

# Electoral Irregularities

## A Typology Based on Venezuela under Chavismo

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## Electoral Irregularities:

### A Typology based on Venezuela under Chavismo

Venezuela's Chavista period (1999-present) has often been praised for its frequent electoral activity. But it has also been characterized by two, less praiseworthy features: irregularities and biased electoral reforms. These features have worsened over time. To date, the total number of irregularities is 117.

From the very beginning, almost every electoral process has featured at least one major irregularity or system biases in favor of the incumbent party. These irregularities consist of practices, rules, and even laws that depart from either the spirit or the letter of the Constitution or from international standards for conducting "free and fair" elections.

This paper provides a typology of electoral irregularities in Venezuela in the Chavista era, 1999-present. The full list appears in the Appendix. Irregularities are classified according to three characteristics: timing, type, and effect.

Regarding timing, the evidence shows that electoral irregularities occurred since the start of the Chavista era (referendum on whether to conduct a constituent assembly, 1999) and expanded over overtime during the entire Hugo Chávez administration (1999-2013). They have become ubiquitous now under Nicolás Maduro (2013-present).

Regarding type, each irregularity is classified according to the following categories:

1. Violation of **constitutional law** = L
2. Manipulation of **timing** (and scheduling) for self-serving purposes = T
3. **Voting day irregularity**, including major disruption of infrastructure needed for voting to happen smoothly (e.g., broken machines, power outages) or disorder and lack of transparency at voting booths = VDI
4. Violation of international standards for clean elections (see Box 1) = IS:
  - IS1 **Freedom from coercion**: voting authorities are supposed to ensure that voters are not coerced or bribed to participate in the elections or cast their vote for a specific side.
  - IS2 **Impartial allocation of public resources**: gross, overt use of state resources--funds, state offices, armed forces, other public officials, materials, social welfare programs--for partisan or campaign purposes creates an uneven playing field.
  - IS3 **Relatively equal access to public media and general information**: in terms of content, air or paper space, and coverage in public media for partisan purposes during the campaign creates an unfair playing field. IS4 **Voter Access to information**: all major candidates should be able to distribute materials and information without intimidation or efforts to block by opponents.

- **IS4 Secrecy of the vote:** voters should be assured that their vote is secret and that their participation not be used against them on election day.
- **IS5 Transparency of the voting process:** so as to ensure confidence in the voting process, credible, non-partisan groups should be allowed to observe voter lists (thru a sample), the processes for establishing voting locations, the voting process (with due respect for secrecy) and the process or algorithms for tabulating votes.
- **IS6 Impartiality of Electoral Authorities:** Officials regulating an election must act in a non-biased, effective, transparent and accountable manner.
- **IS7 Impartiality of Electoral Laws:** Electoral laws must be approved with the consent of and input from leading opposition forces, must be enforced impartially, and should not be changed unilaterally or ad hoc (close to election day).
- **IS8 Recognition of results:** Elected officials must recognize the results of the election, and allow for a smooth transfer of full powers to new winners.
- **IS9 Freedom to compete:** opposition figures should not face unreasonable restrictions on their right to compete for office.
- **IS10 Reliable Fraud Investigation:** serious allegations of fraud must be investigated following principles of impartiality and with the consent of the parties involved.
- **IS11: Voter registration normalcy:** No systematic impediment to voter registration; anomalous changes in the growth rate of registry must be adequately explained and accounted for.
- **IS12: Respect for the powers of the elected office.** Government should not arbitrarily change the powers of elected posts after an election, especially if the post went to the opposition.

It's important to note that some irregularities violate more than one of the above principles. For those cases, to avoid double-counting, I opted to classify the irregularity based on what I deemed to be the most serious violation. See appendix for how each violation was coded.

#### Box 1: International Standards of Electoral Observation

By Christopher Sabatini (Sabatini)

An important role of international electoral observation is to determine not only whether a given election is "clean" (no fraud committed in the issuing and counting of votes), but also whether the electoral process was "free and fair." There is no one manual establishing a uniform set of international standards; the Organization of American States, the European Union, and the Carter Center, for instance, each have its own manual. Nevertheless, the international community has agreed on a general set of principles of "best practices" to evaluate the degree of fairness and freedom of electoral processes.

Source: <http://www.americasquarterly.org/international-standards-electoral-observation>

### Effects: Legacy and Election-specific Irregularities

In addition to type of violation, irregularities can be classified according to their effects. Two possible effects exist: legacy and election-specific.

Legacy irregularities are those that, once introduced, tend to have lasting effects, tarnishing the electoral arena into the future, or at least until a new reform is introduced to make amends. Examples include: eroding the impartiality of electoral authorities, biased state-run media, irregular and uncorrected patterns in voter registration.

The other type of irregularity is election-specific. They refer to practices or regulations introduced for the conduct of a particular election. Examples include voting day infrastructure normalcy, handling of claims of fraud, rules for determining who gets to compete, manipulation of the timing of the election.

### Analysis

Table 1 below illustrates Chavismo's rain of irregularities from 1999 to the present. They are broken down by timing, type of violation, and whether the violation has legacy effects (in blue) or are election specific (in yellow).

For legacy-effect irregularities, the table indicates the year that the offending law or practice was introduced, as well as any additional changes in laws, regulations, and practices that either reinforced or compounded the trend.

While this list does not report some of the important reforms and changes that the government has made, it nonetheless reveals that the government developed a penchant for introducing new sets of irregularities with almost every electoral event.

### Chávez v. Maduro: highlights

The Chávez period (1999-2013) is characterized by gradual and increased use of irregularities, of all types.

By the time of his death, Chávez had introduced a total of 7 legacy irregularities (comprising 33 irregularities in total). In addition, he made use of 23 election-specific irregularities. In other words, Chávez left behind a highly compromised electoral system.

Table I: Electoral Acid Rain: Electoral irregularities, by time, type and effect, 1999-2013

