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Mixed-Member Proportional Electoral Systems in New Democracies: The Bolivian Experience

by

Miguel Centellas

Department of Political Science
3438 Friedmann Hall
Western Michigan University
Kalamazoo, MI 49008

miguel.centellas@wmich.edu

This paper considers the effects of the change in Bolivia's electoral system from list proportional (list-PR) to mixed-member proportional (MMP). One of the most noticeable effects of the 1994 change was increased regionalization and party system fragmentation. Prior to the change, Bolivian politics revolved around a stable, moderate multiparty system organized around two blocks (MNR and ADN-MIR). In the two elections following the change to MMP, the country's electoral system has fragmented, clustering around regionally entrenched, antagonistic parties. Using statistical analysis of disaggregate electoral data from the country's five elections (three prior to MMP, two after MMP), this paper argues that the change to MMP increased the importance of regional cleavages, and argues that this was a contributing factor to the dramatic overthrow of then-president Gonzalo Sanchez de Lozada in October 2003. Such a finding gives reason to question the recent popularity of MMP by the discipline's electoral engineers. While regional differences existed throughout Bolivia's democratic experience, these were strengthened and polarized after the change to MMP.

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Mixed-Member Proportional Electioral Systems in New Democracies

1. Introduction

Bolivia is currently suffering through one of its worst crises in recent decades. With growing social antagonisms between the eastern (lowland) and western (Andean) regions, and between various different elements of civil society and a weakened state, the future of Bolivian politics is unclear and troubling. After nearly two decades of remarkable political stability, Bolivia's democratic future became uncertain after 17 October 2003, when Gonzalo Sánchez de Lozada resigned his presidency amid social unrest that left at least 59 dead.[1] For the subsequent 18 months, Bolivia has lurched from one dramatic political crisis to the next. After the October 2003 "guerra del gas", many wondered not only whether Bolivia could reestablish some sort of democratic political stability, but even whether the country's basic territorial integrity would survive the sharp regional antagonisms that burst to the surface.

The previous two decades, which followed the country's transition to democracy, highlighted a new period of exceptionalism. Rather than a perennial South American basket case, Bolivia was an unexpected democratic success story. During the 1990s, some scholars even argued that Bolivia was a case of successful democratic consolidation.[2] During this period of optimism, René Antonio Mayorga lauded Bolivia's unique institutional design of "parliamentarized presidentialism" (1997) for successfully promoting coalition-building strategies. Other analysts also looked to Bolivia's quasi-parliamentary institutional design to explain the country's nearly two decades of democratic political stability (by consistently producing majoritarian multiparty coalition governments).[3]

One of the key components of the parliamentarized presidentialism model is the parliamentary election of the chief executive. Since no candidate has yet obtained an ab-

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[1] This commonly accepted figure comes from Bolivia's Asamblea Permanente de Derechos Humanos, an independent human rights organization. The Amnesty International investigative report lists 68 dead, based on media reports.

[2] See R. Mayorga (1992), Linz (1994), Whitehead (2001).

[3] See Conaghan and Malloy (1994), Gamarra (1997). A multinational study by Jones (1995) found that a dummy variable "Bolivia" was correlated (at highly significant levels) with majoritarian presidents (presidents supported by a legislative majority).

solute majority in a national election, the president is elected in a joint session of parliament.[4] This, in turn, makes the electoral system a critical institutional variable around which Bolivian democratic stability was maintained. A seemingly minor change to the electoral system, in 1994, from list proportional representation (list-PR) to a German-style mixed member proportional (MMP) electoral system led to significant changes in the way competitive electoral politics play out in Bolivia. In short, the change in the electoral system heightened already-existing regional cleavages, by encouraging particularist, rather than cooperative political strategies.

While this paper primarily examines the negative effects of MMP on Bolivia political stability, it concludes with a coda on suggestion for reform. The key argument (supported by the evidence presented below) is that MMP increased party system fragmentation and radicalization, reinforcing ideological, ethnic, and regional cleavages across Bolivian civil society. Thus, an electoralist solution to this problem requires reintroducing incentives towards moderated multipartism. As Bolivian policymakers begin preparing for the upcoming constitutional assembly, they would be well advised to keep this issue in mind.

2. Theoretical Framework

Modern liberal representative democracy (or "polyarchy") rests on a series of institutional arrangements that channel citizens' demands, connecting civil society to the state. This pluralist view of democracy, commonly accepted in comparative political studies, focuses on electoral politics as the arena, or dynamic space, where citizen preferences are expressed, and from which states gain their legitimacy and governments are defined. Recent literature in comparative political studies of democratization and new democracies have focused on institutional design and "getting the institutions right". This has led to a focus on various forms of institutional "engineering" efforts from some of the leading discipline's leading scholars.[5] This study does not challenge such an emphasis; it is clear, of course, that political institutions matter and have profound consequences for

[4] Although officially called the National Congress, Bolivians most often refer to the two-chamber body simply as "parliament" (a term I freely use throughout this paper).

[5] See Sartori (1997), Reynolds (2002), Reilly (2001).

the quality and stability of democracy. The purpose of this study is merely to call attention to potential pitfalls of a popular electoral reform.

Electoral reforms are frequently pursued because of their significant effect on other political institutions, including shaping the structure and context of executive-legislative relations. Some of the most basic relationships between electoral systems and party systems (such as "Duverger's law") are widely known. Differences such as minimum thresholds, proportionality, ballot structure, or closed- versus open-lists have significant effects on party systems. A recent article by David Horowitz (2003), points out that efforts at electoral engineering most often explicitly pursued in order to achieve several possible goals: 1) increase proportional representation, 2) increase parties' accountability to voters, 3) encourage government stability, 4) produce Condorcet winners,[6] 5) promote moderated bargaining and discourage polarization, and 6) protect minority groups. Several of these goals are, of course, contradictory; electoral engineers must, therefore, choose carefully in order to design electoral systems best suited to their cases. Hybrids, such as various mixed-member systems, are frequently viewed with enthusiasm because they promise the ability to simultaneously maximize several of the above goals.

In recent decades, a growing number of countries have adopted some form of mixed-member electoral system. So much so, that the introduction to a recent treatment on the subject hails it the electoral reform of the twenty-first century (Shugart and Wattenberg 2001a). Introducing what is, essentially, a handbook for institutional engineers, Shugart and Wattenberg are optimistic that mixed-member systems "allow nations to tailor their electoral systems so as to potentially have their cake and eat it too" (2001a, p. 1). There is, of course, good reason to be optimistic about electoral system reforms and their ability to strengthen democracy. But as a growing number of countries rush to adopt some version of mixed-member electoral system, it is important to understand the reforms' potentially devastating consequences.

Mixed-member electoral systems are a subcategory of multiple-tier electoral systems, which are electoral systems in which "seats are allocated in two (or more) overlap-

[6] A Condorcet winner is the candidate or list preferred by voters in one-on-one paired contest against any other candidate or list. In other words, the candidate or list that constitutes the electorate's optimal consensus choice (or, conversely, the least disliked candidate or list).

ping sets of districts, such that every voter may cast one or more votes that are employed to allocate seats in more than one tier" (Shugart and Wattenberg 2001b, p. 10). Mixed-member systems combine principles of proportional representation and plurality by employing two electoral tiers, nominal and list, when assigning seats. Typically, nominal tiers use single-seat districts (SSDs) with either a plurality or, less frequently, majority runoff systems. List tiers tend to employ some proportional representation formula.

