

**Central Americans View their
Local Governments:**

A Six-Nation Study, 1994

by

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A report to the U.S. Agency for International Development, Regional Office for Central American Programs, Regional Housing and Urban Development Office (ROCAP/RHUDO), Guatemala.

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I. Background and Methodology

Background

The 1980s will be recalled as a period of dramatic change in world events. The demise of socialist regimes and the rise of democracies stand out as the hallmarks of the period. At the same time, there were major economic shifts as well. The big governments and state run corporations that had so long characterized much of the Third World were subjected to the serious challenge of neo-liberal policies that emphasized downsizing of government and privatization of industry. By the early 1990s governments were simultaneously undergoing major political and economic reorganization, with the result that democratization, the shrinking of the public sector and strengthening of the private sector are now going on throughout the world.

These transformations are not without their down sides. In the context of this dynamic process, many public services that citizens once counted on are no longer being provided by their central governments. To replace these services, NGOs have arisen in huge numbers. Today, considerable portions of development assistance world-wide is being channeled through these NGOs. They are thought to be more efficient than the public agencies that they have been replacing. Even though there is much that is good in the work done by NGOs, there is much to

criticize as well. In particular, NGOs have sometimes been little more than employment generation for middle class job seekers who no longer can find positions in state bureaucracies. There are many NGOs with no popular support base at all. A more serious problem, and one that concerns us directly in this report, is that NGOs sometimes compete with the extant local governments for services that they are, or should be, providing. At times that competition can be helpful, but other times it can lead to frustration as resource-starved local governments compete with well-funded NGOs.

Local governments have been operating in Central America since the colonial period and are institutions that are well known and widely accepted, if often criticized for their incompetence and lack of resource. Local governments are stable organizations that are likely to remain as a basic building block of government for decades if not centuries to come. NGOs, on the other hand, tend to be ephemeral and, in most cases, have an agenda that may diverge considerably from the wishes of citizens they hope to serve. NGOs do not stand for elections, but municipal government officials, in the era of democracy, regularly do so and are regularly thrown out of office for not performing their jobs well enough. In short, local governments are a vitally important component of democratic governance in Central America, and strengthening them implies strengthening democratic process in the region.

Unfortunately, local governments are little studied in Central America, and elsewhere for that matter. They are not "sexy," in that they normally only involve

themselves in the most pedestrian of matters, such as paving streets and collecting trash. They are devoid of armies, air forces and ambassadors, and for that reason might seem to the outside observer to be very boring subjects of study. In fact, however, world-wide citizens have more contact with their local governments than they do with their national governments. In Central America, where most citizens in rural areas do not pay income tax, in many cases their only contact with national government is with local government.

What do Central Americans think about their local governments? Until now, it has been very difficult to answer that question. A search of the literature reveals only a handful of studies on the subject, and then they are often comprised only of random questions scattered in large polls. As far as can be determined, to date there is not a single study that compares the attitudes of the citizens of each of the countries of Central America toward their local government. This report makes a first attempt to fill that lacuna.

Methodology

On February 1, 1994, the author of this report was contracted by RHUDO, via its cooperative agreement with ICMA (International City/County Management Association) of Washington, D. C.), to undertake an study of the opinions of Central Americans toward their local governments. In consultation with the RHUDO staff in Guatemala, a series of ten questionnaire items was drafted and the content agreed upon.

Throughout the month of February, a series of pre-tests of the items was conducted in each of the Central American countries. The pre-tests consisted of administration of the questions to respondents in both urban and rural areas. The pre-tests were conducted by experts in each country: Guatemala, Lic. Jorge Castillo Velarde of ASIES; El Salvador, Ricardo Córdova, Executive Director of FundaUngo; Honduras Rafael Díaz Donaire of World Neighbors; Nicaragua, Andrew Stien, Ph.D. candidate, University of Pittsburgh and Visiting Professor, National University of Nicaragua; Costa Rica, Lic. Miguel Gómez B., Professor of the University of Costa Rica, and Panama, Orlando Pérez, Ph.D. candidate, University of Pittsburgh and Research Associate of CELA (Centro de Estudios Latinamericanos "Justo Arosemena"). In early March, the consultants from Panama and Nicaragua were able to come to the U.S. (to attend a professional meeting) during which time they reviewed the pre-tests from each of the countries. The pretests revealed a number areas in which the questions needed improvement. Based upon the input from the six pre-test consultants, a final version of the questionnaire was drafted and transmitted to RHUDO. Although the items are identical in content for each country, minor differences in questionnaire wording were necessitated to best reflect the terminology used in each of the six countries of the region. The final versions are included in Appendix I of this study.

On March 13, 1994 the final versions of the six questionnaires were faxed to C.I.D. Gallup in Costa Rica. By prior arrangement, Gallup had agreed to include

the questions in its regular series of omnibus surveys. The dates of each survey and sample size are reported upon in the following table:

Table 1. Survey and Sample Characteristics

Country	Date	Sample size
Guatemala	June, 1994	1,212
El Salvador	May, 1994	1,212
Honduras	June, 1994	1,220
Nicaragua	April, 1994	1,202
Costa Rica	April, 1994	1,204
Panama	March, 1994	1,218
Total		7,268

In total, 7,268 Central Americans were interviewed for this study. In each country, the samples are national probability in design, with the respondents from the primary sampling unit being selected based upon the "last birthday system"¹ plus a quota system (age and sex). The samples for each country were weighted based on population size, and the final weighted combined sample produced a file of 7,254 cases. It is that combined file that is analyzed in this report. All of the interviews were conducted face-to-face with trained interviewers of Gallup except in Costa Rica, where 500 interviews were conducted over the telephone. The ubiquitous availability of telephones in Costa Rica made the use of phone

¹The interviewer determines the dates of the birthdays of all household members and interviews the member whose birthday is closest to the date of the interview.

interviews possible. The remaining interviews were directed to those without phones. Interviewers were individuals with high school education or greater. Approximately one-quarter of all of the interviews were revalidated by telephone or personal follow up by field supervisors. In each country the survey focused on the voting age population, generally those 18 years of age and older.

Upon completion of each survey, Gallup entered the responses into its data base system and sent to Pittsburgh a diskette with the results. In a number of cases minor errors emerged from the preliminary analysis and Gallup corrected those errors and express mailed a corrected diskette to Pittsburgh. Seligson traveled to Costa Rica in June, 1994 to work directly with CID Gallup in the preparation of the final data sets. In August, the final data base (Guatemala) reached Seligson. The data base (originally in ASCII format) was converted into SPSS/PC+ format for each survey. Then the ten items on municipal government plus key socio-economic and demographic information were taken from each country's data base and combined into a single file with all of the 7,254 weighted cases. The report that follows represents the major findings of the analysis.

II. The Questions Asked on Local Government

The Questions Asked

We live in a complex world, and human cognition reflects that reality. It is not surprising, therefore, that citizens have complex attitudes toward various aspects of political life. Consider the reaction of a "typical" U.S. voter towards an incumbent administration. The voter might be very highly impressed by a President's record on foreign policy, but much more negative on his record on domestic policy. In reality, the situation is even more complex than that, since there may be aspects of domestic policy that get a high rating (e.g., the economy) but others that get a low rating (e.g., crime).

Central American citizens are no different. They, too, see the political world in its complex reality and have opinions on various aspects of that reality. In this study, funding limitations prevented the exploration of the full range of attitudes toward local government; a maximum of ten questions could be asked in each country. Consultation with RHUDO, and the consultant's more than twenty years of experience in Central America, led to the conclusion that the three most essential elements of opinion toward local government were: 1) participation, 2) satisfaction, and 3) legitimacy. Each of these dimensions is explained, and its operationalization in terms of the questions used is given.

Participation

In democratic politics, citizens can choose to involve themselves with local government in three basic ways. First, they can attend meetings of the local government. Second, they can petition local government for assistance. Finally, they can vote in local elections. The survey included questions on each of these three forms of participation.

Attendance at local government was measured by the following question:

Have you had the opportunity to attend a session or meeting convened by the municipality during the last 12 months?

The question varied somewhat depending upon the country. For example, in Honduras, Nicaragua and El Salvador, municipalities may hold open town meetings, called *cabildos abiertos*, in addition to regular municipal meetings. In other countries, regular and extraordinary meetings of municipal government are regularly held. There is also variation in terms of the openness of municipal government to citizen participation. For example, in El Salvador meetings have traditionally been closed to the public, but beginning in 1986 when the *cabildo abierto* was introduced as part of the new municipal code, this alternative mechanism for citizen participation was introduced.²

²The "consulta popular" was also introduced. This is a form of local plebiscite, but one that has not been utilized with any frequency.

Not all citizens have equal access to local government. One factor that limits participation is the resident's distance from the county seat; those who live far away will have more difficulty in attending meetings. Another factor involves the competing obligations confronted by individuals who might wish to attend a municipal meeting. Women in particular face competing demands on their time as they are often required to stay at home to care for children and are thus unable to easily attend municipal meetings. This same problem affects the very poor, who must spend virtually all of their time earning a living. One needs to be sensitive to each of these factors (and others) in exploring levels of participation in local government.

Attendance at a meeting does not necessarily mean that the individual is an active participant in that meeting. Citizens may go to such meetings merely to attend a community social event, or out of curiosity. In many other cases, community delegations attend the meetings to show solidarity with their community leader. All that can be known from this item is that the individual attended one or more meetings during the course of the year. Interpretation of the quality of participation is left to other questions in the study.

It is important to note that the one-year time frame for meeting attendance was selected so as to enable comparisons of participation levels from one year to the next. If the question had included a longer time frame, than a study done in the following year would not pick up variation (up or down) in recent local government participation. It is important to note, however, that individuals have difficulty

recalling with precision their behavior of several months before. Therefore, the one-year time frame should be taken as a general guideline for participation.

The second question in the participation series gets more directly at the question of active involvement. The question reads:

Have you asked for help or presented a petition to some office, employee, or municipal official of the municipality during the last 12 months?

Here again, there is variation in the wording of this item across the six nations. In some countries the local officials are called "*municipes*," while in others they are called "*consejales*." The questionnaire used the terminology appropriate for each country. See Appendix 1 for the specific wording.

Petitions and requests for help can be of two types: personal or communal. An individual can request that the municipality provide a building permit or a birth certificate. This would be an example of a personal request. On the other hand, there can be requests that a school room be constructed or a road be paved. This would be an illustration of a communal request. The current survey does not distinguish between these two types of activities, and it would be important to do so in future studies if more funding can be made available for a more extensive series of questions.

Voting, finally, is the quintessential form of participation in a democracy. In Central America, until the early 1980s, most elections (when they occurred) were

manipulated and participation was limited. Only in Costa Rica is there a long history of free and fair elections. With the establishment of democratic procedures in each of the Central American countries in the 1980s, elections have become regular events, and most observers have found them to be free and fair. In this study the focus is on local elections. Election procedures vary throughout the region, but all allow for voters to cast a ballot for local officials. The question read as follows:

Did you vote in the last elections for municipal candidates?

It is reasonable to anticipate variation in this item depending upon the date of the last election. Elections that occurred right before the survey was administered are more likely to recall casting their vote than those who voted several years before. People tend to forget about events that are far more momentous than voting, so one cannot expect great accuracy for recall beyond six months to a year.

Satisfaction

Participation in local government may bring rewards, it may bring frustration, or a combination of the two. Much depends upon the capacity and responsiveness of local government. In the series on participation, all that could be

determined was the level of activity. With this series of items, one can measure the respondents' evaluation of municipal government.

The first item in this series is the most general:

Would you say that the services that the municipality is giving to the people are excellent, good, average, poor or very bad?

This is the first item in the ten-item set of questions that uses a five-point scale response format. The idea of using such a scale is to go beyond a simple, "yes-no" dichotomy, and thus to allow for intensity of approval/disapproval. Researchers have found that five points are about ideal for capturing variation in public opinion; fewer points throw away real differences of opinion, whereas more points add little discriminating power to the measure.

The second item directly concerns the respondents' evaluation of the manner in which the municipality treats its clients. The item reads as follows:

How do you think that you or your neighbors have been treated when they have gone to the municipality to take care of some business? Did they treat you very well, well, average, badly or very badly?

In this item the focus is on the evaluation of routine matters that citizens need to carry out at their local governments. In many countries these matters include

obtaining identity cards, paying for services such as trash collection, and obtaining birth and death certificates. The range of actions varies from country to country.

The final item in this series is designed to compare current and previous municipal government. The prior evaluation items may demonstrate, for example, that they are dissatisfied with the services of the municipality, but this last item in the series can demonstrate that their level of satisfaction is increasing.

Alternatively, citizens may perceive a deterioration in the quality of service. The question reads as follows:

Would you say that the current municipality is giving service that is much better, somewhat better, the same, somewhat worse or much worse than before?

Legitimacy

A fundamental building block for democratic theory is that in order for there to be political stability, citizens must believe in the legitimacy of their government. This is the belief that the political system, even when it makes decisions disliked by its citizens, has the basic right to be making those decisions and will be supported.

The concept of legitimacy has typically been utilized to study government at the national level. In Central America, where municipal government has almost

always been overshadowed by far more powerful central governments, it is important to know if citizens perceive a legitimate role for their local governments. It would not be surprising to find that some Central Americans find local government superfluous. On the other hand, irresponsible and/or repressive central governments may be so disliked that some Central Americans would prefer to increase local government power and authority at the expense of central government. This series of four items was designed to measure these sentiments.

The first item directly compares local and national government:

In your opinion, who has responded better to help resolve the problems of this community? Would it be the central government, the national legislators or the municipality?

The motivation for providing three options, including national legislators (*diputados*), is that pre-tests of the item demonstrated that some citizens made a clear distinction between their central government and their national legislators. When the item is analyzed to explore the central/local distinction, however, central government and legislators are combined into a single option. For the remainder of the analysis, however, the three separate responses are retained. The response format also allowed for the options "neither" and "all are equal." These responses emerged in pre-testing and for the purpose of establishing dimensionality (see below) are collapsed into the non-local response.

The next item in the legitimacy series attempts to measure the extent to which citizens would rather see a stronger local government or would instead prefer a stronger central government. The item reads:

In your opinion, should local government be given more responsibility and more funding, or should we let the central government assume more responsibilities and municipal services?

The response format allowed for two additional replies, neither of which was read to the respondent: "don't change anything," and "more to the municipality if it gives better service."

It is one thing to demand a better local government and it is quite another to be willing to pay for it. In the following item, the respondents were, in effect, being asked to "put their money where their mouth is." They were asked:

Would you be willing to pay more taxes to the municipality to enable it to provide better service or do you think that it is not worth it to pay more?

The final item in this series attempts to provide an overall evaluation of the legitimacy of municipal government. The focus is on the responsiveness of local government to popular demands. The item reads as follows:

Do you think that the municipal officers and the mayor of this municipality respond to what the people want almost always, the majority of the time, once in a while, almost never or never?

Once again the five-item response category is employed in this item in order to finely grade the sentiments of the those interviewed.

The Structure of Attitudes Toward Local Government

In the previous section the three theoretical dimensions of evaluation of local government were outlined. Those three dimensions were developed by the researcher as three distinct clusters of attitudes. It may be, however, that Central American citizens do not sense the same clear-cut dimensions as did the researcher. In order to determine if Central Americans see these three dimensions as distinct, it is necessary to turn to the data that was collected and to apply a procedure known as "factor analysis."

Factor analysis is a statistical procedure designed to determine if a series of items contains one or more underlying dimensions. The procedure is blind to the wishes of the researcher. It does not know, for example, that the researcher developed three dimensions for evaluating municipal government. All the procedure does is to examine the pattern of responses given by those who were

interviewed and to determine if distinct dimensions emerge. In the worst of all cases, the ten-item series would produce ten dimensions, indicating that no question is related to any other. At the other extreme, if all ten items are really tapping the same dimension, a single "factor" would emerge from the analysis.

The results of the factor analysis are presented in Table 1 below. In this analysis all of the data from all six countries are included so that it can be determined if there is a common set of dimensions that can be employed for all of Central America. A factor analysis will show distinct dimensions if a group of variables has high "loadings" i.e., coefficients, on one dimension and low loadings on all other dimensions.

The factor analysis confirms quite well the theoretical dimensions established by the researcher. As can be seen, three clear factors emerge. Factor 1, the strongest of the three dimensions, is satisfaction with local government. These three items explain 22.3 percent of the variance of the ten item set. Legitimacy comprises the second dimension, with 13.2 percent of the variance, and participation the final factor, with 12.3 percent of the variance. This analysis confirms that Central Americans see three distinct dimensions to the evaluation of local government. It therefore makes sense to analyze the data along the lines of these three dimensions. Chapters III, IV and V of this report covers each of those dimensions.

Table 1. Factor Analysis of Ten-Item Series

Variable	Factor 1: Satisfaction	Factor 2: Legitimacy	Factor 3: Participation
Attend meetings	-.01	.14	.73
Requested help	-.06	-.00	.76
Voted	.08	-.07	.42
Service	.79	.17	.03
Treatment	.81	.04	.03
Comparison	.77	.09	-.01
Local vs. Central	.06	.69	-.06
More responsibility	-.06	.66	-.06
More taxes	.08	.44	.07
Responsiveness	.27	.57	.02
% Variance explained	22.3	13.2	12.3
eigenvalue	2.23	1.32	1.23

Principal components analysis with varimax rotation, Kaiser normalization. Pairwise missing data treatment.

III. Participation in Local Government

Attending Meetings

The analysis begins by looking at the first item in the participation series. Here the attention is on attendance at meetings of the municipality. The six-nation result is contained in Figure 1. For Central America as a whole, 11.3 percent of those interviewed had attend a municipal meeting. There is, however, considerable variation among the countries. El Salvador stands out as having far higher attendance at municipal meetings than any other country. The difference is statistically significant (F ratio $< .0001$). Participation in Guatemala is also high, significantly higher than Costa Rica and Panama, but not significantly higher than Honduras or Nicaragua (Duncan multiple range test $< .05$).

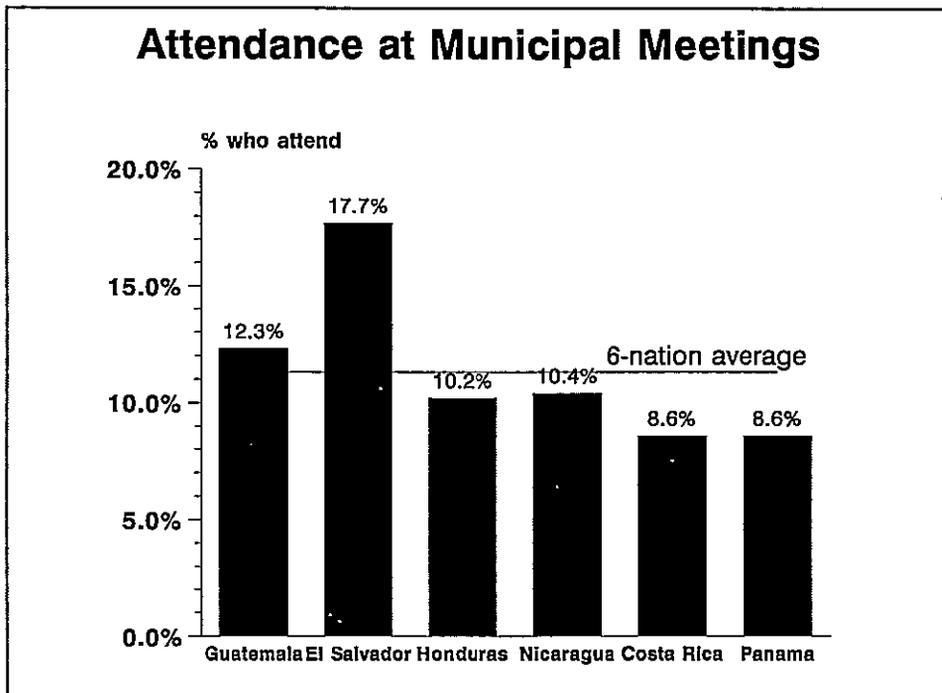


Figure 1

Gender differentiates Central Americans in a wide variety of ways. As noted above, women may find it more difficult to participate actively in local government because they are tied to their households, caring for their children. As the Figure 2 shows, males participate in municipal meetings at levels far higher than females, a difference that is statistically significant for each of the six countries. The gap between male and female is widest in Guatemala, and narrowest in Costa Rica.

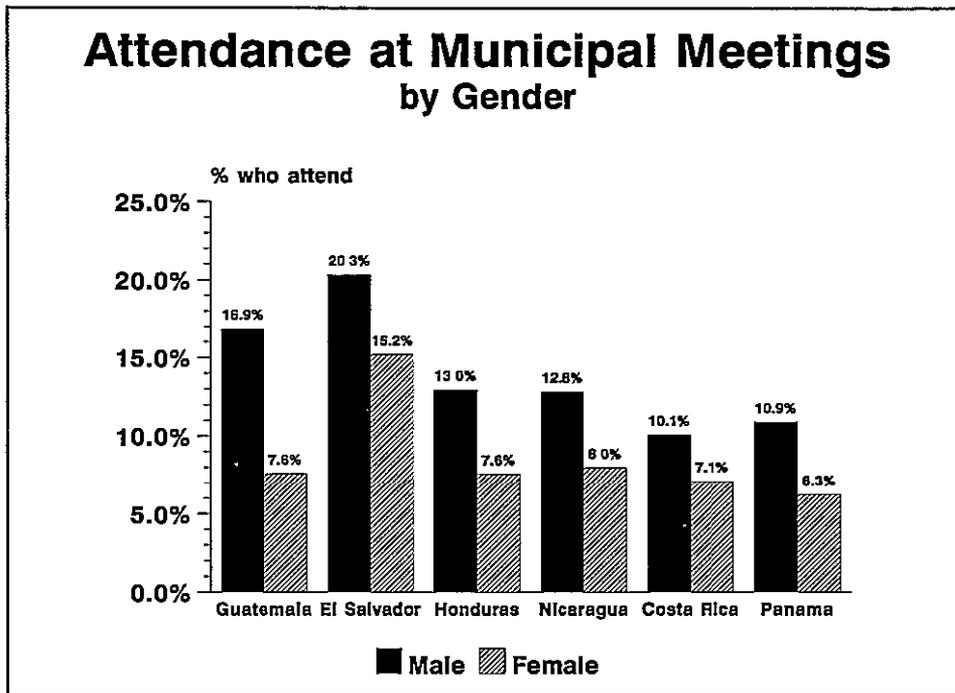


Figure 2

In many studies of political participation, education has shown to be a powerful predictor. Specifically, those with higher education tend to participate more. Their education apparently gives them the intellectual tools to be able to link their interests with their behavior, but, perhaps more importantly, it gives them community respect so that when they participate they will be taken seriously by their peers. Education, of course, is related directly to income, and those with higher incomes have more free time to participate and find it easier to obtain the resources (e.g., buss fare) to participate.

In Central America, education tends to be related to education in a fully linear fashion in only in Costa Rica and Panama. As is shown in Figure 3 below,

the higher the education the greater the participation. The differences are statistically significant ($< .001$ for each country). El Salvador and Nicaragua also tend to follow a linear pattern, but there is a fall-off among high school educated citizens, but a return to higher levels for those with university education (see Figure 4). Finally, Honduras and Guatemala have an unusual pattern, with high education relating to lower participation (Figure 5). Only in Honduras, however, are the highest levels of education related to the lowest levels of participation. University educated Honduras participate at levels equivalent to Panamanians with no education. In Guatemala, in contrast, even though participation declines at the highest levels of education, it is still higher than those with the lowest levels of education.

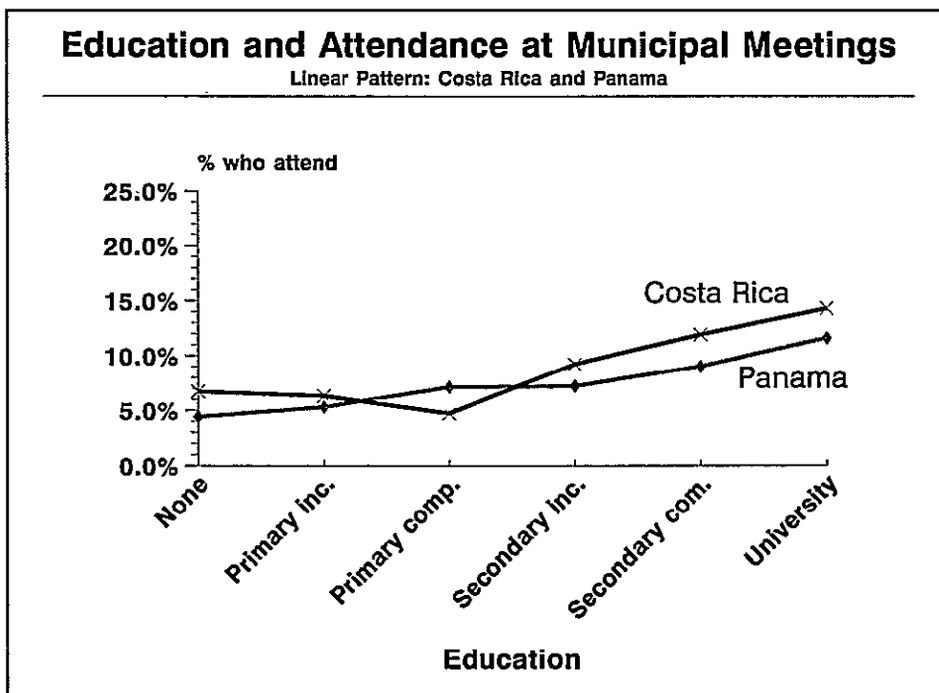


Figure 3

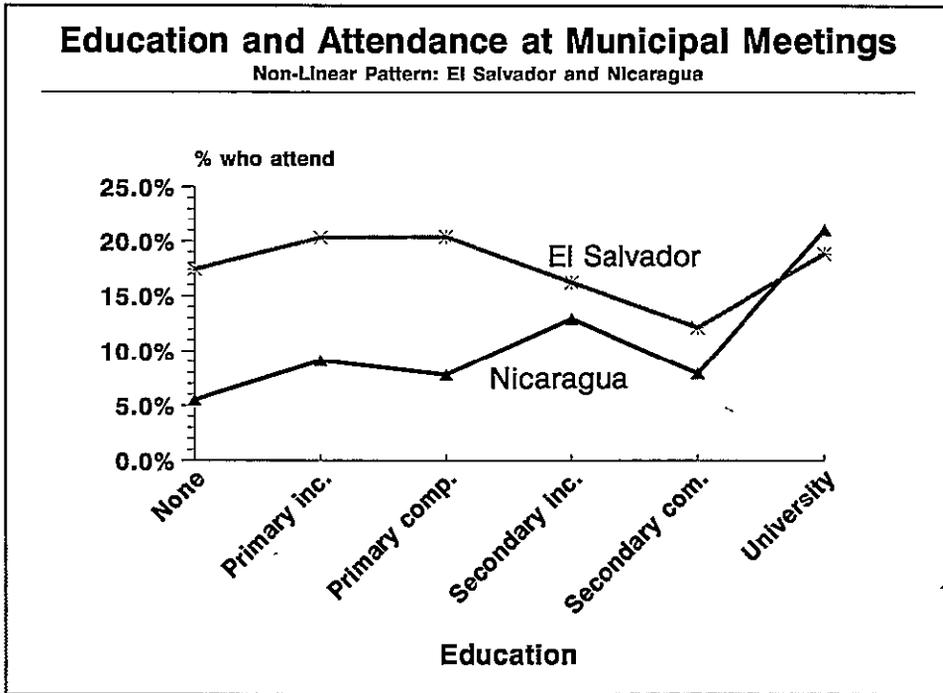


Figure 4

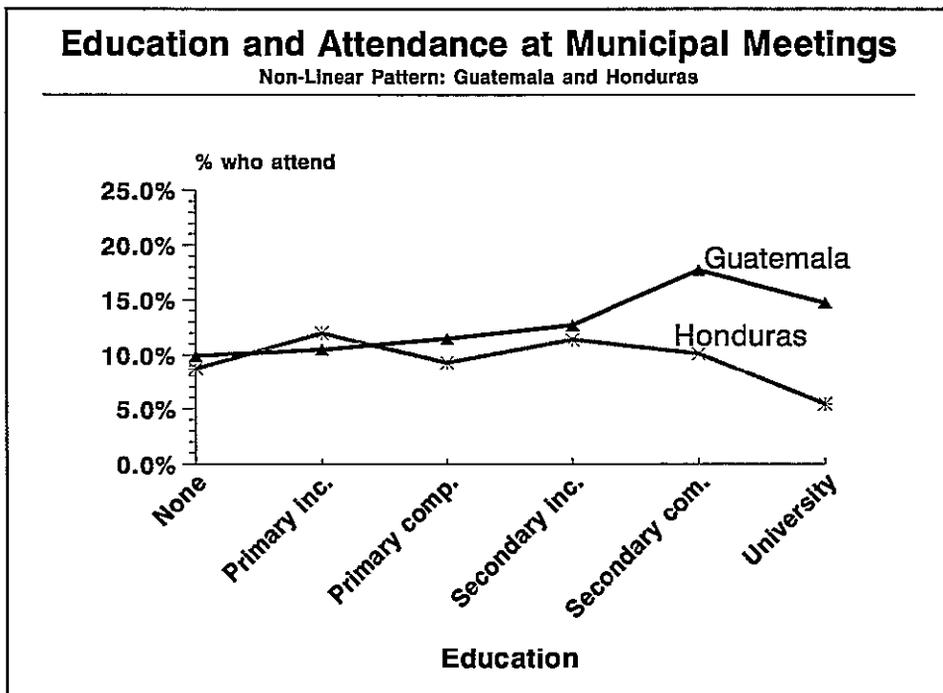


Figure 5

Age also defines participation in many countries. Studies of voting behavior have frequently shown, for example, that participation is low among the youngest potential voters, largely because they see little reason to become involved. As the voter grows into full adulthood, however, and gains a stake in life (property, children, etc.), they find that they need to vote in the hopes of putting in office individuals who will protect their interests better than other candidates. As the voter ages, however, it is frequent to find a loss of interest in politics coupled with a decrease in mobility due to infirmity that lowers voting once again.

The voting pattern just described found in many nations is one that matches closely attendance at municipal meetings in Central America. Figure 6 below shows the pattern for the entire region.

