

# CONTENTS

*Acknowledgments* xi

*Abbreviations* xv

## PART I

### 1. Introduction 3

THE PUZZLE AND RESEARCH QUESTIONS 3

DEFINING THE DEPENDENT VARIABLE 6

THE THEORY 8

A DIALOGUE WITH EXISTING ARGUMENTS 11

The Stability Literature: Party Institutionalization 11

The Change Literature 12

The Party-Building Literature: Explaining New Parties' Success  
(and Failure) 14

DEDUCTIVE AND INDUCTIVE CONSTRUCTION OF THE ARGUMENT 16

RIVAL EMPIRICAL HYPOTHESES 17

Global Trends 17

Presidentialism 18

Electoral Rules 19

Time in Office 20

Government Success or Failure 20

Party Organization 21

RESEARCH DESIGN 22

Scope Conditions 26

Methodology, Data Collection, and Data Analysis 27

OUTLINE 28

**2. The Theory 30**

INTRODUCTION 30

ROOT CAUSES OF PARTY VIBRANCY 31

THE CONTRIBUTION OF EACH FACTOR TO PARTY VIBRANCY 35

Purpose 35

Trauma 38

Channels of Ambition 41

Moderate Exit Barriers 44

RELATIONSHIPS AMONG THE FOUR FACTORS 46

CONCLUSION 48

**3. A Guide for a Systematic Qualitative Analysis 50**

INTRODUCTION 50

BASIC PROCEDURES OF INTERVIEW RESEARCH 52

FROM UNIT OF OBSERVATION TO UNIT OF ANALYSIS 56

OBSERVING THE OUTCOME 57

OBSERVING EACH CAUSAL FACTOR 61

Purpose 61

Trauma 63

Channels of Ambition 66

Moderate Exit Barriers 70

CONCLUSION 73

**PART II****4. Chile 77**

INTRODUCTION 77

ANALYSIS OF EACH PARTY 82

Partido Socialista (Socialist Party, PSCh) 82

Partido Por la Democracia (Party for Democracy, PPD) 92

Democracia Cristiana (Christian Democracy, DC) 96

Renovación Nacional (National Renewal, RN) 104

    Unión Demócrata Independiente (Independent Democratic  
    Union, UDI) 107

CONCLUSION 118

5. Costa Rica	120
INTRODUCTION	120
ANALYSIS OF EACH PARTY	126
Partido Liberación Nacional (National Liberation Party, PLN)	126
Partido Unidad Social Cristiana (Social Christian Unity Party, PUSC)	134
Movimiento Libertario (Libertarian Movement, ML)	140
Partido Acción Ciudadana (Citizen Action Party, PAC)	142
Frente Amplio (Broad Front) and the Historical Left in Costa Rica	155
CONCLUSION	157
6. Uruguay	160
INTRODUCTION	160
ANALYSIS OF EACH PARTY	164
United by Birth: Lasting Traits of the Foundational (Traditional) Parties	164
Partido Nacional (National Party, PN)	170
Partido Colorado (Colorado Party, PC)	179
Frente Amplio (Broad Front, FA)	184
CONCLUSION	196
7. All Things Considered	198
INTRODUCTION	198
WHAT CHARACTERIZES VIBRANT PARTIES?	199
CONJUNCTURAL CAUSATION OF PARTY VIBRANCY	200
THE TRAJECTORY OF PARTY VIBRANCY	203
EXHAUSTED OR INCHOATE PARTIES	208
CONCLUSIONS	210
PART III	
8. Conclusions	215
CORE COMPONENTS OF THE STUDY	215
Research Questions and Puzzle	215
Main Empirical Conclusions	217

## EMPIRICAL REACH OF THE ARGUMENT 220

Two Cases of "Stable" Parties 220

Brief Speculations beyond Latin America 224

## THE ROAD AHEAD 226

## VIBRANT PARTY ORGANIZATION AND DEMOCRATIC CONSOLIDATION 228

Bringing Dilemmas Back In: The Paradox of Democratic  
Consolidation 230*Appendix: List of Interviewees* 235*References* 253*Index* 271