# V-Dem INSTITUTE

## The Effects of Electoral Bodies Autonomy in the Elections Cleanliness: the Latin America Case

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# The Effects of Electoral Bodies Autonomy in the Elections Cleanliness: the Latin America Case [*]

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# Abstract.

Democratic systems have regular elections, which supposes the existence of one or more organisms in each nation in charge of organizing the elections. Electoral governance is supposed to have an impact on the quality of the processes and democracy itself. Formally, the integration and composition of the electoral bodies generate differences due to the number of management bodies, the duration of their mandates, the way in which their members are selected, their level of professionalization and links with parties and the government, their condition of autonomy and financial sufficiency, their capacity for legislative initiative and the level of involvement of the political parties in their decisions for the organization of the elections.

In practice, it is essential to review and verify the effective existence, meaning and magnitude of the impact of electoral bodies and their autonomy regarding issues related to the quality of processes and democracy in Latin American nations.

For this, it is necessary to resort to one of the most complete sources of information to conceptualize and measure democracy in the countries of the world through the compilation of a multidimensional and disaggregated set of data that aims to reflect the complexity of the phenomenon: the Varieties of Democracy (V-Dem) project, which provides indices on democracy and electoral cleanliness and indicators on the autonomy and sufficiency of electoral bodies by country and year, which can be crossed with indicators for each election on electoral participation, vote buying and other irregularities, government intimidation and other forms of violence, as well as acceptance of defeat, in addition to an estimator of cleanliness and perceived freedom in each process.

The exploitation of these data and the analysis of the relationship between the indicators by election and the annual estimators for the region will be the task that we will address in this paper.

**Key words:** Latin America, democracy, electoral bodies, electoral cleanliness, V-Dem.

# Introduction.

Democratic systems have regular elections, which supposes the existence of one or more organisms in each nation in charge of organizing the elections. Electoral governance is supposed to have an impact on the quality of the processes and democracy itself.

Formally, the integration and composition of the electoral bodies generate differences due to the number of management bodies, the duration of their mandates, the way in which their members are selected, their level of professionalization and links with parties and the government, their condition of autonomy and sufficiency or financial capacity, their power of legislative initiative and the level of involvement of the political parties in their decisions for the organization of the elections.

In practice, it is essential to review and verify the effective existence, meaning and magnitude of the impact of electoral bodies and their autonomy with respect to issues related to the quality of processes and democracy in Latin American nations. For this, it is necessary to resort to one of the most complete sources of information to conceptualize and measure democracy in the countries of the world through the compilation of a multidimensional and disaggregated set of data that aims to reflect the complexity of the phenomenon: the Varieties of Democracy (V-Dem) project, which provides various indices on democracy and electoral cleanliness and indicators on the autonomy and sufficiency of electoral bodies for a broad collection of territories, most of them sovereign, and per year, which can be crossed with indicators for each election that lead to an estimator of perceived cleanliness and freedom in each process. The exploitation of this data collection and the analysis of the relationship between the indicators by choice and the annual estimators for the region will be the task that we will attend to in this paper.

Of course, this leaves an enormous pending task: seeking the marriage between the changes perceived in the margins of sufficiency and autonomy of the electoral bodies in Latin America and their repercussions on the cleanliness and freedom of the elections and the universal acceptance of their results, with the legal reforms of the political-electoral systems that occurred at different times in the various countries of the region.

# The source of information.

For logical and practical reasons, this section basically takes up the content of a section of a recently prepared paper on the bases for the study of electoral processes (de la Peña, 2020), which is dedicated precisely to recounting the characteristics basics of our chosen source of information.

Perhaps the largest free and open data collection effort on democracy in the world today is the Varieties of Democracy (V-Dem) project, whose approach to conceptualizing and measuring democracy is to provide a dataset that attempts to reflect the complexity of the concept of democracy as a system of government that includes, but goes beyond the simple presence of elections. It is from these data that the Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance (International IDEA) generates its own index. How does the "Varieties of Democracy" project define itself?

The project is carried out by a permanent body, founded by Professor Staffan I. Lindberg in 2014, just six years ago: the V-Dem Institute (for "Varieties of Democracy"), which defines itself as "a research institute based in the Department of Political Science at the University of Gothenburg, Sweden" (V-Dem, 2022a). This Institute is in charge of most, but not all, of the operations related to data collection and data set. Its main product is a database, which is presented to the public at an annual policy conference, which is a platform where users and professionals can meet and where the objectives, research and findings of the V-Dem project are presented.

V-Dem, as a project, is conceived as "a new approach for the conceptualization and measurement of democracy" (V-Dem, 2022b), product of the collaboration of more than thirty academics from around the world, originally organized jointly by the Department of Political Science at the University of Gothenburg, Sweden; and the Kellogg Institute at the University of Notre Dame, which by adjusting its actual role and contribution has now become simply the V-Dem Regional Center in North America.

