

Conservative
Parties,
the Right,
and Democracy
in Latin America

Edited by

KEVIN J. MIDDLEBROOK



**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	
Established Conservative Parties and the Challenge of Democracy	
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.¹¹ 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 ^a			1,041,998	6.3		
Alianza Federal ^b	57,027	0.4				
Alianza Izquierda Unida			411,679	2.5		
Confederación Federalista Independiente ^a			754,915	4.6		
Confederación Nacional del Centro ^a	7,745	0.1				
Frente por un País Solidario					4,993,360	29.3
Movimiento de Dignidad e Independencia ^a					303,529	1.8
Movimiento de Integración y Desarrollo ^{a,b}	177,426	1.2				
Partido Federal ^a	10,153	0.1				
Partido Intransigente	347,648	2.3				
Partido Justicialista ^b	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) ^c	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.

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

Party	1983		1986		1989		1992		1995	
	Number of All	Percent of All	Number of All	Percent of All	Number of All	Percent of All	Number of All	Percent of All	Number of All	Percent of All
Frete por un País Solidario	1	2.2	1	2.2	0	0	0	0	1	1.4
Movimiento de Integración y Desarrollo ^a	1	2.2	21	45.7	26	56.5	30	62.5	39	54.2
Partido Justicialista	18	39.1	18	39.1	14	30.4	11	22.9	21	29.2
Unión Cívica Radical	6	13.0	6	13.0	6	13.0	7	14.6	11	15.3
Provincial parties ^b	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 traditional-clientelist and nonideological.

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

Party	1989 (I) ^a		1989 (II)		1994 ^b		1998	
	Number of Valid	Percent of Valid	Number of Valid	Percent of Valid	Number of Valid	Percent of Valid	Number of Valid	Percent of Valid
Partido da Frente Liberal ^c	600,730	0.9						
Partido da Movilização Nacional ^c	109,894	0.2						
Partido da Reconstrução Nacional ^c	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 Reedificação da Ordem Nacional ^c	360,574	0.5			4,671,474	7.4	1,447,080	2.1
Partido Democrata Cristão ^c	83,280	0.1						
Partido Democrata Social ^c	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 ^c	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 ^c	3,271,986	4.8						
Partido Popular Socialista ^c	768,803	1.1						
Partido Progressista Reformador ^c					1,739,780	2.7	7,426,232	11.0
Partido Social Cristão ^c					238,257	0.4	124,571	0.2
Partido Social Democrata Cristão ^c								
Partido Socialista dos Trabalhadores Unificado	488,872	0.7						
							202,657	0.3

(continued)

Party	1989 (I) ^a		1989 (II)		1994 ^b		1998	
	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
Partido Solidarista Nacional ^c	379,262	0.6	0	0	63,305,971	0	212,990	0.2
Partido Trabalhista Brasileiro ^c	979,656	1.4	0	0	67,723,027	0	166,139	0.3
Minor parties (not conservative) ^d	67,613,337		66,156,191		67,723,027		198,926	0.3
Total valid votes	4,664,071		4,094,003		14,638,118		198,926	0.3
Blank and null ballots	72,277,408		70,250,194		77,944,089		83,296,067	0.3
Total votes	32,087,254	47.5	35,085,457	53.0	7,037,326	11.1	2,468,902	3.6
Total conservative party votes								

Source: For 1989-94: Jairo Marconi Nicolau, ed., *Dados eleitorais do Brasil, 1982-1996* (Rio de Janeiro: Editora Revan-Instituto Universitario de Pesquisas do Rio de Janeiro, 1998), 23-38, 245-46; for 1998: Tribunal Supremo Eleitoral (<http://www.tse.gov.br>).

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.

