	33.3	100.0
DK/NR	0	1013	80.6	Missing	
		---	---	---	
Total		1256	100.0	100.0	

Valid cases 243 Missing cases 1013

V30 Eval Carlos Valle

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
Favorable	1	72	5.7	50.9	50.9
Unfavorable	2	69	5.5	49.1	100.0
DK/NR	0	1115	88.8	Missing	
		-----	---	---	
Total		1256	100.0	100.0	

Valid cases 141 Missing cases 1115

V31 Civil status

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
Single	1	434	34.6	35.4	35.4
Married	2	449	35.7	36.6	71.9
Divorced	3	27	2.2	2.2	74.2
Widow	4	55	4.4	4.5	78.6
Common law	5	216	17.2	17.6	96.2
Separated	6	46	3.7	3.8	100.0
Don't know	0	28	2.2	Missing	
		-----	---	---	
Total		1256	100.0	100.0	

Valid cases 1228 Missing cases 28

V32 Political party preference

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
None	0	633	50.4	53.8	53.8
ARENA (Alianza Rep	1	271	21.5	23.0	76.7
PDC (Partido Democra	2	158	12.5	13.4	90.1
CD (Convergencia Dem	3	49	3.9	4.2	94.3
FMLN	4	55	4.4	4.6	98.9
UDN (Union Democrati	5	1	1	1	99.0
PCN	6	4	3	3	99.3
Other (MAC MSP)	7	6	5	5	99.8
NA	8	2	2	2	100.0
NS/NR	9	78	6.2	Missing	
	Total	1256	100.0	100.0	

Valid cases 1178 Missing cases 78

V33 Party Id (probed response)

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
None	0	472	37.6	65.9	65.9
ARENA (Alianza Repub	1	63	5.1	8.9	74.8
PDC (Partido Democra	2	62	5.0	8.7	83.5
CD (Convergencia Dem	3	34	2.7	4.7	88.2
FMLN	4	22	1.7	3.1	91.2
UDN (Union Democrati	5	1	1	1	91.4
PCN	6	6	5	8	92.2
Otros (MAC MSP)	7	5	4	7	92.8
DK/NR	9	51	4.1	7.2	100.0
NA	8	541	43.0	Missing	
	Total	1256	100.0	100.0	

Valid cases 715 Missing cases 541

V33A Party preference, recoded

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
ARENA (Alianza Repub	1	335	26.6	42.4	42.4
PDC (Partido Democra	2	222	17.6	28.1	70.5
CD (Convergencia Dem	3	83	6.6	10.5	81.1
FMLN	4	77	6.1	9.7	90.8
UDN (Union Democrati	5	2	1	2	91.0
PCN	6	9	7	1.2	92.2
Other (MAC MSP)	7	11	9	1.4	93.6
DK/NR	9	51	4.0	6.4	100.0
None	0	467	37.2	Missing	
		-----		-----	
	Total	1256	100.0	100.0	

Valid cases 789 Missing cases 467

V34 Degree of corruption

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
A lot	1	588	46.8	57.5	57.5
Some	2	223	17.8	21.8	79.3
A little bit	3	151	12.0	14.8	94.1
None	4	61	4.8	5.9	100.0
DK/NR	0	233	18.6	Missing	
		-----		-----	
	Total	1256	100.0	100.0	

Valid cases 1023 Missing cases 233

V35 Witnessed a bribe?

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
Yes	1	196	15.6	100.0	100.0
No	0	1060	84.4	Missing	
		-----		-----	
	Total	1256	100.0	100.0	

Valid cases 196 Missing cases 1060

V38 Eval Ricardo Acevedo Peralta

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
Favorable	1	143	11.4	53.8	53.8
Unfavorable	2	122	9.7	46.2	100.0
DK/NR	0	991	78.9	Missing	
	Total	1256	100.0	100.0	

Valid cases 265 Missing cases 991

V39 Eval Monsenor Gregorio Rosa Chaves

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
Favorable	1	551	43.8	75.3	75.3
Unfavorable	2	181	14.4	24.7	100.0
DK/NR	0	525	41.8	Missing	
	Total	1256	100.0	100.0	

Valid cases 731 Missing cases 525

V40 Eval Shaffick Handal

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
Favorable	1	276	22.0	56.6	56.6
Unfavorable	2	212	16.9	43.4	100.0
DK/NR	0	768	61.1	Missing	
	Total	1256	100.0	100.0	

Valid cases 488 Missing cases 768

V41 Footbal Jamaica's chances

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
High	1	263	20.9	33.5	33.5
Somewhat high	2	203	16.2	25.9	59.4
Somewhat low	3	171	13.6	21.8	81.2
Low	4	148	11.8	18.8	100.0
DK/NR	0	471	37.5	Missing	
	Total	1256	100.0	100.0	

Valid cases 785 Missing cases 471

V41A Footbal Bermuda's chances

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
High	1	210	16.7	28.6	28.6
Somewhat high	2	216	17.2	29.4	58.0
Somewhat low	3	164	13.0	22.3	80.3
Low	4	145	11.5	19.7	100.0
DK/NR	0	521	41.5	Missing	
	Total	1256	100.0	100.0	

Valid cases 735 Missing cases 521

V41B Football Canada's chances

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
High	1	139	11.1	18.5	18.5
Somewhat high	2	200	15.9	26.5	44.9
Somewhat low	3	211	16.8	28.0	72.9
Low	4	204	16.3	27.1	100.0
DK/NR	0	502	39.9	Missing	
	Total	1256	100.0	100.0	

Valid cases 754 Missing cases 502

V42 Eval Gerardo Le Chevalier

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
Favorable	1	148	11.8	47.5	47.5
Unfavorable	2	164	13.1	52.5	100.0
DK/NR	0	944	75.2	Missing	
		-			
	Total	1256	100.0	100.0	

Valid cases 312 Missing cases 944

V43 Eval Ana Guadalupe Martinez

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
Favorable	1	250	19.9	57.1	57.1
Unfavorable	2	187	14.9	42.9	100.0
DK/NR	0	819	65.2	Missing	
		---	---	---	---
	Total	1256	100.0	100.0	

