

## Index

abortion. *See* reproductive rights  
*Acción Republicana* (AR, Republican Action), 120, 123, 238–239  
 adaptation, 4, 176–177, 237  
     party adaptation, 195, 238  
     programmatic adaptation, 62  
*Americas Barometer* (LAPOP), 11–12, 15–18, 108  
 Argentina  
     conservative party-building, 8, 20, 58, 62  
     fear of the “Venezuela model”, 67–68, 244  
     neoliberalism, 69, 71  
     Peronism, 70, 162  
     radical right, 242  
     authoritarianism, 37–42, 62–63, 115–118, 126–129  
     authoritarian successor parties, 35, 37–38  
     as an ideology, 158, 161, 166–168, 170  
     legacies, 43–45, 99–103  
     autocratization, 99, 104–105, 109–112, 204  
 Bachelet, Michelle, 168, 176, 181, 183, 186–189, 196  
 Bale, Tim, 118–119, 132  
 Boas, Taylor, 40, 96, 156, 174, 222–224, 234  
 Bolsonaro, Jair, 142, 160, 221, 232, 241, 243  
 Brazil  
     2018 elections, 166–167, 221–222, 224–226  
     evangelicals, 220–222, 224–229  
     invasion of Congress, 243  
 Bukele, Nayib, 159–161, 167, 170, 175, 214  
 business, 63, 65–68, 186, 189, 201

businessmen, 10, 56, 87, 204, 211  
 groups, 8, 37, 58, 97, 184  
 organizations, 91  
 campaign, 40, 80–81, 144–145, 224–227, 241  
     presidential, 50, 79, 96, 168–169, 217  
 candidate, 68–71, 95, 109–111, 181–186  
     antiestablishment, 217  
     center-right, 177, 189  
     conservative, 40, 140, 226  
     evangelical, 211, 221–223  
     Fujimorista, 74–75, 80, 86–87  
     left-wing, 109, 178, 201–202  
     outsider, 202  
     Peronist, 1  
     presidential, 86–87, 114, 150, 176, 227  
     radical right, 6, 50, 131, 177, 191  
     right-wing, 53, 67, 99–105, 121, 125  
 Catholic, 40, 80–81, 124–125, 144, 204, 223, 240  
 Center-right parties, 29, 143, 156, 191, 200, 218  
*Centro Democrático* (CD, Democratic Centre)-Colombia, 90–91, 103–114, 238  
 Chávez, Hugo, 98, 197–199, 208–211, 217–218  
     anti-party appeals, 202–204  
     policies, 204  
     political reforms, 206  
     populist leadership, 141, 163  
*Chavismo*, 198, 202–209, 218  
     anti-Chavismo, 198  
*Castrochavismo*, 72, 91

