



**Universidade do Minho**  
Escola de Economia e Gestão

**POLICY AGENDAS: PROGRESSIVE LEFT AND THE  
POLITICS OF ATTENTION IN LATIN AMERICA**

Andrés Santiago Rodríguez Ron

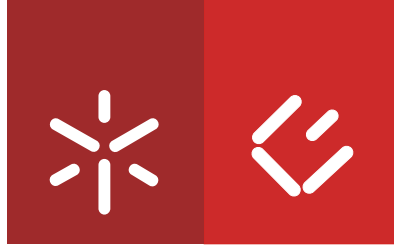
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LATIN AMERICA**

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Public Administration

Work developed under supervision of  
**Professor Sílvia Maria Vale Mendes Camões**  
**Professor Pedro Jorge Sobral Camões**

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# **POLICY AGENDAS: PROGRESSIVE LEFT AND THE POLITICS OF ATTENTION IN LATIN AMERICA**

## **Abstract**

How progressive governments differ in terms of the policy agenda in Latin America? The existing literature reveals that most research on policy agenda and political issues prioritization focuses on European and Anglo-Saxon countries. Moreover, the current literature focuses on the historical and theoretical framework and the challenges and experiences of the region's progressive political parties and governments. There are few empirical studies on how progressive governments differ on the policy agenda, particularly in Latin America, making these countries an interesting ground. The central aim of this research was to address the gap in the literature and contribute to the question of determining whether progressive Left parties in Latin America have a homogeneous agenda setting. This study uses a small-N comparative case studies method based on quantitative data, applied to four Latin American states: Argentina, Bolivia, Chile, and Ecuador. The usefulness of the analytical framework is examined through the codification and comparison of quantitative analysis of the party manifestos and the adopted laws of the case studies. The analysis reveals that progressive political parties in Latin America maintain an ideological position of the progressive Left in all their political campaigns.

Moreover, the analysis of the data suggests that the party manifestos of the progressive political parties of Argentina, Bolivia, Chile, and Ecuador focused mainly on issues related to the acceptance of democratic values and unconditional support for democracy, the need for State funding of cultural and leisure facilities, harsher attitudes in the courts, the presence and authority of the party to govern, support to Marxist-Leninist ideology, support to the importance of the modernization of the transport and communications infrastructure, support to government funding of health care, elderly care, and pensions, child care, and social housing system and the need for State funding, especially protection for underprivileged social groups, the need for fair distribution of resources and the end of discrimination. Progressive parties in Latin America during the political campaign pay attention to the same issues. Also, the data suggest that the ideological profile of progressive political parties was not affected by their entry into government. Moreover, fairly speaking, progressive political parties in Latin America keep their campaign promises since approximately half of the drafted problems in the party manifestos resulted in the adoption of laws.

**Key-words:** agenda setting; issues of attention; Latin America political parties; party manifestos; progressive parties.

# **AGENDAS DE POLÍTICAS PÚBLICAS: A ESQUERDA PROGRESSISTA E A ATENÇÃO POLÍTICA NA AMÉRICA LATINA**

## **Resumo**

Em que medidas os governos progressistas da América Latina diferem em termos da agenda de políticas públicas? A literatura acadêmica sobre este tema e a priorização das políticas tem por estudado os países europeus e anglo-saxônicos. Além disso, a literatura foca-se em abordagens históricas e quadros teóricos relativos aos desafios e experiências dos partidos políticos e governos progressistas da região. São escassos os estudos empíricos sobre o modo como os governos progressistas diferem na agenda de políticas públicas, especialmente na América Latina, o que torna esse grupo de países um terreno fértil de investigação. O objetivo central deste estudo foi abordar esta lacuna na literatura e contribuir para a questão de determinar se os partidos progressistas de esquerda da América Latina têm agendas homogêneas. Este estudo adota o método dos estudos de caso comparativos (small-N) com base em dados quantitativos, aplicado a quatro estados latino-americanos: Argentina, Bolívia, Chile e Equador. A utilidade deste quadro analítico é evidenciada pela análise quantitativa (codificação e comparação) dos programas políticos dos partidos e das leis adotadas nos países objeto do estudo. A análise revela que os partidos políticos progressistas da América Latina mantêm uma posição ideológica de esquerda progressista em todas as suas campanhas políticas.

A análise dos dados sugere ainda que os programas dos partidos políticos progressistas da Argentina, Bolívia, Chile e Equador concentraram-se principalmente em questões relacionadas com a aceitação dos valores democráticos e apoio à democracia, a necessidade de financiamento público à cultura e lazer, decisões mais duras dos tribunais, presença e autoridade do partido governante, apoio à ideologia marxista-leninista, apoio à importância da modernização das infraestruturas de transportes e comunicações, o financiamento público dos cuidados de saúde, cuidados de idosos e pensões, creches e sistema de habitação social e a necessidade de financiamento estatal e proteção de grupos sociais desfavorecidos, bem como a justa distribuição de recursos e o fim da discriminação. Os partidos progressistas na América Latina durante a campanha política prestam atenção às mesmas questões. Ainda mais importante, os dados sugerem que o perfil ideológico dos partidos políticos progressistas não foi afetado por sua entrada no governo. Além disso, estes partidos políticos tendem a cumprir moderadamente as promessas de campanha, uma vez que aproximadamente metade das questões redigidas nos programas partidários acabam por resultar na adoção de leis.

**Palavras-chave:** agenda de políticas públicas; atenção a prioridades políticas; partidos políticos da América Latina; programas políticos; partidos políticos progressistas.



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## **Chapter 1**

### **INTRODUCTION**

## **1. Introduction**

### **1.1 Definition and Justification of the Research Topic**

In recent decades, Latin America has been undergoing substantial political changes. One of the most significant political changes experienced was the emergence and consolidation of progressive governments and political parties in the last twenty years. The term "progressive" government (Uriarte 2007; Minteguiaga and Ubasart-Gonzalez 2015; Zibechi 2010; Badillo, Mastrini, and Marenghi 2015; Martner *et al.* 2009; Peirano *et al.* 2010) was established in Latin America following the triumph of Hugo Chavez in 1998 (Minteguiaga and Ubasart-Gonzalez 2015). Moreover, since the election of Chavez, Latin American countries have elected a Left government alternative, articulated around progressive or national-popular projects (Grugel and Ruggirozzi 2012; Onis and Senses 2003; Minteguiaga and Ubasart-Gonzalez 2015; Uriarte 2007; Martner *et al.* 2009; Peirano *et al.* 2010).

Following Hugo Chavez (and the Bolivarian Revolution in Venezuela) win in 1998, many progressive governments and political parties have emerged. A progressive era has been in the making in the governments in the following countries: Ignacio Lula da Silva (2003 and 2006) and later Dilma Rousseff's (2011) Labour Party in Brazil; Michelle Bachelet's (2006 and 2014) Concert of Parties for Democracy and New Majority for Chile/Socialist Party of Chile; Evo Morales (2006, 2010, and 2014) with the Movement towards Socialism-Political Instrument for the Sovereignty of the Peoples Party in Bolivia, as did Nestor Kirchner (2003) and Cristina Fernandez de Kirchner (2007 and 2011) with the Front for Victory political party in Argentina, as well as Rafael Correa (2007, 2009 and 2013) with the Alianza Pais political movement in Ecuador. More cases include Tabare Vazquez (2005 and 2015) and Jose Mujica (2010) with the Broad Front political party in Uruguay, Mauricio Funes (2009) and Salvador Sanchez with the Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front in El Salvador, Daniel Ortega (2007, 2012, and 2017) with the Sandinista National Liberation Front in Nicaragua, Manuel Zelaya (2006) in Honduras; and Andres Lopez Obrador (2018) in Mexico.

The literature shows that Latin American progressive parties or Leftist governments are characterized by opposition to neoliberalism, the Washington Consensus, and the imperialist model. Almost all analyses of the phenomenon emphasize "the failure of neoliberalism" as one of the causes behind the emergence of progressive political parties and governments in the region (Hughes and Prado 2011; Levitsky and Roberts 2011; Petkoff 2005; Rodriguez and Barrett 2004; Schamis 2006). It is essential to recognize that the opposition does not expressly embody what a progressive party stands for. According to Alcantara (2008), a Leftist or progressive political party in Latin America stands for ten



main political issues: 1) defense of equality in detriment to freedom; 2) collectivism rather than individual autonomy (although progressive parties have appropriated the issue of individualistic claims); 3) defense of multiculturalism on linguistic, ethnic, and gender bases while rejecting monoculturalism; 4) promotion of sustainable and careful environmental development, rejecting the classic postulate of Rightist parties that bet on growth at any price; 5) separation of Church and State - secularism; 6) proposal of public policies favoring greater intervention of the State; 7) defense of participatory democracy since progressive parties consider that society must represent itself; 8) promotion the role of social movements as areas of more authentic and less mediated expression; 9) defense of economic nationalism or regional treaties; and, 10) globalization. Moreover, the people and political parties that are defined as progressive are those who criticize the genocidal dictatorships in Latin America (Sidicaro 2011). Latin American progressive parties take for granted the basic principles of the market economy while promoting reforms and public policies, such as the introduction of a progressive tax regime, improvement, expansion of public services, implementation of welfare programs aimed at the poorer sectors of society, a more active role of the State as a regulator and mediator between capital and labor, and, finally, a greater concern for public safety (Chavez, Rodriguez, and Barret 2008).

In general, the literature tells us that progressive or Leftist governments prefer to increase the size of the welfare state, the nationalization of industry, government control of the economy, and the regulation of industries. Progressive governments invest in human capital to increase productivity, offsetting inflationary pressures (Blais, Blake, and Dion 1993; Castles 1989; Hibbs 1977; Johnson and Crisp 2003; Lange and Garret 1985; Schapiro 1914; Schmidt 1996). In Latin America, progressive Left parties and governments have developed their political agendas based on poverty reduction and the extractivist model,<sup>1</sup> where the exploitation of nature (for example, soybean sowing, mining, and oil exploitation) to make the State a more active political actor. According to the literature, the greatest criticism to Left and progressive parties and governments is that their economic models are based on extractivism and exploitation of natural resources and populist practices by the progressive parties' leaders (Gudynas 2012; Paramio 2006).

In Latin America, as in other countries, progressive Left parties show the issues that received more or less attention in their political manifestos. In Argentina, the party manifestos of 2003, 2007, and 2011 corresponding to the progressive political party Front of Victory show that issues receiving the most attention were democracy, equality, political authority, education expansion, and internationalism.

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<sup>1</sup> Extractivism is described as the exploitation of huge amounts of natural resources, which are exported as commodities

On the other hand, the issues receiving the least attention were the sustainability of the economy, multiculturalism, and indigenous rights.

In Bolivia, the party manifestos of years 2009 and 2014 corresponding to the progressive political party Movement towards Socialism - Political Instrument for the Sovereignty of the Peoples, pay more attention to issues, such as technology and infrastructure, welfare state expansion, Marxist analysis in the economic area, and nationalization of the industry. On the other hand, the issues that received the least attention were representative democracy, indigenous rights, and multiculturalism. Attention to issues differs from one country to another within the progressive Left parties of the region. Since progressive political parties have been in government, it is important to investigate the degree and frequency of attention to which political issues.

Taking two countries of Latin America -Argentina and Bolivia- as examples, where attention to issues in some cases are similar yet differ in the political manifestos of the progressive parties in other cases. Also, attention to issues in some cases is similar and, in other cases, is different when the progressive political parties are already in the government. Therefore, this study tries to identify to what extent the political agendas of the progressive political parties are similar or different within Latin America before and after election win. Also, it is plausible to identify the issue attention of progressive political parties and progressive Left governments.

This said, it is plausible to ask, why it is important to study the policy agenda of progressive parties in government. We must emphasize that research on the political agendas of progressive parties when they are in government is limited, even more so when it comes to the political agenda of progressive parties in Latin American countries. A government must prioritize problems and set policy goals. The understanding of the causes of shaping the political agenda deserves more attention than it has received so far in the literature (Mortensen *et al.* 2011). By codifying adopted progressive party laws in the government, one can determine governments' political priorities and policy goals. Progressive parties in Latin America have certain political preferences and pay attention to certain issues within their political agenda. On which political issue is its attention focused? On which political issue does the government pay more and less attention? For the government's political agenda, the distribution of attention to issues is of great importance (Jennings 2011); thus, one must ask whether progressive parties in government distribute their attention among the economy, health, climate change, and the change in the productive matrix, for examples? Is the prioritization of political issues different or similar to that of its predecessor? Studying the political agenda of the progressive parties when they are in government will help the investigation answer these concerns.

“Governments’ issue agendas have generally not received much scholarly attention” (Mortensen *et al.* 2011, 975). In general, the literature contrasts models and values between progressive and neoliberal parties and governments. However, it does not clearly empirically clarify whether progressive Left parties and progressive governments follow the same agenda-setting dynamics. We can still ask questions like How similar/different are Left political parties actually in terms of policy agendas? Do progressive political parties differ in their political attention to issues? How homogeneous are the agendas of progressive political parties? What happens to the policy agendas once progressive parties get into government? Research can provide answers to these questions using agenda-setting theoretical arguments combined with party issue attention theories.

Having said all of this, this thesis seeks to contribute to the literature with new data on progressive parties and governments and the configuration of their political agenda in Latin America, as well as an in-depth review of the literature on agenda setting and issue priorities of progressive parties in Latin America. It proposes to provide enough evidence to determine to what extent progressive political parties in Latin America have a homogeneous agenda-setting process and whether they differ in the political attention given to specific issues. Moreover, the research will provide enough evidence to explain what happens to the policy agendas when progressive Left parties obtain governmental power.

To achieve the objectives of this study and answer the research questions, the classification made by Pereira (2010) was considered, which divided progressive countries into two groups: "renewing lefts" and "refounding lefts". Pereira (2010) states that Argentina and Chile are among the most representative countries of the "renewing left", while Bolivia and Ecuador are among the most representative countries of the "refounding left." Therefore, taking this classification, the case studies chosen in this study are Argentina, Chile, Bolivia, and Ecuador.

## **1.2 Research Question and Objectives**

In a nutshell, our overall research question proposes to study: how progressive governments differ in terms of the policy agenda in Latin America? This overall research question leads us to consider specific questions that will be divided into two main groups. The first group of questions is based on party manifestos:

- What is the ideological profile of the parties in the four countries?
- Which similarities and differences exist in this profile across the four countries, and which explain the differences?

- How has their ideological profile developed over time and what differences do the study find, and what explains them?
- Has their ideological profile been affected by them entering government?

Although it is clear that progressive Leftist parties emerged in opposition to neoliberal governments (Froio, Bevan, and Jennings 2016; Gallegos and Perez 2016; Hughes and Prado 2011; Levitsky and Roberts 2011; Macdonald and Ruckert 2009; Marticorena 2015; Petkoff 2005; Rodriguez and Barrett 2004; Ruckert, Macdonald, and Proulx 2017; Schamis 2006), once in the power of the government, progressive Left parties have their political agenda and their issues of attention. Furthermore, on occasions, progressive Left parties must face problems of an extraordinary nature, problems that cause a change in the issues of attention within their political agenda. The second group of questions relates to their ability to turn their issue priorities into policy. This may be addressed based on party manifestos and adopted laws via questions such as:

- How well does what they state in their manifestos become policy laws?
- Does this answer differ across countries?

The answers to the first group of specific questions will help us to understand the issues of attention on the political agenda of progressive Left parties before winning the government power. At the same time, the second group of questions helps tell us whether progressive Left parties kept their attention on the same topics proposed before winning the government power or, rather, these progressive Left parties chose to take a new direction within their political agenda.

There are no standards of comparison on the issue of whether and how progressive governments impact the policy agenda of a country. The existing literature reveals that most research on policy agendas and political issue prioritization focuses on European and Anglo-Saxon countries. Moreover, the existing literature focuses on the historical and theoretical framework and the challenges and experiences of progressive political parties and governments in the region; thus, the literature reveals a limitation in the study of agenda-setting theory and issue prioritization in Latin American progressive parties. What is lacking in the discussion of progressive political parties/governments is the attempt to determine whether progressive Left parties in Latin America have a homogeneous agenda. The literature is also relatively underdeveloped and does not discuss whether progressive political parties have similar issue priorities and if this prioritization of the issues fluctuates over time. Also, the literature does not determine what happens to progressive Left parties' policy agendas once they get into government.

In summary, the main objectives of this study are to:

- 1) Address the gap in the literature and determine whether progressive Left parties in Latin America have a homogeneous agenda setting.
- 2) Make a quantitative analysis of the content of electoral programs and adopted policies by progressive political parties in Latin American countries.
- 3) Contribute to the existing literature with reliable information and measurements on the ideological profile of progressive political parties in Latin America.
- 4) Determine which issues received the most attention across the progressive political parties in Latin America before and after winning the government power. Therefore, the research will determine the issues that the progressive countries paid the most attention to in a political campaign and later in the approval of public policies through laws.
- 5) Expand the analysis carried out in other studies that dealt with the analysis of the classification of the different versions of progressive ideology.
- 6) Contribute to the existing literature on whether progressive parties in Latin America address similar issues in their party manifestos and the adopted laws.
- 7) Contribute to the existing literature with information on the impact of the ideological profile when progressive political parties in Latin America enter the government.
- 8) Make a detailed comparison of the party manifestos and the laws adopted, and the ability to turn the promises written in the party manifestos into public policies within the progressive Latin American parties.

### **1.3 Structure of the Research**

This study is structured in eight chapters. The first chapter is devoted to the introduction of the study; the second chapter reviews the existing literature on general agenda-setting theory, issue competition, and government spending priorities. The third chapter is devoted to the definition of the term progressive governments, the agenda-setting process, and the schools of thought on liberalism, the review of existing literature on progressive governments in Latin America, and the review of existing literature on progressive Left parties. The fourth chapter is related to the presentation of the progressive movement across Latin America. It is followed by a fifth chapter devoted to existing studies of progressive parties focusing on their policy agendas. The sixth chapter is devoted to the research

methodology, and the seventh chapter reports on the empirical analysis of the case studies. Finally, the last chapter of this study summarizes what we have learned and how this may constitute a contribution.

## **Chapter 2**

### **Theoretical and Conceptual Framework: Agenda-Setting Theory, Issue Competition, and Government Spending Priorities**

## **2. Theoretical and Conceptual Framework: Agenda-Setting Theory, Issue Competition, and Government Spending Priorities**

This chapter is divided into three main sections: In the first section, the stages of the public policy cycle are explained, where it is clarified that the theoretical and conceptual framework of this research will be based on the agenda-setting stage. Also, a general review of the literature on the different approaches or frameworks to analyze the agenda-setting is explained. Moreover, the investigation will review the literature that studies the establishment of the agenda and the political parties. In the second section, a literature review on the issue of competition and political parties is carried out. In the last section, a review of the literature on the relationship between government spending priorities and political parties is made.

### **2.1 Policy Agenda Theory, Political Parties, and their Agenda**

In this section, the research will review the literature on the stages of the public policy cycle. It is mentioned that the theoretical and conceptual framework of this research will be based on the agenda-setting stage. Then a review of the literature on the agenda settings approaches is performed. Furthermore, in this part, the investigation reviews the literature on the establishment of the agenda and political parties.

#### **2.1.1 Public Policy Cycle**

Do progressive political parties differ in the attention and prioritization of the issues on the government political agenda? Or do progressive political parties have a homogenous political agenda when those parties get into government? There seems to be empirical evidence that the political agenda of the progressive parties differs from the neoliberal parties' agenda (Froio, Bevan, and Jennings 2016). However, it is not clear whether progressive political parties in Latin America have a homogeneous agenda-setting process and whether they differ in the political attention given to issues. The public policy of a progressive government depends on the decisions that these governments make, or as the literature mentions, public policy is “whatever governments choose to do or not to do” (Dye 2012, 3).

Moreover, since the policy process “is the study of change and development of policy and the related actors, events, and contexts” (Weible *et al.* 2012), the alternation of the parties in power could translate into a great transformation of the public policies that are carried out. Thus, the public policy process is a sequence of decisions, events, and actors (Hill 1997). Public policies have a sequence of



situations that shape them, that is, stages that range from the formulation of the issue to the implementation and evaluation of public policy. In this part, we will review the stages of the public policy cycle according to various criteria and authors such as Lasswell (1956), Brewer (1974), Jones (1970), among others. Based on this review, it is explained that this research's theoretical and conceptual framework is based on the agenda-setting stage.

According to Lasswell (1956), the public policy decision is divided into seven categories, or what Lasswell called the “decision process”. The seven categories of Lasswell are intelligence, recommendation, prescription, invocation, application, appraisal, and termination. Lasswell’s seven-category model is one of the initial models that have prevailed in public policy analysis (Kulaç and Özgür 2017). Even though Laswell (1956) originally described the stages model in seven stages; Heritier (1993), Jones (1970), Howard (2005), Brewer (1974), Brewer and DeLeon (1983), and Dorey (2005) divide the stages model into five or six different stages or phases. Others, such as Grau (2002), divide the stages into four phases. For example, Brewer (1974) and its policy model are six basic phases: initiation/invention, estimation, selection, implementation, evaluation, and termination. Still, for others, the model commonly has five stages named agenda setting, formulation, legitimation, implementation, and evaluation (Anderson 1975; Brewer and DeLeon 1983; Jones 1970; Sabatier 1999). For this research, this study will focus on the agenda-setting stage.

In summary, the theoretical and conceptual framework will be based on the agenda-setting stage, which will help determine whether progressive political parties in Latin America have a homogeneous agenda-setting process and whether they differ in the political attention given to issues.

## **2.1.2 Political Agenda Formation and the Politics of Attention**

### **2.1.2.1 Agenda Settings Approaches**

In this part, a general literature review of the main contributions to the theory of the political agenda will be made. Furthermore, the term agenda will be defined according to various authors such as Kingdon (1984), McCombs, Shaw, and Weaver (1997), Wood and Peake (1998), among other authors. Besides, a general review of the literature on the different approaches and frameworks to analyze the agenda-setting will be made according to Baumgartner and Jones (1993; 2009), Kingdon (1984; 1995), and Downs (1972). Finally, a review of the literature on the fields of study of agenda-setting is carried out.

Agenda-setting practice is one of the most widely covered research traditions in public policy studies (Green-Pedersen 2015). The agenda-setting approach through the eyeglass of issues analyzes political systems (Green-Pedersen and Walgrave 2014). According to Green-Pedersen (2015), the origin of the policy agenda-setting tradition are two important papers in political science; the first seminal piece is an article composed in 1962 by Bachrach and Baratz called "Two Faces of Power" and the second most important book is "The Semisovereign People: A Realist's View of Democracy in America" which was composed in 1960 by Schattschneider. The authors mention that one of the essential processes in any political system is to define which issues should be at the center of political attention (Green-Pedersen and Walgrave 2014). Various theoretical and empirical studies have focused on understanding political agenda formation. Authors such as Baumgartner, Green-Pedersen, and Jones (2006), Baumgartner and Bryan (1993), Kingdon (1984; 1995), Downs (1972), Cobb and Elder (1972; 1983), and Furman and Serikova (2007), are leading contributions to policy agenda theory. When political actors change, in this case, when progressive political parties come to power, the political agenda takes a different direction. The agenda-setting theory helps explain the agenda's development over time and how political agendas have been influenced.

When we talk about the term agenda, several definitions come to mind. Kingdon (1984) says that the word "agenda" has many concepts and uses, even from the perspective of governmental policy. He understands the term agenda as the list of issues to which administrative authorities, and individuals outside of government nearly connected with those authorities, are giving some serious attention at any specified time. Other researchers define the term agenda as "objects accorded saliency in the media content or people's consciousness" (McCombs, Shaw, and Weaver 1997, 20) that "are set by problems or politics, and alternatives are generated in the policy stream" (Kingdon 1984, 20). Also, a policy agenda shaped by coalition governments seems to be organized to accommodate the policy goals of coalition adherents (Martin 2004). Although cartelizing the agenda, the dominant party has all the benefits of the legislative process (Jenkins and Monroe 2012). Moreover, theories and analyses of the domestic policy agenda setting usually focus on concepts like institutional attention, subsystem formation, problem perception, and issue definition (Wood and Peake 1998, 173).

There are different approaches and frameworks to analyze agenda-setting. We can find Kingdon's model called a multiple-streams framework, the Baumgartner and Jones' model known as the punctuated equilibrium, and Downs with his model "issue-attention cycle". Kingdon (1984; 1995) and the multiple streams consider political parties an important pillar in the configuration of the political agenda. Kingdon (1995) noted that policies were often created or changed in major ways during

relatively short 'windows of opportunity' during which conditions were temporarily ripe for increased attention and action (Kingdon 1995 as cited in Baumgartner, Green-Pedersen, and Jones 2006). Baumgartner and Jones (1993) claim that the process of politics has periods of equilibrium or inactivity when a subsystem of government captures an issue; and periods of disequilibrium when an issue is forced into the agenda. According to Baumgartner, Green-Pedersen, and Jones (2006), "studies of policy agendas trace levels of attention to issues within the government over time" (Baumgartner, Green-Pedersen, and Jones 2006, 959). The authors also note that the status of the agenda changes over time; some issues occupy an important place on the public or governmental agenda at some point, then recede from it later (Baumgartner and Bryan 1993). Moreover, Downs (1972) frameworks a five-part "issue-attention cycle" applied to the abundant movement of environmental regulation in the 1960s and 1970s.

Research on policy agendas falls within a wider literature on agenda-setting. This larger literature has numerous important strands, including public opinion, media studies, and other fields. The term agenda setting is also used for a completely distinct analysis field such as mass communications, journalism studies, and public opinion (Baumgartner, Green-Pedersen, and Jones 2006; McCombs and Shaw 1972; McCombs 2004; McCombs, Shaw, and Weaver 2014). Also, political researchers have been engaged with the agenda settings theory since the classic work of Cobb and Elder in 1972 and Schattschneider in 1960. The additional works of Baumgartner and Jones in 1993 and Kingdon in 1995 followed up on these early classics. Moreover, the agenda-setting literature has been mostly developed in the United States context (Baumgartner and Jones 1993; Baumgartner, Green-Pedersen, and Jones 2006; Cobb and Elder 1972; Downs 1972; Kingdon 1995).

In summary, there are several contributions to the theory of the political agenda, such as those made by Baumgartner and Jones (1993; 2009), Kingdon (1984; 1995) and Downs (1972), and other contributions that complement the theory of the political agenda such as those formulated by Green-Pedersen (2015), Green-Pedersen and Walgrave (2014), McCombs and Shaw (1972) and McCombs (2004) which support the development of the agenda over time and help to understand how political agendas are influenced.

### **2.1.2.2 Agenda Setting and Political Parties**

There are a considerable number of publications where the policy agenda setting focuses on political parties. Some of these publications have explored the relationships between political parties,

the media, and public opinion. Jones and Whyman (2014) focus on political party control and public opinion. Their study found that traditional political variables such as party control and public opinion affect the size of a legislative agenda. Moreover, Harris, Fury, and Lock (2006) studied the impact of political parties, public opinion, and the media agenda in the United Kingdom. These authors suggest that the results of his study are consistent with the literature by Petrocik (1996) and the issue ownership approach, which mentions that political parties focus on issues that are identified as their own and on which they are favored. Also, they mention that their study contradicts the issue ownership theory positioned by Kleinnijenhuis and de Ridder (1998), which mentions that voters will prefer political parties that emphasize the problems mentioned in the media. Thus, voters do not necessarily support political parties setting on their political agenda issues that receive more media attention.

Similarly, in his study, Brandenburg (2002) shows how political parties can have an important influence on the configuration of the media agenda. This study suggests the possibility of a systematic and general relationship between the mass media and the agendas of political parties. Furthermore, Semetko *et al.* (1991) carried out a comparative analysis of the participation of the mass media and political parties in the agenda's settings during political campaigns.

Moreover, some publications focus on the study of parties and changes in political agendas. John, Bevan, and Jennings (2014) studied the political agendas of political parties in the United Kingdom. The study aimed to analyze the impact of the changes of the political parties in the government on the content of the issues. The main results of this study are that political parties differ when comparing executive power discourses from political priorities compared to legislative power results. Furthermore, political parties differ in their attention to some traditional issues that were stated in the executive's priorities, and there is no emphasis on the issues when laws are to be drafted to solve them.

Furthermore, Green-Pedersen (2014) focuses on agenda settings and Danish party politics. This author describes what issues Danish political parties have focused their attention on the political agenda. Therefore, it analyzes the development of the Danish party system and political agenda, contributing to the study of the development of the political agenda to understand the dynamics of party politics.

Additionally, some authors study the link between political parties and issue competition. Authors such as Brouard, Grossman, and Guinaudeau (2014) studied the French political parties focus on issue intrusion and issue competition, where the research focused on observing the main French

political parties, the issues prioritizing, and the issue's changes in the agenda. Their study suggests that political parties adopt political issues or positions and compete, emphasizing promising electoral issues. Furthermore, the finding made by these authors contradicts the classical theory of issue ownership. Moreover, Otjes and Green Pedersen (2019) analyzed the link between issue competition, interest groups, and political parties. This study focused on the labor market issue to contrast the effects of interest groups and the partisan effects on this issue. This study suggests that political parties give more attention to labor problems when unions are strong and have a corporatist institution.

Also, some authors studied the link between political parties and the political coalition theory. Axelrod (1970) mentions that coalitions will consist of parties with similar policies and ideologies. According to Bunker (2019), Latin American countries with restrictive democratic rules foster many coalitions, such as Chile and Panama. In contrast, other countries in the region with permissive electoral rules never form coalitions, such as Honduras and Mexico. However, most Latin American countries with permissive regulations usually form coalitions, such as Ecuador, Bolivia, Argentina, and Brazil. An author such as Timmermans and Breeman (2014) studied the agenda dynamics of the governments that formed coalitions in the Netherlands. Based on their data, these authors suggest that coalition agreements provide a basis for government legislative action. In Latin America, political coalitions of parties with similar ideology were commonly carried out, such as the case of Chile that in 1989 the coalition known as the Concertacion was formed where the parties that joined this coalition were the political parties of the Center-Left Los Verdes Party, Party for Democracy, Radical Party of Chile, Chilean Social Democratic Party, Christian Democratic Party and Humanist Party (Scully 1995). Also, in Ecuador, a successful political coalition called Alianza Pais was formed, consisting of thirty political parties and social movements of the Left that supported the presidential candidate Rafael Correa, who ruled as president by a democratic vote for ten years (2007-2017). Since the 1990s, the successful political coalitions that won in Latin America were in Ecuador in 2007, 2013, and 2017, Argentina in 2011 and 2015, Bolivia in 2014, Brazil in 2010 and 2014, Peru in 2016, Chile in 2013 and 2017, Paraguay in 2008 and 2013, Panama in 2009 and Guatemala in 2008. In these countries, the presidential candidates were supported by forming a political coalition (Bunker 2019).

Moreover, some studies link agenda settings dynamics and political parties. Varone *et al.* (2014) studied the dynamics of change in agenda-setting strategies and vote-seeking for a Swiss political party case. The authors suggest in their study that the party's agenda-setting strategies are important concerning institutional rules. Also, the strategy of a party resorting to venue shopping has as its main objective the vote-seeking, and it is not oriented primarily to policy change. Furthermore,

Breunig (2014) studied the dynamics and content of the legislative policy agenda in Germany. This study suggests that partisan government control does not shape the legislative agenda in all issue domains.

Besides, some authors study political parties, issue priorities, and issue divergence on the agenda. Walgrave *et al.* (2014) studied the differences in the issue priorities of political parties in different regions of Belgium. This study aimed to determine the issue priorities and issue divergence of the Flemish and Francophone political parties in this country. This study suggests that there is a considerable issue overlap between the Flemish and Francophone political parties.