Valid cases 437 Missing cases 819

V44 Eval Joaquin Villalobos

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
Favorable	1	305	24.3	58.9	58.9
Unfavorable	2	213	17.0	41.1	100.0
DK/NR	0	738	58.7	Missing	
		---	---	---	---
	Total	1256	100.0	100.0	

Valid cases 519 Missing cases 738

V45 Registered to vote (carne electoral)

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
Yes	1	873	69.5	70.9	70.9
No	2	265	21.1	21.5	92.4
In process	3	94	7.5	7.6	100.0
DK/NR	0	25	2.0	Missing	

	Total	1256	100.0	100.0	

Valid cases 1231 Missing cases 25

V46 Vote in 1991 diputado election

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
ARENA (Alianza Repub	1	265	21.1	28.5	28.5
PDC (Partido Democra	2	169	13.5	18.2	46.7
CD (Convergencia Dem	3	52	4.2	5.6	52.3
PCN (partido de Conc	4	17	1.4	1.9	54.1
UDN (Union Democrati	5	2	.2	.3	54.4
MAC (Movimiento Aute	6	7	.6	.8	55.2
DK/NR	9	417	33.2	44.8	100.0
	0	327	26.0	Missing	

	Total	1256	100.0	100.0	

Valid cases 930 Missing cases 327

V47 Know name of departmental diputado

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
DK/NR	0	905	72.1	72.1	72.1
Somoza Alfaro	1	6	.5	.5	72.6
Ulises Ivarreta	2	29	2.3	2.3	74.9
Roberto Villatoro	3	14	1.1	1.1	76.0
Armando Calderon Sol	4	5	.4	.4	76.4
Fidel Chavez Mena	5	10	.8	.8	77.2
Roben Zamora	6	14	1.2	1.2	78.3
Gustavo Salinas	7	3	.2	.2	78.6
Marcelo Altamirano	8	4	.3	.3	78.9
Others	9	165	13.1	13.1	92.0
Juan Duch Martinez	A	2	.2	.2	92.2
Rafael Moran Castane	B	1	.1	.1	92.2
Gullermo Magano	C	4	.3	.3	92.6
Renato Perez	D	2	.2	.2	92.7
Rafael Orellana	E	5	.4	.4	93.1
Martha Gomez Melende	F	3	.2	.2	93.3
Reynaldo Quintanilla	G	14	1.1	1.1	94.4
Orlando Murcia Pinto	H	4	.3	.3	94.7
Mario Aguinada Carra	I	6	.5	.5	95.1
Gloria Salguedo Gros	J	12	1.0	1.0	96.1
Jenee Calderon	K	1	.1	.1	96.2
Manuel Castaneda	M	0	.0	.0	96.2
Horacio Rios	N	5	.4	.4	96.7
Hector Silva	P	2	.2	.2	96.8
Ludovico Somayoa	Q	7	.5	.5	97.4
Roberto Angulo	S	14	1.2	1.2	98.6
Juan Jose Martell	T	2	.2	.2	98.7
Miguel Angel Espinal	U	16	1.3	1.3	100.0
Total		1256	100.0	100.0	

Valid cases 1256 Missing cases 0

V48 Asked diputado for help

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
Yes	1	46	3.7	4.2	4.2
No	2	1061	84.4	95.8	100.0
DK/NR	0	149	11.9	Missing	
Total		1256	100.0	100.0	

Valid cases 1107 Missing cases 149

V49 Know number of diputados?

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
No/DK	0	830	66.1	66.1	66.1
L T 40	1	56	4.5	4.5	70.5
40 45	2	19	1.5	1.5	72.0
46 50	3	21	1.7	1.7	73.7
51-55	4	17	1.4	1.4	75.1
56 60	5	39	3.1	3.1	78.2
61 64	6	26	2.1	2.1	80.3
65 75	7	17	1.4	1.4	81.6
76 80	8	47	3.7	3.7	85.3
	9	11	.9	.9	86.2
81 83	A	16	1.3	1.3	87.5
84 (Correct)	B	130	10.4	10.4	97.9
85+	C	27	2.1	2.1	100.0
		----	----		
	Total	1256	100.0	100.0	

Valid cases 1256 Missing cases 0

V50 Eval of Asamblea Legislativa

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
Very good	1	22	1.8	2.2	2.2
Good	2	226	18.0	22.4	24.7
Regular	3	614	48.9	61.0	85.6
Bad	4	115	9.2	11.4	97.1
Very bad	5	30	2.4	2.9	100.0
DK/NR	0	249	19.8	Missing	
		-----	-----	-----	
	Total	1256	100.0	100.0	

Valid cases 1007 Missing cases 249

124

V51 Diputados pay attention to your views

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
Yes	1	216	17.2	22.0	22.0
No	2	767	61.0	78.0	100.0
DK/NR	0	273	21.7	Missing	
		---	-		
	Total	1256	100.0	100.0	

Valid cases 983 Missing cases 273

V52 Worked in a campaign or for a party

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
Past elections	1	69	5.5	6.6	6.6
Last elections	2	32	2.5	3.0	9.6
In both	3	7	.6	.7	10.3
In none	4	945	75.2	89.7	100.0
DK/NR	0	203	16.2	Missing	
		-----	-----	---	
	Total	1256	100.0	100.0	

Valid cases 1053 Missing cases 203

V53 Freedom to vote in next election

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
Complete freedom	1	919	73.2	83.2	83.2
Some fear	2	165	13.2	15.0	98.2
A lot of fear	3	20	1.6	1.8	100.0
DK/NR	0	152	12.1	Missing	
		-----	-----	---	
	Total	1256	100.0	100.0	

Valid cases 1104 Missing cases 152

125

V54 Freedom to peaceful demonstration

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
Complete freedom	1	377	30.1	49.2	49.2
Some fear	2	256	20.3	33.3	82.5
A lot of fear	3	134	10.7	17.5	100.0
DK/NR	0	489	38.9	Missing	
		-	-		
	Total	1256	100.0	100.0	

Valid cases 767 Missing cases 489

V55 Which institution most trusted

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
National Assembly	1	204	16.2	24.3	24.3
Courts of Justice	2	291	23.1	34.7	59.1
	3	5	4	6	59.6
Armed Forces	4	261	20.8	31.2	90.8
	5	77	6.1	9.2	100.0
DK/NR	0	420	33.4	Missing	
		-----	-		
	Total	1256	100.0	100.0	