Although they are hybrid systems, mixed-member electoral systems tend to favor majoritarianism or proportionality, depending on how they are designed. A key factor is whether the nominal and list tiers are linked. Where the two tiers are parallel (not linked), the result is usually a mixed-member majoritarian (MMM) system that tends to favor larger parties. Where the list tier is compensatory (linked), the result is usually a mixed-member proportional (MMP) system favoring greater proportionality and, hence, smaller parties. There are, of course, several different variations that could be employed, though most cases seem to fall generally into either MMM or MMP classifications. Because MMP systems assign seats in compensatory fashion, there is good reason to qualify them as essentially variations of proportional representation (PR) electoral systems, as Lijphart (2004) does. If MMP systems are simply variations of PR, we can assume that many of that system's defects also carry over. I suggest three key institutional variables: presidentialism, social cleavages, and party systems.

It is unclear how adopting MMP would lessen the negative affects often associated with the kind of presidentialism prevalent in Latin America (presidentialism with list-PR legislative elections).[7] So long as presidents and legislatures are elected separately, the competing claims to legitimacy that plague presidentialism will continue. Similarly, there's no reason to believe that MMP reforms will reduce the number of political parties or promote multi-party coalitions or moderated bargaining any more than other forms of PR. In fact, there's reason to believe that MMP reforms may actually *increase* executive-legislative antagonisms by increasing the visibility of legislators elected directly from SSDs, giving them stronger claims to legitimacy from which to challenge

[7] For a review of critical evaluations of presidentialism, see Linz and Valenzuela (1994), Shugart and Carey (1992), von Mettenheim (1997), Nohlen and Fernández Baeza (1998).

presidents. While MMP systems have significant strengths, it does not seem well suited to correct for the deficiencies of Latin American presidentialism.

Similarly, there is little reason to believe that MMP systems are better than other PR systems at alleviating the problems associated with deep-seated social cleavages. Proponents of "consociational" democracy argue that, because they allow more proportional representation of all major social groups, PR systems should be preferred.[8] Yet there is also reason for skepticism, since PR systems often increase party system fragmentation and ideological polarization. By increasing the effective number of parties, PR systems make it unlikely that presidents will enjoy legislative majorities, which makes the problem of effective governance acute, as presidentialism's critics argue. But, as this study will show, there is reason to believe MMP systems may actually *increase* (or at least heighten the effects of) social cleavages.

Where MMP is more likely to be successful is in strengthening party systems by better connecting parties to voters. If we accept Lipset's (2000) claim about the "indispensability of political parties", then we should seek electoral systems that strengthen both the legitimacy and effectiveness of political parties as instruments for aggregating civil society's preferences. And while first-past-the-post (FTPT) election of representatives in SSDs in the context of extreme multipartism is potentially problematic, such problems are alleviated when list seats are assigned in compensatory fashion, leading to proportional results. MMP electoral systems thus allow a comfortable balance between giving voters a direct link to representatives (those elected in SSDs) while retaining proportional interest group representation, without relying on gerrymandering or other similarly dubious solutions.

A general trend suggests that mixed-member electoral systems are adopted to correct for some form of "extreme" electoral system (Shugart 2001). That is, mixed-member systems are best suited to correct for either extreme proportionalism or extreme majoritarianism. It is important, therefore, to carefully consider the particular (perceived) flaws in any pre-existing electoral system before engaging in electoral engineering, especially

[8] Arend Lijphart, the most well known proponent of "consociational" democracy, also regularly argues in favor of parliamentary democracy. It is unlikely that presidential democracies would adopt the kind of consociational arrangement he proposes, whether they use some form of PR or not.

since even minor changes in electoral laws can have startling, and unintended consequences. As the following pages will show, MMP has led to mixed effects in the Bolivian case. The adoption of nominal tier SSDs does seem to have more closely tied political parties to civil society; but parties have also been more heavily concentrated regionally, as MMP has not reduced party system fragmentation. In fact, evidence suggests that the change to MMP has encouraged radical polarization, specifically between ethnic and regional cleavages, undermining the foundation for parliamentarized presidentialism.

3. The Bolivian Case

No discussion of Bolivian democratic institutions can ignore the importance of parliamentarized presidentialism, a unique institutional arrangement as substantially different from premier-presidential hybrids as it is from either pure presidentialism or parliamentarism.[9] Parliamentarized presidentialism is defined by three key features: 1) fused-ballot list proportional representation, 2) legislative election of the chief executive, and 3) informal consociational rules that produce majoritarian legislative coalitions. The first two features are formally stipulated in the electoral laws, while the consociational norms of moderate multi-party bargaining were learned by political elites through "political learning" (Remmer 1992). Until the 2002 election, Bolivia's political party system was essentially defined by the constraints of a system that reinforced a form of multipartism divided into two blocks centered around three pragmatic, nation-wide political parties (MNR, on one hand, MIR and ADN, on the other). The current crisis facing Bolivia, I argue, should not condemn parliamentarized presidentialism. Rather, it should caution against potential problems inherent in moves to MMP electoral systems.

The combination of list-PR with a fused ballot is one of two key institutional constraints defining Bolivia's parliamentarized presidentialism. Prior to adopting MMP, Bolivian voters were given simple ballots that listed only the name of presidential candi-

[9] Bolivia's electoral system is essentially a parliamentary one. The fused ballot structure eliminates some of the dual legitimacy issues inherent in presidential systems that use separate ballots for presidents and assemblies, as does parliamentary election of the chief executive. But the lack of vote of confidence measures, combined with the formal division of executive and legislative powers and institutional autonomy between the two branches of government, distinguishes it from parliamentarism. Finally, this is not a case of premier-presidentialism, since there is no separate of head of state and head of government.

dates and their party identifications. Legislative seats were awarded using PR electoral formulas on the basis of this single vote choice. Thus, ballots resembled ballots in "pure" list-PR parliamentary systems. After adopting MMP, Bolivian voters were presented with two ballot choices: presidential candidates and SSD candidates to the lower house; both senate and compensatory lower house seats were still awarded based on list-PR formulas from ballots cast for presidential candidates.

The other key institutional component of parliamentarized presidentialism is the constitutional provision (Article 90) that calls for parliamentary election of the chief executive in case no party list wins an absolute majority (50% +1) of total votes. Since PR electoral formulas (including MMP) tend to encourage multiparty systems, there is no reason to expect that, in the absence of a hegemonic party, any party list will win an absolute majority. In such cases, the newly elected parliament meets in join session to elect the new president.[10] As expected, no Bolivian president has been elected by direct popular vote and there is no expectation that any will in the near future.[11]

Legislative election of the president provided an incentive structure for political elites to engage in post-election coalition-building strategies. Thus, while a general PR electoral formula encouraged fragmented multipartism, parliamentary election of the chief executive encouraged centripetal political strategies and the formation of a "moderate multiparty system" (Mayorga 2001a) as Bolivian politics became a "nested game" with two-stage competition cycles (Tsebelis 1990). Since 1985, Bolivian political parties engaged in post-electoral bargaining, exchanging cabinet posts and other government positions and patronage in exchange for legislative support. Such coalition norms (which have survived even during the current crisis) are loosely "consociational" in the sense that members parties use the cabinet—or even paraconstitutional bodies[12]—from which

[10] Prior to 1994, parliament was free to choose from among the top three candidates; after 1994, parliament was restricted to choosing from among the top two.

[11] Votes for the first-place candidate have steadily declined; by 2002, the plurality winner (MNR) took only 22.5% of the total vote.

[12] Government coalitions tend to make most decisions during multiparty consultation between party leaders, before taking legislation to parliament. The clearest example was the the 1989-93 MIR-ADN "Acuerdo Patriotico" (AP) coalition government, primarily through the Comité del Acuerdo Patriotico. Jaime Paz Zamora (head of MIR) was president of the republic, Hugo Bánzer Suárez (head of ADN) was chairman of the committee and was even often referred to as the "co-president."

to jointly set policy. These coalitions, however, are not consociational in the sense that Lijphart would use; they are not so inclusive that they eliminate the important role of democratic opposition or reduce the role of competition in the political system.