- Chicago Boys, 71, 189  
 Chile  
 cultural change, 121, 124–125, 128–130  
 legacies of authoritarianism, 118–119,  
 181–183  
 radical right, 143–144, 210–212  
 social protest, 147–150  
 Christian, 190  
 movements, 181  
 organizations, 211  
 party, 199, 220  
 values, 199, 221, 223  
 Civil society, 29–34, 74–77, 121–124  
 civil war. *See* political violence  
 class, 6, 35, 199–200, 238  
 class-based, 146  
 lower-class, 36, 56, 81, 141  
 middle-class, 65, 217  
 multiclass, 40, 60  
 upper-class, 8, 59, 217  
 cleavage  
 class, 40  
 regime, 38–39, 42, 49, 53–54, 238  
 religious, 42, 49–50, 52–54, 222–223  
 social, 82, 142, 222  
 clientelism, 27–29, 40–43, 60–64  
*Coalición Cívica* (Civic Coalition)-Argentina, 56  
 coalition governments, 57–59, 106–109  
 cohesion, 71, 91, 234  
 party, 58, 61, 63–64, 70, 73  
 social, 6, 142, 243  
 Cold War, 64  
 collective action, 73  
 Colombia  
 paramilitaries, 104, 111–114  
 peace negotiations, 95–96, 99–100, 109–114  
 war cleavage, 95–97, 105–106, 109–110  
 welfare policies, 103, 105, 113  
 commodities boom, 13, 36–37, 240  
 competition, 33–34, 121, 164, 182, 239  
 electoral, 139, 185, 199  
 party, 36, 39–40, 140, 143, 150  
 conflict, 61, 87, 117  
 armed, 95–98, 110  
 economic, 40, 132  
 ideological, 139, 218  
 moral, 132, 232  
 political, 18, 49, 144, 203, 237, 241  
 sectorial, 67  
 social, 129, 244  
 violent, 38–39, 42  
 conservatism, 142–143, 219–221, 226, 232, 240  
 conservative parties, 20–22, 28–33, 38–40,  
 47–52  
 constituency, 10, 87, 123, 233, 242  
 core, 7, 57, 59, 69–71, 244  
 Constitution, 162–163, 177, 188–196, 201,  
 203–206  
 Constitutional Assembly, 80, 85  
 coordination, 55, 70, 204–205, 207–208, 218  
 Coppedge, Michael, 19, 35, 38, 201, 244  
 corporatism, 2, 36  
 Corrales, Javier, 40, 96, 143–144, 156, 202, 240  
 corruption, 3, 5, 13, 78–79, 81–82, 85,  
 87–88, 170–173, 198, 240  
 Costa Rica, 18, 46, 151, 220  
 crime, 13–14, 40–41, 43, 209–211, 240  
 gangs, 160  
 rates, 35–36, 129, 167  
 cultural backlash, 5, 29, 142–144, 155, 219,  
 240–241  
 decentralization, 110, 200–201  
 democracy  
 the political right, 56–57, 89–91, 161–162  
 transition to, 35, 46, 71–73, 115, 119, 176  
 democratic backsliding. *See* autocratization  
 dictatorship, 39, 119, 179–180, 218, 245  
 drugs, 13, 43  
 dealers, 167  
 trafficking, 167  
 Duque, Iván, 73, 95, 99, 106–109, 114, 244  
 economic crisis, 61, 65, 141, 202, 207, 211  
 economic development, 55–57, 95–98, 118, 199  
 economy, 55–57, 95–98, 118, 199  
 Ecuador, 12–17, 90, 139, 142, 163, 244–245  
 El Salvador  
 civil war, 39, 42  
 partisan right, 19, 33  
 public security, 13  
 electoral coalitions, 35–38, 60–64  
 electoral volatility, 57–59, 110–111  
 elites, 58, 81, 163, 170, 190, 222  
 business, 37, 65, 67  
 conservative, 211  
 economic, 57, 59, 63, 65, 97, 217  
 intellectual, 189  
 party, 22, 66, 78, 91, 185  
 political, 29, 110, 140, 144, 198  
 religious, 219, 224  
 right-wing, 2, 18, 36, 121, 156  
 social, 56  
 traditional, 202

