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

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### **Citation**

Molenaar, F. F. (2017, September 28). *Changing the rules of the game : the development and reform of party law in Latin America*. Retrieved from <https://hdl.handle.net/1887/55959>

Version: Not Applicable (or Unknown)

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**Date:** 2017-09-28

## Appendix 1 – Database constitutional codification political parties

Chapter 2 builds on a database of the constitutional codification of political parties in the 19 countries commonly included in comparative studies of Latin American politics.<sup>516</sup> The period under investigation ranges from the first reference to political parties in the 1886 Colombian Constitution to the present. In line with van Biezen and Borz (2009, 4–5), the database contains all textual references to the term ‘political party/parties’.<sup>517</sup> The comprehensive and searchable database can be accessed at: <http://www.partylaw.org>. The database uses the official version of legal texts, which were obtained from the countries’ governmental websites in their original language only. Nevertheless, the individual articles have been coded in English to increase the databases’ accessibility.

This study broadly applies the deductive-inductive constitutional coding scheme developed by van Biezen and Borz (2009).<sup>518</sup> This coding scheme contains four broad elements: 1) principles and values; 2) rights and duties; 3) the structure of the political system, and 4) ‘meta-rules’ or rules of constitutional interpretation. The table below provides an overview of the 11 categories within these areas: democratic principles, rights and freedoms, duties and obligations, extra-parliamentary party, electoral party, parliamentary party, governmental party, party finance, media access, external oversight, and secondary legislation.<sup>519</sup> To ensure internal reliability, I applied an iterative coding process. After coding each article, I checked for consistency with similar articles adopted by the same country at earlier points in time. After coding all articles, I checked for consistency in the articles across each sub-category.

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<sup>516</sup> These countries are: Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica, Cuba, the Dominican Republic, Ecuador, El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras, Mexico, Nicaragua, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Nicaragua, and Venezuela.

<sup>517</sup> One minor distinction is that I also code references to ‘political organizations’ as textual references to political parties. For the purpose of this study, including this broader category of references allows for a better identification of shifts between the recognition, embrace, and rejection of the institution ‘political parties’ throughout Latin American history.

<sup>518</sup> Dichotomous coding ensured mutual exclusiveness. This means that an article either contains a specific provision on political parties or it does not. The possibility to assign multiple codes to a single data entry ensured exhaustiveness. This means that each data entry was coded at least once, but that it could also pertain to several relevant categories (see Riffe, Lacy, and Fico 1998, 75–76).

<sup>519</sup> For simplicity purposes I collapsed van Biezen and Borz’s distinction between the regulation of political parties’ ‘activity and behavior’ and their ‘identity and programme’ into a single category: ‘duties and obligations’. In practice, it often proved difficult to distinguish between the two categories. I also split their ‘public resources’ category into two: ‘party finance’ and ‘media access’. In practice, regulation on these two categories proved so elaborate as to require further specification.

<b>Area</b>	<b>Principles and values</b>	<b>Rights and duties</b>	<b>Political system</b>	<b>Meta-rules</b>
Category	Democratic principles	Rights and freedoms	Extra-parliamentary party	External oversight
		Duties and obligations	Electoral party	Secondary legislation
			Parliamentary party	
			Governmental party	
			Party finance	
			Media access	

In line with van Biezen and Borz's coding scheme (2009, 6–8), 'democratic principles' define the democratic system and/or key democratic principles and values in terms of political parties. 'Rights and freedoms' associate political parties with fundamental democratic rights and liberties, such as the freedom of speech or association. 'Rights and duties' specify conditions for permissible forms of party activity, behavior, and identity. In my analysis of the constitutional references, I have used these sub-categories as indicators of the normative appreciation of political parties as institutions.

