

PN ABZ-264

91810

Final Report:

**Considerations for Increasing Participation
in Local Democratic Government
in El Salvador**

by

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August 12, 1993

**Report prepared for USAID El Salvador under order # 519-0406-0-00-3153-00, PIO/T
519-0406-3-30028.**



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Introduction

We have been asked to respond to seven questions regarding an overall strategy for quantitatively and qualitatively increasing participation in local democratic government. On the basis of what we have seen and read about project, our field trips and our knowledge of politics in El Salvador, we wish to treat two overall themes that transcend the specific points laid out in the scope of work. In this report, we would like to lay out those two themes, and then respond directly to the seven points raised in the scope.

I. Stimulating Local Innovation

One of the things that impressed us most in our visits to municipalities throughout El Salvador was the innovativeness of local elected officials. The Municipal Code specifies in some detail how local government is to be run, and a narrow interpretation of that code could lead to rigid, formulaic governance. To our delight, however, we found many mayors to be unusually creative, using the code in innovative ways to fit local circumstances and preferences.

In Sonsonate and El Tránsito, San Miguel, we found that the mayors independently had decided to open some of their council meetings to the public. When we asked what had motivated them to do so, both replied that they had seen open meetings in the United States when they went on a CAPS (Central American

Peace Scholarship) visit, and realized that they could do the same in El Salvador. Those in charge of the CAPS program should take note of this important success, since it reflects for us the real value of such a program; simply telling Salvadoran mayors that municipal government is open to the public in the U.S. is not likely to persuade many of them to open their council meetings in El Salvador. But seeing U.S. local democracy in action was the deciding factor for these two mayors, and perhaps others.

We also observed that even though the Municipal Code does not require it, several mayors were rotating their *cabildos abiertos*¹ and/or their council sessions so that they were taking place in different *cantones* and *caseríos* throughout their municipalities. We think that this is an ideal way to bring local government to the people, especially in poorer areas where it is costly and time consuming to travel to the county seat. In El Tránsito we learned that even though the most recent *cabildo* had been moved outside of the county seat, large numbers of residents from the seat traveled to the canton in order not to miss the meeting. According to the mayor, they

¹The *cabildo abierto* is an innovation introduced in the 1986 municipal code. According to Bob Sogge of the Inter-American Foundation (phone interview, July, 1993), who served as a consultant in El Salvador for USAID in the early 1980s, this was an innovation planned by the military junta in power at the time with the assistance of the Brazilian municipal development program. It eventually became codified in 1986, with most councils beginning regular *cabildos* in 1988 or 1989. The Code calls for at least four such meetings a year in each municipality in El Salvador. The meetings are open to all residents of the *municipio*, adult and child alike. The meeting is to provide an forum for the discussion of local problems and projects. The municipal council may also establish a formal *consulta popular* or referendum on a particular policy or project, the vote on which is binding on the municipality. See the Code, Title IX, Chapter I, Article 115.

wanted to "protect their interests," an indication to us of just how important the *cabildo* was perceived by the citizens in that municipality.

In Texistepeque we observed another interesting innovation. The mayor there was regularly celebrating "*pre-cabildos*," working sessions in which the methodology involved much more than a pro forma listing the projects requested by communities. In these sessions the mayor, his/her council members and community leaders worked through the process of considering municipal projects so that they would have a clearer idea as to how to approach the upcoming *cabildo abierto*.

In Texistepeque the municipal council had established a community advisory board made up of key members of the community, including educators, the clergy, and the private sector. The council met with this board on a regular basis and sought their advice on numerous matters.

We applaud this innovative spirit and hope that nothing is done in future versions of the Code to limit it. At the same time, however, we note that even the most open of the mayors still closes the sessions when the budget is being discussed, or when unspecified internal "administrative matters" are being discussed. According to these mayors, these are technical matters that are not of "interest" to the public. For example, in San Miguel, which rotates the cabildos to the different *cantones* and *caseríos* of the municipality, participation in the council session is allowed only when the interested party submits a written request prior to the meeting. Hence, there is a striking contradiction of allowing citizen input at the time of demand-making, but not at the time when decisions are actually made. We will have more to say on this point

below, but we should note here that every effort must be made to open all of the sessions.

We were also impressed with the creative ways in which some of the *cabildos* are held. In El Congo, for example, children from the local school performed typical dances at the start of the meeting. It was obvious from the faces of the beaming parents that this measure helped to increase civic pride. It also helped instill in children a sense of civic awareness that could not have developed prior to the introduction of the *cabildo abierto* system. Over the long run, however, there is the risk that the *cabildos* may degenerate into no more than mechanical instruments, held in order to fulfill the formal requirement that each MEA (Municipalities in Action) project be presented by the community in a *cabildo*. Nonetheless, we strongly believe that the institutionalization of the *cabildo* is an extremely positive step for El Salvador, one that is, no doubt, having a positive influence on public attitudes toward local government and is also having its impact on the behavior of the mayor and council persons. Although we do not have systematic evidence to support the observation, we believe that the impact of the *cabildos* is greatest on the mayors, who now must regularly present themselves to the public and report on their accomplishments. This is a very healthy development, and bodes well for the future of democracy in this country.

II. The Issue of Political Pluralism in Municipal Governance

Background

Many explanations have been given for the 12-year Civil War that devastated this country from 1980-1992. These include, among the most important, inequality in the distribution of land and income, poverty, demographic pressure, foreign intervention and military involvement in politics. While there is no definitive study of the validity of each of these factors as causes for the War, it is clear that if winning the peace depends entirely upon the swift resolution of all of these problems, El Salvador is doomed. Even the most optimistic observers would not predict that all of these serious problems will be resolved within the foreseeable future, notwithstanding the fact that considerable progress has been made in a number of areas. Winning the peace will not, however, depend upon their solution. Rather, a stable, lasting peace will come to El Salvador to the extent to which this country is able to establish a government that is perceived by its citizens as being responsive to its demands. Indeed, it is the lack of responsiveness that may have been, after all, the major catalytic factor setting off the Civil War; had the government of El Salvador worked toward resolving the problems of peasants who mobilized in the late 1970s, the violent conflict of the 1980s might well have been avoided. What happened instead, as is well known, rather than attempting to engage in a dialogue with the protesters, the military repressed them. The harshness of the repression only drove more people

into the camp of those who had taken up arms, which in turn resulted in increased repression, thereby establishing a vicious circle of repression and reaction.

It is impossible, of course, to know for certain if measures could have been taken in the 1970s that would have avoided the Civil War. Determinists will argue that it was inevitable. But that question is no longer relevant for policy makers. Today all sides need to concern themselves with keeping the peace because there were no winners in the Civil War; the peace was negotiated at the bargaining table, and all sides had to compromise some of their most cherished principles. The FMLN had to give up its vision of a socialist society, the army had to give up its preeminent position of power and allow for civilian control, and each of the major political parties had to agree to allow for a politically pluralist system.

Now that the Civil War is over, how much support is there in El Salvador for the system of government and for a set of values that would support democracy and political pluralism? And more directly connected to the municipal development project, how much support is there for local government? There exist public opinion data that can help us answer those questions.

The survey evidence shows quite clearly that levels of support for the basic institutions of democracy in El Salvador are relatively low for the population as a whole, and, more importantly but not unexpectedly, are lower still among those on the political left. Some of that evidence is contained in a national survey conducted by CID Gallup in September, 1992, during the period of the "armed peace" the

proceeded the final end to the hostilities of the war.² Respondents were 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 1 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.

²The 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 30th of September, 1992. Some areas included in the survey, in addition to San Salvador were Ahuachapán, Chalchuapa, Sonsonate, Dulce Nombre de María, and San Pedro Peruladán.

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.

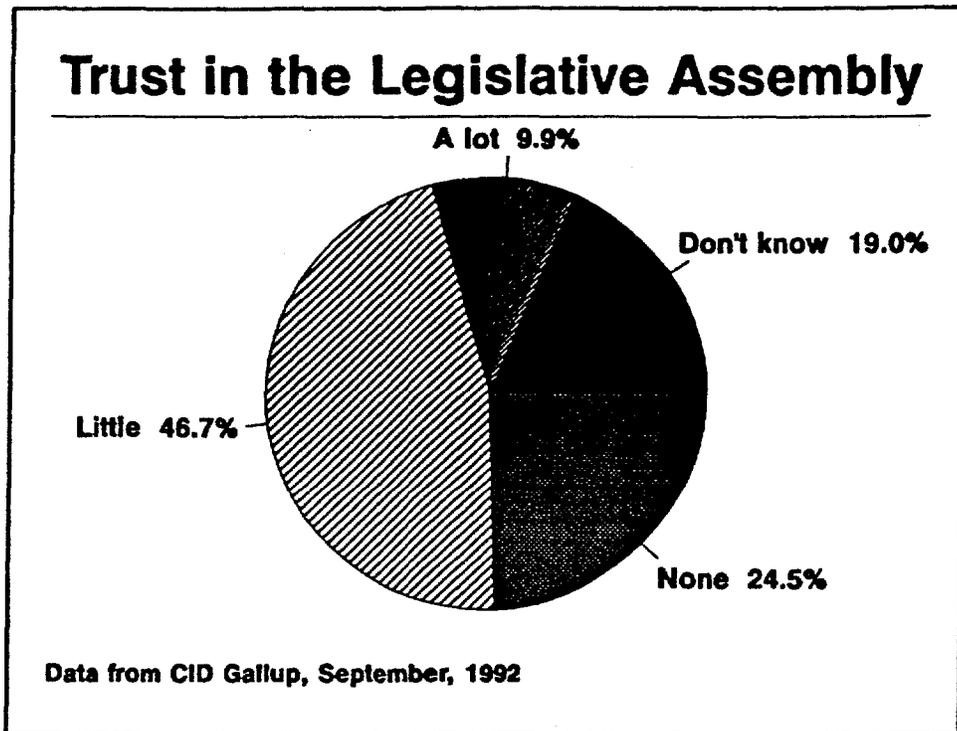


Figure 1

These judgements are not made independent of political ideology. Support for the legislature is directly associated with party position. As is shown in Figure 2 below, support for the legislature was higher among those on the right, with less support among those on the left.

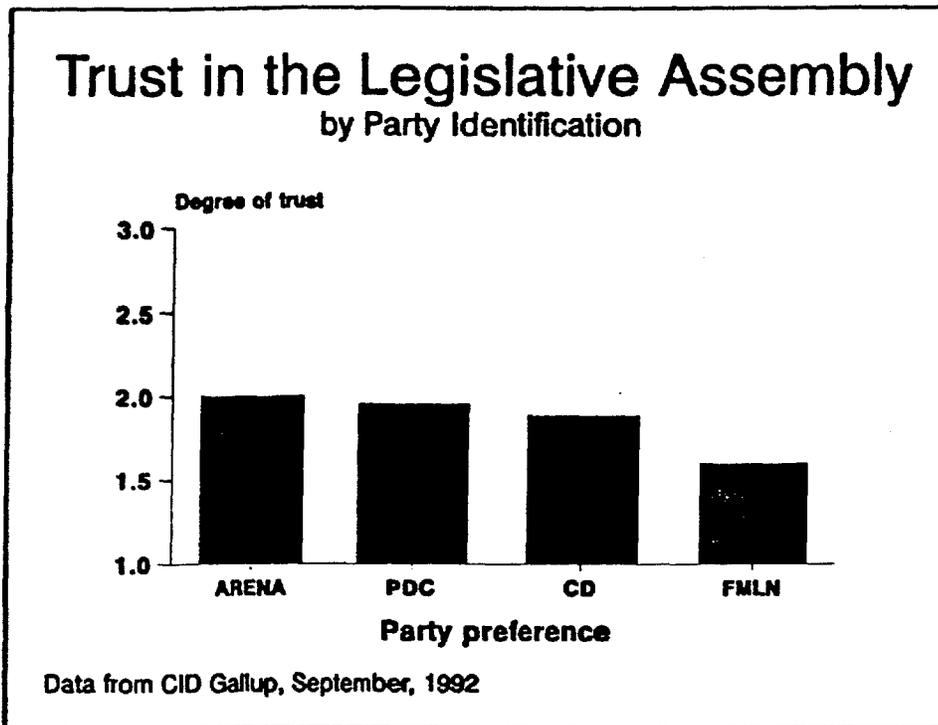


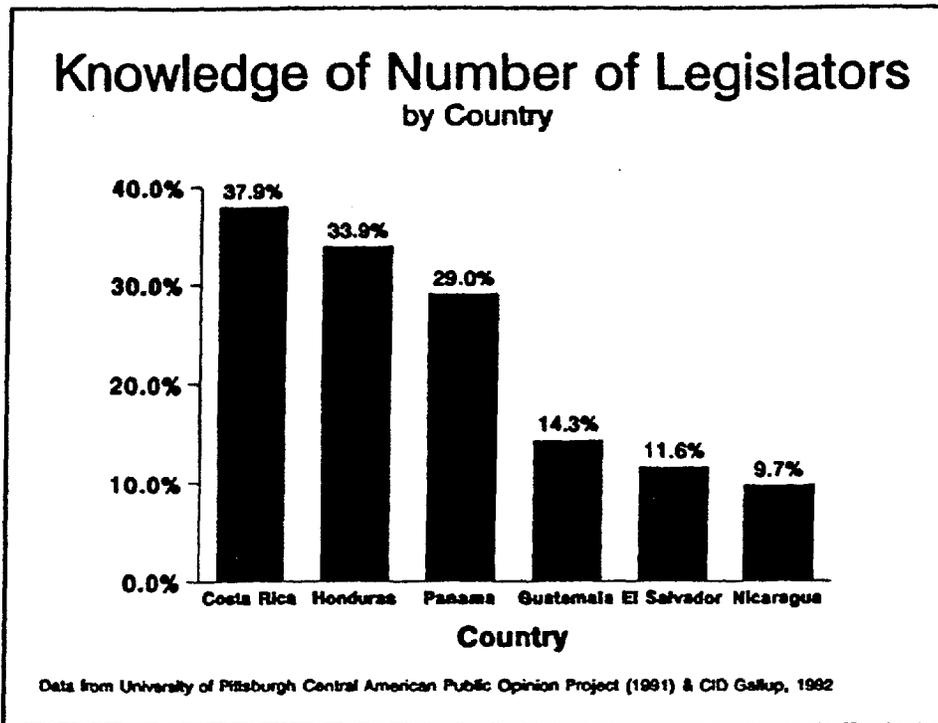
Figure 2

One factor that influences the perception of the legislature in El Salvador is that, given its history, few Salvadorans know or think much about it. According to the results of a 1991-92 survey of over 4,000 urban respondents in Central America (including 904 Salvadorans) conducted by the University of Pittsburgh Public Opinion Project, 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 per-

sonal or communal problem, compared to five times that proportion in Honduras.³ We further found that only 17 percent of the Salvadoran respondents believed that the legislators pay attention to the views of their constituents.

It is important to place these data in comparative perspective so as to demonstrate that even within the context of El Salvador, support for a basic institution such as the legislature, is rather low. As is shown in Figure 3 below, only about one in ten Salvadorans knew how many representatives serve in their legislature.

³The study presented here is based upon the Central American Public Opinion Project of the University of Pittsburgh. That project, conceived in 1989, was designed to tap the opinion of Central Americans on a variety of issues. The study received funding support from a wide variety of sources: 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 collaborating 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).

**Figure 3**

Since, however, the number of representatives in El Salvador 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 4, 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.

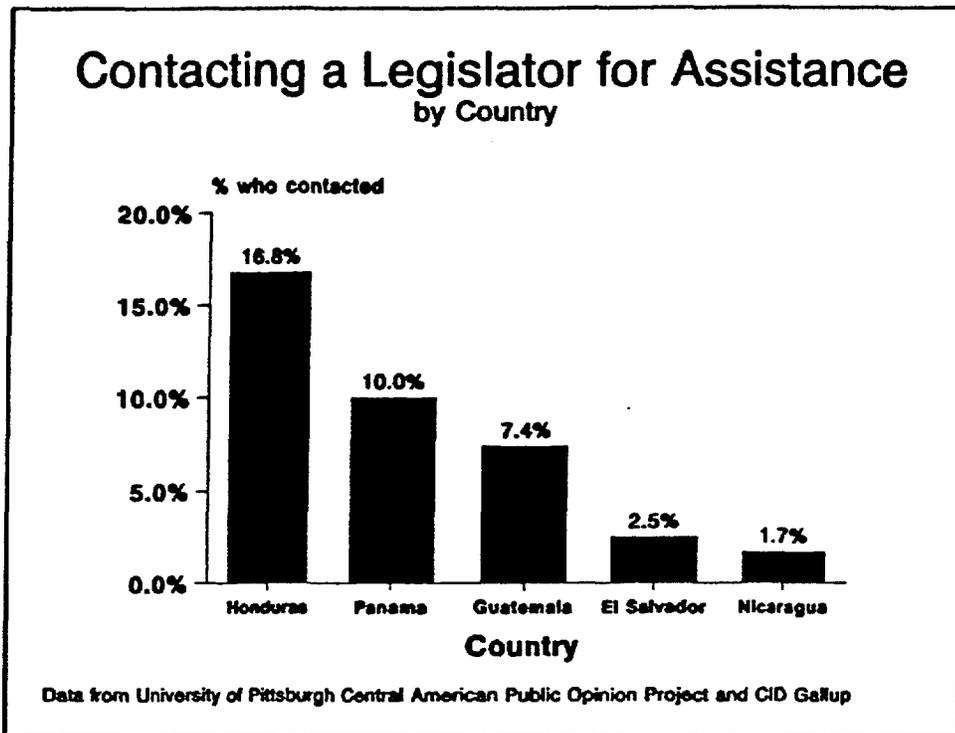


Figure 4

El Salvador's comparatively low performance on citizen contacting of legislators is paralleled with low contacting of mayors. We asked our urban sample of Central Americans if they had ever asked for help or cooperation from the mayor. This question was not asked in Costa Rica. The data presented in Figure 4 shows urban Salvadorans were notably lower in their level of contacting of their mayors.

