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The (Authoritarian) Governor's Dilemma: Supporting the National Authoritarian Regime Without Stoking Local Demands for Political Change

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Abstract

Studies of authoritarian nations rarely consider the role and activities of regional officials. They are usually assumed to be the involuntary agents of national rulers, or the unwitting victims of local demands for political change. Instead, I argue that regional officials in authoritarian systems individually navigate competing national and local demands to deliver the national regime support, and that their strategies depend on their own level of political control across the localities under their domain. Specifically, they act on behalf of the national regime where they are strong but allow local politics to play out where they are weak. I test this argument using a unique dataset from a Mexican state whose authoritarian leaders imposed new political structures on some municipalities to facilitate state intervention in them but left many untouched. Statistical analysis shows that state governors' municipal interventions depended on state, not federal, PRI control in the locality.

Resumen

Estudios sobre naciones autoritarias rara vez consideran el papel y las actividades de los oficiales regionales. Se asume que son agentes involuntarios de los dirigentes nacionales, o víctimas no intencionales de las demandas locales de cambio político. En lugar de esto, argumento que los oficiales regionales en los sistemas autoritarios tienen que navegar demandas competitivas nacionales y locales para entregar apoyo al régimen nacional, y que sus estrategias dependen de su propio nivel de control político en las localidades que estén bajo su dominio. Específicamente actúan en representación del régimen nacional donde ellos son fuertes pero permiten que se desarrolle la política local donde son débiles. Pruebo este argumento usando una base de datos única para un estado mexicano cuyos líderes autoritarios impusieron nuevas estructuras políticas en algunos municipios para facilitar la intervención estatal en ellos pero dejaron muchos otros municipios intactos. El análisis estadístico muestra que las intervenciones municipales del gobernador estatal dependen del control que tenga el PRI a nivel estatal, no federal, en la localidad.

Introduction

What is the Role of Regional Officials in Authoritarian Regimes?

The strategies used by national authoritarian regimes to ensure their survival have long captured scholarly attention. Recent studies have focused on the national political and economic tools regime leaders use to ensure support. For example, scholars examine how leaders used political institutions like legislatures, political parties, and elections to channel intra-regime conflict and co-opt the opposition (Gandhi, 2008; Geddes, 1999, 2005; Brownlee, 2007; Svolik, 2011). Scholars of national hegemonic party systems add that electoral rules can guarantee the dominant party's position (Díaz and Magaloni, 2001; Molinar, 1991; Cox, 1997), while centralized access to legislatures, political parties, and the bureaucracy, and thus political careers, more generally deters regime defection (Svolik, 2008). Fiscal and policy benefits also help build elite compliance, deter opposition, and ensure mass support (Greene, 2007; Magaloni *et al.,* 2000, 2007; Gandhi, 2008; Collier and Collier, 1991). Political institutions help determine their distribution (Gandhi, 2008; Blaydes, 2011; Lust-Okar, 2006), but strongholds benefit most (Magaloni *et al.,* 2007). Strong economic growth (Magaloni, 2006) and macroeconomic stability (Haggard and Kaufman, 1995) help authoritarian regimes, with short periods of crisis overcome (Geddes, 2003; Przeworski *et al.,* 2000) when targeted benefits can moderate their effects (Magaloni, 2006). Long-term economic crises, however, lead to regime transition (Przeworski *et al.,* 2000).

This top-down view of national authoritarian regime survival and demise lies in contrast to other studies that focus on the local forces affecting national authoritarian regimes. Some scholars note the conditions under which local citizens in China have been able to force local leaders to deliver public goods in this highly decentralized authoritarian regime (Tsai, 2007). Satisfying citizen demands can work to stabilize the national regime. Similarly, studies show that fiscal transfers in Russia calmed regional secessionist movements (Treisman, 1999). Yet, fiscal transfers and decentralization more generally have also been shown to raise the capacity of local leaders to oppose the central regime (Selee, 2011; Grindle, 2009; Bunce, 1999). In general, many scholars have shown that national political and economic crisis produce local protests and social movements (Bratton and Van de Walle, 1997; Teorell, 2010; Foweraker and Craig, 1990), center-periphery tensions (Treisman, 1999; Bunce, 1999; Cornelius, 1999), and demands for improved local public policy provision (Grindle, 2009; Rodríguez, 1998; Cornelius *et al.,* 1999) that, if left unattended, undermine the national authoritarian regime. Though sometimes

caused by national economic or political problems, national regime survival and transition comes from below.

The juxtaposition of these top-down and bottom-up approaches to the study of authoritarian regime survival and demise draws attention to a theoretical gap between them: analysis of the role of regional officials in national authoritarian regime reproduction. Of course, there are several studies about the activities of regional regime members in the former Soviet Union and current day Russia, and in other former communist Eastern European nations (McMann, 2006; Treisman, 1999; Bunce, 1999) that explain the rise of regional opposition to the national regime. Yet, few studies explicitly consider the competing demands faced by regional officials during the heyday of national authoritarian rule who might simultaneously seek to deliver their national regimes support while appeasing a variety of local demands. This is surprising, given that all national authoritarian regimes must maintain a territorial presence and appoint regional officials, and that scholars have long noted that many of these officials survive to control subnational authoritarian enclaves well after national democratic transitions (Cornelius *et al.,* 1999; O'Donnell, 1994; Gibson, 2005; Gervasoni, 2011; Giraudy, 2009). That these subnational authoritarian rulers counted on the political and economic resources to navigate regime transition implies that they manage similar resources in a way that delivers them individual support during national authoritarian rule as well.

This study seeks to contribute to our understanding of the role of regional officials in national authoritarian regime reproduction. To this end, I focus on the activities of Mexico's governors during this nation's hegemonic party rule by the Institutional Revolutionary Party (PRI) that lasted until 2000, when it lost the presidency for the first time. Despite Mexico's federal system and its regular election of governors, even during the heyday of PRI rule, studies about PRI rule and decline largely reflect the theoretical gap described above. Scholars have studied how the PRI used a variety of national economic and political resources to survive (Cornelius *et al.,* 1994; Fox, 1994a; Méndez, 2006; Langston and Morgenstern, 2009; Molinar, 1991; Díaz, 2006), and how changes in access to them undermined national political control (Díaz and Magaloni, 2001; Magaloni, 2006; Greene, 2007). Others note that the earliest challenges to PRI rule came at the municipal and state level in this federal system (Cornelius, 1999; Selee, 2011; Grindle, 2009; Rodríguez, 1998; Foweraker and Craig, 1990; Fox, 1994b; Klesner, 1993). With a few exceptions, PRI governors are largely presented as either agents of national rulers, even if they controlled their own political fiefdoms that they sometimes leveraged against the national government in exchange for national resources (Grindle, 1977; Díaz, 2006), or as victims of the local opposition to it.

Instead of viewing Mexico's national authoritarian regime through a top-down or bottom-up lens, I propose that PRI governors individually balanced competing national demands to ensure support for national PRI survival against growing local demands for autonomy from PRI intrusion into their affairs. I argue that PRI governors sometimes intervened in municipalities to manipulate local politics in favor of the national regime but sometimes allowed local politics to play out according to local political dynamics. In municipalities clearly under PRI control, PRI governors manipulated local politics to guarantee party bastions but coupled this strategy with intervention in places where the PRI was in decline. In places where strong opposition groups outpaced the PRI, PRI governors chose not to intervene, lest such activities antagonize anti-PRI sentiment and undermine social and political order. By political intervention, I refer to a host of questionable political practices that have long been used by hegemonic parties to engineer support. Their "menu of manipulation" (Schedler, 2002) includes both subtle political engineering and blatant political intervention, ranging from a lack of enforcement of electoral rules or political institutions, careful public coercion to obvious intimidation, and the cautious manipulation of election results to outright fraud.

The argument here thus underscores PRI governors' inherent risk aversion to measures that could prove counterproductive to their own political survival. I focus here on PRI governors' political rather than economic resources, given that PRI rule was largely characterized by its highly centralized economic and fiscal policy, until the late 1990s and the nation's major fiscal reform. Rather than conducting an analysis of all PRI governors' political interventions, something that would be impossible due to the variety of types of intervention but also to the absence of systematic data, I examine their strategies in a single PRI-controlled state: Oaxaca. Oaxaca is known for being a traditional stronghold of the PRI, both during national PRI hegemony and during its national decline (Gibson, 2005; Snyder, 2001), but also for confronting regular demands from local groups for autonomy from PRI rule. Oaxaca's PRI-controlled state government thus faced the prototypical gubernatorial dilemma: how to deliver national PRI support while placating local anti-PRI demands. What makes Oaxaca unlike other states, however, is that its principal political strategy for resolving this dilemma was codified into law. In 1995, the state government reformed its electoral laws to allow new and unique mechanisms for selecting municipal governments that could differ dramatically from conventional political party-based electoral systems. This system, called Usos y Costumbres (UyC) or Uses and Customs, was implemented in 412 out of 570 municipalities in 1995, rising to 418 in 1997, and is still in place.

UyC regimes formalized mechanisms to allow the selective manipulation of municipal politics (Benton, 2012; Hiskey and Goodman, 2011) but in ways that

could be used to benefit either local or state politicians, depending on who was responsible for their design. If PRI governors strategized political intervention in the way argued here, then they should have been more likely to impose UyC regimes where the party was strongest but also where it was in decline among those municipalities clearly under their wing. In contrast, municipalities under opposition control should have had the freedom to adopt UyC regimes according to their own local logic, with the level of PRI support in the locality having the opposite effect. Oaxaca's unique political institutional features thus provide a singular opportunity to test arguments about strategies for political intervention in an electoral authoritarian regime, something that can be used to elucidate the political strategies of other state leaders in Mexico and regional leaders in other authoritarian nations, as well is in subnational hybrid regimes amidst national democratic rule.