The other categories all relate to the more procedural position awarded to political parties within the broader system of governance. Constitutional references to the 'extra-parliamentary party' address political parties in the extra-parliamentary domain, such as by focusing on their internal structure or their function as a membership organization. References to the 'electoral party', 'legislative party', and 'governing party' similarly apply to political party organization in these various domains. Articles listed under 'political finance' and 'media access' regulate political parties' access to, and dependence on, public resources. The categories 'external oversight' and 'secondary legislation', lastly, contain references to external control over political parties' upholding of these constitutional provisions as well the delegation of the legal development of other rules and norms to further legislation.

## Appendix 2 – Relevant instruments of party law

### Costa Rica

1949 Constitution  
Law 2036, 1956 ‘Constitutional Reform’  
Law 4794, 1971 ‘Constitutional Reform’  
Law 4813, 1971 ‘Constitutional Reform’  
Law 4973, 1972 ‘Constitutional Reform’  
Law 5698, 1975 ‘Constitutional Reform’  
Law 7675, 1997 ‘Constitutional Reform’  
  
Law 1536, 1952 ‘Electoral Code’  
Law 6833, 1982 ‘Electoral Code Reform’  
Law 7094, 1988 ‘Electoral Code Reform’  
Law 7653, 1996 ‘Electoral Code Reform’  
Law 8119, 2001 ‘Electoral Code Reform’  
Law 8123, 2001 ‘Electoral Code Reform’  
Law 8765, 2009 ‘Electoral Code’  
  
Constitutional Court sentence 980-91  
Constitutional Court sentence 1750-97  
Constitutional Court sentence 15960-2006  
Constitutional Court sentence 9340-2010  
Constitutional Court sentence 16592-2011  
  
TSE verdict 727-1996  
TSE verdict 1861-E-1999  
TSE verdict 202-E-2000  
TSE verdict 303-E-2000  
TSE verdict 1440-E-2000  
TSE verdict 0859-E-2001  
TSE verdict 1536-E-2001  
TSE verdict 1671-E-2001  
TSE verdict 0046-E-2002  
TSE sentence 2096-E-2005

### Mexico

1917 Constitution  
1963 Constitutional reform  
1972 Constitutional reform  
1977 Constitutional reform  
1981 Constitutional reform  
1986 Constitutional reform  
1990 Constitutional reform  
1993 Constitutional reform  
1994 Constitutional reform  
1996 Constitutional reform  
2003 Constitutional reform  
2007 Constitutional reform  
  
1918 ‘Electoral Law for the election of federal powers’  
1946 ‘Federal Electoral Law’  
1949 ‘Federal Electoral Law reform’  
1954 ‘Federal Electoral Law reform’  
1973 ‘Federal Electoral Law’  
1977 ‘Federal Law of Political Organizations and Electoral Processes’  
1987 ‘Federal Electoral Code’  
1990 ‘Federal Code of Electoral Institutions and Procedures (COFIPE)’  
1993 ‘COFIPE reform’  
1996 ‘COFIPE reform’  
2002 ‘COFIPE reform’  
2003 ‘COFIPE reform’  
2008 ‘COFIPE reform’

## Colombia

1886 Constitution  
1910 Constitution  
1991 Constitution

Acto Legislativo 1, 1945  
Acto Legislativo 0247, 1957  
Acto Legislativo 1, 1959  
Acto Legislativo 1, 1968  
Acto Legislativo 1, 2003  
Acto Legislativo 2, 2004  
Acto Legislativo 1, 2009

Law 58, 1985 ‘Basic Statute on Political Parties’  
Law 130, 1994 ‘Political Party Law’  
Law 844, 2003 ‘National Budget Law’  
Law 996, 2005 ‘Presidential Elections Law’  
Law 1475, 2011 ‘Statutory law that adopts rules for the organization and functioning of political parties and movements’

Executive decree 927, 1990  
Executive decree 2207, 2003

Constitutional Court sentence C-089-94  
Constitutional Court sentence C-515-04  
Constitutional Court sentence C-523-05  
Constitutional Court sentence C-1040-05  
Constitutional Court sentence C-1153-05