Valid cases 836 Missing cases 420

V56 Which institution least trusted

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
Legislative Assembly	1	100	7.9	15.1	15.1
Courts of Justice	2	182	14.4	27.5	42.5
	3	15	1.2	2.3	44.8
Armed Forces	4	349	27.8	52.8	97.6
	5	16	1.3	2.4	100.0
DK/NR	0	595	47.4	Missing	
		-----	-----	-----	
	Total	1256	100.0	100.0	

Valid cases 661 Missing cases 595

V57 Pride in being a Salvadoran

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
Very proud	1	1135	90.4	93.3	93.3
Somewhat proud	2	64	5.1	5.2	98.6
Not proud	3	18	1.4	1.4	100.0
DK/NR	0	40	3.2	Missing	
	Total	1256	100.0	100.0	

Valid cases 1216 Missing cases 40

V58 Trust in Asamblea Legislativa

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
A lot	1	124	9.9	12.2	12.2
Little	2	586	46.7	57.6	69.8
None	3	307	24.5	30.2	100.0
DK/NR	0	238	19.0	Missing	
	Total	1256	100.0	100.0	

Valid cases 1018 Missing cases 238

V59 Trust in political parties

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
A lot	1	99	7.9	9.4	9.4
A little	2	477	38.0	45.4	54.8
None	3	474	37.7	45.2	100.0
DK/NR	0	207	16.5	Missing	
	Total	1256	100.0	100.0	

Valid cases 1049 Missing cases 207

V60 Principal function of legislature

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
Approve laws	1	686	54.6	66.8	66.8
Hold debates	2	126	10.0	12.3	79.1
Respond to the presi	3	32	2.5	3.1	82.2
Impose taxes	4	182	14.5	17.8	100.0
DK/NR	0	230	18.3	Missing	
	Total	1256	100.0	100.0	

Valid cases 1026 Missing cases 230

V61 Who will be the next mayor of San Salvad

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
Armando Calderon Sol	1	37	2.9	3.5	3.5
Gerardo le Chevalier	2	4	3	3	3.8
Astul	3	1	0	0	3.9
	4	3	2	2	4.1
	5	6	5	5	4.7
NA	8	1008	80.2	95.0	99.7
	9	4	3	3	100.0
DK	0	196	15.6	Missing	
	Total	1256	100.0	100.0	

Valid cases 1061 Missing cases 196

V62 Motivation for recent new taxes

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
Reconstr & peace cos	1	328	26.1	34.4	34.4
+ Public works	2	247	19.7	25.9	60.4
Shape of country	3	54	4.3	5.6	66.0
Finance mismanagemen	4	324	25.8	34.0	100.0
DK/NR	0	304	24.2	Missing	
				--	
	Total	1256	100.0	100.0	

Valid cases 952 Missing cases 304

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V63 Eval Ricardo Navarro

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
Favorable	1	48	3.8	45.9	45.9
Unfavorable	2	56	4.5	54.1	100.0
DK/NR	0	1152	91.7	Missing	
				--	
	Total	1256	100.0	100.0	

Valid cases 104 Missing cases 1152

V64 Eval Juan Jose Domenech

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
Favorable	1	24	1.9	40.9	40.9
Unfavorable	2	35	2.8	59.1	100.0
DK/NR	0	1196	95.2	Missing	
	Total	1256	100.0	100.0	

Valid cases 60 Missing cases 1196

V65 Eval Mauricio Mayer

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
Favorable	1	131	10.4	80.7	80.7
Unfavorable	2	31	2.5	19.3	100.0
DK/NR	0	1094	87.1	Missing	
	Total	1256	100.0	100.0	

Valid cases 162 Missing cases 1094

V66A Vote for priv sector or big government

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
Private sector	1	405	32.2	49.3	49.3
Govt interv	2	417	33.2	50.7	100.0
DK/NR	0	435	34.6	Missing	
	Total	1256	100.0	100.0	

Valid cases 821 Missing cases 435

V66B Vote big govt vs small

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
Cut govt	1	173	13.8	21.8	21.8
Keep govt as is	2	391	31.1	49.4	71.3
Increase govt	3	227	18.1	28.7	100.0
DK/NR	0	465	37.0	Missing	
	Total	1256	100.0	100.0	

Valid cases 791 Missing cases 465

V66C Vote govt vs insurgents

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
Favored govt in war	1	436	34.7	73.9	73.9
Favored rebels	2	154	12.3	26.1	100.0
DK/NR	0	667	53.1	Missing	
	Total	1256	100.0	100.0	

Valid cases 590 Missing cases 667

V66D Vote women's rights vs men

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
Favored fem eq	1	898	71.5	84.3	84.3
Favored men	2	167	13.3	15.7	100.0
DK/NR	0	191	15.2	Missing	
	Total	1256	100.0	100.0	

Valid cases 1065 Missing cases 191

V66E Vote believer vs atheist

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
Believer in God	1	1116	88.8	98.4	98.4
Non believer	2	18	1.5	1.6	100.0
DK/NR	0	122	9.7	Missing	
		-	-		
Total		1256	100.0	100.0	

Valid cases 1134 Missing cases 122

V66F Vote for rich or not rich

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
Wealthy	1	249	19.9	28.4	28.4
Not rich	2	628	50.0	71.6	100.0
DK/NR	0	378	30.1	Missing	
		-	-		
Total		1256	100.0	100.0	

Valid cases 878 Missing cases 378

V67 Respondent's employment sector

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
Not employed	0	618	49.2	49.2	49.2
Private sector	1	162	12.9	12.9	62.1
Self employed	2	317	25.2	25.2	87.3
Salaried or farm wor	3	62	4.9	4.9	92.3
Other	4	17	1.4	1.4	93.7
Public sector	5	79	6.3	6.3	100.0
		-	-		
Total		1256	100.0	100.0	

Valid cases 1256 Missing cases 0

7 Región		
San Salvador Metr		1
Ciudades		2
Resto país		3
8 Área Urbana 1 Rural 2		

9 Sexo	Masculino	1
	Femenino	2

10 Educación			
Ninguno	1	Sec Incomp	4
Prim Inr	2	Sec Compl	5
Prim Comp	3	Superior	6
		NS/NR	0

11 Cual es su edad en años cumplidos? Años					
18-19	1	25-29	3	35-39	5
40-44	2	30-34	4	40-44	6
				45-59	7
				60 y más	8

CUESTIONARIO

Buenos días/tardes/noches Mi nombre es _____ (enseñar carné) y trabajo para la empresa CID, bastante conocida aquí en El Salvador por sus estudios de Opinión Publica. Actualmente estamos llevando a cabo una de nuestras encuestas y nos interesaría mucho entrevistarle a Ud. Le ruego prestarme unos minutos de su tiempo para contestar algunas preguntas de importancia para todos los salvadoreños. Antes de todo, por favor, dígame si usted es ciudadano salvadoreño de 18 años o más de edad.

