CCT Programs, the Economy, and Presidential Elections in Latin America[1]

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Abstract

Numerous recent country studies show that beneficiaries of CCT programs vote for incumbents at higher rates. It is reasonable to expect that, as a consequence, those incumbents will have a better national performance in the next election. This article warns against such an extrapolation. It analyzes an original cross-national dataset with information for eighty-four Latin American presidential elections that took place between 1990 and 2010. My results reveal that CCT programs have not improved incumbents' electoral performances in the region, contradicting common claims of the literature. They also confirm the classic economic voting hypothesis that incumbents are held accountable in the polls for their economic performance.

Do presidents who invest in Conditional Cash Transfer (CCT) programs improve their electoral performances when they run for reelection?[2] Recent academic studies have consistently found that beneficiaries of these programs vote for incumbents at higher rates (Díaz-Cayeros et al. 2009; Queirolo 2010; Zucco 2013; De la O 2013) and that incumbents' vote shares tend to increase in subnational areas with higher CCT coverage (Serdán 2006; Nicolau and Peixoto 2007; Zucco 2008; Nupia 2011). An easy extrapolation from these findings would be to conclude that incumbents who invest in CCT programs improve their overall electoral performances when they run for reelection. The plausibility of this hypothesis has led some scholars to inadvertently "make the jump", but it has not been properly tested by the literature up to this date.

Perhaps because CCT programs are a very specific kind of social policy that has become predominant in only one geographic region of the world, Latin America, their potential to affect electoral results has not been subjected to as much scholarly scrutiny as the effects of general economic variables, such as GDP growth, inflation, and unemployment. However, if CCT programs have the potential to improve incumbents' electoral prospects, these large and effective redistributive policies could be providing presidents with a way out of what McDonald and Budge (2005, 93) call a "consistent, stable, and generalizable finding that does emerge from studies of comparative voting - governments everywhere seem consistently to lose votes in the

[2] Conditional Cash Transfer (CCT) programs are one of the most popular forms of income redistribution in Latin America. Their most basic characteristic is that beneficiaries receive a regular amount of cash from the government as long as they comply with health and education conditionalities. I do not spend much time describing the characteristics of these programs in this article, as it has been done ad nauseam by virtually all of the authors studying their political effects.

current as opposed to the previous election". Do CCT programs really make incumbents electorally more successful, contradicting a systematic finding of a literature that has already become classic?

In this article, I claim that they do not. CCT programs, like any other redistributive policy, do not lead to Pareto improvements in the allocation of society's resources. While beneficiaries receive all of the benefits and vote for incumbents as a consequence, non-beneficiaries pay their costs and may decide to vote for candidates less committed to the poor. Added to that, government's intervention in the economy for the sake of income redistribution is something citizens may support or reject on strictly ideological grounds. Here, my objective is to demonstrate that the extrapolation from findings at the individual and subnational levels of analysis to claims about phenomena observed at the national level is unwarranted. Latin American presidents who invested in CCT programs are neither electorally more successful than those who did not, nor electorally more successful than they had been in previous elections. Paldam's (1991, 19) assertion that "it does cost votes to rule" is not put in check by the recent spread of CCT programs in Latin America.

In order to demonstrate this, I collected electoral, political, and economic data for all of the eighteen Iberian American democracies, sixteen of which currently invest in CCT programs. The last military dictatorship formally fell seventeen days before the turn of the decade 1989-90, when the Chileans elected Patricio Aylwin president, and Cuba remains the only country in the region that does not hold regular and competitive elections. Despite setbacks in a few countries, democratic institutions slowly consolidated, and eighty-four presidential elections were carried out between 1990 and 2010. These elections are the units of analysis in the dataset. For each of them, I have information on the incumbent's electoral performance, on the economic conjuncture

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of the years preceding the election, on characteristics of the government that ruled the country until then, and on investments made in CCT programs.

In the next section, I briefly discuss the two strands of the literature this article addresses. On the one hand, by demonstrating that CCT programs do not affect incumbents' electoral performances, I am directly dialoguing with scholars studying the electoral effects of these programs. On the other hand, when I show that the economy strongly affected electoral results in the Latin America of the 1990s and 2000s, I am also approaching the economic voting literature. In the second section, I introduce my criterion for distinguishing between universal and geographically targeted CCT programs and describe the method I employ to estimate their coverage in election years. In the third section, I estimate the effect of CCT programs on incumbents' vote swings, controlling for commonly used economic variables. The firm assumption behind these and all of the other models reported in this article is that citizens respond to changes in the material conditions of their lives when casting their votes. These models demonstrate that CCT programs are not associated with incumbents' electoral performances, whereas economic variables are. In the fourth section, I verify if CCT programs affect incumbents' vote swings at least in more favorable political contexts. Specifically, I account for the possibility that voters reward incumbents for investing in CCT programs only in contexts where they supposedly have higher opportunities and ability to do so. My results provide no evidence in support of this hypothesis. In the fifth and last section, I restrict my analysis to programs that have reached universal coverage and demonstrate that my findings are robust to alternative specifications of the main explanatory variable.

CCT programs, the economy, and presidential elections

The recent proliferation of studies associating investments in CCT programs with incumbents' electoral performances started in the wake of the Brazilian 2006 presidential election. A strong positive correlation between the municipal coverage of *Bolsa Família*, the largest CCT program in the world, and vote shares of the incumbent candidate Lula led several political scientists and economists to propose a causal association between the two. Soon, statements that the program was the most important determinant of the 2006 electoral results became mainstream. The only study claiming that the economy had a stronger impact on that election (Shikida et al. 2009) was never taken seriously by the academic community, as it was systematically contradicted by a flood of empirical research pointing to the other direction (Nicolau and Peixoto 2007; Hunter and Power 2007; Zucco 2008; Soares and Terron 2008; Cânedo-Pinheiro 2009; Licio et al. 2009; Marques et al. 2009).[3] Most of the models reported in these studies controls for economic variables, just to conclude that they are either insignificant or weak predictors of incumbents' electoral support.

Research has not been restricted to Brazil. Serdán (2006) found that in the 2006 election, the Mexican incumbent candidate Felipe Calderón performed better in municipalities with larger coverage of the CCT program *Oportunidades* than President Vicente Fox had done in 2000. A few years later, Díaz-Cayeros et al. (2009) analyzed exit poll data and found that Oportunidades beneficiaries were 11% more likely to have voted for Calderón than non-beneficiaries. Manacorda et al. (2011) found that beneficiaries of the Uruguayan CCT program *Plan de*

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[3] See Bohn (2011) for a different view of the role of the Brazilian CCT program on the 2006 election. According to the author, the most important change in Lula's electoral bases occurred between 1998 and 2002, and not between 2002 and 2006.

