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Patterns of Repression and Manipulation
Towards a Topography of Authoritarian
Elections, 1980-2002

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Abstract

Electoral authoritarian regimes represent the modal type of political regimes in the developing world. To control electoral outcomes, such regimes may deploy a broad variety of repressive and manipulative measures. Despite their empirical as well as normative relevance, we possess little systematic comparative knowledge about the strategies of electoral control these regimes pursue. Do electoral authoritarian rulers strive to maximize control by cumulating repressive and manipulative strategies? Or do they try to optimize control by carefully selecting and targeting their strategies? This paper explores empirical configurations of authoritarian strategies on the basis of existing data on human rights violations, media restrictions, and legislative ineffectiveness as well as new data on vote-seat disproportionality, electoral fraud, and opposition exclusion.

Resumen

Actualmente, las autocracias electorales representan el tipo de régimen más difundido en el mundo en vías de desarrollo. Para controlar los resultados electorales, estos regímenes pueden emplear una gama amplia de estrategias represivas y manipuladoras. A pesar de la relevancia normativa y empírica de regímenes electorales autoritarios, no sabemos mucho sobre las estrategias de control electoral que persiguen. ¿Tratan de maximizar el control electoral implementando un conjunto extenso de medidas autoritarias? O más bien tratan de optimizar el control persiguiendo un conjunto selecto de estrategias bien focalizadas? El presente trabajo explora configuraciones empíricas de estrategias autoritarias combinando bases de datos existentes (sobre la violación de derechos humanos, la restricción de libertades de expresión y la debilidad de las legislaturas) con datos nuevos sobre desproporcionalidad electoral, fraude electoral y la exclusión de partidos y candidatos de oposición.

Introduction

At present, electoral authoritarian regimes represent the modal type of political regimes in the developing world. Such regimes are Potemkin villages, elaborate exercises in simulation. On paper, they look like democracies. They display the whole institutional infrastructure of constitutional democracy, from regular elections, parties, parliaments, and election commissions to court systems, subnational governments, civic associations, and private media. In practice, however, they subvert democratic minimum norms in systematic and profound ways, turning multiparty elections into instruments of authoritarianism, rather than “instruments of democracy” (Powell, 2000).

The incipient literature on these new forms of authoritarianism in the contemporary world has been much concerned with establishing the external boundaries of electoral autocracies, with identifying their defining attributes that distinguish them from electoral democracies on the one side and from the residual category of non-electoral autocracies on the other (Diamond, 2002; Schedler, 2002 and 2006). It is quite evident, however, that the broad category of electoral authoritarianism masks significant within-regime variation. Electoral autocracies form an extensive family of regimes that show significant variance on at least two key dimensions: (a) the degree and patterns of inter-party competitiveness and (b) the degree and patterns of authoritarian control. While I examined variations in competitiveness in an earlier paper (Schedler, 2004), in the subsequent pages I explore variations in authoritarian control.

To reconstruct empirical configurations of incumbent strategies under electoral authoritarianism, I shall combine original data with existing datasets from various sources. After outlining the menu of authoritarian control rulers have at their disposition, I shall describe (quite extensively, despite my aspiration to synthetic brevity) my set of cases and variables. My cases comprise the universe of authoritarian elections worldwide from 1980 to 2002 almost in its entirety. While unavoidably incomplete, my variables cover a broad set of strategies of authoritarian control. They include infringements of human rights (violations of physical integrity), the denial of civil liberties (media restrictions), gradations in horizontal violence (societal war), the disempowerment of legislative assemblies (legislative ineffectiveness), the exclusion of opposition parties and candidates, and the commission of electoral fraud (in both legislative and presidential elections). I examine patterns of association between these strategies through a variety of simple statistical techniques, such as correlation analysis, principal component analysis, and comparisons of means. In my conclusion, I highlight the principal findings and sketch some issues for future research.

1. *The Chain of Democratic Choice*

If we wish to survey the multiple ways in which electoral authoritarian rulers violate normative minimum standards of democratic elections, we have to establish these democratic minima in the first place.¹ Democratic elections are mechanisms of social choice under conditions of freedom and equality. They offer effective choice of political authorities among a community of free and equal citizens. In his classic *Polyarchy*, Robert Dahl held that the democratic ideal requires all citizens to enjoy “unimpaired opportunities” to “formulate” their political preferences, to “signify” them to each other, and to have them “weighed equally” in public decision making (Dahl, 1971: 2). Building upon Dahl, we may postulate seven more precise normative conditions regular elections must fulfill if they are to offer effective opportunities of democratic choice (for an overview, see Table 1).

(1) Empowerment. Political elections are exercises of power. Voters do not take part in beauty contests or market surveys but in the binding selection of the “most powerful collective decision makers” (Huntington 1991: 7) in the political system.

(2) Free supply. The notion of electing involves the availability of alternatives. Elections “without choice” (Hermet, Rouquié, and Linz 1978) do not qualify as democratic, nor do elections with choice confined to a narrow menu of state licensed options.

(3) Free demand. Democratic elections presuppose the free formation of voter preferences. Citizens who vote on the basis of induced preferences are no less constrained than those choosing from a manipulated set of alternatives. Unless parties and candidates enjoy free and fair access to the public space, the will of the people as expressed at the ballot box will mirror their structurally induced ignorance.

(4) Inclusion. In the contemporary world, democracy demands universal suffrage. The modern demos includes everybody, except those who are assumed to lack minimal capacities of rational decision making (children and the mentally ill).

(5) Insulation. Once citizens have formed their preferences freely, they must be able to express them freely. The secrecy of the voting both is designed to shield them from undue outside pressures. It pretends to insulate voters from the distorting force of violence, money, and social control.

¹ The present as well as the subsequent section build on a previous piece (Schedler, 2002) that offers a more extensive discussion of both democratic norms and authoritarian norm violations, with illustrative examples from contemporary electoral authoritarian regimes.

(6) *Integrity.* Once citizens have given free expression to their will at the polls, competent and neutral election management must have their votes weighed equally and counted honestly.

(7) *Decisiveness.* As elections without choice, elections without consequences are not democratic either. Elected candidates must be able to assume office, exercise power, and conclude their terms in accordance with constitutional rules.

These *minima moralia* of democratic elections comprise the entire sequence of electoral choice, from its objects to its consequences. The chain of democratic choice is complete. No links are to be added, none to be taken away. Elections may be considered democratic if and only if they fulfill each of our these seven requisites of effective popular choice. Gross violation of any invalidates compliance with all others. If the chain of democratic choice breaks at one link, elections do not turn less democratic, but undemocratic.

2. The Menu of Repression and Manipulation

Authoritarian rulers may break any link in the chain of democratic choice in multiple ways. The limits to authoritarian imagination are not logical, but empirical. Authoritarian rulers, like successful enterprises, survive by innovation. The catalogue of democratic norm violations I wish to lay out in this section is therefore less than complete. Nevertheless, it contains the main tricks contemporary authoritarians perform to pull authoritarian rabbits out of the hat of multiparty elections (see also Table 1).

(1) *Authoritarian rulers may preempt potential threats emanating from popular elections by circumscribing either the scope or the jurisdiction of elective office. In the case of reserved positions, they allow voters to fill subordinate positions of public authority, while keeping the “high center” of power shut off from electoral pressures. In the case of reserved domains (Valenzuela, 1992: 64-66), authoritarian rulers keep elected officials from acquiring real power by removing crucial policy areas from their jurisdiction.*

(2) *Most transitional regimes do not count with anything resembling a consolidated party systems. Authoritarian rulers may take opportunity of such fluid situations by manipulating the number and nature of nascent opposition actors. They may restrict the free formation of electoral alternatives by either excluding or fragmenting opposition parties.*

(3) *To prevent voters from acquiring fair knowledge about available choices, incumbent parties may strive to prevent opposition forces from disseminating their campaign messages. They may try to shut them out of the public space by either denying them freedom of speech, assembly,*

and movement (repression) or by denying them reasonable access to media and campaign resources (unfairness).

(4) Since the invention of representative governance, political actors have been tempted to control electoral outcomes by controlling the composition of the electorate, either by legal means or informal practice.

(5) A regime that unleashes electoral competition and public debate may wish to put voters on chains the moment they express their preferences at the polls. Violence (voter intimidation) and money (vote buying) are common means to prevent citizens from voting their genuine preferences.

(6) Once voters have deposited their will in the ballot box, undemocratic distortions may result either from “redistributive” practices (vote rigging) or from “redistributive” rules of aggregation (self-serving institutions).

(7) As stipulated above, elections are meaningful exercises of democratic governance only they endow elected officials with real power. However, even if elections are decisive *ex ante*, with elected representatives enjoying full constitutional authority, they may still fail to be decisive *ex post*. They may turn inconsequential, too, when undemocratic actors tie the hands of elected officials (authoritarian tutelage) or simply remove them from their positions, thus terminating the electoral regime (authoritarian abortion).

In my conceptual piece referred to above, I described the set of authoritarian strategies as “the menu of manipulation” (Schedler, 2002). In this paper, I shall except political repression (conceptualized above as a denial of free demand) from the notion of electoral manipulation. Repressive regimes that violate basic human rights and civil liberties carry their efforts of distorting and controlling the political game well beyond the electoral arena. Its scope as well as its gravity set repression apart from other authoritarian strategies that focus more narrowly at the electoral game and its key actors: parties, candidates, voters, legislators, and elected officials. Thus distinguishing between repression and electoral manipulation, I will use the notion of authoritarian control as the overarching category encompassing both.

3. Cumulative versus Selective Strategies

Given the authoritarian toolbox they have at their disposal, how do rulers pick their instruments of control? Do they choose as from a menu in the restaurant of authoritarian delicatessen, with choices being a matter of personal taste? Do their choices restrain each other, as with certain dishes and drinks that do not combine well? Inversely, are some choices natural companions to others, as with dishes and drinks that combine nicely? Finally, do electoral

authoritarian rulers behave like gourmands, more attentive to the quantity of food they consume than to its quality? Or do they rather act as gourmets, selecting carefully (and enjoying deeply) a few exquisite dishes?

If authoritarian rulers count with just eight strategies of authoritarian control (the number of strategies measured in my dataset, to be explained below, excluding societal war and disregarding all other tools in their kit), they may combine them in $2^8 = 256$ ways (without taking into account different sequences). As a typology spreading over two hundred of categories would be less than parsimonious, it seems useful to ask whether, by the way of induction, we may uncover some empirical order in this dizzying field of possibilities. Does each case present a singular combination of authoritarian strategies or can we detect certain commonalities across cases? In very general terms, authoritarian rulers face the choice between two broad strategic alternatives: the mutually reinforcing combination of strategies (cumulative control) and the mutually substitutive selection of strategies (selective control).

Cumulative strategies. Electoral authoritarian rulers may try to hit the opposition by all means at their disposition. They may weaken parliament, censure the media, repress their adversaries, ban them from electoral participation, design discriminatory election systems, frighten voters, falsify elections. In such scenarios of cumulative control, all bad things go together. In their quest for electoral security, rulers pile up authoritarian measures of control, each reinforcing the other.

Selective strategies. Rather than maximizing electoral security by establishing a comprehensive system of control, authoritarian rulers may optimize electoral security by selecting specific measures of control. Instead of demolishing the entire chain of democratic choice with a sledging hammer, they may sever specific links with a sharp surgical cut. Such strategic fine-tuning seeks to avoid the accumulation of authoritarian measures. Rather than sweeping the playing grounds of the opposition with a broad brush, selective authoritarians target their blows well. Their measures of control are not designed to reinforce each other, but to substitute each other. For instance, if they send opposition actors into exile, they need not bar them from electoral competition; if they kick them out of the electoral arena, they need not tamper with electoral results.