SI NO ES CIUDADANO DE 18 AÑOS O MAS -SUSPENDA LA ENTREVISTA-

Quiero asegurarle que toda la información que usted nos brinde se mantendrá confidencial.

1)12 Cual de estos es el problema principal que tiene nuestro país en la actualidad, **ENSEÑAR TARJETA A**

Corrupción en el gobierno	1	No hay productos en el mercado	6
La violencia y el crimen	2	Deficiente el transporte público	7
Desempleo	3	Alto costo de la vida	8
Servicios públicos hospital, vivienda, escuelas	4	Otro Cual _____	9
Drogas Trafico y uso	5	NS/NR	0

2)13 Y cuál es el problema principal que tiene la juventud de nuestro país?

3)11 Cómo esta la situación económica aquí de su familia en comparación con el año pasado? **LEER**

Mejor	1	Igual	2	Peor	3	NS/NR	0
-------	---	-------	---	------	---	-------	---

4)15 Y como cree les ira en el año 1993 aquí en su familia al pensar de sus condiciones económicas **LEER**

Mejor	1	Igual	2	Peor	3	NS/NR	0
-------	---	-------	---	------	---	-------	---

TARJETA B

5)16 Las elecciones presidenciales de 1994 se nos avecinan. Si las elecciones presidenciales de 1994 fueran hoy y las personas cuyo nombre aparecen en esta tarjeta fueran los candidatos por cual votaría Ud?

Armando Calderón Sol	1	Joaquín Villalobos	4	Otro _____	7
Fidel Chavez Mena	2	Mario Aguiñada	5	NS/NR	0
Kubén Zamora	3	Roberto Murray Meza	6		

AHORA CAMBIAMOS DE PENA

6)17 En su opinión ha mejorado, quedado igual o de mejorado la seguridad personal de los salvadoreños, es decir, robos, asaltos criminales, desde que asumió la presidencia Alfredo Cristiani?

Mejorado	1	Igual	2	De mejorado	3	NS/NR	0
----------	---	-------	---	-------------	---	-------	---

7)18 Ha sido Ud o algún miembro de su familia víctima de un robo o asalto en los últimos cuatro meses?

No	0	Sí	1
----	---	----	---

1 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18

- 4 -
- 8)19 Ocurrió el robo o asalto aquí en su casa o en la calle o lugar de trabajo? NA 8
 (Casa 1 Calle 2 Lugar de trabajo 3 NS/NR 0
-
- 9)20 Y cómo calificaría Ud la labor de Alfredo Cristiani como Presidente de la Republica? LEER
 Muy bien 1 Ni bien ni mal 3 NS/NR 0
 Bien 2 Mal 4
-
- 10)21 En general diría Ud que el programa económico del Presidente Cristiani ha tenido LEER
 Gran éxito 1 Poco éxito 3
 Algun éxito 2 Ningun éxito 4 NS/nr 0
-
- 11) El Salvador ha recibido ayuda económica internacional en los últimos dos años De cual país ha recibido mas ayuda en ese periodo?
 ESPONTANEO
 22 País _____
 Y en segundo lugar, cual país ha dado mas ayuda? ESPONTANEO
 23 País _____
-
- 12)24 Y aquí en su familia han percibido algun beneficio de la ayuda internacional que ha llegado a El Salvador en el último año?
 No 0 Si, cómo se han beneficiado aquí en su familia?
-
- 13)25 Y ahora con la firma de los acuerdos de paz se siente Ud para criticar a los que estan en el Gobierno? LEER NS/NR 0
 Con más libertad 1 Igual libertad 2 Menos libertad 3
-
- 14)26 Y que tal a los del FMLN Se siente Ud para criticar a los líderes del FMLN LEER NS/NR 0
 Con mas libertad 1 Igual libertad 2 Menos libertad 3
-
- 15)27 Con los acuerdos de paz se ha formado una Secretaria Nacional de Reconstrucción Qué opinión le merece la labor de esa Secretaria o no sabe lo suficiente para opinar
 Opina que labora LEER
 Muy bien 1 Ni bien ni mal 3 Muy mal 5
 Algo bien 2 Algo mal 4 NS/NR 0
-
- 16)28 En octubre habrán pasado 500 años desde que Cristobal Colón llegó a América Creé Ud que nosotros los salvadoreños deberíamos sentirnos agradecidos con los españoles por haber llegado acá? LEER
 Muy agradecido 1 Indiferente 3 Nada agradecido 5
 Algo agradecido 2 Poco agradecido 4 NS/NR 0
-
- 17)29 Le quiero pedir su opinión sobre unas figuras públicas de nuestro país Para cada uno de ellos le rogaría decirme si tiene una opinión favorable o desfavorable Si no lo conoce o no quiere dar una opinión, favor de decirme Cual es su opinión de Ruben Zamora?
 Favorable 1 Desfavorable 2 No conoce/no opina 0
-
- 18)30 Y que tal Fidel Chavez Mena Cual es su opinión de él?
 Favorable 1 Desfavorable 2 No conoce/no opina 0
-
- 19)31 El pasado 11 de setiembre recibimos el fallo de la Haya sobre la diferencia que ha tenido nuestro país con Honduras Cuanto sabe Ud de ese fallo? IFER
 Mucho 1 Algo 2 Poco 3 Nada 4 NS/NR 0
-
- SOLO PARA LOS QUE SABEN MUCHO O ALGO SOBRE EL FALLO OTROS PASAR A PREG 22
- 20)32 Que tan satisfecho se siente Ud por el fallo de La Haya?
 Mucho 1 Poco 3 NS/NR 0
 Algo 2 Nada 4 NA 0

19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30 31 32

SOLO PARA LOS QUE DICEN ESTAR POCO O NADA SATISFECHOS CON EL FALLO DE LA HAYA OTROS PASEN A PREG 22

21)33 Ud me dijo que se sentia poco o nada satisfecho con el fallo de La Haya Quien tiene la culpa del fallo que Ud considera no satisfactorio?