Asistencia Nacional a la Emergencia Social (PANES) were more likely to support President

Tabaré Vázquez in opinion surveys, and Queirolo (2010) found that they were also more likely

to have voted for the incumbent candidate José Mujica in the 2009 election. Nupia (2011) found

that in the Colombian 2010 presidential election, the incumbent candidate Juan Manuel Santos

performed better in municipalities where the CCT program *Familias en Acción* covered a larger

proportion of the population than President Álvaro Uribe had done when he was reelected in

2006. Finally, Layton and Smith (2011) analyzed survey data of ten Latin American countries

and found that beneficiaries of CCT programs are systematically more likely to declare an

intention to vote for incumbents than non-beneficiaries.

There is little disagreement among the studies cited above. They consistently show that

CCT beneficiaries vote for incumbents at higher rates and that incumbents improve their

electoral performances in areas with higher CCT coverage. This article does not seek to put the

credibility of these findings in check. My objective is rather to verify if an extrapolation from

these results to inferences at the national level of analysis is warranted. Do vote gains among

poor voters lead to a better overall electoral performance? Below, I report results of the first-ever

cross-national analysis assessing the association between CCT programs and elections. They

demonstrate that CCT programs have not had any significant effect on incumbents' electoral

performances, while classic economic indicators have.

The argument that the economy affects incumbents' electoral performances is old, but it

has not been immune from criticism.[4] So many scholars have found the influence of the economy

on elections to be mediated by political institutions, for example, that an influential author has

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[4] See Schneider and Frey (1998), Nannestad and Paldam (1994), Lewis-Beck and

Stegmaier (2000), and Anderson (2007) for thorough reviews of the economic voting literature.

titled one of his most recent articles "The End of Economic Voting?" (Anderson 2007). Without

providing a "yes or no" answer for the question enunciated in the title, the author's concerns

reflect the consensus that took shape in the academic community after decades of knowledge

accumulation: the economy does not affect the electoral performance of incumbent candidates in

all countries similarly. Instead, voters only punish or reward those incumbents they clearly

perceive as responsible for the country's economic situation. Heads of government who can

blame coalition partners or the opposition in the legislature for their failures in office are

relatively immune from voters' sanctioning (Powell and Whitten 1993; Anderson 1995, 2000;

Duch and Stevenson 2008).

This article builds upon insights of this long tradition of scholarly research. The

economic voting literature had also relied exclusively on country studies, especially of the U.S.,

in its beginnings. The natural next step of studying the phenomenon through a cross-national

empirical framework was taken in the early 1990s, when studies by Paldam (1991), Remmer

(1991) and Powell and Whitten (1993) were published. Evidence generated by these

groundbreaking articles forced scholars to review the theoretical foundations on which economic

voting hypotheses were sustained. My results suggest that something similar must occur with the

study of CCT programs. Although my results do not necessarily contradict previous findings,

they warn against common conjectures about the global effects of CCT programs on presidential

elections and suggest that a few pieces are still missing in the bigger puzzle.

Coverage and Classification of CCT programs

Each case in my dataset corresponds to a presidential election and has information on

how the incumbent candidate performed in it and in the previous one. I make reference to

presidential administrations quite often, and by them I mean the period of time that passed between those two presidential elections. Twelve of the eighty-four presidential administrations subsumed in the dataset were interrupted before the end of the president's constitutional term for reasons of resignation or impeachment, and a non-elected temporary government ruled until a new election was carried out. These cases also count as one presidential administration, despite the fact that more than one head of government ruled in the period. The incumbent party is always considered the one that won the previous election, not the one that replaced it extraordinarily. Table 1 shows that nearly 35% of the Latin American presidential administrations invested in CCT programs between 1990 and 2010.

[TABLE 1 ABOUT HERE]

Each of these programs went through a very specific process of institutionalization, and five countries had already had experience with other CCT programs before the implementation of the current ones. The Argentine *Asignación Universal por Hijo* evolved from *Plan Familias* and *Jefes y Jefas de Hogares*; the Brazilian Bolsa Família evolved from *Bolsa Escola* and *Bolsa Alimentação*; the Salvadoran *Comunidades Solidarias* evolved from *Red Solidaria*; the Mexican Oportunidades evolved from the *Programa de Educación, Salud y Alimentación* (PROGRESA); and the Uruguayan *Asignaciones Familiares* evolved from PANES. In Brazil, El Salvador, and Mexico, new programs were implemented by presidents who inherited CCT programs from administrations led by other parties. This was done, in part, to create a false impression of discontinuity with the initiatives of their predecessors. In Argentina and Uruguay, institutional adjustments that ended previous CCT programs and gave origin to the current ones were

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relatively deeper, despite the fact that power remained in the hands of the same party. When the second decade of the XXI century began, Venezuela was the only democracy in the Iberian America that lacked any experience with these programs, and Nicaragua was the only country to have terminated a CCT program without replacing it by another one.

Succinctly defined, CCT programs pay cash to poor families and impose health and/or education conditionalities on their children. All of the programs listed in Table 1 share this basic characteristic, but one could easily list numerous differences among them. They differ in terms of amount of cash paid to beneficiaries, regularity of payments, specificities of conditionalities, age ranges of eligible children, methods for assessing the poverty level of individuals, funding sources, etc. Arguably, all of these differences should have minor consequences for aggregate electoral results, compared to the impact of coverage. The hypothesis that motivates the analysis reported below is that the higher the number of people receiving cash from the government is, the more the incumbent is expected to improve his or her electoral performance in the next election.

Following the standard practice, I utilize the number of households covered by CCT programs divided by the total number of households as the indicator of coverage. Table 2 reports coverage estimates at the end of the twenty-nine administrations that invested in these programs between 1990 and 2010, based on official CCT statistics and census data. To reduce the magnitude of over and underestimation, I rounded values down to the next half integer if the census was carried out before the publication of the corresponding CCT statistics and rounded them up otherwise. For the three cases in which a census was carried out in the same year as the publication of CCT statistics (Mexico 2000, Honduras 2001, and Brazil 2010), I rounded the

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estimate to the closest centesimal. Sources and dates for statistics on which these estimates are based are listed in Appendix A.