| Date and Electoral Event  | Total      | Freedom from Coercion (IS1) | Impartiality of Elect. Authorities (IS6) | Normalcy in registration trends (IS11) | Impartiality of electoral laws (IS7) | Equal Access to State Resources (IS2) | Equal access to state media (IS3) | Freedom to compete (IS9) | Timing or scheduling regularity (T) | Respect for Elected Post (IS12) | Constitutional Law (L) | Voting Day Normalcy (VDN) | Respect for Secrecy of Vote (IS4) | Transparency of Voting Process (IS5) | Officials must recognize results (IS8) | Fraud investigation (IS10) | Boycotted by major parties |
|---|------------|-----------------------------|--|--|--------------------------------------|---------------------------------------|-----------------------------------|--------------------------|-------------------------------------|---------------------------------|------------------------|---------------------------|-----------------------------------|--------------------------------------|--|----------------------------|----------------------------|
| <b>Chávez Era</b>   |            |                             |  |  |                                      |                                       |                                   |                          |                                     |                                 |                        |                           |                                   |                                      |  |                            |                            |
| 4.25.99 Referendum to create a Constituent  | 1          |                             |  |  |                                      |                                       |                                   |                          |                                     |                                 | 1                      |                           |                                   |                                      |  |                            |                            |
| 6.25.99 Constituent Assembly  | 1          |                             |  |  | 1                                    |                                       |                                   |                          |                                     |                                 |                        |                           |                                   |                                      |  |                            |                            |
| 12.15.99 Referendum on new constitution   | 3          | 1                           |  |  |                                      |                                       |                                   |                          |                                     |                                 | 2                      |                           |                                   |                                      |  |                            |                            |
| 6.30.00 Mega-elections for all public posts   | 2          |                             | 1  |  |                                      |                                       |                                   |                          | 1                                   |                                 |                        |                           |                                   |                                      |  |                            |                            |
| 12.2.00 Municipal Councils, Civil Parishes  | 0          |                             |  |  |                                      |                                       |                                   |                          |                                     |                                 |                        |                           |                                   |                                      |  |                            |                            |
| 9.12.03 1st recall referendum request   | 7          | 1                           | 2  | 1                                      | 1                                    |                                       |                                   |                          | 1                                   |                                 |                        |                           | 1                                 |                                      |  |                            |                            |
| 8.15.04 Presidential recall referendum  | 7          |                             |  | 1                                      | 1                                    | 1                                     |                                   |                          |                                     |                                 |                        |                           | 1                                 | 2                                    |  | 1                          |                            |
| 10.30.04 Governors, State Legislature, Mayors   | 1          |                             |  |  |                                      |                                       |                                   |                          | 1                                   |                                 |                        |                           |                                   |                                      |  |                            |                            |
| 8.7.05 Municipal Councils, Civil Parishes   | 2          |                             | 1  |  | 1                                    |                                       |                                   |                          |                                     |                                 |                        |                           |                                   |                                      |  |                            |                            |
| 12.4.05 National Assembly, Andean & L. Parl.  | 2          |                             |  | 1                                      |                                      |                                       |                                   |                          |                                     |                                 |                        |                           |                                   |                                      |  | 1                          | Yes                        |
| 12.3.06 Presidential  | 3          | 2                           |  | 1                                      |                                      |                                       |                                   |                          |                                     |                                 |                        |                           |                                   |                                      |  |                            |                            |
| 12.2.07 Constitutional referendum   | 5          |                             |  |  |                                      |                                       | 1                                 |                          |                                     |                                 | 2                      |                           |                                   | 1                                    |  | 1                          |                            |
| 11.23.08 Governors, Mayors  | 6          | 1                           |  |  | 1                                    | 1                                     | 1                                 | 1                        |                                     | 1                               |                        |                           |                                   |                                      | 1                                      |                            |                            |
| 2.15.09 Referendum to abolish term limits   | 3          |                             |  |  |                                      | 2                                     |                                   |                          |                                     |                                 | 1                      |                           |                                   |                                      |  |                            |                            |
| 9.26.10 National Assembly   | 4          |                             | 1  |  | 2                                    |                                       | 1                                 |                          |                                     |                                 |                        |                           |                                   |                                      |  |                            |                            |
| 10.7.12 Presidential  | 8          |                             |  | 1                                      | 1                                    | 1                                     | 2                                 |                          | 1                                   |                                 |                        |                           | 1                                 | 1                                    |  |                            |                            |
| 12.16.12 Governors and Mayors   | 1          |                             |  |  |                                      |                                       |                                   |                          |                                     |                                 |                        |                           |                                   |                                      |  | 1                          |                            |
| <b>Total</b>  | <b>56</b>  | <b>5</b>                    | <b>6</b>                                 | <b>4</b>                               | <b>8</b>                             | <b>5</b>                              | <b>4</b>                          | <b>1</b>                 | <b>4</b>                            | <b>1</b>                        | <b>6</b>               | <b>0</b>                  | <b>3</b>                          | <b>4</b>                             | <b>1</b>                               | <b>4</b>                   |                            |
| <b>Maduro Era</b>   |            |                             |  |  |                                      |                                       |                                   |                          |                                     |                                 |                        |                           |                                   |                                      |  |                            |                            |
| 17.4.13 Presidential  | 7          | 1                           |  | 1                                      |                                      |                                       |                                   |                          |                                     |                                 | 2                      | 1                         | 1                                 |                                      |  | 1                          |                            |
| 8.12.13 Municipal   | 1          |                             |  |  |                                      |                                       |                                   |                          | 1                                   |                                 |                        |                           |                                   |                                      |  |                            |                            |
| 6.12.15 Legislative   | 12         | 1                           |  |  | 2                                    |                                       | 1                                 | 4                        | 1                                   |                                 | 2                      |                           |                                   | 1                                    |  |                            |                            |
| 2016 (Banned) Presidential Recall Referendum  | 11         | 1                           |  |  | 2                                    |                                       |                                   |                          | 3                                   |                                 | 1                      |                           |                                   | 2                                    |  | 2                          |                            |
| 7.30.17 Constituent Assembly  | 7          | 1                           |  |  | 2                                    |                                       |                                   | 1                        |                                     |                                 | 1                      |                           |                                   | 1                                    |  | 1                          |                            |
| 10.15.17 State Governors  | 14         |                             |  |  | 1                                    |                                       |                                   | 1                        | 1                                   | 2                               | 2                      | 1                         | 1                                 | 3                                    | 1                                      | 1                          |                            |
| 12.10.17 Municipal  | 4          |                             |  | 1                                      | 1                                    |                                       |                                   |                          | 1                                   |                                 |                        |                           |                                   | 1                                    |  |                            | Yes                        |
| 4.3.18 Presidential   | 5          |                             |  |  | 3                                    |                                       |                                   |                          | 1                                   |                                 | 1                      |                           |                                   |                                      |  |                            |                            |
| <b>Total Maduro Era</b>   | <b>61</b>  | <b>4</b>                    | <b>0</b>                                 | <b>2</b>                               | <b>11</b>                            | <b>0</b>                              | <b>1</b>                          | <b>6</b>                 | <b>8</b>                            | <b>2</b>                        | <b>9</b>               | <b>2</b>                  | <b>2</b>                          | <b>8</b>                             | <b>1</b>                               | <b>5</b>                   |                            |
| <b>Total Chavista era, 1999-2018</b>  | <b>117</b> | <b>9</b>                    | <b>6</b>                                 | <b>6</b>                               | <b>19</b>                            | <b>5</b>                              | <b>5</b>                          | <b>7</b>                 | <b>12</b>                           | <b>3</b>                        | <b>15</b>              | <b>2</b>                  | <b>5</b>                          | <b>12</b>                            | <b>2</b>                               | <b>9</b>                   |                            |
| Notes:  |            |                             |  |  |                                      |                                       |                                   |                          |                                     |                                 |                        |                           |                                   |                                      |  |                            |                            |
| Blue = Legacy-effect Irregularity: a change that compromised the electoral system into the future                   |            |                             |  |  |                                      |                                       |                                   |                          |                                     |                                 |                        |                           |                                   |                                      |  |                            |                            |
| Yellow = Election-specific irregularity: a violation of electoral principles that affected that particular election |            |                             |  |  |                                      |                                       |                                   |                          |                                     |                                 |                        |                           |                                   |                                      |  |                            |                            |

Source: Elaborated by author, based on the appendix.

One of Chávez's most serious sets of irregularities occurred during efforts to first prevent and then survive his recall referendum (2003-2004). In total, three legacy-effects violations were cemented during this period (normalcy in registration trends, impartiality of electoral laws, and equal access to state resources) and 14 irregularities were introduced during those two years alone.

Maduro inherited all of Chávez's legacy irregularities and made them worse by adding more reinforcing irregularities to each.

In addition, he introduced two new legacy-effect irregularities: 1) timing of elections become consistently irregular and unpredictable; and 2) powers of elected posts become contingent on what the national assembly determines, and thus, subject to permanent, discretionary change. For the 2018 presidential election, for instance, the National Constituent Assembly has the right to change the powers of the Executive Branch, even after the election is held (see Rodríguez 2018).

While the above two types of legacy irregularity had occurred under Chávez, it was under the Maduro administration that they became permanent fixtures of the system.

Maduro has also made far more frequent use of election-specific irregularities than Chávez (45 in total).

Finally, the average number of irregularities per year and per election are much higher under Maduro than under Chávez (see Table 2).

|                                   | Chávez                   | Maduro                   |
|-----------------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| Period:                           | 1999-2013                | 2013-present             |
| Years in office:                  | 14                       | 5                        |
| Legacy-effect irregularities:     | 7                        | 9                        |
| <i>Comprised of</i>               | <i>33 irregularities</i> | <i>35 irregularities</i> |
| Election-specific irregularities: | 23                       | 45                       |
| Avg. no. of irregularities:       |                          |                          |
| Per year                          | 4                        | 12.2                     |
| Per electoral event:              | 3.29                     | 7.63                     |

Why did the international community allow this to happen?