In summary, in the first section of this chapter, a review of the literature on the stages of the public policy cycle was carried out, clarifying that the theoretical and conceptual framework of this research is based on the agenda-setting stage. Then a review of the literature on the term "agenda" was carried out. Moreover, the study made a review of the framework and contributors to the political agenda's theory. Besides, according to the existing literature, there are many publications where the policy agenda-setting focuses on political parties. Studies where the policy agenda setting focuses on political parties, are related to the political party control and public opinion, political parties and changes in political agendas, political parties and issue competition, political parties and the political coalition theory, agenda-setting dynamics and political parties, and political parties, issue priorities, and issue divergence on the agenda.

## **2.2 Issue Competition and Political Parties**

In this section, the research will review the literature on issue competition related to political parties. Besides, a review of the literature on issue ownership and issue convergence will be conducted. Issues such as migration, the environment, or law and order are important issues for political parties, but there has been little interest in explaining which issues are important for competition between the Left or Right parties (Green-Pedersen 2008).

According to Green-Pedersen (2014), the idea of issue competition was established in political science several decades ago with authors such as David Robertson in 1976, where this author mentioned that political parties focus on "selective emphasis" instead of "direct confrontation". The study of issue competition has focused on the competence of political parties to determine certain issues as their own and thus gain an electoral advantage (Budge and Farlie 1983; Carmines 1991; Petrocik 1996; Robertson 1976).

According to Green-Pedersen (2008), in the literature, there are two important points about the variation in the political agendas of the parties: a) The political agenda of the parties focuses on social contributions, the same that occurs in three ways: The first is that social issues are important for political parties and their agenda. The second is that public opinion can dictate the agenda of political parties according to attitudes and the importance of an issue for the public. And the third is that political parties pay attention to the issues according to the coverage given by the mass media and, b) the second point of view is that the political agenda pays attention to the contributions of society, but political parties prefer to respond to a finite number of contributions. For Budge and Farlie (1983), political parties compete, focusing on different issues; therefore, these political parties are not interested in competing or taking different positions for the same issues. According to John, Bevan, and Jennings (2014), political parties should pay more attention to the issues that benefit them to obtain the maximum advantage of appropriating the issue (issue ownership); however, to maintain a good reputation for good governance and competition, political parties must prioritize policies that are important to the country.

In the seminal articles of Budge and Farlie (1983) and Petrocik (1996) is possible to find the concept of issue ownership. For Budge and Farlie (1983), the issue ownership is the perception and confidence of the voters that an issue can be better solved or carried by one political party than another. Therefore, a political party gains ownership of the issue by gaining voter confidence for the desired political benefits and outcomes. Moreover, in his seminal article, Petrocik (1996) mentions that issue ownership can be defined as the capacity of political parties to handle the issues that a country faces and that worry voters. Therefore, issue ownership is the ability of political parties to convey confidence to voters that they are the most capable of solving a certain issue based on their political strategy, initiative, and innovation towards those issues. Walgrave *et al.* (2015) mention that issue ownership is the link between the issues on voters' minds and specific political parties. Therefore, the political party that is most strongly linked to a problem given by the voters is considered the owner of this problem. Furthermore, suppose a specific political party is associated with a specific problem. In that case, it is considered better able to solve the problem and, in turn, it is considered the owner of this problem. Another definition of issue ownership was given by Egan (2013), who defines this term as the long-term union between the particular issues in the minds of voters and political parties, where political parties commit to prioritize these issues and solve them through legislation public spending. Also, Belanger (2003) claims that the ability to deal effectively with a specific issue by a political party is defined as issue ownership.

According to Walgrave, Lefevre, and Tresch (2012), issue ownership is the fact that in voters' minds, there are political parties that identify with specific political issues and these parties are the most capable of dealing with such issues. They remark that issue ownership is theorized as bidimensional, consisting of an "associative dimension" and a "competence dimension". The associative issue ownership denotes identifying the political parties with issues that the voters prioritize, even if the voters consider that these political parties are the best to solve these issues. On the other hand, the competence issue ownership considered that political parties are considered the best to deal with most issues. For these authors, the associative issue ownership affects the election of the vote only when the voters consider that the issue is important, while the competence issue ownership has a direct effect on the choice of the vote. Therefore, Walgrave, Lefevre, and Tresch (2012) consider that associative issue ownership and competence issue ownership are two different things; this author mentions that political parties can be considered associated but not compete with an issue and vice versa.

On the other hand, some authors have demonstrated the concept of "issue convergence" where political parties address issues that belong to other political parties. Issue convergence is "the discussion of the same issue by opposing candidates" (Damore 2005, 73). Contemporary studies such as Sigelman and Buell (2004) demonstrated the concept of issue convergence by studying the percentage of time a political party spends discussing issues owned by another political party. In this study, the authors establish a high degree of similarity regarding the debate of the issues, demonstrating issue convergence between political parties. Moreover, Holian (2004) shows how political parties take the concept of issue convergence in their favor as a political strategy to neutralize their opponents. This author shows us how in the presidential elections of the United States in 1992, Bill Clinton, as the Democratic candidate, using the concept of issue convergence as a political strategy, neutralized the Republican candidate, showing that the Democratic candidate could better respond to the crime-fighting issue. It must be emphasized that the ownership of the crime-fighting issues belonged to the Republicans for more than 20 years.

In summary, the authors say that existing studies on issue competition have focused on the competence of political parties to determine certain subjects as their own and thus obtain an electoral advantage. Moreover, the authors who advocate issue ownership argue that political parties win elections when they focus on their own issues, ignoring the issues of their political opponents (Belanger 2003; Budge and Farlie 1983; Egan 2013; Petrocik 1996; Walgrave, Lefevre, and Tresch 2012). On the other hand, the authors who directly oppose the issue ownership are those who believe in the issue



convergence, where they affirm that political parties win voters by showing that they have an interest in the issues of voters, regardless of whether they owned those issues (Damore 2005; Holian 2004; Sigelman and Buell 2004).

### **2.3 Government Spending Priorities**

In the third section of this chapter, a literature review on the relationship between government spending priorities and political parties is made. Furthermore, this section will review the literature on Left-wing and Right-wing parties and their government spending preferences.

The priorities of the Left and Right political parties are different; while the Left parties prioritize lower unemployment, Right-wing political parties prioritize lower inflation (Hibbs 1977). A common indicator of government priorities, whether from the Right or the Left, is government spending (Dye 2012). According to Blais, Blake, and Dion (1993), the political parties and governments of the Left spend more than the governments of the Right. Commonly, literature associates Left-wing parties, when they come to power, with higher government spending on social assistance and lower military expenditures, while Right-wing political parties are expected to reduce welfare expenditures and increase defense spending, for example. Therefore, empirical studies between political control and government spending priorities argued that Left-wing governments are associated with higher spending on social welfare, and "bourgeois" parties are associated with higher military spending or defense (Hofferbert and Budge 2009). However, other factors influence how political parties act, such as the capacity to respond to public opinion, media pressures, and interest groups' influence (John, Bevan, and Jennings 2014). In Latin America, progressive parties are more likely to increase fiscal spending, seeking the support and votes of the lower and lower-middle class, since progressive political parties include in their offers and political manifests the commitment to expand welfare programs social, nationalization and infrastructure development without cutting spending in other areas (Ames 1977).

According to Dye (2012), sometimes public policies of government spending that tend to solve problems of a group in society can create problems for a specific group within the same society. That is, the solution found for a group of people creates a problem for another group. For example, when the government wants to solve inequality in society, it tends to create new taxes for a group of society with wealth above the average to benefit the group with incomes below the average. The group that must pay more taxes for having a higher income than the average sees this solution as a problem for them; on the other hand, the group with incomes lower than the average sees it as a positive solution.

Left-wing governments prefer greater government control of the economy, and Right-wing governments promote confidence in the market; Leftist governments likely produce a larger government and greater spending on welfare than Rightist governments (Tavits and Letki 2009). Moreover, Right-wing governments often mention that government is the problem and not the solution. Inflationary spending by the government, government regulation is a problem for a healthy economy. For governments on the Right, the government must be controllable, conservative in spending, small, and close to the people (Dye 2012).

Dye (2012) further argues that a large government spending often does not mean that the economic problems of society's neediest citizens will be overcome. The author asks: Why does poverty persist in a nation where the total government spending on social assistance is many times more than the amount needed to eliminate poverty? To answer this question, the author gives the United States as an example. Dye (2012) responds to this question by mentioning that poor citizens in the United States are not the main beneficiaries of government spending on social welfare. Most government spending on social security and health insurance goes to the non-poor citizens. Only about one-sixth of the beneficiaries are distributed according to their poverty situation or income below the average. He concludes that the main beneficiary of the social spending of the nation is the middle class and not the poor citizens.

Following the United States and political ideology example, Rudolph and Evans (2005) mention that Republican presidents, who usually have greater political trust among conservative politicians, are pressured not to spend too much. Meanwhile, Democratic presidents, who have low levels of political trust among conservative politicians, are pressured not to spend too much on national programs. Empirical studies by Rudolph and Evans (2005) have shown that ideology moderates the effects of political trust on support in government spending. While liberals support more government spending than conservatives, it is found that political trust has a much smaller impact on spending attitudes among liberals. The effects of political trust among conservatives are so great that it often blurs the ideological gap between conservative and liberal support for public spending.

In summary, Left-wing and Right-wing political parties have different issues on their political agenda. For instance, Left-wing governments and progressive Left political parties spend more than Right-wing governments on issues like social welfare. Although, public spending can also be influenced by pressures from public opinion, the media, and the influence of interest groups. Therefore, Left-wing

governments are more likely to produce larger government spending on social welfare than Right-wing governments.

## **Chapter 3**

### **Theoretical and Conceptual Framework: Progressive Governments, Progressive Left Parties, and Policy Agendas**

### **3. Theoretical and Conceptual Framework: Progressive Governments, Progressive Left Parties, and Policy Agendas**

This chapter is divided into five main sections: the first section reviews the literature on progressive or Leftist governments. According to several authors, progressive parties were born in opposition to neoliberalism; governments and parties of the progressive Left reject and promise to end the region's neoliberal political agenda. Therefore, in the second section of this chapter, a review of the literature on the process of agenda-setting and the schools of thought on liberalism will be carried out. Moreover, the research will review the literature on the establishment of the post-neoliberal agenda. In the third section, the study will review the literature that focuses specifically on progressive governments in Latin America. In the fourth section, the study will proceed to review the literature focused on progressive Left-wing parties. Finally, the study will review the literature referring to progressive Left parties and searching for a post-neoliberalism agenda.

#### **3.1 Defining Progressive Governments**

In this section, a review of the literature on the term "progressive governments" or Leftist governments will be conducted. Moreover, there will be a review of the literature on the common features of progressive governments. Besides, a review of the variants of progressive Left governments within Latin America will be conducted.

The term "progressive governments" or Leftist governments (Badillo, Mastrini, and Marengi 2015; Martner *et al.* 2009; Minteguiaga and Ubasart-Gonzalez 2015; Peirano *et al.* 2010; Uriarte 2007; Zibechi 2010) was established in Latin America following the triumph of Hugo Chavez in 1998 (Minteguiaga and Ubasart-Gonzalez 2015). For Schapiro (1914), the purpose of political progressivism is "government regulation of industry and social legislation." (Schapiro 1914, 700). Also, Western European democracies generally support the theory that Leftist or progressive governments prefer control in the economy, expecting to increase welfare, including health and education (Castles 1989; Hibbs 1977; Lange and Garret 1985; Schmidt 1996). According to Griffiths (2014), the most common understanding of progressivism is concerned with some form of social justice. Also, the "term progressive tends to be associated with those individuals or groups who believe that it is both possible and desirable to bring about 'improvements' in economic and social life through collective means" (Page 2014, 17). Thus, "those that have as their goal the reduction of inequalities could be considered as progressive governments" (Uriarte 2007).

According to Badillo, Mastrini, and Marenghi (2015), the common features of progressive governments are 1) The will to recover the role of the State and its subsequent intervention as regulator and producer; 2) The concern -at least rhetoric and often substantive- for redistribution and social justice and the reduction of social and economic inequalities (Levitsky and Roberts 2011); and 3) vindication of civil society as a space for political action (Rodriguez Garavito and Barrett 2004) or democratic innovation based on the promotion of participatory democracy mechanisms (Badillo, Mastrini, and Marenghi 2015). Also, according to Martner *et al.* (2009), a progressive strategy can be identified as a policy program that proposes: expand fiscal capacity to strengthen the provision of public goods, manage public assets according to the general interest, and regulate markets efficiently and equitably to allow the exercise of economic and social rights without economic disruptions. Moreover, modern progressivism does not want to eradicate markets, as in the situation of the centralizing statist choice, but to create ecological and social governance instruments over them, according to principles of equity and efficiency. It pursues to benefit from the rewards of the market as a decentralized allocator of resources in complex economies but limits its rejection to the objectives of development and, specifically, its inclination to expand the concentration of economic power and create income inequalities (Martner *et al.* 2009).

Pereira (2010) classifies the progressive or Left-wing governments in two variants: the "renovating Lefts" and the "refounding Lefts". For the author, the renovating Lefts are characterized by progressive governments with greater institutional and electoral trajectory, greater integration to the political system, and more liberal representative democracy. They intend to renew institutionality and politics with a statist, egalitarian and ethical approach, and therefore less alter power relations. The second type corresponds to progressive governments that claim another social contract that supports the respective national political schemes; a low level of institutionalization characterizes them, are later in the integration to the respective political systems and highly critical of the institutions of representative democracy, trying to overcome the status quo, associated with the social and identity crisis. The refounding Left seeks a reconfiguration of power relations, this type of progressive government gives more importance to their relationship with social movements more and is more inclined towards collective constructions. (Pereira 2010). Moreover, even when policy choices are strictly constrained by economic situations, ideology impacts how governments pursue economic development; for example, "Leftist governments invest in human capital to raise productivity, offsetting inflationary pressures" (Johnson and Crisp 2003, 129). Also, Leftist governments prefer more government control of the economy, and those governments "are expected to produce a bigger

government in general and increased welfare (including health and education) spending in particular than Rightist parties” (Tavits and Letki 2009, 555).

In summary, the term political progressivism is defined as government regulation of industry and social legislation. Furthermore, a progressive Left-wing party or government controls the economy, wanting to increase the welfare state. Similarly, it is mentioned that the characteristics of a progressive Left government are the recovery of the State as regulator and producer, reduction of social and economic inequalities, and the demand of civil society in the political action of a country. It is worth clarifying that modern progressivism does not want to eradicate the markets, but it wants to create instruments of ecological and social governance over them, following the principles of equity and efficiency. Finally, it is important to mention that the authors also say that there are two types of the progressive Left: the "renovating Lefts" and the "refounding Lefts".

### **3.2 Agenda Setting Process and the Schools of Thought on Liberalism**

Several authors mention that the governments and progressive Left-wing parties reject and have promised the end of the neoliberal political agenda within the region. Therefore, in this section, a review of the literature on setting the agenda and the schools of liberal and neoliberal thought will be carried out. Moreover, the research will review the literature on establishing a post-neoliberal agenda by Latin American countries.

Latin America has had various phases of social and economic growth and stagnation during its history. In each stagnation phase, structural adjustment programs were designed to provide economic policies that contribute to improving conditions in each Latin American country. One of these economic adjustment programs was carried out in 1989, where the International Institute of Economics held a conference called "Latin American Adjustment: How Much Has Happened?", where a consensus was reached on the ten instruments of economic policy that the Latin American States had to continue to get out of the crisis and the economic slump, this was the origin of the so-called "Washington Consensus". The theoretical foundation of the proposals of the Washington Consensus had an ideological and political model of neoliberalism, where the private sector plays a fundamental role in economic growth, leaving aside the State and its regulatory role (Martinez and Reyes 2012). Neoliberalism was in charge of reactivating some classic notions of liberalism, one of them being a criticism of the State and its political government (Rose 1997). Progressive parties and governments have reacted and promised to end the political agenda that defines liberalism and neoliberalism (Sierra

2011). The following sections will discuss the liberal and neoliberal schools of thought to understand its political agenda.

### **3.2.1 Liberalism**

In this section, a literature review of the concept and beliefs of liberalism will be conducted. Also, there will be a review of the literature on the theoretical traditions of liberalism. Besides, a review of the liberal versions over the past two centuries will be conducted.

In contemporary American meaning, the concept of liberalism covers policy domains ranging from civil rights, social welfare to environmental protection (Caughey and Warshaw 2015). Besides, the contemporary liberal theory involves theories of the good life with the belief in philosophically defensible principles that normalize relations between individuals (Galston 1982). Also, the dominant concern of deontological liberalism is an agenda of principles designed to secure prosperity, stability, and freedom (Kaufman 1997). Moreover, liberalism includes more prominent government regulation and welfare provision to endorse equality and defend collective goods and less government determination to defend social order and traditional morality at the expense of personal sovereignty (Caughey and Warshaw 2015). Furthermore, liberalism has been understood as a peace treaty between persons with various conceptions of the good but common interests in prosperity and preservation (Galston 1988). On the other hand, there are many criticisms about liberalism like its individualistic methodology, its abstract, its extreme apprehension with private nonpolitical goals and, its selfishness to public issues of civic virtue and citizenship (Smith 1986). Also, liberalism ascended with the conception of modern capitalist society, particularly with the rise of the bourgeois class” (Mitchell, Howard, and Donnelly 1987).

Liberalism “is a late modern world, appearing first (along with "conservatism," "socialism," and "communism") in the early nineteenth century” (Coker 1953, 01). The literature review undertaken for this research shows that there are three distinct theoretical traditions of liberalism, respectively; these theoretical traditions of liberalism have three main authors: Joseph Schumpeter (Liberal Pacifism), Niccolo Machiavelli (Liberal Imperialism), and Immanuel Kant (Liberal Internationalism) (Doyle 1986). Schumpeter (1951) defines imperialism as the “objectless disposition on the part of a state to unlimited forcible expansion” (Schumpeter 1951, 6). Moreover, Schumpeter (1955) states that modern imperialism resulted from the combination of three sources: war machine, warlike instincts, and export monopolism. Then, Machiavelli states, “not only that republics are not pacifistic, but that they are the best form of state for imperial expansion. Establishing a republic fit for imperial expansion



is, moreover, the best way to guarantee the survival of a state". (Machiavelli 1950, 112). On the other hand, Kant's theory of liberal internationalism helps to understand two main legacies: the first of these two legacies "is the pacification of foreign relations among liberal states" (Doyle 1986, 1156) and the second legacy carries "the international imprudence" (Hume 1963, 346-347) where "peaceful restraint only seems to work in liberals' relations with other liberals. Liberal states have fought numerous wars with non-liberal states".

Moreover, Kant shares the major doctrines of liberalism like the individual's rights over the State; his freedom might be constrained only when its activity meddles with the rights of others; such constraint must be by known general laws previously which all men stand equal; men's abilities are more noteworthy than is appeared by their present achievements; and, finally, their potential will be developed in time, with education being one of the main methods for advancement. (Waltz 1962). Therefore, Schumpeter is a democratic capitalist, Machiavelli is a traditional Republican, and Kant is a liberal Republican (Doyle 1986).

There are some liberal versions over the past two centuries: the version of liberalism associated with the importance of the freedom of the individual, with liberal thinkers such as Ruggiero (1925), who says that liberalism begins with the acknowledgment that men are free and cannot be coerced, but this freedom is assimilated through a life of discipline and moral development. Although, according to Phelan (2000), liberal individualism has constantly privatized the greatest issues of human life and those planned on public grounds (Phelan 2000). Furthermore, the literature shows the classical liberalism version with the main authors such as John Locke and Adam Smith. These authors believe in the dominance of the economic measures relying on the decisions of the market rather than on State control (Hovden and Keene 2016).

In summary, the concept of liberalism covers policy domains ranging from civil rights, social welfare to environmental protection, where the liberal agenda has principles designed to secure prosperity, stability, and freedom. Moreover, there are three distinct theoretical traditions of liberalism: Liberal Pacifism, Liberal Imperialism, and Liberal Internationalism. Also, there are some liberal versions over the past two centuries: the version of liberalism associated with the importance of the freedom of the individual and the classical liberalism version where the dominance of the economic measures relying on the decisions of the market rather than on the State control.

Through time, the present capitalist economic system and neoliberalism evolved within the liberalism ideology of promoting private ownership of properties and the free market (Adino and Nebere 2016). Subsequently, a review of the literature on neoliberalism will be made.

### **3.2.2 Neoliberalism**

This section will conduct a literature review of neoliberalism's concepts, beliefs, and notions. Besides, there will be a literature review on the pejorative description that this school of thought has received.

In Western Europe, there was a wave of neoliberal governments in the 1980s where it admitted the preeminence of the market in reaching outcomes (Green-Pedersen, Van Kersbergen, and Hemerijck 2001). The term neoliberalism may advocate two things. The liberalism "has passed the initial stage of growth, then the crisis stage and is now in the process of revival" ... and it is "a distinct ideology, which has a lot in common but is not identical to the original liberalism" (Golubović and Golubović 2012, 04). The second interpretation means that neoliberalism shares basic terminology and historical roots with liberalism in general.

Other authors refer to the term neoliberalism as "a set of economic policies, also known as the Washington Consensus, which crystallized in the 1980s in response to the crisis of Keynesianism" (Macdonald and Ruckert 2009, 3). This consensus consists of "ten neoliberal commandments" of fiscal discipline, secure property rights, deregulation, privatization, openness to foreign direct investment, trade liberalization, unified and competitive exchange rates, financial liberalization, tax reform, and reorientation of public expenditures (Williamson 1990). Also, the neoliberals perceive economics as implanted in politics and are convinced that the political and economic framework is entirely interrelated (Friedrich 1955). For Harvey (2007), Thorsen (2009), Blomgren (1997), Nawroth (1962), Burchell (1996) and, Campbell and Pedersen (2001), neoliberalism is much more than a set of economic policies. According to Harvey (2007), neoliberalism is a theory of political, economic practices that suggests that human prosperity can best be advanced by liberating individual entrepreneurial freedoms and skills within an institutional context characterized by free trade, free markets, and strong private property rights (Harvey 2007). Also, the neoliberalism concept proposes a particular account of "the development of liberal thought" (Thorsen 2009, 03).

Moreover, neoliberalism is usually thought of as a political philosophy that prioritizes private property and individual freedom (Blomgren 1997). Additionally, neoliberalism is frequently defined as a political ideology whose goals contain individual freedom, basic human and civil rights, development, limited government, and deepening and preservation of constitutional democracy (Thorsen 2009). Besides, neoliberalism is frequently seen as a return and spread of one specific aspect of the liberal tradition - economic liberalism (Nawroth 1962). Also, neoliberalism is perceived as a synthetic form of entrepreneurial, free, and competitive behavior of economic-rational individuals (Burchell 1996).

Neoliberalism is a set of institutions consisting of many ideas, social and economic policies, and behaviors of organizing economic and political activity that are relatively diverse from others (Campbell and Pedersen 2001).

On the other hand, neoliberalism is a concept that is described in a pejorative. Some authors describe neoliberalism as the unfortunate spread of global consumerism and the equally painful destruction of the proactive welfare state (Thorsen 2009). Neoliberalism “is more than a set of macroeconomic policies as it implies deep structural and societal transformation” (Macdonald and Ruckert 2009, 04). On the other hand, some authors say post-neoliberalism is used to describe beliefs and ideas against neoliberalism (Onis and Senses 2003).

In summary, neoliberalism is a set of economic policies, also known as the Washington Consensus. However, some authors state that neoliberalism is much more than a set of economic policies that suggest individual freedom, development, limited government, and deepening and preservation of constitutional democracy. On the other hand, neoliberalism is a concept that is described in a pejorative that suggests global consumerism and the destruction of the proactive welfare State.

### **3.2.3 Post-Neoliberalism**

In this section, a literature review of the concept, beliefs, and notions of the term post-neoliberalism will be conducted.

Post-neoliberalism refers “to the range of policy experiments currently occurring throughout the Americas” (MacDonald and Ruckert 2009, 2). Also, many Latin American countries have moved beyond the orthodox neoliberal policies towards what some authors have called post-neoliberalism (Kaltwasser 2011; Macdonald and Ruckert 2009). Onis and Senses (2003) state that post-neoliberalism describes beliefs and ideas against neoliberalism and the Washington Consensus. Post-neoliberalism combines an effort to refocus the purpose of the economy through State spending, increased taxation, and management of exports (Grugel and Riggirozzi 2012). It identifies the position of the state in the context of open markets and a more liberal policy situation, but it identifies the need to avoid state failure. This approach has as objective the importance of tackling inequality and poverty issues around the individuals (Onis and Senses 2003). It also denotes the rise of a new historical moment that questions the technocratic agreement on achieving deep democracy and economic growth (Kaltwasser 2011). Besides, post-neoliberalism is not an era after neoliberalism; it is characterized

primarily by the search for progressive policy changes arising out of the several inconsistencies of neoliberalism (Macdonald and Ruckert 2009).

Moreover, post-neoliberal governance projects seek to retain elements of the previous export-led growth model while introducing new mechanisms for social inclusion and welfare (Grugel and Riggirozzi 2012). Also, post-neoliberalism seeks to develop the national state, predominantly in the economic field (Kaltwasser 2011). Thus, the post-neoliberalism denotes a more progressive approach to development compared with the catastrophic application of the Washington Consensus” (Onis and Senses 2003).

In summary, the term post-neoliberalism is used to describe a set of beliefs and ideas that go against the postulates of neoliberalism. Furthermore, the post-neoliberal agenda is mainly characterized by the search for progressive changes in policies that arise from the various inconsistencies of neoliberalism.

### **3.3 Previous Studies on Progressive Governments**

This section will review the existing literature on progressive governments in Latin American. Most of the literature on progressive governments focuses on Latin America. Moreover, a substantial number of researchers in the progressive government domain have focused on labor policy, unions, and extractivism of raw materials as primary issues.

Authors such as Uriarte (2007) and Iranzo (2011) have studied labor policy in progressive governments. Uriarte (2007) places special emphasis on the situation of workers and their organizations. The author analyzes labor’s deregulation and flexibilization in Latin America. Furthermore, the author mentions guidelines for progressive labor policy. On the other hand, Iranzo (2011) summarizes in an analytical form the main orientations and guidelines on labor policy, adopting Venezuela and the government of Hugo Chavez as a case study.

Besides, authors such as Martner *et al.* (2009), Morris (2017), Iglesias (2015), Marticorena (2015), Natalucci (2015), Beliera and Morris (2017), Quiñones (2011), Araujo and Oliveira (2011), Radermacher and Melleiro (2007), Lucca (2011), Aravena and Nuñez (2011) and Ulloa (2003) emphasize their studies on unions during progressive governments in Latin America. For Martner *et al.* (2009), the trade union movement of the region has positioned itself as an ally in the process of implementation and deepening of social transformations. Morris (2017), Iglesias (2015), and Marticorena (2015) chose Argentina, particularly in the governments of presidents Nestor Kirchner and Cristina Fernandez de Kirchner, as case studies to develop their studies on trade unions during the progressive governments. Also, Morris (2017) emphasizes his study in union revitalization from 2003 to

2015. Furthermore, Iglesias (2015) mentions that state initiatives led by the Kirchner period are defined as pro-union. Moreover, Marticorena (2015) mentions that the policies deployed by the government of Nestor Kirchner contributed to the re-legitimization of the political system from the construction of a hegemonic political project, articulating an alliance with the unions, particularly with sectors that had resisted the neoliberal policies in the 1990s. Besides, Natalucci (2015) analyzes the union dynamics in Kirchnerism based on a double game between the process of repositioning the unions as articulators of workers' demands and political participation. Finally, Beliera and Morris (2017) study the theoretical and epistemological framework on the importance of the unions' return.

Quiñones (2011) uses Uruguay as a case study to develop their studies on unions during progressive governments. These authors analyze the public policies in the syndicalism sector during the government led by Tabare Vazquez in 2005.

From a similar perspective, Araujo and Oliveira (2011), Radermacher and Melleiro (2007), and Lucca (2011) use Brazil as a case study to develop their research on syndicalism during progressive governments. Araujo and Oliveira (2011) and Radermacher and Melleiro (2007) discuss the role of unionism, mainly in the government of Lula de Silva. Besides, Lucca (2011) compares the union party identity during the government of Lula da Silva and Nestor Kirchner.

Aravena and Nuñez (2011) and Ulloa (2003) both use Chile as a case study to develop their research on unions during progressive governments. His works aim to examine union policies during the governments of the "Concertacion de Partidos por la Democracia" in Chile.

Gudynas (2012), Frederic (2017), and Svampa (2013) focus on topics about progressive governments and the key role of extractivism of raw materials for exporting in Latin American countries. According to Brand, Dietz, and Lang (2016), extractivism is defined as activities that remove large volumes of natural resources not processed, especially for export. Extractivism is not limited to minerals or oil; it is also agricultural, forestry, and even fishing extractivism.

Gudynas (2012) analyzes the difference between old and new ways of extracting natural resources and socio-environmental conflicts in progressive governments of Latin America. Similarly, Frederic (2017) mentions that progressive governments in Latin America extracted massively and exported their countries' natural resources, taking advantage of the "boom" of raw materials by the demand of China. All progressive countries argued that extractivism was the way to fight against poverty. Moreover, Svampa (2013) says that Latin America, with its influence of progressive governments, has entered into a new economic and political-ideological order, sustained by the boom in international prices of raw materials increasingly demanded by emerging powers.

Progressive governments have posited that social transformation is achieved from above, from the government, public policies, and state institutions. On the other hand, authors like Sierra (2011) say that progressive governments have developed social policies that have benefited disadvantaged population groups. However, it does not look like a project of social transformation; instead, those are projects affirming the capitalist mercantile economy based on the neoliberal policy.

In summary, most of the literature on progressive governments focuses on Latin America; the main topics of study are the relationship of progressive governments to union movements and labor policy. Similarly, other authors have studied the relationship between progressive governments and raw material extraction as a source of financing for social programs. Finally, other authors criticize that the environmental policies applied by progressive governments are very similar to those applied by neoliberal governments.

### **3.4 Previous Studies on Progressive Political Parties**

The existing literature focuses more on progressive governments than on progressive political parties. Within the existing literature review, we can find studies on the relationship of the progressive parties with the president they supported, as well as studies on the relationship between the Left-wing political parties and the foreign aid, also the relationship between Left-wing parties and government spending, and studies on progressive political parties related to the environmental issue and the neo-extractivism of natural resources.

According to Alcantara (2008), in Latin American countries, the president is located more to the Left than the progressive party to which he belongs, being a leading actor in the political atmosphere. The author mentions that these actors are denominated within the political aspect as populists.

Meanwhile, Hibbs (1977) studied post-war patterns in macroeconomic policies and the results associated with Left-wing political parties. According to the author, the macroeconomic outcomes are largely influenced by the decisions of the political parties and therefore are not entirely exogenous for the economy.

Therien and Noel (2000) studied the relationship between Left-wing political parties and foreign aid, clarifying how internal politics shape foreign aid. Therien and Noel (2000) suggest that social spending, welfare institutions, and Left-wing political parties play an important role in foreign aid.

On the other hand, Tavits and Letki (2009) studied the relationship between Left-wing parties and government spending. According to partisan spending theory, the authors suggest that where progressive parties increase government spending, it is inaccurate in post-communist countries.

Therefore, Leftist parties feel the need to enact tighter budgets for two reasons: transition to democracy and evolution to a market economy.