The change to MMP was not made to help establish democratic stability or improve governance. There is sufficient evidence to believe that parliamentarized presidentialism was quite successful along these dimensions. Between 1985 and 1993 (the last election before MMP), Bolivia enjoyed stable majoritarian governments and peaceful democratic alternation of power. Further, parliamentarized presidentialism seemed to reduce many of the problems associated with the combination of presidentialism and PR electoral systems. Both the total number of parties and the effective number of electoral parties (ENPV) were on the decline between 1985 and 1993. And while neopopulist and personalistic political parties emerged in the 1990s, the structures of parliamentarized presidentialism seemed to both moderate and incorporate them into the political system.

Between 1985 and 1993, presidents were elected by parliament after post-electoral multiparty bargaining, producing multiparty majoritarian coalition governments centered around the three "systemic parties" (MNR, ADN, MIR). These three systemic parties have formed the core of every governing coalition since 1985 (see Table 1). The 1985 election was a resounding defeat for the incumbent left, in large part due to the UDP's inability to manage the mounting economic crisis (only MIR survived with any significant support). But with no majority winner, MNR's Victor Paz Estenssoro was able to court legislative votes from the left (who were still unwilling to vote for Bánzer's ADN). After the election, however, MNR and ADN signed the "Pact for Democracy" accord, setting the ground for neoliberal economic restructuring. The 1989 election marked a split between MNR and ADN, after Gonzalo Sánchez de Lozada (MNR Planning Minister) decided to run for president, rather than support an ADN candidacy. After a close three-way race that consolidated the central position of the three systemic parties, Bánzer ordered his party to back the third-paced MIR candidate, Jaime Paz Zamora. In exchange, ADN and MIR signed a "Patriotic Accord" coalition agreement, creating a bipartisan "Committee of the Patriotic Accord" that served as the consultative body and where legislation was first introduced, before sending it to parliament. While the 1985 Paz Estenssoro government was the first multiparty coalition government, the 1989 Paz

Zamora government was the first consociational government coalition. And though votes for systemic parties declined after 1993 (due, in large part, to the emergence of populist parties), these three parties formed the core around which governing coalitions formed.

By 1993, two new populist parties (UCS and CONDEPA) had effectively entered the electoral arena.[13] This introduced a tendency to pull votes away from the three systemic parties, even though MNR (headed by Sánchez de Lozada) took the highest voting return of any list in the post-transition period. The 1993 election also introduced a tendency towards pre-electoral coalitions. Most obviously, ADN and MIR decided to campaign under a joint list headed by Bánzer. But part of MNR's success was credited to its pre-electoral alliance with MRTKL, a moderate indigenous party with support among the Aymara Altiplano population.[14] Ironically, while new populist parties emerged and began cutting into party votes, the MNR vote share actually increased to its highest post-1985 level.[15] Voters in 1993 seemed to reject the ADN-MIR coalition, whose government was plagued by charges of corruption as the combined electoral list polled worse than either list (taken separately) had in the previous election. Sánchez de Lozada put together a governing coalition with the moderate-progressive MBL and the populist UCS. Nevertheless, the 1993 election marked the beginning of more fragmented multipartism, which became a central concern facing any upcoming electoral system reforms.

The 1993-1997 Sánchez de Lozada government introduced a series of reforms aimed at deepening democracy and encapsulated in a new constitution approved in 1994. The two most significant institutional reforms were: political decentralization of the country into 311 (now 327) municipal governments with local political autonomy and a share of central state economic resources, and the introduction of the MMP electoral system. While this paper focuses on the effects of MMP, it is important to note that the two reforms mutually reinforced the same basic principle of regionalized politics. This was a positive in terms of democratic deepening, since it expanded the arena of popular contes-

[13] CONDEPA had already emerged in the 1989 election.

[14] The MNR-MRTKL alliance made Víctor Hugo Cárdenas (MRTKL leader) the first indigenous vice-president in Bolivian history.

[15] Of the systemic parties, MNR vote share has been the most consistent, nation-wide (the story is, of course, different comparing across regions).

tation and participation. A negative consequence, however, was an increase in already present trends toward personalistic populism, clientelism, and political fractionalism.

There were previous attempts to reform the electoral system. Following controvery over ADN-MIR vote manipulation within the National Electoral Court (CNE) during the 1989 election, reforms meant to strengthen the institutional independence of the election monitoring body were enacted. Between 1985 and 1997, different counting rules (including minimum electoral thresholds) were introduced that modified Bolivia's PR electoral system. While these reforms did have significant effects (especially regarding the representation of small minority parties in the legislature), they were not deep enough to structurally modify the basic PR framework.

Debates about reforming the electoral system leading up to the 1994 reforms were, like most political changes under parliamentarized presidentialism, a product of inter-party negotiations and consultation that included both government and opposition parties. A key question involved the election of the president, with ADN and MIR proposing a simple plurality formula and MNR proposing a run-off formula. Neither reform was adopted, and parliamentary election of the executive was continued, by default.[16] But by 1990, the major parties had come to an agreement to some sort of "separate list" mixed-member electoral system (Mayorga 2001a). Interestingly, many such debates occurred at conferences hosted by three German political and technical assistance NGOs: Konrad Adenauer Stiftung, Friedrich Ebert Stiftung, and Hanns Seidel Stiftung.[17] That the final result was a German-style MMP electoral system was, it seems, predictable.

The first election under MMP did not, on the surface, significantly alter the dynamics of parliamentarized presidentialism (see Table 1). Election results, at the national level, reflected previous voter patterns, with both the systemic parties and the new popolust parties winning roughly the same vote shares as they did in 1993. No new major party emerged in 1997, but the balance of votes between parties became more balanced, with little space (about 8%) between the first and fifth place parties. Two key develop-

[16] Though parliament was now restricted to choosing from between the top two candidates.

[17] German NGOs are heavily engaged in democracy-promotion and institutional strengthening in Latin America, often through directly supporting local think tanks. Konrad Adenauer Stiftung supports Fundación Milenio; Friedrich Ebert Stuftung operates through FES-ILDIS (Instituto Latinoamericano de Investigación Social); Hanns Seidel Stiftung works through FUNDEMOS (Fundación Boliviana para la Capacitación Democrática y la Investigación).

ments, however, marked the 1997 election and would have profound consequences for the 2002 election. First, small parties that were either previously marginalized (FRI) or new products of municipal politics (NFR) entered the political contest as important allies of major parties.[18] This introduced a regionalizing element into political parties, as they became entrenched in regional, rather than national, politics. Second, a little-regarded leftist party that had barely survived from 1985 won four SSD districts in the Chapare region of Cochabamba. As parties became merely labels, or "parties for rent" (Mayorga 1995), special interest organizations began to see new hope in electoral politics. Such was the case with IU. Led by Evo Morales, the syndicate of coca-growing peasants in the Chapare region, campaigned under the IU political banner, winning the region's SSD district seats.[19] While Bánzer was still able to put together a majoritarian coalition, the stage was set for a political system based on competition between regionally entrenched, fractionalized political parties.

By the time the 2002 elections came, Bolivian voters had voted in three municipal elections, increasing the power of local, entrenched political movements. In 2002, the only major pre-electoral alliance was the MNR-MBL alliance. NFR broke with ADN to run as an independent party and its candidate, Manfred Reyes Villa (the mayor of Cochabamba), was the early favorite. Similarly, MAS (a renamed IU) staged a surprise come-from-behind upset when it nearly tied NFR for second place.[20] The most surprising result of the campaign was the collapse of ADN as a national party, after it barely surpassed the 3% electoral threshold. Another significant result was the substantial gains made by MIP, an indigenous party based in the Andean Altiplano. While indigenous parties have a long

[18] FRI campaigned together with MIR, putting its own candidates up for election in several SSDs, where they won seats in Tarija. NFR campaigned together with ADN, providing their Cochabamba political machine to generate votes, enough so that it was treated on equal terms within the government coalition.