The Theoretical Gap Between National and Local Political Demands in Mexico

There is a significant literature explaining the Mexican PRI's longtime hegemonic rule, focusing on its economic and political strategies for maintaining support. The party is said to have used state-oriented economic policy (Greene, 2007), fiscal transfers and social spending (Magaloni, 2006; Magaloni *et al.,* 2007; Cornelius *et al.,* 1994), tax policy (Díaz, 2006), particularistic clientelist benefits (Bruhn, 1997; Fox, 1994a; Grindle, 1977), and vote buying (Cornelius, 2004) to build and retain support. The PRI is also known for extensive campaigning (Langston and Morgenstern, 2009), legal engineering of electoral institutions (Díaz and Magaloni, 2001; Méndez, 2006), illegal manipulation of electoral institutions (Fox, 2007), careful management of gubernatorial candidate selection and access to the federal ballot (Díaz and Langston, 2003; Díaz, 2006), management of bureaucratic careers (Díaz, 2006), political coercion and intimidation (Cornelius *et al.,* 1994), and electoral fraud (Molinar, 1991). The PRI relied on these strategies during its heyday and during its decline, even if their effects were more limited during the 1990s (Greene, 2007; Magaloni, 2006).

This top-down approach to studying PRI rule lies in contrast to research that notes the presence of state political fiefdoms managed by PRI governors during the heyday of PRI rule that they leveraged against national PRI officials in exchange for resources and other benefits (Grindle, 1977; Díaz, 2006). Although national leaders controlled national economic policy and access to federal posts, state leaders also ran local political machines separate from national PRI rulers (Grindle, 1977; Díaz, 2006). It also lies in contrast to studies noting that the earliest challenges to PRI rule came at the municipal and state level. Mexico's 31 states and Federal District, and its 2,450 municipalities (by today's count), held regularly scheduled elections

throughout PRI rule and continue to do so today. Scholars focusing on local dynamics highlight the variety of social groups (Foweraker, 1993; Foweraker and Craig, 1990), public policy failings (Mizrahi, 2003), decentralized fiscal resources (Selee, 2011; Grindle, 2009), and other political factors (Fox, 1994b; Díaz and Langston, 2003; Rodríguez, 1998; Cornelius *et al.,* 1999; Barracca, 2007; Klesner, 1993) operating at municipal and state levels that undermined the PRI in local, state, and national politics.

The top-down and bottom-up approaches to PRI rule and decline draw attention to an empirical gap between them concerning how PRI governors managed competing national demands to deliver the national regime support and local demands for autonomy from PRI intrusion into their affairs. Scholars have usually assumed their complicity (González Casanova, 1970; González Oropeza, 1987) in national PRI rule, highlighted the economic and political factors determining their capacity to ward off opposition forces in the 1980s and 1990s (Solt, 2003; Hernández, 2000; Rodríguez, 1998), or noted their use of questionable political practices or fiscal resources to engineer their survival both during PRI rule (Díaz, 2006; Grindle, 1977) and after national democratization in 2000 (Giraudy, 2009; Gibson, 2005; Solt, 2003). Few have studied how PRI governors may have faced and navigated competing local and national political pressures, and done so according to their own individual logic. This is surprising, given the research on regional leaders' negotiation of national and local demands described in other authoritarian nations (McMann, 2006; Treisman, 1999; Bunce, 1999; Tsai, 2007).

The Theoretical Gap in Oaxaca, and Its Broader Relevance to Mexico

This theoretical gap is also visible in studies of Oaxaca. Proponents of the bottom-up approach to Oaxacan politics and UyC municipal electoral reforms in the 1990s highlight the state's history of local social and political organization against PRI rule dating back to the 1960s (Anaya, 2006; Bustamante *et al.,* 1978; Reina, 1988). Governor Heladio Ramírez López (1986-1992) is said to have allowed greater informal local autonomy to local leaders to conduct their affairs in response (Anaya, 2006), while fears of the spread of the 1994 Ejército Zapatista de Liberación Nacional (EZLN) insurgency to their state is said to have forced PRI governors to take more formal actions in the 1990s, leading Governor Diódoro Carrasco Altamirano (1992-1998) to propose the 1995 UyC municipal electoral reform (Anaya, 2006).

Other scholars use a more top-down approach and point out how readily the state PRI repressed mobilizations in the 1970s and 1980s (Anaya, 2006; Bailón, 1999; Martínez, 1990). When municipal leaders flouted PRI rule by selecting municipal officials their preferred but registering them as "PRI"

winners, the state legislature would replace them (Anaya, 2006; Eisenstadt, 2007). Such top-down intrusion into local affairs led to protests against the state PRI as early as the 1970s; by the early 1990s, over 10% of Oaxacan municipalities experienced violent post-election conflicts (Eisenstadt, 2007). The national government's decision to recognize the nation's multicultural heritage in 1992 gave state leaders additional tools through which to engineer local and state politics. Top-down pressures explain why Oaxaca's government chose UyC reforms (Guerra, 2000; Elizarrarás, 2002; Recondo, 2007), even if these institutions did not ultimately favor the PRI (Recondo, 2007; Benton, 2012).

A description of UyC regimes underscores their flexibility in meeting local demands for autonomy as well as in engineering state PRI control, highlighting their usefulness in testing arguments about political intervention. Municipalities using UyC systems must follow the national constitution and select a mayor, municipal council, and a local attorney general but their rules for suffrage, candidate eligibility and selection, and ballot structure and voting can diverge from the "Political Parties" (PP) system used elsewhere in Mexico. In PP systems, candidates are selected and presented by political parties formally recognized by the state electoral institute, the secret ballot is used for casting votes, and all men and women eighteen years and older are eligible to vote.

UyC regimes revolve around a central decision-making body, called the Asamblea General Comunal (AGC) or General Communal Assembly (Velázquez and Ménez, 1995), that runs all candidate selection processes and voting in municipal elections. The AGC is a public town hall meeting whose participants, either as AGC leaders, voters, or candidates, can be restricted by sex, age, marital status, residency requirements, and participation in local community service programs. AGCs conduct municipal elections using a variety of voting mechanisms, ranging from secret individual ballots to publicly cast votes by individuals or groups, according to simultaneous or sequential procedures. The elimination of political parties from municipal politics was made optional in 1995 but they have been prohibited since 1997, although evidence suggests that they retain some influence (Eisenstadt, 2007).

UyC regimes thus codified a mechanism to allow the creation of local political institutions in ways that could be shaped by local or state leaders to engineer support in the preferred direction, and the contradictory findings about UyC institutions support this conclusion. UyC institutions have been linked to local democratization (Velázquez, 2000; Velázquez and Aquino, 1997; De León, 2001; Recondo, 2007) and to the survival of local authoritarians (Bartra, 1999; Recondo, 2007; Benton, 2012); to improved political participation (Velázquez, 2000; Velázquez and Aquino, 1997) and to greater political exclusion in state and federal elections (Benton, 2012; Hiskey

and Goodman, 2011; Danielson and Eisenstadt, 2009); to PRI survival in the early stages after the reform (Benton, 2012), but to PRI demise later in state (Recondo, 2007; Anaya, 2006) and federal (Benton, 2012) elections. Although technically limited to municipal political processes, UyC institutions have had political effects beyond municipal politics to include state and federal elections. The malleability of UyC systems for local or state political ends, combined with the number of cases to which they apply (570 total municipalities, of which 418 ultimately adopted them) provide a unique opportunity for testing arguments about PRI governors' political intervention strategies.

Resolving the Governors' Dilemma: Strategies for Balancing National and Local Demands

I propose that PRI governors' strategies for political intervention or the transfer of control to local leaders were guided by the state PRI's political position in the locality. I argue that, in places where the state PRI still outpaced the opposition, PRI governors intervened where support was strongest, in order guarantee party bastions and deter nascent opposition groups. Such places could be relied on to deliver the party steadfast support at little risk of social or political backlash that could prove counterproductive to ensuring political support. The focus on building up party bastions was coupled with more selective intervention in PRI run localities where the party's support was in decline. In these places, the PRI sought to forestall opposition growth that portended political turnover. PRI governors avoided intervening in other places under their control when party support was stable, lest their activities unnecessarily trigger a growth in anti-PRI sentiment. Applied to Oaxaca, this argument predicts:

> *H1a. In places under PRI control, the adoption of UyC regimes will be more likely where the party is strongest than where it is weakest.*

> *H2a: In places under PRI control, the adoption of UyC regimes will be more likely where the party is losing support than where it is stable or gaining ground.*

In contrast, in localities where the PRI was outpaced by an anti-PRI opposition —either because its rise occurred suddenly or because PRI governors' prior political efforts in the locality failed— PRI governors chose not to intervene and instead to allow local politics to play out according to local dynamics. Top-down intervention in such cases would only antagonize anti-PRI sentiment, encourage its spread to other areas, and put social and political order —and governors' careers— at risk. PRI governors were sometimes

removed when they could not deliver social order and political control. The level of state PRI support in opposition led localities thus should either have had no affect on the incidence of political intervention, with local leaders choosing not to manipulate local political affairs, or the opposite effect, with local leaders engineering local politics according to anti-PRI goals. This is particularly relevant for Oaxaca, where local opposition leaders often adopted UyC rules, perhaps to undermine PRI presence in their communities. If this were the case, then we should see the following:

H1b. In municipalities under opposition control, the adoption of UyC regimes over PP systems will be more likely where state PRI support is weakest.