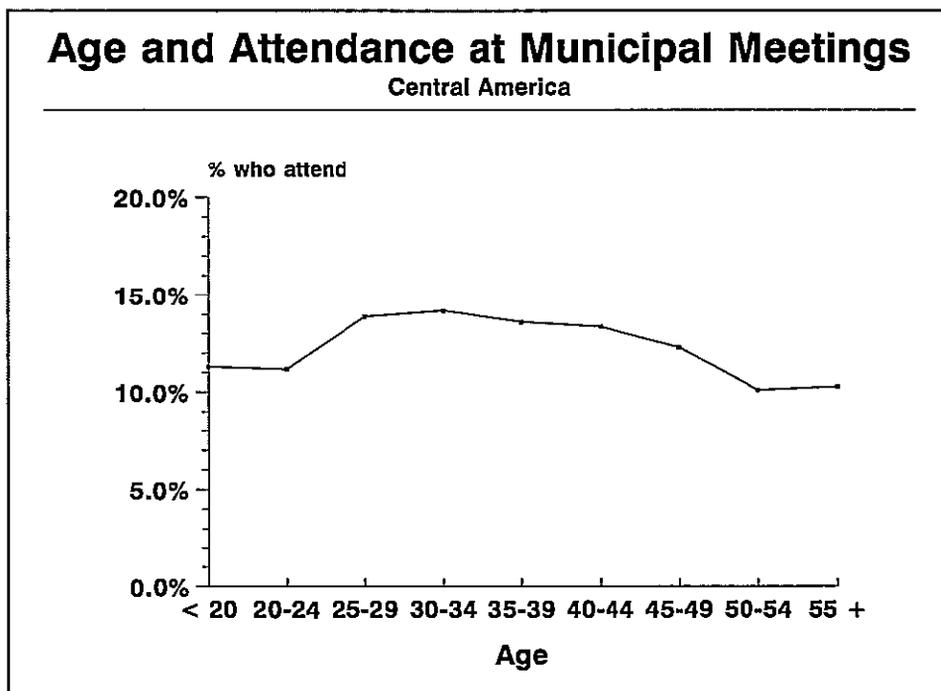


Figure 6

Although the region as a whole matches the standard pattern, there are some significant variations among the six countries. In Figure 7 below, we find that Guatemala, El Salvador, Honduras and Panama experience a slight decline in participation for those between the ages of 20 and 24. This decline is perceptible in Figure 6 as well, but only barely so. The decline among the oldest respondents is also somewhat contradicted by the patterns of Panama and Honduras, where older respondents increase their participation.

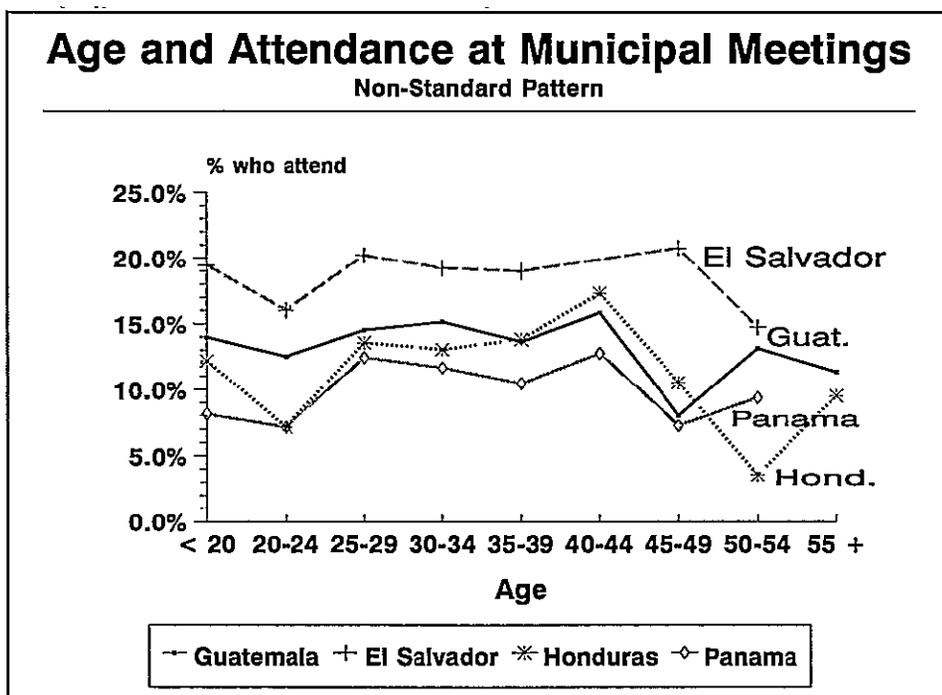


Figure 7

Nicaragua and Costa Rica display the more conventional pattern, with participation increasing in the younger years and declining as the individual moves toward older ages. The pattern is shown in Figure 8.

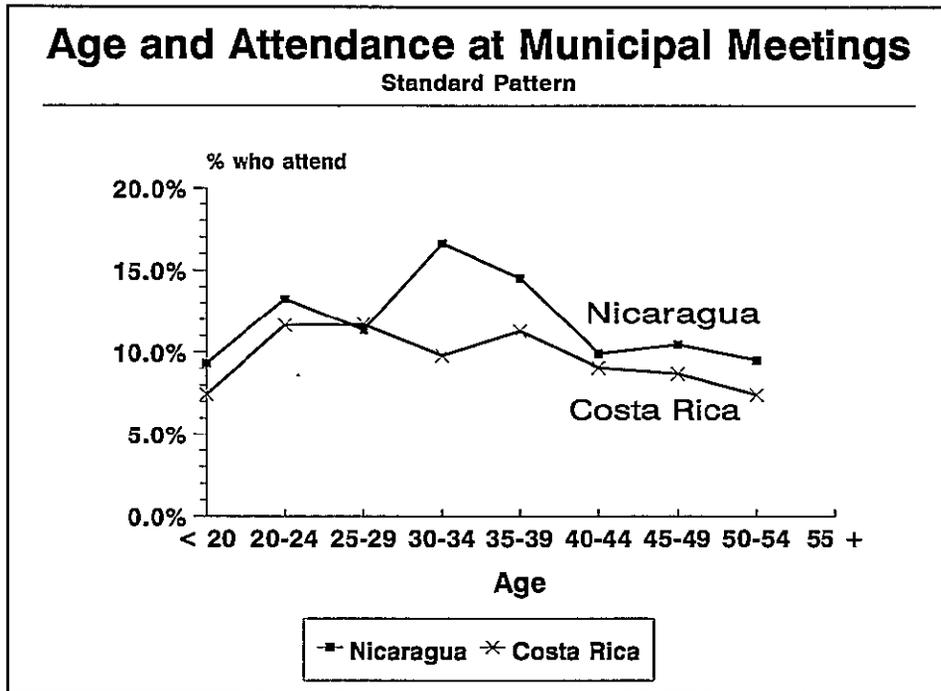


Figure 8

The preceding discussion has covered the basic demographic (gender and age) and socio-economic characteristics (i.e., education) that are directly related to levels of participation in meetings of local government. There is, however, an additional factor that is not a function of the individual but rather of the community in which the individual lives that can have a profound affect on participation. It has long been known in the social sciences that community size is an important determinant of many characteristics of that community. In the United States and elsewhere, for example, crime rates are higher and church attendance lower in big cities than in small towns. Conversely, it has been found that community participation is higher in small towns and lower in big cities. Central America, as a region, seems to follow this same pattern.

Figure 9 shows the overall pattern for Central America. The very low level of participation in the smallest towns may appear surprising, but it is also the case that these are most likely to be remote villages in which citizens have to travel considerable distances on foot to get to their county seat where municipal government meetings take place. Participation peaks in the small-to-medium sized communities, and drops off dramatically in the larger towns and cities. The reader should be cautioned not to interpret these figures to imply that fewer people attend meetings in large towns and cities. Rather, these figures are showing per capita participation rates. Therefore, even though per capita rates might be lower in a larger city in Central America, the total number of persons attending a municipal meeting might well be greater than in a small town.

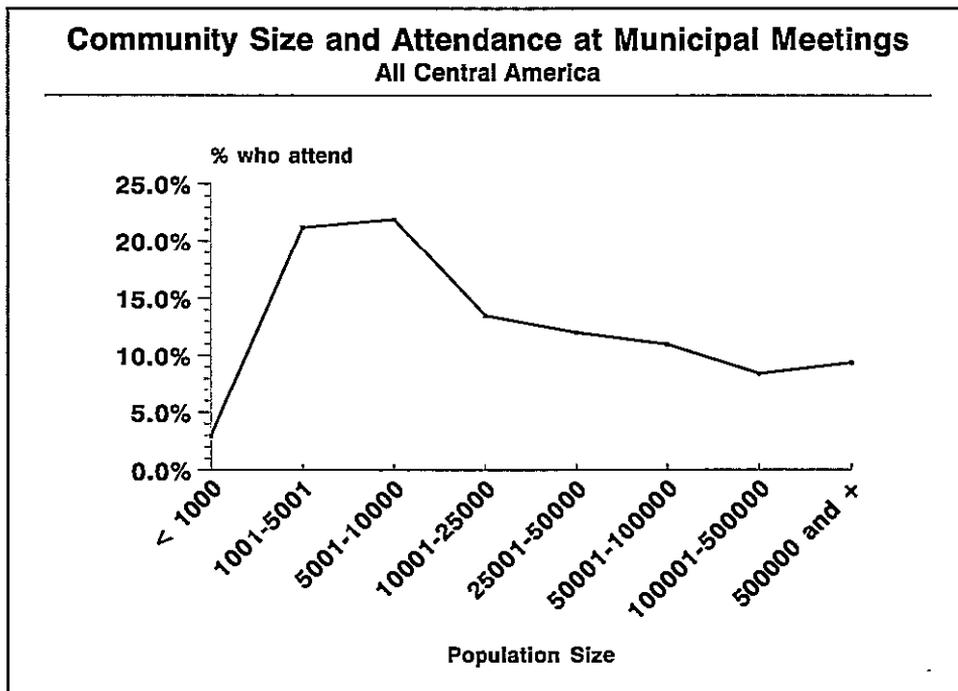


Figure 9

The pattern for the individual countries varies in some important ways. Small communities in Salvador stand out as having an extraordinarily high level of participation in local government meetings. As can be seen on Figure 10, 58 percent of Salvadorans in communities of 5-10,000 people have attended a municipal meeting in the last year. The widespread utilization of the *cabildo abierto* system in El Salvador since 1986 largely accounts for this high level of participation. Once community size reaches 10,000 or more, participation drops dramatically, although still is higher than that found in other Central American countries. Finally, once community size reaches over 100,000, participation drops to comparatively low levels. It should be noted that CID Gallup did not sample in any community smaller than 5,000 in El Salvador, but it is very likely that participation levels in communities smaller than that size are as high if not higher than the 5,000-10,000 level shown here because many municipalities in El Salvador are very small. Of El Salvador's 262 municipalities, 161 of them have populations under 10,000 (USAID Municipal Development Project Paper, 1994:5), and 63 have populations of less than 5,000 (1993 preliminary population census reports).

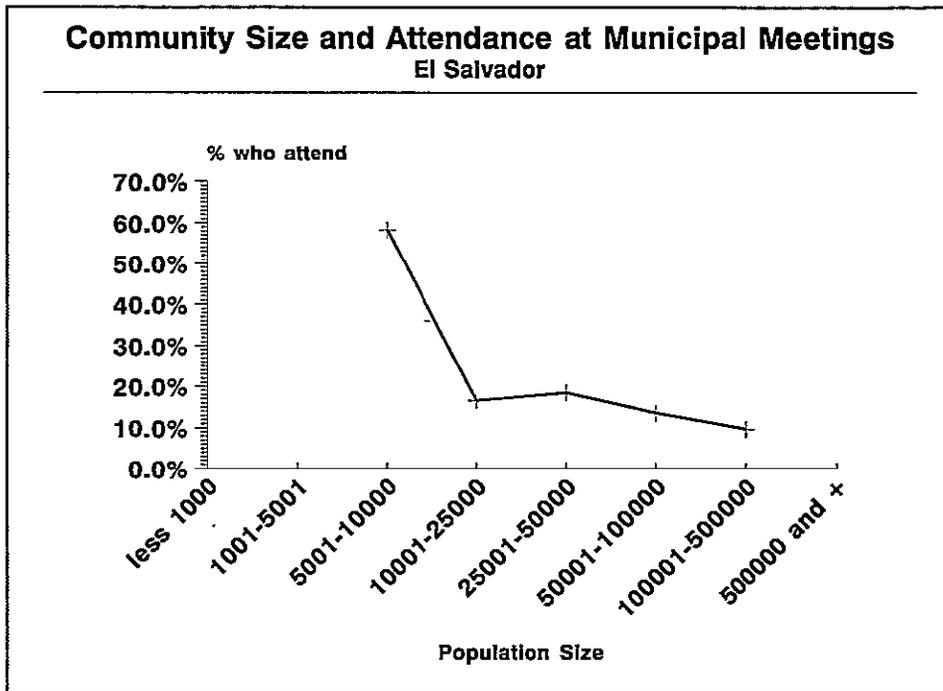


Figure 10

The remaining countries in Central America follow more typical pattern, with participation rates higher in small communities and lower in large cities, but with variation not nearly as dramatic as found in El Salvador. The only major differences among the remaining five countries are Guatemala and Panama. Guatemalan participation rates within the smallest communities is very high, 25 percent. Panama, on the other hand, had very low rates in the smallest communities, but those quickly rose to match the rates in the other countries in communities of 5,000 or more.

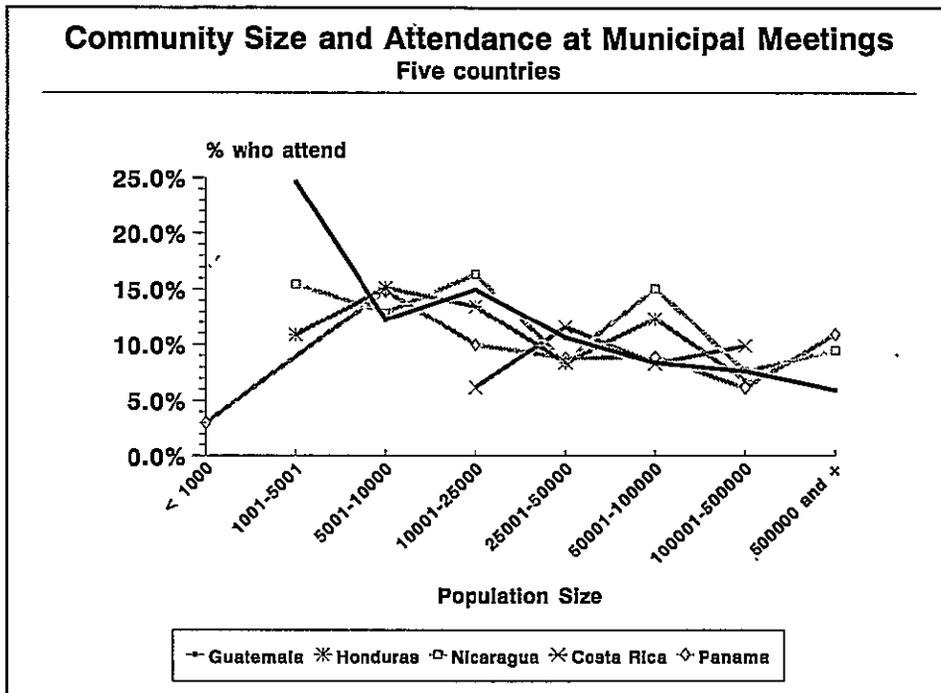


Figure 11

Requests For Assistance

The second question asked in the series on participation, it will be recalled, concerned a more active form, one in which the citizen directly petitions the local government for assistance. It will also be recalled that this assistance can be for personal or community needs. Figure 12 below shows the overall pattern for the six nations. There are two countries that stand out: Costa Rica and Nicaragua. Costa Rica's citizens are far more likely to request some sort of assistance from their local governments than are the citizens of any other country. At the other

extreme is Nicaragua, in which 11 percent of citizen have made such requests during the year prior to the survey. The differences are statistically significant.³

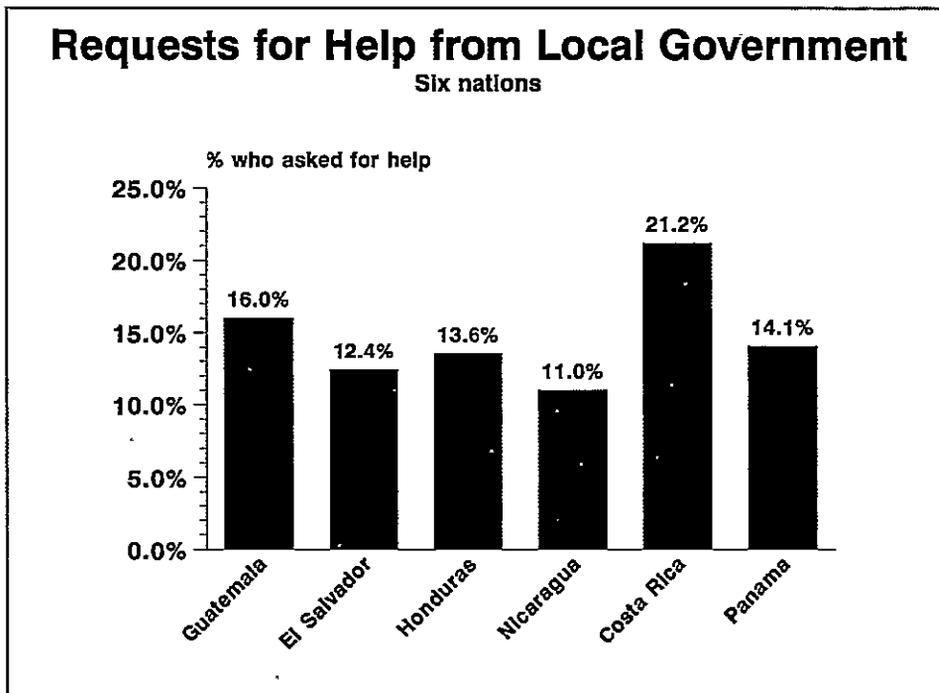


Figure 12

Gender variations on requesting help from local government are much the same as we saw for attendance at municipal meetings. In each country, women are less likely to request assistance than men. The difference is widest in

³The first administration of these items in the Gallup poll in Nicaragua, April, 1994, contained an error in the questionnaire on this item introduced by CID Gallup. The question was asked again in August, 1994, and the responses show here are for the corrected item.

Nicaragua and Guatemala, but very slight in El Salvador, Honduras and Costa Rica (see Figure 13).

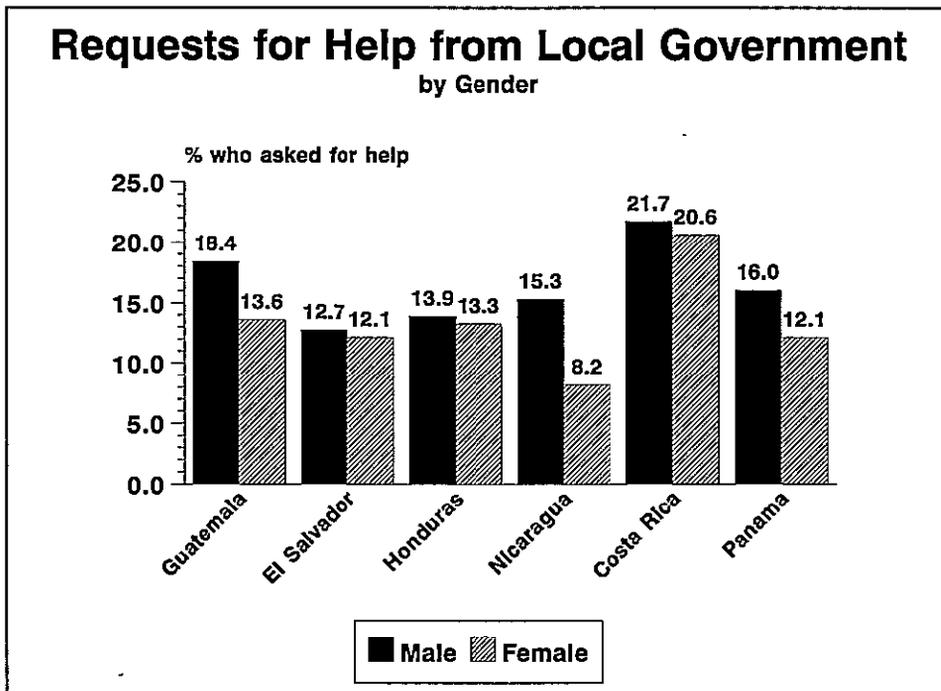


Figure 13

Education is associated with greater probability of a citizen requesting assistance from his/her local government, but the relationship is not linear. As can be seen in Figure 14, in Costa Rica and El Salvador, those with no education are about as likely to request help from local government as are those with university education. It is also clear that irrespective of level of education, Costa Ricans are more likely to request help from their local government. In Figure 15 a somewhat different pattern is shown with Guatemala and Honduras. In these two countries, participation increases through high school levels of education, but then declines among those with university education.

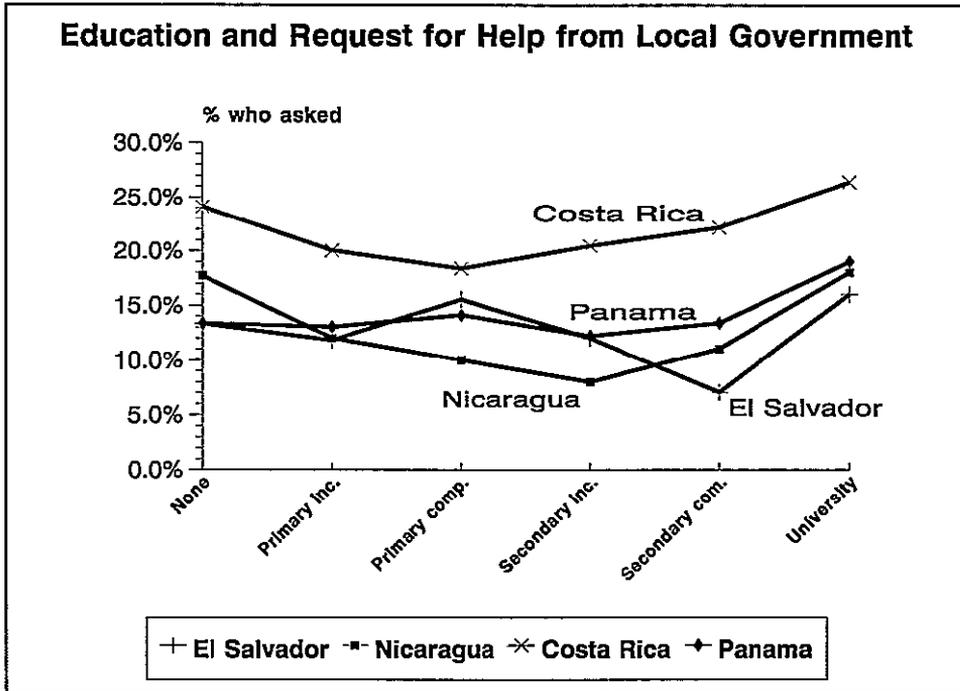


Figure 14

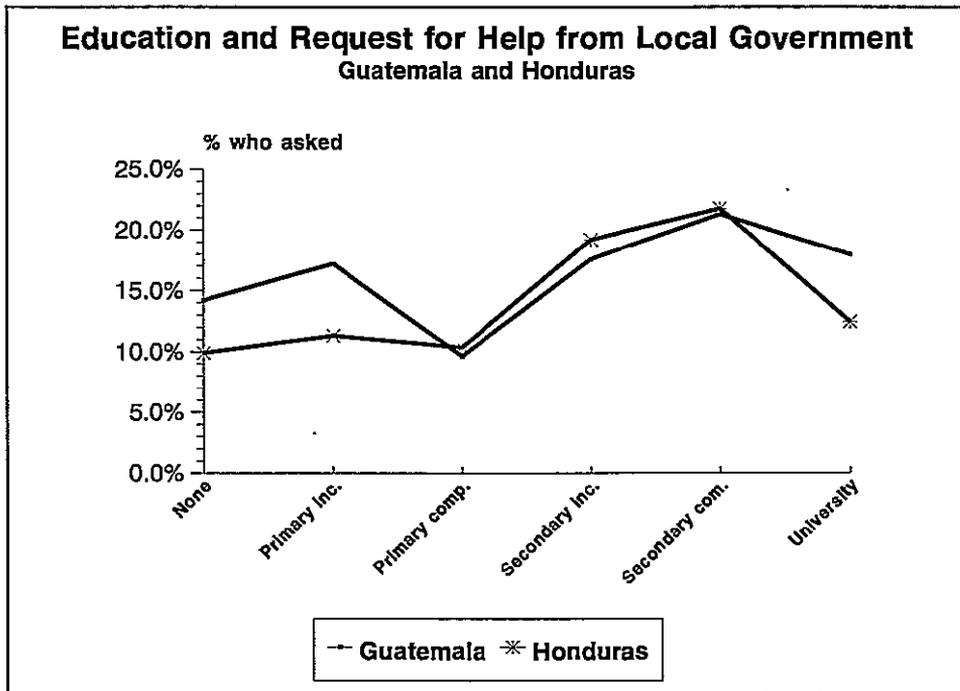


Figure 15

The relationship of requesting help from local government and age is shown in figure 16 below. It follows a pattern similar to that uncovered in the discussion of attendance at municipal meetings; initially it is low, rises as the individual becomes older and falls in the senior years. Once again the peak years for participation are in the mid 20s. The patterns for the individual countries follow relatively closely this general pattern, and as a consequence the individual patterns are not shown for each country.

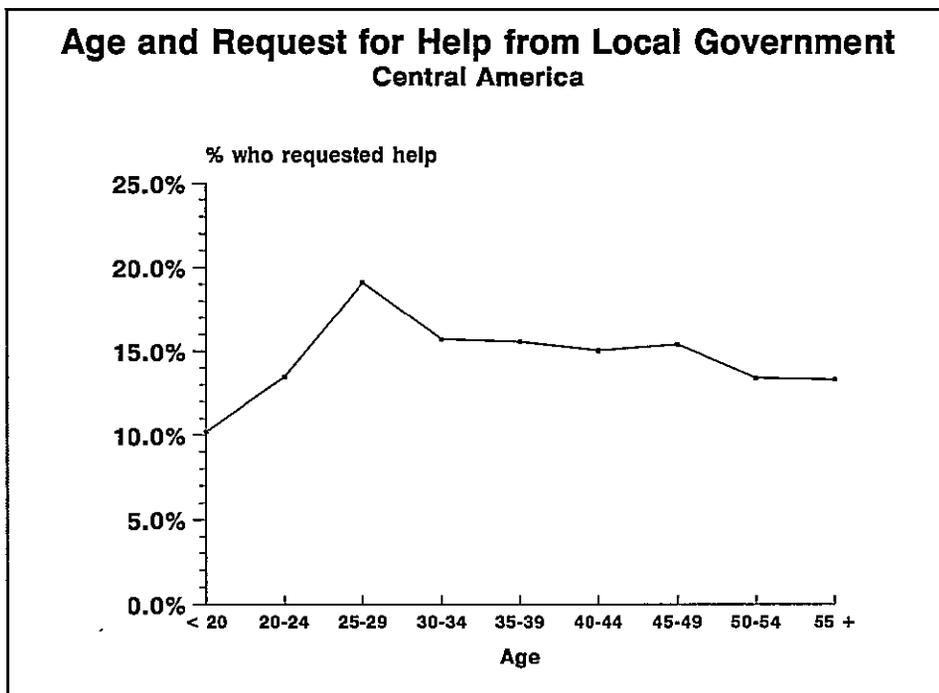


Figure 16

Community size has the same relationship to requesting help from local government as it did with attendance at municipal meetings. As is shown in Figure 17 below, requests peak in small communities and decline among the larger ones.

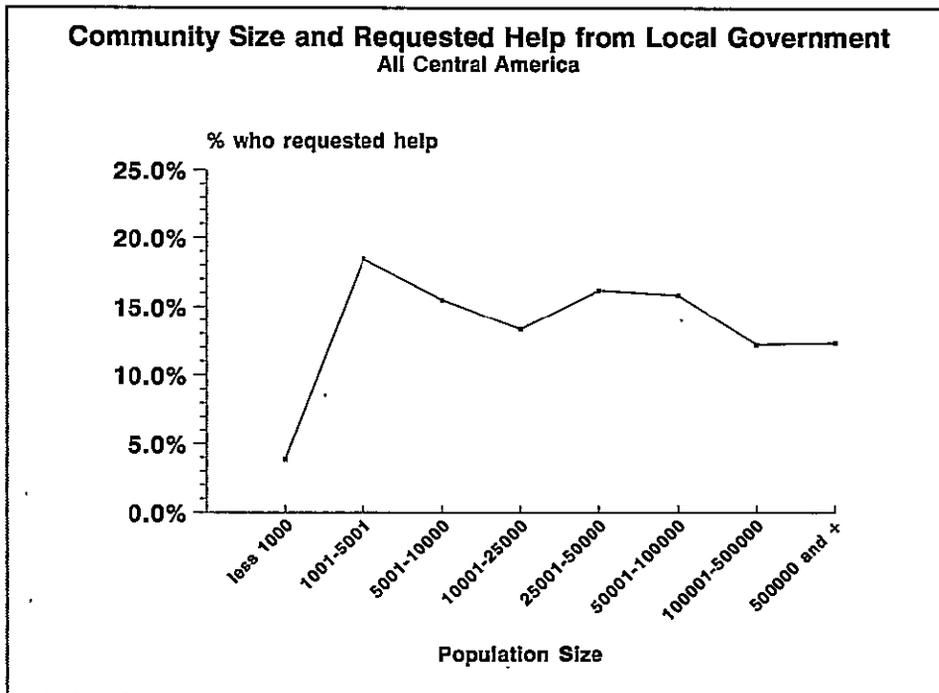


Figure 17

The pattern for all of the countries in the region except Panama is similar, in that there is higher participation in the smaller communities. In the case of Guatemala and El Salvador, the highest levels are in the smallest communities. As is shown in Figure 18, request levels in small communities in El Salvador and Guatemala are higher than it is any other country in the region. Only in Costa Rica do levels exceed those of Guatemala and El Salvador, and then in towns of 25-50,000 people. It is important to note that even though participation in El Salvador is high in terms of requests, it does not stand out as the exceptional case the way it did in terms of municipal meeting attendance. Apparently, high levels of municipal meeting attendance does not spill over into demand-making in terms of petitions,

etc. In Panama the pattern is different, with requests for municipal assistance taking an uptick in the largest cities (see figure 19). Even in Panama, however, the very highest level of requests for municipal assistance occurs among those citizens who live in communities of 5-10,000 people.