[19] The victory thresholds for IU in the Chapare districts was rather low, however. Vote shares in the four districts ranged from a high of 61.8% to a low of 19.8%.

[20] While most explanations for the surprise MAS showing focus on the negative reaction following a statement by the US ambassador to Bolivia that the US would not support a MAS presidency, I suggest an alternative explanation: Bolivian voter polls tend to focus (for various reasons) on urban voters (and especially three metropolitan areas of La Paz-El Alto, Cochabamba, and Santa Cruz); while MAS has some support among working-class urban residents, its strongest base of support is in the Cochabamba and Oruro countryside, as disaggregated election data demonstrates.

history in Bolivian politics, few did well at the national level. MRTKL, of course, became closely associated with MNR after 1993. But no indigenous Aymara party ever won as many legislative seats as MIP did. Not surprisingly, all but one of the six seats won by the party came from SSD districts; despite having the fifth largest legislative contingent, MIP only polled 6.1% nationally and no higher than 2% in any department other than La Paz (where it swept the rural Altiplano to poll 17.7%). The 2002 election clearly demonstrated a highly fractionalized, regionally entrenched political party system.

The big winners in 2002 (more so than in 1997) were parties that were strongly entrenched in local constituencies, guaranteeing them a consistent number of SSD seats and the ability to win a few compensatory seats (see Table 2 and Table 3). While the systemic parties together polled a weak 42.2% at the national level, they did well across departments (except for ADN, which did well only in Beni, Pando, and Chuquisaca). But while both MNR and MIR did well nationally, most of their seats came from SSD candidates.[21]In contrast, some parties did poorly nationally, but won enough regional SSDs to become important legislative powers (MIP is the clearest example). MAS, which came in second nationally, has only marginal presence in three of the eastern lowland departments.

With this new regionalist dynamic injected into the electoral system, moderate coalition bargaining became intensely difficult, in part because since systemic parties now held only a slim majority of parliamentary seats, and the second-place candidate was (for the first time) not a systemic party, the old bipolar system broke down. In the end, parliament chose the front-runner, Sánchez de Lozada, after cobbling together a coalition including MNR, MIR, ADN, and UCS. As the 2003 crisis gathered strength, Sánchez de Lozada sought stability by broadening the coalition to include NFR. Unfortunately, such a broad coalition with relatively un-programmatic parties proved too great a strain (especially since it involved increasing degrees of clientelistic wheeling and dealing, which only fueled popular opposition), proved unable to cope with the crisis. After Sánchez de

[21] More important is the discrepancy between SSD and compensatory wins between departments. While 24 of 36 MNR seats were won in SSD districts, all 9 MNR seats from Santa Cruz came from SSDs. Similarly, all 5 of MIR seats from Tarija came from SSDs. The effect was broader: all SSD seats were split between MAS and NFR in Cochabamba (NFR took the urban ones, MAS the rural ones). This reflected a national pattern.

Lozada stepped down, and was replaced by Carlos Mesa de Gisbert, attempts to govern with majority parliamentary support have continued to fail.

It is important to note that this paper does not argue that adopting MMP created regional cleavages or party system fractionalization. The party system already showed a tendency towards fractionalization, consistent with what one would expect from a PR electoral system. Similarly, important social cleavages have long existed in Bolivia, as one would expect in any multicultural society. The most widely recognized of these cleavages revolved around questions of ethnic identity. Long excluded from national political life, indigenous voters grew increasingly dissatisfied with the dominant systemic parties, which were still dominated by non-indigenous (mestizo and European) middle- and upper-class political elites. Another important social cleavage, rarely discussed by non-Bolivian academics, is the division between the western Andes and eastern lowlands. A typically Latin American centralist state, Bolivian politics tended to revolve around the Andean city of La Paz. As an increase in population and economic growth in the east, and especially the city of Santa Cruz (which soon grew to became the country's largest city), long-standing regional antagonisms gained a new relevance in public political discourse.

Regional differences in voting patterns show a remarkable trend (see Figures 1-3). Despite the rhetoric about an exclusionary centralist state coming from eastern lowland leaders in Santa Cruz and Tarija, the data demonstrate that national politics is actually driven, to a large degree, by the eastern "media luna" departments of Santa Cruz, Beni, Pando, and Tarija. Voters there tend to vote in higher numbers for "winners" (that is, the parties that go on to form governing coalitions). The numbers are lowest in the two populous departments of La Paz and Cochabamba (the numbers are even lower in their rural countryside). This suggests that Andean indigenous claims against an "exclusionary" state are credible: their preferred candidates consistently loose. Similarly, the number of electoral parties (ENPV) is consistently lower in the east. Finally, consistent with both previous figures, vote shares for systemic parties are routinely higher in the eastern lowlands than in the Andean departments.

Both under PR and MMP, the relative ability of systemic parties to do moderately well nationwide, but to consistently win in the east, over-determines who electoral winners are at the national level. Because small departments are over-represented in the Sen-

ate, the relatively small (in population) departments of Beni, Pando, and Tarija, have a strong say in determining presidents, especially when backed by the populous Santa Cruz. Because the party system is more erratic and fragmented in the Andean departments, the systemic parties (entrenched with powerful bases of support in the eastern lowlands) were able to retain national hegemony in 2002. In contrast, Andean departments more consistently voted for parties that lost and were shut out of executive power.

4. Hypotheses

Though adopting MMP did not introduce regionalization into the political system, there is enough evidence that it worsened the effects of regionalist and particularist political competition. Bolivia's current political crisis reflects a failure in the ability of political parties to engage in moderated bargaining and even a nation-wide breakdown of the party system. The October 2003 popular revolt that overthrew the Sánchez de Lozada government highlighted a crisis of legitimacy and representation in the formal political system that was brewing for some time. Evidence demonstrates that this crisis carried an important regional element as well, as regional antagonisms have become a key issue.[22] Thus, this study pursues two main research hypotheses:

Hypothesis 1. The crisis of the party system is correlated with regional differences between electorates.

Hypothesis 2. The crisis of the party system is also serially correlated with the change to MMP electoral system.

5. Data and Method

This study uses province-level electoral data from Bolivia's five national elections since the transition to democracy, using data provided by FUNDEMOS (1985-1993) and CNE (1997-2002). For 1997 and 2002 elections, plurinominal votes (the compensatory portion of the MMP ballot) are used for comparison with those elections where list-PR was used, giving a total of 546 observations, clustered on 113 provinces.

[22] While regional cleavages are not new in Bolivia, these were not as salient as other issues, until recently. Since 2003, the threats of secession and nation dissolution have become increasingly real. The main secessionist threat comes form the eastern lowlands, but similar demands have been raised in the Andean Altiplano as well.

Party system variables. Party system performance is evaluated along four variables: 1) the degree of multipartism, 2) the rate of blank and null votes, 3) electoral volatility, and 4) the share of votes for systemic parties.

The degree of multipartism is calculated using the effective number of parties measure developed by Markku Laakso and Rein Taagepera (1979), using vote shares (ENPV) in each of the general elections for each unit under observation.[23] The effective number of parties is a more accurate measure of the number of parties in a political system, since it uses a weighted measure (correcting for the relative strength of parties), than simply counting the number of parties (some of which might not win enough votes to be "relevant"). Further, using disaggregated province-level data allows for accounting of regional differences. Interestingly, not only is the effective number of parties different across provinces, departmental and provincial ENPV measures tend to be smaller than the national figure (see Figure 2).

One simple measure of an institutionalized party system is the number of blank and null (or "spoiled") ballots. A high share of blank and null votes suggests that voters are dissatisfied with their options between the political parties campaigning in that election. The extent to which the number of spoiled ballots varies regionally indicates the comparative degree of party system institutionalization. The data suggest a varying degree of blank and null votes across provinces.