*Index*

273

- entrepreneurs, 63, 66, 68, 111, 211, 216
  - entrepreneurship, 190
- environment, 62–63
  - changing, 177, 195
  - competitive, 9, 34
  - economic, 62
  - electoral, 38
  - international, 218
  - political, 75, 142, 208, 225, 239, 241
- ethnic identity, 3, 39, 163–164, 222
- faction, 28, 80, 119, 191–192, 199
- fake news, 224, 233, 243
- far-right
  - Brazil, 221, 224, 243–244
  - Chile, 120–121, 132, 177
  - cultural backlash, 240
  - definition, 117–119
  - religious right, 50, 156, 224
- feminism, 14, 82, 168, 209
- Fernández de Kirchner, Cristina, 67
  - Frente para la Victoria* (Front for Victory)-Argentina, 56–57, 67, 70
- Fuerza Popular* (FP, Popular Force)-Peru, 4, 9, 74–75, 110, 239
- Fuerzas Armadas Revolucionarias de Colombia* (FARC)-Colombia, 91, 95–99, 106, 111, 114
- Fujimori, Alberto, 74, 77–81, 84–87, 93, 162
- Fujimori, Keiko, 27, 75, 77–78, 80–81, 84, 87–90, 93, 214, 239
- Fujimorismo*, 73–85, 93
- gender
  - equality, 209
  - identities, 15, 56, 60, 145, 149
  - ideology, 15, 61–62, 64, 80, 220, 224
  - roles, 6, 40, 80
- Gibson, Edward, 6, 36, 60, 179
- Grassroots, 75, 82, 207, 224
- Guatemala, 13, 19, 33, 42, 45, 151
- Hawkins, Kirk A., 85, 104
- Honduras, 5, 17, 40, 45–46, 142, 151
- Hunter, Wendy, 142, 219, 226
- illiberalism, 13, 194, 216, 218
- immigration, 163, 219
  - anti-immigration, 158
  - policies, 118
  - problem, 129–130, 166, 242
  - salience, 96, 118, 169–170
- inclusion, 72, 162, 207, 210, 218
- indigenous
  - communities, 73, 164
  - people, 174
  - politics, 241
  - rights, 180, 208
- industrialization, 162, 199
- Inglehart, Ronald, 117, 140, 142, 169, 180, 219
- Kast, José Antonio, 159, 168–170, 174–175, 177, 191, 239–240
- Kirchner, Néstor, 67
- Kitschelt, Herbert, 139, 150
- Lasso, Guillermo, 10, 20, 91–92
  - Latin American Public Opinion Project (LAPOP), 11, 13–18, 156
- leader
  - founding, 73–74
  - leadership, 20, 61, 84, 199
  - left-wing, 26, 164
  - party, 37, 58, 67, 214, 244
  - political, 55, 62–63, 75, 173, 217, 219
  - populist, 26, 85, 141, 163, 172, 240
  - religious, 28, 220, 223, 225–226, 229–230, 233
  - right-wing, 2, 139, 244
- left turn
  - conservative reaction to, 64, 146, 156, 176, 240
  - right-wing party decay, 33–34, 36, 38, 53, 237
  - right-wing renewal, 5, 20, 239
- leftist governments, 17–19, 33–35, 40, 63–64, 104–105, 116–118, 219
- leftist parties, 40–42, 61–63, 104–105
- Levitsky, Steven, 3, 55–56, 74–75, 162–163
- LGBT rights, 5–6, 17–18, 39–40, 149–153
  - same-sex marriage, 5, 15, 56, 144, 220, 223
- linkage, 36–38, 110, 150, 207, 225, 237
- López Murphy, Ricardo, 68–71
- Loxton, James A., 41, 60, 163, 219–222
- Lula da Silva, Luiz Inácio, 172–173, 228, 243
- Luna, Juan Pablo, 1–3, 7–8, 13, 63, 71, 240
- Lupu, Noam, 10–11, 61–63, 201–202
- Macri, Mauricio, 56, 65, 68–69
- Maduro, Nicolás, 197–199, 207–213
- Mainwaring, Scott, 39, 61, 202, 222

manifest  
 Manifesto Project (MARPOR), 178, 181, 183, 185  
 party, 168, 170  
*mano dura* policies, 9, 13, 78, 159, 170  
 campaign strategies, 13, 24–26  
 citizen support to, 14, 17  
 market  
 economy, 23, 184, 215  
 freedom, 7, 56, 119, 184, 200  
 market-based, 7, 35  
 policies, 26, 91, 163  
 reforms, 37, 81, 202, 242  
 regulation, 183, 190  
 state-market divide, 22, 132, 184, 205, 238  
 media, 37–38, 71, 173, 216, 220  
 social media, 215–217, 224, 233  
 military, 201, 203  
 coup, 2, 13, 36, 214  
 dictatorship, 218, 245  
 government, 71, 180, 234, 243  
 influence, 37, 106  
 officers, 180, 197  
 party, 10, 19  
 regime, 19, 175, 179, 216  
*Movimiento al Socialismo* (Movement Toward Socialism)-Bolivia, 45, 143, 204, 213–214  
 Mudde, Cas, 117–118, 129–130, 158, 161–162, 167–169  
 neoliberalism, 35–36, 53–56, 163–164, 174, 177, 179, 187–189  
 NGOs, 56, 65–66  
 Paraguay, 45, 139, 245  
 paramilitary, 39  
 Parliamentary Elites in Latin America (PELA), 20–23, 178, 185–187  
*Partido Alianza Verde* (Green Party, AV)-Colombia, 99, 104  
*Partido Comunista de Chile* (Communist Party of Chile)-Chile, 188  
*Partido Conservador* (Conservative Party)-Colombia, 47, 99, 103, 105–107  
*Partido Democratas* (Democrats, DEM)-Brazil, 55–56  
*Partido dos Trabalhadores* (Workers' Party, PT), 1, 159, 221, 224, 243  
*Partido Evolución Política (Evópoli)*-Chile, 115, 119, 123–127, 129–132, 181  
*Partido Humanista* (Humanist Party)-Chile, 120–121

