

Conservative  
Parties,  
the Right,  
and Democracy  
in Latin America

*Edited by*

KEVIN J. MIDDLEBROOK

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# **Conservative Parties, the Right, and Democracy in Latin America**

EDITED BY KEVIN J. MIDDLEBROOK

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## Contents

List of Figures and Tables	vii
Acknowledgments	xi
Principal Acronyms	xiii
CHAPTER 1	
Introduction: Conservative Parties, Elite Representation, and Democracy in Latin America	1
KEVIN J. MIDDLEBROOK	
PART I	
<b>Established Conservative Parties and the Challenge of Democracy</b>	
CHAPTER 2	
Atavism and Democratic Ambiguity in the Chilean Right	53
MANUEL ANTONIO GARRETÓN	
CHAPTER 3	
The Conservative Party and the Crisis of Political Legitimacy in Colombia	80
JOHN C. DUGAS	
CHAPTER 4	
Venezuelan Parties and the Representation of Elite Interests	110
MICHAEL COPPEDGE	

PART II

**Democratization, the Right, and  
New Conservative Parties**

CHAPTER 5

Ruling without a Party: Argentine Dominant Classes  
in the Twentieth Century 139  
ATILIO A. BORÓN

CHAPTER 6

Conservative Parties, Democracy, and Economic Reform  
in Contemporary Brazil 164  
SCOTT MAINWARING, RACHEL MENEGUELLO,  
AND TIMOTHY J. POWER

CHAPTER 7

Civil War and the Transformation of Elite Representation  
in El Salvador 223  
ELISABETH J. WOOD

CHAPTER 8

The Irrelevant Right: Alberto Fujimori and the New Politics  
of Pragmatic Peru 255  
CATHERINE M. CONAGHAN

CHAPTER 9

Conclusion: Conservative Politics, the Right, and Democracy  
in Latin America 285  
KEVIN J. MIDDLEBROOK

STATISTICAL APPENDIX

National Election Results, 1980s and 1990s, for Argentina,  
Brazil, Chile, Colombia, El Salvador, Peru, and Venezuela 293  
ERIC MAGAR AND KEVIN J. MIDDLEBROOK

Notes 329

List of Contributors 377

Index 381

**Figures and Tables**

**Figures**

FIGURE 4.1  
Evolution of Ideological Blocs in Venezuelan Elections, 1946–1998 117

FIGURE 4.2  
Percentage of Venezuelans Reporting Improved Personal Economic  
Situation, 1975–1992 129

FIGURE 7.1  
Structure of El Salvador's Gross Domestic Product, 1970–1992 237

FIGURE 7.2  
Inflows of Foreign Exchange to El Salvador, 1979–1993 239

**Tables**

TABLE 1.1  
Church-State Conflict and Conservative Party Formation in Seven  
Latin American Countries, 1850s–1940s 11

TABLE 3.1  
Party Composition of the Colombian Chamber of Representatives,  
1974–1998 82

TABLE 3.2  
Party Composition of the Colombian Senate, 1974–1998 83

on democratic transitions in East Central Europe, there has been little treatment of center-right and rightist parties in these new democracies. Most analyses of parties and elections in the East Central European context focus on general patterns of partisan alignment and the fate of post-communist socialist parties and the heterogeneous prodemocracy coalitions that formed in the first phases of these regime transitions; studies of the political Right mainly address small neonazi or neofascist parties and the paramilitary Right.<sup>11</sup> Thus the cross-national study of the Right and democratization, and the Right's distinctive manifestations in different regional contexts, constitute important areas for future comparative research.

## STATISTICAL APPENDIX

# **National Election Results, 1980s and 1990s, for Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Colombia, El Salvador, Peru, and Venezuela**

ERIC MAGAR AND KEVIN J. MIDDLEBROOK

The tables in this appendix present the results of national (presidential and legislative) elections held during the 1980s and 1990s in the seven countries examined in detail in this book: Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Colombia, El Salvador, Peru, and Venezuela. It is extraordinarily difficult to locate reliable electoral data for Latin American countries over any extended period of time. Moreover, even country specialists are sometimes unable to identify by name, or characterize programmatically, parties that are listed in data sources only by an acronym or abbreviation. The purpose of this appendix is, therefore, to advance scholarship by establishing an empirical basis for the analysis of various political parties' electoral records in major countries during a period that was critically important to the future of democracy in Latin America.

Because the chapters in this book focus on conservative political parties, the tables highlight the electoral performance of parties on the center-right and right of the political spectrum. The principal source for classifying parties as conservative is Michael Coppedge, "A Classification of Latin American Political Parties," Working Paper 244 (University of Notre Dame, Helen Kellogg Institute for International Studies, 1997), which provides ideological and programmatic classifications of Latin American parties based primarily on a survey of country specialists. In selected cases, Catherine M. Conaghan, Michael Coppedge, Brian F. Crisp, John C. Dugas, Edward L. Gibson, Steven Levitsky, Scott Mainwaring, Cynthia McClintock, James W. McGuire, Rachel Meneguello, Timothy J. Power, Andrea Vlahusic, and Elisabeth J. Wood generously provided additional information concerning party identification and classification.

Coppedge, whose classification criteria were designed to encompass Latin American political parties active from the early twentieth century onward, defines (3-4) rightist parties as "parties that target heirs of the traditional elite of the nineteenth century without moderating their dis-

course to appeal to middle- and lower-class voters (Chilean P. Conservative); parties that employ a fascist or neofascist discourse (Chilean P. Nacista); [and] parties sponsored by a present or former military government, as long as they have a conservative (organicist, authoritarian, elitist, looking to the past) message and are not primarily personalist vehicles for particular authoritarian leaders (Brazilian ARENA)." He defines (4) center-right parties as "parties that target middle- or lower-class voters in addition to elite voters by stressing cooperation with the private sector, public order, clean government, morality, or the priority of growth over distribution (Argentine UCeDé)."

Characterizing a specific party or electoral coalition as conservative often involves a fine judgment. Such judgments are especially difficult when the social bases or ideological positions of a particular party or electoral coalition change significantly over time. For example, table A.15 follows Coppedge by classifying Alberto Fujimori's Cambio 90 as personalist (and therefore not conservative), even though other analysts might label it as conservative based on its ideological and programmatic profile in the mid-1990s. Subsequent research may, therefore, provide a basis for reclassifying some of the political organizations identified here as conservative.

With the exception of Argentine and Brazilian senate elections (in which the only data available by individual political party are the number of seats each party won), the tables list electoral results for all political parties winning at least 2 percent of the valid vote (that is, the total vote less blank and null ballots) in the elections covered. For conservative parties, the tables include all available electoral results, whether or not an individual party surpassed this 2 percent threshold. Unless otherwise noted, organizations grouped in the category "minor parties" are, based on the best information available, identified as "not conservative." However, it was especially difficult to identify and classify reliably the large number of very small parties and electoral fronts in Argentina, Peru, and Venezuela.

## Tables

- A.1 Argentina: Presidential Elections, 1983, 1989, 1995
- A.2 Argentina: Chamber of Deputies Elections, 1983–1997
- A.3 Argentina: Senate Elections, 1983–1995
- A.4 Brazil: Presidential Elections, 1989, 1994, 1998
- A.5 Brazil: Chamber of Deputies Elections, 1986, 1990, 1994
- A.6 Brazil: Senate Elections, 1986–1998

- A.7 Chile: Presidential Elections, 1989, 1993
- A.8 Chile: Chamber of Deputies Elections, 1989, 1993, 1997
- A.9 Chile: Senate Elections, 1989, 1993, 1997
- A.10 Colombia: Presidential Elections, 1982–1998
- A.11 Colombia: Chamber of Representatives Elections, 1982–1998
- A.12 Colombia: Senate Elections, 1982–1998
- A.13 El Salvador: Presidential Elections, 1984–1999
- A.14 El Salvador: Legislative Elections, 1982–1997
- A.15 Peru: Presidential Elections, 1980–1995
- A.16 Peru: Chamber of Deputies Elections, 1980–1995
- A.17 Peru: Senate Elections, 1980, 1985, 1990
- A.18 Venezuela: Presidential Elections, 1983–1998
- A.19 Venezuela: Legislative Elections, 1983–1998