There are many studies where the relationship between progressive political parties or Leftist parties related to the environment is studied. Neumayer (2004) mentions that his results suggest that progressive political parties are more pro-environmental than Right-wing political parties. The author also hypothesizes that Leftist parties are more likely to support the so-called ecological economy. For Knill, Debus, and Heichel (2010), the politics of a progressive party influences the number of environmental policies adopted. The author mentions that when a progressive or Leftist party is in power, or this Leftist party is part of the government coalition, there is a greater concern about environmental issues.

On the other hand, Scruggs (1999) suggests in his study that Leftist parties do not have a significant impact on environmental performance policies. Furthermore, Gudynas (2010) mentions that governments promoted by progressive parties support neo-extractivism of fossil or agricultural resources, such as the cultivation of soybeans for importation. The author mentions that the resources obtained from these practices are of great importance for financing social assistance programs.

In summary, most of the literature on progressive Left-wing political parties focus on issues related to the relationship of progressive parties to the president who they supported, also studies of post-war patterns in macroeconomic policies and the results associated with Left-wing parties, as well as studies on the relationship between Left-wing political parties and foreign aid, moreover the relationship between Left-wing parties and government spending, finally some studies on progressive Left political parties related to the environmental issue and the neo-extractivism of natural resources.

### **3.5 Building a Post-neoliberalism Policy Agenda**

This section will review the literature referring to progressive Left parties and the search for a post-neoliberalism agenda. An overwhelming amount of research on the term post-neoliberal encountered was focused on Latin America. Studies on post-neoliberalism in regions like Asia and Africa are still scarce. In Asia, post-neoliberalism is linked with forms of governance in some Latin American countries (Akcali, Yanik, and Hung 2015). Moreover, in Africa, post-neoliberalism emerges associated with "unorthodoxies in Latin America" (Harrison 2010).

Progressive parties and governments seek a post-neoliberal agenda. In neoliberal discourse, the nation-state loses relevance (Bresser 2007). In contrast, the progressive parties and governments work towards a post-neoliberal policy agenda that contemplates the State as an essential agent for

leading a national development strategy (Gallegos and Perez 2016). The principal aspects of the post-neoliberal policy agenda are the reinforcement of the state's redistribute role, the role of the state as an agent of development, progressive taxation, new regional integration, and changes in labor policy. In contrast to the neoliberal discourse, which holds that foreign investment and external savings are the principal mechanisms for financing development, the progressive government has given priority to the national capital and internal savings in stimulating national development. Thus, the state is an essential agent of development.

For other authors, such as Ruckert, Macdonald, and Proulx (2017), the post-neoliberal agenda "is not as a complete break with neoliberalism, but rather as a tendency to break with certain aspects of neoliberal policy prescriptions, without representing a set of strict policies or an identifiable policy regime" (Ruckert, Macdonald, and Proulx 2017, 1584). The main features of the post-neoliberal agenda are the renationalization of the economy, the creation of new regional groupings with the rise of new trade policies, changes in taxation and revenue generation, gender, and land reform. Also, at the institutional level, it emphasizes democratic reform efforts, the role of indigenous peoples, citizen involvement, neo-extractivism and environment, and active participation of social movements (Ruckert, Macdonald, and Proulx 2017).

In summary, the principal aspects of the post-neoliberalism agenda used by progressive governments and progressive political parties are the reinforcement of the State's redistribute role, the role of the state as an agent of development, renationalization of the economy, progressive taxation, labor market policy, neo extractivism, and citizen participation.



## **Chapter 4**

### **Progressive Movements Across Latin America**

#### **4. Progressive Movements Across Latin America**

Since the end of the 90s and the beginning of 2000, in Latin America, there has been a change within the systems of government, with the so-called "progressive governments" appearing on the political map (Mintegiuga and Ubasart-Gonzalez 2015). It began with a set of electoral defeats by Right-wing political parties or also called supporters of neoliberalism, where a large number of Latin American countries came to be governed by political parties and presidents who declared themselves progressive and who professed a broad rejection of the consensus of Washington. These progressive Left-thinking governments maintain a hegemony that allowed them to govern for 10 to 20 years, including constituent processes on their political agenda and achieving several presidential democratic reelections (Gaudichaud, Webber, and Modonesi 2019). Since the election of Hugo Chavez in 1998, twelve Latin American countries (Venezuela, Brazil, Bolivia, Ecuador, Argentina, Honduras, Paraguay, Peru, El Salvador, Nicaragua, Chile, and Uruguay) chose a Left government alternation, articulated around progressive or national-popular projects (Bringel and Falero 2016; Grugel and Riggiozzi 2012; Martner *et al.* 2009; Mintegiuga and Ubasart-Gonzalez 2015; Onis and Senses 2003; Peirano *et al.* 2010; Uriarte, 2007). However, after multiple electoral victories, this progressive process entered a stage of electoral exhaustion in recent years, manifesting itself in events such as the social and political crisis in Venezuela since 2014, the electoral defeat in Argentina in 2015, the constitutional coup in Brazil, and the plebiscitary defeat of the presidential reelection in Bolivia in 2016, and the tight victory of Lenin Moreno and subsequent distancing from the government of former President Rafael Correa in Ecuador in 2017. These events contribute to the so-called "end of the cycle" of the progressive governments (Gaudichaud, Webber, and Modonesi 2019). Based on these events, this chapter will comprehensively show the different progressive movements across Latin America, which helps us understand the consolidation and political experience of these Left progressive governments and Left-wing political parties. Also, this chapter helps determine the different groups of countries based on the ideology of the movements: Are there different groups of countries based on the ideology of the movements? Is there, for instance, two types of movements with different versions of "progressive ideology"? Finally, this chapter will overview which movements have been in government and for how long. The last point is important since, based on this, the research can choose countries to study what happens when these parties get into government.

## **4.1 Progressive Movement Across Latin America**

### **4.1.1 Progressive Movement in Venezuela**

In Venezuela, Hugo Chavez's electoral victory in 1998 opened a period of political and social change in Latin America (Martner *et al.* 2009). With the support of the "Fifth Republic Movement" and Leftist parties such as "Patriotic Pole", Hugo Chavez won the presidential elections in 1998, thus beginning the so-called Bolivarian Revolution in the region (Gaudichaud, Webber, and Modonesi 2019). Although each progressive government in the region had its own experiences and political changes, the goal of these progressive governments had in common was to dismantle the neoliberal agenda within the region, increase the welfare state, and regain economic regulation (Ramirez 2006).

Left parties in Venezuela date back to 1928 with ideological and political opposition by student movements against the dictatorship of Juan Vicente Gomez (1908-1935). The so-called "generation of 28", who were university students, staged protests against the Gomez dictatorship; protests that were violently suppressed but constituted the origin of what would later become the modern political party system in Venezuela (Molina and Perez 1998). After Gomez died in 1935, peasant federations, unions, social organizations, and mass political parties emerged. In 1941 the political party "Democratic Action" was founded (Aznar 1990), and the Communist Party of Venezuela was legalized in 1945, which was a political party that was founded in 1931 (Robledo 1971).

Democratic Action began as a Left-wing, Leninist-style party where its power is concentrated at the top and controlled practically all social organizations such as business organizations and unions. Its political agenda and ideology were characterized by a poly class, anti-imperialist, and social-democratic profile (Gonzalez 2008). In 1945 there was a coup against President Isaias Medina, who was elected for the period 1941-1946, perpetrated by leaders and militants of the Democratic Action party and the military force. After the fall of Medina, Venezuela experienced an unprecedented democratic opening. The first universal, direct and secret presidential elections were held in 1947, where Romulo Gallegos (candidate for Democratic Action) won the first presidential election by universal popular vote in the twentieth century in Venezuela. Gallegos was the head of the government for nine months, from February to November 1948, before being separated from the presidency by a military coup (Bracamonte 2009). During General Marcos Perez's military dictatorship, political parties were considered illegal. Thus, the Democratic Action and the Communist Party of Venezuela were considered illegal, the unions were also dissolved, and their leaders suffered massive repression. In 1958 supporters of the Democratic Action and the Communist Party of Venezuela, supported by the

military force, led to an uprising ending the dictatorship and starting a second democratic transition (Gonzalez 2008).

In 1959 Romulo Betancourt, one of the founders of Democratic Action, was democratically elected as President of the Republic of Venezuela. The Communist Party of Venezuela was left out of the government coalition due to the opposition that existed on the part of the church and because of Betancourt's lack of sympathy towards this Party (Gonzalez 2008).

Since its origins, Democratic Action has had deep ideological conflicts, which has caused several divisions within the organization. In 1960 a large section of Democratic Action supporters was expelled, and these supporters organized and formed the “Revolutionary Left Movement” political party. In 1962 there was another division giving rise to the “Democratic Action of Opposition” movement. In 1967 Democratic Action suffered another division due to ideological differences, with the emergence of the “People's Electoral Movement” (Vaivads 2000).

The Left-wing revolutionary political parties such as the Venezuelan Communist Party (which is a Soviet-oriented party) and the Revolutionary Left Movement included within their political agenda the philosophy of Fidel Castro (Blutstein *et al.* 1977). In 1962 both parties supported a guerrilla movement within Venezuela, but five years later, they were defeated. The Communist Party realized that the democratic route was the best way to attract the masses (Gonzalez 2008; Weitz 1986).

In the 60s and 70s, Democratic Action was characterized by having a political agenda such as the version of the German or Italian Social Democratic political parties or the British Labor Party; it was consolidated as a Center-Left oriented party. Democratic Action was the only party with an active national pyramid organization (Blutstein *et al.* 1977).

In 1971 the “Movement to Socialism” party was created, made up of former members of the Communist Party of Venezuela, having a democratic socialist ideology and a Center-Left position (Petkoff 1981).

In 1973 the Venezuelan political system was considered bipartisan. On the one hand, Democratic Action, a Center-Left political party, and the other hand, the political party “Independent Political Electoral Organization Committee” (founded in 1946), a Center-Right party. Since 1973, Democratic Action has won the presidential elections three times (1973, 1983, 1988), while the Independent Electoral Political Organization Committee has won the 1978 elections. The two political parties used modern campaign schemes, hiring North American campaign companies (Blutstein *et al.*

1977). However, both political parties created a system wrapped in plots of corruption, clientelism, failed economic policies, and centralization of power (Cole 2007).

Between 1973 and 1998, the Left parties failed to consolidate in the electoral field. Parties such as the Revolutionary Left Movements, the Communist Party of Venezuela, the People's Electoral Movement, the Movement to Socialism, The Radical Cause have not the same political and electoral success as Democratic Action and Independent Electoral Political Organization Committee (Gonzalez 2008). Since 1998 the members and supporters of Democratic Action have positioned this movement as a Right-wing party (Vaivads 2000).

At the beginning of 1989, Leftist forces such as the political party Radical Cause and Movement to Socialism won electorally in local and regional elections (Villarroel 2001). These political parties gained popularity for opposing the neoliberal measures applied by a group of technocrats who wanted to make economic changes following the guidelines of the Washington Consensus in the government of Carlos Andres Perez, presidential candidate for Democratic Action. The Venezuelan population did not receive the new economic measures well, which caused a popular revolt called "El Caracazo" (Lopez 2003). In general, the social revolt emerged due to the people's discontent towards the political parties Democratic Action and the Independent Electoral Political Organization Committee, and their ineffective neoliberal economic reforms, which did not achieve the distribution of wealth to all the social sectors of Venezuela (McCoy and Myers 2004). In 1992 Hugo Chavez Frias carried out a coup that did not succeed but obtained sympathy and popular support (Cole 2007).

In 1993 the bipartisan system of Democratic Action and the Independent Electoral Political Organization Committee ended. Rafael Caldera came to the presidency for the second time under the auspices of the "Convergence" political party, which was created in 1993 by a group of dissidents from the Independent Electoral Political Organization Committee party (Salamanca 1994). Besides, Caldera supported small, mostly Left-wing parties such as the Communist Party of Venezuela, the Movement for Socialism, and the People's Electoral Movement (Lalander 2008). Caldera's political speech rejected the International Monetary Fund (IMF); however, in 1996, he announced returning to the orthodox economy. The government ended up resorting to the IMF, causing future economic stagnation. Citizen confidence in traditional political candidates reached its limit, causing popular support for independent candidates for the 1998 presidential elections (Vieira 2004).

In 1998 there were two independent presidential candidates with high popularity: on the one hand, there was Henrique Salas Romer, and on the other hand, Hugo Chavez. The winning candidate of

the presidential elections in 1998 was Hugo Chavez with his political party Fifth Republic Movement. Chavez's political party was supported by Left-wing movements such as the Communist Party of Venezuela, the Movement for Socialism, Fatherland For All, and the People's Electoral Movement. This group of political forces was known as the Patriotic Pole (Lander and Lopez 1999).

The Fifth Republic Movement was the most voted on from 1998 to 2007; however, it was dissolved in 2017 to integrate part of the United Socialist Party of Venezuela. The Fifth Republic Movement had an ideological position of the extreme Left based on the ideals of Simon Bolivar<sup>2</sup>, with nationalist, socialist and humanist elements in favor of participatory democracy (Martinez 2014). Hugo Chavez won the presidential elections in 2000, but in 2002 a coup was carried out against Chavez, who had no popular and external support from the region's countries; Chavez continued in power (Maya 2002).

In 2006, Chavez won the presidential elections for the third consecutive time where he formed the United Socialist Party of Venezuela, intending to consolidate political and social forces that support the Bolivarian Revolution. The Left-wing parties that were dissolved and later integrated the new political party were: the ruling party Fifth Republic Movement, the Socialist League, Independents for the National Community, the Independent Movement "We Won All" and the Venezuelan Popular Unity, meanwhile parties such as Fatherland for All and Communist Party of Venezuela decided not to merge into this new political party (Iwanowski 2018).

In 2012 Hugo Chavez won the presidential elections for the fourth consecutive time (Foster 2015). He was a candidate for the United Socialist Party of Venezuela supported by the political coalition of progressive and nationalist Left parties called Simon Bolivar Great Patriotic Pole (Uzcategui 2013). Chavez, in his speeches, proclaimed the transition towards "Socialism of the 21st century" in the context of the Bolivarian Revolution. Hugo Chavez coined the term Socialism of the 21st Century to differentiate it from the so-called "Real Socialism of the XX Century" chosen in the Soviet Union (Harnecker 2011). Among the main principles of Socialism of the 21st Century is the supremacy of human beings over the capital, the importance of collective action, and participatory and direct democracy (Hamburger 2014). Hugo Chavez failed to transition to a new political agenda since he died after a long fight against cancer in early 2013. Nicolas Maduro, being vice president of Chavez, assumed the presidency of Venezuela from 2013 to the present. Maduro's progressive government has had to endure street strikes by "opponents to Chavez" and international financial sanctions by the

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<sup>2</sup> Outstanding figure of Latin American emancipation, who fought against the Spanish empire. He contributed to the independence of Venezuela, Bolivia, Ecuador, Colombia and Peru (Lemly 1923).

United States and other countries that do not share the same ideology as the Maduro government (Ellner 2018).

#### **4.1.2 Progressive Movement in Brazil**

Brazil is one of the wealthiest countries in Latin America, but the distribution of wealth has been one of this country's most significant weaknesses. According to the World Bank, in Brazil, 20% of the wealthiest population received 62% of the country's total income, while the most deficient 20% received 2.6% of total revenue in 2004 (Ferreira and Walton 2004). Brazil was also one of the last countries to conquer its independence from the Portuguese crown, abolish slavery, and adopt a republican political system (Sader 2001).

Between 1889 and 1930, Brazilian policy was managed with the alliance known as "Coffee with milk", which consisted of dominance by the agro-export and commercial elites of the states of Minas Gerais and San Pablo. Minas Gerais represented the milk trading elites, and the state of San Pablo represented the agro-exporting coffee elites. This alliance allowed representatives of the two sides to alternate power, forming a very powerful oligarchy economically and politically between 1889 and 1930 (Parra 2018).

Party politics with a national scope was a late phenomenon in Brazil since it began in 1945 but for a short period until the military coup of 1964. (De Riz 1986; Mallo 2006). However, the Brazilian Communist Party was founded in 1922 (Yanez 2016). It was formed through communist groups, anarchists, and the industrial proletariat. The Russian Revolution of 1917 served as inspiration for the creation of this party (Bugiato 2008).

Getulio Vargas came to power in 1930. From 1930 to 1945 is known as the "Vargas Era" since Vargas went to the executive power and continuously ruled Brazil for 15 years (Greggio and Pelegrini 2017). The Vargas government was strongly centralized, where he dissolved the congress, assuming executive and legislative power (De Riz 1986). Vargas also founded the Brazilian Labor Party and Social Democratic Party, both parties with a Center-Right tendency dominating the Brazilian political scene from 1946 to 1964 (Castellanos 2001).

As previously mentioned, there was a military coup in 1964, defined as the coup de grace to a Center-Right political system going from a democratic and populist state to a dictatorial regime (Mallo 2006). There was the repression of trade union groups, students, and Leftist political organizations in

this period. The military dictatorship lasted until 1985, when Tancredo Neves was appointed president and Jose Sarney as vice-president of the Republic of Brazil (Petit 2016). Neves died in 1985 and was succeeded by Vice President Sarney (Cadena *et al.* 2005).

At the end of the 70s, there were different manifestations of rejection of the government. There were strikes by workers and students against job insecurity and the authoritarian regime. The workers' strikes of the late 1970s formed the basis for the founding of the Workers' Party in 1980. This political party brought together various Leftist currents and resulted from the union of Marxist militants, Christian militants, and the "new unionism" against "traditional unionism". Two crucial points predominated in the political manifesto of its foundation were: breaking relations with the "traditional unionism" that was used to clientelism and negotiating with the government; and the second objective of his manifesto was the criticism of real socialism and the totalitarian practices of the Left, positioning itself as a mass, democratic, socialist and class political party (Novion 2016).

In 1989 direct elections were held for the Presidency of the Republic. The primary candidates were Fernando Collor de Mello, representing the conservative forces, and Luis Ignacio "Lula" da Silva, the Workers' Party leader, where Collor de Mello was elected. In 1992 a commission was formed to study corruption within the government, thus leading to impeachment against Collor de Mello, finding him guilty and forcing him to leave his mandate (Maciel 2011). Having an emptiness in power, the vice president of the republic, Itamar Franco, took over the presidency (Hirst and Pinheiro 1995). In 1994 and 1998, Fernando Henrique Cardoso won the presidential elections, with Lula Da Silva in second place, who represented the Workers' Party again. Cardoso's political agenda was framed in free-market policies and reduction of public spending; these measures were hugely unpopular (Nakahodo and Savoia 2008). Furthermore, his government was marred by corruption scandals and loss of confidence by the electorate (Mallo 2006).

In 2002 Lula Da Silva won the presidential elections representing the Workers' Party, defeating the ruling party's candidate, Brazilian Social Democracy Party (Vigevani and Cepaluni 2007), after three unsuccessful electoral attempts (1989 1994, and 1998). Lula Da Silva, as president, and Jose de Alencar, as vice president, ruled Brazil for two consecutive periods (2003-2006 and 2007-2010), bringing the Workers' Party to power. The political agenda of the progressive government of Lula da Silva was framed in the low unemployment rate, stable economy with growth, and low inflation; he was also concerned with including social policies and was very critical of the neoliberal model. Also, its political agenda focused on the diversification of its international relations, increased investment for



education, construction of infrastructure, and the creation of public universities (Novion 2016). The Lula Da Silva government also suffered sharp criticism for corruption scandals such as the so-called "mensalão", denounced by government investigative institutions (Michener and Pereira 2016). It should be mentioned that these corruption schemes become public knowledge thanks to the strengthening of the federal investigative bodies that gain greater autonomy under the Lula Da Silva government. Contrary to the corruption cover-ups characterized by the previous government, these federal bodies were independent of the party that was in power, that is, the Workers' Party (Novion 2016).

In the 2010 presidential elections, Dilma Rousseff won the elections for the Workers' Party, being the first woman to hold the highest position in power in Brazil. Rousseff was a survivor of torture and imprisonment by the dictatorship in the country in the 1970s. The progressive government of Rousseff assumed the presidency in 2011, keeping on its agenda policies to reduce unemployment, reduce extreme poverty, social policies, significant capital investment, and increase in income distribution (Novion 2016). In 2014 Rousseff, representing the Workers' Party comes to the presidency again for the second time. However, in 2016 Rousseff was dismissed by impeachment accusing her of severe violations of the country's budget law. In December 2016, Michel Temer, who belonged to the Brazilian Democratic Movement political party and was part of the ruling coalition of the Rousseff government and the Workers' Party, definitively assumed the functions of president of Brazil until 2018. The Brazilian Democratic Movement and Workers' Party had broken the government coalition and political relations in 2016 (Goldstein 2016). Political scandals and corruption characterized Temer's government, besides its political agenda were characterized by neoliberal reforms and military cooperation with the United States, and economic cooperation with the European Union (Merino 2018).

In 2018, Jair Bolsonaro won the presidential elections as a candidate for the Alliance for Brazil, a political party with an extreme Right-wing political position (Sanahuja 2019). His policy agenda focuses on the possession of weapons among citizens, cuts to public education, ideological alignment with the United States, austere economic policies, and liberalism, he also openly criticizes the Left parties and movements, and he is a defender of military dictatorships (Almeida and Pismel 2019; Castro and Gomez 2020).

In conclusion, Lula Da Silva and the political phenomenon known as "lulismo" have been a fundamental part of the "Left" or popular turn of Latin America in the last decade. The region in recent years has been in a situation of a new turn to the "Right" or neoliberal turn (Merino 2018).

### **4.1.3 Progressive Movement in Bolivia**

According to Romero (2011), the first stable and bipartisan party system was formed in Bolivia after the Pacific War with its neighboring country, Chile, in 1879, where two main factions were recognized: the Conservative party and the Liberal party. This bipartisan system was imported mainly from Europe and generalized in Latin America during the second half of the nineteenth century. The main issue of attention for the Conservative party was to seek a peace agreement with Chile, while the political agenda of the Liberal party was to keep the war against Chile with its ally, Peru. However, both ideological currents took over issues such as military exclusion in the executive branch, participation in the international market by exporting raw materials, and creating a modern state. The Bolivian electoral system was characterized by voting only for the most privileged elites and social sectors; this was copied from European countries and the United States of America.

In 1926 the Nationalist Party was founded by the president of Bolivia, Hernando Siles Reyes, and by a group of young intellectuals, one of the first Bolivian parties in the first half of the twentieth century (Gallego 1991).

In Bolivia, the effects of the Chaco War (1932-1935), which left significant economic and human losses, and economic and political changes in the international context were certain situations for forming Marxist and nationalist organizations. On the one hand, in 1938, the Revolutionary Workers Party was founded, which focused on the mining proletariat, and in 1940 the Revolutionary Left Party was founded with the help of Marxist intellectuals, trade unionists, and university students. Both parties adopted organizational models of communist parties. On the other hand, in 1937, a group of young anti-Marxist and Catholic-trend politicians founded the Bolivian Socialist Falange political party; also, in 1942, a group of economically well-off young intellectuals founded the Revolutionary Nationalist Movement party. Both parties opted for a nationalist current (Romero 2011).

In 1952, there was a revolution that divided Bolivia into a before and after. In this revolution, the Liberals triumphed over the Conservatives; this caused the government to move from Sucre towards La Paz. The 1952 Revolution began with demonstrations by militants of the Nationalist Revolutionary Movement, Chiefs of Police, Army, and support from the people in several country cities. Moreover, the Communist Party of Bolivia was formed, organized by young people detached from the Revolutionary Left Party, on the eve of the 1952 Revolution (Romero 2003).

In the 1970s, political actors justified using force and violence to achieve or maintain power (Peñaranda and Chavez 1992). There was a long period of military dictatorships from 1964 to 1978 (Santalla 2009).

In 1971, the Socialist Party emerged from four political parties: National Liberation Front, National Union of Revolutionary Left, Bolivian Popular Action, and Workers Revolutionary Action Front. In the same year, a military dictatorship was commanded by Colonel Hugo Banzer, a bloodthirsty dictator who received support from the United States government. Banzer directly persecutes the members of the Socialist Party (Rivera 2017). Banzer's military government was supported by the two largest political parties: the Revolutionary Nationalist Movement and the Bolivian Socialist Falange Party. The socialist party comprised union leaders and socialist intellectuals from favored social sectors (Romero 2003). In 1971 the Revolutionary Left Movement was also created, which, contrary to its postulates, its political agenda was neoliberal (Zegada 2012). The Revolutionary Left Movement had as members Marxist ideology groups and the Christian Democratic youth.

In 1978 the Socialist Party 1 was created, formed by dissident members of the Socialist Party (Romero 2011). In the same year, the Tupac Katari Revolutionary Movement of Liberation was created, its founders had an anti-colonial indigenous intellectual thought (Zegada 2012).

After the military dictatorship, the Nationalist Democratic Action party appeared in 1979, formed by the main characters that accompanied the dictator Banzer; his agenda was very similar to the components of the 1952 Revolution but ruled out the "popular mobilization" component for being ideologically Marxist, according to its founders (Romero 2011).

Since 1985, there was the creation of parties driven by a liberal ideology where these political parties proclaimed the predominance of the liberal economy and the decentralization of the State. In 1985, eighteen political parties participated (Luna 2006).

Homeland Awareness party and Civic Solidarity Union political parties were founded in 1988 and 1989, respectively (Romero 2011). Neoliberalism in Bolivia from 1985 to 2003 reached its maximum limits with the presence of the political parties Homeland Awareness and Civic Solidarity Union political, denominated as neo-populist political parties (Luna 2006). According to Mayorga (2001), neo-populism is a set of neoliberal values and strategies based on the market economy, where the popular masses play an essential role.

In 1994, multiculturalism and multiethnicity were included in the constitution, valuing the diversity of cultures in Bolivia (Romero 2011).

In 1995, the political party Movement towards Socialism and the New Republican Force political party was created (Levitsky, Loxton, and Van Dyck 2016). The Movement towards Socialism brought together supporters of the coca and peasant movements of Cochabamba; this movement had its power in the rural environments of Bolivia, also had an ideology of opposition to capitalism and imperialism (Romero 2011).

In 2000, the Pachakuti Indigenous Movement was created, which, as the Tupac Katari Liberation Revolutionary Movement, had an anti-colonial indigenous intellectual thought (Romero 2011). The Pachakuti Indigenous Movement was a way for the indigenous people to enter the legislative power of Bolivia (Coronel 2013).

In the presidential elections of 2002, Evo Morales was presented as the candidate of the Movement towards Socialism, where he obtained second place (Zegada 2012). The presidential elections in 2002 were won by the candidate of the National Revolutionary Movement political party, which was the political party that has won the most general elections in the history of Bolivia (Romero 2011).

In 2003, Gonzalo Sanchez de Lozada (National Revolutionary Movement) resigned as president, ending a neoliberal cycle in Bolivia (Luna 2006).

In 2005, the political party Movement towards Socialism won the presidential elections, with its candidate Evo Morales, a politician from the Aymara indigenous community. He served his presidential term from 2006 to 2019 when Morales was forced to resign after a coup (Orozco 2019). Morales' political agenda has given attention to social, internal, economic, and foreign policies. The triumph of Evo Morales broke the hegemony of presidents and political parties that ruled Bolivia since 1985, the same that had a neoliberal ideology. The triumph of Evo Morales not only broke the chains of neoliberalism, but it was also a triumph for historically exploited peoples, such as the original peoples and their movements. Besides, the triumph of Evo Morales has managed to maintain both political and economic stability, something that was very difficult in Bolivia due to its history of conflicts and economic and political instability (Uharte 2017).

Since 2005, the main party playing a leading role is the Evo political party, Movement towards Socialism - Political Instrument for the Sovereignty of the Peoples, a progressive Left-political party that won the presidential election in 2005, 2009, and 2014 (Krause *et al.* 2019).

#### **4.1.4 Progressive Movement in Ecuador**

The first signs of Leftist movements in Ecuador began in 1895 with the so-called liberal revolution. Liberal groups were identified as the Left-wing of society at the command of General<sup>3</sup>. The ideology of the liberal revolution was to bury the latifundium economic model. Those who were defeated from the liberal revolution were the owners of the land, who processed a conservative ideology, who had the political and ideological power over the indigenous masses exploited through landownership (Rodas 2000).

The Socialist Party was founded in 1926 as a Left-wing political party based on Marxism. Also, the Socialist Party was founded by the union of workers and artisan leaders, communist representatives, and a group of young soldiers (Rodas 2000; 2006). In 1931 several of its members separated from the Socialist Party due to internal disputes and decided to form the Communist Party of Ecuador (Jeifets and Jeifets 2010).

In 1940 Carlos Arroyo del Rio was elected President of the Republic of Ecuador, a political representative of plutocratic liberalism and foreign interests (Mora 2008). The Arroyo del Rio government opposed the citizens who saw how this government was linked to small power groups. During this period, the Socialist party, the Communist party, workers sectors, and teachers created a union. Arroyo del Rio was ahead of forming this Left-wing ideology union and formed a pro-government union called Ecuadorean Workers' Confederation. As a second act, Arroyo del Rio apprehended communist and socialist workers' leaders. As a process of opposition to the actions of the Arroyo del Rio government, the Federation of University Students of Ecuador was formed, organized by Leftist forces, university students, and civilians. Other opposition groups were formed: under the inspiration of the Communist Party, the Ecuadorean Women's Association was formed; indigenous and peasant sectors also formed the Federation of Indigenous and the Coastal Farmworkers Organization (Rodas 2000). To overthrow Arroyo del Rio, a coalition of Left-wing and extreme Right-wing parties called Ecuadorean Democratic Action was formed; in these circumstances, the political Left played an essential role in overthrowing Arroyo del Rio in 1944 (Vega 1987).

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<sup>3</sup> Eloy Alfaro was president of the Republic of Ecuador twice (1897-1901 and 1906-1911) and leader of the Ecuadorean Liberal Revolution (Sanz 1949).

The Ecuadorian Conservative Party formed the Ecuadorian Democratic Action, the Communist Party, and the Socialist Party of Ecuador; those political parties proclaimed Velasco Ibarra as interim president. Ibarra called a constituent assembly, where he was elected to the 1994-1948 presidential term (Becker 2007). However, he returned to his natural alliance with Right-wing parties and power groups; he proclaimed himself dictator in 1946, where he ignored the 1945 Constitution and brutally persecuted Left-wing political parties and movements (Cuvi 2007). Ibarra was dismissed by his defense minister Carlos Mancheno through a military coup (Becker 2017).

According to Rodas (2000), in the 1960s, the Cuban revolution influenced the Ecuadorian Left. The Socialist Party was divided into two wings; the first wing was the one that supported the Liberal Party's presidential candidate and the second wing that supported the Communist Party's presidential candidate for the 1960 elections. Thus, it can be seen that there was a division of the Ecuadorian Left. On the other hand, the triumph of Fidel Castro and the Cuban revolution in 1959 demonstrated to Leftist parties and movements that socialism was possible in Ecuador and the region. Based on the inspiration of the Cuban revolution, the Ecuadorian Revolutionary Socialist Party was formed, which had armed actions on its political agenda as the only way to obtain power. At this time, the Central Intelligence Agency of the United States was forcing the government of Velasco Ibarra, who was president of the government of Ecuador in 1961, to cut diplomatic relations with Cuba. Ecuador broke relations with Cuba after the fall of the Ibarra regime (Rodas 2000). In 1964, the Marxist-Leninist Communist Party of Ecuador emerged, founded by members of the Ecuadorian Communist Party (Ibarra 2012).