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

Party	1986		1990		1994	
	Number of Valid Votes	Percent of Valid Votes	Number of Valid Votes	Percent of Valid Votes	Number of Valid Votes	Percent of Valid Votes
Partido da Frente Liberal ^a	8,287,385	17.7	5,026,474	12.4	5,873,370	12.9
Partido da Reconstrução Nacional ^a	29,776	0.1	249,606	0.6	257,018	0.6
Partido da Social Democracia Brasileira	3,515,809	8.7	3,357,091	8.3	184,727	0.4
Partido Democrata Cristão ^a	551,973	1.2	1,205,506	3.0	6,350,941	13.9
Partido Democrático Social ^a	3,649,986	7.8	3,609,196	8.9	3,303,434	7.2
Partido Democrático Trabalhista	3,025,745	6.5	4,068,078	10.0	9,287,049	20.3
Partido do Movimento Democrático Brasileiro	22,478,686	48.1	7,798,653	19.3	5,859,347	12.8
Partido Liberal ^a	1,329,442	2.8	1,721,929	4.3	1,603,330	3.5
Partido Progressista Reformador ^a	2,020	0.0	94,069	0.2	4,307,878	9.4
Partido Republicano Progressista ^a	199,641	0.4	342,079	0.8	207,307	0.5
Partido Social Cristão ^a	440,037	0.9	756,034	1.9	995,298	2.2
Partido Socialista Brasileiro	1,380,573	3.0	1,332,251	3.3	1,285,349	2.8
Total valid votes	46,718,581		40,498,769		45,694,172	
Blank and null ballots	65,133,227		31,442,144		31,966,623	
Total votes	16,189,150	34.7	18,899,892	46.7	18,612,754	40.7
Total conservative party votes						

Source: Jairo Marconi Nicolau, ed., *Dados eleitorais do Brasil, 1982-1996* (Rio de Janeiro: Revan-Instituto Universitario 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.

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 ^a	Hernán Büchi	2,051,975	29.4
Unidad por la Democracia ^a	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 ^a	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 ^a	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	Percent of All Senate Seats	Number of All Senate Seats	Percent of All Senate Seats	Number of All Senate Seats	Percent of All Senate Seats	Number of All Senate Seats
Partido da Frente Liberal ^a	7	14.3	8	25.8	11	20.4
Partido da Reconstrução Nacional ^a			1	3.2		
Partido da Social Democracia Brasileira			1	3.2		16.7
Partido Democrata Cristão ^a	2	4.1	2	6.5		
Partido Democrático Trabalhista	1	2.0	1	3.2		
Partido do Movimento Democrático Brasileiro	38	77.6	8	25.8	14	25.9
Partido dos Trabalhadores			1	3.2	4	7.4
Partido Liberal ^a			1	3.2	1	1.9
Partido Municipalista Brasileiro ^a	1	2.0			1	1.9
Partido Popular Socialista			1	3.2	4	7.4
Partido Progressista ^a			4	12.9	5	9.5
Partido Progressista Reformador ^{a,b}			1	3.2	2	3.7
Partido Social Trabalhista ^a			4	12.9	3	5.6
Partido Trabalhista Brasileiro ^a	49	98.0	31	64.5	21	38.9
Total senators elected						
Total conservative party senators	10	20.4	20	41.0	21	42.0

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 Progressista Reformador (PPR) in 1995, the PPR and the Partido Popular formed the Partido Progressista Brasileiro.

Party and Party List

Party	1989	1993	1997
	Number of Votes	Percent of Valid Votes	Number of Votes
Avanzada Nacional ^a	57,574	0.8	2,977,897
Partido Amplio de Izquierda Socialista	297,897	4.4	330,760
Partido Comunista de Chile	47,387	0.7	12,739
Partido Demócrata Cristiano	1,766,347	26.0	1,803,090
Partido Humanista	47,237	0.7	2,647
Partido Nacional ^a	53,819	0.8	784,681
Partido por la Democracia	778,501	11.5	719,575
Partido Radical	268,103	3.9	196,623
Partido Radical Social-Democrático	797,428	12.0	179,701
Partido Socialista Chileno	1,078,862	16.3	636,357
Renovación Nacional ^a	1,242,432	18.3	962,247
Unión de Centro-Centro ^a	667,369	9.8	68,185
Unión Demócrata Independiente ^a	619,595	9.1	827,324
Chile 2000 (independents)	413,780	6.1	54,402
Concertación (independents)	120,369	1.8	267,236
Unión por el Progreso (independents) ^a	416,712	6.1	4.8
Unión por Chile (independents) ^a	6,797,122	94.6	4.4
Minor parties (not conservative) ^b	361,534	5.1	120,519
Total valid votes	7,158,656		5,733,714
Blank and null ballots	2,529,598		1,238,816
Total votes	9,688,254		6,972,530
Total conservative party votes ^c	37.2		2,145,627