## Argentina

Law 23.298, 1985 ‘Constitutional Political Party Law’  
Law 24.430, 1994 ‘Constitutional Reform’  
Law 25.600, 2002 ‘Political Party Finance Law’  
Law 25.611, 2002 ‘Constitutional Political Party Law’  
Law 26.291, 2006 ‘Constitutional Political Party Law’  
Law 26.215, 2006 ‘Political Party Finance Law’  
Law 26.571, 2009 ‘Law that Democratized Political Representation, Transparency, and Electoral Equality’

Executive Decree 990/2002  
Executive Decree 1169/2002  
Executive Decree 1397/2002  
Executive Decree 1578/2002  
Executive Decree 295/2005  
Executive Decree 535/2005  
Executive Decree 2004, 2009  
Executive Decree 433/2011  
Executive Decree 445/2011

CNE verdict 3010-02  
CNE verdict 3060-02  
CNE verdict 4342-10

## Appendix 3 – Coding of party laws

Type	Category		Legal provisions
Fundamental values	Defending democracy	Respect	-Democracy -National sovereignty -Human rights -Constitutional order
		Prohibit	-Violence -Ties with illicit groups -Minority parties
	Parties as public utilities		-Intra-party democracy -Equality -Transparency -Education
Formation costs	Quantitative registration requirements		-Supporting signatures -No. of members -Electoral participation -Election outcomes -Spatial requirements -Registration fee
	Qualitative registration requirements	Procedural	-Name/symbols -Statutes/program -Registered seat -Organizational structure -Minutes convention -Banking details
		Substantive	-Intra-party democracy -Equality -Transparency
	Party ban		-Loss of registration -Loss of assets -Prohibition party renewal
	Cancellation of registration		-Loss of registration -Loss of assets
Suspension of registration		-Renewal registration -Loss of access to benefits	

Type	Category		Legal provisions
Candidate selection	Locus of decision-making		-Parties/party statutes -One of multiple methods -Legal specification
Political finance	Type of public funding	Direct	-Organizational funding -Electoral funding -Earmarked funding
		Indirect	-Media access -Tax exemptions -Access to public buildings
	Allocation of public funding		-Votes -Seats -Membership figures -Equality
	Threshold for public funding		-Votes -Seats -Candidates/lists -Spatial/representational requirements
	Recipient of public funding		-National party -Sub-national party -Parliamentary caucus -Single candidate
	Restrictions donations	Qualitative	-Members -Individuals -Corporations <sup>520</sup>
		Quantitative	-Total amount -Individual donations
	Restrictions expenses	Qualitative	-Media access -Opinion polls
Quantitative		-Total amount -Individual expenses	

<sup>520</sup> Restrictions may also apply to: (semi-)public entities, organized interest associations, party foundations/youth organizations, foreign sources, anonymous donations, parliamentary groups, representatives or candidates, charities, religious organizations, other political parties, promotional activities, and international organizations.



## **Appendix 4 – Primary sources**

### **Costa Rica**

La Gaceta (Official Gazette)

Asamblea Legislativa – Servicios Documentales (Parliamentary Archives)

La Nación (newspaper)

La Prensa (newspaper)

### **Mexico**

Diario Oficial (Official Gazette)

Servicio de Información para la Estadística Parlamentaria (Parliamentary Archives)

El Universal (newspaper)

La Jornada (newspaper)

El País (political magazine)

### **Colombia**

Diario Oficial (Official Gazette)

CongresoVisible (Unofficial Parliamentary Archive run by the Universidad de los Andes)

El Tiempo (newspaper)

El Espectador (newspaper)

### **Argentina**

Boletín Oficial de la República Argentina (Official Gazette)

Dirección de Información Parlamentaria (Parliamentary Archives)

La Nación (newspaper)

Clarín (newspaper)

## **Appendix 5 - Sample coding/interview questions**

### *Reasons for reform*

What factors contributed to the adoption of this reform?