Velasco Ibarra returns for the fifth time to be President of the Executive Power of Ecuador (1934-1936, 1944-1947, 1952-1956, 1960-1961, and 1968-1970). His fifth government was characterized by a severe economic and social crisis, in which he had opposition from various public sectors, citizens, and the oligarchy. This strong opposition forced him to carry out a self-coup with the help of the military force, where it became from president of the republic to dictator. Being a dictator, he closed the legislative power and suspended the 1967 Constitutional Charter (Waag 1988). An anti-dictatorial feeling was presented in the citizenship; these people were united through union supported by Leftist groups and parties such as the Communist Party and the Ecuadorian Revolutionary Socialist Party (Rodas 2000). In 1972 Velasco Ibarra was overthrown, and a new military dictatorship was installed through Rodriguez Lara from 1972 to 1975 (Ibarra 2012). In 1976, a new military dictatorship lasted until 1979, this dictatorship being the last in the country's political history (Cueva 1993).

In 1979 Jaime Roldos Aguilera was elected president of the republic, with a political agenda against the US imperialism that wanted to lead the democracies of Latin America (Barrionuevo 2006). Roldos died in a plane crash in 1981 (Castro 2006); thus, vice-president Osvaldo Hurtado took over the presidency, but he returned to United States interests and the traditional Right. Hurtado devalued the national currency and raised the fuel price, which led citizens to an unsustainable economic and social situation (Paz and Miño 2006). These events were sufficient reasons for the social and union movements to carry out street protests in rejection of the government through the Unitary Front of Workers (Burbano 1985).

In the 80s, Leftist electoral political fronts were created; one of those parties was the Left Broad Front (FADI), founded in 1978 (Conaghan 1996). In 1984 Leon Febres Cordero came to power with his vice-presidential team Blasco Peñaherrera, a supporter of liberalism. Neoliberal economic policies underpinned Febres Cordero y Peñaherrera's political agenda. The Febres Cordero government favored the small economic groups that owned the banks and the industry. Furthermore, his government was repressive and authoritarian to repress Left-wing political organizations and social movements (Tinel 2008).

The Ecuadorian Left had a historical event when the Left Broad Front political party merged with the Ecuadorian Socialist Party in 1995, and it formed a single force called the Socialist Party-Broad Front (Quintero 2004). The new party supported the candidate Freddy Ehlers, supported by the indigenous and Leftist forces for the 1996 presidential elections (Sanchez 2008). On this occasion, the two candidates who had the most votes for the 1996 elections were the Right-wing Jaime Nebot and the populist Abdala Bucaram, the latter winning the elections with the support of the Left Broad Front (De la Torre 1996; Rodas 2000). Bucaram, when assuming the post as president, forgot any agreement he had with the Left forces. His government was characterized by corruption and had little sympathy for the citizens. Bucaram was removed from office as president just six months after taking power (De la Torre 2005). The Social Christian Party (Jaime Nebot's political party) was the political force that led to his removal (Rodas 2000).

In the 1998 presidential elections, Jamil Mahuad, represented by the Center-Right Christian Democratic Union party, won. Mahuad was known as the president who ruled along with the financial and business sector. His term had many unpopular political and economic measures: The Ecuadorian financial system went bankrupt (Paz and Miño 2010; Rodas 2000). Mahuad's government, to save the banks, took over about 70% of the private banking, giving public resources to save the banks and the

financial system (Rodas 2000). Also, Mahuad's government "froze" the citizenship money from the bank accounts (Gallegos 2000). Besides, Ecuador gave some territory for the United States to install military bases (Salgado 2003).

Moreover, there was a constant depreciation of the Ecuadorian currency called Sucre. Mahuad and his political group, as a means to fight against the economic crisis that the country was going through, took a radical step: get rid of Sucre (national currency) and switch to the dollar. Since January 9th, 2000, the Ecuadorian economy eliminated its national currency to adopt the dollar as its currency (Schuler 2002). All these events sparked widespread rejection of citizenship. The popular forces of the Left, the trade union, farmworkers, and the most diverse social sectors rose against the Mahuad regime, being overthrown in 2000 (Gallegos 2010).

#### **4.1.4.1 Rafael Correa's victory and the progressive wave in Ecuador**

For the presidential elections of 2006, political parties and figures who were in the political field for many years were presented. Rafael Correa's candidacy was introduced under the newly formed political party called the PAIS Alliance; this candidacy had no electoral weight and had little chance of success. The political party Alianza Pais is a Left-wing party whose political agenda focuses on citizens' demand over the capital. However, the Correa political manifesto was successful in the electorate as it focused on opposition to the signing of a free trade agreement with the United States, opposition to the transfer of Ecuadorian territory to the United States for military purposes, and improvement of subsidies. The first electoral round won Alvaro Noboa, representing the interests of the Right and the second place was for Rafael Correa. Since Noboa did not meet the minimum percentage to be president directly, there was a second electoral round where the most voted candidate was Correa (Ibarra 2006). Correa's first term (2006-2009) came after a decade of political instability, economic crisis, and social protests on the streets, where there were three overthrown presidents: Abdala Bucaram, Jamil Mahuad, and Lucio Gutierrez (De la Torre 2008). The Correa government was called the Citizen Revolution; its political agenda expanded educational, economic, political, and social reforms (Polga-Hecimovich 2013).

In Ecuador, a Constituent Assembly was formed to write a new constitutional text in 2008 (Basabe-Serrano, Pachano, and Mejia 2010). The new constitution ordered the presidential elections to be advanced to 2009, winning Correa in the first round and re-elected for the second time (2009-2013).



In September 2010, there was an attempted coup in which the Ecuadorian Air Force and the National Police suspended their activities. Besides, the government stated that the National Police kidnapped Rafael Correa. The intentions of the insurgents were frustrated by the citizens and the rest of the public forces because they did not support this coup to the government (Perez-Rolo 2016).

In the 2013 presidential elections, Correa represented PAIS Alliance and Left-wing groups against his immediate opponent Guillermo Lasso, who represented banks and Right-wing oligarchic groups. Correa was re-elected as president for the third time (2013-2017) (Polga-Hecimovich 2013).

From 2006 to 2017, Rafael Correa forged an unknown political and economic stability in Ecuador by staying in the executive power. The economic and social situation was precarious before 2006 since from 1996 to 2006, there were seven presidents, many of them dismissed by popular Leftist forces on the streets. Correa's political agenda focused on economic growth through social spending, reduction of poverty and inequality, investment in the productive sectors, reduction of unemployment and tax collection, evasion and fraud, investment in infrastructure, and investment in education. His agenda was pro-China foreign policy.

In the 2017 presidential elections, the candidate for the PAIS Alliance, Lenin Moreno, won the Presidency of Ecuador with the support of Rafael Correa (Celi 2017). It was understood that Rafael Correa's successor should continue with a progressive cycle in Ecuador and Latin America. However, a 180-degree turn happened, and according to Rafael Correa, the country back to the past, Lenin Moreno betrayed the Citizen Revolution, allowing institutionalized corruption and the return of the "old country" (Labarthe and Saint-Upery). Neoliberal policies have been applied in the Lenin Moreno government, where the progressive agenda of the Correa government was eliminated, and an economic program with the International Monetary Fund was implemented. Among Moreno's main neoliberal measures were the reduction of fiscal spending on health and education, replacement of public investment by private investment, low state intervention in the market, and an intense process of liberation from the labor market (Garcia 2019). Nowadays, Lenin Moreno's government is classified as a neoliberal government (von Schoettler 2020).

#### **4.1.5 Progressive Movement in Argentina**

The current constitution of Argentina has a representative, republican, and federal form of government. This form of government has been in force since the first constitution originated in 1853 and was recognized in the reform of the constitution in 1994. The powers of the state are divided into

executive power, legislative power, and judicial power (D'Ottavio 2015). The executive branch comprises the president of the nation, the vice president and ministers of the nation, and presidential secretariats (Saiz 1997). The legislative branch is made up of a bicameral assembly with 329 national legislators divided into 257 deputies and 72 senators and is chaired by the vice president of the nation (Salvia and Repond 2011). On the other hand, the judicial power of Argentina is made up of the Supreme Court of Justice of the Nation, the Public Ministry, and the Council of the Magistracy (Petrella 2016).

According to Canton (1967), from the validity of the first constitution in 1853 until 1912 in Argentina, political groups were characterized by congregated groups of notables in conflict, which only mobilized during election time. This era was characterized by fraud and electoral violence.

On the verge of the 19th century, the first political movement known as the Civic Union appears the same one that faced the government in arms but was defeated. The following year of this subversion, the Civic Union separated into two factions: the Radical Civic Union, who rejected the government they had fought a year earlier.

In 1896 the Socialist Party was formed, who unlike the old clubs or organizations of friends who presented a candidate for a particular election, the Socialist Party had explicit norms and values, with rights and obligations for its members. The Radical Civic Union Party and the Socialist Party would be the first parties in Argentina to claim electoral freedom to the government, which is made up of "the oligarchy" who are those conservative power groups responsible for maintaining the status quo and permanence of its candidates in power.

From 1912, the mandatory vote was established in Argentina, where oligarchic groups and old political organizations were not prepared and were defeated at the polls. Therefore, the old political organizations, in their eagerness not to suffer an electoral setback, again formed the Progressive Democratic Party, which was a conservative party, but its members had a more liberal mentality. This party wanted to give a new image to the electorate by rejecting the violence and fraud they had linked in its history. The Progressive Democratic Party failed to show itself as a renewed party and was divided into two groups: the first group continued with a more liberal mentality; in contrast, the second conservative group clung to its past values and practices. In this period, the Communist Party also appeared like a wing of the Socialist Party, but few electoral followers had. The parties mentioned above were characterized by numerous internal divisions and the formation of coalitions of diverse species.

In 1931 the first presidential election was made in the country; the Conservatives governed the country with the help of dissident groups of the Radical and Socialist parties. From the electoral point of view, the elections were characterized by the fraud that ensured the triumph of the Conservatives.

In Argentina since 1945, there have been two political forces or political parties that compete electorally: Radical Civic Union and the Justicialist Party (Peronists). These political parties were ideologically anti-imperialist and anti-oligarchic (Tcach 2016).

After the military coup of 1943, the presidential elections were restarted in 1946, where a man named Juan Domingo Peron appeared, who obtained the support of the workers and social sectors of the middle and upper class, which led to the formation of a political movement that in a short time was called the Peronist (Justicialist Party). This party had direct political enemies: Conservatives, Radicals, Socialists, Pro-Democrats, and Communists (Canton 1967).

According to Ferrari (2017), in 1954, the Christian Democratic Party was created composed of Catholic groups that desired to intervene in Argentine politics. It should be mentioned that this group did not have the explicit support of a Catholic church. It is understood that the Christian Democratic Party was created by Catholic groups that disagreed with issues that put Peronists on the political agenda, such as the separation of the Church and the State, legalization of brothels, recognition of extramarital children, elimination of subsidies to Catholic educational establishments, the implementation of secularism in public education. Domingo Peron was overthrown in 1955 by a military dictatorship (Canton 1967). After the overthrow of the Peronist government, the Christian Democratic Party joined the Advisory Board of the government established after the military coup of 1955 (Ferrari 2017).

Between 1957 and 1966, there was discrimination against some political groups, the Peronist Party and the Communist Party being clear examples. In this period, the political parties are dissolved, any activity for the political parties has been banned, and the state has apprehended the parties' assets. There is a growing proliferation of political parties from dissidents of already formed political parties (Canton 1967). Towards the end of 1955 and 1966, all political parties that had more than 10% of the total vote, in this case, the Peronist Party and Radical Parties, were overthrown by a military coup (Kvaternik 1978).

The military dictatorship lasted until 1973, where presidential elections were called. Widespread protests allowed the participation of the Peronist party; however, Peron could not participate in these

elections, so the Peronist party nominated Hector Campora, the same who won the 1973 presidential elections. However, in 1976, a new military coup overthrew President Maria Estela Martinez de Peron; from 1976 to 1983, Argentina was ruled by four military boards (Borrelli 2011).

The military dictatorship government ended after the presidential elections of 1983, where won the candidate of the Radical Civic Union party, Raul Alfonsin (Vitale and Dagatti 2016). In 1989 won the candidate of the Justicialist party, Carlos Menen; however, contrary to the ideological doctrine that characterized the Justicialist party, led a political agenda of a neoliberal nature (Fair 2009).

In 2001 there was a tremendous social, political, and economic crisis. There were street protests under the famous slogan: "Let them all go!" where the leaders of the political parties were attacked in the public places they frequented. There was a general rejection of all political parties in Argentina (Ferreira 2005).

From 2002 to 2018, twenty-four national parties were created. There are thirty-nine national parties; thus, after the 2001 crisis, the number of parties increased by 61% (National Electoral Chamber of Argentina 2018). However, from 2003 to 2015, the main party in Argentina that has played a leading role is the Justicialist Party. This party formed a coalition called the Front of Victory, a progressive-Left political ideology and Peronist orientation. This progressive coalition won the presidential elections of the years 2003 (Nestor Kirchner), 2007, and 2011 (Cristina Fernandez de Kirchner). The main issues of attention in the progressive governments of Nestor Kirchner and Cristina Fernandez de Kirchner were the increase in the basic salary, favorable changes to the retirement and pension system, universal public health, nuclear energy policy, increased budget for education, closeness with the social movements, payment of the external debt with the IMF, human rights, repatriation of Argentine scientists abroad, economic growth, reduction of unemployment, housing policy, environmental policy, protection policies for women and protection policies for the elderly (Alonso and Di Costa 2015; Cravino, Moreno, and Mutuberría 2013; de la Balze 2010; Femenias 2014; Gutierrez and Isuani 2013; Heidrich 2005; Lopez 2016).

In 2015, Mauricio Macri won the presidential elections as a candidate of the coalition Let's Change, a Center-Right alliance made up of the Republican Proposal, Radical Civic Union, and Civic Coalition parties (Murillo, Rubio, and Mangonnet 2016).

Nevertheless, Alberto Fernandez representing the Justicialist Party, won the elections in 2019. The progressive government of Fernandez has as central issues of attention in its agenda the

sovereignty of the Falkland Islands occupied by the United Kingdom, debt negotiation with the IMF, judicial reform, human rights, and voluntary termination of pregnancy in women (Lorenz 2019; Natanson 2020).

#### **4.1.6 Progressive Movement in Honduras**

The political spectrum of Honduras has been dominated by a bipartisan system, with the two most significant political forces: The Liberal Party of Honduras and the National Party of Honduras (Taylor-Robinson 2009).

The Liberal Party of Honduras had a precedent when the "Liberal League" was formed in 1884, officially established in 1891. The Liberal Party was established as a party that professes ideological pluralism, opposes tyranny and believes in preserving the ecological balance. On the other hand, in its desire to neutralize the liberals, the National Party of Honduras was created in 1902. It is a Right-wing party, and its values are the strengthening of nationalism. These two political parties have been constant political authors until the 1970s when a third force appeared as a counterweight, the Christian Democratic Party of Honduras, founded in 1968 (Aguilar 2006). In 1921 the Honduran Workers' Federation was founded since the popular and worker sectors did not feel political independence and felt they were used by both the National Party and the Liberal Party of Honduras (Arancibia 2001).

In 1922 the Communist Party of Honduras was founded by Communist International led from Moscow to form socialist groups and movements within Central America (Villars 2010). The Communist Party was linked to the emergence of the Honduran Union Federation and played an essential role in the Honduran union fights (Arancibia 2001). Tiburcio Carias Andino became president in 1933 and declared the Communist Party of Honduras illegal and violently eliminated all union activities and strikes. The Communist Party would remain inactive until 1954 (Padilla 2001).

In 1954 "the great banana strike" took place, which spread throughout the country for 69 days. This strike was joined by a series of popular demonstrations and protests, which faced Honduran citizens against the American banana multinationals. Through strikes and social movements, labor rights were claimed, and exploitation by these multinationals was condemned, restoring to the State the sovereign capacity to enact regulatory labor laws kidnapped by these multinationals (Padilla 2001; Posas 2019).

In 1955, the first laws were drafted that legalized unions, federations, and confederations. Starting in 1959, the Labor Code was created, which consolidates the existing social benefits in the country. Having a legal framework, the unions begin to organize the farmworker movements, and in turn, they form the National Association of Peasants. In 1964 the Honduran Confederation of Workers was created, becoming the largest union center in the country for many years. In 1970 the General Central of Workers was created. The communists founded the National Federation of Farmworkers of Honduras (Padilla 2001). In general, there was an anti-communist indoctrination campaign in forming farmworker movements and unions in Honduras from the 1950s to the 1980s. However, guerrilla movements originated in the 1980s, with a Marxist ideology that caused upheaval within student organizations, farmworker associations, and unions (Canizales 2008).

In 1980 a guerrilla movement was created in Honduras known as the Popular Liberation Movement “Cinchonero”, which operated on two fronts: the mass political line and the mass military line. The first was dedicated to the organization of the working class and farmworkers in constant protests. Moreover, the second line was dedicated to armed fights against the government. Besides, in the 80s, other guerrilla groups were created, such as the Lorenzo Zelaya Popular Revolutionary Forces, the Revolutionary Party of Central American Workers of Honduras, the Morazanista Front for the liberation of Honduras, and the Morazanista Patriotic Front. These guerrilla groups were formed to combat economic and social issues such as the exaggerated military repression in the country against Leftist groups and movements, rejection of generalized economic misery, refusal of autocratic military power, and negation of interference by the United States in the military, political, and economic areas in the country (Canizales 2008; Gandasegui 2018).

In 1981, Honduras was the first country in Central America where the military gave the executive power to civilian governments, where bipartisanship was re-lived between both the National Party and the Liberal Party of Honduras. Honduras, between 1990 to 1998, was characterized by having a democracy in the neoliberal context. Governments like Rafael Callejas (1990-1994) were characterized by the imposition of neoliberal measures such as the liberation of interest rates and the liberation of the market with the elimination of local protectionism, opening the economy to international competition, increasing public service rates. The social movements, especially the workers, farmworkers, teachers, students, and citizens in general, carried out different protests against the neoliberal policies that adjusted the economy imposed by Callejas. In 1994, in the presidency of Carlos Reina (1994-1998), the indigenous movement appeared in the political sphere, which demanded better conditions for indigenous peoples.

In 2005, Manuel Zelaya was elected President of Honduras, representing the Liberal Party from 2006-2010. Zelaya caused surprise when he applied progressive economic and social policies since his family belonged to the country's upper class and the political party to which he belonged had not appropriately applied Left economic and political measures. Its political agenda was considered progressive when promoting social programs and investment in sectors such as education and health; in economic matters, Honduras was the nation with the highest economic growth in the region and increased the basic salary. In international politics, Zelaya found an affinity with the progressive governments of Hugo Chavez in Venezuela and Daniel Ortega in Nicaragua (Figueroa 2011). In 2009, Zelaya suffered a military coup, was forcibly transferred to Costa Rica, overthrown, and expelled from the country (Sosa 2011).

#### **4.1.7 Progressive Movement in Paraguay**

According to Martinez (2013), the political parties “National Republican Association” or also called the Colorado Party and the “Authentic Radical Liberal Party” hegemonized state power and leadership during the 20th century and the first two decades of the 21st century in Paraguay. The Colorado Party administered the State from 1948 to 2008; it is a Right-wing political party with a conservative tendency; on the other hand, the Authentic Radical Liberal Party managed the State from 1904 to 1940; it is a party with a Center-Right ideological bias. Both parties were created in 1887, alternating executive power through coups or undemocratic strategies (Lopez 2010).

In 1918 the Revolutionary Socialist Party was founded, its union base in the Paraguayan Workers' Federation (Rivalora 2017). It did not have many supporters and became an influential part of its union and political life. In 1928 the Paraguayan Communist Party was created, formed based on Marxist principles, where its political agenda consisted of the fight against the current government, which they considered accomplices of English and North American imperialism and the workers' struggle (Jeifets and Jeifets 2019). In the border conflict between Paraguay and Bolivia between 1932 and 1935, the Paraguayan Communist Party mobilized against the so-called Chaco war, claiming that this war had US imperialist interests (Capdevila 2018). In the country's political history, The Paraguayan Communist Party has acted under its electoral conveniences, sometimes aligned with traditional parties, and other times it was an ally of Left-wing organizations and movements; besides, it had little connection with social movements and presence at the juncture (Palau 2007).

Rafael Franco (1936-1937) gave the first Left government in Paraguay, representing the Febrerista Revolutionary Party (Boersner 2005). The Franco government's political agenda addressed Paraguayan nationalism, where the state policy involved reviewing the national past as an instrument of historical and political awareness (Caballero 2015).

Paraguay's political history is based on military uprisings, civil wars, non-adherence to the proper rules of democracy, such as transparency in electoral processes, alternation of power, and tolerance of the opposition. Therefore, the coup in 1989, where Alfredo Stroessner was overthrown, marked the beginning of a process of political opening and the foundation of a democratic political regime (Arditi 1990).

After the 1989 military uprising, Left-wing parties appeared. The Workers' Party of Paraguay was created, having a Marxist-Trotskyist orientation, which was opposed to the Leninist current (Arditi 1990; Palau 2007). Its political agenda was determined to fight against US imperialism, and it opposes the foundations of capitalism; however, it was a Left-wing political party that did not have a tremendous political presence at the national level, nor did it have significant influence among the electorate (Palau 2007).

In 1996, the Paraguay Pyahura Revolutionary Movement emerged, which became a political party in 2002. Its ideological orientation was Marxism-Leninism, although it altered its ideology to the Paraguayan reality, implementing theories of Mao Tsetung. This political party was mainly made up of workers, farmworkers, and intellectuals, who considered it a political movement that genuinely represented the workers and the social sectors. This movement believed that the other Left political parties did not represent the worker's and peasants' struggle. Its political agenda was focused on American anti-imperialism and rejection of the oligarchy (Palau 2014).

In 2008, the Catholic Bishop Fernando Lugo came to Paraguay's executive power. His victory ended with the continuity of more than 60 years of the National Republican Association or Colorado Party, of which 35 years formed a dictatorship with Alfredo Stroessner (Lopez 2010). Lugo won the presidency representing a collation of Left-wing parties called the Patriotic Alliance for Change (Turner 2010). The political agenda of the progressive government of Lugo showed great sympathy for the farmworker struggles, politics of participation and social inclusion, development spaces for social movements that were historically excluded, free healthcare, monetary subsidies for the poorest, regional integration. Lugo had to form a coalition with the traditional Authentic Radical Liberal Party to become president, forcing Lugo to govern with the conventional doctrine of this party, moving away



from progressive positions and thoughts. Lugo was dismissed in 2012 by a parliamentary coup made up of the four Right-wing parties, employers and business unions, members of the very conservative Catholic Church, and the media.

#### **4.1.8 Progressive Movement in Peru**

At the beginning of the 20th century, the first Left movements were detected, where different struggles were raised, such as social demands, workers' demands, indigenous struggles, and the expansion of the vote. From the 1920s to the 1980s, the Peruvian political system was interrupted between brief periods of democratic governments and military regimes (Tanaka 1998).

In 1924, an American Popular Revolutionary Alliance movement was founded. It was a political movement that had American anti-imperialism, Latin American political unity, nationalization of industries and land, internationalization of the Panama Canal, and solidarity with the oppressed classes as its central issues of attention (Haya 2010). The movement's objective was to form a political movement where members from all segments and social classes could exist. Moreover, its members included people from middle-class families, although they did not belong to the country's traditional political and economic elites. Also, its members were poets, philosophers, agronomists, doctors, literary critics, and scholars of the economic process. However, members of this political movement were persecuted and exiled by the government of the dictator Augusto Leguia (1919-1930) (Bergel 2010). In 1930 the American Popular Revolutionary Alliance movement was transformed into the Peruvian Aprista Party (Iglesias 2010).

The Peruvian Socialist Party was founded in 1928 marked by Marxist socialist ideology. The principal founder of the party was Jose Carlos Mariategui, who wanted to adjust the socialist theory to Latin American reality; in this way, Mariategui breaks the Eurocentric Marxist tradition to apply Marxism to Latin American socioeconomic reality (Ruiz 2015). In 1930, the Peruvian Socialist Party changed its name. It became the Peruvian Communist Party. Within its political agenda was the implementation within the society of the most orthodox principles of Marxism, such as the class struggle and the imposition of socialist objectives (Guadalupe 1988). In 1964, the Peruvian Communist Party was separated into two factions: the pro-Soviet faction and the pro-China faction. The pro-Soviet fraction was also known as the Peruvian Communist Party - Unity and the pro-China fraction was known as the Peruvian Communist Party - Red Flag (Navarro 2010). In the 1970s, the Peruvian Communist Party - Sendero Luminoso emerged and distanced itself from previous political organizations, preferring to

carry out armed actions against the State from 1980 to 2000. Peruvian Communist Party - Sendero Luminoso was made up of students and university professors who formed a peasant social base for the party (Malvaceda, Herrero, and Correa 2018).

The 1960s were characterized by the revival of the ideological Left movement and subversive Left groups such as the Revolutionary Left Movement and Revolutionary Vanguard (Pinheiro 2009). Some radical members of the American Popular Revolutionary Alliance decided to create the Revolutionary Left Movement, following the Marxist-Leninist ideology (Tantalean 2006). Similarly, in 1965 several Marxist bases created the Revolutionary Vanguard political party (Pease and Romero 2014).

In the 1970s, different Left-wing movements, social organizations, and workers staged protests against General Francisco Morales, who was in command of the country due to a coup by the military carried out in 1968. The protests carried out by the Left organizations helped with the transition towards the democratization of the country (Alcantara 2012); also, these protests helped end military governments that were in power for twelve years from 1968 to 1980 (Huber 1983).

From 1978 to 1986, four political parties concentrated 90 percent of the votes in the elections. Of these four parties, two political parties belonged to the Left-wing: Peruvian Aprista Party and United Left. On the other hand, Popular Accion and the Christian People's Party belonged to the Right-wing. Fernando Belaunde (1980-1985) was president representing the Right-wing Popular Action party. As head of the executive branch, he had to confront violent guerrillas of groups called "Sendero Luminoso" and "Tupac Amaru Revolutionary Movement".

In contrast, the Left-wing turn occurred in the presidential elections of 1985 when Alan Garcia won the elections representing the Peruvian Aprista Party. By 1990, both Left and Right parties were discredited by internal issues and problems, such as drug trafficking, subversion, violation of human rights, and hyperinflation. All these conditions achieved entry to the power of an independent candidate: Alberto Fujimori, who ruled the country from 1990 to 2000 (Garcia 2001). The Fujimori government is branded as a government that implemented a neoliberal policy agenda (Ellner 2004; Mauceri 1995; Weyland 1999).

In 2011, Ollanta Humala won the elections for President of the Republic as a candidate for the electoral alliance "Gana Peru", a coalition of Left-wing and progressive political forces (Goldstein and Comellini 2012). At first, the Humala government seemed to integrate the block of countries with

progressive governments in the region. However, Humala broke the coalition with Leftist and progressive parties that supported him to win the elections and changed from a progressive agenda promoted in his campaign for the presidency to a neoliberal economic policy when he took office as president (Adrianzen 2014).

#### **4.1.9 Progressive Movement in El Salvador**

The Communist Party of El Salvador was founded in 1930 and focused its ideology and practices on traditional Marxism-Leninism; its political agenda was also targeted on the revolutionary overthrow of the Salvadoran State and the establishment of a dictatorship of the proletariat (Ching and Ramirez 2017). During the 1960s and 1970s, the Communist Party of El Salvador focused its political agenda on electro-union and union struggles (Harnecker 1988).

At the beginning of the 70s, various internal and external problems such as the border war conflict, the rupture of the Central American Common Market, and the devastating agrarian law were causes for the formation of various political-military organizations. Besides, electoral fraud and the repression that existed in El Salvador forced the population to radicalize social movements and were causal for the formation of guerrilla groups. In 1970, the People's Revolutionary Army / Party of the Salvadoran Revolution was created, inspired by Mao Tse Tung's armed struggle. Besides, based on this guerrilla group, the Armed Forces of the National Resistance emerged in 1975. In 1973, the Central American Workers Party emerged, where its political agenda focused on the revolutionary struggle. The Communist Party of El Salvador, after the scandals of fraud and repression, changed its strategy and adopted the armed struggle as its political agenda. As a result of this change, in 1979, it organized the Armed Forces of Liberation (Alfaro 2002).

In 1980 the Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front was created, taking the name of a communist leader named Agustin Farabundo Marti. This guerrilla group had logistical, arms, and financial support from Vietnam, Czechoslovakia, and Germany. It was formed and supported by people from the rural part of the country, and its political agenda had as its key objectives the overthrow of the dictatorship that was maintained in the country and the construction of a socialist regime. However, they did not expect military triumph due to the government's repression, which had international aid from the United States. In 1992, the Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front went from a guerrilla group to a recognized political party to participate in popular elections (Alvarez 2011).

For the 2009 presidential elections, the Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front presents Mauricio Funes as its presidential candidate. He won these elections and was president for the period 2009-2014. Funes became the first leader from the Left party to win the presidential elections in El Salvador (Reserve 2012). His progressive political agenda paid attention to economic issues such as job creation, creation of a basic pension for the elderly, benefits for farmers. His agenda also paid attention to energy policies and public security (Lopez and Lopez 2018). In the field of international politics, he re-established diplomatic relations with Cuba (Oliva 2015).

In the 2014 presidential elections, candidate Norman Quijano appeared representing the conservative and Right-wing Nationalist Republican Alliance party; on the other hand, Salvador Sanchez Ceren represented the Left-wing political party Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front. Sanchez's progressive government (2014-2019) won the presidential elections. Sanchez was vice president of El Salvador from 2009 to 2014. Sanchez continued with the political and social agenda given by his predecessor Funes, where he focused on the literacy process and the increase in the minimum living wage. In both progressive governments, the poverty rate was reduced from 40% to 29%, and the extreme poverty rate from 12% to 16%, where the inequality decreased compared to other Central American countries (Young 2020).

#### **4.1.10 Progressive Movement in Nicaragua**

Most of the Nicaraguan Left parties began inspired by Marxist ideological thoughts where they fought for the interests of the peasants, the working class, and the most exploited sectors of society. The political agendas of Left-wing parties focused on the fight against imperialism, interventionism, and capitalism (Villagra 1985).

Left-wing parties and movements in Nicaragua began in 1931 when the Nicaraguan Working Party was founded. This party was founded by a group of workers, craftsmen, and students who had liberal ideas. Its political agenda focused on organizing workers to fight against the poor working conditions of the proletariat. The Nicaraguan Working Party remained with a socialist ideology that obeyed the postulates of Marxism-Leninism (Trujillo 1992).

Other parties of the traditional Left were the Socialist Party of Alvaro Ramirez, the Socialist Party of Domingo Sanchez, and the Communist Party of Nicaragua. The Nicaraguan Socialist Party of Ramirez was founded in 1944 as a Marxist-oriented movement (Lopez 2016), and it split in 1970. From the rupture of the Nicaraguan Socialist Party of Ramirez, the Communist Party of Nicaragua was

founded. On the other hand, a faction of the Nicaraguan Communist Party decided to form the Sanchez Socialist Party (Villagra 1985).

In 1961 the Sandinista National Liberation Front was founded, which emerged as a guerrilla organization (Agreda 2012) where its political ideology was Marxist-Leninist (Marti, Garce, and Martin 2013). As a guerrilla, it overthrew one of the longest-running dictatorships in Central America and then took power in 1979 (Baldizon 2004). Before 1979, the Sandinista National Liberation Front was an underground political-military guerrilla group, but from 1979 it became the Left-wing political party that ruled the country until 1990.

In 1985 Daniel Ortega won the presidential elections for the first time representing the Sandinista National Liberation Front political party. The Marxist-Leninist system inspired Ortega's government, and his political agenda was based on nationalism (Diaz 1991). The United States financed subversive groups against the Ortega government, causing an internal war between groups funded by Regan and groups belonging to the Sandinista government (Garvin and O'Rourke 1992). Against all probabilities, through popular elections, Violeta Chamorro's Right-wing party won the 1990 presidential elections (Wessel 1991).