Another common indicator of party system stability is the measure for electoral volatility developed by Mogens Pedersen (1979), which determines the total net change of vote shares between parties in sequential elections.[24] High electoral volatility indicates that a party system is not consolidated (or stable), since voters are frequently changing votes between parties. Because electoral volatility is measured as change in votes between elections, the total number of possible observations drops by one fifth.

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[23] Measuring the effective number of parties using vote shares (ENPV), rather than by number of seats (ENPS), is necessary because seats are allocated by department. ENPV is calculated as $ENPV = 1 \Big/ \sum v_i^2$ where v is the vote share for the i-th party.

[24] Electoral volatility is measured as $V = \frac{1}{2} \sum |pi_t - pi_{t-1}|$ where p is the vote share for the i-th party in election t.

Finally, a rough estimate for party system stability over time is developed by aggregating votes for the three systemic parties (MNR, ADN, MIR). The degree to which these three parties consistently capture a stable percentage of votes, both across time and between provinces, is a strong indicator of differences in voter preference structures. A reduction in votes for systemic parties also suggests erosion in the ability of the traditional parties to aggregate and represent civil society's demands.

Electoral system variables. The most important electoral system variables in this study are a pair of dummy variables for MMP. The 1997 elections are coded MMP1 = "1" (data from all other years are coded MMP1 = "0"); the 2002 elections are coded MMP2 = "1" (data from all other years are coded MMP2 = "0").

To control for other electoral system differences across departments, I introduce the effective threshold measure proposed by Arend Lijphart (1994).[25] Since the change to MMP also modified each department's electoral threshold (increasing them), controlling for effective threshold ensures that changes in party system dependent variables are due to introduction of MMP, not as an interactive effect of higher effective thresholds. Bolivia periodically used a 3% legal threshold (1993 and 2002), which functioned at the national level. But since seats are won in departmental multi-seat districts based on PR distribution formulas, the real hurdle parties must overcome to win representation is the departmental effective threshold. Further, using electoral threshold allows for control between departments (vis-à-vis the provinces within them) with different population sizes.

Regional effects variables. This study introduces three regional dummy variables to test for: 1) national east-west regional cleavage, 2) metropolitan vs. non-metropolitan, and 3) city vs. rural.

The regional cleavage dummy variable codes eastern departments, those associated as belonging to the "media luna" (Santa Cruz, Beni, Pando, and Tarija), as "1"; all other departments are coded "0", with the exception of Chuquisaca, which is not coded.[26]

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[25] Electoral threshold is calculated as $T = \frac{75\%}{(M+1)}$ where M is the district magnitude.

[26] Political behavior in the department of Chuquisaca does not easily fit into either the "media luna" eastern lowlands pattern, or the Andean Altiplano pattern. The simplest solution was to drop the department from analyses using this variable, which only slightly reduces the number of cases.

Two other dummy variables test for urban v. rural party system differences. The "metropolitan" dummy variable codes the provinces of the three largest metropolitan centers (La Paz-El Alto, Cochabamba, and Santa Cruz) as "1"; all other provinces are coded as "0". This dummy aims to test whether voting patterns are structurally different in these large urban centers, which together comprise about half of the nation's total electorate. The "capital" dummy variable codes the provinces of the nine department capitals as "1"; all others provinces are coded as "0". This variable similarly is used to test whether party system differences exist between urban centers (regardless of size) from the rural countryside.

To test for statistical correlations between regional and electoral system (independent) variables against party system (dependent) variables, this study uses cross-panel time-series panel estimated regression models, clustered by province. Two methods are used: 1) between-effect estimated models to test for variations across observational units over time and 2) within-effects estimated models to specifically test for variations within observational units over time.

6. Analysis

Across several multivariate models, only the MMP and "media luna" variables had consistent, significant effects on party system variables. Thus, the data supports the research hypotheses, and suggests two significant conclusions: 1) the crisis of party system in Bolivia is, to a large extent, a regional crisis caused by pre-existing regional political cleavages, and 2) the effects of these regional differences were aggravated by MMP.

In the cross-province model (see Table 4), the "media luna" dummy had a strong effect on all four party system variables. Eastern lowland departments have less party fragmentation (reducing ENPV by one entire party), fewer blank and null votes (5% less), smaller electoral volatility (14.35% lower), and greater vote shares for systemic parties (23% higher than Andean Altiplano departments). Metropolitan and capital dummy variables had no significant effects in these models.

As expected, effective threshold reduced the number of parties (though only in between-effect, not in within-effect estimations),[27] as well as reducing electoral volatility and increasing votes for systemic parties. The first use of MMP (1997) had significant effects in reducing blank and null votes (by 1.9%), which suggests voters did connect with parties more after introduction of MMP, though this effect did not continue into 2002. The 1997 election also reduced electoral volatility and votes for systemic parties — but only in within-effect estimators, suggesting the effect was relatively uniform across provinces. Though these two results seem counter-intuitive, the coefficients are small, suggesting marginal changes between parties, but away from the three systemic parties.

A casual glance at coefficient values shows that the second use of MMP (2002) had much stronger effects on party system variables. Although the 2002 election did not significantly change blank and null votes, it is encouraging that the previous 1997 trend was not reversed. The number of effective electoral parties within provinces dropped by a remarkable 0.34, suggesting that party systems were consolidating into fewer parties within provinces (a remarkable feat considering that the effective number of parties within provinces is, generally, already much lower than the national mean). Most significantly, though, the 2002 election saw a dramatic increase in electoral volatility (12.66%) and a drastic reduction in votes for systemic parties (23.28%).[28]

Including Chuquisaca provinces into the analysis did not produce substantially different results (see Table 5). The only difference was that effective threshold was statistically significant in reducing blank and null votes across provinces. All other statistically significant coefficients coincided with results from models that excluded Chuquisaca and included the media luna dummy variable. Also, despite including a greater number of ob-

[27] What this means is that differences in effective thresholds had significant effects in explaining differences between provinces, but the increase in effective thresholds after MMP did not significantly alter within-province electoral systems. This could be, in part, due to over-determining effect from the MMP dummy variables.

[28] It should be clear that the increase in electoral volatility is not an artifact of three new parties (MAS, MIP, and NFR). Anticipating such a difference, I coded votes for MAS as an extension of IU votes. MAS was, essentially, little more than a renaming of IU after consolidated an electoral space in the Chapare region of Cochabamba following the election of four *cocalero* leaders (including Evo Morales) to parliament under the IU banner (all four, incidentally, from SSDs). Similarly, I coded MIP as an extension of Eje-Pachakuti and a natural outgrowth of the radical *katarista* movement. Thus, MAS and MIP 2002 votes affected electoral volatility only to the extent that voters switched their votes away from other parties after 1997.

servations, the *F* value for several of these models was higher than in the models excluding Chuquisaca provinces; the statistical models that excluded Chuquisaca performed, on average, better.

Turning briefly to post-MMP elections within SSDs, one particular trend stands out clearly: parties have become increasingly regionalized and entrenched in specific regions, especially by 2002 (see Table 6). Only three parties (MNR, NFR, and MAS) did well nationwide, winning at least 20% of the plurinominal vote in a significant number of SSDs.[29] Of these, only the MNR won at least 20% in some SSDs each of the country's nine departments. MAS and NFR votes were heavily concentrated in Cochabamba (especially MAS), but both made inroads into SSDs in six departments.[30]

MIP had the most concentrated votes, winning at least 20% only in La Paz SSDs, and only in the rural Altiplano countryside around Lake Titicaca (where, in three SSDs, it took at least 40% of the votes). Other heavily concentrated parties included MIR, which did well in every SSD in Tarija and Santa Cruz, and ADN, which only did well in Pando.