NA 8 1

22)34 De nuevo sobre los politicos Armando Calderon Fajal Cual es la opinion que tiene de el? Favorable 1 Desfavorable 2 No conoce/no opina 0

3)35 Y cual es la opinion que tiene de Mario Aguinada? Favorable 1 Desfavorable 2 No conoce/no opina 0

TARJETA C

4)36 Pensando en las religiones A cual religion pertenece Ud? ENSEÑAR

TARJETA

Cristiana 1 Adventista 4 Mormon 7 Ninguna A
Evangélica 2 Judia 5 Testigos de Jehova 8 NS/NR 0
Protestante 3 Católica 6 Otro 9

TARJETA C

25)37 Y en que religion nació Ud? ENSEÑAR TARJETA

Cristiana 1 Adventista 4 Mormon 7 Ninguna A
Evangélica 2 Judia 5 Testigos de Jehova 8 NS/NR 0
Protestante 3 Católica 6 Otro 9

6)38 Y de nuevo sobre las personalidades publicas Cual es la opinion que tiene Usted de Alfredo Cristiani? Favorable 1 Desfavorable 2 No conoce/no opina 0

7)39 Pensando en los ultimos cuatro meses considera usted que el costo de la vida en El Salvador ha subido mucho algo, poco o ha quedado igual? Mucho 1 Algo 2 Poco 3 Igual 4 NS/NR 0 Más 1 Igual 2 Menos 3 No hay 4 NS/NR 0

28)40 Pasando a otro tema Cree Ud que las mujeres salvadoreñas disfrutan de los mismos derechos que los hombres? Si, mucho 1 Si, algo 2 No, mucho 3 No, algo 4

9)41 De nuevo las figuras politicas Y sobre Roberto Murray Meza Cual es su opinion? LEER Favorable 1 Desfavorable 2 No/No 0

30)42 En cuanto a Carlos Valle Es Favorable 1 Desfavorable 2 No/no 0

11)43 Es usted LEER Soltero 1 Divorciado 3 Unido 5 No sabe 0 Casado 2 Viudo 4 Separado 6

3)44 Me puede decir a cual partido politico pertenece o prefiere Ud? NOMBRE DEL PARTIDO Na 9 Ning 0

33)45 SOLO PARA LOS QUE DICEN NO SABER O NINGUNO Ud me dice que no tiene o prefiere un partido politico Pero si realmente tuviera que escoger uno a cual seria? INSISTIR NOMBRE DEL PARTIDO NA 8 RECODIFICACION

34)47 En nuestro pais se habla de la corrupcion entre funcionarios del gobierno y de sus instituciones Cree Ud que hay corrupcion o no hay? Mucho 1 Algo 2 Poco 3 No hay 4 NS/NR 0

140 En el último año ha conocido usted algún caso de un empleado público que pide propina para realizar un trabajo que le corresponde?

No 0 Sí 1

141 En cuál institución del gobierno cree Ud que hay más corrupción?

37)50 Y cuál es su ocupación principal? ANOTE

Profesionales técnicos gerentes	1	Obreros y jornaleros	6
Administradores directores y afines		Amas de casa	7
Comerciantes vendedores y afines	2	Estudiantes	8
Empleados de oficina y afines	3	Otro no identificado	9
Agricultor ganadero y afines	1	Pensionado/desempleado	0
Artesanos, operarios especializados	5		

40)51 Volviendo a personalidades políticas, cuál es su opinión de Ricardo Acevedo Peralta Favorable 1 Desfavorable 2 Nc/no 0

39)52 Y del Monseñor Gregorio Rosa Chaves? Favorable 1 Desfavorable 2 Nc/no 0

40)53 Ahora sobre las personalidades políticas otra vez ¿Cuál es su opinión de Shaffick Handal? Favorable 1 Desfavorable 2 No conoce /no opina 0

41) Como Ud sabe ahorita se iniciará la cuadrangular para participar en el mundial de futbol en 1994. Que probabilidad hay que El Salvador gane

	Mucha	Alguna	Poca	Ninguna	NS/NR
54 Jamaica	1	2	3	4	0
55 Bermuda	1	2	3	4	0
56 Canada	1	2	3	4	0

42)57 Qué dice de Gerardo Le Chevalier? Favorable 1 Desfavorable 2 Nc/no 0

43)58 Y de Ana Guadalupe Martínez? Cuál es su opinión? Favorable 1 Desfavorable 2 Nc/no 0

44)59 Cuál es su opinión de Joaquín Villalobos? Favorable 1 Desfavorable 2 Nc/no 0

45)60 Tiene Ud un carné electoral? Sí 1 No 3 En trámite 3 NS/NR 0

TARJETA D

46)61 Votó Ud en las pasadas elecciones de marzo de 1991 para diputados?