The tarnishing of Venezuela's electoral system went unsanctioned by international actors for many years (at least until 2015). Why?

One reason is that the process was gradual. Another reason is that there were many ideological sympathizers governing other countries or leading international organizations during most of the 2000s, willing to grant the Chávez administration a

pass. Yet another reason is that international observation ended in 2006, making it harder to make effective assessments of conditions on the ground.

However, perhaps the most important reason is that international observation of elections tends to focus on only one type of irregularity: voting day irregularities. No doubt, voting-day irregularities exist under Chavismo, even before Maduro, but they have been far less frequent (and serious) than the other 14 irregularities catalogued in this report. International organizations are not designed to punish, or even identify these alternative types of irregularities, which are the ones that Chavismo relied on the most.

Thus, the state in Venezuela was able to compromise the electoral system, and still pass mustard, because it opted for irregularities that international observers are more likely to tolerate, if they even notice them at all.

## Conclusion

Chavismo showered Venezuela with a long list of electoral irregularities. The process of tarnishing the electoral system was gradual, but steady. Once a legacy irregularity was introduced, it was never corrected. By the time Chávez died in 2013, the system was thus plagued with substantial legacy and election-specific irregularities.

Maduro has far surpassed Chávez in terms of number, frequency, and severity of irregularities. However, he did not start from a blank slate. Instead, he inherited from Chávez a system flooded with irregularities, which his administration did not correct, including 7 legacy irregularities. Maduro has merely compounded the problems inherited—increasing the number of legacy effects and creating more severe forms of election specific irregularities. Maduro has made an unreliable electoral system even more biased toward the ruling party.

## Appendix

| Irregularities and Pro-Government Bias<br>in Venezuelan Elections in the Chavista Era, 1998–2018 |             |   |   |                           |
|--|-------------|---|---|---------------------------|
|  | <i>Date</i> | <i>Election Type</i>                        | <i>Irregularity</i>   | <i>Type</i>               |
| 1  | 04.25.1999  | Referendum to create a Constituent Assembly | 1. The figure of the Constitutional Assembly did not exist in Venezuela's 1961 Constitution. The constitution required instead that changes to the constitution be made via Congressional initiative. Cajoled by Chávez, the Supreme Court ruled in favor of conducting a referendum, under the theory that "power resides in the people" (Brewer-Carías 2010).<br>L  | L                         |
| 2  | 06.25.1999  | Constituent Assembly representatives        | 2. The government chose a new electoral rule for electing delegates that violates Venezuela's traditional notion of proportional representation for minorities. Voters chose representatives based on national and regional lists. They could issue as many votes as there were seats. The government provided its own list of candidates (the so-called Kino chavista). This system gave a special advantage to organized and cohesive groups (as was the case with the ruling party) and disfavored independent candidates or disorganized parties (as was the case with the opposition). Consequently, with only 56 percent of the vote, the ruling party obtained 94 percent of seats (Maingón, Baralt et al. 2000, Rachadell 2007) ( <a href="https://konzapata.com/2014/11/el-kino-y-las-morochas-en-el-sistema-electoral-venezolano/">https://konzapata.com/2014/11/el-kino-y-las-morochas-en-el-sistema-electoral-venezolano/</a> ) | IS7                       |
| 3  | 12.15.1999  | Referendum on new constitution              | 3. In March 1999, Chávez decided to treat the constituent assembly as an "originating" (originaria) body, meaning that it had full powers to "transform the state," not just the constitution (Maingón, Baralt et al. 2000, Viciano Pastor and Martínez Dalmau 2001:102, Combellas 2003). The concept of originaria did not exist in Venezuelan law, and the Supreme Court in April ruled against treating it as originaria (Viciano Pastor and Martínez Dalmau 2001:136-137).<br>L<br>4. In August 1999, the Constituent Assembly, with the help of chavista supporters, seized the parliament building (the Capitolio) and deactivated congress.<br>5. In September, the assembly began to penalize federal judges. The president of the supreme court,   | L<br><br><br>L<br><br>IS1 |



|   |            |  |  |                                       |
|---|------------|--|--|---------------------------------------|
|   |            |  | Cecilia Sosa, resigned, arguing that the courts preferred to “commit suicide” rather than accept assassination (Sosa Gómez n.d.). IS1  |                                       |
| 4 | 06.30.2000 | “Mega-elections” for all public positions<br>Presidential,<br>National<br>Assembly,<br>Governors,<br>Mayors, State<br>Legislature,<br>Andean & Latin<br>Parliament | <p>6. Shortly after the approval of the new constitution, the government fired all the members of the National Electoral Council (the country’s highest electoral authority in charge of organizing elections and certifying results). IS6</p> <p>7. The elections initially scheduled for May 28, had to be postponed due to “technical problems” by the new CNE. The CNE’s new members, all with little experience, were asked to organize this mega election in record time. The new CNE failed to have key electoral data ready for audits and was committing a number of errors, but still wanted to go ahead with the election. Following a national outcry against the CNE, the Supreme Tribunal called the government to postpone the election (Alvarez 2009).<br/>See also<br/><a href="http://www.cartercenter.org/news/documents/doc273.html">http://www.cartercenter.org/news/documents/doc273.html</a> . T</p>  | IS6<br><br>T                          |
| 5 | 12.03.2000 | Municipal<br>Councils, Civil<br>Parishes;<br>Syndical<br>referendum  |  |                                       |
|   | 09.12.2003 | 1 <sup>st</sup> request for a<br>Presidential<br>recall<br>referendum  | <p>8. The CNE authorities were replaced again, this time with more experienced experts, but also more partial figures. Three of the five new “rectores” were openly aligned with the ruling party, and two with the opposition (Alvarez 2009). IS6</p> <p>9. The CNE rejected requests for a presidential referendum on the grounds that the signatures were collected before Chávez completed half of his term in office, among other technical objections (Human Rights Watch 2008). IS11</p> <p>10. A second signature drive was deemed inadmissible because the number of valid signatures did not meet constitutional requirements. After a successful appeal by different NGOs in the Supreme Court’s Electoral body and street protests, the Court’s Constitutional Chamber annulled the CNE decision (Human Rights Watch 2008). Government officials encouraged voters to repent and withdraw their signatures (Carter Center 2005). IS1</p> <p>11. The signatures of approximately 2.5 million voters who petitioned for the recall referendum were collected by Luis Tascón, a pro- Chávez member in the National Assembly, and posted on his website. This database (the so-called Lista Tascón) was used</p> | IS6<br><br>IS11<br><br>IS1<br><br>IS4 |