Table A.1 Argentina: Presidential Elections, 1983, 1989, 1995

Party	1983		1989		1995	
	Number of Votes	Percent of Valid Votes	Number of Votes	Percent of Valid Votes	Number of Votes	Percent of Valid Votes
Alianza de Centro <sup>a</sup>			1,041,998	6.3		
Alianza Federal <sup>b</sup>	57,027	0.4			4,993,360	29.3
Alianza Izquierda Unida			411,679	2.5	303,529	1.8
Confederación Federalista Independiente <sup>a</sup>			754,915	4.6		
Confederación Nacional del Centro <sup>a</sup>	7,745	0.1				
Frente por un País Solidario						
Movimiento de Dignidad e Independencia <sup>a</sup>						
Movimiento de Integración y Desarrollo <sup>a,b</sup>	177,426	1.2				
Partido Federal <sup>a</sup>	10,153	0.1				
Partido Intransigente	347,648	2.3				
Partido Justicialista <sup>b</sup>	5,994,406	40.1	7,862,475	47.6	8,519,010	49.9
Unión Cívica Radical	7,725,173	51.7	5,391,944	32.6	2,898,126	17.0
Minor parties (not conservative) <sup>c</sup>	613,930	4.1	1,052,559	6.4	354,014	2.1
Total valid votes	14,933,508		16,515,570		17,068,039	
Blank and null ballots	445,261		316,600		672,030	
Total votes	15,378,769		16,832,170		17,400,778	
Total conservative party votes	252,351	1.7	1,796,913	10.9	303,529	1.8

Source: For 1983–89: Rosendo Fraga, María Eugenia Tasio, and Julio Burdman, *Argentina en las urnas: 1916–1994* (Buenos Aires: Centro de Estudios Unión para la Nueva Mayoría, 1995), 12–13; for 1995: William Perry, “The 1995 Argentine Elections: Post-Election Report,” Western Hemisphere Election Study Series, vol. 13, Study 5 (Washington, D.C.: Center for Strategic and International Studies, 1995), 11.

a. Conservative party or electoral alliance as defined in introduction to appendix.

b. In 1989, the Partido Justicialista formed the Frente Justicialista de Unidad Popular with the Partido Demócrata Cristiano, the Movimiento de Integración y Desarrollo, and the Movimiento para la Liberación.

c. Parties that were not conservative and received less than 2 percent of the valid vote in all elections.

## A.2 Argentina: Chamber of Deputies Elections, 1983–1997

	1983			1985			1987			1989			1991			1993			1995 <sup>c</sup>			1997		
	Number of Votes	Percent of Valid Votes		Number of Votes	Percent of Valid Votes		Number of Votes	Percent of Valid Votes		Number of Votes	Percent of Valid Votes		Number of Votes	Percent of Valid Votes		Number of Votes	Percent of Valid Votes		Number of Votes	Percent of Valid Votes		Number of Votes	Percent of Valid Votes	
por la República <sup>a</sup>																								
Izquierda Unida																								
por el Trabajo, la Justicia, y la Equidad <sup>b</sup>																								
Unidad Socialista <sup>d</sup>																								
el Pueblo <sup>e</sup>																								
renovador Justicialista																								
por un País Solidario																								
Centro de Dignidad e Independencia <sup>b</sup>																								
Centro de Integración y Desarrollo <sup>b</sup>																								
Demócrata <sup>b</sup>	223,587	1.5					155,932	1.0																
Demócrata Progresista <sup>b</sup>																								
Federal <sup>b,f</sup>																								
Fuerza Republicana <sup>b</sup>																								
Intransigente	411,343	2.8					327,103	2.0																
Justicialista <sup>a</sup>	5,696,256	38.4					6,649,362	41.5																
Justicialista Radical	7,104,048	47.8					5,972,588	37.2																
Centro Democrático <sup>a,b,h</sup>	232,993	1.6					929,695	5.8																
Parties (not conservative) <sup>f</sup>	1,183,739	8.0					1,781,879	11.1																
at valid votes	14,851,966						16,037,652																	
Blank and null ballots	453,829						404,206																	
at votes	15,305,795						16,441,858																	
at conservative party votes	456,580	3.1					1,306,720	8.1																

Source: For 1983–93: República Argentina, *Republic of Argentina Statistical Yearbook* (Buenos Aires: Ministerio de Economía y Obras y Servicios Públicos/Secretaría de Programación Económica/Instituto Nacional de Estadística y Censos, 1995), 248–51; for 1995: William E. Shafer, "The 1995 Argentine Elections: Post-Election Report," Western Hemisphere Election Study Series, vol. 13, Study 5 (Washington, D.C.: Congressional and International Studies, 1995), 13–16; for 1997: Universidad Nacional de Quilmes and Fundación Argentina Siglo 21 ([www.elecciones97.com.ar](http://www.elecciones97.com.ar)).

<sup>a</sup> For the 1995 elections, the total valid vote was reconstructed from the reported votes for individual parties.

<sup>b</sup> Conservative party or electoral alliance as defined in introduction to appendix.

<sup>c</sup> In 1997, Frente por un País Solidario and the Unión Cívica Radical together constituted the Alianza por el Trabajo, la Justicia y la

<sup>d</sup> Partido Socialista Popular and the Partido Socialista Democrático together constituted the Alianza Unidad Socialista.

<sup>e</sup> Frente del Pueblo was an alliance of the Movimiento al Socialismo and the Partido Comunista.

<sup>f</sup> In 1989, the Partido Federal and other parties formed the Confederación Federal Independiente.

<sup>g</sup> In 1985, the Partido Justicialista, Frente de Izquierda Popular, and Movimiento de Integración y Desarrollo together formed Frente Justicialista de Liberación. In 1989, the Partido Justicialista, Movimiento de Integración y Desarrollo, Movimiento para la Liberación, and Partido Demócrata Cristiano together formed the Frente Justicialista Popular.

<sup>h</sup> In 1983, 1985, and 1989, the Unión de Centro Democrático led the Alianza de Centro, which included the Partido Demócrata Progresista (in 1989) and other parties.

<sup>i</sup> Parties that were not conservative and received less than 2 percent of the valid vote in all elections.

NA = Not available.



Table A.3 Argentina: Senate Elections, 1983-1995

Party	1983		1986		1989		1992		1995	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
of	of	of	of	of	of	of	of	of	of	of
All	All	All	All	All	All	All	All	All	All	All
Seats	Seats	Seats	Seats	Seats	Seats	Seats	Seats	Seats	Seats	Seats
Frete por un País Solidario	1	2.2	1	2.2	0	0	0	0	1	1.4
Movimiento de Integración y Desarrollo <sup>a</sup>										
Partido Justicialista	21	45.7	21	45.7	26	56.5	30	62.5	39	54.2
Unión Cívica Radical	18	39.1	18	39.1	14	30.4	11	22.9	21	29.2
Provincial parties <sup>b</sup>	6	13.0	6	13.0	6	13.0	7	14.6	11	15.3
Total senators elected	46		46		46		48		72	
Total conservative party senators	1	2.2	1	2.2	0	0	0	0	0	0

Source: Rosendo Fraga, *Argentina en las urnas, 1931-1991* (Buenos Aires: Editorial Centro de Estudios Unión para la Nueva Mayoría, 1992), 12; Rosendo Fraga, *Argentina en las urnas, 1916-1994* (Buenos Aires: Editorial Centro de Estudios Unión para la Nueva Mayoría, 1995), 47.

Note: Before adoption of Argentina's 1994 constitution, federal senators were elected by provincial legislatures. Each province elected two senators to nine-year terms, with one-third of the total elected every three years. In practice, however, seats often changed at irregular times because of internal legislative conflicts, and some remained vacant for considerable periods of time. The data reported in this table refer, therefore, to the senate's overall composition at the time seats were formally filled.

Beginning with the Federal Capital in 1995, senate seats were filled by direct elections as the terms of incumbent senators ended. All senators are to be elected directly beginning in 2001.

The expanded number of senate seats reported in the last column (referring to the 1995-98 period) reflects the fact that, beginning in 1996, each province elected a third, "minority," senator.

a. Conservative party or electoral alliance as defined in introduction to appendix.

b. The available sources do not indicate the party affiliation of all the senators representing provincial parties; it was not possible, therefore, to disaggregate these totals for the entire 1983-95 period. Although some of Argentina's provincial parties might reasonably be classified as conservative, most of them are primarily traditionalist-clientelist and nonideological.