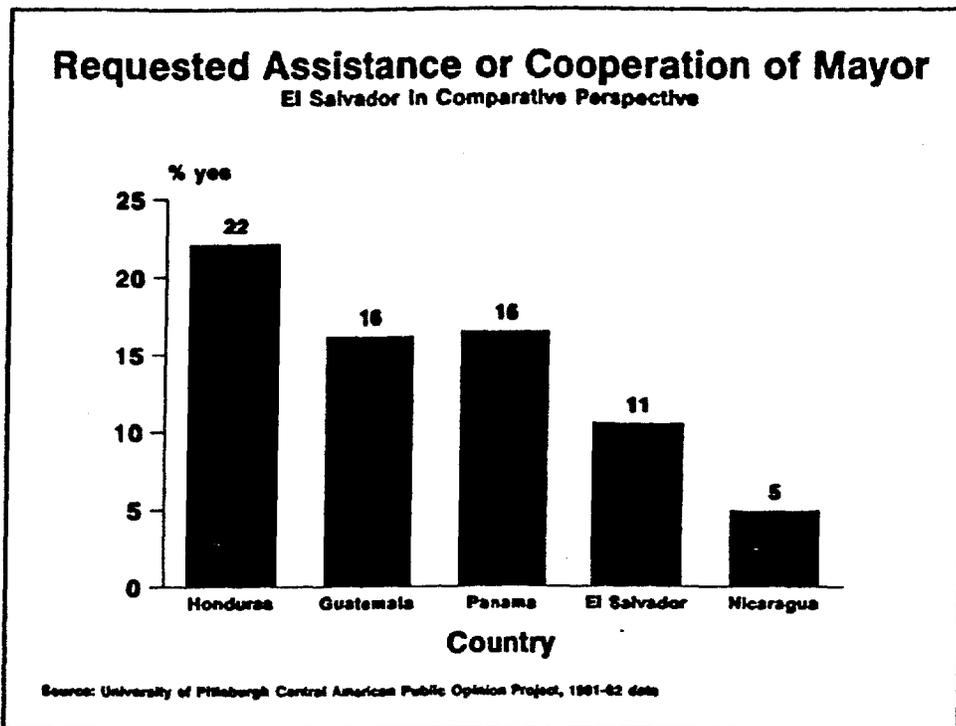


Figure 5

In comparative terms, therefore, at least during the Civil War, citizen contact with government officials was low in El Salvador. Yet, within El Salvador itself, in marked contrast to these rather dismal findings, there is considerable evidence that the revitalized local governments in El Salvador are much closer to the individual citizen, and provide the opportunity for the inculcation of civic values through the municipal development project. In a CID Gallup survey conducted in September, 1991, 1,240 adults were interviewed in a national sample. It is important to note that this survey was conducted when the Civil War was still going on.

In that survey, the respondents were asked to name any diputados from their department. A total of 14 percent of those asked were able to do so. A year later, when peace was nearly at hand and the legislature had become heavily involved in

approving laws related to the peace process, 28 per cent of the Gallup sample were able to mention a diputado's name. Although this shows improvement, it demonstrates considerable lack of attention on the part of Salvadoran citizens to a key democratic institution.

The contrast with the local government data is dramatic. We conducted a reanalysis of the raw 1991 CID Gallup data for this study. Table 1 shows the responses to the question: "What is the name of the mayor of this municipality." There we can see that a much higher proportion of the respondents know the name of their mayor; for the country as a whole, 48.9 percent do. At the same time, it is of note that the highest knowledge of the mayor is in the cities outside of San Salvador, and the lowest is in the rest of the country, the rural municipalities.

Table 1. Knowledge of Alcalde by City

| | Region | | | | | |
|-----------------|--------------|-----|--------------|-----|-----------------|-----|
| | San Salvador | | Other cities | | Rest of country | |
| | % | (N) | % | (N) | % | (N) |
| Name of Alcalde | | | | | | |
| Knows..... | 49.0% | 201 | 54.2% | 195 | 44.7% | 210 |
| Not know..... | 51.0% | 209 | 45.8% | 165 | 55.3% | 260 |
| TOTAL..... | 100.0% | 410 | 100.0% | 360 | 100.0% | 470 |

Source: CID Gallup, 1991, Seligson/Córdova calculation from raw data

This same pattern is replicated when we divide El Salvador into urban versus rural areas. Table 2 below shows this perspective.

Table 2. Knowledge of Alcalde by Urban/Rural Residence

| | Area | | | |
|------------------------|---------------|------------|---------------|------------|
| | Urban | | Rural | |
| | % | (N) | % | (N) |
| Name of Alcalde | | | | |
| Knows..... | 51.6% | 442 | 42.8% | 164 |
| Not know..... | 48.4% | 415 | 57.2% | 219 |
| TOTAL..... | 100.0% | 857 | 100.0% | 383 |

The lower level of recognition of the name of the mayors outside of San Salvador and the other major cities and in rural areas, is in part a function of the lower levels of education found there. As can be seen in Table 3, as education increases, knowledge of the name of the mayor increases, from less than one-third for those with no education to nearly two-thirds for those with superior (i.e, university or equivalent) education. Along with education, of course, go other factors such higher income, which is associated directly with as access to newspapers, radio and TV. Each of these factors tends to increase knowledge of local political officials. But the important point is that even among completely uneducated Salvadorans, knowledge of mayors is higher than is knowledge of diputados. Note that only seven percent of those with no education can name a departmental diputado, compared with 29.5 percent of the uneducated who can name their local mayor.

Table 3. Knowledge of Alcalde and Diputado by Level of Education

| | Education | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|-------------------------|-----------|-----|--------------|-----|---------|-----|--------------|-----|-----------|-----|---------|-----|---------|-----|
| | None | | Some primary | | Primary | | Some Second. | | Secondary | | College | | Missing | |
| | % | (N) | % | (N) | % | (N) | % | (N) | % | (N) | % | (N) | % | (N) |
| Name of Alcalde | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Knows..... | 29.5% | 59 | 46.4% | 166 | 54.4% | 93 | 56.6% | 116 | 54.6% | 107 | 60.2% | 62 | 42.9% | 3 |
| Not know..... | 70.5% | 141 | 53.6% | 192 | 45.6% | 78 | 43.4% | 89 | 45.4% | 89 | 39.8% | 41 | 57.1% | 4 |
| TOTAL..... | 100.0% | 200 | 100.0% | 358 | 100.0% | 171 | 100.0% | 205 | 100.0% | 196 | 100.0% | 103 | 100.0% | 7 |
| Name of Diputado | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Knows..... | 7.0% | 14 | 11.7% | 42 | 20.5% | 35 | 14.1% | 29 | 29.1% | 57 | 32.0% | 33 | .0% | 0 |
| Not know..... | 93.0% | 186 | 88.3% | 316 | 79.5% | 136 | 85.9% | 176 | 70.9% | 139 | 68.0% | 70 | 100.0% | 7 |
| TOTAL..... | 100.0% | 200 | 100.0% | 358 | 100.0% | 171 | 100.0% | 205 | 100.0% | 196 | 100.0% | 103 | 100.0% | 7 |

Source: CID Gallup, 1991, Seligson/Córdova calculation from raw data

It is clear from this data that Salvadorans are far more aware of local government than of national government. But what of their evaluation of those two levels of government? Awareness does not necessarily produce positive evaluations. In fact, however, Salvadorans believe that there is less corruption in their own municipal government than there is in the more remote national government. Furthermore, they are more likely to find that their own municipal government is honest than are other municipal governments. Only 16.9 percent of Salvadorans believe that there is "a lot" of corruption in their own Alcaldía, compared to 21.6 percent at the national level and 24 percent in other local governments (see Table 4).

As shown in Table 4, there is a higher level of trust in the integrity of local government in areas outside of San Salvador and the major cities, although that is partially the result of a larger proportion of the respondents outside of those major cities who did not give an answer to these questions. As can be seen in Table 5, however, even when those respondents who did not give an opinion are excluded from the sample, those who live in the rest of the country outside of the main cities see lower levels of corruption than do urban Salvadorans.

Table 4. Corruption and Residence: No Opinion Included

| | Region | | | | | |
|--|--------------|-----|--------------|-----|-----------------|-----|
| | San Salvador | | Other cities | | Rest of country | |
| | % | (N) | % | (N) | % | (N) |
| Corruption in Alcaldías | | | | | | |
| A lot..... | 28.0% | 115 | 28.9% | 104 | 17.9% | 84 |
| Some..... | 25.9% | 106 | 22.5% | 81 | 17.9% | 84 |
| Little..... | 20.5% | 84 | 16.1% | 58 | 22.1% | 104 |
| None..... | 6.6% | 27 | 10.8% | 39 | 11.3% | 53 |
| Don't know... | 19.0% | 78 | 21.7% | 78 | 30.9% | 145 |
| TOTAL..... | 100.0% | 410 | 100.0% | 360 | 100.0% | 470 |
| Corruption in your Alcaldía | | | | | | |
| A lot..... | 19.8% | 81 | 20.8% | 75 | 11.5% | 54 |
| Some..... | 17.8% | 73 | 21.7% | 78 | 11.5% | 54 |
| Little..... | 26.8% | 110 | 13.9% | 50 | 21.1% | 99 |
| None..... | 10.2% | 42 | 14.7% | 53 | 23.6% | 111 |
| Don't know... | 25.4% | 104 | 28.9% | 104 | 32.3% | 152 |
| TOTAL..... | 100.0% | 410 | 100.0% | 360 | 100.0% | 470 |
| Corruption in National Government | | | | | | |
| A lot..... | 23.4% | 96 | 28.3% | 102 | 14.9% | 70 |
| Some..... | 26.3% | 108 | 20.8% | 75 | 12.3% | 58 |
| Little..... | 18.5% | 76 | 11.9% | 43 | 18.3% | 86 |
| None..... | 9.3% | 38 | 12.2% | 44 | 12.1% | 57 |
| Don't know... | 22.4% | 92 | 26.7% | 96 | 42.3% | 199 |
| TOTAL..... | 100.0% | 410 | 100.0% | 360 | 100.0% | 470 |

Source: CID Gallup, 1991, Seligson/Córdova calculation from raw data

Table 5. Corruption and Residence: No Opinion Excluded

| | Region | | | | | |
|--|---------------|------------|---------------|------------|-----------------|------------|
| | San Salvador | | Other cities | | Rest of country | |
| | % | (N) | % | (N) | % | (N) |
| Corruption in Alcaldías | | | | | | |
| A lot..... | 34.6% | 115 | 36.9% | 104 | 25.8% | 84 |
| Some..... | 31.9% | 106 | 28.7% | 81 | 25.8% | 84 |
| Little..... | 25.3% | 84 | 20.6% | 58 | 32.0% | 104 |
| None..... | 8.1% | 27 | 13.8% | 39 | 16.3% | 53 |
| TOTAL..... | 100.0% | 332 | 100.0% | 282 | 100.0% | 325 |
| Corruption in your Alcaldía | | | | | | |
| A lot..... | 26.5% | 81 | 29.3% | 75 | 17.0% | 54 |
| Some..... | 23.9% | 73 | 30.5% | 78 | 17.0% | 54 |
| Little..... | 35.9% | 110 | 19.5% | 50 | 31.1% | 99 |
| None..... | 13.7% | 42 | 20.7% | 53 | 34.9% | 111 |
| TOTAL..... | 100.0% | 306 | 100.0% | 256 | 100.0% | 318 |
| Corruption in National Government | | | | | | |
| A lot..... | 30.2% | 96 | 38.6% | 102 | 25.8% | 70 |
| Some..... | 34.0% | 108 | 28.4% | 75 | 21.4% | 58 |
| Little..... | 23.9% | 76 | 16.3% | 43 | 31.7% | 86 |
| None..... | 11.9% | 38 | 16.7% | 44 | 21.0% | 57 |
| TOTAL..... | 100.0% | 318 | 100.0% | 264 | 100.0% | 271 |

Source: CID Gallup, 1991, Seligson/Córdova calculation from raw data

These results give us confidence that applying the new directions given to USAID by recently appointed Administrator J. Brian Attwood to the effect that "all development is local," will be successful in El Salvador.⁴ Salvadorans trust their local government and know of its main elected official, the mayor. But we have also shown that awareness of local government is associated with more positive attitudes

⁴As quoted by Betty Snead, "Administrator Addresses Secretary's Open Forum," *Front Lines*, July, 1993, p. 4.

toward it. It would seem obvious that from a policy perspective, it would be important to increase awareness of local government since awareness increases support. As we can see from Table 6, most Salvadorans, resident in city or countryside, do not know what the *Concejo Municipal* does. Interestingly, knowledge is lowest in San Salvador and highest in the rest of the country.

Table 6. Knowledge of the Function of the Concejo Municipal

| | Region | | | | | |
|------------------------------------|--------------|-----|--------------|-----|-----------------|-----|
| | San Salvador | | Other cities | | Rest of country | |
| | % | (N) | % | (N) | % | (N) |
| Knows what Concejo Municipal does? | | | | | | |
| Does not know | 67.6% | 277 | 65.3% | 235 | 58.7% | 276 |
| Knows..... | 32.4% | 133 | 34.7% | 125 | 41.3% | 194 |
| TOTAL..... | 100.0% | 410 | 100.0% | 360 | 100.0% | 470 |

Source: CID Gallup, 1991, Seligson/Córdova calculation from raw data

- This same pattern is revealed when we contrast urban versus rural areas. It is clear that the municipal council has more firmly fixed itself in the minds of rural people than it has in the mind of urbanites.

**Table 7. Knowledge of Municipal Council Functions:
by Urban/Rural Split**

| | Area | | | |
|---|---------------|------------|---------------|------------|
| | Urban | | Rural | |
| | % | (N) | % | (N) |
| Knows what Consejo Municipal does? | | | | |
| Not know..... | 65.7% | 563 | 58.7% | 225 |
| Knows..... | 34.3% | 294 | 41.3% | 158 |
| TOTAL..... | 100.0% | 857 | 100.0% | 383 |

Source: CID Gallup, 1991, Seligson/Córdova calculation from raw data

This lack of knowledge on the part of 63.5 percent of the population, and an even higher proportion in urban areas, creates the potential for problems in the project but also opens the door to important opportunities. If municipal government is reduced to the role of the mayor, with the council seen as a rubber stamp for his policies, then democratic governance will suffer. In a pluralistic setting, constituents are accustomed to taking their complaints to the ear of the most sympathetic local official. If El Salvador eventually revises its electoral code and establishes pluralistic municipal councils (to reflect the distribution of votes among the various parties), then it will be even more important for citizens to know who their council person is and what he/she does.

Gender and Local Government

Participation of women in El Salvador has increased dramatically over the past decade. In part it came as a result of world-wide trends of modernization, and in part

because of the particular circumstances brought on the by the Civil War. In numerous *Cabildo Abierto* meetings that we attended in the research for this project, we saw many women in attendance, although men still made up the majority. We also interviewed one woman mayor and some female councilwomen. To what extent are women in El Salvador as aware of local politics are men?

In Table 7 below we review some of the questions already analyzed in this report, this time broken down by sex. As can be seen, men are more likely to be aware of their local officials, and women are more likely to have no opinion as to the level of honesty-corruption of government. However, only on one of these questions, knowledge of the function of the municipal council, was the gender difference statistically significant. It can be concluded that females, as a group show somewhat less awareness of local government than men, but the differences are so small as not to be worthy of special policy considerations.

Table 8. Gender and Local Participation

| | Sex | | | |
|-------------------------------------|---------------|------------|---------------|------------|
| | Male | | Female | |
| | % | (N) | % | (N) |
| Name of Alcalde | | | | |
| Knows..... | 50.8% | 320 | 46.9% | 286 |
| Not know..... | 49.2% | 310 | 53.1% | 324 |
| TOTAL..... | 100.0% | 630 | 100.0% | 610 |
| Heard what Consejo Mun does? | | | | |
| Knows..... | 40.2% | 253 | 32.6% | 199 |
| Not know..... | 59.8% | 377 | 67.4% | 411 |
| TOTAL..... | 100.0% | 630 | 100.0% | 610 |
| Corruption in Alcaldías | | | | |
| A lot..... | 25.9% | 163 | 23.0% | 140 |
| Some..... | 22.9% | 144 | 20.8% | 127 |
| Little..... | 22.1% | 139 | 17.5% | 107 |
| None..... | 10.2% | 64 | 9.0% | 55 |
| DK..... | 19.0% | 120 | 29.7% | 181 |
| TOTAL..... | 100.0% | 630 | 100.0% | 610 |
| Corruption in your Alcaldía | | | | |
| A lot..... | 18.9% | 119 | 14.9% | 91 |
| Some..... | 16.8% | 106 | 16.2% | 99 |
| Little..... | 23.3% | 147 | 18.4% | 112 |
| None..... | 16.5% | 104 | 16.7% | 102 |
| DK..... | 24.4% | 154 | 33.8% | 206 |
| TOTAL..... | 100.0% | 630 | 100.0% | 610 |

Source: CID Gallup, 1991, Seligson/Córdova calculation from raw data

A further important finding of the study that reveals just how strongly women participate in local politics is shown in Table 9 below, in which males and females are contrasted within urban areas and then within the rural areas. In terms of knowledge of the name of the alcalde, women exceed men in rural areas. We should be

reminded that as shown earlier, overall levels of knowledge of the mayor's name was lower in the countryside than the city.

