

Part XI: Development of Data

CHAPTER 34

THE RAPID EXPANSION OF VOTER PARTICIPATION IN LATIN AMERICA: PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS, 1845–1986

By

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Introduction

Political participation in Latin America manifests itself in various forms.¹ One of the most visible and quantifiable of these is voter participation. The rate of voter participation can be an indicator of the legitimacy of a government, the openness of the political system, or mass interest in elections. For several reasons, many scholars have tended to focus their research on a particular election or country.² Scarcity of data has been cited as one of the major reasons more comprehensive work has not been done in the field.³

Not until the 1970s was basic comprehensive data published. In 1972 Kenneth Ruddle and Philip Gillette produced a historical series for the post-World War II era, *Latin American Political Statistics*, to launch further studies. In 1974 Tatu Vanhanen's *Political and Social Structures, Part 1: American Countries, 1850-1973* expanded upon Ruddle and Gillette, carrying the statistics back to the 1840s.

My intent in this study is to build upon the work of Ruddle and Gillette and Vanhanen by using and updating presidential election statistics to focus on the percentage of the population that participated in elections in each Latin American country. I also provide a general analysis of the rapid expansion of voter participation.

Sources and Methodology

In gathering electoral statistics for Latin America's twenty countries, I found very few sources containing data for the period prior to World War II. Since Vanhanen carries his data back to the 1840s, he is my main source.⁴ Because

AUTHOR'S NOTE: The author wishes to thank David Lorey and Charles Grimes for computer support.

¹ For the different types of political participation see Mitchell A. Seligson and John Booth, *Political Participation in Latin America*, vols. 1 and 2 (New York: Holmes and Meyer, 1978).

² For an example of this consult John D. Martz and Enrique Baloyra, *Electoral Mobilization and Public Opinion: The Venezuelan Campaign of 1973* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1978).

³ See Howard Wiarda, *Critical Elections and Critical Coups: State, Society and the Military in the Process of Latin American Development* (Athens: Center for International Studies, Latin American Program, Ohio University, 1979).

⁴ It should be noted that Vanhanen's aforementioned book was combined with data on other countries by him and published in 1979 by University Microfilms International with the title *Power and the Means of Power*. Since both works contain the same data for Latin America I do not differentiate between the two.

of scarcity of data for the nineteenth century, Vanhanen frequently estimates the percentage of the total population voting. His estimates are helpful in observing voter participation trends. For presidential election data since the 1940s, I have consulted (in addition to Ruddle and Gillette) the *Statistical Abstract of Latin America* (vols. 21 through 24), *Keesing's Contemporary Archives, Facts on File*, and reports from the political officers of the United States embassy in each country.

The statistical tables presented here include the population figures used to calculate the percent of the population that voted in each election. Population figures before 1939 are from Arthur Banks's *Cross-Polity Times-Series Data* and the *Statistical Abstract of Latin America* (vol 23). The remainder of the population figures are from *The United Nations Demographic Yearbook* (UN-DY), the Economic Commission for Latin America's *Statistical Yearbook for Latin America* (ECLA-SY) and *International Financial Statistics* (IMF-IFS).

The reader must be aware that statistics vary depending upon their source; it is possible, therefore, to have parallel but different time-series for the same countries. An example is the case of Argentina, where I found four different sets of statistics for the total voting population in the 1958 election.⁵ There are several reasons for the discrepancies in the statistics, such as the inclusion or exclusion of null and blank votes and votes for illegal candidates, and whether the data include all precincts counted or only a percentage. Where discrepancies occurred, I chose the median figure. Another discrepancy in the data is the total population figure. In countries with a relatively large youth population voter participation may be low, since a vast number are under the legal voting age.

An alternate method for determining voter participation is to calculate it as a percentage of the voting age population. Several problems arise, however, one being insufficient population data. Even if such population data could be found back to the nineteenth century, it would be difficult to calculate voter participation based on voting age population since in many countries there was no established legal

⁵ Vanhanen shows 9,063,498 persons voting, Cantón shows 9,088,491, Ruddle and Gillette show 7,771,956, and the *Argentina Election Factbook, July 7, 1963*, shows 9,065,035 persons voting.

voting age. In Bolivia, for example, during the 1960s the legal voting age was 21 years, and 18 years for married citizens.⁶ Owing to the difficulty in finding adequate data and then calculating the voting age population, I have opted to use total population figures instead of the voting age population figures to calculate the percentage of voter participation.

Tables 3400–3419 and figures 34:1–34:20 show the increase in voter participation in the individual countries of Latin America. Similar data for the United States has been included for "control" purposes (table 3420; figure 34:21). These data show how Latin America fares in comparison with the United States, a comparison that is often made.

Voting in the Nineteenth Century: Restrictive Voting

By observing the percentage of the population that voted in each presidential election in nineteenth-century Latin America, one can quickly see that only an extremely small number voted. Electoral participation during this period was generally restricted to the landed elite and a few elite urban dwellers.⁷ Table 3421 (and figure 34:22) show that an average of slightly more than 2 percent of the Latin American population voted during this period, compared with 16 percent in the United States.

In a few exceptional cases during the nineteenth century, a relatively high percentage of the population voted. In the Peruvian election of 1858 (table 3417, figure 34:18) 23.8 percent of the population voted, a figure that was not surpassed until the election of 1985. The same trend can be seen in Venezuela during the 1870s, the Dominican Republic during the 1880s, and in Colombia in 1857. To explain such a phenomenon one must look at the similarities in elections. Table 3422 demonstrates that during the time of the election in each of the above-mentioned cases, the constitutions called for direct elections. In each case, the caudillo who won the election had favored direct elections, and had been in power or had been supported by the person in power at the time. Therefore, the caudillos or their cliques controlled the elections, allowing them to bypass congress and appeal to the voters. With a larger electorate the potential for fraud was greater.

Voter participation in nineteenth-century Latin America was highly restricted. With an average of slightly more than 2 percent of the population voting, the populace obviously had very little, if any, say in who was to lead the country. The political scene was dominated by caudillos, landholders, and military elites. In many countries, however, by the late nineteenth century the middle sectors began to push for a greater voice, signaling a trend toward expanded voter participation.

Increased Voter Participation and the Basis for Change: 1900s–1930s

In the late nineteenth century, the emerging middle sectors in some Latin American countries began to push for more political and economic power. By the 1920s many had achieved some degree of reform, such as an increase in the number eligible to vote. Some governments proclaimed universal male suffrage. In Argentina, for example, the emerging middle sectors formed the Unión Cívica Radical (UCR) in 1891, a political party which had as part of its platform several social reforms including the expansion of voter participation. The UCR helped to pressure President Roque Sáenz Peña into proclaiming the Sáenz-Peña law, in 1912, which granted universal male suffrage. Once the middle sectors were allowed to participate in elections they were able to elect their own candidate to the presidency, Hipólito Yrigoyen.⁸ Electoral participation in Argentina increased from under 3 percent before 1922, to 8.8 percent in 1922 (table 3400; figure 34:1), and has been rising steadily since.

Other countries (Chile, Costa Rica, Honduras, Mexico, Paraguay, Uruguay, and Guatemala) also showed a steady increase in electoral participation. The average percent of the population voting in presidential elections in Latin America during this period was 5.6 percent. In Mexico during the Porfiriato voting was very restricted; however, the fall of Porfirio Díaz in 1911 stimulated expanded enfranchisement. Table 3413 shows that .1 percent of the population voted during the Porfiriato and with the election of Carranza in 1917, the percentage begins to increase rapidly. In Uruguay the reform movement under the influence of José Batlle Ordóñez led to the Constitution of 1917 which granted "Free suffrage and fair elections."⁹ The movement toward the expansion of enfranchisement helped to form the basis for increased electoral participation in the following decades.

U.S. dominance in several Latin American countries also led to increased voter participation. President Woodrow Wilson's policy of withholding recognition of governments that came to power by force influenced the electoral process. For example, when Federico A. Tinoco seized power in Costa Rica in 1917, the United States denounced the action and withheld recognition until Tinoco was forced to step down, and elections were held in 1919.¹⁰

U.S. occupation forces controlled the Dominican Republic from 1916 to 1930, and supervised the 1924 elections. In 1930 the Dominican Republic again held

⁶ *Bolivia Election Factbook, July 3, 1966* (Washington D.C.: Operations and Policy Research, Inc., 1966).

⁷ Robert J. Alexander, *Latin American Politics and Government* (New York: Harper and Row, 1965), pp. 11–12.

⁸ James R. Scobie, *Argentina: A City and a Nation* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1975), pp. 198–205.

⁹ See Hubert Herring, *A History of Latin America* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1968), p. 794.

¹⁰ Consult Harold Eugene Davis, John J. Finan, and F. Taylor Peck, *Latin American Diplomatic History: An Introduction* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1977), p. 164; Herring, *History*, p. 498.

elections, after the revolt led by Rafael Trujillo and his successful handling of the aftermath of a severe hurricane. Voter participation in the 1930 election jumped from .1 percent in 1924 to 17.9 percent. The United States also dominated Cuba and Panama, where elections were held on a regular basis with participation figures rising at a constant rate. In Nicaragua, which has been dominated by the United States since 1909, election participation increased from .2 percent in 1891 to 12.2 percent in 1924. In the 1928 elections, supervised by the United States, voter participation rose to 20 percent. Haiti was occupied by the United States from 1919 to 1934, during which time only one presidential election was held. As table 3411 and figure 34:12 show, approximately 3 percent of the population voted, the highest rate in Haiti's history, a figure that would not be surpassed until 1950. Thus, U.S. influence and dominance, if anything, helped to increase voter participation in Latin America.

In contrast to those countries where voter participation was on the rise, Brazil, Ecuador, El Salvador, Peru, and Bolivia showed little expansion of the voting population. Peru, Bolivia, and Ecuador have large Indian populations. Since literacy was a requirement for voting and the majority of the Indians were illiterate, they were not allowed to vote. Elite landholders and the military were dominant in Brazil, El Salvador, and Bolivia, where the middle sectors had been unable to break down the barriers to political participation as in other countries. No presidential elections were held in Venezuela between 1897 and 1937, due largely to the dictatorship of Juan Vicente Gómez.

Although there were substantial gains in voter participation in many countries, in others voting remained greatly restricted. However, the world situation was altering rapidly, making changes in voter participation patterns in Latin America a possibility.

Rapid Expansion of Voter Participation: 1930s-1960s

The decade of the 1930s was a time of rapid political change throughout the world as countries struggled to cope with the Great Depression. In Latin America the period was one of rapid expansion in voter participation, owing in part to the rise of populist leaders appealing to a multiclass alliance, the organization of the urban working class, and the granting of voting rights to women. The average voter participation in Latin America was 18 percent compared with 36 percent in the United States (table 3421 and figure 34:22). Voter participation in some Latin American countries during this period surpassed that in the United States.

The world economic crisis and World War II brought into public view various political ideologies, such as fascism, socialism, and communism, which were channeled into political parties. These political parties began to recruit urban masses, until then an untapped reservoir of votes. In "Populism in Brazil, 1925-1945," Michael L. Connif discusses the impact of party recruitment of the urban masses in Rio de

Janeiro.¹¹ He shows that votes for president increased seventeen-fold in less than twenty years. In 1926, 28,000 people voted; in 1930, 64,000; in 1934, 110,000; and in 1945, 482,000. In order to keep pace with the growing strength of communist and fascist groups, traditional parties had to broaden their bases of support. Many began to appeal to the urban masses by advocating and later passing social legislation benefiting those groups. As the masses began to enjoy social benefits, many (Argentina and Brazil, for example) began to exercise their right to vote.

In other countries voter participation began to increase as a result of "democratic" coups and revolutions. The Costa Rican Revolution of 1948 and the Venezuelan upheavals of 1947 and 1958 led to a rapid rise in the voter participation, which has lasted to the present day (tables 3405 and 3419). The Bolivian National Revolution of 1952, led by the Movimiento Nacional Revolucionario, threw off the yoke of the oligarchy's control of politics and allowed for the expansion of voter participation. In the election of 1952, 4 percent of the population voted, but after the Revolución, in the 1956 election, 28 percent of the population voted (table 3401). In Brazil the coup that ousted Getúlio Vargas in 1945 led to regular presidential elections, which continued until 1964. During this period in Brazilian history, voter participation increased seven-fold, due largely to the social legislation passed during the dictatorship of Vargas.

Another cause of the rapid expansion of voter participation during this period was the granting of voting rights to women. Table 3423 gives the year that each country granted women the right to vote. In nearly all cases the percentage of voter participation increased dramatically following women's suffrage. The increase averaged 138.6 percent. In three countries, however (Ecuador, Paraguay, and Uruguay), the percentage decreased. These decreases can be attributed to (1) the lack of precise participation data for Ecuador prior to 1929, (2) a change in the presidential system in Uruguay, and (3) the possibility of voter discontent with the Stroessner regime in Paraguay.

The combination of multiclass alliances and the granting of the right to vote to women contributed significantly to the increase in voter participation, but for such rapid expansion there was a price to pay.

The Decline: 1960s-1980s

After the widespread increase in electoral participation from the 1930s to the 1960s, a backlash against the electoral process occurred. Inept civilian government, rapid inflation, and threats of rapid change paved the way for the military to intervene and establish "order." During the 1970s

¹¹ See Michael L. Connif, ed., *Latin American Populism in Comparative Perspective* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1982), p. 69.

the number of presidential elections dropped drastically (table 3424 and figure 34:23). Military coups occurred in several countries and military rule lasted for several years (table 3425). Table 3425 also shows which countries had "rigged" elections and where the electoral process remained in tact.

"Rigged" elections occurred in Nicaragua, Paraguay, Guatemala, and Haiti during this period. Although voter participation increased, dictatorships were largely in control. In Paraguay General Stroessner was elected to the presidency each time. In Nicaragua the head of the Guardia Nacional, Anastasio Somoza Debayle, oversaw the election of a political crony, René Schick Gutiérrez, while Somoza himself was elected president twice. In Guatemala, after the dictatorships of Miguel Ydígoras Fuentes and Colonel Enrique Peralta Azurdia in 1968, elections were held every four years under the close supervision of the military. In Haiti, President Duvalier had himself elected president for life in 1961.

In Colombia, Costa Rica, Mexico, and Venezuela the electoral process remained relatively free from military intervention. Voter participation continued to rise in these countries, as tables 3404, 3405, 3413, and 3419 show.

In the remaining countries, civilian governments were toppled and the military ruled without holding elections. In the case of Brazil a president was confirmed by congress after being chosen by the military high command. In Argentina in 1973, after seven years of military rule, Juan Domingo Perón was elected president again, and voter participation further increased. Upon his death his wife assumed power until the military coup.

The military backlash against the electoral process was a setback to voter participation movements. By the late 1970s, however, a drive had begun to resume the electoral process, as we shall see below.

Return to Elections and Increased Voter Participation: 1980-86

Since the late 1970s there has been a movement to return Latin American governments to civilian rule through the electoral process. By 1986 the dominance of military and personalist dictatorships had declined as a result of U.S. pressure, economic difficulties, and inept military rule.

The return to elections in Latin America has been facilitated in part by pressure from the United States. President Jimmy Carter had made it a part of his administration's foreign policy to criticize and reduce aid to military governments. This is one of the reasons Bolivians give for holding the 1978 elections.¹² In Honduras, prior to the 1980 elections, the United States gave the military \$500,000 (U.S.) in aid with a promise of ten times that amount after the

elections were held.¹³ In Nicaragua and Haiti the United States tried to use its influence to persuade Somoza and Duvalier to broaden political rights; when this policy failed, the United States supported the ouster of both leaders and began to push for elections. The United States has condemned the dictatorship of Chilean president Augusto Pinochet, and is now considering economic pressure to accelerate plans for holding elections.

Inept military governments and economic problems helped cause widespread discontent, leading to the consolidation of internal opposition and the decision by the military in some countries to hold elections. In Argentina the military government was plagued with economic difficulties. Inflation rates continued to grow as real wages declined dramatically. In 1982, trying to divert attention from the economic crisis, the military occupied the Falkland Islands, which led to a failed war with England. The military regime was without legitimacy and was forced to hold elections.¹⁴ Similar events took place in other countries where financial crisis left the military with no alternative but to give up power. With the exception of Cuba, Haiti, and Chile, all Latin American countries have held elections since 1982.

In Cuba Fidel Castro remains the dominant political force, and national presidential elections have not been held since 1954. In Haiti the twenty-nine-year rule of the Duvaliers came to an end in February 1986, with the toppling of Jean-Claude Duvalier. The junta has said that it plans to hold elections in November 1987. Chile, under the rule of General Pinochet since 1973, has yet to hold a presidential election despite internal and external pressures to do so. Pinochet, however, maintains that he intends to hold a 1989 plebiscite on his continued power into the 1990s. Since the fall of Somoza in 1979 and Duvalier in 1986, right-wing dictatorships are restricted to Stroessner in Paraguay and Pinochet in Chile. However, with Stroessner's advancing age, Pinochet's talk of elections, as well as the possibility of U.S. economic pressure on Chile,¹⁵ it is possible that by the end of the 1980s the presidential electoral process will be restored to Latin America with the exception of Cuba.

During the 1980s, voter participation in Latin America has continued to increase. The average rate has risen to 29.3 percent of the population (table 3421 and figure 34:22). Argentina and Uruguay have, by far, the highest participation rate, 52 and 64 percent respectively. Part of the reason for the increase during this period is the lowering of the voting

¹² See Asamblea Permanente de Derechos Humanos en Bolivia, *El fraude electoral: Un atentado contra la voluntad popular* (La Paz, March, 1979), p. 10.

¹³ Thomas P. Anderson, *Politics in Central America* (New York: Praeger, 1982), p. 127.

¹⁴ David Rock and Susan Avellano, "The Argentine Elections of 1983: Significance and Repercussions," in Paul W. Drake and Eduardo Silva, eds., *Elections and Democratization in Latin America, 1980-1985* (San Diego: Center for Iberian and Latin American Studies, University of California, 1986), p. 187.

¹⁵ *Los Angeles Times*, August 19, 1986, p. 2.

age in some countries, as well as the inclusion of illiterates among the voting population. In Peru, for example, eighteen-year-olds and illiterates voted for the first time in the 1980 elections. In that election 60 percent of the electorate was eligible to vote for the first time.¹⁶

In addition to the factors discussed thus far, others have influenced the rapid expansion of voter participation as well. These include electoral fraud, incentives and barriers to voting, and the existence of mandatory voting laws.

Electoral Fraud

Electoral fraud can influence voter participation in a number of ways. Let us take the case of Guatemala in the 1970s where the elections were known to be fraudulent. The result was voter apathy and distrust. As null and blank votes increased, the government did not release official figures for null and blank voting, as it had in the past,¹⁷ for fear of widespread use of null and blank votes as a form of protest.

Besides encouraging absenteeism and protest voting, electoral fraud can also contribute to an increase in voter participation figures. An extreme example is the case of the Bolivian election of 1978. The election was annulled before the counting of the results was officially completed; however, nearly complete tabulations show a total number of votes (61,294) greater than the total number of voters registered.¹⁸ Although electoral fraud is difficult to document, once detected it suggests that apparent voter participation statistics cannot always be viewed as literal indicators of the wishes of the populace.

Barriers and Incentives

The level of voter participation is also influenced by obstacles and incentives to voting. Barriers, or obstacles, tend to have a discouraging, alienating effect in many cases. Examples are numerous, such as a slow registration process, complicated procedures, and long lines. In Chile before 1962 potential voters could only register during a two-hour period on eight prescribed days each month.¹⁹ In Colombia complicated procedures probably account for the low participation rate. In his book *Latin American Democracies* John Peeler describes the Colombian electoral procedure:

Months before the election prospective voters must assure that their national identification cards are in order. If they wish to vote anywhere other than the place where the card was issued they must go through a separate procedure. On election day all roads are closed, so that persons who need to vote in their hometowns must take three days off in order to vote. Furthermore, the actual casting of the vote is an elaborate procedure.²⁰

Having to wait in long lines to cast a ballot may also deter potential voters. In the Dominican Republic elections of May 1986, many had to wait in lines for up to eight hours.²¹

Incentives for voting are common in Latin America. The buying of votes is a prime example. In Brazil before the election a candidate gives a voter lodging, food, alcohol, and sometimes a small amount of cash. On election day he is given a ride to the polls.²² During the Somoza regime in Nicaragua, Somoza gave money and food to voters in exchange for votes.²³ He also sent telegrams to government bureaucratic section chiefs reminding them to take their employees to vote, and punished those who did not cooperate.²⁴

Mandatory Voting

Another factor influencing the electoral processes in Latin America is obligatory voter participation. The majority of Latin American countries have had mandatory voting laws at one time or another (table 3426). Mandatory voting is a means for a government to force the populace to vote, thus maintaining the appearance of a popularly elected government. For example, in Paraguay mandatory voting enables Stroessner to claim that he is a popularly elected, legitimate leader. The obligatory vote is also used to force many voters to the polls in order to cover up the large number that are unable to vote because of literacy qualifications, as in Ecuador.²⁵

The obligatory vote is an effective means for governments to get people to vote. Most governments with mandatory voting laws, like Paraguay and Nicaragua during Somoza, try to force potential employees of the state to prove that they voted. Elsewhere, one theoretically must show proof of voting before obtaining government services. In Venezuela, for example, proof of registration and voting must be sub-

¹⁶ Keesing's Contemporary Archives (30546), 1980.

¹⁷ José M. Rivas, "Elecciones presidenciales en Guatemala, 1966-1978: Ilegalidad progresiva del gobierno," *Estudios Centroamericanos* (Universidad Centroamericana José Simeón Canas), June-July 1978.

¹⁸ Calculated from pages 35 and 69 of *El Fraude Electoral*; Murray Seeger and Ray Bonner report this figure to be 49,412 in "Bolivia," *Atlantic Monthly*, December 1980, pp. 16-21.

