

# Tracking Democracy

**Benchmark surveys for  
diagnostics, program design and  
evaluation**

Neil Nevitte  
Melissa Estok



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## Introduction

During the last 25 years, The National Democratic Institute (NDI) has worked to support democratic change in countries throughout the world. Crafting, implementing and evaluating democracy support programs necessarily involve some level of subjectivity. NDI, however, has looked for ways to incorporate objective measures in these processes. In recent years, NDI has experimented with the use of benchmark democracy surveys as a means for more precisely identifying democratic deficits, appropriate program responses, and measures of success. The benchmark surveys undertaken by NDI to date have proven to be useful sources of empirical knowledge, have uncovered unexpected barriers to political participation and given sharper focus to program targets.

Benchmark surveys are common in other development disciplines, but historically have not been incorporated in any systematic fashion in democracy support programs. The fact that benchmark surveys have not been widely utilized in the democracy assistance field may be the result of perceptions that democratic change is harder to pinpoint and quantify than conditions and progress relating to water, road or vaccination projects. However, a growing body of democracy research and developmental experience has pointed to some key determinants of democratic development. In addition, the capacity to undertake sophisticated survey research in more and more locales has grown substantially.

Building on these two phenomena, NDI has crafted and implemented benchmark surveys in two countries – Guatemala and Nicaragua. In both cases, the benchmark survey process resulted in important findings – debunking what had been conventional wisdom – that had a major impact on NDI understanding of the democratic needs and opportunities in those countries.

The benchmark democracy surveys have been conducted at intervals and use a very specific content and methodology – random sample surveys with face-to-face interviews. The surveys are carried out in partnership with a local organization. NDI has partnered successfully with universities, research centers and nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) to carry out benchmark surveys. The survey's sample draw has been random, with a sample size of around 1,000 cases. The analytic purpose has been to identify areas within the populations where support for democratic values is strong and where it is weak, and to identify barriers to political participation. These results have then been used to identify potential targets for programming.

The logic of the benchmark design is that the initial diagnostic benchmark survey would be replicated at a later moment in time. This would allow for the systematic measurement of change: have democratic values deepened or broadened in society? Where? By how much? Have barriers to participation decreased? Finally, has participation in or exposure to democracy assistance programs had any discernible impact?



The NDI benchmark surveys drew on methodologies and tested approaches used in the World Values Surveys (WVS)<sup>i</sup>, but tailor the WVS methodology to get at key country-specific questions. By drawing heavily on the WVS methodology and questions, the benchmark survey data are comparable to the WVS data and can potentially be used to make comparisons over time and between countries on core issues relating to the state of democratic values.

By tailoring the questionnaires to local conditions, the benchmark democracy surveys go deeper than standard public opinion research and provide insight into country-specific issues. The net result has been a versatile tool that gives objective data on where and in which groups democratic values are strongest and weakest, what appear to be the key barriers or disincentives to political and civic participation, and which national institutions are the most promising advocates for democratic values and which are in the most need of strengthening.

In practice, NDI's benchmark democracy surveys have served three purposes:

- 1) Providing systematically obtained evidence about democratic conditions including evidence about the state of democratic values in various populations and views regarding civic, political and government institutions.
- 2) Offering an initial diagnostic that can be used to craft strategies and target programs by providing precise information about the location and source of democratic bright spots and deficits within the target population.

3) Creating a platform for evaluation. With a benchmark in place, follow-on surveys can provide reliable information that sheds light on the impact of programs and helps to decipher whether programs singly or collectively have contributed to democratic progress.

It is important to distinguish between typical polling methods and the quantitative methods that have been used for benchmark surveys. Public opinion polls and benchmark surveys share some methodological similarities, but the strategies for analysis are different because the goals differ. Polling is commonly used to make broad generalizations about public opinion on the issue of the day, whereas benchmark surveys have used data to gain a better understanding of: (1) the broad democratic deficits in a country, *and* (2) how key orientations are distributed within the population, as well as within and between subgroups.

The use of benchmark surveys also has delivered important incidental benefits. First, the process of implementing a relatively complex social-research project in collaboration with local partners has increased the capacity of those partners. Second, since the projects have involved multiple funders, both the process of conducting the surveys and reviewing the results have facilitated information sharing and discussion between donors about appropriate follow-on programs. And third, the publication of the results of the surveys has contributed to deliberation between stakeholders in the democratic development process.

This guide explains NDI's use of benchmark democracy surveys to date and recognizes that the full potential and limitations of the surveys are still being discovered. The goal of this guide is to expose more practitioners to this powerful tool and provide guidance in how the tool could be used. The guide is also intended to contribute to the ongoing discussion about how various methodologies could help enhance the efficacy of democracy support programs, including the use and refinement of the techniques described in the following chapters. The guide is organized around six chapters: Chapter 1 outlines NDI's experiences with such surveys; Chapter 2 discusses connecting emergent democratic development theory with programmatic practices; and Chapters 3-6 provide the basic steps in formulating and implementing the surveys.



## **Chapter One**

### **Benchmark Democracy Surveys in Practice**

NDI has used benchmark democracy surveys in Nicaragua and Guatemala. In both instances, the survey results helped uncover barriers to participation that informed targeted programs. The Nicaragua and Guatemala cases illustrate the ability of benchmark democracy surveys to counter conventional wisdom and increase understanding about where and how democratic change could be supported.

#### **The Case of Guatemala**

Guatemala's political mainstream is dominated by ladinos (non-indigenous peoples), but Guatemala's 22 indigenous communities collectively constitute the majority of the country's population. Linguists, anthropologists and social historians have probed the cultural uniqueness of these groups for decades, producing single-community case studies that document in detail the spiritual, historical and cultural pathways of these groups. Donor countries, recognizing the importance of political inclusion, expressed interest in several questions – Are these groups politically marginalized? Why? Can anything be done about it?

Public commentary suggested that indigenous groups were disinterested in the ladino dominated political mainstream and that essentially indigenous groups were self-marginalized. Aggregate public data on voter turnout levels clearly indicated that voting levels were lower in indigenous communities, a finding that seemed consistent

with public commentary.

For decades social scientists had made efforts to understand the cultural features of these indigenous communities and their nonparticipation, but no systematic evidence about their political attitudes or participation inclinations had been gathered recently - either as a whole, or to compare sub-populations. In collaboration with a Guatemalan NGO (FLACSO), NDI launched a benchmark democracy survey in 2007 specifically constructed to gather data systematically about four subgroups within the Guatemalan population – Ladinos and three major indigenous groups (Kiche, Kaqchkel and Qeqchi). The survey design selected random samples from each of the four groups. All respondents were asked exactly the same set of questions in the same manner. (See Appendix G for the survey questionnaire)

Four key findings emerged from that benchmark study:

- 1) People in the indigenous communities were not “self-marginalized,” nor were they “less democratic in their outlooks.” They were as interested in the political community as ladinos.
- 2) Indigenous respondents faced significantly higher institutional barriers to electoral participation. They were considerably less likely to possess basic citizen documents and were less likely to be registered to vote due to such factors as cost.
- 3) The lower aggregate levels of electoral participation among indigenous

peoples were almost entirely attributable to a massive gender gap. The levels of electoral engagement among ladino men (32%), ladino women (36%) and indigenous men (32%) were almost three times higher than among indigenous women (12%).<sup>ii</sup>

4) Youth were abstaining from the electoral process at significant levels across ethnic groups, including the ladino population. The data indicated that twice as many youth cited the lack of a voter identification card as the reason for not participating, rather than a lack of interest.

The programmatic implications of these findings were unambiguous and pointed to a clear need to lower the barriers to participation of indigenous communities, with the most urgent programmatic target being indigenous women. Some specific recommendations included the following: program efforts should focus on basic institutional obstacles to participation, such as cost and convenience; programs addressing motivational, including cultural, barriers to participation should consider differences between Mayan sub-groups; and authorities should make a greater effort to provide voting documents to the nation's youth. Those types of programs could not have been "intuited" from public commentary. They emerged from using the benchmark survey to fill an information void.

### **The Case of Nicaragua**

In the Nicaraguan electoral environment, one long-standing observation had been that

young citizens vote at lower rates than their older counterparts. Accompanying that observation was the conventional wisdom that young people voted less because they were less interested in the political life of the country. That conventional wisdom was well-entrenched despite the fact that there was no data demonstrating that particular cause and effect relationship. As a result, many programs focused on raising the interest of young people through civic education activities.

A benchmark democracy survey undertaken by NDI and the civic group *Etica y Transparencia* explored the question of youth participation using a modified benchmark survey that over-sampled young people. Starting with a standard cross-sectional random sample benchmark survey design, analysts added a boosted youth sample – using exactly the same survey content and random selection procedures – to compensate for the fact that standard cross-sectional samples produced an insufficient number of cases for a detailed analysis of young people. (See Appendix H for the survey questionnaire)

The results of that benchmark survey yielded two central findings. First, the results demonstrated that the conventional wisdom about lack of youth interest in politics was just wrong. Young Nicaraguans are just as interested in politics as their older counterparts.<sup>iii</sup> Second, the reasons why young Nicaraguans were voting at such lower rates was almost entirely attributable to systemic institutional barriers. Specifically, young people faced substantial difficulties registering to vote, and the partisan election commission was alarmingly slow at processing applications for registration cards.



The Nicaraguan Election Commission reacted to that diagnosis with a promise to process any registration application within 60 days of receipt of proper documentation. That promise, in turn, prompted a new NDI program initiative designed to recruit young people without documents to monitor the processing of their voter registration card applications. More than, 1,000 young Nicaraguans without registration cards were recruited and assisted with the process of assembling the proper documentation for the application. Each application was then tracked to evaluate the efficiency with which the election commission processed the documents. The program was introduced about 100 days before election day. Consequently, 22% of the applications were processed within 60 days, 40% were processed before election day and 28% were never processed at all.

The premise driving that project was straightforward: Political participation is a profoundly important instrument of democratic citizenship. It is by voting that citizens in democracies get to express their preferences and to hold elected officials accountable. The presence of systematic barriers to voting both mutes citizens' voices and renders elites less accountable. But voting, like other forms of political participation, is a learned behavior. And the main reason why most people vote in democracies is because they have internalized a core value: It is a citizens' duty to vote. Moreover, voting is habitual.

The program outcome? When preliminary results were made public, the then-Nicaraguan President made a decision to issue birth certificates for free during periods

leading up to elections. The donor community offered the election commission technical assistance to help the commission process applications. Cooperating embassies invested in a civic organization that established citizen-assistance centers around the country that, with technical assistance from NDI, helped citizens obtain both national identification cards and birth certificates, the target group being those citizens born during the 1980's civil war. A follow-on evaluation survey, however, determined that because of bias in the issuance of identification cards, citizens that went to the centers for assistance were less likely to get identification cards. This led to a suspension of the center project and alternative recommendations for citizens seeking cards.

These cases illustrate how the benchmark surveys yield useful diagnostic data that can inform program design and can also be used to evaluate individual project effects. They can also help better target needs and democracy support programs, coordinate programming efforts and measure future effects.

## Chapter Two

### **Linking Democratic Development Theory to Practice**

Figuring out what factors promote and sustain democratic transitions has been a long-standing intellectual pursuit. In recent years, a body of global research has emerged that has helped more clearly explain the dynamics of democratic development. In part, the benchmark democracy surveys developed by NDI have been an attempt to connect the emergent research findings with efforts to support democratic development. The surveys offer a particular lens through which democracy can be assessed. Unlike other forms of assessment that might examine democratic structures or institutional capacities, the focus of the benchmark surveys has been concentrated on values and the practice of democracy from a citizen perspective.

Two key developments emerging from democracy-focused research are relevant here. First, there has been a shift away from the established wisdom that socio-structural change is the driver of successful democratic transitions. The canonical statement of that position (Lipset, 1959) argues that economic modernization, accompanied by an expanding middle class, works as the prime driver of democratic stability. That initial observation remained influential for some three decades, not least of all because it is intuitively clear that nearly all wealthy countries are stable democracies while authoritarian regimes are overwhelmingly poor. But there have been two significant departures from that influential position. The first, based on twenty-five years of

research focusing on institutions, elites' accountability and core values, involves the demonstration that institutional performance trumps levels of economic development as a predictor of democratic stability (Putnam, 1993).<sup>iv</sup> More centrally, the research demonstrated that the most powerful predictor of institutional performance turns out to be a particular subset of democratic values—levels of “civic-ness” (self expression and a range of democratic values such as support for freedom of speech, association, one-person one vote, the rule of law, equality before the law, tolerance of outgroups and so on). To be sure, levels of economic development are highly correlated with democratic stability, but a country's wealth is neither a necessary nor sufficient condition for democratic stability. If it were, then the Gulf region would be full of strong democracies. The evidence showing that institutional performance is anchored in “civic-ness” is both consistent with and grounded in Coleman's pioneering research (Coleman, 1990; Ostrom, 1992). “Civic-ness” in turn is an individual level attribute that is typically distributed unevenly within populations. The empirical demonstration of this case is primarily grounded in cross-national data from the World Values Surveys (WVS).