What other issues were debated at the time of reform?

What are the major improvements this reform makes?

### *Reform process*

Who constituted the reform coalition?

Who wrote the reform bill?

Which articles were subject to negotiation?

How did negotiations play out?

Who switched positions on reform issues?

Who opposed the reform? Why?

### *Content and Targeting*

What legal options did reformers have available to them?

How did the adopted option address the stated reason for reform?

To what extent did the reform address the stated reason for reform?

Can you name problems or topics that the reform left unaddressed?

How could these problems/topics have been addressed?

To what extent was this subject to debate?

What are the reform's strong points? What are its weaknesses?

### *Implementation*

Which provisions for implementation were created?

How were these provisions thought to be able to solve the problem?

How do these monitoring mechanisms function?

How has the law been put into practice? Why in this manner?

What problems need to be overcome?

## Appendix 6 – List of interviews

### Costa Rica

#### Electoral authorities:

- Luis Antonio Sobrado Solís. President of the *Supreme Electoral Tribunal* (TSE). San José, 12 November 2012.
- Martha Castillo Víquez. Director of the Political Parties' Electoral Register of the *TSE*. San José, 27 November 2012.
- Ronald Chacón Badilla. Director of Political Parties' Finances of the *TSE*. San José, 27 November 2012.
- Hugo Picado Leon. Director of the *Institute for Democratic Formation and Studies* (IFED) of the TSE and assessor of the Tribunal to the 2006-2009 Special Committee on Electoral Reform and Political Parties (CEREPP). San José, 30 November 2012.
- Héctor Fernández Masís. Director of the General Direction of the Political Parties' Electoral Register and Finances (DGREFPP) of the *TSE*. San José, 11 December 2012.

#### Political parties:

- Sergio Alfaro Salas. Member Legislative Assembly (2006-2010) of the opposition *Partido de Acción Ciudadana* (PAC) and member of the Special Committee on Electoral Reform and Political Parties (CEREPP). San José, 14 November 2012.
- Maureen Ballesteros Vargas. Member Legislative Assembly (2006-2010) of the governing *Partido de Liberación Nacional* (PLN). Vice president of the Legislative Assembly (2006-10 and president of the PLN legislative caucus (2007-2009). President of the Special Committee on Electoral Reform and Political Parties (CEREPP). San José, 29 November 2012.
- Margarita Bolaños. Secretary general of the *Partido de Acción Ciudadana* (PAC). San José, 3 December 2012.
- José Rosales Obando. Member Legislative Assembly (2006-2010) of the opposition *Partido de Acción Ciudadana* (PAC) and member of the Special Committee on Electoral Reform and Political Parties (CEREPP). San José, 4 December 2012.
- Otto Guevara Guth. President of the *Movimiento Libertario* Movement (ML) and presidential candidate (2002, 2006, and 2010). San José, 4 December 2012.
- Luis Guillermo Solís. Secretary General of the *Partido de liberación Nacional* (PLN)(2002-2003) and presidential candidate of the *Partido de Acción Ciudadana* (PAC). President of Costa Rica (2014-2018). San José, 4 December 2012.
- Lorena Vásquez Badilla. Member Legislative Assembly (1994-1998 and 2006-

2010) of the opposition *Partido de Unidad Social Cristiana* (PUSC) and member of the Special Committee on Electoral Reform and Political Parties (CEREPP). President of the PUSC (2002-2006). San José, 12 December 2012.

Experts:

- Gerardo Hernández Naranjo. Political scientist at the *University of Costa Rica* (UCR). San José, 14 November 2012.
- Rotsay Rosales Valladares. Political scientist at the *University of Costa Rica* (UCR). San José, 6 December 2012.
- Joseph Thompson. Director of the *Center for Electoral Promotion and Assistance* (CAPEL) of the Inter-American Institute of Human Rights. San José, 12 December 2012.

