

BOLIVIA DATA SET

The following tables represent electoral data for Bolivia since 1978. Although Bolivia's transition to democracy began in 1978, complete election results are not presented for two reasons. First, the military immediately annulled that year's election and no government was assembled. Second, the parties campaigning in the 1978 election were disparate factions and embryonic movements of parties that emerged in later elections. Subsequently, no comparable measurements can be made between votes cast for parties in the 1978 general election and subsequent elections.

Electoral data for 1978, 1979, and 1980 were obtained from *Anuario Estadístico 1994* (La Paz: Instituto Nacional de Estadística). Figures on voting age population (VAP) were obtained from *Voter Turnout from 1945-1998, a Global Report on Political Participation* (Stockholm: International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance). All other data was obtained from Bolivia's Corte Nacional Electoral.

Freedom House indicators of political rights and civil liberties ("FH") are taken from the organization's *Annual Survey of Freedom*. Freedom House considers countries with combined scores between 1.0 and 2.5 "free;" between 3.0 and 5.5 "partly free;" and between 5.5 and 7.0 "not free."

Other polyarchy indicators are calculated from available data. "IEP" stands for "index of effective participation" developed by Centellas to measure the percentage of voting age citizens represented by an elected political party. "IEO" and "C" respectively stand for "index of effective opposition" and "index of competitiveness" developed by Altman and Pérez-Liñán to measure the relative balance between government and opposition forces in the political system. "N" stands for the Laakso and Taagepera index developed to measure the effective number of parties in a political system. "G" stands for the Gallagher index of disproportionality, which measures the deviation of vote shares and seat shares.

Political parties in general elections

| | |
|---------|---|
| ADN | Acción Democrática Nacionalista (since 1995 ADN-PDC; since 1997 ADN-NFR-PDC) |
| AP | Acuerdo Patriótico (joint ADN-MIR electoral list for 1993) |
| APIN | Alianza Popular de Integración Nacional |
| ARBOL | Alianza Renovadora Boliviana |
| ASD | Alternativa del Socialismo Boliviano |
| CONDEPA | Conciencia de Patria |
| EJE | Eje de Convergencia Patriótica |
| FDR | Frente Democrático Revolucionario |
| FPU | Frente del Pueblo Unido |
| FSB | Falange Socialista Boliviana |
| IU | Izquierda Unida |
| MBL | Movimiento Bolivia Libre |
| MIR | Movimiento de Izquierda Revolucionario (part of UDP before 1985) |
| MITKA | Movimiento Indio Tupaj Katari |
| MNR | Movimiento Nacionalista Revolucionario (since 1993 MNR-MRTKL) |
| MNRI | Movimiento Nacionalista Revolucionario de Izquierda (MNR splinter faction; part of UDP before 1985) |
| MRTKL | Movimiento Revolucionario Tupaj Katari de Liberación (merged with MNR in 1993 but still campaigns in municipal elections) |
| NFR | Nueva Fuerza Republicana (merged with ADN in 1997 but still campaigns in municipal elections) |
| PCB | Partido Comunista de Bolivia (part of UDP before 1985) |
| PDC | Partido Demócrata Cristiano (merged with ADN in 1995 but still campaigns in municipal elections) |
| PRA | Partido Revolucionario Autentico |
| PS-1 | Partido Socialista Uno |
| UCS | Unidad Cívica Solidaridad |
| UDP | Unidad Democrática Popular (coalition of MIR, MNRI, and PCB) |
| VR-9 | Vanguardia Revolucionaria 9 de abril (MNR splinter faction; also known as MNRV) |
| VSB | Vanguardia Socialista de Bolivia |