[TABLE 2 ABOUT HERE]

Once the eligibility criteria are established by the government, CCT programs tend to expand gradually until they reach full coverage. With nearly 100% of potential beneficiaries covered, the only way CCT programs can keep expanding is through changes in their eligibility criteria. In principle, governments cannot prevent families who fit the eligibility criteria from receiving benefits, and this is the reason why these programs have been praised as universalistic. However, the programs listed at the first half of Table 2 impose geographic restrictions on accession, which can be interpreted as a sign of unfairness against poor families living in uncovered areas. Geographic targeting does not necessarily make a program clientelistic, but it is an undeniable indicator that the program does not cover all of the poor. Grievances may lead the uncovered poor to support the opposition, offsetting electoral gains the incumbent expects to obtain among covered families. For this reason, geographically targeted programs are distinguished from universal ones in the dataset. I classified as universal only those programs that covered at least 95% of the country's second-level administrative divisions at the time of the election.

It is likely that some of the programs labeled universal did not reach full coverage when the presidential election was carried out. Determining how close each of them is from covering 100% of eligible families is a challenging task for two reasons. First, all countries but Brazil rely on relatively complex proxy means tests to determine the poverty level of families and select

beneficiaries.[5] In general, public social workers apply personal in-home questionnaires to potential beneficiaries and, based on some kind of scoring system, decide if they fit the eligibility criteria or not. Questionnaires and scoring systems vary, and their relative complexity makes it hard for independent analysts to estimate the exact potential for CCT coverage in each country. Second, all programs are affected by leakage (coverage of beneficiaries who do not fit the eligibility criteria) and undercoverage (exclusion of families that fit the eligibility criteria), the degree of which can be only roughly estimated. Latin American governments, sometimes in cooperation with independent organizations, have been quite diligent in identifying and eliminating these problems, and the general perception that CCT programs are well targeted is in part the result of these efforts. However, monitoring tens of thousands, in some cases millions, of beneficiaries is difficult, and reliance on complex instruments such as proxy means testing only adds to the difficulty. For these two reasons (i.e., complexity of selection mechanisms and pervasiveness of leakage/undercoverage), I decided to eschew the task of assessing how close each of the programs I classified as universal really is from being universal. The only criterion I use is reliance on geographic targeting, because this is an unquestionable sign that the government systematically denies social assistance to some poor families for reasons other than families' actual needs.

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[5] The criterion employed in Brazil to select beneficiaries is strictly based on income.

Explaining Incumbents' Performances: CCT Programs and the Economy

In order to assess the effects of CCT programs on Latin American elections, I calculated vote shares of incumbent candidates[6] in the first round of the eighty-four Latin American presidential elections held between 1990 and 2010, dividing the number of votes they received by the total number of valid votes.[7] I followed the same procedure to calculate the vote shares of presidents in the election held immediately before. Then, I subtracted the president's vote share in the previous election from the incumbent's vote share in the current one and labeled this difference the incumbent's vote swing. All the information required to calculate vote shares and vote swings was extracted primarily from national electoral courts' websites and complemented with data from Nohlen's data handbooks (2005) - refer to Appendix B for the list of sources.

Table 3 provides some descriptive statistics of Latin American elections and conveys important information. First of all, incumbent candidates tend to lose votes between elections, a pattern that has been systematically observed all around the world (see Paldam 1991; Remmer 1991; Nannestad and Paldam 2002; McDonald and Budge 2005). They lost, on average, almost nine percentage points of valid votes, and only nineteen incumbent candidates (25% of the

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[6] I considered incumbent candidates the president, the candidate of the president's party, or the candidate explicitly endorsed by the president. In only three cases, the incumbent candidate did not belong to the incumbent's party: Bolivia 1993, Colombia 2010, and Nicaragua 2006. Incumbent candidates did not compete in eight elections: Colombia 2002, Ecuador 1996 and 1998, Guatemala 1996, Nicaragua 1996, Peru 2001 and 2006, and Venezuela 1998.

[7] Colombia is the only Latin American country where blank votes are considered valid. I did not take those votes into account when calculating Colombian candidates' vote shares, however.

sample) improved their performances from one election to the other. Secondly, the table clearly shows that presidents who invested in CCT programs performed better than other presidents, especially when the program was universal.

[TABLE 3 ABOUT HERE]

The descriptive statistics presented in Table 3 provides some support for the hypothesis that CCT programs improve incumbents' overall electoral performances. However, these programs are not the only potential determinants of electoral results. Table 4 reports results of four linear regression models in which incumbents' vote swings are the dependent variable. Following the common practice, two control variables are included in these and all other models reported throughout this article: the president's vote share in the previous election and a dummy variable indicating that the incumbent candidate was the acting president. The reason for including the former is that it is much easier for incumbent candidates to lose votes when they performed exceptionally well in the previous election. The coefficient of this variable should always have a negative sign. The inclusion of the latter is due to the general understanding that presidents have electoral advantages that no other candidate has (e.g., name recognition and control of state resources), and that, consequently, they tend to perform better than other candidates from incumbent parties when they run for reelection. The coefficient of this dummy variable should always have a positive sign.

The models reported in Table 4 estimate the effect of CCT programs and three commonly used economic variables (GDP growth, inflation, and unemployment) on incumbents' vote swings. The main explanatory variable is the estimate of coverage reported in Table 2, with

administrations that did not invest in CCT programs coded zero.[8] Information on GDP growth

and inflation were extracted from the website of the International Monetary Fund (IMF). Data on

unemployment were collected from three sources, all of them incomplete: the Economic

Commission for the Latin America and the Caribbean (ECLAC), the World Bank, and the

International Labour Organization (ILO). Although there are some discrepancies in the ciphers

published by each of these sources, the correlation among them is always higher than 0.9 for

non-missing cases. I decided to work with ECLAC's database because it has fewer missing

cases.

[TABLE 4 ABOUT HERE]

Coverage of CCT programs is significantly associated with incumbents' vote swings only

in the model that does not control for economic variables, a finding that reflects the descriptive

statistics reported in Table 3. Model 1 predicts that covering an additional one hundredth of the

population will result in an extra 0.4 percentage point of valid votes for the incumbent in the

following election. When economic variables are included in the regression equation, however,

the explanatory power of CCT programs disappears. Model 2 controls for GDP growth, inflation,

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[8] I estimated the same models using three alternative explanatory variables: coverage of

universal programs (geographically targeted ones coded zero), a dummy variable indicating that

the president was one of the twenty-nine to have invested in any kind of CCT programs, and a

dummy variable indicating that the president was one of the fourteen to have invested in

universal CCT programs. Models using these alternative explanatory variables lead to similar

conclusions and are omitted here.

and unemployment in the election year, Model 3 controls for the same variables in the previous year, and Model 4 controls for averages of these variables for the whole presidential term. The signs of these economic variables are always in the expected direction, but only unemployment is significant in all of the three models. Still, inflation is significant in Model 2, and GDP growth in Models 3 and 4. Together, these models confirm classic hypotheses of the economic vote literature, at the same time that they warn against common speculations about the effects of CCT programs on aggregate electoral results.