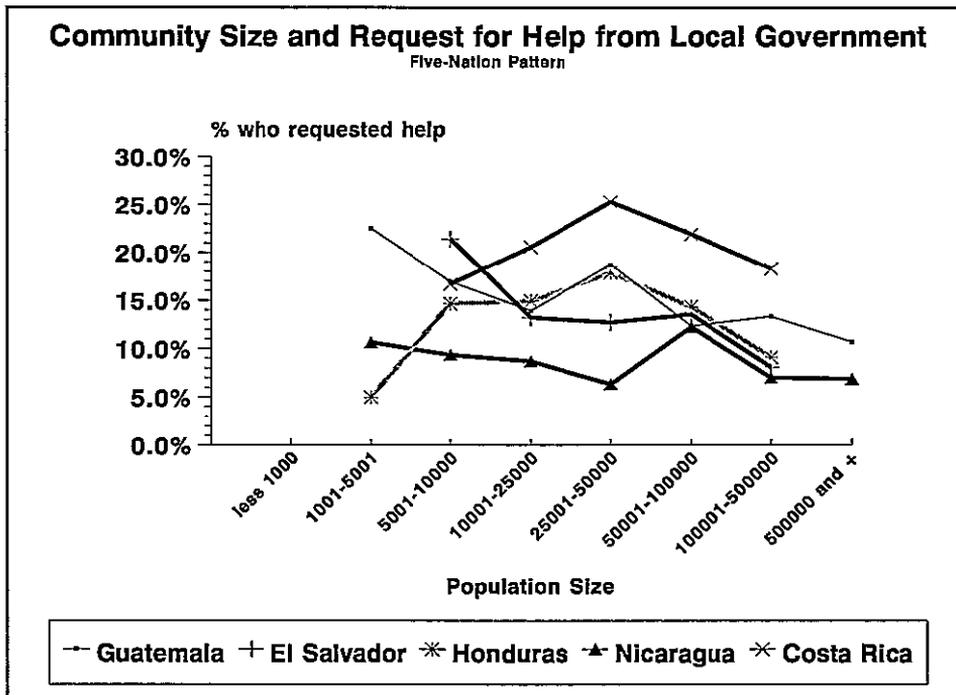


Figure 18

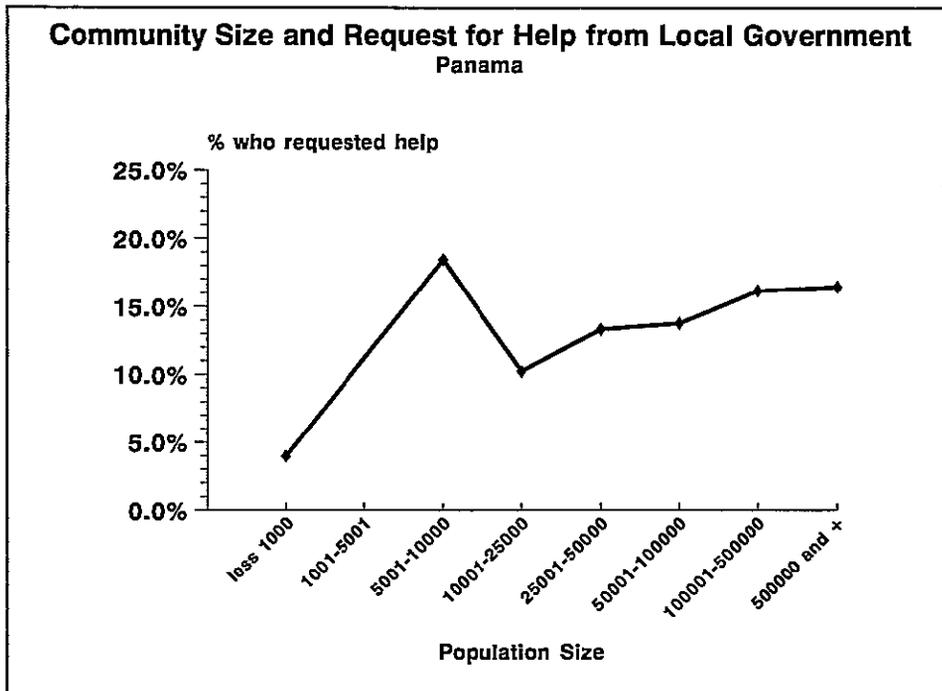


Figure 19

Voting

The final form of local participation is voting in elections. This is the form of political participation that is the more widespread than any other. Indeed, in many countries in Latin America, voting is obligatory. For the region as a whole, 68.6 percent of those interviewed stated that they had voted in the most recent municipal election prior to the interview. The figures for each country are contained in Figure 20 below.⁴ Guatemala and Nicaragua have had low turnout

⁴Respondents who chose not to answer this question were counted as non-voters. Excluding the non-voters changes the percentages slightly, increasing participation by a few percent in each country.

rates in recent elections, and these data reflect that fact. The August, 1994 election in Guatemala for deputies to the national congress had an abstention rate of 79%, and the prior election was reported as having less than 50% turnout.

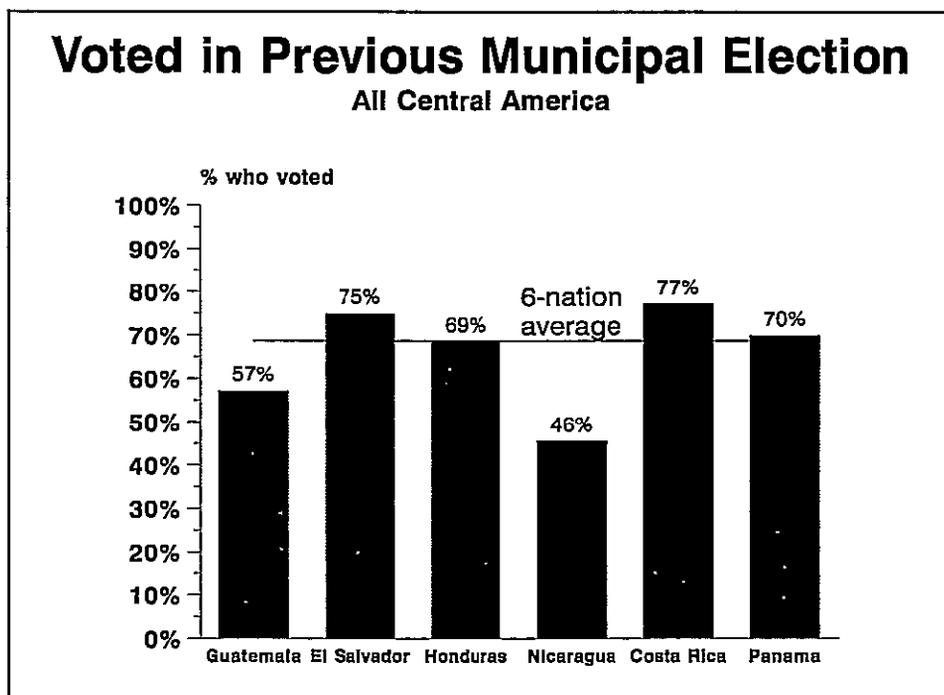


Figure 20

The differentiation between males and females found in municipal meeting attendance did not emerge in voting behavior, with the important exception of Guatemala (see Figure 21), where men voted in much higher numbers than women. In the other countries there is no statistically significant difference in levels of local voting among males and females.

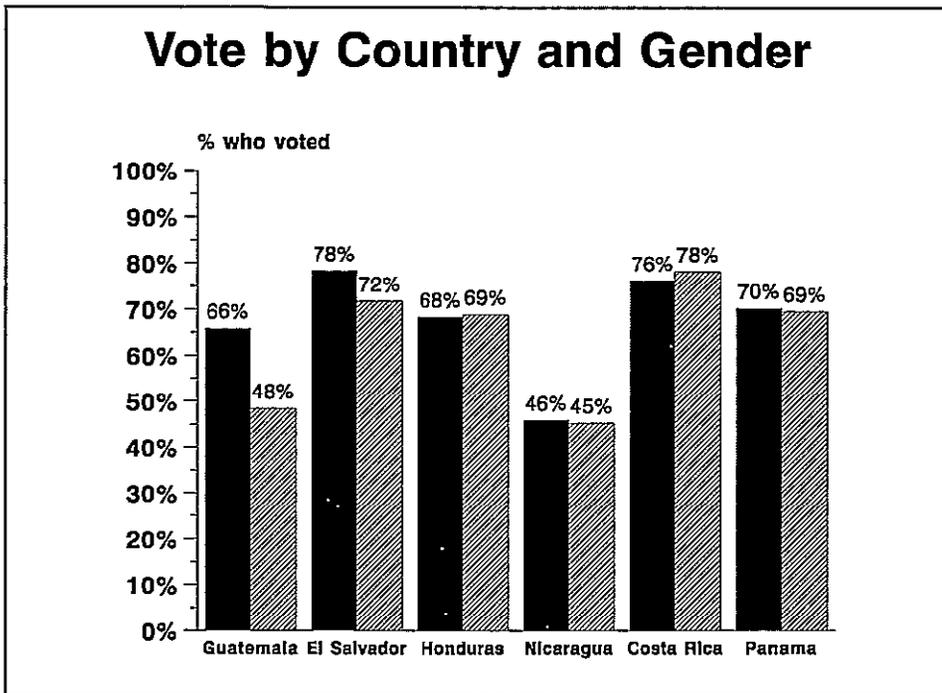


Figure 21

Education plays a role in voting, boosting the level of voting among the most highly educated (see Figure 21). But its impact is far less than it was for the other forms of municipal participation reviewed in this report.

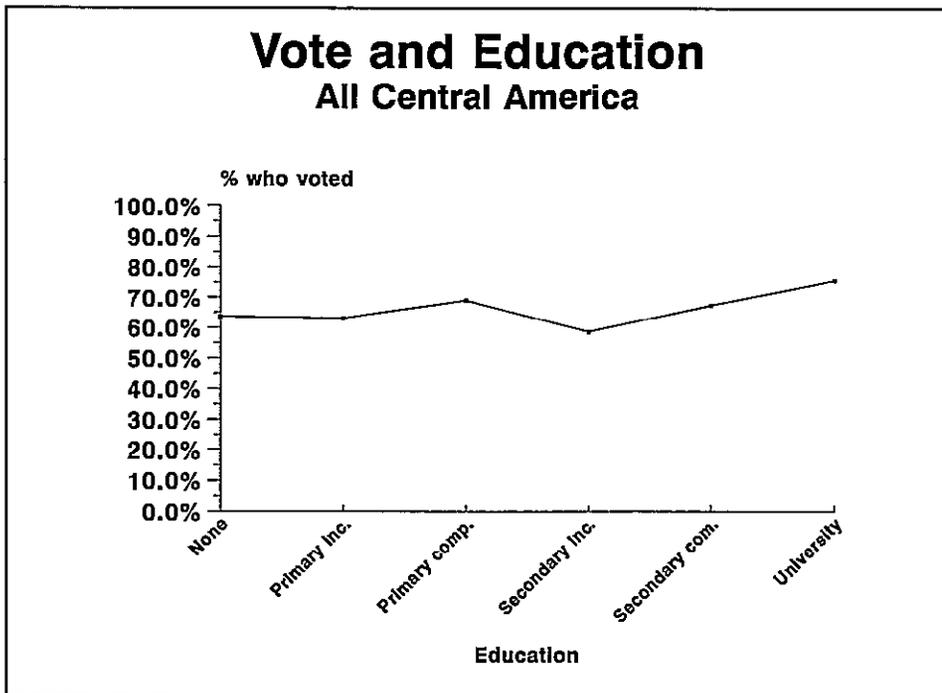


Figure 22

The pattern for the individual countries is shown on Figure 23 below. Only Honduras differs from the pattern of the other countries; voters there who have more education are more likely to abstain except those who have university education.

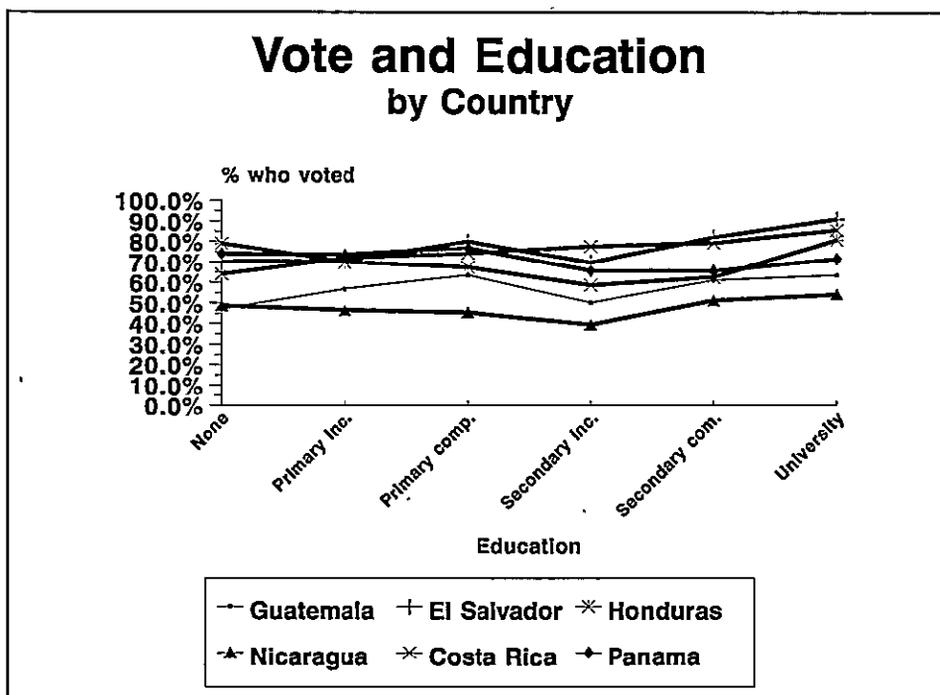


Figure 23

Age is related to the vote in the same manner in which it is related to attendance at municipal meetings. Specifically, for Central America as a whole, it is lower among the youngest voters, rises in the 20s and then falls off as voters reach their 50s. Figure 24 shows the pattern for the region and Figure 25 for the individual countries. The only notable deviation is that the downturn in the older groups does not occur in Panama, and there is a slight uptick in Honduras.

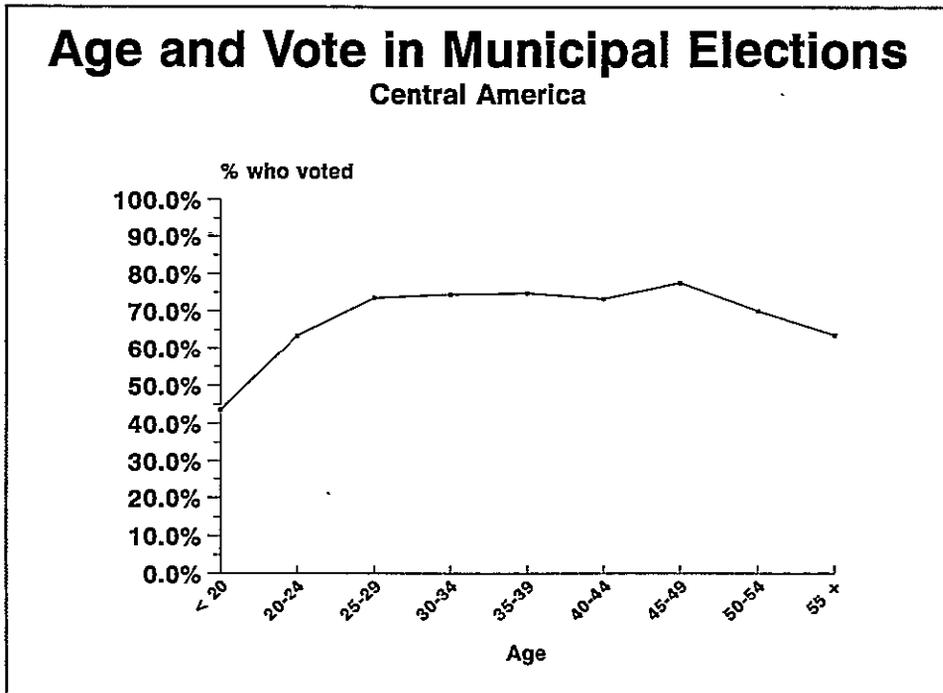


Figure 24

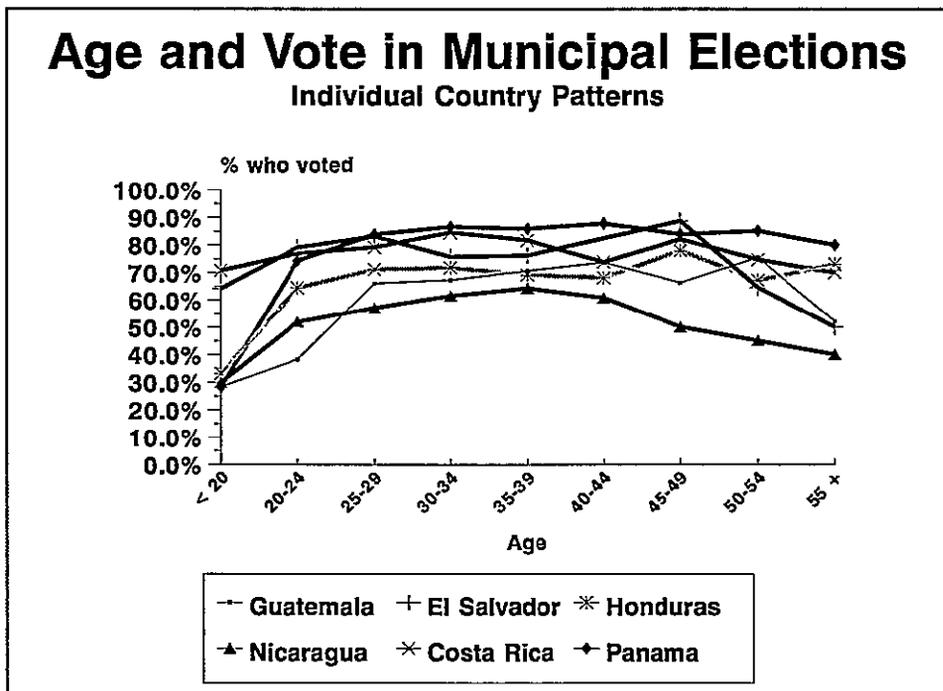


Figure 25

Community size and vote follows a pattern similar to that found in attendance at municipal meetings, but the trend is far less exaggerated. Voting is highest in the communities in the 10-25,000 range, and drops off in the largest cities, but the variation is small.

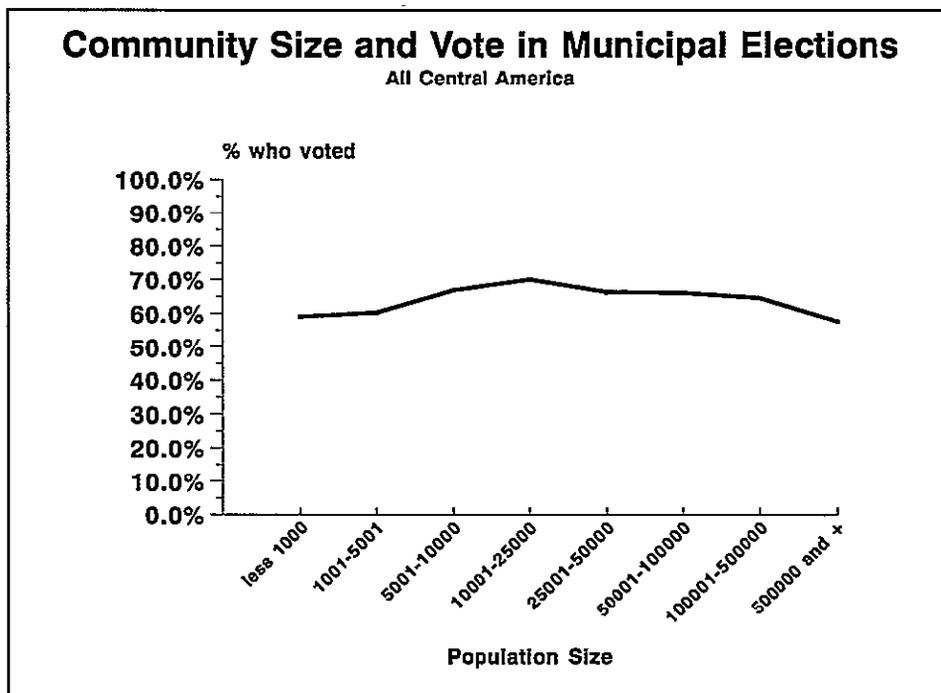


Figure 26

The individual countries vary somewhat from the overall trend. In Nicaragua there appears to be no impact of community size on turnout in local elections. In Guatemala, on the other hand, turnout is level among the smaller communities, dropping in the 100-500,000 sized cities and increasing again in the largest cities.

Panama, Nicaragua and Guatemala all show slight increases in turnout in the largest cities.

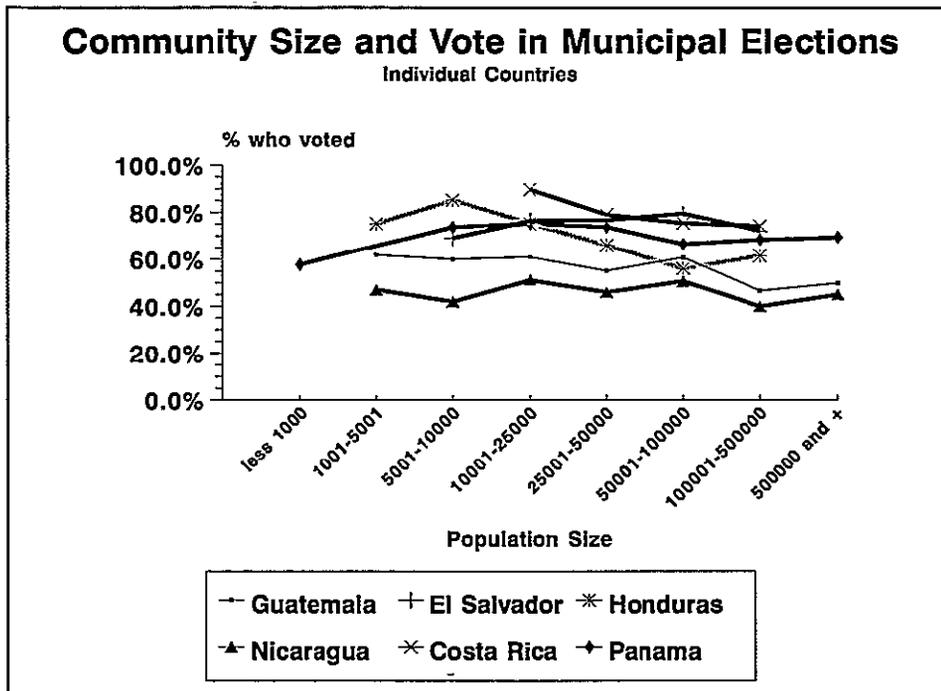


Figure 27

IV. Satisfaction with Local Government

As noted in Chapter 2 of this report, participation can lead to positive or negative evaluations of local government. We need to know how citizens evaluate their municipal governments, and in this chapter, we turn to that question. There are three questions on which to base the evaluation, and we analyze each in turn. All three items utilize a five point scale to measure opinion. In order to make the interpretation of the results clearer, the five-point scale is recoded to range from 0 to 100, with 0 being the lowest or most negative score and 100 being the highest or most positive score. What has been done is that a score of 1 in the responses, which normally refers to the most positive evaluation ("excellent" or "mucho mejor") has been recoded to equal 100, a score of 2 recoded to equal 80, etc. This means that there is a false zero point on the scale, since no score can be less than 20, but since this is uniform across all questions in the series, there is no distortion of interpretation.

Evaluation of Service

The first item in the series asks the respondent to evaluate the service provided by the local government. The overall evaluation for each of the six countries is contained in Figure 28. In order to put these numbers into perspective, the coding scheme needs to be kept in mind. The original range of possibilities ran from a high of 1 to a low of 5. When converted into the 0-100 range shown in the

figure, scores of 40 or below would be a clearly negative response, while scores of 80 or above would be a clearly positive response. As we see from the results, all of the countries are grouped into the middle range, neither highly favorable or highly unfavorable. An examination of the original data will perhaps make this point clearer, and a table presenting that data is found directly below Figure 28. An examination of the table shows that only a very small percentage of the respondents selected the extreme responses; only in Nicaragua do as many as 6.7% of the respondents given an evaluation of "excellent" to municipal services, whereas only in Costa Rica do as many as 11.5% of the population provide a response of "very bad." The most frequent response is "average" (*regular* in Spanish). Also note that non-response (don't know) is relatively low, averaging less than 10%. In any event, it becomes readily apparent that working with numerical averages of these responses presents a far clearer overall pattern, and it is with those averages that this report operates.

The country with the most positive evaluation in El Salvador, with a score that is significantly ($F\text{-ratio} < .001$) higher than the series. This is the first evidence we have that the greater level of participation in municipal meetings is having an impact on popular perception of local government since it will be recalled that Salvadorans are more likely to attend municipal meetings than citizens of any other country in the region.

It must be emphasized that attendance along may not be the crucial variable here, since the Municipalities in Action (MEA) program in El Salvador has channeled

comparatively vast resources through local governments as part of the post-civil war reconstruction effort. Therefore, it may not be citizens reacting to meetings, but citizens reacting to services given to them by local government. In fact, a correlational analysis between the attendance variable and the evaluation of service variable shows a statistically significant relationship for the six countries as a whole, and a higher, significant relationship for El Salvador in particular ($r = .10$, $\text{sig.} = < .001$). This implies that attendance alone does positively influence attitudes in El Salvador. In Honduras we also find a significant relationship between attendance and positive evaluation of municipal services. In Costa Rica and Panama, however, there was no significant relationship between attendance and evaluation, and in Guatemala and Nicaragua there was a negative statistically significant relationship, indicating that the more citizens attend local government meetings, the more negative they are about municipal services.

These findings clearly show that participation by itself does not lead to positive perceptions of municipal government. Indeed, it may lead to greater frustration when citizens do not get what they are demanding. In the remaining sections of the analysis of the satisfaction with services variable, we will see if various characteristics of the individual or the environment are in part responsible for variation in attitudes.

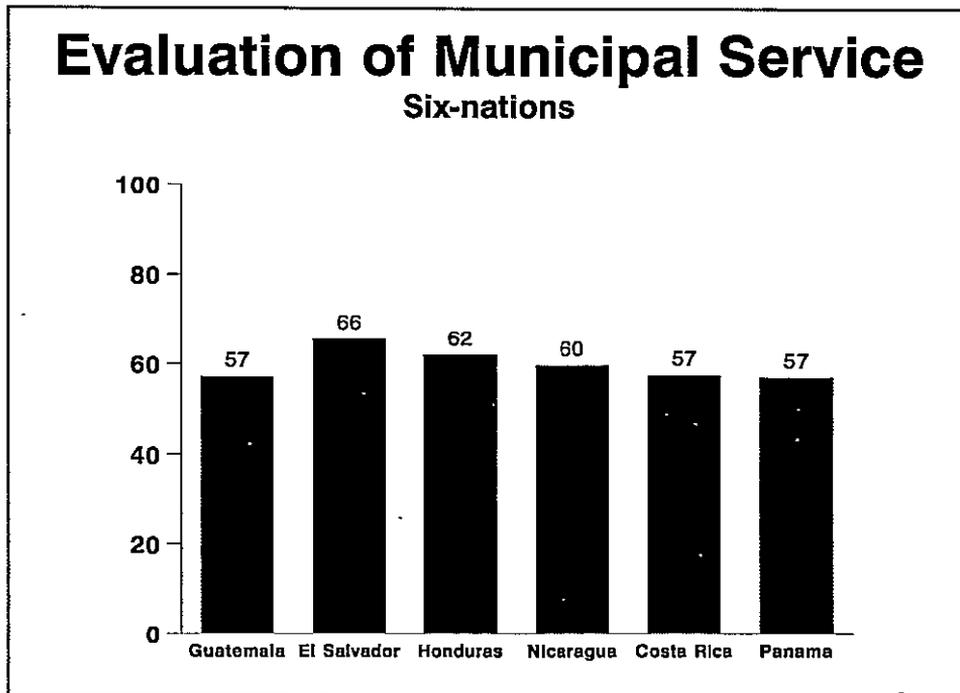


Figure 28

Table 3. Evaluation of Municipal Services

Evaluation of municipal services	Country of interview											
	Guatemala		El Salvador		Honduras		Nicaragua		Costa Rica		Panama	
	%	(N)	%	(N)	%	(N)	%	(N)	%	(N)	%	(N)
Don't know....	4.1%	51	11.2%	136	9.6%	116	6.2%	76	4.7%	57	12.6%	152
Excellent....	3.2%	40	4.9%	59	3.7%	45	6.7%	82	2.8%	34	2.8%	33
Good.....	11.3%	140	30.3%	365	27.5%	334	20.1%	248	22.2%	267	12.1%	145
Average.....	52.2%	649	40.2%	485	37.9%	461	41.5%	513	41.9%	504	52.0%	626
Bad.....	26.5%	329	11.3%	136	16.6%	202	16.0%	198	16.8%	201	10.3%	124
Very bad.....	2.6%	33	2.1%	26	4.7%	58	9.6%	119	11.5%	139	10.3%	124
TOTAL.....	100.0%	1,241	100.0%	1,207	100.0%	1,216	100.0%	1,236	100.0%	1,201	100.0%	1,204

Gender, education and age have virtually no impact on citizen evaluation of municipal services, as can be seen in Figures 29, 30 and 31. This would seem to suggest that differences of opinion are not a function of the personal characteristics of individuals but of true differences in the services actually rendered. The higher positive opinion found in El Salvador may, therefore, be taken as a reflection of better municipal services in that country.