Votes in general elections

| Party | 1978 | 1979 | 1980 | 1985 | 1989 | 1993 | ⁵ 1997 |
|--------------------|-----------|-----------|---------------------|-----------|-----------|----------------------|-------------------|
| ADN | | 218 587 | 220 309 | 493 735 | 357 298 | ¹ 346 865 | 484 705 |
| APIN | | 60 262 | — | — | — | — | — |
| ARBOL | | — | — | — | — | 30 867 | — |
| ASD | | — | — | — | — | 30 286 | — |
| CONDEPA | | — | — | — | 173 459 | 235 427 | 373 528 |
| EJE | | — | — | — | — | 18 176 | 18 327 |
| FDR | | — | 39 401 | — | — | — | — |
| FPU | | — | — | 38 124 | — | — | — |
| FSB | | — | 21 372 | 19 985 | 10 608 | 20 947 | — |
| IU | | — | — | 10 892 | 113 509 | 16 137 | 80 806 |
| MBL | | — | — | — | — | 88 260 | 67 244 |
| MIR | | — | — | 153 143 | 309 033 | — | 365 005 |
| MITKA | | 28 344 | ⁴ 32 875 | — | — | — | — |
| MNR | | 527 184 | 263 706 | 456 704 | 363 113 | 585 837 | 396 235 |
| MNRI | | — | — | 82 418 | — | — | — |
| MRTKL ² | | — | — | 31 678 | 22 983 | — | — |
| PDC ³ | | — | — | 24 079 | — | — | — |
| PRA | | — | 36 443 | — | — | — | — |
| PS-1 | | 70 765 | 113 959 | 38 786 | 39 763 | — | — |
| UCS | | — | — | — | — | 226 816 | 350 728 |
| UDP | | 528 696 | 507 173 | — | — | — | — |
| VR-9 | | — | — | 72 197 | — | 21 100 | — |
| VSB | | — | — | — | — | — | 30 212 |
| Total votes | 1 860 262 | 1 693 233 | 1 489 484 | 1 728 365 | 1 573 790 | 1 731 309 | 2 321 117 |
| Others | | 35 530 | 73 796 | 82 315 | 26 103 | 26 992 | 10 381 |
| Spoiled votes | 46 392 | 223 865 | 180 450 | 224 309 | 157 921 | 83 599 | 143 946 |
| VAP | 2 386 800 | 2 452 050 | 2 520 000 | 2 652 750 | 3 086 880 | 3 461 850 | 3 596 616 |

Sources: Based on data in International IDEA 1998 and data provided by Corte Nacional Electoral and Instituto Nacional de Estadística.

Notes: ¹Joint ADN-MIR electoral list called AP. ²MRTKL merged with MNR in 1993. ³PDC merged with ADN in 1995. ⁴Two MITKA factions each elected one deputy. ⁵Votes for plurinominal lists.

Percentage of votes in general elections

| Party | 1978 | 1979 | 1980 | 1985 | 1989 | 1993 | ⁶ 1997 |
|---------------------|------|------|------------------|------|------|-------------------|-------------------|
| ADN | | 14.9 | 16.8 | 32.8 | 25.2 | ¹ 21.1 | 22.3 |
| APIN | | 4.1 | — | — | — | — | — |
| ARBOL | | — | — | — | — | 1.9 | — |
| ASD | | — | — | — | — | 1.8 | — |
| CONDEPA | | — | — | — | 12.3 | 14.3 | 17.2 |
| EJE | | — | — | — | — | 1.1 | 0.8 |
| FDR | | — | 3.0 | — | — | — | — |
| FPU | | — | — | 2.5 | — | — | — |
| FSB | | — | 1.6 | 1.3 | 0.7 | 1.3 | — |
| IU | | — | — | 0.7 | 8.0 | 1.0 | 3.7 |
| MBL | | — | — | — | — | 5.4 | 3.1 |
| MIR | | — | — | 10.2 | 21.8 | — | 16.8 |
| MITKA | | 1.9 | ⁵ 2.5 | — | — | — | — |
| MNR | | 35.9 | 20.1 | 30.4 | 25.6 | 35.6 | 18.2 |
| MNRI | | — | — | 5.5 | — | — | — |
| MRTKL ² | | — | — | 2.1 | 1.6 | — | — |
| PDC ³ | | — | — | 1.6 | — | — | — |
| PRA | | — | 2.8 | — | — | — | — |
| PS-1 | | 4.8 | 8.7 | 2.6 | 2.8 | — | — |
| UCS | | — | — | — | — | 13.8 | 16.1 |
| UDP | | 36.0 | 38.7 | — | — | — | — |
| VR-9 | | — | — | 4.8 | — | 1.3 | — |
| VSB | | — | — | — | — | — | 1.4 |
| Others ⁴ | | 2.4 | 5.6 | 5.5 | 1.8 | 2.9 | 1.9 |
| Spoiled votes | 2.5 | 13.2 | 12.1 | 13.0 | 10.0 | 4.8 | 6.2 |
| Votes/VAP | 77.9 | 69.1 | 59.1 | 65.2 | 51.0 | 50.0 | 64.5 |

Sources: Based on data in International IDEA 1998 and data provided by Corte Nacional Electoral and Instituto Nacional de Estadística.