Party List	1989	1993	1997
	Number of Votes	Percent of Valid Votes	Number of Votes
Concertación por la Democracia	3,499,713	51.5	2,898,362
Democracia y Progreso ^a	2,323,581	34.2	2,077,442
Del Sur ^a	47,387	0.7	36.2
Alianza de Centro ^a	183,301	2.7	7.5
Liberal Socialista Chileno	208,351	3.1	428,838
Nacional ^a	53,819	0.8	122,587
Unidad para la Democracia	360,601	5.3	166,569
Democrática de Izquierda	423,410	6.4	2,077,442
Unión por el Progreso de Chile ^a	2,430,539	36.6	2,077,442
Alternativa la Nueva Alianza	94,608	1.4	36.2
Humanista	166,569	2.9	2.1
Unión por Chile ^a	2,077,442	36.2	2.1
La Izquierda	428,838	7.5	2.1
Chile 2000	122,587	2.1	2.1
Total conservative lists	2,608,088	38.4	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, *Informativo 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-Democrático, independiente candidatos; List A: Demo-crática de Izquierda: Movimiento de Acción Popular Unitaria, Partido Comunista, Partido por el Progreso de Chile: Partido Nacional, Partido de la Democracia, Renovación Nacional, Unión de Centro-Centro, Unión Demócrata Independiente, independiente candidatos; List C: Alternativa la Nueva Alianza: Alianza Humanista Verde, Movimiento Ecológico, independiente candidatos; List D: Concertación de Partidos por la Democracia: Partido Demócrata Cristiano, Partido por la Democracia, Partido Radical, Partido Socialista Chileno, Social Democracia, 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 Demócrata Cristiano, Partido por la Democracia, Partido Radical Social-Democrático, 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	
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

Avanzada Nacional ^a	697	0.0	288,314	4.2	352,327	8.4	352,327
Partido Amplio de Izquierda Socialista	288,314	4.2	63,998	3.5	352,327	8.4	352,327
Partido Comunista de Chile	45,584	0.7	50,013	2.7	1,223,495	29.2	92,880
Partido Democrata Cristiano	2,188,246	32.2	373,211	20.3	1,223,495	29.2	92,880
Partido Humanista	10,120	0.1	272,410	14.8	180,468	4.3	180,468
Partido Radical	147,364	2.2	116,943	6.4	609,725	14.6	609,725
Partido por la Democracia	820,406	12.1	272,410	14.8	180,468	4.3	180,468
Partido Nacional ^a	43,741	0.6	272,410	14.8	180,468	4.3	180,468
Partido Liberal ^a	10,120	0.1	272,410	14.8	180,468	4.3	180,468
Partido Nacional ^a	43,741	0.6	272,410	14.8	180,468	4.3	180,468
Partido por la Democracia	820,406	12.1	272,410	14.8	180,468	4.3	180,468
Partido Radical	147,364	2.2	116,943	6.4	609,725	14.6	609,725
Partido Socialista Chileno	731,658	10.8	272,410	14.8	180,468	4.3	180,468
Renovación Nacional ^a	731,658	10.8	272,410	14.8	180,468	4.3	180,468
Unión de Centro-Centro ^a	347,404	5.1	187,448	10.2	717,919	17.2	717,919
Unión Democrata Independiente ^a	347,404	5.1	187,448	10.2	717,919	17.2	717,919
Chile 2000 (independent candidates)	523,276	7.7	128,729	7.0	193,137	4.6	193,137
Concertación (independent candidates)	1,290,890	19.0	128,729	7.0	193,137	4.6	193,137
Democracia y Progreso (independent candidates) ^a	1,290,890	19.0	128,729	7.0	193,137	4.6	193,137
Unión por Chile (independent candidates) ^a	1,290,890	19.0	128,729	7.0	193,137	4.6	193,137
Unión por el Progreso (independent candidates) ^a	1,290,890	19.0	128,729	7.0	193,137	4.6	193,137
Independents	362,337	5.3	40,315	2.2	83,900	2.0	83,900
Minor parties (not conservative) ^b	362,337	5.3	40,315	2.2	83,900	2.0	83,900
Total valid votes	6,800,037		1,840,625		4,184,447		4,184,447
Blank and null ballots	357,999		168,369		853,483		853,483
Total votes	7,158,036		2,008,994		5,037,930		5,037,930
Total conservative party votes ^c	2,470,094	36.3	684,883	37.2	1,549,580	37.0	1,549,580