## Mexico

Electoral authorities:

- Alfredo Cristalinas. Director of the Financial Audit Unit, *IFE*. Mexico D.F., 21 June 2012.
- Luis Fernando Flores. Director of the Political Party Audit Board, *IFE*. Mexico D.F., 23 June 2012
- Ana Ma. Fuentes Flores. Sub director of the Political Party Audit Board, *IFE*. Mexico D.F., 23 June 2012.
- Claudia Urbina. Director of Public Funding and Political Parties, *IFE*. Mexico D.F., 25 June 2012.
- Ernesto Ramos. Assessor Electoral Councilor, *IFE*. Mexico D.F., 25 June 2012.
- Lorenzo Córdova. Electoral Councilor, *IFE*. Mexico D.F., 27 June 2012.
- Selena Márquez. Director Complaints and Informal Proceedings Board, *IFE*. Mexico D.F., 27 June, 2012.
- Marco Antonio Zavala. Judge, *TEPJF* Mexico D.F., 2 July 2012.
- Carlos Morales. Assessor Electoral Councilor, *IFE*. Mexico D.F., 3 July 2012.
- Benito Nacif. Electoral Councilor, *IFE*. Mexico D.F., 5 July 2012.
- Octael Nieto. *Public Prosecutor Electoral Crimes* (FEPADE). Mexico D.F., 12 July 2012.
- Hector Hugo Sánchez Cruz. Operations coordinator of the Financial Audit Unit, *IFE*. Mexico D.F., 13 July 2012.
- Mariana Sánchez Pérez. Assessor of the Financial Audit Unit, *IFE*. Mexico D.F., 13 July 2012.
- Félix Varela Rodríguez. President of the Audit Unit, *IEDF*. Mexico D.F., 13 July 2012. Mexico.

Experts:

- Ciro Murayama. Economics professor, *Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México*, Mexico D.F., 6 July 2012.
- Eduardo Huchim. Journalist. Mexico D.F., 9 July 2012.
- Hector Díaz Santana, Research professor *Centro de Investigaciones Económicas, Administrativas y Sociales* (CIECAS), *Instituto Politécnico Nacional* (IPN). Mexico D.F., 10 July 2012.

## Colombia

Electoral authorities:

- Antonio José Lizarazo Ocampo. *National Electoral Council* judge (2002-2006) and consultant for the *UNDP* Project of Democratic Strengthening. Bogotá, 3 April 2013.
- Alfonso Portela Herrán. Registrar electoral matters, *National Registry of the State*. Bogotá, 16 April 2013.
- Elkin Darío Henao. Assessor inspection and surveillance, *National Electoral Council*. Bogotá, 16 April 2013.
- Álvaro Campos. Head auditor of the National Fund of Political Finance, *National Electoral Council*. Bogotá, 16 April 2013.

Political parties and movements:

- Felipe Santos de Francisco. Secretary general of the *Unión Patriótica* (no representation in Congress). Bogotá, 12 April 2013.
- Víctor Manuel Matiz Moreno. Secretary of organization of the *Unión Patriótica* (no representation in Congress). Bogotá, 12 April 2013.
- Alfredo Guillermo Molina Triana. Representative (2010-2014) and spokesperson of the governing *Partido de la U*. Bogotá, 18 April 2013.
- Camilo Ernesto Romero Galeano. Senator (2010-2014) of the opposition party *Polo Democrático Alternativo*. Bogotá, 22 April 2013.
- Jaime Caycedo Turriago. President and secretary general of the *Partido Comunista Colombiano* (no representation in Congress). Bogotá, 23 April 2013.
- Carlos Alberto Baena López. Senator (2010-2014) and president of the *Movimiento Independiente de Renovación Absoluta* (MIRA, independent). Bogotá, 23 April 2013.
- Samuel Benjamín Arrieta Buelvas. Senator (2006-2014) and president of the *de facto* governing coalition party *Partido Integración Nacional*. Member of the First (Constitutional) Senate Committee (2006-2010). Bogotá, 29 April 2013.
- Jorge Eliécer Guevara. Senator (2006-2014) of the opposition party *Polo Democrática Alternativo*. Bogotá, 29 April 2013.