¹⁹ Edward J. Williams and Freeman J. Wright, *Latin American Politics: A Developmental Approach* (New York: Mayfield, 1975), p. 316.

²⁰ John A. Peeler, *Latin American Democracies* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1985), pp. 97-98.

²¹ "Slow Pokes," *Time*, June 2, 1986, p. 50.

²² Williams and Wright, *Latin American Politics*, p. 317.

²³ George A. Bowdler and Patricia Cotter, *Voter Participation in Central America, 1954-1981: An Exploration* (Washington, D.C.: University Press of America, 1982), pp. 64-65.

²⁴ Ibid., pp. 66-67.

²⁵ George I. Blankenstein, *Ecuador: Constitutions and Caudillos* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1951), p. 19.

mitted to receive an application for a patent license or for entrance to the university.²⁶

The percentage of registered voters who voted in countries where obligatory voting is the law is shown in tables 3427-3429 and figures 34:24-34:26. Voting has been mandatory in Argentina since 1912, and has resulted in a relatively high voter turnout. Voting became mandatory in Chile in 1958, and the participation rate has not dipped below 80 percent since then. When voting became obligatory in Peru, in 1963, the voter participation percentage shot up from 84 percent in 1956 to 94 percent in 1963 (table 3429 and figure 34:26). In the Peruvian presidential elections of 1980 and 1985 absenteeism increased in part because of the civil war. Table 3430 and figure 34:27, for Colombia, which does not have a mandatory voting law, are included for comparison.

Although mandatory voting laws are difficult to enforce, countries with such laws tend to have a higher voter participation rate. The countries with the highest voter turnout during the most recent presidential elections in the 1980s (Uruguay, El Salvador, Argentina, Costa Rica, Venezuela, and Peru) all have mandatory voting laws. In contrast, the countries with the lowest voter participation rate during the latest elections (Panama, Colombia, and Bolivia) tend not to have mandatory voting laws.

There are two exceptions to the rule that countries with mandatory voting laws tend to have higher electoral participation—Paraguay and Nicaragua. Paraguay has mandatory voting laws and shows a relatively low voter participation rate, whereas in Nicaragua, where voting is not mandatory, there is a high rate of participation.

Conclusion

Voter participation in Latin America has increased dramatically since the mid-nineteenth century. The average voter participation rate in Latin America has come within reach of that of the United States. By examining the various trends and factors affecting the expansion of voter participation, one can begin to see the difficulty in making definitive statements about voter participation. Only by studying such trends over time can we begin to understand the nature and impact of elections in Latin America.

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²⁶ Institute for the Comparative Study of Political Systems, *Venezuelan Election Factbook, December 1, 1968* (Operations and Policy Research, Inc., 1969), p. 16.

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Table 3400
ARGENTINA POPULATION VOTING IN PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS, 1853-1983
(%)

Year	A Number of Voters (A)	B Total Population (T) (B)	C Percentage of Population Voting (A/B)	D Person Elected President
1853 ^a	106	640	1.0	Justo José de Urquiza
1859	~	1,280	1.0	Santiago Derqui
1862	133	1,400	1.0	Bartolomé Mitre
1868	127	1,688	1.0	Domingo Faustino Sarmiento
1874	224	2,154	1.2	Nicolás Avellaneda
1880	225	2,640	2.0	Julio A. Roca
1886	213	3,094	2.0	Miguel Juárez Celman
1892	215	3,858	2.0	Luis Sáenz Peña
1898	256	4,462	2.0	Julio A. Roca
1904	295	5,716	2.5	Manual Quintana
1910	265	7,092	2.8	Rogelio Sáenz Peña
1916	723,909	8,300	8.8	Hipólito Irigoyen
1922	823,380	9,368	8.8	Marcelo T. de Alvear
1928	1,461,671	11,282	12.9	Hipólito Irigoyen
1931	1,355,954	12,167	11.1	Agustín P. Justo
1937	1,913,154	13,490	14.2	Roberto M. Ortiz
1946	2,690,333	15,654	17.2	Juan Domingo Perón
1951	7,461,555	17,635	42.3	Juan Domingo Perón
1958	9,063,498	19,250	47.1	Arturo Frondizi
1963	9,325,997	21,688	43.0	Arturo Illia
1973	12,077,422	24,820	48.6	Juan Domingo Perón
1983	15,374,769	29,630	52.0	Raúl Alfonsín

^a For 1853 through 1910 the number of electors is given. The percentage is equal to the number of people who voted for the electors.

SOURCE: A. Vanhanen for 1853 through 1973; SALA, 24, for 1983.
B. Banks for 1853 through 1910; and 1922 through 1937; SALA, 23, for 1916; UN-DY, 1958, 1965, 1982, and 1983.

Figure 34:1
ARGENTINA POPULATION VOTING IN PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS, 1853-1983
(%)

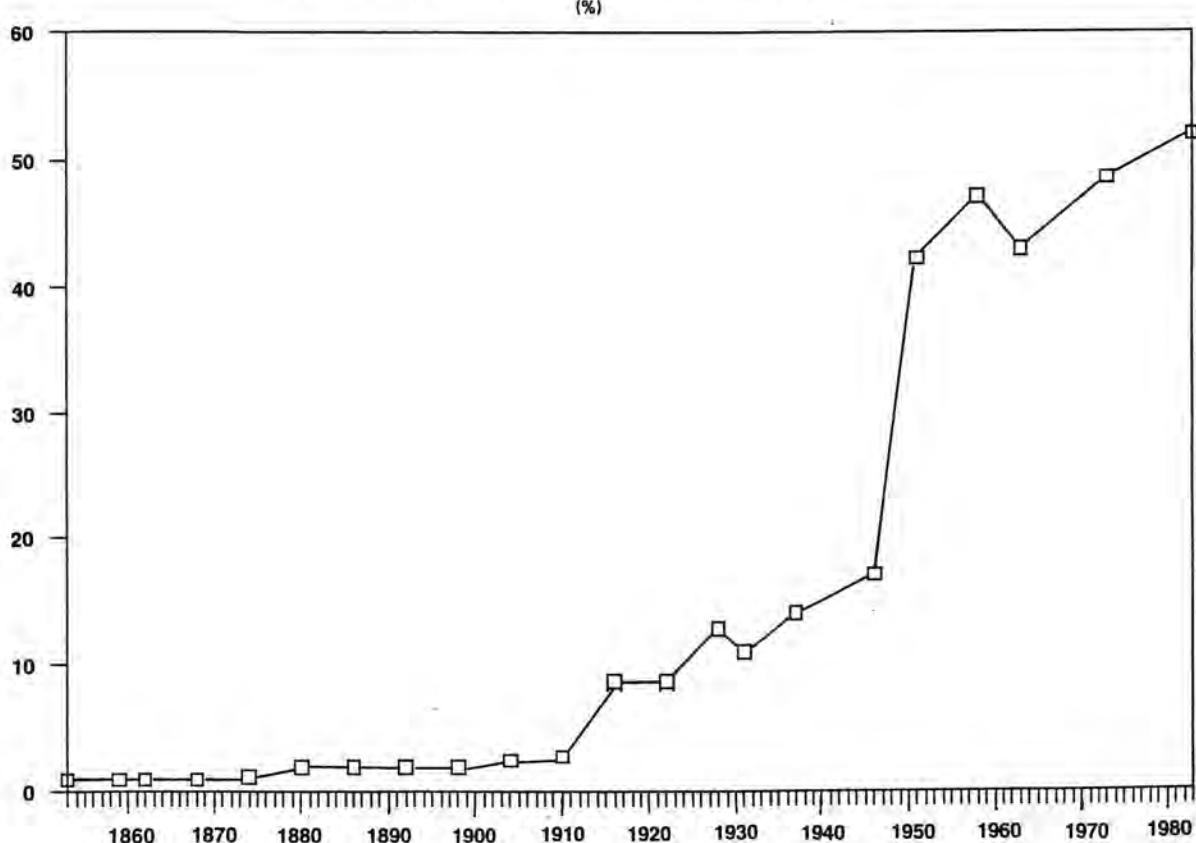


Table 3401

BOLIVIA POPULATION VOTING IN PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS, 1848-1985

(%)

Year	Number of Voters A	Total Population (T) B	Percentage of Population Voting A/B	Person Elected President
1848	~ ^a	1,882	0 [†]	Manuel Isidoro Belzú
1855	~	1,949	0 [†]	Jorge Córdova
1857	~	1,968	0 [†]	José María Linares
1861	~	2,005	0 [†]	José María de Acha
1864	~	2,032	0 [†]	Mariano Melgarejo
1871	~	1,928	0 [†]	Augustín Morales
1873	~	1,937	0 [†]	Adolfo Ballivián
1874	~	1,942	0 [†]	Tomás Frías
1876	~	1,951	0 [†]	Hilarión Daza
1880	~	1,969	0 [†]	Narciso Campero
1884	30,000	1,988	1.5	Gregorio Pacheco
1888	32,579	2,006	1.6	Ancieta Arce
1892	36,000	2,025	1.8	Mariano Baptista
1896	34,336	1,862	1.8	Severo Fernández Alonso
1899	54	1,881	0	José Manuel Pando
1904	43,000	1,886	2.3	Ismael Montes
1908	~	2,006	0	Ismael Montes
1909	~	2,036	2.3 [†]	Eliodoro Villazón
1913	~	2,160	3.0	Ismael Montes
1917	82,000	2,080	3.9	José Gutiérrez Guerra
1921	~	2,161	0	Bautista Saavedra
1925	72,549	2,263	3.2	Hernando Siles Reyes
1931	38,000	2,425	1.6	Daniel Salamanca
1940	85,000	2,700	3.1	Enrique Peñaranda de Castillo
1947	86,883	2,916	3.0	Enrique Hertzog
1951 ^b	~	3,070	~	
1952	126,123	3,095	4.0	Víctor Paz Estenssoro
1956	958,016	3,269	28.2	Hernán Siles Zuazo
1960	987,730	3,453	24.0	Víctor Paz Estenssoro
1966	1,099,525	4,450	24.7	René Barrientos Ortuño
1978 ^b	1,860,262	5,300	35.1	
1979 ^b	1,693,233	5,450	31.1	
1980	1,489,484	5,600	26.6	Hernán Siles Zuazo
1985	1,728,365	6,430	26.9	Víctor Paz Estenssoro

a. Data not available. Percentage is estimated.

b. Elections were annulled.

SOURCE: A. Vanhanen: *El Fraude Electoral de 1978*, p. 69; Bolivia: *Elecciones Fraude y Democracia*, pp. 70, 95; *El Proceso Electoral de 1985*.

B. Banks: SALA, 23; UN-DY, 1965, 1973, and 1983; IMF-IFS, July, 1986.

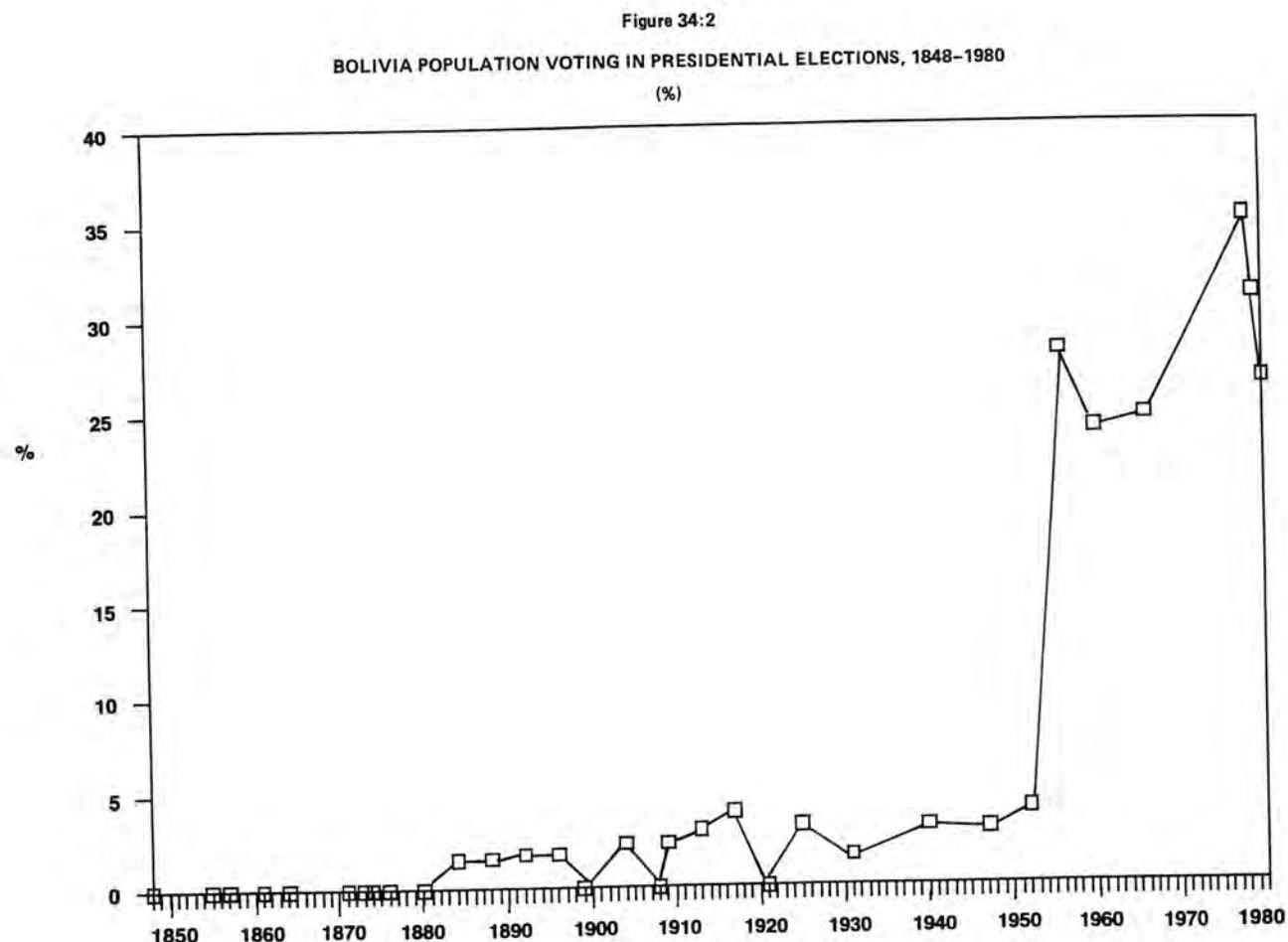


Table 3402
BRAZIL POPULATION VOTING IN PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS, 1891-1985
(%)

Year	Number of Voters A	Total Population (T) B	Percentage of Population Voting * A/B	Person Elected President
1891 ^a	129	14,812	0	Deodoro da Fonseca
1894	328,000	15,998	2.1	Prudente de Moraes
1898	458,000	17,580	2.6	Manuel Ferraz de Campos Salles
1902	634,000	19,162	3.3	Francisco de Paula Rodrigues Alves
1906	292,000	20,962	1.4	Alfonso Pena
1910	625,000	23,415	2.5	Hermes da Fonseca
1914	575,000	24,160	2.2	Venceslau Bras
1918	385,000	26,280	1.4	Francisco de Paula Rodrigues Alves
1923	783,000	29,126	2.7	Artur Bernardes
1926	689,116	30,953	2.2	Washington Luis
1934	234	36,404	0	Getúlio Vargas
1945	6,200,005	46,215	13.4	Eurico Dutra
1950	8,254,989	51,976	15.9	Getúlio Vargas
1955	9,097,014	59,846	15.1	Juscelino Kubitschek
1960	12,586,354	69,720	18.1	Janio Quadros
1966 ^b	14,747,221	83,890	17.6	Artur da Costa e Silva
1969	17,285,556	92,280	18.7	Emilio Garrastazu Médici
1974	22,435,521	103,350	21.7	Ernesto Geisel
1978	28,982,400	112,940	25.7	João Baptista Figueiredo
1985	48,481,170	135,560	35.8	Tancredo Neves

a. Before 1891 Brazil was governed by a monarchy.

b. Since 1966 presidents have been chosen by the military and then confirmed by congress, except in 1985, when a civilian non-military candidate was chosen. The voting figures given are for the congressional elections, since it is essentially congress that chooses the president. Direct elections are expected for the next presidential election.

SOURCE: A. Vanhanen; *Anuario Estadístico do Brasil 1984*.

B. Banks; SALA, 23, IMF-IFS, July, 1986.

Figure 34:3
BRAZIL POPULATION VOTING IN PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS, 1891-1985
(%)

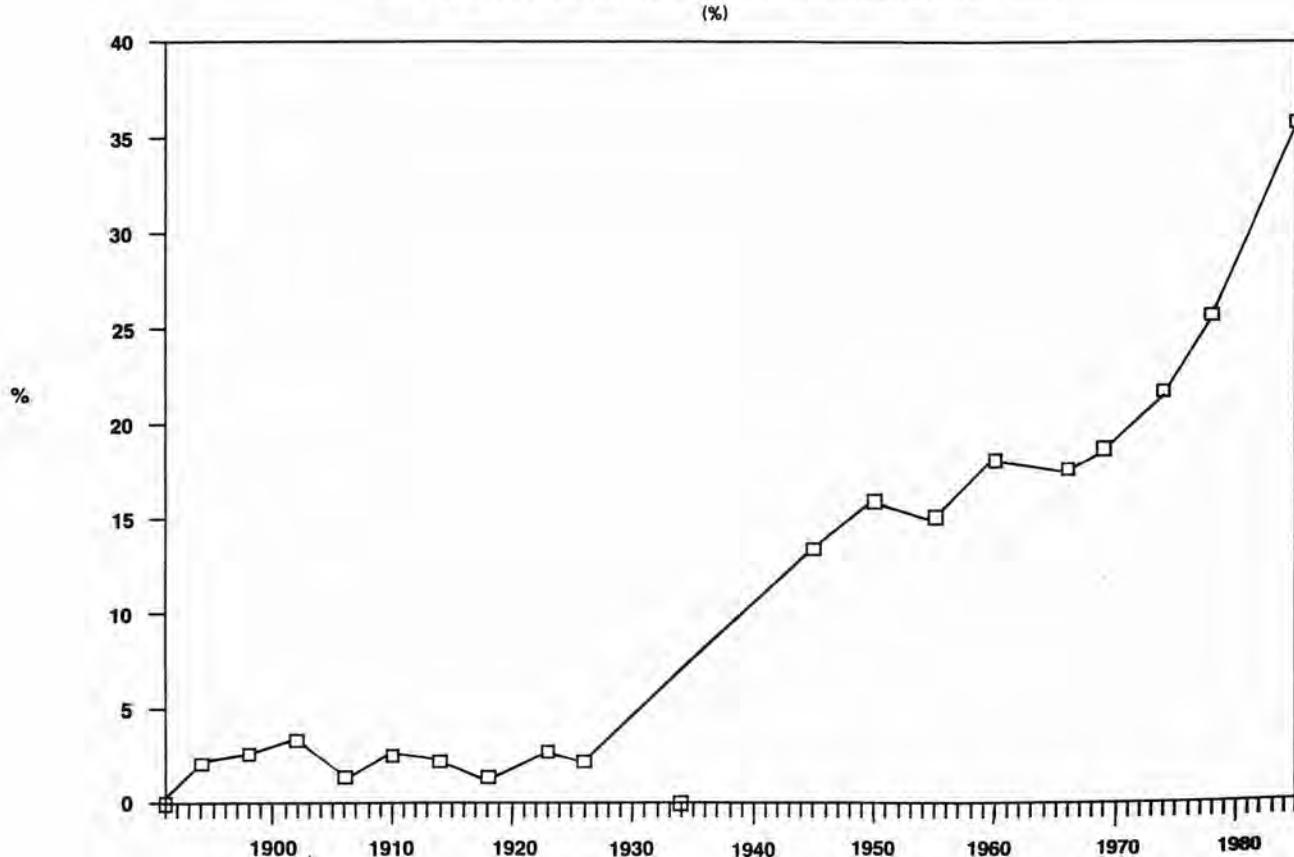


Table 3403
CHILE POPULATION VOTING IN PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS, 1846-1970
(%)

Year	Number of Voters A	Total Population (T) B	Percentage of Population Voting A/B (%)	Person Elected President
1846 ^a	161	1,241	2.0	Manuel Bulnes
1851	162	1,330	1.8 [†]	Manuel Montt
1856	~	1,493	1.8 [†]	Manuel Montt
1861	~	1,676	1.6	José Joaquín Pérez
1866	217	1,846	2.0 [†]	José Joaquín Pérez
1871	285	1,980	2.5 [†]	Federico Errázuriz Zañartu
1876	307	2,089	4.9	Aníbal Pinto
1881	305	2,158	3.6	Domingo Santa María
1886	330	2,488	3.6 [†]	José Manuel Balmaceda
1891	255	2,644	3.8 [†]	Jorge Montt
1896	271	2,759	3.8 [†]	Federico Errázuriz Echaurren
1901	251	2,983	4.0 [†]	Germán Riesco
1906	~	3,183	4.0 [†]	Pedro Montt
1910	~	3,346	4.0 [†]	Ramón Barros Luco
1915	347	3,550	4.2	Juan Luis Sanfuentes
1920	353	3,785	5.0 [†]	Arturo Alessandri Palma
1925	256,000	4,073	6.3	Emiliano Figueroa Larraín
1927	222,000	4,188	5.3	Carlos Ibáñez del Campo
1932	343,000	4,495	7.6	Arturo Alessandri Palma
1938	441,329	4,914	9.0	Pedro Aguirre Cerda
1942	464,854	5,240	8.8	Juan Antonio Ríos
1946	477,785	5,643	8.5	Gabriel González Videla
1952	954,131	6,303	15.1	Carlos Ibáñez del Campo
1958	1,235,752	7,316	16.9	Jorge Alessandri Rodríguez
1964	2,512,147	8,492	29.6	Eduardo Frei Montalva
1970	2,923,294	9,720	33.0	Salvador Allende Gossens

a. Presidential elections were indirect until 1925, after which they were direct. The percentage of the population voting from 1846 to 1925 is calculated based on the number of people who voted in legislative elections. Column A represents the number of electors.