Concertación por la Democracia	3,714,826	54.6	1,023,405	55.6	2,013,688	48.1	2,013,688
Democracia y Progreso ^a	2,369,952	34.9	684,883	37.2	1,531,855	36.6	1,531,855
Del Sur ^a	45,584	0.7	79,978	4.3	92,880	2.2	92,880
Unión por el Progreso de Chile ^a	288,314	4.2	79,978	4.3	92,880	2.2	92,880
Democrática de Izquierda	288,314	4.2	79,978	4.3	92,880	2.2	92,880
Unidad para la Democracia	43,741	0.6	79,978	4.3	92,880	2.2	92,880
Nacional ^a	43,741	0.6	79,978	4.3	92,880	2.2	92,880
Liberal Socialista Chileno	213,992	3.1	79,978	4.3	92,880	2.2	92,880
Alianza de Centro ^a	91,346	1.3	79,978	4.3	92,880	2.2	92,880
Del Sur ^a	45,584	0.7	79,978	4.3	92,880	2.2	92,880
Unión por el Progreso de Chile ^a	288,314	4.2	79,978	4.3	92,880	2.2	92,880
Unidad para la Democracia	288,314	4.2	79,978	4.3	92,880	2.2	92,880
Partido Radical, independent candidates; List E: Liberal Socialista Chileno; independent candidates; List F: Unión Democrata Independiente; independent candidates; List C: Del Sur; Partido del Sur; List D: Alianza de Centro; Avanzada Nacional, Democ-							
Partido Democrata Cristiano, Partido Radical, Partido Humanista, independent candidates; List B: Democracia y Progreso; Renovación Nacional, Partido Democrata Cristiano, Partido Radical, Partido Socialista Chileno, independent candidates; List A: Alternativa la Nueva Alianza; Partido Nacional; Movimiento de Acción Popular Unitaria, independent candidates; List B: Unión por el Progreso de Chile; Renovación Nacional, Unión de Centro-Centro, Unión Democrata Independiente, Partido del Sur, independent candidates; List C: Alternativa la Nueva Alianza; Partido por la Democracia, Partido Democrata Cristiano, Partido Radical, Partido Socialista Chileno, independent candidates; List A: Humanista;							
Partido Socialista	92,880	2.2	92,880	2.2	92,880	2.2	92,880
Unión por Chile ^a	1,531,855	36.6	1,531,855	36.6	1,531,855	36.6	1,531,855
La Izquierda	352,327	8.4	352,327	8.4	352,327	8.4	352,327
Chile 2000	193,697	4.6	193,697	4.6	193,697	4.6	193,697
Total conservative lists	2,550,623	37.5	684,883	37.2	1,531,855	36.6	1,531,855

Source: For 1989: República de Chile, *Resultados y elecciones, 1988-1989* (Santiago: Servicio Electoral, 1990), 4-22; for 1993: República de Chile, *Informe elecciones, 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 Democrata Cristiano, Partido Radical, Partido Humanista, independent candidates; List B: Democracia y Progreso; Renovación Nacional, Partido Democrata Cristiano, Partido Radical, Partido Socialista Chileno, independent candidates; List C: Del Sur; Partido del Sur; List D: Alianza de Centro; Avanzada Nacional, Democrata Independiente; independent candidates; List E: Liberal Socialista Chileno; independent candidates; List F: Unión Democrata Independiente; independent candidates; List G: Unidad para la Democracia; Partido Amplio de Izquierda Socialista, 1993, List A: Democrática de Izquierda; Partido Comunista, Movimiento de Acción Popular Unitaria, independent candidates; List B: Unión por el Progreso de Chile; Renovación Nacional, Unión de Centro-Centro, Unión Democrata Independiente, Partido del Sur, independent candidates; List C: Alternativa la Nueva Alianza; Partido por la Democracia, Partido Democrata Cristiano, Partido Radical, Partido Socialista Chileno, independent candidates; List A: Humanista; Partido Humanista; List B: Unión por Chile; Renovación Nacional, Unión Democrata Independiente; independent candidates; List C: Concertación de Partidos por la Democracia; Partido Democrata Cristiano, Partido Radical, Partido Socialista Chileno, independent candidates; List D: La Izquierda; Partido Comunista de Chile, independent candidates; 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.