The second key development emerging from contemporary democracy-focused research that builds on the first is associated with the landmark analysis by Inglehart and Welzel (2005). This pioneering research convincingly demonstrates that there is a particular cluster of values deemed “self-expression values”, that are systematically related to functioning democracies. They distinguish between effective and formal

democracies,<sup>v</sup> and demonstrate that the strongest predictors of effective democracy hinge on the convergence between the societal demands for democracy and the institutional “supply” of democratic outputs. Enlightened elites occupying key institutional command posts are important, but they are not a sufficient foundation for effective democracy. Also not a sufficient condition is citizen demand for democracy in the absence of institutional supply. However, the distribution of self-expressive values - a measure of “citizen demand” according to WVS data (see Appendix A) - turns out to be the most powerful predictor of “effective democracies” after all other economic and institutional factors are taken into account. **The truly striking finding is that this relationship holds globally across all major cultural zones.**

Both Putnam’s investigation concerning the impact of institutional design and the Inglehart/Welzel analysis of social structure independently come to the same conclusions. First of all, the presence of democratic values – civic-ness or self-expression values – is vital to achieving effective democracies. Second, these particular values are not culturally specific. Citizens across countries have similar expectations about institutional performance, which is itself a critical part of determining how the supply side of an effective democracy delivers. Third, both of these pioneering approaches rely primarily on indicators of civic-ness, self-expression and a range of democratic values that are contained in the WVS. The WVS is the largest collaborative cross-national survey project ever undertaken. The 2005-2008 wave of the WVS was conducted in 94 countries that collectively made up 85% of the

world's total population.<sup>vi</sup>

There is also information emerging that suggests that self-expressive values are developed through mobilization. In other words, political participation is a cause of attitudinal change that can lead to a greater demand for democracy, which in turn, leads to a greater defense of democracy. (Bratton, Mattes and Gyimah-Boadi, 2005). From NDI's standpoint, this reinforces the emphasis the Institute places on lowering barriers to participation and actually helping citizens to take political action on issues that they care deeply about (e.g., health, education, public safety). This learning-by-doing approach not only helps increase participation, but can conceivably also create the attitudinal changes that help sustain democracy.

The point is not to take sides in debates about what indicators best determine democratic outcomes. Rather, the point is to identify the commonalities that can then be used to ground program strategies. Although benchmark surveys have gone deeper than the WVS in their examination and analysis of a given country, the survey content and methodology have been specifically designed with the recent pioneering strands of democracy research in mind.

NDI's benchmark surveys have provided a bridge that connects what research shows are critical predictors of democratic outcomes to the practical world of evidence-based program design and evaluation. Because the content of the benchmark surveys use the same core questionnaire items from the WVS, the items used by Putnam and the items

used by Ingelhart/Welzel, while also probing country-specific issues, the findings from benchmark democracy surveys could also be directly linked to a massive body of global data that connects values to democratic transitions.





## Chapter Three

### The Benchmark Model

As discussed earlier, benchmark democracy surveys can be administered at intervals to serve three purposes:

- 1) They generate data that can compensate for the chronic shortage of reliable information by providing systematically obtained evidence about democratic conditions.
- 2) They provide democracy support programs with an initial diagnostic. The surveys deliver precise information about the location and source of democratic bright spots and deficits within the target population. That information can be used to craft broad development strategies and targeted programs.
- 3) Benchmark surveys also provide a platform for evaluation. Used carefully, follow-on benchmark surveys can provide reliable information that sheds light on the impact of programs and they can decipher whether programs singly or collectively have contributed to democratic progress.

There are differences between typical public opinion research and benchmark surveys. Public opinion polls and benchmark surveys have some methodological similarities, but the strategies for analysis are different because they have different goals. Polling

is commonly used to make broad generalizations about public opinion on the issue of the day. Polling outlets often attempt to understand voter preferences in reference to a particular election. However, benchmark surveys have used data to gain a better understanding of (1) the broad democratic deficits in a country, *and* (2) how key orientations are distributed within the population, as well as within and between subgroups.

The design logic of NDI's survey has been straightforward. The target population is the general adult population and the sample draw is random, with a sample size of around 1,000 cases. The analytic purpose is also straightforward, namely, to identify areas within the population where support for democratic values is strong, where it is weak and where barriers to participation exist. These results identify potential areas of programming. There is also a built-in expectation that there will be a follow-up evaluation survey that allows analysts to identify whether, and where, support for democratic values has increased, remained stable or decreased.

Benchmark survey designs can be modified to respond to the pre-determined programmatic interests, or to respond to nationally specific challenges that are unique to a particular setting. However, modifications should be carefully considered and crafted in ways that ensure the integrity of the core content and underlying methodology.

The benchmark surveys have been thematically organized and include measures of:

*1) Support for Democratic Values*

- Procedural norms,<sup>vii</sup> including civilian control of the military, rule of law, freedom of association and speech, one person one vote, etc.  
(Diamond, 1999)
- Civic values, including tolerance of social and cultural outgroups and gender equality (See Inglehart and Welzel, 2005)

*2) Civic Knowledge*

- Awareness of political actors, government institutions, and political processes

*3) Issue Priorities*

- Open ended responses to the question, “What in your view are the most important problems facing society today?”

*4) Associational Life and Levels of Engagement*

- Civic engagement: participation in associational life, in horizontal and vertical associations (See Putnam, 1993)
- Affective engagement: levels of generalized and interpersonal trust, cynicism (Putnam, 1993; Rose, 1997)

- Cognitive engagement: interest in and levels of knowledge about politics, sources of information and patterns of discussion about civic matters

5) *Trust and Cynicism*

- Interpersonal and intergroup trust

6) *Confidence in Institutions*

- Political parties, legislatures, executives, the courts, the military, police, business, media, electoral and religious authorities

7) *Political/Electoral Behavior*

- Voting or not voting, record of last vote choice, second party vote choice, most averse party and reasons for not voting (open ended question) including institutional barriers

8) *Standard Socio-Demographics*<sup>viii</sup>

- Age, gender, occupation, population concentration, income, level of formal education, etc.

### The Modular Benchmark Survey

Module

**1**

Democratic Values

**2**

Civic Knowledge

**3**

Issue Priorities

**4**

Associational Life

**5**

Trust and Cynicism

**6**

Confidence in Institutions

**7**

Political/Electoral Behaviour

**8**

Socio-Economic Status

**9**

Country Specific Module

## **Multivariate Analysis**

The design rationale of the benchmark democracy surveys has focused on maximizing the quality and relevance of the data. The use of random samples and face-to-face interview techniques, along with an emphasis on measuring democratic values, have been the fundamental characteristics. Once data is obtained, NDI has worked to maximize the analytical leverage using thorough statistical analysis.

Most in-country surveys undertaken in transitional settings produce reports that analyze and present data using bivariate techniques - simple bar charts, pie diagrams or tables that consider two or three variables at a time. These approaches may be adequate for descriptive purposes, but the goal of a benchmark survey is to undertake deeper analyses of the data. For analytical purposes it is critical to be able to isolate the effects of one variable on other variables after the impacts of all other relevant variables are taken into account or controlled. It is not possible to achieve such analytical goals, which relate directly to program design, by relying entirely on bivariate statistical techniques. For this reason, NDI has employed multivariate strategies. Multivariate strategies are methods that deal with large numbers of variables simultaneously.<sup>ix</sup> The most important advantage of multivariate approaches, such as OLS, is that they can uncover relationships between variables that are not visible using bivariate techniques.

Straightforward bivariate analysis of such data yield useful basic descriptive information. In the Guatemalan case described earlier, for example, bivariate analysis

demonstrated that levels of political participation were lower than average among rural dwellers, indigenous people, young people, those with low income and education, those with less civic knowledge, women and those who had never attended a political party meeting. But bivariate analysis, as an approach, cannot identify which factors – age, gender, ethnic group, education and so on – are primarily responsible for lower levels of voter turnout. And this is so because many of those factors are related to each other. Bivariate analyses, themselves, do not go far enough because that analytic strategy cannot identify which is the most important variable driving low turnout; it cannot identify the precise target group or program focus that will yield the biggest pay-offs in alleviating the problem of low turnout. Multivariate analysis is a strategy that scans all possibilities and examines the impact of each variable on low turnout while statistically controlling for the effects of all other variables. It was the multivariate results, in Guatemala, that revealed that the problem of low turnout was primarily located among indigenous women. The multivariate results identified the appropriate program target for a getting out the vote program. Subsequent focus group work with that group isolated the cause of the problem. For indigenous people, politics is the man’s domain, and “looking after the family” is the woman’s domain.

### **The Diagnostic Survey**

The initial benchmark survey has served as a diagnostic that helped foster debate among key stakeholders in the democratic development process. As a result, programmatic solutions were generated that addressed clearly identified democratic

deficits.

The diagnostic survey provided a snapshot of the level and distribution of citizen orientations along specific attitudinal dimensions that have been demonstrably linked to the prospects of democratic consolidation in other settings.

The benchmark data made it possible for analysts to identify the precise location, breadth and depth of support for democratic values. Equally important, the data also identified the scope, depth and breadth of barriers to participation.

National context has been vital to data interpretation. Instead of analyzing the data in terms of absolute scores on levels of support for democratic procedural norms and values, or confidence in institutions, NDI looked at the data in terms of the *relative* levels of support for those dimensions within each society.

The potential of the benchmark surveys lies in the ability to determine where support for the democratic values is highest and where it is lowest? The answers to the questions can have important implications for program design. If the highest levels of support for democratic procedural norms, for example, are found in those segments of society that are least engaged and participatory, then the programmatic challenge is to design programs to engage those democrats who are disengaged. The parallel challenge is also to design and target programs, such as civic education programs, for those parts of society where there are identifiable shortfalls in support for democratic values and procedural norms. There might be little point in designing civic education



programs for people who already hold democratic values. Instead, those individuals might benefit more from programs designed to increase their access to democracy. Nor is there any point in prioritizing get-out-the-vote (GOTV) programs for those who are already engaged. Programmatic efforts to address democratic deficits or democratic strengths are quite different. The benchmark survey results provide the basic data to diagnose efficiently exactly which groups in society can benefit from what programs.

### **The Evaluation Survey**

The logic of the benchmark design is that the initial diagnostic benchmark survey would be replicated at a later moment in time. The point is to be able to systematically measure change using an evaluation survey. NDI is currently conducting an evaluative survey in Nicaragua.

The idea of an evaluation survey follows a before-after research design (Campbell and Stanley, 1976). For example, an initial benchmark democracy survey measuring public orientations across a number of relevant dimensions is undertaken at time one, or  $T_1$ . After a lapse in time, a second democracy survey using exactly the same sampling methodology and content is repeated at a later time, or  $T_2$ . A direct comparison of the responses to any dimension at  $T_1$  can be compared with those from  $T_2$ , and the analyst has in hand the basic tools to evaluate the scope and scale of any changes that have taken place between  $T_1$  and  $T_2$ . By that logic it is possible to provide reliable answers to such questions as has support for democratic procedures

and norms increased or decreased with the passage of time? Among what demographic group has support increased or decreased? Have citizens become more or less confident in representative institutions? The political parties? The media?

More focused analysis can be undertaken by focusing comparisons between  $T_1$  and  $T_2$  in terms of strategically important events or program initiatives. For example, the precise timing of the  $T_1$  diagnostic and  $T_2$  evaluation surveys can be deliberately framed by a referendum or an election. The initial benchmark survey ( $T_1$ ) can be conducted three months prior to an election and the follow-up ( $T_2$ ) survey can be undertaken in the immediate aftermath of an election. That timing framework is relevant if the point of interest has to do, for example, with public confidence in political parties or the performance of an election commission.

The exact same design logic could also easily extend to other applications that target quite different program initiatives. Consider the following example:

Suppose a group is interested in increasing women's civic participation and wants to know if participation in a particular program is an effective way to advance relevant democratic values. The program begins based on benchmark data from the national random sample, data collected prior to the program initiative (Group 1,  $T_1$ ).

Participants recruited to a women's participation program are interviewed using the same diagnostic survey (Group 2,  $T_1$ ). The program is launched and completed. And the follow-up benchmark ( $T_2$ ) is administered to both the national random sample

(Group 1, T<sub>2</sub>) and to program participants (Group 2, T<sub>2</sub>).

The before-after benchmark design could be a powerful analytical tool because it provides analysts with a way to evaluate quite precisely the impact, *ceteris paribus*, of involvement in the women's participation initiative.

The "ceteris paribus" caveat is important. The characteristics of those recruited to the women's participation initiative are compared with those characteristics (and along the same dimensions) as statistically "the same" women in the T<sub>1</sub> cross-sectional survey. This is the control group. The T<sub>2</sub> data explicitly includes those who participated in the women's initiative project, along with the general cross-section of the population. The only difference between the control group and the experimental group is that those in the experimental group participated in the women's participation project.

Consequently, with T<sub>2</sub> data it becomes possible to isolate the effects of involvement in the program: Women involved in the participation initiative are directly compared with statistically "the same" women who did *not* participate in the initiative. Under these circumstances, the differences between the changes in democratic values of those in the control group and the experimental group (those who participated in the women's political involvement program) could be reasonably attributed to the impact of participating in the program.

This T<sub>1</sub> → T<sub>2</sub> benchmark-evaluation framework could be even more versatile in that it also could be applied to assist partisan actors. Consider a different type of support

program, such as the case of helping political parties faced with an election in an emerging democracy. Under such circumstances, parties typically lack reliable strategic information and the resources to generate the kinds of information needed to design campaigns that will help them maximize their support base. Take the example of Party A. Outside of its support base of “party loyalists,” there are at least two other groups that might plausibly support Party A – those who have not voted before, “inactives,” and those who may have voted for Party B or Party C in previous elections, but who also list Party A as a “second choice” party. The “inactives” and “second choice” voters are usually considered available for persuasion and recruitment.

Benchmark surveys would contain vital strategic data for Party A. The benchmark surveys would include core questions that not only identify who the “inactives” are, but also those potential voters that think of Party A as their second choice. The standard socio-demographic data gathered in T<sub>1</sub> means that Party A officials can define quite precisely the profile and location of these “available” voters. The T<sub>1</sub> diagnostic surveys would also identify the issue priorities of the respondents. Thus, data from the surveys could supply answers to strategic questions, such as what are the issue priorities of “inactives,” of second choice respondents and of party supporters? This information could also provide campaign organizers with the tools to target campaign messages and potential supporters.