In 2006 the Sandinista National Liberation Front returned to power when Daniel Ortega was elected president of Nicaragua; This political party that began as a guerrilla organization regained power after fifteen years (Marti, Garce, and Martin 2013). Daniel Ortega's progressive government has been elected in Nicaragua by popular vote from 2006 to the present, representing the Sandinista National Liberation Front political party. The slogan of the progressive government of Ortega was the defense of "solidarity and Christian socialism". The government's political agenda was focused on re-establishing free education and health services, subsidies for the construction of houses, criminalization of abortion, and decriminalization of homosexuality (Forero 2016; Miranda and Alvarez 2016; Perez-Baltodano 2010).

#### **4.1.11 Progressive Movement in Chile**

According to Mainwaring and Scully (1995), Chile has one of the most institutionalized party systems in Latin America. The first organizations or political groupings occurred during the independence process in Chile in 1810. Etchepare (2006) mentions that the first political groups were organizations that did not have a political plan, and these groups have a discontinuous nature. These political organizations mainly debated loyalty or not to the king of Spain. After independence, two

political organizations appeared: the liberals or "pipiolos" and the conservatives, also called locally "pelucones". The liberals were public and military officials who agreed on the emancipation of the king of Spain. On the other hand, conservatives close to the Catholic Church supported an authoritarian and centralized government. Also appears in the literature a political group called " estanqueros " who were rivals of the "pipiolos" or liberals (Amunategui 1939).

The Radical Party was founded in 1888, being the first political party to have statutes and a written program. This political party in 1932 was the second most potent organization after the conservatives. The Radical Party was made up of liberals who opposed the liberal-conservative fusion (Reyes 1989).

In 1912 the Socialist Workers Party was formed by members of the Democratic Party, proclaiming a socialist policy (Navarro 2016). In 1922 The Socialist Workers Party changed its name to the Communist Party of Chile, and its political ideology was Marxism-Leninism. According to Furci (1984), in the Carlos Ibañez dictatorship, members of the Communist Party of Chile were persecuted and imprisoned. In 1935, to stop fascism within the country and halt imperialist domination, the Communist Party of Chile allies all progressive forces that took the name of Popular Front. In 1948 the Communist Party of Chile was declared illegal, but in 1958 these political parties regained legality within the country. In the Pinochet military dictatorship of 1973, the Communist Party of Chile was persecuted and marginalized from the country's political life (Furci 1984)

In 1933 the Socialist Party of Chile was created, which had anti-capitalism, criticism to the Communist Party of Chile, and the adoption of socialism in Chile as issues of attention on its political agenda. The Socialist Party of Chile was formed of four declared socialist groups dedicated exclusively to the union field: New Public Action, Socialist Order, Socialist Marxist Party, and Revolutionary Socialist Action. Two key elements united these four organizations to form the Chilean Socialist Party: the failure of the socialist experience of previous years and the influence of Marxism (Venegas 2018).

From 1938 to 1952, candidates for the Radical Party won the presidency; the party managed the Chilean government for fourteen years. The agenda of the Radical Party was the intervention of the State in the economic policy of the country, breaking the paradigms of the former conservative state that left the initiative in economic policy to private hands. The Radical Party would leave a legacy of economic conceptions that the Leftist parties later took in later years. The period in which the Radical Party oversaw the government was characterized by its continuous political bipolarity and its sudden

breakdown of speech among party leaders, which caused difficulty in developing a well-defined ideology (Del Pozo 1989).

The Popular Union political party was created in 1969, formed by a Left-wing progressive party electoral coalition. The Popular Union presented as a candidate to Salvador Allende for the presidential elections in 1970, achieving a victory in this electoral election. The issues of attention of its political agenda were the nationalization of mineral resources, control of the largest industrial companies, development of agrarian reform, control and regulation of the banking system, and the State control of large distribution companies. With attention to these issues within its political agenda, the Popular Union hoped to gain control of the means of production where the State acted as an administrator in favor of the population's social demands (Vidal 2014).

On September 11th, 1973, a military coup in Chile, led by General Augusto Pinochet, overthrowing President Salvador Allende (Monsalvez 2012). The military dictatorship lasted seventeen years (1973-1990), at which time both political and economic reforms led Chile towards a neoliberal model. There was an incalculable violation of human rights by the dictatorial government of Pinochet (Cornejo *et al.* 2013). The partisan system in Chile before the 1973 dictatorship was constituted in three political connotations: The Left formed mainly by the Socialist and Communist political parties, the Center composed of Christian Democracy and the Right with its maximum representative, the National Party (Garreton 1990). According to Apiolaza (2012), the party system during the dictatorship was very restricted. The National Party was dissolved, also, in the same way, the Nationalist Patriotic and Freedom Front, which was an extreme Right organization, disappeared; thus, the Pinochet military government banned democratic spaces such as the formation of political parties and public freedoms. Pinochet dissolved partisan civic organizations but needed civilians and economist technocrats to implement neoliberal policies in Chile. In 1980 a new Constitution was created, where durability was placed on the military regime and the party system to be formed. In 1983 two main political parties appeared: The National Union Movement that grouped the traditional Right and the Independent Democratic Union that united neoliberal economists. The National Union Movement had within its political agenda the exit of the military regime; meanwhile, the Independent Democratic Union had in its agenda to maintain the military government of Pinochet. In 1987 the Constitutional Organic Law of Political Parties was published, which mentioned the requirements for the legalization of political parties. In 1990, a new Democratic period began in Chile, where the Right-wing political parties did not have credibility or electoral approval for the frontal support of the dictatorship of Augusto Pinochet.

In 1990 Chile returned to democracy after a military dictatorship that lasted approximately seventeen years. After Chile is inaugurated again in a democratic system, the political party Concert of Parties for Democracy, of Center-Left ideology, is the political coalition that has won four presidential elections in a row. It beat all presidential elections since 1990 and ruled until 2010. It won the elections of 1990 with Patricio Aylwin Azocar, in 1994 with Eduardo Frei Ruiz-Tagle, in 2000 with Ricardo Lagos Escobar and 2006 with Michelle Bachelet Jeria (Lagos 2008).

In 2010 Sebastian Piñera Echenique, candidate for the Alliance for Chile party comes to power; therefore, a Center-Right ideology party came to power for the first time after Pinochet's military dictatorship. Alliance for Chile was formed by two political parties: The Independent Democratic Union and the National Renovation political party. On the one hand, The Independent Democratic Union is a conservative ideological political party with strong ties to religious and economic interest groups. On the other hand, National Renewal is a Right-liberal political party that seeks to reach the middle and upper social classes (Luna and Rovira 2011).

In 2014, Michelle Bachelet Jeria was again the president of Chile with the New Majority for Chile coalition that brings together political parties such as the Christian Democratic Party and the Communist Party. In 2018, Bachelet returned the presidential band to Sebastian Piñera Echenique of the Right political tendency. Piñera won the presidential elections with the Chile Vamos coalition (Faure and Maillet 2018).

Michelle Bachelet was President of Chile for two non-consecutive occasions (2006-2010 and 2014-2018). The progressive government of Bachelet had as issues of attention in its political agenda the decriminalization of abortion, tax and educational reforms, consolidation of democracy, the abolition of the binomial political system that benefited traditional parties, and approval of the civil union for people of the same sex (Baeza and Schmitt-Fiebig 2015; Cabalin and Antezana 2016; Lodi, Caballero, and Sartor 2014; Viera 2008).

#### **4.1.12 Progressive Movement in Uruguay**

Uruguay has been the country that has lived the longest under democratic regimes if compared to Latin American countries (Chasquetti and Buquet 2004). The first Uruguayan parties were born in the fourth decade of the nineteenth century, precisely in 1836, after the battle of Carpinteria. In the fight of Carpinteria, two sides were identified with colored belts. The army loyal to the government used white belts, while the revolutionary forces used red identifications. The militia loyal to the government



won this battle. Therefore, in 1836 it was officially recognized as the origin of the traditional political groups "Blancos" and "Colorados". At the end of the nineteenth century, the "Blancos" party changed its name to the National Party, but it is still colloquially recognized as the Blancos Party. Since 1836 the white and red slogans distinguish these two parties that work until today: Nationalist Party and the Colorado Party (Dutrenit and Varela 1996).

Uruguay has had only two institutional ruptures. In 1933 there was a coup by Gabriel Terra (Moreira 2008). The second institutional breakdown occurred in 1973 with a civic-military dictatorship that lasted until 1985. There was the militarization of state powers in this period, where the military had total control over political, economic, and social organizations (Schelotto 2015).

The Socialist Party of Uruguay was created in 1910 with a socialist orientation (Frugoni 1934). According to Caetano (2017), the Socialist Party of Uruguay transmitted its ideas mainly in the union environment by participating in the Uruguayan Regional Workers Federation. It adheres to the III International, which caused the Communist Party of Uruguay to be founded in 1920 (Gomez 1990). The Communist Party of Uruguay was pro-Soviet and internationalist; it believed it could go from capitalism to socialism through the electoral route. However, it did not deny the possibility of taking this significant step through armed struggle (Garce 2014).

However, the Uruguayan political scene was dominated by two old "catch-all" parties (Nationalist Party and the Colorado Party, which are Right-wing parties), and there was no room for a third big party until 1971 (Alcantara 2001; Moreira 2004). In 1971, the Broad Front political party was created, a Left-wing party founded by members of the Communist Party and the Socialist Party, labor unions, and dissidents of the oldest parties in Latin America (Nationalist Party and the Colorado Party) (Gadea 2017).

After returning to democracy in 1985, the Colorado Party triumphs in the presidential elections with Julio Maria Sanguinetti, ruling from 1985 to 1989. The issue of attention of his political agenda was focused on economic openness, control of public spending, and the decrease of powers of the Uruguayan parliament. In 1989, the National Party with Luis Alberto Lacalle came to power, where the issue of attention of his political agenda was the privatization of public companies. In 1994, the National Party won for the second time in a row with its candidate Julio Maria Sanguinetti, who ruled from 1995 to 2000. The focus issue of attention of his political agenda was focused on the labor regime, citizen security, public education, social security, electric power system, and electoral system. In the elections of 1999, the National Party won for the third time in a row, where its candidate Jorge

Battle, who ruled Chile from 2000 to 2005, where the central issue of attention of his political agenda was the privatization of public companies (Moreira 2008).

Since 2005, the Broad Front party, a progressive Left party, has won the presidential elections and is ruling until 2020. Tabare Vazquez held the presidency in 2005-2010 and 2015 to 2020, while Jose Mujica held the official position in 2010-2015 (Gadea 2017). Tabare Vazquez, in his presidential term 2005-2010, had as its central issue of attention in his political agenda the role of the State as a market regulator (Moreira 2008). In general, the main issues of attention of the Broad Front party from 1971 to 2003 were the decentralization of political institutions, citizen participation, the balance between state powers, radical agrarian reform, support for regional markets, nationalization of the meatpacking industry, tax exemption, science and technology, importance of the role of the State in the country's economy, progressive tax policy, stimulation of the administrative career, macroeconomic balances, rejection of the IMF and renegotiation of external debt (Garce and Yaffe 2006).

#### **4.2 Variants of Progressive or Left-wing Movements**

In this section, the research will determine the different variants of progressive Left governments grouped by country. Since the election of Hugo Chavez in 1998, twelve Latin American countries (Venezuela, Brasil, Bolivia, Ecuador, Argentina, Honduras, Paraguay, Peru, El Salvador, Nicaragua, Chile, and Uruguay) chose a Left government alternation, articulated around progressive or national-popular projects (Bringel and Falero 2016; Grugel and Riggirozzi 2012; Martner *et al.* 2009; Minteguiaga and Ubasart-Gonzalez 2015; Onis and Senses 2003; Peirano *et al.* 2010; Uriarte 2007). While each national experience unfolds its specificities, many of them have assumed – in discourse - as an objective to dismantle the hardcore of the neoliberal agenda and regain certain functions of social welfare and economic regulation, as had been the case even though very unequal, in the years before structural adjustment (Ramirez 2006).

Pereira (2010) classifies the progressive movements in two types with different versions of progressive ideology: the “renovating Lefts” and the “refounding Lefts.” For the author, the renovating Lefts are characterized by progressive movements with more significant institutional and electoral trajectories, greater integration into the political system, and more acceptance of liberal representative democracy. Those movements intend to renew institutionality and politics with a statist, equal and ethical approach, and therefore less alter power relations. The second type corresponds to progressive movements that claim another social contract that supports the respective national political schemes,

are characterized by a low level of institutionalization, are later in the integration to the respective political systems and highly critical of the institutions of representative democracy, trying to overcome the status quo, associated with the social and identity crisis. The refounding Left seeks a reconfiguration of power relations; this progressive movement gives more importance to its relationship with social movements and is more inclined towards collective constructions (Pereira 2010).

Therefore, based on the classification made by Pereira (2010) and according to the literature review carried out in this chapter, the research determines that there are two types of progressive Left with different versions of progressive ideology: renovating Lefts and refounding Lefts. Subsequent, a table is presented where this division is specified with its distinctive characteristics:

**Table 1: Versions of Progressive Ideology and its Characteristics (Adapted from Pereira 2010)**

<b>Renovating Lefts</b>	<b>Refounding Lefts</b>
Higher degree of institutionalization	Lowest level of institutionalization
Higher degree of integration into the political system	Lower level of integration into the political system
Higher acceptance to the institutions of the representative democracy	Higher criticism of the institutions of representative democracy
Moderate criticism to neoliberalism	Radical criticism to neoliberalism
It intends to "renew" the politics and government of their countries with a more egalitarian, statist, and ethical approach.	It proposes "re-founding" its institutions, its party systems, and the State as a whole, more radically overcoming the status quo in force at the time it came to power, associated with a collapse of the party and institutional systems.

The classification presented by Pereira (2010) provides a tool to divide the Latin-American political parties into two types of movements with different versions of progressive ideology:

**Table 2: Groups of Countries Based on the Progressive Ideology of the Movements**

<b>Country</b>	<b>Political Party</b>	<b>Renovating Lefts</b>	<b>Refounding Lefts</b>
Venezuela	Fifth Republic Movement		x
	United Socialist Party of Venezuela		
Brazil	Workers' Party	x	
Bolivia	Movement for Socialism		x
Ecuador	PAIS Alliance		x
Argentina	Justicialist Party / Front for Victory	x	
	Justicialist Party / Everybody's Front		
Honduras	Liberal Party of Honduras	x	
Paraguay	Patriotic Alliance for Change / Guasu Front	x	
Peru	Peruvian Nationalist Party / Peru Wins	x	
El Salvador	Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front	x	
Nicaragua	Sandinista National Liberation Front	x	
Chile	Socialist Party of Chile / Concert of Parties for Democracy	x	
	Socialist Party of Chile / New Majority		
Uruguay	Broad Front	x	

According to the previous table, nine countries (Brazil, Argentina, Honduras, Paraguay, Peru, El Salvador, Nicaragua, Chile, and Uruguay) belong to the group of renovating Lefts which are characterized by a greater degree of institutionalization, greater integration into the system political, acceptance of the institutions of representative democracy and moderate criticism of neoliberalism. On the other hand, Venezuela, Bolivia, and Ecuador belong to the group of refounding Lefts characterized by a lower level of institutionalization, lower integration into the political system, criticism of the institutions of representative democracy, and radical criticism of neoliberalism. The group of countries that belong to the renovating Lefts have more stable party systems and developed structural, competitive, and integrated organizations. Meanwhile, recently founded political parties such as the

Fifth Republic Movement in Venezuela, the PAIS Alliance in Ecuador, and the Movement for Socialism in Bolivia took advantage of institutions in collapse to build majorities (Pereira 2010).

### **4.3 Progressive political parties in Latin America and its periods into government**

This section will provide an overview of the progressive movements in Latin America that have been in government and how long they have been in power. This point is essential since, based on this review, the research will choose the countries where what happens when these progressive political parties get into the government can be studied.

In Latin America, the progressive political party that has been in power for the longest time has been the Fifth Republic Movement, founded by Hugo Chavez. In 2007 this political party was dissolved to join the United Socialist Party of Venezuela (Iwanowski 2018). The Fifth Republic Movement political party and the United Socialist Party of Venezuela have been in power for twenty-one years. Moreover, the Broad Front political party of Uruguay has ruled this country for fifteen consecutive years. Also, the progressive political parties Workers' Party in Brazil, Justicialist Party, Front for Victory and Everybody's Front in Argentina, and Sandinista National Liberation Front in Nicaragua have ruled for thirteen consecutive years respectively. Moreover, Rafael Correa Delgado with the PAIS Alliance in Ecuador and Mauricio Funes and Salvador Sanchez Ceren with Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front in El Salvador ruled for ten consecutive years, respectively. Besides, Juan Evo Morales Ayma in Bolivia and Michelle Bachelet Jeria in Chile ruled for eight consecutive years with Movement for Socialism and Socialist Party of Chile, Concert of Parties for Democracy, and New Majority. Also, Ollanta Humala Tasso, sponsored by Peruvian Nationalist Party / Peru Wins, ruled Peru for five years. In Paraguay, Fernando Lugo with the Patriotic Alliance for Change / Guasu Front ruled for four years. Finally, in Honduras, Manuel Zelaya with the Liberal Party of Honduras ruled for three years. Below is a detailed table of progressive political parties and their tenure in government.

**Table 3: Progressive Political Parties in Latin America**

<b>Country</b>	<b>Political Party</b>	<b>President´s name</b>	<b>Term of office</b>	<b>Time into government (years)</b>	<b>Total time into government (years)</b>
Venezuela	Fifth Republic Movement	Hugo Chavez	1999-2001	2	21
	Fifth Republic Movement	Hugo Chavez	2001-2002	1	
	Fifth Republic Movement	Hugo Chavez	2002-2007	5	
	United Socialist Party of Venezuela	Hugo Chavez	2007-2013	6	
	United Socialist Party of Venezuela	Nicolas Maduro	2013- In functions	7	
Uruguay	Broad Front	Tabare Vazquez	2005-2010	5	15
	Broad Front	Jose Mujica	2010-2015	5	
	Broad Front	Tabare Vazquez	2015-2020	5	
Argentina	Justicialist Party / Front for Victory	Nestor Kirchner	2003-2007	4	13
	Justicialist Party / Front for Victory	Cristina Fernandez de Kirchner	2007-2015	8	
	Justicialist Party / Everybody's Front	Alberto Fernandez	2019- In functions	1	
Brazil	Workers' Party	Luiz Inacio Lula da Silva	2003-2011	8	13
	Workers' Party	Dilma Rouseff	2011-2016	5	
Nicaragua	Sandinista National Liberation Front	Daniel Ortega Saavedra.	2007- In functions	13	13
Ecuador	PAIS Alliance	Rafael Correa Delgado	2007-2017	10	10
El Salvador	Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front	Mauricio Funes	2009-2014	5	10
	Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front	Salvador Sanchez Ceren	2014-2019	5	
Chile	Socialist Party of Chile / Concert of Parties for Democracy	Michelle Bachelet Jeria	2006-2010	4	8
	Socialist Party of Chile / New Majority	Michelle Bachelet Jeria	2014-2018	4	
Bolivia	Movement for Socialism	Juan Evo Morales Ayma	2006-2019	8	8
Peru	Peruvian Nationalist Party / Peru Wins	Ollanta Humala Tasso	2011-2016	5	5

Paraguay	Patriotic Alliance for Change / Guasu Front	Fernando Lugo	2008-2012	4	4
Honduras	Liberal Party of Honduras	Manuel Zelaya	2006-2009	3	3

In conclusion, the countries with a renovating Left variant and have been in charge of the executive power for the longest time are Uruguay with fifteen years in power and Argentina, Brazil, and Nicaragua with thirteen years in power, respectively. Meanwhile, the three countries with a refounding Left variant have remained in power for twenty-one years in Venezuela, ten years in Ecuador, and eight years in Bolivia.

## **Chapter 5**

### **Progressive Parties and Policy Agendas**



## 5. Progressive Parties and Policy Agendas

The fifth chapter is devoted to existing studies of progressive parties in Latin America, focusing on their policy agendas. A review of the literature helps to determine whether progressive movements in Latin America focus on the same or different issues. Besides, the literature will also help determine whether the political agenda of the progressive movements that belong to the renovating Lefts is different from the political agenda of the progressive movements that belong to the refounding Lefts.

According to Martner *et al.* (2009), a progressive party's political agenda proposes to expand fiscal capacity to strengthen the provision of public goods, manage public assets according to the general interest, and regulate markets efficiently and equitably to allow the exercise of economic and social rights without economic disruptions. Progressive political parties and their agenda do not want to eradicate markets; their agenda plans to create ecological and social governance instruments over them, according to principles of equity and efficiency. It pursues to benefit from the rewards of the market as a decentralized allocator of resources in complex economies. Still, it limits its rejection to the objectives of development and, specifically, its inclination to expand the concentration of economic power and create income inequalities (Martner *et al.* 2009).

For Ramos (2001), since its creation, the political agenda of Left-wing parties has been characterized throughout history by the defense of the interests of the excluded and oppressed classes by the oligarchic order. Therefore, most of the adherents of the Left parties have been sectors of the middle class, movements of the working class, artisans, and peasants.

According to Martinez (2014), the progressive political party Fifth Republic Movement of Venezuela has as central issues of attention within its political agenda the defense of national sovereignty, participatory social democracy, control of strategic sectors and regulation of the economy, human rights, social right, social security, and direct democracy. This progressive political party had on its political agenda the implementation of an economic model called "mixed economy", where the productive sectors are classified with different ownership and management modalities: the fundamental and strategic companies were owned and managed by the State, industrial goods and services companies were owned and managed by the State, and the private sector, banking, and finance were owned and managed by the State and the private sector but regulated by the State, and finally large industry was privately owned and managed. In this scheme, the State defends its capacity for productive and regulatory intervention while respecting the role of private capital.

Also, Perez, Piñeiro, and Rosenblatt (2016) mention that the progressive party Broad Front of Uruguay has as primary issues of attention in its political agenda the opposition to neoliberal reforms, application of distributive reforms, expansion of rights and freedoms, revitalization of the role of the State in the economy, income redistribution, increase in social spending, increased collective labour rights, tax reforms, universal health insurance and increased spending on public education. Among the progressive parties in the region, the Broad Front was the political party that advanced the most in such an ambitious package of broader reforms of liberties and civil rights. At the same time, the Broad Front was one of the countries that best developed the distributional agenda within the region. Within the package of comprehensive reforms of liberties and civil rights that the progressive Broad Front party promoted in its political agenda were the regulation of the self-cultivation of cannabis and its distribution, the Law of Voluntary Interruption of Pregnancy, as well as the legal recognition of the marriage of people of the same sex.

For Sandoval (2015) and D'Adamo and Garcia (2006), the progressive movement Justicialist Party of Argentina has as central issues of attention within its agenda the dismantling of neoliberal reforms, economic and social protectionism, work creation, social inclusion, combating corruption and recovery of social justice. Also, other issues of attention within the political agenda of the Justicialist Party were work and production, subsidies for the elderly, care for family groups in an emergency, increased health and education plans (D'Adamo and Garcia 2006).

According to Actis (2016) and Palermo and Melamed (2013), the progressive party Workers' Party of Brazil has as main issues of attention in its political agenda the rupture of the neoliberal model, strengthening of the internal market, distributive economic measures, reform of the tax system with a progressive orientation, agrarian reform, increase in social spending, more significant economic resources for retirees, work creation, the real growth of the minimum wage and reduction of poverty, regional integration and internationalization of Brazilian capitals. Moreover, the political agenda of the progressive Workers' Party had as issues of attention the increase in social spending, giving priority to retirees and increasing welfare benefits to the neediest families in Brazil; formalization of the labour market and the creation of new formal jobs, growth of the basic wage, reduction of poverty in metropolitan regions, investment of Brazilian capital in South American countries and strengthening of regional integration through the forum of Latin American Left parties and groups called Forum of Sao Paulo.

According to Perez-Baltodano (2012), progressive parties such as the Sandinista National Liberation Front of Nicaragua has as main issues of attention in its political agenda: poverty reduction,

inequality reduction, increased social spending, regional cooperation, and the creation of social programs. Besides, the political agenda of the Sandinista National Liberation Front had as main issues of attention to the reduction of poverty and extreme poverty. According to the Nicaraguan Development Foundation (2012), during the progressive government of Daniel Ortega, the poverty conditions of the population were reduced from 48% in 2005 to 42.5% in 2009, while extreme poverty was reduced from 17.2% to 14.6% in the same period. The reduction of inequality was also an issue within the political agenda of the Sandinista National Liberation Front. During the progressive government of Ortega, the Gini coefficient for income went from 0.51 to 0.46 between 2005 and 2009 (Nicaraguan Development Foundation 2012). The increase in social spending was also an essential topic on the political agenda of this progressive party. According to the Nicaraguan Development Foundation (2012), the Ortega government increased social spending by 13.5% during 2007-2010, concentrating public spending on education and health. Also, the political agenda of the Sandinista National Liberation Front and the government of Daniel Ortega was focused on the regional integration project known as the Bolivarian Alternative for the Americas (Perez-Baltodano 2010).

According to Hernandez and Buendia (2011), the progressive party PAIS Alliance of Ecuador has as main issues of attention in its political agenda: opposition to neoliberal reforms, the reestablishment of the distributive role of the State, equity between the various social sectors, and ethnic-national entities, transformation and recovery of the privatized state structure, participatory democracy, regional integration that go beyond commercial approaches, fight against corruption, preservation of the environment and social justice. Moreover, the PAIS Alliance (2007-2016) was a progressive political party in Ecuador that was openly and radically opposed to the neoliberal reforms adopted by previous governments. PAIS Alliance also rescued the vision of the importance of the State in political and economic management. The political agenda of this progressive party had as central issues of attention the plurinational of the State, the human right to water, the right to resistance, the rescue of national sovereignty, the redistribution of the income, and social justice (Davalos 2016). Moreover, the political agenda had as central issues of attention the fight against corruption and Latin American integration (Perez-Rolo 2016).

Lopez *et al.* (2015) carry out an analysis of the political agenda of the progressive party Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front of El Salvador. The political agenda of this progressive party had as primary issues of attention to economic politics, social exclusion, and inequality. However, essential transformations related to social exclusion have not been developed. Moreover, the Farabundo

Marti National Liberation Front agenda focused on creating social programs for groups living in extreme poverty. However, it did not reach general policies that seek the well-being of the population.

According to Baeza and Schmitt-Fiebig (2015), Cabalin and Antezana (2016), Lodi, Caballero, and Sartor (2014), Viera (2008), and Delfino (2017), the political agenda of the progressive party Socialist Party of Chile had as issues of attention in its political agenda the opposition to neoliberal reforms, gender equality, decriminalization of abortion, tax and educational reforms, consolidation of democracy, the abolition of the binomial political system that benefited traditional parties and approval of the civil union for people of the same sex.

For Uharte (2017), the political agenda of the progressive party Movement for Socialism of Bolivia had as issues of attention the rejection of neoliberal policies, political refounding of the country through a constituent assembly, overcoming the neoliberal economic model, rescuing sovereignty, recovery of the centrality of the State, increase the public investment, increase the international reserves, increase the wages, creation of sources of employment, reduction in prices of essential public services, mining tax reform, regional integration, nationalization of the so-called strategic resources, which in the Bolivian case corresponds to hydrocarbons, mainly gas. The nationalization of gas was an important milestone in the political agenda of the Movement for Socialism. The government of Evo Morales and the Movement for Socialism promoted the reduction of prices for essential public services in its political agenda, creating a preferential rate. Furthermore, Morales and the Movement for Socialism signed regional cooperation agreements with Venezuela and Cuba to implement educational and health programs within regional integration. Another of the strategic issues on the Movement for Socialism agenda was overcoming the neoliberal model and implementing a new economic course for the country. The recovery of the centrality of the State was carried out through the policy of nationalization of the so-called strategic resources. The Movement for Socialism agenda stated that hydrocarbons and mining are essential parts of the new model, which will generate surpluses to promote the industrialization of the country (Uharte 2017).

According to Rojas (2009), the political agenda of the progressive party Patriotic Alliance for Change of Paraguay had as issues of attention in its political agenda monetary measures, fiscal measures, protectionist measures, energy measures, labour measures, and subsidies and programs for the most deficient population measures. Rojas (2009) mentions that within the monetary measures, the Patriotic Alliance for Change agenda increased liquidity and, consequently, the credits in the financial system. Also, within fiscal measures, it strengthened credit to the private sector to promote the construction of infrastructure and housing to generate jobs. Moreover, within the protectionist

measures, the State was in charge of buying national products with an extra cost in relation to offers of foreign origin. Furthermore, within the energy measures, the political agenda focused on establishing the negotiating table with Brazil regarding the binational hydroelectric plant Itaipu. Also, within labour measures, the control of workers' job conditions was improved. Finally, within the subsidies and programs for the most disadvantaged population, the political agenda of the Patriotic Alliance for Change and the government of Fernando Lugo (2008-2012) contemplated the increase of the beneficiaries of the conditional cash transfer programs to families in extreme poverty.

According to Figueroa (2011), the political agenda of the Liberal Party of Honduras had as issues of attention in its political agenda progressive economic and social policies, social programs, public investment, economic measures, regional integration. The Liberal Party of Honduras's political agenda was considered progressive when it promoted social programs and investment in sectors such as education and health; in economic matters, Honduras was the nation with the highest economic growth in the region and increased the basic salary. In the regional integration, Zelaya found an affinity with the progressive governments of Hugo Chavez in Venezuela and Daniel Ortega in Nicaragua.

According to Nesbet-Montecinos (2011) and Quiñon, Rodriguez, and Alva (2016), the political agenda of the Peruvian Nationalist Party of Peru had as its central issue of attention the implementation of social inclusion policies, increased social spending, economic and social change, prioritization of social, economic and cultural rights, increased labor rights, the democratization of the media, nationalization of strategic sectors, reduction of inequality, social inclusion, environmental rights, protection of indigenous communities. Besides, one of its main attention issues was granting a more leading role to the State in the economy. Also, the government program of this political party was focused on the social transformation that meant the expansion and investment of health and education programs. The incorporation and expansion of basic services such as electricity, water, and sewerage were also considered.

In summary, according to the literature review, the similarities of the agendas of the Latin American progressive movements generally occur in the following issues: increased social spending and revitalization of the role of the State in the economy. However, not all progressive movements in Latin America focus on the same issues. For example, while the Fifth Republic Movement of Venezuela has as issues of attention the defense of national sovereignty, participatory social democracy, control of strategic sectors, human rights, social right, social security, and direct democracy; on the other hand, the Workers' Party of Brazil has as issues of attention the rupture of the neoliberal model, strengthening of the internal market, distributive economic measures, reform of the tax system with a progressive

orientation, agrarian reform, work creation, growth of the minimum wage, reduction of poverty, regional integration and internationalization of Brazilian capitals. In another example, while the Socialist Party of Chile has as issues of attention the opposition to neoliberal reforms, gender equality, decriminalization of abortion, tax and educational reforms, consolidation of democracy, the abolition of the binomial political system, and civil union for people of the same sex; the Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front of El Salvador has as issues of attention the economic politics, social exclusion, and social inequality.