Colombia: Presidential Elections, 1982-1998

	1982			1986			1990			1994 (I)			1994 (II)			1998 (I)			1998 (II)			
	Number of Votes	Percent of Valid Votes	Percent of Valid Votes	Number of Votes	Percent of Valid Votes	Percent of Valid Votes	Number of Votes	Percent of Valid Votes	Percent of Valid Votes	Number of Votes	Percent of Valid Votes	Percent of Valid Votes	Number of Votes	Percent of Valid Votes	Percent of Valid Votes	Number of Votes	Percent of Valid Votes	Percent of Valid Votes	Number of Votes	Percent of Valid Votes	Percent of Valid Votes	
mocrática M-19							754,740	12.7														
o de Salvación							1,433,913	24.2														
il ^b																						
o Nacional Progresista ^a																						
aralismo	745,738	10.9																				
nservador ^a	3,189,278	46.8	2,588,050	36.0	735,374	12.4																
nservador (faction) ^a																						
eral	2,797,627	41.0	4,214,510	58.7	2,891,808	48.8																
iótica			328,752	4.6																		
ies (not conservative) ^b	89,159	1.3	48,301	0.7	108,712	1.8																
alid votes	6,821,802		7,179,613		5,924,547																	
and null ballots	18,590		50,324		123,029																	
otes	6,840,392		7,229,937		6,047,576																	
onservative party votes	3,189,278	46.8	2,588,050	36.0	2,169,287	36.6																

^aFor 1982 and 1986: República de Colombia, Registraduría Nacional del Estado Civil, *Historia omnibanda, 1810-1988* (Bogotá: Imprenta Nacional, 1991), 169-172; for 1990: República de *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 Registraduría Nacional del Estado Civil (<http://www.registraduria.gov.co/estadisticas/1998/rimera/index.html>).

^bIncludes first- and second-round voting results for the 1994 and 1998 presidential elections. ^cPrivate party or electoral alliance as defined in introduction to appendix.

^dParties 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	
	Number of Valid Votes	Percent of Valid Votes	Number of Valid Votes	Percent of Valid Votes	Number of Valid Votes	Percent of Valid Votes
democrática M-19					301,659	4.0
ismo Independiente ^a						
Colombia ^a						
io Independiente de						
ración ^a						
ito de Salvación						
ial ^a						
ito Depurador						
ivador ^a						
ito Fuerza Progresista ^a						
ito Humbertista ^a					148,046	1.9
ito Nacional						
ivador ^a						
ito Nacional Progresista ^a						
ito Único de Renovación						
rvadora ^a						
eralismo			455,554	6.6		
onservador ^a	2,248,796	40.3	2,558,050	37.2	2,381,898	31.3
onservador Humbertista ^a						
liberal	3,141,426	56.4	3,290,980	47.8	4,500,985	59.2
riótica						
rties (not conservative) ^b	183,247	3.3	580,410	8.4	269,805	3.5
valid votes	5,573,469		6,884,994		7,602,393	
k and null ballots	10,568		24,846		29,301	
l votes	5,584,037		6,909,840		7,631,694	
l conservative party votes	2,248,796	40.3	2,558,050	37.2	2,381,898	31.3

^a 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 mesas públicas* (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/LatAmerPolitical/Elecdata/Col/coelasa.html>); for 1991: Diez, 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>).

	1990		1991		1994		1998	
	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
	950,174	30.5	483,578	10.1	153,185	3.0		
			21,742	0.5	43,927	0.9		
					39,116	0.8		
			43,338	0.9	60,968	1.2		
					17,097	0.3		
	55,403	1.8			51,446	1.0		
			5,090	0.1				
					77,767	1.5		
			19,756	0.4				
			57,979	1.2	103,899	2.0		
			327,839	6.9				
	388,842	12.5	842,719	17.7	1,099,436	21.6	2,077,819	24.5
			22,552	0.5				
	1,055,033	33.9	2,438,792	51.2	2,621,201	51.4	4,104,752	48.4
	82,728	2.7	94,393	2.0				
	581,356	18.7	408,208	8.6	783,859	15.4	2,298,322	27.1
	3,113,536		4,765,986		5,097,456		8,480,893	
	NA		NA		478,718		NA	
	NA		NA		5,576,174		NA	
	444,245	14.3	1,319,273	27.7	1,391,385	27.3	2,077,819	24.5

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.