H2b: In municipalities under opposition control, the adoption of UyC regimes over PP systems will be more likely where state PRI support is on the rise.

Hypotheses 1b and 2b thus explain how UyC regime adoption should work in the opposite way than predicted for PRI run localities. Yet, it could be argued that the state PRI determined where to implement UyC systems in opposition run municipalities as well, and that it chose to impose them where the party was weakest in order to prevent the party's annihilation and where it was making gains in order to facilitate its recovery. In other words, support for the hypotheses only demonstrates that different decision-making logics were at work but not the presence of divergent state and local logics. I thus join the hypotheses with an analysis of three necessary conditions that must be present to demonstrate different local- and state-driven decision-making processes.

The first condition addresses the different role that social or political conflict should have on UyC adoption in PRI run and opposition led municipalities. If the state PRI determined the different logics for political intervention across all communities, then it should have prioritized UyC imposition in places with low levels of social conflict. Political manipulation in places where opposition groups had already demonstrated their willingness to confront PRI intrusion in violent ways could lead these places to spiral out of control, to a loss of social and political order, and the removal of governors from power. In contrast, if local leaders were allowed to decide their own fates in opposition led communities, the most conflictive or violent municipalities would have been most the likely to adopt UyC systems where opposition parties were in control. This leads to:

C1. The greater the level of social/political conflict in the municipality, the greater the chance of of UyC system adoption when the state PRI is weak but not when it is strong.

The second condition addresses the presence of organized PRI allies in the community. If PRI governors were concerned with both maintaining PRI support and preserving social order, then they would have sought to intervene in places where they already counted on established groups loyal to their goals. Populations in rural areas were highly dependent on the PRI's agricultural policies, with those organized into ejido communal lands often described as highly loyal to the PRI (Klesner and Lawson, 2001). In places where the PRI was strong, PRI governors should have been more likely to impose UyC systems in rural localities or where there was a large share of voters on ejido communal lands. In contrast, the presence of these same factors should have had much less effect on UyC adoption in places under opposition control if it is true that opposition leaders were determining their own political fates. This leads me to:

> *C2. The more rural or the greater the ejido population in the municipality, the greater chance of UyC system adoption where the state PRI is strong but not where it is weak.*

The final condition addresses the role of indigenous groups in UyC adoption. The state PRI should have sought to raise the appearance of legitimacy surrounding UyC institutions, since their adoption was ostensibly made in order to recognize the state's multicultural heritage. PRI governors should thus have sought to prioritize the imposition of UyC systems where indigenous group demands for them were strongest but also among indigenous communities more generally, regardless of their sentiments toward them. It is well documented that the Mixe indigenous community pushed for UyC systems (Recondo, 2007) but also that other indigenous groups were ambivalent toward and sometimes even opposed to them (Recondo, 2007). If PRI governors imposed UyC regimes for instrumental political goals, they should have respected Mixe demands and imposed them on other indigenous communities to legitimize their foundations. In contrast, opposition led localities should have been less sensitive to the needed to legitimize the indigenous foundations of UyC systems, with this relationship less strong or nonexistent.

> *C3. The greater the indigenous population in the municipality, the greater chance it will adopt UyC systems over PP ones where the state PRI is strong but not where it is weak.*

Evidence supporting the hypotheses and their necessary conditions would demonstrate the presence of top-down and bottom-up decision-making processes at work, and thus that the PRI separated between places where it was in control and where it was not when considering political intervention on behalf of the regime.

Statistical Test of the Argument's Hypotheses and Necessary Conditions

I evaluate the argument statistically using logistic regression. The dependent variable is measured as the assignment of UyC institutions (*UyC Adoption 1995*) in the municipality with the September 1995 reform (1 = yes, 0 = no). The principle political variables of interest in the hypotheses include whether the PRI came in first place in the municipality in the August 1995 state elections (1 = yes, 0 = no) called *PRI Wins Municipality 1995 (State)*, the share of votes won by the PRI in the municipality in the 1995 state elections, called *PRI Support 1995 (State)*, and the change in this support from the 1992 state elections, called *Change in PRI Support 1992-95 (State)*.[1]

The principle social variables of interest used to check for the necessary conditions include the presence of social conflict (*Post Election Conflicts 1995*; *Post Election Conflicts 1992*), the share of municipal population that is rural (*Rural Population 1990*) and living on ejido communal lands (*Ejido Population 1991*), and the share of the municipal population that is Mixe (*Mixe Population 1995*) and indigenous (*Indigenous Population 1995*). Social conflict is measured as the presence of post-electoral conflicts after 1992 and 1995 state elections (1 = yes, 0 = no).[2] *Rural Population 1990* is the share of the population living in towns with fewer than 2,500 people. *Ejido Population 1990* is measured as the share of the municipal population living on ejido communal lands. *Mixe Population 1995* and *Indigenous Population 1995* refer to the share of the population over five years of age that are Mixe or indigenous language speakers.[3]

A series of interaction terms between the dichotomous variable coding whether the PRI had won a plurality in the municipality in 1995 *[PRI Wins Municipality 1995 (State)]* and each of the political and social variables of interest are used to separate the effects of these variables in PRI and opposition controlled municipalities. The political interaction terms include *PRI Wins 1995 * PRI Support 1995* and *PRI Wins 1995 * Change PRI 92-95*. Social interaction terms include *PRI Wins 1995 * Conflicts 1995*, *PRI Wins 1995 * Conflicts 1992*, *PRI Wins 1995 * Rural Population*, *PRI Wins 1995 * Ejido Population*, *PRI Wins 1995 * Indigenous Population*, *PRI Wins 1995 * Mixe Population*. In the case that PRI governors also considered PRI support in federal contests, I include the share of PRI support won in 1994 federal deputy elections, called *PRI Support 1994 (Federal)* and changes to it since

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[1] Data is from the [Instituto Electoral Estatal de Oaxaca (IEEO)].

[2] Data kindly provided by Todd Eisenstadt.

[3] Data from [Instituto Nacional de Estadística Geografía e Informática (INEGI)].

1991,[4] called *Change in PRI Support 1991-94 (Federal)*, and the interactions (*PRI Wins 1995 * PRI Support 1994*; *PRI Wins 1995 * Change PRI 91-94*).

The models also include a series of controls linked to PRI support, including and the effective number of parties in 1995 (*Effective Number of Parties, 1995*), a poverty index (*Poverty Index, 1990*), municipal religious composition (*Catholic Population, 1990*) (Trejo, 2004), municipal spending per capita (*Spending Per Capita, Average 1993-1995*) (Selee, 2011), and municipal migration (*Migration Index, 1990*) (Goodman and Hiskey, 2008).[5] A population variable (*Total Population, 1990*) captures the difficulty of implementing UyC systems in larger cities. See Appendix 1 for summary statistics.

Results for two logistic regression analyses are found in Table 1 but depicted graphically in Figures 1 through 4. Model 1 is the main model under study but I also include a second model, Model 2, with the variables capturing federal PRI support noted above and their interaction terms. I focus on Model 1 for theoretical reasons —because PRI governors strategized according to state, not federal, PRI support— but I use Model 2 later as a crucial test of the argument. Studies show that the effects, sign, and significance of interaction terms in logistic regression cannot be interpreted directly (Ai and Norton, 2003). I thus calculate and graph the chances of UyC Adoption 1995 for different values of the political and social variables and their interaction terms, as well as their level of significance. I estimate the probability of UyC adoption using two Stata commands; first noting the presence of the interaction terms and their constituent parts using Stata's "factor variables" notation and, second, estimating their effects (and levels of significance) on UyC Adoption 1995 at different values (of the constituent terms) using the "margins" command, while holding the other variables constant.

TABLE 1. STATE POLITICAL AND SOCIAL FACTORS AND UYC ADOPTION

	MODEL 1		MODEL 2	
VARIABLE	COEF.	STD ERR	COEF.	STD ERR
PRI WINS MUNICIPALITY 1995 (STATE)	-10.9358***	3.1424	-11.9223***	3.4534
PRI SUPPORT 1995 (STATE)	-18.3319***	5.8391	-15.0441**	7.5436
PRI WINS 1995 * PRI SUPPORT 1995	37.1433***	7.2626	35.0159***	8.7277
CHANGE IN PRI SUPPORT 1992-95 (STATE)	1.4016	2.3992	1.2654	2.6705
PRI WINS 1995 * CHANGE PRI 92-95	-2.9184	2.6094	-2.1373	2.9833
PRI SUPPORT 1994 (FEDERAL)			-3.7546	5.5793
PRI WINS 1995 * PRI SUPPORT 1994			3.5166	5.7439
CHANGE IN PRI SUPPORT 1991-94 (FEDERAL)			0.8359	3.0950

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[4] Data from [Instituto Federal Electoral (IFE)].