Table 9. Gender and Participation by Urban/Rural Split

| | Area | | | | | | | |
|-------------------------------------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|
| | Urban | | | | Rural | | | |
| | Sex | | Sex | | Sex | | Sex | |
| | Male | Female | Male | Female | Male | Female | Male | Female |
| | % | (N) | % | (N) | % | (N) | % | (N) |
| Name of Alcalde | | | | | | | | |
| Knows..... | 55.3% | (244) | 47.6% | (198) | 40.2% | (76) | 45.4% | (88) |
| Not know.... | 44.7% | (197) | 52.4% | (218) | 59.8% | (113) | 54.6% | (106) |
| TOTAL..... | 100.0% | (441) | 100.0% | (416) | 100.0% | (189) | 100.0% | (194) |
| Heard what Consejo Mun does? | | | | | | | | |
| Knows..... | 37.4% | (165) | 31.0% | (129) | 46.6% | (88) | 36.1% | (70) |
| Not know.... | 62.6% | (276) | 69.0% | (287) | 53.4% | (101) | 63.9% | (124) |
| TOTAL..... | 100.0% | (441) | 100.0% | (416) | 100.0% | (189) | 100.0% | (194) |
| Corruption in Alcaldías | | | | | | | | |
| A lot..... | 28.8% | (127) | 26.4% | (110) | 19.0% | (36) | 15.5% | (30) |
| Some..... | 25.9% | (114) | 21.9% | (91) | 15.9% | (30) | 18.6% | (36) |
| Little..... | 20.9% | (92) | 17.1% | (71) | 24.9% | (47) | 18.6% | (36) |
| None..... | 7.9% | (35) | 9.1% | (38) | 15.3% | (29) | 8.8% | (17) |
| DK..... | 16.6% | (73) | 25.5% | (106) | 24.9% | (47) | 38.7% | (75) |
| TOTAL..... | 100.0% | (441) | 100.0% | (416) | 100.0% | (189) | 100.0% | (194) |
| Corruption in your Alcaldía | | | | | | | | |
| A lot..... | 21.3% | (94) | 18.0% | (75) | 13.2% | (25) | 8.2% | (16) |
| Some..... | 19.7% | (87) | 18.8% | (78) | 10.1% | (19) | 10.8% | (21) |
| Little..... | 24.3% | (107) | 16.8% | (70) | 21.2% | (40) | 21.6% | (42) |
| None..... | 11.8% | (52) | 14.4% | (60) | 27.5% | (52) | 21.6% | (42) |
| DK..... | 22.9% | (101) | 32.0% | (133) | 28.0% | (53) | 37.6% | (73) |
| TOTAL..... | 100.0% | (441) | 100.0% | (416) | 100.0% | (189) | 100.0% | (194) |

Source: CID Gallup, 1991, Seligson/Córdova calculation from raw data

Party Identification and Local Participation

Party identification seems to be linked to perceptions of local government. In terms of knowledge of the alcalde, those who identify with the ARENA party score highest, and UDN lowest. The differences are even more striking in terms of knowing what the municipal council does. Both ARENA and PDC score about the same, but Convergencia and the other parties are much lower. A similarly dramatic contrast emerges in terms of the questions on corruption. Whereas only 17.7 percent of ARENA supporters believe that there is a lot of corruption in local government, 30.7 percent of PDC supporters and 50.0 percent of Convergencia supporters think this way.

Partisan loyalties obviously has a great impact on attitudes toward local government. But there may be objective factors to consider as well. Two recent reports suggest that political considerations have influenced the distribution of funds for local projects.⁵ While we are in no position to comment on or verify these charges, a recent GAO⁶ report denies the veracity of these reports. Nevertheless,

⁵See Danielle Yariv and Cynthia Curtis, *After the War: A Preliminary Look at the Role of U.S. Aid in the Post-War Reconstruction of El Salvador*, Washington, D. C.: The Foreign Aid Monitoring Project, December, 1992; and Washington Office on Latin America, *Reluctant Reforms: The Cristiani Government and the International Community in the Process of Salvadoran Post-War Reconstruction*, June, 1993. For a reply to the first of these documents, see "Annex, Specific Comments on "After the War...", USAID El Salvador, typescript, n.d.

⁶U.S. General Accounting Office, "Testimony Before the Subcommittee on Western Hemisphere Affairs, House of Representatives: El Salvador, Status of Reconstruction Activities One year After the Peace Agreement," statement by Harold J. Johnson, Director, International Affairs Issues, National Security and International Affairs Division, March 23, 1993.

what is important is that there is a perception among some individuals in El Salvador that favoritism does exist in these projects.

Those who support the party in power are much more likely to think well of the local government. We assume that this is particularly the case when the local government is of the same party as the respondent, but our sample data did not allow us to check for this possibility.

Table 10. Party Identification and Local Participation

| | Party Identification | | | | | | | | | | | |
|-------------------------------------|----------------------|-----|--------|-----|--------|-----|--------------|-----|--------|-----|-------------|-----|
| | ARENA | | PCM | | PDC | | Convergencia | | UDM | | Other or DK | |
| | % | (N) | % | (N) | % | (N) | % | (N) | % | (N) | % | (N) |
| Name of Alcalde | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Knows..... | 54.2% | 226 | 56.5% | 26 | 49.3% | 138 | 45.2% | 47 | 33.3% | 3 | 43.2% | 166 |
| Not know..... | 45.8% | 191 | 43.5% | 20 | 50.7% | 142 | 54.8% | 57 | 66.7% | 6 | 56.8% | 218 |
| TOTAL..... | 100.0% | 417 | 100.0% | 46 | 100.0% | 280 | 100.0% | 104 | 100.0% | 9 | 100.0% | 384 |
| heard what Consejo Mun does? | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Knows..... | 39.8% | 166 | 37.0% | 17 | 41.1% | 115 | 28.8% | 30 | 22.2% | 2 | 31.8% | 122 |
| Not know..... | 60.2% | 251 | 63.0% | 29 | 58.9% | 165 | 71.2% | 74 | 77.8% | 7 | 68.2% | 262 |
| TOTAL..... | 100.0% | 417 | 100.0% | 46 | 100.0% | 280 | 100.0% | 104 | 100.0% | 9 | 100.0% | 384 |
| Corruption in Alcaldías | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| A lot..... | 17.7% | 74 | 19.6% | 9 | 30.7% | 86 | 50.0% | 52 | 55.6% | 5 | 20.1% | 77 |
| Some..... | 22.5% | 94 | 23.9% | 11 | 24.3% | 68 | 26.0% | 27 | 11.1% | 1 | 18.2% | 70 |
| Little..... | 23.7% | 99 | 13.0% | 6 | 21.1% | 59 | 15.4% | 16 | 22.2% | 2 | 16.7% | 64 |
| None..... | 14.4% | 60 | 10.9% | 5 | 7.9% | 22 | 2.9% | 3 | .0% | 0 | 7.6% | 29 |
| DK..... | 21.6% | 90 | 32.6% | 15 | 16.1% | 45 | 5.8% | 6 | 11.1% | 1 | 37.5% | 144 |
| TOTAL..... | 100.0% | 417 | 100.0% | 46 | 100.0% | 280 | 100.0% | 104 | 100.0% | 9 | 100.0% | 384 |
| Corruption in your Alcaldía | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| A lot..... | 12.2% | 51 | 13.0% | 6 | 20.7% | 58 | 40.4% | 42 | 33.3% | 3 | 13.0% | 50 |
| Some..... | 17.3% | 72 | 10.9% | 5 | 19.6% | 55 | 20.2% | 21 | 11.1% | 1 | 13.3% | 51 |
| Little..... | 22.1% | 92 | 19.6% | 9 | 22.9% | 64 | 20.2% | 21 | 33.3% | 3 | 18.2% | 70 |
| None..... | 22.1% | 92 | 15.2% | 7 | 15.4% | 43 | 6.7% | 7 | .0% | 0 | 14.8% | 57 |
| DK..... | 26.4% | 110 | 41.3% | 19 | 21.4% | 60 | 21.5% | 13 | 22.2% | 2 | 40.6% | 156 |
| TOTAL..... | 100.0% | 417 | 100.0% | 46 | 100.0% | 280 | 100.0% | 104 | 100.0% | 9 | 100.0% | 384 |

Source: CID Gallup, 1991, Seligson/Córdova calculation from raw data

These findings have a direct bearing on the future of democracy in El Salvador. Knowledge and trust in local government is far higher in this country than it is for the national government. But trust varies considerably by party. Legalization of the FMLN in December, 1992, was a sine qua non for the establishment of a pluralist political system. But the continued ability of the system to function depends the long-term respect for the principles of majority rule and minority rights. Keeping the peace in El Salvador, then, depends fundamentally upon establishing and nurturing democratic values, especially political pluralism, in which no group seeks to obliterate the opposition. The evidence shown above demonstrates that such values are probably most easily built at the local level. This is important because it will be at that level that the first test will come, since FMLN mayors will almost certainly be elected in a number of local elections.

The elections of 1994 will be a crucial test. If the FMLN scores major victories in the legislature and in local elections, will the ruling party and the army be willing to abide by the results? And what if Rubén Zamora, now accepted as the FMLN candidate for president, wins the presidency? On the other hand, what will the reaction of the FMLN be to a crushing defeat at the polls? No one can say, but the best guess is that whatever their results, the outcomes will be respected by all sides, at least initially, so long as the elections are perceived as being free and fair.

In our conversations with mayors, we asked them what their reaction would be to an FMLN victory and they all said that they would respect the will of the people. We believe that those comments were sincere, but we also believe that the real

challenges will emerge after the elections as the victors and losers are forced to deal with each other on a daily basis.

No one can predict the outcome of the 1994 elections, but one thing is certain: the FMLN will have at least some winners in both local and legislative elections. The national seats in the legislature guarantee representation of minority parties. And the geographic concentration of FMLN supporters in certain municipalities also guarantees victories of that party in some local elections.

At the level of the legislature, given the system of representation, minority parties with at least some national support are guaranteed seats. This means that the opposition will have a voice and vote in national politics, irrespective of the winner of the presidency. But at the local level, in elections for mayors and town council seats, winners take all within a given municipality. In the last election, this meant that in a number of cases, victorious mayors and their councils won only a minority of the votes. Compounding this problem is that by law, sessions of the councils are private, and may be opened to visitors only by invitation of the council.

The mechanism of *consultas populares*, ostensibly a mechanism to serve as a means for registering public opinion that is binding on the actions of the council, has rarely been used. We could not find a single council that has used the formal *consulta*. But the system is seriously flawed because by law the *consultas* are only held at the will of the council; citizens have no right to request a vote. Under these circumstances, the *cabildo abierto* becomes the only formal mechanism for registering popular sentiment, and while in our view it is the single most important democratic

advance in local politics in the history of the country, its format provides for only a very limited forum for discussion of local issues. After all, four meetings a year in which hundred of voices can be raised and dozens of projects discussed is not the best format for a careful, reasoned consideration of individual projects and policies.

In this context, one wonders what kind of political dynamic will emerge from the next election. Important elements of the ARENA party have gone on record as opposing pluralism in the outcome of local elections. That is perhaps because they are confident of winning many local contests. But they will not win them all. Indeed, the FMLN has its best chance of winning in those municipalities in which it had established unchallenged military control during the war. Presumably these are regions populated with many FMLN supporters. In those areas, many contiguous along the Northern border and continuing on down along the Lempa River, one can predict a concentration of FMLN-governed municipalities. The ARENA will be completely shut out in these areas, even if it wins the presidency. On the other hand, there will be many (probably most) municipalities in which the FMLN will lose, and they will be completely shut out of local power. This is not a good recipe for broadening and stimulating participation.

Recommendations

1) The Municipal Development Strategy formulated by USAID (June, 1993) contains an Annex (C: The Political Environment for Decentralization) that suggests that at best, only a small number of municipalities will be subject to proportional

representation in the next election. Apparently, such PR, if were to take place at all in 1994, would have done so only in the three largest municipalities, excluding the great bulk of the municipalities in which we see the problem as most acute. But the June document is now out of date; it is too late to expect electoral reforms for the 1994 election. Proportional representation will not be instituted until at least the 1997 municipal elections.

Our suggestion is that USAID begin at once an attempt to push discussions of proportional representation among the members of COMURES. Perhaps by 1997 it will become a reality.

2) In light of the inability to introduce PR for the 1994 election, USAID could establish conditionality in the municipal development project that would require participating councils to hold open meetings. We make this suggestion for two reasons.

First, in the absence of proportional representation, open meetings could diffuse conflicts before they get out of hand, and also minimize the impression that secret deals are being cut that designed to hurt the opposition. Second, we think that this reform could win approval relatively easily. In our discussions with ten mayors, most strongly favored opening the meetings, and not a single one opposed the concept. No doubt, there would be some resistance to opening all of the meetings, but since the project is going to concentrate in only 15 municipalities, we are confident that many more than that number would volunteer to open all meetings in exchange for the benefits that the project promises to bring to them.

We should note that we initially thought that the project could establish as a condition that some meetings (e. g., one out of two) would have to be open to the public. But in our discussions with the mayors it became clear that this might well result in moving the discussion of the important, sensitive business of the council, especially budgets and prioritization of projects, to the closed sessions. Hence, we feel strongly that all of the 15 participating municipalities should agree to open all of their meetings as a condition for assistance.

While opening the meetings of 15 out of 262 councils will be an important step forward, it will make only a tiny dent in the problem. Hence, it is our conclusion that USAID should do what it can to open all of the meetings of all of the municipalities through either (a) a resolution taken by COMURES or (b) an change in the municipal code.

3) El Salvador's population is very young. In rural areas especially, where the birth rates are the highest, the proportion of young people is quite high. Yet, the electoral code specifies that candidates for municipal councils (including the mayors) must be at least 21 years of age. We feel that this age should be lowered to 18 so as to allow the participation of the young voters in elected office. We feel that such a reform would be entirely consistent with stimulating the participation of the population. Otherwise, one is telling young people to vote in a system in which they cannot hold any elected office.

4) In order to achieve these reforms it will be necessary to have the full cooperation of the legislative assembly. Unfortunately, there is no committee in the

legislature that specializes in local government. COMURES has discussed lobbying the legislature to form such a committee. The project should establish as one of its goals, to be achieved within the first 12 months, the establishment of a legislative committee on local government. Only in this way can there be any confidence that the reforms mentioned above, as well as others, will be approved.

5) Executive Decree No. 51 of 1993 created the Coordinating Committee for Decentralization and Municipal Development. In this committee, various government agencies are represented, but diputados and NGOs are not involved. We think that this is a serious mistake that will result in the absence of a participatory focus for the reforms being considered. Political parties and NGOs should be directly involved so that the political impact of the decentralization process is not overlooked.

With regard to the participation of NGO's within the Coordinating Committee for Decentralization and Municipal Development, we suggest the following:

a) From those already carrying out training municipal programs: ISAM, ISDEM, and IEJES.

b) From the civic education field: Centro de Estudios de la Mujer, Conciencia, Organización de Mujeres Salvadoreñas, Corporación Camino para la paz.

c) From academic and research centers: main universities (UCA, UES, Universidad Tecnológica, Universidad Nueva San Salvador, and Universidad José Matías Delgado); and private centers (FUSADES, CENITEC, IDELA, Fundación Ungo, CINAS IDEA, CESPAD, IDESES, FUNDE and CEDEM).

III. Institutional Mechanisms/Channels for Democratic Participation**(scope points 1 & 2)**

Beyond the issue of proportional representation and the opening of the council meetings, we think that the most important additional need for action is in regularizing the relationship between the council and the organized communities. In our visits to the *cabildos abiertos* we observed a significant weakness; whereas the mayors were always present, in some cases only a minority of the council persons attended. No doubt the reason for this traces directly back to the fact that the mayor and all council persons are of the same party as the mayor; they trust him to record popular sentiment and to act in the best interests of their party. But in the public's eye, the council persons risk becoming "adornments on the tree" as they may have no independent contribution to make to local decision making.

We believe that a reform could be introduced among the 15 municipalities that agree to participate in the AID-sponsored program that might both enhance the status of the council persons while increasing the responsiveness of local government. The council could agree to assign individual council persons to become the "representative" for a given community or group of communities. Since there is not a one-to-one relationship between the number of council seats and the number of *cantones*, it normally will not be possible to assign only one *canton* to a given member. But it is also true that larger municipalities not only have more communities, they also have more council seats. Our rough estimate is that council persons could be responsible for no more than two or three communities and still cover the entire municipality.