- Hernán Francisco Andrade Serrano. Representative (1998-2002) and senator (2002-2014) of the governing coalition party *Partido Conservador Colombiano*. President of the Senate (2008-2009) and member of the First (Constitutional) Chamber Committee (1998-2002) and the First (Constitutional) Senate Committee (2002-2014). Bogotá, 30 April 2013.
- Carlos Germán Navas Talero. Independent representative (1998-2006) and representative (2006-2014) of the opposition party *Polo Democrático Alternativo*. Member of the First (Constitutional) Chamber Committee (1998-2014). Vice president of the Chamber of Representatives (2010-2011). Bogotá, 7 May 2013.
- Jorge Eduardo Londoño Ulloa. Senator (2010-2014) of the governing coalition party *Partido Verde*. Member of the First (Constitutional) Senate Committee (2010-2014). President of the *Partido Verde*. Bogotá, 7 May 2013.
- Iván Cepeda Castro. Representative (2010-2014) of the opposition party *Polo Democrático Alternativo*. Bogotá, 7 May 2013.
- Antonio Navarro Wolff. President of the Constituent Assembly (1991), presidential candidate *Alianza Democrática M-19*, and representative (1998-2002) and senator (2002-2006) *Polo Democrático Alternativo*. Member of the First (Constitutional) Chamber Committee (1998-2002) and the First (Constitutional) Senate (2002-2006) Committee. Bogotá, 28 May 2013.

Civil society organizations:

- Alejandra Barrios Cabrera. National director of the *Misión de Observación Electoral*. Bogotá, 3 April 2013.
- Marcela Prieto Botero. Executive director of the *Instituto de Ciencia Política* (Think tank). Bogotá, 6 April 2013.
- Sandra Ximena Martínez Rosas. Coordinator of the Program of Political Transparency of *Transparencia por Colombia*. Bogotá, 15 April 2013.
- Juan Fernando Londoño. Former coordinator of the *UNDP* Project of Democratic Strengthening and former vice minister of Internal Affairs (2011-2012). Bogotá, 28 May 2013.
- Clara Rocío Rodríguez Pico. Coordinator of the Program of Institutionalization of Democratic Politics of *Fundación Foro Nacional por Colombia*. Bogotá, 30 May 2013.

Experts:

- Fabian Alejandro Acuña Villarraga. Political scientist at the *National Colombian University* and the *Pontificia Universidad Javeriana*. Bogotá, 2 April and 9 May 2013.
- Pedro Medellín Torres. Economist at the *National Colombian University*. Bogotá, 11 April 2013

- Álvaro Navas Patrón. Ex-vice comptroller of the *National Comptroller's Office* and government consultant. Bogotá, 17 April 2013.
- Fernando Giraldo García. Political scientist at the *Universidad Sergio Arboleda*. Bogotá, 21 May and 29 May 2013.
- Rodrigo Losada Lora. Political scientist at the *Universidad Sergio Arboleda*. Bogotá, 23 May 2013.

## Argentina

### Electoral authorities:

- Santiago Hernán Corcuera. President of the *National Electoral Chamber*. Buenos Aires, 26 April 2012.
- Nicolás Deane. Former secretary of Electoral Administration of the *National Electoral Chamber*. Buenos Aires, 3 May 2012.
- Claudio Trombetta. Head of Auditors of the *National Electoral Chamber*. Buenos Aires, 4 May 2012.