[5] Municipal population, municipal spending, and religious makeup from [Instituto Nacional de Estadística Geografía e Informática (INEGI)]. Poverty index and migration indices from [Consejo Nacional de Población (CONAPO)].

| VARIABLE	MODEL 1 COEF.		STD ERR	MODEL 2 COEF.		STD ERR
PRI WINS 1995 * CHANGE PRI 91-94				-3.4011		3.2997
POST ELECTION CONFLICTS 1995	2.8910	*	1.6404	2.4827		1.6533
PRI WINS 1995 * CONFLICTS 1995	-2.9954	*	1.6810	-2.6721		1.6956
POST ELECTION CONFLICTS 1992	-3.3466	**	1.3895	-3.1317	**	1.4072
PRI WINS 1995 * CONFLICTS 1992	0.9448		1.5046	0.6332		1.5340
RURAL POPULATION 1990	5.5872	**	2.1934	5.5405	**	2.2880
PRI WINS 1995 * RURAL POPULATION	-4.2054	*	2.2050	-4.3369	*	2.3042
EJIDO POPULATION 1991	11.4263	***	4.2771	10.9811	**	4.6274
PRI WINS 1995 * EJIDO POPULATION	-8.9387	**	4.4364	-8.7145	*	4.7732
INDIGENOUS POPULATION 1995	2.1943	*	1.3272	2.4003	*	1.3356
PRI WINS 1995 * INDIGENOUS POPULATION	-0.9673		1.3912	-1.5922		1.4172
MIXE POPULATION 1995	-0.5486		2.4540	-0.3464		2.9470
PRI WINS 1995 * MIXE POPULATION	70.0270	**	25.2758	72.1823	***	26.8224
EFFECTIVE NUMBER OF PARTIES 1995	3.7705	***	0.6088	3.9608	***	0.6395
POVERTY INDEX 1990	0.1268		0.2284	0.1657		0.2325
SPENDING PER CAPITA, AVERAGE 1993-95	1.3551		1.2945	1.4748		1.3011
MIGRATION INDEX 1990	-0.1575		0.1378	-0.1029		0.1434
TOTAL POPULATION 1990	-0.0002	***	0.0000	-0.0002	***	0.0000
CATHOLIC POPULATION 1990	-0.1264		1.6254	-0.7541		1.6748
CONSTANT	-9.7260	**	2.9385	-9.1838	***	3.0390
PSEUDO R-SQUARED	0.4825			0.4961		
PROB > CHI-SQUARED	0.000	***		0.000	***	
LR CHI-SQUARED	319.72			328.7		
LOG LIKELIHOOD	-171.43			-166.95		
NUMBER OF OBSERVATIONS	560			560		

Note: Logistic Regression Analysis. Dependent Variable: UyC Adoption 1995 (1=yes, 0=no). ***$p > 0.01$,** $p > 0.05$, *$p > 0.1$. Observations do not total 570 due to missing data. Interaction terms are in italics.

Figure 1 shows results for the effect of PRI Support 1995 (State) and its interaction PRI Wins 1995 * PRI Support 1995 on UyC Adoption 1995 in PRI controlled and opposition led municipalities (PRI Wins Municipality 1995 (State) = 1 and 0, respectively). Hypothesis 1a says that UyC adoption should be more likely where the state PRI was strongest among PRI led municipalities. The solid black line shows that the chance of UyC Adoption 1995 in PRI led places was greatest where PRI Support 1995 (State) was highest. The dashed portion of this line shows the range at which this variable had no significant effect on UyC adoption, and the solid part where it was significant. Significance was held to the $p > 0.1$ standard but ranged from this level to $p > 0.01$, depending on the level of PRI support (All estimated point

predictions, significance tests, and confidence intervals are available upon request). To get the estimates, I held Change in PRI Support 1992-95 (State) at zero, Post-Election Conflicts 1992 and Post-Election Conflicts 1995 at zero, and all other variables at their means.

FIGURE **1**. PRI SUPPORT AND UYC ADOPTION IN PRI AND OPPOSITION MUNICIPALITIES
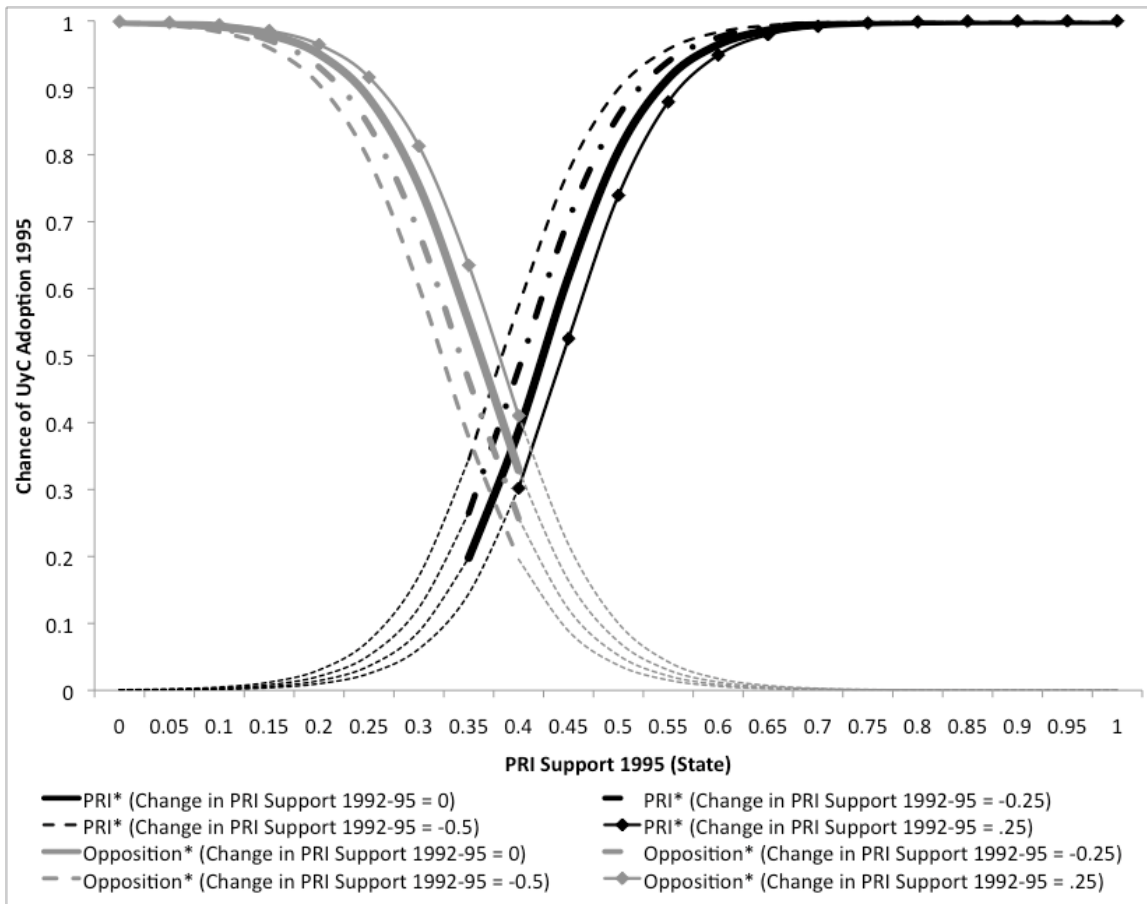
Note: *PRI = PRI Wins Municipality 1995 (State) = 1; Opposition = PRI Wins Municipality 1995 (State) = 0.

Hypothesis 2a also finds support in Figure 1. The solid grey line shows that in municipalities where the PRI did not finish first in 1995 [PRI Wins Municipality 1995 (State) = 0], lower levels of PRI Support 1995 (State) are positively associated with higher chances of UyC Adoption 1995, attesting to the different effect of state PRI support on the logic of UyC adoption in PRI and opposition led municipalities. The solid part of the line shows where this effect was negative and significant, at least at the $p > 0.1$ level, and the dashed portion where it was not. I held Change in PRI Support 1992-95 (State) at zero, the post election conflict variables at zero, and all others at their means.

Figure 1 also examines the effect of Change in PRI Support 1992-95 (State) on the chances of UyC Adoption 1995. According to Hypothesis 1b, declining state PRI support should lead to an increased incentive to adopt UyC regimes, and thus to manipulate local support in favor of the PRI, in places where the PRI was still in control. The thick dashed black lines capture the effect of Change in PRI Support 1992-95 (State) was equal to a 0.25 share and a 0.50 share on the chances of adopting UyC regimes at different levels of PRI Support 1995 (State). Although higher levels of PRI Support 1995 (State) were associated with greater chances of UyC Adoption in PRI run localities, negative values for Change in PRI Support 1992-95 (State) raised the chances of UyC adoption, with this effect strongest where these changes meant the PRI was most vulnerable to political turnover [when PRI Support 1995 (State) had fallen to between a .35 and .45 share].

Negative values of Change in PRI Support 1992-95 (State) had the opposite effect in opposition municipalities, as expected in Hypothesis 2b. The thick dashed grey lines show the impact of negative values for this variable on UyC Adoption 1995 in opposition run places, with such declines lowering the chances of UyC Adoption 1995. Positive values of Change in PRI Support 1992-95 (State) = .25, in contrast, were associated with greater chances of UyC Adoption 1995, as shown by the solid ticked grey line lying above the line where this variable was equal to 0. Local leaders were more apt to adopt UyC regimes where PRI support was weakest but also where it was on the rise and threatened a return to PRI control, most likely in an attempt to raise their institutional flexibility in responding to this threat.