Alianza Republicana Nacionalista (ARENA)	1	NS/NR	9
Partido Demócrata Cristiano (PDC)	2		
Convergencia Democrática (CD)	3		
Partido de Conciliación Nacional (PCN)	4		
Unión Democrática Nacionalista (UDN)	5		
Movimiento Auténtico Cristiano (MAC)	6		

47)62 Conoce Ud el nombre de algún diputado de este departamento? No 0 Sí, cómo se llama? Correcto 1 Incorrecto 2 NS/NR 0

48)63 Alguna vez ha pedido ayuda o cooperación de algún diputado para resolver problemas personales o de su comunidad? Sí 1 No 2 NS/NR 0

49)64 Recuerda Ud cuántos diputados hay en la Asamblea Legislativa? No 0 Sí, cuántos? Correcto (84) 1 Incorrecto 2 NS/NR 9

50)65 Hablando en general de la Asamblea Legislativa diría Ud que el trabajo que están realizando los diputados es Muy bueno 1 Regular 3 Muy malo 5 Bueno 2 Malo 4 NS/NR 0

51)66 Cree Ud que los diputados toman en cuenta la opinión de la gente como Ud cuando deciden cosas aquí en la Asamblea?
 Si 1 No 2 NS/NR 0

52)67 Durante las campañas electorales hay personas que trabajan por uno de los partidos o candidatos. Ha trabajado Ud con algún candidato o partido en estas o en las pasadas elecciones?
 Pasadas elecciones 1 En las dos 3 NS/NR 0
 Últimas elecciones 2 Ninguna 4

53)68 Si Ud quisiera votar en las próximas elecciones ¿se sentiría con completa libertad de hacerlo, sentiría un poco de miedo o tendría mucho miedo de hacerlo?
 Completa libertad 1 Mucho miedo 3
 Poco de miedo 2 NS/NR 0

54)69 Si Ud quisiera participar en una manifestación pacífica o protesta ordenada, para decir lo que piensa. Se sentiría con completa libertad para hacerlo, sentiría un poco de miedo o tendría mucho miedo de hacerlo?
 Completa libertad 1 Mucho miedo 4
 Poco de miedo 2 NS/NR 0

55)70 Ahora vamos a hablar de otra cosa. Voy a leerle el nombre de tres entidades. Podría decirme Ud en cual de las tres confía más? **LEER LAS TRES OPCIONES SI DICE NINGUNO INSISTIR**
 Asamblea Legislativa 1 Fuerzas Armadas 4
 Tribunales de Justicia 2 No sabe 0

56)71 Y podría decirme en cuál de las tres confía menos? **LEER LAS TRES OPCIONES SI DICER NINGUNO INSISTIR**
 Asamblea Legislativa 1 Fuerzas Armadas 4
 Tribunales de Justicia 2 No sabe 0

57)72 Ud se siente de ser salvadoreño **LEER**
 Muy orgulloso 1 Nada orgulloso 3
 Poco orgulloso 2 NS/NR 0

58)73 Tiene Ud mucha poca o nada de confianza en la Asamblea Legislativa?
 Mucha 1 Poca 2 Nada 3 NS/NR 0

59)74 Tiene mucha, poca o nada de confianza en los partidos políticos de El Salvador?
 Mucha 1 Poca 2 Nada 3 NS/NR 0

60)75 Qué cree Ud es la función principal de la Asamblea Legislativa?
 Aprobar leyes 1 Imponer impuestos 4
 Sustener debates 2 NS/NR 0
 Contestar al presidente o al gobierno 3

SOLO PARA RESIDENTES DE SAN SALVADOR

61)76 Quien cree Ud que será el próximo alcalde de la Ciudad de San Salvador?
 _____ (NOMBRE)

PARJETA B

62)77 En nuestro país recientemente el gobierno implemento una serie de medidas económicas incluyendo un impuesto de ventas. De las razones que se desglosan en esta lista cuál cree Ud que es la razón principal de implementar las medidas?
 Costo de la Reconstrucción y la paz 1 NS/NR 0
 Para construir más obras 2
 La situación en que recibe el país el gobierno 3
 Es necesario para financiar la mala administración de parte del gobierno 4

63)78 Pensando de nuevo en los políticos. Qué opinión tiene Ud de Ricardo Navarro?
 Favorable 1 Desfavorable 2 NS/NR 0

61)6	Y de Juan José Domenech cual es su opinión?				
	Favorable	1	Desfavorable	2	NS/NR 0

(5)7	Y de Mauricio Meyer?				
	Favorable	1	Desfavorable	2	NS/NR 0

66)	Pensando de nuevo en el futuro electoral de nuestro país quiero que me diga si Ud al votar por presidente más probablemente votaría por un candidato				
f 5	Que favorece el sector privado	1			NS/NR 0
	Favorece más intervención del gobierno	2			
0 4	Que favorece recortar al gobierno	1			NS/NR 0
	Favorece mantener al gobierno	2			
	Favorece aumentar al gobierno	3			
0 10	Favoreció al gobierno en la guerra	1			NS/NR 0
	Favoreció a los insurgentes en la guerra	2			
0 11	Favorece la igualdad de la mujer	1			NS/NR 0
	Prefiere que el hombre sea el que manda	2			
W 12	Que es creyente en Dios	1			NS/NR 0
	Que no es creyente en Dios	2			
Y 13	Es persona de mucho dinero	1			NS/NR 0
	No tiene mucho dinero	2			

67)14	Trabaja Ud en la actualidad?		No	0	
	Sí, Sector privado	1	Asalariado empresa o finca privada	3	
	Comercio propio	2	Otro	4	

68)15	En total cuáles son los ingresos mensuales familiares de este hogar? Hablo de lo que ganan todos los que viven aquí con Ud				
	Menos de \$ 500	1	\$ 2500 a menos de \$ 3500	6	
	\$ 500 a menos de \$ 1000	2	\$ 3500 a menos de \$ 4500	7	
	\$ 1000 a menos de \$ 1500	3	\$ 4500 a menos de \$ 6000	8	
	\$ 1500 a menos de \$ 2000	4	\$ 6000 y mas	9	
	\$ 2000 a menos de \$ 2500	5	NS/NR	0	

I D E N T I F I C A C I O N

NOMBRE DEL ENTREVISTADO _____

DIRECCION _____

16 Cual es el teléfono de su casa? _____ Y de su oficina _____

17 Entrevistador _____ 18 Qui recibe _____

19 Validación Pers 1 telef 2 No 0

20 Validador _____

21 Fecha _____ 22 Codificador _____

23 Digitador _____

GRACIAS POR SU COLABORACION EN ESTE ESTUDIO ES MUY POSIBLE QUE UN COMPANERO LO VISITE O LE LLAME POR TELEFONO PARA SUPERVISAR MI TRABAJO LE RUEGO RECUERDE ENTREGAR VOLANTE CERTIFICO QUE LOS DATOS EXPUESTOS ANTERIORMENTE SON LOS QUE LA PERSONA ENTREVISTADA ME PROPORCIONO