In generic terms, we would expect electoral authoritarian regimes to lean towards selective strategies of control. Electoral autocracies have to balance the conflicting imperatives of electoral control and electoral credibility (Schedler, 2006). To ensure their continuing hold on power, they have to control the substantive outcomes of elections without inflicting excessive damage on their procedural legitimacy. As a result of such cross-cutting pressures, we may expect them to refrain from simple cumulative strategies of control. Rather than doing everything to keep opposition parties from

winning elections, they should try to do just the necessary. Given the conflicting imperatives they face, they should strive to control the electoral game by stealth, in subtle and skillful ways, thus deploying selective rather than comprehensive strategies of control.

As even a cursory revision reveals, the universe of contemporary electoral authoritarian regimes contains numerous exemplifications of both possibilities. Egypt under Mubarak exemplifies the repressive rigor of comprehensive strategies of control, including arbitrary arrests, party bans, voter intimidation, and ballot rigging, all of them embedded in decades of coercive emergency rule. By contrast, Singapore under the PAS illustrates the silent efficacy of selective strategies of control, in which the suffocation of free speech and association, a lame parliament, and discriminatory electoral rules coexist with respect for human rights, due process, and electoral integrity. Mapping electoral authoritarian regimes would be an easy task, though, if they would all cluster at either the cumulative or the selective pole of authoritarian control. If some would choose to overrun the opposition with all means at their disposition, while others would strive to neutralize it through surgical, finely targeted violations of democratic norms, we could sort EA regimes neatly into two discrete boxes: harsh regimes that behave as cumulative maximizers of electoral control versus light regimes that act as selective optimizers of electoral control.

Things are more complicated, though. From a bird's view, the binary logic of accumulation versus selection applies to regimes as a whole. From the perspective of political actors, however, it applies to individual strategies. Rather than facing one big choice of pursuing either the cumulative or the selective road to authoritarian control, regimes face multiple choices of whether to introduce or renounce specific measures of control, and whether to reinforce or to substitute them by other measures. They may easily implement some authoritarian measures that reinforce each other (partial cumulative control) at the same time that they obviate the need for deploying additional means of repression or manipulation (partial substitutive control).

With respect to the fine-tuning of specific strategies there is little systematic empirical knowledge we could build on. To what extent are rulers free to pick from the menu of authoritarian strategies at their pleasure, or inversely, to what extent are they constrained by the internal logic of the various authoritarian measures? In case of full authoritarian discretion, we would expect to find something close to a random variation of non-democratic strategies (dispersion). In case of internal constraints, we might find that certain strategies go together in bundles, grounded in elective affinities (clustering). Alternatively, we might find that harsh strategies tend to come hand in hand with light strategies, but not necessarily the other way round (hierarchical ordering). Which one prevails? We shall have to find out.

In sum, all other things being equal (which are never equal), electoral authoritarian ruler should prefer substitutive over cumulative strategies of control. Numerous empirical cases seem to contradict this generic expectation, though. Besides, I have no specific predictions to offer on the use of individual strategies or bundles of strategies. Thus the task of this paper: to explore, by the way of induction, empirical configurations of electoral authoritarian strategies worldwide between 1980 and 2002.

4. *The Universe of Cases*

The present paper pretends to cover all electoral authoritarian regimes worldwide between 1980 and 2002. To delimitate the universe of cases, I proceeded in two steps. In a first step, I used Freedom House (FH) data (www.freedomhouse.org) to delineate a broad pool of candidates for inclusion (among countries with population > 1 million).² In order to remove from the outset those regimes that are either too democratic or too dictatorial to be included in the intermediate category of electoral autocracies, I chose all countries that received FH political rights scores between 4 and 6 during at least four consecutive years between 1980 and 2002 (a criterion of minimum stability intended to filter out short-term fluctuations of countries into the relevant range of Freedom House scores).

While this first delimitation of candidate countries relies on the criterion of political freedom, in a second step I employed institutional criteria, with a narrow focus on the electoral arena, to demarcate my universe of cases. Among the countries located at the intermediate levels of political freedom, only those qualify as electoral authoritarian that held at least one full set of multiparty elections with universal suffrage for the chief executive as well as the national legislature.³ This set of institutional requirements excludes non-party regimes, *de jure* as well as *de facto* one-party regimes, military regimes, competitive oligarchies, and traditional monarchies. It also excludes incomplete election cycles in which a single presidential or legislative election is followed by regime breakdown (through military coup, executive coup, armed insurrection, or external occupation).

As the idea of authoritarian regimes presupposes the presence of governments endowed with a minimum of external and internal sovereignty, I also exclude non-sovereign protectorates, like Lebanon and Bosnia-Herzegovina, as well as cases of state collapse that fail to maintain political

² Population figures are for 2002, the final year in my dataset (United Nations, Department of Economic and Social Affairs, Population Division, "Population Estimates and Projections: 2002 Revision," www.un.org/esa/population/publications/wpp2002/wpp2002annextables.pdf, accessed 13 July 2004).

³ I demand direct popular elections for the chief executive in presidential regimes. In case of parliamentary regimes, I demand direct elections for the legislature that selects and maintains the government. Borderline cases included in the database are Egypt, Pakistan, and Indonesia.

structures we could recognize as political regimes. The resulting universe of authoritarian elections includes 122 legislative and 78 presidential elections that were held in 57 countries in six world regions. Table 2 in Appendix A gives the full list of cases.

Table 3 (in the appendix) shows their distribution across world regions: Reflecting the subcontinent's turn from one-party rule to electoral authoritarianism in the last decade of the 20th century, Sub-Saharan Africa concentrates the largest share of authoritarian election cycles (37.0 per cent). Due to the peace transitions in Central America and the demise of hegemonic party rule in Mexico and Paraguay, Latin America and the Caribbean comes only second, contributing close to a fifth of cases to the database (19.5 per cent). All other world regions hosted around a tenth of authoritarian elections each between 1980 and 2002. Due to my exclusion of traditional monarchies, the Middle East and Northern Africa lie somewhat below that marker (8.0 per cent), while South and East Asia, "a great storehouse of historical and contemporary electoral authoritarianism" (Case, 2006: 95), lie somewhat higher (13.0 per cent).

By combining these two pieces of information –annual Freedom House scores and the presence of multiparty elections– I am able to delimit the universe of authoritarian election cycles. Yet, as I wish to move beyond the identification of electoral authoritarian regimes (the classification of regimes) in order to reconstruct specific combinations of repressive and manipulative measures authoritarian regimes deploy (the analysis of within regime variance), I need additional data, most of which are not readily available.

5. *The Data*

As we have seen above, the menu of authoritarian strategies is extensive, variegated, and open-ended. Ideally, we would like to work with cross-national time series for the whole menu of authoritarian instruments of electoral control. Yet, unsurprisingly, for most strategies, existing cross-national databases do not contain reasonably proximate measures. Some strategies of authoritarian control –in particular, the unfairness of the electoral process, the intimidation of voters, vote buying, and informal voter disenfranchisement– pose methodological problems to cross-national measurement that seem almost insurmountable. Others are more amenable to quantification, though. The present study includes measures on several core strategies of electoral control. From existing data sources I include indicators of human rights violations, media restrictions, and legislative disempowerment. From my own database, I use vote-seat disproportionality, the exclusion of opposition actors, and electoral fraud. In the following, I will briefly discuss each variable. Table 4 offers summary descriptions, Table 5 frequency distributions (see Appendix A).

5.1 Measuring Repression

Fortunately, useable time series exist on the intensity of political repression and the strength of legislatures. In particular, to capture the intensity of political repression, I used the annual Cingranelli-Richards (CIRI) Physical Integrity Rights Index that measures the intensity of governmental violations of human rights on a 9-point scale for 195 countries since 1981. To measure at least one core dimension of governmental violations of civic liberties, I use the arithmetic mean of annual FH Press Freedom scores and (inverted) CIRI Freedom of Speech and Press scores (see also Table 4 in Appendix A).⁴

Table 5 shows the frequency distribution of our cases (regime-years) along the CIRI scale of violations of physical integrity rights.⁵ Unsurprisingly, most of our cases cluster around the middle of the scale. Only about a fifth earn rather benign scores (0-2), almost half are located at intermediate levels (3-5), while about a third cluster at the higher end of physical repression (6-8). Violations of press freedom display a similar distribution. While very few authoritarian elections take place in a context of unambiguously free media, typically they do not involve the complete suppression of media freedom either. A free press (scores 1 or 1.5) exists in only 8.5 per cent of our regime-years, while full media restrictions (score 3) exist in less than a fifth. Most authoritarian elections in our database (74.2 per cent) took place at intermediate levels of media restrictions (scores 2 or 2.5).

5.2 Measuring Legislative Weakness

To measure the strength of national legislatures, I use the data on legislative effectiveness from the Tony Banks Cross-National Time-Series (CNTS) Data Archive (variable s22F4). The measure, inverted for the present purpose, is trichotomous. Scores of 0 indicate an effective legislature, scores of 1 a partially effective legislature, scores of 2 an ineffective “rubber stamp” legislature (and scores of 3 an inexistent legislature).⁶ As Table 5 shows, the

⁴ The CIRI dataset is similar in sources and coverage to the Political Terror Scale published by Mark Gibney (<http://www.unca.edu/politicalscience/faculty-staff/gibney.html>). However, thanks to its comprehensive coding book and its systematic tests of inter-coder reliability, CIRI fares better in terms of reliability and replicability. For my purpose, it must be regarded superior in terms of validity too, as it focuses on “vertical” violations of political rights and civil liberties by governmental agencies, excluding “horizontal” violations by societal agents (like insurgent groups). Skaaning (2006) offers a critical review of existing datasets on political rights and civil liberties. For earlier applications of CIRI data, see, among many others, Cingranelli and Richards (1999) and Richards, Gelleny, and Sacko (2001).

⁵ For most of this paper, my units of analysis are elections. However, whenever I examine the links between my electoral data and annual data from other sources, I accept regime-years as unit of analysis. As a consequence, my total number of observations decreases by the number of concurrent elections ($N = 44$), since concurrent legislative and presidential elections stop counting as two separate cases.

⁶ Within my basket of regime-years, CNTS registers nine years of “inexistent” legislatures. These indicate either cases where first legislative elections are held late in the calendar year, or cases where presidential contests inaugurate an electoral regime, with legislative elections following at some later point.

cases in the dataset are almost evenly divided between partial legislative effectiveness (45.8 per cent) and legislative ineffectiveness (46.5 per cent).

5.3 Measuring Institutional Bias

Authoritarian rulers may enact a broad variety of discriminatory electoral rules in their drive to control electoral outcomes. Depending on how they read current and (more importantly) future correlations of force in the electoral arena, they may find it convenient to implement majoritarian winner-takes-all rules, gerrymander electoral districts, vary thresholds of representation under PR rules, or apportion legislative seats in distorted ways that ensure the under-representation of opposition strongholds (malapportionment). The basic trick is to decouple electoral support from electoral victory. Whatever the specific institutional device, though, in legislative elections the presence of discriminatory electoral institutions usually translates into high levels of vote-seat disproportionality. Thus, rather than classifying formal election rules (whose discriminatory force is context-dependent anyway) I look at substantive outcomes and use disproportionality figures as a proxy for the presence of *redistributive* election systems.

On the basis of my Database on Authoritarian Elections in the World (1980-2002), I calculate the Loosemore-Hanby Disproportionality Index for 88 authoritarian elections (as election data for 34 legislative elections in my database are not available). As Table 5 indicates, authoritarian elections display considerable variation in their levels of vote-seat disproportionality. While the arithmetic mean lies at a high 16.8 per cent, the maximum value lies at 44.8 per cent (Kazakhstan in 1995) and the minimum value at 1.58 per cent (Indonesia in 1987).