Moreover, in chapter four, a classification of progressive movements in Latin America was made, where progressive movements were divided into two broad groups: renovating Lefts and refounding Lefts. The progressive movements that belong to the renovating Lefts group are the Workers' Party of Brazil, Justicialist Party of Argentina, Liberal Party of Honduras, Patriotic Alliance for Change of Paraguay, Peruvian Nationalist Party of Peru, Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front of El Salvador, Sandinista National Liberation Front of Nicaragua, Socialist Party of Chile and Broad Front of Uruguay. On the other hand, the progressive movements that belong to the refounding Lefts group are the Fifth Republic Movement / United Socialist Party of Venezuela, Movement for Socialism of Bolivia, and PAIS Alliance of Ecuador. While the Workers' Party of Brazil, which is a progressive movement that belongs to the renovating Lefts group, has as its issue of attention the internationalization of Brazilian capitals; the Movement for Socialism of Bolivia, which belongs to the refounding Lefts group, has as its issue of attention the political refounding of the country. Reviewing the literature in this chapter and comparing the political agendas of the progressive movements that belong to the renovating Lefts group, it is found that the issues of attention propose to renew the politics and government of their countries with a more egalitarian approach.

On the other hand, the issues of attention of the progressive movements that belong to the refounding Lefts group propose to refund the institutions and the State as a whole, to overcome the status quo in force at the time these political parties come to power. However, both groups, renovating Lefts and refounding Lefts, reject neoliberal policies as their issue of attention. The difference is that the renovating Lefts group is less radical than the refounding Lefts group.

In conclusion, according to the literature review, the agendas of Latin American progressive movements focus mainly on issues such as increased social spending and revitalization of the role of the State in the economy. Also, the literature showed that each progressive movement has its agenda and its own issues of attention. However, the literature has not determined which issues have more or less attention within the agenda and which issues differ from one agenda to another. Moreover, the

political agenda of the progressive movements that belong to the renovating Lefts group proposes renewing their countries' politics and government with a more egalitarian approach. In contrast, the political agenda of the progressive movements that belong to the refounding Lefts group aims to overcome the status quo in force when these political parties come to power. However, the literature does not demonstrate the issues of attention within the political agenda of progressive movements that belong to renovating Lefts and refounding Lefts.

As we can see, the literature carries out a study of the main issues of attention within the agenda of progressive political parties in Latin America; however, there is no comprehensive study where the issues of attention on the agenda of progressive movements in Latin America are standardized. Also, the literature does not demonstrate the issues of attention within the political agenda of progressive movements that belong to renovating Lefts and refounding Lefts. Moreover, the literature does not clearly show whether all or part of the progressive movements that belong to the renovating Lefts group have a similar or different agenda than those of the refounding Lefts group. Besides, no specialized literature shows whether progressive movements in Latin America have a homogeneous agenda. Also, the literature has not determined whether progressive movements show similar patterns in attributing political attention to issues. Furthermore, the literature has not determined the issues of attention of progressive movements before and after getting into governmental power. Moreover, the literature has not been able to determine whether the attention to the issues of progressive movements fluctuates over time.

Besides, the literature review has exposed the lack of information on the political agenda of the progressive Left parties; therefore, the literature shows that there is not enough information on the progressive movements in Latin America. The literature review has revealed that the current understanding of progressive movements in Latin America is based on a very general understanding of their ideology and a poor understanding of their political agendas. The literature has revealed that there is a long way from talking about social equality to specific policy measures.

For the previously mentioned reasons, this dissertation is important as it will provide invaluable information about the political agendas of progressive governments in Latin America. As there is no uniform and standardized information on the political agendas of progressive governments in Latin America, this dissertation will contribute in detail to determine whether progressive movements in Latin America have homogeneous political agendas; this dissertation will also contribute with unpublished information on the main issues of attention of progressive movements in Latin America, this dissertation will also contribute with new and detailed information on the issues of attention of progressive

movements before and after conquering government power, it will also contribute with unpublished information on the political attention of progressive movements in Latin America and the fluctuation of attention to issues over time. The invaluable and unpublished information presented in this research will be very useful for the network of students, scholars, and policymakers interested in political agenda-setting processes. Besides, the data presented in this research will allow students, academics, policymakers, and even the media to further investigate trends in policymaking over time and between countries with governments and progressive movements in Latin America.

The following chapters of this dissertation will help to provide a clear answer to the doubts mentioned above, and it helps us to determine the ideological profile of progressive political parties in Latin America; also, the research helps us to determine which are the issues that received the most attention across the progressive political parties in Latin America before and after winning the government power. Therefore, the research will determine the issues that the progressive countries paid the most attention to in a political campaign and later in the approval of public policies through laws. Also, the research will expand the analysis carried out in other studies that dealt with the analysis of the classification of the different versions of progressive ideology. Moreover, the research will contribute to the existing literature on whether progressive parties in Latin America address similar issues in their party manifestos and the adopted laws. Furthermore, the study will contribute to the existing literature with information on the impact of the ideological profile when progressive political parties in Latin America enter the government. Moreover, the research will compare the party manifestos and the laws adopted and the ability to turn the promises written in the party manifestos into public policies within the progressive Latin American parties.



## **Chapter 6**

### **Research Methodology**

## **6. Research Methodology**

### **6.1 Design and Data**

Once the research questions have been defined, the methodological framework of this work is presented. To answer the research questions, this study will use a comparative perspective, particularly the small-N comparative case studies method based on quantitative data, applied to four Latin American member states. Smith and Little (2018) state that researchers who use small N might choose between four and a dozen cases. Thus, the small-N case studies will help select cases based on the theory-driven comparative method (Ebbinghaus 2005). To address the research questions, the classification made by Pereira (2010) was considered, which divided progressive countries into two groups: "renewing lefts" and "refounding lefts". Pereira (2010) states that Argentina and Chile are among the most representative countries of the "renewing left", while Bolivia and Ecuador are among the most representative countries of the "refounding left." Therefore, taking this classification, the case studies chosen in this study are Argentina, Chile, Bolivia, and Ecuador.

Since the research will use a comparative case studies design. A case study design should be considered when the focus of the study is to answer "how" and "why" questions (Yin 2003). Also, case studies are used in organizational studies and across the social sciences, and "the case study method is increasingly being used and with growing confidence in the case study as a rigorous research strategy in its own right" (Hartley 2004, 323). A case study can be described as "an intensive study of a single unit for the purpose of understanding a larger class of (similar) units" (Gerring 2004, 341). According to Yin (2009), a case study can be defined as "an empirical inquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomenon in depth and within its real-life context, especially when the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly evident" (Yin 2009, 14). Comparative case studies involve analyzing the differences and similarities of two or more cases that share a common focus to produce knowledge for answering causal questions - how and why questions - (Goodrick 2014). Thus, this research adopts a small-N comparative case studies method based on quantitative data to address this study's specific research question.

The type of data used in this research are quantitative. As primary data, the researcher coded the party manifestos and adopted laws corresponding to the case studies. The laws adopted (legislative agenda) were obtained from official government institutions of each case study. The researcher codified it to illustrate the content of policy issues over time. Some party manifestos were found already coded; thus, these data are considered as part of the secondary data group. Secondary data are raw data that

has already been collected by someone else. In the present investigation, party manifestos of the different progressive Left political parties are used as secondary data; most of these party manifestos are obtained from the “The Manifesto Project”<sup>4</sup> and from each country’s electoral organizations. The data obtained from political party manifestos intended to address the literature gap and determine whether progressive Left parties in Latin America have a homogeneous agenda setting, also, to determine whether the progressive Left political parties exhibit similar patterns in attributing political attention to issues. Besides, together with the data obtained from the codification of the adopted laws, they help determine the issue of attention of the progressive Left parties before and after winning the government power; and determine whether Latin American progressive Left parties’ political attention to issues fluctuate over time.

## **6.2 Data Collection Methods**

According to Yin (1994), the case studies’ data can be generated based on different collection techniques such as interviews, direct observation, observation of participants, and documentation or files. Based on the various data collection techniques, documentary analysis has been used as a pivotal piece to carry out this project. The documentary investigation will consist of various documents, from party manifestos of the different political parties, legislative acts, and others.

### **6.2.1 Data from the Comparative Manifesto Project**

The Comparative Manifesto is a project that provides the scientific community with a certain number of party manifestos that political parties created from different regions worldwide. This project performs the content analysis of the electoral manifestos of the political parties. Also, it analyzes the party manifestos of the parties to study their political preferences. The Comparative Manifesto Project contributes to the present research with the codified party manifestos of the political party of Evo Morales (Movement towards Socialism - Political Instrument for the Sovereignty of the Peoples) of the years 2009 and 2014 for the Bolivian case; the codified party manifestos of the political party of Nestor Kirchner and Cristina Fernandez de Kirchner (Front for Victory) of the years 2003, 2007 and 2011 for the Argentine case; and the codified party manifestos of Michelle Bachelet’s political party (Concert of Parties for Democracy - New Majority for Chile - Socialist Party of Chile) from 2005 and 2013 for the Chilean case.

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<sup>4</sup> Organization that provides to the scientific community with party manifestos and makes an analysis of the electoral manifestations of the political parties.

## 6.2.2 Population and Sample

Since the election of Hugo Chavez in 1998, twelve Latin American countries (Venezuela, Brasil, Bolivia, Ecuador, Argentina, Honduras, Paraguay, Peru, El Salvador, Nicaragua, Chile, and Uruguay) chose a Left government alternation, articulated around progressive or national-popular projects (Bringel and Falero 2016; Grugel and Riggirozzi 2012; Martner *et al.* 2009; Minteguiaga and Ubasart-Gonzalez 2015; Onis and Senses 2003; Peirano *et al.* 2010; Uriarte 2007). While each national experience unfolds its specificities, many of them have assumed - in discourse - as an objective to dismantle the hardcore of the neoliberal agenda and regain certain functions of social welfare and economic regulation, as had been the case even though very unequal, in the years before structural adjustment (Ramirez 2006). Therefore, these twelve Latin American member states will be our target population or universe of progressive governments from which the sample will be taken. From these twelve countries, four Latin American member states will be part of this study's sampling. According to Eisenhardt (1989), four to ten cases are necessary to develop the theory from case studies.

Pereira (2010) classifies the progressive or Left-wing governments in two variants: the "renovating Lefts" and the "refounding Lefts." For the author, the renovating Lefts are characterized by progressive governments with greater institutional and electoral trajectory, greater integration to the political system, and more liberal representative democracy. They intend to renew institutionality and politics with a statist, equal and ethical approach, and therefore less alter power relations. The second type corresponds to progressive governments that claim another social contract that supports the respective national political schemes, are characterized by a low level of institutionalization, are later in the integration to the respective political systems and highly critical of the institutions of representative democracy, trying to overcome the status quo, associated with the social and identity crisis. The refounding Left seeks a reconfiguration of power relations; this progressive government gives more importance to their relationship with social movements and is more inclined towards collective constructions (Pereira 2010). Within the more representative "renovating Lefts", Pereira (2010) places to Argentina, Brazil, Chile, and Uruguay, and within the more representative "refounding Lefts", the author locates to Bolivia, Ecuador, and Venezuela.

Therefore, considering the classification made by Pereira (2010), the progressive governments elected for the sampling were Argentina, Chile, Bolivia, and Ecuador. Besides, the analysis period was from 2003 to 2019 because in 2003, the former president of Argentina, Nestor Kirchner, took power. On the other hand, 2019 has been accepted as a time limit since most of the analysis information is available this year.

As mentioned above, the Comparative Manifesto Project contributes to the present research with some party manifestos from the progressive parties Bolivia, Argentina, and Chile. However, to answer the research questions of this research, the existing database in the Comparative Manifesto Project had to be expanded; therefore, the research carried out the codification of the party manifestos of Rafael Correa's political party (PAIS Alliance) of the years 2006 and 2013 for the Ecuadorian case; and the party manifesto of Evo Morales' political party (Movement towards Socialism - Political Instrument for the Sovereignty of the Peoples) of 2006 for the Bolivian case. To ensure reliability to the codification of the data of the party manifestos of the years 2006 and 2013 of the Ecuadorian case, and reliability to the coding of the party manifesto of the year 2006 of the Bolivian case, the author of this research contacted the certified codifiers team of the Comparative Manifesto Project. The study researcher requested the Comparative Manifesto Project team to participate in the training program of coders of party manifestos. The researcher was accepted into the party manifesto coders' training program. The researcher was instructed with the coding procedure's fundamental aspects and the coding rules that all coders must follow in the training program. The training ensured that the researcher had sufficient knowledge of the coding process, which allows for comparable and reliable data creation. The training process was based on intensive communication between the certified trainer and the researcher to guarantee the maximum comparability and reliability of the data coding. The researcher learned how to use the coding scheme and the rules that apply under certain circumstances. He also learned an essential coding procedure known as "unitizing". The unitizing process means cutting text into quasi-sentences; this procedure will be explained later.

In the final stage of the training, the researcher took the coding training test. The researcher was asked to code extracts from the political manifesto of the Democratic Party of the 2008 general elections (Appendix 1). In this training test, the researcher has to identify and separate the text into quasi sentences and apply all of the knowledge learned. Besides, the researcher was asked to assign a specific code to each quasi-sentence, taking into account the categories and subcategories of the Comparative Manifesto Project codebook's seven policy domains (Appendix 2). After a few days, the training supervisor sent the feedback of the coding training test to the researcher where the training supervisor mentioned that according to the quality of coding performed in the training test, the researcher has sufficient understanding of the coding process and that the researcher is ready to proceed with the codification of the party manifestos of the political parties of the case studies.

After receiving the coding training and for generating the data sets, the text of the party manifestos was cut into quasi-sentences. Each quasi-sentence contains exactly one message or one

statement. Political parties generally issue a message or statement in a complete sentence. The elementary rule of coding party manifestos is that a sentence is at least one quasi-sentence. For no reason can a quasi-sentence be made up of two or more sentences.

On the contrary, in the same sentence, there can be two or more quasi-sentences. After dividing the party manifestos into quasi-sentences, each declaration is assigned to one of the categories and subcategories of the Comparative Manifesto Project codebook's seven policy domains.

**Table 4: Unitizing – Cutting Text into Quasi-Sentences**

	<b>President</b>	<b>Political Party</b>	<b>Period into government</b>	<b>Party Manifesto Year</b>	<b>Number of Pages per Party Manifesto</b>	<b>Number of Quasi-Sentences</b>
<b>Bolivia</b>	Evo Morales	Movement towards Socialism - Political Instrument for the Sovereignty of the Peoples	From January 22nd, 2006 to January 21st, 2010	2006 (Coded by the Researcher)	144	2179
	Evo Morales	Movement towards Socialism - Political Instrument for the Sovereignty of the Peoples	From January 22nd, 2010 to January 21st, 2015	2009 (Coded by the Comparative Manifesto Project - CMP)	156	2224
	Evo Morales	Movement towards Socialism - Political Instrument for the Sovereignty of the Peoples	From January 22nd, 2015 to November 10th, 2019	2014 (Coded by the Comparative Manifesto Project - CMP)	85	1381

<b>Ecuador</b>	Rafael Correa	PAIS Alliance	From January 15th, 2007 to August 09th, 2009	2006 (Coded by the Researcher)	77	1280
	Rafael Correa	PAIS Alliance	From August 10th, 2009 to May 23rd, 2013			
	Rafael Correa	PAIS Alliance	From May 24th, 2013 to May 23rd, 2017	2013 (Coded by the Researcher)	139	2544
<b>Argentina</b>	Nestor Kirchner	Front for Victory	From May 25th, 2003 to December 9th, 2007	2003 (Coded by the Comparative Manifesto Project - CMP)	4	84
	Cristina Fernandez de Kirchner	Front for Victory	From December 10th, 2007 to December 9th, 2011	2007 (Coded by the Comparative Manifesto Project - CMP)	3	56
	Cristina Fernandez de Kirchner	Front for Victory	From December 10th, 2011 to December 9th, 2015	2011 (Coded by the Comparative Manifesto Project - CMP)	9	150
<b>Chile</b>	Michelle Bachelet	Concert of Parties for Democracy	From March 11th, 2006 to March 10th, 2010	2005 (Coded by the Comparative Manifesto Project - CMP)	102	2910
	Michelle Bachelet	New Majority for Chile - Socialist Party of Chile	From March 11th, 2014 to March 10th, 2018	2013 (Coded by the Comparative Manifesto Project - CMP)	198	3374
<b>Total Number of Quasi-Sentences</b>					<b>917</b>	<b>16182</b>

In summary, the data collected from this research were three party manifestos, and 2079 adopted laws in the Bolivian case; two party manifestos and 205 adopted laws belonging to the Ecuadorian case; three party manifestos and 1506 adopted laws belonging to the Argentinian case, and two-party manifestos and 674 adopted laws belonging to the Chilean case. As mentioned above, for the codification of the party manifestos and adopted laws, South America’s codebook (Krause *et al.* 2019) and the Manifesto Coding Instructions (Werner, Lacewell, and Volkens 2015), both handbooks created by The Manifesto Project group, were used. Therefore, 4464 laws were collected, codified by the researcher of this study, and assigned to one of the categories and subcategories of the Comparative Manifesto Project Codebook’s seven policy domains.

Moreover, 917 pages corresponding to the party manifestos were cut into 16182 quasi-sentences. Those quasi-sentences were assigned to one of the categories and subcategories of the seven policy domains of the Comparative Manifesto Project Codebook. A summary of the party manifestos and policies that were codified is attached:

**Table 5: Number of Party Manifestos and Adopted Laws by Country**

	<b>President</b>	<b>Period into government</b>	<b>Year</b>	<b>Party Manifestos</b>	<b>Total Party Manifestos</b>	<b>Adopted laws</b>	<b>Total Adopted Laws</b>
<b>Bolivia</b>	Evo Morales	From January 22nd, 2006 to January 21st, 2010	2006	1	3	213	2079
			2007			244	
			2008			184	
			2009			167	
			2010			12	
	Evo Morales	From January 22, 2010 to January 21, 2015	2010	1		79	
			2011			142	
			2012			111	
			2013			149	
			2014			144	
	Evo Morales	From January 22, 2015 to November 10, 2019	2015	1		26	
			2016			122	
2017			104				
2018			142				
<b>Ecuador</b>	Rafael Correa	From January 15th, 2007 to August 09th, 2009	2019	1	2	115	205
			2007*			32	
			2008*			23	
	Rafael Correa	From August 10th, 2009 to	2009			19	
			2009			9	
			2010			22	



		May 23rd, 2013	2011			17	
			2012			13	
			2013			2	
	Rafael Correa	From May 24, 2013 to May 23, 2017	2013	1		13	
			2014			11	
			2015			15	
			2016			20	
			2017			9	
<b>Argentina</b>	Nestor Kirchner	From May 25, 2003 to December 09, 2007	2003	1	3	137	1506
			2004			139	
			2005			63	
			2006			141	
			2007			118	
	Cristina Fernandez de Kirchner	From December 10, 2007 to December 09, 2011	2007	1		13	
			2008			127	
			2009			110	
			2010			71	
			2011			78	
	Cristina Fernandez de Kirchner	From December 10, 2011 to December 09, 2015	2011	1		0	
			2012			105	
2013			87				
2014			191				
2015			126				
<b>Chile</b>	Michelle Bachelet	From March 11th, 2006 to March 10th, 2010	2006	1	2	54	674
			2007			82	
			2008			77	
			2009			98	
			2010			17	
	Michelle Bachelet	From March 11, 2014 to March 10, 2018	2014	1		68	
			2015			83	
			2016			98	
			2017			75	
			2018			22	
<b>TOTAL PARTY MANIFESTOS AND ADOPTED LAWS</b>					<b>10</b>		<b>4464</b>

\* Constituent Assembly to reform the Constitution and creation of the Legislative and Oversight Commission of Ecuador (In charge of the legislative function of Ecuador from November 30th, 2007 to July 25th, 2008) (Leon 2015)

Additionally, to answer the research questions, the present research needs to know if the progressive Left parties remained ideologically on the Left or ideologically moved from Left to Right over time. The Left-Right measurement of party positions, known as the "RILE index" was used (Laver and Budge 1992). Thus, the Right-Left position was measured according to the rile-index and slightly adjusted to version 5 of the coding instructions of the Comparative Manifesto Project. Positive values in the rile index indicate a Right-wing position and negative values indicate a Left-wing position.

**Right-Left position index** = (104Military: Positive + 201.1Freedom + 201.2Human Rights + 203Constitutionalism: Positive + 305.1Political Authority: Party Competence + 305.2Political Authority: Personal Competence + 305.3Political Authority: Strong government + 305.4Transition: Pre-Democratic Elites: Positive + 305.5Transition: Pre-Democratic Elites: Negative + 305.6Transition: Rehabilitation and Compensation + 401Free Market Economy + 402Incentives: Positive + 407Protectionism: Negative + 414Economic Orthodoxy + 505Welfare State Limitation + 601.1National Way of Life General: Positive + 601.2National Way of Life: Immigration: Negative + 603Traditional Morality: Positive + 605.1Law and Order: Positive + 605.2Law and Order: Negative + 606.1Civic Mindedness General: Positive + 606.2Civic Mindedness: Bottom-Up Activism) - (103.1Anti-Imperialism: State Centred Anti-Imperialism + 103.2Anti-Imperialism: Foreign Financial Influence + 105Military: Negative + 106Peace + 107Internationalism: Positive + 202.1Democracy General: Positive + 202.3Representative Democracy: Positive + 202.4Direct Democracy: Positive + 403Market Regulation + 404Economic Planning + 406Protectionism: Positive + 412Controlled Economy + 413Nationalisation + 504Welfare State Expansion + 506Education Expansion + 701Labour Groups: Positive)

Therefore, the value of the rile index is calculated for the ten political manifestos obtained from the progressive political Left parties of Argentina, Bolivia, Chile, and Ecuador.

After describing the research methodology adopted in this work, the study variables and their measurement are identified.

### **6.3 Variables**

The dependent variable will be managed by two operational measures: the Left issue priorities ( $Y_1$ PoliIssues) and policys' dynamics ( $Y_2$ PoliDina). These variables are explained more fully in Table 6. As explanatory variables, we consider the Political Parties ( $X_1$ PoliPar) and Political Institutions ( $X_2$ PoliInst) in the analysis. These variables and indicators are explained in detail in Table 7.

#### **6.3.1 Dependent Variables**

The dependent variable is the policy issue priorities of the four case studies: Chile, Argentina, Bolivia, and Ecuador. Moreover, the dependent variable will be managed by two operational measures, as mentioned above: Left issue priorities and the policys' dynamics (how policy issues fluctuate over time), which the research designates by  $Y_1$ Left Issue Priorities and  $Y_2$ Policy Dynamics, respectively. It is a standard assessment that progressive Left-policy agenda priorities are significantly different in Latin American countries (Castañeda 2006; Gallegos 2006; Pereira 2010; Petkoff 2005). On the other hand,

time is an essential variant for researchers interested in agenda-setting. Through this variant, it is possible to observe how issues flow through institutions over time. Keeping track of the agenda's development over time is an essential element in understanding the dynamics of the policy. The overall idea is that progressive political parties emphasize some policy issues while restraining others over time; "political parties spend a great deal of time and effort on carefully selecting what issues to talk about" (Kluver and Sagarzazu 2016, 380).

**Table 6: Dependent Variables**

		Identification	Topic Codes	Values
Dependent Variables	Policy Issue Priorities	Y <sub>1</sub> PolilIssues (Left Issue Priorities)	1. External Relations (Divided into eleven categories) 2. Freedom and Democracy (Divided into eight categories) 3. Political System (Divided into ten categories) 4. Economy (Divided into seventeen categories) 5. Welfare and Quality of Life (Divided into seven categories) 6. Fabric of Society (Divided into sixteen categories) 7. Social Groups (Divided into seven categories)	Total number of issues of attention in the party manifestos and adopted laws of the Progressive Political Parties
		Y <sub>2</sub> PoliDina (Policy's Dynamics)	1. External Relations (Divided into eleven categories) 2. Freedom and Democracy (Divided into eight categories) 3. Political System (Divided into ten categories) 4. Economy (Divided into seventeen categories) 5. Welfare and Quality of Life (Divided into seven categories)	Issue Priorities have increased or decreased over time

		6. Fabric of Society (Divided into sixteen categories)	
		7. Social Groups (Divided into seven categories)	

### 6.3.2 Explanatory Variables

According to the research questions formulated, the model's explanatory variable is the political system of Chile, Argentina, Bolivia, and Ecuador under two perspectives: Political Parties and Political Institutions, which the research designates by  $X_1$  Political Parties and  $X_2$  Political Institutions, respectively. In the present study, the political parties variable will be determined by the Issue Overlap Score (Sigelman and Buell 2004). This score will measure the issue of attention overlap in the party manifestos of the progressive political parties (Party Agendas). On the other hand, the political institutions variable will be determined by the Issue Overlap Score (Sigelman and Buell 2004) for laws. This score will measure the issue of attention overlap in the laws adopted once the parties enter the progressive political parties' government (Legislative Agenda). According to Green-Pedersen (2014), the establishment of the agenda addresses substantial interrogations about the role and impact of the actors (political parties) and institutions (legislative power) and offers influence with which to analyze the mechanisms of political systems by examining attention to issues over time. The literature's central proposition is that political parties pursue distinct policy agendas (John, Bevan, and Jennings 2014). Besides, business-oriented-based Conservative parties typically assign a lower priority to unemployment than to price stability.

In contrast, working-class-based Socialist and Labor parties generally give lesser importance to inflation than full employment (Hibbs 1977). Thus, it is a standard assessment that progressive Left-policy agenda priorities are significantly different in Latin American countries (Castañeda 2006; Gallegos 2006; Pereira 2010; Petkoff 2005). Thus, this study follows the political actors (political parties) and political institutions (legislative power) perspectives by observing how they prioritize political issues rather than analyzing political parties and institutions and their internal structure.

**Table 7: Explanatory Variables**

	<b>Identification</b>	<b>Indicator</b>	<b>Values</b>
Explanatory Variables	X <sub>1</sub> PoliPar (Political parties)	Issue Overlap Score developed by Sigelman and Buell (2004). This score will measure the issue of attention overlap in the party manifestos of the progressive political parties (Party Agendas).	The issue overlap score lies between 0 to 100 and indicates the % of agreement between progressive parties. The maximum score (100) means that progressive parties have a 100% identical distribution of attention. The minimum score (0) implies that progressive parties have a complete absence of any overlap.
	X <sub>2</sub> PoliInst (Political Institutions)	Issue Overlap Score developed by Sigelman and Buell (2004) for laws. This score will measure the issue of attention overlap in the laws adopted once the parties enter the government. It will be applied to the adopted laws of the progressive political parties (Legislative Agenda).	The issue overlap for laws score lies between 0 to 100 and indicates the % of agreement between progressive political parties. The maximum score (100) means that progressive parties have a 100% identical distribution of attention. The minimum score (0) means that progressive parties have a complete absence of any laws overlap.

Based on the methodology proposed in this study, the following research questions and objectives will be solved:

**Table 8: Research Questions and Objectives**

Objectives	Research Questions					
	Questions Group 1			Questions Group 2		
	What is the ideological profile of the parties in the four countries?	Which similarities and differences exist in this profile across the four countries, and which explain the differences?	How has their ideological profile developed over time and what differences do the study find, and what explains them?	Has their ideological profile been affected by them entering government?	How well does what they state in their manifestos become policy laws?	Does this answer differ across countries?
Address the gap in the literature and determine whether progressive Left parties in Latin America have a homogeneous agenda setting.		x	x			
Make a quantitative analysis of the content of electoral programs and adopted policies by progressive political parties in Latin American countries.	x	x	x	x	x	x
Contribute to the existing literature with reliable information and measurements on the ideological profile of progressive political parties in Latin America.	x			x		
Determine which issues received the most attention across the progressive political parties in Latin America before and after winning the government power. Therefore, the research will determine the issues that the progressive countries paid the most attention to in a political campaign and later in the approval of public policies through laws.	x					

<p>Expand the analysis carried out in other studies that dealt with the analysis of the classification of the different versions of progressive ideology.</p>		<p>x</p>				
<p>Contribute to the existing literature on whether progressive parties in Latin America address similar issues in their party manifestos and the adopted laws.</p>			<p>x</p>		<p>x</p>	<p>x</p>
<p>Contribute to the existing literature with information on the impact of the ideological profile when progressive political parties in Latin America enter the government.</p>				<p>x</p>		
<p>Make a detailed comparison of the party manifestos and the laws adopted, and the ability to turn the promises written in the party manifestos into public policies within the progressive Latin American parties.</p>					<p>x</p>	<p>x</p>

## **Chapter 7**

### **Empirical Analysis:**

#### **The Case Studies of Argentina, Bolivia, Chile, and Ecuador**



## **7. Empirical Analysis: The Case Studies of Argentina, Bolivia, Chile, and Ecuador**

The following chapters analyze the data obtained from Argentina, Bolivia, Chile, and Ecuador. It should be noted that these data analyses are carried out based on the data obtained from the coding of the party manifestos and the adopted legislation of the four case studies.

The data analysis identifies to what extent progressive political parties move ideologically to the Left or the Right; in addition, the analysis allows us to identify the agenda of the progressive Left parties before gaining government power. The analysis will also help us to understand what happens to political agendas once progressive parties enter government. In the same way, the analysis helps us to understand how well what progressive political parties declare in their manifestos becomes laws.

Moreover, it is necessary to strengthen the comparative perspective of the case studies. The comparative perspective allows us to focus on the following explanatory questions divided into two main groups. The first group of questions is answered based on the party manifestos:

- What is the ideological profile of the parties in the four countries?
- Which similarities and differences exist in this profile across the four countries, and which explain the differences?
- How has their ideological profile developed over time and what differences do the study find, and what explains them?
- Has their ideological profile been affected by them entering government?

Moreover, the second group of questions relates to their ability to turn their issue priorities into policy is answered based on the party manifestos and adopted laws:

- How well does what they state in their manifestos become policy laws?
- Does this answer differ across countries?

This chapter will begin by carrying out the empirical analysis of the data obtained from the Argentine case. First, this research calculates the Right-Left position index (RILE index) for the party manifestos for 2003, 2007, and 2001. This information helps to determine if the Front for Victory remained ideologically Left-wing or ideologically moved from Left to Right over time. Then, the empirical analysis of the party manifestos of 2003, 2007, and 2011 belonging to the Front for Victory party will be performed. This analysis will allow the study to know the issues that received the most attention in the party manifestos of 2003, 2007, and 2011. After understanding which issues received the most

attention in the three-party manifestos relating to 2003, 2007, and 2011, this study calculates the degree of issue overlap -issue convergence or divergence- among the issues addressed by the Front for Victory in the party manifestos. This calculation identifies how similar the Front for Victory's attention is in the party manifestos 2003, 2007, and 2011. Then we will summarize the results found in the party manifestos, which allows us to answer the questions of the first main group.

In the same way, the second group of questions is answered with the empirical analysis of the party manifestos of 2003, 2007, and 2011 and the adopted laws of the periods 2003-2007, 2007-2011, and 2011-2015 belonging to the Front for Victory. Having carried out the empirical analysis of the party manifestos of 2003, 2007, and 2011, it is necessary to analyze the issues that received the most attention in the adopted laws during 2003-2007, 2007-2011, and 2011-2015. After understanding which issues received the most attention in the adopted laws, this study calculates the degree of issue overlap -issue convergence or divergence- among the issues addressed by the Front for Victory in the adopted laws. This calculation identifies how similar the Front for Victory's attention is in the adopted laws during 2003-2007, 2007-2011, and 2011-2015. Then the study will summarize the results found in the adopted laws.

After calculating the issue overlap for both political manifestos and adopted laws, this study calculates the issue-overlap scores between party manifestos and adopted laws. This calculation helps us know whether the Front for Victory addresses the same issues in the party manifestos and adopted laws, allowing us to answer the second group of questions.

Finally, an exclusive section will evaluate and summarize what we have learned about Argentina.

## **7.1 Descriptive Analysis of Attention Scores**

### **7.1.1 The Argentinian Case**

This section will carry out an empirical analysis of the party manifestos and adopted laws belonging to the Front for Victory. This political party was in government from 2003 to 2015 in Argentina.