The post-election T<sub>2</sub> evaluation survey would then record exactly the same data –

including vote choice in the last election. Consequently, the evaluation surveys would enable political parties to determine whether their campaign worked. The data could also answer other key questions about which “inactives” and second choice voters changed their minds to support the party, and who did not.

### **Funding**

The cost of a benchmark survey has varied. For example, the price tag for a 2007 benchmark survey in Guatemala was \$185,000 including a subgrant to a local partner.

NDI recommends that these costs be considered within a broader context where donor agencies invest millions of dollars in democracy and governance programs in one calendar year, especially during the run-up to important elections, or following perceived (suspect electoral outcomes) or obvious (conflict or *coup*) democratic setbacks. Take the example of Guatemala in 2007 when donor countries collectively expended at least five million dollars on election-related programming. The \$185,000 benchmark survey represented less than four percent of the total investment.

Moreover, the survey results had practical applications well past the elections. For example, the Guatemalan government increased the numbers of indigenous women on the civil and voter registries, and political parties began training more indigenous women leaders. A follow-up benchmark survey could then evaluate the effectiveness of these efforts by ascertaining whether more women have documents, are registered and hold positions of leadership in politics.

When thinking about future surveys, it is useful to recognize that the most important factors that have driven benchmark survey costs have been project deadlines and local conditions.

*Project Deadlines* – Benchmark survey timelines, in most cases, would be flexible. However, there may be a need to speed up a process and complete a survey before impending elections, or to respect a funding deadline. When speed becomes a priority, cost goes up – the project would require more interviewers, data processors, analysts and proofreaders.

*Local Conditions* – The most obvious determinants of cost are the size and infrastructure of a country. A survey in a small country with a well-developed infrastructure would cost less than one in a large country with poor systems for communication and transportation.

In addition, security, language and cultural considerations can affect cost. Researchers may be forced to travel in larger groups at a slower pace where security is an issue.

Cost increases would also be likely in multi-lingual societies, as it is standard practice to interview citizens in their local language, and this often requires increased funding for translation and interpretation.

**Though the cost of a benchmark survey can represent a very small percentage of annual democracy support, some donors might still hesitate to underwrite such an “expensive” survey. One possibility is cost sharing among funders since the final report becomes a resource for everyone seeking to provide democracy**

**assistance. At a broader level, “like-minded” groups of donors can benefit from referring to a shared document/diagnostic. This may help to prevent funding duplication and increase the overall effectiveness of the international democracy promotion effort.**

**With an increased donor emphasis on evidence of program impact, it is important to also point out how benchmark surveys can provide a platform for long-term planning and evaluation. They can be designed to measure the impact of specific programs – whether programs are “delivering.”**

Several aid organizations and diplomatic missions have supported benchmark surveys. To date, the primary funder in Central America has been the Royal Embassy of Denmark. Others include the National Endowment for Democracy (NED) and the United States Agency for International Development (USAID). Some funding entities have become involved in supporting projects to address benchmark survey findings as well, among them the Canadian Agency for International Cooperation (CIDA) and the government of Norway.





## Chapter Four

### Survey Content and Methodology

To be useful across time, the content of the core benchmark questionnaire needs to be stable. There are good reasons to resist substituting questions in the core survey, to keep the question wording exactly the same and to retain standardized response categories. As in Nicaragua and Guatemala, other questions capturing important aspects of particular national circumstances can be added to the core benchmark surveys, but any such questions should be added only at the end of the survey as country specific modules.

**The benchmark survey's core of eight modules (plus one for country specific information as necessary) have been organized into specific blocks of questions. These adhere to six key attributes that need explanation: 1) module construction, 2) repeatedly tested items, 3) standardized response categories, 4) embedded scales, 5) related to theories and 6) socio-demographics.**

#### Module Construction

Neither the content nor the order of the benchmark survey's modules has been arbitrary. The ordering of the benchmark survey modules was explicitly designed to accomplish two goals.

- 1) Minimize the contamination that is associated with what survey researchers call “question order effects.” Prior questions “frame” the interpretation of

subsequent questions. These “question order” effects are taken into account and controlled by always asking the same modules of questions in the same order.

2) Maximize completion rates. The challenge is to maximize the chances that respondents will complete the survey once it has begun. This means keeping the survey short, ideally less than 20 minutes in length. The “easy” questions are posed at the beginning of the survey, leaving the “hard” questions until the end of the survey. This gives the interviewer time to gain the confidence of the respondent and it reduces the likelihood that the respondent will interpret the later “hard” questions as intrusive.

### **Repeatedly Tested Items**

All of the questions contained in the core of the survey have been repeatedly tested by independent researchers in multiple countries and in many languages for decades.

Slight wording changes affect responses to questions. All of the items are now standard international benchmark questions.

### **Standardized Response Categories**

The response categories to each of the benchmark questions have also been exhaustively tested. Responses to survey questions can only be reliably compared, other things being equal, when both the wording and the response categories are identical. The only way to make sure that variations in responses of the same group to

the same question at one moment ( $T_1$ ) and a later moment ( $T_2$ ) reflect genuine change is to be certain that the stimulus (question wording AND response categories) are identical at both  $T_1$  and  $T_2$ .

### **Embedded Scales**

Most of the questions asked in the core survey are not “stand-alone” questions. They are a part of embedded scales.<sup>x</sup> To remove one element of an embedded scale introduces a change that compromises the comparability and utility of that scale. Although there may be a temptation to remove some standard benchmark survey questions to make room for other interesting questions, this should be avoided.

### **Related to Theories**

A powerful reason to resist changes to the core benchmark survey over time, however, relates to a core set of international research questions that has repeatedly demonstrated how particular sets of values are related to the dynamics of democracy.

It is not necessary to detail here the precise lineage of each and every single question, but two examples are sufficient to illustrate the general point.

#### **Example One**

**Of course, there is not one theory about what factors drive successful democratic transitions. Beyond structural factors, we now know that societal factors - such as trust (Q3, Q5) and engagement - are linked to patterns of associational life (Q17), support for democratic institutions,**

**patterns of political participation (Q45-49)<sup>1</sup> and support for democratic values.**

### **Example Two**

**In the mid 1960s, two scholars launched the first cross-national survey research project ever undertaken. The goal was to empirically investigate what are the attributes of a “democratic” political culture. That research systematically demonstrated that publics in different countries vary when it comes to their commitment to democratic values. Moreover, those variations have an impact on the effective operation of democratic institutions.<sup>1</sup> Calibrating levels of citizen commitment to democratic values (Q9), perspectives of democratic performance (Q8), engagement or disengagement (Q37, Q38, Q39, Q40, Q41), how these outlooks are connected to individual political behavior (Q20, Q42) and support for institutions (Q28, Q29, Q30) remain central to understanding these dynamics. The benchmark surveys allow us to systematically examine these orientations, to explore their distributions within segments of the populations, their connections to support for domestic political institutions and to see how they have changed over time.**

In short, the selection of questions included in the benchmark survey **have been** theoretically driven. They have not been inspired simply by “wouldn’t it be nice to know” sentiments or by short-term or local considerations. The questions have been grounded in 25 years worth of accumulated knowledge about how particular values are linked to institutional performance and effective democracy.

### **Socio-Demographics**

By consistently surveying exactly the same set of socio-demographic categories, groups have been precisely identified and could be compared across time.

Educational categories have been measured, as well as religious, ethnic and linguistic identities. Again, there have been powerful reasons to resist proposed changes in question wording or even the structure of response categories. To change socio-demographic categories means that the data would not be comparable, and this would significantly reduce the analytical leverage of the benchmark survey across time.

Collectively, these six attributes have worked to give benchmark surveys their versatility and analytic leverage. Explaining these features to funders or local partners, of course, has been no guarantee against request to add questions. However, it has helped everyone involved understand that if questions of local interest are to be added to the core survey, then there should be clear standards that those questions must meet.

**Changing question wording or response categories can compromise the integrity of the survey and undermines its value. Questions can be added to satisfy specific country conditions under exceptional circumstances, but a very strong case has to be made for doing so.**

## **Methodology**

The benchmark survey methodology has followed the rules of random sampling. Following those rules has made it possible to draw conclusions about the general population, within known margins of error, from the sample data gathered. The unit of analysis has been the individual, and the population from which the sample is drawn has included all citizens of a country.<sup>xi</sup> Unlike public-opinion polling, the benchmark democracy surveys have been less concerned about making broad generalizations about the state of public opinion on the issue of the day. Instead, the main task has been to get a reliable fix on how key orientations are distributed *both within and between* subgroups of a population.

To guarantee a random sample, each survey sample point (i.e. each individual) has had an equal chance of being selected from the population. Following this principle has helped guarantee that the character of the random sample mimics the population. As a rule, the larger the sample, the smaller the margin of error and the more accurately the sample will mirror population characteristics. In order to be credible, the benchmark surveys also have had to meet, if not exceed, both the national and international norms for survey design and data collection in Nicaragua and Guatemala. In both cases,

NDI had to answer several questions.

What are the National Norms for Survey Research?

The preliminary question asked was, what is already known about the national population? The primary place to look is the national census data. Of course, because populations are dynamic – people leave the country, there are fertility and mortality spikes – the longer the lag between the census and the benchmark survey, the less reliable the census data becomes.<sup>xii</sup>

Additionally, NDI considered the steps that other in-country demographers and polling organizations take to compensate for perceived bias in the census? These steps were independently checked by examining the technical sample details that accompanied reputable national reports based on polling data, reports produced by the demographers and polling companies themselves.<sup>xiii</sup>

**Practical Questions to Answer in Each Country Context**

- **What sample sizes are reported when national random surveys are conducted?**
- **What effort is made to ensure the quality of fieldwork and interviewing (e.g. how many call backs)?**
- **What are the unique challenges that survey researchers face when gathering interview data in the country?**
- **Are there minority sub-groups within the population that require special**

**attention?**

- **How are remote communities dealt with?**
- **How are minority languages addressed?**
- **How are different ethnic communities distinguished?**

Is There a Track Record of Survey Research?

In addition to canvassing local experience and knowledge, NDI has also reviewed existing “externally-sponsored” survey research and considered: What sample sizes were used? Who collected the data? How was the data collected? Is the data in the public domain? What was the sample design? Did those researchers rely on the census for the sample draw? What questions were asked and where did they come from? What steps were taken to ensure the quality control of data collection?

**Sample Design Decision Points**

There have been two central issues considered in sample design: 1) the optimal sample size, and 2) the procedures to ensure the quality control of data collection.

Sample Size

Since the primary goal of the initial surveys has been diagnostic, NDI recommends that the sample size for benchmark surveys be about 25% larger than standard random sample surveys used by commercial pollsters in the countries. Unlike general public-opinion research, benchmark democracy surveys are trying to pinpoint how democratic orientations are distributed within a society. The surveys aim to identify



core values and explore causal connections between values and behaviors.

NDI has concluded that the size of the benchmark survey in any particular case mainly depends on the homogeneity or heterogeneity of the population, rather than the absolute size of a population.<sup>xiv</sup>

### Quality Control

The second important issue has concerned controlling the quality of the data collection process; the most critical quality control points have centered on interviewer orientation, interviewer training and data entry. The benchmark democracy surveys have been administered through face-to-face interviews, and the survey questionnaire has been filled out by the interviewer. For this reason, interviewer training has been critical to the quality control of the data. NDI has tried to ensure that interviewers are not tempted to substitute one sample point (interviewee) for another. The interviewers have been clearly informed that there is no latitude on case selection, and are aware that there are ways to check whether the “proper” sample point was interviewed.

Also, during the interviewer training it has been critical to discuss the need to minimize “social desirability effects,” which are basically the inclination of respondents to provide what they believe is the desirable responses to questions. It seems that the best way to reduce "social desirability effects" is to ensure that interviewers and respondents are of the same gender, ethnic group and socio-economic background.<sup>xvi</sup>

**There are three strategies for minimizing these problems:**

***Training* – Interviewers have to understand why case substitution is a problem.**

***Pairing up interviewers* – Requiring interviewers to work in pairs - one male and one female - limits the likelihood of case substitution.**

***Checks* – Supervisors can make call back checks to confirm that the interview did indeed take place with the listed respondent.<sup>xv</sup>**

It has also been necessary to avoid “forced-pace” data collection, which imposes unrealistic deadlines on the interview process. “Forced pace” data collection typically results in interviewers taking short cuts by faking interviews and ignoring the call back regime. This compromises the accuracy of the data and prevents realistic conclusions from being drawn.

As far as data entry is concerned, the completed survey questionnaires have been sent to a central data entry facility, where trained processors entered the data using a standard set of procedures that minimize errors and protect the quality of the dataset.<sup>xvii</sup>

## **Chapter Five**

### **Fine Tuning Data Analysis and Informing Program Design**

Two types of events have followed benchmark democracy surveys: 1) focus groups inside and outside the capital city to share the initial diagnostic and collect recommendations, and 2) press conferences and round tables to release a final report.

#### **Focus Groups**

As a first step, hard data from a benchmark survey has been disseminated. Interested audiences have typically included the following:

- Journalists
- Electoral authorities
- Political parties
- Representatives of the international community, including benchmark survey funders
- Civil society and non-governmental organizations

Representatives from these audiences have then been brought together or gathered separately to discuss the data using focus group techniques. There are some advantages to holding separate meetings with each group, although it should be noted that this is typically only feasible in the capital city due to reasons of time and cost.

Separate meetings could allow the benchmark survey team to tailor presentations according to each group's particular interests. For example, electoral authorities might want to focus on election-related matters, such as barriers to voting. Political parties might ask about confidence in them, attitudes toward participation and pockets of "untapped" democrats (potential supporters). NGOs may be interested in public attitudes toward democracy.