5.4 Measuring Fraud

As no public databases exist that contain useable indicators that measure either the commission of electoral fraud or the exclusion of opposition actors, with respect to these two authoritarian strategies I had to take a ride into the desert and construct my own data. The World Bank Database on Political Institutions (DPI) includes a categorical measure that responds to the question of whether “vote fraud or candidate intimidation were serious enough to affect the outcome of elections.” Even if a growing number of comparative studies have been using this variable (Hyde and Beaulieu, 2004; Simpser, 2004), it does not resist closer examination. It seems to be deeply flawed both conceptually, methodologically, and empirically. Conceptually, it conflates two dimensions that should be kept apart (electoral fraud and candidate intimidation) without even defining them. Methodologically, it violates basic requirements of transparency, as it does not reveal neither its definitions nor its operational decisions, coding rules, coding procedures, or sources.

Empirically, the DPI variable contains innumerable entries that look questionable even at superficial inspection. It registers several instances of

fraud or intimidation “serious enough to affect the outcome of elections” that do not coincide with election dates. In general, countries maintain their scores between elections; in some cases, scores change even if no national-level elections were held (as in Colombia in 1999); in others, registries of fraud and intimidation start one year after first elections took place (as in Nicaragua 1984, Ghana, Kenya, Senegal). Worse, even cursory knowledge of cases reveals that the database contains numerous false positives, that is, registries of decisive fraud and intimidation in cases that seemed fundamentally clean (like in Panama after 1990, Nicaragua after 1984, and Ghana in 1996). False negatives are almost ubiquitous in the DPI database, that is, registries of electoral integrity in cases that seemed heavily contaminated by fraud and/or intimidation. Glaring examples are Cuba between 1994 and 2000, Mexico in 1988, Peru in 2000, communist Poland and Romania, the Soviet Union, Iran, Iraq, Syria, Ghana and Kenya in 1992, Zimbabwe in the 1990s, Indonesia, Malaysia, Nepal, Pakistan, and Singapore.

All in all, the DPI data on fraud and intimidation are ill-conceived, methodologically opaque, and their erratic distribution seems inconsistent with basic facts. Accordingly, their level of face validity approximates zero. Other databases on the incidence of electoral fraud, while of better quality, are limited in geographic, temporal, and substantive coverage. Hartlyn, McCoy, and Mustillo (2003) assess presidential elections in Latin America in the 1990s. Bratton and van de Walle (1997) offer dichotomous evaluations of first or “founding” presidential elections in Sub-Saharan Africa. Bratton (1998) extends these assessment to second elections in the region. In a more comprehensive effort, Lindberg (2006) traces the democratic quality of both presidential and legislative elections in Sub-Saharan Africa from 1989 through 2004.

Given the limitations of existing data sources, I felt obliged to construct my own database on electoral fraud. For that purpose, I tapped four main sources: the online Keesing’s Record of World Events (www.keesings.com), the historic archive of the Spanish newspaper *El Pais* (www.elpais.es), the *Journal of Democracy* section “Election Watch,” and individual country narratives from the annual Freedom House surveys of political rights and civil liberties. These primary sources were supplemented by election reports from international observers, in particular the Commonwealth Election Law and Observer Group (www.thecommonwealth.org), the OSCE Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights (www.osce.org/odihr), the Carter Center (www.cartercenter.org), the International Republican Institute (www.iri.org), the National Democratic Institute (www.ndi.org), the International Foundation for Election Systems (www.ifes.org), and the Organization of American States (www.oas.org).

For the purpose of data collection, I defined electoral fraud in a narrow manner as the manipulation of electoral administration for partisan advantage

that may take place at any stage of the electoral process (before, during, and after election day). The measure I constructed is trichotomous. The category of “fraud” indicates partisan inference with the organization of election serious enough to affect outcomes. The intermediate category of “irregularities” denotes deviations from formal rules that are not systematic or serious enough to alter results. The final category of electoral integrity (“no fraud”) pertains to situations in which no more than minor irregularities are reported (for more detailed coding rules, see Appendix C).

The coding process was conceived as a mixture of content analysis and expert assessments. Content analysis assumes that coder identities do not matter. It conceives coding as a rule-guided process in which coders are exposed to identical pieces of information, apply identical rules of data processing, and therefore move in identical ways from concrete materials to abstract categories (be they numerical or linguistic). In accordance with the canons of quantitative content analysis, coding was carried out by two independent coders (the author and two trained graduate students, one for Latin America, the other for all other regions). Intercoder agreement lay at 75.9 per cent for Latin America, and 65.9 per cent for the rest of the world. As I am measuring electoral fraud as an ordinal variable, the percentage of agreement is a demanding criterion of reliability, as any divergence among coders counts as disagreement, regardless of the distance between their judgments. Although it is “open to debate” what “constitutes an acceptable level of intercoder reliability” (Neuendorf, 2002: 143), a reasonable rule of thumb establishes that coder agreement should be higher than 70 per cent (ibid.). Our levels of intercoder agreement hover around that threshold, which seems (close to) acceptable, but less than satisfactory.⁷

The main challenge to the reliable measurement of authoritarian strategies across a large number of electoral regimes worldwide does not lie in the design of workable coding rules, but in the access to factual information (within the constraints of time, resources, and language proficiency that limit any individual research project). Notoriously, news sources based in Western democracies, like the ones I relied upon for this study, provide highly unequal coverage of elections in developing countries. International observer reports allow to fill in some holes, but suffer from their own biases. Given the undeniable insufficiencies of my documentary base, I abandoned the standard operating procedures of content analysis after testing intercoder reliability, in order to introduce two elements of expert assessment: (a) Instead of arbitrating conflicting coder assessments by chance (through the random selection of scores from independent coders), I decided to trust my own coding decisions. (b) For the purpose of external validation, I

⁷ I calculated all measures of intercoder reliability reported in this paper with the Program for Reliability Assessment for Multiple Coders (PRAM), Version 0.45, written by Skymeg Software (www.geocities.com/skymegsoftware).

asked regional experts to evaluate my data. Dialogue with comparative political scientist specialized in different world regions led to a handful of corrections (due to additional factual information), in particular with respect to elections in Sub-Saharan Africa.⁸

The final data obtained through this combination of impersonal coding and expert evaluation still carries the inherent limitations of measuring illicit activities like electoral fraud. After all, electoral fraud involves “clandestine efforts to shape election results” (Lehoucq, 2003: 233) which by definition escape direct inspection. Given the fuzzy boundaries that delimit the intermediate category of “irregularities,” all cases except the most extreme ones are susceptible to produce controversy (a controversy that haunts the business of election monitoring since its inception in the late 1980s). Still, I am confident I succeeded avoiding the most egregious measurement error of classifying fraudulent elections as clean and vice versa. Arguably, my new dataset is more valid and reliable than existing global data from the World Bank as well as more comprehensive and more consistent in temporal and geographic coverage than existing regional data.

If we throw a quick glance at frequency distributions, we can see, again, that most cases in our dataset fall into the intermediate measurement category. Almost half of the 122 legislative elections (47.5 per cent) and more than two fifths of the 78 presidential elections (42.3) in my dataset appear to be affected by “irregularities” that taint election processes but leave their outcomes essentially unaffected. Quite remarkably, within the universe of authoritarian elections, almost a third of legislative elections (30.3 per cent) and almost a quarter of presidential contests (24.4 per cent) show up as administratively clean. The incidence of incisive electoral fraud thus lies barely at about one fifth for

⁸ I thank Judith Kelly (Eastern Europe), M. Steven Fish (former Soviet Union), Ellen Lust-Okar (Middle East and Northern Africa), Staffan I. Lindberg (Sub-Saharan Africa), and William Case (South and Southeast Asia) for their most valuable expert judgment. For Latin America, rather than exploiting the generosity of knowledgeable colleagues, I compared my scores on electoral fraud with very similar data generated by Jonathan Hartlyn, Jennifer McCoy, and Thomas Mustillo (2003) who study the legitimacy and quality of presidential elections in Latin America in the 1990s (N=25). To assess the democratic quality of elections, Hartlyn et al. evaluate international observer reports, asking whether observers “accept,” “criticize,” or “reject” an electoral process. Assuming their three categories to be roughly equivalent to mine (integrity, irregularities, and fraud), I found almost perfect agreement between our data (93 per cent). Our only case of disagreement is the 1993 presidential election in Paraguay, in which I observe irregularities, while Hartlyn, McCoy, and Mustillo register observer acceptance. By contrast, my level of agreement with Staffan Lindberg’s (2006) data on the democratic quality of election in Africa is very low (31.3 per cent). His evaluations are consistently more critical than mine. Responding to the question whether elections were “essentially judged free and fair,” he registers no case of “entirely” democratic elections, while I classify 19 out of 64 African elections (with each the 14 concurrent elections counting as one) as fundamentally fraud-free (29.7 per cent). At the other end, Lindberg finds that in 48 elections “irregularities affected the results” (75 per cent), while I put only 14 cases into the analogous category of electoral fraud (21.9 per cent).

legislative elections (22.1 per cent), and one third of presidential elections (33.3 per cent).⁹

5.5 Measuring Exclusion

Both Polity IV and the Banks CNTS dataset contain measures of political exclusion. Deriving its theoretical inspiration from Harry Eckstein's work on authority patterns, the Polity dataset on "Political Regime Characteristics and Transitions" measures three complex dimensions of political systems: the access to executive power (institutionalization, competitiveness, and openness), the exercise of executive power (limitations on governmental decision-making), and the nature of political contestation (cleavage structures, the institutionalization and breadth of opposition). Data users tend to ignore their theoretical foundations and use either composite indicators of institutionalized democracy (DEMOC) and autocracy (AUTO) or combined Polity scores (POLITY) as simple measures of democracy, although their component parts as well as their rules of aggregation have been subject to damaging methodological criticism (see especially Munck and Verkuilen, 2002).

In my view, the only way of (eventually) rescuing the validity of Polity data leads through a careful analysis of its disaggregate measures. For the present purpose of determining the inclusiveness of political regimes, two of its variables deserve consideration: the regulation of participation (PARREG) and the competitiveness of participation (PARCOMP). Regulation of Participation, although treated by Polity authors as an ordinal variable, in fact represents a categorical variable that captures various dimensions of political contestation, such as the structure, stability, and depth of political cleavages. One of its categories denotes "restricted" participation, a situation in which "significant groups, issues, and/or types of conventional participation are regularly excluded from the political process" (Marshall and Jaggers, 2002: 25).

In a similar manner, Competitiveness of Participation is a multi-dimensional categorical variable that combines information about the inclusiveness of political regimes with information about the nature of political competition. While its category of "repressed" competition denotes closed authoritarian regimes with a "demonstrated ability to repress oppositional competition" (Ibid.), the category of "suppressed" competition refers to somewhat more open situations in which the regime allows for opposition activities, but "systematically and sharply limits its form, extent, or both in ways that exclude substantial groups (20 per cent or more of the adult population) from participation." Under suppressed competition, "large

⁹ Tellingly, the degree of correspondence between my measure of electoral fraud and the DPI dataset is very low. Within my universe of cases (regime-years), DPI registers 43 instances of fraud and intimidation "serious enough to affect the outcome of elections" while I register 42 instances of decisive fraud. We agree in only 12 of these cases, little more than one quarter of positive observations.

classes of people, groups, or types of peaceful political competition are continuously excluded from the political process.” The “banning of a political party which received more than 10 per cent of the vote in a recent national election,” the prohibition of “some kinds of political organization [or] some kinds of political action,” and the systematic “harassment of political opposition” count as evidence of suppressed competition (Marshall and Jagers, 2002: 26).

Both the PARREG category of “restricted competition” and the PARCOMP category of “suppressed competition” suffer from the same problem: They are too broad and include too many items to serve our narrow purpose of measuring the either administrative or judicial exclusion of political parties and candidates from the electoral arena. Both categories go well beyond my focus on the electoral arena, as they register the exclusion not only of political parties, but of societal groups, political issues, and forms of protest as well. No less importantly, the PARCOMP category of suppressed competition conflates two basic strategies of electoral control: exclusion and repression.