#### **7.1.1.1 Empirical Evidence of Issue Attention in the Party Manifestos**

##### **7.1.1.1.1 Right-Left position index (RILE Index)**

Firstly, a Right – Left (RILE) index of the party manifestos of 2003, 2007, and 2001 is calculated to determine whether the Front for Victory remained ideologically on the Left or ideologically

moved from Left to Right over time. The methodology of this analysis was previously explained in Chapter 6, which refers to the methodological part of the research.

Below we can see the values from the rile index obtained from the party manifestos of 2003, 2007, and 2011 belonging to the Front for Victory:

**Table 9: Right-Left Position Index  
Front for Victory Party Manifestos 2003, 2007, and 2011**

<b>Party Manifesto</b>	<b>RILE Index</b>
2003	-22,667
2007	-20,755
2011	-3,425
<b>Average</b>	<b>-15,616</b>

According to the RILE index, in the party manifestos of 2003, 2007, and 2011 the Front for Victory maintains a progressive Left ideological position. According to the data in Table 8, in the 2003 party manifesto, the Front for Victory obtained a score of -22,667. The 2007 party manifesto obtained a score of -20,755, suggesting that its Left ideological position did not move from one political campaign to another. However, during the 2003 political campaign, a political agenda was proposed with greater attention to Left-wing ideology issues during the 2007 political campaign. The most significant turning point occurs between the 2007 political campaign and the political campaign of 2011. The progressive political party Front for Victory in the 2007 political campaign obtained a rile index of -20,755, while in the 2011 party manifesto it obtained a score of -3,425, which suggests that the Front for Victory maintains a Left-wing ideological position; however, during the 2007 political campaign, a political agenda was proposed with greater attention to Left-wing ideology issues than in the 2011 political campaign. On average, according to the rile index, the progressive Left party Front for Victory maintains a progressive Left-wing ideological position during the political campaigns of the years 2003, 2007, and 2011; however, attention to Left-wing ideology issues diminishes over time, going from a score in the rile index in 2003 of -22,667 to a score in 2011 of -3,425. In conclusion, according to the party manifestos of 2003, 2007, and 2011, on average, the Front for Victory maintains a progressive Left-wing ideological position; however, Left-wing ideology issues on its political agenda drastically decrease over time.

In the next section, the empirical analysis of the data obtained from the party manifestos of 2003, 2007, and 2001 will be carried out. This analysis allows us to identify the issues that received the most attention from Front for Victory during the political campaign of 2003, 2007, and 2011.

**7.1.1.1.2 Empirical Evidence of Issue Attention in the Party Manifesto 2003**

The Front for Victory's party manifesto in 2003 focusing strongly on the "Economy" policy area with the attention of 29,33%. Table 9 below shows the aggregate attention score per policy domain.

**Table 10: Issue Attention by Domain  
Front for Victory Party Manifesto 2003**

<b>Policy Area (Domains)</b>	<b>% of Attention</b>
4. Economy	29,33%
5. Welfare and Quality of Life	20,00%
3. Political System	17,33%
2. Freedom and Democracy	14,67%
6. Fabric of Society	10,67%
1. External Relations	5,33%
7. Social Groups	0,00%

To answer the first group of questions, it is essential to know which issue received the most attention in the party manifesto of 2003. Although the party manifesto focuses mainly on issues from the "Economy" domain, the issue that receives the most attention is "Democracy - General: Positive" with 14.67%. This issue is part of the domain "Freedom and Democracy". Thus, the 2003's party manifesto focuses on general support for the country's democracy. Expressions found in the manifesto, such as "forces us to direct a critical look at those in the democratic system who have responsibility in directing the destiny of the Nation: political parties" and "In this conceptual framework it is inexcusable to take charge from politics of the vital need to undertake a process of renewal" denote an acceptance of democratic values and unconditional support for democracy. In the Nestor Kirchner progressive Left-government (2003-2007), the frequencies of issue of attention for the party manifesto are presented below in Table 10. In the column "category" we can find the identification or code number of each issue.

**Table 11: Issue Attention by Domain and Issue  
Front for Victory Party Manifesto 2003**

<b>Policy Area (Domains)</b>	<b>Category</b>	<b>% of Attention</b>
Domain 2: Freedom and Democracy	202.1 Democracy - General: Positive	14,67%
Domain 3: Political System	303 Governmental and Administrative Efficiency: Positive	9,33%
Domain 4: Economy	403 Market Regulation: Positive	6,67%
Domain 3: Political System	301 Decentralisation: Positive	5,33%
Domain 5: Welfare and Quality of Life	502 Culture: Positive	5,33%
Domain 5: Welfare and Quality of Life	503 Equality: Positive	5,33%
Domain 5: Welfare and Quality of Life	506 Education Expansion	5,33%
Domain 1: External Relations	107 Internationalism: Positive	4,00%
Domain 4: Economy	402 Incentives: Positive	4,00%
Domain 4: Economy	414 Economic Orthodoxy: Positive	4,00%
Domain 5: Welfare and Quality of Life	504 Welfare State Expansion	4,00%
Domain 6: Fabric of Society	601.1 National Way of Life: Positive - General	4,00%
Domain 6: Fabric of Society	605.1 Law and Order: Positive	4,00%
Domain 3: Political System	304 Political Corruption: Negative	2,67%
Domain 4: Economy	406 Protectionism: Positive	2,67%
Domain 4: Economy	408 Economic Goals	2,67%
Domain 4: Economy	409 Keynesian Demand Management: Positive	2,67%
Domain 4: Economy	413 Nationalisation: Positive	2,67%
Domain 6: Fabric of Society	606.1 Civic Mindedness: Positive - General	2,67%
Domain 1: External Relations	108 European/LA Integration: Positive	1,33%
Domain 4: Economy	410 Economic Growth	1,33%
Domain 4: Economy	411 Technology and Infrastructure: Positive	1,33%
Domain 4: Economy	412 Controlled Economy: Positive	1,33%

In summary, according to the data obtained from the party manifesto of 2003, the progressive Left party Front for Victory focuses mainly on the issue "Democracy - General: Positive". Therefore, the party manifesto of 2003 focuses on favorable mentions in support and respect for democracy, supporting the country's rule of law and the democratic system in general. In terms of the Right-Left Position Index, the 2003 party manifesto obtained a value of -22,667 (Table 8). This value denotes that the Front for Victory in the 2003 party manifesto focuses on a political agenda with greater attention to

Left-wing ideology issues. Moreover, the party manifesto of 2003 received the most attention to Leftist ideology issues than the party manifestos of 2007 and 2011.

**7.1.1.1.3 Empirical Evidence of Issue Attention in the Party Manifesto 2007**

The Front for Victory's party manifesto in 2007 focusing strongly on the "Welfare and Quality of Life" policy area with the attention of 30,19%. Table 11, as in the case of the previous 2003 party manifesto, presents the overall attention scores by domain.

**Table 12: Issue Attention by Domain  
Front for Victory Party Manifesto 2007**

<b>Policy Area (Domains)</b>	<b>% of Attention</b>
5. Welfare and Quality of Life	30,19%
4. Economy	26,42%
3. Political System	18,69%
6. Fabric of Society	9,43%
1. External Relations	7,55%
2. Freedom and Democracy	5,66%
7. Social Groups	1,89%

Moreover, to answer the first group of questions, it is essential to know which issue received the most attention in the party manifesto of 2007. As mentioned above, the party manifesto focuses mainly on issues from the "Welfare and Quality of Life" domain, being "Culture: Positive" the issue which received the most attention in the 2007's party manifesto. In the same way, the issue "Law and Order: Positive" received the most attention. This issue is part of the "Fabric of Society" domain. Thus, the 2007's party manifesto focuses mainly on the need for State funding of cultural and leisure facilities, including the arts and sports, also focuses on favorable mentions for the strict application of the law. Mentions found in the manifesto as "Stimulus to the development of culture", "Intangibility of funds for the development of the arts" and "Protection of cultural property industries" denotes support and encouragement for cultural development in the country. Also, mentions found in the manifesto as "recreation of legal security" and "strict application of the law and streamlining of criminal proceedings" denote harsher attitudes in the courts. According to the Argentinian case dataset, in the Cristina Fernandez de Kirchner progressive Left-government (2007-2011), the frequencies of the manifesto's policy area and the issue of attention are shown below in Table 12.

**Table 13: Issue Attention by Domain and Issue  
Front for Victory Party Manifesto 2007**

<b>Policy Area (Domains)</b>	<b>Category</b>	<b>% of Attention</b>
Domain 5: Welfare and Quality of Life	502 Culture: Positive	9,43%
Domain 6: Fabric of Society	605.1 Law and Order: Positive	9,43%
Domain 3: Political System	301 Decentralisation: Positive	7,55%
Domain 4: Economy	404 Economic Planning: Positive	7,55%
Domain 5: Welfare and Quality of Life	503 Equality: Positive	7,55%
Domain 5: Welfare and Quality of Life	506 Education Expansion	7,55%
Domain 1: External Relations	107 Internationalism: Positive	5,66%
Domain 2: Freedom and Democracy	202.1 Democracy - General: Positive	5,66%
Domain 3: Political System	304 Political Corruption: Negative	5,66%
Domain 4: Economy	402 Incentives: Positive	5,66%
Domain 5: Welfare and Quality of Life	504 Welfare State Expansion	5,66%
Domain 3: Political System	303 Governmental and Administrative Efficiency: Positive	3,77%
Domain 4: Economy	403 Market Regulation: Positive	3,77%
Domain 4: Economy	410 Economic Growth	3,77%
Domain 1: External Relations	108 European/LA Integration: Positive	1,89%
Domain 3: Political System	305.1 Political Authority: Party Competence	1,89%
Domain 4: Economy	406 Protectionism: Positive	1,89%
Domain 4: Economy	409 Keynesian Demand Management: Positive	1,89%
Domain 4: Economy	414 Economic Orthodoxy: Positive	1,89%
Domain 7: Social Groups	701 Labour Groups: Positive	1,89%

In summary, according to the data obtained from the party manifesto of 2007, the progressive Left party Front for Victory focuses mainly on the issues "Culture: Positive" and "Law and Order: Positive". Therefore, the party manifesto of 2007 focuses on favorable mentions on the need for State funding of cultural and leisure facilities and harsher attitudes in the courts. In terms of the rile index, the 2007 party manifesto obtained a value of -20,755 (Table 8). This value denotes that the Front for Victory in the 2007 party manifesto focuses on a political agenda with greater attention to Left-wing ideology issues.

#### **7.1.1.1.4 Empirical Evidence of Issue Attention in the Party Manifesto 2011**

Finally, the Front for Victory's party manifesto in 2011 focuses strongly on the "Political System" policy area with an attention score of about 23%. Table 13 below shows the aggregate attention score per policy domain.

**Table 14: Issue Attention by Domain**  
**Front for Victory Party Manifesto 2011**

<b>Policy Area (Domains)</b>	<b>% of Attention</b>
3. Political System	22,61%
5. Welfare and Quality of Life	20,55%
1. External Relations	17,81%
4. Economy	17,76%
7. Social Groups	9,59%
6. Fabric of Society	8,22%
2. Freedom and Democracy	5,48%

Moreover, as mentioned above, the party manifesto focuses mainly on issues from the "Political System" domain, being "Political Authority: Party Competence" the issue that receives the most attention with a score of 19.86%. The 2011's party manifesto focuses mainly on references to the party's competence to govern. Mentions found in the manifesto as "The foreign policy guidelines of the Front for Victory supposed to continue and perfect the orientation developed by Argentina since 2003" and "The State has deployed in the last eight years a battery of measures that have complied by far the stated objectives" denote the presence and authority of the Front for Victory political party to govern. Summarily, Table 14 shows the aggregate attention scores of the 2011 manifesto.



**Table 15: Issue Attention by Domain and Issue  
Front for Victory Party Manifesto 2011**

<b>Policy Area (Domains)</b>	<b>Category</b>	<b>% of Attention</b>
Domain 3: Political System	305.1 Political Authority: Party Competence	19,86%
Domain 5: Welfare and Quality of Life	503 Equality: Positive	10,96%
Domain 1: External Relations	108 European/LA Integration: Positive	7,53%
Domain 7: Social Groups	701 Labour Groups: Positive	6,16%
Domain 1: External Relations	107 Internationalism: Positive	5,48%
Domain 6: Fabric of Society	606.1 Civic Mindedness: Positive - General	5,48%
Domain 2: Freedom and Democracy	202.1 General: Positive	4,11%
Domain 4: Economy	411 Technology and Infrastructure: Positive	4,11%
Domain 5: Welfare and Quality of Life	504 Welfare State Expansion	4,11%
Domain 5: Welfare and Quality of Life	506 Education Expansion	4,11%
Domain 4: Economy	404 Economic Planning: Positive	3,43%
Domain 1: External Relations	106 Peace: Positive	2,06%
Domain 3: Political System	305.6 Rehabilitation and Compensation	2,06%
Domain 4: Economy	408 Economic Goals	2,06%
Domain 7: Social Groups	703.1 Agriculture and Farmers: Positive	2,06%
Domain 1: External Relations	103.1 State Centred Anti-Imperialism	1,37%
Domain 1: External Relations	103.2 Foreign Financial Influence	1,37%
Domain 2: Freedom and Democracy	201.2 Human Rights	1,37%
Domain 4: Economy	402 Incentives: Positive	1,37%
Domain 4: Economy	406 Protectionism: Positive	1,37%
Domain 4: Economy	410 Economic Growth	1,37%
Domain 5: Welfare and Quality of Life	501 Environmental Protection: Positive	1,37%
Domain 7: Social Groups	706 Non-Economic Demographic Groups: Positive	1,37%
Domain 3: Political System	303 Governmental and Administrative Efficiency: Positive	0,69%
Domain 4: Economy	412 Controlled Economy	0,69%

Domain 4: Economy	413 Nationalisation: Positive	0,69%
Domain 4: Economy	416.2 Sustainability: Positive	0,69%
Domain 6: Fabric of Society	601.1 National Way of Life: Positive - General	0,69%
Domain 6: Fabric of Society	605.1 Law and Order: Positive	0,69%
Domain 6: Fabric of Society	607.1 Multiculturalism: Positive General	0,69%
Domain 6: Fabric of Society	607.3 Indigenous Rights: Positive	0,69%

In summary, according to the data obtained from the party manifesto of 2011, the progressive Left party Front for Victory focuses mainly on the issue "Political Authority: Party Competence". Therefore, the party manifesto of 2011 focuses mainly on references of the Front for Victory's competence to govern. This manifesto denotes favorable mentions of the authority of the Front for Victory political party to govern. In terms of the rile index, the 2011 party manifesto obtained a value of -3,425 (Table 8). This value denotes that the Front for Victory in 2011 focuses on a political agenda with greater attention to Left-wing ideology issues; however, this party manifesto has the lowest value of the rile index than the party manifestos of the years 2003 and 2007. Thus, the party manifesto of 2011 is the one that gave the slightest attention to Left-wing ideology issues compared to the party manifestos of 2003 and 2007.

#### **7.1.1.1.5 Issue Overlap Score across Party Manifestos Over Time**

After understanding which issues received the most attention in the three-party manifestos relating to 2003, 2007, and 2011, it is fundamental to measure the degree of issue overlap – issue convergence or divergence – among the issues addressed by the Front for Victory in the party manifestos. Therefore, a measure is necessary to identify how similar the Front for Victory's attention is in the party manifestos 2003, 2007, and 2011. To calculate the degree of convergence or divergence, the research uses the measure developed by Sigelman and Buell (2004), developed in the following equation:

$$100 - \frac{(\sum_{i=1}^n |Px - Py|)}{2} = \% \text{ issue convergence score}$$

The issue overlap score lies between 0 to 100 and indicates the % of agreement between the party manifestos. The maximum score (100) means that party manifestos have a 100% identical distribution of attention. The minimum score (0) implies that party manifestos have a complete absence of any overlap.

Thus, this study examined the degree of issue overlap -issue convergence or divergence- among the issues addressed by the Front for Victory in the party manifestos. Table 15 contains the issue overlap between party manifestos of the years 2003, 2007, and 2011. The issue overlap between party manifestos scores around 46,85%; this means that Front for Victory tends to address less of the half number of similar issues during the campaign. Moreover, the issue similarity of the party manifestos over time decreased rather than increased. According to the issue overlap, the party manifestos relative to 2003 and 2011 are more diverse. Also, the highest degree of issue overlap is shared by the party manifesto of 2003 and 2007, with a score around 62,87%. On the other hand, the lowest degree of issue overlap is shared by the party manifesto of 2003 and 2011, with a score around 37,77%.

**Table 16: Degree of Issue Overlap (Issue Convergence or Divergence) Front for Victory Party Manifesto for the years 2003, 2007, and 2011**

<b>Party Manifesto Year</b>	<b>2003</b>	<b>2007</b>	<b>2011</b>
<b>2003</b>		62,87	37,77
<b>2007</b>			39,92
<b>2011</b>			
<b>Average (2003, 2007, and 2011)</b>	46,85		

**7.1.1.1.6 Summary of the findings**

According to scores obtained in the Right-Left position index (RILE Index) corresponding to the party manifestos of the years 2003, 2007, and 2011, the progressive Left party Front for Victory maintains a progressive Left-wing ideological position during the political campaigns of the years 2003, 2007 and 2011, however, Left-wing ideology issues on its political agenda drastically decrease over time.

Moreover, conducting an individual analysis of the party manifestos belonging to the Front for Victory, we find that the issue receiving the most attention in 2003 was "Democracy - General: Positive", meaning that the party manifesto of 2003 focuses on general support for the country's democracy. Also, analyzing the party manifesto of 2007, we found that the issues that received the most attention were "Culture: Positive" and "Law and Order: Positive", meaning that the party manifesto of 2007 focuses mainly on the need for State funding of cultural and leisure facilities, including the arts and sports, also focuses on favorable mentions for the strict application of the law.

Finally, the issue that receives the most attention in the 2011 party manifesto was "Political authority: party competence", meaning that this party manifesto focuses mainly on references of the Front for Victory's competence to govern.

Furthermore, it was essential to measure the degree of issue overlap – issue convergence or divergence – among the issues addressed by the Front for Victory in the party manifestos. The issue overlap between party manifestos of 2003, 2007, and 2011 scores around 46,85%; it means that Front for Victory tends to address less of the half number of similar issues during the campaign. Moreover, the issue similarity of the party manifestos over time decreased rather than increased.

Performing an analysis of what was mentioned above, the Front for Victory political party during the three political campaigns focuses on a progressive Left-wing political agenda; however, attention to Left-wing ideology issues decreases drastically from one election to another. This denotes that its agenda was mainly focuses on Left-wing ideology issues during the first political election, but in the following two political elections, the intensity and focus on Left-wing ideology issues decreased drastically, although in no case was its political agenda mainly focuses on Right-wing ideology issues. In addition, although its agenda mainly focuses on Left-wing ideology issues during the three elections, the Front for Victory focuses on different domains and issues during the three political campaigns. During the first political campaign, the Front of Victory focuses on the "Economy" domain; in the second political campaign, it focuses on the "Welfare and Quality of Life" domain, and in the third political campaign, it focuses on the "Political System" domain. It was "Democracy - General: Positive" the issue that receives the most attention during the 2003 political campaign, "Culture: Positive" the issue that receives the most attention during the 2007 political campaign, and "Political Authority: Party Competence" the issue that receives greater attention during the 2011 political campaign. In other words, the Front of Victory's political agendas are characterized by focusing on issues such as general support for the country's democracy, the need for State funding of cultural and leisure facilities, the strict application of the law and references of the Front for Victory's competence to govern. After the analysis of the data showed that during the three political campaigns, the Front for Victory agenda was mainly focuses on Left-wing ideology issues and that it focuses on different domains and issues during the three political campaigns, it was determined how similar was the attention to the issues in the party manifestos 2003, 2007 and 2011. According to the data analysis, the Front for Victory tends not to pay attention to the same issues during political campaigns; it is also observed that Front for Victory addresses less than half of the issues in their party manifestos. In addition, the similarity of the issues exposed in the party manifestos over time decreased rather than increased.

All the calculations and findings obtained in this section allow this study to answer the first group of questions that deal with the priorities of the political agenda of the progressive Left parties and their similarity or difference with the political agendas across Latin American countries.

Subsequently, the empirical analysis of the adopted laws is carried out during 2003 - 2015. Analyzing the adopted laws is essential since the data obtained in the next section will help this research answer the second group of questions that addresses the ability of the progressive political parties to carry their issue priorities from the party manifestos into law.

**7.1.1.2 Empirical Evidence of Issue Attention in the Adopted Legislation**

**7.1.1.2.1 Empirical Evidence of Issue Attention in the Adopted Legislation during the period 2003-2007**

During 2003 – 2007, the legislation focuses intensely on the "Welfare and Quality of Life" policy area with practically 30% of the attention. Below is a summary of the attention by policy areas in the laws adopted from 2003 to 2007.

**Table 17: Issue Attention by Domain  
Front for Victory Adopted Policy from 2003 to 2007**

<b>Policy Area (Domains)</b>	<b>% of Attention</b>
5. Welfare and Quality of Life	29,93%
1. External Relations	22,74%
4. Economy	19,40%
6. Fabric of Society	12,04%
3. Political System	6,52%
7. Social Groups	5,02%
2. Freedom and Democracy	2,68%

As mentioned above, the adopted laws focus mainly on issues from the "Welfare and Quality of Life" domain, being "Culture: Positive" the issue that receives the most attention during the progressive Left government under Nestor Kirchner (2003-2007). In this period, laws related to this issue were adopted, such as "Transfer of property from the National State for the development of sports and recreational activities", "Neighborhood sports program" and "Transfer of property from the National State in favor of the Municipality of Los Charruas for the construction of a popular library and a

recreational park". Below is a summary of the issues' attention scores in legislation adopted from 2003 to 2007

**Table 18: Issue Attention by Domain and Issue**  
**Front for Victory Adopted Policy from 2003 to 2007**

<b>Policy Area (Domains)</b>	<b>Category</b>	<b>% of Attention</b>
Domain 5: Welfare and Quality of Life	502 Culture: Positive	15,72%
Domain 1: External Relations	101 Foreign Special Relationships: Positive	10,03%
Domain 6: Fabric of Society	605.1 Law and Order: Positive	9,70%
Domain 4: Economy	403 Market Regulation: Positive	8,70%
Domain 5: Welfare and Quality of Life	504 Welfare State Expansion	6,52%
Domain 1: External Relations	107 Internationalism: Positive	6,35%
Domain 5: Welfare and Quality of Life	506 Education Expansion	4,01%
Domain 1: External Relations	108 European/LA Integration: Positive	3,51%
Domain 4: Economy	411 Technology and Infrastructure: Positive	3,34%
Domain 3: Political System	303 Governmental and Administrative Efficiency: Positive	2,17%
Domain 5: Welfare and Quality of Life	501 Environmental Protection: Positive	2,17%
Domain 1: External Relations	104 Military: Positive	1,84%
Domain 3: Political System	301 Decentralisation: Positive	1,67%
Domain 5: Welfare and Quality of Life	503 Equality: Positive	1,51%
Domain 7: Social Groups	701 Labour Groups: Positive	1,51%
Domain 7: Social Groups	703.1 Agriculture and Farmers: Positive	1,51%
Domain 4: Economy	408 Economic Goals	1,34%
Domain 4: Economy	402 Incentives: Positive	1,17%
Domain 4: Economy	409 Keynesian Demand Management: Positive	1,17%
Domain 2: Freedom and Democracy	201.2 Human Rights	1,00%
Domain 3: Political System	305.1 Political Authority: Party Competence	1,00%
Domain 3: Political System	305.6 Rehabilitation and Compensation	1,00%
Domain 4: Economy	413 Nationalisation: Positive	1,00%
Domain 6: Fabric of Society	601.1 National Way of Life: Positive - General	1,00%
Domain 1: External Relations	109 Internationalism: Negative	0,84%
Domain 4: Economy	404 Economic Planning: Positive	0,84%
Domain 7: Social Groups	705 Minority Groups: Positive	0,84%
Domain 2: Freedom and Democracy	203 Constitutionalism: Positive	0,67%

Democracy		
Domain 7: Social Groups	706 Non-Economic Demographic Groups: Positive	0,67%
Domain 2: Freedom and Democracy	204 Constitutionalism: Negative	0,50%
Domain 3: Political System	302 Centralisation: Positive	0,50%
Domain 4: Economy	406 Protectionism: Positive	0,50%
Domain 7: Social Groups	704 Middle Class and Professional Groups: Positive	0,50%
Domain 2: Freedom and Democracy	202.1 Democracy - General: Positive	0,33%
Domain 4: Economy	405 Corporatism: Positive	0,33%
Domain 4: Economy	412 Controlled Economy: Positive	0,33%
Domain 4: Economy	416.2 Sustainability: Positive	0,33%
Domain 6: Fabric of Society	603 Traditional Morality: Positive	0,33%
Domain 6: Fabric of Society	602.2 Immigration: Positive	0,33%
Domain 6: Fabric of Society	607.3 Indigenous Rights: Positive	0,33%
Domain 1: External Relations	105 Military: Negative	0,17%
Domain 2: Freedom and Democracy	201.1 Freedom	0,17%
Domain 3: Political System	304 Political Corruption: Negative	0,17%
Domain 4: Economy	401 Free-Market Economy: Positive	0,17%
Domain 4: Economy	410 Economic Growth	0,17%
Domain 6: Fabric of Society	606.1 Civic Mindedness: Positive - General	0,17%
Domain 6: Fabric of Society	607.1 Multiculturalism: Positive - General	0,17%

In summary, according to the data obtained from the adopted laws from 2003 to 2007, the progressive Left party Front for Victory focuses mainly on the issue "Culture: Positive". Therefore, laws were adopted in this period related to constructing popular libraries and recreational parks, sports and recreational activities, and sports programs.

#### **7.1.1.2.2 Empirical Evidence of Issue Attention in the Adopted Legislation during the period 2007-2011**

During 2007-2011, the legislation focuses firmly on the "External Relations" policy area with 26,5% attention. Below is a summary of the attention scores of the policy areas for the laws adopted from 2007 to 2011.

**Table 19: Issue Attention by Domain  
Front for Victory Adopted Policy from 2007 to 2011**

<b>Policy Area (Domains)</b>	<b>% of Attention</b>
1. External Relations	26,50%
5. Welfare and Quality of Life	24,50%
6. Fabric of Society	14,75%
4. Economy	13,50%
7. Social Groups	11,25%
3. Political System	6,75%
2. Freedom and Democracy	2,00%

Although the adopted laws focus mainly on issues from the "External Relations" domain, the issue that receives the most attention is "Law and Order: Positive" with a score of 13%. This issue is part of the domain "Fabric of Society". During the progressive Left government under Nestor Kirchner (2003-2007), laws related to "Law and Order: Positive" issue were adopted, such as "Laws in favor of the prevention and punishment of human trafficking and assistance to its victims", "Creation of a reward fund and the special unit to search for persons ordered by justice within the scope of the Ministry of Justice and Security" and "Modification of the Penal Code, to prevent, investigate and punish criminal activities with terrorist purposes". The creation of these laws denotes favorable support for the strict application of the law and stricter actions against domestic crime. Below is a summary of the issues that received the most attention when the laws were adopted from 2007 to 2011.

**Table 20: Issue Attention by Domain and Issue  
Front for Victory Adopted Policy from 2007 to 2011**

<b>Policy Area (Domains)</b>	<b>Category</b>	<b>% of Attention</b>
Domain 6: Fabric of Society	605.1 Law and Order: Positive	13,00%
Domain 1: External Relations	101 Foreign Special Relationships: Positive	12,50%
Domain 5: Welfare and Quality of Life	502 Culture: Positive	12,00%
Domain 1: External Relations	107 Internationalism: Positive	8,25%
Domain 4: Economy	403 Market Regulation: Positive	7,50%
Domain 5: Welfare and Quality of Life	504 Welfare State Expansion	4,75%
Domain 7: Social Groups	703.1 Agriculture and Farmers: Positive	4,75%
Domain 7: Social Groups	701 Labour Groups: Positive	3,75%
Domain 5: Welfare and Quality of	501 Environmental Protection: Positive	3,50%



Life		
Domain 3: Political System	303 Governmental and Administrative Efficiency: Positive	3,00%
Domain 5: Welfare and Quality of Life	506 Education Expansion	3,00%
Domain 1: External Relations	104 Military: Positive	2,75%
Domain 1: External Relations	108 European/LA Integration: Positive	2,75%
Domain 3: Political System	301 Decentralisation: Positive	2,00%
Domain 4: Economy	408 Economic Goals	1,50%
Domain 4: Economy	411 Technology and Infrastructure: Positive	1,50%
Domain 4: Economy	402 Incentives: Positive	1,25%
Domain 5: Welfare and Quality of Life	503 Equality: Positive	1,25%
Domain 3: Political System	305.1 Political Authority: Party Competence	1,00%
Domain 4: Economy	413 Nationalisation: Positive	1,00%
Domain 7: Social Groups	705 Minority Groups: Positive	1,00%
Domain 2: Freedom and Democracy	201.2 Human Rights	0,75%
Domain 3: Political System	305.6 Rehabilitation and Compensation	0,75%
Domain 6: Fabric of Society	601.1 National Way of Life: Positive - General	0,75%
Domain 6: Fabric of Society	607.3 Indigenous Rights: Positive	0,75%
Domain 7: Social Groups	704 Middle Class and Professional Groups: Positive	0,75%
Domain 7: Social Groups	706 Non-Economic Demographic Groups: Positive	0,75%
Domain 2: Freedom and Democracy	201.1 Freedom	0,50%
Domain 1: External Relations	109 Internationalism: Negative	0,25%
Domain 2: Freedom and Democracy	204 Constitutionalism: Negative	0,25%
Domain 2: Freedom and Democracy	202.1 Democracy - General: Positive	0,25%
Domain 2: Freedom and Democracy	202.3 Representative Democracy: Positive	0,25%
Domain 4: Economy	404 Economic Planning: Positive	0,25%
Domain 4: Economy	405 Corporatism: Positive	0,25%
Domain 4: Economy	409 Keynesian Demand Management: Positive	0,25%
Domain 6: Fabric of Society	605.2 Law and Order: Negative	0,25%
Domain 7: Social Groups	702 Labour Groups: Negative	0,25%

In summary, according to the data obtained from the adopted laws from 2007 to 2011, the progressive Left party Front for Victory focuses mainly on the issue "Law and Order: Positive". In other words, laws related to the favorable support for the strict application of the law and stricter actions against domestic crime were adopted in this period.

### **7.1.1.2.3 Empirical Evidence of Issue Attention in the Adopted Legislation during the period 2011-2015**

Finally, during 2011 - 2015, the legislation adopted focuses intensely on the "Welfare and Quality of Life" policy area with 33,79% of the attention. Below is a summary of the policy areas in the laws that were adopted from 2011 to 2015.

**Table 21: Issue Attention by Domain**  
**Front for Victory Adopted Policy from 2011 to 2015**

<b>Policy Area (Domains)</b>	<b>% of Attention</b>
5. Welfare and Quality of Life	33,79%
1. External Relations	27,50%
4. Economy	11,59%
6. Fabric of Society	10,41%
7. Social Groups	7,66%
3. Political System	4,52%
2. Freedom and Democracy	1,18%

As mentioned above, the adopted laws focus mainly on issues from the "Welfare and Quality of Life" domain, being "Culture: Positive" the issue which received the most attention during the second period of the progressive Left government of Cristina Fernandez de Kirchner (2011-2015). In this period, laws related to this issue were adopted, such as "Creation of the National System of School Libraries and Educational Information Units", "Promotion, protection and dissemination of the national graphic arts", and "Creation of the Bicentennial Cultural Center".