Notes: ¹Joint ADN-MIR electoral list called AP. ²MRTKL merged with MNR in 1993. ³PDC merged with ADN in 1995. ⁴Includes all parties not winning seats to the legislature. ⁵Two MITKA factions each elected one deputy. ⁶Votes for plurinominal lists.

Composition of Chamber of Deputies

| Party | 1979 | 1980 | 1985 | 1989 | 1993 | 1997 |
|--------------------|------|----------------|------|------|-----------------|------|
| ADN | 18 | 22 | 41 | 38 | ¹ 35 | 32 |
| APIN | 5 | — | — | — | — | — |
| ARBOL | — | — | — | — | 1 | — |
| ASD | — | — | — | — | 1 | — |
| CONDEPA | — | — | — | 9 | 13 | 19 |
| EJE | — | — | — | — | 1 | — |
| FDR | — | 4 | — | — | — | — |
| FPU | — | — | 4 | — | — | — |
| FSB | — | 3 | 3 | — | — | — |
| IU | — | — | — | 10 | — | 4 |
| MBL | — | — | — | — | 7 | 5 |
| MIR | — | — | 15 | 33 | — | 23 |
| MITKA | 1 | ⁴ 2 | — | — | — | — |
| MNR | 50 | 31 | 43 | 40 | 52 | 26 |
| MNRI | — | — | 8 | — | — | — |
| MRTKL ² | — | — | 2 | — | — | — |
| PDC ³ | — | — | 3 | — | — | — |
| PRA | — | 2 | — | — | — | — |
| PS-1 | 1 | 10 | 5 | — | — | — |
| UCS | — | — | — | — | 20 | 21 |
| UDP | 38 | 43 | — | — | — | — |
| VR-9 | — | — | 6 | — | — | — |
| VSB | — | — | — | — | — | — |
| Total | 117 | 117 | 130 | 130 | 130 | 130 |

Sources: Based on data provided by Corte Nacional Electoral and Instituto Nacional de Estadística.

Notes: ¹Joint ADN-MIR electoral list called AP. ²MRTKL merged with MNR in 1993. ³PDC merged with ADN in 1995. ⁴Two MITKA factions each elected one deputy.

Composition of Senate

| Party | 1979 | 1980 | 1985 | 1989 | 1993 | 1997 |
|--------------------|------|------|------|------|----------------|------|
| ADN | 3 | 6 | 10 | 8 | ¹ 8 | 11 |
| APIN | — | — | — | — | — | — |
| ARBOL | — | — | — | — | — | — |
| ASD | — | — | — | — | — | — |
| CONDEPA | — | — | — | 2 | 1 | 3 |
| EJE | — | — | — | — | — | — |
| FDR | — | 4 | — | — | — | — |
| FPU | — | — | — | — | — | — |
| FSB | — | 3 | — | — | — | — |
| IU | — | — | — | — | — | — |
| MBL | — | — | — | — | — | — |
| MIR | — | — | 1 | 8 | — | 7 |
| MITKA | — | — | — | — | — | — |
| MNR | 16 | 10 | 16 | 9 | 17 | 4 |
| MNRI | — | — | — | — | — | — |
| MRTKL ² | — | — | — | — | — | — |
| PDC ³ | — | — | — | — | — | — |
| PRA | — | — | — | — | — | — |
| PS-1 | — | 1 | — | — | — | — |
| UCS | — | — | — | — | 1 | 2 |
| UDP | 8 | 10 | — | — | — | — |
| VR-9 | — | — | — | — | — | — |
| VSB | — | — | — | — | — | — |
| Total | 27 | 27 | 27 | 27 | 27 | 27 |

Sources: Based on data provided by Corte Nacional Electoral and Instituto Nacional de Estadística.

Notes: ¹Joint ADN-MIR electoral list called AP. ²MRTKL merged with MNR in 1993. ³PDC merged with ADN in 1995.