By contrast, the CNTS variable “party legitimacy” (variable S19F6) centers on the exclusion of political parties (the legitimacy of multiparty competition). It adopts four values: Scores of 0 denote non-party or hegemonic party regimes in which either “no parties” exist or only a “dominant party” and its “satellites” are allowed to compete. Scores of 1 refer to authoritarian regimes that practice the “significant exclusion of parties (or groups).” Scores of 2 describe the democratically justifiable exclusion of “minor or ‘extremist’ parties.” Scores of 3, finally, refer to fully inclusionary regimes in which “no parties” are excluded (CNTS Codebook). Given its leaner conception, this measure seems more appropriate for my current purpose than the much broader Polity variables. Still, as CNTS does not reveal its definitions, coding rules, coding procedures, and sources, neither the reliability nor the replicability of its data can be taken for granted.

Again, the limitations of existing data sources led me to embark on the collection of my own data (employing CNTS and Polity data as posterior correctives). Relying on the same data sources and following the same coding procedures as described above, I constructed a dichotomous measure of opposition exclusion. I classify elections as exclusionary if state agencies (belonging to any branch of government) prevent active opposition parties or candidates from participating, be it through constitutional provisions, legal rules, executive decrees, judicial rulings, or administrative decisions. Clear examples would be the denial of registry to opposition parties on political or administrative grounds, or the enactment of *ad hominem* rules of candidacy that bar prominent opposition actors from electoral competition.

Note that my threshold for coding elections as exclusionary is rather low. I require excluded parties or candidates to be *active* at the time of the election

(thus ignoring the exclusion of latent actors), but I do not limit my attention to *major* opposition actors. A presidential election counts as exclusionary if state authorities disqualify any presidential candidate, even a minor one. In legislative elections, my criterion is slightly more demanding. The widespread exclusion of “uncomfortable” individual candidates as well as the wholesale exclusion of opposition parties qualify as exclusion, while the disqualification of candidates in a low number of districts does not (for more detailed coding rules, see Appendix C).¹⁰

As Table 5 shows, within the universe of legislative authoritarian elections, cases of inclusion (53.3 per cent) and exclusion (46.7 per cent) hold a rough balance. Among presidential authoritarian elections, the distribution is skewed towards the inclusionary side. In less than two fifths of presidential contests (38.5 per cent), rulers strive to contain electoral uncertainty by excluding opposition candidates.

5.6 Measuring Societal Warfare

Up to this point, all our data collected or constructed for the purpose of mapping electoral authoritarian regimes pretend to capture purposeful strategies authoritarian incumbents deploy against their challengers in the electoral arena. Yet, it is not just by centralized Machiavellian design that elections may breach democratic minimum standards of political rights and civil liberties. Situations of societal warfare tend to produce similar non-democratic results through decentralized violence. Even without authoritarian master plans in the capital, they tend to provoke a profound erosion of fundamental rights that turns electoral contestation and participation into less than democratic exercises.

To capture such contexts of horizontal, rather than vertical, suppression of democratic liberties, I create a simple indicator of societal warfare by adding the average magnitudes of revolutionary and ethnic wars from the State Failure Dataset (for a brief variable description, see Table 4 in the appendix; for definitions and coding rules, see Marshall, Gurr and Harff, 2001). As Table 5 indicates, only a minority of authoritarian elections in my dataset took place under conditions of societal warfare. Three quarters

¹⁰ With a level of agreement of 81.5 per cent, intercoder reliability again reached acceptable levels. Yet, after concluding the coding process, I double-checked my data with the Polity and CNTS measures discussed above. Understanding that my criteria for coding elections as exclusionary were more permissive (more sensitive) than those employed by Polity and CNTS, I left those cases without changes in which I observed the exclusion of opposition actors, while neither Polity nor CNTS did. By contrast, in those cases I had classified as inclusionary, while CNTS coded it otherwise, I adopted the CNTS scores if, and only if, at least one of the Polity categories PARREG and PARCOMP coincided with CNTS. Though this quasi-majoritarian rule of correction, I recoded twelve cases as exclusionary I had originally classified as inclusionary: Panama 1984, Belarus 2001, Kyrgyzstan 1991 and 1995, Burkina Faso 1991, Gambia 2001 and 2002, Singapore, 1980, 1984, 1988, 1991, and 1997. Before this corrective step, the degree of agreement between my exclusion data and Polity PARREG, Polity PARCOMP, and CNTS Party Legitimacy lay at 67.8 per cent, 60.9 per cent, and 67.2 per cent, respectively. After the correction, it lay slightly higher, at 71.1 per cent, 67.6 per cent, and 73.8 per cent, respectively.

register the complete absence of either revolutionary or ethnic violence (score 0). Another 7.6 per cent accommodate low levels of societal warfare (scores 1 or 1.5). The remaining 17.4 per cent of elections, however, have indeed taken place amidst moderate to high levels of societal warfare.

6. Syndromes of Authoritarian Control

As stated above, given the high number of mathematical possibilities of packaging authoritarian strategies, I wish to examine the range of empirical possibilities rulers put into practice in the real world. Inductive and explorative, and thus modest in design and pretension, the present paper pursues the venerable scientific project of uncovering empirical regularities where none are apparent at first sight. In this vein, after the obligatory, though inconclusive, immersion in the descriptive statistics of frequency distributions and contingency tables (which I will be citing occasionally), I calculated simple bivariate correlation coefficients for all strategies, except the exclusion of opposition actors (a binary variable not suitable for correlation analysis). Instead of reproducing the entire correlation matrix, Figure 1 (in Appendix B) exclusively reports the statistically significant coefficients (at a probability level of .05 or lower). Underlying patterns of association may be more complex and non-linear. Still, it is striking how few pairs of strategies display significant levels of covariation. Basically, patterns of correlation reveal three strategic clusters: a syndrome of violence, a syndrome of fraud, and a syndrome of executive dominance.¹¹

6.1 A Syndrome of Violence

The correlation between state violence (violations of physical integrity) and societal violence (ethnic or political warfare) lies at .53 ($p \leq .01$). The close association between vertical and horizontal violence points to a classical circle of violence in which one form of violence feeds the other. Interestingly, the state violence correlates negatively with disproportionality ($r = -.37$, $p \leq .01$), while societal violence correlates negatively with legislative weakness ($r = -.2$, $p \leq .05$). Repressive states, it seems, can afford higher levels of institutional fairness, which speaks of a neat substitutive relationship. Governments that kill and imprison their opponents, it appears, more easily accede to granting fair chances to surviving actors who accept to enter the electoral the game. The association of societal war with legislative strength, by contrast, is more difficult to interpret. Perhaps, executives who

¹¹ As my database is supposed to include (almost), the whole universe of electoral authoritarian elections, measures of statistical significance may be regarded of limited relevance. Yet, as my set of cases, temporarily circumscribed to the period from 1980 to 2002, still constitutes a small sample from the historical universe of (past and future) authoritarian elections, it seems sensible to follow conventions and weigh results according to their statistical significance.

are under siege from ethnic or political insurgencies are more willing to share power and responsibility with the legislative branch of government.

6.2 A Syndrome of Electoral Fraud

Predictably, vote rigging in presidential and legislative elections correlate highly ($r = .91$, $p \leq .01$). The correlation coefficient should not be taken at face value, though. As it is based on concurrent elections only, it exaggerates the link between presidential and legislative arenas for substantive as well as methodological reasons. Substantively, elections held in different years may show larger differences in the levels of legislative and presidential fraud. Methodologically, for concurrent elections, my sources of information often do not allow to distinguish between fraudulent maneuvers targeted at the presidential poll and those directed at the legislative election. Overall, vote rigging seems to be a prototypical selective strategy rulers implement independently of their eventual reliance on other strategies of electoral control.

The only exception is the positive association ($N = 32$) between presidential fraud and institutional bias (disproportionality), which hints at an interesting link between concurrent elections. While legislative fraud is not systematically associated with disproportionality, presidential fraud is. In both cases, the relation between fraud and disproportionality is curvilinear. With respect to legislative elections, clean elections display the highest levels of seat-vote disproportionality (mean = 18.5 per cent), while both irregular elections (mean = 15.9 per cent) and fraudulent elections (mean = 16.9 per cent) show slightly lower levels. By contrast, with respect concurrent presidential elections, fraud goes hand in hand with the highest level of disproportionality (mean = 21.6 per cent), irregularities with the lowest level (5.1 per cent). Clean elections are situated at an intermediate level (mean = 11.4 per cent). As it seems, in concurrent elections, rulers tend to employ discriminatory legislative election rules either to compensate for electoral integrity in the legislative arena or to reinforce electoral fraudulence in presidential arena.

Similar curvilinear relationships underlie non-significant correlations between legislative fraud and two other variables, repression and media restrictions. In both cases, the grossest violations of democratic norms occur in contexts of electoral integrity. Almost three fifths of clean legislative elections (58.4 per cent) take place in a context of high repression (scores ≥ 5), a percentage that lies well above the corresponding shares for irregular elections (41.4 per cent) and fraudulent elections (48.1 per cent). Repressive regimes apparently have an easier time renouncing electoral fraud. Electoral integrity in the legislative arena also coincides with high levels of media controls. More than two thirds of clean legislative elections (67.5 per cent) go hand in hand with high media restrictions (scores 2.5 or 3), while the same is

true for “only” about half of irregular elections (51.7 per cent) and fraudulent elections (55.5 per cent). Again, this skewed distribution indicates that authoritarian rulers who renounce vote rigging tend to deploy alternative security measures instead.

6.3 A Syndrome of Weak Accountability

While the strength of legislatures is a key ingredient of horizontal accountability, the strength of mass media forms a core component of societal accountability. The covariation of legislative weakness and violations of media freedom ($r = .25$, $p \leq .01$) points to situations of endemically weak political accountability. When legislatures act as rubberstamps of governmental initiatives and the media as their megaphones, executives are likely to dominate the political game, unencumbered by the nuisance of checks and balances. Facing feeble constraints from either state or societal agents, they hold a comfortable position for subverting electoral accountability, too.¹² Underlying causal relations may reflect more than the sovereign decision by authoritarian rulers to fine-tune electoral controls. In all likelihood, legislative strength and media freedom influence each other.

The relative openness of the public space may well drive the relative strength of legislatures. If dissident voices find little resonance in the public space, before as well as after elections, legislatures are likely to work as mere echo chambers of official discourse. The other way round, relatively effective legislatures may well form an important bulwark against executive encroachments in the public sphere. Most elections in my database are congruent with this causal expectation. More than a third combine ineffective legislatures and controlled media (35.9 per cent). Inversely, more than a quarter combine at least partially effective legislatures and at least partially free media (28.3 per cent). Still, more than a third belong to “incongruent” situations of at least mildly effective assemblies operating in a context of controlled media (13.1 per cent), or inversely, of rubberstamp legislatures operating in a context of at least partially free media (22.7 per cent). In the former cases, media controls might serve to domesticate legislative assertiveness, while in the latter cases, legislative weakness may serve to neutralize the subversive effects of free speech.

Neither the disempowerment of legislatures nor the control of the mass media covary systematically with other strategies of authoritarian control (except for the negative association between legislative weakness with societal war discussed above). This weakness of bivariate correlations speaks of an authoritarian syndrome rulers put into place with relative independence

¹² On the notion of political accountability, see Schedler, (1999); on horizontal accountability, see O'Donnell, (1994 and 1999); on societal accountability, Smulovitz and Peruzzotti, (2000), and on electoral accountability, Powell, (2000).

of the broader menu of strategies of control. In particular, the lack of association between the curtailment of public speech and violations of physical integrity confirm the theoretical intuition that restrictions on civil liberties and violations of human rights form dimensions of state repression that are conceptually as well as empirically distinct.