*Partido Liberal* (Liberal Party, PL)-Brazil, 1, 9, 11, 20  
*Partido Liberal* (Liberal Party, PL)-Colombia, 11, 72, 98  
*Partido Nacional* (National Party)-Uruguay, 11, 19, 46  
*Partido Popular* (People's Party, PP)-Spain, 214–215  
*Partido Propuesta Republicana* (Republican Proposal, PRO)-Argentina, 1–2, 20, 55–73, 91, 93, 242, 244  
*Partido Republicano* (Republican Party, PR)-Chile, 11, 20, 115–116, 120–121, 131–132, 175  
*Partido Social Liberal* (Social Liberal Party, PSL)-Brazil, 9, 11, 20, 151, 221, 224  
*Partido Socialista Unido de Venezuela* (PSUV, United Socialist Party of Venezuela)-Venezuela, 206, 208–212, 215  
 partisanship, 75–78, 82–83, 91–93, 128, 202  
 party brand, 26  
 collapse, 62  
 construction, 9–10, 19, 37, 62, 65, 72, 239  
 party organization, 67, 97  
 strength, 29, 35–37  
 party-building, 27, 58, 62, 74–75  
 challenges of, 55, 64, 71, 73, 75  
 party consolidation, 29, 37  
 party fragmentation, 43, 50, 63, 73–75, 87, 109, 111  
 party identification, 65–66, 77–78, 82, 123–127  
 party institutionalization, 38, 53–54  
 ideational dimension, 48–50, 54, 169–170, 174–175, 239  
 organizational dimension, 51, 55, 74–77  
 party organization  
 investment in, 9, 55, 63, 67, 71  
 organizational resources, 61–62, 69–73, 75, 78–80, 110  
 personalistic, 111, 113  
 strength, 25, 36, 86, 119, 237  
 party survival, 10, 34, 37–41, 93, 207  
 party systems, 43–47, 61–62, 98, 116, 139–141, 197–198  
 patronage, 19, 36, 97, 114, 150, 202  
 peace  
 agreements, 15, 72, 95, 188  
 negotiations, 106  
 plebiscite, 64, 91  
 talks, 99  
 Penguin Revolution, 180–181

*Index*

275

- Pentecostals, 211, 227, 229–234
- personalistic
  - appeals, 77
  - networks, 36, 75, 91, 222
  - political party, 104, 110, 113
  - vehicles, 9, 20, 55
- Peru
  - legacies of authoritarianism, 80, 85–87, 92
  - obstacles to party-building, 54, 74–75
  - populist and antiestablishment politics, 83–85, 92
  - weak party institutionalization, 74–77
- Piñera, Sebastián, 115, 119–120, 125, 176–185
- Pinochet, Augusto, 71, 119, 175–176, 180, 194
- plebiscite, 64, 72, 121, 125, 188–190
- polarization, 19–22, 58, 155–156, 240–241
  - affective, 243
  - democracy, 82, 242–244
  - ideological, 21, 140, 198, 207, 242, 245
  - party system, 139–141, 146–149, 150–153
  - political, 2, 70, 202
- political coalitions
  - electoral, 40, 59, 97, 145, 182
  - governing, 97, 158
- political ideologies, 19–26, 43–47, 117
- political violence
  - civil war, 39, 42, 91
  - party-building, 39, 61
  - in public opinion, 40–41, 43
- populism, 104, 158–160, 164–166, 213, 215
  - corruption, 170
  - definition, 160–162
  - left-wing, 71, 162–163, 213
  - populist attitudes, 83
- populist radical right (PRR), 20, 92, 120–121, 131, 158–170, 240–241
- postmaterialist, 240
  - turn, 5, 29
  - values, 140, 142, 164
- primary election, 105–106, 189–190, 206
- Primero Justicia* (Justice First, PJ)-Venezuela, 204–205, 217
- programmatic
  - identities, 9, 20, 39, 177, 195, 238
  - moderation, 120, 176–178, 181, 187, 195, 245
  - radicalization, 242, 245
  - renewal, 63, 73, 156, 238
- progressive
  - agendas, 29, 145, 241
- change, 3, 39, 142, 144–146, 156, 241
- governments, 29, 208
- ideas, 217
- racial, 6, 142, 241
- Recrear-Argentina*, 59, 62–63, 65, 68–71
- regime change, 53–54, 205
- regional
  - elections, 95–97, 104, 110–111
  - political machines, 19, 114
  - politicians, 111, 189
- regulation, 68, 161, 201, 211
  - deregulation, 143, 211
  - market, 183–185, 190
  - media, 220
  - state, 194
- religion
  - legislation, 168
  - politicization, 28–29
  - religious cleavages, 41–43, 53–54, 222–223, 233
  - religious principles, 22, 39–40, 155
  - voting, 222–224
- Renovación Nacional* (National Renewal, RN)-Chile, 55, 115–116, 119–121, 123–127
- representation
  - crisis, 163, 174
  - democratic, 94, 160, 172, 201
  - electoral, 73
  - party, 65
  - political, 151, 200
- repression, 28, 37, 205, 207, 213
- reproductive rights, 18, 198, 209, 220–221, 233
- resilience, 45–46, 57, 72, 74–75, 86, 93
- resurgence, 2, 9, 237
- revolution
  - Bolivarian, 197, 209–210, 213, 218
  - counter-revolution, 158, 163, 166
  - counter-revolutionary struggle, 61
- right-wing parties
  - conditions for success, 8–10, 19–27, 29, 33–35
  - constituency profile, 10–11, 33–35
  - definition of political right, 6–8
  - electoral strategies, 8–9, 27–38
  - radicalization, 8–10, 91–92, 213–217
- Roberts, Kenneth, 34, 164, 174
- roots (party), 26, 35, 60–61, 72, 119
  - local, 114
  - social, 19, 70, 239
- Rousseff, Dilma, 1, 173