NDI has found that focus groups, whether held for mixed audiences or "privately" for distinct groups, provide an opportunity to do the following:

- 1) Make "courtesy calls" to thank supporters and communities for participating, and to share the results of the diagnostic, which is the product of their work.
- 2) Combat "survey fatigue" and cynicism about the usefulness of research. In some countries, citizens participate frequently in studies and rarely see a final report. A focus group on the heels of a benchmark democracy survey can demonstrate the usefulness of surveys beyond the exercise of data collection.
- 3) Provide useful information for interpreting the "hard data." They provide information about the reasoning chains behind some survey responses with particularly surprising results. For example, if it is discovered that the majority of youth support a distinctly non-democratic political movement, then why? If a citizen does not trust a political party, why not?

What could the party do to increase their trust?

4) “Drill down” into the systematic data. Sometimes a questionnaire cannot pursue reasons behind problems to the point of identifying all of the root causes. If respondents did not have citizen identification cards, then why not? If they did not have birth certificates, why not? This information can be included in a final report and details can inform plans for projects to address problems.

5) Gather first hand knowledge about democracy promotion projects which have seemed to work, and those that have been ill-conceived or poorly implemented. This type of local expertise helps the benchmark survey teams draft recommendations for future D&G work to be included in the final report.<sup>xviii</sup>

Considerations for planning post-benchmark survey focus groups have centered around two considerations - budget and design.

### **Budget**

The reality has been that holding meetings outside capital cities can be expensive. But gathering the perspectives of whole populations, including all subgroups, is a central principal behind the benchmark survey methodology. Once the diagnostic is in, it is important to engage affected populations in discussions about solutions. Feedback and suggestions collected exclusively from capital city-dwellers provide, at best,

incomplete information. For these reasons, it has been typical for NDI to support a series of events in the capital city with at least two meetings strategically located in the country's interior.

## **Design**

The original survey design has instructed the plans for follow-up focus groups. For example, benchmark surveys that have analyzed certain ethnic minorities have then included follow-up meetings with those specific populations, and with members of the study control group. Populations identified in the benchmark survey as marginalized have also been invited to focus groups. NDI experience suggests that meetings should be targeted to areas including both citizens from populations identified as “democrats,” as well as those identified as “non-democrats.”

### **Best practices for focus groups include the following:**

- **Planning for an appropriate representation of relevant sub-groups of citizens**
- **Being sensitive to traditions relating to gender, age, minorities and other socio-economic dynamics**
- **Establishing ground rules that promote universal participation (e.g. taking turns around a circle, using tickets to speak, going to break-out sessions)**

## **The Final Report**

The final report has typically included an executive summary; an introduction, including relevant political and program history and the origins of the survey methodology; and basic findings by category. Reporting categories from the initial diagnostic survey may include political and electoral behavior, including voting and non-voting; confidence in institutions, including election actors, political parties, branches of government and social organizations; measures of trust and cynicism within society; other forms of associational life/social capital; issue priorities and awareness; and satisfaction with democracy and democratic outlooks. Sections are added following focus groups, such as supplemental background information about significant and surprising findings, future outlooks and recommendations for future evidence-based program development.<sup>xix</sup>

NDI and local partners hold sustained discussions to review a final report and discuss its implications before a public release. This allows eventual spokespersons to fully comprehend and “defend” the results, as well as effectively promote follow-on action.

The final report is communicated according to the interests of the local partner and NDI. There may be interest in holding further round table discussions with donors to discuss program possibilities that match their priorities. In most cases the report is released to the media, political parties and the NGO community. The data set is placed into the public domain as outlined in the original project MOU (see Appendix

E for a sample framework for an MOU between NDI and a local partner), and remains a public resource.

### **Possible Obstacles to a Public Release**

It might happen in rare cases that circumstances warrant reconsidering the public release of a benchmark survey report, or certain components of the report. This is considered only when certain findings are likely to do more harm than good, and may relate to the timing of a benchmark survey publication. For example, publishing serious concerns about institutional obstacles to electoral participation just a few days before elections might be devastating to public confidence in elections; it might cause citizens to question the legitimacy of results, or these findings could be exploited by political parties that lose elections. In this type of situation, it is critical for all actors involved in the benchmark survey project to consider alternate courses of action, perhaps delaying the report's release.

Another scenario complicating the release of a final report is a local partner asking to omit certain survey findings. Every attempt should be made to present the data fully and accurately. The data are placed into the public domain eventually and accusations of manipulations or cover-ups could damage the credibility of the final report, the implementing institutions and their funders. However, findings can be omitted when circumstances render them moot, or postponed in the rare case that they place NDI partners at risk.



## Chapter Six

### Working with a Local Partner

Local partners have played a key role in helping carry out benchmark democracy surveys. The partners have brought important indigenous knowledge to the planning process and provide the infrastructure needed to recruit and field interviewers.

NDI has partnered successfully with universities, research centers and grassroots civil society organizations (CSOs). Each type of organization has certain comparative advantages and disadvantages, as summarized below.

#### Universities

*Advantages:* typically have research credibility and an established, clear public profile; have access to student interviewers; have some infrastructure available for data processing.

*Disadvantages:* student interviewers may not be effective working at the grassroots level; may be reluctant to accept advice from outside organizations.

#### Research Centers

*Advantages:* may be more nimble, better at working with short timelines; less bureaucracy involved in turning around reports; typically staffed by individuals inclined toward quantitative methods.

*Disadvantages:* may lack capacity to place interviewers around the country; may have low to no public profile; may be reticent to publicize “bad news” or controversial findings in order to preserve their image as analysts rather than activists.

### **Grassroots CSOs**

*Advantages:* may have the best capacity to run interviews anywhere in the country; may collect more reliable information due to a strong, knowledgeable local presence; likely interested in following up survey results with concrete projects.

*Disadvantages:* may have controversial public profiles if previously active in the democracy and governance arena; may lack depth of capacity for data collection and processing.

These considerations underscore the importance of being able to recruit interviewers from each important sector of the country while considering language, ethnic and religious backgrounds and any other important cultural differences.<sup>xx</sup> In one country, rural citizens would not open their doors to capital city-based university students, but replacement interviewers from the local community who were trained and sent in did meet with success. In short, it is more feasible to build local data processing capacity in a short period of time than it is to expand the reach of an organization to the edges of a country.

The benchmark survey methodology meets rigorous international standards for survey research. This begins with the content and methodology of the survey instrument and includes aspects such as sample design, data processing and data analysis. There are good reasons, then, to ensure that a local partner will uphold these standards and safeguard the credibility of the project. Local implementing organizations must possess a track record for competence and independence.

Appendix C presents a typical division of labor for a benchmark survey assuming that NDI is the supervising entity working to build the capacity of a local organization.

Appendix D offers a task list for the local implementing organization. Together these appendices help to clarify the task at hand. Potential implementing organizations can then make an informed decision to proceed, or decline the opportunity.

NDI has taken the lead or signed off on three key technical components of the benchmark survey project. They include:

- 1) The sample survey design
- 2) The survey instrument
- 3) Data analysis leading to a draft diagnostic report

The reasons for this are discussed in earlier chapters. In sum, direct NDI participation in these aspects of the benchmark survey methodology help ensure the integrity and reliability of the survey results. In addition, NDI monitors the interpretation and use of the systematic data by participating in any post-survey focus groups and helping

local partners incorporate focus group data and recommendations into the final report.

### **Leaving Behind Increased Local Capacity**

The most public benchmark survey “product” is the final report, but NDI has also prioritized the production, or strengthening, of local capacity to undertake continued research on democracy and political culture. A collaboration with NDI on a benchmark survey project can help a local group improve its capacity to:

- 1) Develop questionnaires
- 2) Design random survey samples
- 3) Train interviewers
- 4) Process data
- 5) Build data sets and manipulate data
- 6) Analyze data in the national and international context
- 7) Hold follow-up focus groups
- 8) Manage approaches for putting the data into the public domain
- 9) Use evidence to inform the design and evaluation of pro-democracy programs

### **Developing a Memorandum of Understanding**

It has been useful to develop and sign a memorandum of understanding (MOU) between NDI and local implementing organizations. The ideal MOU outlines project components and a general division of labor. This can go a long way to building a

productive relationship in the field and preventing misunderstandings over the course of the project.

The MOU also helps answer the question of who owns the survey data after they are collected and processed into a dataset - NDI, or the local partner, or both? Also, at what point do the data enter the public domain? Discussions around ownership of survey research data are common in the academic world but less so in our world of practitioners. Yet these discussions are important. (See Appendix E for a Sample Framework for an MOU between NDI and a local partner.)



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## End Notes

- i The 2005-2008 wave of the WVS was conducted in 94 countries that collectively made up 85 % of the world's total population.
- ii For a detailed discussion of these findings, see Nevitte, Cruz and Estok (2008) *Barrier to Electoral Participation in Guatemala*, Guatemala City: FLACSO/NDI.
- iii Details of these findings are demonstrated in Nevitte, Estok and Cruz (2007) *The 2007 Nicaraguan Democracy Survey*, Managua: UCA and NDI.
- iv See especially pp. 150-157.
- v And in doing so provide an important connection to the "Third Wave" thesis (Huntington, 1991). That Inglehart and Welzel skepticism is more recently echoed by Diamond (2008).
- vi The World Values Survey/European Values all share a common content and methodology. And they are coordinated to collect directly comparable data from all participating countries at long intervals, usually every five years. The WVS are designed to track long term value change across multiple value dimensions including: primary relations, workplace values, religious values, economic outlooks. They contain a smaller battery of questions that are specifically directed at understanding the state of democracy, beliefs about democracy, and the state of democratic institutions. The benchmark surveys are built around this smaller battery of questions only (along with the WVS sociodemographic markers) because the purpose of the benchmark surveys is directed at undertaking a democratic audit.

The timing of the benchmark surveys are not dictated by the rhythms of the WVS data gathering cycles; they are determined instead by the regional and country specific interests of partners and the donor community. Other recognized surveys such as the Asiabarometer, the Africabarometer, the Latinobarometer, and the Eurobarometer surveys, are regional spin-offs from the original World Values Surveys. The timing and content of those omnibus surveys are variable. And the content is driven by "client" requirements. They are not primarily directed at evaluating the state of democracy. Those clients have included the World Bank, the IMF, the UN, and the Soros Foundation. These regional surveys are primarily commercial, and access to the data depend on the protocols of the principal investigators. Unlike benchmark surveys, either the WVS or the barometer surveys drill down into specific areas, such as reasons for non-voting, or intergroup relations that are central to benchmark surveys.

- vii These are sometimes referred to as "regime rules." See Diamond (2002) "Consolidating Democracies" in L. LeDuc et al. *Comparing Democracies*, London: Sage, pp. 210-227.
- viii To these core sets of questions some benchmark surveys also include additional "special modules" of questions that are designed to probe more deeply issues that are of unique and special significance to particular national settings.
- ix Dillon and Goldstein, 1984.
- x Consider the questionnaire in the Appendix and turn to Question 14. Respondents are asked if they can name four political figures. In this case, the four items constitute a standard additive general political knowledge scale. The scale is used, cross-nationally, to identify which groups, within any country, are knowledgeable and which groups are not. Some are "hard" (name the Secretary General of the United Nations) and some are "easy." Correct responses to each question yields an individual score of "4" (very knowledgeable). Incorrect responses produce a score of "0." The significant data to emerge from asking these questions is the distribution of responses across all four categories of the "same" questions. To delete one sub-question (name the President of the United States) from the scale immediately means that the scale is not longer usable for cross-national comparative purposes. An innocent proposal can have damaging consequences. Similarly, consider Question 20, which asks respondents about different kinds of activities. This scale, which has also been repeatedly tested and used cross-nationally for some thirty years; it is a carefully calibrated "ladder" of political action, a



classic non-reflexive scale. Some actions, like voting, are easy (non-demanding). Others are very demanding (going on strike). And we know that the further we move up the ladder, the wider is the “political action” repertoire of the respondent. To exclude one of these questions from the battery undermines the utility of the entire battery of questions in the first place.

xi The definition of the population may vary depending on the project. If the project is focused on elections, then the population from which the sample is drawn is eligible voters.

xii Irregularly gathered census data often under represent three groups: Young people who are more mobile; people living in remote rural areas, and the homeless. The challenge of determining the reliability of the census is usually tackled, first, by consulting with in-country demographers and the commercial polling community: Do they believe the census is reliable? If not, why not? And in their judgment what are the most serious sources of bias? Do they themselves use the census for drawing national random samples? And how do the sociostructural characteristics of the random samples they draw match up with the age, gender, urban-rural, education and occupational distributions of the population captured by the census?

xiii There is an additional practical reason for consulting with in-country demographers, academic survey researchers and the polling community. It is these experts who establish national norms for sample design. They set the bar. And it is they who will likely be consulted publicly on a key technical question: Does this benchmark survey meet, fall short of, or exceed national standards for sample design? Sharing the details of the sample design with local experts provides these influentials with a firmer foundation for judging the qualities of the proposed benchmark survey design. Consultations with in-country experts can also provide insights about a variety of other issues that affect the credibility of the benchmark survey and increase the efficiency of other phases of doing the benchmark survey.

xiv The margins of error (the accuracy) of the results can be easily calculated with the standard formula that applies to all samples that follow random rules of selection.

xv All supervisors will have the list of random starting points for the walk-routes and so they have the addresses of the sample points. Interviewers should be required to fill out “contact information” – the name, sex, contact phone number of each person interviewed. These data are submitted along with the completed interview sheet. Supervisors can call the person who should have been interviewed (checking the address, sex and birthday).

xvi Backstrom and Hirsch-Cesar, 1981.

xvii Software packages used for data entry operate on the principle of column fields. A single column field can take on values that range from 0 to 9. Questions asked by interviewers rarely encompass ten response categories. They might have just two (male= 1, and female= 2). Thus a keystroke entry of ‘3’ or ‘6’ on the gender variable is an error. These keystroke errors can be minimized by adjusting the data entry software to define ‘illegal’ or ‘invalid’ values for that variable. The double entry protocol is a standard procedure for minimizing errors in processing questionnaire data. Each questionnaire is processed twice by different data entry personnel and the two are later checked against each other. Discrepancies can be easily identified and the differences can be resolved and corrected by comparing those cases with the original completed questionnaire. Unresolved cases where, are returned to field supervisors for clarification. Following the preceding steps will screen out the vast majority of data entry “noise”, errors. The quality of the merged data set can be further ensured by selecting random cases within the merged data set and checking all response categories of those cases against the original completed questionnaire.

xviii The typical focus group agenda includes: introductions of facilitators and participants; an explanation of the benchmark survey’s origins and purpose; a presentation of important survey findings; questions from the facilitator to participants about key findings; and, a discussion about appropriate future programming to address the problems revealed by the benchmark survey.

xix See [www.ndi.org](http://www.ndi.org) for examples of benchmark survey final reports.

xx For an in-depth discussion of types of interview bias, please see Chapter Two, The Benchmark Survey Design.