Figure 1 thus presents support for the four hypotheses about the different political logics determining the adoption of UyC regimes. I now turn to an evaluation of the social criteria necessary for revealing the state PRI and local opposition forces behind UyC adoption. Figure 2 shows the effect of post-election conflicts (Post-Election Conflicts 1992 and Post-Election Conflicts 1995) on the chances of UyC Adoption 1995 in PRI-led and opposition-led municipalities [PRI Win Municipality 1995 (State) = 1 and 0, respectively], according to both Model 1 and Model 2 in Table 1. I present graphs from both models to demonstrate the similarity in the results, despite the lack of significance for some of the conflict variables in Model 2, mentioned above. I vary PRI Support 1995 (State) but hold Change in PRI Support 1992-95 (State) at zero and the remaining variables at their means. The thin dashed portions of the lines show the points where this relationship is not significant. For PRI controlled municipalities, the relationship between PRI Support 1995 (State) and the chance of UyC Adoption is positive and significant for levels of PRI support that could bring it to power in the community. Holding Post-Election Conflicts 1995 at zero, we see that the presence of conflicts in 1992, where Post-Election Conflicts 1992 = 1, lowered the chances of UyC adoption compared to places that experienced no conflict that year.

FIGURE 2. POST-ELECTION CONFLICTS AND UYC ADOPTION IN PRI AND OPPOSITION MUNICIPALITIES
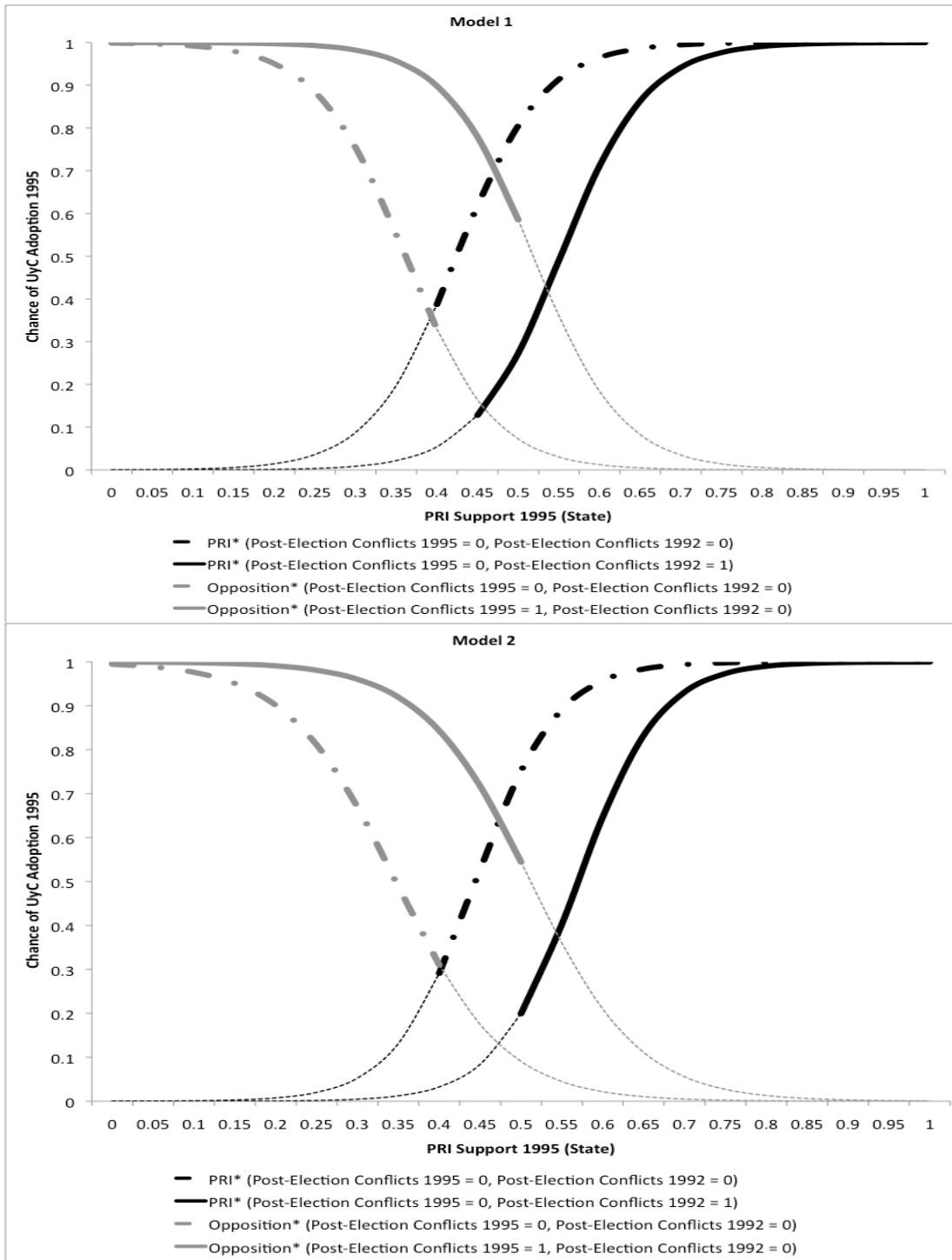
Note: *PRI = PRI Wins Municipality 1995 (State) = 1; Opposition = PRI Wins Municipality 1995 (State) = 0.

The presence of post election conflicts in 1995 (Post-Election Conflicts 1995 = 1) produced no differences in the chance of UyC adoption in PRI localities. The proximity of the August 1995 elections to the passage of the September 1995 reforms probably had something to do with this. Although the level of PRI support won in the municipality in 1995, and any changes to it since 1992, was critical to determining where the best cases were for UyC imposition, that post-electoral conflicts between August and September would have occurred over the course of several weeks and not have been fully known to state PRI authorities at the time of the passage of the September 1995 reform probably meant that they relied more heavily on 1992 conflicts when making their decisions. That 1992 conflicts were prioritized over 1995 ones also suggests that state PRI authorities were somewhat removed from local dynamics and hard pressed to gather accurate information on them in a timely manner, beyond the more easily observed election data.

Following this logic, the effect of Post-Election Conflicts 1992 and Post Election Conflicts 1995 in opposition communities [PRI Wins Municipality 1995 (State) = 0] should not only have been in the opposite direction from that found in PRI controlled places but also revealed that opposition leaders prioritized 1995 over 1992 conflicts in their decisions. If local opposition leaders were the ones engaged in post-election conflicts, then they would have had first hand knowledge of any local problems in 1995 around election time, and thus used them to guide their decisions more so than conflicts that had occurred three years prior in 1992. Figure 2 shows that opposition led localities were more likely to adopt UyC regimes when Post-Election Conflicts 1995 = 1, holding Post-Election Conflicts 1992 at zero.

Figure 3 shows the effect of rural and ejido communal land voters (Rural Population 1990 and Ejido Population 1991) on UyC Adoption 1995. Condition 3 states that state PRI authorities would have been more likely to implement UyC systems in places that they controlled that counted on higher agrarian populations that were traditional supporters of the PRI. Local authorities would have been less influenced or perhaps even deterred by these groups in opposition led municipalities. The top graphic in Figure 3 shows the effect of rural and ejido population shares on UyC adoption in PRI dominated localities [PRI Wins Municipality 1995 (State) = 1. Holding PRI Support 1995 (State) at a .75 share (and Change in PRI Support 1992-95 (State) at 0, the post election conflict variables at 0, and all other variables at their means], we see that the effect of rises in Rural Population 1990 and Ejido Population 1991 had positive and significant effects on UyC Adoption 1995 but that this effect was small. Such high levels of PRI Support 1995 (State) at .75 were very likely to lead to UyC adoption anyway. Holding PRI Support 1995 (State) at a .50 share gives us a better picture of the strong effect of rural and ejido communities on UyC adoption in PRI run places but where PRI support was not overwhelming. Rises in Rural Population 1990 and Ejido Population 1991 had a positive effect on

the chances of UyC adoption in this case, as expected in Condition 2. All points were significant at least at the p > .1 level.