SOURCE: A. Vanhanen.

B. Banks for 1846 to 1938; SALA, 23 for 1915; UN-DY, 1960, 1965, and 1973.

Figure 34:4
CHILE POPULATION VOTING IN PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS, 1846-1970
(%)

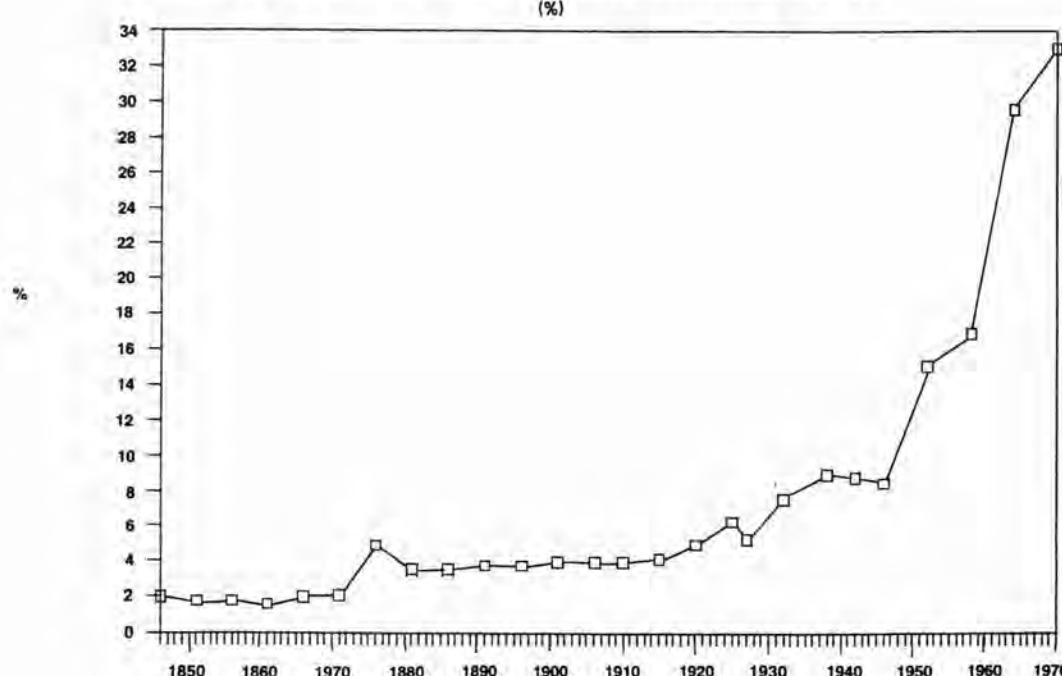


Table 3404

COLOMBIA POPULATION VOTING IN PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS, 1849-1986

(%)

Year	Number of Voters A	Total Population (T) B	Percentage of Population Voting A/B	Person Elected	
					President
1849 ^a	84	2,204	0	José Hilario López	
1853	~	2,339	0	José María Obando	
1857	210,000	2,468	8.5	Mariano Ospina Rodríguez	
1863	61	2,661	0	Tomás Cipriano de Mosquera	
1864	9	2,694	0	Manuel Murillo Toro	
1866	9	2,767	0	Tomás Cipriano de Mosquera	
1868	9	2,840	0	Santos Gutiérrez	
1870	9	2,914	0	Eustorgio Salgar	
1872	9	3,043	0	Manuel Murillo Toro	
1874	9	3,229	0	Santiago Pérez	
1876	84	3,414	0	Aquileo Parra	
1878	9	3,600	0	Julián Trujillo	
1880	9	3,786	0	Rafael Nuñez	
1882	9	3,895	0	Francisco Javier Zaldúa	
1884	9	3,929	0	Rafael Nuñez	
1886	~	3,962	0	Rafael Nuñez	
1892	2,544	4,062	5.0†	Rafael Nuñez	
1899	3,941	4,163	5.0†	Manuel Antonio San Clemente	
1904	1,976	4,263	5.0†	Rafael Reyes	
1909	79	4,733	0	Ramón González Valencia	
1910	43	4,846	0	Carlos E. Restrepo	
1914	337,498	5,320	6.4	José Vicente Concha	
1918	407,134	5,880	6.9	Marco Vídel Suárez	
1922	669,844	6,336	10.5	Pedro Nel Ospina	
1926	370,492	6,859	5.4	Miguel Apadía Méndez	
1930	824,454	7,425	11.1	Enrique Olaya Herrera	
1934	922,000	8,038	11.5	Alfonso López Pumarejo	
1938	513,520	8,702	5.9	Eduardo Santos	
1942	1,147,806	9,540	12.1	Alfonso López Pumarejo	
1946	1,366,087	10,378	13.2	Mariano Ospina Pérez	
1949	1,140,646	11,087	10.3	Laureano Gómez Castro	
1958	3,108,567	14,476	21.5	Alberto Lleras Camargo	
1962	2,631,613	16,417	16.0	Guillermo León Valencia	
1966	2,638,411	18,620	14.2	Carlos Lleras Restrepo	
1970	4,036,458	21,210	19.0	Misael Pastrana Borrero	
1974	5,212,133	22,980	22.7	Alfonso López Michelsen	
1978	5,075,719	25,640	19.8	Julio César Turbay Ayala	
1982	6,840,392	27,190	25.2	Belisario Betancur Cuartas	
1986	7,074,726	28,714 ^b	24.6	Virgilio Barco Vargas	

a. Elections were indirect from 1853 to 1910.

b. Population figure is for 1985.

SOURCE: A. Vanhanen; *Colombia Estadística 1985*; *El Espectador*, May 27, 1986.

B. Banks; SALA, 23; UN-DY, 1965, 1973, 1983; IMF-IFS, July, 1986.

Figure 34:5

COLOMBIA POPULATION VOTING IN PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS, 1849-1986

(%)

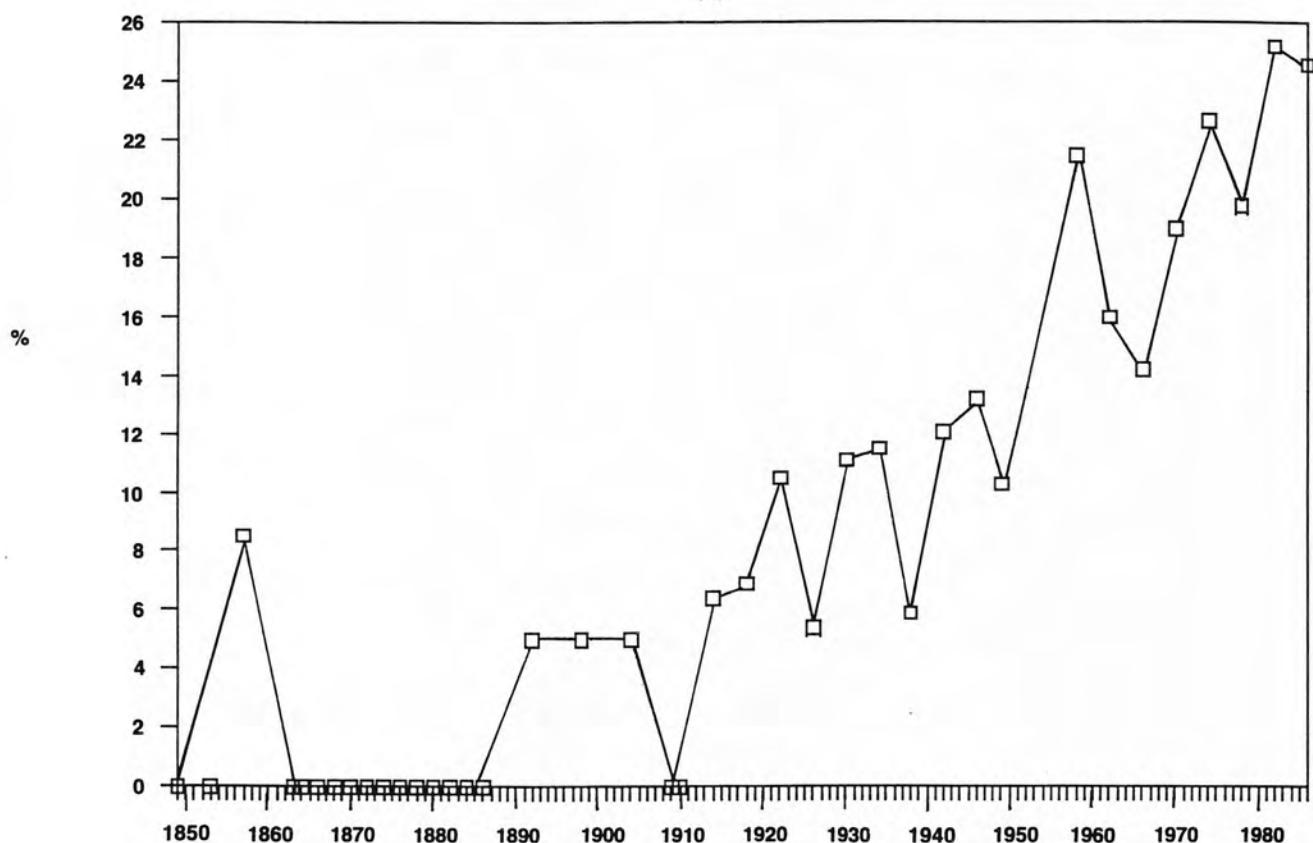


Table 3405

COSTA RICA POPULATION VOTING IN PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS, 1849-1986

(%)

Year	Number of Voters A	Total Population (T) B	Percentage of Population Voting A/B	Person Elected President
1849 ^a	~	93	.2†	Juan Rafael Moro
1853	~	107	.2†	Juan Rafael Moro
1860	~	130	0	José Montealegre
1863	301	141	.2	Jesús Jiménez
1866	~	151	.2†	Maria Castro
1869	~	161	.2†	Jesús Jiménez
1872	~	167	.2†	Tomás Guardia
1876	~	172	.2†	Aniceto Esquivel Sáenz
1882	~	180	.2†	Próspero Fernández
1886	~	202	.2†	Bernardo Soto
1890	~	229	.2†	José Joaquín Rodríguez
1894	564	261	.2†	Rafael Yglesias
1898	~	285	.2†	Rafael Yglesias
1902	~	311	.2†	Ascension Esquivel Ibarra
1906	~	343	.2†	Cleto González Víquez
1910	~	381	.2†	Ricardo Jiménez
1914	~	390	0	Alfredo González Flores
1919	47,497	417	11.3	Julio Acosta
1923	69,255	439	15.7	Ricardo Jiménez
1928	70,281	479	14.6	Cleto González Víquez
1932	75,782	518	14.7	Ricardo Jiménez
1936	87,592	563	15.6	León Cortéz Castro
1940	107,383	580	17.2	Rafael Calderón Guardia
1944	124,414	680	18.1	Teodoro Picado Michaelski
1948	99,369	777	12.7	Otilio Ulate Blanco
1953	197,489	884	20.7	José Figueres Ferrer
1958	229,543	1,076	20.0	Mario Echandi Jiménez
1962	391,406	1,274	29.2	Francisco José Orlich Bolmarich
1966	451,490	1,540	29.3	José Joaquín Trejos Fernández
1970	562,766	1,740	32.3	José Figueres Ferrer
1974	750,000	1,920	39.1	Daniel Oduber
1978	860,206	2,120	40.6	Rodrigo Carazo
1982	991,879	2,320	42.7	Luis Alberto Monge
1986	1,211,312	2,600 ^b	46.6	Oscar Arias Sánchez

a. Elections were indirect until 1914.

b. Population figure is for 1985.

SOURCE: A. Vanhanen: SALA, 23; *Facts on File 1974: Keesings Contemporary Archives*; *La Nación*, February 13, 1986.

B. Banks: SALA, 23; UN-DY, 1965, 1973, 1983; IMF-IFS, July, 1986.

Figure 34:6

COSTA RICA POPULATION VOTING IN PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS, 1849-1986

(%)

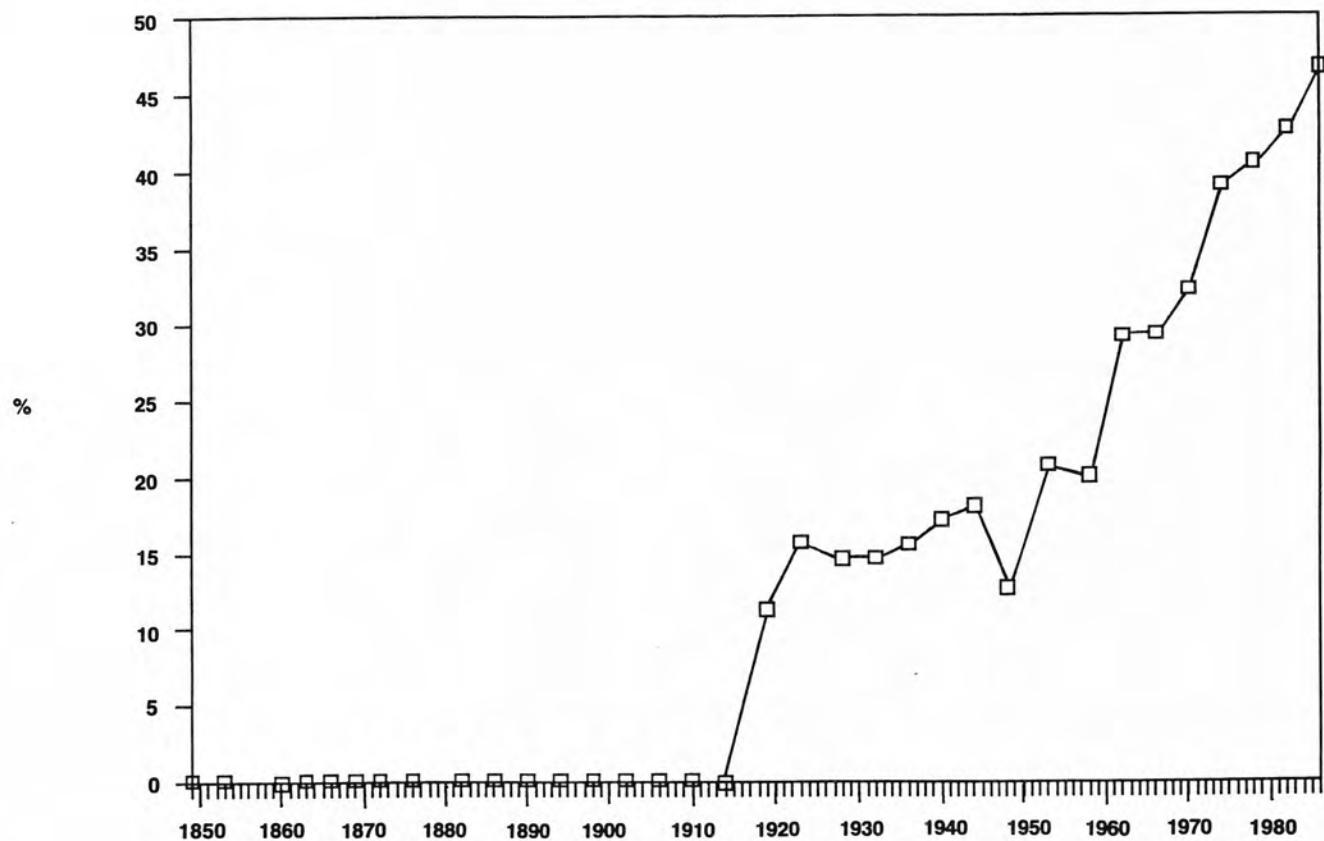


Table 3406
CUBA POPULATION VOTING IN PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS, 1901-54
(%)

Year	Number of Voters A	Total Population (T) B	Percentage of Population Voting A/B	Person Elected President
1901 ^a	158,970	1,383	8.7	Tomás Estrada Palma
1905	~	1,983	8.7†	Tomás Estrada Palma
1908	331,455	2,082	15.9	José Miguel Gómez
1912	~	2,218	13.0†	Mario García Menocal
1916	~	2,660	13.0†	Mario García Menocal
1920	312,765	2,977	10.5	Alfredo Zayas
1924	~	3,329	11.0†	Gerardo Machado y Morales
1928	~	3,681	11.0†	Gerardo Machado y Morales
1940	1,141,157	4,290	24.9	Fulgencio Batista y Zaldívar
1944	~	4,850	31.0†	Ramón Grau San Martín
1948	1,955,934	5,287	37.1	Carlos Prío Socarrás
1954	958,111	6,016	15.9	Fulgencio Batista y Zaldívar

a. Cuba did not become independent until 1901.

SOURCE: A. Vanhanen.

B. Banks for 1901 to 1928; SALA, 23 for 1916; UN-DY, 1965.

Figure 34:7

CUBA POPULATION VOTING IN PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS, 1901-54

(%)

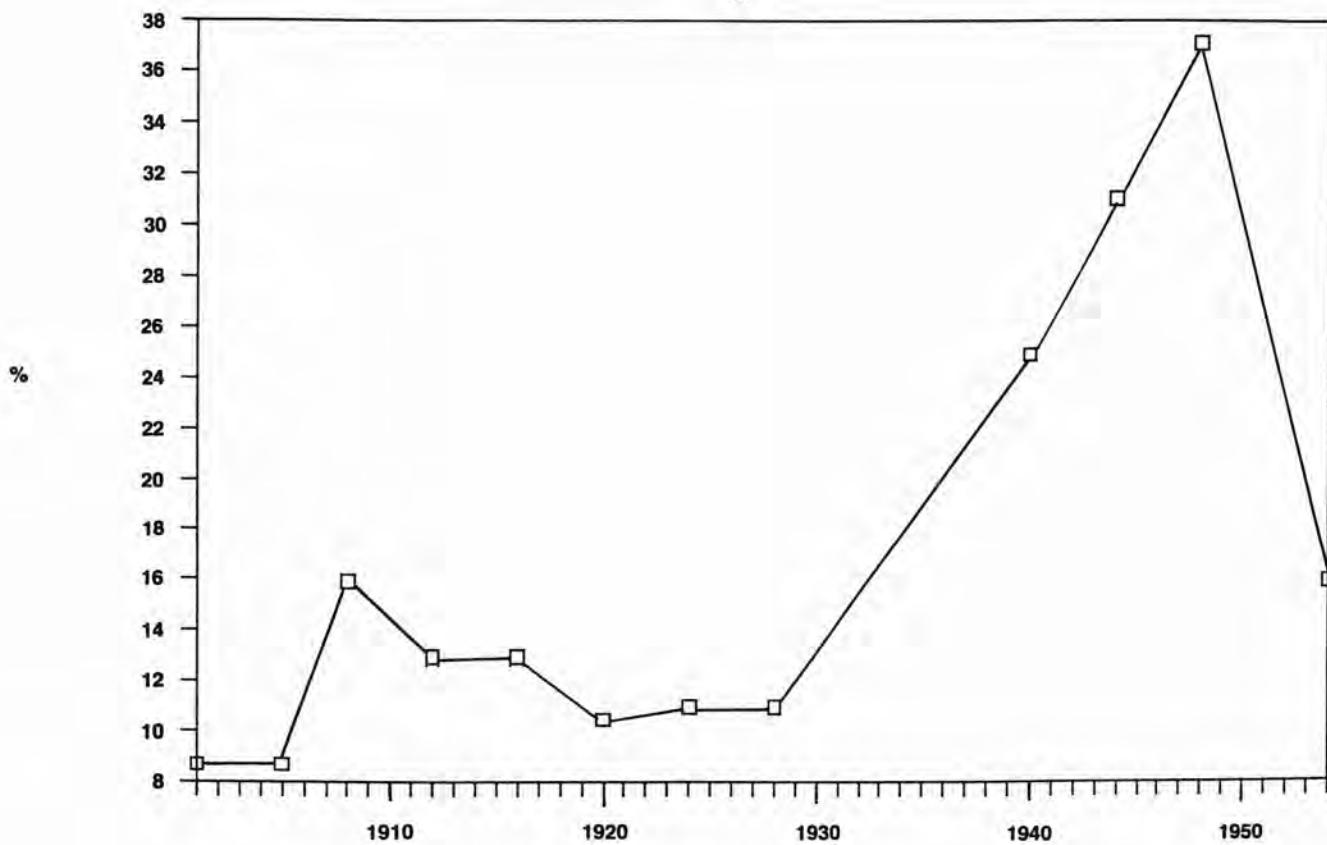


Table 3407

DOMINICAN REPUBLIC POPULATION VOTING IN PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS, 1849-1986
(%)

Year	Number of Voters A	Total Population (T) B	Percentage of Population Voting A/B	Person Elected President
1849 ^a	59	176	0	Buenaventura Báez
1853	74	192	0	Pedro Santana
1859	134	216	0	Pedro Santana
1866	5,047	244	2.1	José María Cabral
1874	19,949	276	7.1	Ignacio María González Santín
1880	19,011	300	6.3	Fernando Arturo Merino
1882	23,172	323	7.2	Ulises Heureaux
1884	58,786	346	17.3	Francisco G. Billini
1886	69,877	369	19.1	Ulises Heureaux
1888	565	392	.1	Ulises Heureaux
1892	507	442	.1	Ulises Heureaux
1896	600	496	.1	Ulises Heureaux
1899	579	536	.1	Juan I. Jiménez
1903	537	568	.1	Alejandro Woss y Gil
1904	428	574	.1	Carlos F. Morales
1908	600	598	.1	Ramón Cáceres
1914	632	800	.1	Juan Isidro Jiménez
1924	301	1,017	.1	Horacio Vásquez
1930	225,796	1,256	17.9	Rafael L. Trujillo
1934	256,423	1,438	17.8	Rafael L. Trujillo
1938	319,680	1,596	20.0	Jacinto Peynado
1942	518,937	1,840	32.7	Rafael L. Trujillo
1947	840,340	1,936	42.4	Rafael L. Trujillo
1952	1,038,816	2,285	45.4	Hector B. Trujillo
1957	1,265,681	2,727	46.3	Hector B. Trujillo
1962	1,054,944	3,255	32.8	Juan Bosch
1966	1,345,404	3,620	37.2	Joaquín Belaguer
1970	1,111,717	4,060	27.3	Joaquín Belaguer
1974	1,030,099	4,610	22.3	Joaquín Belaguer
1978	1,743,791	5,170	33.7	Antonio Guzmán
1982	1,820,000	5,740	31.7	Salvador Jorge Blanco
1986	2,195,455	6,240 ^b	35.1	Joaquín Belaguer

a. Elections were direct between 1865 and 1887 and after 1924.

b. Population figure is for 1985.