Its structure for the integration of the information that it will later disseminate seems to have six main researchers, two project coordinators, fifteen project administrators in charge of the thematic areas, more than thirty regional administrators, almost 170 coordinators per country, who have the support not only from various research assistants, but from approximately three thousand experts per country.

V-Dem is one of the largest social science data collection efforts in history, with a database that today contains over nearly thirty million data points.

V-Dem is not, and is not intended to be, the recovery of the vivid experience of those who experience democracy in a community. V-Dem is defined as a project that seeks objectivity through the recovery of the theoretical and methodological experience of a complex and extensive multidisciplinary global team, so that the sum of the knowledge of experts achieve the production of data in the most objective and trustworthy that you consider possible.

Additional advantages of this project is that, while it provides a complete set of indexes for each conception and component, it allows its fundamentally intended users—academicians and professionals—to build their own indexes to suit their purposes, exploring the relationships between very specific elements of democracy over long periods of time; which, due to its logic of reconstruction of long time series, allows us to try to advance in the understanding of the historical process of democratization, shedding light on the sequences by which the regimes have developed, in recognizing the possible causes and effects of democracy, allowing us to approach to estimate to what extent the type of regime is important in today's world, among other advantages that the project itself highlights.

About half of the indicators in the V-Dem dataset are based on factual information that can be obtained from official documents, such as constitutions and government records. The other half consists of evaluations that they describe as more subjective, on topics such as political practices and compliance with de jure rules. In these issues, to seek a certain evaluative neutrality, they normally resort to a minimum of three and an average of five experts for the historical reconstruction from 1789 to 1899 (warning to take care with chaos with few experts evaluating) and to five or more experts in the period considered as contemporary from 1900, who provide the qualifications that will give rise to the estimators that will have to be added to their extensive database.

To conceptualize and try to better measure democracy, the V-Dem project assumes the distinction of five principles of democracy that it calls "high level": electoral, liberal, participatory, deliberative and egalitarian. Each of them leads to a high-level index (Coppedge, 2020) and each of them is disaggregated, which makes it possible to have several dozen components of democracy at a lower level, such as ordinary elections, judicial independence, democracy and gender equality, and provides disaggregated indicators for each conception and each component.

At a basic level, all the variables collected by the Varieties of Democracy project are divided into fifteen themes: elections, political parties, direct democracy, executive, legislature, deliberation, judiciary, civil liberties, sovereignty and state, civil society, media, political equality, exclusion, legitimation and civic and academic space. This thematic account gives an idea of the scope and ambition of this project as an information source.

The information it presents in its database covers all countries and some dependent territories from 1789 to the present, wherever possible, and provides a statistical estimate of the reliability of the measure for each rating, while allowing all Ratings are public, free of charge, in an easy-to-use interface.

That is why V-Dem divides the variables into different types for coding purposes, according to their factual or evaluative nature and according to the rank of those responsible for the coding of the variables, so it is necessary to be attentive to the rigor that could have each variable integrated into the database in different periods.

For each election, legislative or executive, the date is pre-coded and indicators related to the disclosure of campaign donations, public financing of campaigns, autonomy and capacity or sufficiency of the electoral administration body, multiparty nature of the election, voter registration for the election, vote buying, government intimidation in elections, acts of sabotage or other acts of violence, freedom of the media in the campaign, payment of advertising in campaigns, payment of advertising by interest groups, acceptance of the result by the losers, the assumption of the position by the winner and as an added value the cleanliness and electoral freedom.

It should be noted that, despite all the indicated precautions that seek to prevent any particular subjectivity from sneaking in, ignorance biasing the assessments or other effects that invalidate the information, it is clear that the estimates presented by the project correspond to the vision of democracy, of the world and of life that is predominant in the present century and that cannot be detached from its historical determinants that may not be valid as evaluative criteria for other historical moments or cease to be valid in the immediate future.

For the case that concerns us and considering the topic of interest of the Seminar, we have recovered data with five-year cuts of the information that we consider most relevant for our objectives in the period 1978-2018; that is to say: over four decades, which gives us nine observation points in time. And we have decided to compare the average values observed in the list of nineteen nations that make up the Latin American democratic space against the set of countries observed in the V-Dem bases around the world.
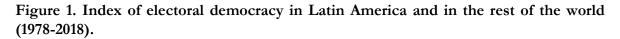
As can be discovered from the long list of indices and indicators available as a result of the democracy assessment exercise carried out by this project, it would be impossible in a paper to cover all the possible informative disaggregated to know the differences in the state of the situation in the period chosen for the analysis, using the tenth version of the V-Dem database (Coppedge *et al.*, 2020).
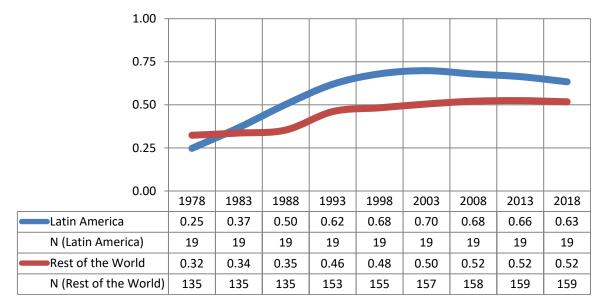
For this reason, we have privileged to analyze the variations of the general indices and of the main indicators in a particular way, without seeking for this moment too many intersections that would complicate the analysis and would exceed the time and space available for this paper.