FIGURE 3. RURAL AND EJIDO VOTERS AND UYC ADOPTION IN PRI AND OPPOSITION MUNICIPALITIES
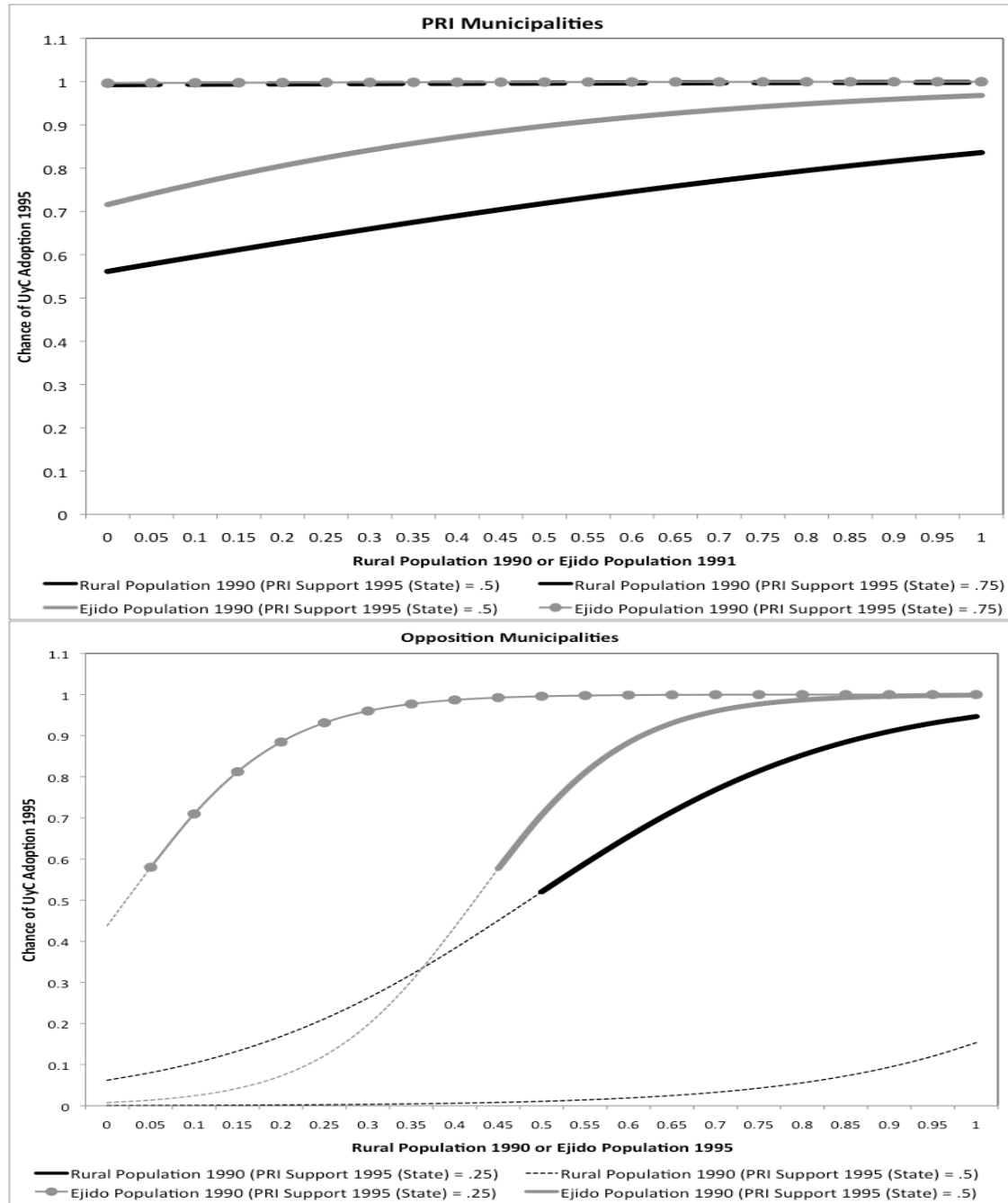
Note: PRI Municipalities are when PRI Win Municipality 1995 = 1; Opposition Municipalities are when PRI Win Municipality 1995 = 0.

The lower graphic in Figure 3 depicts this relationship in opposition led municipalities, where PRI Wins Municipality 1995 (State) = 0. When opposition parties counted on very strong support [PRI Support 1995 (State) = .25], the effect of larger rural and ejido land population shares were also positive and significant on UyC Adoption 1995, but only where these rural or ejido voters counted on at least a .50. or a .05 share of the population, respectively. The dark black line shows the positive effect that Rural Population 1990 over a .5 share had on UyC adoption in opposition led communities. The grey dashed line shows the stronger effect of Ejido Population 1991 over a .05 share on UyC Adoption 1995. Holding PRI Support 1995 (State) at a .5 share, opposition municipalities were still more likely to adopt UyC regimes as Ejido Population 1995 grew, but not as Rural Population 1995 grew. Rural Population 1995 was insignificant.

Condition 2 reasoned that rural and ejido voters should not be associated with UyC adoption in places under opposition control because such voters were aligned with the PRI. Yet, the evidence shows that was not always the case. On reconsideration, it was more likely the effects of ejido and rural communities on UyC adoption would be positive in both PRI-led and opposition-led places, even if driven by different underlying logics, given Oaxaca's complex rural and agricultural landscape that played host to frequent anti-PRI movements. Of course, it is possible that the PRI might have imposed UyC systems in places with larger ejido and rural population shares where its support was weakest, as the party might have sought to manipulate rural and ejido groups back to the party fold. However, Rural Population 1995 had no effect on UyC adoption when PRI Support 1995 (State) was at a .5 share in opposition run places [PRI Wins Municipality 1995 (State) = 0], and thus the PRI within striking distance of regaining municipal control. It should have been at just this value of PRI support in opposition led localities, as was the case in PRI led municipalities, that PRI governors should have sought to take advantage of their capacity to impose UyC regimes to manipulate rural voters, if they were making these choices instead of local leaders. The lack of effect of Rural Population 1995 on UyC Adoption 1995 in opposition led municipalities thus contradicts a PRI driven logic behind UyC adoption in these places. Instead, opposition leaders capitalized on organized ejido groups to adopt UyC regimes instead of more amorphous and less organized rural voters when they needed to.

The final Figure 4 depicts the relationship between Mixe (Mixe Population, 1995) and indigenous voters (Indigenous Population, 1995) and UyC Adoption 1995 in PRI and opposition led municipalities [PRI Wins Municipality 1995 (State) = 1 and 0, respectively]. Condition 3 states that the PRI should have prioritized both communities when imposing UyC systems, but opposition communities should not had used this rule to guide them. In PRI led

municipalities where PRI Support 1995 (State) = .5 (top graphic), even a small share of Mixe leading to near certain UyC adoption. Greater shares of Indigenous Population 1995 were also associated with greater chances of UyC Adoption 1995 as well. The effect of these variables was positive and significant for PRI Support 1995 (State) = .75 but the effect much less dramatic, as greater levels of PRI support were already associated with UyC adoption for purposes of building party bastions (In the Indigenous Population 1995 models, I hold Mixe Population 1995 at 0. In the Mixe Population 1995 models, I hold Indigenous Population 1995 at .5, with using higher shares for this variable producing equivalent results. Post-Election Conflicts 1992 and Post-Election Conflicts 1995 were held at 0, and all other variables at their means).

FIGURE **4**. INDIGENOUS VOTERS AND UYC ADOPTION IN PRI AND OPPOSITION MUNICIPALITIES
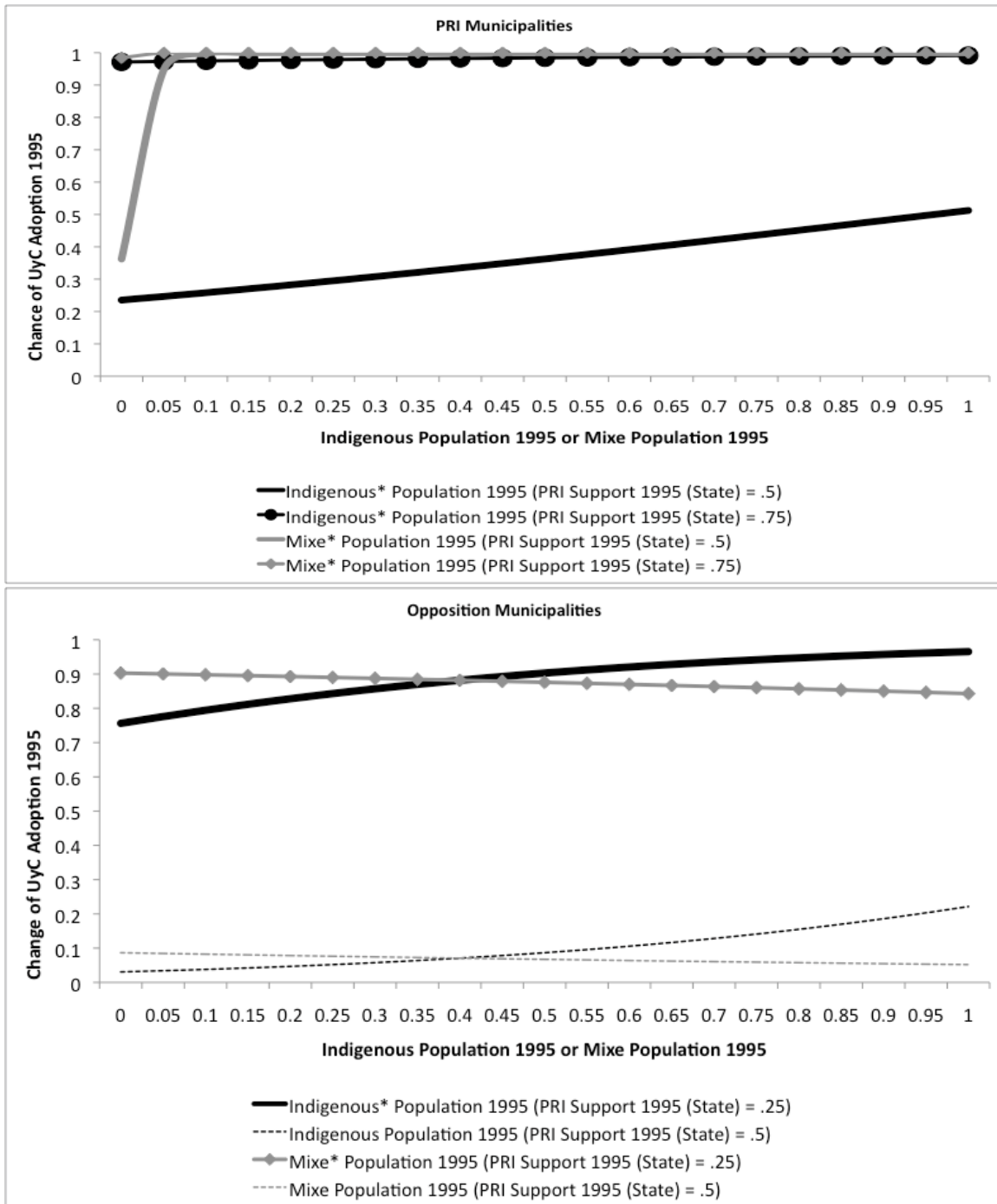
Note: PRI Municipalities are when PRI Win Municipality 1995 = 1; Opposition Municipalities are when PRI Win Municipality 1995 = 0.