Council persons would be encouraged to visit their assigned communities and, more importantly, attend the community development associations found therein.

We have been asked to specify the level of effort necessary to develop institutional mechanisms at the local level. The above recommendation requires no effort other than the effort of working with COMURES and/or the selected municipalities and having them agree to the reform.

We also believe, however, that there is a potentially serious problem below the level of the municipality. In our visits we encountered numerous local level community associations that claimed to speak for their communities. These organizations are sometimes organized under Article IX, Chapter II of the municipal code. The municipal councils give *personería jurídica* to these organizations and publish their by-laws in the *Diario Oficial*.

A number of the mayors with whom we spoke were confused about these associations. They did not know how they functioned nor how they were elected. At the same time they worried about cross-cutting conflicts between local, geographically based (e.g., *cantonal* or *caserío* organizations) and regional and national NGOs. El Salvador is thick with grass roots organizations and promises made by municipal councils to one group may run counter to the wishes of other groups. We can anticipate conflicts of many sorts that can becloud good, efficient government.

Unfortunately, we did not have the time or the resources to undertake a comprehensive study of these local organizations and their relationship to municipal government. On a national level, that would be a large undertaking, as we suspect

there are literally thousands of such organizations. Nonetheless, for the implementation of the project we think one is sorely needed in the municipalities selected for inclusion in the project.

Even though we did not have the capacity to undertake a study of local organizations in El Salvador, we do have data that bear directly on the question of the degree to which Salvadorans are willing to contribute to local-level problem solving. We asked our sample of over 4,000 urban Central Americans if that had ever worked on resolving a local problem. The results are shown in Figure 6 below. These findings show a more favorable picture than that we had seen in our other comparisons with Central America. While El Salvador does not achieve the level of local participation found in Nicaragua, a country in which the Sandinistas had actively promoted such participation for a decade, over one-third of urban Salvadorans had attempted to solve a local problem, a level marginally higher than Guatemala and considerably higher than Honduras.

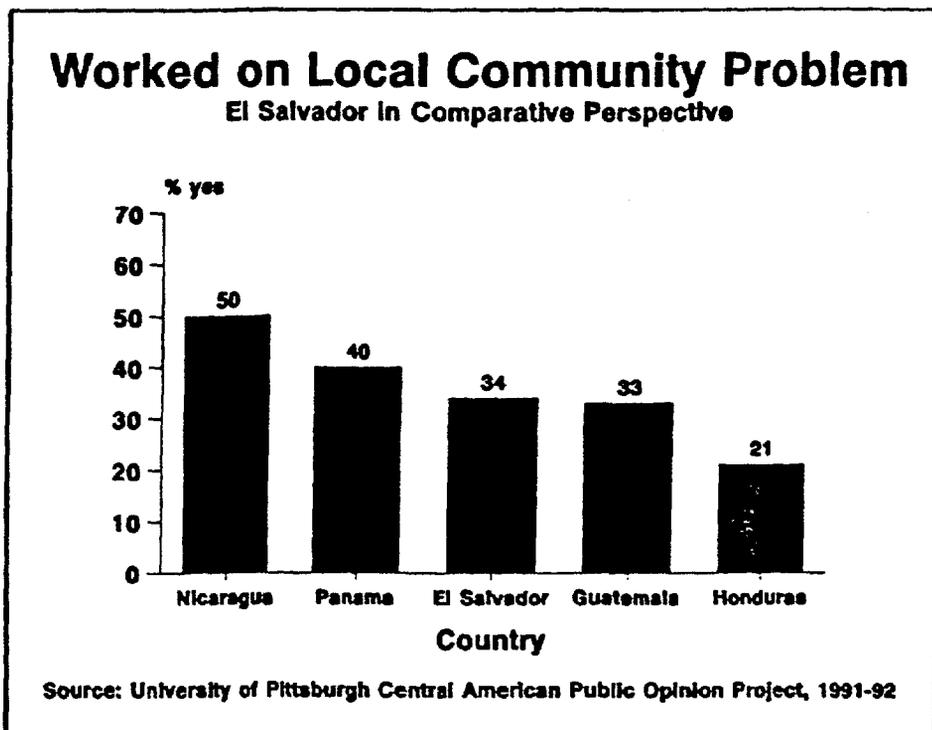


Figure 6

In what ways are Salvadorans most likely to work on solving local problems? The most common form, as shown in Table 11, is donation of money or material. Working with neighbors is also quite common, but attending meetings and organizing groups are less so. In this urban sample, men are more active than women; unfortunately we do not have comparable rural data that might show a pattern similar to that which we had uncovered before, in which females were found to be more active than males. What these data do show, is that a significant minority of Salvadorans are accustomed contributing to solving local problems. It is this reservoir

of activism that needs to be tapped in the municipal development project, as detailed in the recommendations made below.

Table 11. Forms of Community Contribution by Sex

| | Sex | | | |
|-------------------------------|---------------|------------|---------------|------------|
| | Male | | Female | |
| | % | (N) | % | (N) |
| Donated money/material | | | | |
| Yes..... | 31.4% | 127 | 21.4% | 108 |
| No..... | 11.1% | 45 | 6.9% | 35 |
| Inap..... | 57.5% | 233 | 71.7% | 362 |
| TOTAL..... | 100.0% | 405 | 100.0% | 505 |
| Worked with neighbors | | | | |
| Yes..... | 30.4% | 123 | 18.6% | 94 |
| No..... | 11.9% | 48 | 9.7% | 49 |
| Inap..... | 57.8% | 234 | 71.7% | 362 |
| TOTAL..... | 100.0% | 405 | 100.0% | 505 |
| Attended meetings | | | | |
| Yes..... | 21.5% | 87 | 16.4% | 83 |
| No..... | 20.5% | 83 | 11.9% | 60 |
| Inap..... | 58.0% | 235 | 71.7% | 362 |
| TOTAL..... | 100.0% | 405 | 100.0% | 505 |
| Organized a group | | | | |
| Yes..... | 15.8% | 64 | 10.5% | 53 |
| No..... | 26.4% | 107 | 17.8% | 90 |
| Inap..... | 57.8% | 234 | 71.7% | 362 |
| TOTAL..... | 100.0% | 405 | 100.0% | 505 |

Source: University of Pittsburgh Central America Public Opinion Project, 1991-92.

Recommendations:

1) Our suggestion is that once the 15 municipalities are selected for inclusion in the project, a study of local level organizations be taken of each of them. The study would have two purposes. First, it would identify all of the existing organizations in

each selected municipality so as to provide the newly-elected mayor and council persons a description of these groups. The description would include information on their location, size, leadership, purpose, and history of recent activities. This information would be particularly helpful to the council persons assigned to the *cantons* in which these groups are located. Second, it could help identify patterns of organizations that would be of use to COMURES and ISDEM so that they would have a clearer idea about the nature of grass roots organizations in El Salvador.

2) A major realistic concern of AID is the impact on local level participation of the anticipated decline in external assistance to the MEA program. At present, the various fees charged by the municipalities are undergoing substantial increases. In the case of the larger, more prosperous municipalities, these increases will enable them to continue their level of activity without external subsidies. Should the property tax become a reality, they even will be able to substantially increase expenditures. In smaller, poorer municipalities, however, according to the ICMA report, local revenues show little promise of being able to replace the loss of MEA funds. The problem will be even more serious in those poorer municipalities located in conflictive zones, since their external support has been quite high.

In order to cope with this problem, USAID has supported a revenue sharing scheme. While we also support such an idea, it may not ultimately win approval by the legislature. We suggest that one way of mitigating this problem would be to increase the contributions of the local communities. As we saw in Table 11 above,

Salvadorans have a tradition of contributing to local problem solving. We think that spirit should be capitalized upon in this project. Our concept is that each community project would have to be accompanied by a pledge of community contribution in the form of labor and cash. Right now many communities do make such pledges, but none are officially required. We would not specify, however, the proportion of the total project cost that each community would have to pledge. Rather, we would prefer to see emerge a competition among communities in a given municipality, such that the selection of projects by the council would be based, in part, upon the magnitude of the local support pledge. This would result in the maximization of local contributions. It would also increase dramatically the degree of local participation in the realization of these projects. In addition, it would stretch municipal resources to enable the completion of more projects.

In sum, even though external resources will, inevitably, decline, this in no way implies the end of the MEA concept if the previous recommendations are followed. That is, if the municipal meetings are opened to the public, if community development association participation is expanded, if local contributions to the projects are increased, and if the *cabildos* continue as free and open fora for community input, the goal of achieving responsive local government will have been achieved.

3) The project should involve itself in the training of municipal personnel (both elected and appointed) in the promotion of community development associations. This would involve different kind of training for the different municipal functionaries. At one level,

there is the formal process of registering these groups so that they can function officially. This is a fairly mechanical task, but one that COMURES could help facilitate. We suggest that COMURES prepare a basic, easy-to-read manual for use in each municipality which would provide a flow-chart of steps to be taken by the community leaders and the municipality itself. Then short training workshops could be held throughout El Salvador in which two or three COMURES employees (or subcontractors) would organize and administer such workshops. Since elected officials are paid a small stipend for each council meeting they attend, it would be prudent to schedule those workshops as a significant component in a given council session. That same day, the trainer could run one or more sessions for the relevant municipal employees. This number of promoters should be capable of covering all of El Salvador's municipalities within less than one year's time.

4) Knowledge of procedures does not mean that all public officials will necessarily be sympathetic and supportive of the registration of community groups. Some officials may see such groups as a challenge to their authority. Others may favor groups of seen as identifying with one or another political party. Dealing with this problem is far more complex and should be limited, at least initially, to the 15 selected municipalities.

We believe that the key to this effort is developing effective conflict resolution techniques among the mayors, council persons and appointed officials. Community groups will be making demands, and as external resources shrink, may well express

frustration over the slowness of response. Workshops in which conflict management and resolution are taught by trained professionals are essential. We would suggest that a well-trained expert in this field, someone who has been certified by one of the various world-wide "peace institutes" or by an institute that trains people to be effective negotiators (e.g., in management-labor disputes), be selected by COMURES and sent to each of the 15 municipalities over a period of six months to a year. Only a native Spanish speaker, and ideally a Salvadoran would work well in this capacity.

5). A far more mundane, but equally important task is training council persons to run an open session. This implies training in at least two sorts of skills. First, the formal rules of the game must be learned. Presumably something like a modified version of Robert's Rules could be taught so that the council members would know how to recognize the public's input and yet still retain control of the meetings. Here again, we see this as a COMURES task, with one Salvadoran doing training over the course of a year in each of the 15 selected municipalities. The expert would not only train, she/he would attend council sessions and present a confidential critique of those sessions to the municipal officials.

IV. Other Points related to the Scope of Work

1. Even though the "USAID/San Salvador Municipal Development Strategy" makes repeated reference to evidence of improving positive public opinion toward local government, it provides very little evidence to support this claim. The 1991 Gallup poll does contain a few items on local government, but since there is no prior or subsequent poll data, one has no idea if the image is improving, deteriorating or remaining the same. Moreover, we could find no evidence of an evaluation of the efficacy of the mayors and their council. The image of local government needs to be studied by systematic and repeated public opinion polls. We provide specific recommendations on this point in the last section of this report, the one on project impact indicators.

2. We believe that COMURES should be the institution to carry out the public information campaign envisioned by the public awareness component of the project. We recommend a campaign based upon (a) comic book style educational material on the role of local government, (b) the production of video tapes to be shown at cabildos in rural areas where TVs are not common in homes, and (c) a series of radio programs, given the wide radio audience in all sectors of the countryside.

Regarding the costs for the public information campaign, our estimates are the following:

a) Costs for producing videos.

The costs for producing a 30 minutes video in 3/4 inch format have been calculated based on estimates from two Salvadoran agencies, ranging from a minimum of \$ 12,000 to a maximum of \$ 20,000. Furthermore, should be taken into account the cost for reproducing around 200-250 copies, to be distributed among universities, NGO's, municipalities, etc. The cost for reproducing is estimated around \$ 3,000 to \$ 4,000.

b) Costs of equipment to show it.

A TV large enough to be seen in public presentations could cost between \$ 500 to \$ 600. A VCR (VHS) could cost from \$ 350 to \$ 400. It should be taken into consideration how many VCR's and TV's are expected to be bought. The idea would be to have several mobile units working simultaneously. Our suggestion is to have 4 or 5 mobile units, one for each geographic region in the country.

A vehicle would cost around \$ 11,000; and a jeep ranges from \$ 12,000 to \$ 20,000, depending upon specifications.

The salaries for the promoters should be around \$ 380 per month plus fringes, and per diem expenses. The number of promoters depends upon how many mobil units are going to be working. The units should have an overall supervisor, who salary should be approximately \$ 500/month plus fringes.

3. We also believe that local development committees that are being established should be provided with information regarding their role and responsibilities. For those

committees already established, there is a similar need. We would rely heavily upon videos and promoters to get this message across.

4. USAID should take advantage of its current campaign to increase voter registration in El Salvador to simultaneously stimulate interest in local government and in community-level problem solving. Voting should be viewed as one mechanism, but not the only mechanism for citizen exercising of their participatory rights.

5. COMURES and ISDEM have been quite successful through their training programs in improving the knowledge of mayors and council persons. We believe that this effort should now be expanded to incorporate NGOs, so as to educate them and their participants in the role and capacity of local government. This is obviously a task for COMURES.

We believe that a civic campaign should be developed that could be called, "Conozcamos nuestro Código Municipal," based on a similar and successful earlier campaign to promote knowledge of the new Salvadoran constitution. A key aspect of this campaign would be the development of a comic book style pamphlet that could be distributed to each group and or leader. But, in addition to this, each group should have access to a copy of the municipal code, and a popular edition could be prepared and distributed. We should note that many mayors with whom we spoke would take recourse in the municipal code in their argument as to why such and such a

procedure would or would not be feasible. Local groups must have their own copy of the code so that they can know their rights and responsibilities.

The campaign would take place at a national level, but in two stages. First, the campaign would be directed where it is needed most right now: the NGOs active within the municipalities of the country, community leaders, and party leaders at the local level. We envision this stage of the campaign as being relatively short, taking place within the first year of the project. In the document, "USAID El Salvador Municipal Development Source Survey" there is a list of institutions active in the field of municipal development, and this list could serve as a starting point for the selection of a sub-contractor. However, since that document was prepared the list has grown. It would be most appropriate to issue a formal request for proposals from these groups. For the second stage of the campaign, the target would be high school students as part of their civics training. The same material could be used in both campaigns.

COMURES could coordinate stage one of the campaign, which could sub-contract an NGO to carry it out. The second phase of the campaign is obviously a task for the Ministry of Education.

6. Each municipality selected for the project should be required to develop an action plan in which it would promote the establishment of community development associations in each of the communities within its jurisdiction. This would place them

in the position of having to promote local level participation on a universal scale, not allowing them to exclude communities that are politically "out of favor."

7. COMURES should be encouraged to develop a campaign that is broader than the current one focused on encouraging citizens to pay their local fees and taxes. In addition to that basic issue, the campaign should attempt to stimulate local participation of the citizens of El Salvador and develop support for the overall program of decentralization. Citizens must become aware of the effort to "localize" politics in El Salvador so that they can reformulate their expectations. The following public relations firms are among those that should be approached with RFPs for this project: Publiciad Díaz, Publimarca, and Moderna Noble.

8. One key feature of the campaign would be the development of a video on the municipal code. This video could be presented in cabildos abiertos and community development associations throughout the country. The video must be produced locally in El Salvador and should show local scenery, both urban and rural. Any one of the above-mentioned PR firms could handle this project.

9. Indicators for Project Progress and Impact

In most foreign assistance projects it is conventional to establish physical accomplishments as the measure of project performance. In education projects one often counts the number of classrooms built or the number of students graduated, while in agriculture projects one counts the hectares of crop planted, the yields and the farmer income. The municipal development strategy of USAID in El Salvador is different. Whereas it could have set as its objective the increase in municipal government revenues or the improvement of local infrastructure, it chose the far wiser and infinitely more profound and sustainable objective "to improve and expand the participation of the Salvadoran populace in democratic decision-making processes at the local government level and to empower and enable municipalities to respond to the expressed needs of their constituents."⁷ In a country that has undergone 12 years of civil war, the need to rebuild the infrastructure is obvious, but even more important is the need to build citizen confidence in their political system. It is that objective that is central in this project.

Measurement of success in achieving the objective of expanded participation could be made by counting the number of participants at *cabildos abiertos* and other local meetings, but doing so would be a pointless. The volume of participation is of far less interest than the quality of that participation, as we well know from our experiences observing participation in authoritarian systems. Voter turnout in the

⁷"USAID/San Salvador Municipal Development Strategy," June, 1993, typescript, p. 28.

former Soviet Union was always very high, but those levels in no way reflected democratic participating that was empowering the populace. Similarly, it would be of little direct interest to count the number of local organizations created since those numbers, too, can be manipulated and inflated. The USAID Strategy Statement does list (pp. 29-30) a number of objectives it seeks to achieve with the project, such as training of the mayors and council persons, improving local services, etc. Those objectives are all realistic and worthy in their own right, and the project will, no doubt attempt to measure progress on each of them.