Two departments established two-party hegemonies: Cochabamba (MAS-NFR) and Tarija (MNR-MIR). Beni established a single-party MNR hegemony. Over all, the media luna departments, with the exception of Santa Cruz, saw a continued dominance of the three systemic parties. In Santa Cruz, NFR (and to a lesser extent, MAS) prevented the establishment of an MNR-MIR hegemony, though both systemic parties won at least 20% pluralities across the department's eleven SSDs.

7. Conclusion

In simplest terms, the data supports both research hypotheses: the crisis of Bolivia's political party system is primarily a product of regional differences and these differences were heightened after adopting MMP. While all national party systems display some regional discrepancies, giving the national parties different "stronghold" areas from which they hope to expand in nationwide contests, Bolivia's regionally different party systems have tended to polarize in recent years. I use the expression "party systems" (plural), to highlight that this is not merely a problem of political parties having different

[29] Interestingly these three parties managed about 20% of the total nationwide vote as well.
[30] NFR did well in urban SSDs; MAS gained ground in rural SSDs.

basis of support; rather, the different political parties are, essentially, competing almost entirely in different arenas. While the systemic parties (MNR, MIR, and to a lesser extent ADN) continue to dominate and compete (almost exclusively) with each other in the eastern lowlands, the Andean departments are marked by dramatically different inter-party dynamics. The regionalist problem is further compounded by the fact that there are two separate Andean party systems. In Cochabamba, inter-party competition currently revolves around NFR (which dominates that urban radius) and MAS (which dominates the rural countryside, especially the Chapare region). Inter-party competition in other Andean departments is much more chaotic and less structured.

Descriptions of Bolivia's party system based on 2002 election data is, at this point, problematic. The October 2003 popular uprising that overthrew Sánchez de Lozada radically altered the political status quo. For the past eighteen months, Mesa has struggled to govern the country without a stable multiparty coalition. After political parties hit a low point in public legitimacy, Bolivia is now faced, for the first time with a situation very familiar in other Andean republics: a popular political "outsider" executive is checked by a lack of majoritarian support from antagonistic political parties. While Mesa has not yet demonstrated a desire to engage in authoritarianism, his recent brinksmanship (threatening to resign if parliament did not approve his legislation) fits the pattern of "delegative democracy" described by Guillermo O'Donnell (1993). As of this writing, the situation in Bolivia remains precarious.

Nevertheless, there is reason to suspect that, without some institutionally engineering, the political cleavages that currently dominate Bolivian politics will continue. Voters who supported the systemic parties in 2002 will no doubt continue to vote along similar interests; those who voted for the new anti-systemic and populist parties will likely keep supporting parties that represent their interests. It should be noted that the October 2003 protests were almost entirely localized in the Altiplano region around La Paz, with substantial support from Oruro and Cochabamba. In effect, those least represented at the national level vetted their outrage over a political system they had little say in. But these attitudes were not widely shared, certainly not in the eastern lowlands. Not surprisingly, shortly after Sánchez de Lozada stepped down, protests in the eastern lowlands demanded regional autonomy (even thinly veiled calls for secession) and expressed op-

position to the "October agenda" that would have overturned the very politics they had consistently voted for across elections. In short, the increased regionalization of Bolivian politics led to what I refer to as a breakdown of a "national consensus" that previously established a common national political agenda.[31]

As Bolivia looks forward to national elections (in 2007, if not sooner) and an upcoming constituent assembly, the future is certainly uncertain. What is certain, of course, is that both events will require elections. The important question that must be addressed, and soon, is what kind of electoral system will (or should) be employed.

8. A Coda on Electoral Reform

Here, I wish to briefly entertain a potential electoral reform that may ameliorate some of the problems of the currently regionally entrenched and polarized party system. What is needed, is an electoral system that gives incentives to moderated inter-party bargaining and coalition-building. In short, a return to the principles of parliamentarized presidentialism. Of course, a return to the previous status quo is unlikely, and perhaps even unwise. MMP was part of a package of reform meant to decentralized political power, improve civil society's ability to channel local demands to the state, and strengthen mechanisms of accountability. These are worth goals that should not be lightly discarded.

A radical change towards majoritarian electoral systems would probably not reduce such tensions. If all legislators were elected from SSDs, this would most likely only further regionalize the political party system. It is also unlikely that abandoning MMP to return to list-PR would resolve the current problem of regional entrenchment and polarization. After all, such tendencies were already manifested prior to adopting MMP. More importantly, recent reforms allowing independent civic groups to run candidates without

[31] This study is part of a larger dissertation, which includes the argument that Bolivia's system of parliamentarized presidentialism was also dynamically related to a "national consensus" widely shared by political elites and broad sectors of civil society. This national consensus was a carryover of the national construction project begun in the 1952 April Revolution. The centripetal incentives of parliamentarized presidentialism strengthened the national consensus against radicalist demands; the adoption to MMP removed many of these incentives and replaced them with centrifugal ones, which have helped break down the national consensus. As of this writing, Bolivian civil society is heavily engaged in a process of "re-imagining" (to adopt a phrase from Benedict Anderson) its political community, perhaps even into more than one community (i.e. secessionism).

political parties have proved popular. Any electoral reform that restricts the ability of small, local parties to participate effectively would be unwise. The door is now open for broader participation, which will inevitably breed greater party system fractionalization. But this does not mean that moderated multipartism cannot be restored.

I propose continued use of MMP, but requiring absolute majorities (50% + 1) to win SSD seats. In the absence of a clear majority winner, a "pooled vote transfer" procedure would shift votes, *en bloque*, away from losing candidates. This would resemble more common forms of alternative vote (AV), transferable vote systems (such as SNTV or STV), or instant runoff (IRV). Such systems, however, seem beyond Bolivia's current technical capacity. First, because Bolivian voters are used to relatively simple ballot structures and many would most likely be confused by ballots that require rank ordering of candidates. Second, it is unlikely that Bolivia's Corte Nacional Electoral is either willing or able (at this time) to mount such a complex election monitoring and counting operation.[32] The "pooled vote transfer" (PVT) I propose would introduce the basic thrust of such electoral systems, but in a much more simplified form. What I propose is, simply, that each SSD candidate announce, before election day, what candidate he or she would transfer his or her block of votes to.[33]

Since most candidates elected from SSDs win without majorities (the mean plurality victory is just above 20%), many locally elected legislators tend to represent narrow sectarian interests, not their broader constituencies. This defeats one of the goals of the MMP reform itself, which meant to tie political parties closer to local constituencies. Requiring SSD legislators win with absolute majorities is, nevertheless, problematic in the context of an increasingly fractionalized multiparty system. A "pooled" vote transfer method, on the other hand, would help ensure that SSD legislators represent a majority of their constituencies. Lastly, PVT, like other vote transfer methods, should encourage a Condorcet winner.

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[32] Oscar Hassenteufel, CNE director, recently argued against even holding more than one election in a given year. He pointed out that merely holding a yes/no referendum on regional autonomies in the same year as an election for delegates to a national constituent assembly is beyond CNE's organizational capabilities.

[33] I recommend at least 15 days before the election (30 preferably). This would give voters enough time to take potential vote transfers into their voting calculus, but would give candidates some time during the campaign to bargain.

More importantly, PVT would encourage cross-party coalition-building norms. If candidates were required to announce publicly who they would transfer their votes to, it would provide incentives for candidates (and parties) to engage in pre-electoral bargaining strategies that may reduce polarization and radicalization of political competition by encouraging candidates to appeal to constituencies outside their narrow base. Lastly, such an arrangement, made openly and publicly, would encourage strategic voting, as voters recognize that they can still vote for their optimal preferred candidate, without risk of throwing their vote away in the process.

Any electoral reform must, of course, be carefully considered. No doubt, there are potential flaws in this proposal. But I suggest that it may provide a solution to the drawbacks of MMP (as applied to the Bolivian case), while retaining some of its theoretical objectives.