Despite this, we did incorporate three crossing Figures: the one that shows the relationship between the evaluations of autonomy and sufficiency of the electoral bodies in the 779 annual crossings of the 19 countries observed over 41 years; the intersection that shows the perception of freedom and cleanliness in the 245 electoral processes that took place in Latin America in the 41 years observed; and the one that accounts for the acceptance of the result by the losers in these same processes.

# Electoral bodies in Latin America.

Latin America has managed to get out of the shock generated by authoritarian governments, of a military nature, still present in the seventies. And from the 1980s to date, it presents estimated levels of electoral democracy higher than the world average (Figure 1), although the culminating point in the rise occurred three decades ago, since in the last fifteen years a slight decline has been perceived in this index of electoral democracy.

**Figure 1. Index of electoral democracy in Latin America and in the rest of the world (1978-2018).**

|  | 1978 | 1983 | 1988 | 1993 | 1998 | 2003 | 2008 | 2013 | 2018 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Latin America | 0.25 | 0.37 | 0.50 | 0.62 | 0.68 | 0.70 | 0.68 | 0.66 | 0.63 |
| N (Latin America) | 19 | 19 | 19 | 19 | 19 | 19 | 19 | 19 | 19 |
| Rest of the World | 0.32 | 0.34 | 0.35 | 0.46 | 0.48 | 0.50 | 0.52 | 0.52 | 0.52 |
| N (Rest of the World) | 135 | 135 | 135 | 153 | 155 | 157 | 158 | 159 | 159 |

SOURCE: Own calculations based on Coppedge, M. *et al.* (2019). "V-Dem [Country-Year/Country-Date] Dataset v9" Varieties of Democracy (V-Dem) Project. https://doi.org/10.23696/vdemcy19.

Something similar occurs when we observe the behavior perceived by experts of electoral cleanliness in Latin America (Figure 2): a vertiginous rise during three decades, from 1978 to 1993, which placed this index for the region clearly above the world average; and a subsequent relative stabilization, although with a slight reduction in the last fifteen years.
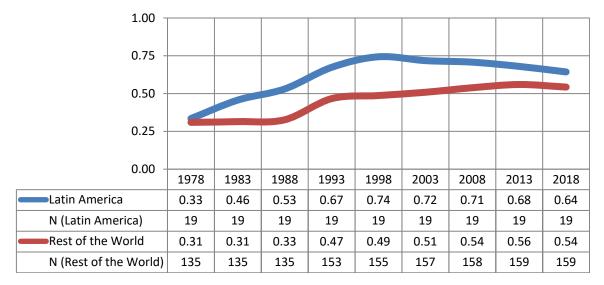
**Figure 2. Electoral cleanliness index in Latin America and the rest of the world (1978-2018).**

| | 1978 | 1983 | 1988 | 1993 | 1998 | 2003 | 2008 | 2013 | 2018 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Latin America | 0.18 | 0.34 | 0.50 | 0.67 | 0.73 | 0.74 | 0.72 | 0.71 | 0.66 |
| N (Latin America) | 19 | 19 | 19 | 19 | 19 | 19 | 19 | 19 | 19 |
| Rest of the World | 0.34 | 0.36 | 0.37 | 0.47 | 0.48 | 0.51 | 0.54 | 0.56 | 0.56 |
| N (Rest of the World) | 135 | 135 | 135 | 153 | 155 | 157 | 158 | 159 | 159 |

SOURCE: Own calculations based on Coppedge, M. *et al.* (2019). "V-Dem [Country-Year/Country-Date] Dataset v9" Varieties of Democracy (V-Dem) Project. https://doi.org/10.23696/vdemcy19.

In 1978, the electoral bodies of Latin America perceived themselves to be similarly autonomous to the world average (Figure 3). But over two decades, until almost the end of the last century, there was a systematic rise in the levels of autonomy perceived in Latin American electoral bodies, which is followed by a decline, but which hardly brings them back to the levels observed at the beginning of the last decade of the last century and not to the lowest values previously perceived.

**Figure 3. Autonomy of the electoral body in Latin America and in the rest of the world (1978-2018).**

| | 1978 | 1983 | 1988 | 1993 | 1998 | 2003 | 2008 | 2013 | 2018 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Latin America | 0.33 | 0.46 | 0.53 | 0.67 | 0.74 | 0.72 | 0.71 | 0.68 | 0.64 |
| N (Latin America) | 19 | 19 | 19 | 19 | 19 | 19 | 19 | 19 | 19 |
| Rest of the World | 0.31 | 0.31 | 0.33 | 0.47 | 0.49 | 0.51 | 0.54 | 0.56 | 0.54 |
| N (Rest of the World) | 135 | 135 | 135 | 153 | 155 | 157 | 158 | 159 | 159 |

SOURCE: Own calculations based on Coppedge, M. *et al.* (2019). "V-Dem [Country-Year/Country-Date] Dataset v9" Varieties of Democracy (V-Dem) Project. https://doi.org/10.23696/vdemcy19.