But genuine progress on expanding participation in decision-making can only be measured by talking to Salvadoran citizens themselves and determining what transformations have occurred in their views of the responsiveness of their local government. The true test of the project is finding an increased level of respect for the institutions of the Salvadoran system of government, especially at the local level. Citizens should believe that their local governments are responsive, they should think of their municipal leaders as people to whom they can bring their local problems, and they should respect their decisions. Citizens also should have learned how to define community needs and problems, how to generate support for their solution, and how to present their demands successfully to local government, NGOs and the national government (where appropriate).

In order to measure these expected shifts in citizen attitudes and behaviors, it is vital that a serious effort be undertaken to develop a baseline data base in each of the 15 municipalities selected for inclusion in the project. It is proposed that 100

people be interviewed in each of the 15 municipalities, for a total sample of 1,500. Those interviews should take place before the project begins to operate in these municipalities so that the baseline not be "contaminated" with project inputs and thus artificially raised. The result of this contamination would be to make much more unlikely the detection of project impacts.

If life-of-project success were the only interest of the indicators effort, then a second and final survey could be conducted at the end of five years. Doing so, however, would deprive the implementors of the opportunity to introduce mid-course corrections of project strategy and to test its impacts. For example, if a publicity campaign is undertaken in the first year of the project, one would want to know at that point if the campaign had its intended effect. Indeed, one would want to know if it reached the intended audience. Therefore, it would be appropriate to undertake periodic interviews in each municipality, one per year for the life of the project.

Periodic interviews would also allow for testing the impact of experimentation within the project. For example, one type of publicity campaign (e.g., radio programs) could be undertaken in one subset of the municipalities and another type of campaign (e.g., distribution of educational comic books) could be undertaken in another subset. The results of the different mechanisms could then be compared so as to see which one was the more successful.

Another advantage of repeated surveys is that new items could be added each year. For example, if in a given area a new project has been undertaken by the municipalities, questions on the perception of that project could be included in the

survey instrument. Seminars could then be held with the mayors and their council members to inform them of the results of the surveys so as to show them how well they are doing. The result should be to enhance the ability of the elected officials to have a sense of their own image among the citizens of their municipality and to make efforts to improve their own performance.

The project must also be sensitive to the impact of national level events that could substantially alter local level perceptions. For example, serious difficulties in the economy or instability of the national government could negatively affect the perceptions of Salvadorans in all areas, not just in the 15 project municipalities. Therefore, it is essential that a control group of approximately 500 citizens be interviewed in non-project municipalities of similar sizes as the ones included in the project.

The surveys of the opinion of Salvadoran citizens must be conducted by Salvadoran interviewers. The firm selected to carry out the survey must be familiar with local conditions. At the same time, it is imperative that the analysis of the data be undertaken by those with demonstrated sophisticated skills and experience in the analysis of public opinion data from Central America. The analysis must go far beyond percentages and include tests of statistical significance so that differences among the selected municipalities and the national non-project samples not be exaggerated or underestimated. This implies the use of an analysis of variance design, with the introduction of covariates to control for systematic differences

between the experimental (i.e., selected municipalities and control (i.e., non-project municipalities) groups. Index construction of multi-item measures will be crucial.

The field costs for each wave of interviews have been calculated based on estimates from one well established Salvadoran survey research firm and one well established Central American firm. The local firm estimates costs at \$15,000 per wave for all field work and data entry, and the Central American firm estimates costs of \$28,000 per wave. This means that five waves would cost from a low of \$75,000 to a high of \$140,000. Pretest and "norming" costs (through the use of focus groups) would add an additional \$5,000 per wave. Total field costs would thus vary from a low of \$100,000 to a high of \$165,000. Added to this would be analysis and report writing costs, which we estimate at \$25,000 per wave of direct costs, or \$125,000 for the five years. In total, the cost of this component of the project would vary from a low of \$225,000 to a high of \$290,000.

Proposed questions to be included in public opinion survey

Community Problem Awareness:

A4A. Ahora vamos a hablar de algo diferente. Todas las comunidades tienen problemas. En su opinión, ¿cuál es el problema más grave de este pueblo o comunidad? No estamos hablando de todo El Salvador, sino solo de este lugar.

- | | | |
|-------------------------------|-----------------------------|---------------------------------------|
| 01. Educación/escuelas | 02. Salud/hospitales | 03. Agua potable |
| 04. Vivienda | 05. Comida | 06. Iglesias |
| 07. Falta tierra | 09. Falta trabajo | 10. Delincuencia/robos/asaltos |
| 11. Mal organizada | 12. Contaminación | 13. Transporte |
| Otro: _____ | | 88.NS |

A4. Y ahora, en su opinión ¿cuál es el problema más grave que tiene El Salvador a nivel del país?

01. Costo de la vida

02. Empleo

03. Salud

04. Educación

05. Delincuencia

06. Vivienda

Otro: _____

88. NS

Contacting of Public Officials

Ahora, para hablar de otra cosa... a veces la gente y las comunidades tienen problemas que no pueden resolverse por sí solos. Algunas gentes tratan de resolver esos problemas pidiéndole ayuda a alguna oficina del gobierno o alguna persona que trabaja en el gobierno.

CP2. ¿Alguna vez ha pedido ayuda o cooperación de algún diputado de la Asamblea Legislativa?

1. Sí

2. No

8. NS

CP3. ¿Alguna vez ha pedido Ud. ayuda o cooperación del Alcalde?

1. Sí

2. No

8. NS

CP3a. ¿Alguna vez ha pedido Ud. ayuda o cooperación de un regidor?

1. Sí

2. No

8. NS

CP4. ¿Alguna vez ha pedido Ud. ayuda o cooperación de la municipalidad?

1. Sí

2. No

8. NS

Ahora le voy a leer algunas preguntas sobre esta comunidad y los problemas que tiene.

CP5C. ¿Ud. ha asistido a reuniones sobre algún problema o sobre alguna mejora?

1. Sí

2. No

8. NS

9. No aplica

CP5B. ¿Ud. ha dado su propio trabajo o mano de obra?

1. Sí

2. No

8. NS

9. No aplica

CP5A. ¿Ud. ha dado dinero o materiales para ayudar con algún problema o con alguna mejora?

1. Sí 2. No 8. NS 9. No aplica

Local level participation:

CP5D. ¿Ud. ha ayudado a organizar algún grupo nuevo para resolver algún problema local, o para buscar alguna mejora?

1. Sí 2. No 8. NS 9. No aplica

Ahora le voy a leer una lista de grupos y organizaciones. Por favor, dígame si Ud. asiste a reuniones de ellos casi siempre, de vez en cuando, casi nunca o nunca:

CP6. ¿Asiste a reuniones de algún comité o sociedad de la Iglesia o templo?

1. Casi siempre 2. De vez en cuando 3. Casi nunca 4. Nunca 8. NS

CP7. ¿Asiste a reuniones de una asociación de padres de familia de la escuela?

1. Casi siempre 2. De vez en cuando 3. Casi nunca 4. Nunca 8. NS

CP8. ¿Asiste a reuniones de un comité pro-mejoramiento de la comunidad?

1. Casi siempre 2. De vez en cuando 3. Casi nunca 4. Nunca 8. NS

CP9. ¿Asiste a reuniones de una asociación de profesionales, negociantes o productores?

1. Casi siempre 2. De vez en cuando 3. Casi nunca 4. Nunca 8. NS

CP10. ¿Asiste a reuniones de algún sindicato?

1. Casi siempre 2. De vez en cuando 3. Casi nunca 4. Nunca 8. NS

CP11. ¿Asiste a reuniones de una cooperativa?

1. Casi siempre 2. De vez en cuando 3. Casi nunca 4. Nunca 8. NS

CP12. ¿Asiste a reuniones de alguna asociación cívica (como bomberos voluntarios, el Club de Leones)?

1. Casi siempre 2. De vez en cuando 3. Casi nunca 4. Nunca 8. NS

CP13. ¿Asiste a cabildos abiertos?

1. Casi siempre 2. De vez en cuando 3. Casi nunca 4. Nunca 8. NS

Life satisfaction:

Ahora le voy a mencionar algunas cosas que son importantes en la vida de las personas. Deseo que Ud. me diga su grado de satisfacción o insatisfacción con las siguientes cosas.

LS1. ¿Hasta qué punto se encuentra satisfecho con la casa en que Ud. vive? ¿Diría Ud. que se encuentra muy satisfecho, algo satisfecho, algo insatisfecho o muy insatisfecho?

1. Muy satisf. 2. Algo satisf. 3. Algo insatisf. 4. Muy insatisf. 8. NS

LS2. ¿Hasta qué punto se encuentra satisfecho con lo que gana su familia? ¿Diría Ud. que se encuentra muy satisfecho, algo satisfecho, algo insatisfecho o muy insatisfecho?

1. Muy satisf. 2. Algo satisf. 3. Algo insatisf. 4. Muy insatisf. 8. NS

LS3. En general ¿hasta qué punto se encuentra satisfecho con su vida? ¿Diría Ud. que se encuentra muy satisfecho, algo satisfecho, algo insatisfecho o muy insatisfecho?

1. Muy satisf. 2. Algo satisf. 3. Algo insatisf. 4. Muy insatisf. 8. NS

Interpersonal trust:

IT1. Ahora, hablando de la demás gente, ¿diría Ud. que la gente es: muy confiable, algo confiable, poco confiable, o nada confiable?

1. Muy confiab. 2. Algo confiab. 3. Poco confiab. 4. Nada confiab. 8. NS

IT2. ¿Cree Ud. que la mayoría de las veces la gente se preocupa sólo por sí misma, o trata de ayuda al prójimo?

1. Preocupa por sí misma 2. Ayudar al prójimo 8. NS

IT3. ¿Cree Ud. que la mayoría de la gente trataría de aprovecharse de Ud. si se les presentara la oportunidad, o cree que no se aprovecharían?

1. Si se provecharían 2. No se aprovecharían 8. NS
-

Sense of "Civic Culture":

Ahora otra cosa...

CCI1. Vale la pena o no vale la pena involucrarse en la política, porque de todos modos uno no tiene ninguna influencia en las decisiones del gobierno.

1. Sí vale la pena 2. No vale la pena 8. NS

CCI2. ¿Cómo considera Ud. que le han tratado cuando ha tenido que ir a una oficina del gobierno? ¿Le han tratado muy bien, bien, mal, o muy mal?

1. Muy bien 2. Bien 3. Mal 4. Muy mal 8. NS 9. Inap (no contacto)

CR80C3. ¿Cómo siente Ud. que ha sido tratado cuando por algún motivo ha tenido que tratar con la policía? ¿Le han tratado muy bien, bien, mal o muy mal?

1. Muy bien 2. Bien 3. Mal 4. Muy mal 8. NS 9. Inap (no contacto)

CR80C4. ¿Cómo siente Ud. que ha sido tratado cuando por algún motivo ha tenido que tratar con los jueces? ¿Le han tratado muy bien, bien, mal o muy mal?

1. Muy bien 2. Bien 3. Mal 4. Muy mal 8. NS 9. Inap (no contacto)
-

Reaction to taxes and government services:

IMP1. Si Ud. compara la situación de hoy con la de hace cinco años, ¿cuándo cree Ud. que la gente en El Salvador ha tenido más ayuda de parte del gobierno para su salud o para ir a la escuela? ¿Hoy o hace cinco años?

1. Hoy 2. Hace cinco años 8. NS

IMP2. Si Ud. compara la situación de ahora con los de hace cinco años, ¿cuándo cree Ud. que el gobierno ha construido más puentes y más caminos? ¿Hoy o hace cinco años?

1. Hoy 2. Hace cinco años 8. NS

IMP3. Algunas gentes dicen que uno no debe pagar impuestos porque el gobierno no usa ese dinero para obras que sirvan a la gente. Otros dicen que sí se debe pagar impuestos porque el dinero se usa bien. ¿Qué piensa Ud.?

1. No pagar impuestos 2. Sí pagar impuestos 8. NS

IMP4. ¿Prefiere Ud. pagar impuestos a la municipalidad o al gobierno central?

1. La municipalidad 2. Gobierno central 8. NS
-

Electoral participation:

Ahora, vamos a hablar de las elecciones...

VB1. ¿Está usted inscrito para votar?

1. Sí 2. No (PASAR A VB4) 8. NS

VB2. ¿Votó Ud. en la primera vuelta en las pasadas elecciones presidenciales de 1994?

1. SÍ (SEGUIR CON VB2a Y MARQUE EL 99 EN VB2b)
2. NO (PASAR A VB2 Y MARQUE EL 99 EN VB2b)
8. NS (NO SABE, NO RECUERDA O NO QUIERE RESPONDER, PASAR A VB2b)

VB2a. (Si votó) ¿Por cuál partido votó?

1. ARENA 2. PDC 3. PCN 4. CD 5. MNR
6. MSN 7. UNIDAD 9. FMLN 10. Votó en nulo (anulado)

88. NS o NO QUIERE DECIR

99. No aplica

VB2b. (No votó) ¿Por qué no votó?

1. Enfermedad 2. Falta de transporte 3. Violencia/falta de seguridad
4. No inscrito 5. Tener que trabajar 6. No creer en las elecciones
7. No tenía edad
Otro _____ 88. NS 99. No aplica

Campaign activism

PP1. Durante las elecciones, algunas personas tratan de convencer a otras personas de votar por algún partido o candidato. ¿Ha tratado Ud. de convencer a otros por quien votar: frecuentemente, de vez en cuando, o nunca?

1. Frecuentemente 2. De vez en cuando 3. Nunca 8. NS

PP1A. Y ¿Otras personas le han tratado de convencer a Ud. de cómo votar, frecuentemente, de vez en cuando, o nunca?

1. Frecuentemente 2. De vez en cuando 3. Nunca 8. NS

PP2. 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 elecciones o en las pasadas?

1. Pasadas elecciones 2. Ultimas elecciones 3. En las dos 4. Ninguna 8. NS

Right to participate:

DERECHO1. Si Ud. quisiera participar activamente en los asuntos de la comunidad: ¿Se sentiría con completa libertad para hacerlo, sentiría un poco de miedo o tendría mucho miedo de hacerlo?

1. Completa libertad 2. Poco de miedo 3. Mucho miedo 8. NS

DERECHO2. Si Ud. quisiera votar en una elección nacional: ¿Se sentiría con completa libertad para hacerlo, sentiría un poco de miedo o tendría mucho miedo de hacerlo?

1. Completa libertad 2. Poco de miedo 3. Mucho miedo 8. NS

DERECHO3. 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?

1. Completa libertad 2. Poco de miedo 3. Mucho miedo 8. NS

DERECHO 4. Si Ud. quisiera elegirse para algún cargo público, por ejemplo para el cargo de alcalde del pueblo: ¿Se sentiría con completa libertad para hacerlo, sentiría un poco de miedo o tendría mucho miedo de hacerlo?

1. Completa libertad 2. Poco de miedo 3. Mucho miedo 8. NS

Sense of justice:

JUST1. ¿Cree que para la gente como Ud.: no existe la justicia, o si existe?

1. Sí existe 2. No existe 8. NS

JUST2. Diría Ud. que la justicia favorece siempre a los poderosos o trata a toda la gente igual?

1. Los poderosos 2. Todos igual 8. NS

JUST3. ¿Diría Ud. que la justicia en El Salvador trabaja rápido o despacio?

1. Rápido 2. Despacio 8 NS

Human rights

DERHUM1. ¿Cree Ud. que en El Salvador, la policía respeta la vida de la gente como Ud.?

1. Sí 2. No 8. NS

DERHUM2. ¿Cree Ud. que en Salvador, el ejército respeta la vida de la gente como Ud.?

1. Sí 2. No 8. NS

DERHUM3. ¿Cree Ud. que en El Salvador, los jueces respetan la vida de la gente como Ud.?

1. Sí 2. No 8. NS

Political alienation:

A continuación le leeré una serie de opiniones. Quisiera que Ud. me dijera que piensa de cada una de ellas.

URG21B7. ¿Vale la pena o no vale la pena por quién se vote, porque a final de cuentas siempre es lo mismo?

1. Sí vale la pena 2. No vale la pena 8. NS

URG21B8. ¿Qué piensa Ud. de los problemas de El Salvador: no los arregla nadie, o sí se pueden arreglar?

1. No los arregla 2. Si los arregla 8. NS

URG21B10. ¿Cree Ud. que lo que falta en El Salvador para gobernar bien es una mano fuerte?