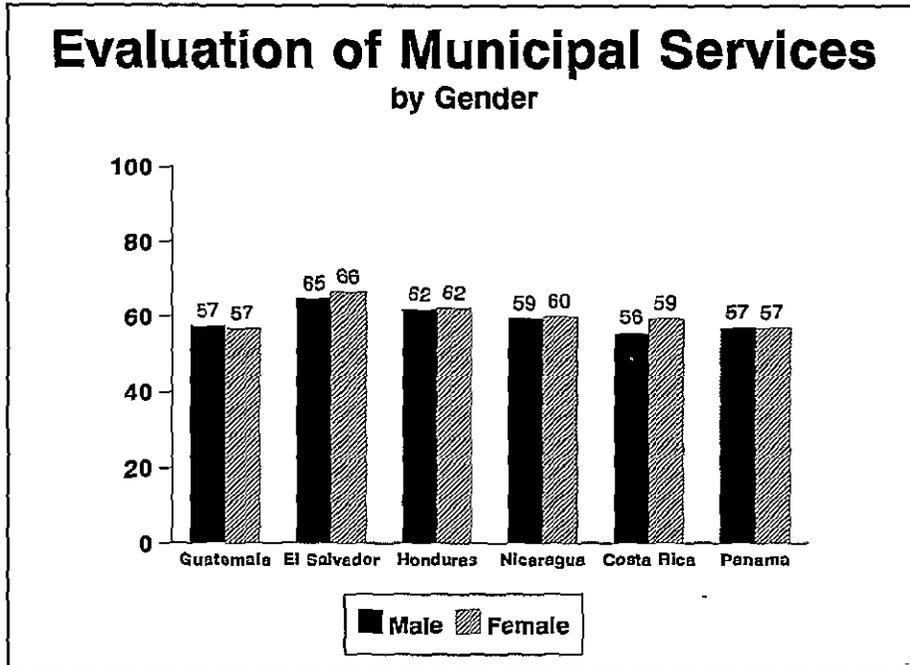


Figure 29

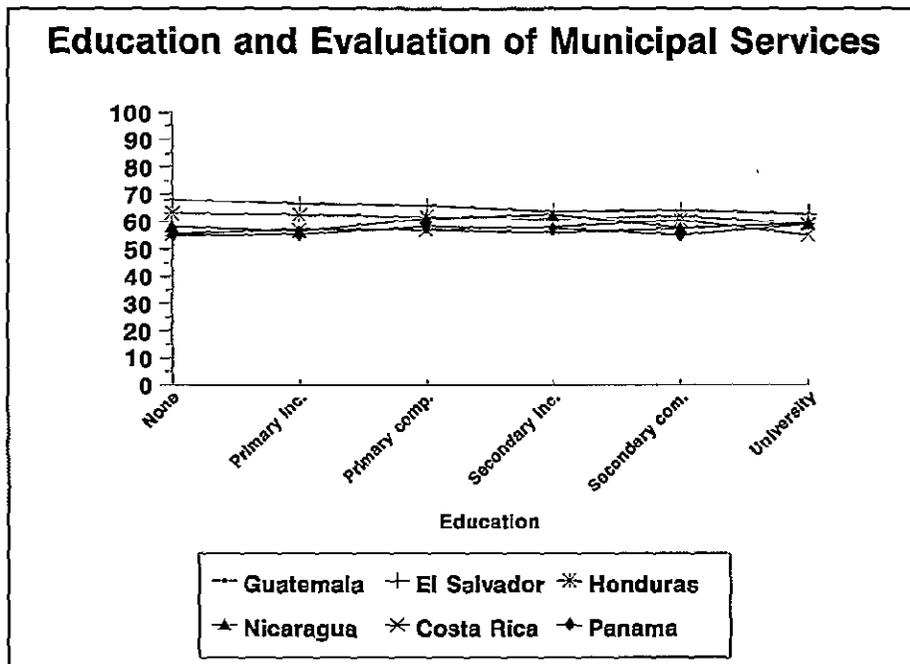


Figure 30

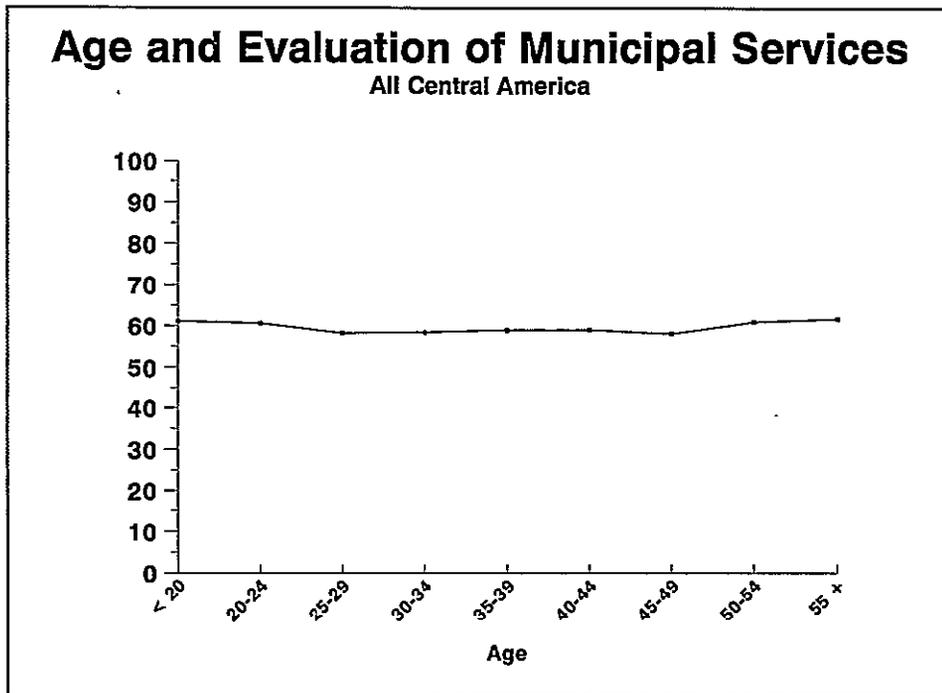


Figure 31

In contrast to the lack of impact that personal characteristics have on the evaluation of municipal services, the size of the locale does seem to influence those evaluations. In Figure 32 below, El Salvador and Costa Rica share a common pattern, with more positive evaluations being given by residents of smaller towns and villages than those in the large cities. Turning back to Chapter 2, one notes that Salvadoran participation in municipal meetings was highest in the smaller towns, another indication that participation and positive evaluations go hand-in-hand.

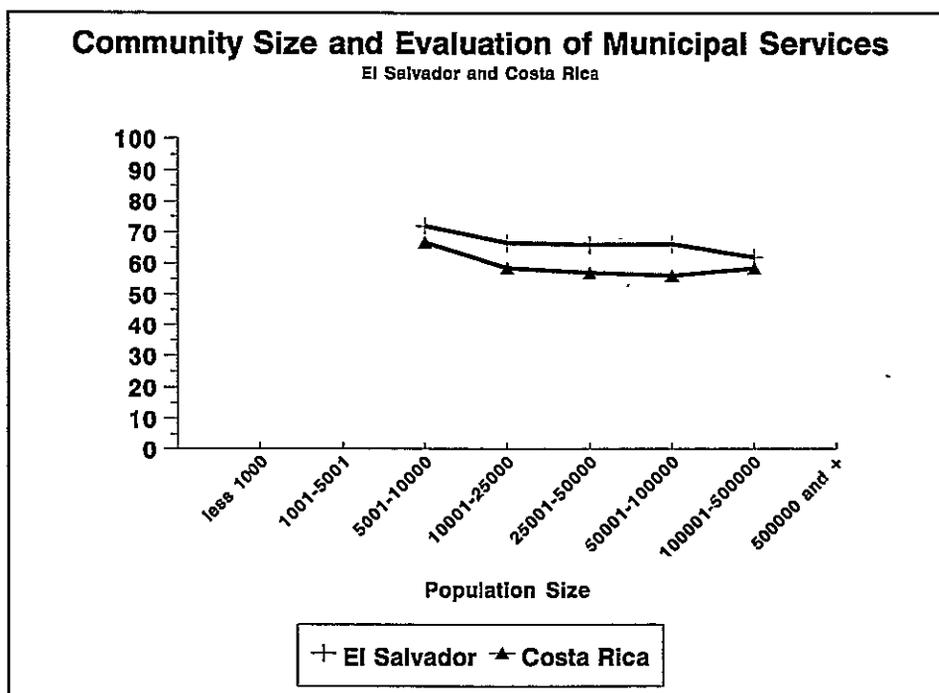


Figure 32

The pattern for the remaining countries is shown in Figure 33. As can be seen, for those countries, population size makes little difference, with the exception of Nicaragua, in which evaluations of services are higher in the major urban centers.

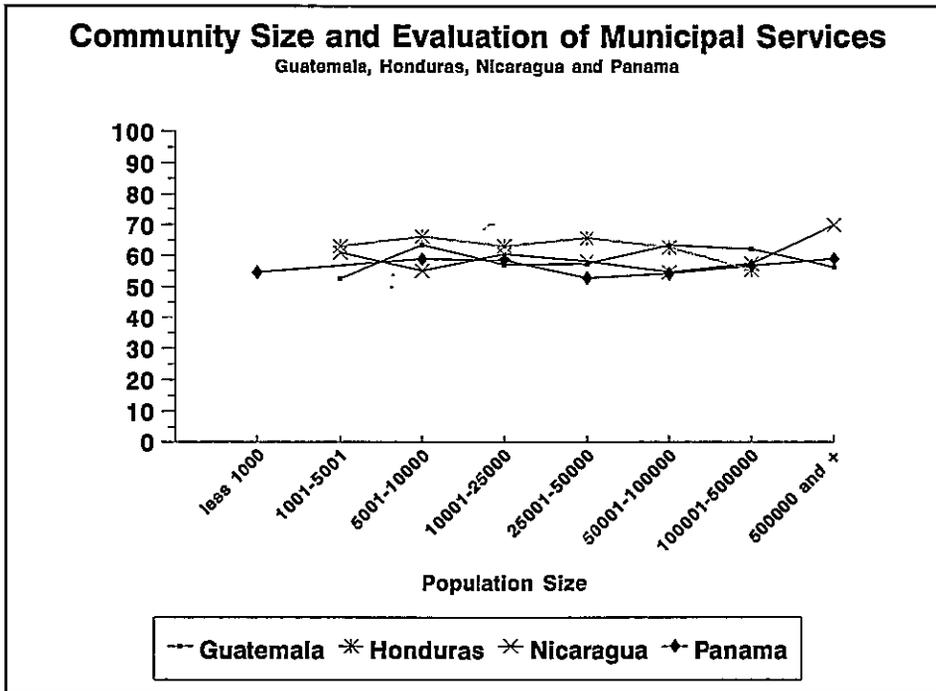


Figure 33

Treatment by Municipality

The next item measuring satisfaction with local government examines the question of satisfaction with treatment of those who handle various kinds of paperwork, such as requesting a voting card or permit. The results for Central America a whole, using the same scaling system that was used to measure satisfaction with services is contained in Figure 34 below. The results are very similar to the evaluation of services item analyzed above. Once again El Salvador has the most favorable evaluation, but the difference between it and Honduras is slight and statistically insignificant. Guatemala, however, reports the lowest level, a difference that is statistically significant.

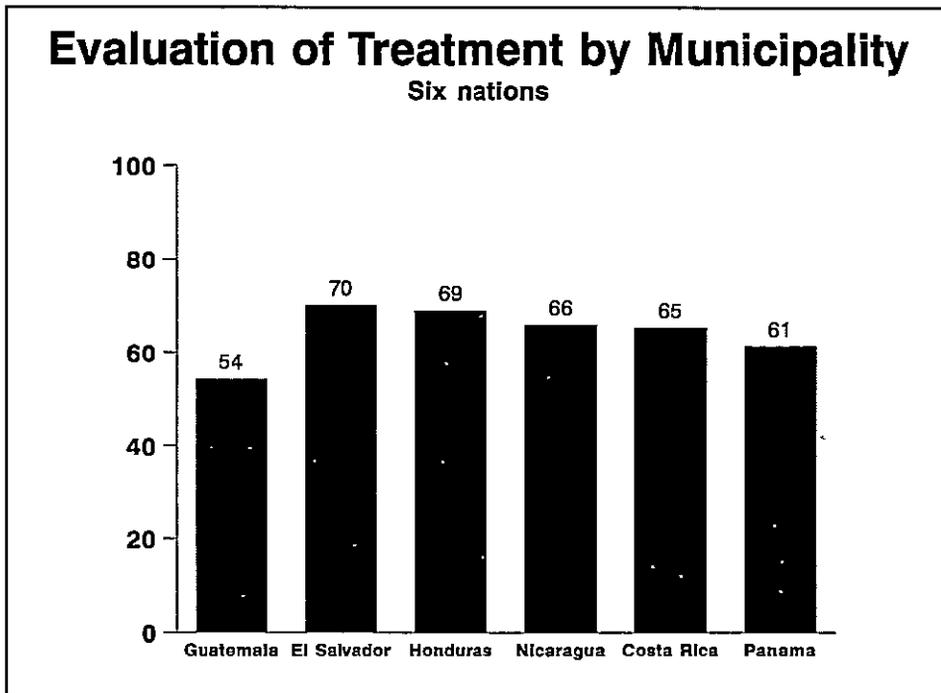


Figure 34

Gender, education, age and community size have no impact on citizen evaluation of treatment by their municipal governments. This is shown in the figures below.

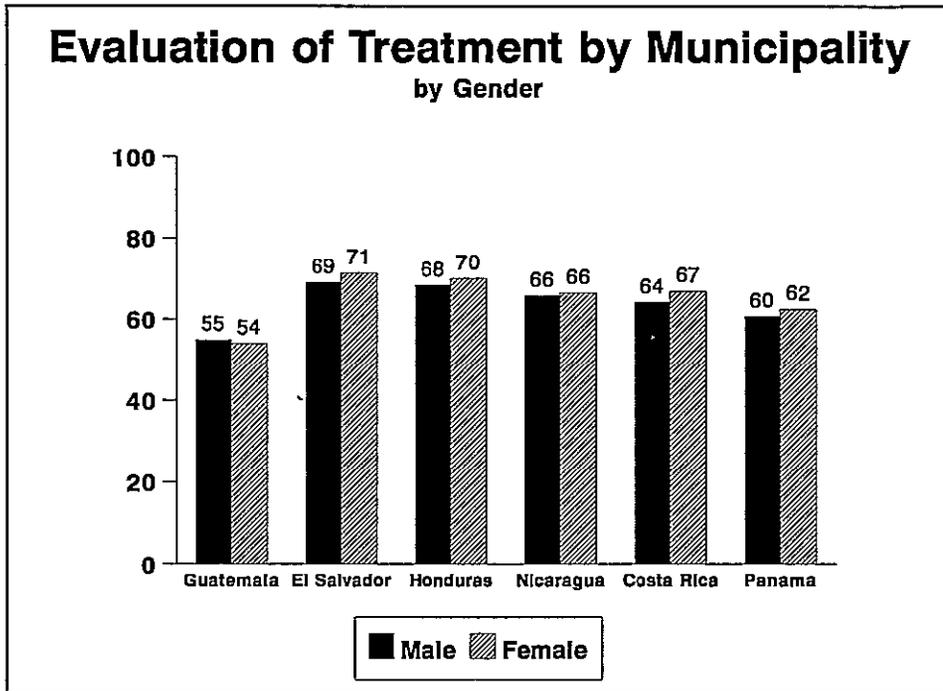


Figure 35

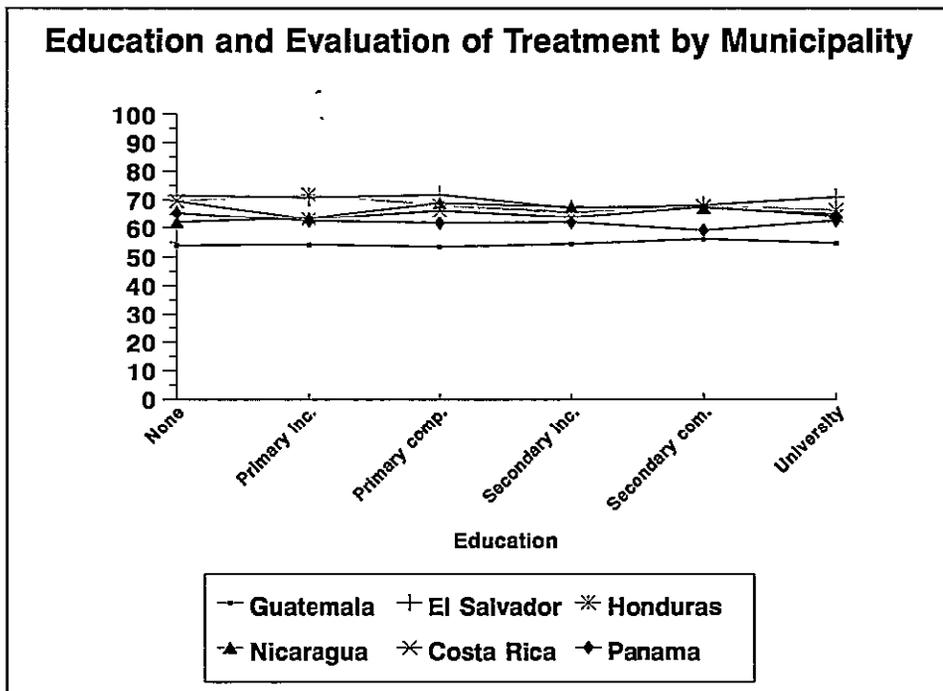


Figure 36

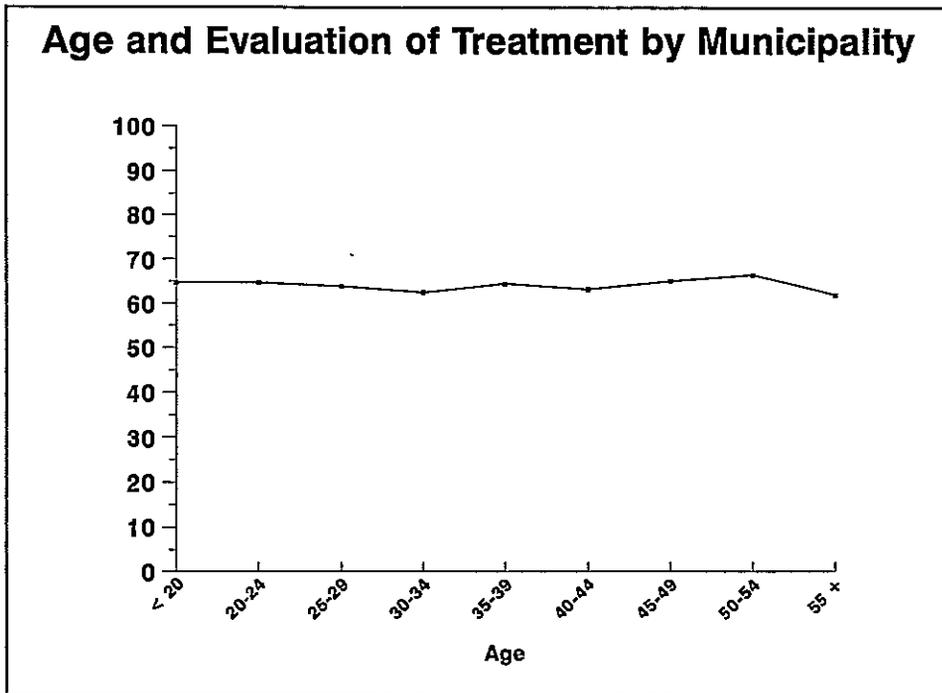


Figure 37

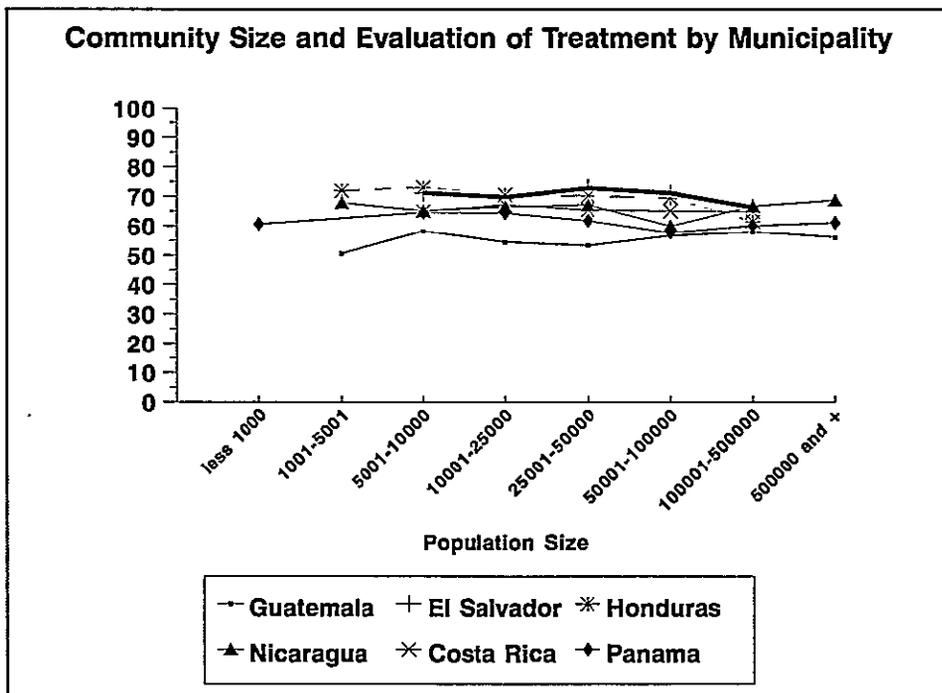


Figure 38

Comparison with Prior Municipal Governments

The final item in the series on satisfaction with local government attempts to compare the present regime with service in prior years. The overall pattern is presented in Figure 39 below. These findings are similar to those of the previous two items, with El Salvador providing the most favorable view than the other countries and Guatemala providing the least favorable view. Once again, the range of scores is about in the center.⁵

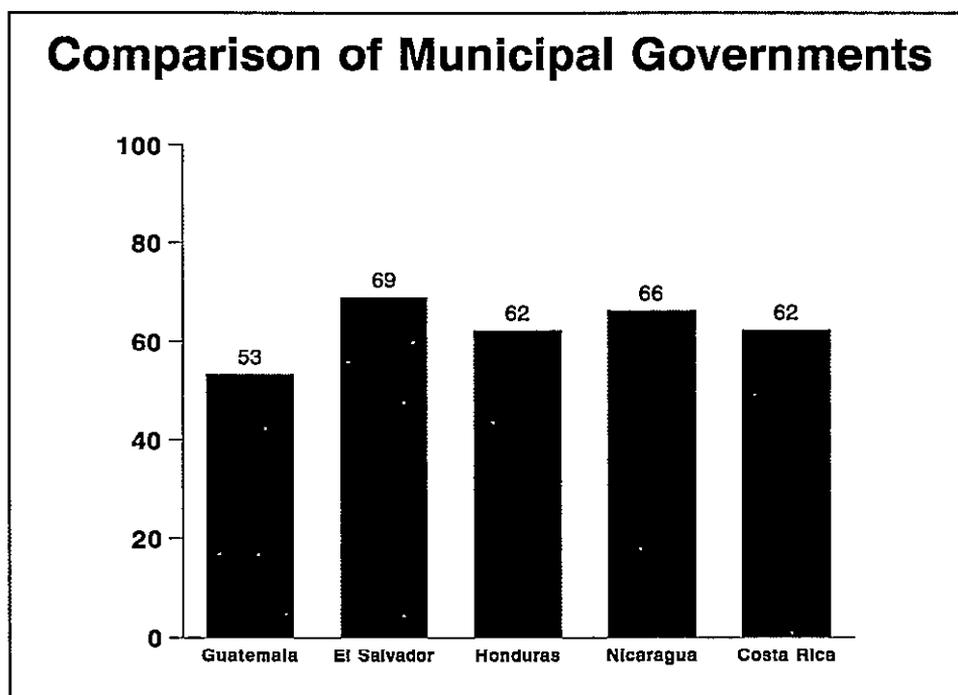


Figure 39

⁵An error made by CID Gallup in the printing of the final version of the questionnaire resulted in this item being deleted from the Panama survey. The item will be included in the next survey conducted in 1994, and the results will be incorporated into a revised version of this report.

An examination of gender, education, age and population size did not produce any notable differences on this item. For that reason, and since similar results were reported for the previous two items in this series, the table for gender, education, age and population are not included here.

V. Legitimacy of Local Government

The final series of questions in the 1994 survey compares support for local government versus central government. In some ways this is the acid test of programs designed to strengthen local government; if citizens are not committed to their municipal governments and would prefer central government to take over their functions, the battle may already have been lost. There are four items in this cluster to be analyzed.

Who Responds Best to Solving Local Problems?

In this question, respondents had to select among three options: central government, deputies of the legislature, and local government. In addition, two other responses were recorded, even though the respondent was not given these choices: a) neither, and b) all are the same. These last responses we consider to indicate an alienated citizen, one who either believes that no government can help solve local problems or that all do it equally the same. In order to be able to best visualize the responses on this item, two graphs are given with the same data. In Figure 40, the percentage of respondents for each choice is given. In Figure 41 (the "stacked" bar chart), one can more easily see the proportion that each response takes up out of the 100% total. In Figure 40 it is immediately evident that in every country except Panama, municipal government is more likely to be

seen as the best agent for resolving local problems. Indeed, in Guatemala, El Salvador, Honduras and Nicaragua, municipal government is preferred over central government and legislators combined. In Costa Rica the combination of the central government and legislators exceeds local government, and in Panama, the most popular response was "neither," indicating a deep sense of alienation. It is also notable that in Nicaragua, Honduras and Costa Rica, the "neither" response was popular as well. In the second figure, one can more easily appreciate the popularity of the choice of municipal government for each of the countries except Panama.

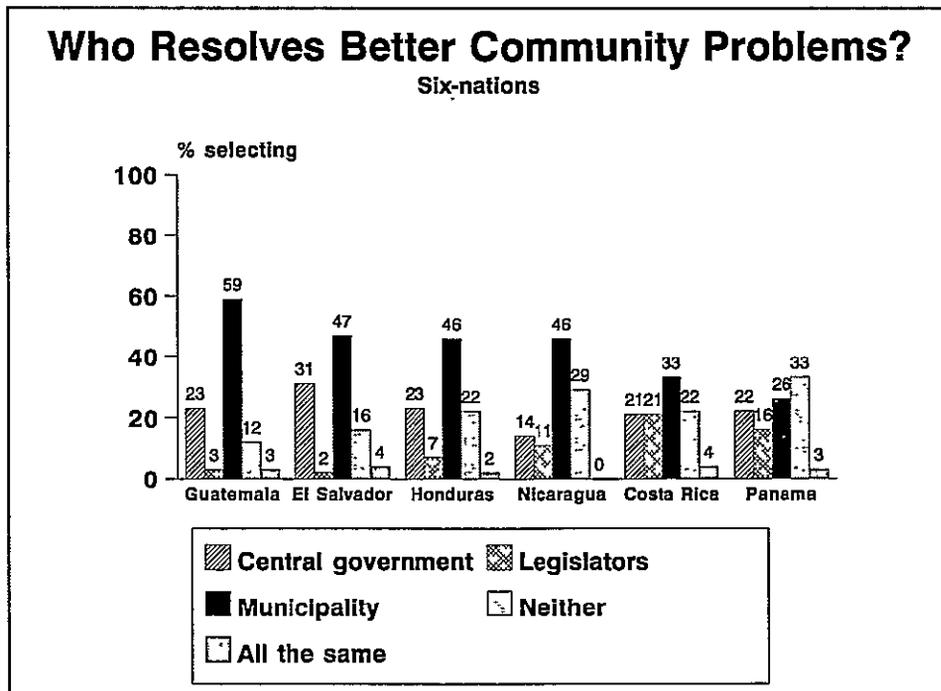


Figure 40

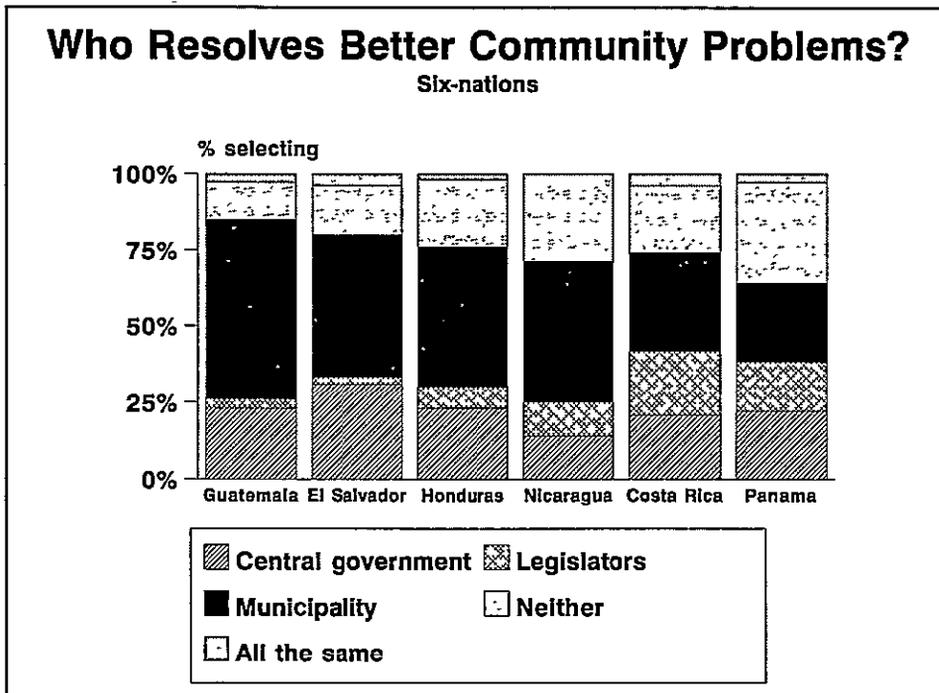


Figure 41

In order to explore the relationship between gender, education, age and size of community, on the one hand, and preference for local government on the other, it is best if we simplify the question. In the following analysis, the focus is on the percentage of the respondents who selected municipal government as the best problem solver versus those who selected all other options (central government, legislators, neither or "all the same"). To make this comparison clearer, Figure 42 below shows the percentage in each country who have selected the municipal government as the best problem solver. As can easily be seen, local government is most popular in Guatemala, and least popular in Panama. Correlational analysis also finds that in El Salvador and Nicaragua, those who attended more municipal

meetings were significantly ($<.01$) more likely to prefer local government over central government or legislators. In the other countries, the relationship is in the same direction, but it is not statistically significant in any of them.