SOURCE: A. Vanhanen; *Keesing's Contemporary Archives*; and report from U.S. political officer, August, 1986.
B: Banks; SALA, 23; UN-DY, 1965, 1973, 1983; ECLA-SY, 1984.

Figure 34:8

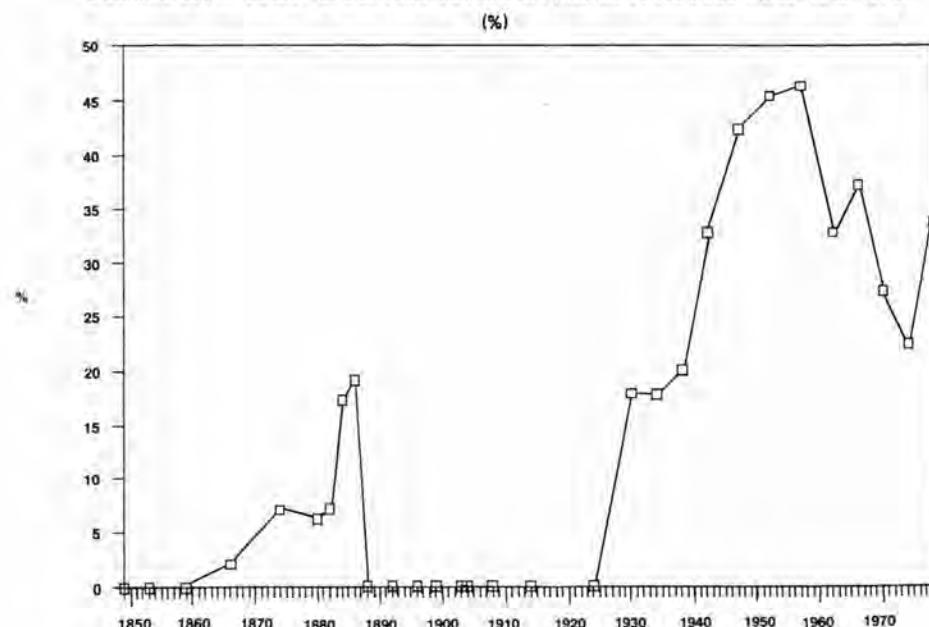
DOMINICAN REPUBLIC POPULATION VOTING IN PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS, 1849-1978
(%)

Table 3408

ECUADOR POPULATION VOTING IN PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS, 1852-1983

(%)

Year	Number of Voters A	Total Population (T) B	Percentage of Population Voting A/B	Person Elected President
1852 ^a	~	774	0	José María Urbina
1856	900	812	0	Francisco Robles
1861	~	861	0	Gabriel García Moreno
1865	~	900	3.0†	Jerónimo Carrión
1868	~	917	3.0†	Javier Espinosa
1869	~	923	0	Gabriel García Moreno
1875	45,000	958	4.7	Antonio Borrero
1878	~	976	0	Janaco de Veintimilla
1884	~	1,033	0	José María Plácido Caamaño
1888	~	1,099	5.0†	Antonio Flores Jijón
1892	~	1,166	5.0†	Luis Cordero
1897	63	1,249	0	Eloy Alfaro
1901	~	1,320	5.0†	Leonidas Plaza Gutiérrez
1905	~	1,400	5.0†	Lizardo García
1907	~	1,440	5.0†	Eloy Alfaro
1912	~	1,540	5.0†	Leonidas Plaza Gutiérrez
1916	~	1,490	5.0†	Alfredo Banquerizo Moreno
1920	~	1,541	6.7	José Luis Tamayo
1924	~	1,685	5.0†	Gonzalo S. Córdova
1929	~	1,891	0	Isidro Ayora
1933	52,475	2,095	2.5	José María Velasco Ibarra
1940	71,180	2,470	2.9	Carlos Arroyo del Río
1948	282,256	3,017	9.3	Galo Plaza Lasso
1952	357,654	3,387	10.4	José María Velasco Ibarra
1956	614,423	3,825	15.9	Carlos Ponce Enríquez
1960	766,614	4,320	17.6	José María Velasco Ibarra
1968	852,823	5,700	15.1	José María Velasco Ibarra
1979	1,627,680	8,080	20.1	Jaime Roldós Aguilera
1983	2,964,295	9,250	32.0	León Febres Cordero

a. Elections have been direct since 1861.

SOURCE: A. Vanhanen; SALA, 23 and 24.

B. Banks; SALA, 23; UN-DY, 1965, 1973, 1983.

Figure 34:9

ECUADOR POPULATION VOTING IN PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS, 1852-1983

(%)

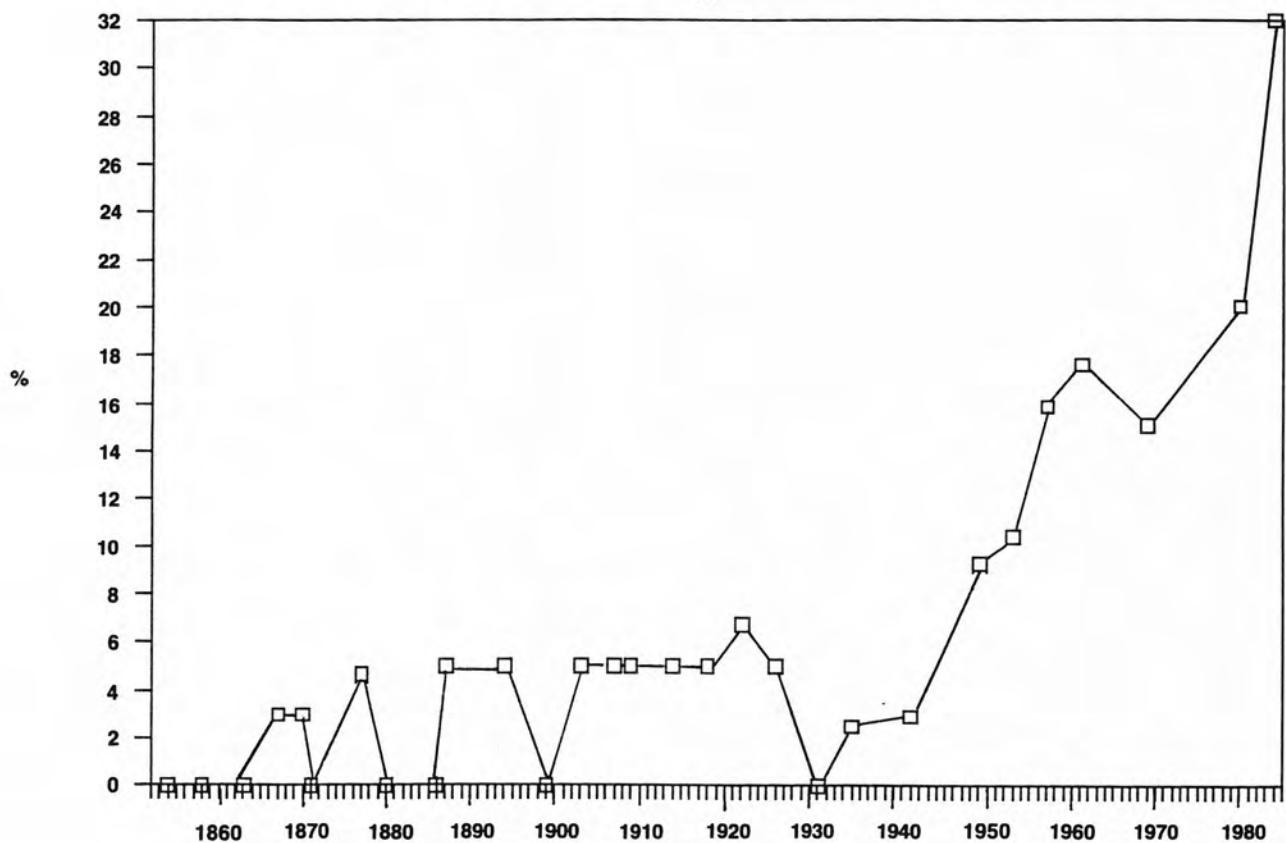


Table 3409

EL SALVADOR POPULATION VOTING IN PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS, 1850-1984

(%)

Year	Number of Voters A	Total Population (T) B	Percentage of Population Voting A/B	Person Elected President
1850 ^a	~	276	0	Doroteo Vasconcelos
1852	~	288	0	Francisco Dueñas
1854	~	300	0	José María San Martín
1856	~	316	3.0 [†]	Rafael Campo
1858	~	333	3.0 [†]	Miguel Santín
1860	~	350	3.0 [†]	Gerardo Barrios
1864	~	384	0	Francisco Dueñas
1871	~	450	0	Santiago González
1887	~	644	3.0 [†]	Francisco Menéndez
1891	~	707	3.0 [†]	Carlos Ezeta
1895	~	771	3.0 [†]	Rafael Antonio Gutiérrez
1899	~	834	0	Tomás Regalado
1903	~	897	3.0 [†]	Pedro José Escalón
1907	~	961	3.0 [†]	Fernando Figueroa
1911	~	1,024	3.0 [†]	Manual Enrique Araujo
1915	~	1,070	5.0 [†]	Carlos Meléndez
1919	~	1,143	5.0 [†]	José Meléndez
1923	~	1,244	5.0 [†]	Alfonso Quiñónez Molina
1927	~	1,351	5.0 [†]	Pío Romero Bosque
1935	~	1,531	5.0 [†]	Maximiliano Hernández Martínez
1939	~	1,621	0	Maximiliano Hernández Martínez
1946	313,694	1,764	17.9	Salvador Castaneda Castro
1950	611,410	1,859	32.8	Oscar Osorio
1952	700,979	1,965	35.6	Oscar Osorio
1956	723,000	2,195	32.9	José María Lemus
1962	400,118	2,627	15.2	Julio Adalberto Rivera Carballo
1967	420,110	3,150	11.6	Fidel Sánchez Hernández
1972	665,538	3,760	17.7	Arturo Armando Molino
1984	2,919,000	5,390	54.2	José Napoleón Duarte

a. Elections have been direct since 1861.

SOURCE: A. Vanhanen for 1850 to 1972; SALA, 24 for 1984.

B. Banks for 1850 to 1939; UN-DY, 1965, 1973; IMF-IFS, March, 1986.

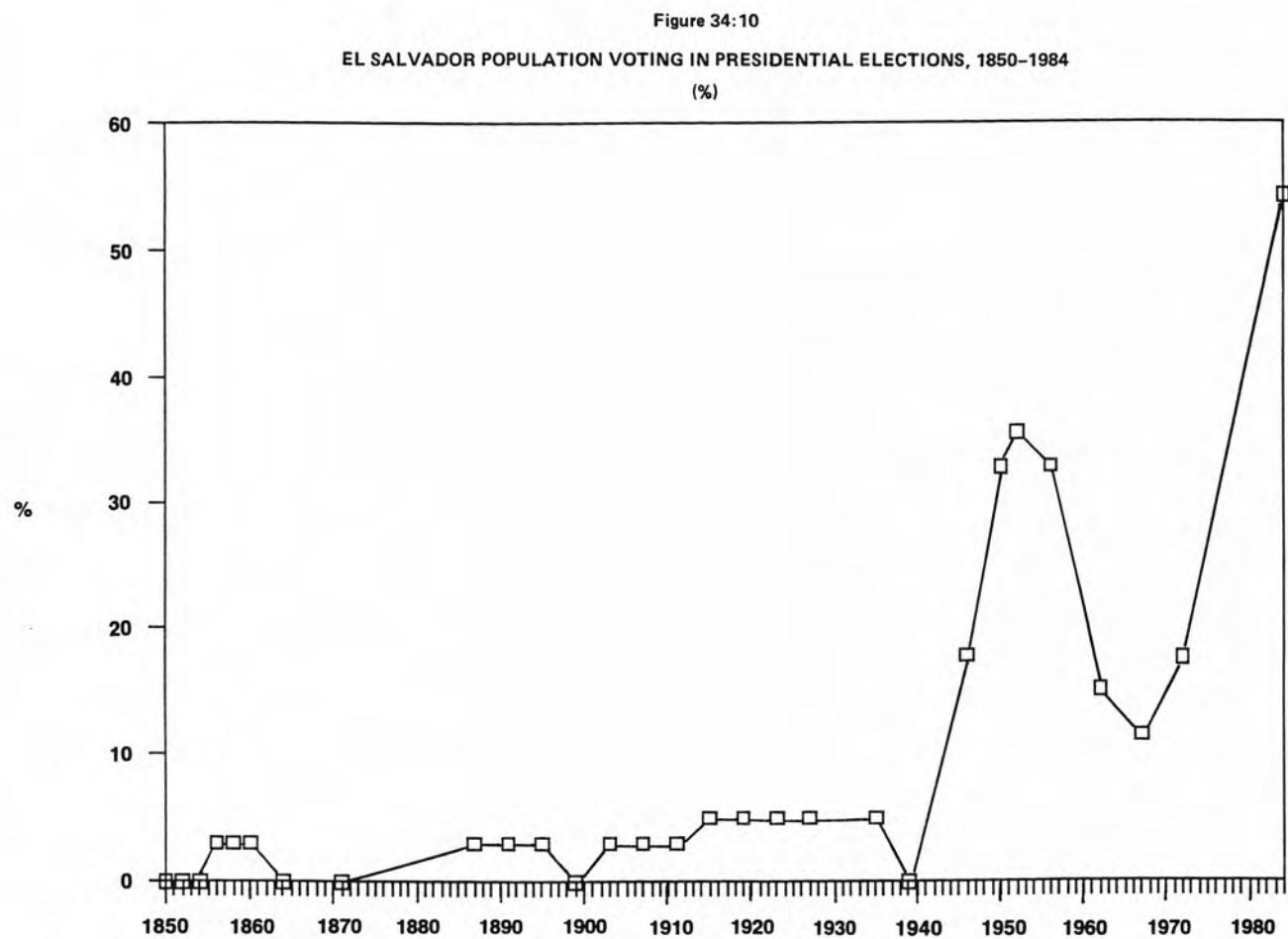


Table 3410

GUATEMALA POPULATION VOTING IN PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS, 1865-1985

(%)

Year	Number of Voters A	Total Population (T) B	Percentage of Population Voting A/B	Person Elected President
1865 ^a	~	649	0	Vicente Cerna
1869	52	659	0	Vicente Cerna
1873	~	670	0	Justo Rufino Barrios
1876	~	679	0	Justo Rufino Barrios
1880	36,627	690	3.0	Justo Rufino Barrios
1886	~	742	0	Manuel Lisandro Barillas
1891	~	802	4.0 ^t	José María Reyna Barrios
1898	~	857	0	Manuel Estrada Cabrera
1904	~	987	4.0 ^t	Manuel Estrada Cabrera
1910	~	1,096	4.0 ^t	Manuel Estrada Cabrera
1916	~	1,210	4.0 ^t	Manuel Estrada Cabrera
1920	260,907	1,272	13.0	Carlos Herrera
1921	~	1,319	13.0 ^t	José M. Orellano
1926	~	1,557	13.0 ^t	Lázaro Chacón
1931	308,334	1,813	14.0	Jorge Ubico
1935	885,847	1,975	39.0	Jorge Ubico
1941	~	2,250	0	Jorge Ubico
1944	294,413	2,390	11.3	Juan José Arévalo Bermajo
1950	416,274	2,805	14.8	Jacobo Árbenz Guzmán
1958	493,115	3,584	13.9	Miguel Ydígoras Fuentes
1966	531,191	4,580	11.6	Julio César Méndez Montenegro
1970	640,684	5,190	12.3	Carlos Araña Osorio
1974	727,174	6,050	12.0	Laugerud García
1978	1,080,000	6,840	15.8	Romeo Lucas García
1985	1,917,000	7,963 ^t	24.1	Vinicio Cerezo Arévalo

a. Elections have been direct since 1879.

SOURCE: A. Vanhanen; Rivas, P. 430 for 1974; *Keesing's Contemporary Archives* 29021 for 1978; *Facts on File* 1985.

B. Banks; SALA, 23, UN-DY, 1965, 1972, 1982; ECLA-SY, 1984.

Figure 34:11

GUATEMALA POPULATION VOTING IN PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS, 1865-1985

(%)

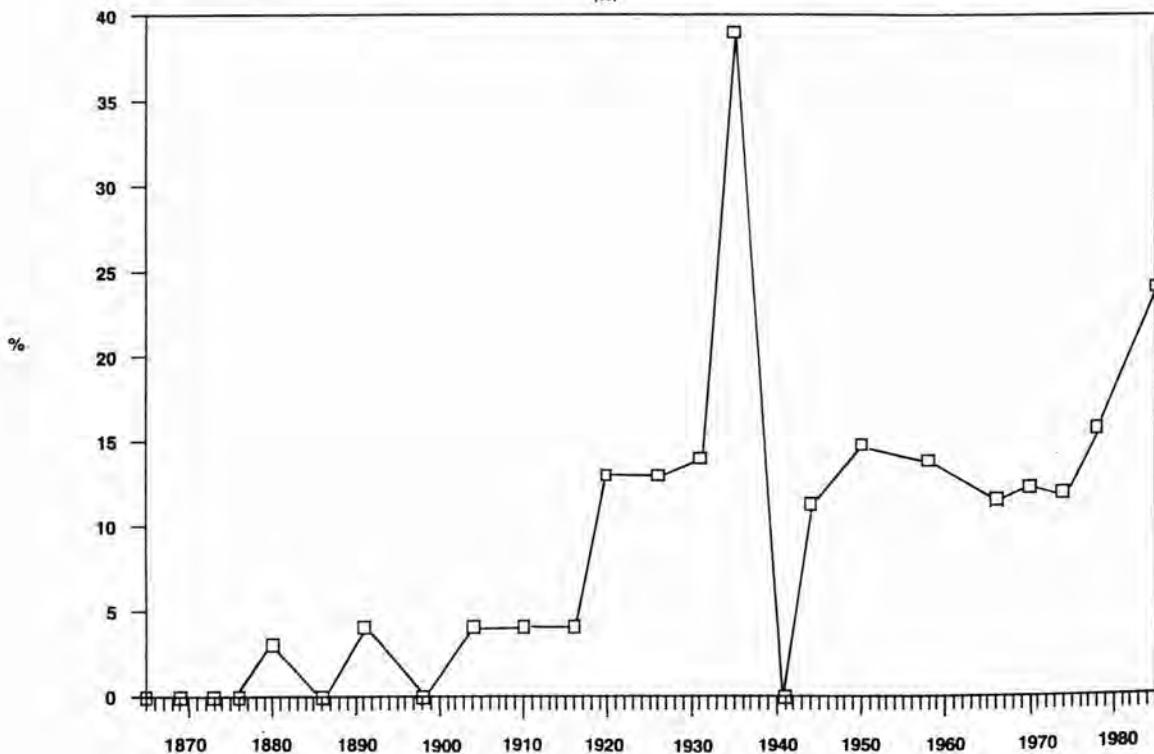


Table 3411
HAITI POPULATION VOTING IN PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS, 1870-1961
(%)

Year	Number of Voters A	Total Population (T) B	Percentage of Population Voting A/B	Person Elected President
1870 ^a	~	665	2.0†	Nissage Saset
1873	~	686	0	Michel Dominique
1879	~	786	2.0†	Louis Felicile Lysius Saloman
1886	~	938	2.0†	Louis Felicile Lysius Saloman
1889	~	1,007	0	Florvil Hippolyte
1896	~	1,174	2.0†	T. Simon Sam
1902	~	1,337	0	Nord Alexis
1908	~	1,599	0	Antoine Simon
1930	~	2,422	3.0†	Steno Vincent
1935	~	2,614	0†	Steno Vincent
1941	58	2,880	3.0†	Elie Lescot
1946	~	3,140	3.0†	Dumersais Estime
1950	153,115	3,380	4.6	Paul Eugene Magloire
1957	946,877	3,895	25.0	François Duvalier
1961	100,000	4,249	2.5	François Duvalier

a. Elections became direct in 1950.

SOURCE: A. Vanhanen.