Firma entrevistador _____ (edula _____

1 2 3 4 / 2 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23

Ref 0002 Dk 4 01 (D/rsm/artg

Appendix 4: Persons Interviewed

Monday, November 16, 1992

Comité Técnico

Allan Austin

Mario Aguiñada, Unión Democrática Nacionalista

Mario Donald Salazar, Oficial Mayor

Tuesday, November 17, 1992

Rodolfo Ernesto Varela, Comité Técnico, ARENA

Raul Manuel Somoza, Junta Directiva, ARENA

Allan Austin, Project Manager

Raúl Pineda, Departamento Técnico

Roberto Angulo ARENA and Junta Directiva

Raúl Baraona, Analista

Annette Rebeca Berríos de González, Analista

Fredy Rodríguez Bonilla, Analista

Wednesday, November 18, 1992

Raúl Peña Flores, ARENA

Gloria de Arias, Legislative Assembly Project Manager and Comité Técnico

AID Officials

Roberto Edmundo Viera Díaz and other PDC Deputies

Thursday, November 19, 1992

Silvia Guadalupe Barrientos, Convergencia

René Flores Aquino, Convergencia

Roberto Serrano, PDC, President, Comisión Educación y Cultura

Lillian Díaz Sol, PCN, President, Comisión de la Familia, la Mujer y el Niño

Madeleine O'Donnell, Independent Observer

Milena Calderón de Escalón, Jefe de Fracción ARENA, President, Com. de Hacienda y Presupuesto

Julio Gamero, ARENA, President, Comisión Medio Ambiente

Friday, November 20, 1992

Ciro Cruz Zepeda, Vice President, PCN, President, Comisión Relaciones Internacionales

Rubén Zamora, Vice President of Legislative Assembly; President, Convergencia

Reynaldo Quintanilla Prado, ARENA, Secretario, Junta Directiva, Pres, Comité Técnico

Lic. Gloria Arias, Project Manager of the Legislative Assembly

Lic. Argentina Leonor Barraza, Head Librarian Legislative Assembly Library

Monday, December 14, 1992

Oscar Edmundo Anaya, Director General on Internal Revenue
Division, Ministry of Finance

Felipe F Umaña, Director, Department of Legal Studies, FUSADES
Arnoldo Jiménez, Department of Social and Economic Studies,
FUSADES

APPENDIX 5

UNIVERSITY OF PITTSBURGH
Contract No. 519-0177-C-00-2144-00
Page 3 of 19 pages

SECTION C

DESCRIPTION/SPECS/WORK STATEMENT

C.1 ACTIVITY TO BE EVALUATED

Project No.: 519-0360

Title: Legislative Assembly Strengthening

Cost: Total: \$1,125,000
Agreement: \$ 750,000
Counterpart \$ 375,000

Authorization Date: 08/29/90

PACD: 03/31/93

C.2 PURPOSE OF THE EVALUATION

The purpose of this contract is to carry out an evaluation of the Legislative Assembly Strengthening Project in order to appraise progress in implementation, assess the likelihood of achieving project objectives, identify elements constraining its successful execution and report lessons learned to date.

The evaluation will be used by Mission Management and the Office of Democratic Initiatives as an independent assessment of the validity of this project's approach to enhance the democratic process in El Salvador and for its continuation or termination.

C.3 BACKGROUND

In 1986, USAID signed a Grant Agreement aimed at improving the professional skills and knowledge of the Assembly members, and improving the efficiency of Assembly operations. The project consisted of two main components: 1) financing for the Legislative Library and various support equipment (e.g. a power plant, typewriters, motorcycles, etc.). An annotated and indexed version of the 1983 Constitution was also prepared; 2) financing for two legislative seminars, one in October of 1986 and the second in June of 1989, to discuss practical and theoretical issues related to the functioning of a modern legislature.

On August 29, 1990, USAID signed an additional Grant Agreement for \$490,000 to assist the Legislative Assembly. The amount was increased by \$260,000 on March 26, 1991, bringing the total amount of funding available under the grant to \$750,000 with a completion date of March 31, 1993.

The goal of this Project is to advance the democratic process in El Salvador by building citizens' confidence in democratic institutions as a means for representing their interests

The Project purpose is to strengthen the ability of the National Legislative Assembly to engage in a more analytical and informed policy dialogue internally and with other branches of the government. It is expected that by the end of this pilot project, members of the legislature will have increased access to action-oriented policy information and constituents, as well as other branches of government, will be more informed as to the role of the legislature and of processes for addressing citizens concerns.

The project consists of three closely related components: 1) technical support services; 2) infrastructure; and 3) constituency services.

The first component focuses on resolving the technical constraints related to weaknesses in the Assembly's analytical capability. Project funding is being used to establish a research capability within the Assembly to increase the availability of analytical information for use by legislators in their debates. Eight policy analysts have been hired and trained for this purpose, and the analytical research is being complemented by assisting the Assembly in developing a strategy for systematically organizing existing laws. Also, Project resources are being utilized to expand the functions of the current Assembly Library into a pro-active Data Resource Center and for training Assembly members in order to upgrade their skills as legislators. Research Triangle Institute (RTI) is the major contractor carrying out these tasks, with Dr. Allan Austin as Resident Advisor.

Under the Infrastructure component, project resources financed a space utilization study to determine the most efficient and cost effective way of providing each representative with semi-private office space to improve contact with constituents. Office equipment, hardware, and semi-private offices are part of this component but financed with local currency funds.

The final component, Constituency Services, is financing technical assistance, materials and other operational support for a pilot public education program to improve citizen understanding of the role and function of a legislature in a democratic society. This is a task included under RTI's contract.

Purpose of the Evaluation: USAID wants to carry out a mid-term evaluation of the Legislative Assembly Strengthening Project to determine its effectiveness and impact on the institution. The following scope of work describes the services and activities needed to accomplish this evaluation.

108

C.4. STATEMENT OF WORK

A. Work Plan

Before arrival at Post (see Section VII, Schedule and Level of Effort), the Grantee/evaluators will prepare a preliminary work plan which will be finalized after arrival at Post and reviewed by USAID. The work plan will schedule the activities of each team member, lay out the objectives for each activity, specify the kind of information to be sought, how the information will be validated, the analytic framework in which it will be utilized and the product that will be developed.