12 Colombia: Senate Elections, 1982-1998

	1982		1986		1990		1991		1994		1998	
	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
Democrática M-19					358,246	4.7	454,467	8.2	140,819	2.8		
Partido Conservador							43,172	0.8	79,553	1.6		
Partido Liberal							49,789	0.9	26,341	0.5		
Partido Independiente de Restauración							40,990	0.7	51,177	1.0		
Partido de Reintegración Conservadora							37,027	0.7	45,732	0.9		
Partido de Salvación Nacional							234,358	4.2	100,385	2.0		
Partido Fuerza Progresista							49,902	0.9				
Partido Nacional Conservador					147,953	1.9	58,012	1.0	31,304	0.6		
Partido Nacional Progresista							44,693	0.8	40,085	0.8		
Partido Único de Renovación Conservadora									31,589	0.6		
Partido Fuerza Democrática							436,562	7.9				
Partido Liberalismo Conservador					2,383,363	31.2	1,279,605	23.1	979,097	19.3	1,869,100	22.5
Partido Liberal					4,470,853	58.6	2,489,647	45.0	2,648,731	52.2	3,933,466	47.3
Partidos (not conservative) at valid votes					266,488	3.5	320,086	5.8	897,013	17.7	2,518,254	30.3
Blank and null ballots					7,626,903		5,538,310		5,071,826		8,320,820	
Total votes					27,247		624,720		494,581		NA	
Total conservative party votes					7,654,150		6,163,030		5,566,407		NA	
Total conservative party votes					2,531,316	33.2	2,274,110	41.1	1,305,710	25.7	1,869,100	22.5

Source: 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 Demografía, 1993), 159; Francisco Gutiérrez S. with Diana Hoyos, "Rescate por un elefante: Contexto 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, 51-99; 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 constitution 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. Briefly disaggregated results are not available for the 1998 elections, in that year this category includes all other parties.

NA: 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 ^a	376,917	29.8	651,741	46.4	505,370	53.8	651,632	49.1	818,264	68.3	614,268	52.0
democrático Unido ^b					35,642	3.8					88,640	7.5
cia Democrática												
abundo Martí para la Liberación Nacional ^c												
ocrática Republicana ^a					9,300	1.0	10,901	0.8			19,269	1.6
to Auténtico Cristiano ^a												
to Estable Republicano Centrista ^a	6,645	0.5										
to de Solidaridad Nacional ^a												
to de Unidad ^a					4,363	0.5						
ción Democrática												
iténtico Institucional Salvadoreño ^a	43,929	3.5										
Conciliación Nacional ^a	15,430	1.2			38,218	4.1	70,854	5.3			45,140	3.8
omócrata Cristiano	244,556	19.3			338,369	36.0	215,936	16.3			67,207	5.7
Orientación Popular ^a	549,727	43.4	752,625	53.6								
opular Salvadoreño ^a	4,677	0.4										
ido Nuevo Trato ^a	24,395	1.9										
ular ^{a,d}												
ties (not conservative) ^e					4,609	0.5					4,252	0.4
valid votes	1,266,276		1,404,366		3,207	0.3						
; and null ballots	NA		NA		939,078		1,326,206		1,197,244		1,182,248	
votes	NA		NA		64,075		104,199		48,976		40,967	
conservative party votes	672,620	53.1	651,741	46.4	1,003,153		1,430,405		1,246,220		1,223,215	

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, and Partido Demócrata Cristiano, Partido Demócrata, and Partido Popular Laborista. In 1994, the FMLN campaigned in coalition with Convergencia Democrática. In 1999, the FMLN campaigned in coalition with the Unión Social Cristiano.

^aCoalition for el Cambio with the Unión Social Cristiano. UP coalition consisted of the Partido Popular Salvadoreño, Partido Auténtico Institucional Salvadoreño, and Partido Liberal.

^bIncludes votes that were not conservative and received less than 2 percent of the valid vote in all elections. ^cNot available.

4 El Salvador: Legislative Elections, 1982-1997

	1982			1985			1988			1991			1994			1997		
	Number of Votes	Percent of Valid Votes	Percent of Valid Votes	Number of Votes	Percent of Valid Votes	Percent of Valid Votes	Number of Votes	Percent of Valid Votes	Percent of Valid Votes	Number of Votes	Percent of Valid Votes	Percent of Valid Votes	Number of Votes	Percent of Valid Votes	Percent of Valid Votes	Number of Votes	Percent of Valid Votes	Percent of Valid Votes
República Nacionalista ^a	402,304	29.5	29.7	286,665	29.7		447,696	48.1	44.3	466,091	44.3	45.0	605,775	45.0	396,301	35.4		
Unión Democrática																		
Freemasones para la Liberación Nacional																		
Partido Auténtico Cristiano ^a				689	0.1													
Partido Estable Republicano Centrista ^a																		
Partido de Solidaridad Nacional ^a																		
Partido de Unidad ^a																		
Unión Democrática	100,586	7.4	3.7	35,565	3.7		16,211	1.7	0.6	6,798	0.6							
Partido Institucional Salvadoreño ^a	261,153	19.2	3.7	36,101	3.7		19,609	2.1										
Partido de Conciliación Nacional ^b	546,218	40.1	8.4	80,730	8.4		78,756	8.5	9.0	94,531	9.0	6.2	83,520	6.2	97,362	8.7		
Partido Democrático Cristiano			52.4	505,338	52.4		326,716	35.1	28.0	294,029	28.0	17.9	240,451	17.9	93,545	8.4		
Partido Liberación							34,960	3.8							2,302	0.2		
Partido Liberal Democrático	12,574	0.9	0.1	836	0.1		1,742	0.2							35,279	3.2		
Partido de Orientación Popular ^a	39,504	2.9	1.7	16,344	1.7													
Partido Popular Salvadoreño ^a																		
Partido Renovador Social Cristiano																		
Partido Democrático Nacionalista																		
Partidos (not conservative) ^b	1,362,339		0.3	2,963	0.3		5,059	0.5	2.7	28,206	2.7		9,431	0.7	13,665	1.2		
Invalid votes	189,348			965,231			930,749			1,051,481			1,345,277		1,119,603			
Blank and null ballots	1,551,687			136,370			153,063			101,532			108,022		57,284			
Invalid votes	715,535	52.5	43.7	1,101,601	43.7		1,083,812			1,153,013			1,453,299		1,176,887			
Invalid conservative party votes				421,365			547,803	58.9	56.5	594,593	56.5	55.6	747,741	55.6	525,919	47.0		