1. Una mano fuerte 2. No una mano fuerte 8. NS

Efficacy of democracy vs. military rule:

Podemos ahora conversar sobre los gobiernos democráticos y los gobiernos militares. ¿Quién considera Ud. que soluciona mejor los problemas que voy a leerle: los gobiernos democráticos o los gobiernos militares? (LEER CADA UNA DE LAS ALTERNATIVAS Y ANOTAR UNA SOLA RESPUESTA POR FILA).

| Los gobiernos democráticos o los gobiernos militares ayudan más ... | Gobiernos democráticos | Gobiernos militares | NS o ninguna |
|--|------------------------|---------------------|--------------|
| DD1. ¿En aumentar el empleo | 1 | 2 | 8 |
| DD2. ¿En controlar los abusos de las grandes fábricas y fincas? | 1 | 2 | 8 |
| DD4. ¿En luchar mejor en contra el terrorismo? | 1 | 2 | 8 |
| DD5. ¿En reducir las desigualdades sociales? | 1 | 2 | 8 |
| DD6. ¿En solucionar el problema de lo que El Salvador debe a otros países? | 1 | 2 | 8 |
| DD7. ¿En vigilar por la moralidad? | 1 | 2 | 8 |
| DD8. ¿En controlar el costo de las cosas? | 1 | 2 | 8 |
| DD9. ¿En proteger a la gente de la delincuencia? | 1 | 2 | 8 |
| DD10. ¿En vigilar que se cumpla la ley? | 1 | 2 | 8 |
| DD11. ¿En quitar la corrupción en las oficinas del gobierno? | 1 | 2 | 8 |

Le rogaría que me dijera para cada una de las siguientes entidades si cree Ud. que están ayudando mucho, poco, o nada a solucionar los problemas de El Salvador. (URG17)

| Entidades | Ayuda mucho | ayuda poco | ayuda nada | NS |
|--|-------------|------------|------------|----|
| DD14. El gobierno nacional | 1 | 2 | 3 | 8 |
| DD15. Los gobiernos municipales | 1 | 2 | 3 | 8 |
| DD16. El ejército | 1 | 2 | 3 | 8 |
| DD17. Organizaciones de derechos humanos | 1 | 2 | 3 | 8 |
| DD18. Los jueces | 1 | 2 | 3 | 8 |
| DD19. Los sindicatos | 1 | 2 | 3 | 8 |
| DD20. La prensa, la radio y la TV | 1 | 2 | 3 | 8 |
| DD21. Los partidos políticos | 1 | 2 | 3 | 8 |
| DD23. Las universidades | 1 | 2 | 3 | 8 |
| DD24. La Asamblea Legislativa | 1 | 2 | 3 | 8 |

System support

Ahora voy a leerle algunas ideas y le pediré que me de su opinión sobre ellas.

B1. En nuestro país: ¿Los jueces garantizan un juicio justo casi siempre, a veces o casi nunca?

1. Casi siempre 2. A veces 3. Casi nunca 8. NS

B2. ¿Tiene Ud. mucho, poco o nada de respeto por las dependencias del estado de El Salvador?

1. Mucho 2. Poco 3. Nada 8. NS

B3. ¿Cree Ud. que los derechos humanos del salvadoreño están bien protegidos, poco o nada protegidos?

1. Bien 2. Poco 3. Nada 8. NS

B4. ¿Se siente Ud. muy orgulloso(a), poco orgulloso(a), o nada orgulloso(a) de ser salvadoreño(a)?

1. Muy orgulloso(a) 2. Poco 3. Nada 8. NS

B6. ¿Cree Ud. que se debe apoyar el sistema de gobierno salvadoreño mucho, poco o nada?

1. Mucho 2. Poco 3. Nada 8. NS

**ANNEX No. 1
Persons Interviewed**

- Mark Bidus
USAID/Projects
- Deborah Kennedy de Iraheta
USAID/ODI (Oficina de Iniciativas Democráticas)
- Tom Hawk
USAID/ Rural-Urban Development Division
- Carlos Pinto
USAID/ Rural-Urban Development Divison
- Lic. Caty Sánchez
Gerente general, COMURES
- Dr. Portillo
Gerente jurídico, COMURES
- Ing. Abraham López Deleón
Presidente del Consejo Directivo de COMURES
y alcalde de Sonsonate
- Jose Gabriel Murillo
Vice-presidente del Consejo Directivo de COMURES
y alcalde de Texistepeque
- Ricardo Adolfo León
Alcalde de San Miguel
- Julio Cesar Muñoz
Alcalde de Santiago de Marfa, Usulután
- Alcalde de Berlín, Usulután
- Alcalde de Comacarán, San Miguel
- Alcalde de Lolotiquillo, Morazán
- Alcalde de El Tránsito, San Miguel

**ANNEX No. 2
Cabildos abiertos presenciados**

- El Congo, Santa Ana (27 de junio)
- San Luis Talpa, La Paz (4 de julio)
- Olocuilta, La Paz (4 de julio)

ANNEX No. 3

Turnout rates and the selection of the 15 municipalities

We attempted to determine a priori which municipalities in El Salvador have higher participation rates and which ones lower. Although there are many ways of measuring participation, there is only one way to do so if we want to include all municipalities in the country, and that is by limiting the analysis to voting data. We recognize that voting is only one very limited form of participation. Indeed, we recognize that voting may not be the most important, as community level participation may be far more significant for development. Indeed, this is precisely the case Seligson has made earlier.⁸ Nonetheless, voting data are the only comprehensive data we have for all municipalities in El Salvador. In Table 1 below, we list each of the municipalities and their turnout rate for the 1991 municipal elections, listed from high to low.

TABLE No.1
EL SALVADOR: 1991 MUNICIPAL ELECTION
Turnout rates by Municipio

| nombre del municipio | Turnout |
|----------------------|-----------|
| Cinquera | 1.49***** |
| Nuevo Eden SanJ | .95 |
| San Isidro Labr | .72 |
| Sn Fco Lempa | .65 |
| Cuyultitan | .61 |
| Meanguera | .59 |
| Mercedes Ceiba | .59 |
| Azacualpa | .58 |
| Antiguo Cuscatl | .58 |
| Sn Antonio Cruz | .57 |
| Sn Miguel Merce | .57 |
| Paraiso de Osor | .56 |
| El Rosario | .55 |
| Oratorio de Con | .54 |
| Comacaran | .54 |
| Salcoatitan | .52 |
| San Rafael Obra | .52 |
| San Emigdio | .52 |
| Jerusalem | .52 |
| Santo Domingo G | .51 |
| San Antonio Paj | .51 |
| El Porvenir | .51 |
| Sn Esteban Cata | .50 |
| Tecoluca | .50 |
| San Antonio Mas | .50 |
| Sonzacate | .50 |
| Suchitoto | .50 |
| Sta Cruz Analqu | .50 |
| San Juan Tepezo | .50 |

⁸Mitchell A. Seligson and John A. Booth, Political Participation in Latin America: Politics and the Poor. New York, Holmes and Meir, 1979.

*****Accordingly with the original data, there were more votes than people registered.

| | |
|------------------|-----|
| San Jose de las | .50 |
| Sn Pedro Puxtla | .50 |
| Santo Tomas | .50 |
| Quelepa | .50 |
| Guazapa | .49 |
| Metapan | .49 |
| Citala | .49 |
| Santa Rita | .48 |
| Jocoaitique | .48 |
| Sn Fco Morazan | .48 |
| San Antonio del | .48 |
| Concepcion Quez | .48 |
| Nuevo Cuscatlan | .48 |
| Mahuilingo | .48 |
| San Salvador | .48 |
| Santiago de la F | .48 |
| Tepecoyo | .47 |
| San Dionicio | .47 |
| Chiltiupan | .47 |
| Ciudad Delgado | .47 |
| Sto Domingo | .47 |
| San Miguel Tepe | .47 |
| Tapahuaca | .47 |
| Guadalupe | .47 |
| Nueva Guadalupe | .47 |
| San Vicente | .47 |
| San Julian | .47 |
| Bolivar | .47 |
| Ayutuxtepeque | .47 |
| Santa Isabel Is | .46 |
| Turin | .46 |
| Huizucar | .46 |
| Juayua | .46 |
| Potonico | .46 |
| Talnique | .46 |
| San Juan Talpa | .46 |
| Armenia | .46 |
| Caluco | .46 |
| El Refugio | .46 |
| Sn Bartolome Pe | .46 |
| El Paisnal | .46 |
| Sn Sebastian | .46 |
| Apaneca | .45 |
| Zacatecoluca | .45 |
| Mejapa | .45 |
| Sn Jose Guayaba | .45 |
| Santa Catalina | .45 |
| San Sebastian S | .45 |
| Santiago Texacu | .45 |
| Concepcio Ataco | .45 |
| Santa Ana | .45 |
| San Martin | .45 |
| Puerto El Triun | .45 |
| Rosario de Mora | .45 |
| Sn Raf Arcang o | .45 |
| Izalco | .45 |
| Sonsonate | .44 |
| Verapaz | .44 |
| Candelaria | .44 |
| Cuisnahuat | .44 |
| La Libertad | .44 |
| Sta Clara | .44 |
| Tenancingo | .44 |
| Santa Maria Ost | .44 |
| Colon | .44 |
| Berlin | .44 |
| Sn Cayetano Ist | .44 |
| San Juan Morua | .44 |
| Tejutla | .44 |

| | |
|-----------------|-----|
| Texistepeque | .44 |
| San Lorenzo | .43 |
| Tonacatepeque | .43 |
| Cuscatancingo | .43 |
| Guaymango | .43 |
| San Rafael | .43 |
| Yayantique | .43 |
| Acajutla | .43 |
| San Ramon | .43 |
| Nueva Concepcio | .43 |
| Sacacoyo | .43 |
| Chalchuapa | .43 |
| Santa Maria | .43 |
| Delicias Concep | .43 |
| Apopa | .43 |
| El Rosario | .43 |
| San Antonio Mos | .43 |
| San Luis Herrad | .42 |
| Tepetitan | .42 |
| Uluazapa | .42 |
| San Marcos | .42 |
| Tacuba | .42 |
| Quezaltepeque | .42 |
| Olocuilta | .42 |
| Candelaria de F | .42 |
| El Rosario | .42 |
| Jayaque | .42 |
| Ereguayquin | .42 |
| Comasagua | .42 |
| La Reina | .41 |
| San Pedro Nonua | .41 |
| Cojutepeque | .41 |
| Jucuapa | .41 |
| Santa Rosa Guac | .41 |
| Chalatenango | .41 |
| Mejicanos | .41 |
| San Cristobal | .41 |
| San Simon | .41 |
| Sn Lorenzo | .41 |
| Jicalapa | .41 |
| Ahuachapan | .41 |
| San Jose Villan | .41 |
| Dulce Nombre Ma | .41 |
| Cancasque | .41 |
| Guacotecti | .41 |
| Gualococti | .41 |
| Santa Rosa de L | .41 |
| San Carlos | .40 |
| Aguilares | .40 |
| El Carmen | .40 |
| Panchimalco | .40 |
| Santiago Nonual | .40 |
| Meanguera del G | .40 |
| Apastepeque | .40 |
| Ciudad Arce | .40 |
| San Juan Opico | .40 |
| El Paraíso | .40 |
| San Fco Chiname | .39 |
| Nahuizalco | .39 |
| Zaragoza | .39 |
| Tejutepeque | .39 |
| La Palma | .39 |
| San Luis Talpa | .39 |
| San Buenaventur | .38 |
| San Ignacio | .38 |
| Jocoro | .38 |
| Yoloaiquin | .38 |
| Sn Luis del Car | .38 |
| Usulután | .38 |

| | |
|-----------------|-----|
| Ilopango | .38 |
| Nueva Trinidad | .38 |
| San Miguel | .37 |
| Santiago de Mar | .37 |
| Conchagua | .37 |
| Sta Cruz Michap | .37 |
| San Rafael Orie | .37 |
| Osicala | .37 |
| Soyapango | .37 |
| El Triunfo | .37 |
| Chinameca | .37 |
| Santa Elena | .37 |
| Ozatlan | .36 |
| Atiquizaya | .36 |
| Mercedes Umana | .36 |
| Jiquilisco | .36 |
| San Matias | .36 |
| Sn Fco Gotera | .36 |
| El Divisadero | .36 |
| Alegria | .36 |
| Tamanique | .36 |
| Las Vueltas | .35 |
| El Transito | .35 |
| San Pablo Tacac | .35 |
| Intipuca | .35 |
| Tecapan | .35 |
| Victoria | .35 |
| El Congo | .35 |
| El Carmen | .35 |
| Moncagua | .34 |
| San Pedro Masah | .34 |
| La Union | .34 |
| Agua Caliente | .34 |
| San Isidro | .34 |
| Concepcion Batr | .34 |
| Yucuaiquin | .33 |
| Arcatao | .33 |
| Coatepeque | .33 |
| Monte San Juan | .33 |
| Las Flores o SJ | .33 |
| Teotepeque | .33 |
| Sensuntepeque | .33 |
| Jujutla | .33 |
| San Idelfonso | .33 |
| Joateca | .33 |
| Dolores | .33 |
| Comalapa | .32 |
| La Laguna | .32 |
| California | .32 |
| San Isidro | .32 |
| Masahuat | .31 |
| Lolotique | .31 |
| Ciudad Barrios | .31 |
| San Fernando | .31 |
| Sn Antonio Ranc | .31 |
| San Alejo | .30 |
| Sn Fco Menendez | .30 |
| El Sauce | .30 |
| Torola | .30 |
| Pasaquina | .29 |
| Nombre de Jesus | .29 |
| Chilanga | .29 |
| Lolotiquillo | .28 |
| Estanzuelas | .28 |
| Chirilagua | .28 |
| Ilobasco | .27 |
| Sn Pedro Perula | .27 |
| Cacaopera | .26 |
| Nueva San Salvd | .26 |

| | |
|------------------|-----|
| Jutiapa | .22 |
| Arambala | .22 |
| Sociedad | .22 |
| Nueva Granada | .21 |
| San Jorge | .21 |
| Chapeltique | .20 |
| Nueva Esparta | .20 |
| San Fernando | .19 |
| Perquin | .19 |
| Concepcion de O | .18 |
| San Agustín | .18 |
| Sesori | .18 |
| San Francisco J | .16 |
| Ojo de Agua | .16 |
| Corinto | .15 |
| Carolina | .14 |
| Guatajiagua | .13 |
| Anamoros | .13 |
| El Carrizal | .13 |
| Poloros | .13 |
| Yamabal | .12 |
| San Luis de la R | .10 |
| Lislique | .08 |
| Sensembra | .08 |
| San Gerardo | .06 |
| Jucuaran | .06 |

In Table No. 2, we list the turnout rates by municipio, controlling by department.

TABLE No. 2
EL SALVADOR: 1991 MUNICIPAL ELECTION
Turnout rates by Municipio, controlling by Department

| nombre del departamento | nombre del municipio | Turnout |
|----------------------------|-------------------------|---------|
| (San Salvador) | Santo Tomas | .50 |
| | Guazapa | .49 |
| | San Salvador | .48 |
| | Ciudad Delgado | .47 |
| | Ayutuxtepeque | .47 |
| | El Paisnal | .46 |
| | Nejapa | .45 |
| | Santiago Texacu | .45 |
| | San Martin | .45 |
| | Rosario de Mora | .45 |
| | Tonacatepeque | .43 |
| | Cuscatancingo | .43 |
| | Apopa | .43 |
| | San Marcos | .42 |
| | Mejicanos | .41 |
| | Aguilares | .40 |
| | Panchimalco | .40 |
| | Ilopango | .38 |
| | Soyapango | .37 |
| Mean | | .44 |

| | | |
|-------------------------|-----------------|-----|
| StdDev ^{*****} | | .04 |
| (Cuscatlan) | Oratorio de Con | .54 |
| | Suchitoto | .50 |
| | Sta Cruz Analqu | .50 |
| | Sn Bartolome Pe | .46 |
| | Sn Jose Guayaba | .45 |
| | Sn Raf Arcang o | .45 |
| | Candelaria | .44 |
| | Tenancingo | .44 |
| | San Ramon | .43 |
| | El Rosario | .43 |
| | Cojutepeque | .41 |
| | San Cristobal | .41 |
| | El Carmen | .40 |
| | Sta Cruz Michap | .37 |
| | Monte San Juan | .33 |
| | Sn Pedro Perula | .27 |
| Mean | | .43 |
| StdDev | | .07 |
| (Ahuachapan) | Sn Pedro Puxtla | .50 |
| | Turin | .46 |
| | El Refugio | .46 |
| | Apaneca | .45 |
| | Concepcio Ataco | .45 |
| | Guaymango | .43 |
| | Tacuba | .42 |
| | Sn Lorenzo | .41 |
| | Ahuachapan | .41 |
| | Atiquizaya | .36 |
| | Jujutla | .33 |
| | Sn Fco Menendez | .30 |
| Mean | | .42 |
| StdDev | | .06 |
| (Morazan) | Meanguera | .59 |
| | El Rosario | .55 |
| | Jocoaitique | .48 |
| | Delicias Concep | .43 |
| | San Simon | .41 |
| | Gualococti | .41 |
| | San Carlos | .40 |
| | Jocoro | .38 |
| | Yoloaiquin | .38 |
| | Osicala | .37 |
| | Sn Fco Gotera | .36 |
| | El Divisadero | .36 |
| | Joateca | .33 |
| | San Isidro | .32 |
| | San Fernando | .31 |
| | Torola | .30 |
| | Chilanga | .29 |
| | Lolotiquillo | .28 |
| | Cacaopera | .26 |
| | Arambala | .22 |
| | Sociedad | .22 |
| | Perquin | .19 |
| | Corinto | .15 |
| | Guatajiagua | .13 |
| | Yanabal | .12 |
| | Sensembra | .08 |

*****We are reporting the mean and standard deviation for each department.

Mean .32
StdDev .13

(San Vicente) Sn Esteban Cata .50
Tecoluca .50
Sto Domingo .47
Guadalupe .47
San Vicente .47
Sn Sebastian .46
Verapaz .44
Sta Clara .44
Sn Cayetano Ist .44
San Lorenzo .43
Tepetitan .42
Apastepeque .40
San Idelfonso .33