|   |            |                                |  |  |
|---|------------|--------------------------------|--|--|
|   |            |                                | <p>by the administration to deny access to government services, jobs and contracts. This political blacklist eroded the principle of secrecy of vote, and impartial treatment by the state, and equality under the law (Jatar 2006, Hidalgo 2009). IS4</p> <p>12. On August 2003, after the National Assembly couldn't make up its mind about the fifth rector of the CNE, appointed all five members of the CNE (European Union 2006). The composition of the CNE became ideologically aligned with the ruling party. IS6</p> <p>13. Multiple changes in rules and procedures to verify signatures were created (38 in total), many of which after the signatures were collected). 44 percent of signatures were declared invalid (Martínez 2016). IS7</p> <p>14. The process to verify signatures generated a delay of approximately 184 days (166 days of which were devoted to verify signatures). T</p>   | <p>IS6</p> <p>IS7</p> <p>T</p>                                     |
| 6 | 08.15.2004 | Presidential recall referendum | <p>15. In June 2004, the Tascón list was "perfected" into the "Maisanta Lista," which now added more information about the signatories: whether they had ever abstained, whether they had contacts with social missions (Hidalgo 2009). IS1 and IS4</p> <p>16. Bolivarian circles, informal groups of pro-government citizens created by the government, took an active role in managing social services (provision and resources) and monitoring "supportive attitudes toward the government," especially during the referendum (Hawkins and Hansen 2006). (The Círculos were eventually replaced by Consejos Comunales in 2006 (Myers 2012)) . IS1 and 2</p> <p>17. The day of the voting, the CNE decided to keep the polls open until midnight, presumably to accommodate the long lines. IS7</p> <p>18. Soon after the polls were closed the CNE issued the first report giving Chávez a victory. The two opposition Rectors of the CNE (Zamora and Mejías) stated that they were denied access to the electoral information and were excluded from deliberations surrounding the decision to make this first announcement (Alvarez 2009). IS5</p> <p>19. International observers were not allowed to review the internal review process (Carter Center 2005). IS5</p> <p>20. The official results contradicted various exit polls, prompting the Coordinadora Democrática—the umbrella organization campaigning on behalf of NO—to claim fraud. A non-random and insufficient audit was conducted (covering less than 1 percent of</p> | <p>IS4</p> <p>IS2</p> <p>IS7</p> <p>IS5</p> <p>IS5</p> <p>IS10</p> |

|   |            |                                      |   |                |
|---|------------|--------------------------------------|---|----------------|
|   |            |                                      | <p>ballots) by the National Electoral Council. There was widespread suspicion that the electronic voting machines were rigged. Independent reports found suspicious patterns in the voting report, based on comparison with prior votes and national surveys ((Delfino and Salas 2011, Hausmann and Rigobón 2011). Another forensic study found irregularities in the vote distribution mainly in electoral units that favored Chávez (Jiménez and Hidalgo 2014) IS10, IS5</p> <p>21. The growth rate in the electoral roll was more than 9 percent per year, twice the average growth rate until 2000 (of 11 percent every 5 years) (Jiménez and Hidalgo 2014).</p>  | IS11           |
| 7 | 10.30.2004 | Governors, State Legislature, Mayors | <p>22. Originally scheduled for September, elections were moved to October 30.<br/> <a href="http://news.bbc.co.uk/hi/spanish/latin_america/newsid_3639000/3639616.stm">http://news.bbc.co.uk/hi/spanish/latin_america/newsid_3639000/3639616.stm</a> T</p>   | T              |
| 8 | 08.07.2005 | Municipal Councils, Civil Parishes   | <p>23. Following the resignation of two CNE Rectors, the National Assembly faced the duty to appoint a new set of rectors. The ruling party wanted four pro-government candidates. The opposition wanted two opposition candidates, two pro-government candidates, and one independent president. The ruling party intentionally postponed a vote in the National Assembly, automatically prompting the Supreme Tribunal to take over the decision. For the second time under Chavismo, the Tribunal appointed the vacancies. The result was a CNE with four openly pro-government rectores, further eroding the credibility of this third CNE under Chavismo (European Union 2006, Alvarez 2009) . IS6</p> <p>24. The ruling party decided to create a parallel party, the so-called Unidad de Vencedores Electorales (UVE). Having two “twin” parties (morochas, in Venezuelan jargon) allows the largest party to avoid the electoral rule that subtracts seats that would otherwise go to the leading party to favor the second vote-getting party. By running with a political organization can benefit from a rule intended to benefit parties that come in second place. While neither illegal nor new in Venezuela, this practice contradicted the spirit of proportional representation, and in the context of distrust and polarization prevailing in Venezuela, only served to erode credibility of the system further (European Union 2006) . IS7</p> | IS6<br><br>IS7 |
| 9 | 12.04.2005 | National Assembly,                   | <p>25. Due to unresolved claims of lack of voting privacy, fear of the government’s use of “las morochas”, and new privacy fears raised by the Maisanta List, all</p>   | IS10           |



|    |            |                           |   |   |
|----|------------|---------------------------|---|---|
|    |            |                           | percent drop in their earnings and a 1.3 percentage point drop in their employment probability.”(Hsieh, Miguel et al. 2011) IS1 and 4   |   |
| 11 | 12.02.2007 | Constitutional referendum | <p>30. The President proposed 69 far-reaching constitutional amendments to Venezuela’s 350-article constitution, violating the constitutional provision that major changes to the constitution (e.g., abolishing term limits) require a new constituent assembly, rather than a yes-no referendum. Only close associates of the president participated in the drafting of these proposed reforms; none from the opposition. L, IS7</p> <p>31. The government refused to renew the license of RCTV, reducing to essentially two the number of independent TV stations covering politics. IS3</p> <p>32. For this election, the CNE discontinued the protocol of inviting international electoral observers. This refusal to invite electoral observers is still in place (Carter Center 2012). IS5</p> <p>33. The definitive results, including the behavior of 11 percent of the electoral census, remains undisclosed (Jiménez and Hidalgo 2014). L</p> <p>34. Unlike in other elections, the audits did reflect important differences between the votes cast and those audited (Jiménez and Hidalgo 2014). IS10</p>   | L<br><br>IS3<br><br>IS5<br><br>L<br><br>IS10      |
| 12 | 11.23.2008 | Governors, Mayors         | <p>35. In February 2008, the Comptroller General released a list of nearly 400 people (eventually reduced to 270) barred from running for office, the so-called Russián List. The ban was based on untried accusations of corruption. The majority of those banned (“inhabilitados”) belonged to the opposition, including several key leaders and favorites in the electoral race. In August, after criticisms of “undue delay” from the Inter-American Commission on Human Rights, Supreme Court ruled in favor of the ban. Opposition leaders like Leopoldo López, widely favored in the race for General Mayor of Caracas, was one of the blacklisted candidates (BBC News, 2008) (El Universal, 2008). IS9, SL, IS7</p> <p>36. The administration threatened to cut funding and even “send tanks” to those states that elect opposition figures. IS1</p> <p>37. Prior to the elections, the government announced the nationalizations of ports in Zulia, Carabobo and Nueva Esparta, states in which the opposition was strong. These nationalizations deprived local officers of revenues and asserted the president’s controls in municipal affairs. IS2</p> | IS9<br><br><br><br><br><br><br><br>IS1<br><br>IS2 |

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|----|------------|------------------------------------|--|---------------------------------|
|    |            |                                    | <p>38. The administration relied on Morochas. To take advantage of the complicated mixed-majority electoral system, two presumably independent but in reality pro-incumbent parties run in both electoral systems, allowing pro-incumbent forces to win a larger share of the votes. In Táchira and Carabobo, the morochas gave the government a seat bonus that allowed it to win legislative majorities, even though it lost the popular vote (Hidalgo 2009). SL</p> <p>39. After the election, the central government began to harass the winners from the opposition. The administration tried to prevent the governors from Táchira and Carabobo from taking office. Maracaibo-mayor Manuel Rosales was accused of corruption and forced to leave.</p> <p>40. Caracas mayor Antonio Ledezma and Carabobo governor were stripped on many powers and significant parts of his budget. IS8</p> | <p>L</p> <p>IS8</p> <p>IS12</p> |
| 13 | 02.15.2009 | Referendum to abolish term limits  | <p>41. The Constitution bans referenda on items that were already voted down, The abolition of term limits was part of the constitutional reforms that voters rejected in 2007. President argued that the question was different this time because the new proposal abolished term limits for all elected officials, rather than just the president. L</p> <p>42. The administration encouraged communal councils—which are local civic organizations appointed by the president and showered with government money—to mobilize voters, thus violating the constitutional prohibition against the use of the public budget for electoral campaigning (Hidalgo 2009). In the 2007, voters rejected the government’s idea of legalizing these community councils. L, IS2,IS7</p> <p>43. There was no state funding for the No campaign (El Nacional, 2009). IS2</p>                                | <p>L</p> <p>IS2</p> <p>IS2</p>  |
| 14 | 9-2010     | Deputies for the National Assembly | <p>44. A local watchdog group documented 120 cases of aggression against the media and reporters between 2008 and 2009, including 32 cases in which radio stations had their freedom to broadcast suspended, prompting Freedom House to downgrade Venezuela, along with Russia, from “Partly Free” to “Not Free” in its most recent annual media-freedom assessment. IS3 and 4</p> <p>45. The 2009 Organic Law of Electoral Processes introduced at least two major changes in the electoral system deemed deleterious to the opposition. First, the law diminished the number of seats for parliament that are chosen by proportional representation (from among the so-called lista</p>  | <p>IS3</p> <p>IS7</p>           |