Table A.4 Brazil: Presidential Elections, 1989, 1994, 1998

Party	1989 (I) <sup>a</sup>		1989 (II)		1994 <sup>b</sup>		1998	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
of	of	of	of	of	of	of	of	of
Valid	Valid	Valid	Valid	Valid	Valid	Valid	Valid	Valid
Votes	Votes	Votes	Votes	Votes	Votes	Votes	Votes	Votes
Partido da Frente Liberal <sup>c</sup>	600,730	0.9						
Partido da Movilização Nacional <sup>c</sup>	109,894	0.2						
Partido da Reconstrução Nacional <sup>c</sup>	20,607,936	30.5	35,085,457	53.0	387,815	0.6	251,351	0.4
Partido da Social Democracia Brasileira	7,786,939	11.5			34,362,726	54.3	35,936,916	53.1
Partido da Reediificação da Ordem Nacional <sup>c</sup>	360,574	0.5			4,671,474	7.4	1,447,080	2.1
Partido Democrata Cristão <sup>c</sup>	83,280	0.1						
Partido Democrático Social <sup>c</sup>	5,986,012	8.9						
Partido Democrático Trabalhista	11,166,016	16.5			2,015,843	3.2		
Partido do Movimento Democrático Brasileiro	3,204,853	4.7			2,773,497	4.4		
Partido do Povo <sup>c</sup>	198,708	0.3						
Partido dos Trabalhadores	11,619,816	17.2	31,070,734	47.0	17,116,579	27.0	21,475,330	31.7
Partido Liberal <sup>c</sup>	3,271,986	4.8						
Partido Popular Socialista <sup>d</sup>	768,803	1.1						
Partido Progressista Reformador <sup>c</sup>					1,739,780	2.7	7,426,232	11.0
Partido Social Cristão <sup>c</sup>								
Partido Social Democrata Cristão <sup>c</sup>					238,257	0.4	124,571	0.2
Partido Social Democrático	488,872	0.7					171,827	0.3
Unificado							202,657	0.3

(continued)

Source: For 1989-94: Jairo Marcomi Nicolau, ed., <i>Dados eleitorais do Brasil, 1982-1996</i> (Rio de Janeiro: Editora Revan-Instituto Universitário de Pesquisas do Rio de Janeiro-Universidade Candido Mendes, 1998), 23-38, 245-46; for 1998: Tribunal Supremo Eleitoral ( <a href="http://www.tse.gov.br">http://www.tse.gov.br</a> ).									
Note: Includes first- and second-round voting results in the 1989 presidential elections.									
a. In 1989, the Partido Social Trabalhista and Partido do Solidarismo Libertador allied with the Partido da Reconstrução Nacional; the Partido Socialista Brasileiro and Partido Comunista do Brasil allied with the Partido dos Trabalhadores; the Partido Democrata Cristão allied with the Partido Liberal; and the Partido Democrático Nacional allied with the Partido Social Democrático.									
b. In 1994, the Partido da Frente Liberal and Partido Trabalhista Brasileiro supported the Partido da Social Democracia Brasileira; the Partido Socialista Brasileiro, Partido Comunista do Brasil, Partido Popular Socialista, Partido Verde, and Partido Socialista dos Trabalhadores Unificado supported the Partido dos Trabalhadores; and the Partido Social Democrático supported the Partido do Movimento Democrático Brasileiro.									
c. Conservative party or electoral alliance as defined in introduction to appendix.									
d. Before 1991, the PPS was the Partido Comunista Brasileiro.									
e. Parties that were not conservative and received less than 2 percent of the valid vote in all elections.									
Party	Number of Valid Votes	Percent of Valid Votes	Number of Valid Votes	Percent of Valid Votes	Number of Valid Votes	Percent of Valid Votes	Number of Valid Votes	Percent of Valid Votes	Number of Valid Votes
Partido Solidartista Nacional <sup>a</sup>	379,262	0.6	0	0	63,305,971	0	67,723,027	0.2	109,008
Partido Trabalhista Brasileiro <sup>c</sup>							212,990	0.3	198,926
Partido Trabalhista Nacional <sup>c</sup>							166,139	0.2	166,139
Minor parties (not conservative) <sup>e</sup>	979,656	1.4	0	0	63,305,971	0	67,723,027	0.3	109,008
Total valid votes	67,613,337		66,156,191		63,305,971		67,723,027		109,008
Blank and null ballots	4,664,071		4,094,003		14,638,118		15,573,040		166,139
Total votes	72,277,408		70,250,194		77,944,089		83,296,067		198,926
Total conservative party votes	32,087,254	47.5	35,085,457	53.0	7,037,326	11.1	2,468,902	3.6	109,008

Table A.5 Brazil: Chamber of Deputies Elections, 1986, 1990, 1994

Source: Jairo Marcomi Nicolau, ed., <i>Dados eleitorais do Brasil, 1982-1996</i> (Rio de Janeiro: Revan-Instituto Universitário de Pesquisas do Rio de Janeiro-Universidade Candido Mendes, 1998), 43-84, 245-46.									
a. Conservative party or electoral alliance as defined in introduction to appendix.									
b. Parties that were not conservative and received less than 2 percent of the valid vote in all elections.									
Party	Number of Valid Votes	Percent of Valid Votes	Number of Valid Votes	Percent of Valid Votes	Number of Valid Votes	Percent of Valid Votes	Number of Valid Votes	Percent of Valid Votes	Number of Valid Votes
Partido da Frente Liberal <sup>a</sup>	8,287,385	17.7	5,026,474	12.4	5,873,370	12.9	5,873,370	12.9	5,873,370
Partido da Reconstrução Nacional <sup>a</sup>	29,776	0.1	249,606	0.6	257,018	0.6	257,018	0.6	257,018
Partido da Social Democracia Brasileira			3,515,809	8.7	6,350,941	13.9	6,350,941	13.9	6,350,941
Partido Democrata Cristão <sup>a</sup>	551,973	1.2	1,205,506	3.0					
Partido Democrático Social <sup>a</sup>	3,649,986	7.8	3,609,196	8.9					
Partido Democrático Trabalhista	3,025,745	6.5	4,068,078	10.0	3,303,434	7.2	3,303,434	7.2	3,303,434
Partido do Movimento Democrático Brasileiro	22,478,686	48.1	7,798,653	19.3	9,287,049	20.3	9,287,049	20.3	9,287,049
Partido dos Trabalhadores	3,204,390	6.9	4,128,052	10.2	5,859,347	12.8	5,859,347	12.8	5,859,347
Partido Liberal <sup>a</sup>	1,329,442	2.8	1,721,929	4.3	1,603,330	3.5	1,603,330	3.5	1,603,330
Partido Progressista Reformador <sup>a</sup>					3,169,626	6.9	3,169,626	6.9	3,169,626
Partido Republicano Progressista <sup>a</sup>	2,020	0.0	94,069	0.2	4,307,878	9.4	4,307,878	9.4	4,307,878
Partido Social Cristão <sup>a</sup>	199,641	0.4	342,079	0.8	207,307	0.5	207,307	0.5	207,307
Partido Social Democrático <sup>a</sup>			215,226	0.5	414,933	0.9	414,933	0.9	414,933
Partido Social Trabalhista <sup>a</sup>			373,986	0.9					
Partido Socialista Brasileiro	440,037	0.9	756,034	1.9	995,298	2.2	995,298	2.2	995,298
Partido Trabalhista Brasileiro <sup>a</sup>	2,101,698	4.5	2,277,882	5.6	2,379,773	5.2	2,379,773	5.2	2,379,773
Partido Trabalhista Renovador <sup>a</sup>	37,229	0.1	426,848	1.1					
Minor parties (not conservative) <sup>b</sup>	1,380,573	3.0	1,332,251	3.3	1,285,349	2.8	1,285,349	2.8	1,285,349
Total valid votes	46,718,581		40,498,769		45,694,172		45,694,172		45,694,172
Blank and null ballots	18,414,646		31,442,144		31,966,623		31,966,623		31,966,623
Total votes	65,133,227		71,940,913		77,660,795		77,660,795		77,660,795
Total conservative party votes	16,189,150	34.7	18,899,892	46.7	18,612,754	40.7	18,612,754	40.7	18,612,754

Table A.7 Chile: Presidential Elections, 1989, 1993

Party List	Candidate	Number of Votes	Percent of Valid Votes
1989			
Concertación	Patricio Aylwin	3,850,023	55.2
Democracia y Progreso <sup>a</sup>	Hernán Büchi	2,051,975	29.4
Unidad por la Democracia <sup>a</sup>	Francisco Errázuriz	1,076,894	15.4
Total valid votes		6,978,892	
Blank and null ballots		178,833	
Total votes		7,157,725	
Total conservative lists		3,128,869	44.8
1993			
Humanista	Cristian Reitze Campos	81,555	1.2
Unión por Chile <sup>a</sup>	Arturo Alessandri Besa	1,694,764	24.4
Concertación	Eduardo Frei Ruiz-Tagle	4,025,466	58.0
La Izquierda	Eugenio Pizarro Poblete	325,557	4.7
Chile 2000	Manfred Max Neef	385,234	5.5
Independent candidate <sup>a</sup>	José Piñera Echenique	429,277	6.2
Total valid votes		6,941,853	
Blank and null ballots		406,672	
Total votes		7,348,525	
Total conservative lists		2,124,041	30.6

Source: For 1989: República de Chile, *Resultados: Plebiscitos y elecciones, 1988-1989* (Santiago: Servicio Electoral, 1990), 3; for 1993: República de Chile, Ministerio del Interior (<http://www.interior.cl>).

a. Conservative party or electoral alliance as defined in introduction to appendix.