## Appendix A

### World Values Surveys Participating Countries

#### 1981-1984 Wave

Argentina	France	Ireland	Norway
Australia	Germany West	Italy	South Korea
Belgium	Great Britain	Japan	Spain
Canada	Hungary	Malta	Sweden
Denmark	Iceland	Netherlands	United States

*(20 countries)*

#### 1989-1993 Wave

Argentina	Estonia	Japan	Romania
Austria	Finland	Latvia	Slovakia
Belarus	France	Lithuania	Slovenia
Belgium	Germany	Malta	South Africa
Brazil	Great Britain	Mexico	South Korea
Bulgaria	Hungary	Netherlands	Spain
Canada	Iceland	Nigeria	Sweden
Czech Republic	India	Norway	Switzerland
Chile	Ireland	Poland	Turkey
China	Italy	Portugal	United States
Denmark			

*(41 countries)*

#### 1994-1999 Wave

Albania	China	Mexico	Slovakia
Argentina	Dominican Re- public	Montenegro	Slovenia
Armenia	El Salvador	New Zealand	South Africa
Australia	Estonia	Nigeria	South Korea
Azerbaijan	Finland	Norway	Spain
Bangladesh	Georgia	Pakistan	Sweden
Belarus	Germany	Peru	Switzerland
Bosnia and Herze- govina	Great Britain	Philippines	Taiwan
Brazil	Hungary	Poland	Turkey
Bulgaria	India	Puerto Rico	Ukraine
Columbia	Japan	Republic of	United States
Croatia	Latvia	Moldova	Uruguay
Czech Republic	Lithuania	Romania	Venezuela
Chile	Macedonia	Russia	
		Serbia	

*(55 countries)*

**1999-2004 Wave**

Albania	France	Luxembourg Ma-	Russia
Algeria	Germany	cedonia	Saudi Arabia
Argentina	Great Britain	Malta	Serbia
Austria	Greece	Mexico	Singapore
Bangladesh	Hungary	Montenegro	Slovakia
Belarus	Iceland	Morocco	Slovenia
Belgium	India	Netherlands	South Africa
Bosnian Federa-	Indonesia	Nigeria	Spain
tion	Iran	Pakistan	Sweden
Bulgaria	Iraq	Peru	Tanzania
Canada	Ireland	Philippines	Turkey
Chile	Israel	Poland	Uganda
China	Italy	Portugal	Ukraine
Croatia	Japan	Puerto Rico	United States
Czech Republic	Jordan	Republic of Ko-	Venezuela
Denmark	Kyrgyzstan	rea	Vietnam
Egypt	Latvia	Moldova	Zimbabwe
Estonia	Lithuania	Romania	
Finland			

(70 countries)

**2005-2005 Wave**

Albania	El Salvador	Latvia	Saudi Arabia
Algeria	Estonia	Lithuania	Serbia
Andorra	Ethiopia	Luxemburg	Singapore
Argentina	Finland	Macedonia	Slovakia
Australia	France	Malaysia	Slovenia
Austria	Georgia	Mali	South Africa
Azerbaijan	Germany	Mexico	South Korea
Bangladesh	Ghana	Moldova	Spain
Belarus	Greece	Montenegro	Sweden
Belgium	Great Britain	Morocco	Switzerland
Bosnian Federation	Guatemala	Netherlands	Taiwan
Brazil	Hong Kong	New Zealand	Tanzania
Bulgaria	Hungary	Nigeria	Thailand
Burkina Faso	Iceland	Norway	Trinidad and To-
Canada	India	Pakistan	bago
Chile	Indonesia	Peru	Turkey
China	Iran	Philippines	Uganda
Colombia	Iraq	Poland	Ukraine
Croatia	Ireland	Portugal	Uruguay
Cyprus	Israel	Puerto Rico	United States
Czech Republic	Italy	Romania	Venezuela

Denmark  
Dominican Republic  
Egypt

Japan  
Jordan  
Kyrgyzstan

Russia  
Rwanda

Vietnam  
Zambia  
Zimbabwe

*(94 countries)*



## Appendix B

### Sample Benchmark Survey Budget

<b>NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC INSTITUTE FOR INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS</b>					
<b>Benchmark Survey Sample Budget</b>					
<b>Project Duration: 5 months</b>					
<b>BUDGET CATEGORY</b>	<b>Unit</b>	<b>No. Units</b>	<b>Rate</b>	<b>Sub-total</b>	<b>Total</b>
<b>I. SALARIES AND BENEFITS</b>					
Washington DC and Resident Field Support Staff					
Resident Director	month	6	3%	\$1,378.19	
Senior Program Assistant	month	6	3%	\$643.16	
Regional Director	month	6	1%	\$704.40	
				<b>\$2,725.74</b>	
<i>Subtotal, Salaries</i>					
			47.7%	\$1,300.18	
B. Fringe Benefits @ 47%					
					<b>4,026</b>
<i>Total Salaries and Benefits</i>					
<b>II SUPPLIES AND EQUIPMENT</b>					
Office Supplies (less than \$500)					
A.	month	6	\$20	\$120.00	
B. General Photocopying	month	6	\$20	\$120.00	
					<b>240</b>
<i>Total Supplies and Equipment</i>					
<b>II I. COMMUNICATIONS</b>					
A. Telephone, Fax and Email	month	6	\$20	\$120.00	
B. Postage and Courier	month	6	\$50	\$300.00	
					<b>420</b>
<i>Total Communications</i>					

<b>IV</b>							
<b>. TRAVEL AND PER DIEM</b>							
A. Airfare							
<u>Technical Assistance</u>							
1 <u>Visits</u>							
r/t Senior Elections							
Expert; Toronto-	round					\$1,500.0	
Central America	trip	2	\$750			0	
r/t Senior Elections							
Expert; Panama-	round					\$1,000.0	
Central America	trip	2	\$500			0	
r/t Research & Data-							
base Expert; travel	round					\$400.00	
within Central Amer-	trip	2	\$200				
ica						<b>\$2,900.0</b>	
<i>Subtotal, Airfare</i>							<b>0</b>
B. Per Diem							
<u>Technical Assistance</u>							
1 <u>Visits</u>							
Senior Elections Ex-							
pert	day	4	\$200			\$800.00	
Senior Elections Ex-							
pert	day	4	\$200			\$800.00	
						\$1,200.0	
Research & Database							
	day	6	\$200			0	
						<b>\$2,800.0</b>	
<i>Subtotal, Per Diem</i>							<b>0</b>
C. Local Travel (taxis, air-							
port transfers, etc.)							
1 Taxis							
	day	14	\$20			\$280.00	
<i>Subtotal, Local travel</i>							<b>\$280.00</b>
D. Other Travel Costs (visas,							
airport taxes, excess bag-							
gage, etc.)							
1 Airport Exit Tax							
	trip	6	\$40			\$240.00	
<i>Subtotal, Other Travel Costs</i>							<b>\$240.00</b>
<i>Total Travel and Per Diem</i>							<b>6,220</b>



<b>V</b>		<b>CONTRACTUAL SERVICES</b>					
C.	Printing and Graphic Design	publication	1	\$1,040	\$1,040.44		
D.	Material Translation	publication	1	\$500	\$500.44		
	<i>Total Contractual Services</i>						<b>1,541</b>
<b>V</b>		<b>I. CONSULTANT FEES</b>					
A.	Senior Elections Expert from Toronto	day	28	\$609	\$17,052.00		
B.	Senior Elections Expert from Panama	day	14	\$609	\$8,526.00		
C.	Research & Database Expert from Guatemala	day	13	\$250	\$3,250.00		
	<i>Total Consultant Fees</i>						<b>28,828</b>
<b>V</b>		<b>II. OTHER DIRECT COSTS</b>					
		presentation	6	\$120	\$720.00		
	<i>Subtotal Workshops/Meetings/Conferences</i>						<b>\$720.00</b>
	<i>Total Other Direct Costs</i>						<b>720</b>
<b>V</b>		<b>II COOPERATIVE AGREEMENTS</b>					
A.	Subgrant to Local Partner Organization		1	\$75,000	\$75,000.00		
	<i>Total Cooperative Agreements</i>						<b>75,000</b>

<b>TOTAL DIRECT COSTS</b>					<b>135,012</b>
<b>X. Overhead costs</b>					
A Exclusions from Overhead Costs					
Subgrant A in excess of				\$0.0	
1 \$75,000				0	
				\$18,017.	
2 Program Support				20	
				<b>\$18,017.</b>	
<i>Subtotal Overhead Exclusions</i>				<b>20</b>	
				\$11	
B Total Direct Cost less ex-				6,99	
. clusions				4.81	
<i>Overhead Costs</i>			9.5%		<b>11,115</b>
<b>GRAND TOTAL</b>					<b>146,127</b>
		<b>Total in US dollars</b>			<b>146,127</b>

## Appendix C

### Division of Labor between NDI and Partner for Benchmark Surveys

Step to Benchmark Survey	Primary Responsibility	Secondary Responsibility
1. Project Planning	NDI must ensure capacity, independence and political will of partner	Local partner must fully comprehend project and agree to division of labor
2. Obtaining Project Funds	NDI and local partner work together, when funding is not obtained prior to start	
3. Designing the Sample and Questionnaire	NDI must ensure reliability of sample and integrity of questionnaire	Local partner provides background info., translation, pilot testing
4. Training Interviewers	Local partner trains in one or more local languages according to societal norms	BST has presence at training to respond to methodological questions
5. Field Work	Local partner runs field work	NDI provide assistance as appropriate
6. Data Processing	Local partner sets up, manages database and inputs survey results	BST checks database, is available to help code data, clean dataset, deliver to analysis team
7. Data Analysis	NDI leads analysis of survey results, including multivariate analysis, offers preliminary conclusions	Local partners available to investigate in dataset, answer questions about surprising results
8. Follow up Feedback Meetings	Local partner leads focus groups to deliver, request feedback about preliminary results	BST advises re: presentation, is present to probe surprising results, coaches local facilitators
<b>9. Report Writing</b>	<b>NDI writes final report</b>	<b>Local partner vets, translates, publishes final report</b>
10. Public Release of the Report	Done in coordination as appropriate	Done in coordination as appropriate



## Appendix D

### Typical “To Do” List for NDI Partners Running Benchmark Surveys

- The basic tasks for staff include the following:
- Support NDI to design sample;
- Establish recruiting targets based on sample size;
- Support NDI to develop questionnaires (draft, translation, pilot test, back translation);
- Raise funds, continuously update donor;
- Recruit field coordinators as necessary;
- Map out routes for interviews;
- Recruit interviewers;
- Train interviewers;
- Set up database;
- Develop software;
- Set up database entry center;
- Recruit, train data entry personnel;
- Supervise field work;
- Enter data;
- Clean Data;
- Merge Data File and Export to NDI;
- Support NDI to run the analysis and write preliminary report;
- Work with NDI to run stakeholder meetings, or focus groups, in capital city and interior;
- Release the report as appropriate. <sup>i</sup>



## **Appendix E**

### **SAMPLE FRAMEWORK FOR MEMORANDUM OF UNDERSTANDING**

**Between  
National Democratic Institute for International Affairs  
and  
Local Partner Organization**

### **BENCHMARK DEMOCRACY SURVEY TERMS OF REFERENCE**

*(Place and Date)*

#### **I. INTRODUCTION**

History of the National Democratic Institute in the partner country

Background on Local Partner

Project Rationale

#### **II. SCOPE OF WORK**

##### **1. The Survey Objectives**

Obtain updated information including support for democratic values, levels of engagement, confidence in institutions, issue priorities, record of electoral participation and standard socio-demographics.

Make both direct and regional comparisons with previous benchmark surveys. In the case of a second or third benchmark survey *(if applicable)*.

##### **2. The Sample**

The survey will be conducted with a national sample of *X* people.

The sample will include a “boost”, or *X* additional sample points *(applies when NDI and the local partner intend to report reliably on a specific subgroup, e.g., 200 youth between 16-25 years old distributed proportionately throughout the country)*.

### **3. The Methodology**

The survey will be carried out by face to face interviews with people of both sexes who are *X* years of age or older (*usually voting age*). The selection of the interviewees will be random based on a proportional distribution of the population in each of the country's municipalities, in accordance with the results of the most recent Census. NDI will oversee the sample design and (*Local Partner*) will assume primary responsibility for the field interviews.

### **4. Survey Questionnaire**

Attach a draft of the questionnaire to be used in the survey.