Indigenous and Mixe populations had no effect on UyC adoption in opposition led localities when PRI Support 1995 (State) was held at a .5 share, in contrast to their effect in PRI held places, attesting to the different decision-making dynamics at work. At lower levels of PRI support [PRI Support 1995 (State) = .25] and thus where the opposition was more firmly in control and already likely to adopt UyC systems, Indigenous Population 1995 had a positive and significant affect on UyC Adoption while Mixe Population 1995 had a negative and significant effect. It is beyond the scope of this study to investigate the different dynamics between Mixe and other indigenous populations on UyC adoption in opposition led places. The important point here is that these very different effects, as well as the lack of effect in opposition places with stronger PRI support, attest to the divergent decision logics in opposition led compared to PRI run municipalities.

The empirical evidence thus supports the hypotheses and necessary conditions for demonstrating the presence of state and local decision-making processes in PRI-led and opposition-led municipalities, respectively. However, showing the different logics is not sufficient for demonstrating that state PRI governors, not national PRI rulers, were behind deciding where to intervene and where to leave alone. I turn to this point next.

Excluding the Alternative that National Political Rulers Dictated State Strategy

The final step requires eliminating the possibility that federal PRI rulers were really the ones dictating state PRI strategies for UyC adoption in PRI controlled localities. To this end, I return to Model 2 in Table 1 as well as conduct two additional analyses whose results are in Table 2. Results for all three models are depicted in Figure 5. These three models add the variables and interaction terms measuring the level of PRI support in the 1994 federal deputy elections, and changes since the 1991. In Model 2 in Table 1, I use 1995 state deputy elections to distinguish between PRI-led and opposition-led municipalities [using PRI Wins Municipality 1995 (State)], also a constituent term in the relevant interactions noted above. In Model 1 in Table 2, I use the 1994 federal deputy election results to make this categorization *[PRI Wins Municipality 1994 (Federal)]* and thus as a constituent of all relevant political and social variable interaction terms, and in Model 2 I categorize those municipalities where the PRI won in both 1994 federal and 1995 state elections as under PRI control (*PRI Wins Municipality 1994 & 1995*) and use this variable in the relevant interaction terms for the political and social variables. Although federal and state PRI support were highly correlated (0.69), there are potential differences in how state and federal elections may have informed PRI leaders about their control in each locality, and we can

take advantage of this different to test for the presence of federal or state decision-making.[6]

TABLE 2. ADDITIONAL LOGISTIC REGRESSION MODELS USED IN FIGURE 5

	MODEL 1			MODEL 2		
^CODING RULE:	PRI WINS MUN. 1994 (FEDERAL)			PRI WINS MUN. 1994 & 1995		
VARIABLE	COEF.		STD ERR	COEF.		STD ERR
PRI WINS^ MUNICIPALITY	-9.1350	***	2.7930	-9.2498	***	2.5482
PRI SUPPORT 1995 (STATE)	3.2284		3.8639	0.4945		2.8120
PRI WINS^ * PRI SUPPORT 1995	6.7708		4.7074	16.2453	***	4.3984
CHANGE IN PRI SUPPORT 1992-95 (STATE)	2.7708		2.6535	2.0875		2.0507
PRI WINS^ * CHANGE PRI 92-95	-4.2176		3.0180	-3.6368		2.5463
PRI SUPPORT 1994 (FEDERAL)	-25.4345	***	8.4204	-8.6759	***	3.3023
PRI WINS^ * PRI SUPPORT 1994	26.7401	***	8.6536	9.1519	**	3.8578
CHANGE IN PRI SUPPORT 1991-94 (FEDERAL)	-1.3089		2.7395	-0.6624		2.0456
PRI WINS^ * CHANGE PRI 91-94	-1.4481		2.9666	-1.9786		2.3815
POST ELECTION CONFLICTS 1995	-0.2615		0.8352	-0.2779		0.7260
PRI WINS^ * CONFLICTS 1995	0.2208		0.9419	0.2867		0.8472
POST ELECTION CONFLICTS 1992	-2.8094		1.7194	-2.0173	**	0.9956
PRI WINS^ * CONFLICTS 1992	0.6040		1.7913	-0.4095		1.1680
INDIGENOUS POPULATION 1995	2.2137	*	1.1487	2.6487	***	0.9131
PRI WINS^ * INDIGENOUS 1995	-0.9640		1.2183	-1.6350		1.0372
MIXE POPULATION 1995	803.6091		742.51	4.2873		5.2777
PRI WINS^ * MIXE 1995	-797.264		742.49	61.2573	**	26.738
RURAL POPULATION 1990	5.5203	***	2.0593	4.6995	***	1.4207
PRI WINS^ * RURAL 1990	5.5203	**	2.0770	-3.7500	**	1.4680
EJIDO POPULATION 1991	3.6836		3.0616	5.2369	*	3.0145
PRI WINS^ * EJIDO 1991	-1.1199		3.3349	-3.0014		3.2914
EFFECTIVE NUMBER OF PARTIES 1995	2.1712	***	0.4304	3.1797	***	0.5315
POVERTY INDEX 1990	0.1498		0.2386	0.1941		0.2387
SPENDING PER CAPITA, AVG. 1993-95	2.4657		1.5059	1.6918		1.3765
MIGRATION INDEX 1990	-0.2090		0.1384	-0.1454		0.1416
TOTAL POPULATION 1990	-0.0002	***	0.0000	-0.0002	***	0.0000
CATHOLIC POPULATION 1990	-0.0546		1.5976	-0.1426		1.6035
CONSTANT	-3.4068		2.9138	-9.0352	***	2.6244

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[6] The PRI came in first in 424 municipalities in 1994 federal and 1995 state elections; 424 and another 29 in 1994 federal elections only; and 424 municipalities plus 66 in 1995 state elections only.

	MODEL 1			MODEL 2		
^CODING RULE:	PRI WINS MUN. 1994 (FEDERAL)			PRI WINS MUN. 1994 & 1995		
VARIABLE	COEF.		STD ERR	COEF.		STD ERR
PSEUDO R-SQUARED	0.4777			0.4840		
PROB > CHI-SQUARED	0.000	***		0.000	***	
LR CHI-SQUARED (23)	316.53			320.68		
LOG LIKELIHOOD	-173.031			-173.95		
NUMBER OF OBSERVATIONS	560			560		

Note: Logistic Regression Analysis. Dependent Variable: UyC Adoption 1995. ***$p > 0.01$,** $p > 0.05$, *$p > 0.1$. Observations do not total 570 due to missing data. Interaction terms in italics. ^PRI Wins Municipality 1994 (Federal) for Model 1; PRI Wins Municipality 1994 & for Model 2.

If the state PRI determined strategies for local political intervention, then state election dynamics should have been prioritized over federal ones when making choices about where to intervene, especially among those municipalities categorized as under PRI control using the PRI Wins Municipality 1995 (State) and using PRI Wins Municipality 1994 & 1995 control criteria. If the federal PRI were dictating strategies for municipal intervention, then federal PRI support should have been decisive in determining UyC Adoption 1995 in places coded as under PRI control using the PRI Wins Municipality 1994 (Federal) = 1 and the PRI Wins Municipality 1994 & 1995 coding rules.