Party	1986	1990	1994	1998
Partido da Frente Liberal <sup>a</sup>	7	14.3	8	23.5
Partido da Reconstrução Nacional <sup>a</sup>	1	3.2	1	
Partido da Social Democracia Brasileira	1	6.5	2	
Partido Democrata Cristão <sup>a</sup>	2	6.5	1	19.8
Partido Democrático Social <sup>a,b</sup>	2	6.5	2	2.5
Partido do Movimento Democrático Brasileiro	38	77.6	8	33.3
Partido dos Trabalhadores	1	3.2	4	8.6
Partido Liberal <sup>a</sup>	1	7.4	1	
Partido Municipalista Brasileiro <sup>a</sup>	1	1.9	1	1.2
Partido Popular Socialista		1.9	1	
Partido Progressista <sup>a</sup>		7.4	4	
Partido Progressista Reformador <sup>a,b</sup>		3.7	2	6.2
Partido Social Trabalhista <sup>a</sup>	1	3.2	1	3.7
Partido Socialista Brasileiro	4	12.9	3	1.2
Partido Trabalhista Brasileiro <sup>a</sup>	49	31	54	81
Total senators elected	10	20.4	21	25.9
Total conservative party senators			21	

Source: For 1986-94: Jairo Marconi Nicolau, ed., *Dados eleitorais do Brasil, 1982-1996* (Rio de Janeiro: Editora Revan-Instituto Universitário de Pesquisas do Rio de Janeiro-Universidade Candido Mendes, 1998), 95; for 1998: Tribunal Superior Eleitoral.

a. Conservative party or electoral alliance as defined in introduction to appendix.

b. In 1994, the Partido Democrático Social became the Partido Progressista Reformador (PPR); in 1995, the PPR and the Partido Popular formed the Partido Progressista Brasileiro.

Party	1989	1993	1997
Avanzada Nacional <sup>a</sup>	57,574		
Partido Amplio de Izquierda Socialista	297,897	4.4	6.9
Partido Comunista de Chile	47,387	0.7	0.4
Partido del Sur <sup>a</sup>	1,766,347	26.0	23.0
Partido Demócrata Cristiano	47,237	0.7	2.9
Partido Liberal <sup>a</sup>	53,819	0.8	
Partido Nacional <sup>a</sup>	778,501	11.5	12.5
Partido por la Democracia	268,103	3.9	
Partido Radical	797,428	12.0	3.1
Partido Radical Social-Democrático	179,701	17.9	3.1
Partido Socialista Chileno	636,357	11.1	11.1
Renovación Nacional <sup>a</sup>	962,247	16.8	16.8
Unión de Centro-Centro <sup>a</sup>	68,185	1.2	1.2
Unión Demócrata Independiente <sup>a</sup>	827,324	14.4	14.4
Chile 2000 (independents)	54,402	0.9	
Concertación (independents)	619,595	9.1	
Democracia y Progreso (independents) <sup>a</sup>	413,780	6.1	
Unión por el Progreso (independents) <sup>a</sup>	120,369	1.8	
Independents	416,712	6.1	
Minor parties (not conservative) <sup>b</sup>	6,797,122	294,692	120,519
Total valid votes	361,534	6,637,813	5,733,714
Blank and null ballots	7,158,656	7,270,656	6,972,530
Total votes	2,529,598	2,430,539	2,145,627
Total conservative party votes <sup>c</sup>	37.2	36.6	37.4

Concertación por la Democracia	3,499,713	51.5	3,682,215	55.5	2,898,362	50.5
Democracia y Progreso <sup>a</sup>	2,323,581	34.2				
Del Sur <sup>a</sup>	47,387	0.7				
Alianza de Centro <sup>a</sup>	183,301	2.7				
Liberal Socialista Chileno	208,351	3.1				
Nacional <sup>a</sup>	53,819	0.8				
Unidad para la Democracia	360,601	5.3				
Democrática de Izquierda	423,410	6.4				
Unión por el Progreso de Chile <sup>a</sup>	2,430,539	36.6				
Alternativa la Nueva Alianza	94,608	1.4				
Humanista	166,569	2.9				
Unión por Chile <sup>a</sup>	2,077,442	36.2				
La Izquierda	428,838	7.5				
Chile 2000	122,587	2.1				
Total conservative lists	2,608,088	38.4	2,430,539	36.6	2,077,442	36.2

Source: For 1989: República de Chile, *Resultados: Plebiscitos y elecciones*, 1988-1989 (Santiago: Servicio Electoral, 1990), 23-82; for 1993: República de Chile, *Informe elecciones*, 1993, Result no. 4. (Santiago: Ministerio del Interior, 1994), 19-78; for 1997: República de Chile, Ministerio del Interior (http://www.interior.cl).

Note: Parties allied in lists in the following fashion: 1989, List A: Concertación de Partidos por la Democracia; Los Verdes, Partido Demócrata Cristiano, Partido Humanista, Partido por la Democracia, Partido Radical, independiente candidatos; List B: Democracia y Progreso; Renovación Nacional, Unión Demócrata Independiente, independiente candidatos; List C: Del Sur; Partido del Sur; List D: Alianza de Centro; Avanzada Nacional, Democracia Radical, independiente candidatos; List E: Liberal Socialista Chileno; Partido Liberal, Partido Socialista Chileno, independiente candidatos; List F: Nacional; Partido Nacional; List G: Unidad para la Democracia; Partido Amplio de Izquierda Socialista, Partido Radical Social-Demócrata, independiente candidatos; List A: Democrática de Izquierda; Movimiento de Acción Popular Unitaria, Partido Comunista, Partido Demócrata Independiente, independiente candidatos; List B: Unión por el Progreso de Chile; Partido Nacional, Partido de la Nueva Alianza, Movimiento Ecológico, independiente candidatos; List D: Concertación de Partidos por la Democracia; Partido Humanista; Partido por la Democracia, Partido Radical, Partido Socialista Chileno, Social Demócrata, independiente candidatos; 1997, List A: Humanista; Partido Humanista; List B: Unión por Chile; Renovación Nacional, Unión Demócrata Independiente, Partido del Sur, independiente candidatos; List C: Concertación de Partidos por la Democracia; Partido Socialista Chileno, independiente candidatos; List D: La Izquierda; Partido Comunista de Chile, Nueva Alianza Popular, independiente candidatos; List E: Chile 2000.

a. Conservative party or electoral alliance as defined in introduction to appendix.

b. Parties and candidates that were not conservative and received less than 2 percent of the valid vote in all elections.

c. Votes cast for Liberal Socialista Chileno independent candidates (who were not formally tied with either member of the alliance) are not included in the conservative vote total reported in this table.

Party and Party List					
1989		1993		1997	
Number	Percent of Votes	Number	Percent of Valid Votes	Number	Percent of Valid Votes

Avanzada Nacional <sup>a</sup>	697	0.0			
Partido Amplio de Izquierda Socialista	288,314	4.2			
Partido Comunista de Chile					8.4
Partido del Sur <sup>a</sup>	45,584	0.7			29.2
Partido Demócrata Cristiano	2,188,246	32.2	373,211	20.3	1,223,495
Partido Humanista	10,120	0.1			92,880
Partido Liberal <sup>a</sup>	43,741	0.6			
Partido por la Democracia	820,406	12.1	272,410	14.8	180,468
Partido Radical	147,364	2.2	116,943	6.4	609,725
Partido Socialista Chileno	731,658	10.8	234,371	12.7	620,799
Renovación Nacional <sup>a</sup>	347,404	5.1	187,448	10.2	717,919
Unión de Centro-Centro <sup>a</sup>			45,805	2.5	17,725
Unión Demócrata Independiente <sup>a</sup>	523,276	7.7			92,072
Chile 2000 (independent candidates)					
Concertación (independent candidates)	1,290,890	19.0			
Democracia y Progreso (independent candidates) <sup>a</sup>					
Unión por Chile (independent candidates) <sup>a</sup>					
Unión por el Progreso (independent candidates) <sup>a</sup>					
Independents					
Minor parties (not conservative) <sup>b</sup>	362,337	5.3	54,494	3.0	83,900
Total valid votes	6,800,037		1,840,625		4,184,447
Blank and null ballots	357,999		168,369		853,483
Total votes	7,158,036		2,008,994		5,037,930
Total conservative party votes <sup>c</sup>	2,470,094	36.3	684,883	37.2	1,549,580

