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## **Changing the rules of the game : the development and reform of party law in Latin America**

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**Changing the Rules of the Game**  
**The development and reform of party law in**  
**Latin America**

*Proefschrift*

Ter verkrijging van  
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# Preface

Throughout my PhD trajectory, I often wondered why people call the academic profession a lonely one. For me, one of the most rewarding aspects of doing a PhD was that it provided me with the opportunity to discuss my ideas and findings with peers and reviewers around the world. It is with great pleasure that I therefore use these first pages to thank some of the people that were instrumental in bringing this dissertation about and that kept me sane in the process.

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The Institute of Political Science at Leiden University is a special place where I enjoyed working with many highly esteemed colleagues. Its PhD seminar provided a valuable setting to discuss my work and the PhD process more generally. I was also blessed with roommates who quickly became friends. Daniela, Jannine, Wouter, Femke, Anne (not a roommate technically) and Cris – I am happy that we haven't seen the last of each other yet. Outside of work, I am grateful to all my friends – Monique and the ladies of the *Vrouwengenootschap* in particular – who kept in touch despite my frequent travels and who even flew out to visit me. The same goes for Remigius, whose generosity and love are unparalleled.

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el but also provided important personal support when needed. Last but not least, my mother who taught me that work is something you do because you like it – not because you are paid for it – and my father who showed me that it is always better to follow your own dreams than to conform to those of others.

This thesis is dedicated to the loving memory of Mandy van Dijk. You were the strongest and kindest person that I have ever known.







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## List of abbreviations

### Costa Rica

CAFTA	Central American Free Trade Agreement
CEREPP	<i>Comisión Especial de Reformas Electorales y Partidos Políticos</i> – Special Committee on Electoral Reform and Political Parties
ML	<i>Movimiento Libertario</i> – Libertarian Movement
PAC	<i>Partido Acción Ciudadana</i> – Citizen’s Action Party
PI	<i>Partido Independiente</i> – Independent Party
PLN	<i>Partido de Liberación Nacional</i> – National Liberation Party
PRD	<i>Partido Renovación Democrática</i> – Democratic Renovation Party
PUSC	<i>Partido de la Unidad Social Cristiana</i> – Social Cristian Unity Party
UNIORE	<i>Union Interamericana de Organizaciones Electorales</i> – Interamerican Union of Electoral Organizations
TSE	<i>Tribunal Supremo de Elecciones</i> – Supreme Electoral Tribunal

### Mexico

AMLO	Andres Manuel López Obrador, presidential PRD candidate in 2006/2012
CENCA	<i>Comisión Ejecutiva de Negociación y Construcción de Acuerdo del Congreso de la Unión</i> – Executive Committee for the Negotiation and Construction of an Agreement of the Congress of the Union
CFE	<i>Comisión Federal Electoral</i> – Federal Electoral Committee
FPPM	<i>Federación de Partidos del Pueblo Mexicano</i> – Party Federation of the Mexican People
IFE	<i>Instituto Federal Electoral</i> – Federal Electoral Institute
INE	<i>Instituto Nacional de Elecciones</i> – National Electoral Institute
PAN	<i>Partido de Acción Nacional</i> – National Action Party
PARM	<i>Partido Auténtico de la Revolución Mexicana</i> – Authentic Party of the Mexican Revolution
PCM	<i>Partido Comunista Mexicano</i> – Mexican Communist Party
PDM	<i>Partido Demócrata Mexicano</i> – Mexican Democratic Party
PFP	<i>Partido Fuerza Popular</i> – Popular Force Party
PNA	<i>Partido Nueva Alianza</i> – New Alliance Party
PNR	<i>Partido Nacional Revolucionario</i> – National Revolutionary Party
PPS	<i>Partido Popular Socialista</i> – Popular Socialist Party
PRI	<i>Partido Revolucionario Institucional</i> – Institutional Revolutionary Party
PRM	<i>Partido de la Revolución Mexicana</i> – Party of the Mexican Revolution
PSD	<i>Partido Socialdemócrata</i> – Social Democratic Party



PSN	<i>Partido de la Sociedad Nacionalista</i> – Party of the Nationalist Society
PT	<i>Partido de Trabajadores</i> – Workers’ Party
PVEM	<i>Partido Verde Ecologista de México</i> – Mexican Green Ecologist Party
TEPJF	<i>Tribunal Electoral del Poder Judicial de la Federación</i> – Federal Electoral Tribunal

## Colombia

AD/M-19	<i>Alianza Democrática M-19</i> – M-19 Democratic Alliance
CE	<i>Corte Electoral</i> – Electoral Court
CNE	<i>Consejo Nacional Electoral</i> – National Electoral Council
ELN	<i>Ejército de Liberación Nacional</i> – National Liberation Army
FN	<i>Frente Nacional</i> – National Front Agreement
FARC	<i>Fuerzas Armadas Revolucionarias de Colombia</i> – Colombian Revolutionary Armed Forces
M-19	<i>Movimiento 19 de Abril</i> – 19 <sup>th</sup> of April Movement
MSN	<i>Movimiento de Salvación Nacional</i> – National Salvation Movement
PCC	<i>Partido Conservador Colombiano</i> – Colombian Conservative Party
PCR	<i>Partido Cambio Radical</i> – Radical Change Party
PD	<i>Polo Democrático</i> – Democratic Pole
PDA	<i>Polo Democrático Alternativo</i> – Alternative Democratic Pole
PLC	<i>Partido Liberal Colombiano</i> – Colombian Liberal Party
PSUN	<i>Partido Social de Unidad Nacional</i> – Social Party of National Unity (also known as <i>Partido de la U[ribe]</i> – U[ribe]’s Party)

## Argentina

AGN	<i>Auditoría General de la Nación</i> – National General Auditor
ARI	<i>Alternativa para una República de Iguales</i> – Alternative for a Republic of Equals
CNE	<i>Cámara Nacional Electoral</i> – National Electoral Chamber
FCE	<i>Corte Federal Electoral</i> – Federal Electoral Court
FpV	<i>Frente para la Victoria</i> – Front for Victory
FREJULI	<i>Frente Justicialista de Liberación</i> – Justicialist Liberation Front
FREPASO	<i>Frente País Solidario</i> – Front for a Country in Solidarity
MPF	<i>Movimiento Popular Fueguino</i> – Fuegino People’s Movement
MPN	<i>Movimiento Popular Neuquino</i> – Neuquén People’s Movement
PJ	<i>Partido Justicialista</i> – Justicialist Party
PP	<i>Partido Peronista</i> – Peronist Party
UCR	<i>Unión Cívica Radical</i> – Radical Civic Union

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