This autonomy of the Latin American electoral bodies goes hand in hand with a significant increase in the experts' perception of their sufficiency and resource capacity. Before the eighties of the last century (Figure 4) the region showed an operating strength of its electoral bodies lower than the world average, but this has been exceeded since the last decade of the twentieth century and has remained at relatively stable levels since then.
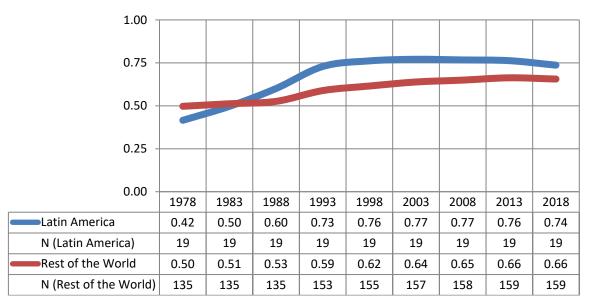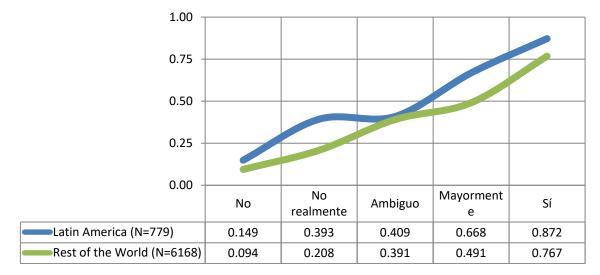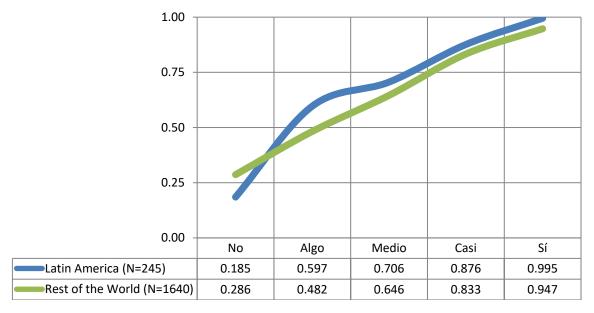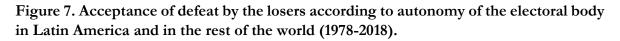
**Figure 4. Sufficiency of the electoral body in Latin America and in the rest of the world (1978-2018).**

| | 1978 | 1983 | 1988 | 1993 | 1998 | 2003 | 2008 | 2013 | 2018 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Latin America | 0.42 | 0.50 | 0.60 | 0.73 | 0.76 | 0.77 | 0.77 | 0.76 | 0.74 |
| N (Latin America) | 19 | 19 | 19 | 19 | 19 | 19 | 19 | 19 | 19 |
| Rest of the World | 0.50 | 0.51 | 0.53 | 0.59 | 0.62 | 0.64 | 0.65 | 0.66 | 0.66 |
| N (Rest of the World) | 135 | 135 | 135 | 153 | 155 | 157 | 158 | 159 | 159 |

SOURCE: Own calculations based on Coppedge, M. *et al.* (2019). "V-Dem [Country-Year/Country-Date] Dataset v9" Varieties of Democracy (V-Dem) Project. https://doi.org/10.23696/vdemcy19.

The relationship perceived in the previous longitudinal reading is confirmed when one sees, in Figure 5, the cross-section of the levels of autonomy of the electoral bodies observed by experts in Latin America according to the level of sufficiency of these bodies that is detected: clearly the greater sufficiency, the greater autonomy. So the autonomous capacity of those in charge of administering the elections depends on the availability of financial, material and human resources for their operation outside the government or other instances.

**Figure 5. Autonomy of the electoral body according to sufficiency in Latin America and the rest of the world (1978-2018).**



| | No | No realmente | Ambiguo | Mayormente | Sí |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Latin America (N=779) | 0.149 | 0.393 | 0.409 | 0.668 | 0.872 |
| Rest of the World (N=6168) | 0.094 | 0.208 | 0.391 | 0.491 | 0.767 |

SOURCE: Own calculations based on Coppedge, M. *et al.* (2019). "V-Dem [Country-Year/Country-Date] Dataset v9" Varieties of Democracy (V-Dem) Project. https://doi.org/10.23696/vdemcy19.

But, what repercussions does the existence of support for the construction and operation of electoral bodies that are effectively autonomous have on electoral events and on the consolidation of democracy? Figure 6 clearly shows that the greater the autonomy recognized for electoral bodies in Latin America and the world, the greater the perception of freedom and cleanliness in the elections.