<i>Party List</i>					
Concertación por la Democracia	3,714,826	54.6	1,023,405	55.6	2,013,688
Democracia y Progreso <sup>a</sup>	2,369,952	34.9			48.1
Del Sur <sup>a</sup>	45,584	0.7			
Alianza de Centro <sup>a</sup>	91,346	1.3			
Liberal Socialista Chileno	213,992	3.1			
Nacional <sup>a</sup>	43,741	0.6			
Unidad para la Democracia	288,314	4.2			
Democrática de Izquierda			79,978	4.3	
Unión por el Progreso de Chile <sup>a</sup>			684,883	37.2	
Alternativa la Nueva Alianza			12,044	0.7	
Humanista					92,880
Unión por Chile <sup>a</sup>					1,531,855
La Izquierda					352,327
Chile 2000					193,697
Total conservative lists	2,550,623	37.5	684,883	37.2	1,531,855

Source: For 1989: República de Chile, *Resultados: Plebiscitos y elecciones, 1988-1989* (Santiago: Servicio Electoral, 1990), 4-22; for 1993: República de Chile, *Informe electoral, 1993*, Result no. 4, (Santiago: Ministerio del Interior, 1994), 1-18; for 1997: República de Chile, *Ministerio del Interior* (<http://www.interior.cl>).

Note: Parties allied in lists in the following fashion: 1989, List A: Concertación de Partidos por la Democracia, Partido Demócrata Cristiano, Partido Radical, Partido Humanista, independiente candidates; List B: Democracia y Progreso; List C: Alianza de Centro; List D: Del Sur; List E: Liberal Socialista Chileno; List F: Unión Demócrata Independiente, independiente candidates; List G: Unidad para la Democracia, Partido Amplio de Izquierda Socialista, 1993, List A: Democrática de Izquierda; List B: Unión por el Progreso de Chile; List C: Renovación Nacional, Partido Comunista, Movimiento de Acción Popular Unitaria, independiente candidates; List D: Unión por la Nueva Alianza; List E: Humanista; List F: Unión de Centro-Centro, Unión Demócrata Independiente, Partido del Sur, independiente candidates; List G: Alternativa la Nueva Alianza; List H: Partido Demócrata, Partido Demócrata Cristiano, Partido Radical, Partido Socialista Chileno, independiente candidates; List I: Concertación por la Democracia, Partido Demócrata Cristiano, Partido Radical Social-Demócrata, Partido Socialista Chileno; List J: La Izquierda; List K: Partido Comunista de Chile, independiente candidates; List L: Chile 2000.

a. Conservative party or electoral alliance as defined in introduction to appendix.  
b. Parties and candidates that were not conservative and received less than 2 percent of the valid vote in all elections.  
c. Votes cast for Liberal Socialista Chileno independent candidates (who were not formally tied with either member of the alliance) are not included in the conservative vote total reported in this table.

For 1982 and 1986: República de Colombia, Registraduría Nacional del Estado Civil, *Historia colombiana, 1810–1988* (Bogotá: Imprenta Nacional, 1991), 169–172; for 1990: República de Colombia, Registraduría Nacional del Estado Civil, *Estadísticas electorales, 1990: Presidente y Congreso de la República* (Bogotá: Registraduría Nacional del Estado Civil, 1991), 15–16; for 1994: República de Colombia, *Resultados de las elecciones de 1994* (Bogotá: Registraduría Nacional del Estado Civil, 1994), 5; for 1998: República de Colombia, Registraduría Nacional del Estado Civil (<http://www.registraduria.gov.co/estadisticas/1998/primera/index.html>).

cludes first- and second-round voting results for the 1994 and 1998 presidential elections. The variable party or electoral alliance as defined in introduction to appendix. The variable indicates that were not conservative and received less than 2 percent of the valid vote in all elections.

## Colombia: Chamber of Representatives Elections, 1982-1998

	1982			1986			1990		
	Percent		Number of Votes	Percent		Number of Votes	Percent		Number of Votes
	Valid	of		Valid	of		Valid	of	
	Votes	Valid	Votes	Votes	Valid	Votes	Votes	Valid	Votes
democrática M-19							950,174	30.5	483,578
ismo Independiente <sup>a</sup>									153,185
Colombia <sup>a</sup>									43,927
io Independiente de									39,116
ración <sup>a</sup>									60,968
ito de Salvación									17,097
ial <sup>a</sup>									
ito Depurador									
vador <sup>a</sup>									51,446
ito Fuerza Progresista <sup>a</sup>									
ito Humbertista <sup>a</sup>									77,767
ito Nacional									103,899
vador <sup>a</sup>									
ito Nacional Progresista <sup>a</sup>									29,686
ito Único de Renovación									15,869
rvadora <sup>a</sup>									
eralismo									
onservador <sup>a</sup>									
onservador Humbertista <sup>a</sup>									
liberal									
tríotica									
rties (not conservative) <sup>b</sup>									
valid votes									
k and null ballots									
l votes									
l conservative party votes									

<sup>a</sup> For 1982: República de Colombia, Registraduría Nacional del Estado Civil, *Resultados elecciones corporaciones públicas* (Bogotá: Registraduría Nacional del Estado Civil, 1982), 158; for 1986 República de Colombia, Registraduría Nacional del Estado Civil, *Resultados elecciones para república* (Bogotá: Registraduría Nacional del Estado Civil, 1990), 149, 281-82; for 1990 national assembly: "Political Database of the Americas," Georgetown University-Organization of States (<http://www.georgetown.edu/LatAm/Political/Elecdata/Col/coelasa.html>); for 1991: Dietrich, ed., *Enciclopedia electoral latinoamericana y del Caribe* (San José, Costa Rica: Instituto Interamericano de Derechos Humanos, 1993), 156; for 1994: República de Colombia, Registraduría Nacional del Estado Civil, *Elecciones de Congreso*, 1994 (Bogotá: Imprenta Nacional, 1994), vol. 1, 83-84; for República de Colombia, Registraduría Nacional del Estado Civil (<http://www.registraduria.gov.co>).

Note: Includes results for the regular 1990 elections, the 1990 constitutional assembly elections, and the subsequent elections in 1991 for a new Chamber of Representatives.

a. Conservative party or electoral alliance as defined in introduction to appendix.

b. Parties that were not conservative and received less than 2 percent of the valid vote in all elections. In 1990, this total includes votes against the new constitution; in 1994, it includes votes cast in a special district for black communities. Because fully disaggregated results are not available for the 1998 elections, in that year this category includes votes for all other parties.

NA = Not available.

e: For 1982–90: República de Colombia, Registraduría Nacional del Estado Civil, *Historia electoral colombiana, 1810–1988* (Bogotá: Imprenta Nacional, 1991), 212–13; for 1991: Dieter Nohlen, ed., *Media electoral latinoamericana y del caribe* (San José, Costa Rica: Instituto Interamericano de Democracia, 1993), 159; Francisco Gutiérrez S. with Diana Hoyos, “Rescate por un elefante: Con-tema y reforma política,” in *Elecciones y democracia en Colombia, 1997–1998*, ed. Andrés Dávila María Bejarano (Bogotá: Universidad de los Andes, 1998), table 3A; for 1994: República de Co-lombia, *Elecciones de Congreso, 1994* (Bogotá: Registraduría Nacional del Estado Civil, 1994), vol. 1, 51–52; for 1998: Gutiérrez S. with Hoyos, “Rescate por un elefante,” table 3A.

: Includes results for the regular 1990 elections and the 1991 elections (held after the 1991 consti-tutional assembly) to choose a new Senate.

– : Conservative party or electoral alliance as defined in introduction to appendix.

– : Parties that were not conservative and received less than 2 percent of the valid vote in all elections. Be-cause the results for these parties were not available for the 1998 elections, in that year this category includes all other parties.

– : Not available.

e: For 1982–90: República de Colombia, Registraduría Nacional del Estado Civil, *Historia electoral colombiana, 1810–1988* (Bogotá: Imprenta Nacional, 1991), 212–13; for 1991: Dieter Nohlen, ed., *Media electoral latinoamericana y del Caribe* (San José, Costa Rica: Instituto Interamericano de Democracia, 1993), 159; Francisco Gutiérrez S., with Diana Hoyos, “Rescate por un elefante: Constitución y reforma política,” in *Elecciones y democracia en Colombia*, 1997–1998, ed. Andrés Dávila María Bejarano (Bogotá: Universidad de los Andes, 1998), table 3A; for 1994: República de Colombia, *Elecciones de Congreso, 1994* (Bogotá: Registraduría Nacional del Estado Civil, 1994), vol. 1, 51–58; Gutiérrez S., with Hoyos, “Rescate por un elefante,” table 3A.