### Political parties and government officials:

- Graciela Camaño. Representative of the governing *Frente Peronista* (1987-1991, 1997-2001, 2003-2013) and president of the Chamber Constitutional Affairs Committee (2007-2011). Former minister of Employment (2002-2003). Buenos Aires, 11 April 2012.
- Esteban Bullrich. Representative of the opposition party *Propuesta Republicana* – PRO (2005-2007) and minister of Education of the *Buenos Aires government* (2010- 2013). Buenos Aires, 12 April 2012.
- Carolina Poli. Political assistant of the opposition party *Propuesta Republicana* and involved in the initial dialogue on the 2009 reform. Buenos Aires, 12 April 2012.
- Gustavo Ferrari. Representative (2009-2013) of the dissident Peronist faction *Unión Celeste y Blanco*. President of the Unión Celeste y Blanco. Buenos Aires, 20 April 2012.
- Alejandro Tulio. Director of the *National Electoral Department* and proponent of the 2009 reform. Buenos Aires, 2 May 2012.
- Patricia Bullrich. Representative (1993-1997, 2007-2013) of the opposition party *Coalición Cívica* and member of the Chamber Constitutional Affairs Committee (2007-2011). Former minister of Employment (2000-2001) and former minister of Social Security (2001-2001). Buenos Aires, 8 May 2012.
- Federico Pinedo. Representative (2003-2013) of the opposition party *Propuesta Republicana* (PRO) and member of the Chamber Constitutional Affairs Committee (2009-2011). Buenos Aires, 14 May 2012.

- Laura Alonso. Representative (2009-2013) of the opposition party *Propuesta Republicana* (PRO) and former executive director of the Argentine branch of Transparency International *Poder Ciudadano*. Buenos Aires, 15 May 2012.
- Martín Alessandro. Political assistant of Vice Chief of the Cabinet of Ministers Juan Manuel Abal Medina during the 2009 reform. Skype, 23 May 2012.
- Margarita Rosa Stolbizer. Representative of the governing (1999-2001) and opposition party (1997-1999 and 2001-2005) *Unión Cívica Radical* (UCR) and of the opposition party *Generación para un Encuentro Nacional* (GEN)(2007-2013). Member of the Chamber Constitutional Affairs Committee (2001-2003 and 2009-2011). President of the opposition party *Generación para un Encuentro Nacional* (GEN). Buenos Aires, 4 June 2012.

Civil society organizations:

- Delia Ferreira Rubio. Director of the International Board of *Transparency International* and expert on Argentina political finance. Buenos Aires, 15 April 2012.
- Pablo Secchi. Director of the Argentine branch of Transparency International *Poder Ciudadano* and former director of *Directorio Legislativo*. Buenos Aires, 9 May 2012.
- Rosario Pavese. Coordinator of Political Institutions and Government of *Poder Ciudadano*. Buenos Aires, 11 May 2012.
- Gerardo Scherlis. Investigator at the *Centre for the Implementation of Public Policies* (CIPPEC) and political scientist at the *Universidad de Buenos Aires*. Buenos Aires, 29 May 2012.

Experts and journalists:

- Miguel de Luca. President of the *Sociedad Argentina de Análisis Político* (SAAP). Buenos Aires, 9 April 2012.
- Daniel Santoro. Journalist of newspaper *Clarín*. Buenos Aires, 23 April 2012.
- Marcelo Escolar. Political scientist at the *Universidad de San Andres* and technical advisor to the government during the 2009 reform. Buenos Aires, 10 May 2012.
- Diego Reynoso. Political scientist at the *Facultad Latinoamericana de Ciencias Sociales* (FLACSO); involved as expert in the roundtable of the 2009 reform. Buenos Aires, 16 May 2012.
- Luis Tonelli. Director of the Faculty of Political Science of the *Universidad de Buenos Aires*. Buenos Aires, 18 May 2012.
- Marcos Novaro. Director of the *Centro de Investigaciones Políticas*. Buenos Aires, 21 May 2012.
- Laura Capriata. Journalist of newspaper *La Nación*. Buenos Aires, 22 May 2012.
- Germán Lodola. Political scientists at the *Universidad Torcuato Di Tella*. Buenos Aires, 28 May 2012.