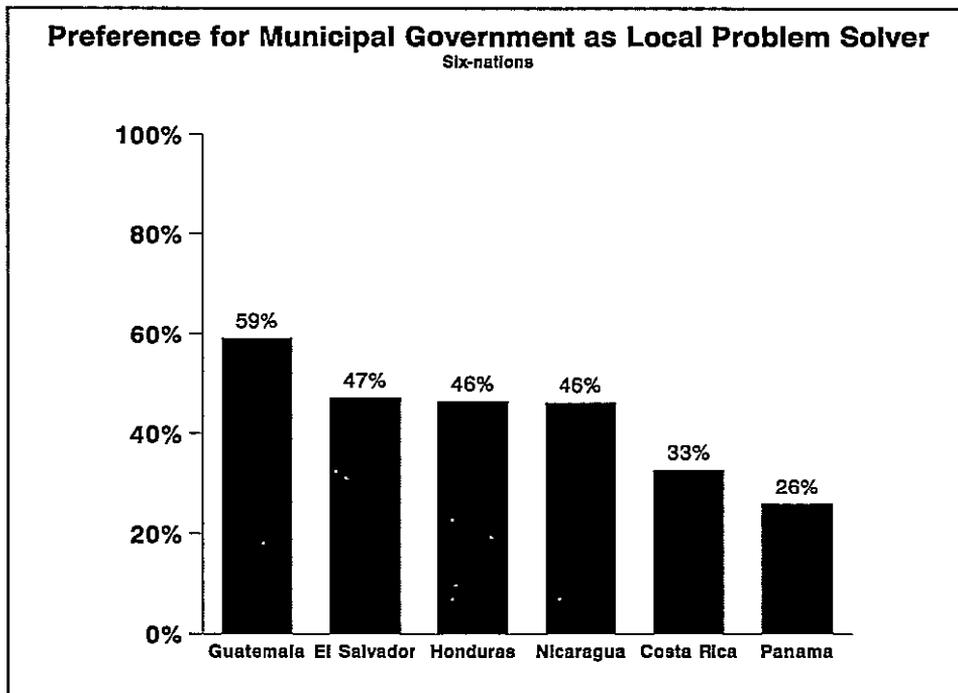


Figure 42

Gender makes a difference in this preference for local government, although it is not the same in each country. Figure 43 below shows these results. In Nicaragua and Costa Rica, females clearly prefer local government as the problem solver. This is also the case in El Salvador and Honduras, but the differences there are not significant. Finally, in Guatemala and Panama, males prefer local government more than females, but the differences are not significant.

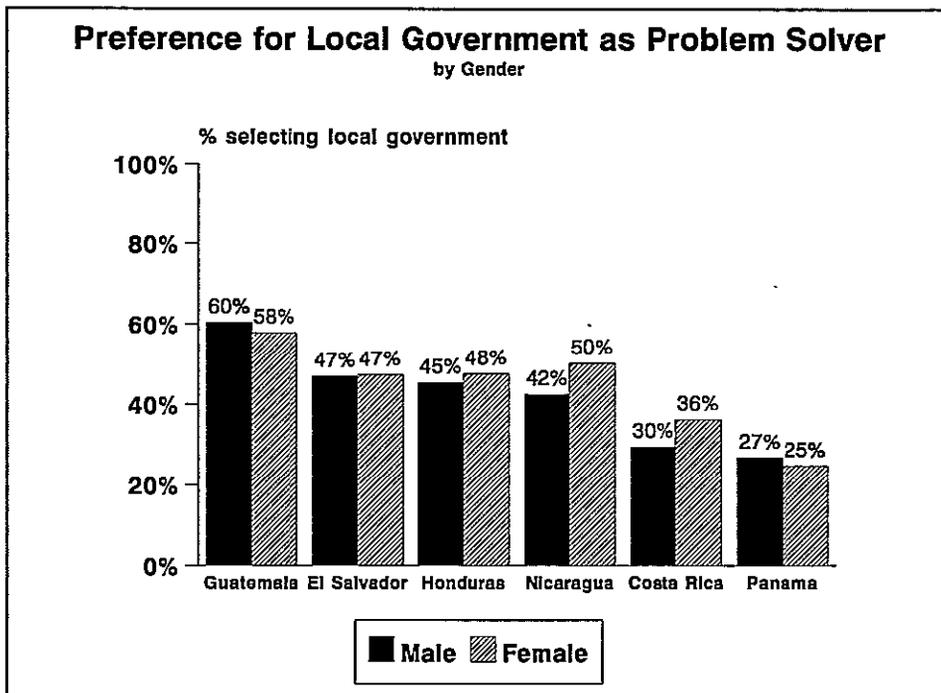


Figure 43

Education is positively related to preference for local government in both Costa Rica and Panama. As can be seen in Figure 44 below, those with higher education are more likely to prefer municipal government, although there is a slight decline among university educated Costa Ricans. A different pattern is found in Nicaragua and Honduras, with preference for local government peaking among those with some high school, and declining among those with higher levels of education (see Figure 45). Finally, Guatemala and El Salvador (Figure 46) show a very different pattern, with preference for municipal government declining with higher levels of education, but then rebounding among the most highly educated. This complex pattern found among the six Central American republics needs to be studied carefully since it represents such divergent attitudinal relationships.

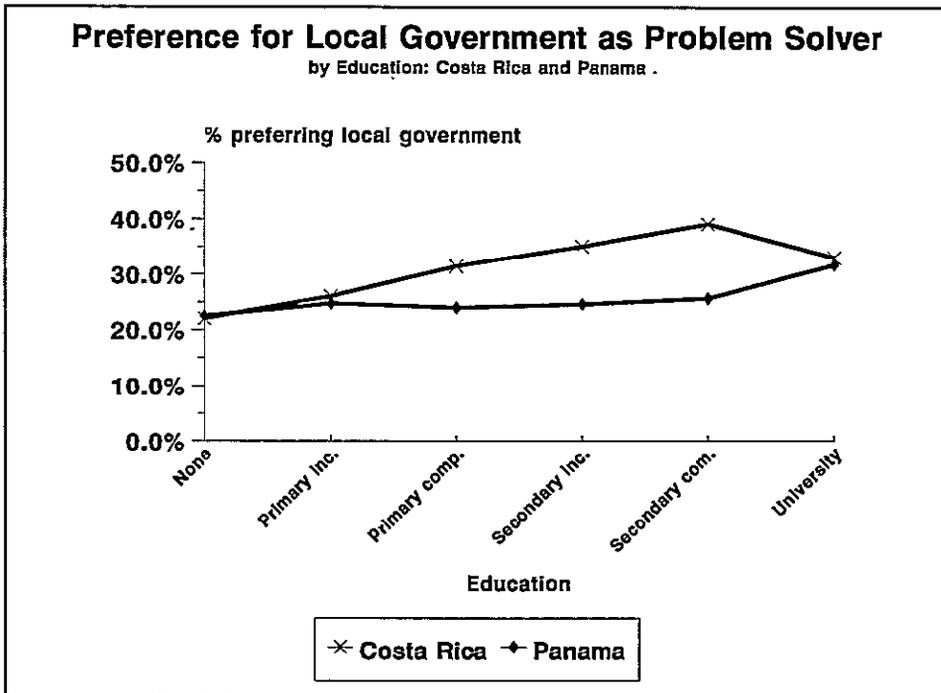


Figure 44

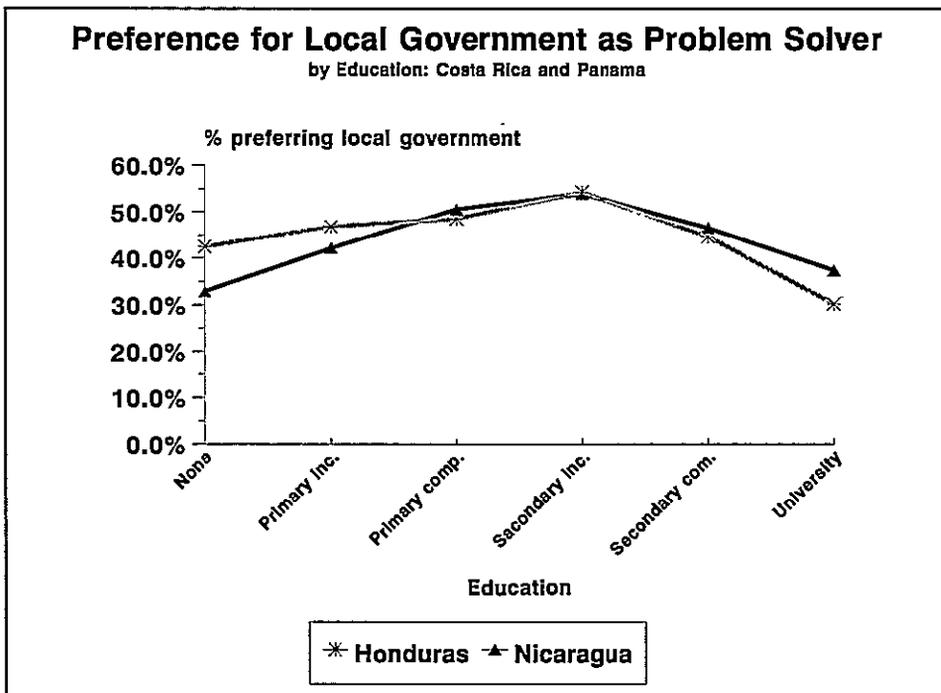


Figure 45

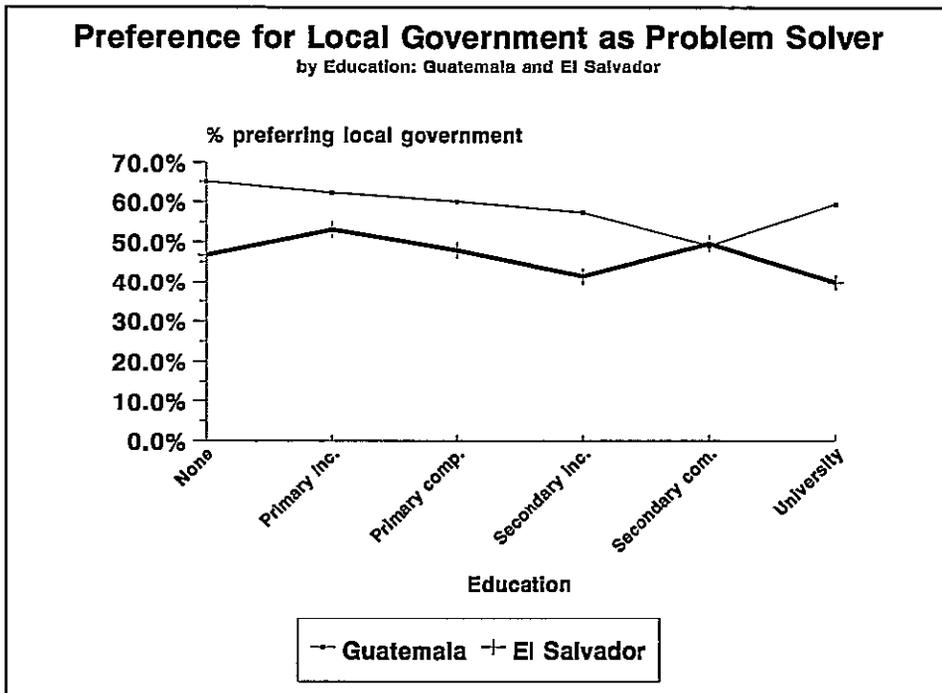


Figure 46

Age has no relationship with preference for local government, but community population size does. Figure 47 shows that in El Salvador, the preference is extraordinarily high in villages of 5,000, but drops dramatically in larger towns and cities. In the rest of the countries, there is also a trend toward greater preference for local government in the smaller towns, but it is not as marked as it is in El Salvador. In Guatemala, Nicaragua and Panama, there is also an uptick in the largest cities (Figure 48) .

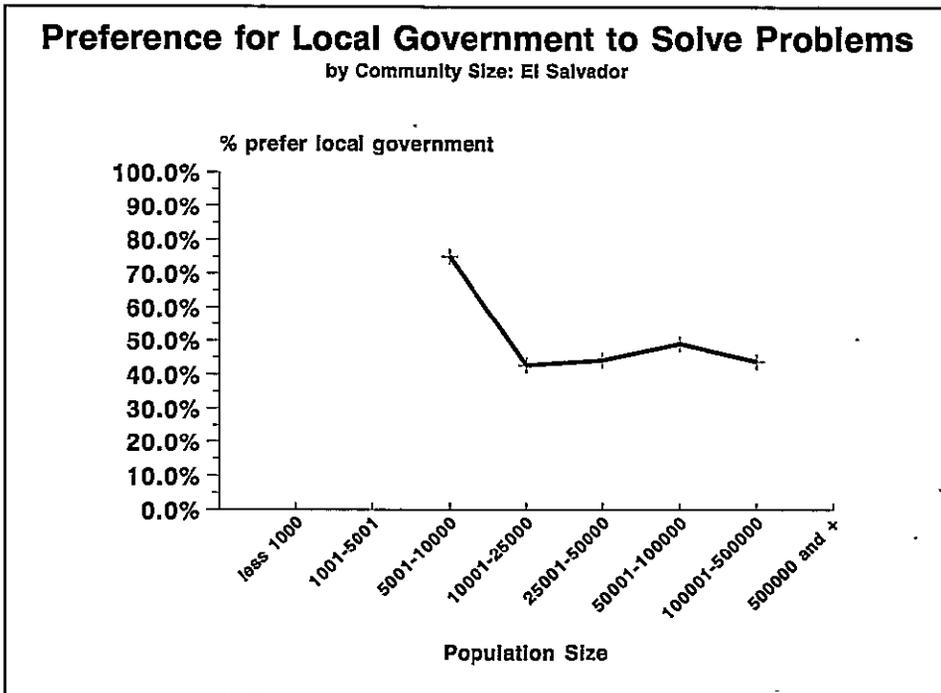


Figure 47

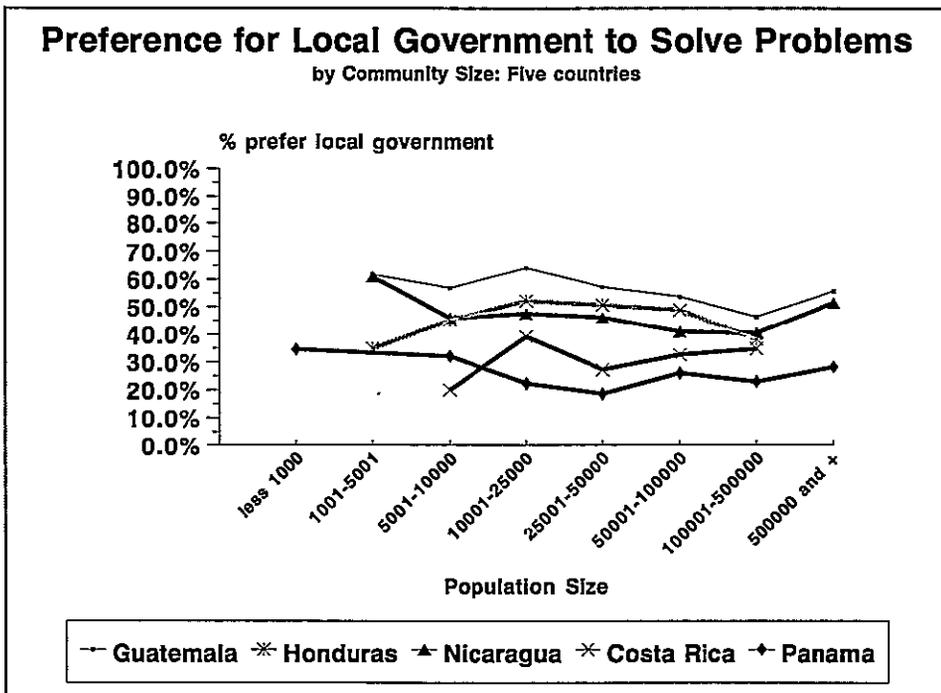


Figure 48

Local vs. Central Government

The second item in the legitimacy of local government series asks the respondent if he/she would prefer that local government be given more responsibilities and more funding, or would he/she prefer that the central government take over more municipal functions. The overall responses to this item is contained in Figure 49 below. There are three important observations to be made about these results. First, in every one of the six countries, more citizens would prefer to give more responsibility and support to local government than to central government. Second, there are sizeable minorities, reaching as high as 40 percent in Nicaragua who prefer increasing central government responsibility over local matters. Third, the strongest support for local government is found in Guatemala, El Salvador and Honduras, with the lowest support in Nicaragua and Panama. Only in Nicaragua and Panama are less than half of the respondents supportive of increasing local government responsibility. However, it should be noted that in Panama, a sizeable percentage of the respondents (17%) would also have supported municipal government if they could be assured of getting better service. This was a response that was not included in the choices read to the respondents, but emerged during the course of the interviews. If those respondents are added to those who preferred municipal government, then a majority supports municipal government in every country.

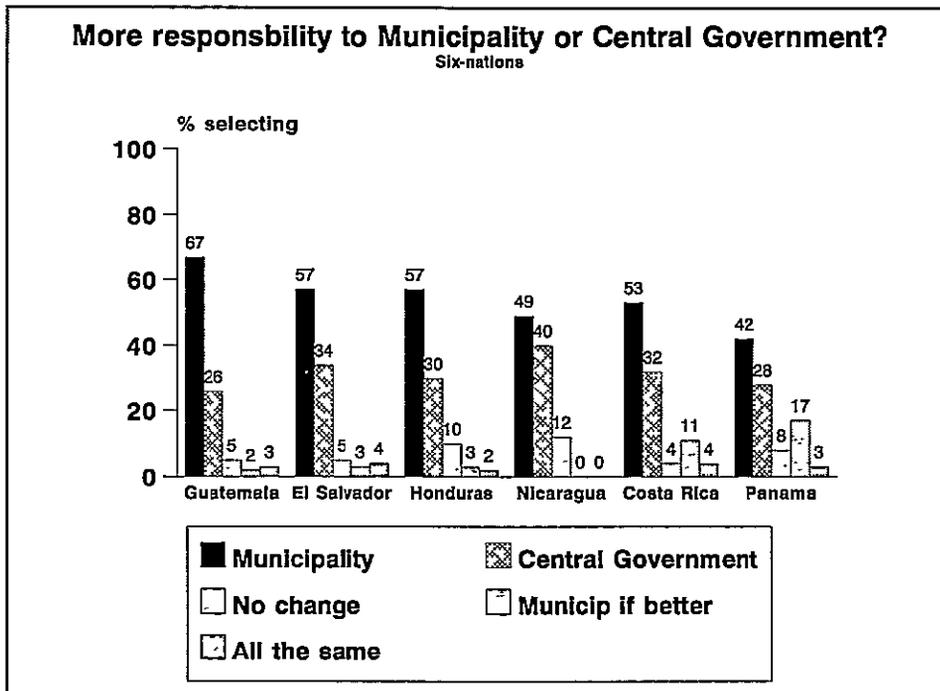


Figure 49

In order to examine the impact of gender, education, age and community size on this questionnaire item, we isolate those respondents who expressed support for municipal government and then compare the relevant groupings.⁶ Figure 50 below contains the results. Gender makes no difference in Guatemala, El Salvador and Honduras. In southern Central America, males significantly prefer local government to females, with the difference being strongest in Costa Rica, but also notable in Nicaragua and Panama. This is certainly an interesting finding, but one whose explanation is not immediately apparent.

⁶To simplify further, those who responded "no change" and "more for the municipality if it would give better service" were moved into the missing data field. In this way, we have a direct comparison of those who support local government versus those who support more central government.

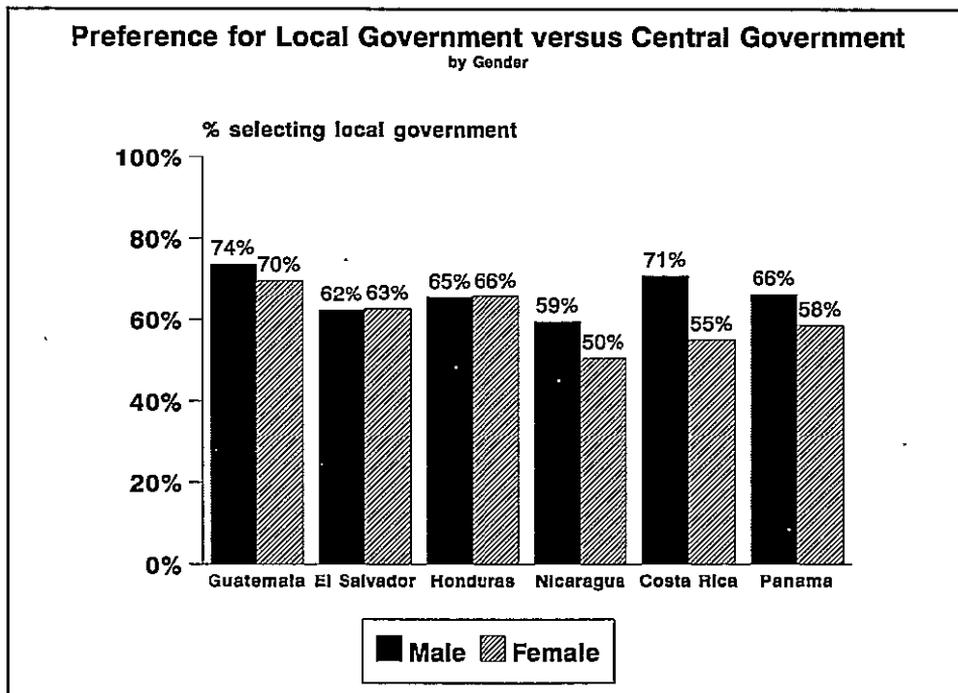


Figure 50

Age and community size were found to have no relationship to preference for local government over national government, and therefore the figures for these results is not presented. Education shows little relationship to local government preference except, however, among the most highly educated. As is shown in Figure 51 below, in each country in the region those with university education are more likely to prefer local government than central government. This pattern conforms to that for Panama and Guatemala shown in the analysis of the first question in this series on legitimacy, but contradicts the pattern found in the other countries. It is obvious, therefore, that respondents see a difference between the first item, which focuses on which level of government has responded best to local problems, and the second item, which focuses on preferences for the future in

terms of local versus national control. More highly educated Central American citizens uniformly would prefer more local authority even if in several countries they agree that local government has not yet been the most responsive to local needs.

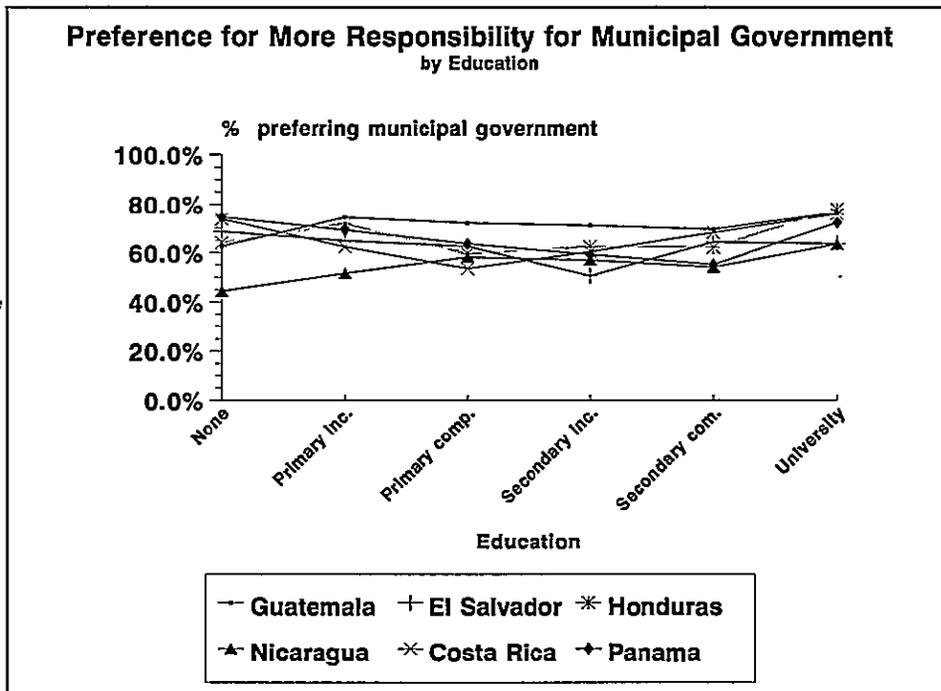


Figure 51

Willingness to Pay Increased Taxes

Citizen may want improved government, but often they are not willing to pay for it. This is the case in the United States (witness Proposition 14 in California), and is also the case in Central America, based on the results of the next item in the legitimacy series. For the region as a whole, 66 percent of all respondents, and 72 percent of those who had an opinion, said that they would not be willing to pay

increased taxes in order to obtain better services. As is shown in the following table, there is significant variation among the countries, with Costa Ricans far exceeding the other countries in willingness to pay higher taxes. This may in part be a function of Costa Rica's greater wealth, but since Panama has a GNP per capita similar to Costa Rica's and a far lower willingness to pay increased taxes, this cannot be the primary explanation. The surprisingly willingness of Costa Ricans to pay increased taxes is more likely a direct indication of their trust in government. Costa Ricans must perceive that in the past their tax dollars were relatively well spent and as a result they enjoy many services made possible by those tax dollars. Any visitor to Costa Rica readily appreciates the excellent road network, the ubiquitous phone and electric system (Costa Rica has a higher number of telephones per capita than any other country), and the presence of schools and teachers in even the most remote villages. Central Americans in other countries have not had a similar experience. Yet, the country with the second highest level of support for paying increased taxes is El Salvador, perhaps a reflection of the fact that municipal governments there through the MEA program and the SRN (National Reconstruction Secretariat) have indeed been able to provide improved services to their citizens.

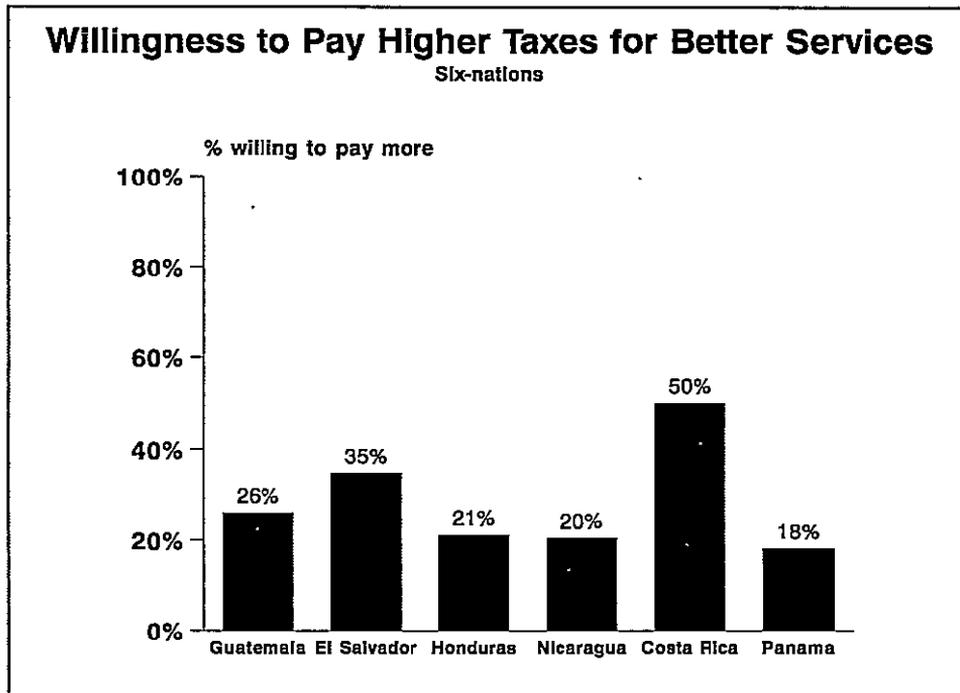


Figure 52

It is important to emphasize the implications of the findings reported in Figure 52. Throughout all of Central America, only a minority, often a small minority, would be willing to pay more taxes for better service. Since many of the decentralization plans have a tax component as a critical factor in increasing the ability of local government to service local needs, these findings suggest that the plans may run into trouble. Citizens need to be persuaded that paying more taxes is in their best interests. Perhaps some sort of publicity campaign needs to be run in these countries before taxes are increased, lest citizens become alienated from their local governments.

Gender does differentiate Central Americans in their willingness to pay taxes. In every country the pattern is the same; men are more willing to pay increased

taxes than women (see Figure 53). Perhaps this is a reflection of the fact that men control far more of the wealth in the region than women.

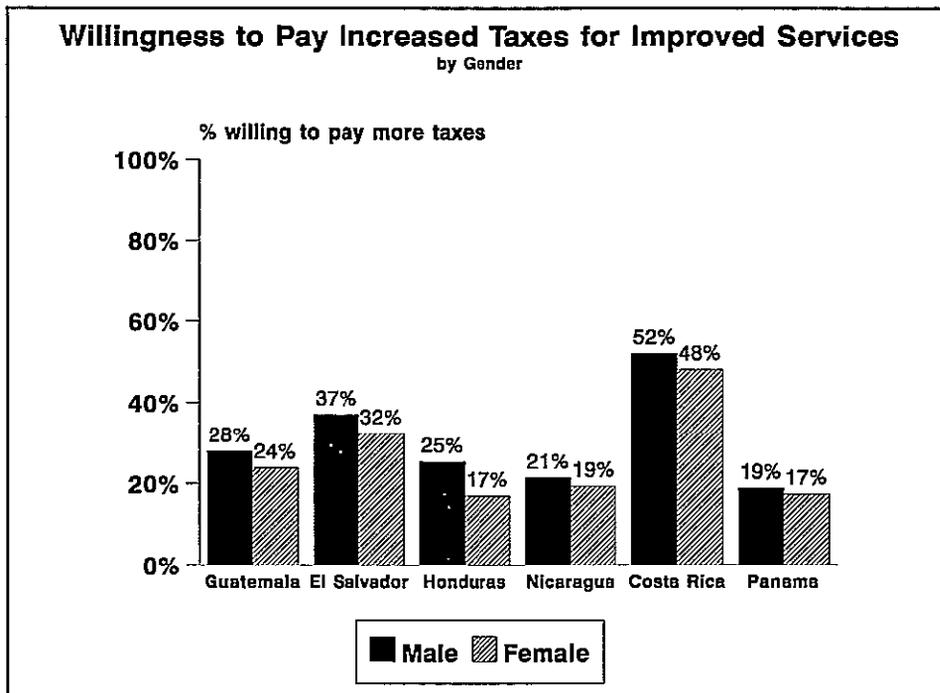


Figure 53

Education shows a consistent relationship and willingness to pay taxes for all six countries. As is shown in Figure 54 below, higher education leads to higher support for increased taxes for local government. The unusually high level of support for increased taxes among Costa Ricans with no education may be an anomaly; only 30 Costa Ricans without any education were interviewed and it is difficult to rely upon a group that small to draw firm conclusions.