7. Reinforcing Electoral Fraud

Principal component analysis (PCA) basically confirms the patterns suggested by correlation analysis, albeit with some fresh strokes of brush that shed additional light on the strategic logic of electoral fraud. In order to prevent losing a high number of cases (and restricting the exercise to concurrent elections), I ran two separate factor analyses, one for legislative and another for presidential elections. The legislative PCA includes six variables: violations of physical integrity, media restrictions, societal war, legislative fraud, legislative weakness, and disproportionality. The presidential PCA includes the first three, plus one other, presidential fraud.

7.1 Double Disempowerment

With respect to strategies of legislative control, rotated principal component analysis (Varimax rotation with Kaiser Normalization) yields three factors with Eigenvalues above 1. Factor 1 contains high positive factor loadings for violations of physical integrity and societal war, and negative loadings for disproportionality. It closely corresponds to the syndrome of violence discussed above. Factor 3 carries high positive loadings for legislative weakness and violations of press freedom. It closely resembles the syndrome of executive dominance.

Factor 2, by contrast, hints at strategic configurations that were not obvious from correlation analysis. It contains high positive factor loadings for legislative fraud and legislative ineffectiveness as well as negative loadings for disproportionality. It alludes to situations in which rulers compensate for the neutrality of electoral rules by meddling with the administration of elections and by keeping legislative assemblies ineffectual. The fair mapping of votes onto seats ensured by the electoral formula is subverted by the double disempowerment of voters (through fraud) and deputies (through structural weakness). Actually, within our dataset of authoritarian elections, it is over half of irregular elections (52.6 per cent) and fraudulent elections (51.9 per cent) that coincide with “rubberstamp” legislatures (legislative weakness score 2), while only a good third of clean elections do so (35.1 per cent).

7.2 Covert Theft

With respect to strategies of presidential control, the same technique of principal component analysis yields two factors. Factor 1 loads high on state repression and societal war - our syndrome of violence, again. Factor 2 loads high on the two remaining variables, electoral fraud and media restrictions. Again, the commonalities between the two strategies remained hidden in correlation analysis. The strategic logic is easy to understand: you steal a presidential election, but let nobody know. The empirical distribution of cases is somewhat messy. In particular, clean presidential elections show an extraordinary affinity with media limitations. 61.1 per cent display the second-highest level of media restrictions (media restriction score 2.5). Still, the worst violations of media freedom tend to coincide with the worst instances of vote rigging: no clean presidential election earns the top score of 3, while 15.2 per cent of irregular elections (5 out of 33) and 26.9 per cent of fraudulent elections (7 out of 26) do. While media restrictions may take the bite out of clean elections, they may also serve to keep the commission of fraud hidden from the public eye.

8. Reinforcing Electoral Exclusion

Up to now, I have not taken into account the categorical variable of opposition exclusion. In this section, I will explore its bivariate association with other strategies of authoritarian control through pairwise comparisons of means. Figure 2 in Appendix B shows the arithmetic means all other strategies of authoritarian control (including societal war) show in the categories of inclusionary and exclusionary elections. Its left-hand column of figures refers to legislative elections (“legislative exclusion”) (N=122), its right-hand column to presidential contests (“presidential exclusion”) (N=78). Confidence intervals, indicated by the vertical lines running through mean values, lie at the .95 level.

Even a cursory glance at the six pairs of graphics reproduced in Figure 2 suggests that authoritarian rulers determine their either inclusionary or exclusionary stances towards opposition actors in relative independence from other strategic choices they take. Most graphics indicate a cumulative pattern, in which exclusionary strategies go hand in hand with higher levels of democratic norm violation, although some show substitutive patterns, in which the exclusion of opposition actors coincides with lower levels of non-democratic behavior. In most cases, however, differences in means are not statistically significant, as their confidence intervals overlap. Let us briefly review the list of variables.

Violations of physical integrity: In the presidential arena, repression and exclusion are not systematically linked. Authoritarian rulers’ proclivity

to keep opponents from contesting presidential elections does not vary with their readiness to violate the physical integrity of their opponents (N=77). In the legislative arena, by contrast, repression seems to work as a substitute for exclusion. Authoritarian rulers who allow for inclusive elections, tend to recur to somewhat higher levels of repression, although differences in means remain below the conventional levels of statistical significance (N=121).

Societal war: Neither ethnic insurgents nor guerrilla fighters are regular participants in electoral contestation (unless they assume dual roles as combatant groups and political parties, see Weinberg and Pedahzur, 2003). In the face of organized societal violence, governments may therefore be tempted either to act in inclusionary ways (to augment the integrative capacity of the electoral regime) or to practice exclusion (to keep at a distance the potential allies of violent actors). Neither one nor the other seem to happen systematically. Whether societies are torn by political or ethnic insurgencies and whether rulers ban opposition actors from the electoral arena, seem to be, as the metaphor has it, two different pairs of shoes.

Violations of press freedom: Legislative exclusion and violations of press freedom display a clear cumulative pattern (N=122). If rulers restrict the access to the electoral arena, they tend to restrict the public space too. In terms of frequency distributions, over half of inclusionary legislative elections (55.4 per cent) show “partially free” media (score ≤ 2), while the same is true for only a good quarter of exclusionary elections (28.1 per cent). The cumulative relation of exclusion and media restrictions does not hold for presidential elections, in which the two strategies seem unrelated (N=77).

Electoral fraud: As our simple comparison of means suggests, vote rigging and exclusion form a flexible pair of strategies. Regimes that exclude opposition actors from electoral competition have similar probabilities either to reinforce their exclusionary measures through electoral fraud or to trust the force of exclusion, relax administrative controls, and permit clean elections.

Legislative weakness: While legislative exclusion and legislative weakness seem only weakly related (N=121), the exclusion of presidential candidates and the disempowerment of legislatures appear to form strongly complementary strategies (N=77). By preventing legislatures from contesting presidential policies, and preventing opposition candidates from contesting presidential elections, regimes may keep simultaneously both the presidential and the legislative arena safe from the corrosive influence of opposition politics.

Disproportionality: Deriving security from redundancy, electoral authoritarian regimes tend to complement their strategies of legislative exclusion

with strategies of institutional discrimination, as evidenced in high average levels of disproportionality. Inclusionary regimes then tend to be doubly inclusionary: As they refrain from barring opponents by legal, administrative or judicial fiat, they also tend to renounce the possibility of denying them representation by institutional design. Inversely, exclusionary regimes tend to be doubly exclusionary: They strive to keep their adversaries out of the legislative arena by erecting barriers to the formal registry of candidacies as well as to formal legislative representation. While exclusion and discrimination reinforce each other in the legislative arena (N=87), exclusionary presidential elections do not show significantly higher levels of disproportionality in concurrent legislative elections (N=32).¹³

¹³ The difference in mean levels of disproportionality between exclusionary and inclusionary legislative elections is significant when confidence intervals are set at a 0.90 level. Set at the 0.95 level, as shown in Figure 2, their confidence intervals still touch.

Conclusiones

The present paper stops short of delivering a comprehensive map of electoral authoritarian strategies. Still, its simple statistical explorations of both available and original data yield intriguing empirical insights. In essence, the paper set out to explore linear associations between pairs of authoritarian strategies. Table 8 sums up the significant bivariate relations it uncovered. In these concluding lines, I wish to highlight five main points:

First, the core findings of the paper are negative. Of the $(9 \times 8) / 2 = 36$ possible bivariate combinations of authoritarian strategies, more than two thirds do not show any significant linear relationship (25 cells or 69.4 percent of either half, below or above the diagonal, in Table 8). In all these cases, neither the cumulative logic of reinforcement nor the substitutive logic of selection holds consistently across my set of cases. Apparently, with respect to most pairs of strategies, rulers do not face compelling reasons to either combine them or to renounce one when implementing the other. They may go either way and they actually do so. Accordingly, the overall coherence between authoritarian strategies is quite low. Rather than constituting a coherent set of strategies that hang together in law-like fashion, they form an ensemble of options rulers are picking from with considerable discretion. The metaphor of the menu seems quite appropriate, after all, to describe the structure of choice electoral authoritarian rulers face.

Second, among the significant bivariate relations, only the “syndrome of violence,” characterized by the elective affinity of repression and societal warfare, shows negative linear relationships with other items in the menu of manipulation (highlighted in bold in Table 8). In the presence of vertical violence, legislative elections seem to be more neutral (as indicated by lower levels of vote-seat disproportionality); in the presence of horizontal violence, they seem to be more meaningful (as indicated by lower levels of legislative ineffectiveness). As it appears, political repression in its harshest form (the violation of human rights) represents an authoritarian strategy that tends to go alone. Some specific forms of electoral manipulation seem to recede in the face of either state-sponsored or societal violence, while most seem unaffected.

Third, among the remaining pairs of strategies, the cumulative logic of mutual reinforcement clearly prevails. All significant relationships others than the ones just reported are positive. Most of these strategic connections reach across the institutional arenas involved. The syndrome of weak accountability (linking ineffective legislatures and unfree media), the syndrome of concurrent fraud (carried out in legislative as well as presidential elections), and the syndrome of covert theft (of presidential fraud going hand in

hand with media restrictions) couple the arenas of legislative elections, presidential elections, and public debate. By contrast, the “double disempowerment” of voters (legislative fraud) and deputies (legislative ineffectiveness) as well as the “double exclusion” of parties and candidates from competition (legislative exclusion) and representation (disproportionality) exclusively take place in the arena of legislative elections.

Fourth, authoritarian strategies differ slightly in their degree of connectivity. On one extreme, the disempowerment of legislature constitutes a central nodes in a net of four strategies. It appears to form an embedded strategy authoritarian regimes tend to pursue in a cumulative fashion, complementing other strategies. On the other extreme, the exclusion of presidential candidates shows few systematic associations with other strategies of electoral control. It appears to represent a rather isolated strategy regimes tend to employ in a selective manner, substituting for other strategies of control.

Fifth, overall the scattered pattern of bivariate associations I found seems to confirm the theoretical intuition that electoral authoritarian rulers do not strive to maximize electoral security by accumulating authoritarian measures. Rather, they seem to aim at optimizing electoral security by combining selected strategies of control. Navigating between the risk averse pole of crushing opposition actors with all possible means and the risk tolerant pole of barely controlling them through one single measure, regimes select and combine authoritarian measures, creating focused strategic configurations to keep the electoral game under control without stripping it of all credibility.

Of course, these bivariate explorations of strategies of electoral control constitute no more than a tentative beginning in the comparative research on the internal logic of electoral authoritarian regimes. Three rather obvious tasks are to be tackled in subsequent steps: (a) the task of moving from a (largely) bivariate exploration to multivariate analyses of authoritarian configurations; (b) the task of extending the scope of analysis from the clustering of variables to the clustering of cases, and (c) the challenge of advancing from a topographical analysis of static configurations to a chronological study of sequences of authoritarian measures. Business as usual: some things we have learned, while much research needs to be done still.