### **5. Implementation Period**

The survey will be conducted between (*month, day, year*) and (*month, date, year*), according to the following work timeline:

(*Month, day*) – Definition of sample, questionnaire and instruments by NDI technical team in consultation with (*Local Partner*)

(*Month, day*) – Training of interviewers by NDI technical team in coordination with (*Local Partner*)

(*Month, day*) – Field work with (*Local Partner*) supervision

(*Month, day*) – Processing and compilation of data by (*Local Partner*)

(*Month, day*) – Data analysis and development of draft report by NDI technical team with feedback from (*Local Partner*)

(*Month, day*) – Revision and completion of report in English and (*second language*)

(*Month, day*) – National and Regional presentations on results with different sectors (civil society, political parties, international community), Press Conference

(*Month, day*) – Printing of Report

(*Month, day*) – Circulation of public report



*(Month, day)* – Turn in activities report and final reconciliation of expenses

## **6. Division of Responsibilities by Phase of Work**

### **First Phase**

In the first phase of work, the NDI technical team will determine the sample, the questionnaire and the survey instruments in consultation with *(Local Partner)*. *(Local Partner)* will be in charge of field work and processing the data collected. More specifically, *(Local Partner)* will be responsible for:

- Organizing trainings and follow-up with the interviewers;
- Data collection;
- Quality control of data; and
- Data processing.

### **Second Phase**

The NDI technical team will analyze the data and develop a draft report on the results of the survey. Based on this document, in consultation with *(Local Partner)*, the team will produce a final report of the results of the survey in Spanish and *(second language)* to be printed by NDI. *(Local Partner)*, in coordination with NDI, will present the findings to different audiences, including political parties, civic organizations, international organizations, student universities and the media. *(Local Partner)* will be responsible for:

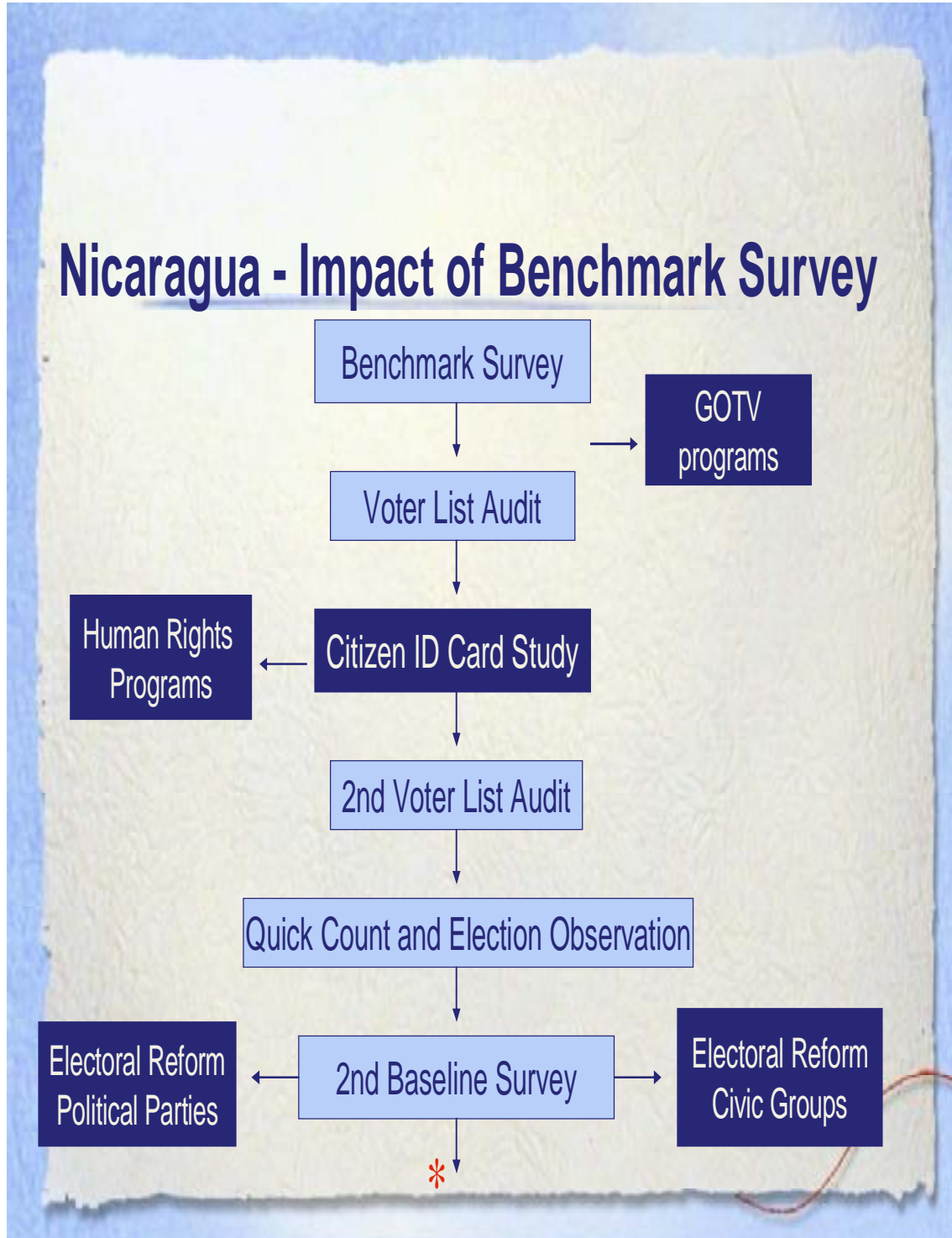
- Organizing the group press conference with NDI for the presentation of the survey results;
- Organizing group meetings with NDI for the presentation of survey results before civic groups, political parties and representatives of the international community at the regional and national level;
- Dissemination of the final report and survey findings, in coordination with NDI.

### **III. DATA OWNERSHIP**

NDI maintains the following policy regarding ownership of the data set produced by the benchmark survey:

The data ownership policy that applies to the benchmark surveys follows international standards for data sharing. NDI is the principal investigator of the benchmark surveys. The benchmark data are held for the exclusive use by NDI for a period of one year following the presentation to NDI of the full dataset and the full technical documentation. NDI partners can jointly participate in co-authoring with NDI reports based on these data during the first year. In those first year reports, NDI reserves the right to issue its own reports. At the beginning of the second year, the data go into the public domain. Partners, or others using the data, are required only to satisfy three conditions. First, in any public document, NDI has to be acknowledged as the source of the data. Second, NDI's partners who funded the data collection have to be publicly acknowledged. And third, any public report must clearly state at the beginning of the report that "Neither NDI, nor those who funded the project, are responsible for the interpretation of the data in this report."

**Appendix F**





**Appendix G**

**FLACSO- MIRADOR ELECTORAL 2007**

PROTOCOL OF TO THE  
**SURVEY ABOUT BARRIERS IN POLITICAL  
PARTICIPATION**

IN THE DISTRICTS OF:

SAN MARTÍN JILOTEPEQUE (CHIMALTENANGO)  
SAN PEDRO CARCHÁ (ALTA VERAPAZ)  
MOMOSTENANGO (TOTONICAPÁN) y  
JALAPA (JALAPA)

JULY, 2007

**GENERAL INSTRUCTIONS TO THE INTERVIEWER:**

**ENTER IN ALL YOUR REPORTS THE PERSONAL CODE IN THE SQUARE (COD\_NU) AND NUMBER ALL FROM 1 TO 40, IN THE SQUARE (REP\_NU), AND THAT IS THE ORDER THAT YOU ARE GOING TO USE, NO MATTER THE NAME OF THE PLACE WHERE YOU WORK. IN THE MOMENT OF BEING IN THE PLACE THAT YOU ARE GOING TO DO THE INTERVIEW, ENTER IN THE REPORTS THAT YOU HAVE TO USE THERE: NAME OF THE TOWN, VILLAGE OR HAMLET IN THE SQUARE OF PLACE AND THE CODE OF THE DISTRICT:**

<b>DISTRICT CODE:</b>	<b>1. San Martín Jilotepeque (Chimaltenango)</b>
	<b>2. San Pedro Carchá (Alta Verapaz)</b>
	<b>3. Momostenango (Totonicapán)</b>
	<b>4. Jalapa (Jalapa)</b>

<b>MARK, the square AREA:</b>	1. Urban	2. Rural
-------------------------------	----------	----------

**IN THE SKETCH OF THE INHABITED PLACE, ACCORDING THE INSTRUCTIONS THAT WE GAVE YOU, SITUATE THE DWELLING WHERE YOU ARE GOING TO DO THE FIRST INTERVIEW. MAKE SURE TO INTERVIEW GUATEMALANS CITIZENS THAT ARE OF LEGAL AGE (THAT IS ALREADY 18 YEARS OLD/OLDER), THAT IN EACH PLACE IT HAS TO BE 5 WOMEN AND 5 MEN PER INTERVIEWER. IF IN THE MOMENT OF THE VISIT THERE IS MORE THAN ONE PERSON THAT FILLS THESE REQUIREMENTS, CHOOSE THE ONE THAT HAS RECENTLY CELEBRATED HIS BIRTHDAY.**

**INTRODUCE YOU:**

“Good morning/afternoon. My name is \_\_\_\_\_. I am part of the Project “Electoral Viewers 2007”. We are doing these interviews to know the opinion that Guatemalans have about several topics concerning the elections. This house has been selected by a draw, to make an interview for a man or a woman that it has to be 18 years old /older and that live here.

**IN EACH HOUSE CHOOSE THE PERSON ACCORDING THE INSTRUCTIONS THAT YOU HAVE RECEIVED. IN THE MOMENT THAT YOU ARE IN FRONT OF THE PERSON SAY:**

I will appreciate a few minutes of your time, to ask you some questions.

**SHOW YOUR ID IF THEY ASK YOU. BEFORE START AN INTERVIEW, FILL THE FOLLOWING INFO IN THE FIRST SQUARES OF THE ANSWER SHEET:**

GENDER OF THE INTERVIEWED:	Masc. = 1	Fem. = 2
AGE OF THE INTERVIEWED:		Birth years
INTERVIEW'S DATE:		JULY 2007
BEGINNING TIME OF THE INTERVIEW:	hh	mmam-pm
DISTANCE OF THE COUNTY TOWN		KM

**IF THE INTERVIEW IS IN MOMOSTENANGO, SAN PEDRO CARCHÁ O SAN MARTÍN JILOTEPEQUE, DO THE QUESTION NUMBER 1.**

**IF THE INTERVIEW IS IN JALAPA, MARK "Spanish" IN THE QUESTION NUMBER 1 AND IN THE QUESTION NUMBER 2 "Totally okay" AND THEN GO TO THE NUMBER 3.**

**1.** Would you prefer that we speak Spanish or...? (Mention the local language)

1. Spanish
2. K'iche'
3. Kaqchikel
4. Q'eqchi'
5. Does not matter
88. DA/DK

**IF THE PERSON ANSWERED "Spanish" or "Does not matter" CONTINUE THE INTERVIEW IN SPANISH**

**2.** How much do you understand Spanish? Totally okay... you understand most of what you hear... some of what you hear... no at all?

1. Totally okay
2. I understand most of what I hear
3. Some of what i hear
4. None at all
88. DA/DK

**3.** Everything considered would you say you are very happy... happy... not so happy..., or totally unhappy?

1. Very Happy
2. Happy
3. Not so happy
4. Totally unhappy
88. DA/DK

**4.** How proud do you feel of being Guatemalan? Very proud..., proud..., not so proud..., or not proud at all?

1. Very proud
2. Proud
3. Not so proud
4. Not Proud at all
5. I do not feel Guatemalan, I feel (Specify)
88. DA/DK

**5.** If we talk about the way in which democracy works in our country, how satisfied do you feel about it?

1. Very good
2. Good
3. Badly
4. Really badly
88. DA/DK

**6.** Talking about the people of your community (neighborhood or village), do you think you trust in the majority or you should be cautious at dealing with them?

1. The majority of the people is trustworthy
2. You must be cautious
88. DA/DK

**7.** I am going to read you some things that people tell about democracy. For every phrase I would like you to answer me if you completely agree..., agree..., disagree..., or completely disagree.

**IF IS NECESSARY REPEAT THE QUESTION AFTER READING EACH PHRASE**

Do you agree with...		Com- pletely agree	agree	disagree	Com- pletely disagree	DA/ DK
7.1	In a democracy the economic system works badly.	1	2	3	4	88
7.2	Democracies are unstable and there is too much discussion.	1	2	3	4	88
7.3	Democracies are not good for establishing order.	1	2	3	4	88
7.4	Democracy might have problems but is the best government form.	1	2	3	4	88



8.	How much interest do you have in politics? Very interested..., somewhat interested..., or not interested?
----	---

**DO NOT MENTION THE OPTION “reject it” BUT ACCEPT IT.**

1. Very Interested
2. Somewhat interested
3. Not interested
4. Reject it
99. Not apply.

9.	Can you tell me the name of ...?
----	----------------------------------

		Correct	Incorrect	DA/DK
9.1	The mayor of your municipality	1	2	88
9.2	The name of the Guatemala’s president	1	2	88
9.3	The name of the United State’s president?	1	2	88

**IF IS NECESSARY REPEAT THE QUESTION AFTER READ EACH PHRASE**

10.	Were do you acquire the information that helps you to decide for whom should you vote. In the radio, TV, newspapers, of friends or relatives, Internet, or another source?
-----	--

1. Radio
2. Television
3. Newspapers
4. Friends or relatives
5. Frill or Posters
6. Meeting
7. Internet
8. Another source. **SPECIFY**
88. DA/DK

		REFERENCE	Correct	Incorrect	DA/DK
<i>Which candidate offers or states for...</i>					
11.1	Mano dura...	<b>PÉREZ MOLINA PATRIOTA</b>	1	2	88

11.2	Tu esperanza es mi compromiso...	<b>COLOM UNE</b>	1	2	88
11.3	Dios bendiga a Guatemala...	<b>GIAMATTEI GANA</b>	1	2	88
11.4 *	Beca escolar para que los niños no vayan a trabajar...	<b>GARCÍA- GALLONT UNIONISTA</b>	1	2	88
11.5	Vienen tiempos mejores...	<b>MARIO ESTRADA UCN</b>	1	2	88
11.6*	Créditos a la palabra...	<b>LUIS RABBE FRG</b>	1	2	88

\* Analyze separately.