**Figure 6. Freedom and cleanliness perceived in the elections according to the autonomy of the electoral body in Latin America and the rest of the world (1978-2018).**



| | No | Algo | Medio | Casi | Sí |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Latin America (N=245) | 0.185 | 0.597 | 0.706 | 0.876 | 0.995 |
| Rest of the World (N=1640) | 0.286 | 0.482 | 0.646 | 0.833 | 0.947 |

SOURCE: Own calculations based on Coppedge, M. *et al.* (2019). "V-Dem [Country-Year/Country-Date] Dataset v9" Varieties of Democracy (V-Dem) Project. https://doi.org/10.23696/vdemcy19.

And the same thing happens with the perception that the defeated accept the result: the greater the autonomy endowed to the electoral bodies, the greater the potential recognition by the losers of the reality of their condition and, therefore, the greater the respect to the official result of the elections, as shown in Figure 7.

**Figure 7. Acceptance of defeat by the losers according to autonomy of the electoral body in Latin America and in the rest of the world (1978-2018).**



| | No | Algo | Medio | Casi | Sí |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Latin America (N=245) | 0.481 | 0.639 | 0.831 | 0.927 | 0.989 |
| Rest of the World (N=1640) | 0.506 | 0.633 | 0.736 | 0.873 | 0.969 |

SOURCE: Own calculations based on Coppedge, M. *et al.* (2019). "V-Dem [Country-Year/Country-Date] Dataset v9" Varieties of Democracy (V-Dem) Project. https://doi.org/10.23696/vdemcy19.

The acceptance of the result by the losers is the natural outcome of a well-conducted electoral process. It must be remembered in this regard that political legitimacy appeals to a subjective substratum that compromises both ends of a relationship: from the perspective of those who must obey, a government that gains power and exercises it by fulfilling certain requirements that they believe it has will be legitimate to fulfill to command; but from the perspective of the one who commands, the government that gains power and exercises it by making those it obeys see that it meets the requirements to command will be conceived as legitimate.

# Conclusion.

Elections are the universally accepted procedure in today's world to define the right to gain access to power and invariably the recognition of the cleanliness of an election will depend on very different conditions, one of which is very subjective —that its results coincide with the political preferences of the individual— and others that could be objectified: that there are effective guarantees of respect for the integrity of the losers and their subsequent participation in political life without obstacles; the narrowness of the difference between the result and the requirements established to grant the triumph; the provision of public mechanisms that provide transparent and verifiable information on results in a timely manner; and have an organic electoral authority that can be an arbiter that exercises its functions impartially, by not representing the interests of any party, nor being against any party (de la Peña, 2019).

The analyzed data show that in Latin America a notable advance was achieved during the last two decades of the last century in the consolidation of electoral bodies with budgetary sufficiency and effective autonomy —at least as seen by expert evaluators—, which has repercussions on electoral processes that are perceived as cleaner and freer and whose results are more respected and recognized by all: by the winners, which is of course to be expected, but also by the losers.

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# Statistical Annex.

| Table 1. Electoral Democracy Index in Latin American countries (1978-2018) | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **COUNTRY** | **1978** | **1983** | **1988** | **1993** | **1998** | **2003** | **2008** | **2013** | **2018** | **Media** |
| **LATIN AMERICA** | **0.25** | **0.37** | **0.50** | **0.62** | **0.68** | **0.70** | **0.68** | **0.66** | **0.63** | **0.57** |
| **Caribbean** | **0.27** | **0.32** | **0.40** | **0.53** | **0.63** | **0.66** | **0.63** | **0.61** | **0.58** | **0.51** |
| **Sudamerica** | **0.23** | **0.41** | **0.60** | **0.70** | **0.72** | **0.74** | **0.72** | **0.71** | **0.68** | **0.61** |
| Argentina | 0.07 | 0.50 | 0.85 | 0.83 | 0.84 | 0.82 | 0.78 | 0.79 | 0.82 | 0.70 |
| Bolivia | 0.11 | 0.33 | 0.67 | 0.77 | 0.78 | 0.78 | 0.72 | 0.66 | 0.64 | 0.61 |
| Brasil | 0.19 | 0.28 | 0.65 | 0.83 | 0.88 | 0.85 | 0.88 | 0.89 | 0.71 | 0.68 |
| Chile | 0.07 | 0.08 | 0.12 | 0.85 | 0.85 | 0.87 | 0.90 | 0.88 | 0.86 | 0.61 |
| Colombia | 0.49 | 0.51 | 0.49 | 0.58 | 0.52 | 0.53 | 0.55 | 0.64 | 0.66 | 0.55 |
| Costa Rica | 0.82 | 0.87 | 0.88 | 0.90 | 0.89 | 0.89 | 0.91 | 0.91 | 0.88 | 0.88 |
| Ecuador | 0.17 | 0.68 | 0.73 | 0.70 | 0.73 | 0.73 | 0.67 | 0.61 | 0.67 | 0.63 |
| El Salvador | 0.18 | 0.14 | 0.22 | 0.40 | 0.50 | 0.55 | 0.57 | 0.66 | 0.63 | 0.43 |
| Guatemala | 0.16 | 0.10 | 0.38 | 0.43 | 0.50 | 0.58 | 0.61 | 0.64 | 0.55 | 0.44 |
| Haití | 0.15 | 0.12 | 0.21 | 0.24 | 0.48 | 0.42 | 0.46 | 0.43 | 0.42 | 0.33 |
| Honduras | 0.15 | 0.46 | 0.44 | 0.49 | 0.58 | 0.61 | 0.56 | 0.46 | 0.39 | 0.46 |
| Mexico | 0.30 | 0.32 | 0.38 | 0.46 | 0.63 | 0.71 | 0.69 | 0.64 | 0.71 | 0.54 |
| Nicaragua | 0.17 | 0.18 | 0.39 | 0.69 | 0.69 | 0.64 | 0.47 | 0.36 | 0.23 | 0.43 |
| Panama | 0.11 | 0.14 | 0.13 | 0.72 | 0.75 | 0.77 | 0.78 | 0.78 | 0.79 | 0.55 |
| Paraguay | 0.16 | 0.17 | 0.17 | 0.53 | 0.55 | 0.59 | 0.64 | 0.59 | 0.59 | 0.44 |
| Perú | 0.15 | 0.69 | 0.68 | 0.28 | 0.39 | 0.79 | 0.76 | 0.79 | 0.77 | 0.59 |
| Rep. Dominicana | 0.41 | 0.55 | 0.54 | 0.46 | 0.68 | 0.73 | 0.66 | 0.65 | 0.60 | 0.59 |
| Uruguay | 0.09 | 0.13 | 0.84 | 0.88 | 0.90 | 0.91 | 0.90 | 0.90 | 0.88 | 0.71 |
| Venezuela | 0.75 | 0.77 | 0.78 | 0.73 | 0.79 | 0.51 | 0.41 | 0.34 | 0.24 | 0.59 |