^a: 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 1997: Instituto Latinoamericano de Ciencias Sociales, *El Salvador: El proceso electoral de 1994* (San Salvador: Instituto Latinoamericano de Ciencias Sociales, 1995), 174-75; for 1994 and 1997: Eduardo Colado, *Sube y baja de los partidos políticos: Resultados y consecuencias de las elecciones de 1997 en El Salvador* (San Salvador: Criterio-Konrad Adenauer, 1997), 61-62.

^b: Invalid conservative party or electoral alliance as defined in introduction to appendix. Figures 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 ^a	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 ^b										
Convergencia Democrática ^c			773,288	11.9	2,162,449	32.6	2,708,321	37.6	241,598	3.2
Frete Democrático ^d										
Frete Nacional de Trabajadores y Campesinos	81,647	2.0								
izquierda Socialista			314,863	4.7						
izquierda 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 ^d										
Partido Revolucionario de los Trabajadores	160,713	3.9								
Unidad Democrática Popular	98,452	2.4								
Unión de Izquierda Revolucionaria										
Unión por el Perú										
Minor parties (not conservative) ^e	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/Paris 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 ^a	
	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
Acción Popular ^a	1,413,233	38.9	491,581	8.4			146,018	3.3
Alianza Unidad de Izquierda	124,751	3.4						
Cambio 90 ^c					819,527	16.5	2,277,423	52.1
Convergencia Democrática ^{b,d}			649,404	11.1	1,492,513	30.1	181,397	4.1
Frete Democrático ^b								
Frete Independiente Moralizador ^b								
Frete Nacional de Trabajadores y Campesinos	93,416	2.6	124,544	2.5			213,777	4.9
Independents	22,408	0.6	99,192	1.7				
Izquierda Socialista					264,147	5.3	82,061	1.9
Izquierda Unida			1,424,981	24.4	497,764	10.0		
Movimiento Cívico Nacional Obras							87,252	2.0
Movimiento Renovación ^b							130,060	3.0
Partido Aprista Peruano	962,801	26.5	2,920,605	50.1	1,240,395	25.0	285,526	6.5
Partido Popular Cristiano ^{b,e}	348,578	9.6	151,447	4.2			135,236	3.1
Somos Libres ^b					2,232	0.0		
Unidad Democrática Popular	156,415	4.3						
Unión de Izquierda Revolucionaria	172,430	4.7						
Unión por el Perú								
Minor parties (not conservative) ^f	185,860	5.1	244,947	4.2	184,180	3.7	611,804	14.0
Total valid votes	3,631,339		5,830,710		4,961,470		4,371,037	
Blank and null ballots	941,802		777,823		1,857,066		3,862,643	
Total votes	4,573,141		6,608,533		6,818,536		8,233,680	
Total conservative party votes	1,761,811	48.5	1,140,985	19.6	1,494,745	30.1	806,488	18.5

Source: For 1980, 1985, and 1990: Fernando Tuesta Soldevilla, *Peru político en cifras: Elite política y elecciones* (Lima: Fundación Friedrich Ebert, 1994), respectively, 195, 176, 156; for 1995: Richard Webb and Graciela Fernández Baca, *Peru 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 Coordinadora Democrática (CODE) in 1992 and competed in the 1995 elections as the CODE/Pais Possible alliance.