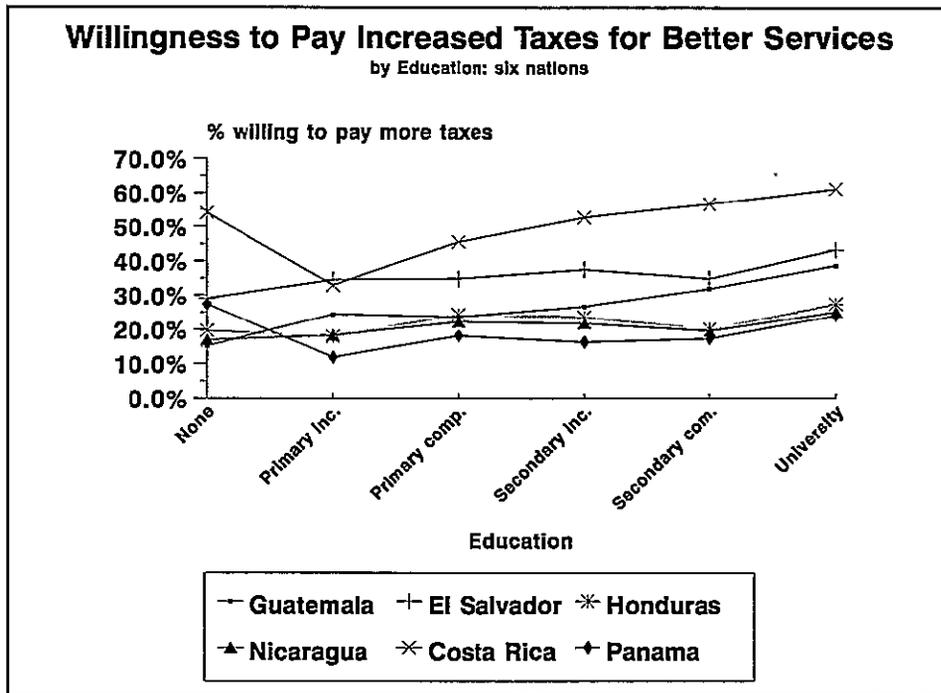


Figure 54

Age is also found to be directly associated with willingness to pay more taxes, with older citizens less willing than younger. Part of this difference is no doubt a reflection of the lower levels of education found among older Central Americans. All six nations show the same pattern, as can be seen in Figure 55.

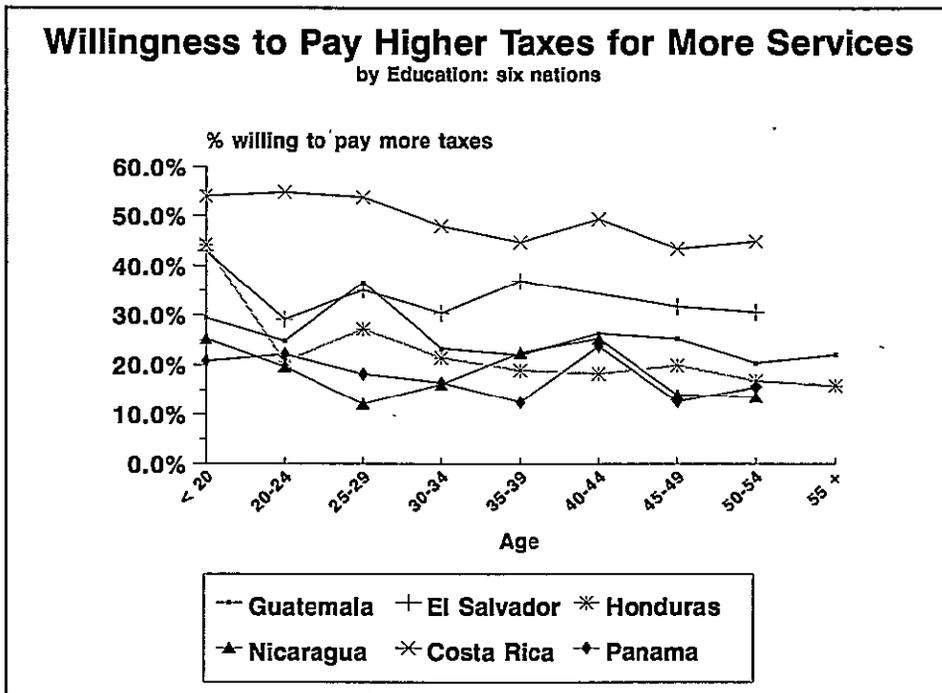


Figure 55

Size of community shows no consistent relationship to willingness to pay increased taxes and as a result, the figure is not shown here.

Responsiveness of Elected Municipal Officials to Popular Demands

The final item in the legitimacy series focuses on the responsiveness of elected municipal officials to popular demands. The question is structured with the same five-choice response format utilized in earlier questions. Once again, the coding scheme is revised to have the answers range from 0 to 100. The overall responses to the responsiveness question are shown in Figure 56 below. There is

significant variation among the countries in the region, with Guatemala and El Salvador having the most positive public perception and Panama the most negative. Once again, scores 40 and below represent the negative range, 80 and above the positive range, so national averages in Central America fall in the middle range, with Guatemala and El Salvador closest to the positive range.

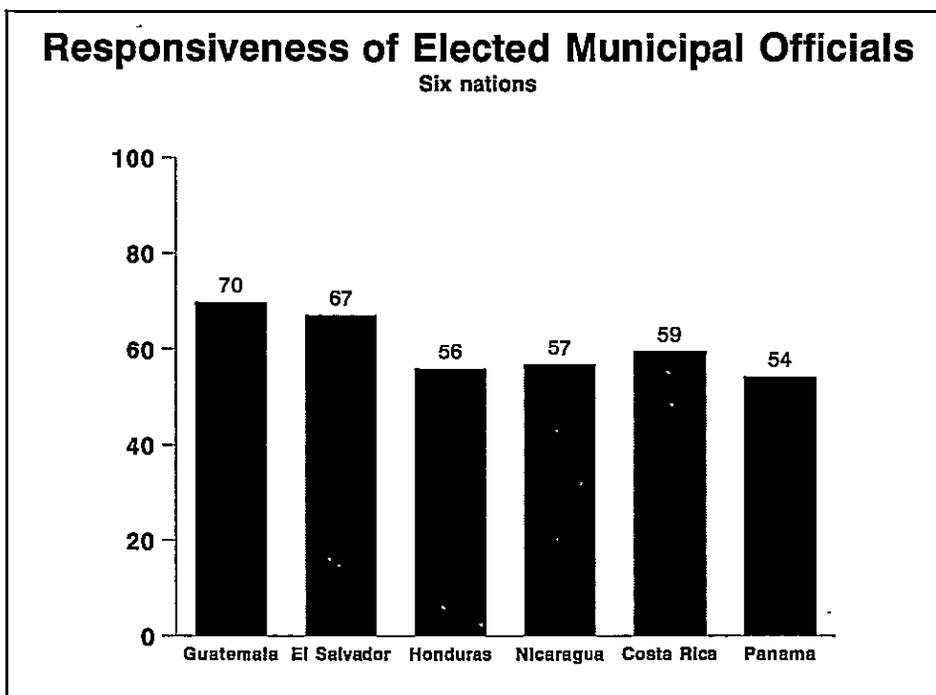


Figure 56

Gender, education, age and community size have no significant impact on evaluation of responsiveness of local officials, and for that reason the figures showing these breakdowns are not given here. The only major variation, therefore, is between countries rather than among different segments of the local population.

VI. Conclusions and Recommendations for Future Research

Conclusions

This study has presented a great deal of data and it would be difficult to repeat each of the findings here. There are, however, some findings that need to be highlighted.

- This is the first study ever conducted that compares the behaviors and attitudes of Central Americans from all six Spanish-speaking republics toward local government. In total, 7,268 people were interviewed in the period March through June, 1994.

- The questions asked were grouped into three main categories: 1) participation, 2) satisfaction and 3) legitimacy. The ten items formed three distinct dimensions.

- For Central America as a whole, 11.3 percent of the population has attended a municipal meeting within the last year. El Salvadorans attended at significantly higher rates (17.7%) than did the citizens of any other country.

- Males attend municipal meetings far more frequently than females.

- Education has a clear positive relationship with participation only in Costa Rica and Panama.

- Highest participation rates were found among those in their 20s and early 30s. Very young and very old participate at lower levels.

- Participation in Central America is much higher in communities of 1,000-10,000 in size, and drops off steadily as community size increases. Participation reaches extraordinary levels in El Salvador (nearly 60%) in communities of 5,000-10,000.

- In Costa Rica, over one-fifth of the respondents had made a request for assistance from their local governments within the past year, in the other countries the rate was lower, between 11 and 16 percent.

- Males are more likely to make requests than females, with the difference greatest in Guatemala and smallest in El Salvador and Costa Rica.

- Requests for assistance peak among respondents in their 20s, and declines for older respondents.

- Requests for assistance from local government tend to be higher in smaller communities.

- Voting in local government elections is very high in El Salvador, Costa Rica and Panama, and lower in Guatemala and Nicaragua.
- Males are far more likely to vote than females in Guatemala, but in the other countries there is little difference in vote by gender.
- More educated Central Americans are more likely to vote than the less educated.
- Age follows a similar pattern to other forms of participation, with the vote peaking among those in their 20s and 30s, and declining among the older citizens.
- Municipal services and treatment by municipal officials are evaluated as average by most Central Americans. In El Salvador there is a more favorable evaluation than in the other countries. In El Salvador and Costa Rica, citizens in smaller communities are more satisfied with municipal services.
- In comparison with prior municipal governments, most Central Americans feel that their present government is about the same.
- In every country except Panama, Central Americans believe that local government is more responsive to their needs than central government or national legislators. Such beliefs are strongest in Guatemala.

- In small communities of El Salvador, preference for local government over central government is extremely high.
- In each of the six countries, respondents are far more likely to prefer giving more responsibility and resources to their local governments than to have central government assume greater control over local matters.
- Only in Costa Rica would as many as half of the respondents be willing to pay increased taxes for better service. In the other countries, less than one-third would be willing to do so. Respondents with higher education and males are more willing to pay increased taxes.

Recommendations

We now have, for the first time, an image of public attitudes toward local government in Central America. That image is likely to shift over time as decentralization programs take hold in the various countries. If the programs are a success, we should see increased participation (as has already occurred in El Salvador) and increased willingness to pay taxes to obtain better services. Even at this time, however, Central Americans are clearly predisposed to prefer increased local control over central control and therefore any programs that move in this direction are likely to be met with a positive response.

USAID should consider monitoring public opinion in Central America in the years to come in order to determine the impact of its programs. Such monitoring should continue to look at all six countries so that relevant comparisons can be made. At the same time, however, surveys should also be targeted at beneficiaries of specific programs. For example, if a group of municipalities in a given country is selected for increased funding, or expanded training of municipal officials, one would want to interview the citizens of those municipalities to see how they are reacting.

It is troubling (but not surprising) to find that women are often less participant than men in Central America. In some countries (e.g., Guatemala), the gender differences are very large. Municipal development programs need to consider how female participation can be enhanced.

On the other hand, it is encouraging to see that in smaller communities, participation is higher and attitudes toward local government are often more positive than in larger cities. One cannot forget that much of the insurgency that afflicted Central America in the 1980s was based in rural areas. Perhaps the region has turned a corner, and this survey is reflecting that new reality, or perhaps the violent activism of the 1980s has translated into more conventional activism in the 1990s. One would want to explore in more detail the attitudes in these smaller communities to see what is working and why. Perhaps those lessons could be translated to larger towns and to those small towns where participation and attitudes are not nearly so favorable.

Appendi 1: Spanish Language Questionnaires

Versión: Costa Rica

Ahora vamos a hablar de la municipalidad de este cantón.

NP1. ¿Ha tenido usted la oportunidad de asistir a una sesión o reunión convocada por la municipalidad durante los últimos 12 meses ?

1. Sí 2. No. 8. No sabe/ no recuerda

NP2. ¿Ha solicitado ayuda o presentado una petición a alguna oficina, funcionario, regidor o síndico municipal durante los últimos 12 meses?

1. Sí 2. No. 8. No sabe/ no recuerda

NP3. ¿Votó usted en las últimas elecciones para candidatos municipales?

1. Sí votó 2. No votó 3. Votó en blanco 4. No tenía edad
8. No sabe/no recuerda

SGL1. ¿Diría usted que los servicios que la municipalidad está dando a la gente son excelentes, buenos, regulares, malos o pésimos?

1. excelente 2. bueno 3. regular 4. malo 5. pésimo 8. No sabe

SG2. ¿Como considera que le han tratado a usted o a sus vecinos cuando han ido a la municipalidad para hacer trámites? ¿Le han tratado muy bien, bien, regular, mal o muy mal?

1. muy bien 2. bien 3. regular 4. mal 5. muy mal 8. No sabe

SGL3. ¿Diría usted que la actual municipalidad presta un servicio mucho mejor, algo mejor, igual, algo peor, o mucho peor, que antes?

1. mucho mejor 2. algo mejor 3. igual
4. algo peor 5. mucho peor 8. No sabe

LGL1. En su opinión, ¿quien ha respondido mejor para ayudar a resolver los problemas de esta comunidad? - Sería ¿El gobierno central? ¿Los diputados? o ¿La municipalidad?

1. el gobierno central 2. los diputados 3. La municipalidad 4. ninguno
5. todos igual [No leer 4# o # 5]
8. No sabe/no contesta

LGL2. En su opinión ¿se le debe de dar más obligaciones y más dinero a la municipalidad, o debemos dejar que el gobierno central asuma más asuntos y servicios municipales?

1. más a la municipalidad 2. más al gobierno central 3. No cambiar nada
4. más a la municipalidad si dan mejores servicios 8. No sabe
[No leer # 3 o # 4]

LGL3. ¿Estaría usted dispuesto a pagar más impuestos a la municipalidad para que ésta pueda prestar mejores servicios municipales o cree usted que no vale la pena pagar más?

1. más impuestos 2. no vale la pena pagar más 8. No sabe

LGL4. ¿Cree usted que los municipales y síndicos de este cantón responden a lo que quiere el pueblo casi siempre, la mayoría de las veces, de vez en cuando, casi nunca o nunca?

1. siempre 2. la mayoría de las veces 3. de vez en cuando
4. casi nunca 5. nunca 8. No sabe

Versión: Guatemala

Ahora vamos a hablar de la municipalidad de este municipio

NP1. ¿Ha tenido usted la oportunidad de asistir a una sesión o reunión convocada por la municipalidad durante los últimos 12 meses?

1. Sí 2. No 8. No sabe/ no recuerda

NP2. ¿Ha solicitado ayuda o presentado una petición a alguna oficina, funcionario, regidor o síndico de la municipalidad durante los últimos 12 meses?

1. Sí 2. No 8. No sabe/ no recuerda

NP3 ¿Votó usted en las últimas elecciones para candidatos municipales?

1. Sí votó 2. No votó 3. Votó en blanco 4. No tenía edad
8. No sabe/no recuerda

SGL1. ¿Diría usted que los servicios que la municipalidad está dando a la gente son excelentes, buenos, regulares, malos o pésimos?

1. excelente 2. bueno 3. regular 4. malo 5. pésimo 8. No sabe

SG2. ¿Como considera que le han tratado a usted o a sus vecinos cuando han ido a la municipalidad para hacer trámites? ¿Le han tratado muy bien, bien, regular, mal o muy mal?

1. muy bien 2. bien 3. regular 4. mal 5. muy mal 8. No sabe

SGL3. ¿Diría usted que la actual municipalidad presta un servicio mucho mejor, algo mejor, igual, algo peor, o mucho peor, que antes?

1. mucho mejor 2. algo mejor 3. igual
4. algo peor 5. mucho peor 8. No sabe

LGL1. En su opinión, ¿quien ha respondido mejor para ayudar a resolver los problemas de esta comunidad? Sería ¿El gobierno central? ¿Los diputados? o ¿La municipalidad?

1. el gobierno central 2. los diputados 3. La municipalidad 4. ninguno
5. Todos igual 8. No sabe/no contesta [No leer # 4 o # 5]

LGL2 En su opinión ¿se le debe de dar más obligaciones y más dinero a la municipalidad, o debemos dejar que el gobierno central asuma más asuntos y servicios municipales?

1. más a la municipalidad 2. más al gobierno central 3. No cambiar nada
4. más a la municipalidad si dan mejores servicios 8. No sabe
[No leer # 3 o # 4]

LGL3. ¿Estaría usted dispuesto a pagar más impuestos a la municipalidad para que ésta pueda prestar mejores servicios municipales o cree usted que no vale la pena pagar más?

1. más impuestos 2. no vale la pena pagar más 8. No sabe

LGL4. ¿Cree usted que los regidores y el Alcalde de este municipio responde a lo que quiere el pueblo casi siempre, la mayoría de las veces, de vez en cuando, casi nunca o nunca?

1. siempre 2. la mayoría de las veces 3. de vez en cuando
4. casi nunca 5. nunca 8. No sabe

Versión: Honduras

Ahora vamos a hablar de la alcaldía de este municipio.

NP1. ¿Ha tenido usted la oportunidad de asistir a un cabildo abierto, una sesión municipal u otra reunión convocada por la Alcaldía durante los últimos 12 meses?

1. Sí 2. No 8. No sabe/ no recuerda

NP2. ¿Ha solicitado ayuda o presentado una petición a alguna oficina, funcionario, o regidor de la Alcaldía durante los últimos 12 meses?

1. Sí 2. No 8. No sabe/ no recuerda

NP3 ¿Votó usted en las últimas elecciones para el alcalde municipal?

1. Sí votó 2. No votó 3. Votó en blanco 4. No tenía edad
8. No sabe/no recuerda

SGL1. ¿Diría usted que los servicios que la Alcaldía está dando a la gente son excelentes, buenos, regulares, malos o pésimos?

1. excelentes 2. buenos 3. regulares 4. malos 5. pésimos 8. No sabe

SG2. ¿Como considera que le han tratado a usted o a sus vecinos cuando han ido a la Alcaldía para hacer trámites? ¿Le han tratado muy bien, bien, regular, mal o muy mal?

1. muy bien 2. bien 3. regular 4. mal 5. muy mal 8. No sabe

SGL3. ¿Diría usted que la actual Alcaldía presta un servicio mucho mejor, algo mejor, igual; algo peor, o mucho peor, que antes?

1. mucho mejor 2. algo mejor 3. igual
4. algo peor 5. mucho peor 8. No sabe

LGL1. En su opinión, ¿quien ha respondido mejor para ayudar a resolver los problemas de esta comunidad? Sería ¿El gobierno central? ¿Los diputados? o ¿La Alcaldía?

1. el gobierno central 2. los diputados 3. La municipalidad 4. ninguno
5. todos igual 8. No sabe/ no contesta [No leer # 4 o # 5]

LGL2. En su opinión ¿se le debe de dar más obligaciones y más dinero a la Alcaldía, o debemos dejar que el gobierno central asuma por más asuntos y servicios municipales?

1. más a la Alcaldía 2. más al gobierno central 3. No cambiar nada
4. más a la Alcaldía si dan mejores servicios 8. No sabe
[No leer # 3 o # 4]

LGL3. ¿Estaría usted dispuesto a pagar más impuestos a la Alcaldía para que ésta pueda prestar mejores servicios municipales o cree usted que no vale la pena pagar más?

1. más impuestos 2. no vale la pena pagar más 8. No sabe

LGL4. ¿Cree usted que los regidores y el Alcalde del municipio responden a lo que quiere el pueblo casi siempre, la mayoría de las veces, de vez en cuando, casi nunca o nunca?

1. siempre 2. la mayoría de las veces 3. de vez en cuando
4. casi nunca 5. nunca 8. No sabe

Versión: Nicaragua

Ahora vamos a hablar de la alcaldía de este municipio.

NP1. ¿Ha tenido usted la oportunidad de asistir a un cabildo abierto, una sesión municipal u otra reunión convocada por la Alcaldía durante los últimos 12 meses?

1. Sí 2. No. 8. No sabe/ no recuerda

NP2. ¿Ha solicitado ayuda o presentado una petición a alguna oficina, consejal o funcionario de la Alcaldía durante los últimos 12 meses?

1. Sí 2. No. 8. No sabe/ no recuerda

NP3. ¿Votó usted en las últimas elecciones para candidatos concejales?

1. Sí votó 2. No votó 3. Votó en blanco 4. No tenía edad
8. No sabe/no recuerda

SGL1. ¿Diría usted que los servicios que la Alcaldía está dando a la gente son excelentes, buenos, regulares, malos o pésimos?

1. excelente 2. bueno 3. regular 4. malo 5. pésimo 8. No sabe

SG2. ¿Como considera que le han tratado a usted o a sus vecinos cuando han ido a la Alcaldía para hacer trámites? ¿Le han tratado muy bien, bien, regular, mal o muy mal?

1. muy bien 2. bien 3. regular 4. mal 5. muy mal 8. No sabe

SGL3. ¿Diría usted que la actual Alcaldía presta un servicio mucho mejor, algo mejor, igual, algo peor, o mucho peor, que antes?

1. mucho mejor 2. algo mejor 3. igual
4. algo peor 5. mucho peor 8. No sabe

LGL1. En su opinión, ¿quien ha respondido mejor para ayudar a resolver los problemas de esta comunidad? Sería ¿El gobierno central ? ¿Los diputados? o ¿La Alcaldía?

1. el gobierno central 2. los diputados 3. La Alcaldía 4. Ninguno
5. Todos igual 8. No sabe/ no contesta [No leer # 4 o # 5]

LGL2. En su opinión ¿se le debe de dar más obligaciones y más dinero a la Alcaldía, o debemos dejar que el gobierno central asuma más asuntos y servicios municipales?

1. más a la Alcaldía 2. más al gobierno central 3. no cambiar nada
8. No sabe [No leer # 3]

LGL3. ¿Estaría usted dispuesto a pagar más impuestos a la Alcaldía para que ésta pueda prestar mejores servicios municipales o cree usted que no vale la pena pagar más?

1. más impuestos 2. no vale la pena pagar más 8. No sabe

LGL4. ¿Cree usted que los concejales y Alcalde de la municipalidad responden a lo que quiere el pueblo casi siempre, la mayoría de las veces, de vez en cuando, casi nunca o nunca?

1. siempre 2. la mayoría de las veces 3. de vez en cuando
4. casi nunca 5. nunca 8. No sabe

Versión: Panamá

Ahora vamos a hablar de la alcaldía de este distrito.

NP1. ¿Ha tenido usted la oportunidad de asistir a una sesión del consejo municipal u otra reunión convocada por la Alcaldía durante los últimos 12 meses?

1. Sí 2. No. 8. No sabe/ no recuerda

NP2. ¿Ha solicitado ayuda o presentado una petición a un representante del corregimiento, alguna oficina, funcionario, de la Alcaldía durante los últimos 12 meses?

1. Sí 2. No. 8. No sabe/ no recuerda

NP3. ¿Votó usted en las últimas elecciones para candidatos a Representante de Corregimiento? [elecciones de 1989]

1. Sí votó 2. No votó 3. Votó en blanco 4. No tenía edad
8. No sabe/no recuerda

SGL1. ¿Diría usted que los servicios que la Alcaldía está dando a la gente son excelentes, buenos, regulares, malos o pésimos?

1. excelente 2. bueno 3. regular 4. malo 5. pésimo 8. No sabe

SG2. ¿Como considera que le han tratado a usted o a sus vecinos cuando han ido a la Alcaldía para hacer trámites? ¿Le han tratado muy bien, bien, regular, mal o muy mal?

1. muy bien 2. bien 3. regular 4. mal 5. muy mal 8. No sabe

SGL3. ¿Diría usted que la actual Alcaldía presta un servicio mucho mejor, algo mejor, igual, algo peor, o mucho peor, que antes?

1. mucho mejor 2. algo mejor 3. igual
4. algo peor 5. mucho peor 8. No sabe

LGL1. En su opinión, ¿quien ha respondido mejor para ayudar a resolver los problemas de esta comunidad? Sería ¿El gobierno central? ¿Los legisladores? o ¿La Alcaldía?

1. el gobierno central 2. los legisladores 3. La alcaldía 4. ninguno
5. todos igual 8. no sabe/ no contesta [No leer #4 o #5]

LGL2. En su opinión ¿se le debe de dar más obligaciones y más dinero a la Alcaldía, o debemos dejar que el gobierno central asuma de más asuntos y servicios municipales?

1. más a la Alcaldía 2. más al gobierno central 3. No cambiar nada
4. más a la Alcaldía si dan mejores servicios 8. No sabe
[No leer # 3 o # 4]

LGL3. ¿Estaría usted dispuesto a pagar más impuestos o tarifas a la Alcaldía para que ésta pueda prestar mejores servicios municipales o cree usted que no vale la pena pagar más?

1. más impuestos 2. no vale la pena pagar más 8. No sabe

LGL4. ¿Cree usted que los representantes de corregimiento y el Alcalde del municipio responden a lo que quiere el pueblo casi siempre, la mayoría de los veces, de vez en cuando, casi nunca o nunca?

1. siempre 2. la mayoría de los veces 3. de vez en cuando
4. casi nunca 5. nunca 8. No sabe

Versión: El Salvador

Ahora vamos a hablar de la alcaldía de este municipio.

NP1. ¿Ha tenido usted la oportunidad de asistir a un cabildo abierto, una sesión municipal u otra reunión convocada por la Alcaldía durante los últimos 12 meses?

1. Sí 2. No. 8. No sabe/ no recuerda

NP2. ¿Ha solicitado ayuda o presentado una petición a alguna oficina, funcionario, regidor o síndico de la Alcaldía durante los últimos 12 meses?

1. Sí 2. No. 8. No sabe/ no recuerda

NP3. ¿Votó usted en las últimas elecciones para concejos municipales?

1. Sí votó 2 No votó 3 Votó en blanco 4. No tenía edad
8. No sabe/no recuerda

SGL1. ¿Diría usted que los servicios que la Alcaldía está dando a la gente son excelentes, buenos, regulares, malos o pésimos?

1. excelente 2. bueno 3. regular 4. malo 5. pésimo 8. No sabe

SG2. ¿Como considera que le han tratado a usted o a sus vecinos cuando han ido a la Alcaldía para hacer trámites? ¿Le han tratado muy bien, bien, regular, mal o muy mal?

1. muy bien 2. bien 3. regular 4. mal 5. muy mal 8. No sabe

SGL3. ¿Diría usted que la actual Alcaldía presta un servicio mucho mejor, algo mejor, igual, algo peor, o bastante peor, que antes?

1. mucho mejor 2. algo mejor 3. igual
4. algo peor 5. mucho peor 8. No sabe

LGL1. En su opinión, ¿quien ha respondido mejor para ayudar a resolver los problemas de esta comunidad? Sería ¿El gobierno central? ¿Los diputados? o ¿La Alcaldía?

1. el gobierno central 2. los diputados 3. La Alcaldía 4. Ninguno
5. Todos igual 8. No sabe/ no contesta [No leer #4 o #5]

LGL2. En su opinión ¿se le debe de dar más obligaciones y más dinero a la Alcaldía, o debemos dejar que el gobierno central asuma más asuntos y servicios municipales?

1. más a la Alcaldía 2. más al gobierno central 3. No cambiar nada
4. más a la Alcaldía si dan mejores servicios 8. No sabe
[No leer # 3 o # 4]

LGL3. ¿Estaría usted dispuesto a pagar más impuestos a la Alcaldía para que ésta pueda prestar mejores servicios municipales o cree usted que no vale la pena pagar más?

1. más impuestos 2. no vale la pena pagar más 8. No sabe

LGL4. ¿Cree usted que los regidores y el Alcalde del concejo municipal responden a lo que quiere el pueblo casi siempre, la mayoría de las veces, de vez en cuando, casi nunca o nunca?

1. siempre 2. la mayoría de las veces 3. de vez en cuando
4. casi nunca 5. nunca 8. No sabe

CURRICULUM VITAE

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Education

B.A. *cum laude*, Brooklyn College (C.U.N.Y.), Political Science, 1967.

M.A., University of Florida, Political Science, (economics minor), 1968.

Certificate in Latin American Studies, University of Pittsburgh, 1971.

Survey Research Center Summer Program, University of Michigan, 1972.

Ph.D., University of Pittsburgh, Political Science, 1974.

Employment

Daniel H. Wallace Professor of Political Science, University of Pittsburgh, 1994-present.

Professor of Political Science, University of Pittsburgh, 1986-1994.

Research Professor, University Center for International Studies, University of Pittsburgh, 1992-present.

Director, Center for Latin American Studies, University of Pittsburgh, 1986-1992.

Associate Professor of Political Science and Associate Professor of Latin American Studies, University of Illinois at Chicago, 1985-86.

Assistant Professor (1974-1979), Associate Professor (1979-1985), Department of Political Science, University of Arizona.

United States Peace Corps Volunteer, 1968-1970, Costa Rica. (Rural community development; cooperatives and agricultural extension).

Areas of Teaching and Research

Comparative Politics: Latin American Politics, Political Economy of Development, Peasant Politics, Land Tenure, Empirical Democratic Theory.

International Relations: International Political Economy, Theory, Regional Integration.

Methodology: Survey Research (questionnaire and sample design), Research Design, Data Analysis, Scaling, Public Policy Evaluation in Developing Countries.

Fellowships, Grants and Awards

Research Fellowships:

UCIS Research Fellow, University of Pittsburgh, Spring, 1993.

Residential Fellowship, Kellogg Institute, University of Notre Dame, Fall, 1992.

Senior Research Fulbright, for a study of elite support for democracy in Costa Rica, 1986.

Rockefeller Foundation International Relations Fellowship for research on the international political economy of inequality in Latin America, 1984-1988.

Lester Martin Fellowship for advanced research, Harry S. Truman Research Institute for the Advancement of Peace, Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Israel, spring semester, 1979.

Research Grants and Contracts:

Howard Heinz Endowment, "Environmental Protection and Agricultural Development: Small Farmer Solutions to a Seemingly Unavoidable Conflict," 1994-95. In collaboration with Jeremy Sabloff, Mark Edelman, Tony Bebbington and Mac Chapin (\$25,000).