SOURCE: Own calculations based on: Coppedge, M. *et al.*, 2019. "V-Dem [Country-Year/Country-Date] Dataset v9" Varieties of Democracy (V-Dem) Project. https://doi.org/10.23696/vdemcy19.

| Table 2. Electoral Cleanliness Index in Latin American countries (1978-2018) | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **PAÍS** | **1978** | **1983** | **1988** | **1993** | **1998** | **2003** | **2008** | **2013** | **2018** | **Media** |
| **AMERICA LATINA** | **0.18** | **0.34** | **0.50** | **0.67** | **0.73** | **0.74** | **0.72** | **0.71** | **0.66** | **0.58** |
| **México, Centroamérica y el Caribe** | **0.20** | **0.25** | **0.37** | **0.52** | **0.66** | **0.66** | **0.64** | **0.61** | **0.57** | **0.50** |
| **América del Sur** | **0.17** | **0.42** | **0.62** | **0.81** | **0.80** | **0.81** | **0.79** | **0.79** | **0.75** | **0.66** |
| Argentina | 0.00 | 0.89 | 0.87 | 0.87 | 0.88 | 0.87 | 0.84 | 0.87 | 0.89 | 0.77 |
| Bolivia | 0.00 | 0.00 | 0.70 | 0.88 | 0.89 | 0.87 | 0.83 | 0.75 | 0.70 | 0.62 |
| Brasil | 0.33 | 0.42 | 0.66 | 0.91 | 0.91 | 0.93 | 0.93 | 0.94 | 0.80 | 0.76 |
| Chile | 0.00 | 0.00 | 0.00 | 0.95 | 0.95 | 0.95 | 0.97 | 0.97 | 0.96 | 0.64 |
| Colombia | 0.59 | 0.60 | 0.55 | 0.64 | 0.61 | 0.56 | 0.56 | 0.65 | 0.81 | 0.62 |
| Costa Rica | 0.90 | 0.92 | 0.92 | 0.93 | 0.93 | 0.94 | 0.96 | 0.97 | 0.96 | 0.93 |
| Ecuador | 0.00 | 0.75 | 0.81 | 0.81 | 0.78 | 0.83 | 0.77 | 0.80 | 0.70 | 0.69 |
| El Salvador | 0.08 | 0.00 | 0.13 | 0.25 | 0.45 | 0.49 | 0.55 | 0.65 | 0.65 | 0.36 |
| Guatemala | 0.03 | 0.00 | 0.43 | 0.54 | 0.52 | 0.57 | 0.61 | 0.57 | 0.62 | 0.43 |
| Haití | 0.06 | 0.00 | 0.00 | 0.00 | 0.49 | 0.32 | 0.36 | 0.30 | 0.25 | 0.20 |
| Honduras | 0.00 | 0.56 | 0.54 | 0.68 | 0.61 | 0.61 | 0.50 | 0.38 | 0.20 | 0.45 |
| Mexico | 0.17 | 0.21 | 0.32 | 0.51 | 0.79 | 0.88 | 0.77 | 0.75 | 0.78 | 0.57 |
| Nicaragua | 0.03 | 0.00 | 0.51 | 0.69 | 0.62 | 0.57 | 0.51 | 0.32 | 0.25 | 0.39 |
| Panama | 0.14 | 0.08 | 0.05 | 0.85 | 0.85 | 0.84 | 0.87 | 0.89 | 0.89 | 0.61 |
| Paraguay | 0.04 | 0.05 | 0.07 | 0.55 | 0.59 | 0.65 | 0.68 | 0.72 | 0.65 | 0.44 |
| Perú | 0.00 | 0.74 | 0.73 | 0.75 | 0.62 | 0.88 | 0.87 | 0.90 | 0.85 | 0.70 |
| Rep. Dominicana | 0.40 | 0.51 | 0.48 | 0.26 | 0.68 | 0.72 | 0.65 | 0.67 | 0.57 | 0.55 |
| Uruguay | 0.00 | 0.00 | 0.96 | 0.97 | 0.97 | 0.97 | 0.97 | 0.98 | 0.97 | 0.75 |
| Venezuela | 0.76 | 0.78 | 0.79 | 0.78 | 0.81 | 0.60 | 0.48 | 0.35 | 0.11 | 0.61 |