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Appendix A: Tables

T a b l e 1

Breaking the Chain of Democratic Choice: The Menu of Electoral Control

	<i>DIMENSIONS OF CHOICE</i>	<i>NORMATIVE PREMISES OF DEMOCRATIC CHOICE</i>	<i>STRATEGIES OF NORM VIOLATION</i>
1	THE OBJECT OF CHOICE	EMPOWERMENT: DEMOCRATIC ELECTIONS INVOLVE THE DELEGATION OF DECISION-MAKING AUTHORITY.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – RESERVED POSITIONS: LIMITING THE SCOPE OF ELECTIVE OFFICES. – RESERVED DOMAINS: LIMITING THE JURISDICTION OF ELECTIVE OFFICES.
2	THE RANGE OF CHOICE	FREEDOM OF SUPPLY: CITIZENS MUST BE FREE TO FORM, JOIN, AND SUPPORT CONFLICTING PARTIES, CANDIDATES, AND POLICIES.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – EXCLUSION OF OPPOSITION ACTORS: RESTRICTING ACCESS TO ELECTORAL ARENA. – FRAGMENTATION OF OPPOSITION ACTORS: DISORGANIZING ELECTORAL DISSIDENCE.
3	THE FORMATION OF PREFERENCES	FREEDOM OF DEMAND: TO LEARN ABOUT AVAILABLE ALTERNATIVES, CITIZENS NEED ACCESS TO ALTERNATIVE SOURCES OF INFORMATION.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – REPRESSION: RESTRICTING POLITICAL AND CIVIL LIBERTIES. – UNFAIRNESS: RESTRICTING ACCESS TO MEDIA AND MONEY.
4	THE AGENTS OF CHOICE	INCLUSION: DEMOCRACY ASSIGNS EQUAL RIGHTS OF PARTICIPATION TO ALL FULL MEMBERS OF THE POLITICAL COMMUNITY.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – FORMAL DISENFRANCHISEMENT: LEGAL SUFFRAGE RESTRICTIONS. – INFORMAL DISENFRANCHISEMENT: PRACTICAL SUFFRAGE RESTRICTIONS.
5	THE EXPRESSION OF PREFERENCES	INSULATION: CITIZENS MUST BE FREE TO EXPRESS THEIR ELECTORAL PREFERENCES.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – COERCION: VOTER INTIMIDATION. – CORRUPTION: VOTE BUYING.
6	THE AGGREGATION OF PREFERENCES	INTEGRITY: ONE PERSON, ONE VOTE. THE DEMOCRATIC IDEAL OF EQUALITY DEMANDS WEIGHTING VOTES EQUALLY.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – ELECTORAL FRAUD: "REDISTRIBUTIVE" ELECTION MANAGEMENT. – INSTITUTIONAL BIAS: "REDISTRIBUTIVE" ELECTORAL RULES.
7	THE CONSEQUENCES OF CHOICE	DECISIVENESS: ELECTIONS WITHOUT CONSEQUENCES DO NOT QUALIFY AS DEMOCRATIC.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – TUTELAGE: PREVENTING ELECTED OFFICERS FROM EXERCISING THEIR CONSTITUTIONAL POWERS. – REVERSION: PREVENTING VICTORS FROM TAKING OFFICE, OR ELECTED OFFICERS FROM CONCLUDING THEIR CONSTITUTIONAL TERMS.

Source: Schedler(2002), with light revisions.

T A B L E 2

THE UNIVERSE OF AUTHORITARIAN ELECTIONS IN THE WORLD, 1980–2002

REGION 1			1992 C	REGION 5			2000 C
		RUSSIA	1999 L			TOGO	1993 P
COLOMBIA	2002 C		2000 P	BURKINA F.	1991 P		1994 L
EL SALVADOR	1984 P				1992 L		1998 P
	1985 L	REGION 3			1997 L		1999 L
GUATEMALA	1985 C				1998 P		2002 L
	1990 C	ARMENIA	1995 L		2002 L	ZAMBIA	1996 C
	1994 L		1996 P	CAMEROON	1992 C		2001 C
	1995 C		1998 P		1997 C	ZIMBABWE	1985 L
HAITI	1990 P		1999 L		2002 L		1990 C
	1995 C	AZERBAIJAN	1993 P	CHAD	1996 P		1995 L
	1997 L		1995 L		1997 L		1996 P
	2000 C		1998 P		2001 P		2000 L
MEXICO	1985 L		2000 L		2002 L		2002 P
	1988 C	GEORGIA	1992 L	C. D'IVOIRE	1990 C		
	1991 L		1995 C		1995 C	REGION 6	
	1994 C		1999 L		2000 C		
NICARAGUA	1984 C		2000 P	ETHIOPIA	1995 L	CAMBODIA	1993 L
PANAMA	1984 C	KAZAKHSTAN	1995 L	ETHIOPIA	2000 L		1998 L
	1989 P		1999 C	GABON	1990 L	INDONESIA	1982 L
PARAGUAY	1983 C	KYRGYZTAN	1991 P		1993 P		1987 L
	1988 C		1995 C		1996 L		1992 L
	1989 C		2000 C		1998 P		1997 L
	1998 C	TAJIKISTAN	1999 P		2001 L		1999 L
PERÚ	1995 P		2000 L	GAMBIA	2001 P	MALAYSIA	1982 L
	2000 C				2002 L		1986 L
		REGION 4		GHANA	1992 C		1990 L
REGION 2				GUINEA	1993 P		1995 L
		ALGERIA	1995 P		1995 L		1999 L
ALBANIA	1991 L		1997 L		1998 P	PAKISTAN	1990 L
	1992 L		1999 P		2002 L		1993 L
	1996 L		2002 L	KENYA	1992 C		1997 L
	1997 L	EGYPT	1984 L		1997 C	PHILIPPINES	1981 P
BELARUS	1994 P		1987 L		2002 C		1984 L
	1995 L		1990 L	MAURITANIA	1996 L		1986 P
	2000 L		1995 L		1997 P	SINGAPORE	1980 L
	2001 P		2000 L		2001 L		1984 L
CROATIA	1992 C	TUNISIA	1999 C	NIGER	1996 C		1988 L
	1995 L	TURKEY	1983 L		1999 C		1991 L
	1997 P		1995 L	SENEGAL	1983 C		1997 L
MACEDONIA	1994 C		1999 L		1988 C		2001 L
MOLDOVA	1994 L	YEMEN	1997 L		1993 C		
ROMANIA	1990 C		1999 P	TANZANIA	1995 C		

P = Presidential elections

L = Legislative elections (Lower Chamber)

C = Concurrent elections (within same calendar year)

World Regions

1 Latin America & C.

2 Eastern Europe

3 Central Asia & Caucasus

4 Middle East & Northern Africa

5 Sub-Saharan Africa

6 South & East Asia

T A B L E 3

DISTRIBUTION OF AUTHORITARIAN ELECTIONS BY WORLD REGIONS, 1980–2002

	<i>LEGISLATIVE ELECTIONS</i>	<i>PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS</i>	<i>TOTAL</i>	<i>%</i>
1 LATIN AMERICA & CARIBBEAN	20	19	39	19.5
2 EASTERN EUROPE	13	8	21	10.5
3 CENTRAL ASIA & CAUCASUS	12	11	23	11.5
4 NORTHERN AFRICA & MIDDLE EAST	12	4	16	8.0
5 SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA	42	33	74	37.0
6 SOUTH & EAST ASIA	23	3	26	13.0
TOTAL	122	78	200	100.0

Source: Author's database on Authoritarian Elections in the World.

T A B L E 4
MEASURING AUTHORITARIAN STRATEGIES: DESCRIPTION OF VARIABLES

STRATEGIES OF NORM VIOLATION	LEVEL OF MEASUREMENT	CATEGORIES	SOURCE	VARIABLE NAME
REPRESSION				
VIOLATION OF PHYSICAL INTEGRITY (EXTRAJUDICIAL KILLINGS, DISAPPEARANCE, TORTURE, AND POLITICAL IMPRISONMENT) (PERSONAL INTEGRITY)	ORDINAL	RANGE 0-8 0 = FULL RESPECT FOR BASIC HUMAN RIGHTS 8 = GROSS VIOLATION OF BASIC HUMAN RIGHTS	CINGRANELLI-RICHARDS (CIRI) HUMAN RIGHTS DATA PROJECT: PHYSICAL INTEGRITY RIGHTS INDEX (INVERTED) HTTP://CIRI.BINGHAMPTON.EDU	VIOLINT
RESTRICTIONS ON FREEDOM OF SPEECH AND MASS MEDIA (CIVIL LIBERTIES)	ORDINAL	RANGE 1-3 CIRI (RECODED): 1 = NO VIOLATIONS 2 = SOME VIOLATIONS 3 = FREQUENT VIOLATIONS FH: 1 = FREE PRESS 2 = PARTLY FREE 3 = NOT FREE	ARITHMETIC MEAN OF CIRI FREEDOM OF SPEECH AND PRESS (INVERTED) AND FH PRESS FREEDOM (AUTHOR CALCULATION) HTTP://CIRI.BINGHAMPTON.EDU WWW.FREEDOMHOUSE.ORG	VIOLMED
LEGISLATIVE WEAKNESS				
RESERVED DOMAINS: LIMITING THE JURISDICTION OF ELECTIVE OFFICES THROUGH WEAK LEGISLATURES (LEGISLATIVE)	ORDINAL	0 EFFECTIVE LEGISLATURE 1 PARTIALLY EFFECTIVE LEGISLATURE 2 INEFFECTIVE ("RUBBER STAMP")	TONY BANKS CROSS-NATIONAL TIME-SERIES (CNTS) DATA ARCHIVE, LEGISLATIVE EFFECTIVENESS, VARIABLE	LEGWEAK
INSTITUTIONAL BIAS				
REDISTRIBUTIVE ELECTORAL RULES: VOTE-SEAT DISPROPORTIONALITY (PROXY)	RATIO	LOOSEMORE-HANBY DISPROPORTIONALITY INDEX: $\frac{\sum V_i - S_i }{2}$	AUTHOR'S DATABASE ON AUTHORITARIAN ELECTIONS IN THE WORLD (1980-2002).	DISPRO

TABLE 4 CONT.

STRATEGIES OF NORM VIOLATION	LEVEL OF MEASUREMENT	CATEGORIES	SOURCE	VARIABLE NAME
ELECTORAL FRAUD				
REDISTRIBUTIVE ELECTION MANAGEMENT (AT EITHER LEGISLATIVE OR PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS)	ORDINAL	0 NO FRAUD 1 IRREGULARITIES 2 FRAUD	AUTHOR'S DATABASE ON AUTHORITARIAN ELECTIONS IN THE WORLD (1980-2002).	FRAUDLEG: LEGISLATIVE FRAUD FRAUDPRE: PRESIDENTIAL FRAUD
EXCLUSION				
EXCLUSION OF PARTIES AND CANDIDATES FROM ELECTORAL COMPETITION (AT EITHER LEGISLATIVE OR PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS)	NOMINAL	0 OPENNESS 1 EXCLUSION	AUTHOR'S DATABASE ON AUTHORITARIAN ELECTIONS IN THE WORLD (1980-2002).	EXCLEG: LEGISLATIVE EXCLUSION EXCPRE: PRESIDENTIAL EXCLUSION
SOCIETAL WARFARE MAGNITUDE OF SOCIETAL WARFARE	INTERVAL	RANGE 0-4 (CONTINUOUS) SUM OF AVERAGE MAGNITUDES OF REVOLUTIONARY AND ETHNIC WARS (AUTHOR CALCULATION)	STATE FAILURE DATASET, POLITICAL INSTABILITY TASK FORCE, INTERNAL WARS AND FAILURES OF GOVERNANCE, GEORGE MASON UNIVERSITY (MARSHALL, GURR, AND HARFF) HTTP://GLOBALPOLICY.GMU.EDU/PITF/INDEX.HTM	CIVILWAR

T A B L E 5
FREQUENCY DISTRIBUTION OF STRATEGIES OF ELECTORAL MANIPULATION

VARIABLES AND CATEGORIES	FREQUENCIES	PERCENTAGES
VIOLATIONS OF PHYSICAL INTEGRITY		
0	2	1,3
1	11	7,1
2	17	11,0
3	24	15,6
4	32	20,8
5	16	10,4
6	24	15,6
7	18	11,7
8	10	6,5
<i>TOTAL</i>	<i>154</i>	<i>100,0</i>
VIOLATIONS OF PRESS FREEDOM		
1,0	1	0,6
1,5	11	7,1
2,0	51	32,9
2,5	64	41,3
3,0	28	18,1
<i>TOTAL</i>	<i>155</i>	<i>100,0</i>
LEGISLATIVE WEAKNESS		
EFFECTIVE LEGISLATURE	3	1,9
PARTIALLY EFFECTIVE LEGISLATURE	71	45,8
INEFFECTIVE LEGISLATURE	72	46,5
INEXISTENT LEGISLATURE	9	5,8
<i>TOTAL</i>	<i>155</i>	<i>100,0</i>
DISPROPORTIONALITY (N = 88)		
MEAN	16,81	
MAXIMUM	44,78	
MINIMUM	1,58	
STANDARD DEVIATION	9,27	
LEGISLATIVE FRAUD		
NO FRAUD	37	30,3
IRREGULARITIES	58	47,5
FRAUD	27	22,1
<i>TOTAL</i>	<i>122</i>	<i>100,0</i>

TABLE 5 CONT.