Mean .44
StdDev .05

(Cabañas) Cinquera 1.49
Guacotecti .41
Tejutepeque .39
Victoria .35
San Isidro .34
Sensuntepeque .33
Dolores .33
Ilobasco .27
Jutiapa .22

Mean .46
StdDev .39

(Santa Ana) San Antonio Paj .51
El Porvenir .51
Metapan .49
Santiago de laF .48
San Sebastian S .45
Santa Ana .45
Texistepeque .44
Chalchuapa .43
Candelaria de F .42
Santa Rosa Guac .41
El Congo .35
Coatepeque .33
Masahuat .31

Mean .43
StdDev .06

(San Miguel) Nuevo Eden SanJ .95
Comacaran .54
Quelepa .50
Nueva Guadalupe .47
San Antonio Mos .43
Uluazapa .42
San Miguel .37
San Rafael Ori .37
Chinameca .37
El Transito .35
Moncagua .34
Lolotique .31
Ciudad Barrios .31
Chirilagua .28
San Jorge .21
Chapeltique .20
Sesori .18
Carolina .14

| | | |
|---------------|------------------|-----|
| | San Luis de la R | .10 |
| | San Gerardo | .06 |
| Mean | | .34 |
| StdDev | | .19 |
| (La Libertad) | Antiguo Cuscatl | .58 |
| | Nuevo Cuscatlan | .48 |
| | Tepecoyo | .47 |
| | Chiltiupan | .47 |
| | Huizucar | .46 |
| | Talnique | .46 |
| | La Libertad | .44 |
| | Colon | .44 |
| | Sacacoyo | .43 |
| | Quezaltepeque | .42 |
| | Jayaque | .42 |
| | Comasagua | .42 |
| | Jicalapa | .41 |
| | San Jose Villan | .41 |
| | Ciudad Arce | .40 |
| | San Juan Opico | .40 |
| | Zaragoza | .39 |
| | San Matias | .36 |
| | Tamanique | .36 |
| | San Pablo Tacac | .35 |
| | Teotepeque | .33 |
| | Nueva San Salvd | .26 |
| Mean | | .42 |
| StdDev | | .06 |
| (Usulután) | San Dionicio | .47 |
| | Puerto El Triun | .45 |
| | Berlin | .44 |
| | Santa María | .43 |
| | Ereguayquín | .42 |
| | Jucuapa | .41 |
| | San Buenaventur | .38 |
| | Usulután | .38 |
| | Santiago de Mar | .37 |
| | El Triunfo | .37 |
| | Santa Elena | .37 |
| | Ozatlán | .36 |
| | Mercedes Umana | .36 |
| | Jiquilisco | .36 |
| | Alegria | .36 |
| | Tecapan | .35 |
| | Concepcion Batr | .34 |
| | California | .32 |
| | Estanzuelas | .28 |
| | Nueva Granada | .21 |
| | San Agustín | .18 |
| | San Francisco J | .16 |
| | Jucuarán | .06 |
| Mean | | .34 |
| StdDev | | .10 |
| (Sonsonate) | Salcoatitán | .52 |
| | Santo Domingo G | .51 |
| | Sonzacate | .50 |
| | San Antonio del | .48 |
| | Mahuilingo | .48 |
| | San Julian | .47 |
| | Santa Isabel Is | .46 |
| | Juayua | .46 |
| | Armenia | .46 |
| | Caluco | .46 |

| | | |
|----------------|-----------------|-----|
| | Santa Catalina | .45 |
| | Izalco | .45 |
| | Sonsonate | .44 |
| | Cuisnahuat | .44 |
| | Acajutla | .43 |
| | Mahuizalco | .39 |
| Mean | | .46 |
| StdDev | | .03 |
| (La Union) | San Jose de las | .50 |
| | Bolivar | .47 |
| | Yayantique | .43 |
| | Santa Rosa de L | .41 |
| | Meanguera del G | .40 |
| | Conchagua | .37 |
| | Intipuca | .35 |
| | El Carmen | .35 |
| | La Union | .34 |
| | Yucuaiquin | .33 |
| | San Alejo | .30 |
| | El Sauce | .30 |
| | Pasaquina | .29 |
| | Nueva Esparta | .20 |
| | Concepcion de O | .18 |
| | Anamoros | .13 |
| | Poloros | .13 |
| | Listique | .08 |
| Mean | | .31 |
| StdDev | | .12 |
| (La Paz) | Cuyultitan | .61 |
| | Mercedes Ceiba | .59 |
| | Paraiso de Osor | .56 |
| | San Rafael Obra | .52 |
| | San Emigdio | .52 |
| | Jerusalem | .52 |
| | San Antonio Mas | .50 |
| | San Juan Tepezo | .50 |
| | San Miguel Tepe | .47 |
| | Tapahuaca | .47 |
| | San Juan Talpa | .46 |
| | Zacatecoluca | .45 |
| | Santa Maria Ost | .44 |
| | San Juan Monual | .44 |
| | San Luis Merrad | .42 |
| | Olocuilta | .42 |
| | El Rosario | .42 |
| | San Pedro Monua | .41 |
| | Santiago Monual | .40 |
| | San Fco Chiname | .39 |
| | San Luis Talpa | .39 |
| | San Pedro Masah | .34 |
| Mean | | .47 |
| StdDev | | .07 |
| (Chalatenango) | San Isidro Labr | .72 |
| | Sn Fco Lempa | .65 |
| | Azacumpe | .58 |
| | Sn Antonio Cruz | .57 |
| | Sn Miguel Merce | .57 |
| | Citela | .49 |
| | Santa Rita | .48 |
| | Sn Fco Morazan | .48 |
| | Concepcion Quez | .48 |
| | Potonico | .46 |
| | Tejutla | .44 |

| | |
|-----------------|-----|
| San Rafael | .43 |
| Nueva Concepcio | .43 |
| La Reina | .41 |
| Chalatenango | .41 |
| Dulce Nombre Ma | .41 |
| Cancasque | .41 |
| El Paraiso | .40 |
| La Palma | .39 |
| San Ignacio | .38 |
| Sn Luis del Car | .38 |
| Nueva Trinidad | .38 |
| Las Vueltas | .35 |
| Agua Caliente | .34 |
| Arcatao | .33 |
| Las Flores o SJ | .33 |
| Comalapa | .32 |
| La Laguna | .32 |
| Sn Antonio Ranc | .31 |
| Nombre de Jesus | .29 |
| San Fernando | .19 |
| Ojo de Agua | .16 |
| El Carrizal | .13 |
| Mean | .41 |
| StdDev | .13 |

Examining Table 1 reveals that 50% are grouped in the range of 40-50%. We take these to be municipalities with high turnout rates. If USAID wishes to concentrate its work among 15 municipalities with already high levels of participation, it could select from among these. However, if the intention is to include a range of municipalities in its list, then it could select some from this high group and others from an intermediate group (turnout in the range of 30-39%) and still others in the low group (turnout below 30%).

We attempted to determine what factors influence turnout. We suspected that the presence of the armed conflict had an impact, so we created a variable that grouped municipalities into conflict versus no-conflict zones. These results are displayed on Table No. 3. The average turnout rate for the conflict zone was 36%, whereas the no-conflict zones had an average turnout of 42%. The turnout rate was higher. A regression analysis shows (see Table No. 4) that using this rough measure of the impact of conflict on turnout explains 5% of the variation (Multiple $R = .24$, $\text{sig} < .001$). We suspect that if we had a more refined measure of conflict, such as the number of deaths per capita in each municipality, we would be able to explain more of the variation in voting.

TABLE No. 3
EL SALVADOR: 1991 MUNICIPAL ELECTION
Turnout rates by Municipio, controlling by Conflict Zone and by Department

| nombre del departamento | tipo de municipio, segun zona conflictiva | nombre del municipio | Turnout rate |
|-------------------------|---|----------------------|--------------|
| <u>San Salvador</u> | 2 | Santo Tomas | .50 |
| | 2 | San Salvador | .48 |
| | 2 | Ciudad Delgado | .47 |
| | 2 | Ayutuxtepeque | .47 |
| | 2 | Santiago Texacu | .45 |
| | 2 | San Martin | .45 |
| | 2 | Rosario de Mora | .45 |
| | 2 | Cuscatancingo | .43 |
| | 2 | San Marcos | .42 |
| | 2 | Mejicanos | .41 |
| | 2 | Panchimalco | .40 |
| | 2 | Ilopango | .38 |
| | 2 | Soyapango | .37 |
| | 1 | Guzapa | .49 |
| | 1 | El Paisnal | .46 |
| | 1 | Mejapa | .45 |
| | 1 | Tonacatepeque | .43 |
| 1 | Apopa | .43 | |
| 1 | Aguilares | .40 | |
| Mean | 2 | | .44 |
| StdDev | 0 | | .04 |
| <u>Cuscatlan</u> | 2 | Oratorio de Con | .54 |
| | 2 | Sta Cruz Analqu | .50 |
| | 2 | Sn Bartolome Pe | .46 |
| | 2 | Sn Raf Arcang o | .45 |
| | 2 | Candelaria | .44 |
| | 2 | San Ramon | .43 |
| | 2 | Cojutepeque | .41 |
| | 2 | San Cristobal | .41 |
| | 2 | El Carmen | .40 |
| | 2 | Sta Cruz Michap | .37 |
| | 2 | Monte San Juan | .33 |
| | 2 | Sn Pedro Perula | .27 |
| | 1 | Suchitoto | .50 |
| | 1 | Sn Jose Guayaba | .45 |
| 1 | Tenancingo | .44 | |
| 1 | El Rosario | .43 | |
| Mean | 2 | | .43 |
| StdDev | 0 | | .07 |
| <u>Ahuachapan</u> | 2 | Sn Pedro Puxtla | .50 |
| | 2 | Turin | .46 |
| | 2 | El Refugio | .46 |
| | 2 | Apaneca | .45 |
| | 2 | Concepcio Ataco | .45 |
| | 2 | Guaymango | .43 |
| | 2 | Tacuba | .42 |
| 2 | Sn Lorenzo | .41 | |

..... where code 1 = conflict zone, and 2 = no-conflict zone.

| | | | |
|--------------------|---|-----------------|------|
| | 2 | Ahuachapan | .41 |
| | 2 | Atiquizaya | .36 |
| | 2 | Jujutla | .33 |
| | 2 | Sn Fco Menendez | .30 |
| Mean | 2 | | .42 |
| StdDev | 0 | | .06 |
| <u>Morazan</u> | 2 | San Carlos | .40 |
| | 2 | Jocoro | .38 |
| | 2 | El Divisadero | .36 |
| | 2 | Chilanga | .29 |
| | 2 | Lolotiquillo | .28 |
| | 2 | Sociedad | .22 |
| | 1 | Meanguera | .59 |
| | 1 | El Rosario | .55 |
| | 1 | Jocoaitique | .48 |
| | 1 | Delicias Concep | .43 |
| | 1 | San Simon | .41 |
| | 1 | Gualococti | .41 |
| | 1 | Yoloaiquin | .38 |
| | 1 | Osicala | .37 |
| | 1 | Sn Fco Gotera | .36 |
| | 1 | Joateca | .33 |
| | 1 | San Isidro | .32 |
| | 1 | San Fernando | .31 |
| | 1 | Torola | .30 |
| | 1 | Cacaopera | .26 |
| | 1 | Arambala | .22 |
| | 1 | Perquin | .19 |
| | 1 | Corinto | .15 |
| | 1 | Guatajiagua | .13 |
| | 1 | Yanabal | .12 |
| | 1 | Sensembra | .08 |
| Mean | 1 | | .32 |
| StdDev | 0 | | .13 |
| <u>San Vicente</u> | 2 | Sto Domingo | .47 |
| | 2 | San Vicente | .47 |
| | 2 | Sn Cayetano Ist | .44 |
| | 2 | San Lorenzo | .43 |
| | 2 | Tepetitan | .42 |
| | 1 | Sn Esteban Cata | .50 |
| | 1 | Tecoluca | .50 |
| | 1 | Guadalupe | .47 |
| | 1 | Sn Sebastian | .46 |
| | 1 | Verapaz | .44 |
| | 1 | Sta Clara | .44 |
| | 1 | Apastepeque | .40 |
| | 1 | San Idelfonso | .33 |
| Mean | 1 | | .44 |
| StdDev | 1 | | .05 |
| <u>Cabañas</u> | 1 | Cinquera | 1.49 |
| | 1 | Guacotecti | .41 |
| | 1 | Tejutepeque | .39 |
| | 1 | Victoria | .35 |
| | 1 | San Isidro | .34 |
| | 1 | Sensuntepeque | .33 |
| | 1 | Dolores | .33 |
| | 1 | Ilobasco | .27 |
| | 1 | Jutiapa | .22 |
| Mean | 1 | | .46 |
| StdDev | 0 | | .39 |

| | | | |
|--------------------|---|------------------|-----|
| <u>Santa Ana</u> | 2 | San Antonio Paj | .51 |
| | 2 | El Porvenir | .51 |
| | 2 | Metapan | .49 |
| | 2 | Santiago de la F | .48 |
| | 2 | San Sebastian S | .45 |
| | 2 | Santa Ana | .45 |
| | 2 | Chalchuapa | .43 |
| | 2 | Candelaria de F | .42 |
| | 2 | El Congo | .35 |
| | 2 | Coatepeque | .33 |
| | 1 | Texistepeque | .44 |
| | 1 | Santa Rosa Guac | .41 |
| | 1 | Masahuat | .31 |
| Mean | 2 | | .43 |
| StdDev | 0 | | .06 |
| <u>San Miguel</u> | 2 | Comacaran | .54 |
| | 2 | Quelepa | .50 |
| | 2 | Nueva Guadalupe | .47 |
| | 2 | Uluazapa | .42 |
| | 2 | San Miguel | .37 |
| | 2 | Chinameca | .37 |
| | 2 | El Transito | .35 |
| | 2 | Moncagua | .34 |
| | 2 | Lolotique | .31 |
| | 2 | Chirilagua | .28 |
| | 1 | Nuevo Eden SanJ | .95 |
| | 1 | San Antonio Mos | .43 |
| | 1 | San Rafael Orie | .37 |
| | 1 | Ciudad Barrios | .31 |
| | 1 | San Jorge | .21 |
| | 1 | Chapeltique | .20 |
| | 1 | Sesori | .18 |
| | 1 | Carolina | .14 |
| | 1 | San Luis de laR | .10 |
| | 1 | San Gerardo | .06 |
| Mean | 1 | | .34 |
| StdDev | 1 | | .19 |
| <u>La Libertad</u> | 2 | Antiguo Cuscatl | .58 |
| | 2 | Nuevo Cuscatlan | .48 |
| | 2 | Tepecoyo | .47 |
| | 2 | Chiltiupan | .47 |
| | 2 | Huizucar | .46 |
| | 2 | Talnique | .46 |
| | 2 | La Libertad | .44 |
| | 2 | Colon | .44 |
| | 2 | Sacacoyo | .43 |
| | 2 | Jayaque | .42 |
| | 2 | Comasagua | .42 |
| | 2 | Jicalapa | .41 |
| | 2 | San Jose Villan | .41 |
| | 2 | Ciudad Arce | .40 |
| | 2 | Zaragoza | .39 |
| | 2 | Tamanique | .36 |
| | 2 | Teotepeque | .33 |
| | 2 | Nueva San Salvd | .26 |
| | 1 | Quezaltepeque | .42 |
| | 1 | San Juan Opico | .40 |
| | 1 | San Matias | .36 |
| | 1 | San Pablo Tacac | .35 |
| Mean | 2 | | .42 |
| StdDev | 0 | | .06 |
| <u>Usulután</u> | 2 | San Dionicio | .47 |
| | 2 | Puerto El Triun | .45 |