: Includes results for the regular 1990 elections and the 1991 elections (held after the 1991 constitutionally mandated assembly) to choose a new Senate.

: Conservative party or electoral alliance as defined in introduction to appendix.

: Parties that were not conservative and received less than 2 percent of the valid vote in all elections. Because disaggregated results are not available for the 1998 elections, in that year this category includes all other parties.

: Not available.



## 3 El Salvador: Presidential Elections, 1984-1999

	1984 (I)			1984 (II)			1989			1994 (I)			1994 (II)			1999		
	Number of Votes	Percent of Valid Votes		Number of Votes	Percent of Valid Votes		Number of Votes	Percent of Valid Votes		Number of Votes	Percent of Valid Votes		Number of Votes	Percent of Valid Votes		Number of Votes	Percent of Valid Votes	
Republicana Nacionalista <sup>a</sup>	376,917	29.8		651,741	46.4		505,370	53.8		651,632	49.1		818,264	68.3		614,268	52.0	
democrática Unido <sup>b</sup>							35,642	3.8								88,640	7.5	
cia Democrática																		
abundo Martí para la Liberación Nacional <sup>c</sup>																		
ocrática Republicana <sup>a</sup>							9,300	1.0								19,269	1.6	
to Auténtico Cristiano <sup>a</sup>										10,901	0.8							
to Estable Republicano Centrista <sup>a</sup>	6,645	0.5																
to de Solidaridad Nacional <sup>a</sup>										13,959	1.1					343,472	29.1	
to de Unidad <sup>a</sup>										31,295	2.4							
ción Democrática	43,929	3.5					4,363	0.5										
nténtico Institucional Salvadoreño <sup>a</sup>	15,430	1.2																
Conciliación Nacional <sup>a</sup>	244,556	19.3					38,218	4.1		70,854	5.3					45,140	3.8	
imócrata Cristiano	549,727	43.4		752,625	53.6		338,369	36.0		215,936	16.3					67,207	5.7	
Orientación Popular <sup>a</sup>	4,677	0.4																
opular Salvadoreño <sup>a</sup>	24,395	1.9																
ido Nuevo Trato <sup>a</sup>							4,609	0.5								4,252	0.4	
ular <sup>a,d</sup>							3,207	0.3										
ties (not conservative) <sup>e</sup>																		
valid votes	1,266,276			1,404,366			939,078			1,326,206			1,197,244			1,182,248		
and null ballots	NA			NA			64,075			104,199			48,976			40,967		
votes	NA			NA			1,003,153			1,430,405			1,246,220			1,223,215		
conservative party votes	672,620	53.1		651,741	46.4		557,497	59.4		778,641	58.7		818,264	68.3		682,929	57.8	

For 1984-94: Jorge Arriaza Meléndez, *Historia de los procesos electorales en El Salvador*, 9 (San Salvador: Instituto Salvadoreño de Estudios Políticos, 1989), 22-23, 34, 50; Facultad Latinoamericana de Ciencias Sociales, *El Salvador: El proceso electoral de 1994* (San Salvador: FLACSO, 1994), 75, 185; for 1999: Tribunal Supremo Electoral (<http://www.tse.gob.sv>).

includes first- and second-round voting results for the 1984 and 1994 presidential elections. conservative party or electoral alliance as defined in introduction to appendix.

CDU coalition consisted of the Convergencia Democrática, Movimiento Fuerza y Esperanza, to Unido Demócrata Cristiano, Partido Demócrata, and Partido Popular Laborista.

1994, the FMLN campaigned in coalition with Convergencia Democrática. In 1999, the FMLN : Coalición por el Cambio with the Unión Social Cristiano.

UP coalition consisted of the Partido Popular Salvadoreño, Partido Auténtico Institucional Salvadoreño, and Partido Liberal.

es that were not conservative and received less than 2 percent of the valid vote in all elections. Not available.

## 4 El Salvador: Legislative Elections, 1982-1997

	1982			1985			1988			1991			1994			1997		
	Number of Votes	Percent of Valid Votes	Number of Votes	Percent of Valid Votes	Number of Votes	Percent of Valid Votes	Number of Votes	Percent of Valid Votes	Number of Votes	Percent of Valid Votes	Number of Votes	Percent of Valid Votes	Number of Votes	Percent of Valid Votes	Number of Votes	Percent of Valid Votes	Number of Votes	Percent of Valid Votes
República Nacionalista <sup>a</sup>	402,304	29.5	286,665	29.7			447,696	48.1	466,091	44.3	605,775	45.0	396,301	35.4				
Unión Democrática									127,855	12.2			59,843	4.4	39,145	3.5		
Partido Revolucionario para la Liberación Nacional													287,811	21.4	369,709	33.0		
Partido Auténtico Cristiano <sup>a</sup>			689	0.1					33,971	3.2			12,109	0.9				
Partido Estable Republicano Centrista <sup>a</sup>													12,827	1.0	7,012	0.6		
Partido de Solidaridad Nacional <sup>a</sup>													33,510	2.5	25,244	2.3		
Partido de Unidad <sup>a</sup>																		
Unión Democrática	100,586	7.4	35,565	3.7			16,211	1.7	6,798	0.6								
Partido Institucional Salvadoreño <sup>a</sup>			36,101	3.7			19,609	2.1										
Partido Conciliación Nacional <sup>a</sup>	261,153	19.2	80,730	8.4			78,756	8.5	94,531	9.0	83,520	6.2	97,362	8.7				
Partido Democrático Cristiano	546,218	40.1	505,338	52.4			326,716	35.1	294,029	28.0	240,451	17.9	93,545	8.4				
Unión Democrática							34,960	3.8					2,302	0.2	35,279	3.2		
Partido Democrático	12,574	0.9	836	0.1			1,742	0.2										
Partido Orientación Popular <sup>a</sup>	39,504	2.9	16,344	1.7														
Partido Popular Salvadoreño <sup>a</sup>																		
Partido Renovador Social Cristiano									28,206	2.7			40,039	3.6				
Unión Democrática Nacionalista			2,963	0.3			5,059	0.5										
Partidos (not conservative) <sup>b</sup>	1,362,339		965,231				930,749		1,051,481		1,345,277		13,665	1.2				
Invalid votes	189,348		136,370				153,063		101,532		108,022		1,119,603					
Blank and null ballots	1,551,687		1,101,601				1,083,812		1,153,013		1,453,299		57,284					
Invalid votes	715,535	52.5	421,365	43.7			547,803	58.9	594,593	56.5	747,741	55.6	1,176,887					
Invalid conservative party votes																		

<sup>a</sup>: For 1982 and 1988: Jorge Arriaza Meléndez, *Historia de los procesos electorales en El Salvador*, 19 (San Salvador: Instituto Salvadoreño de Estudios Políticos, 1989), 22-23, 43; for 1985 and 1994: Instituto Salvadoreño de Estudios Políticos, *El Salvador: El proceso electoral de 1994* (San Salvador: Instituto Salvadoreño de Estudios Políticos, 1994), 174-75; for 1994 and 1997: Eduardo Coluberto, *La política salvadoreña: Resultados y consecuencias de las elecciones de 1997 en El Salvador* (San Salvador: Criterio-Konrad Adenauer, 1997), 61-62.

<sup>b</sup>: Conservative party or electoral alliance as defined in introduction to appendix.

<sup>c</sup>: Parties that were not conservative and received less than 2 percent of the valid vote in all elections.