- Rovira Kaltwasser, Cristóbal, 7, 160–161, 166–167  
 rural  
 sectors, 162  
 society, 162, 164
- Santos, Juan Manuel, 95–96, 99, 106, 110  
 secularism, 198, 207, 218  
 secularization, 15–17, 39–40, 50, 143, 156, 240–241  
 secular-religious divide, 18, 22, 35, 43, 48–50, 53–54  
 security, 13–14, 40, 72–73, 96–97, 106–110, 166–167  
 sexual education, 40, 143  
 Smith, Amy Erica, 28, 39–40, 143, 219, 222–224, 232  
 social justice, 7–8, 35, 117, 131, 180, 214–215  
 social movements  
 left-wing, 213, 218  
 right-wing, 71–80, 143–144, 168–174, 212–215, 219–220  
 social protests, 69, 73, 82, 114, 164, 204  
 social unrest, 120, 177, 181, 187–189  
 social-Christian, 199  
 state capacity, 211  
 state intervention, 7, 17, 22–23, 97, 143, 184  
 structural reforms, 110, 177, 183, 188  
 student  
 associations, 66, 201, 216  
 mobilization, 180–181  
 subnational, 111  
 elections, 74–75  
 leaders, 91  
 level, 27, 75  
 politics, 90–91, 113
- tax, 180, 201  
 reform, 181, 187  
 technocratic, 87, 115, 119, 180  
 territorial  
 disputes, 201  
 expansion, 67  
 identities, 39  
 organizations, 25, 35, 37  
 think tank, 37, 63, 65, 71, 200, 216  
 trade unions, 183–185, 204  
 Trump, Donald, 168, 174, 214, 219, 243
- Unión Demócrata Independiente* (Independent Democratic Union, UDI)-Chile, 119–132, 159, 177–179, 194–195  
 Uribe Vélez, Álvaro, 72–73, 95–107, 110, 214  
 Uruguay, 45–47, 139, 142, 239
- V-Dem, 147, 202, 206, 209  
 vehicles  
 electoral, 1, 9, 71, 87  
 personalist, 20, 55
- Venezuela  
 cleavages, 202–203  
 democracy, 197–199  
 economic crisis, 211–213  
 party system, 141–142, 197  
 right-wing parties, 214–216  
 social conditions, 208–210  
 voting behavior, 89, 117–118, 190–192, 223, 232  
 VOX-Spain, 168, 170, 214, 216
- welfare state, 146, 161, 164, 183–184, 194  
 Weyland, Kurt, 2, 34, 84, 162, 164