Appendix

Table 1. Lower house seats and votes by party in national elections, 1985-1997.

Party	1985		1989		1993		1997[b]	
	Votes (%)	Seats	Votes (%)	Seats	Votes (%)	Seats	Votes (%)	Seats
MNR	**(30.4)**	**(41)**	25.6	40	**(35.6)**	**(52)**	18.6	26
ADN	**(32.8)**	**(43)**	**(25.2)**	**(38)**	—	—	**(22.7)**	**(32)**
MIR	10.2	15	**(21.8)**	**(33)**	—	—	**(17.1)**	**(23)**
AP[a]	—	—	—	—	21.5	35	—	—
CONDEPA[e]	—	—	12.3	10	14.3	13	17.5	19
UCS	—	—	—	—	**(13.8)**	**(20)**	**(14.3)**	**(21)**
IU	0.7	—	8.0	9	1.0	—	3.8	4
PS-1	2.6	5	2.8	—	—	—	—	—
MRTKL[c]	2.1	2	1.6	—	—	—	—	—
MNRI	5.5	8	—	—	—	—	—	—
MNRV	4.8	6	—	—	1.3	—	—	—
FPU	2.5	4	—	—	—	—	—	—
PDC[d]	1.6	3	—	—	—	—	—	—
FSB	1.3	3	0.7	—	1.3	—	—	—
MBL	—	—	—	—	**(5.4)**	**(7)**	3.2	5
EJE	—	—	—	—	1.1	1	0.9	—
Other	5.5	—	1.9	—	4.7	2	1.9	—
Systemic Parties	73.4	99	72.6	111	57.1	87	58.4	81
Total	100.0	130	100.0	130	100.0	130	100.0	130

[a] Joint ADN-MIR list.
[b] Party list (not SSD) votes.
[c] Incorporated into the MNR candidate list in 1993.
[d] Allied with ADN beginning in 1989.
[e] CONDEPA was briefly in Bánzer's "megacoalition" government, but was expelled after a year.

Source: Corte Nacional Electoral. Figures in **(bold)** denote members of the governing coalition.

Table 2. Percentage (%) votes for top seven parties in 2002 election by department.

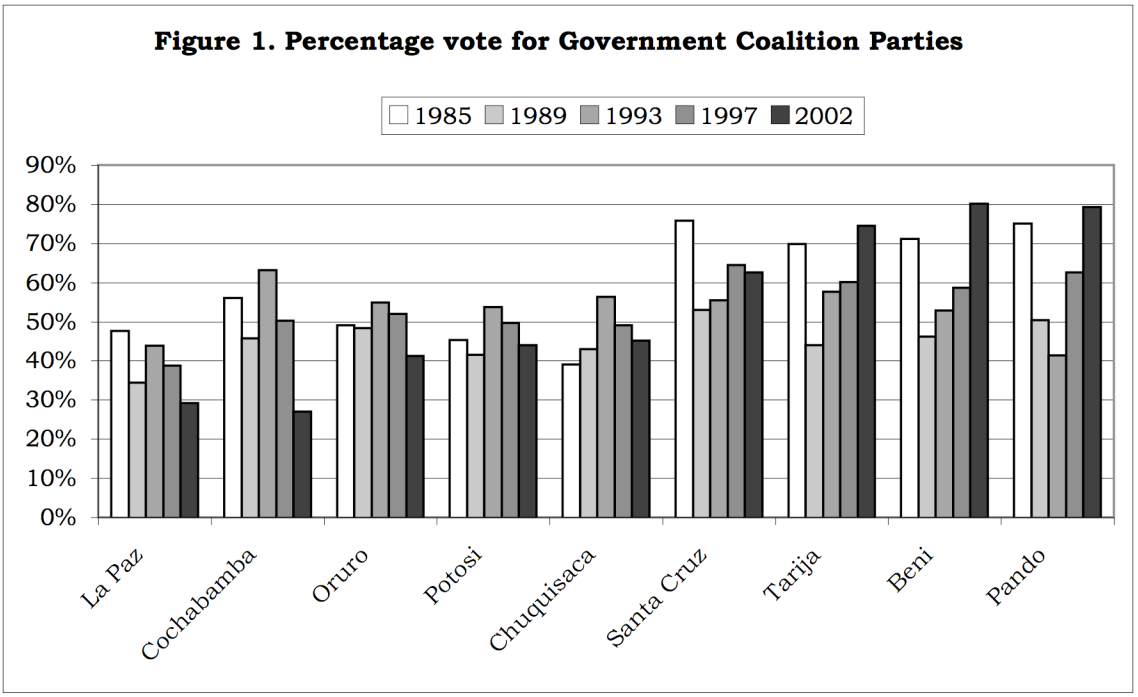
Department	Systemic Parties			Populist Parties		Anti-Systemic Parties	
	MNR	MIR	ADN	UCS	NFR	MIP	MAS
La Paz	15.3	11.5	2.2	2.3	21.0	17.7	**(22.5)**
Cochabamba	16.9	6.2	1.3	4.8	29.1	0.7	**(37.6)**
Oruro	18.7	15.4	4.2	6.5	18.5	2.0	**(29.2)**
Potosí	24.3	17.9	2.8	7.0	14.5	1.1	**(27.0)**
Chuquisaca	**(26.9)**	17.3	11.6	7.4	15.7	0.8	17.1
Tarija	33.8	**(39.3)**	2.1	5.0	10.5	0.9	6.2
Santa Cruz	**(29.5)**	24.9	2.6	8.6	22.4	0.3	10.2
Beni	**(42.6)**	16.9	13.7	10.8	11.6	0.3	3.2
Pando	**(34.5)**	20.0	26.1	3.3	12.1	0.2	2.9
Total	22.5	16.3	3.4	5.5	20.9	6.1	20.9

Source: Corte Nacional Electoral. Figures in **(bold)** denote departmental winners.

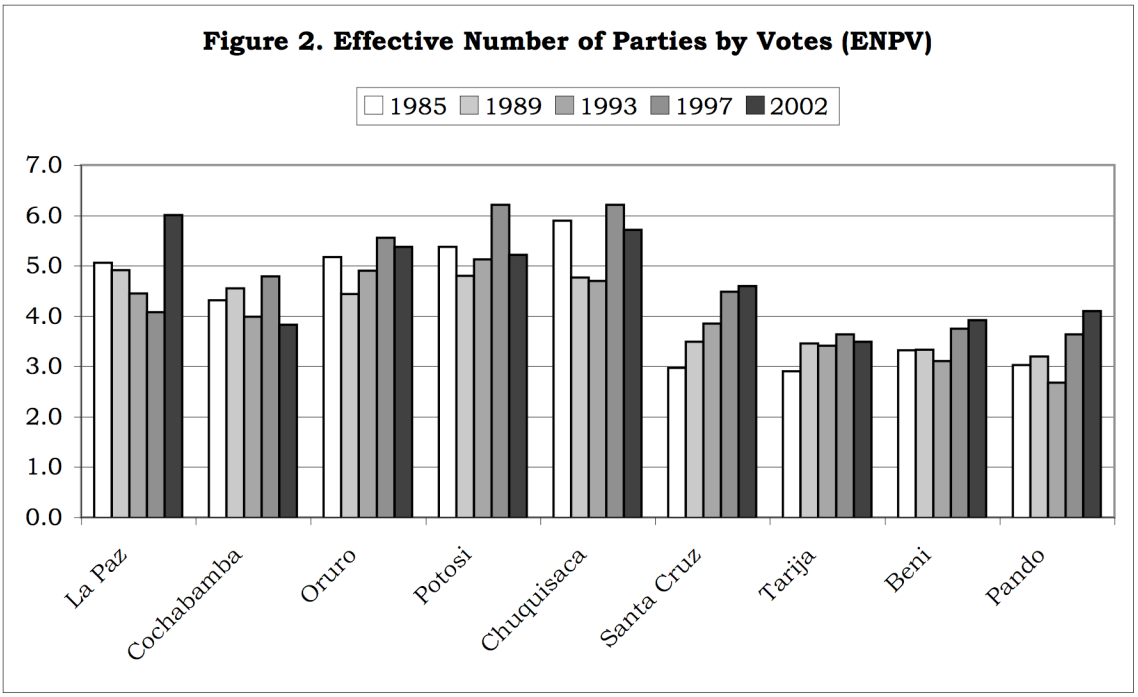
Table 3. Number of lower house seats for top seven political parties in 2002 election by department.