United States Agency for International Development, "Indicators of Support for Democracy in Guatemala," 1992-1995. In collaboration with Joel Jutkowitz, Development Associates, Inc. (\$250,000)

North-South Center, University of Miami, "The Political Culture of Democracy in Guatemala," with John A. Booth, 1992 (\$25,000).

The European Commission, "Benefits of Central American Integration," co-investigator with Victor Bulmer-Thomas (University of London), Rodolfo Cerdas (University of Costa Rica), and María Eugenia Gallardo (FLACSO), 1992 (\$180,000).

Joseph Katz School of Business, International Business Center, "Multinational Corporations and Income Distribution in Central America." 1991 (\$4,500).

Andrew W. Mellon Foundation, "The Impact of Soviet and East European Reforms on Cuba." 1990-1992 (\$248,000).

University of Pittsburgh, Central Research Development Fund, "Determinants of Foreign Policy Attitudes in the Mass Public: The United States and Costa Rica." 1990 (\$4,400).

Commission for the Study of International Migration and Cooperative Economic Development, "Remittances and Small Enterprise Development in El Salvador," 1989 (\$20,550).

United States Agency for International Development, Evaluation of Land Titling Project in Ecuador, 1988-1992 (\$650,000).

United States Agency for International Development and the World Council of Credit Unions, "Baseline Study of Cooperatives in Honduras," 1988 (\$125,000).

University of Pittsburgh, Office of Research Small Grants Program, "Elite Support of Democracy under Crisis Conditions," 1987 (\$6,500).

University of Arizona, Social and Behavioral Sciences Research Institute, Grant for study of mass/elite support for democracy in Costa Rica, 1987 (\$5,000).

U. S. National Science Foundation, "Inequality, Violence, and Regime Stability," 1986-87, Grant No. SES85-21098, with Edward N. Muller, University of Arizona (\$50,000).

Agency for International Development, "Evaluation of the Impact of a Land Title Security Program in Honduras," 1985-1988 (\$86,000).

Social and Behavioral Sciences Research Institute, University of Arizona, Research Grant for longitudinal study of diffuse support in Costa Rica, 1985. Principal investigators: Mitchell A. Seligson and Edward N. Muller (\$2,000).

University of Arizona Foundation, grant for research on diffuse support under crisis conditions, 1983-1984 (\$3,000).
Cornell University Rural Development Committee/AID, research support for a study of agrarian reform in Costa Rica, 1981 (\$11,000).

The Harry S. Truman Research Institute for the Advancement of Peace grant for research on political tolerance in Israel, 1979. Principal investigators: Mitchell A. Seligson and Dan Caspi (\$5,000).

U. S. Department of Labor, grant for research on "The Mexican Border Industrialization Program," 1978-1979. Grant No. 21-04-78-29. Principal investigators: Mitchell A. Seligson and Edward J. Williams (\$120,000).

Grant from the Instituto de Tierras y Colonización of Costa Rica to attend the Conference on Agrarian Reform in Latin America, organized by the Comisión de Estudios Rurales de CLASCO, La Catalina, Costa Rica, June, 1978.

Ford and Rockefeller Foundations Joint Population and Development Policy Research Program grant for research on the impact of land reform on family planning, 1976-1978 (\$25,000).

Supplement to above for additional field work, 1977 (total project: \$30,000).

The Border States Consortium for Latin America, grant for organizing an interdisciplinary conference on political participation in Latin America, 1976 (\$500).

Latin American Studies Association grant for organizing an interdisciplinary conference on political participation in Latin America, 1976 (\$1,000).

University of Texas at San Antonio, grant for an interdisciplinary conference on political participation in Latin America, 1976 (\$4,000).

University of Arizona Foundation, grant for research on Costa Rican peasant project 1974 (\$2,000).

University of Arizona National Science Foundation institutional grant for research on Costa Rican peasant project, 1974 (\$3,000).

Institutional Grants:

The Heinz Current Issues in Latin America Research Grants, 1988, 1989, 1990, 1991, 1992 (\$1.1 million)

Tinker Foundation Field Research Grant, 1991-1994 (\$75,000, including matching funds).

U.S. Department of Education Title VI National Resource Center for Latin America, University of Pittsburgh/Cornell University, 1986-87; 1987-88 (\$360,000); 1988-91 (\$690,000); 1991-94 (\$900,000 approx.)

U.S. Information Agency, Academic Affiliations Grant with the Universidad Católica Madre y Maestra, Dominican Republic, 1988-1991) (\$49,000).

Alcoa Foundation, for projects in Latin America, 1989-93 (\$75,000).

Tinker Foundation Field Research Grant, 1986-87; 1987-88 (\$30,000).

United States Information Agency, Scholar-in-Residence Fulbright, 1988 (\$10,000).

Awards and Other Recognition:

Nominated for the Franklin L. Burdette Pi Sigma Alpha Award for the paper "Political Culture and Democratization: Alternative Paths in Nicaragua and Costa Rica," presented at the 1990 American Political Science Association Annual Meeting, San Francisco, CA.

Best Paper Award (Pi Sigma Alpha) at the 1982 Annual Meeting of the Southwestern Political Science Association, for "The Illusion of Authoritarian Values: Democratic Values and Political Structures in Mexico." Co-authored with John A. Booth.

The Hoover Institution Annual Prize for the Best Scholarly Article on Latin America Published in 1984 for "The Political Culture of Authoritarianism in Mexico: A Reexamination," with John A. Booth, *Latin American Research Review*, 19 (No. 1, January, 1984), pp. 106-124.

Listed in *Who's Who in American Education*, Third Edition, 1992-93

Indexed in *Who's Who in America*, 1994, 48th edition.

Listed in *Who's Who in America*, 1995, 49th edition.

Listed in *Dictionary of International Biography*, 23rd edition, Cambridge, England.

Member of the "Consejo de Honor" [Council of Honor], FLACSO (Facultad Latinoamericana de Ciencias Sociales), 1992-present.

Fellowships For Graduate Study:

--Danforth Foundation Kent Fellowship 1972-1973; renewed 1973, 1974.

--National Defense Foreign Language Fellowship Title VI (NDEA), 1970-1971; renewed 1971-1972.

--National Defense Education Act Fellowship Title IV (NDEA), 1967-1968.

Dissertation Year Fellowships:

--Ford Foundation Foreign Area Fellowship (SSRC) 1972-1973; renewed, 1973-1974.

--Fulbright Hays Dissertation Fellowship, HEPFLAS (awardee).

--Grace L. Doherty Latin American Fellowship (awardee).

--Organization of American States Fellowship (awardee).

Graduate Honors:

Elected to Phi Kappa Phi National Honor Society of Graduate Students. Awarded the Arnold J. Heidenheimer Essay Prize in Comparative Politics.

Consulting

--USAID and Development Associates, Inc, for a study of Civil Society, Reconciliation and Local Government in El Salvador, July-September, 1994.

--World Bank and the Land Tenure Center, University of Wisconsin, for a project on land titling in Honduras, July, 1994.

--Development Alternatives, Inc., revisions of a CDIE Assessment on Investments in Agriculture, July, 1994.

--International City/County Management Association (ICMA), study of public attitudes toward local government in Central America, February-September, 1994.

--United States Agency for International Development, El Salvador, design for a project to strengthen participation in local democratic government, July-August, 1993.

--Pew Memorial Trust and Georgetown University, a study of the Mexican "maquiladora" program and migration, May-June, 1994.

--United States Agency for International Development and Abt Associates, El Salvador, Chief of Party for a study of The Future of Land Tenure in El Salvador, January-September, 1993

- United States Agency for International Development and Development Associates, Inc., Guatemala, Indicators of Support for Democracy in Guatemala, September, 1992-August, 1995
- United States Agency for International Development, El Salvador, Chief of Party for the Evaluation of Legislative Strengthening Project, September, 1992-February, 1993
- United States Agency for International Development, Guatemala, Democratic Indicators for Guatemala, March-June, 1992.
- United States Agency for International Development, Sample design for drug abuse survey in Panama, October, 1991.
- State University System, State of Florida, evaluation of Latin American Studies programs, October, 1991.
- University of Arizona, evaluation of Latin American Studies program, 1991.
- United States Agency for International Development, Indicators for Strategic Democratic Initiatives in Latin America, October-November, 1990.
- United States Agency for International Development, Evaluation of Strategic Democratic Initiatives in Honduras, September, 1990.
- United States Information Service, Academic Specialists Program, for lectures at the Universidad de Costa Rica, San José, Costa Rica, July-August, 1990.
- United States Agency for International Development, Washington, review of legislative development in Bolivia, Chile Peru and Central America, February, 1989.
- United States Agency for International Development, Guatemala, review of socio-economic development in the Guatemalan Highlands, 1950-1988, January, 1989.
- Inter-American Foundation, Washington, D. C., workshop on survey research and sample design, August, 1988.
- United States Agency for International Development, Ecuador, on the coffee producers, November, 1986-January, 1987.
- United States Agency for International Development, Ecuador, on the design of a coffee renovation project, September-October, 1986.
- United States Agency for International Development, Ecuador, for a study of the social soundness of a proposed coffee renovation program, July-September, 1986.
- United States Agency for International Development, Panama, for a study of the impact of land titles on agricultural income, July, 1986.
- United States Agency for International Development, Honduras, for an evaluation of the impact of a coffee technification program, January, 1986.
- United States Agency for International Development, Honduras, for the design of an agriculture sector assessment, September, 1985.
- United States Agency for International Development, Jamaica, for research on the impact of land title security on hillside agriculture development, August, 1985.
- United States Agency for International Development, Ecuador, for the social soundness of a land titling program in Ecuador, June, 1985.
- United States Agency for International Development, Ecuador, on land title security, March, 1985.
- United States Agency for International Development, Jamaica, for an assessment of land titling and agrarian development in Jamaica, January, 1985.
- United States Agency for International Development, Ecuador, for an assessment of land reform in Ecuador, November, 1984.
- United States Agency for International Development, Honduras, for an analysis of a baseline study of land titling, 1984.

- United States Agency for International Development, Honduras, for the design and implementation of an evaluation of the impact of a land titling program, June-September, 1983.
- United States Information Service, Academic Specialists Program, for lectures at the Universidad de los Andes, Mérida, Venezuela, March, 1983.
- United States Agency for International Development, Guatemala, August, 1982, on land tenure and land reform.
- United States Agency for International Development and El Instituto de Tierras y Colonización, San José, Costa Rica, November, 1981, on land tenure and land reform.
- International Service for National Agricultural Research (ISNAR), The Hague, Netherlands, March, 1981, on agrarian development in Costa Rica.
- United States Agency for International Development, Washington, D.C., August 18, 1980, on land reform loan.
- United States Agency for International Development, San José, Costa Rica, May-June, 1980, on the impact of the Costa Rican land titling program.

- Agency for International Development, March, 1980, on the evaluation of the agrarian reform program in Costa Rica
- Cornell University, February, 1980, on rural participation and development projects.
- Expert Witness, "Banco Interamericano case," Superior Court, Tucson, Arizona.
- Consultant on change of venue opinion survey; law firm of Aaron, Fioramonti and Kohn, Tucson, Arizona (October 1978).
- Consultant, U.S. Department of State Foreign Service Institute, (rural development in Latin America), 1977.
- Statistical consultant, Social Security in Latin America Project, directed by Carmelo Mesa-Lago, 1974-1976. --University of Arizona Arid Lands Program on survey research in rural Niger, 1976.
- Acción Internacional Técnica, Cambridge, Massachusetts, (Design of municipal development project for Costa Rica), 1973.

Publications

Books:

- Citizen and State: Political Participation in Latin America, Vol. I*, co-edited with John A. Booth. New York and London: Holmes and Meier Publishers (1978).
- Politics and the Poor: Political Participation in Latin America, Vol. II*, co-edited with John A. Booth. New York and London: Holmes and Meier Publishers (1979).
- Peasants of Costa Rica and the Development of Agrarian Capitalism*. Madison and London: University of Wisconsin Press (1980).
- El campesino y el capitalismo agrario de Costa Rica*. Translation of above, San José, Costa Rica: Editorial Costa Rica (1980).
Second revised edition, 1984.
- Maquiladoras and Migration: Workers in the Mexico-United States Border Industrialization Program*, co-authored with Edward J. Williams. Austin: University of Texas Press Services (1982).
- The Gap Between Rich and Poor: Contending Perspectives on the Political Economy of Development*. (ed.) Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press, 1984.
- Authoritarians and Democrats: Regime Transition in Latin America*, co-edited with James M. Malloy. Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1987.
- Elections and Democracy in Central America*, co-edited with John A. Booth. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1989.
- Development and Underdevelopment: The Political Economy of Inequality*, co-edited with John Passé-Smith. Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 1993.

Monographs and Occasional Papers:

- Agrarian Capitalism and the Transformation of Peasant Society: Coffee in Costa Rica*. Buffalo: State University of New York Special Studies Series, No. 69, 1975, pp. 66.
- "Agrarian Reform in Costa Rica, 1942-1976: Evolution of a Program." Land Tenure Center Research Paper Series, No. 115. Madison: University of Wisconsin. (January, 1978), pp. 42.

a) Reprinted: William P. Avery, Richard E. Lonsdale and Ivan Volgyes, *Rural Change and Public Policy: Eastern Europe, Latin America, and Australia*. New York: Pergamon Press (1980), pp. 253-275.

b) Translated and reprinted: "La reforma agraria en Costa Rica, 1942-1976: La evolución de un programa." *Estudios sociales centroamericanos*, 19 (enero-abril, 1978), pp. 55-82.

Peasant Participation in Costa Rica's Agrarian Reform: A View From Below. Ithaca: Cornell University Rural Development Committee Monograph Series, 1983, pp. 241.

Land and Labor in Guatemala: An Assessment. Co-authored. Agency for International Development and Development Associates: Washington, D.C., 1983, pp. 284. Also available in Spanish as *Tierra y trabajo en Guatemala: Una evaluación*, Guatemala: Ediciones Papiro, 1983. Reprinted, 1986.

"Baseline Survey of the Honduran Small Farmer Titling Project: Descriptive Analysis of the 1985 Sample." Co-authored with Edgar G. Nesman. Land Tenure Center Research Paper No. 93. Madison: University of Wisconsin, May, 1987, 122 pp. Also appearing as "Encuesta de base del proyecto de titulación del pequeño agricultor Hondureño: Análisis descriptiva de la muestra de 1985," June, 1986.

"The Honduras Land Titling and Registration Experience." Co-authored with David Stanfield, Edgar Nesman, and Alex Coles. Land Tenure Center Research Paper, June, 1990. Madison: University of Wisconsin.

"Small Business Development in El Salvador: The Impact of Remittances." José Roberto López and Mitchell A. Seligson. *Working Papers of the Commission for the Study of International Migration and Cooperative Economic Development*, No. 44, June 1990.

Reprinted in: Sergio Díaz-Briquets and Sidney Weintraub, eds., *Migration, Remittances and Small Business Development: Mexico and Caribbean Basin Countries*. Boulder: Westview Press, 1991.

Economic Integration in Central America: A Report to the European Commission, co-authored, Victor Bulmer-Thomas, Rodolfo Cerdas and María Eugenia Gallardo. Miami: The North-South Center, April, 1992, 49 pp.

Perspectivas para una democracia estable en El Salvador. Co-authored with Ricardo Córdova Macías. San Salvador: IDELA (Instituto de Estudios Latinoamericanos). 1993, 103 pp.

Articles:

"Old Wine in New Bottles: The Utility of Data Reanalysis in the Social Sciences," *Historical Methods Newsletter*, 5 (June, 1972), pp. 101-107.

"The 'Dual Society' Thesis in Latin America: A Reexamination of the Costa Rican Case," *Social Forces* 51:1 (September, 1972), pp. 91-98.

Revised, translated and reprinted: "La tesis de 'la sociedad dual' en América Latina: una reexaminación del caso de Costa Rica," *Revista de ciencias sociales*, (Costa Rica) 10 (octubre 1975), pp. 33-47.

"Transactions and Community Formation: Fifteen Years of Growth and Stagnation in Central America," *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 11 (March, 1973), pp. 173-190.

"Applying Quantitative Techniques to Quantitative History: The Case of Mexico," with Felix G. Boni, *Latin American Research Review*, 8 (Summer, 1973), pp. 105-110.

"Agrarian Policy in Dependent Societies: Costa Rica," *Journal of Interamerican Studies and World Affairs* 19 (May, 1977), pp. 201-32.

"Political Participation in Latin America: An Agenda for Research," with John A. Booth, *Latin American Research Review*, 11 (Fall, 1976), pp. 95-119.

"Prestige Among Peasants: A Multidimensional Analysis of Preference Data," *American Journal of Sociology*, 83 (November, 1977), pp. 632-52.

"Images of Participation in Latin America," with John A. Booth. In John A. Booth and Mitchell A. Seligson, eds. *Citizen and State: Political Participation in Latin America*, Vol. I, New York and London: Holmes and Meier Publishers (1978), pp. 3-33.

"Development and Participation in Costa Rica: The Impact of Context." In John A. Booth and Mitchell A. Seligson, eds. *Citizen and State: Political Participation in Latin America*, Vol. I, New York and London: Holmes and Meier Publishers (1978), pp. 145-153.

"Development, Political Participation and the Poor in Latin America." In Mitchell A. Seligson and John A. Booth, eds. *Politics and the Poor: Political Participation in Latin America*, Vol. II, New York and London: Holmes and Meier Publishers (1979), pp. 3-8.

"Unconventional Political Participation: Cynicism, Powerlessness, and the Latin American Peasant," in Mitchell A. Seligson and John A. Booth, eds., *Politics and the Poor: Political Participation in Latin America*, Vol. II, New York and London: Holmes and Meier Publishers (1979), pp. 134-146.

"Structure and Levels of Political Participation in Costa Rica: Comparing the Countryside with the City." In Mitchell A. Seligson and John A. Booth, eds., *Politics and the Poor: Political Participation in Latin America*, Vol. II, New York and London: Holmes and Meier Publishers (1979), pp. 62-75.

"Language and Political Behavior: A Methodology for Utilizing the Linguistic Component of Socioeconomic Status," *American Journal of Political Science* 22 (August, 1978), pp. 712-741, co-authored with Susan Berk-Seligson.

"The Phonological Correlates of Social Stratification in Costa Rican Spanish," with Susan Berk-Seligson, *Lingua*, 46 (September, 1978), No. 1, pp. 1-28.

"El Salvador," "Nicaragua," "Honduras," *Academic American Encyclopedia*, Princeton, NJ: Arête Publishing Co., 1980-1982.

"Peasants as Activists: A Reevaluation of Political Participation in the Countryside," with John A. Booth. *Comparative Political Studies* 12 (April, 1979), pp. 29-59.

"The Impact of Agrarian Reform: A Study of Costa Rica," *The Journal of Developing Areas* 13 (January, 1979), pp. 161-174.

Reprinted in Marc Edelman and Joanne Kenen, eds., *The Costa Rica Reader*, New York: Grove Weidenfield, 1989.

"Public Policies in Conflict: Land Reform and Family Planning in Costa Rica," *Comparative Politics*, 12 (October, 1979), pp. 49-62.

Translated and reprinted: "Las políticas públicas en conflicto: La reforma agraria y planificación familiar en Costa Rica," *Experiencias de reforma agraria y políticas estatales* (working papers), (San José, Costa Rica: Centro de Estudios Democráticos de América Latina, CEDAL, 1978).

"Political and Interpersonal Trust Among Peasants: A Reevaluation," with José Manuel Salazar X. *Rural Sociology*, 44 (Fall, 1979), pp. 505-524.

"Trust, Efficacy and Modes of Political Participation: A Study of Costa Rican Peasants," *British Journal of Political Science*, 10 (January, 1980), pp. 75-98.

- "A Problem-Solving Approach to Measuring Political Efficacy," *Social Science Quarterly*, 60 (March, 1980), pp. 630-642.
- "Threat, Ethnicity and Education: Tolerance toward the Civil Liberties of the Arab Minority in Israel" (in Hebrew), with Dan Caspi, *Megamot*, 15 (May, 1982), pp. 37-53.
- "The Costa Rican Role in the Sandinist Victory," with William Carroll. In Thomas W. Walker, ed., *Nicaragua in Revolution*. New York: Praeger (1982), pp. 345-373.
Reprinted in Marc Edelman and Joanne Kenen, eds., *The Costa Rica Reader*, New York: Grove Weidenfield, 1989.
- "Diffuse Political Support and Antisystem Political Behavior: A Comparative Analysis," *American Journal of Political Science*, 26 (May, 1982), pp. 240-264. With Edward N. Muller and Thomas O. Jukam.
- "Cooperative Participation Among Agrarian Reform Beneficiaries in Costa Rica," *Journal of Rural Cooperation*, 10 (No. 2, 1982), pp. 113-149.
- "Agrarian Reform in Costa Rica: The Impact of the Title Security Program," *Inter-American Economic Affairs*, 35 (Spring, 1982), pp. 31-56.
- "On the Measurement of Diffuse Support: Some Evidence from Mexico," *Social Indicators Research*, 12 (January, 1983), pp. 1-24.
- "Costa Rica." In Jack W. Hopkins, ed., *Latin America and Caribbean Contemporary Record, Volume I: 1981-82*. New York and London: Holmes and Meier Publishers (1983), pp. 399-408.
- "Toward an Empirical Theory of Tolerance: Radical Groups in Israel and Costa Rica," *Comparative Political Studies*, with Dan Caspi, 15 (January, 1983), pp. 385-404.
Reprinted in the Truman Reprint Series of the Harry S. Truman Research Institute of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem.
- "Arabs in Israel: Political Tolerance and Ethnic Conflict," with Dan Caspi, *The Journal of Applied Behavioral Science*, 19 (February, 1983), pp. 55-66.
- "The Political Culture of Authoritarianism in Mexico: A Reevaluation," with John A. Booth, *Latin American Research Review*, 19 (No. 1, January, 1984), pp. 106-124.
*Awarded the 1984 Hoover Institution Annual Prize for the Best Scholarly Article on Latin America.
- "Costa Rica." In Jack W. Hopkins, ed., *Latin America and Caribbean Contemporary Record, Volume II: 1982-1983*. New York, and London: Holmes and Meier Publishers (1984, pp. 460-474).
- "Implementing Land Reform: The Case of Costa Rica," *Managing International Development*, 1 (March-April, 1984), pp. 29-46.
Reprinted in Marc Edelman and Joanne Kenen, eds., *The Costa Rica Reader*, New York: Grove Weidenfield, 1989.
Also published in Spanish in the proceedings of the conference on the International Dimensions of Land Reform. Mexico: CEESTEM (Center for Economic and Social Studies of the Third World).
- "The Dual Gaps: An Overview of Theory and Research." In Mitchell A. Seligson, ed., *The Gap Between Rich and Poor: Contending Perspectives on the Political Economy of Development*. Boulder, CO.: Westview Press, 1984.
- "Inequality in a Global Perspective: Directions for Further Research." In Mitchell A. Seligson, ed., *The Gap Between Rich and Poor: Contending Perspectives on the Political Economy of Development*. Boulder, CO.: Westview Press, 1984.

"Challenging the Pluralistic Intolerance Thesis: A Reply," with Dan Caspi, *Comparative Political Studies*, 17 (October, 1984), pp. 345-350.

"Community and Cooperative Participation Among Land Reform Beneficiaries in Honduras," with Earl Jones and Edgar Nesman, *Journal of Rural Cooperation*, 12 (Nos. 1-2), 1984, pp. 65-87.

"La economía política del desarrollo agrario en Honduras." In Mark B. Rosenberg and Philip L. Shepard, eds., *Honduras: realidad nacional y crisis regional*. Tegucigalpa: CEDOH, 1986.

Reprinted in *Síntesis* (Madrid) 8(Mayo-Agosto, 1989), pp. 220-226.

"Tierra y trabajo en Guatemala: La ecuación desequilibrada," co-authored with John Kelley, *Anuario de estudios Centroamericanos*, 12(2), 1986, pp. 5-34.

"Democratization in Latin America: The Current Cycle." In James M. Malloy and Mitchell A. Seligson, eds., *Authoritarians and Democrats: The Politics of Regime Transition in Latin America*. Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1987.

"Development, Democratization and Decay: Central America at the Crossroads." In James M. Malloy and Mitchell A. Seligson, eds., *Authoritarians and Democrats: The Politics of Regime Transition in Latin America*. Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1987.

"Insurgency and Inequality," with Edward N. Muller, *American Political Science Review*, 81(June, 1987), pp. 425-451.

"Costa Rica and Jamaica." In Myron Weiner and Ergun Ozbudun, eds., *Competitive Elections in Developing Countries*. Durham, North Carolina: Duke University Press, 1987.

"Democratic Stability and Economic Crisis: Costa Rica, 1978-1983," co-authored with Edward N. Muller, *International Studies Quarterly*, 31(September, 1987), pp. 301-326.

Reprinted as, "Estabilidad democrática y crisis económica: Costa Rica, 1978-1983, *Anuario de estudios Centroamericanos*, Vol. 16 (2), 1990 and Vol. 17 (1), 1991, pp. 71-92.

"Elecciones ordinarias en tiempos extraordinarios: la economía política del voto en Costa Rica," Co-authored with Miguel Gómez Barrantes, *Anuario de estudios centroamericanos*, 13(1), 1987, pp. 5-24.

"Education, Participation, and Support for Democratic Norms," with E. Muller and Ilter Turan, *Comparative Politics*, 20(October, 1987), pp. 19-33.

"Central American Studies." In Mark B. Rosenberg, ed., *Central American Studies: Toward a New Research Agenda*. Miami: Occasional Papers Series, Dialogues No. 110, Florida International University, July, 1988.

"Ordinary Elections in Extraordinary Times: The Political Economy of Voting in Costa Rica." In John A. Booth and Mitchell A. Seligson, eds., *Elections and Democracy in Central America*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1989.

"From Uncertainty to Uncertainty: The Institutionalization of Elections in Central America. In John A. Booth and Mitchell A. Seligson, eds., *Elections and Democracy in Central America*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1989.

"Land Inequality and Political Violence." With Edward N. Muller and Hung-der Fu, *American Political Science Review*, 83(June, 1989), pp. 577-587.

"Economic Crisis, Incumbent Performance and Regime Support: A Comparison of Longitudinal Data from West Germany and Costa Rica," co-authored with Edward Muller and Steve Finkel, *British Journal of Political Science*, 19(July, 1989), pp. 329-351.

"Political Culture and Democratization in Latin America." In James M. Malloy and Eduardo Gamarra, eds., *Latin America and Caribbean Contemporary Record, Vol. VII*. New York: Holmes and Meir, 1990, pp. 49-65.

Reprinted in Roderic Ai Camp, *Democracy and Development: Configurations in Latin American Politics*. Wilmington, DE: SR Books, forthcoming.

"Costa Rica." In Howard J. Wiarda and Harvey F. Kline, *Latin American Politics and Development*, Third edition, 1990, Boulder: Westview Press.

"The Honduras Land Titling and Registration Experience." Co-author with David Stanfield, Edgar Nesman and Alexander Coles. Land Tenure Center Research Reports, 1990. Madison: University of Wisconsin.

"Integration and Disintegration in Central America: From 1950-1990," with Ricardo Córdova, in Lawrence A. Herzog, ed., *Changing Boundaries in the Americas: New Perspectives on the U.S.-Mexican, Central American, and South American Borders*, San Diego: Center for U.S-Mexican Studies, 1992, 151-166.

Also appears in Joaquín Roy, ed., *La reconstrucción de Centroamérica: el papel de la Comunidad Europea* pp. 191-214 and *The Reconstruction of Central America: The Role of the European Community*, North-South Center, University of Miami, 1992, pp. 189-212.

"Costa Rica." In Joel Kriger, ed., *The Oxford Companion to Politics of the World*, 1993.

"Political Culture and Democratization : Evidence from Mexico, Nicaragua and Costa Rica." Coauthored with John A. Booth. In Larry Diamond, ed., *Political Culture and Democracy in Developing Countries*, Boulder: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 1993, pp. 107-138.

A different version appears as "Cultura política y democratización: vías alternativas en Nicaragua y Costa Rica." In Carlos Barba Solano, José Luis Barros Horcasitas y Javier Hurtado, *Transiciones a la democracia en Europa y América Latina*. México: FLACSO y la Universidad de Guadalajara, 1991, pp. 628-681.

Also appears in the "textbook edition" of Larry Diamond, ed., *Political Culture and Democracy in Developing Countries*, Boulder: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 1994, pp. 99-130.

"Cuba and the Central American Connection: Public Opinion and Foreign Policy." In Carmelo Mesa-Lago, ed., *Cuba in the Post Cold War Era*. Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1993.

"Costa Rica." In Howard J. Wiarda and Harvey F. Kline, *Latin American Politics and Development*, Fourth edition, 1993, Boulder: Westview Press.

"Political Culture and Regime Type: Evidence from Nicaragua and Costa Rica," co-authored with John A. Booth. *Journal of Politics*, Vol. 55, No. 3, August, 1993, pp. 777-792.

Also appears in the proceedings of the "Conference on Structural Change in Developing Countries," National Tawian University, June, 1990.

"Foreign Policy Belief Systems in Comparative Perspective: The United States and Costa Rica," co-authored with Jon Hurwitz and Mark Peffley, *International Studies Quarterly*, Vol. 37, September, 1993, pp. 245-270.

"Actitudes de la población centroamericana frente la integración política y económica." *Anuario de estudios Centroamericanos*, Vol. 19, No. 2, 1993. Forthcoming.

"Inequality and Political Violence Revisited," *American Political Science Review*, Vol. 87 (December, 1993), pp. 983-993, co-authored with William J. Dixon and Edward N. Muller.

"Land Inequality: A Comparison of Census Data and Property Records in Twentieth-Century Southern Costa Rica," co-authored with Marc Edelman, *Hispanic American Historical Review*, Vol. 73: 3 (August, 1994), pp. 445-491.
Reprinted in translation in *Anuario de estudios Centroamericanos*, forthcoming, 1994.

"Civic Culture and Democracy: The Question of the Causal Relationships," *American Political Science Review*, Vol. 88 (September, 1994), pp. 635-654. With Edward N. Muller.

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Research Reports:

Maquiladoras and Migration: A Study of Workers in the Mexican-United States Border Industrialization Program, with Edward J. Williams. Report to the United States Department of Labor, 1980, pp. 280. Available from the National Technical Information Service, Report No. DLMA 21-04-78-29-1, January 29, 1980.