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

Alianza Unidad de Izquierda	1,694,952	40.9	492,056	8.1
Cambio 90	146,085	3.5		
Convergencia Democrática ^{a,b}	675,621	11.2		
Fronte Democrático ^{a,b}	92,892	2.2		
Fronte Nacional de Trabajadores y Campesinos				
Izquierda Socialista				
Izquierda Unida	1,521,461	25.2		
Partido Aprista Peruano	1,144,203	27.6	3,099,975	51.3
Partido Popular Cristiano ^{a,b}	385,674	9.3		
Partido Revolucionario de los Trabajadores	165,191	4.0		
Somos Libres ^a	145,155	3.5		
Unidad Democrática Popular	189,080	4.6		
Unión de Izquierda Revolucionaria	178,971	4.3		
Minor parties (not conservative) ^c	4,142,203	6,044,818	255,705	4.2
Total valid votes	4,142,203	6,044,818	255,705	4.2
Blank and null ballots	1,116,044	1,162,305		
Total votes	5,258,247	7,207,123		
Total conservative party votes	2,080,626	1,167,677		19.3

Source: Fernando Tuesta Soldevilla, *Perú político en cifras: Elite política y elecciones* (Lima: Fundacion Friedrich Ebert, 1994), 156, 175, 194. Note: Constitutional reforms enacted following Alberto Fujimori's *antogolpe* 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	1983		1988 ^a		1993		1998 ^b	
	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
Acción Democrática	3,680,549	55.5	3,868,843	52.9	1,325,541	23.6	591,362	9.0
Apertura ^c							19,629	0.3
Convergencia Nacional			2,553	0.0	1,713,093	30.5		
La Causa Radical								
Movimiento al Socialismo ^d	223,194	3.4	198,361	2.7			7,275	0.1
Movimiento Quinta República							588,643	9.0
Nueva Generación Democrática ^e	12,174	0.2					2,625,839	40.2
Organización Renovadora Auténtica ^f								
Partido Social Cristiano ^g	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) ^h	551,642	8.3	226,573	3.1	73,017	1.3	553,559	8.5

(continued)

Party	1983		1988 ^a		1993		1998 ^b	
	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	NA	6,537,304	NA	6,537,304
Blank and null ballots	171,863	209,574	NA	450,987	NA	450,987	NA	450,987
Total votes	6,805,889	7,524,760	NA	6,988,291	NA	6,988,291	NA	6,988,291
Total conservative party votes	2,178,641	3,021,409	41.3	1,274,991	22.7	1,679,339	2.6	1,679,339

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 Schultz, *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/frampres.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 ^a		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 ^b										
Convergencia Nacional			4,506	0.1	1,113	0.0	122,242	2.5	119,951	2.3
Cruzada Cívica Nacionalista ^b										
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 ^b	871	0.0	253	0.0						
Movimiento Quinta Republicana	10,388	0.2	238,038	3.3	16,736	0.4	986,131	19.9	1,008,693	19.7
Nueva Generación Democrática ^b										
Organización Renovadora Auténtica ^b			92,756	1.3	40,738	0.9	26,610	0.5	24,794	0.5
Partido Social Cristiano ^b	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 ^b										
Minor parties (not conservative) ^c	978,574	14.9	658,760	9.1			622,652	12.5	593,598	11.6

(continued)

Table A.19 *Continued*

Party	Total valid votes	Blank and null ballots	Total votes	Total conservative party votes
1983	6,574,324	244,281	6,818,605	1,898,485
	Percent of Valid Votes	Percent of Valid Votes	Percent of Valid Votes	Percent of Valid Votes
1988 ^a	7,206,055	318,705	7,524,760	2,581,629
	Percent of Valid Votes	Percent of Valid Votes	Percent of Valid Votes	Percent of Valid Votes
1993	4,683,107	NA	NA	1,117,340
	Percent of Valid Votes	Percent of Valid Votes	Percent of Valid Votes	Percent of Valid Votes
1998 (Deputies)	4,963,760	838,074	5,801,834	759,187
	Percent of Valid Votes	Percent of Valid Votes	Percent of Valid Votes	Percent of Valid Votes
1998 (Senators)	5,108,567	791,968	5,900,535	831,376
	Percent of Valid Votes	Percent of Valid Votes	Percent of Valid Votes	Percent of Valid Votes

Source: For 1983: Roberto Chang Mora, *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.

Chapter 1: Introduction

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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-*