B. Banks; SALA, 23; UN-DY, 1965.

Figure 34:12

HAITI POPULATION VOTING IN PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS, 1870-1961

(%)

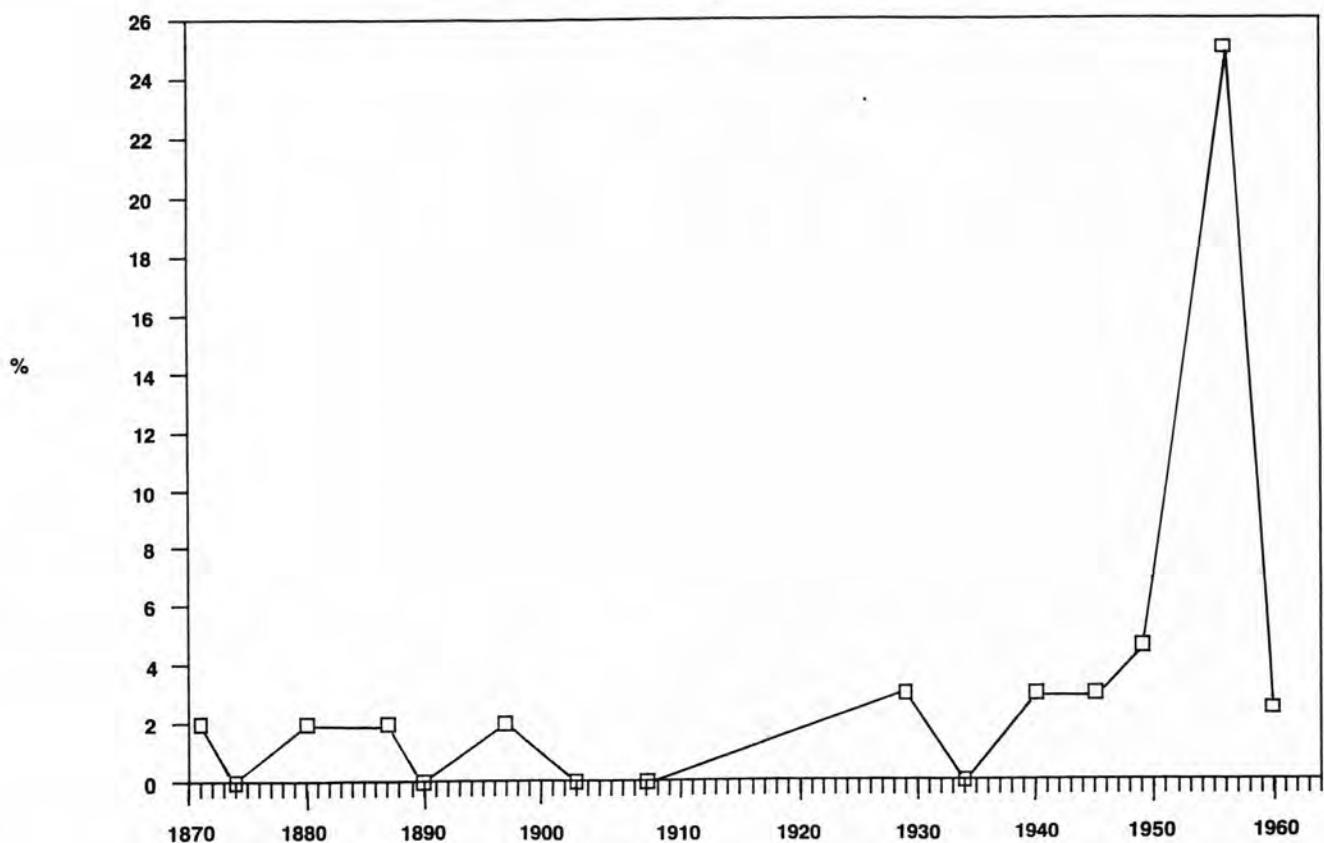


Table 3412

HONDURAS POPULATION VOTING IN PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS, 1848-1985

(%)

Year	Number of Voters A	Total Population (T) B	Percentage of Population Voting A/B	Person Elected President
1848 ^a	~	204	8.0 [†]	Juan Lindo
1856	~	218	8.0 [†]	Santos Guardiola
1860	22,873	225	10.2	Santos Guardiola
1864	20,482	239	8.4	José María Medina
1866	~	247	8.0 [†]	José María Medina
1869	~	259	0	José María Medina
1875	~	283	8.0 [†]	Ponciano Leiva
1877	20,635	291	7.2	Marcos Aurelio Soto
1881	29,795	307	9.8	Marcos Aurelio Soto
1883	44,098	315	14.0	Luis Bográn
1887	44,499	331	13.3	Luis Bográn
1891	49,662	385	13.0	Ponciano Leiva
1893	39,124	392	9.9	Domingo Vásquez
1894	43,166	395	10.9	Manuel Bonilla
1898	44,537	429	10.5	Terencio Sierra
1903	58,539	479	12.3	Manuel Bonilla
1904	~	489	0	Manuel Bonilla
1908	~	531	0	Miguel R. Dávila
1911	~	564	10.0 [†]	Manuel Bonilla
1915	77,832	600	12.3	Francisco Bertrand
1919	98,124	750	16.3	Rafael López Gutiérrez
1923	106,266	823	15.4	Tiburcio Carias Andino
1924	~	841	14.0 [†]	Miguel Paz Baraona
1928	110,064	911	13.8	Vicente Mejía Colindres
1932	142,854	989	15.9	Tiburcio Carias Andino
1936	~	1,058	0	Tiburcio Carias Andino
1939	~	1,122	0	Tiburcio Carias Andino
1948	265,000	1,353	18.8	Juan Manuel Gálvez
1954	251,980	1,617	15.7	Ramón Villeda Morales
1957	56	1,768	0	Ramón Villeda Morales
1971	614,007	2,720	22.9	Ramón Ernesto Cruz
1981	1,214,735	3,820	31.8	Roberto Suárez Córdoba
1985	1,597,841	4,372	36.5	José Azcona Hoyo

^{a.} Elections were direct after 1850.

SOURCE: A. Vanhanen; SALA, 23 and 24; U.S. Embassy political officer, Tegucigalpa.

B. Banks; UN-DY, 1965, 1973, 1983; ECLA-SY, 1984.

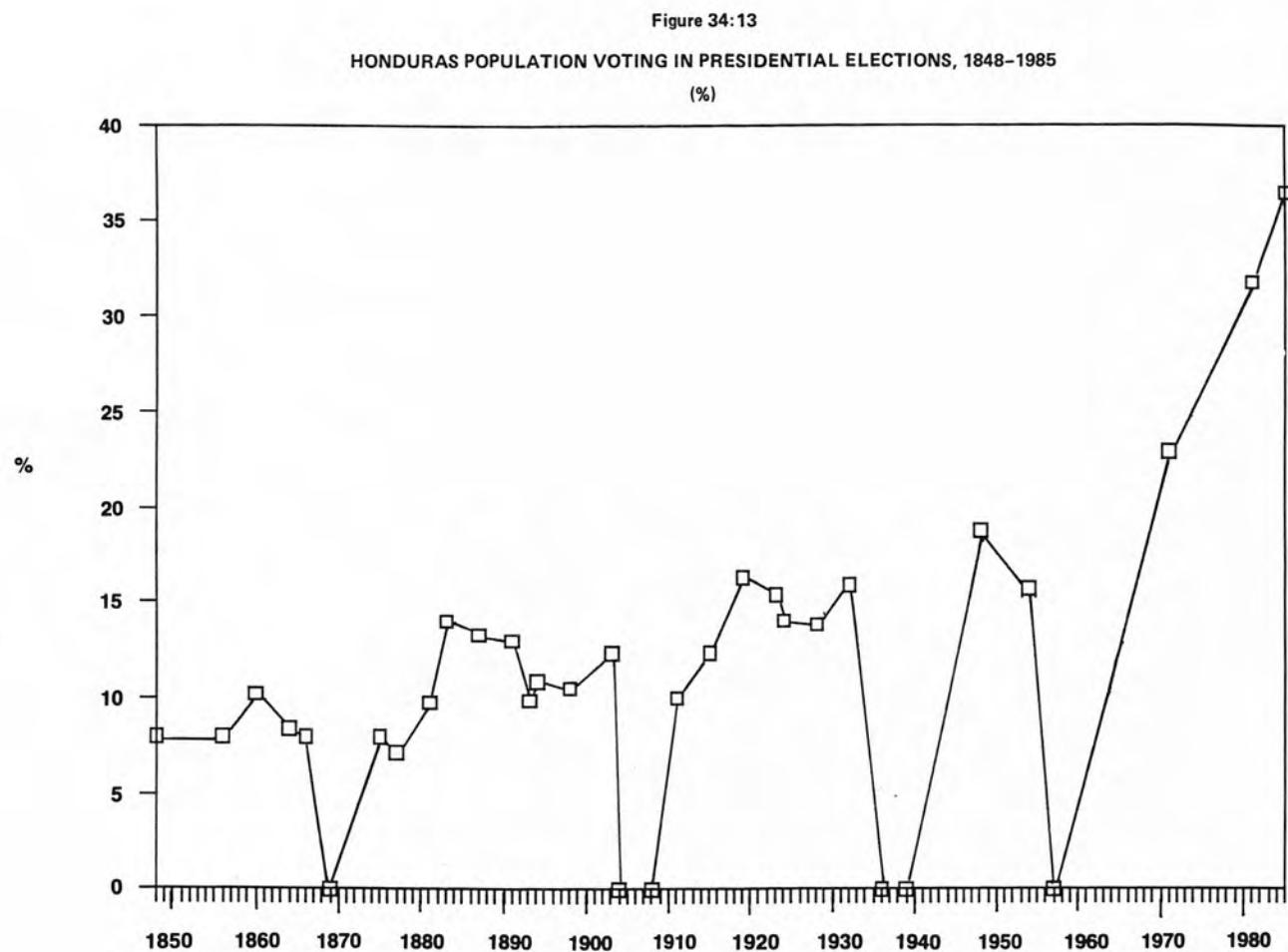


Table 3413
MEXICO POPULATION VOTING IN PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS, 1848-1982
(%)

Year	Number of Voters A	Total Population (T) B	Percentage of Population Voting A/B	Person Elected President
1848	16	7,531	0	José Joaquín de Herrera
1851	19	7,722	0	Mariano Arista
1853	23	7,847	0	Antonio López de Santa Anna
1857	42	8,097	0	Ignacio Comonfort
1861	9,124	8,348	.1	Benito Juárez
1867	10,380	8,644	.1	Benito Juárez
1871	12,256	8,869	.1	Benito Juárez
1872	10,260	8,932	.1	Miguel Lerdo de Tejada
1877	10,878	9,603	.1	Porfirio Díaz
1880	13,000 [†]	10,107	.1	Manuel González
1884	16,462	10,726	.1	Porfirio Díaz
1888	~	11,384	.1 [†]	Porfirio Díaz
1892	~	12,081	.1 [†]	Porfirio Díaz
1896	~	12,801	.1 [†]	Porfirio Díaz
1900	~	13,607	.1 [†]	Porfirio Díaz
1904	18,826	14,292	.1	Porfirio Díaz
1911	20,145	15,287	.1	Francisco Madero
1917	812,928	13,900	5.8	Venustiano Carranza
1920	1,181,550	13,946	8.5	Alvaro Obregón
1924	1,593,257	14,945	10.6	Plutarco Elías Calles
1928	1,670,453	16,012	10.4	Alvaro Obregón
1929	2,082,106	16,296	12.8	Pascual Ortiz Rubio
1934	2,265,971	17,776	12.7	Lázaro Cárdenas
1940	2,637,582	19,650	13.2	Manuel Ávila Camacho
1946	2,293,547	23,183	9.9	Miguel Alemán
1952	3,651,201	27,415	13.1	Adolfo Ruiz Cortínez
1958	7,483,403	32,895	22.2	Adolfo López Mateos
1964	9,422,185	39,643	22.8	Gustavo Díaz Ordaz
1970	14,065,820	48,930	28.6	Luis Echeverría Alvarez
1976	18,500,000	61,800	30.0	José López Portillo
1982	23,498,393	73,010	32.2	Miguel de la Madrid Hurtado

SOURCE: A. Vanhanen; *Facts on File 1976*; SALA, 24.
 B. Banks for 1848-1880; *Estadísticas Económicas del Porfiriato 1880-1911*; UN-DY, 1965, 1973, and 1983.

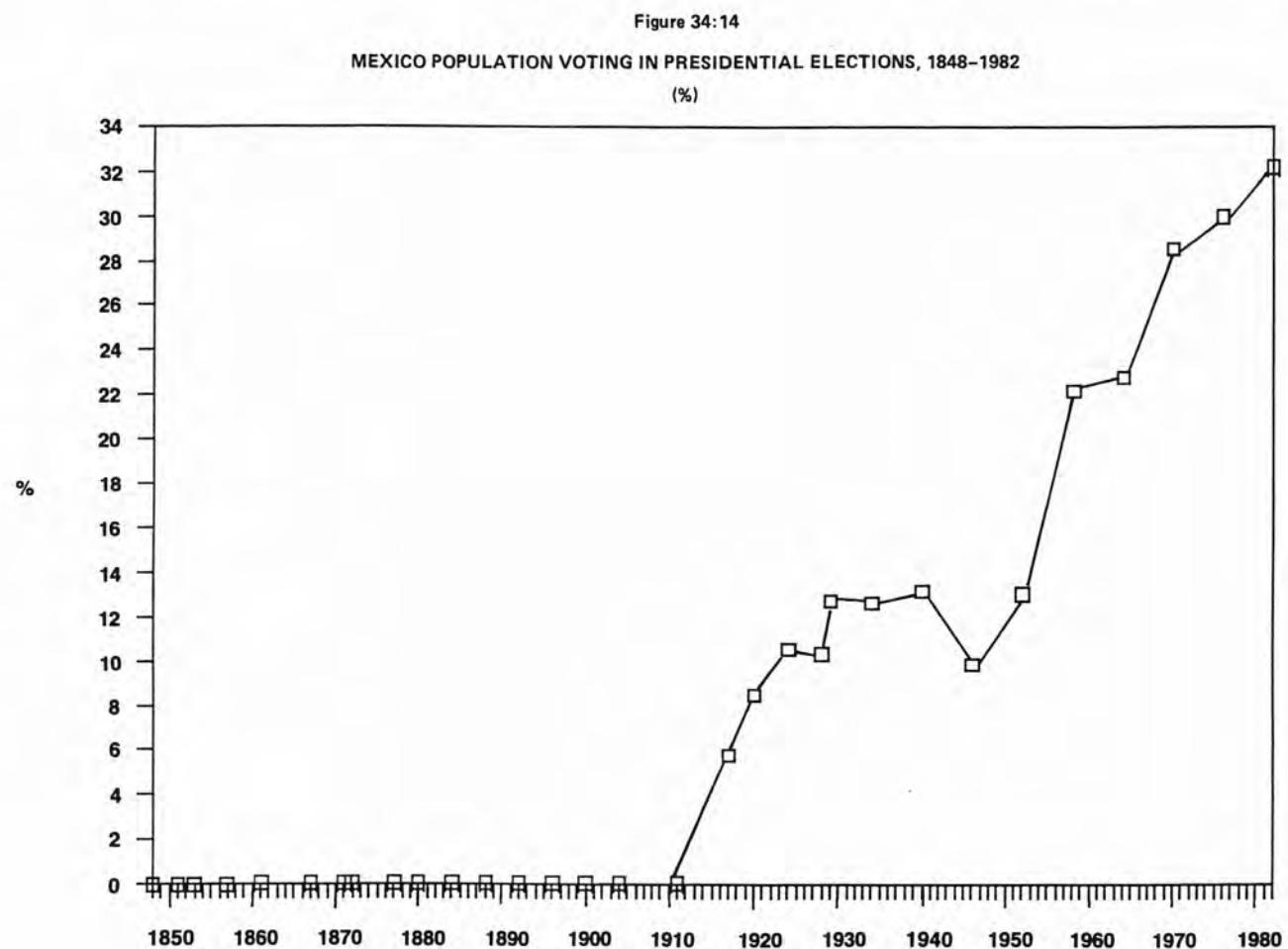


Table 3414

NICARAGUA POPULATION VOTING IN PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS, 1849-1984

(%)

Year	Number of Voters A	Total Population (T) B	Percentage of Population Voting A/B	Person Elected President
1849 ^a	~	248	.2	Norberto Ramírez
1851	~	252	.2	Laureano Pineda
1853	490	256	.2	Fruto Chamorro
1854	~	258	0	Fruto Chamorro
1859	~	269	.2	Tomás Martínez
1863	~	282	.2	Tomás Martínez
1867	~	298	.2	Fernando Guzmán
1871	500	314	.2	Vicente Caudra
1875	~	330	.2	Pedro Joaquín Chamorro
1879	~	346	.2	Joaquín Zavala
1883	~	363	.2	Adán Cárdenas
1887	~	382	.2	Evaristo Carazo
1891	~	401	.2	Roberto Sacasa
1912	15,000	568	2.6	Adolfo Díaz
1916	~	600	3.0	Emiliano Chamorro
1920	89,503	606	14.7	Diego Manuel Chamorro
1924	76,496	634	12.1	Carlos Solorzano
1928	133,163	662	20.1	José María Moncada
1932	130,114	690	18.8	Juan Bautista Sacasa
1936	130,433	746	17.4	Anastasio Somoza García
1939	~	806	0	Anastasio Somoza García
1947	169,708	977	17.4	Leonardo Arguello
1951	~	1,093	17.0	Anastasio Somoza García
1957	355,188	1,332	27.5	Luis Somoza Debayle
1963	451,064	1,540	29.3	René Schick Gutiérrez
1967	540,714	1,780	30.4	Anastasio Somoza Debayle
1974	815,768	2,090	39.0	Anastasio Somoza Debayle
1984	1,170,142	3,160	37.0	Daniel Ortega Saavedra

a. Before 1898 elections were indirect.

SOURCE: A. Vanhanen for 1849 to 1967; Diedrich for 1974; SALA, 24 for 1984.

B. Banks for 1849 to 1912, 1920 to 1939; SALA, 23 for 1916; UN-DY, 1962, 1970, 1983; IMF-IFS, Y, 1985.

Figure 34:15

NICARAGUA POPULATION VOTING IN PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS, 1849-1984

(%)

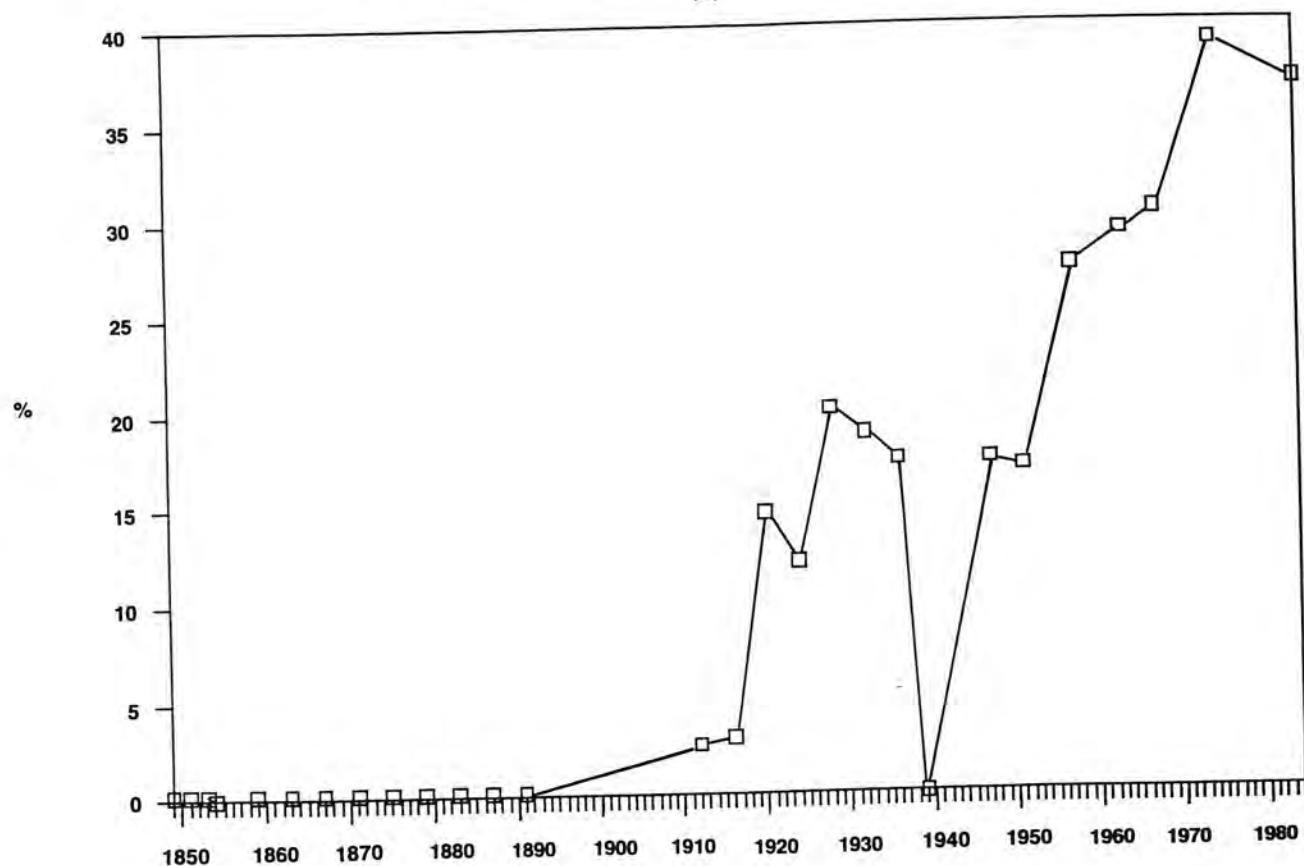


Table 3415
PANAMA POPULATION VOTING IN PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS, 1904-84^a
(%)

Year	Number of Voters A	Total Population (T) B	Percentage of Population Voting A/B	Person Elected President
1904 ^b	~	368	0	Manuel Amador Guerrero
1908	~	389	6.0	José Domingo de Obaldía
1912	~	427	6.0	Belisario Porras
1916	~	400	6.0	Ramón Maximilian Valdés
1920	20,000	447	4.5	Belisario Porras
1924	~	455	6.0	Rudolfo Chiari
1928	42,000	464	9.1	Florencio Harmodio Arosemena
1932	~	501	12.0	Harmodio Arias Madrid
1936	~	561	12.0	Juan D. Arosemena
1940	90,000	620	14.6	Arnulfo Arias Madrid
1945	51	694	0	Enrique A. Jiménez
1948	143,253	767	18.9	Domingo Díaz Arosemena
1952	213,259	854	25.3	José Antonio Remón Cantera
1956	259,370	952	27.3	Ernesto de la Guardia, Jr.
1960	241,947	1,062	22.8	Roberto Francisco Chiari Remón
1964	328,485	1,185	27.7	Mario Aurelio Robles
1968	320,690	1,350	23.8	Arnulfo Arias Madrid
1984	650,978	2,130	30.6	Nicolás Ardito Barletta

a. Panama became independent in 1903.

b. Elections have been direct since 1904.