Figure 5 shows the chances of UyC Adoption 1995 under the three different coding rules. The effect of PRI Support 1995 (State) [holding PRI Support 1994 (Federal) at a constant 0.5 share] was positive and much steeper [and significant at least at the $p > 0.1$ level at all relevant higher values of PRI Support 1995 (State)] than the lines depicting the effect of PRI support 1994 (Federal) (holding PRI Support 1995 State at 0.5). The effect of PRI Support 1995 (State) was also strongest among the group of 490 municipalities where the PRI came in first in the 1995 state elections [PRI Wins Municipality 1995 (State) = 1], followed by the smaller subset of 424 municipalities where the PRI won in both 1994 federal and 1995 state elections (PRI Wins Municipality 1994 & 1995 = 1), as expected. State PRI support was even critical in UyC Adoption 1995 among the group of 453 municipalities where the PRI won in 1994 federal elections [PRI Wins Municipality 1994 (Federal)] as well, attesting to its importance in decision-making. State level PRI support thus had a decisive effect on UyC adoption, no matter the mechanism for determining PRI control. And, this effect was much stronger and more decisive at higher levels of PRI Support 1995 (State) compared to that of the PRI Support 1994 (Federal) which did not vary much across its different values.
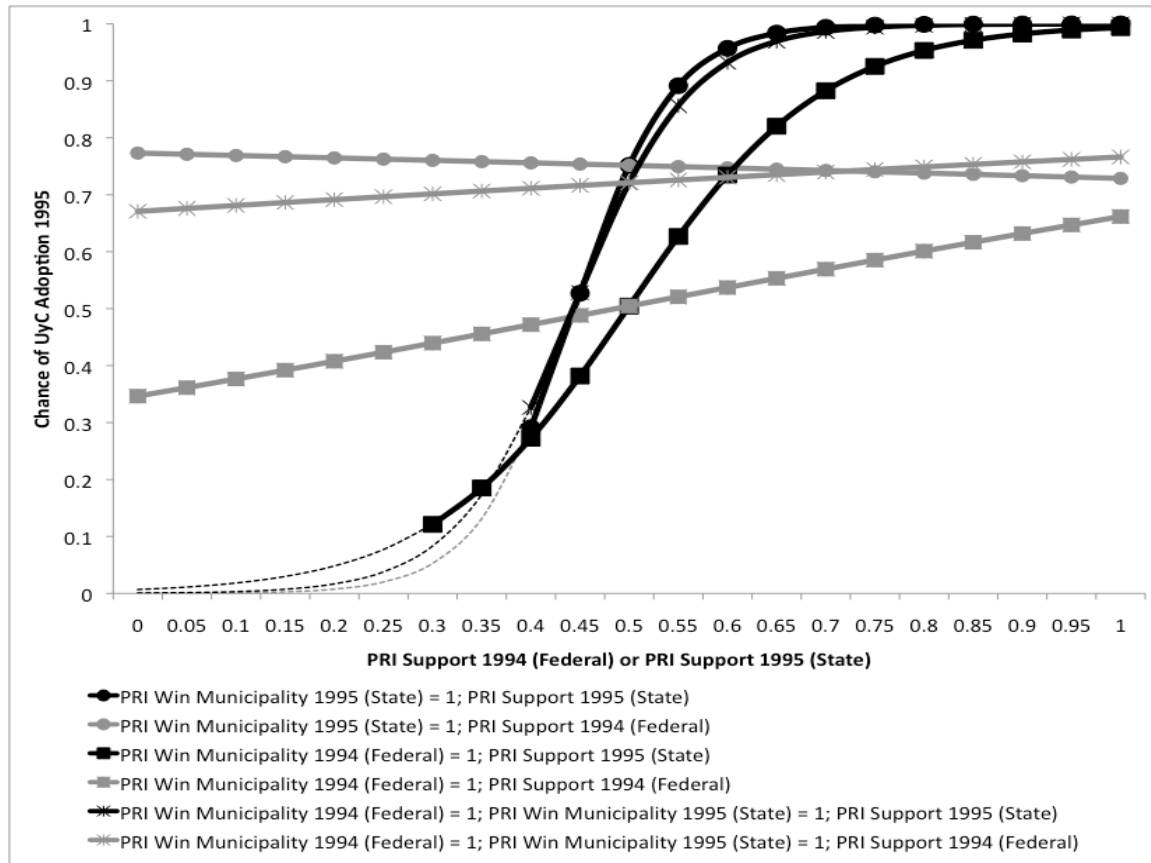
This finding fits with two empirical observations. Although the national government allowed state governments the possibility of changing their state constitutions and electoral rules to recognize the nature of their multicultural societies since 1992, not all states —even those with significant indigenous populations— followed up with reforms. If the federal government had dictated state political strategies, it should have followed federal constitutional changes with subsequent state reforms in all highly indigenous states and not just in Oaxaca. Second, studies show that PRI deputies for the national congress were responsible for running their own election campaigns, with governors encouraged but not forced to help (Langston and Morgenstern, 2009). Since the national PRI appears not to have directly managed federal congressional campaigns, it seems unlikely that the federal PRI would have also been directly involved in dictating political intervention strategies across its 31 states' 2,450 municipalities as well.

Conclusions

Conclusion and Implications for Future Research on Mexico and Beyond

This study examined the role of state PRI governors during national PRI hegemony. I argue that PRI governors faced competing national and local pressures and balanced them according to a state level logic, with their strategy determined by the level of control they enjoyed in the localities under their jurisdiction. In localities under their political control, PRI governors intervened to shore up party bastions and where the state PRI was in decline and at risk of political turnover. In localities where they were displaced by opposition forces, PRI governors chose to allow local political dynamics to play out on their own, lest any intervention aggravate strong anti-PRI sentiment.

I test this argument using data from Mexico's state of Oaxaca. Oaxaca's unique 1995 municipal Usos y Costumbres (UyC) reform gave state and local leaders the freedom to adopt rules that could be used to engineer local politics to their own purposes, depending on whether state or local leaders drafted them. Statistical analysis shows that, in PRI controlled places, UyC systems were more likely when PRI support was high or in decline. In opposition localities, UyC systems were more likely when PRI support was low or on the rise, with leaders using UyC rules to ward off a return of PRI domination. Analysis of the effects of key social variables on UyC adoption in PRI led and opposition led localities supports divergent state and local decision-making processes at work.

This study seeks to contribute to research on the dynamics of hegemonic PRI rule, as well as on Mexico's surviving subnational hybrid regimes since national democratization. There are numerous studies documenting the questionable political practices used by the national PRI during its hegemonic rule (Molinar, 1991; Fox, 2007; Cornelius, 2004; Domínguez and McCann, 1996), and accounts of similar practices by leaders of subnational hybrid regimes since 2000 (Gibson, 2005; Giraudy, 2009). However, most evidence is anecdotal or documents its frequency of occurrence without noting when and where such practices were most likely to be used. Given that the costs of widespread political intervention, especially electoral fraud, during PRI rule were high (Langston and Morgenstern, 2009) and likely used only sparingly (Magaloni, 2006), it is important to understand the PRI's strategies for using it. I explain how state governors, either during national PRI rule or under today's surviving subnational hybrid regimes, strategize political intervention, to reduce its costs but maximize its benefits.

The study also complements research on the strategic use of fiscal expenditures during PRI rule. Research shows that the national PRI targeted national fiscal resources to municipalities based on where federal PRI support was strongest and where it was losing support the fastest; the more politically competitive the locality, the less useful such resources were for maintaining PRI support (Magaloni *et al.*, 2007; Magaloni, 2006). The study here dovetails with such findings by showing that a similar logic was at work at the state level and guiding the use of political resources (intervention). This suggests two things: that state governors may have also engaged in strategic state fiscal spending —especially after fiscal decentralization in the 1980s and 1990s— and used state level political criteria to determine it, and that both national and state politicians may have coordinated their fiscal and political resources.

Finally, the study adds to research on regional officials in national authoritarian regimes. Research on the former Soviet Union, current Russia, other Eastern European nations, and China highlights how regional leaders contended with conflicting pressures from national leaders to ensure political control and national policy priorities and from local leaders and citizens for political and policy flexibility, and the provision of public goods (Treisman, 1999; McMann, 2006; Bunce, 1999; Tsai, 2007). Regional leaders in national authoritarian regimes everywhere seek to maintain local social order and political stability to ensure their political survival, and that the best strategies depend on knowing when to meet local demands and when to ignore them in favor of national ones.

Appendix

APPENDIX 1 SUMMARY STATISTICS

VARIABLE	NO. OBS.	MEAN	STD. DEV.	MIN. VALUE	MAX. VALUE
UyC Municipalities	412				
PRI Wins Municipality 1995	358				
Post Election Conflicts 1992	19				
Post Election Conflicts 1995	55				
PRI Support 1995	411	0.573	0.192	0.058	0.994
Change in PRI Support 1992-95	411	-0.219	0.188	-0.876	0.527
PRI Support 1994	412	0.532	0.217	0.027	0.999
Change in PRI Support 1991-94	412	-0.228	0.212	-0.936	0.387
Indigenous Population 1995	412	0.470	0.405	0.000	1.000
Mixe Population 1995	412	0.044	0.192	0.000	1.000
Rural Population 1990	412	0.938	0.222	0.000	1.000
Ejido Population 1991	412	0.236	0.245	0.000	3.185
Effective Number of Parties 1995	411	2.632	1.925	1.012	32.909
Poverty Index 1990	412	0.747	0.795	-1.586	2.637
Spending Per Capita, Avg. 1993-95	405	0.116	0.339	0.000	3.811
Migration Index 1990	412	-0.096	0.921	-0.879	6.395
Total Population 1990	412	2849	3143	149	27448
Catholic Population 1990	412	0.885	0.113	0.305	1.000
PP Municipalities	158				
PRI Wins Municipality 1995	132				
Post Election Conflicts 1992	57				
Post Election Conflicts 1995	51				
PRI Support 1995	158	0.533	0.137	0.072	0.927
Change in PRI Support 1992-95	158	-0.176	0.162	-0.740	0.227
PRI Support 1994	158	0.521	0.123	0.224	0.775
Change in PRI Support 1991-94	158	-0.136	0.163	-0.672	0.358
Indigenous Population 1995	158	0.306	0.337	0.000	0.997
Mixe Population 1995	158	0.008	0.065	0.000	0.808
Rural Population 1990	158	0.641	0.375	0.000	1.000
Ejido Population 1991	158	0.137	0.109	0.000	0.646
Effective Number of Parties 1995	158	2.482	0.588	1.161	4.341
Poverty Index 1990	158	0.290	0.821	-1.729	2.042
Spending Per Capita, Avg. 1993-95	156	0.028	0.108	0.000	1.284
Migration Index 1990	158	-0.064	1.008	-0.879	4.502
Total Population 1990	158	11682	21389	546	213985
Catholic Population 1990	158	0.881	0.093	0.366	0.998

Note: UyC = Usos y Costumbres; PP = Political Parties.

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