12.	In your opinion, which is the most urgent problem the country has?
-----	--

1. Insecurity, delinquency, crime
2. No job opportunities / low salaries
3. High cost of the life
4. Problems with tap water
5. Drug trafficking
6. Bad road conditions
7. Lack of moral values
8. Bad/non-existent health services
9. Bad/non-existent education services
10. Corruption
11. Violation to human rights
12. Lack of transportation
13. Lack of land
14. Lack of housing
15. Other problem **ESPECIFY**
- 88 No answer

13.	I will now mention you a list of groups and organizations for you to tell me how much <b>participation</b> you have had in reunions or activities always... frequently... rarely... or never.
-----	---

**IF IS NECESSARY REPEAT THE QUESTION AFTER READ EACH PHRASE**

	How much participation do you have in...	Al-ways	Fre-quently	Rarely	Neve-r	DA/DK
13.1	Religious activities	1	2	3	4	88
13.2	Cultural groups	1	2	3	4	88
13.3	Sport groups	1	2	3	4	88
13.4	Trade unions or guild associations	1	2	3	4	88
13.5	Political parties	1	2	3	4	88
13.6	Development Committee COCODES / COMUDES	1	2	3	4	88

14. Now I will mention several organizations. I would like to know **how much you trust** the work they carry out.

**IF IS NECESSARY REPEAT THE QUESTION AFTER READ EACH PHRASE**

		Complete trust	Much trust	Some trust	None trust	NA/NK
14.1	Mass media	1	2	3	4	88
14.2	The army	1	2	3	4	88
14.3	Electoral Supreme Court	1	2	3	4	88
14.4	Protestant church					
14.5	Catholic Church	1	2	3	4	88
14.6	NGOs	1	2	3	4	88
14.7	The National Civil Police	1	2	3	4	88
14.8	The Judges	1	2	3	4	88
14.9	The Political Parties	1	2	3	4	88
14.10	The members of the parliament	1	2	3	4	88
14.11	The President	1	2	3	4	88
14.12	Big Businessmen	1	2	3	4	88
14.13	Workers Union	1	2	3	4	88
14.14	The Mayor of your municipality	1	2	3	4	88
14.15	Human Rights Attorney	1	2	3	4	88
14.16	The Peasants Organizations	1	2	3	4	88
14.17	The United Nations	1	2	3	4	88
14.18	The United States	1	2	3	4	88

15. I will read you some of the things people say about **politicians**, the government or other people. I would like you to tell how much you agree to...

**IF IS NECESSARY REPEAT THE QUESTION AFTER READ EACH PHRASE**

		Completely agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	DA/DK
15.1	I believe that the government does not care so much for people like me.	1	2	3	4	88
15.2	The politicians might lie to be elected.	1	2	3	4	88
15.3	People who do not progress must blame themselves and not society.	1	2	3	4	88

16. Referring to the **citizen participation**, people get involved in different ways. I will mention some of these forms and ask you to please tell me if you have participated some time, you would like to, or if you would never participate under any circumstance

Have you participated in...	Has	Is willing	Would never	DA/DK
16.1 Ask or sign a written request to an authority to help you solve a community problem.	1	2	3	88
16.2 Participate in a legal demonstration.	1	2	3	88
16.3 Participate in a strike at the place of work.	1	2	3	88
16.4 Support a public protest.	1	2	3	88

17. Regarding the last presidential elections held in Guatemala in November of 2003, how much do you **trust the official results** presented by the TSE to correctly reflect the citizens' votes?

**IF IS NECESSARY REPEAT THE QUESTION AFTER READ EACH PHRASE**

**DO NOT MENTION "I trust somewhat" AND "I did not saw/heard the official results" BUT ACCEPT THAT.**

1. I absolutely trust them
2. I trust somewhat
3. I do not trust them
4. I neither saw or heard the official results
88. DA/DK

18. Do you think the way the political parties choose their candidates is democratic... a little democratic... non democratic at all?

1. Democratic
2. A Little democratic
3. Non democratic at all
88. DA/DK

19.	How much do you trust the Supreme Electoral Tribunal as electoral authority to be impartial and fair in the coming elections?
-----	---

**DO NOT MENTION OPTION "I trust a little" BUT ACCEPT THAT**

1. I absolutely trust them
2. I trust them a little
3. I distrust them a little
4. I do not trust them
88. DA/DK

20.	Do you think that the indigenous in this country should have their own political party?
-----	---

1. Yes
2. No
88. DA/DK

21.	Do you think that the indigenous on this country are, better, worse or equal than the ladinos?
-----	--

1. Better
2. Equal
3. Worse
88. DA/DK

22.	Do you think that the government pays too much attention to the indigenous, pays them too little attention, or pays them the appropriate attention?
-----	---

**DO NOT MENTION OPTION "No attention at all" BUT ACCEPT IT**

1. Too much
2. Too little
3. Appropriate
4. No attention at all
88. DA/DK

23.	I will read two statements for you. Please tell which of them you agree the most with...
-----	--

1.	The indigenous would be better if they worked more.
----	---

2.	It does not matter how much the indigenous work, they will always be the same because of the discrimination problem.
----	--

1. The first
2. The second
88. DA/DK

**24. Regarding the list of registered voters, how much do you trust this list to be adequate for the coming elections?**

- 1. I absolutely trust
- 2. I trust a little
- 3. I do not trust
- 88. DA/DK

**25. Do you believe the participation of international electoral observers is: very necessary...or it might somehow help... or you doubt it may help... or it is useless?**

- 1. Very necessary
- 2. It might somehow help
- 3. I doubt it may help
- 4. It is useless
- 88. DA/DK

**26. What about Guatemalan electoral observers that do not belong to any political parties, how necessary do you consider their participation to help in the following elections?**

- 1. Very necessary
- 2. It might somehow help
- 3. I doubt it may help
- 4. It is useless
- 88. DA/DK

**27. I will mention some possible government systems for our country. Tell me if you completely agree... agree... disagree... or completely disagree with each one.**

**IF IS NECESSARY REPEAT THE QUESTION AFTER READ EACH PHRASE**

		Com- pletely agree	Agree	Disagree	Com- pletely disagree	DA/DK
27.1	Having a strong leader that governs without elections or Congress.	1	2	3	4	88
27.2	Having experts who act according to what they believe is better for the country.	1	2	3	4	88
27.3	That the army governs.	1	2	3	4	88
27.4	Having a democratic political system.	1	2	3	4	88

**28.** How much do you trust the following groups?

	Complete trust	Much trust	Some trust	No trust	DA/DK
28.1	1	2	3	4	88
28.2	1	2	3	4	88
28.3	1	2	3	4	88
28.5	1	2	3	4	88
28.6	1	2	3	4	88
28.4	1	2	3	4	88
28.7	1	2	3	4	88
28.8	1	2	3	4	88

**29.** I will now read some things that people say about the **Political Process** in Guatemala. I would like you to tell me if you completely agree... agree... or disagree with these affirmations.

	Complete agree	Agree	Disagree	Complete Disagree	DA/DK
29.1	1	2	3	4	88
29.2	1	2	3	4	88
29.3	1	2	3	4	88
29.4	1	2	3	4	88

**30.** Did you vote in the last **presidential elections** of November 2003?

1. Yes. **(GO TO THE QUESTION 32 AND MARK “NO APPLY” IN 31)**
2. No. **(CONTINUE WITH THE QUESTION 31 AND MARK “NO APPLY” IN 32)**
88. DA/DK **(GO TO QUESTION 33 AND MARK “NO APPLY” IN 31 Y 32)**

**31.** Why did you not vote the last elections?

1. I was not old enough
2. Lack of certificate or registration
3. Sickness
4. Lack of interest
5. Name was not found in the voter registration list
6. Lack of transport or distance

7. Was outside municipality
8. Other (**ESPECIFY**)
88. DA/DK
99. NO APPLY

**32.** Do you remember **which party** you voted in the past elections?

1. Alvaro Colom-UNE
2. Eduardo Suger-DIA
3. Francisco Arredondo-UN
4. Fritz Garcia-Gallont-UNIONISTA
5. Jacobo Arbenz-DCG
6. Jose Angel Lee-DSP
7. Leonel Lopez-PAN
8. Manuel Conde-MSPCN
9. Oscar Berger-GANA
10. Rios Montt-FRG
11. Rodrigo Asturias-URNG
12. Other (**ESPECIFY**)
13. Vote is secret
14. I do not remember
88. DA/DK
99. NO APPLY

**33.** Are you going to vote on September 9?

1. Yes. (**GO TO QUESTION 35 AND MARK “NO APPLY” IN 34**)
2. No. (**CONTINUE WITH QUESTION 34**)
3. Has not decided / does not know
88. DA. (**GO TO QUESTION 35 AND MARK “NO APPLY” IN 34**)

**34.** What is the main reason for you not voting?

1. Lack of ID or registration
2. Not update my data for registry
3. Lack of interest
4. Name was not found in the registry last time
5. Work reasons
6. Lack of transportation or distance
7. Going to be outside municipality
8. Other **ESPECIFY**
88. DA/DK
99. NO APPLY

**35.** If elections day were today, could you tell me which candidate or party you would vote?

1. Alejandro Giammattei-GANA
2. Alvaro Colom-UNE



3. Eduardo Suger-CASA
4. Fritz Garcia Gallont-PU
5. Hector Rosales-DIA
6. Luis Rabbe-FRG
7. Marco Cerezo-DCG
8. Manuel Conde-UD
9. Mario Estrada-UCN
10. Miguel Angel Sandoval-URNG-MAIZ
11. Oscar Castaneda-PAN
12. Otto Perez Molina-PP
13. Pablo Monsanto-ANN
14. Rigoberta Menchu-EG
15. I have not chosen yet
16. OTHER (**ESPECIFY**)
17. The vote is secret
88. DA/DK
99. NO APPLY

Finally, I will ask you some personal information.

36. Which is your main occupation?

Write only the first answer that you receive or mark "DA/DK"

37. Are you currently employed?

1. Yes.
2. No
88. DA/DK

38. Which ethnic group do you belong to?

1. Kiche
2. Kaqchikel
3. Qeqchi
4. Ladino
5. Indigenous
6. Maya
7. Guatemalan
8. White/Spaniard
9. Other (**ESPECIFY**)
88. DA/DK

39. Do you know how to read and write Spanish?

1. Yes
2. No
88. DA/DK

**40.** Which is the highest level of formal education you have achieved?

1. None
2. Incomplete Elementary
3. Elementary
4. Junior High
5. High school
6. Incomplete University
7. University
8. Post graduate
88. DA/DK

**41.** Do you have any close relatives that have gone to live **outside the country?**  
(parents, siblings, spouse, kids/daughters)

1. Yes
2. No
88. DA/DK

**42.** What is your marital status?

1. Single
2. Married
3. Living together
4. Divorced
5. Widow/er
88. DA/DK

**43.** How important is religion in your life?

**DO NOT MENTION ANSWER “somewhat important” BUT ACCEPT THAT.**

1. Very important
2. Somewhat important
3. It is not important
88. DA/DK

**44.** Which religion do you practice?

1. Catholic
2. Protestant
3. Mayan
4. None
5. Other (**ESPECIFY**)
88. DA/DK

**45.** Do you have a **Cedula**?

1. Yes. (GO TO QUESTION 47 AND MARK “NO APPLY” IN 46)
2. No. (GO TO QUESTION 46 AND MARK “NO APPLY” IN 47)
88. DA/DK (GO TO QUESTION 49 AND MARK “NO APPLY” IN 46, 47 y 48)

**46.** Why don't you have a **Cedula**?

1. Does not have a Birth Certificate
2. Does not need it
3. Does not have the Money to pay the fees
4. Does not know where and how to get it
5. Has to go too far
6. Requested one but it was not given
7. Other (**ESPECIFY**)
88. DA/DK
99. NO APPLY

**47.** Are you registered in the voter's List?

1. Yes. (GO TO QUESTION 49 AND MARK “NO APPLY” IN 48)
2. No. (CONTINUE WITH QUESTION 48)
88. DA/DK (GO TO QUESTION 49 AND MARK “NO APPLY” IN 48)
99. NO APPLY

**48.** Why are you not registered?

1. Does not need it (not interested)
2. Does not have the Money to pay the fees
3. Does not know where and how to get it
4. Has to go too far
5. Requested one but it was not given
6. Other (**ESPECIFY**)
88. DA/DK
99. NO APPLY

**49.** As an estimate, what is the income of your family including remittances?

**According to these ranges choose an answer.**

1. Less than Q.750.00
2. From Q.750.00 to Q.1,500.00
3. From Q.1,500.00 to Q.3,000.00
4. From Q.3,000.00 to Q.5,000.00
5. From Q.5,000.00 to Q.10,000.00
6. More than Q.10,000.00
88. DA/DK

**Thank you so much for your affable attention and time. This poll will help us understand a lot better how Guatemalans think.**

**50.** Would you be willing to be interviewed again after the elections to discuss the impressions you got from this process?