Table A.15 Peru: Presidential Elections, 1980-1995

Party	1980		1985		1990 (I)		1990 (II)		1995	
	Number of Valid Votes	Percent	Number of Valid Votes	Percent	Number of Valid Votes	Percent	Number of Valid Votes	Percent	Number of Valid Votes	Percent
Acción Popular <sup>a</sup>	1,870,864	45.9	470,875	7.2	1,931,982	29.1	4,489,938	62.4	4,798,515	64.4
Cambio 90 <sup>b</sup>										
Convergencia Democrática <sup>c</sup>			773,288	11.9	2,162,449	32.6	2,708,321	37.6	241,598	3.2
Frete Democrático <sup>d</sup>	81,647	2.0								
Frete Nacional de Trabajadores y Campesinos										
zquierda Socialista					314,863	4.7				
zquierda Unida	116,890	2.9	1,605,139	24.7	544,602	8.2			42,686	0.6
Movimiento Cívico Nacional									192,261	2.6
Obras										
Partido Aprista Peruano	1,085,180	26.6	3,450,494	53.1	1,493,149	22.5			306,108	4.1
Partido Popular Cristiano <sup>d</sup>	394,592	9.7								
Partido Revolucionario de los Trabajadores	160,713	3.9								
Unidad Democrática Popular	98,452	2.4								
Unión de Izquierda Revolucionaria	134,321	3.3								
Unión por el Perú										
Minor parties (not conservative) <sup>e</sup>	136,306	3.3	195,135	3.0	191,744	2.9			120,269	1.6
Total valid votes	4,078,965		6,494,931		6,638,790		7,198,259		7,448,386	
Blank and null ballots	NA		1,043,031		1,194,503		759,914		1,617,231	
Total votes	NA		7,537,962		7,833,514		7,958,173		9,065,617	
Total conservative party votes	2,265,456	55.5	1,244,163	19.2	2,162,449	32.6	2,708,321	37.6	363,981	4.9

Source: For 1980 and 1985: Domingo García Belaúnde, *Una democracia en transición: Las elecciones peruanas de 1985* (San José, Costa Rica: IIDH-CAPEL, 1986), 29; Fernando Tuesta Soldevilla, *Perú político en cifras: Elite política y elecciones* (Lima: Fundación Friedrich Ebert, 1987), 200, 224; for 1990: Fernando Tuesta Soldevilla, *Perú político en cifras: Elite política y elecciones* (Lima: Fundación Friedrich Ebert, 1994), 149-50, 157; for 1995: Richard Webb and Graciela Fernández Baca, *Perú en números 1995: Anuario estadístico* (Lima: Cuánto, 1995), 427.

Note: Includes first- and second-round voting results for the 1990 presidential elections.

a. Conservative party or electoral alliance as defined in introduction to appendix.

b. In 1992, Cambio 90 was renamed Cambio 90-Nueva Mayoría.

c. Convergencia Democrática was renamed Coordinadora Democrática (CODE) in 1992 and competed in the 1995 elections as the CODE/Pais Possible Alliance.

d. In 1985, Partido Popular Cristiano (PPC) formed the Convergencia Democrática with Movimiento de Bases Hayistas; in 1990, PPC joined the Frente Democrático coalition.

e. Parties that were not conservative and received less than 2 percent of the valid vote in all elections.

NA = Not available.

Table A.16 Peru: Chamber of Deputies Elections, 1980-1995

Party	1980	1985	1990	1995 <sup>a</sup>
	Percent Valid of Votes	Percent Valid of Votes	Percent Valid of Votes	Percent Valid of Votes
Acción Popular <sup>b</sup>	1,413,233	491,581	8.4	146,018
Alianza Unidad de Izquierda	124,751			
Cambio 90 <sup>c</sup>	3.4			
Convergencia Democrática <sup>b, d</sup>		649,404	11.1	2,277,423
Fronte Independiente Moralizador <sup>b</sup>			1,492,513	181,397
Fronte Democrático <sup>b</sup>			30.1	4.1
Fronte Nacional de Trabajadores y Campesinos	93,416			213,777
Independents	2.6			4.9
Izquierda Socialista	22,408	99,192		
Izquierda Unida	0.6			
Movimiento Cívico Nacional Obras		1,424,981	24.4	82,061
Movimiento Renovación <sup>b</sup>				130,060
Partido Aprista Peruano	962,801	2,920,605	50.1	285,526
	26.5			6.5
Partido Popular Cristiano <sup>b, e</sup>	348,578			
Partido Revolucionario de los Trabajadores	151,447			
Somos Libres <sup>b</sup>	4.2			
Unidad Democrática Popular	156,415		2,232	
Unión de Izquierda Revolucionaria	172,430			
Unión por el Perú	4.7			
Minor parties (not conservative) <sup>f</sup>	185,860	5.1		611,804
Total valid votes	3,631,339	5,830,710	4,961,470	220,483
Blank and null ballots	941,802	777,823	1,857,066	4,371,037
Total votes	4,573,141	6,608,533	6,818,536	8,233,680
Total conservative party votes	1,761,811	1,140,985	1,494,745	806,488
	48.5		19.6	18.5

*Source:* For 1980, 1985, and 1990: Fernando Tuesta Soldewilla, *Perú político en cifras: Elite política y elecciones* (Lima: Fundación Friedrich Ebert, 1994), respectively, 195, 176, 156; for 1995: Richard Webb and Graciela Fernández Baca, *Perú en números 1996: Anuario estadístico* (Lima: Cuanto, 1996), 400.

a. The 1995 vote was for the unicameral legislature established after Alberto Fujimori's *autogolpe* in April 1992.

b. Conservative party or electoral alliance as defined in introduction to appendix.

c. In 1992, Cambio 90 was renamed Cambio 90–Nueva Mayoría.

d. *Convergencia Democrática* was renamed *Coordinadora Democrática* (CODE) in 1992 and competed in the 1995 elections as the CODE/País Possible alliance.

e. In 1985, the Partido Popular Cristiano (PPC) formed the *Convergencia Democrática* with *Movimiento de Bases Hayistas* and independent candidates; in 1990, PPC joined the *Frente Democrático* coalition.

f. Parties that were not conservative and received less than 2 percent of the valid vote in all elections.

Party	Number of Votes	Percent of Valid Votes	Number of Votes	Percent of Valid Votes	Number of Votes	Percent of Valid Votes
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Acción Popular <sup>a</sup>	1,694,952	40.9	492,056	8.1		
Alianza Unidad de Izquierda	146,085	3.5				
Cambio 90					1,204,132	21.7
Convergencia Democrática <sup>a,b</sup>			675,621	11.2		
Fronte Democrático <sup>a,b</sup>	92,892	2.2			1,791,077	32.3
Fronte Nacional de Trabajadores y Campesinos					112,388	2.0
Izquierda Socialista					303,216	5.5
Izquierda Unida			1,521,461	25.2	542,049	9.8
Partido Aprista Peruano	1,144,203	27.6			1,390,954	25.1
Partido Popular Cristiano <sup>a,b</sup>	385,674	9.3	3,099,975	51.3		
Partido Revolucionario de los Trabajadores	165,191	4.0			30,671	0.6
Somos Libres <sup>a</sup>	145,155	3.5				
Unidad Democrática Popular	189,080	4.6				
Unión de Izquierda Revolucionaria	178,971	4.3	255,705	4.2	165,193	3.0
Minor parties (not conservative) <sup>c</sup>	4,142,203		6,044,818		5,539,680	
Total valid votes	1,116,044		1,162,305		1,336,270	
Blank and null ballots	5,258,247		7,207,123		6,875,950	
Total votes	2,080,626	50.2	1,167,677	19.3	1,821,748	32.9
Total conservative party votes						

Source: Fernando Tuesta Soldevilla, *Perú político en cifras: Elite política y elecciones* (Lima: Fundación Friedrich Ebert, 1994), 156, 175, 194. Note: Constitutional reforms enacted following Alberto Fujimori's *autogolpe* in April 1992 established a unicameral legislature. Table A.16 includes the results of the 1995 congressional elections.

a. Conservative party or electoral alliance as defined in introduction to appendix.

b. In 1985, Partido Popular Cristiano (PPC) formed the Convergencia Democrática with Movimiento de Bases Hayistas and independent candidates; in 1990, PPC joined the Frente Democrático coalition.

c. Parties that were not conservative and received less than 2 percent of the valid vote in all elections.