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|    |         |                        | <p>candidates) in favor of selective majorities, so that the ruling party, where it is a majority, has fewer chances of sharing seats with minority parties. IS7</p> <p>46. The second change was one-sided gerrymandering. Opposition-stronghold districts were merged with pro-government districts so as to dilute or destroy the opposition's edge. This was done to benefit the ruling party in the states where it was weaker. In most democracies, gerrymandering occurs with some opposition involvement. In Venezuela, it was essentially a closed, cabinet-level operation (Corrales 2011). Gerrymandering was applied to only the capital city and seven states: Amazonas, Barinas, Carabobo, Lara, Miranda, Táchira, and Zulia. Barinas aside, these are—not coincidentally—Venezuela's most populous regions, where opposition leaders govern, or where the largest shares of opposition voters reside (Corrales 2011). Together with the heavy malapportionment introduced by the 1999 constitution, which guarantees three deputies to each state regardless of population, the new electoral law explains why the PSUV ended up with almost 60 percent of the seats in the National Assembly despite winning only 48 percent of the vote (Corrales 2010, Monaldi, Obuchi et al. 2011). IS7</p> <p>47. The National Assembly appointed two high-level members of the PSUV as new directors of the CNE: Socorro Hernández (former Minister of Telecommunications) and Tania D' Amelio (former MVR deputy), violating the CNE rule that CNE members must be independent figures. Hernández and D'Amelio argued that they had recently resigned to their ruling party membership (<a href="http://eltiempo.com.ve/venezuela/politica/retirada-en-elecciones-a-la-an-2005-un-error-muy-caro-para-el-pais/200179">http://eltiempo.com.ve/venezuela/politica/retirada-en-elecciones-a-la-an-2005-un-error-muy-caro-para-el-pais/200179</a>). IS6</p> | <p>IS7</p> <p>IS6</p>            |
| 15 | 10-2012 | Presidential Elections | <p>48. The opposition was forced to adhere to the CNE's strict limit of three minutes of free airtime coverage per day, while the government enjoyed on average 48 additional minutes per day to broadcast, under the guise of "public announcements (Corrales 2013) . IS3</p> <p>49. The government strictly applied a constitutional ban on public financing to all parties except the PSUV. Government spending nearly double between the end of 2011 and October 2012 (Ecoanalítica). IS2, IS7</p> <p>50. In previous elections the opposition complained that the regime was unwilling to guarantee the right to secret voting. But for this election, the government</p>  | <p>IS3</p> <p>IS2</p> <p>IS4</p> |

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|    |         |                      | <p>chose instead to focus on coercing Chavista votes. By midday, the government was able to determine how many and which individual had not yet voted, and checked this information against its lists of people registered for Misión Vivienda, a housing program with a million applicants. Party representatives visited the homes of these people and insinuated that eligibility for housing benefits was contingent on voting. Secrecy of voting is no longer guaranteed for chavistas (Corrales 2013). IS4</p> <p>51. The electoral registry was not audited. The last independent audit of the registry was in 2005 by CAPEL. IS11</p> <p>52. Although the MUD did have witnesses inside the CNE's totalization room, at the last minute it was banned from having witnesses inside two other operational centers that monitored voter turnout and problems with the voter and fingerprint machines (Carter Center) IS5</p> <p>53. In January 2012, the government shuts down the Venezuelan consulate in Miami, which has the largest concentration of Venezuelan expatriates (with 19,544 registered voters), forcing them to travel to the Venezuelan consulate New Orleans to vote (which has 638 registered voters). The closure took place several days after the U.S. declared persona non grata the consul Livia Acosta Noguera following revelations of tape recordings implicating the consul with an Iranian plan.<br/> <a href="http://globovision.com/articulo/conoce-el-orden-en-el-que-participaran-los-venezolanos-en-el-extranjero-segun-su-zona-horaria">http://globovision.com/articulo/conoce-el-orden-en-el-que-participaran-los-venezolanos-en-el-extranjero-segun-su-zona-horaria</a>;<br/> <a href="http://www.ultimasnoticias.com.ve/noticias/actualidad/politica/venezolanos-en-miami-se-movilizaran-nuevamente-par.aspx">http://www.ultimasnoticias.com.ve/noticias/actualidad/politica/venezolanos-en-miami-se-movilizaran-nuevamente-par.aspx</a> IS7</p> <p>54. Asymmetrical media bias. The Carter Center reported bias in the tone of coverage among both public and private media, but more pronounced among state media. In state-owned television, 95 percent of reporting was positive about Hugo Chávez, while in private outlets this number reached 48 percent. Capriles' news coverage in state television was 78 percent negative, while in private outlets it was 59 percent positive. This pattern is replicated by radio outlets (Carter Center 2012). IS3</p> <p>55. Timing. The government, aware of Chávez's deteriorating health, scheduled the elections two months ahead of schedule. T</p> | IS11<br>IS5<br>IS7<br>IS3 |
| 16 | 12-2012 | Governors and Mayors | 56. MUD candidate for governor of Bolívar, Andrés Velazquez, claimed fraud in his state (undercounting   | IS10                      |



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|    |         |              | of 126 acts). There was no response from the state. IS10   |  |
| 17 | 17.4.13 | Presidential | <p>57. Resignation skipped. Maduro should have resigned as “presidente encargado.” The constitution mandates that all public officials who are running for election (but not for re-election) resign. L</p> <p>58. Defense minister Diego Molero declared full support for Maduro’s candidacy. The constitution expects the military establishment to be neutral. L, IS2</p> <p>59. The opposition discovered a member of the ruling party had the passwords to the voting machines. While this alone did not constitute a security breach capable of tampering with the vote tally, it could be used to tamper with the functioning of machines (turning them on and off arbitrarily), causing delays in in opposition zones (Nagel 2013). IS4</p> <p>60. <i>El Nacional</i> revealed how PDVSA had been supporting elections, not just financially, but also operationally. Accordingly, employees are notified that they will serve as “patrulleros.” For the 2010 elections, patrulleros were instructed to: 1) work with local PSUV coordinators in designated municipalities to monitor the voting attendance; 2) provide snacks for PSUV activists, witnesses, and table members; 3) pay motorcycle drivers to carry out “tug operations” ( “operación remolque” (Rivera and Zerpa 2013). IS1, IS2</p> <p>61. The voting registry was not changed from the one used in October, disenfranchising newly eligible voters. The opposition claimed that more than 600,000 deceased people are listed on the voting registry. IS11</p> <p>62. According to the opposition, 535 voting machines that did not work (affecting 189,982 votes)</p> <p>63. Irregular results and behaviors. The opposition claimed that</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- 1,176 voting centers showed that Maduro won more votes than Chávez (one of them showing more 1000 percent more).</li> <li>- Opposition witnesses were forced out of 286 voting centers (affecting 722,983 votes).</li> <li>- 564 voting centers had “assisted voting (affecting 1,479,774 votes).</li> <li>- 397 voting centers reported harassment of voters (affecting 1,240,000 votes).</li> <li>- Some voting centers had more votes than registered voters. <a href="http://www.el-nacional.com/politica/tu_decides/Capriles-asegura-asistido-millones-votantes_0_173382958.html">http://www.el-nacional.com/politica/tu_decides/Capriles-asegura-asistido-millones-votantes_0_173382958.html</a> IS10</li> </ul> | <p>L</p> <p>L</p> <p>IS4</p> <p>IS1</p> <p>IS11</p> <p>VDI</p> <p>IS10</p> |