The work plan, which must be approved by the Office of Democratic Initiatives (ODI), is considered a critical element in the evaluation exercise and will demonstrate that the consultants and USAID/ODI are fully agreed as to points to be addressed in the final product, the methodology utilized to develop those points and the kind of evidence upon which observations are based.

B. Review of Documentation

The Grantee/evaluators will review, in their home office, the following, and other documents, as appropriate, which will be provided to consultants by USAID: 1) Legislative Assembly Project Paper; 2) Legislative Assembly Grant Agreement; 3) RTI's quarterly reports, PILs, Amendments, etc.; 4) Program Objectives Documents; 5) Action Plan 1993-1994; and 6) the Economic Assistance Strategy for Central America, 1991-2000.

C. Project Evaluation

The Grantee/evaluators will respond to the following questions in a manner which clearly indicates findings, conclusions and recommendations. Although other questions/concerns may arise during the evaluators' interviews and documentation review the following should guide the process and is indicative of primary Mission concerns.

a) Do deputies have increased access to action-oriented policy information?. Has access to policy information, or other identified factors, resulted in improved debates in quality and vigor?. How have the policy research unit, the workshops for Deputies, and the observational trips to other Legislatures contributed in achieving this output?.

b) What is the current relationship of the policy research unit, formal and informal, with the Technical Department of the Legislative Assembly? What is the desirable long-term organizational relationship, and how can the unit's responsiveness to Deputies' information and research needs best be assured? Will the Assembly assume salary costs of the policy research unit beyond the period of USAID funding, now being supported through the project?

c) What is the effectiveness of the Assembly Library as a pro-active data resources center? Determine whether materials acquired, i.e., books, periodicals and reports are contributing to the creation of a pro-active data resources center.

d) Has the public understanding of the role of the legislature increased? Also, has identification and interaction between representatives and their constituencies improved compared to the pre-project period? What data exists, and what can be collected, to measure changes in the relationship?

e) Has the infrastructure support, i.e. remodeling of the Assembly office building and the construction of the Annex, provided an atmosphere to enhance the self-image of deputies and the perception of constituents?

f) Are the Legislative Assembly project's strategy, goals, objectives, and operating procedures appropriate or should they be modified? If modifications are recommended, detail what these are. Is the project on track in meeting project objectives? If an extension of the project may occur, which activities should continue or be initiated to enhance project purpose?

g) Is this project contributing to USAID and broader Agency Strategic Objectives? The Grantee/evaluators will also make recommendations as to how this impact/contribution might be enhanced.

C.5 REPORTING REQUIREMENTS

The Grantee/evaluators shall provide USAID the following reports:

1) A Work Plan

This is described in the above Section IV. It must be provided within three working days after the arrival of the contractor. The work plan will be presented, as part of the entry interview, to the Mission Evaluation Committee.

2) A Draft Report

At least seven working days before leaving El Salvador, the Grantee/evaluators shall give to USAID/ODI a draft report in English, which shall contain the same sections outlined under "final report". The Grantee/evaluators will participate in reviews of this draft with designated USAID officers and in a senior staff review to be held three days after the date of submission of the draft. Immediately before departure, the Grantee/evaluators will prepare and deliver 5 copies of a final draft report, incorporating comments received in Mission review.

3) A Final Report

Final evaluation reports, 14 English copies and 5 in Spanish, are to be submitted to USAID/ODI by the evaluation team no later than four weeks after the evaluation team departs country, incorporating clarifications and/or additions requested by the Mission upon its review of final draft. Also, a copy in English of the evaluation report will be submitted to USAID/LAC/DI.

The evaluation report will include the following sections:

(A) An Executive Summary, including purpose of the evaluation, methodology used, findings, conclusions and recommendations. It will also include comments on development impact and lessons learned. It should be complete enough so that the reader can understand the evaluation without having to read the entire document.

(B) A copy of the scope of work under which the evaluation was carried out. The methodology used will be explicitly outlined and will contain the requirements to assess how (and how successfully) the project being evaluated fits into the Mission's overall strategy. Any deviation from the scope will be explained.

(C) A listing of the evaluation team, including host country personnel, their field of expertise and the role played on the team.

(D) A clear presentation of the evaluation recommendations. It is preferable that the evaluation follow a findings, conclusions and recommendations format. In addition, major recommendations should be prioritized as a separate annex.

UNIVERSITY OF PITTSBURGH
Contract No. 519-0177-C-00-2144-00
Page 8 of 19 pages

(E) The project's lessons learned should be clearly presented. These should describe the causal relationship factors that proved critical to project's success or failure, including necessary political, policy, economic, social and bureaucratic preconditions within the host country and USAID. These should also include a discussion of the techniques or approaches which proved most effective or had to be changes and why. Lessons related to replicability and sustainability will also be discussed.

(F) A paginated Table of Contents.

4) AID Evaluation Summary

The Grantee/evaluators will complete the abstract and detailed summary portion of the "AID Evaluation Summary", for submission with final report. USAID/El Salvador will provide the team with appropriate forms and guidance.

C.6 METHODOLOGY

The Grantee/evaluators shall work under the direct supervision of the USAID/El Salvador Office of Democratic Initiatives. This study is to be carried out in El Salvador.

Contacts necessary to gather primary data and interviews will be facilitated by USAID/El Salvador.

The Grantee/evaluators will certify that under the Executive Privilege Procedure of the USG, no copies of any documents prepared and/or obtained in the process of carrying out its work will be made available to any person(s) or institution(s) without the prior written consent of USAID/El Salvador.

C.7 SCHEDULE AND LEVEL OF EFFORT

Preliminary work plan and documentation review should begin no later than September 30, 1992 and end on or about October 3, 1992, in the USA. This Mission will forward documentation prior to this date. The work in El Salvador will be performed in two trips: The first trip is scheduled to commence on or about November 16, 1992 and to be completed on or about November 21. The second trip is scheduled to commence on or about December 13 and to be completed on or about December 19. USAID estimates that completion of the tasks herein described will require 54 person days of effort. A six day work week is authorized.

.....End of Section C.....

146