One objection that could be raised against these results is that investments in CCT programs and the economy are not independent from each other. If this is true, the estimates may have produced large standard errors, leading me to wrongly conclude that CCT programs do not affect electoral results, when they actually do. For example, it is reasonable to expect that CCT programs expand during recessions, because more families fall into poverty. The Argentine Plan Familias, the Uruguayan PANES, and the Honduran PRAF-II clearly fit in this category. On the other hand, it is also reasonable to expect that CCT programs expand in times of prosperity, because the government has more cash available to redistribute. The Colombian Famílias en Acción, the Dominican Solidaridad, and the Bolivian Juancito Pinto expanded considerably when these countries were doing relatively well. Each of these expectations implies opposite associations between coverage of CCT programs and economic performance, one negative and the other positive. Before more research is produced, whether there actually is a general association between the economy and CCT programs remains an open question. Evidence from the dataset on which my analysis is based suggests that Latin American governments have

invested in these programs under the most varied economic conditions, and I feel justified

assuming independence between them.[9]

Another possible objection against the results reported above is that they only take the

presence of CCT programs into consideration, instead of presidents' efforts to expand them. For

example, at the end of President Lula's first term in 2006, Bolsa Família covered about 19% of

Brazilian families, while at the end of his second term in 2010, it covered a little more than 22%.

Should we expect the program to have stronger effects in 2010 than it did four years before, just

because its coverage was larger? Or, on the contrary, should we expect the bulk of its electoral

effects to be felt in 2006, the election that followed its implementation? Table 4 shows that the

mere presence of CCT programs does not affect incumbents' electoral performances when

economic indicators are controlled for. Let us hypothesize now that what matters for electoral

results is not continued investment in these programs, but incumbents' efforts to expand them.

The higher the proportion of families included in CCT programs is, the better we expect the

incumbent candidate to perform in the following election.

In order to test this hypothesis, I estimated two linear regression models in which the

dependent variable remains incumbents' vote swings. The main explanatory variable is not CCT

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[9] As an exploratory exercise, I estimated several regression models in which CCT

coverage was the dependent variable and different combinations of economic indicators the

independent ones. The only variable that seems to have some influence on investments in these

programs is inflation. The variables we would most expect to be significant, that is, GDP growth

and unemployment, did not get even close to it. Obviously, this was just a quick exploratory

exercise, and the potential for the economy to affect investments in income redistribution

remains an open question that deserves to be explored in the future.

programs' coverage at the time of the election anymore, but the expansion of coverage relative to the previous administration in percentage points. Economic variables are operationalized analogously: the difference in the average GDP growth, inflation, and unemployment, relative to the previous administration. The rationale is that presidents who manage to increase the average GDP growth and decrease the average inflation and unemployment rate will perform better in the following election.

[TABLE 5 ABOUT HERE]

The results displayed in Table 5 are telling. Incumbents who expanded the coverage of CCT programs did not perform any better in the following election than incumbents who did not. The coefficient for expansion of CCT programs is insignificant in models with and without controls. On the other hand, Model 2 shows that incumbents who achieved better economic results relative to previous administrations improved their electoral prospects. The only economic indicator that failed to reach statistical significance was unemployment.

Several Latin American cases attest to the primacy of economic determinants for incumbents' electoral success. In the Brazilian post-democratization era, for example, three incumbent candidates were (re)elected with nearly the same proportion of votes they (or their predecessors) had obtained in the previous election: Cardoso in 1998, Lula in 2006, and Rousseff in 2010. The administrations that led to their electoral victories had also improved the average economic growth by nearly the same amount: a little more than one percent of GDP. We see that their economic and electoral performances closely match, but the opposite is true regarding investments in CCT programs. Cardoso had not spent one cent in these programs when he was

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reelected, whereas Lula expanded CCT coverage by eight percentage points in 2006 and by three percentage points in 2010. The dissonance between investments in CCT programs and electoral results in Brazil indicates that these programs have a weak explanatory power for incumbents' aggregate electoral performances.

In Colombia, the electorally most successful incumbent candidate in the period of analysis is Álvaro Uribe in 2006, when his national vote share increased ten percentage points relative to what he obtained four years before. During his first term, the country's average growth had increased by more than four percent of GDP, but the coverage of Familias en Acción expanded by merely 1.5 percentage points. During Uribe's second term (2006-2010), CCT coverage increased substantially, from about 5% to 22.5% of the population, at the same time that the average GDP growth decreased from more than 5% to about 4%. Incumbent candidate Juan Manuel Santos won the 2010 election, but lost almost six percentage points of valid votes relative to Uribe four years before. Accordingly, one is better justified arguing that the results of that election reflect the country's slight economic downfall, instead of massive investments made in Familias en Acción.

Many other Latin American examples could be invoked here to illustrate what Tables 4 and 5 show: the economy strongly affects incumbents' overall electoral performances, while investments in CCT programs do not. That is the general message of this section. But it is still early for conclusions, as potentially important variables are missing in the models reported above. In the next section, I investigate if not accounting for political and institutional factors affected the results, in the way they usually do in cross-national analyses of economic voting.

CCT Programs and Political Contexts

It is possible that political institutions mediate the electoral effects of CCT programs. If this is true, the results reported above are missing the fact that incumbent candidates are rewarded for investing in these programs only in the presence of favorable political conditions. Several studies in the economic voting literature, for example, have claimed that clarity of responsibility is diluted in the presence of minority and coalition governments, because other agents have decisive participation in policy making. In these political contexts, incumbents may be shielded against voters' sanctioning when the next election takes place (Powell and Whitten 1993; Anderson 1995, 2000; Duch and Stevenson 2008). Empirical evidence supporting these claims comes primarily from parliamentary democracies. In presidential systems, where the pattern of interaction between the Executive and Legislative is substantially different, other factors may determine the ability of voters to hold incumbents accountable. In particular, voters may have better opportunities to punish or reward incumbents for what they do in office when legislative and executive elections are held concurrently, because, in these situations, voters' attention is focused on national issues, rather than on candidates' personal qualities (Samuels 2004; Hellwig and Samuels 2008; Samuels and Hellwig 2010).