"An Institutional Analysis of the Instituto de Tierras y Colonización of Costa Rica." Report prepared for the Agency for International Development, March 15, 1980, pp. 58.

"The Impact of the Land Titling Program in Costa Rica: An Analysis Based Upon a Pilot Study." Report prepared for the Agency for International Development, San José, Costa Rica, May, 1980, pp. 62.

"Peasant Participation in Costa Rica's Agrarian Reform: A View from Below." Report prepared for the Agency for International Development and El Instituto de Tierras y Colonización, November, 1982, pp. 299.

"Baseline Survey of the Honduran Small Farmer Titling Program: Design, Field Work and Univariate Distributions." Co-authored. Arlington, VA: Development Associates, Inc. Report prepared for the U.S. Agency for International Development, Honduras, October 1, 1983, pp. 58 plus appendices.

"Baseline Survey of the Honduran Small Farmer Titling Program: Descriptive Analysis of the 1983 Sample." Co-authored. Arlington, VA: Development Associates, Inc. Report prepared for the U.S. Agency for International Development, Honduras, May 8, 1984, pp. 99. Translated as "Estudio de Base del Programa Hondureño de Titulación de tierras del Pequeño Agricultor: Análisis descriptivo de la muestra de 1983."

"Land Tenure Security, Minifundization and Agrarian Development in Ecuador: A Preliminary Assessment." Report prepared for the U.S. Agency for International Development, Ecuador, December 15, 1984, pp. 102 plus appendices.

"Land Tenure Security as a Constraint on Agricultural Development in Jamaica: A Preliminary Assessment." Report prepared for the U.S. Agency for International Development, Jamaica, February 17, 1985, pp. 44 plus appendices.

- "The Facilities for Title Act and Agricultural Development in Jamaica." Report prepared for the U.S. Agency for International Development, Jamaica, September 16, 1985, pp. 47 plus appendices.
- "Suggestions for Developing a New Data Base for the Planning of Rural Development in Honduras." Report prepared for the U.S. Agency for International Development, Honduras, October, 1985.
- "Baseline Survey of the Honduran Small Farmer Titling Project: Descriptive Analysis of the 1985 Sample," Madison: Land Tenure Center, University of Wisconsin, November, 1985, pp. 87. Co-authored with Edgar G. Nesman.
- "A Report on the Honduran Small Farmer Coffee Improvement Project." Report prepared for the U.S. Agency for International Development, January, 1986.
- "Feasibility of Land Titling in Panama." Co-authored. Report prepared for the U.S. Agency for International Development, Panama. Land Tenure Center, University of Wisconsin, July, 1986.
- "Small Farmer Coffee Cooperatives in Ecuador: Social Composition and Technical Development." Report prepared for the United States Agency for International Development, Ecuador, September, 1986.
- "Coffee Producers in Ecuador: A Comparison of Cooperative Members and Nonmembers." Report prepared for the United States Agency for International Development, Quito, Ecuador, January, 1987.
- "Land Titling in Honduras: An Impact Study in the Santa Bárbara Region." Co-authored Madison: Land Tenure Center, University of Wisconsin August, 1988.
- "Report of the LASA Commission on Compliance with the Central America Peace Accords." Pittsburgh: Latin American Studies Association, 1988.
- "Cooperatives in Honduras: A Baseline Study." Co-authored. Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh and Florida International for the World Council of Credit Unions, October, 1988. Available in Spanish as "Cooperativas en Honduras: Un estudio de base."
- "Latin American Legislatures: An Overview of Bolivia, Chile and Peru." Co-authored. Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Latin American Democratization Study Group, February, 1989.
- "Land Tenure Security in Ecuador: A Preliminary Study of Cayambe and Pedro Moncayo." Co-authored. Pittsburgh, April, 1989.
- "Land Titling in Honduras: An Impact Study in the Comayagua Region." Co-authored Madison: Land Tenure Center, University of Wisconsin August, 1989.
- "Remittances and Small Business Development: The Case of El Salvador." Co-authored with José Roberto López. Report to The Commission for the Study of International Migration and Cooperative Economic Development, Washington, D. C., October, 1989.
- "Evaluation of the Strategic Democratic Initiatives Project in Honduras." Co-authored. Development Associates, Arlington, VA., 1990. Typescript.
- "The Role of Measurement Indicators in the Monitoring and Evaluation of Latin American and Caribbean Democratic Initiatives. Co-author. Washington, D. C., : Management Systems International, 1990.
- "The Legislative Strengthening Project of El Salvador," Report to USAID, El Salvador, December, 1992, co-authored with Mark B. Rosenberg and Annabelle Conroy.

"Democratic Culture in Urban Central America: El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras, Nicaragua, Panama and Costa Rica." A report to the North-South Center, University of Miami, April, 1993. Typescript.

"Considerations for Increasing Participation in Local Democratic Government in El Salvador." Report to USAID, El Salvador, August, 1993. Co-authored with Ricardo Córdova Macías. Typescript.

"El Salvador Agricultural Policy Analysis: Land Tenure Study." Co-authored with William Thiesenhusen, Malcolm Childress and Roberto Vidales. A Report to USAID/El Salvador, September, 1993, Abt. Associates, Cambridge, MA.

"Guatemalan Values and the Prospects for Democratic Development." Co-authored with Joel M. Jutkowitz. Asociación de Investigación y Estudios Sociales, Guatemala (ASIES) and Development Associates, Inc., Rosslyn, VA., March, 1994.

"Investments in Agriculture: Asset distribution and access Land Tenure Programs," with Virginia Lambert. Development Alternatives, July, 1994.

Book Reviews and Other Articles:

Review of *Social Classes in Agrarian Society*, by Rodolfo Stavenhagen, *Hispanic American Historical Review*, February, 1976, pp. 170-171.

Review of *Power, Politics, and Progress: Social Change in Rural Peru*, by William Foote Whyte and Giorgio Alberti, in *American Political Science Review*, June, 1978, pp. 777-778.

Review of *Peasants, Politics and Revolution: Pressures Toward Political and Social Change in the Third World*, by Joel S. Migdal in *Hispanic American Historical Review*, February, 1978, pp. 152-153.

Review of *Peasant Politics: Struggle in a Dominican Village*, by Kenneth E. Sharpe in *Hispanic American Historical Review*, February, 1979, pp.168-170.

Review of *Metropolitan Latin America: The Challenge and the Response*, by Wayne A. Cornelius and Robert V. Kemper, in *American Political Science Review*, September, 1979, pp. 893-894.

Review of *Israel-Latin American Relations*, by Edy Kaufman, Yoram Shapira and Joel Barromi, in *Hispanic American Historical Review*, August, 1980, pp. 547-548.

Review of *The New Authoritarianism in Latin America*, by David Collier, in *American Political Science Review*, December, 1980, pp. 1107-1108.

Review of *Corporatism and National Development in Latin America*, by Howard J. Wiarda, in *Perspective*, January/February, 1982, pp. 11-12.

Review of *Communism in Central America and the Caribbean*, by Robert Wesson, in *Journal of Developing Areas*, July, 1983, pp. 549-550.

"U.S.-Mexico Border Industry is Boon: Program Benefits Both Countries, Signifies Important Ties." *Los Angeles Times*, January 20, 1983, Part II, p. 11. Co-authored with Edward J. Williams.

"Arabs, Jews and Political Tolerance in Israel." *Shofar*, Volume 2, No. 4, Summer, 1984, pp.18-22, with Dan Caspi.

Review of *Coffee and the Growth of Agrarian Capitalism in Nineteenth Century Puerto Rico*, by Laird W. Bergad, *Hispanic American Historical Review*, February, 1985, pp. 156-157.

Review of *Human Rights and United States Policy Toward Latin America*, by Lars Schoultz, in *Arizona Journal of International and Comparative Law*, 1985.

Review of *The U.S. and Mexico: Borderland Development and the National Economies*, edited by Lay James Gibson and Alfonso Corona Rentería, in *Journal of Developing Areas*, Volume 20, No. 2, January, 1986, pp. 271-272.

Review of Merilee S. Grindle, *State and Countryside: Development Policy and Agrarian Politics in Latin America*, in *Journal of Developing Areas*, Volume 21, No. 2, January, 1987, pp. 226-228.

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Review of Roy L. Prosterman and Jeffrey M. Riedinger, *Land Reform and Democratic Development*, in *American Political Science Review*, Volume 82, No.2, June, 1988, pp.667-668.

Review of Barrington Moore, Jr., *Authority and Inequality Under Capitalism and Socialism: USA, USSR, and China* in the *American Political Science Review*, Volume 82 September, 1988, pp. 1018-1020.

Review of Victor V. Magagna, *Communities of Grain: Rural Rebellion in Comparative Perspective*, in *The American Political Science Review*, Volume 86, September, 1992, pp. 831-832.

Review of Mario Samper, *Generations of Settlers: Rural Households and Markets on the Costa Rican Frontier, 1850-1935*, in *The Americas*, Vol. 49, October, 1992, No. 2, pp. 264-265.

Review of *Elites and Democratic Consolidation in Latin America and Southern Europe*, by John Higley and Ricard Gunther, eds., in *Contemporary Sociology*, Vol 26, No. 6, November, 1992, pp. 805-806.

Review of *Issues in Democratic Consolidation: The New South American Democracies in Comparative Perspective*, edited by Scott Mainwaring, Guillermo O'Donnell and J. Samuel Valenzuela, Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1992, in *American Political Science Review*, Vol. 88, March, 1994, 239-240.

Conference Papers

"Agrarian Capitalism and the Transformation of Peasant Society: Coffee in Costa Rica." Paper delivered at the Latin American Studies Association Conference, November 14-16, 1974, San Francisco, California.

"Peasant Political Participation." Paper delivered at the Southwest Political Science Association Meeting, March 27-29, 1975, San Antonio, Texas. Co-authored with John Booth.

"Agrarian Policy in Costa Rica." Paper delivered at the American Political Science Association Meeting, September 2-5, 1975, San Francisco, California.

"Cynicism and Powerlessness Among Latin American Peasants: A Comparison of Smallholders, Landless Laborers and Squatters in Costa Rica." Paper delivered at the Southwestern Political Science Association meeting, April, 1976, Dallas, Texas.

"Peasant Political Participation: An Analysis of Two Costa Rican Samples," with John A. Booth. Paper delivered at the Seminar on "The Faces of Participation in Latin America," University of Texas, San Antonio, November 12-13, 1976.

"Trust, Efficacy and Modes of Political Participation." Paper delivered at the Southwestern Political Science Association meeting, April, 1977, Dallas.

"Public Policies in Conflict: Land Reform and Family Planning in Costa Rica." Paper delivered at the International Seminar on Agrarian Reform and Institutional Innovation in the Reconstruction and Development of Agriculture: Major Issues in Perspective. Land Tenure Center, University of Wisconsin, July 14-22, 1977.

"Unconventional Political Participation Among Peasants." Paper delivered at the Latin American Studies Association meeting, November, 1977, Houston.

"Political and Interpersonal Trust Among Peasants: A Reevaluation," with José Manuel Salazar X. Paper delivered at the Conference on Attitudinal and Behavioral Changes in Rural Life. University of Nebraska, Lincoln, Nebraska, April 13-15, 1978.

"Land Reform and Land Concentration in Costa Rica." Paper delivered at the Conference on Agrarian Reform in Latin America (Comisión de Estudios Rurales de CLACSO), La Catalina, Santa Bárbara de Heredia, Costa Rica, June 25-30, 1978.

"On the Measurement of Diffuse Support: Some Evidence from Mexico." Paper delivered at the Latin American Studies Association Conference, Pittsburgh, PA, April 5-9, 1979.

"Political Tolerance in Israel," with Dan Caspi. Paper delivered at the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Washington, D.C., September, 1979.

"The Costa Rican Connection in the Downfall of Somoza," with William Carroll III. Paper delivered at the Conference on Central America in the 1980s: Options for U.S. Policy, El Paso, Texas, November 16 and 17, 1979.

"Maquiladoras and Internal Mexican Migration: Workers in the Mexican-United States Border Industrialization Program," with Edward J. Williams. Paper delivered at the Latin American Studies Association Meeting, October 17-19, 1980, Bloomington, Indiana.

"Political Tolerance and the Arab Minority in Israel," Harvard University, Center for International Affairs Seminar on Self-Determination and Interdependence, April 9, 1980.

"Agrarian Reform in Costa Rica: The Impact of the Title Security Program," Harvard University Seminar on Comparative Analysis of Public Policies in Developing Countries and the Lincoln Institute of Land Policy Colloquium, February 27, 1981.

"The Illusion of Authoritarian Values: Democratic Values and Political Structures in Mexico," co-authored with John Booth, paper delivered at the Southwestern Social Science Association Meeting, San Antonio, Texas, March 17-21, 1982.

*This paper was awarded the Pi Sigma Alpha "Best Paper Award" at the meeting.

"Peasant Participation and the Costa Rican Land Reform." Paper delivered at the Latin American Studies Association Meeting, Washington, D.C., March 4-6, 1982.

"Liberal and Civil Libertarian Conceptions of Democracy," with E. Muller, Western Political Science Association Meeting, March 25-27, 1982, San Diego, California.

"Democratic Stability in Developing Countries: A Comparison of Costa Rica and Jamaica." Paper delivered at the Midwestern Political Science Association Meeting, Milwaukee, April 29-May 1, 1982.

"Participation, Social Status, and Support for Democracy," with E. Muller and Ilter Turan. Paper delivered at the American Political Science Association annual meeting, Denver, Sept. 2-5, 1982.

"The Implementation and Impact of Land Reform in Costa Rica." Paper delivered to the conference on the International Dimensions of Land Reform, sponsored by the John F. Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University, The Land

Tenure Center at the University of Wisconsin and the Agency for International Development. CIMMYT, El Bataan, Texcoco, Mexico, January 6-8, 1983.

"Community and Cooperative Participation Among Land Reform Beneficiaries: A Comparative Study of Honduras and Costa Rica." Paper delivered at the 4th International Symposium on Participatory Development Through Community-Cooperative Interaction. Sponsored by the International Research Center on Rural Cooperative Communities. Afro-Asian Institute, Tel-Aviv, Israel, April 8-14, 1984.

"Democracy, Development and Decay in Central America." Paper delivered to the conference on Redemocratization in Latin America, University of Pittsburgh, Pittsburgh, PA., March 28-30, 1985.

"Inequality and Insurgency," with Edward N. Muller. Paper delivered to the Midwest Political Science Association Annual Meeting, Chicago, Illinois, April 18-21, 1985.

"Political Support Under Crisis Conditions: Costa Rica 1978-1983," with Edward N. Muller. Paper delivered to the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, New Orleans, Louisiana, August 29-31, 1985.

"Land Titling in Honduras: The Baseline Survey as a Means of Targeting Development Assistance" with Edgar Nesman and Earl Jones. Paper delivered to the Rural Sociology Society Meeting, Blacksburg, Va., August 21-25, 1985.

"Comentarios sobre crecimiento de la producción agropecuaria y cambios en la estructura social rural en centroamérica." Comments delivered at the conference, "Crisis en Centroamérica," CRIES and FLACSO, San José, Costa Rica, May, 1986.

"Ordinary Elections in Extraordinary Times: Costa Rica, 1986." Co-authored with Miguel Gómez B. Paper delivered to the Latin American Studies Association, Boston, Mass., October 23-26, 1986.

"Economic Crisis and Political Support: A Dynamic Analysis." Co-authored with Steven E. Finkel and Edward N. Muller. Paper prepared for delivery to the American Political Science Association Meeting, Chicago, IL, September 3-6, 1987.

"Modalidades de democratización en centroamérica." Paper prepared for delivery at the conference on Democratization in Central America, CSUCA, San José, Costa Rica, October 8-9, 1987.

"Political Culture and Democratization in Latin America." Paper prepared for delivery to the XIV International Political Science Association World Congress panel on Global Factors of Democratization. Washington, D. C., August 28-September 1, 1988.

"Political Culture and Democratization: Latin American Lessons for the Taiwan Case." Delivered to the conference on "Taiwan's Development Experience in Comparative Perspective." University of Pittsburgh, April 3, 1989.

"Land Reform in Honduras." Paper delivered to the Latin American Studies Association Meeting, Miami, Florida, December 4-6, 1989.

"Remittances and Development in Central America," with José Roberto López. Paper presented to the meeting of the Latin American Studies Association, Washington, D. C. April 4-7, 1990.

"Political Culture and Democratization: Evidence from Nicaragua and Costa Rica," with John A. Booth. Presented at the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, April 5, 1990; The Janet and Chester Roth Public Affairs Symposium on Political Parties and the Future of Democracy, University of North Texas, Denton, Texas, April 19-21, 1990; the Japan Latin American Studies Association, Tokyo, Japan, June 2, 1990; the National Taiwan University Conference of Restructuring in an Interdependent World, June 4-5, 1990, Taipei, Taiwan.

"Culture and Democracy in Latin America." Paper delivered to the "International Colloquium on Transitions to Democracy in Europe and Latin America," Universidad de Guadalajara, Mexico, January 21-25, 1991.

"Integration and Disintegration in Central America: 1960-1990." With Ricardo Córdova. Conference on The Reconstruction of Central America: The Role of the European Community, North-South Center, University of Miami, Miami, Florida, March 14-15, 1991.

"Foreign Policy Belief Systems in Comparative Perspective: The United States and Costa Rica." Paper delivered to the Midwest Political Science Association, April, 1991, Chicago, IL. Co-authored with Jon Hurwitz and Mark Peffley.

"Violence and Democracy: A Theoretical Overview." Paper delivered to the Workshop on Violence and Democracy in Central America: El Salvador and Guatemala, North-South Center, Miami, June 13, 1991.

"Political Culture and Democracy," co-authored with Edward N. Muller. Delivered to the American Political Science Association Meeting, August, 1991, Washington, D. C.

"Cuba and the Central American Connection," delivered to the Conference Cuba in the Post Cold-War Era," Pittsburgh and the Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D. C., April 27-29.

"Political Culture in Comparative Perspective: Evidence from Latin America," co-authored with Edward N. Muller. Delivered to the American Political Science Association Meeting, Chicago, September 3, 1992.

"Cross-National Variation in Levels of Civic Culture and Democracy: The Question of Causal Relationships," with Edward N. Muller, Delivered to the American Political Science Association Meeting, Chicago, September 3, 1992.

"Who Votes in Central America?: A Comparative Analysis," co-authored with R. Córdova, Annabelle. Conroy, Orlando Pérez and Andrew Stien. Delivered to the Latin American Studies Association Meeting, September 26, 1992, Los Angeles.

"Public Opinion and Central American Integration: The View from Below." Delivered to the Latin American Studies Association Meeting, September 24, 1992, Los Angeles.

"Contradictory Pictures of the Same History: The Use of Census Data and Property Records for Comparative Research on Land Inequality," co-authored with Marc Edelman, Meeting of the American Anthropological Association, San Francisco, December 2-6, 1992.

"Civic Culture and Democracy: The Question of Causal Relationships," co-authored with Edward N. Muller, Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, April 15-17, 1993, Chicago, IL.

"Democracy in Central America: Deepening, Eroding or Stagnating?" Paper delivered to the Conference on Deepening Democracy and Representation in Latin America, Pittsburgh, University of Pittsburgh, April, 1993.

"Elites in Central America and Democratic Theory: Survey Data from Costa Rica and El Salvador." Paper delivered to the Latin American Studies Association, Atlanta, Georgia, March 10-13, 1994.

"Political Culture and Democracy in Guatemala," with Joel Jutkowitz. Paper delivered at the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, New York, September 1-4, 1994.

"Violence, radical Change and Public Opinion in Mexico," with Linda Stevenson. Paper delivered at the conference on Polling for Democracy, Public Opinion and Political Liberalization in Mexico," New Orleans, Tulane University, September 16-17, 1994.

"Thirty Years of Agrarian Transformation in El Salvador." Paper delivered to the IX Congreso Centroamericano de Sociología, San Salvador, 18-22 July, 1994.

Panels and Symposia

Participant:

"United States-Mexican Relations: Likely and Desirable Options," conference on United States-Mexican Relations toward 1980, sponsored by the Bureau of Inter-American Affairs of the Department of State and the Latin American Center of the University of Arizona, Tucson, Arizona, December 2-3, 1976.

"The Politics of Population in Latin America and Africa: Research Strategies and Conceptual Issues," Latin American Studies Association meeting, November, 1977, Houston, Texas.

"Agrarian Reform Policy in Latin America," International Seminar on Agrarian Reform and Institutional Innovation in the Reconstruction and Development of Agriculture: Major Issues in Perspective. Land Tenure Center, University of Wisconsin, July 14-22, 1977.

"Recent Political Developments in Central America: Linkages and Interdependencies." New Mexico State University, December 2, 1978.

Meeting of the Rural Participation and Development working group, Cornell University, Ithaca, New York, August 25-27, 1980.

"Peasants, Reform, and Revolution." Institute of Latin American Studies, University of Glasgow, January 29, 1981.

"Anglo-Mexican Seminar: Contemporary Mexico." London School of Economics and UNAM, Mexico, St. Catherine's Cumberland Lodge, Windsor, England, March 4-6, 1981.

"Central America." Rocky Mountain Latin American Studies Association Meeting, Glendale, Arizona, February 25-26, 1982.
"U.S. Relations with the Caribbean." Joint Conference of the Illinois Conference of Latin Americanists and the Midwest Association for Latin American Studies, Urbana, Illinois, November 4-5, 1983.

"Land Tenure Security in Latin America." Workshop on Land Tenure and Agrarian Reform, USAID, Annapolis, Maryland, April 23-26, 1984.

"National Agricultural Policies and 'Pedestrian' Politics in the Third World: Foot Dragging, Voting with their Feet and other Peasant Responses to Policy." American Political Science Association Meeting, Washington, D. C., September, 1984.

"Agricultural Problems and Prospects." Honduras: An International Dialogue, Florida International University, Miami, Florida, November 29-December 1, 1984.

"Public Confidence and Political Support for Democracy: Latin American and European Perspectives." American Political Science Association meeting, August 29-September 1, 1985, New Orleans, LA.

"Symposium on Strengthening Democratic Institutions," USAID/Department of State, Washington, D. C., July 30-31, 1987.

"Foreign Literature in Research Libraries: Scholars and Librarians Explore the Issues." American Academy of Arts and Sciences and the Association of Research Libraries, Harvard University, November 12, 1992.

Chaired:

"Popular Support for Democratic Institutions: A Comparison of Democratic and Authoritarian Regimes." Meeting of the Latin American Studies Association, Pittsburgh, PA, April 5-9, 1979.

"Latin American Migration to the United States," co-chaired with Edward J. Williams. Meeting of the Latin American Studies Association, Bloomington, Indiana, October 17-19, 1980.

"The Political Economy of Development: Internal and External Determinants." Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Chicago, Illinois, September, 1983.

"Beyond the Crisis: Restructuring Central America," Latin American Studies Association meeting, New Orleans, March 17, 1988.

"Export Agriculture and Revolution in Central America," Latin American Studies Association meeting, Miami, December 4-6, 1989.

"Elections and Democracy in Central America." Latin American Studies Association meeting, Los Angeles, September 25, 1992.

"Inequality, Social Structure and Democracy." American Political Science Association, New York, September 1-4, 1994.

Professional Memberships and Service

Member, University Center for International Studies Faculty Advisory Group, 1992-present.

Member, International Editorial Board, *Revista Salvadoreña de Ciencias Sociales*

Section Chair (Comparative Politics Developing Areas) American Political Science Association Meeting, September, 1994.

Section Chair (Comparative Politics: Developing Areas), Midwest Political Science Association Meeting April, 1991.

Member, Program Committee, Latin American Studies Association, 1991 Congress

Member, Latin American Studies Association Finance Committee, 1988-89; 1990-91; 1991-92; 1993-94

Chair, Finance Committee, Latin American Studies Association 1991 Congress

Chair, Program Development Committee, Latin American Studies Association, 1991-92

Editorial Board, *Latin American Research Review*, 1986-1989

International Editorial Advisory Board, *Estudios interdisciplinarios de América Latina y el Caribe*, 1989-.

Interamerican Foundation Doctoral Dissertation Fellowship selection committee, 1988, 1989, 1990, 1991, 1992, 1993, 1994.

Member, Latin American Studies Association, 1972-present

Member, American Political Science Association, 1974-present

Member, Democratization in Comparative Perspective Study Group, International Studies Association

Member, Latin American Studies Association Task Force on Human Rights and Academic Freedom, 1986-87

Member, Latin American Studies Association Commission on Compliance with the Central American Peace Accords, 1988

Board Member of the International Library Information Center, 1986-present.

Member of Hubert H. Humphrey Fellowship Candidate Review Committee, 1987-88.

National Screening Committee, U.S. Department of Education, Group Fulbrights, 1987.

Board of Editors, *Historical Methods*, 1974-1984.

Member, Management Committee, GSPIA International Affairs Case Program

Member, Search Committee, University of Arizona Computer Center, 1974-1976.

Member, Latin American Studies Executive Committee, University of Arizona, 1974-1979. Member, Recruitment Committee, Department of Political Science, University of Arizona, 1976-1977, 1981-82, 1982-83.

Member, Administrative Committee, Department of Political Science, University of Arizona, 1976-1977, 1977-78, 1982-83.

Nominating Committee for the Danforth Graduate Fellowship, University of Arizona.

Other Professional Activities

Visiting Professorships:

Research Associate, Harry S. Truman Research Institute for the Advancement of Peace, Hebrew University of Jerusalem, April-August, 1981.

University of Essex, Department of Political Science, Fall and Spring, 1980-81.

Universidad de Costa Rica, Escuela de Ciencias Políticas, Fall, 1973; Summer, 1990

Guest Lectures:

--University of Arizona/A.I.D. Lecture Series, "New Dimensions of Agrarian Reform in Latin America," December 5, 1974.

--University of Arizona Public Policy Seminar, "Shifts in Agrarian Policy in Costa Rica, 1750-1975," April 1, 1975.

--University of Texas at San Antonio, Social Sciences Lecture Series, "Peasant Politics in Costa Rica," November 11, 1976.

--University of Nebraska, Lincoln, Nebraska, Seminar on "Planning for Rural Change, Optimal Land Ownership Patterns in Latin America," September 29, 1977.

--Foreign Service Institute, Washington, D.C., "Rural Development Issues in Central America," September 16, 1977.

--The Harry S. Truman Research Institute for the Advancement of Peace of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, panel of the Unit of Modernization and Development, "Peasants in Latin America: Their Participation in the Development Process," March 6, 1979.

--Cornell University, Rural Development Committee, Center for International Studies, "Political Participation and Rural Development in Costa Rica," November 1, 1979.

--Ministry of the Presidency of Costa Rica, "Leading Indicators of Democracy," February 14, 1980.

--Florida International University, "Peasants and Land Reform: Impacts and Problems," April 8, 1980.

--United States Cultural Center, Costa Rica, "Agrarian and Social Development in Costa Rica," June 17, 1980.

--Ministry of the Presidency of Costa Rica, "Techniques for the Measurement of Democratic Attitudes," July 23, 1980.

--Instituto Americano para el Desarrollo del Sindicalismo Libre, "Sistemas de tenencia de la tierra," and "Reforma agraria," San José, Costa Rica, July 17, 1980.

--University of Essex, January 13, 1981; University of Cardiff, January 20, 1981; University of Glasgow, January 28, 1981; University of Leeds, February 6, 1981; "Peasants and Agrarian Capitalism in Costa Rica."

--University of Leiden (The Netherlands), Institute of Cultural and Social Studies, "Political Participation and Development in Latin America," March 10, 1981.

--The Harry S. Truman Research Institute for the Advancement of Peace of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, seminar of the Unit of Modernization and Development, "Competitive Elections in Latin America: A comparative Analysis," June 17, 1981.

--The Settlement Study Center, Rehovot, Israel, "Background and Impacts of Agrarian Reform in Costa Rica," July 2, 1981.

--Cornell University Rural Development Committee, "Peasant Participation in Agrarian Reform in Costa Rica," March 4, 1982.

--Cornell University, Department of Political Science, "Competitive Elections in Costa Rica and Jamaica," March 4, 1982.

--Grinnell College, "Agrarian Roots of the Crisis in Costa Rica," April 6, 1983, Conference on "Reform, Revolution and Reaction in Central America."

--Department of Political Science, Universidad de Costa Rica (Sponsored by the United States Information Service), "Dynamics of Diffuse Support Under Crisis Conditions: The Costa Rican Case," June 14, 1984.

--CIAPA, Costa Rica (Sponsored by Tulane University and Florida International University Group Fulbright Seminar), "The Agrarian Origins of the Crisis in Central America," June 20, 1984.

--University of Wisconsin, Land Tenure Center, "Land Titling in Honduras: An Impact Study," October 11, 1984.

--University of Kentucky, "Democracy, Development and Decay: Democracy at the Crossroads in Central America," October 26, 1984, Conference on Democracy in Central America: Hemispheric Perspectives.

--University of Florida, "Prospects for Democracy in Central America: Some Comparative Perspectives," December 3, 1984.

--Universidad de Costa Rica, "Recent Advances in Microcomputers," July 8-9, 1987.

- Nazan University, Nagoya, Japan, "Democratization in Central America." May 31, 1990.
- Universidad de Costa Rica, "Symposium on Empirical Democratic Theory and its Application to Central America," August, 1990
- Centro de Estudios Latinamericanos (CELA), Panama, "Latin America in the World System in the Post Cold War Era," October, 1991.
- Instituto de Estudios Latinamericanos (IDELA), San Salvador, "Prospects for a Stable Democracy in El Salvador," with Ricardo Códova, February 28, 1992.
- Prospects for Central American Integration, sponsored by the European Community Research Program, North-South Center, University of Miami, March 25, 1992.
- Political Culture and the Prospects for Stable Democracy in Central America: An Empirical Evaluation, Kellogg Institute, University of Notre Dame, November 3, 1992.
- Prospects for Democracy in Latin America, Duquesne University Symposium on Political Change in the Third World, February 24, 1993
- Political Culture and Democratic Stability in Central America, University of Kansas, June 3, 1993; Michigan State University, September 22, 1993.
- Political Culture and Political Stability in Guatemala: Results of the 1993 Survey. Florida International University, January 11, 1994.
- Prospects for Democratic Stability in Guatemala, USAID Conference on Democratic Initiatives, Miami, January 10-12, 1994.
- Political Culture and Democracy in Mexico. Universidad de Costa Rica, Maestría Centroamericana en Ciencias Sociales, June 15, 1994.

Foreign Languages

Spanish: Fluent
French: Reading knowledge