Table A.18 Venezuela: Presidential Elections, 1983-1998

Party	Number of Votes	Percent of Valid Votes	Number of Votes	Percent of Valid Votes	Number of Votes	Percent of Valid Votes	Number of Votes	Percent of Valid Votes
1983	1988 <sup>a</sup>	1993	1998 <sup>b</sup>					
Acción Democrática	3,680,549	55.5	3,868,843	52.9	1,325,541	23.6	591,362	9.0
Apertura <sup>c</sup>							19,629	0.3
Convergencia Nacional					1,713,093	30.5		
La Causa Radical							7,275	0.1
Movimiento al Socialismo <sup>d</sup>	223,194	3.4	198,361	2.7	1,230,057	21.9	588,643	9.0
Movimiento Quinta República							2,625,839	40.2
Nueva Generación Democrática <sup>e</sup>	12,174	0.2						
Organización Renovadora Auténtica <sup>f</sup>							7,518	0.1
Partido Social Cristiano <sup>g</sup>	2,166,467	32.7	2,955,061	40.4	1,274,991	22.7	140,792	2.2
Partia para Todos							142,859	2.2
Proyecto Venezuela							1,879,457	28.7
Minor parties (not conservative) <sup>h</sup>	551,642	8.3	226,573	3.1	73,017	1.3	553,559	8.5

(continued)

Table A.18 Continued

Party	1983		1988 <sup>a</sup>		1993		1998 <sup>b</sup>	
	Number of Valid Percent	Votes	Number of Valid Percent	Votes	Number of Valid Percent	Votes	Number of Valid Percent	Votes
Total valid votes	6,634,026		7,315,186		5,616,699		6,537,304	
Blank and null ballots	171,863		209,574		NA		450,987	
Total votes	6,805,889		7,524,760		NA		6,988,291	
Total conservative party votes	2,178,641		3,021,409		1,274,991		167,939	
	32.8		41.3		22.7		2.6	

Source: For 1983: Consejo Supremo Electoral, *Los partidos políticos y sus estadísticas electorales, 1946-1984* (Caracas: Consejo Supremo Electoral, 1987), 321-43; for 1988: Consejo Supremo Electoral, *Venezuela: Elecciones 1988* (Caracas: Consejo Supremo Electoral, 1990), 551-58; for 1993: Wolfram Schulz, *Parteiensystem und Wahlverhalten in Venezuela: Entstehung und Verfall eines Zweiparteiensystems* (Verlag, Germany: Deutscher Universitäts Verlag, 1997), 256; for 1998: Consejo Nacional Electoral (<http://www.elecciones98.cantv.net/tramites.htm>).

a. In 1988, Acción Democrática (AD) participated in an electoral alliance with the Partido Nacionalista. The Partido Social Cristiano (also known as COPEI) participated in an electoral alliance with the Movimiento de Integración Nacional, Fuerza Nacionalista Popular, and Independientes con el Cambio. None of the AD and COPEI coalition partners won seats in congress. In the same election, the Movimiento de Izquierda Revolucionaria joined an electoral alliance led by Movimiento al Socialismo.

b. In 1998, the electoral coalition headed by Hugo Chávez Frías received 56.2 percent of the valid votes and included the Movimiento Quinta República, Movimiento al Socialismo, Patria para Todos, Partido Comunista de Venezuela, Movimiento Electoral del Pueblo, Acción Agropecuaria, Gente Emergente, Independientes por la Comunidad Nacional, Independientes con Visión de Futuro, La Llamada de Venezuela (La Llave), and Movimiento Solidaridad Independiente. The electoral coalition led by Henrique Salas Romer received 40.0 percent of the valid votes and consisted of AD, COPEI, Proyecto Venezuela, and For Querer a la Ciudad. The electoral coalition headed by Irene Sáez received 2.8 percent of the valid votes and consisted of Factor Democrático and a party identified only as IRENE.

c. Conservative party or electoral alliance as defined in introduction to appendix.

d. In 1993, Movimiento al Socialismo formed a coalition with Convergencia Nacional.

e. Parties that were not conservative and received less than 2 percent of the valid vote in all elections.

NA = Not available.

Table A.19 Venezuela: Legislative Elections, 1983-1998

Party	1983		1988 <sup>a</sup>		1993		1998 (Deputies)		1998 (Senators)	
	Number of Valid Percent	Votes	Number of Valid Percent	Votes	Number of Valid Percent	Votes	Number of Valid Percent	Votes	Number of Valid Percent	Votes
Acción Democrática	3,284,166	50.0	3,115,787	43.2	1,085,926	23.2	1,195,751	24.1	1,246,567	24.4
Apertura <sup>b</sup>										
Convergencia Nacional			4,506	0.1	1,113	0.0	76,991	1.6	123,948	2.4
Cruzada Cívica Nacionalista <sup>b</sup>					650,072	13.9	122,242	2.5	119,951	2.3
La Causa Radical	35,304	0.5	118,700	1.6	951,941	20.3	147,806	3.0	151,960	3.0
Movimiento al Socialismo	377,795	5.7	731,179	10.1	508,459	10.9	440,665	8.9	465,977	9.1
Movimiento de Renovación Nacional <sup>b</sup>	871	0.0	253	0.0						
Movimiento Quinta Republica	10,388	0.2	238,038	3.3	16,736	0.4	986,131	19.9	1,008,693	19.7
Nueva Generación Democrática <sup>b</sup>										
Organización Renovadora			92,756	1.3	40,738	0.9	26,610	0.5	24,794	0.5
Auténtica <sup>b</sup>										
Partido Social Cristiano <sup>b</sup>	1,887,226	28.7	2,238,163	31.1	1,058,753	22.6	593,882	12.0	620,642	12.1
Patria Para Todos										
Proyecto Venezuela			7,913	0.1	369,369	7.9	61,704	1.2	61,992	1.2
Renovación <sup>b</sup>										
Minor parties (not conservative) <sup>c</sup>	978,574	14.9	658,760	9.1			622,652	12.5	593,598	11.6

(continued)

Table A.19 Continued

Party	1983			1988 <sup>a</sup>			1993			1998 (Deputies)			1998 (Senators)		
	Number of Valid Votes	Percent of Valid Votes	Total valid votes	Number of Valid Votes	Percent of Valid Votes	Total valid votes	Number of Valid Votes	Percent of Valid Votes	Total valid votes	Number of Valid Votes	Percent of Valid Votes	Total valid votes	Number of Valid Votes	Percent of Valid Votes	Total valid votes
Blank and null ballots	244,281		6,574,324	318,705		7,206,055	NA		4,683,107	838,074		5,108,567	791,968		5,108,567
Total votes	6,818,605		1,898,485	7,524,760		2,581,629	NA		5,801,834	759,187		5,900,535	831,376		5,900,535
Total conservative party votes															

Source: For 1983: Roberto Chang Mota, *El sistema electoral venezolano: Su diseño, implantación y resultados* (Caracas: Consejo Supremo Electoral, 1987), 348–76; for 1988: Consejo Supremo Electoral, *Venezuela: Elecciones 1988* (Caracas: Consejo Supremo Electoral, 1990), 551–58; for 1993: Consejo Supremo Electoral, from Lijphart Elections Archive (<http://dodgson.ucsd.edu/lij/>); for 1998: Consejo Nacional Electoral (<http://www.elecciones98.cantv.net/frame.htm>).

Note: Ballots to elect members of Venezuela's Cámara de Diputados and Cámara de Senadores were fused between 1983 and 1993; in 1998, these ballots were cast separately.

a. In 1988, the Movimiento de Izquierda Revolucionaria joined an electoral alliance led by Movimiento al Socialismo.

b. Conservative party or electoral alliance as defined in introduction to appendix.

c. Parties that were not conservative and received less than 2 percent of the valid vote in all elections.

NA = Not available.

## Notes

### Chapter 1: Introduction

The author is grateful to Helga Baitenmann, Paul W. Drake, Edward L. Gibson, Frances Hagopian, Jonathan Hartlyn, Evelyn Huber, Cynthia McClintock, Druscilla Scribner, and an anonymous reviewer for the Johns Hopkins University Press for valuable comments on an early version of this chapter.

1. This definition follows Edward L. Gibson, *Class and Conservative Parties: Argentina in Comparative Perspective* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996), 7; for a discussion of alternative approaches to the conceptualization of conservatism and the difficulties encountered in employing conservatism as an ideological tradition in electoral contexts, see 2–9.

2. The author is grateful to Matthew Shugart for his suggestion on this point.

3. Dietrich Rueschemeyer, Evelyn Huber Stephens, and John D. Stephens, *Capitalist Development and Democracy* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992), 9; for further discussion of this point and selected historical examples from Latin America, see 192–93, 197, 216, and 287. See also Guillermo O'Donnell and Philippe C. Schmitter, *Tentative Conclusions about Uncertain Democracies*, pt. 4 of *Transitions from Authoritarian Rule: Prospects for Democracy*, ed. Guillermo O'Donnell, Philippe C. Schmitter, and Laurence Whitehead (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1986), 62–63.

4. Although specific organizational arrangements and political practices vary significantly from one country to another, there is considerable consensus on the minimum criteria for democracy. The elemental requirements are the guarantee of (often constitutionally defined) individual rights, including freedoms of expression and association and especially protection against arbitrary state action; frequently scheduled, fairly conducted elections in which all citizens are fully free to participate (universal suffrage) in the selection of representatives who will exercise public authority; and institutionalized procedures to ensure that citizens can through the rule of law hold rulers accountable for their public actions. These requirements are mutually reinforcing.

This definition draws on Robert A. Dahl, *Polyarchy: Participation and Op-*