The same rationale scholars provided to justify the inclusion of these variables in analyses of the economic vote could also be used in the study of CCT programs. One could argue that Latin American presidents have been rewarded for investments in those programs only when other political actors clearly had a weak participation in the policy making process, as when the incumbent party held all of the cabinet portfolios and the majority of seats in Congress. In these cases, the president and his/her party can claim all of the credits for making these investments. Even more relevant for presidential systems, it is possible that CCT programs paid off electorally

only when elections for both branches were held concurrently, because voters paid relatively more attention to overall governmental performance, rather than to candidates' individual qualities. Since all of these factors were shown by the literature to influence voters' ability to hold incumbents accountable, they must be taken into consideration before we reach any final conclusion.

In the models reported below, clarity of responsibility is controlled for by means of two dummy variables: one indicating coalition governments (more than one party holds cabinet portfolios) and one indicating minority governments (all parties with cabinet portfolios control together less than 50% of seats in the lower/single chamber). All of the administrations that were initially led by a coalition or by a single party ended the same way, with one exception: Ecuador 2002-2005.[10] On the other hand, ten administrations (12% of the sample) changed their status from majority to minority or vice-versa as a consequence of non-concurrent legislative elections.[11] For these twelve cases, I considered the status of the government following the last

[10] Lucio Gutiérrez's (2002-2005) administration in Ecuador started as a coalition of three parties, but ended with only one holding a cabinet portfolio. Because Gutiérrez's coalition partners left the government less than a year after he took office, I coded his administration single party.

[11] Presidential administrations that changed their status from minority to majority as a result of non-concurrent legislative elections are: Leonel Fernández in the Dominican Republic (2004-2008), Rafael Correa in Ecuador (2006-2009), Alberto Fujimori in Peru (1990-1995), and Hugo Chávez in Venezuela (1998-2000). The last three attained majority following elections for their respective Constituent Assemblies. Administrations whose status changed from majority to minority after non-concurrent elections are: Carlos Menem and Nestor Kirchner in Argentina

legislative election. The information required to code these variables were extracted from the

Political Handbook of the World (several years), Nohlen's (2005) data handbooks, and the

Keesing's World News Archive.

Besides indicators of clarity of responsibility, the models also control for a dummy

variable indicating that the presidential election was held concurrently with a legislative election.

As I previously mentioned, Samuels (2004) and Samuels and Hellwig (2008) argue that voters

have higher opportunities to sanction incumbent candidates when elections for both branches are

held concurrently. The effective number of parties in the lower/single chamber was also included

as a control variable, because it may affect the government's capacity to build majority coalitions

and pass its legislation. Finally, a control was included for presidents' ideology, because it

affects the policies prioritized by the government, as well as citizens' expectations about its

performance. My indicator of ideology ranges from one to twenty, and the higher it is, the more

to the right the president's ideology is located. This indicator is entirely based on information

collected by Wiesehomeier and Benoit (2009).[12]

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(respectively, 1995-1999 and 2003-2007), Hipólito Mejía in the Dominican Republic (2000-

2004), Rodrigo Borjas in Ecuador (1988-1992), Alfredo Cristiani in El Salvador (1989-1994),

and Ernesto Zedillo in Mexico (1994-2000).

[12] Wiesehomeier and Benoit (2009) coded the ideology of the major Latin American

political parties in 2006/2007, based on expert surveys. Nearly all of the parties that governed

between 1990 and 2010 are included in the authors' list, and my indicator of ideology is

operationalized as the value assigned to them in their dataset. For the thirteen cases (15.5% of the

sample) in which the president's party is not in the list, I either left it as a missing case, entered

the value of a party founded by former members of the president's party, entered the value of the

In the first model reported in Table 6, interactions account for the possibility that the effect of CCT programs on elections is mediated by clarity of responsibility. Combining the indicators of coalition and minority governments leads to four categories of political context: single-party majority (twenty cases), single-party minority (twenty-nine cases), coalition majority (twenty-three cases), and coalition minority (twelve cases). The first of these four categories is characterized by the highest clarity of responsibility and is the one where the electoral effect of CCT programs is most likely to be statistically significant. In the second model, I included an interaction between coverage of CCT programs and the indicator of electoral concurrence, leading to two categories of political context: one in which the presidential and legislative elections are held concurrently (seventy cases) and one in which they are not (fourteen cases). The first of these categories is the one in which voters have the best opportunity to held incumbents accountable for their performance in office and where the effect of CCT programs is most likely to be significant.

[TABLE 6 AND TABLE 6 (CONT.) ABOUT HERE]

The recovered effects of CCT programs in each political context are reported in the second part of the table. The crucial finding is that CCT programs are not significantly associated with incumbents' vote swings in any of them. All of the recovered effects failed to reach

largest party in the government coalition, or entered the value assigned to the president. Five of these thirteen cases had already been excluded from my analysis, due to the fact that no incumbent candidate competed. Specific information about these coding decisions are omitted here to save space, but will be readily provided if requested.

statistical significance even at the 0.1 level. Regarding control variables, the only indicator of economic performance that did not reach statistical significance is unemployment in the first model. The effective number of parties and president's ideology do not seem to have affected incumbents' performances either, but the latter variable was close to reach statistical significance in the second model. The results reported above reaffirm that CCT programs do not affect incumbents' overall electoral performances, while the economy does

Restricting the analysis to universal CCT programs

Claims that CCT programs help incumbents to win elections have been based on empirical evidence of countries that invested in large universal programs, such as Brazil, Mexico, Colombia, and Uruguay. It is possible that universal programs are the only ones to have had a significant pro-incumbent electoral effect in Latin America. If this is true, their effect might have been masked in the models reported in Table 6, because the main explanatory variable takes smaller geographically targeted programs into consideration. Although universal programs are observed in all of the four political contexts subsumed in the first model of Table 6, they do not amount to a large enough number of cases to produce meaningful estimates in regressions with four interactions. Therefore, in the analysis reported below, countries are divided in only two categories: single party majority (twenty cases) and all of the others (sixty-four cases). If CCT programs really matter for incumbents' electoral performances, presidents who invest in them should perform electorally better than presidents who do not, at least under

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circumstances of high clarity of responsibility. I also estimated a model interacting CCT coverage with concurrence of elections, and the results are reported in Table 7.[13]

[TABLE 7 ABOUT HERE]

The models reported in the table show that universal CCT programs have not helped incumbents to win elections in any kind of political context. The results reported in this and previous sections represent a strong warning against common speculations that CCT programs' help presidents to get reelected. The fact that the poor vote for incumbents who invest in these programs does not mean that their chances of reelection increase.