SOURCE: Own calculations based on: Coppedge, M. *et al.*, 2019. "V-Dem [Country-Year/Country-Date] Dataset v9" Varieties of Democracy (V-Dem) Project. https://doi.org/10.23696/vdemcy19.

# Table 3. Indicator of Electoral Body Autonomy in Latin American countries (1978-2018)

| PAÍS | 1978 | 1983 | 1988 | 1993 | 1998 | 2003 | 2008 | 2013 | 2018 | Media |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **AMERICA LATINA** | **0.33** | **0.46** | **0.53** | **0.67** | **0.74** | **0.72** | **0.71** | **0.68** | **0.64** | **0.61** |
| **México, Centroamérica y el Caribe** | **0.23** | **0.33** | **0.40** | **0.53** | **0.68** | **0.66** | **0.65** | **0.62** | **0.59** | **0.52** |
| **América del Sur** | **0.43** | **0.57** | **0.65** | **0.80** | **0.80** | **0.77** | **0.76** | **0.73** | **0.69** | **0.69** |
| Argentina | 0.31 | 0.77 | 0.70 | 0.70 | 0.70 | 0.70 | 0.70 | 0.70 | 0.75 | 0.67 |
| Bolivia | 0.04 | 0.30 | 0.41 | 0.94 | 0.94 | 0.88 | 0.82 | 0.61 | 0.51 | 0.61 |
| Brasil | 0.46 | 0.46 | 0.78 | 0.88 | 0.88 | 0.88 | 0.93 | 0.95 | 0.77 | 0.77 |
| Chile | 0.32 | 0.32 | 0.55 | 0.94 | 0.94 | 0.94 | 0.94 | 0.98 | 0.93 | 0.76 |
| Colombia | 0.83 | 0.83 | 0.83 | 0.85 | 0.85 | 0.77 | 0.77 | 0.77 | 0.79 | 0.81 |
| Costa Rica | 0.94 | 0.94 | 0.94 | 0.94 | 0.94 | 0.94 | 0.94 | 0.96 | 0.95 | 0.94 |
| Ecuador | 0.43 | 0.74 | 0.74 | 0.74 | 0.74 | 0.74 | 0.57 | 0.59 | 0.64 | 0.66 |
| El Salvador | 0.05 | 0.18 | 0.23 | 0.34 | 0.55 | 0.55 | 0.56 | 0.62 | 0.59 | 0.41 |
| Guatemala | 0.14 | 0.14 | 0.60 | 0.60 | 0.65 | 0.65 | 0.70 | 0.69 | 0.70 | 0.54 |
| Haití | 0.09 | 0.09 | 0.08 | 0.21 | 0.60 | 0.52 | 0.56 | 0.41 | 0.43 | 0.33 |
| Honduras | 0.07 | 0.51 | 0.57 | 0.54 | 0.54 | 0.54 | 0.54 | 0.49 | 0.30 | 0.46 |
| Mexico | 0.19 | 0.19 | 0.19 | 0.36 | 0.84 | 0.84 | 0.78 | 0.76 | 0.80 | 0.55 |
| Nicaragua | 0.09 | 0.43 | 0.56 | 0.60 | 0.60 | 0.41 | 0.32 | 0.25 | 0.14 | 0.38 |
| Panama | 0.04 | 0.04 | 0.04 | 0.81 | 0.81 | 0.81 | 0.81 | 0.82 | 0.85 | 0.56 |
| Paraguay | 0.02 | 0.02 | 0.02 | 0.65 | 0.68 | 0.68 | 0.73 | 0.70 | 0.65 | 0.46 |
| Perú | 0.48 | 0.86 | 0.86 | 0.63 | 0.63 | 0.85 | 0.85 | 0.92 | 0.83 | 0.77 |
| Rep. Dominicana | 0.50 | 0.50 | 0.37 | 0.37 | 0.59 | 0.64 | 0.64 | 0.61 | 0.59 | 0.54 |
| Uruguay | 0.71 | 0.71 | 0.95 | 0.95 | 0.95 | 0.95 | 0.95 | 0.89 | 0.92 | 0.89 |
| Venezuela | 0.67 | 0.67 | 0.67 | 0.72 | 0.69 | 0.36 | 0.34 | 0.20 | 0.08 | 0.49 |

SOURCE: Own calculations based on: Coppedge, M. *et al.*, 2019. ""V-Dem [Country-Year/Country-Date] Dataset v9" Varieties of Democracy (V-Dem) Project. https://doi.org/10.23696/vdemcy19.