- Ana María Mustapic. Political scientist at the *Universidad Torcuato Di Tella*; involved as expert in the roundtable of the 2009 reform. Buenos Aires, 28 May 2012.
- María Inés Tula. Political scientist at the *Universidad de Buenos Aires*; involved as expert in the roundtable of the 2009 reform. Buenos Aires, 5 June 2012.\_

## Appendix 7 – Legislative seat distribution

### Costa Rica

Year	PLN	PUSC	PAC	ML	Other
1982	57.9%	31.6%			10.5%
1986	50.9%	43.9%			5.3%
1990	43.9%	50.9%			5.2%
1994	49.1%	43.9%			7.0%
1998	40.4%	47.4%		1.8%	10.4%
2002	29.8%	33.3%	24.6%	10.5%	1.8%
2006	43.9%	8.8%	29.8%	10.5%	7.0%
2010	42.1%	8.8%	19.3%	15.8%	14.0%

Source: author's own elaboration based on TSE data (TSE/UCR 2014; TSE 2014)

### Mexico

Year	Party	Chamber of Representatives	Senate
2003	PRI	44.8%	44.5%
	PAN	29.8%	36.7%
	PRD	19.4%	11.7%
	PVEM	3.4%	3.9%
	PT	1.2%	
	Convergencia	1%	
	Independent	0.4%	3.2%
2006	PAN	41.2%	40.6%
	PRD	25.4%	20.3%
	PRI	20.2%	25.8%
	PVEM	4.0%	4.7%
	Convergencia	3.4%	3.9%
	PT	3.2%	3.9%
	PNA <sup>521</sup>	1.8%	0.8%
	PSD <sup>522</sup>	0.8%	0.0%

Source: author's own elaboration based on the data provided by Estrada (2003), the Mexican Senate, and Estrada and Poiré (2007, 74)

<sup>521</sup> *Partido Nueva Alianza* (New Alliance Party, PNA)

<sup>522</sup> *Partido Socialdemócrata* (Social Democratic Party, PSD)

## Colombia

Year	Party	Chamber of Representatives	Senate
1991	PLC	54%	56%
	PCC	26.1%	24%
	Other	19.9%	20%
1994	PLC	54%	56%
	PCC	33%	29%
	Other	13%	15%
1998	PLC	54%	48%
	PCC	23.6%	25%
	Other	22.4%	27%
2002	PLC	38.4%	47%
	PCC	27.7%	20%
	Other	33.9%	33%
2006	PSUN	16.9%	19.6%
	PLC	18.7%	17.6%
	PCC	15.7%	17.6%
	PCR	10.8%	14.7%
	PDA	4.8%	9.8%
	Other	33.1%	20.7%
2010	PSUN	29.1%	27.5%
	PCC	21.8%	21.6%
	PLC	23.0%	16.7%
	PIN	6.7%	8.8%
	PCR	9.7%	7.8%
	PDA	3.0%	7.8%
	Other	6.7%	9.8%

Source: author's own elaboration based on the data provided by Vélez, Ossa and Montes (2006, 16), the Colombian Chamber of Representatives and the Colombian Senate. The 2002 figures for the Liberal party are somewhat misleading as they contain both the loyal Liberal representatives and those that switched their allegiance to Uribe.

## Argentina

Year	Party	Chamber of Representatives	Senate
2001	PJ	46.3%	54.2%
	UCR	25.3%	29.2%
	ARI	4.3%	
	Frente Grande	3.1%	
	FREPASO	2.7%	1.4%
	Partido Socialista	2.7%	
	Demócrata Progresista	1.6%	
	Movimiento Popular	1.2%	
	Neuquino	12.8% <sup>523</sup>	
	Other		15.2% <sup>524</sup>

Source: Chamber of Representatives – Decade Votada, Senate – La Nación (14 Oct. 2001) ‘Se renueva la totalidad del Senado.’

<sup>523</sup> Consisting of senators of eight provincial parties and three empty seats.

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