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| 18. | 8.12.13 | Municipal   | 64. Originally scheduled for April, 14, 2013, elections were postponed until December.   | T                             |
| 19. | 6.12.15 | Legislative | <p>65. Delay and Uncertainty: The CNE took long to announce the official date. T</p> <p>66. New rules. On June 25, one day after the opposition released its list of candidates, the CNE announced a new electoral regulation: at least 40 percent of each party's candidates must be female. Only 11 of the 110 MUD candidates were women. The regulation was announced before the PSUV held its primaries (Castillejo 2015). IS7</p> <p>67. Bans on the opposition. 10 opposition candidates were barred from running. This includes María Corina Machado and Enzo Scarano, banned from running for public office for a year. The Comptroller General imposed penalties on both based on their failure to include non-salary meal tickets in their sworn tax declarations (Stolk 2015). These are administrative penalties, not political penalties, but the government treated them as political offenses. No judge offered a ruling. Pablo Pérez was barred for 10 years (Latin American Herald Tribune 2015) Daniel Ceballos (home arrest), as well as Raúl Baduel, son of general Raúl Isaiás Baduel, and Ricardo Tirado (<a href="http://www.abc.es/internacional/20150805/abciveto-opositores-cavismo-201508042004.htm">http://www.abc.es/internacional/20150805/abciveto-opositores-cavismo-201508042004.htm</a>). Leopoldo López and Antonio Ledezma (mayor of Caracas) are in jail. Manuel Rosales (formerly in Peru) also banned and was arrested. Abelardo Díaz (Copei, Táchira). IS9</p> <p>68. Intervening in political parties. The Supreme Court intervened in the internal affairs of opposition party COPEI, based on demands from warring factions of COPEI, to appoint a new leadership, that was less pro-MUD (<a href="http://www.eluniversal.com/nacional-y-politica/150730/tsj-nombra-junta-directiva-ad-hoc-en-el-partido-copei">http://www.eluniversal.com/nacional-y-politica/150730/tsj-nombra-junta-directiva-ad-hoc-en-el-partido-copei</a>). Other opposition parties (Bandera Roja) or parties that could have offered dissident chavista candidates (MEP, Vanguardia Bicentenario Revolucionaria) were also intervened <a href="http://www.el-nacional.com/siete_dias/divisiones-amenazan-desarmar-mayoria_0_683931749.html">http://www.el-nacional.com/siete_dias/divisiones-amenazan-desarmar-mayoria_0_683931749.html</a>). IS9</p> <p>69. Targeting former chavistas. Candidates from a former chavista dissident group, Marea Socialista, led by Nicmer Evans, were banned from presenting candidates (in association with other party), challenging them on their choice of name or for violating the gender-parity law (<a href="http://elestimulo.com/blog/anulan-candidatura-de-">http://elestimulo.com/blog/anulan-candidatura-de-</a></p> | T<br>IS7<br>IS9<br>IS9<br>IS9 |

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|--------|--------------------------------|--|--|---|
|        |                                |  | <p><a href="#">nicmer-evans-y-otros-postulados-por-marea-socialista/</a>). IS9</p> <p>70. Party ban. The government banned some parties from registering, including Vente (María Corina Machado's party). IS9</p> <p>71. Nepotism. First lady Cilia Flores, an official resident of Caracas, was allowed to run for the state of Cojedes, in violation of article 188 of the Constitution, which requires candidates to hold a 4-year residency in the district they are representing (<a href="http://www.infolatam.com/2015/08/17/el-caos-la-ultima-carta-del-chavo-madurismo/">http://www.infolatam.com/2015/08/17/el-caos-la-ultima-carta-del-chavo-madurismo/</a>). L</p> <p>72. Media clampdown. Data showed that the traditional media (broadcast TV) hardly covered the campaign activities of the opposition (Corrales and Von Bergen 2016). IS3</p> <p>73. Illegal campaigning. Members of the Executive branch participated in the campaign, which violates the constitution Starting November 13, Maduro made 25 public appearances in campaign rallies for party candidates (<a href="http://prodavinci.com/2015/12/16/actualidad/cuan-efectiva-fue-la-campana-de-nicolas-maduro-por-franz-von-bergen/">http://prodavinci.com/2015/12/16/actualidad/cuan-efectiva-fue-la-campana-de-nicolas-maduro-por-franz-von-bergen/</a>) L</p> <p>74. States of exception. The government declared states of exception or deployed military security operations in key districts, thus banning public rallies: This affected 58 districts: 26 are districts swing district or lightly leaning chavista; 25 are strongly chavistas; and 7 are strongly opposition (<a href="http://www.el-nacional.com/siete_dias/Gobierno-saca-trucos-circuitos-clave_0_712728976.html">http://www.el-nacional.com/siete_dias/Gobierno-saca-trucos-circuitos-clave_0_712728976.html</a>). IS1</p> <p>75. Uneven gerrymandering. The government changed the number of deputies to be elected in 7 districts, giving more seats to pro-government districts. IS7</p> <p>76. Obstacles for witnesses: A total of 1,012 new voting centers (916 had only one voting table), making it harder for opposition witnesses to monitor. Other voting centers were established in geographic zones that were unsafe for the opposition such as in government buildings offering social services or very pro-chavista neighborhoods. This affected at least 54 districts (<a href="http://www.el-nacional.com/siete_dias/oposicion-blinda-circuitos-vulnerables-fraude_0_742725788.html">http://www.el-nacional.com/siete_dias/oposicion-blinda-circuitos-vulnerables-fraude_0_742725788.html</a>) (<a href="http://www.el-nacional.com/siete_dias/centros-votacion-nombre-rojo-rojito_0_742725790.html">http://www.el-nacional.com/siete_dias/centros-votacion-nombre-rojo-rojito_0_742725790.html</a>) IS5</p> | IS9<br>L<br>IS3<br>L<br>IS1<br>IS7<br>IS5 |
| Banned | Presidential Recall Referendum | 77. The Referendum Law was altered once the first state of the process was launched. The first stage consists of collecting signatures to get the CNE to start the process. The original regulation required | IS7  |   |