Conclusion

Previous studies have provided strong empirical evidence that citizens receiving CCT benefits vote for incumbents at higher rates. A direct and reasonable extrapolation from this finding is the expectation that presidents who invest in CCT programs will perform better in the next election relative to presidents who do not. I collected data for all of the eighty-four presidential elections carried out in the Iberian America between 1990 and 2010, twenty-nine of which followed administrations that invested in CCT programs. My results show that investments in these programs are not associated with incumbents' vote swings once we control for economic variables. A significant electoral effect is not observed even in political contexts

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[13] If we restrict even more the main explanatory variable and include only the first presidents to implement universal programs in each country, the coefficients reported in Table 7 change slightly, but lead to the same conclusions.

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where voters supposedly have a higher ability and opportunity to hold incumbents accountable for their deeds.

The results presented throughout this article rather create than solve puzzles. For example, why would presidents invest massively in CCT programs if it does not benefit them electorally? I can propose at least two reasons. First, incumbents may genuinely believe that CCT programs pay off electorally, in the same way as everyone else does. Who would deny that receiving extra cash from the government constitute a strong incentive for citizens to support incumbents? I do not expect such a denial to be found among political scientists, the media, the civil society, opposition leaders, or the actual government. On the other hand, the way non-beneficiaries react to investments in these programs is less obvious, and this article is subtly calling attention to it. Those who pay the costs of CCT programs might not be as satisfied with this kind of investment as those who receive the benefits. If this is true or not, only future research will tell. Digging deeper into the behavior of non-beneficiaries is the next step in the major research project this article is articulated with.

Second, my results show that CCT programs neither help, nor hurt incumbents. Let us assume that presidents care for the countries they govern, even if not as much as they care about winning elections. Knowing that CCT programs improve enormously the living conditions of the most vulnerable families in the population, why would presidents not invest in them? It will not hurt their electoral prospects, after all. Moreover, in the most inegalitarian region of Earth, redistributing income has reached the status of an emergency. In presidents' psyche, solving an urgent domestic problem may be among the top priorities, despite the fact that doing it will not increase their vote share when the next election takes place. But I do not want to pretend to

understand the psyche of Latin American presidents. All I am capable of doing now is to speculate and point possible directions to be followed by future research.

A second puzzle created by this article is the contradiction between my results and those systematically found in country studies using subnational data. Zucco (2008), Canêdo-Pinheiro (2009), and Nupia (2011), among other authors, included indicators of economic performance in their analyses, but the explanatory power of these variables were found to be much weaker compared to indicators of investments in CCT programs. The explanation for this contradiction is probably the difference in the level of analysis. In subnational data, all units are under the effect of the same incumbent, the same national economic performance, and the same national CCT program. While the positive (negative) effects of a good (bad) national economic performance are relatively balanced all across the country, targeted income redistribution implies the transference of wealth from some areas to others. This potentially exacerbates the electoral effects of CCT programs estimated at this level of analysis, at the same time that it blunts the effects of the economy. In analyses of cross-national voting, each unit is affected by a different incumbent, a different national CCT program, and a different economic environment. Incumbents are expected to be punished where they do a bad job with the economy and rewarded where they do not. Regarding targeted redistribution, within-country vote gains among beneficiaries may be neutralized by vote losses among non-beneficiaries, and only the final product of these counteracting effects, that is, the incumbent's national vote share, enters the dataset. The consequence is opposite to the one observed at the subnational level of analysis: the effects of the economy are accentuated, while those of targeted redistribution are blunted. This is an issue that certainly deserves much more attention than I am able to give here and that should also be addressed by future research.

Tables

Table 1 - Number of Presidential Administrations that invested in CCT programs by country (01/01/1990 - 12/31/2010)

Country	Total Terms	Invested in CCT	Name of Current Program	Classification of Current Program
Argentina	4	2 (50%)	Asignación Universal por Hijo	Universal
Bolivia	5	1 (20%)	Juancito Pinto / Juana Azurduy	Universal
Brazil	5	3 (60%)	Bolsa Família	Universal
Chile	4	2 (50%)	Chile Solidario	Universal
Colombia	6	3 (50%)	Familias en Acción	Universal
Costa Rica	6	1 (17%)	Avancemos	Universal
Dom. Republic	6	1 (17%)	Solidaridad	Universal
Ecuador	6	2 (33%)	Bono de Desarrollo Humano	Universal
El Salvador	4	1 (25%)	Comunidades Solidarias	Geo-Targeted
Guatemala (*)	5	0 (0%)	Mi Familia Progresa	Geo-Targeted
Honduras	5	5 (100%)	PRAF	Geo-Targeted
Mexico	3	2 (67%)	Oportunidades	Universal
Nicaragua (**)	4	2 (50%)	NA	NA
Panama	4	1 (25%)	Red de Oportunidades	Universal
Paraguay	4	1 (25%)	Tekoporã	Geo-Targeted
Peru	5	1 (20%)	Juntos	Geo-Targeted
Uruguay	4	1 (25%)	Asignaciones Familiares	Universal
Venezuela	4	0 (0%)	NA	NA
Total	**84**	**29 (34.5%)**		

(*) The Mi Familia Progresa program was implemented in 2008, after the last Guatemalan presidential election of my sample.

(**) The Nicaraguan Red de Protección Social operated from 2000 to 2006 and was discontinued by President Bolaños.

Note. "Total Terms" indicates the number of presidential administrations subsumed in the dataset; "Invested in CCT" indicates the number and proportion of them that invested CCT programs; "Name of Current Program" indicates the name of the national CCT program(s), as of 12/31/2010; and "Classification of the Current Program" indicates the way I classify current programs based on criteria described further in this section.