SOURCE: A. Vanhanen for 1904 to 1968; SALA, 24 for 1984.

B. Banks for 1904 to 1936; SALA, 23 for 1916; UN-DY, 1951, 1965, 1971; IMF-IFS-Y, 1985.

Figure 34:16
PANAMA POPULATION VOTING IN PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS, 1904-84
(%)

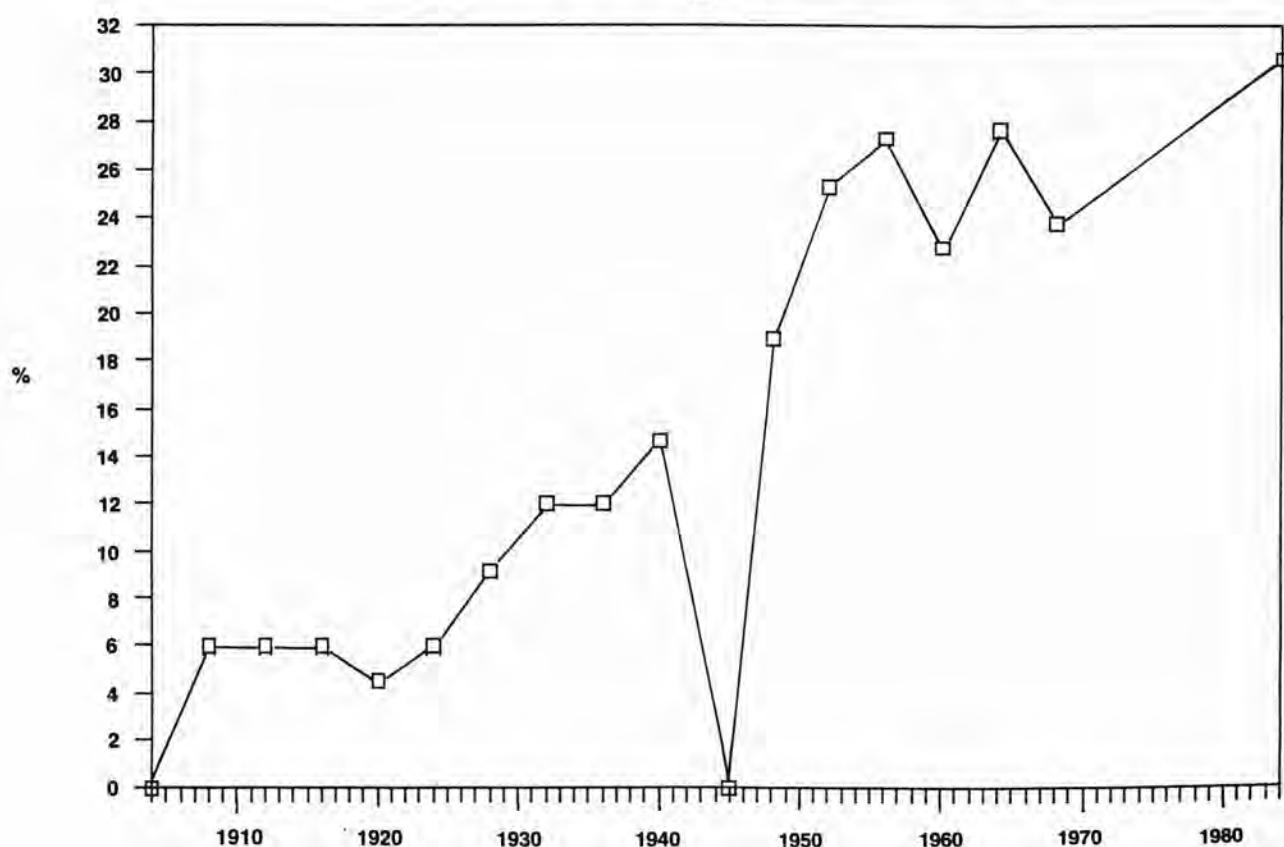


Table 3416
PARAGUAY POPULATION VOTING IN PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS, 1844-1983
(%)

Year	Number of Voters A	Total Population (T) B	Percentage of Population Voting A/B	Person Elected President
1844 ^a	~	512	0	Carlos A. López
1854	~	577	0	Carlos A. López
1857	~	597	0	Carlos A. López
1862	~	630	0	Francisco Solano López
1874	~	281	3.0 [†]	Juan Bautista Gil
1878	~	325	3.0 [†]	Cándido Bareiro
1882	~	357	3.0 [†]	Bernardino Caballero
1886	~	380	3.0 [†]	Patricio Escobar
1890	~	403	3.0 [†]	Juan Gualbeito González
1894	~	426	3.0 [†]	Juan B. Egusquiza
1898	~	473	3.0 [†]	Emilio Aceval
1902	~	529	3.0 [†]	Juan A. Escarra
1906	~	560	5.0 [†]	Benigno Ferrera
1909	~	610	5.0 [†]	Manuel Gondra
1912	~	640	5.0 [†]	Eduardo Schaeffer
1916	~	670	5.0 [†]	Manuel Franco
1920	~	699	8.0 [†]	Manuel Gondra
1924	~	767	8.0 [†]	Eligio Ayala
1928	76,500	841	9.1	José P. Guggiari
1932	~	922	8.0 [†]	Eusebio Ayala
1939	~	1,086	10.0 [†]	José Félix Estigarribia
1943	~	1,190	10.0 [†]	Higinio Morinigo
1948	~	1,335	15.0 [†]	Juan Natalicio González
1950	~	1,397	15.0 [†]	Federico Chaves
1953	~	1,496	15.0 [†]	Tomás Romero Pereira
1954	~	1,530	20.0 [†]	Alfredo Stroessner
1958	602,353	1,687	35.8	Alfredo Stroessner
1963	638,070	1,910	33.4	Alfredo Stroessner
1968	585,274	2,230	26.2	Alfredo Stroessner
1973	904,013	2,510	33.5	Alfredo Stroessner
1978	993,547	2,970	33.5	Alfredo Stroessner
1983	1,021,597	3,470	29.4	Alfredo Stroessner

a. Elections became direct in 1940.

SOURCE: A. Vanhanen; *Keesing's Contemporary Archives* 28974 and 32189.
B. Banks; SALA, 23; UN-DY, 1965, 1973, 1983.

Figure 34:17

PARAGUAY POPULATION VOTING IN PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS, 1844-1983

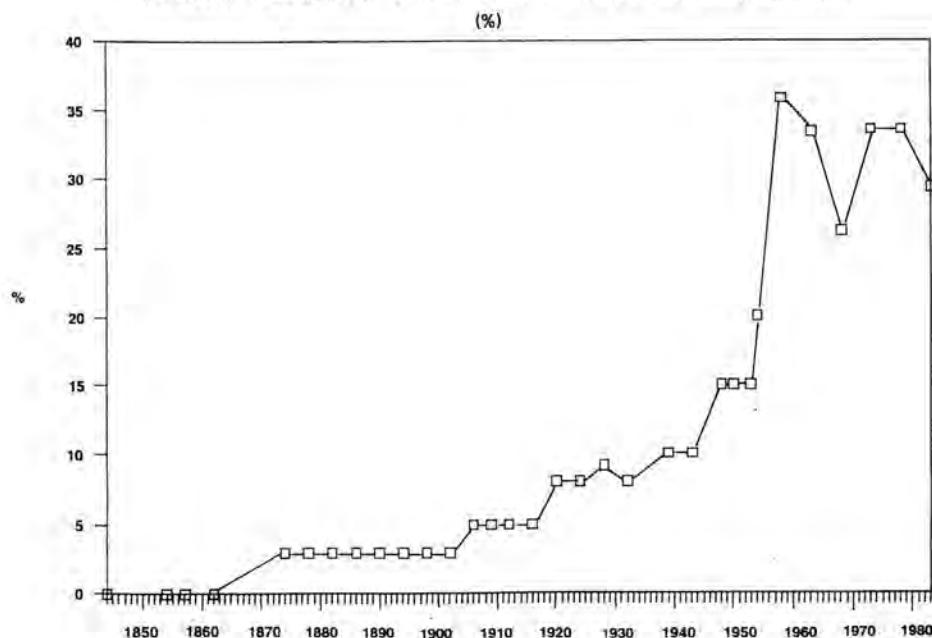


Table 3417

PERU POPULATION VOTING IN PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS, 1845-1985

(%)

Year	Number of Voters A	Total Population (T) B	Percentage of Population Voting A/B	Person Elected President
1845	3,044	1,935	.1	Ramón Castilla y Margesado
1851	4,250	2,063	.2	José Rufino Echenique
1858	552,000	2,318	23.8	Ramón Castilla y Margesado
1962	4,615	2,488	.2	Miguel de San Román
1868	3,868	2,562	.1	José Balta
1872	3,878	2,611	.1	Manuel Pardo
1876	~	2,661	.1†	Mariano Ignacio Prado
1886	3,800†	2,659	.1†	Andrés A. Cáceres
1890	~	2,671	.1†	Remigio Morales Bermúdez
1894	4,541	2,683	.1	Andrés A. Cáceres
1895	4,310	2,686	.1	Nicolás de Piérola
1899	58,285	3,000	1.9	Eduardo López de Romaña
1903	93,778	3,428	2.7	Manuel Cádamo
1904	97,719	3,535	2.8	José Pardo y Barreda
1908	~	3,964	2.8†	Augusto B. Leguía y Salcedo
1912	162	4,392	2.8†	Guillermo E. Billinghurst
1915	144,712	4,430	3.1	José Pardo y Barreda
1919	196,922	5,142	3.8	Augusto B. Leguía y Salcedo
1924	~	5,502	3.8†	Augusto B. Leguía y Salcedo
1929	~	5,912	3.8†	Luis M. Sánchez Cerro
1931	323,636	6,093	5.3	Oscar R. Benavides
1933	88	6,283	0	Oscar R. Benavides
1936	~	6,588	0	Manuel Prado y Ugarteche
1939	339,195	6,917	4.9	José Luis Bustamante y Rivero
1945	456,310	7,290	6.0	Manuel A. Odría
1950	550,779	7,969	6.9	Manuel Prado y Ugarteche
1956	1,324,253	9,004	14.7	Fernando Belaúnde Terry
1963	1,954,284	10,958	17.8	Fernando Belaúnde Terry
1980	4,563,263	17,780	25.7	Alán García
1985	7,557,182	19,200	39.4	

SOURCE: A. Vanhanen; Roncaglioli, *Jurado Nacional de Elecciones, 1980*; and Keesing's *Contemporary Archives, 33836*.

B. Banks: SALA, 23; UN-DY, 1965, 1982; and IMF-IFS, March, 1986.

Figure 34:18

PERU POPULATION VOTING IN PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS, 1845-1985

(%)

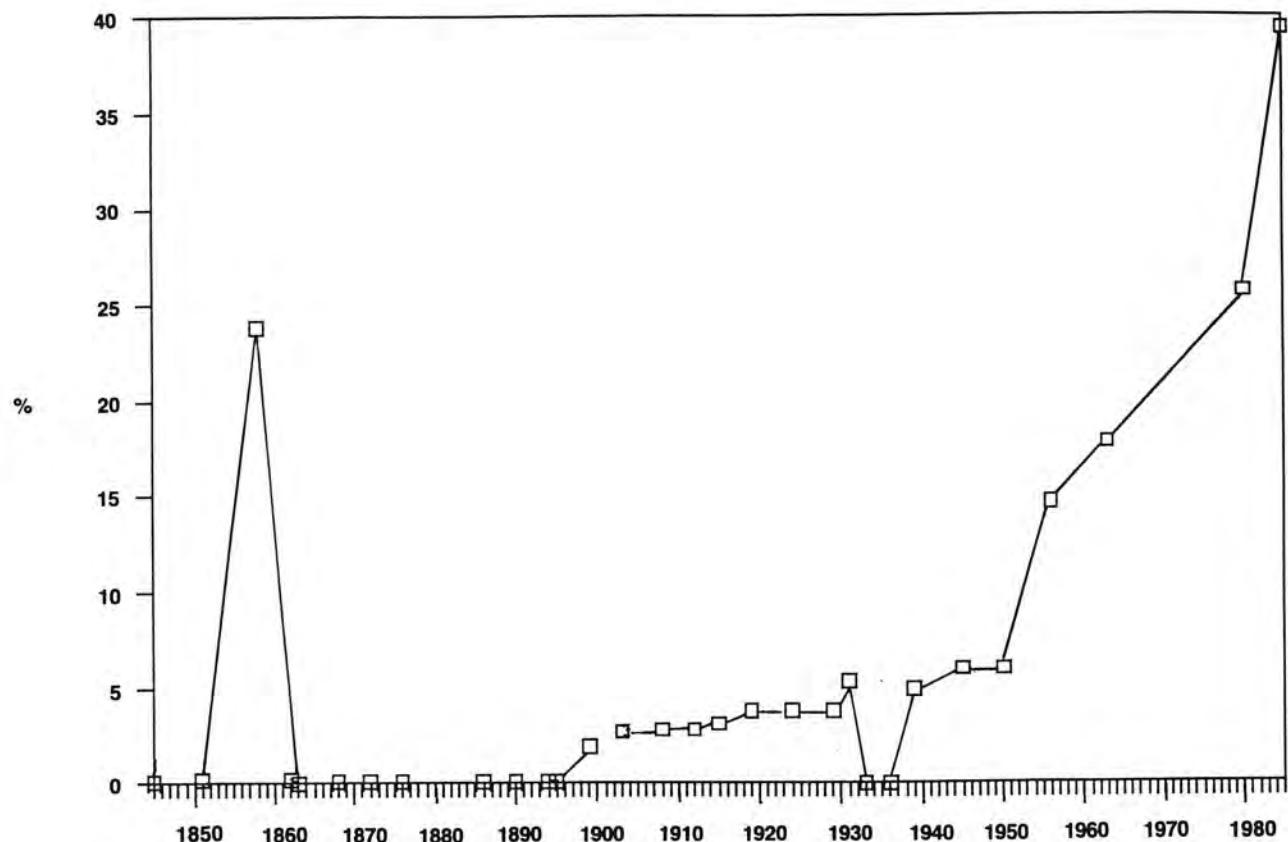


Table 3418
URUGUAY POPULATION VOTING IN PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS, 1852-1984
(%)

Year	Number of Voters A	Total Population (T) B	Percentage of Population Voting A/B	Person Elected President
1852 ^a	38	228	2.5 [†]	Juan Francisco Giró
1856	33	244	2.5 [†]	Gabriel Antonio Pereira
1860	51	260	2.5 [†]	Bernardo P. Berro
1868	40	349	2.5 [†]	Lorenzo Batlle
1873	50	416	2.5 [†]	José E. Ellaurí
1879	52	499	2.5 [†]	Lorenzo Latorre
1880	39	513	4.0 [†]	Francisco Antonio Vidal
1882	51	541	4.0 [†]	Máximo Santos
1886	53	604	5.3	Máximo Tajes
1890	70	707	4.5 [†]	Julio Herrera y Obes
1894	83	775	4.5 [†]	Juan Idiarte Borda
1899	77	890	4.5 [†]	Juan Lindolfo Cuestas
1903	80	1,009	4.5 [†]	José Batlle y Ordóñez
1907	44,693	1,095	4.1	Claudio Williman
1910	31,262	1,132	2.7	José Batlle y Ordóñez
1916	142,632	1,380	10.8	Feliciano Viera
1919 ^b	188,352	1,447	13.0	Colorado
1922 ^b	246,324	1,546	15.9	Colorado
1925 ^b	271,958	1,659	16.4	Colorado
1928 ^b	299,017	1,785	16.7	Blancos
1931 ^b	309,048	1,922	16.1	Colorado
1934	239,125	2,007	11.9	Gabriel Terra
1938	375,771	2,108	17.8	Alfredo Baldomir
1942	574,700	2,010	26.0	Juan José Amézaga
1946	670,229	2,083	29.4	Tomás Barretta
1950	828,403	2,193	37.6	Andrés Martínez Trueba
1954 ^b	879,242	2,329	37.7	Colorado
1958 ^b	1,005,362	2,464	40.7	Colorado
1962 ^b	1,171,000	2,612	44.9	Colorado
1966	1,070,603	2,750	38.9	Oscar Gestido
1971	1,654,721	2,920	56.7	José María Bordaberry
1984	1,928,316	2,990	64.5	José María Sanguinetti

a. Presidential elections were indirect until 1918. From 1919 to 1933 and from 1952 to 1966 the National Council governed the country. The National Council was chosen by the General Assembly. Between 1933 and 1952 and after 1966 elections were direct.

b. Since the National Council ruled the country from 1919 to 1933 and again from 1952 to 1966 no direct presidential elections were held. The General Assembly chose the National Council; therefore the number of votes given is for the General Assembly election. The chairman of the National Council was from the majority party; therefore the majority party is given in place of a person.

SOURCE: A. Vanhanen: *Keesing's Contemporary Archives* 33515.
B. Banks: SALA, 23; UN-DY, 1965, 1973; and IMF-IFS, April, 1986.

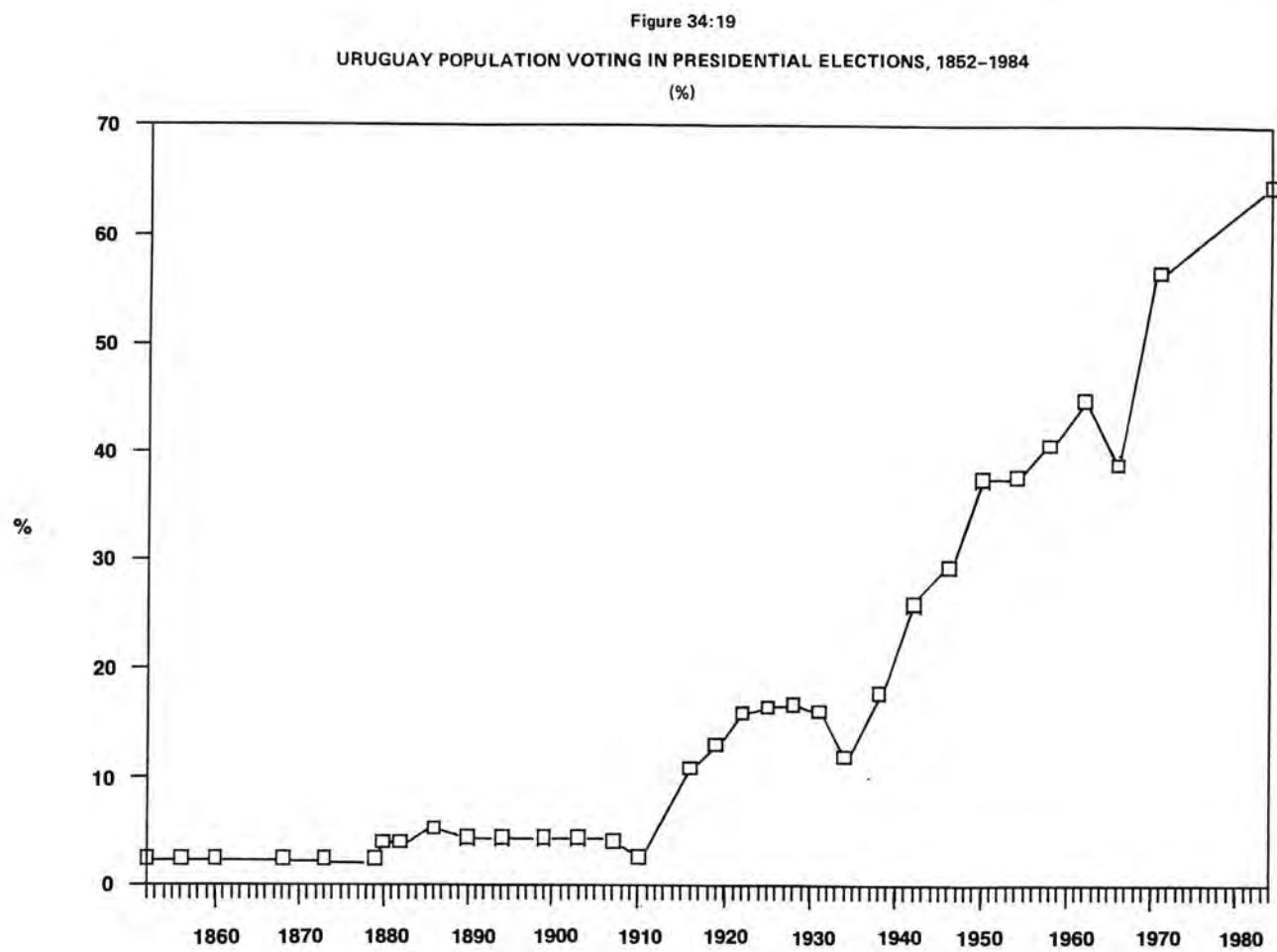


Table 3419

VENEZUELA POPULATION VOTING IN PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS, 1850-1983

(%)

Year	Number of Voters A	Total Population (T) B	Percentage of Population Voting A/B	Person Elected President
1850 ^a	321	1,273	0	José Gregorio Monagas
1855	398	1,445	0	José Tadeo Monagas
1857	122	1,504	0	José Tadeo Monagas
1860	40,145	1,569	2.5	Manuel Felipe de Tovar
1864	20	1,589	2.5 ^t	Juan C. Falcón
1873	239,718	1,821	13.2	Antonio Guzmán Blanco
1877	14	1,948	13.0	Francisco Linares Alcántara
1880	20	2,043	13.0 ^t	Antonio Guzmán Blanco
1882	~	2,093	0	Antonio Guzmán Blanco
1884	~	2,129	0	Joaquín Crespo
1886	~	2,165	0	Antonio Guzmán Blanco
1888	~	2,201	0	Juan Pablo Rojas Paul
1890	~	2,237	0	Raimundo Andueza Palacio
1893	349,875	2,291	15.3	Joaquín Crespo
1897	409,306	2,363	17.3	Ignacio Andrade
1936	~	3,343	0	Eleázar López Contreras
1941	143	3,800	0	Isaías Medina Angarita
1947	1,170,543	4,548	26.6	Rómulo Gallegos
1958	2,722,053	6,879	39.8	Rómulo Betancourt
1963	3,125,527	8,144	38.4	Raúl Leoni
1968	3,741,610	9,690	38.6	Rafael Caldera
1973	4,351,444	11,280	38.2	Carlos Andrés Pérez
1978	5,294,925	13,120	40.4	Luis Herrera Campins
1983	6,741,099	16,390	41.1	Jaime Lusinchi

a. Elections were direct between 1868 and 1881 and after 1947.