VARIABLES AND CATEGORIES	FREQUENCIES	PERCENTAGES
PRESIDENTIAL FRAUD		
NO FRAUD	19	24,4
IRREGULARITIES	33	42,3
FRAUD	26	33,3
<i>TOTAL</i>	78	100,0
LEGISLATIVE EXCLUSION		
INCLUSION	65	53,3
EXCLUSIÓN	57	46,7
<i>TOTAL</i>	122	100,0
PRESIDENTIAL EXCLUSION		
INCLUSIÓN	48	61,5
EXCLUSIÓN	30	38,5
<i>TOTAL</i>	78	100,0
CIVIL WAR		
0	108	75,0
1	1	,7
1,5	10	6,9
2	2	1,4
2,5	10	6,9
3	9	6,3
3,5	4	2,8
<i>TOTAL</i>	144	100,0

Source: Author's database on Authoritarian Elections (1980–2002).

T A B L E 6

UNDERLYING FACTORS TO THE AUTHORITARIAN CONTROL OF LEGISLATIVE ELECTIONS*

VARIABLES / COMPONENTS	FACTOR 1	FACTOR 2	FACTOR 3
LEGISLATIVE FRAUD	-,066	,792	-,141
LEGISLATIVE INEFFECTIVENESS	-,085	,607	,622
VIOLATIONS OF PRESS FREEDOM	-,006	-,197	,897
DISPROPORTIONALITY	-,579	-,528	,025
VIOLATIONS OF PHYSICAL INTEGRITY	,871	,091	-,021
SOCIETAL WAR	,824	-,321	-,027

* Rotated principal component analysis with four iterations (Varimax rotation with Kaiser Normalization). Matrix shows factors with Eigenvalues > 1.
Source: Author's database on Authoritarian Elections (1980–2002).

T A B L E 7

UNDERLYING FACTORS TO THE AUTHORITARIAN CONTROL OF PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS*

VARIABLES / COMPONENTS	FACTOR 1	FACTOR 2
PRESIDENTIAL FRAUD	-,140	,663
VIOLATIONS OF PRESS FREEDOM	,177	,785
VIOLATIONS OF PHYSICAL INTEGRITY	,887	,181
SOCIETAL WAR	,868	-,166

* Rotated principal component analysis with three iterations (Varimax rotation with Kaiser Normalization). Matrix shows factors with Eigenvalues > 1.
Source: Author's database on Authoritarian Elections (1980–2002).

T A B L E 8

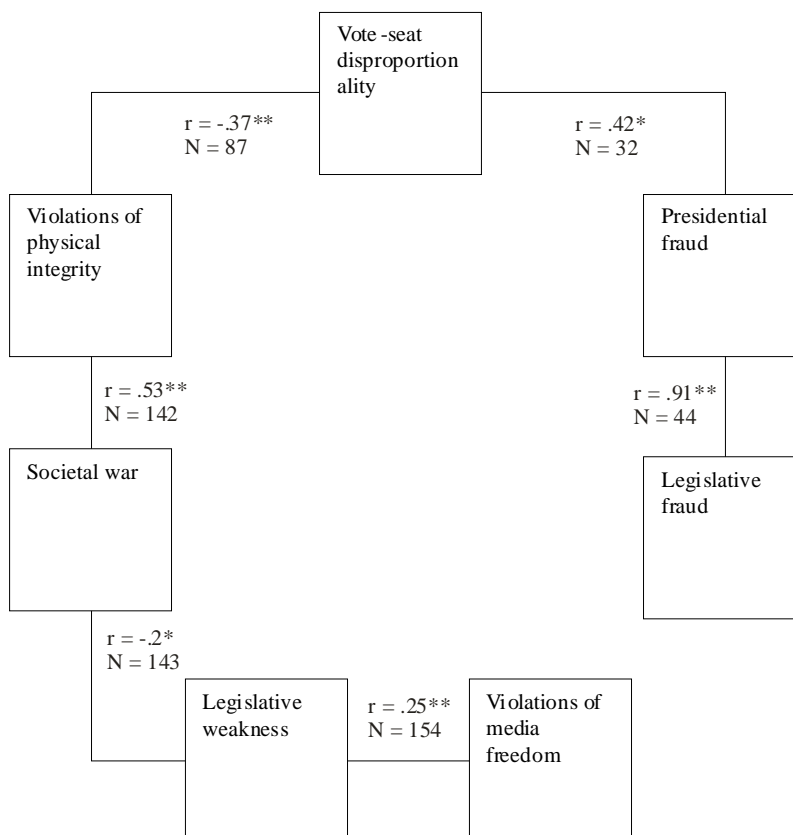
SUMMARY OF LINEAR BIVARIATE ASSOCIATIONS AMONG STRATEGIES OF AUTHORITARIAN CONTROL

	VIOLINT	CIVILWAR	LEGWEAK	VIOLMED	DISPRO	EXCLEG	EXCPRE	FRAUDLEG	FRAUDPRES
VIOLINT	...	POSITIVE			NEGATIVE				
CIVILWAR	POSITIVE	...	NEGATIVE						
LEGWEAK		NEGATIVE	...	POSITIVE			POSITIVE	POSITIVE	
VIOLMED			POSITIVE	...		POSITIVE			POSITIVE
DISPRO	NEGATIVE				...	POSITIVE			POSITIVE
EXCLEG				POSITIVE		...			
EXCPRE			POSITIVE				...		
FRAUDLEG			POSITIVE					...	POSITIVE
FRAUDPRES				POSITIVE	POSITIVE			POSITIVE	...

VIOLINT Violations of physical integrity
 CIVILWAR Societal warfare
 LEGWEAK Legislative weakness
 VIOLMED Violations of media freedom
 DISPRO Vote-seat disproportionality
 EXCLEG Exclusion from legislative elections
 EXCPRE Exclusion from presidential elections
 FRAUDLEG Fraud in legislative elections
 FRAUDPRES Fraud in presidential elections

Appendix B: Figures

FIGURE 1
PATTERNS OF ASSOCIATION BETWEEN STRATEGIES OF AUTHORITARIAN CONTROL



N Number of cases
r Bivariate Pearson correlation coefficients
* $p \leq .05$
** $p \leq .01$

Source: Author's database on Authoritarian Elections (1980–2002).

F I G U R E 2

The Menu of Authoritarian Strategies and the Exclusion of Opposition from Legislative and Presidential Elections: Comparisons of Means with Confidence Intervals at 0.95

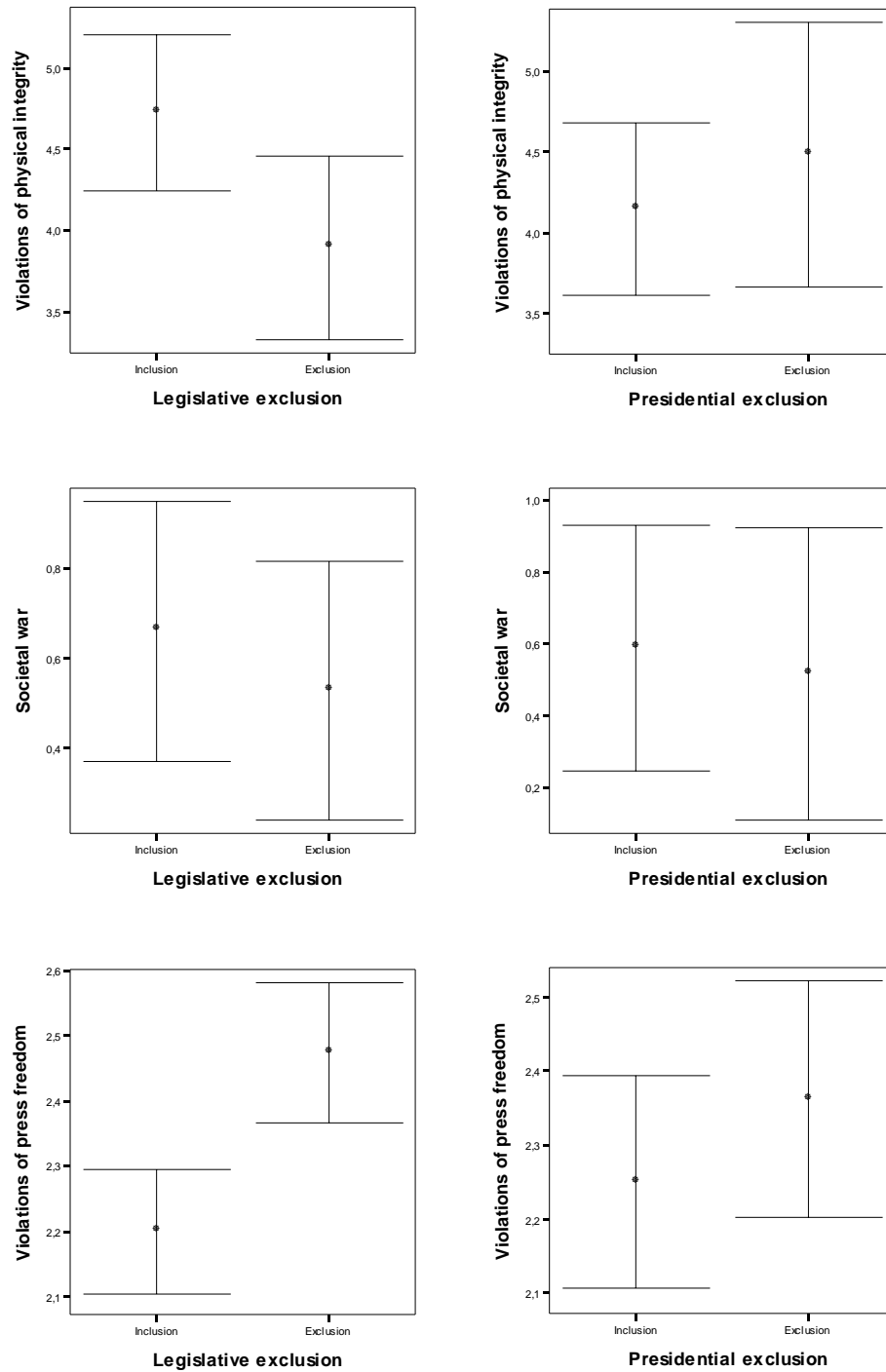
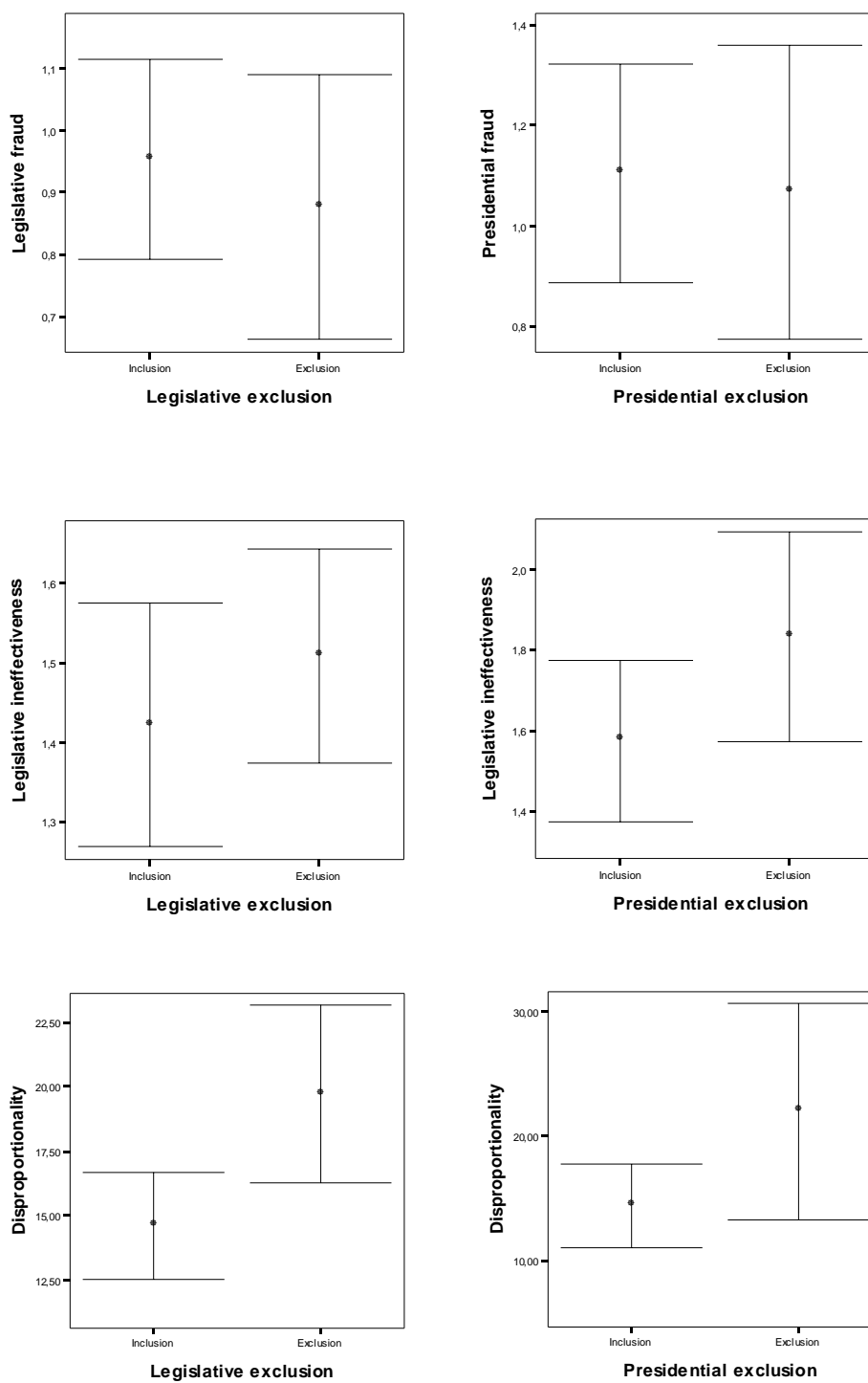