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|  |  |  | <p>signatures from 1 percent of the total electorate. But this time, the CNE demanded 1 percent of the electorate within each state (Martínez 2016), which is harder threshold to achieve than just 1 percent of the electorate. IS7</p>   |     |
|  |  |  | <p>78. The Law required the CNE to validate signatures in five days. But new signature-verifying regulations, suggested by PSUV leader Jorge Rodríguez, automatically delayed the verification process for up to a month (Martínez 2016). T</p>  | T   |
|  |  |  | <p>79. Former president of the National Assembly, Diosdado Cabello, states that it is impossible to have a referendum in 2016<br/> <a href="http://www.panorama.com.ve/politicayeconomia/Diosdado-Cabello-No-hay-forma-ni-manera-que-este-ano-haya-referendo-20160523-0074.html">http://www.panorama.com.ve/politicayeconomia/Diosdado-Cabello-No-hay-forma-ni-manera-que-este-ano-haya-referendo-20160523-0074.html</a>) T</p>  | T   |
|  |  |  | <p>80. Amidst record levels of food scarcity, Maduro empowers citizen committees (Comités Locales para Abastecimiento y Control, CLAPs) to “carry out and regulate” food distribution. In theory, CLAPs are citizen-organized committees. In practice, they are organs of the ruling party. This violates the constitution on two counts. First, they obtain policing powers, which the constitution reserves for the state. Second, CLAPs obtain privilege access to food, which violates the principle of equal treatment under the law (Hernández 2016). <a href="http://www.el-nacional.com/siete_dias/discriminacion-politica-CLAP-repartir-alimentos_0_856114474.html">http://www.el-nacional.com/siete_dias/discriminacion-politica-CLAP-repartir-alimentos_0_856114474.html</a>) L</p> | L   |
|  |  |  | <p>81. Technicalities, such as misspelling the name of the president at the top of the form, become grounds for disqualifying not just one signature, but entire forms of signatures containing as many as 10 signatures (Duarte 2016). Illegibility of names in print are also ground for disqualification. IS5</p>   | IS5 |
|  |  |  | <p>82. Signature verifiers and digitalizers were trained exclusively by the CNE, without MUD participation. IS5</p>  | IS5 |
|  |  |  | <p>83. Maduro orders ministers to fire high-ranking public workers signed the petition for a recall referendum. The sackings would affect the ministries of food, finance, work and basic business, as well as workers in the office of the president (Dreier 2016). IS1</p>   | IS1 |
|  |  |  | <p>84. In September, after a 128-day waiting period, the CNE established the timeline for signature collection (26-29 October), meaning that it would be impossible to hold the referendum before January 10, 2017, as the opposition wanted. If the referendum occurs after Jan 10, 2017, and the president is revoked, the constitution says that no election will be held (Martínez 2016). T</p>  | T   |

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|    |         |                      | <p>85. The CNE made signature collection especially hard: 1) the opposition has 21 hours (7 daily hours between 26-28 October) to collect signatures; 2) it must collect signatures from 20 percent of the electoral registry for each state (padrón electoral de cada Estado) changing the norm used in 2004 of 20 percent of the entire registry; 3) only 1355 registry centers will be established (covering an average of 3,600 voters per center, whereas the average in a typical election was 480 voters per electoral center); 4) fewer centers are being established in districts where the opposition did better electorally; 5) most centers are of hard to reach; 6) will set up 5.392 electoral machines, whereas the opposition had requested 19.500 (Martínez 2016); 7) citizens will need to provide their fingerprint alongside their signature, potentially stoking fears of possible government reprisals for those who support the recall petition. IS7</p> <p>86. On 20 October Venezuela's national electoral council (CNE) ordered the suspension of the recall referendum. The CNE issued a statement after courts in five states ruled, almost simultaneously, that there was fraud in the first signature collection round in June, when the MUD collected the signatures of 1% of the registered electorate (per state). The CNE had already validated those decisions (LatinNews October 21, 2016). IS8</p> <p>87. Eight opposition figures, including Capriles, reported that they had been ordered not to leave the country, and Diosdado Cabello called for the arrest and imprisonment of opposition members for alleged fraud in relation the recall referendum process (LatinNews, October 21, 2016). IS10</p> | IS7             |
| 21 | 7.30.17 | Constituent Assembly | <p>88. No citizen consultation. According to the Constitution, the people need to express whether they want a change of the constitution or not. The government did not hold a referendum. L</p> <p>89. Elimination of the relationship between seats and population. Government assigned one seat per district regardless of population size. This favored small and rural districts, where the ruling party is stronger. In capital cities, where the government is weaker, the government created two seats, with the rule that the second seat goes to the loser. IS7</p> <p>90. Elimination of the rule one person one vote. Government created eight sectors that would elect their own representatives: indigenous, students, peasants and fishermen, business people, handicapped people, communal councils, and communes and workers. Only voters deemed by the</p>   | L<br>IS7<br>IS7 |

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|    |          |                 | <p>government to belong to those sectors could vote for those representatives. IS7</p> <p>91. Prohibiting political parties. Candidates could not run under the sponsorship of political parties. IS9</p> <p>92. Erosion of freedom to vote. Venezuela's 2,8 million public sector employees were threatened with losing their jobs, and beneficiaries of government social programs, with lose their benefits if they abstained. <a href="https://lta.reuters.com/article/domesticNews/idLTAKBN19S23G-OUSLD">https://lta.reuters.com/article/domesticNews/idLTAKBN19S23G-OUSLD</a> IS1</p> <p>93. No auditing. Voting centers did not have auditors and witnesses from the opposition. IS5</p> <p>94. Non-credible results. Government announced that 8.089.320 voters participated (41.53 per cent of the electorate), which was almost the same number of voters who voted for Chávez in 2012 (8.1 million) and 2.46 million more votes than voted for the PSUV in the 2015 legislative elections. The opposition claimed the real number was closer to 2 million. Torino Capital, a financial firm, spoke of 3.6 million. Smartmatic, the Venezuela-based multinational that runs the electronic voting system employed in Venezuela's elections, claimed that "there was manipulation of in participation data," and that there was a difference of "at least" 1 million votes between the results reported by the CNE and Smartmatic's numbers (<a href="http://www.bbc.com/mundo/noticias-america-latina-40804551">http://www.bbc.com/mundo/noticias-america-latina-40804551</a>). IS10</p> | <p>IS9</p> <p>IS1</p> <p>IS5</p> <p>IS10</p> |
| 22 | 10.15.17 | State Governors | <p>95. Delay. Claiming that the country had other priorities, Maduro postponed these elections, twice. As per the constitution, they needed to take place in December 2016. At one point, the elections were scheduled for December 2017. But on September 12, the CNE moved them to October 15, giving the opposition 2 months to get ready (select candidates, conduct primaries, organize campaigns, and appoint witnesses). <a href="http://internacional.elpais.com/internacional/2016/10/06/america/1475763594_641432.html">http://internacional.elpais.com/internacional/2016/10/06/america/1475763594_641432.html</a>.</p> <p>96. CNE refused to change the names of opposition candidates on the ballot to reflect the real winners from primaries held. The MUD held primaries for candidates in September, days after the deadline established by the CNE to change the ballot (August 16). Initially, MUD registered 70 candidates among 23 states, tentatively, with the idea of removing them after the primaries. According to articles 62 and 63 of the Organic Law of Electoral Processes, parties can replace candidates up to 10 days prior to an election. All 49 candidates who lost asked to be removed from the ballot. The CNE refused to remove</p>   | <p>L</p> <p>L</p>                            |