Presidents and government coalitions

| Year | President | Party | *Presidential votes | Seats in lower house | Size of “typical” government party | Size of “typical” opposition party |
|------|---|---|---------------------|----------------------|------------------------------------|------------------------------------|
| 1982 | Hernán Siles Zuazo | UDP | 38.7% | 43 | 36.8% | 18.2% |
| 1985 | Víctor Paz Estenssoro supporting parties | MNR ADN | 30.4% | 43 41 | 32.3% | 6.5% |
| 1989 | Jaime Paz Zamora supporting parties | MIR ADN | 21.8% | 33 38 | 27.4% | 23.2% |
| 1993 | Gonzalo Sánchez de Lozada supporting parties | MNR-MRTKL MBL UCS ¹ | 35.6% | 52 7 21 | 30.7% | 21.1% |
| 1997 | Hugo Bánzer Suárez supporting parties | ADN-NFR-PDC MIR UCS CONDEPA ² | 22.3% | 32 23 21 19 | 19.1% | 15.8% |

Sources: Based on data provided by Corte Nacional Electoral and Instituto Nacional de Estadística.

Notes: Sizes of “typical” government and opposition parties are measured as share of seats in the Chamber of Deputies and reflect original coalitions. *Bolivia’s electoral system uses the same party list ballot for the office of president and both legislative chambers. ¹Between September 1994 and July 1995 all but seven UCS deputies left the government. ²CONDEPA was expelled from the government August 1998.

Polyarchy indicators

| Year | FH | IEP | ⁴ IEO | ⁴ C | N | G | ElecSys |
|---------|-----|-------------------|-------------------|-------------------|------------------|-----|---------|
| 1978-79 | 4.0 | ¹ 0.00 | 0.00 | 0.00 | — | — | List PR |
| 1979-80 | 3.0 | 0.59 | ² 0.29 | ² 0.41 | 3.2 | 6.2 | List PR |
| 1980-81 | 6.0 | 0.49 | ² 0.46 | ² 0.49 | 4.0 | 5.5 | List PR |
| 1981-82 | 6.0 | — | 0.00 | 0.00 | — | — | — |
| 1982-83 | 2.5 | — | 0.50 | 0.81 | 4.0 | 5.5 | — |
| 1983-84 | 2.5 | — | 0.50 | 0.81 | 4.0 | — | — |
| 1984-85 | 2.5 | — | 0.50 | 0.81 | 4.0 | — | — |
| 1985-86 | 2.5 | 0.54 | 0.20 | 0.74 | 4.3 | 3.2 | List PR |
| 1986-87 | 2.5 | — | 0.20 | 0.74 | 4.3 | — | — |
| 1987-88 | 2.5 | — | 0.20 | 0.74 | 4.3 | — | — |
| 1988-89 | 2.5 | — | 0.20 | 0.74 | 4.3 | — | — |
| 1989-90 | 2.5 | 0.45 | 0.85 | 0.96 | 3.9 | 6.9 | List PR |
| 1990-91 | 2.5 | — | 0.85 | 0.96 | 3.9 | — | — |
| 1991-92 | 2.5 | — | 0.85 | 0.96 | 3.9 | — | — |
| 1992-93 | 2.5 | — | 0.85 | 0.96 | 3.9 | — | — |
| 1993-94 | 2.5 | 0.46 | 0.69 | 0.90 | ³ 4.0 | 6.4 | List PR |
| 1994-95 | 2.5 | — | 0.58 | 0.86 | ³ 4.0 | — | — |
| 1995-96 | 3.0 | — | 0.69 | 0.90 | ³ 4.0 | — | — |
| 1996-97 | 2.5 | — | 0.69 | 0.90 | ³ 4.0 | — | — |
| 1997-98 | 2.0 | 0.59 | 0.83 | 0.97 | 5.5 | 3.1 | MMP |
| 1998-99 | 2.0 | — | 0.76 | 0.95 | 5.5 | — | — |
| 1999-00 | 2.0 | — | 0.76 | 0.95 | 5.5 | — | — |

Sources: Based on data in International IDEA 1998, Freedom House's *Annual Survey*, and data provided by Corte Nacional Electoral and Instituto Nacional de Estadística.

Notes: ¹The 1978 election was annulled by the military and no parliament assembled. ²Because of military coups mid-year, IEO and C scores are reduced in half.

³Considers AP (joint ADN-MIR list) as two parties of equal size. ⁴Measures reflect changes in government coalitions over time.