Figure 2 continued:



Source: Author's database on Authoritarian Elections (1980–2002).

Appendix C: Coding Rules

Exclusion of opposition actors

General definition

Exclusion is defined as formal exclusion from electoral participation (through constitutional provisions, legal rules, or administrative practices) of active parties and candidates.

Examples: Denial of registry on political or administrative grounds. Ad hominem rules of candidacy that exclude prominent opposition actors.

Rules of exclusion

Exclusion of latent actors ≠ exclusion: We register exclusion of actors who are already established and active on the political scene. Formal rules banning political parties that mobilize certain cleavages (like region, religion, or ethnicity) do not count as exclusion as long as they are successful in preventing the formation of such parties. Example: the constitutional ban on regional or religious parties in Mexico.

Exclusion of incumbents ≠ exclusion: Exclusion is assumed to be a strategy of ruling parties. Bans on sitting presidents from re-election thus do not count as exclusion (as in 1992 in Paraguay, when a fraction of the ruling Colorado party allied with the opposition to introduce a constitutional ban on re-election, to prevent President Andrés Rodríguez from running again).

Exclusion of violent actors ≠ exclusion: The exclusion of violent actors may be regarded legitimate from a democratic point of view. To register exclusionary strategies on behalf of authoritarian actors, bans on violent actors, like former coup mongers, guerrilla organizations, regional warlords, and violent secessionist movements, are not coded as exclusion. Example: In 1990 in Guatemala, neither the military veto to left-wing guerrilla participation, nor the legal barring of former dictator Rios Montt are counted as exclusion.

Exclusion of authoritarian predecessors = exclusion: By contrast, the exclusion of members of the former authoritarian regime *is* counted as exclusion, unless they openly resort to violence. Example: the banning members of the Duvalier regime in the 1990 elections in Haiti.

Exclusion by intimidation ≠ exclusion: The withdrawal of parties or their refusal to register candidacies because of intimidation and fear (deterrence) does not count as exclusion (if explicit, such “voluntary” non-participation counts as boycott; otherwise it should show up in repression data).

Exclusion (assassination) by violent actors ≠ exclusion: As our category of exclusion registers the exclusion of opposition actors by regime actors (or their agents), the assassination of presidential or legislative candidates by violent opposition actors does not count as exclusion. For example, the murder of presidential candidate Abdelmajid Benhadid by islamists in Algeria's 1995 presidential election.

Open replacement ≠ exclusion

Bans on parties do not count as exclusion if successor parties take the place of excluded parties, under different names yet similar programs. The same holds for allied personalities taking the place of excluded candidates. Citizens recognize successors as reliable representatives of excluded actors.

Examples: Greek Albanians in 1992. Ghana in 1992: although pre-1981 parties are formally banned, their representatives nevertheless participate in the elections. Turkey between 1988 and 2001, going through a succession of moderate Islamic parties: Welfare Party banned in 1998, replaced by Virtue Party for 1999 elections; Virtue Party banned in 2001, replaced by Justice and Development Party for 2002 elections. Efraín Ríos Montt in Guatemala and Lino Oviedo in Paraguay: being banned from the presidential contests, both succeeded in placing allies in the presidency.

Ironic applications in 1990 Romania: Opposition parties demand that the communist party to be banned and that the ruling NSF to abstain from participating in the elections. The NSF, which is perceived as veiled communist continuity, bans communists. As the NSF may count as communist successor party, the (transient) ban on the PC is not counted as exclusion.

Similarly, banning some parties representing certain interests or constituencies, while admitting others representing the same interests or constituencies, does not count as exclusion. Example: Turkey 1999: the Supreme Court dissolves the Democratic Party of the Masses, a moderate pro-Kurdish party, while the pro-Kurdish People's Democracy Party was able to take part in the election.

Note, however, that this rule of exception does *not* apply to *candidates* (or potential candidates) in presidential contests. Persons are taken to be irreplaceable. For example: The assassination of Georgian opposition leader Gula Chanturia in 1994 counts as exclusion (for the 1995 concurrent elections), even if his wife succeeded him in the presidency of his National Democratic Party.

Exclusion from legislative elections: The binary category fits presidential elections better than legislative elections. In legislative elections, the widespread exclusion of "uncomfortable" individual candidates as well as the wholesale exclusion of parties qualify as exclusion. Barring party leaders from legislative contests is not coded as exclusion, as in Cote d'Ivoire 1995.

Electoral fraud

General definition

We define electoral fraud in a narrow manner as the manipulation of electoral administration for partisan advantage. It may take place at any stage of the electoral process (pre-electoral fraud, election-day fraud, and post-electoral fraud):

- Voter registration and voter identification.
- Preparation: distribution and location of polling places, appointment of polling station personnel, design, procurement and distribution of polling material.
- Polling: Access to polling stations, voting procedures, secrecy and integrity, polling observation.
- Counting and vote tabulation.

No fraud: No reports on irregularities or fraud. The occurrence of just “minor irregularities,” inevitable in any electoral process, is discounted, too, and coded as absence of fraud.

Irregularities: Sporadic and unsystematic, yet not irrelevant, irregularities, be they administrative or partisan in origin.

Fraud: Widespread and systematic partisan interference with the organization of elections, which may or may not affect electoral results.

Specific coding rules

The scale and impact of fraud

The category of fraud involves all instances in which election fraud is reported to be widespread and systematic. *Large-scale fraud* counts as fraud, even if it did not affect outcomes. Small-scale fraud counts as fraud if it may have affected outcomes in close races. Thus, the category of “fraud” includes *big fraud* regardless of impact as well as *decisive fraud* regardless of scale.

Descriptions of election victories as “overwhelming” and “convincing” (as in Georgia’s 1992 presidential elections) suggest that that fraud had not been a decisive factor. In such cases, fraud augments margins of victory without affecting the identity of the victor. It is still coded as fraud (as in Georgia’s 2000 presidential elections).

In their elections reports, observers usually conflate two issues one would ideally like to keep apart: (a) the *extent* of manipulation by ruling parties and (b) the *impact* of manipulation by ruling parties. If opposition parties are weak, large-scale fraud may do little to alter results; if they are strong, minor alterations may be sufficient for incumbents to steal an election. Estimating

the impact of electoral manipulation on election outcomes commonly is a complex and contested enterprise, as it depends on counterfactual judgments (what would have happened in the absence of fraud).

We take electoral manipulation to bear a “decisive” impact on results under the following conditions: (a) in legislative elections, when opposition parties would have won a majority or blocking minority in the legislature, and (b) in presidential elections, when the winner would have failed to win either the first or the second round of the contest.

“Numerous” and “widespread” irregularities = *fraud*: Election observers often consciously employ ambiguous language which calls for difficult judgments. For instance, the “numerous instances of manipulation of the poll” in 1992 Albania are coded as irregularities, while the “widespread electoral malpractice” in 1996 Albania is counted as fraud. The semantic distance between “numerous” and “widespread” instances of manipulation seems small enough, though.

Conflicting observer judgments

We treat cases of diverging judgments among observers and parties as well as between them in a similar fashion as described above, *by weighing and averaging judgments* (in some rough, judgmental way).

Examples of such contradictions that require difficult 2nd-order judgments (judgments on judgments): In the 2001 presidential elections in Chad, observers deliver “positive reports,” while the opposition alleges “massive fraud.” In the 1993 presidential elections in Gabon, citizens take to rioting and violent attacks against international observers who had issued benevolent judgments on the election. These cases call out for second-order judgments (judgments on judgments). We group them, salomonically, in the intermediate category of “irregularities.”

Judicial remedies

If competent authorities order repeat elections due to allegations of fraud, without further complaints of fraud, not coded as fraud (or irregularity). To the extent that vote rigging is corrected by competent authorities (judicial recourse), it does not count as fraud. Example: In Egypt’s 1995 legislative election, courts invalidate the election of 200 deputies due to “widespread irregularities.” Thus, the election is not coded as fraudulent, but as affected by “irregularities” (assuming they extended beyond the constituencies in which the courts ordered repeat elections). Here, as often, judicial remedies may be assumed to be partial.

Of course, judges may intervene in favour authoritarian rulers, rather than upholding democratic rights. For instance, in the 1994 legislative elections in Togo, alleging “opposition fraud” courts ordered repeat elections for three constituencies that were crucial for the opposition to achieve majority in the

81-member assembly. As a result of the repeat elections, the opposition lost its prospective majority. Since international observers were complacent, we coded the election as a case of “irregularities.”

N-round elections: one fraudulent round = fraud. An election is coded as fraudulent if fraud is present at any stage of the election. For instance, if ballot rigging seems decisive in the first round of presidential elections, but not in the second round (as in 2000 in Russia), the election is still coded as fraudulent.

Novedades

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