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## Table 4. Indicator of Electoral Body Sufficiency in Latin American countries (1978-2018)

| PAÍS | 1978 | 1983 | 1988 | 1993 | 1998 | 2003 | 2008 | 2013 | 2018 | Media |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **AMERICA LATINA** | **0.42** | **0.50** | **0.60** | **0.73** | **0.76** | **0.77** | **0.77** | **0.76** | **0.74** | **0.67** |
| **México, Centroamérica y el Caribe** | **0.32** | **0.39** | **0.50** | **0.64** | **0.69** | **0.69** | **0.69** | **0.69** | **0.66** | **0.59** |
| **América del Sur** | **0.50** | **0.60** | **0.69** | **0.80** | **0.83** | **0.84** | **0.83** | **0.83** | **0.81** | **0.75** |
| Argentina | 0.73 | 0.77 | 0.77 | 0.77 | 0.77 | 0.77 | 0.87 | 0.87 | 0.85 | 0.79 |
| Bolivia | 0.36 | 0.58 | 0.68 | 0.86 | 0.86 | 0.90 | 0.87 | 0.75 | 0.68 | 0.72 |
| Brasil | 0.60 | 0.60 | 0.86 | 0.88 | 0.90 | 0.93 | 0.97 | 0.97 | 0.96 | 0.85 |
| Chile | 0.16 | 0.16 | 0.65 | 0.81 | 0.81 | 0.81 | 0.81 | 0.77 | 0.92 | 0.66 |
| Colombia | 0.55 | 0.69 | 0.69 | 0.83 | 0.83 | 0.75 | 0.75 | 0.75 | 0.85 | 0.75 |
| Costa Rica | 0.93 | 0.93 | 0.93 | 0.93 | 0.93 | 0.93 | 0.93 | 0.94 | 0.92 | 0.93 |
| Ecuador | 0.59 | 0.76 | 0.76 | 0.76 | 0.76 | 0.76 | 0.76 | 0.81 | 0.80 | 0.75 |
| El Salvador | 0.15 | 0.21 | 0.30 | 0.44 | 0.55 | 0.61 | 0.69 | 0.79 | 0.74 | 0.50 |
| Guatemala | 0.03 | 0.03 | 0.74 | 0.74 | 0.74 | 0.75 | 0.75 | 0.72 | 0.63 | 0.57 |
| Haití | 0.14 | 0.14 | 0.05 | 0.12 | 0.23 | 0.23 | 0.14 | 0.16 | 0.09 | 0.14 |
| Honduras | 0.25 | 0.57 | 0.57 | 0.57 | 0.57 | 0.57 | 0.57 | 0.52 | 0.52 | 0.52 |
| Mexico | 0.68 | 0.77 | 0.77 | 0.91 | 0.91 | 0.91 | 0.91 | 0.97 | 0.96 | 0.87 |
| Nicaragua | 0.05 | 0.23 | 0.03 | 0.65 | 0.65 | 0.55 | 0.55 | 0.48 | 0.43 | 0.46 |
| Panama | 0.03 | 0.03 | 0.03 | 0.82 | 0.82 | 0.82 | 0.82 | 0.77 | 0.81 | 0.55 |
| Paraguay | 0.03 | 0.03 | 0.03 | 0.54 | 0.67 | 0.76 | 0.76 | 0.80 | 0.64 | 0.47 |
| Perú | 0.29 | 0.64 | 0.64 | 0.73 | 0.81 | 0.85 | 0.85 | 0.89 | 0.85 | 0.73 |
| Rep. Dominicana | 0.59 | 0.59 | 0.59 | 0.61 | 0.79 | 0.86 | 0.86 | 0.87 | 0.82 | 0.73 |
| Uruguay | 0.87 | 0.87 | 0.94 | 0.94 | 0.94 | 0.94 | 0.94 | 0.91 | 0.86 | 0.91 |
| Venezuela | 0.86 | 0.86 | 0.86 | 0.94 | 0.94 | 0.95 | 0.78 | 0.76 | 0.67 | 0.85 |

SOURCE: Own calculations based on: Coppedge, M. *et al.*, 2019. "V-Dem [Country-Year/Country-Date] Dataset v9" Varieties of Democracy (V-Dem) Project. https://doi.org/10.23696/vdemcy19.