SOURCE: A. Vanhanen; SALA, 21 and 24.
B. Banks; SALA, 23; and UN-DY, 1965, 1973 and 1983.

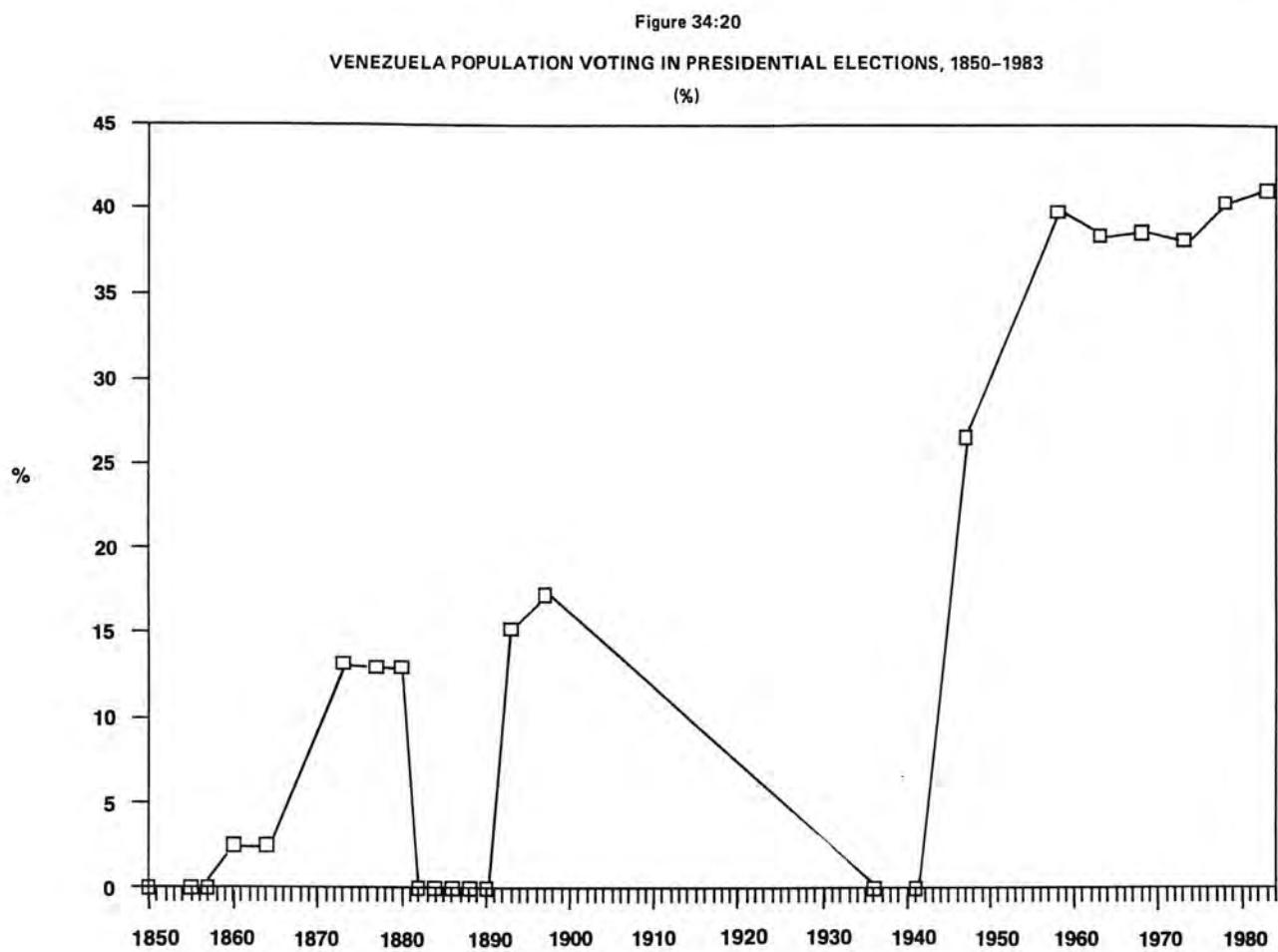


Table 3420

UNITED STATES POPULATION VOTING IN PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS, 1848-1984
(%)

Year	Number of Voters A	Total Population (T) B	Percentage of Population Voting A/B	Person Elected President
1848	2,871,906 ^a	22,018	13.0	Zachary Taylor
1852	3,144,721	24,911	12.6	Franklin Pierce
1856	4,053,967	28,212	14.4	James Buchanan
1860	4,682,069	31,513	14.8	Abraham Lincoln
1864	4,166,537	34,863	11.9	Abraham Lincoln
1868	5,716,082	38,213	14.9	Ulysses S. Grant
1872	6,466,354	41,972	15.4	Ulysses S. Grant
1876	8,411,019	46,107	15.0	Rutherford B. Hayes
1880	9,218,251	50,262	18.3	James A. Garfield
1884	10,052,706	55,379	18.2	Grover Cleveland
1888	11,381,032	60,496	18.8	Benjamin Harrison
1892	12,050,384	65,666	18.3	Grover Cleveland
1896	13,936,857	70,885	19.7	William McKinley
1900	13,973,071	76,094	18.4	William McKinley
1904	13,523,108	82,165	16.4	Theodore Roosevelt
1908	14,684,989	88,709	16.6	William Howard Taft
1912	15,036,442	95,331	15.8	Woodrow Wilson
1916	18,473,446	101,966	18.4	Woodrow Wilson
1920	26,711,183	106,466	25.1	Warren Harding
1924	29,085,292	114,113	25.5	Calvin Coolidge
1928	36,879,414	120,501	30.6	Herbert Hoover
1932	39,816,522	124,949	32.1	Franklin D. Roosevelt
1936	45,648,817	128,181	35.6	Franklin D. Roosevelt
1940	49,815,312	132,122	37.6	Franklin D. Roosevelt
1944	47,976,263	138,397	34.4	Franklin D. Roosevelt
1948	48,836,579	146,631	33.2	Harry S. Truman
1952	61,551,978	157,028	39.1	Dwight D. Eisenhower
1956	62,027,040	168,174	36.8	Dwight D. Eisenhower
1960	68,836,385	180,680	38.1	John F. Kennedy
1964	70,621,479	191,890	36.8	Lyndon B. Johnson
1968	73,211,562	200,710	36.5	Richard M. Nixon
1972	77,681,461	209,900	37.1	Richard M. Nixon
1976	81,556,000	218,040	37.4	James E. Carter
1980	86,600,000	227,660	38.0	Ronald Reagan
1984	92,600,000 [†]	236,680	39.1	Ronald Reagan

a. Elections are indirect.

SOURCE: A. Vanhanen; *Statistical Abstract of the United States 1982*; Keesing's *Contemporary Archives* (33386), 1985.
 B. *Statistical History of the United States from Colonial Times to the Present* for 1848-1956; SALa, 23 for 1960-1980; and *Statistical Abstract of the United States 1985*.

Figure 34:21

UNITED STATES POPULATION VOTING IN PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS, 1848-1984

(%)

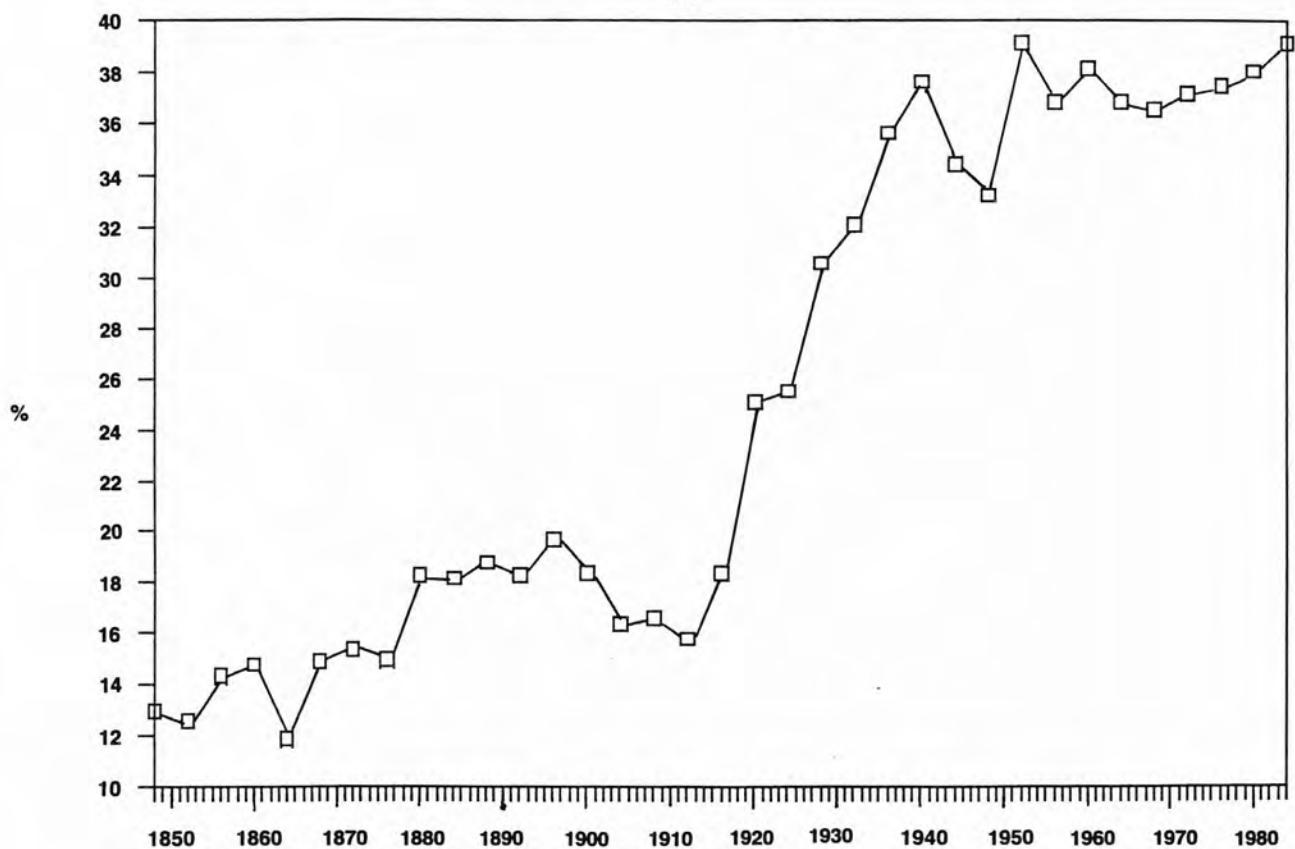


Table 3421

**COMPARISON OF AVERAGE PERCENT OF
POPULATION VOTING IN PRESIDENTIAL
ELECTIONS IN LATIN AMERICA AND
THE UNITED STATES**

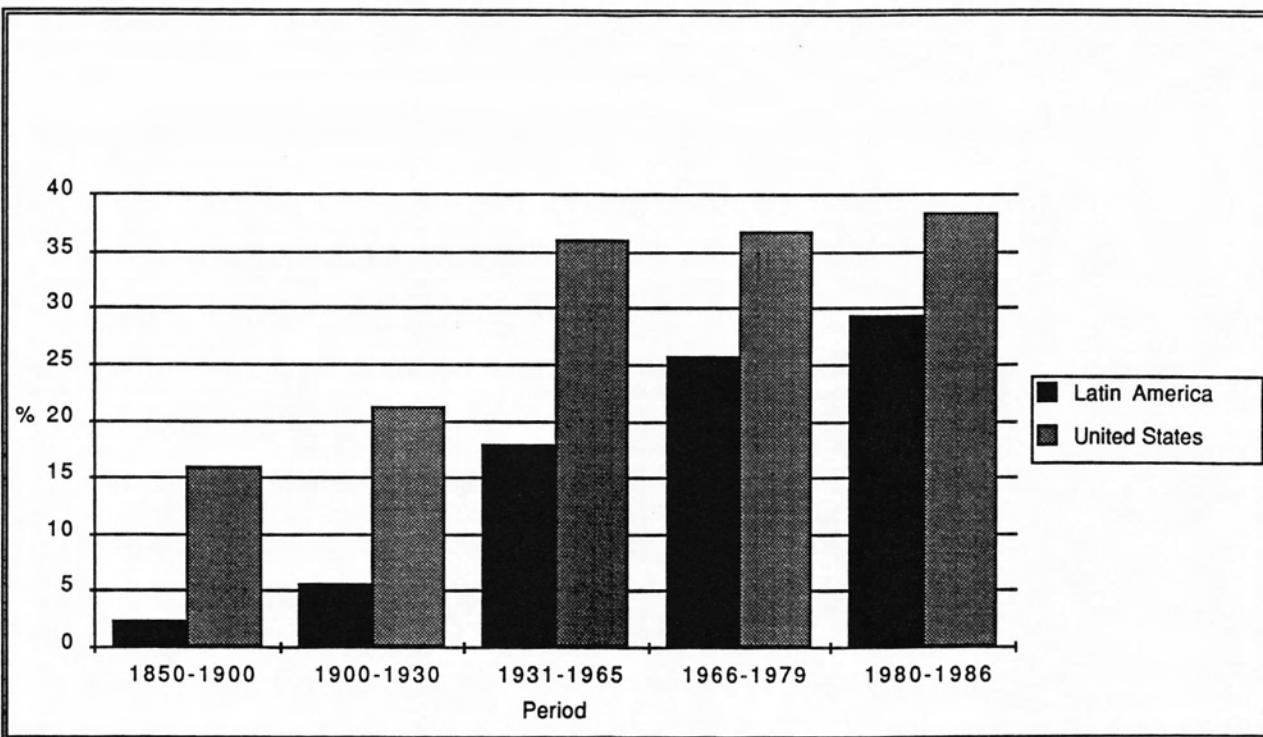
Year	Latin America	United States
1850-1900	2.3	16.0
1901-1930	5.6	21.2
1931-1965	18.0	36.0
1966-1979 ^a	25.7	36.7
1980-1986 ^a	29.3	38.5

a. Brazil is not included since congress chose the president.

SOURCE: Average from tables 3400-3420.

Figure 34:22

**COMPARISON OF AVERAGE PERCENT OF POPULATION VOTING IN PRESIDENTIAL
ELECTIONS IN LATIN AMERICA AND THE UNITED STATES, 1850-1986**



SOURCE: Calculated from tables 3401-3421.

Table 3422
TYPE OF PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION, 20 LC,
1840s-1986

Country	Type of Presidential Election	Year
A. ARGENTINA	Indirect	Since 1853
B. BOLIVIA	Direct	Since 1839
C. BRAZIL	Direct	1891-1964
	Indirect	1964-85
D. CHILE	Indirect	1833-1925
	Direct	After 1925
E. COLOMBIA	Direct	1853-61
	Indirect	1863-1910
	Direct	After 1910
F. COSTA RICA	Indirect	1849-1913
	Direct	After 1913
G. CUBA	Indirect	1901-35
	Direct	1935-59
H. DOMINICAN REP.	Indirect	1849-65
	Direct	1887-1924
	Indirect	After 1924
I. ECUADOR	Indirect	1852-65
	Direct	After 1961
J. EL SALVADOR	Direct	After 1841
K. GUATEMALA	Indirect	1865-79
	Direct	After 1879
L. HAITI	Indirect	1870-1950
	Direct	After 1950
M. HONDURAS	Direct	Since 1850
N. MEXICO	Indirect	1857-1911
	Direct	After 1911
O. NICARAGUA	Indirect	1849-93
	Direct	After 1893
P. PANAMA	Direct	Since 1904
Q. PARAGUAY	Indirect	1844-1940
	Direct	After 1940
R. PERU	Indirect	1850-55
	Direct	1856-60
	Indirect	1861-95
	Direct	After 1895
S. URUGUAY	Indirect	1830-1918
	Plural Executive	1919-34
	Direct	1934-52
	Plural Executive	1952-66
	Direct	After 1966
T. VENEZUELA	Direct	1858-81
	Indirect	1881-1947
	Direct	After 1947
UNITED STATES	Indirect ¹	Since 1850

1. Election is only formally indirect since, according to Vanhanen, the result of the popular election is usually followed.

SOURCE: Vanhanen.

Table 3423
IMPACT OF WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE ON VOTER
PARTICIPATION, 20 LC

Country	Year of Women's Suffrage A	PC in Voter Participation	
		After Women's Suffrage B	
A. ARGENTINA	1947	+146.0	
B. BOLIVIA	1952	+705.0	
C. BRAZIL	1932	+509.0 ^a	
D. CHILE	1949	+77.6	
E. COLOMBIA	1957	+108.7	
F. COSTA RICA	1949	+63.1	
G. CUBA	1934	+126.3	
H. DOMINICAN REP.	1942	+63.1	
I. ECUADOR	1929	-50.0 ^a	
J. EL SALVADOR	1939	+258.0	
K. GUATEMALA	1945	+31.1	
L. HAITI	1950	+443.5	
M. HONDURAS	1955	+46.1 ^a	
N. MEXICO	1953	+69.5	
O. NICARAGUA	1955	+61.8	
P. PANAMA	1945	+29.5 ^a	
Q. PARAGUAY	1961	-9.3	
R. PERU	1955	+113.0	
S. URUGUAY	1932	-73.9	
T. VENEZUELA	1947	+53.8 ^a	
Latin America Average ^b		+138.6	
UNITED STATES		+36.4	

a. Elections where zero percent of the population voted were not used; the next election in which at least 1 percent voted, was used.
 b. Unweighted by population.

SOURCE: A. Elsa Chaney, *Supermadrés*, p. 169.
 B. Calculated from tables 3400-3420.

Table 3424
LATIN AMERICA PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS,
BY DECADE, 1840-1986

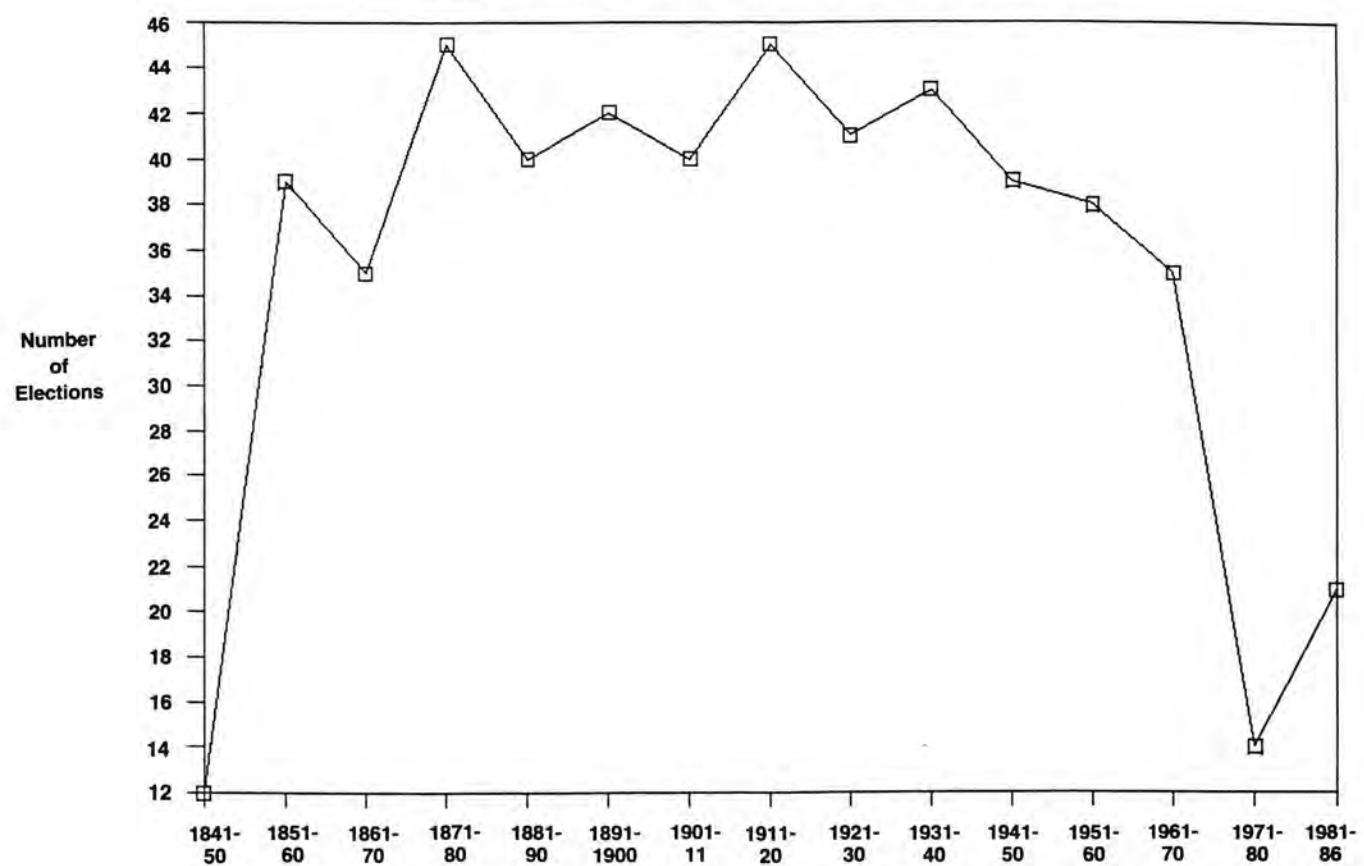
Decade	Number of Elections
1841-1850	12
1851-1860	39
1861-1870	35
1871-1880	45
1881-1890	40
1891-1900	42
1901-1910	40
1911-1920	45
1921-1930	41
1931-1940	43
1941-1950	39
1951-1960	38
1961-1970	35 ^a
1971-1980	14 ^a
1981-1986	21 ^a

a. Brazilian elections are not included from 1964 through 1984, because the president was chosen by congress.