Table 2 - Estimated Coverage (% of population) in Election Years

Country Year	Name of the Program	Coverage
Argentina 2003	Ingreso de Desarrollo Humano	2%
Argentina 2007	Plan Familias	4.5%
Colombia 2002	Familias en Acción	3.5%
Colombia 2006	Familias en Acción	4.5%
El Salvador 2009	Red Solidaria	6.5%
Honduras 1993	Programa de Asignación Familiar (PRAF)	6%
Honduras 1997	PRAF	4%
Honduras 2001	PRAF/PRAF-II	8.1%
Honduras 2005	PRAF/PRAF-II	9.5%
Honduras 2009	PRAF/PRAF-III	10%
Mexico 2000	PROGRESA	11.15%
Nicaragua 2001	Red de Protección Social	1%
Nicaragua 2005	Red de Protección Social	2.5%
Paraguay 2008	Tekoporã	0.5%
Peru 2006	Juntos	1%
Bolivia 2009	Juancito Pinto/Juana Azurduy	22% (*)
Brazil 2002	Bolsa Escola/Alimentação	11%
Brazil 2006	Bolsa Família	19.5%
Brazil 2010	Bolsa Família	22.25%
Chile 2005	Chile Solidario	4%
Chile 2009	Chile Solidario/Chile Crece Contigo	5%
Colombia 2010	Familias en Acción	22.5%
Costa Rica 2010	Avancemos	13%
Dom. Republic 2008	Solidaridad	17%
Ecuador 2006	Bono de Desarrollo Humano	31%
Ecuador 2009	Bono de Desarrollo Humano	34.5%
Mexico 2006	Oportunidades	19.5%
Panama 2009	Red de Oportunidades	8.5%
Uruguay 2009	Asignaciones Familiares	14%

(*) Bolivia's estimate is total number of grantees divided by the population, because the government does not publish the number of beneficiary families as all the other countries do. The coverage of its programs is, therefore, highly underestimated in the table.
Notes. Geographically targeted and universal programs are listed in the first and second halves of the table, respectively. All estimates are based on official CCT statistics and census data, except for Honduras and Nicaragua. Official CCT statistics for these two countries are lacking, and their estimates are based on data collected from IADB and ECLAC documents. For dates and sources, refer to Appendix A.

Table 3 - Electoral Performance of Incumbent Candidates in Latin America

Subsamples	N	Average Vote Swing	Reelection Rate
Did not invest in CCT Programs	49	-10.51 pp	42.86%
Invested in any kind of CCT Programs	27	-5.32 pp	51.85%
Invested in geographically-targeted CCT Programs	13	-7.69 pp	30.77%
Invested in universal CCT Programs	14	-3.12 pp	71.43%
First to invest in universal CCT Program	10	-5.69 pp	70.00%
Whole Sample	**76**	**-8.67 pp**	**46.05%**

Note: Eight elections were excluded, because incumbent candidates did not compete.

Table 4 - OLS Models: Dependent Variable is Vote Swing of Incumbent Candidate

Variable	Model 1 β	Model 1 *p*	Model 2 β	Model 2 *p*	Model 3 β	Model 3 *p*	Model 4 β	Model 4 *p*
Coverage of CCT program	0.400	0.047	0.155	0.449	0.211	0.286	0.160	0.427
GDP Growth			-0.001	0.906				
Log of Inflation			-0.054	0.019				
Unemployment			-0.014	0.005				
Lagged GDP Growth					0.009	0.027		
Log of Lagged Inflation					-0.038	0.130		
Lagged Unemployment					-0.009	0.045		
Average GDP Growth							0.020	0.009
Log-Average Inflation							-0.031	0.296
Average Unemployment							-0.011	0.018
Incumbent Candidate is the President	0.118	0.003	0.181	0.000	0.154	0.000	0.169	0.000
President's vote share in previous election	-0.380	0.004	-0.424	0.001	-0.355	0.006	-0.343	0.007
Constant	0.047	0.448	0.245	0.006	0.123	0.190	0.089	0.364
N	76		71		71		73	
Adj. R-squared	0.21		0.31		0.36		0.33	

Notes. Inflation rates are logged to reduce the influence of hyperinflation in the early 1990s. Eight elections were excluded from all models, because incumbent candidates did not compete.

Table 5 - OLS Models: Dependent Variable is Vote Swing of Incumbent Candidate

Variable	Model 1		Model 2	
	β	*p*	β	*p*
Expansion of CCT Coverage	0.276	0.307	0.060	0.810
Difference in Average GDP Growth			0.013	0.036
Difference in Average Log of Inflation			-0.072	0.010
Difference in Average Unemployment			-0.006	0.373
Incumbent Candidate is the President	0.126	0.002	0.099	0.016
President's vote share in previous election	-0.400	0.003	-0.259	0.062
Constant	0.064	0.308	0.003	0.966
N	76		69	
Adj. R-squared	0.18		0.32	

Notes. Inflation rates are logged to reduce the influence of hyperinflation in the early 1990s. Eight elections were excluded from all models, because incumbent candidates did not compete. Other seven elections were excluded in Model 2 for lack of data on Difference in Average Unemployment. The three economic variables were operationalized as averages for current administration minus average for previous administration.

Table 6 - OLS Models: Dependent Variable is Incumbent's Vote Swing

	Variable	Model 1 β	Model 1 p	Model 2 β	Model 2 p
β_1	CCT Coverage	0.164	0.662	0.437	0.398
β_2	Coalition government	-0.038	0.055		
β_3	Minority government	0.007	0.049		
β_4	Concurrent Elections			-0.019	0.654
β_{12}	CCT Coverage × Coalition	-0.068	0.589		
β_{13}	CCT Coverage × Minority	-0.297	0.515		
β_{23}	Coalition × Minority	-0.091	0.077		
β_{123}	CCT Coverage × Coalition × Minority	1.090	0.859		
β_{14}	CCT Coverage × Concurrent Elections			-0.320	0.583
β_5	Lagged GDP growth	0.008	0.057	0.007	0.085
β_6	Log of Lagged Inflation	-0.050	0.097	-0.063	0.030
β_7	Lagged Unemployment	-0.007	0.173	-0.012	0.019
β_8	Effective number of parties	-0.004	0.757	-0.012	0.219
β_9	Ideology	-0.006	0.180	-0.007	0.119
β_A	President is the incumbent candidate	0.128	0.010	0.152	0.001
β_B	President's vote share in the previous election	-0.456	0.004	-0.424	0.003
β_0	Constant	0.296	0.084	0.361	0.031
	N	71		71	
	Adjusted R-squared	0.36		0.35	

Table 6 (cont.) Recovered Effects of CCT Programs and Lagged GDP Growth

Model	Effect	Coefficients	Effect	p	N
1	Coverage in Single Party Majority	β_1	0.164	0.660	17
1	Coverage in Single Party Minority	$\beta_1+\beta_{13}$	-0.133	0.716	25
1	Coverage in Coalition Majority	$\beta_1+\beta_{12}$	0.096	0.838	21
1	Coverage in Coalition Minority	$\beta_1+\beta_{12}+\beta_{13}+\beta_{123}$	0.889	0.177	8
2	Coverage in Non-Concurrent Elections	β_1	0.437	0.395	13
2	Coverage in Concurrent Elections	$\beta_1+\beta_{14}$	0.117	0.633	58

Notes. Eight elections were excluded from the sample, because incumbent candidates did not compete. The p-values of main models were calculated through t-tests, whereas p-values of recovered effects were calculated through z-tests. That is the default procedure of the software I used to make my analyses (Stata), which explains why the p-value of recovered effects for Single Party Majority and Non-Concurrent elections is slightly different from the p-value of the correspondent coefficient in the model.