Department	Systemic Parties			Populist Parties		Anti-Systemic Parties	
	MNR	MIR	ADN	UCS	NFR	MIP	MAS
La Paz	5	6			7	6	7
Cochabamba	3	1		1	6		7
Oruro	2	2			2		4
Potosí	4	3		1	2		5
Chuquisaca	3	2	1	1	2		2
Tarija	3	5			1		
Santa Cruz	9	5		1	4		2
Beni	5	1	1	1	1		
Pando	2	1	2				
Total	36	26	4	5	25	6	27

Source: Corte Nacional Electoral. Absent from the list is the single PS-1 representative elected from an SSD in the city of Santa Cruz.



Source: Corte Nacional Electoral. Coalition government parties are those parties that went on to form party of the multiparty coalition.



Source: Elaborated from data provided by the Corte Nacional Electoral.

Figure 3. Percentage vote for Systemic Parties.

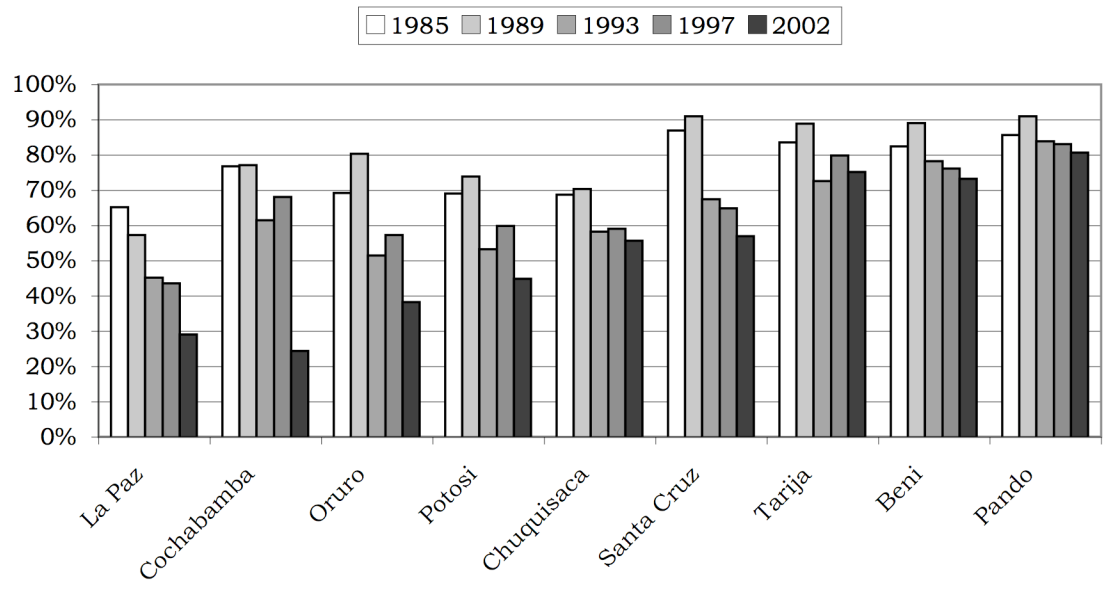


Table 4. Between- and within-province panel estimated regression models (excluding Chuquisaca).

Independent Variables	Dependent Variables			
	ENPV	Blank & Null Votes	Electoral Volatility	Votes for Systemic Parties
Media Luna	-1.0356 **	-0.0542 **	-0.1435 **	0.2344 **
	—	—	—	—
Metropolitan	-0.7011	-0.0421	0.0162	0.0351
	—	—	—	—
Capital	0.4237	-0.0225	0.0096	0.0155
	—	—	—	—
Effective Threshold	-6.6744 *	-0.3410	-1.1337 **	1.6532 **
	12.4969	0.3200	-3.7323 **	3.7405 **
MMP 1997	0.1141	-0.2266 *	0.1448	-0.3403
	0.1492	-0.0191 **	-0.0461 **	-0.0952 **
MMP 2002	-0.0234	-0.0479	-0.0105	-0.1170
	-0.3461 **	-0.0074	0.1266 **	-0.2328 **
Constant	4.8100 **	-0.0479 **	0.4420 **	0.5462 **
	3.5906 **	0.0974 **	0.5038 **	0.4980 **
Probability > F	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000
	0.0003	0.0360	0.0000	0.0000
Number of observations	496	496	392	496

* p<0.05 ** p<0.01

Data does not include Chuquisaca. Top figures denote between-effect estimators; bottom figures denote within-effect estimators. The regional dummy variables drop out in within-effect models, since there is no within-province variation.

Table 5. Between- and within-province panel estimated regression models (including Chuquisaca).

Independent Variables	Dependent Variables			
	ENPV	Blank & Null Votes	Electoral Volatility	Votes for Systemic Parties
Metropolitan	-0.9815	-0.0465	-0.0135	0.0804
	—	—	—	—
Capital	0.5020	-0.0286	0.0223	0.0065
	—	—	—	—
Effective Threshold	-16.7602 **	-0.8496 **	-2.647 **	4.1067 **
	14.7300	0.3977	-4.544 **	4.3841 **
MMP 1997	0.5233	-0.2055 °	-0.0936	-0.4786
	0.1317	-0.0190 **	-0.0478 **	-0.0977 **
MMP 2002	-0.1636	-0.0558	0.0145	-0.1139
	-0.2913 **	-0.0062	0.1144 **	-0.2196 **
Constant	4.9566 **	0.2088 **	0.4360 **	0.5314 **
	3.5038 **	0.0948 **	0.5443 **	0.4639 **
Probability > F	0.0004	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000
	0.0010	0.0262	0.0000	0.0000
Number of observations	546	546	432	546

* p<0.05 ** p<0.01

Top figures denote between-effect estimators; bottom figures denote within-effect estimators. The regional dummy variables drop out in within-effect models, since there is no within-province variation.

Table 6. Number of SSDs in which parties gained at least 20, 40, and 60 percent of plurinominal vote in the 2002 election.

Department	Systemic Parties			Populist Parties		Anti-Systemic Parties	
	MNR	MIR	ADN	UCS	NFR	MIP	MAS
La Paz **(16)**							
20%	4				9	6	9
40%						3	1
60%							
Cochabamba **(9)**							
20%	2				6		7
40%					2		5
60%							3
Oruro **(5)**							
20%	2				2		4
40%							1
60%							
Potosí **(8)**							
20%	6	4			1		5
40%							2
60%							1
Chuquisaca **(6)**							
20%	5	3			2		2
40%							
60%							
Tarija **(5)**							
20%	**(5)**	**(5)**					
40%	1	3					
60%							
Santa Cruz **(11)**							
20%	**(11)**	**(11)**			6		2
40%							
60%							
Beni **(5)**							
20%	**(5)**	1					
40%	4						
60%							
Pando **(3)**							
20%	**(3)**	2	**(3)**				
40%							
60%							

Source: Corte Nacional Electoral. Figures in **(bold)** represent the total number of SSDs in that department. Although PS-1 won an SSD in Santa Cruz (with a 26.8% plurality), it won less than 1% of the plurinominal votes in that same district.

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