- 1. Yes.           **(CONTINUE WITH QUESTION 51)**
- 2. No.           **END THE INTERVIEW AND SAY GOOD BYE**
- 88. DA/DK      **END THE INTERVIEW AND SAY GOOD BYE**

**51.** How can we contact you again?

**By Telephone (WRITE THE NUMBER)**

**Coming again to visit you (WRITE THE ADDRESS OR SIGNALS)**

**52.** WRITE THE NAME OF THE INTERVIEWED PERSON

**WRITE NAME AND LAST NAME OR MARK "DA/DK" IF THE PERSON PREFER DO NOT GIVE THE NAME**

**END THE INTERVIEW AND SAY GOOD BYE**

**WRITE ENDING TIME IN THE ANSWER SHEET.**

**WRITE YOUR COMMENTS IN YOUR NOTE BOOK.**

**DO NOT FORGET SIGN THE ANSWER SHEET IN THAT MOMENT.**

## Appendix H

N°.....

### SURVEY ON DEMOCRACY AND POLITICAL CULTURE IN NICARAGUA “Ética y Transparencia” (Ethics and Transparency) - 2007

*To be filled out by interviewer:*

- Q1. Age..... Q2. Sex: 1 Male ..... 2 Female.....
- Q3. Nationality.....
- Q4.1 Region.....( ) Q4.2 Department.....( )
- Q4.3 Municipality..... ( ) Q4.4 Size of Municipality.....( )
- Q4.5 Area of Residence
1. Urban.....( ) 2. Rural..... ( ) 3. Deep Bush..... ( )
- Q4.6 District.....( ) Q4.7 Neighborhood:.....
- Q4.8 Manzana.....

#### ***ET Volunteer control group questions:***

- Q5. How long have you been with Etica y Transparencia?.....(write in # of months or years)
- Q5.1 Were you an observer at the 2006 presidential elections?
1. Yes.....( ) 2. No.....( )

#### **INTRODUCTION:**

**Good morning (afternoon), My name is ..... and I am a volunteer from the network of the organization Ética y Transparencia. We are implementing a study on what Nicaraguans think about various issues in our country, such as citizen participation... We are interviewing a nation-wide sample of Nicaraguans in every region of the country and your home has been selected for a short conversation. Would you be so kind to let me talk to somebody (male or female..... age.....) who lives here?**

Before we start our conversation, which will only take just a few minutes, I want to make clear that your answers are confidential. That is, we will not disclose what you tell us. There are no correct or incorrect answers to these questions. We are just interested in knowing

people’s sincere opinions about these issues. If you don’t know how to answer a question or you don’t want to answer it, there is no problem in doing so.

Q6. Considering all aspects of your life, personally you feel:

- |                      |                        |              |
|----------------------|------------------------|--------------|
| 1. Very happy.....   | 3. A little happy..... |              |
| 2. Somewhat happy... | 4. Very unhappy.....   | 9.NS/NR..... |

Q7. How **proud** do you feel to be Nicaraguan?

- |                     |                          |               |
|---------------------|--------------------------|---------------|
| 1. Very proud.....  | 3. Somewhat proud.....   |               |
| 2. Quite proud..... | 4. Not proud at all..... | 9. NS/NR..... |

Q8. If we talk about the way democracy works in our country, how **satisfied** do you feel about it?

- |  |                          |                |
|--|--------------------------|----------------|
| 1. Very satisfied.....                   | 3. Unsatisfied.....      |                |
| 2. Somewhat satisfied.....               | 4. Very unsatisfied..... |                |
| 5. I believe there is no democracy ..... | (DON'T READ)             | 9. NS/NR ..... |

Q9. Speaking about the people in your community (barrio or village), do you think you can trust most of them or do you have to be careful when dealing with them?

1. Most people are reliable.....
2. You have to be very careful.....
9. NS/NR.....

Q10. I am going to read to you some of the things people say about democracy. For each statement, I would like you to tell me if you very much agree, just agree, disagree, or totally disagree.

	1. I very much agree	2. I agree	3. I disagree	4. I fully disagree	9.NS/NR
In a democracy, the economic system works poorly.					
Democracies are instable and there is too much arguing					
Democracies are not good to establish order					
Democracy may have problems, but it is the best ruling system					

Q11. How **interested** are you in politics? (*READ THE CHOICES*)

- |                             |                              |               |
|-----------------------------|------------------------------|---------------|
| 1. Very interested.....     | 3. I am not interested ..... |               |
| 2. Somewhat interested..... | 4. I reject it .....         | 9. NS/NR..... |

Q12. Could you tell me the **name** of ....?

1. The mayor of your Municipality.....(write in)
2. The President of Nicaragua.....(write in)
3. The President of the United States.....(write in)

Q13. When you want to find out what is happening in Nicaragua, where do you find the most **reliable sources of information** - on the radio, TV, newspapers, from friends and relatives, the Internet, or from another source?

1. Radio.....
2. TV.....
3. Newspaper.....
4. Friends or relatives..... (GO TO Q15)
5. The Internet..... (GO TO Q15)
6. Another source..... (GO TO Q15)
9. NS/NR.....

Q14. How often do **you use** that type of media to get the news?

	1. Every day	2. 3-4 four times a week	3. Once a week	4. Once a month	9. NS/NR
Radio					
TV					
Newspaper					

Q15. What is the kind of mass media or news program that **you don't trust** as saying the truth?

- 1.....(write in)
2. I don't trust any..... 3. I trust all of them .....9. NS/NR.....

Q16. For you, what is the **most urgent** problem Nicaragua is facing today?

.....(write in)

Q17. And the **next most important problem** facing our country?

.....(write in)

Q18. I am going mention to you a list of groups and organizations and I'd like you to tell me **if you have** always, often, sometimes or never **participated in the following types of meetings or activities** over the past year.

	1. Always	2. Of- ten	3. Sometimes	4. Never	9. NS/ NR
Church or religious groups					
Cultural groups					
Sports groups					
Unions or workers associations					
Political parties					
Community development groups					

Q19. Now, I am going to mention a number of organizations. I'd like to know **how much confidence you have in the work they do.**

	1. Total confi- dence	2. A lot of confi- dence	3. Some confi- dence	4. No confi- dence	9.NS/ NR
Churches					
The National Army					
The Supreme Electoral Council					
The Media					
NGO's					
The National Police					
Judges					
Political Parties					
The Congressmen					
The President					
Big Businessmen					
The United Nations, UN					
The Organization of American States, OAS					

Q20. I am going to read to you some things people sometimes say about politicians, the Government, or about other people. I'd like you to tell me if you very much agree, just agree, disagree, or totally disagree with these opinions.



	1. Fully agree	2. Agree	3. Disagree	4. Totally disagree	9. NS/NR
I think that the government does not care much about ordinary people.					
Politicians are ready to lie to get elected.					
People who don't get ahead should blame themselves, not society.					

Q21. Speaking about **citizen participation**, people get involved in different ways. I am going to mention some of them (e.g. making a request) and I want you to please tell me if you have ever participated, are willing to do so, or if you would never participate under any circumstance. *(If the person has never done it, ask if she/he would do it)*

	1. I have done it	2. I would do it	3. I would never do it	9. NS/NR
Request the government's authority to assist with a community problem				
Participate in a legally authorized demonstration				
Participate on a strike at your workplace				
Support a public protest				

Q22. Regarding the presidential elections held in Nicaragua in November 2006, how **confident** do you feel that the official results truly reflected the votes cast by the citizens?

1. I fully trust them.....
2. I somewhat trust.....
3. I distrust a little .....
4. I don't trust at all .....
5. I didn't see/hear the official results.....
9. NS/NR.....

Q23. In 2008, we are having new municipal elections. How **confident** do you feel that the Supreme Electoral Council is going to perform in a fair and unbiased way?

1. I am totally confident.....
2. I somewhat trust.....
3. I distrust a little.....
4. I don't trust at all.....
9. NS/NR.....

Q24. In order to appoint the **candidates** for future elections, do you think the parties should have internal (primary) elections?

- 1) Yes.....
- 2) No.....
- 9) NS/ NR.....

Q25. Some people think that the **voters' list** (electoral register) for the upcoming elections has not been updated. How much do you agree with that opinion?

1. I very much agree ..... 3. I disagree .....  
 2. I agree ..... 4. I totally disagree..... 9. NS/NR.....

Q26. Speaking of the next municipal elections, do you think that the involvement of **international observers** is necessary to guarantee transparent elections?

1. It is really necessary ..... 3. I doubt they can help.....  
 2. They can help a little..... 4. It is useless ..... 9. NS/NR.....

Q27. If we consider **Nicaraguan observers** who do not belong to any political party, how necessary do you think their participation is in safeguarding the elections?

1. It is really necessary..... 3. I doubt they can help.....  
 2. They can help a little..... 4. It is useless..... 9. NS/NR.....

Q28. I'd like to know your opinion about what you think **the best system** would be to rule our country.

	1. I very much agree	2. I agree	3. I disagree	4. I fully disagree	9. NS/NR
Having a strong leader who rules with no elections or congress					
Having expert decision makers who act following what they think it's best					
Having the Army ruling the country					
Having a democratic political system					

Q29. Regarding confidence in other people, I want to ask you the following: **how much do you trust in?**

	1. Totally Confident	2. Rather confident	3. Somewhat confident	4. Not confident at all	9. NS/NR
Your family					
Nicaraguans					
Americans (USA)					
Salvadorans					
Cubans					

Q30. I am going to read some of the things people sometimes express about the **political process** in Nicaragua. I would like you to tell me if you very much agree, just agree, disagree, or totally disagree with these opinions.

	1. I very much agree	2. I agree	3. I disagree	4. I fully disagree	9.NS/NR
Constitutional reform is needed					
Sometimes, violence is necessary as a response to injustice					
It is better to move to another country to ensure a better future					
Political power is concentrated in the hands of too few people					
Dialogue is the best way to solve the problems of the country					

Q31. Have you heard about the **pact** between the two major parties (FSLN-PLC)?

1. Yes..... 2. No..... (GO to Q33) 9. NS/NR..... (GO to Q33)

Q32. Do you think this pact is something **good** for democracy in Nicaragua?

1. Yes..... 2. No..... 9. NS/NR.....

Q33. Did you vote in the last **presidential elections** in November 2006?

1. Yes..... (Go to Q35) 2. No..... (CONTINUED Q34) 9- NS/NR.....(GO TO Q36)

Q34. Was there a particular reason why you didn't vote?

1. Did not have the i.d. (*cédula*) or provisional voting document.....
2. Sickness.....
3. Lack of interest.....
4. Did not find name on the voters' list (electoral register)...
5. Lack of transportation or distance.....
6. I was out of my municipality.....
7. Other.....(write in)

Q35. Could you tell me which party you voted for?

1. PLC .....2. FSLN..... 3. ALN..... 4. AC..... 5. MRS..... 9. NS/NR.....

Finally, we would like to know about some personal information that would permit us to evaluate the persons who participated in this survey.

Q36. Are you **currently working**?

- 1) Yes..... 2) No..... (*GO TO Q38*) 9) NS/NR.....

Q37. What do you do?

.....(write in)

Q38. What is the highest level **of formal education** that you have completed?

- |                                     |                           |
|-------------------------------------|---------------------------|
| 0. None.....                        | 4. Technical college..... |
| 1. Elementary School .....          | 5. University.....        |
| 2. Secondary School .....           | 6. Postgraduate.....      |
| 3. Mid-level Technical school ..... | 9. NS/NR.....             |

Q39. Has any close relative of yours **moved to live in another country** in the last 5 years?  
(parents, siblings, spouse, children)

- |             |   |
|-------------|---|
| 1. Yes..... | If your response is Yes, how many?..... |
| 2. No.....  | 9. NS/NR.....                           |

Q40. What is your **civil status**?

- |                         |                           |
|-------------------------|---------------------------|
| 1. Single.....          | 4 Divorced/Separated..... |
| 2. Married .....        | 5. Widow/widower .....    |
| 3. With a Partner ..... | 9. NS/NR.....             |

Q41. What is your **religion**?

- |                     |                            |
|---------------------|----------------------------|
| 1. Catholic.....    | 3. Other.....              |
| 2. Evangelical..... | 4. None..... 9. NS/NR..... |

Q42. Do you have a citizen i.d. card (cédula)?

YES..... (*GO TO Q44*) NO..... (*CONTINUE TO Q43*)

Q43. Have you applied for a citizen i.d. card (cédula)?

YES..... If yes, when did you apply?.....(write in month and year)

NO..... If no, is there a reason why you haven't applied for one?

.....(write in)

Q44. I am going to show you a card containing different levels of **income**. Could you provide an estimate of the family income per month of this home? That is to say, the total amount earned by the people who work plus the money received from outside the country (if any). Where would your family be ranked approximately? (*SHOW CARD*)

- 1. Less than C\$ 1000.....
- 2. C\$ 1001 a 3000.....
- 3. C\$ 3001 a 5000.....
- 4. C\$ 5001 a 7000.....
- 5. More than C\$ 7000.....
- 9. NS/NR.....

Thank you very much for your kind attention and your answers. They are going to help us know better what Nicaraguans think, and we hope they can also contribute to improving the political system in our country.

Phone number of person interviewed, if possible.....

Place, date, and time of interview.....

Observations.....  
.....

Name of Interviewer.....Signature.....

Name of Field Supervisor..... Signature.....

Name of Digitizer..... Signature.....

Name of Verification Officer.....Signature.....

*NOTE: Supervisors need to check/phone people who were interviewed to confirm that the interview actually took place.*

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Partner organizations may often need to boost staffing to run a benchmark survey. Key personnel include: Director, Accountant Part-time Statistician, Field Director, Trainer, Interviewers, Software Designer, Database Manager, Data Processors and a Local Data Analyst