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|  |  |  | <p>them. Votes that went to those candidates (90,537) did not get transferred to the official MUD candidate. This affected the results in Bolívar. If those votes (3.787) had counted for the MUD, the MUD would have won that state easily.</p> <p><a href="http://www.notimerica.com/politica/noticia-venezuela-paises-latinoamericanos-piden-cne-permita-mud-sustituir-candidatos-regionales-20171005235540.html">http://www.notimerica.com/politica/noticia-venezuela-paises-latinoamericanos-piden-cne-permita-mud-sustituir-candidatos-regionales-20171005235540.html</a>);</p> <p><a href="http://yvnoticias.com/2017/10/cne-no-habilito-sustitucion-de-candidatos-en-tarjeton-electronico">http://yvnoticias.com/2017/10/cne-no-habilito-sustitucion-de-candidatos-en-tarjeton-electronico</a>;</p> <p><a href="http://elvenezolanonews.com/estas-son-las-trampas-del-regimen-madurista-para-ganar-en-las-regionales/">http://elvenezolanonews.com/estas-son-las-trampas-del-regimen-madurista-para-ganar-en-las-regionales/</a></p> |     |
|  |  |  | <p>97. Short registration period. The CNE allowed less than two weeks for new voters to register, from July 6 to 15. Some have estimated that approximately 500,000 potential new voters did not manage to register. <a href="http://globovision.com/article/cne-inicia-jornada-de-inscripcion-para-nuevos-votantes-este-jueves">http://globovision.com/article/cne-inicia-jornada-de-inscripcion-para-nuevos-votantes-este-jueves</a></p> <p><a href="https://www.infobae.com/america/venezuela/2017/10/21/5-claves-para-entender-como-sigue-venezuela-tras-las-escandalosas-elecciones-regionales/">https://www.infobae.com/america/venezuela/2017/10/21/5-claves-para-entender-como-sigue-venezuela-tras-las-escandalosas-elecciones-regionales/</a></p>  | T   |
|  |  |  | <p>98. Centers were moved and reduced. Days before the election, the CNE announced that it would relocate 75 voting centers mostly to areas that are either inconvenient to reach or in hard-core chavista districts. This relocation was expected to affect more than 700,000 voters. In addition, the government eliminated 7,000 voting booths out of 13,559), increasing the average number of voters to be handled from 597 to 800 (<a href="http://prodavinci.com/blogs/las-claves-de-los-resultados-de-las-elecciones-regionales-2017-por-eugenio-martinez/">http://prodavinci.com/blogs/las-claves-de-los-resultados-de-las-elecciones-regionales-2017-por-eugenio-martinez/</a>).</p>   | IS7 |
|  |  |  | <p>99. No outreach to electoral staff/officials. For this election, the CNE decided to rely on the same people who staffed the 2015 voting centers to staff the voting centers. It's not clear that they were notified with instructions to get training, get certified, or even to show up the day of the voting. Unless designated people checked the CNE website, they would not have known to report to duty. When selected officials don't show on election day, CNE officials have the right to select anyone from the crowd to serve as election official</p> <p><a href="http://www.oevenezolano.org/2017/09/27/cabos-sueltos-en-la-eleccion-de-gobernadores-5-preguntas-sin-respuestas/">http://www.oevenezolano.org/2017/09/27/cabos-sueltos-en-la-eleccion-de-gobernadores-5-preguntas-sin-respuestas/</a> IS5</p>  | IS5 |
|  |  |  | <p>100. Increase in political prisoners and <i>inhabilitados</i>: At least 16 opposition mayors are facing some type of</p>  | IS9 |

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|  |  |  | <p>legal trouble, with six under arrest: Antonio Ledezma, Daniel Ceballos, Delson Guárate, Alfredo Ramos, Ramón Muchacho, and David Smolansky. Also, Henrique Capriles, governor of Miranda and leader of Primero Justicia, and Liborio Guarulla, governor of Amazonas, were banned from running for re-election. Other potential MUD candidates baned were: Adriana D'Elia, Manuel Rosales, and Pablo Pérez.</p> <p><a href="http://efectococuyo.com/politica/inhabilitaciones-impiden-a-varios-dirigentes-opositores-participar-en-regionales-2017">http://efectococuyo.com/politica/inhabilitaciones-impiden-a-varios-dirigentes-opositores-participar-en-regionales-2017</a> IS9</p> | IS5  |
|  |  |  | <p>101. Fingerprints: at least 1.6 million voters (9 percent of the electorate) voted without scanning their fingerprints. In addition, this time, the CNE did not mark voters with indelible ink after voting, making repeating voters harder to catch (<a href="http://www.el-nacional.com/noticias/politica/rondon-cne-usara-tinta-indeleble-las-regionales_203653">http://www.el-nacional.com/noticias/politica/rondon-cne-usara-tinta-indeleble-las-regionales_203653</a>). IS5</p>   | IS5  |
|  |  |  | <p>102. Shortage of witnesses. According to ACAE, an electoral observer NGO, as many as 39 percent of centers lacked official witnesses. Many of these cases were the result of CNE officials banning witnesses from entering (Asociación Civil Asamblea de Educación 2017). IS5</p>   |      |
|  |  |  | <p>103. Machine malfunctioning: ACAE also reported that 27 percent of centers experienced some type of malfunctioning: power outages, out-of-service voting machines. VDI</p>  | VDI  |
|  |  |  | <p>104. Inconsistent tallies in the State of Bolívar. Eleven printed tallies (actas electorales) reported voting results that did not match (higher for the MUD candidate, Andrés Velásquez) the CNE's official report. Many votes were entered mysteriously after the tallies were printed. These 11 acts gave the declared winner (the PSUV's Noguera) an even smaller advantage to the already tight lead I the official results of 0,26 percentage points. IS10</p>  | IS10 |
|  |  |  | <p>105. Linking voting with the "Fatherland's ID cards" (Carnets de la Patria). The Fatherland's IDs are cards with a chip that allow card-holders to receive state-subsidized food. Government opted to allow people to renew or apply for new cards on election day. This encouraged voters to go out to vote (and perhaps to vote for the PSUV) to get their cards renewed or to apply for new ones. Apparently, renewals and new applications were conditioned on presenting evidence of voting. This ID card did not exist in the 2015 elections.</p> <p><a href="http://prodavinci.com/blogs/el-nuevo-leviatan-">http://prodavinci.com/blogs/el-nuevo-leviatan-</a></p>            | IS4  |



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|    |         |              | <p><a href="#">venezolano-entendiendo-el-15oct-por-michael-penfold/</a> IS4</p> <p>106. Constituent Assembly gave itself the right the change the powers of elected posts. IS12</p> <p>107. Forcing governors to swear before the National Constituent Assembly; Governor-elect of Zulia refused and was removed from office. IS8</p> <p>108. Appointing protectors. Shortly after the elections, the government appointed so-called “protectors,” who would take some of the powers reserved for governors or local officials, thereby stripping the new governors of autonomy. IS12</p>   | IS12<br>IS8<br>IS12         |
|    |         | Municipal    | <p>109. Elections were scheduled in October, violating the rule providing for 6-month advanced notice. Only five days were given to propose and certify candidates. T.</p> <p>110. Elections for municipal council members were excluded, even though the law required them. Likewise, the CNE suspended elections for the mayor of Caracas and Alto Apure, in violation of the law. IS7</p> <p>111. No updating of the Voter Registry took place. No new voters were included. IS11</p> <p>112. No effort was made to certify new election observers and poll witnesses.<br/><a href="http://efectococuyo.com/politica/observadores-electorales-detectan-11-irregularidades-en-el-proceso-de-municipales">http://efectococuyo.com/politica/observadores-electorales-detectan-11-irregularidades-en-el-proceso-de-municipales</a> IS5</p>   | T<br>IS7<br>IS11<br>IS5     |
| 23 | 4.30.18 | Presidential | <p>113. On Tuesday, January 23, the government announces the date for presidential elections: April 30, 2018, violating the constitutional stipulation that at least 6 months be provided to prepare for an election (Art. 298). (Hernández 2018). T, L</p> <p>114. The body that called for the election was the National Constituent Assembly, violating the constitutional stipulation that only the “Electoral Power” (currently, the CNE) has the right to call for elections (Art. 293). (Hernández 2018). L</p> <p>115. The Supreme Tribunal banned the opposition to run as a coalition (currently called MUD). It argued that the MUD cannot present itself as a single party, thereby impeding the opposition to run united<br/><a href="http://www.bbc.com/mundo/noticias-america-latina-42827734">http://www.bbc.com/mundo/noticias-america-latina-42827734</a> IS7</p> <p>116. Illegalization of parties. On December 2017, President Maduro ordered the CNE to sanction those parties that boycotted the 2017 municipal elections and demanded that five parties be revalidated. This decision violates the law: there is nothing in the law that requires parties to participate in elections. (Martínez 2018) IS7</p> | T<br>L<br>IS7<br>IS7<br>IS7 |

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|  |  |  | 117.Arbitrary change in rules for validating parties. The rules for validating parties (involving the collection of signatures) was established on January 17, 2018, days before the actual validation needed to take place, scheduled for 3-4 February. Rules for obtaining the possibility of having a second chance to collect signatures (jornada de reparo) were also changed to make it more restrictive. As a result of this measure and the one before, the number of legal parties in Venezuela declined from 62 in 2016 to 17 in 2018, of which only 2 belong to the opposition.(Martínez 2018) IS7 |  |
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