SOURCE: Calculated from tables 3401-3421.

Figure 34:23

LATIN AMERICA PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS, BY DECADE, 1940-1986



SOURCE: Table 3424.

Table 3425

POLITICAL STATUS, 19 LC, 1964-79

	Country Ruled by Military	Years	Country in Which	Country with
			Electoral Process Remained in Tact	
A. ARGENTINA		1966-1973	E. COLOMBIA	K. GUATEMALA ²
		1976-1983	F. COSTA RICA	L. HAITI ²
B. BOLIVIA		1964-1980	N. MEXICO	O. NICARAGUA ²
C. BRAZIL		1964-1985	T. VENEZUELA	Q. PARAGUAY ²
D. CHILE		1973-		
H. DOMINICAN REP. ¹		1964-1965		
I. ECUADOR		1972-1979		
J. EL SALVADOR		1973-1984		
M. HONDURAS		1972-1981		
P. PANAMA		1968-		
R. PERU		1968-1980		
S. URUGUAY		1973-1984		

1. The Dominican Republic was occupied by the United States.
 2. These countries, although they may have been controlled by dictators, still held presidential elections. In the case of Haiti, the last presidential election was in 1961, when Duvalier was elected president for life. Cuba is not listed since it does not fall in either category.

SOURCE: Vanhanen; *The Cambridge Encyclopedia of Latin America and the Caribbean*.

Table 3426

MANDATORY VOTING LAWS, 14 L

Country	Source	Year of Source
A. ARGENTINA	Scobie, <i>Argentina</i> , p. 195.	1971
C. BRAZIL	Keesing's <i>Contemporary Archives</i> , 31940.	1983
D. CHILE	Loverman, <i>Chile</i> , p. 293.	1979
F. COSTA RICA	Peeler, <i>Latin American Democracies</i> , p. 96.	1985
H. DOMINICAN REP.	Brea Franco, <i>El Sistema</i> , p. 352.	1983
I. ECUADOR	Blankenstein, <i>Ecuador</i> , p. 29.	1951
J. EL SALVADOR	Keesing's <i>Contemporary Archives</i> , 33204-33205.	1984
K. GUATEMALA	Johnson, <i>The Guatemalan Presidential Elections</i> .	1967
M. HONDURAS	<i>Honduran Elections</i> .	1985
N. MEXICO	López Rosado, <i>El Régimen Constitucional Mexicano</i> , p. 47.	1964
Q. PARAGUAY	Keesing's <i>Contemporary Archives</i> , 28974.	1978
R. PERU	Gorman, <i>Post-Revolutionary Peru</i> , p. 47.	1982
S. URUGUAY	Keesing's <i>Contemporary Archives</i> , 33515.	1985
T. VENEZUELA	Peeler, <i>Latin American Democracies</i> , p. 96.	1985

Table 3427

ARGENTINA REGISTERED VOTERS VOTING IN PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS, 1916-83

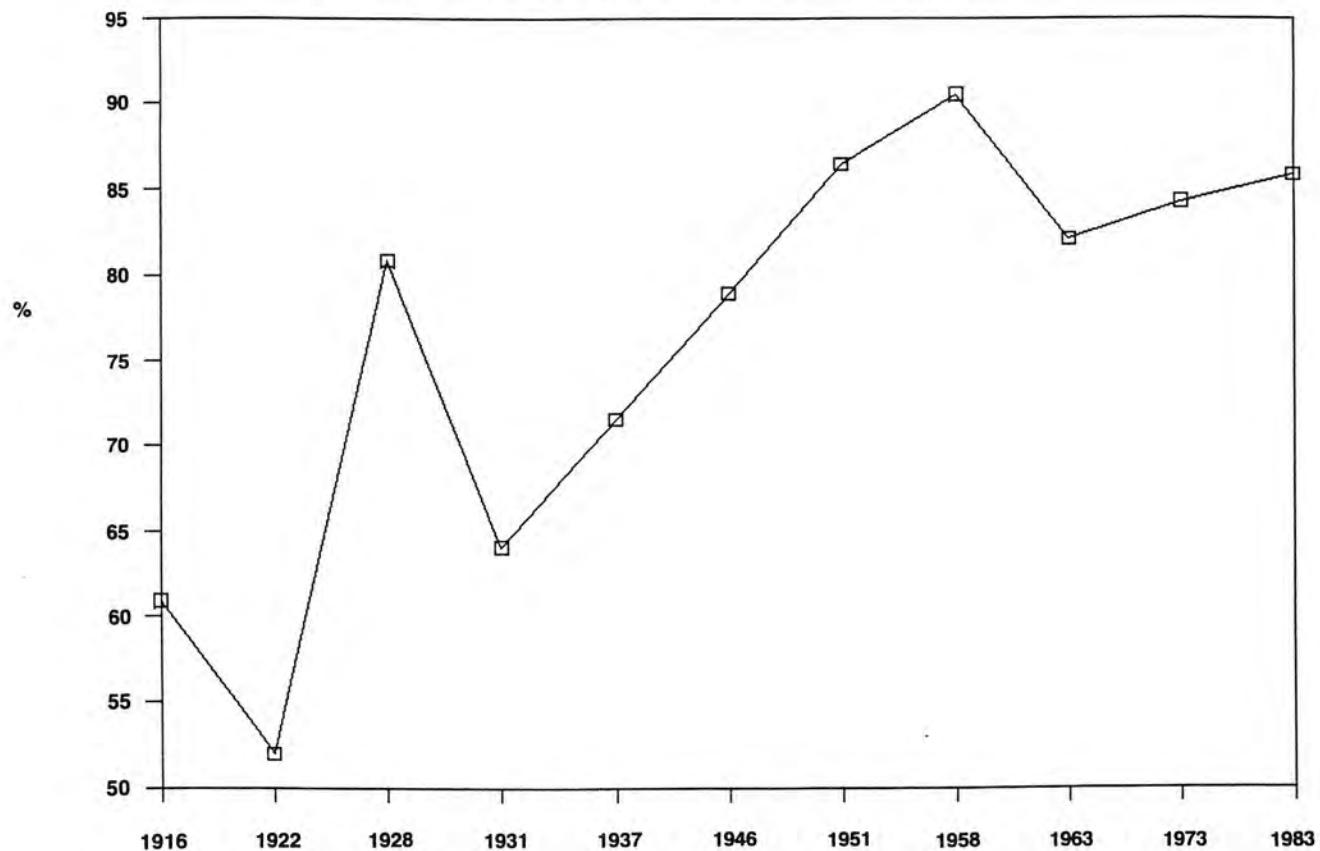
Year	Number of Voters A	Number Registered B	Percentage of Registered Who Voted ¹
			A/B
1916	723,909	1,189,254	60.9
1922	823,380	1,586,366	52.0
1928	1,461,671	1,807,566	80.9
1931	1,355,954	2,116,552	64.1
1937	1,913,154	2,672,750	71.6
1946	2,690,333	3,405,173	79.0
1951	7,461,555	8,623,998	86.5
1958	9,063,498	10,002,327	90.6
1963	9,325,997	11,356,240	82.1
1973	12,077,422	14,334,253	84.3
1983	15,374,769	17,890,000	85.9

1. After 1951 null and blank votes included.

SOURCE: A. Table 3400.
 B. Cantón, vol. 1, 81-254; Keesing's *Contemporary Archives*, 26177 and 32554.

Figure 34:24

ARGENTINA REGISTERED VOTERS VOTING IN PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS, 1916-83



SOURCE: Table 3427.

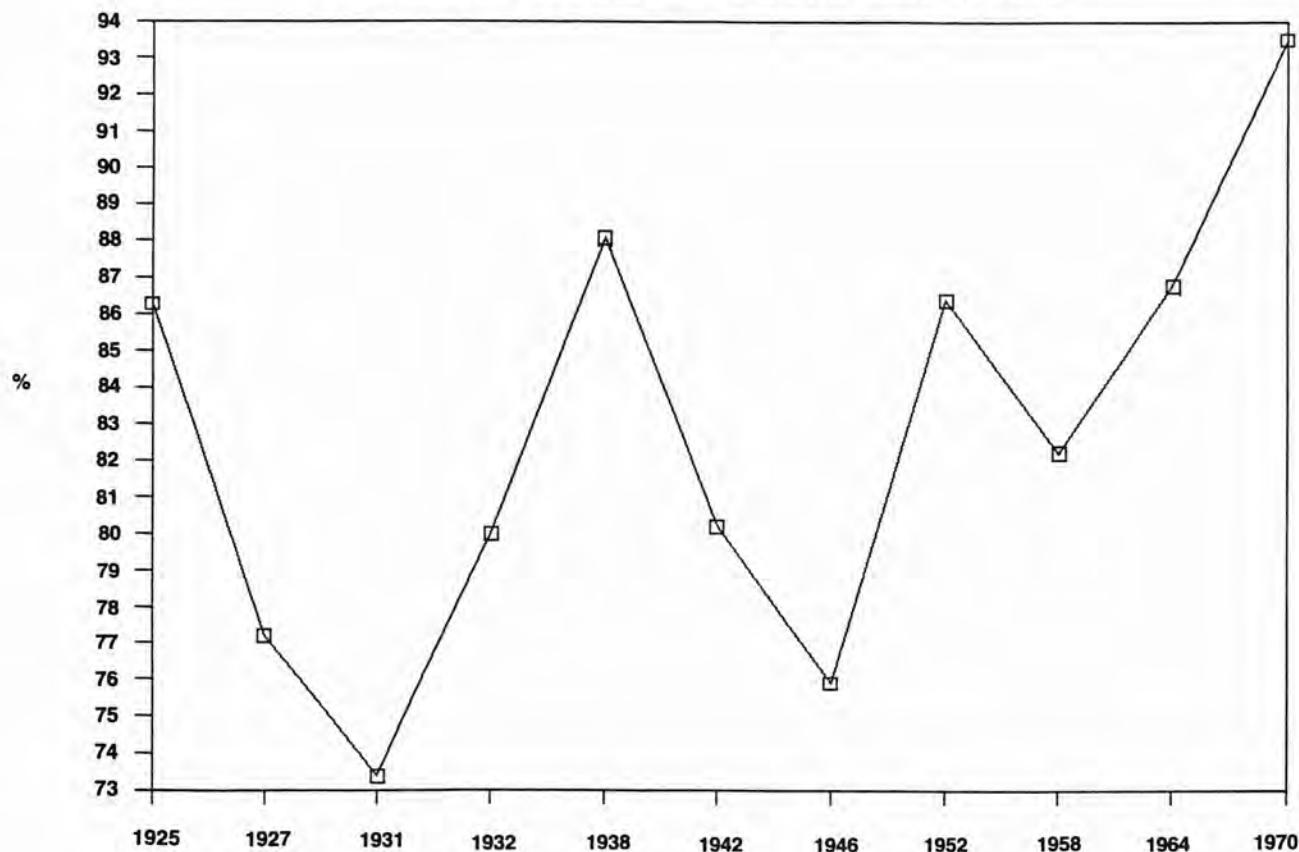
Table 3428
CHILE REGISTERED VOTERS VOTING IN PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS, 1925-70

Year	Number of Voters A	Number Registered B	Percentage of Registered Who Voted A/B
1925	260,895	302,212	86.3
1927	233,103	302,142	77.2
1931	285,810	388,959	73.4
1932	343,892	429,772	80.0
1938	443,898	503,870	88.1
1942	466,507	581,486	80.2
1946	479,019	631,527	75.9
1952	955,102	1,105,029	86.4
1958	1,250,437	1,521,272	82.2
1964	2,503,692	2,915,121	86.8
1970	2,954,799	3,539,747	93.5

SOURCE: Loveman, *Chile*, p. 200.

Figure 34:25

CHILE REGISTERED VOTERS VOTING IN PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS, 1925-70



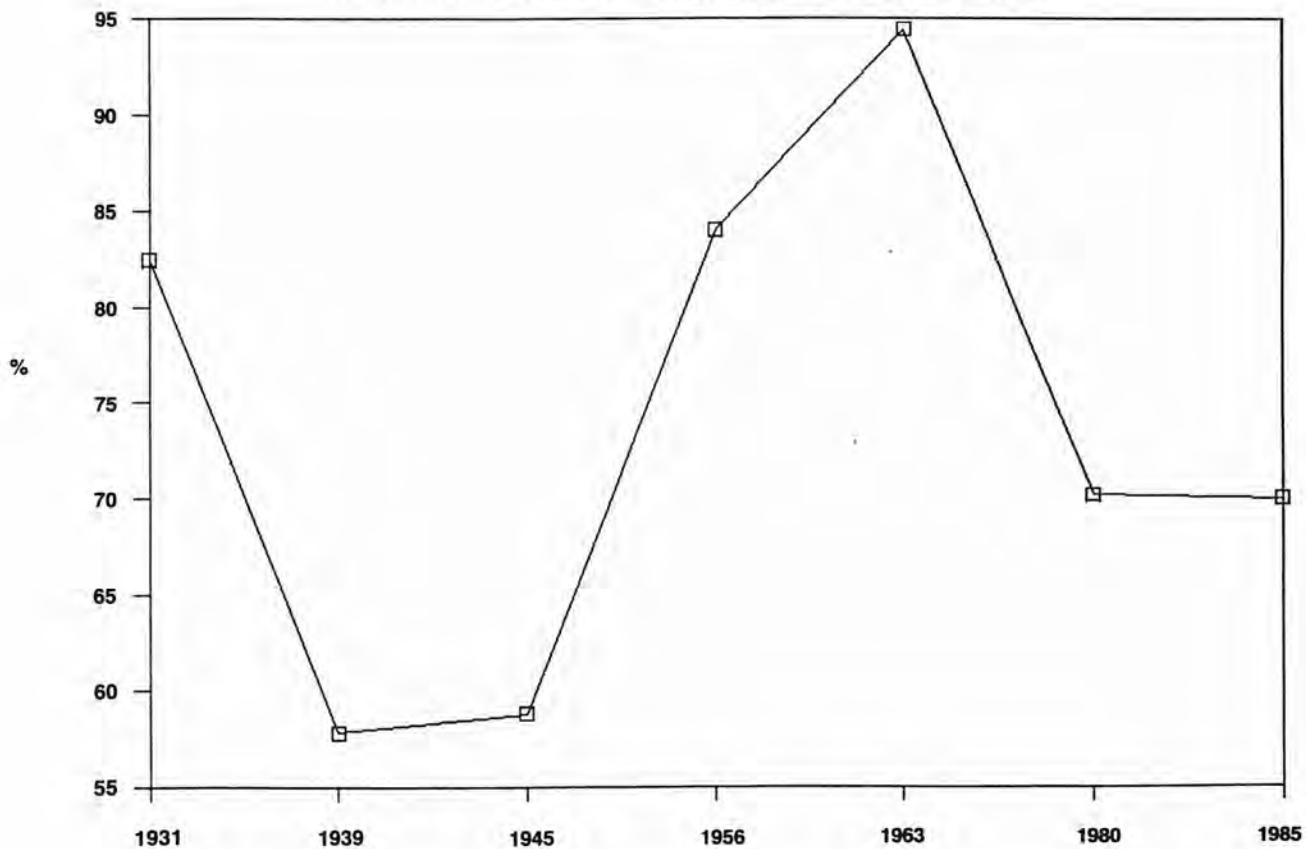
SOURCE: Table 3428.

Table 3429
PERU REGISTERED VOTERS VOTING IN PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS, 1931-85

Year	Number of Voters A	Number Registered B	Percentage of Registered Who Voted A/B
1931	323,636	392,381	82.5
1939	339,195	597,182	57.8
1945	456,310	776,572	58.8
1956	1,324,253	1,575,741	84.0
1963	1,954,284	2,070,718	94.4
1980	4,563,263	6,500,000	70.2
1985	7,557,182	10,795,974	70.0

SOURCE: A. Table 3417.
 B. Rocaglio, pp. 25-38; *Facts on File*, 1980; and Keesing's *Contemporary Archives* (33836), 1985.

Figure 34:26
PERU REGISTERED VOTERS VOTING IN PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS, 1931-85



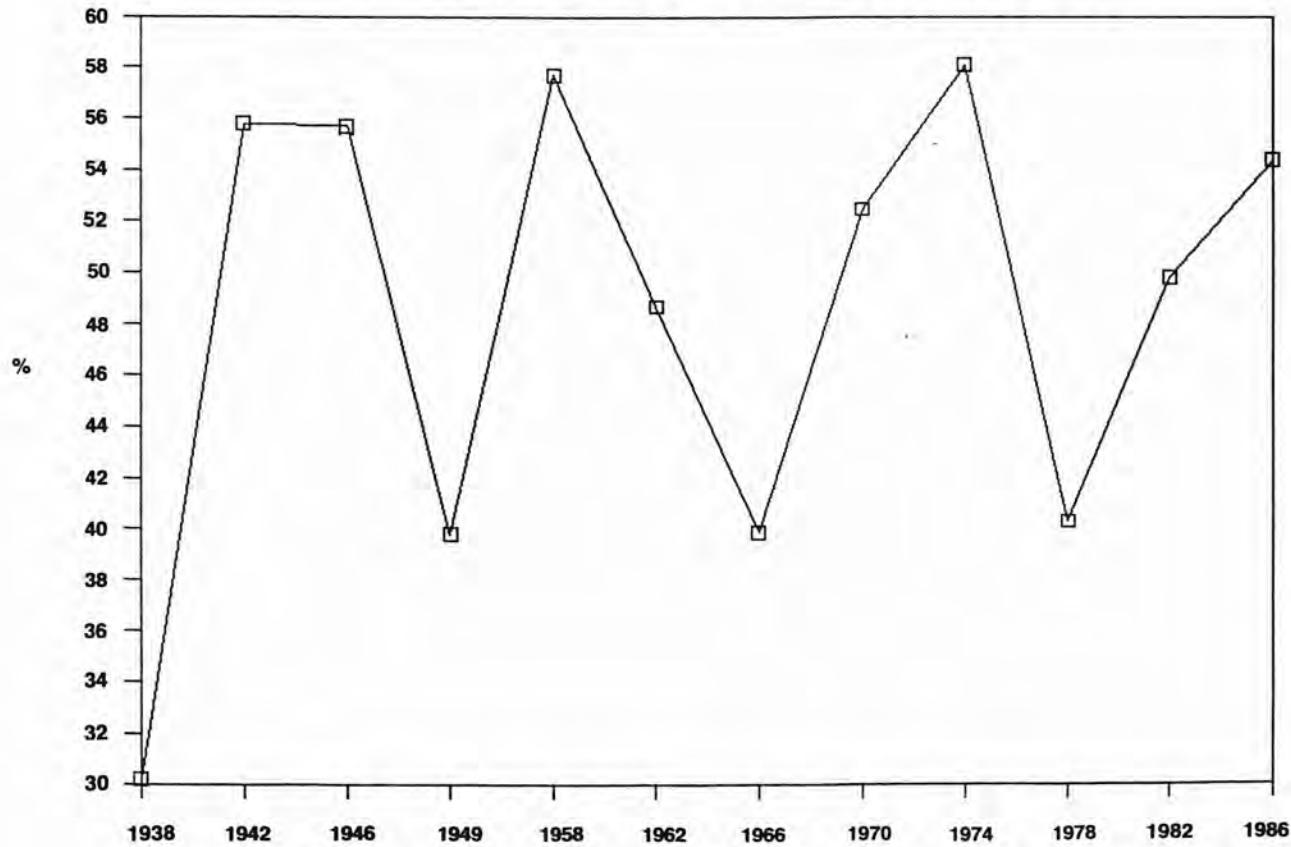
SOURCE: Table 3429.

Table 3430
COLOMBIA REGISTERED VOTERS VOTING IN PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS, 1938-86

Year	Number of Voters A	Number Registered B	Percentage of Registered Who Voted A/B
1938	513,520	1,700,171	30.2
1942	1,147,806	2,056,366	55.8
1946	1,366,087	2,450,596	55.7
1949	1,140,646	2,866,539	39.8
1958	3,108,567	5,386,981	57.7
1962	2,631,613	5,404,765	48.7
1966	2,638,411	6,611,352	39.9
1970	4,036,458	7,683,785	52.5
1974	5,212,133	8,964,472	58.1
1978	5,075,719	12,580,851	40.3
1982	6,840,392	13,734,093	49.8
1986	7,074,726	13,000,000+	54.4

SOURCE: A. Table 3404.
B. *Colombia Estadística*, 1985, pp. 85-86; and *El Espectador*, May 22, 1986.

Figure 34:27
COLOMBIA REGISTERED VOTERS VOTING IN PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS, 1938-86



SOURCE: Table 3430.