| | | | |
|------------------|---|-----------------|-----|
| | 2 | Santa Maria | .43 |
| | 2 | San Buenaventur | .38 |
| | 2 | Usulután | .38 |
| | 2 | Ozatlán | .36 |
| | 2 | Mercedes Umana | .36 |
| | 2 | Nueva Granada | .21 |
| | 1 | Berlin | .44 |
| | 1 | Ereguayquín | .42 |
| | 1 | Jucuapa | .41 |
| | 1 | Santiago de Mar | .37 |
| | 1 | El Triunfo | .37 |
| | 1 | Santa Elena | .37 |
| | 1 | Jiquilisco | .36 |
| | 1 | Alegria | .36 |
| | 1 | Tecapan | .35 |
| | 1 | Concepción Batr | .34 |
| | 1 | California | .32 |
| | 1 | Estanzuelas | .28 |
| | 1 | San Agustín | .18 |
| | 1 | San Francisco J | .16 |
| | 1 | Jucuarán | .06 |
| Mean | 1 | | .34 |
| StdDev | 0 | | .10 |
| <u>Sonsonate</u> | | | |
| | 2 | Salcoatitán | .52 |
| | 2 | Santo Domingo G | .51 |
| | 2 | Sonzacate | .50 |
| | 2 | San Antonio del | .48 |
| | 2 | Nahuilingo | .48 |
| | 2 | San Julián | .47 |
| | 2 | Santa Isabel Is | .46 |
| | 2 | Juayua | .46 |
| | 2 | Armenia | .46 |
| | 2 | Caluco | .46 |
| | 2 | Santa Catalina | .45 |
| | 2 | Izalco | .45 |
| | 2 | Sonsonate | .44 |
| | 2 | Cuisnahuat | .44 |
| | 2 | Acajutla | .43 |
| | 2 | Nahuizalco | .39 |
| Mean | 2 | | .46 |
| StdDev | 0 | | .03 |
| <u>La Unión</u> | | | |
| | 2 | San José de las | .50 |
| | 2 | Bolívar | .47 |
| | 2 | Yayantique | .43 |
| | 2 | Santa Rosa de L | .41 |
| | 2 | Meanguera del G | .40 |
| | 2 | Conchagua | .37 |
| | 2 | Intipuca | .35 |
| | 2 | El Carmen | .35 |
| | 2 | La Unión | .34 |
| | 2 | Yucuaiquín | .33 |
| | 2 | San Alejo | .30 |
| | 2 | El Sauce | .30 |
| | 2 | Pasaquina | .29 |
| | 1 | Nueva Esparta | .20 |
| | 1 | Concepción de O | .18 |
| | 1 | Anamoros | .13 |
| | 1 | Poloros | .13 |
| | 1 | Lislique | .08 |
| Mean | 2 | | .31 |
| StdDev | 0 | | .12 |
| <u>La Paz</u> | | | |
| | 2 | Cuyultitán | .61 |
| | 2 | San Rafael Obra | .52 |

| | | | |
|---------------------|---|-----------------|-----|
| | 2 | San Emigdio | .52 |
| | 2 | San Antonio Mas | .50 |
| | 2 | San Juan Tepezo | .50 |
| | 2 | San Miguel Tepe | .47 |
| | 2 | Tapahuaca | .47 |
| | 2 | San Juan Talpa | .46 |
| | 2 | Zacatecoluca | .45 |
| | 2 | San Juan Nonual | .44 |
| | 2 | San Luis Herrad | .42 |
| | 2 | Olocuilta | .42 |
| | 2 | El Rosario | .42 |
| | 2 | San Fco Chiname | .39 |
| | 2 | San Luis Talpa | .39 |
| | 2 | San Pedro Masah | .34 |
| | 1 | Mercedes Ceiba | .59 |
| | 1 | Paraiso de Osor | .56 |
| | 1 | Jerusalem | .52 |
| | 1 | Santa Maria Ost | .44 |
| | 1 | San Pedro Nonua | .41 |
| | 1 | Santiago Nonual | .40 |
| Mean | 2 | | .47 |
| StdDev | 0 | | .07 |
| <u>Chalatenango</u> | 2 | Sn Fco Lempa | .65 |
| | 2 | Azacualpa | .58 |
| | 2 | Sn Miguel Merce | .57 |
| | 2 | Santa Rita | .48 |
| | 2 | Sn Fco Morazan | .48 |
| | 2 | Concepcion Quez | .48 |
| | 2 | Potonico | .46 |
| | 2 | Tejutla | .44 |
| | 2 | San Rafael | .43 |
| | 2 | La Reina | .41 |
| | 2 | Chalatenango | .41 |
| | 2 | Dulce Nombre Ma | .41 |
| | 2 | El Paraiso | .40 |
| | 2 | Sn Luis del Car | .38 |
| | 2 | Comalapa | .32 |
| | 1 | San Isidro Labr | .72 |
| | 1 | Sn Antonio Cruz | .57 |
| | 1 | Citala | .49 |
| | 1 | Nueva Concepcio | .43 |
| | 1 | Cancasque | .41 |
| | 1 | La Palma | .39 |
| | 1 | San Ignacio | .38 |
| | 1 | Nueva Trinidad | .38 |
| | 1 | Las Vueltas | .35 |
| | 1 | Agua Caliente | .34 |
| | 1 | Arcatao | .33 |
| | 1 | Las Flores o SJ | .33 |
| | 1 | La Laguna | .32 |
| | 1 | Sn Antonio Ranc | .31 |
| | 1 | Nombre de Jesus | .29 |
| | 1 | San Fernando | .19 |
| | 1 | Ojo de Agua | .16 |
| | 1 | El Carrizal | .13 |
| Mean | 1 | | .41 |
| StdDev | 1 | | .13 |

TABLE No. 4
 SPSS/PC+ The Statistical Package for IBM PC
 * * * * MULTIPLE REGRESSION * * * *

Equation Number 1 Dependent Variable.. TURNOUT
 Variable(s) Entered on Step Number
 1.. TIPMUN tipo de municipio, segun zona conflictiv

Multiple R .23585
 R Square .05562
 Adjusted R Square .05199
 Standard Error .12717

Analysis of Variance

| | DF | Sum of Squares | Mean Square |
|------------|-----|----------------|-------------|
| Regression | 1 | .24766 | .24766 |
| Residual | 260 | 4.20474 | .01617 |

F = 15.31378 Signif F = .0001

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

| Variable | B | SE B | Beta | T | Sig T |
|------------|----------|---------|----------|--------|-------|
| TIPMUN | -.062460 | .015961 | -.235845 | -3.913 | .0001 |
| (Constant) | .424351 | .010248 | | 41.410 | .0000 |

What these findings mean is that USAID should recognize that if it selects its 15 municipalities on the basis of high turnout alone, the conflict zone municipalities will be disadvantaged, and perhaps none of them will be included in the list. For that reason, we suggest that careful attention be paid to Table No. 3, which would allow the selection of municipalities in both zones.

Finally, we suspected that the population size of the municipality would influence turnout. That is, turnout is often lower in more remote, less populous areas because of the difficulties the voters face getting to the polling place. We found, however, that this was not the case. Table No. 5 lists the municipalities grouped by the criteria being used by the International City/County Management Association: (1) Below 20,000, (2) 20-40,000, (3) 40-80,000, (4) 80,000 and more. By this measure, 77.5 percent of all of the municipalities are in the smallest category. As a result, there is no distinction made in terms of size within this category that absorbs over three-quarters of all of the municipalities in El Salvador.¹²

¹²Distribution of frequencies by Size

| Value Label | Value | Frequency | Percent | Valid Percent | Cum Percent |
|-----------------|-------|---------------|---------|---------------|-------------|
| below 20,000 | 1.00 | 203 | 77.5 | 77.5 | 77.5 |
| 20-40,000 | 2.00 | 30 | 11.5 | 11.5 | 88.9 |
| 40-80,000 | 3.00 | 15 | 5.7 | 5.7 | 94.7 |
| 80,000 and more | 4.00 | 14 | 5.3 | 5.3 | 100.0 |
| | Total | 262 | 100.0 | 100.0 | |
| Valid cases | 262 | Missing cases | 0 | | |

This exercise has shown us that it is necessary to distinguish more clearly between municipalities of less than 20,000 in size. For purposes of this report, we decided to use the same criteria applied by the International City/County Management Association. It might be possible to more systematically select the municipalities that, in spite of their small size have high turnout. One way of doing this would be by running a regression of turnout on size, and examining the "outlier" in the equation, those municipalities that have participation rates higher than their size and conflict status would predict.

TABLE No. 5
El Salvador: Municipio by Population Size

| nombre del municipio | Population Size |
|----------------------|-----------------|
| Cinquera | 1.00 |
| Nuevo Eden SanJ | 1.00 |
| San Isidro Labr | 1.00 |
| Sn Fco Lenpa | 1.00 |
| Cuyultitan | 1.00 |
| Meanguera | 1.00 |
| Mercedes Ceiba | 1.00 |
| Azacualpa | 1.00 |
| Sn Antonio Cruz | 1.00 |
| Sn Miguel Merce | 1.00 |
| Paraiso de Osor | 1.00 |
| El Rosario | 1.00 |
| Oratorio de Con | 1.00 |
| Comacaran | 1.00 |
| Salcoatitan | 1.00 |
| San Rafael Obra | 1.00 |
| San Emigdio | 1.00 |
| Jerusalem | 1.00 |
| Santo Domingo G | 1.00 |
| San Antonio Paj | 1.00 |
| El Porvenir | 1.00 |
| Sn Esteban Cata | 1.00 |
| Tecoluca | 1.00 |
| San Antonio Mas | 1.00 |
| Sonzacate | 1.00 |
| Suchitote | 1.00 |
| Sta Cruz Analqu | 1.00 |
| San Juan Tepezo | 1.00 |
| San Jose de las | 1.00 |
| Sn Pedro Puxtla | 1.00 |
| Quelepa | 1.00 |
| Guazapa | 1.00 |
| Citela | 1.00 |
| Santa Rita | 1.00 |
| Jocoaitique | 1.00 |
| Sn Fco Merazan | 1.00 |
| San Antonio del | 1.00 |
| Concepcion Quez | 1.00 |
| Nuevo Cuscatlan | 1.00 |
| Nahuilingo | 1.00 |
| Santiago de laF | 1.00 |
| Tepecoya | 1.00 |
| San Dionicio | 1.00 |
| Chiltiupan | 1.00 |
| Sto Domingo | 1.00 |
| San Miguel Tepe | 1.00 |
| Tapalhuaca | 1.00 |

| | |
|-----------------|------|
| Guadalupe | 1.00 |
| Nueva Guadalupe | 1.00 |
| San Julian | 1.00 |
| Bolivar | 1.00 |
| Santa Isabel Is | 1.00 |
| Turin | 1.00 |
| Huizucar | 1.00 |
| Potonico | 1.00 |
| Talnique | 1.00 |
| San Juan Talpa | 1.00 |
| Caluco | 1.00 |
| El Refugio | 1.00 |
| Sn Bartolome Pe | 1.00 |
| El Paisnal | 1.00 |
| Sn Sebastian | 1.00 |
| Apaneca | 1.00 |
| Sn Jose Guayaba | 1.00 |
| Santa Catalina | 1.00 |
| San Sebastian S | 1.00 |
| Santiago Texacu | 1.00 |
| Concepcio Ataco | 1.00 |
| Puerto El Triun | 1.00 |
| Rosario de Mora | 1.00 |
| Sn Raf Arcang o | 1.00 |
| Verapaz | 1.00 |
| Candelaria | 1.00 |
| Cuixnahuat | 1.00 |
| Sta Clara | 1.00 |
| Tenancingo | 1.00 |
| Santa Maria Ost | 1.00 |
| Sn Cayetano Ist | 1.00 |
| San Juan Nonual | 1.00 |
| Tejutla | 1.00 |
| Texistepeque | 1.00 |
| San Lorenzo | 1.00 |
| Guaymango | 1.00 |
| San Rafael | 1.00 |
| Yayantique | 1.00 |
| San Ramon | 1.00 |
| Sacacoyo | 1.00 |
| Santa Maria | 1.00 |
| Delicias Concep | 1.00 |
| El Rosario | 1.00 |
| San Antonio Mos | 1.00 |
| San Luis Herrad | 1.00 |
| Tepetitan | 1.00 |
| Uluazapa | 1.00 |
| Olocuilta | 1.00 |
| El Rosario | 1.00 |
| Jayaque | 1.00 |
| Ereguayquin | 1.00 |
| Comasagua | 1.00 |
| La Reina | 1.00 |
| San Pedro Nonua | 1.00 |
| Jucuapa | 1.00 |
| Santa Rosa Guac | 1.00 |
| San Cristobal | 1.00 |
| San Simon | 1.00 |
| Sn Lorenzo | 1.00 |
| Jicalapa | 1.00 |
| San Jose Villan | 1.00 |
| Dulce Nombre Ma | 1.00 |
| Cancasque | 1.00 |
| Guacotecti | 1.00 |
| Gualococti | 1.00 |
| San Carlos | 1.00 |
| El Carmen | 1.00 |
| Meanguera del G | 1.00 |
| Apastepeque | 1.00 |

| | |
|-----------------|------|
| El Paraiso | 1.00 |
| San Fco Chiname | 1.00 |
| Zaragoza | 1.00 |
| Tejutepeque | 1.00 |
| La Palma | 1.00 |
| San Luis Talpa | 1.00 |
| San Buenaventur | 1.00 |
| San Ignacio | 1.00 |
| Jocoro | 1.00 |
| Yoloaiquin | 1.00 |
| Sn Luis del Car | 1.00 |
| Nueva Trinidad | 1.00 |
| Santiago de Mar | 1.00 |
| Sta Cruz Michap | 1.00 |
| San Rafael Orie | 1.00 |
| Osicala | 1.00 |
| El Triunfo | 1.00 |
| Chinameca | 1.00 |
| Santa Elena | 1.00 |
| Ozatlan | 1.00 |
| Mercedes Umana | 1.00 |
| San Matias | 1.00 |
| El Divisadero | 1.00 |
| Alegria | 1.00 |
| Tamanique | 1.00 |
| Las Vueltas | 1.00 |
| El Transito | 1.00 |
| San Pablo Tacac | 1.00 |
| Intipuca | 1.00 |
| Tecapan | 1.00 |
| Victoria | 1.00 |
| El Congo | 1.00 |
| El Carmen | 1.00 |
| Moncagua | 1.00 |
| Agua Caliente | 1.00 |
| San Isidro | 1.00 |
| Concepcion Batr | 1.00 |
| Yucuaiquin | 1.00 |
| Arcatao | 1.00 |
| Monte San Juan | 1.00 |
| Las Flores o SJ | 1.00 |
| Teotepeque | 1.00 |
| San Idelfonso | 1.00 |
| Joateca | 1.00 |
| Dolores | 1.00 |
| Comalapa | 1.00 |
| La Laguna | 1.00 |
| California | 1.00 |
| San Isidro | 1.00 |
| Masahuat | 1.00 |
| Lolotique | 1.00 |
| San Fernando | 1.00 |
| Sn Antonio Ranc | 1.00 |
| El Sauce | 1.00 |
| Torola | 1.00 |
| Nombre de Jesus | 1.00 |
| Chilanga | 1.00 |
| Lolotiquillo | 1.00 |
| Estanzuelas | 1.00 |
| Chirilagua | 1.00 |
| Cacaopera | 1.00 |
| Jutiapa | 1.00 |
| Arambala | 1.00 |
| Sociedad | 1.00 |
| Nueva Granada | 1.00 |
| San Jorge | 1.00 |
| Chapeltique | 1.00 |
| Nueva Esparta | 1.00 |
| San Fernando | 1.00 |

| | |
|------------------|------|
| Perquin | 1.00 |
| Concepcion de O | 1.00 |
| San Agustin | 1.00 |
| Sesori | 1.00 |
| San Francisco J | 1.00 |
| Ojo de Agua | 1.00 |
| Corinto | 1.00 |
| Carolina | 1.00 |
| Guatajiagua | 1.00 |
| Anamoros | 1.00 |
| El Carrizal | 1.00 |
| Poloros | 1.00 |
| Yamabal | 1.00 |
| San Luis de la R | 1.00 |
| Lislique | 1.00 |
| Sensembra | 1.00 |
| San Gerardo | 1.00 |
| Jucuaran | 1.00 |
| Antiguo Cuscatl | 2.00 |
| Santo Tomas | 2.00 |
| Ayutuxtepeque | 2.00 |
| Juayua | 2.00 |
| Armenia | 2.00 |
| Nejapa | 2.00 |
| La Libertad | 2.00 |
| Berlin | 2.00 |
| Tonacatepeque | 2.00 |
| Nueva Concepcio | 2.00 |
| Tacuba | 2.00 |
| Candelaria de f | 2.00 |
| Santa Rosa de L | 2.00 |
| Aguilares | 2.00 |
| Panchimalco | 2.00 |
| Santiago Morua | 2.00 |
| Nahuizalco | 2.00 |
| Conchagua | 2.00 |
| Atiquizaya | 2.00 |
| Jiquilisco | 2.00 |
| Sn Fco Gotera | 2.00 |
| San Pedro Masah | 2.00 |
| Coatepeque | 2.00 |
| Sensuntepeque | 2.00 |
| Jujutla | 2.00 |
| Ciudad Barrios | 2.00 |
| San Alejo | 2.00 |
| Sn Fco Menendez | 2.00 |
| Pasaquina | 2.00 |
| Sn Pedro Perula | 2.00 |
| Metapan | 3.00 |
| San Vicente | 3.00 |
| Zacatecoluca | 3.00 |
| San Martin | 3.00 |
| Izalco | 3.00 |
| Colon | 3.00 |
| Cuscatancingo | 3.00 |
| Acajutla | 3.00 |
| Chalchuapa | 3.00 |
| San Marcos | 3.00 |
| Quezaltepeque | 3.00 |
| Cojutepeque | 3.00 |
| Ciudad Arce | 3.00 |
| San Juan Opico | 3.00 |
| Ilobasco | 3.00 |
| San Salvador | 4.00 |
| Ciudad Delgado | 4.00 |
| Santa Ana | 4.00 |
| Sonsonate | 4.00 |
| Apopa | 4.00 |
| Chalatenango | 4.00 |

| | |
|--------------------|------|
| Mejicanos | 4.00 |
| Ahuachapan | 4.00 |
| Usulután | 4.00 |
| Ilopango | 4.00 |
| San Miguel | 4.00 |
| Soyapango | 4.00 |
| La Unión | 4.00 |
| Nueva San Salvador | 4.00 |