Table 7 - OLS Models: Dependent Variable is Incumbent's Vote Swing

	Variable	Model 1 β	Model 1 p	Model 2 β	Model 2 p
β_1	CCT Coverage	0.049	0.873	0.289	0.566
β_2	Single Party Majority Government	0.016	0.722		
β_3	Concurrent Elections			-0.022	0.601
β_{12}	CCT Coverage × Single Party Majority	0.121	0.797		
β_{13}	CCT Coverage × Concurrent Elections			-0.214	0.710
β_4	Lagged GDP growth	0.008	0.047	0.007	0.084
β_5	Log of Lagged Inflation	-0.060	0.044	-0.064	0.029
β_6	Lagged Unemployment	-0.010	0.036	-0.012	0.017
β_7	Effective number of parties	-0.006	0.606	-0.011	0.266
β_8	Ideology	-0.005	0.187	-0.007	0.130
β_9	President is the incumbent candidate	0.143	0.003	0.155	0.001
β_A	President's vote share in the previous election	-0.382	0.008	-0.415	0.004
β_0	Constant	0.264	0.072	0.359	0.033
	N	71		71	
	Adjusted R-squared	0.34		0.35	

Recovering the Effect of CCT Programs and Lagged GDP Growth

Model	Effect	Coefficients	Effect	p
1	Coverage in Single Party Majority	$\beta_1+\beta_{12}$	0.170	0.639
1	Coverage in Less Clear Contexts	β_1	0.049	0.873
2	Coverage in Non-Concurrent Elections	β_1	0.289	0.564
2	Coverage in Concurrent Elections	$\beta_1+\beta_{13}$	0.075	0.770

Notes. Eight elections were excluded from the sample, because incumbent candidates did not compete.

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Appendix A - Sources and dates of information on CCT programs

Argentina

2003: Ministerio de Desarrollo Social

10/2007: Ministerio de Desarrollo Social (Resumen Ejecutivo 2007).

Bolivia

2009:   Juancito Pinto: Ministerio de Educación

      Juana Azurduy: Ministerio de Salud e Deportes (Logros 2009)

Note. Only the number of granted women and children is published, and not the number of households.

Brazil

07/2002: Bolsa Escola: Sistema Bolsa Escola (SIBES) – Ministério da Educação

      Bolsa Alimentação: Ministério da Saúde

12/2006: Ministério de Desenvolvimento Social e Combate à Fome

12/2010: Ministério de Desenvolvimento Social e Combate à Fome

Chile

2005: Secretaría Ejecutiva del Chile Solidario, Ministerio de Planificación

05/2009: Ministerio de Planificación.

Colombia

12/2002: Agencia Presidencial para la Acción Social y para la Cooperación Internacional

06/2006: Agencia Presidencial para la Acción Social y para la Cooperación Internacional

06/30/2010: Agencia Presidencial para la Acción Social y para la Cooperación Internacional

Costa Rica

12/31/2009: Instituto Mixto de Ayuda Social

Dominican Republic

05/2008: Programa Solidaridad: Nómina de Beneficiários 05/2008

Ecuador

10/2006: Ministerio de Inclusion Económica y Social (Programa de Protección Social)

04/2009: Ministerio de Inclusion Económica y Social (Programa de Protección Social)

El Salvador

03/2009: Fondo de Inversión Social para el Desarrollo Local

Guatemala

04/31/2011: Mi Familia Progresa, Consejo de Cohesión Social

Honduras

1993: Inter-American Development Bank (11/10/1998 Loan Proposal)

1997: Inter-American Development Bank (11/10/1998 Loan Proposal)

2001: Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean, United Nations

2005: Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean, United Nations

2009: Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean, United Nations

Mexico

05-06/2000: Secretaría de Desarrollo Social

05-06/2006: Secretaría de Desarrollo Social

Nicaragua

2001: Inter-American Development Bank (Informe de Terminación de Proyecto – Red de Protección Social, Fase 1)

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Panama

2009: Ministerio de Desarrollo Social (Avance al Mes de Julio de 2010)

Paraguay

12/2007: Contraloría General de la Republica (Audit Report)

Peru

04/2006: Programa Juntos, Portal de Transparencia (Plan Operativo 2008)

03-04/2011: Programa Juntos, Porta de Transparencia (Plan Operativo 2011 Reformulado)

Uruguay

01-03/2009: Ministerio de Desarrollo Social, Observatorio Social de Programas e Indicadores

Appendix B - Sources of information on presidential elections

Argentina: Ministerio del Interior (all elections).

Bolivia: Tribunal Supremo Electoral (all elections).

Brazil: Tribunal Superior Eleitoral (1994, 1998, 2002, 2006, 2010), *Elections in the Americas: A Data Handbook* (1989).

Chile: Servicio Electoral (all elections).

Colombia: Source: Registraduría Nacional del Estado Civil (1998, 2002, 2006, 2010); *Elections in the Americas: A Data Handbook* (1982, 1986, 1990, 1994).

Costa Rica: Tribunal Supremo de Elecciones (all elections).

Dominican Republic: Junta Central Electoral (all elections).

Ecuador: Consejo Nacional Electoral (2002, 2006, 2009); *Elections in the Americas: A Data Handbook* (1984, 1988, 1992, 1996, 1998).

El Salvador: Tribunal Supremo Electoral (1994, 1999, 2004, 2009); *Elections in the Americas: A Data Handbook* (1984, 1989).

Guatemala: Tribunal Supremo Electoral (1999, 2003, 2007); *Elections in the Americas: A Data Handbook* (1982, 1985, 1990, 1995).

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Panama: Tribunal Electoral (1994, 1999, 2004, 2009), *Elections in the Americas: A Data Handbook* (1989).

Paraguay: Justicia Electoral (1998, 2003, 2008); *Elections in the Americas: A Data Handbook* (1989, 1993).

Peru: Oficina Nacional de Procesos Electorales (all elections).

Uruguay: Corte Electoral (all elections).

Venezuela: Consejo Nacional Electoral (all elections).