Below is a summary of the issues per domain's attention scores in the laws adopted from 2011 to 2015.

**Table 22: Issue Attention by Domain and Issue**  
**Front for Victory Adopted Policy from 2011 to 2015**

<b>Policy Area (Domains)</b>	<b>Category</b>	<b>% of Attention</b>
Domain 5: Welfare and Quality of Life	502 Culture: Positive	20,43%
Domain 1: External Relations	101 Foreign Special Relationships: Positive	13,16%
Domain 1: External Relations	107 Internationalism: Positive	8,84%
Domain 6: Fabric of Society	605.1 Law and Order: Positive	8,45%
Domain 5: Welfare and Quality of Life	504 Welfare State Expansion	5,89%
Domain 5: Welfare and Quality of Life	506 Education Expansion	3,93%
Domain 1: External Relations	108 European/LA Integration: Positive	2,95%
Domain 5: Welfare and Quality of Life	501 Environmental Protection: Positive	2,95%
Domain 4: Economy	413 Nationalisation: Positive	2,55%
Domain 1: External Relations	104 Military: Positive	2,36%
Domain 7: Social Groups	703.1 Agriculture and Farmers: Positive	2,36%
Domain 4: Economy	411 Technology and Infrastructure: Positive	2,16%
Domain 4: Economy	403 Market Regulation: Positive	1,96%
Domain 4: Economy	408 Economic Goals	1,77%
Domain 7: Social Groups	705 Minority Groups: Positive	1,77%
Domain 3: Political System	301 Decentralisation: Positive	1,57%
Domain 7: Social Groups	701 Labour Groups: Positive	1,57%
Domain 3: Political System	305.6 Rehabilitation and Compensation	1,18%
Domain 6: Fabric of Society	601.1 National Way of Life: Positive - General	1,18%
Domain 7: Social Groups	706 Non-Economic Demographic Groups: Positive	1,18%
Domain 4: Economy	404 Economic Planning: Positive	0,98%
Domain 2: Freedom and Democracy	201.2 Human Rights	0,79%
Domain 3: Political System	303 Governmental and Administrative Efficiency: Positive	0,79%
Domain 4: Economy	414 Economic Orthodoxy: Positive	0,79%
Domain 7: Social Groups	704 Middle Class and Professional Groups: Positive	0,79%

Domain 3: Political System	305.1 Political Authority: Party Competence	0,59%
Domain 4: Economy	412 Controlled Economy: Positive	0,59%
Domain 5: Welfare and Quality of Life	503 Equality: Positive	0,59%
Domain 4: Economy	402 Incentives: Positive	0,39%
Domain 1: External Relations	109 Internationalism: Negative	0,20%
Domain 2: Freedom and Democracy	202.1 Democracy - General: Positive	0,20%
Domain 2: Freedom and Democracy	202.3 Representative Democracy: Positive	0,20%
Domain 3: Political System	302 Centralisation: Positive	0,20%
Domain 3: Political System	305.5 Pre-Democratic Elites: Negative	0,20%
Domain 4: Economy	405 Corporatism: Positive	0,20%
Domain 4: Economy	416.2 Sustainability: Positive	0,20%
Domain 6: Fabric of Society	603 Traditional Morality: Positive	0,20%
Domain 6: Fabric of Society	604 Traditional Morality: Negative	0,20%
Domain 6: Fabric of Society	606.1 Civic Mindedness: Positive - General	0,20%
Domain 6: Fabric of Society	607.3 Indigenous Rights: Positive	0,20%

In summary, according to the data obtained from the adopted laws from 2011 to 2015, the progressive Left party Front for Victory focuses mainly on the issue "Culture: Positive". Therefore, laws were adopted in this period related to developing school libraries, promoting the national graphic arts, and creating cultural centers.

#### **7.1.1.2.4 Issue Overlap Score across Adopted Legislation Over Time**

This study examined the degree of issue overlap -issue convergence or divergence- among the issues addressed in the adopted laws. Table 22 contains the issue overlap between the adopted laws during 2003-2007, 2007-2011, and 2011-2015. The issue overlap between adopted laws scores around 80,43%; this means that Front for Victory addresses four out of five similar issues regarding the adoption of laws. Moreover, the issue similarity of the adopted laws over time remains constant. According to the issue overlap, the adopted laws from 2003 to 2015 are homogeneous. Thus, the progressive Left party Front for Victory addresses almost the same issues in the adopted laws during 2003-2007, 2007-2011, and 2011-2015. In other words, the issue overlap is high and stable, meaning

that the legislature paid almost the same attention to the issues during the three different periods. Although Front of Victory proposed less than half the number of similar problems in the party manifestos during the campaigns, with an issue overlap scores around 46,85%, they deal with almost the same issues when they are within the government, with an issue overlap scores around 80,43%. Moreover, in the political campaign, the issue similarity of the party manifestos overtime decreased rather than increased, meanwhile, when they are in government the issue overlap is stable and high.

**Table 23: Degree of Issue Overlap (Issue Convergence or Divergence)  
Front for Victory Adopted Policy from 2003 to 2015**

<b>Adopted Laws</b>	<b>2003-2007</b>	<b>2007-2011</b>	<b>2011-2015</b>
<b>2003-2007</b>		81,68	80,76
<b>2007-2011</b>			78,85
<b>2011-2015</b>			
<b>Average (2003-2007, 2007-2011, and 2011-2015)</b>	80,43		

**7.1.1.2.5 Summary of the findings**

Conducting an individual analysis of the adopted laws belonging to the Front for Victory, we found that the issue receiving the most attention during the period 2003-2007 was "Culture: Positive", meaning that the adopted laws during this period focus on issues such as the construction of popular libraries and recreational parks, development of sports and recreational activities and creation of sports program. Also, analyzing the adopted laws from 2007 to 2011, we found that the issue receiving the most attention is "Law and Order: Positive", meaning that the adopted laws during the period focus mainly on favorable support for the strict application of the law and stricter actions against domestic crime. Finally, the issue that receives the most attention in the adopted laws from 2011 to 2015 was "Culture: Positive" meaning that the adopted laws focus mainly on developing school libraries, promoting the national graphic arts, and creating cultural centers.

Furthermore, it was essential to measure the degree of issue overlap among the issues addressed by the Front for Victory in the adopted laws. The issue overlap between adopted laws scored around 80,43%; this means that the issue similarity of the adopted laws over time remained constant. Thus, the issue overlap in the adopted laws was high and stable, meaning that the legislature paid

almost the same attention to the issues during the three different periods. Although Front of Victory proposed less than half the number of similar problems in the party manifestos during the campaigns, the Front for Victory dealt with almost the same issues when they were within the government. Also, in the political campaign, the party manifestos' issue similarity decreased rather than increased; meanwhile, when Front for Victory was in government, the issue overlap was stable and high.

Performing an analysis of what was mentioned above, the Front for Victory focuses on similar domains and issues when it comes to adopted laws. During the period 2003-2007, the Front for Victory focuses on the adopted laws within the domain "Welfare and Quality of Life", during the period 2007-2011, this political party focuses on adopted laws within the domain "External Relations" and during the period 2011-2015 the Front for Victory focuses on adopted laws within the domain "Welfare and Quality of Life". It was "Culture: Positive" the issue that receives the most attention during the period 2003-2007, "Law and Order: Positive" the issue that receives the most attention during the period 2007-2011, and "Culture: Positive" the issue that receives greater attention during the period 2011-2015. In other words, the Front of Victory's adopted laws during the period 2003-2015 are characterized by focusing on issues such as the construction of popular libraries and recreational parks, the development of sports and recreational activities, and sports programs, laws were adopted related to the development of school libraries, promoting the national graphic arts, and creating cultural centers and laws which denotes favorable support for the strict application of the law and stricter actions against domestic crime. After the analysis of the data showed that the adopted laws during 2003-2015 focus on similar domains and issues during the three legislative periods, it was determined how similar the attention to the issues was in the adopted laws during the periods 2003-2007, 2007-2011 and 2011-2015. According to the data analysis, Front for Victory tends to pay attention to the same issues during the adoption of the laws. Therefore, the overlap of issues in the adopted laws was high and stable, meaning that the legislature paid almost the same attention to issues during the three different terms. Furthermore, the similarity of the laws passed over time remained constant.

All the calculations and findings obtained in this section allow this study to answer the second group of questions that addresses the ability of the progressive political parties to carry their issue priorities from the party manifestos into law.

Subsequently, this study calculates the issue-overlap scores between party manifestos and adopted laws, which is the core to answer the second group of questions. This study needs to know if Front for Victory addressed the same issues in the party manifestos and adopted laws.

**7.1.1.3 Issue Overlap Score across Party Manifestos and Adopted Legislation**

After calculating the issue overlap for both political manifestos and adopted laws, this study calculates the issue-overlap scores between party manifestos and adopted laws. Table 23 contains the issue overlap between the party manifestos of 2003, 2007, and 2011 and the adopted laws during 2003-2007, 2007-2011, and 2011-2015. In general terms, the issue overlaps between party manifestos and adopted laws scores around 43,96%. This means that Front for Victory tends to address less of the half number of similar issues between the campaign period and after they have been in government. Therefore, the issue overlap is relatively low and declining, meaning that the gap between what the Front for Victory focuses on its party manifestos and what it legislates on is quite large and increasing. Moreover, it is found that the highest issues similarity was during the 2007 campaign and the government period between 2007 and 2011. Thus, the Left-wing progressive party Front for Victory addresses less than half of the same issues between party manifestos and adopted laws from 2003 to 2015, having a large and increasing gap between what the Front for Victory focuses on its party manifestos and what it legislates.

**Table 24: Degree of Issue Overlap (Issue Convergence or Divergence)  
Front for Victory Party Manifestos 2003, 2007, and 2011; and Adopted Policy from 2003 to 2015**

Party Manifestos	Adopted Laws		
	2003-2007	2007-2011	2011-2015
<b>2003</b>	45,56		
<b>2007</b>		49,45	
<b>2011</b>			36,87
<b>Average</b>	43,96		

**7.1.1.4 Analysis of the Results: Party Manifestos vs. Adopted Legislation**

A comparative analysis of the results obtained from the party manifestos corresponding to the years 2003, 2007, and 2011 and the adopted laws from 2003 to 2015 allows us to identify the ideological movement to the Left or Right of the progressive parties. The comparative analysis of the party manifestos and adopted laws will also help us to identify the agenda of the progressive Left parties before winning the government power. The analysis helps us to identify the behavior of the political

agendas once the progressive parties enter the government. In the same way, the analysis helps us to understand how well what progressive political parties declare in their manifestos becomes laws.

Therefore, according to scores obtained in the Right-Left position index (RILE Index) corresponding to the party manifestos of the years 2003, 2007, and 2011, the progressive Left party Front for Victory maintains a progressive Left-wing ideological position during the political campaigns of the years 2003, 2007 and 2011; however, Left-wing ideology issues on its political agenda drastically decrease over time.

Moreover, according to the data of the party manifestos belonging to the Front for Victory, we found that the issue receiving the most attention in 2003 was "Democracy - General: Positive", meaning that the party manifesto of 2003 focuses on general support for the country's democracy. Also, analyzing the party manifesto of 2007, we found that the issues that received the most attention were "Culture: Positive" and "Law and Order: Positive", meaning that the party manifesto of 2007 focuses mainly on the need for State funding of cultural and leisure facilities, including the arts and sports, also focuses on favorable mentions for the strict application of the law. Finally, the issue that receives the most attention in the 2011 party manifesto was "Political authority: party competence", meaning that this party manifesto focuses mainly on references of the Front for Victory's competence to govern.

Also, according to the data of the adopted laws from 2003 to 2015, the issue that receives the most attention during the period 2003-2007 was "Culture: Positive", meaning that the adopted laws during this period focus on issues such as the construction of popular libraries and recreational parks, development of sports and recreational activities and creation of sports program. Also, analyzing the adopted laws from 2007 to 2011, we found that the issue receiving the most attention is "Law and Order: Positive", meaning that the adopted laws during the period focus mainly on favorable support for the strict application of the law and stricter actions against domestic crime. Finally, the issue that receives the most attention in the adopted laws from 2011 to 2015 was "Culture: Positive" meaning that the adopted laws focus mainly on developing school libraries, promoting the national graphic arts, and creating cultural centers.

Moreover, according to the issue overlap score for the party manifestos of 2003, 2007, and 2011, the Front for Victory tends to address less than half the number of similar issues during the campaign. Furthermore, the issue similarity of the party manifestos over time decreased rather than increased.



On the other hand, according to the issue overlap score for the adopted laws, the issue similarity remained constant for the laws over time. Thus, the issue overlap in the adopted laws was high and stable, meaning that the legislature paid almost the same attention to the issues during the three different periods. Although Front of Victory proposed less than half the number of similar issues in the party manifestos during the campaigns, the Front for Victory dealt with almost the same issues when they were within the government. Also, in the political campaign, the party manifestos' issue similarity decreased rather than increased; meanwhile, when Front for Victory was in government, the issue overlap was stable and high.

Furthermore, in general terms, according to the issue overlap between party manifestos and adopted laws scores, the Front for Victory tends to address less of the half number of similar issues between the campaign period and after they have been in government. Therefore, the issue overlap is relatively low and declining, meaning that the gap between what the Front for Victory focuses on its party manifestos and what it legislates on is quite large and increasing. Thus, the Left-wing progressive party Front for Victory addresses less than half of the same issues between party manifestos and adopted laws from 2003 to 2015, having a large and increasing gap between what the Front for Victory focuses on its party manifestos and what it legislates.

In summary, according to the data analysis, the Front for Victory during the three political campaigns focuses on a progressive Left-wing political agenda; however, attention to Left-wing ideology issues decreases drastically from one election to another. This denotes that its agenda was mainly focuses on Left-wing ideology issues during the first political election, but in the following two political elections, the intensity and focus on Left-wing ideology issues decreased drastically, although in no case was its political agenda mainly focuses on Right-wing ideology issues.

Furthermore, the Front for Victory's political agenda before getting into government power focuses on the issue "Democracy - General: Positive" in 2003, on the issues "Culture: Positive" and "Law and Order: Positive" in 2007, and the issue "Political authority: party competence" in 2001. Once the Front for Victory got into government, the political agenda was different from the party manifestos. Once inside the government, laws were adopted with greater attention to the issues "Culture: Positive" during the period 2003-2007, "Law and Order: Positive" during the period 2007-2011, and "Culture: Positive" during the period 2011- 2015.

Focusing on the party manifestos shows that the Front for Victory tends not to pay attention to the same issues during political campaigns; it is also observed that Front for Victory addresses less than half of the issues in their party manifestos. In addition, the similarity of the issues exposed in the

party manifestos over time decreased rather than increased. On the other hand, by focusing on the adopted laws, the Front for Victory tends to pay attention to the same issues. Therefore, the overlap of issues in the adopted laws was high and stable, meaning that the legislature paid almost the same attention to issues during the three different terms. Furthermore, the similarity of the adopted laws over time remained constant. Overall, there is a divergence between the party manifestos and the adopted laws. The Front for Victory tends to address less of the half number of similar issues between the campaign period and after they have been in government. Therefore, the Front for Victory addresses less than half of the same issues between party manifestos and adopted laws from 2003 to 2015. It has a large and increasing gap between what the Front for Victory focuses on its party manifestos and what it legislates. Below is a table that summarizes the results obtained from the analysis of the Argentine case.

**Table 25: Summary of the Results**

**Front for Victory Party Manifestos 2003, 2007, and 2011; and Adopted Policy from 2003 to 2015**

	<b>Scores</b>	<b>Explanation</b>
Right-Left position index (RILE Index)	-15,616	Front for Victory maintains a progressive Left-wing ideological position Left-wing ideology issues on its political agenda drastically decrease over time.
Issue that received the most attention - Party Manifesto 2003	14,67%	Democracy - General: Positive
Issue that received the most attention - Party Manifesto 2007	9,43% in each issue	Culture: Positive and Law and Order: Positive
Issue that received the most attention - Party Manifesto 2011	19,86%	Political authority: party competence
Issue that received the most attention - Adopted Laws 2003-2007	15,72%	Culture: Positive
Issue that received the most attention - Adopted Laws 2007-2011	13,00%	Law and Order: Positive
Issue that received the most attention - Adopted Laws 2011-2015	20,43%	Culture: Positive
Issue overlap score for the Party Manifestos	46,85%	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Front for Victory tends to address less of the half number of similar issues during the campaign.</li> </ul>

		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Issue similarity of the party manifestos over time decreased rather than increased.</li> </ul>
Issue overlap score for the Adopted Laws	80,43%	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Front for Victory addresses four out of five similar issues regarding the adoption of laws.</li> <li>• Issue similarity of the adopted laws over time remains constant.</li> <li>• Issue overlap is stable and high.</li> </ul>
Issue overlap between party manifestos and adopted laws scores	43,96%	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Front for Victory tends to address less of the half number of similar issues between the campaign period and after they have been in government.</li> <li>• Issue overlap is relatively low and declining</li> <li>• There is a large and increasing gap between what the Front for Victory focuses on its party manifestos and what it legislates.</li> </ul>

After carrying out the empirical analysis of the Argentinian case, the empirical analysis of the Bolivian case is carried out in the same way. The next section of this chapter will begin by carrying out the empirical analysis of the data obtained from the Bolivian case dataset. First, this research calculates the Right-Left position index (RILE index) for the party manifestos for 2005, 2009, and 2014. This information helps to determine if Movement towards Socialism - Political Instrument for the Sovereignty of the Peoples (MAS-IPSP) remained ideologically Left-wing or ideologically moved from Left to Right over time. Then, to answer the first group of questions, the empirical analysis of the party manifestos of 2005, 2009, and 2014 belonging to the MAS-IPSP party will be performed. This analysis will allow the study to know the issues that received the most attention in the party manifestos of 2005, 2009, and 2014. After understanding which issues received the most attention in the three-party manifestos, this study calculates the degree of issue overlap -issue convergence or divergence- among the issues addressed by MAS-IPSP in the party manifestos. This calculation identifies how similar the MAS-IPSP's attention is in the party manifestos 2005, 2009, and 2014. Then we will summarize the results found in the party manifestos, which allows us to answer the first group of questions.

In the same way, the second group of questions is answered with the empirical analysis of the party manifestos of 2005, 2009, and 2014 and the adopted laws of the periods 2006-2010, 2010-2015, and 2015-2019 belonging to the MAS-IPSP. Having carried out the empirical analysis of the party manifestos of 2005, 2009, and 2014, it is necessary to analyze the issues that received the most attention in the adopted laws during 2006-2010, 2010-2015, and 2015-2019. After understanding which issues received the most attention in adopted laws, this study calculates the degree of issue overlap -issue convergence or divergence- among the issues addressed by MAS-IPSP in the adopted laws. This calculation identifies how similar the MAS-IPSP's attention is in the adopted laws during

2006-2010, 2010-2015, and 2015-2019. Then the study will summarize the results found in the adopted laws.

After calculating the issue overlap for both political manifestos and adopted laws, this study calculates the issue-overlap scores between party manifestos and adopted laws. This calculation helps us know whether MAS-IPSP addresses the same issues in the party manifestos and adopted laws, allowing us to answer the second group of questions.

Finally, an exclusive section will evaluate and summarize what we have learned about Bolivia.

**7.1.2 The Bolivian Case**

This section will carry out an empirical analysis of the party manifestos and adopted laws belonging to MAS-IPSP. This political party was in government from 2006 to 2019 in Bolivia.

**7.1.2.1 Empirical Evidence of Issue Attention in the Party Manifestos**

**7.1.2.1.1 Right-Left position index (RILE Index)**

Firstly, the rile index of the party manifestos 2005, 2009, and 2014 is calculated to determine whether MAS-IPSP remained ideologically on the Left or ideologically moved from Left to Right over time. Below we can see the values from the rile index obtained from the party manifestos of 2005, 2009, and 2014 belonging to MAS-IPSP.

**Table 26: Right-Left Position Index  
MAS-IPSP Party Manifestos 2005, 2009, and 2014**

<b>Party Manifesto</b>	<b>RILE Index</b>
2005	-12,927
2009	-13,401
2014	-17,410
<b>Average</b>	<b>-14,579</b>

According to the RILE index and the party manifestos of 2005, 2009, and 2014, MAS-IPSP maintains a progressive Left ideological position. According to the data in Table 25, in the 2005 party manifesto, MAS-IPSP obtained a score of -12,927. The 2009 party manifesto obtained a score of -13,401, suggesting that its Left ideological position did not move from one political campaign to another. However, during the 2009 political campaign, a political agenda was proposed with greater

attention to Left-wing ideology issues than in the 2005 political campaign. The 2014 party manifesto obtained a score of -17,410, suggesting that its Leftist ideological position was maintained from one political campaign to another. Even in 2014, attention to Left-wing ideology issues increased compared to the RILE score of 2005 and 2009. On average, according to the RILE index, the progressive Left party MAS-IPSP maintains a progressive Left-wing ideological position with a RILE score of -14,579 during the political campaigns of 2005, 2009, and 2014. In conclusion, according to the party manifestos of 2005, 2009, and 2014, MAS-IPSP maintains a progressive Left-wing ideological position; also, Left-wing ideology issues on its political agenda increase over time.

The empirical analysis of the data obtained from the party manifestos of 2005, 2009, and 2014 is carried out in the next section. This analysis allows us to identify the issues that received the most attention from MAS-IPSP during the political campaign of 2005, 2009, and 2014.

**7.1.2.1.2 Empirical Evidence of Issue Attention in the Party Manifesto 2005**

The MAS-IPSP's party manifesto in 2005 focusing strongly on the "Economy" policy area with the attention of 33,87%. Table 26 below shows the aggregate attention score per policy domain.

**Table 27: Issue Attention by Domain  
MAS-IPSP Party Manifestos 2005**

<b>Policy Area (Domains)</b>	<b>% of Attention</b>
4. Economy	33,87%
5. Welfare and Quality of Life	16,08%
3. Political System	12,82%
1. External Relations	12,82%
6. Fabric of Society	8,76%
7. Social Groups	6,09%
2. Freedom and Democracy	1,66%

To answer the first group of questions, it is essential to know which issue received the most attention in the party manifesto of 2005. As mentioned above, the party manifesto focuses mainly on issues from the "Economy" domain, being "Marxist Analysis: Positive" the issue which received the most attention in the 2005's party manifesto. Thus, the 2005's party manifesto focuses mainly on positive references to Marxist-Leninist ideology. Mentions found in the manifesto as "Over the past 20 years, the ruling class and the political party system unconditionally subordinated themselves to the

neoliberal economic model, causing, at the same time, an ideological and principled emptying of both", "Then, neoliberalism left the political parties, and a significant fraction of the ruling class without content, a product of capitalist world globalization" and "This structural crisis is explained by the conception and effects of Neoliberalism and State Capitalism, both conceptions had the fundamental objective of modernizing and homogenizing society and the economy" denotes support for Marxist-Leninist ideology. Summarily, Table 26 shows the aggregate attention scores of the 2005 manifesto.

**Table 28: Issue Attention by Domain and Issue**  
**MAS-IPSP Party Manifestos 2005**

<b>Policy Area (Domains)</b>	<b>Category</b>	<b>% of Attention</b>
Domain 4: Economy	415 Marxist Analysis: Positive	7,80%
Domain 4: Economy	404 Economic Planning: Positive	6,30%
Domain 4: Economy	411 Technology and Infrastructure: Positive	5,61%
Domain 1: External Relations	104 Military: Positive	5,13%
Domain 5: Welfare and Quality of Life	504 Welfare State Expansion	4,81%
Domain 6: Fabric of Society	605.1 Law and Order: Positive	4,11%
Domain 5: Welfare and Quality of Life	503 Equality: Positive	3,85%
Domain 5: Welfare and Quality of Life	506 Education Expansion	3,79%
Domain 3: Political System	303 Governmental and Administrative Efficiency: Positive	3,69%
Domain 3: Political System	304 Political Corruption: Negative	3,69%
Domain 5: Welfare and Quality of Life	501 Environmental Protection: Positive	2,88%
Domain 1: External Relations	107 Internationalism: Positive	2,72%
Domain 3: Political System	301 Decentralisation: Positive	2,67%
Domain 6: Fabric of Society	607.3 Indigenous Rights: Positive	2,30%
Domain 4: Economy	416.2 Sustainability: Positive	2,24%
Domain 7: Social Groups	701 Labour Groups: Positive	2,19%
Domain 7: Social Groups	706 Non-Economic Demographic Groups: Positive	2,08%
Domain 4: Economy	405 Corporatism: Positive	1,98%
Domain 4: Economy	408 Economic Goals	1,92%
Domain 4: Economy	413 Nationalisation: Positive	1,87%
Domain 1: External Relations	103.2 Foreign Financial Influence	1,76%
Domain 4: Economy	402 Incentives: Positive	1,66%
Domain 4: Economy	410 Economic Growth	1,66%

Domain 3: Political System	302 Centralisation: Positive	1,55%
Domain 4: Economy	403 Market Regulation: Positive	1,44%
Domain 1: External Relations	103.1 State Centred Anti-Imperialism	1,28%
Domain 7: Social Groups	703.1 Agriculture and Farmers: Positive	1,18%
Domain 1: External Relations	109 Internationalism: Negative	0,96%
Domain 5: Welfare and Quality of Life	502 Culture: Positive	0,75%
Domain 6: Fabric of Society	605.2 Law and Order: Negative	0,75%
Domain 3: Political System	305.3 Political Authority: Strong government	0,69%
Domain 2: Freedom and Democracy	201.2 Human Rights	0,64%
Domain 4: Economy	412 Controlled Economy: Positive	0,64%
Domain 6: Fabric of Society	606.1 Civic Mindedness General: Positive	0,64%
Domain 1: External Relations	101 Foreign Special Relationships: Positive	0,53%
Domain 2: Freedom and Democracy	204 Constitutionalism: Negative	0,53%
Domain 4: Economy	406 Protectionism: Positive	0,53%
Domain 7: Social Groups	705 Minority Groups: Positive	0,53%
Domain 6: Fabric of Society	607.1 Multiculturalism General: Positive	0,48%
Domain 1: External Relations	108 European/LA Integration: Positive	0,43%
Domain 2: Freedom and Democracy	202.1 General: Positive	0,43%
Domain 3: Political System	305.1 Political Authority: Party Competence	0,43%
Domain 6: Fabric of Society	601.1 National Way of Life General: Positive	0,16%
Domain 6: Fabric of Society	603 Traditional Morality: Positive	0,16%
Domain 6: Fabric of Society	606.2 Bottom-Up Activism	0,16%
Domain 3: Political System	305.6 Rehabilitation and Compensation	0,11%
Domain 7: Social Groups	704 Middle Class and Professional Groups: Positive	0,11%
Domain 2: Freedom and Democracy	203 Constitutionalism: Positive	0,05%
Domain 4: Economy	401 Free-Market Economy: Positive	0,05%
Domain 4: Economy	407 Protectionism: Negative	0,05%
Domain 4: Economy	414 Economic Orthodoxy: Positive	0,05%
Domain 4: Economy	416.1 Anti-Growth Economy: Positive	0,05%

In summary, according to the data obtained from the party manifesto of 2005, the progressive Left party MAS-IPSP focuses mainly on the issue "Marxist Analysis: Positive". Therefore, the party manifesto of 2005 focuses on positive references to Marxist-Leninist ideology and specific use of Marxist-Leninist terminology. As a result, in terms of the Right-Left Position Index, the 2005 party manifesto obtained a value of -12,927 (Table 25). This value denotes that MAS-IPSP in the 2005 party manifesto focuses on a political agenda with greater attention to Left-wing ideology issues. Moreover,

the party manifesto of 2005 received the slightest attention to Leftist ideology issues than the party manifestos of 2009 and 2014.

**7.1.2.1.3 Empirical Evidence of Issue Attention in the Party Manifesto 2009**

The MAS-IPSP 's party manifesto in 2009 focusing strongly on the "Economy" policy area with the attention of 49,59%. Table 28, as in the previous 2005 party manifesto, presents the overall attention scores by domain.

**Table 29: Issue Attention by Domain  
MAS-IPSP Party Manifestos 2009**

<b>Policy Area (Domains)</b>	<b>% of Attention</b>
4. Economy	49,59%
5. Welfare and Quality of Life	23,40%
3. Political System	9,80%
6. Fabric of Society	5,74%
7. Social Groups	4,92%
1. External Relations	4,06%
2. Freedom and Democracy	2,49%

As mentioned above, the party manifesto focuses mainly on issues from the "Economy" domain, being "Technology and Infrastructure: Positive" the issue receiving the most attention in 2009's party manifesto. Thus, the 2009's party manifesto focuses mainly on public spending on infrastructure such as roads and support for public spending on technological infrastructure. Mentions found in the manifesto as "The Tupac Katari satellite communicates to us, ten million Bolivians" and "The next challenge is to achieve sovereignty and technological independence in communications" denotes support for the importance of the modernization of the transport and communications infrastructure. Summarily, Table 29 shows the aggregate attention scores of the 2009 manifesto.



**Table 30: Issue Attention by Domain and Issue****MAS-IPSP Party Manifestos 2009**

<b>Policy Area (Domains)</b>	<b>Category</b>	<b>% of Attention</b>
Domain 4: Economy	411 Technology and Infrastructure: Positive	25,28%
Domain 5: Welfare and Quality of Life	504 Welfare State Expansion	12,94%
Domain 4: Economy	415 Marxist Analysis: Positive	4,67%
Domain 7: Social Groups	703.1 Agriculture and Farmers: Positive	3,55%
Domain 5: Welfare and Quality of Life	503 Equality: Positive	3,30%
Domain 6: Fabric of Society	605.1 Law and Order: Positive	3,25%
Domain 3: Political System	305.1 Political Authority: Party Competence	3,15%
Domain 4: Economy	413 Nationalisation: Positive	3,15%
Domain 4: Economy	410 Economic Growth	3,10%
Domain 5: Welfare and Quality of Life	502 Culture: Positive	2,59%
Domain 4: Economy	405 Corporatism: Positive	2,54%
Domain 5: Welfare and Quality of Life	501 Environmental Protection: Positive	2,49%
Domain 3: Political System	304 Political Corruption: Negative	2,34%
Domain 5: Welfare and Quality of Life	506 Education Expansion	2,08%
Domain 1: External Relations	107 Internationalism: Positive	1,83%
Domain 2: Freedom and Democracy	203 Constitutionalism: Positive	1,83%
Domain 4: Economy	403 Market Regulation: Positive	1,83%
Domain 4: Economy	402 Incentives: Positive	1,73%
Domain 4: Economy	404 Economic Planning: Positive	1,57%
Domain 3: Political System	301 Decentralisation: Positive	1,27%
Domain 3: Political System	303 Governmental and Administrative Efficiency: Positive	1,27%
Domain 4: Economy	412 Controlled Economy: Positive	1,22%
Domain 4: Economy	414 Economic Orthodoxy: Positive	1,22%
Domain 7: Social Groups	701 Labour Groups: Positive	1,22%
Domain 6: Fabric of Society	607.3 Indigenous Rights: Positive	1,17%
Domain 3: Political System	305.2 Political Authority: Personal Competence	0,96%
Domain 4: Economy	406 Protectionism: Positive	0,66%
Domain 4: Economy	409 Keynesian Demand Management: Positive	0,66%
Domain 1: External Relations	108 European/LA Integration: Positive	0,61%
Domain 3: Political System	305.3 Political Authority: Strong government	0,61%
Domain 4: Economy	408 Economic Goals	0,61%

Domain 4: Economy	416.2 Sustainability: Positive	0,51%
Domain 1: External Relations	103.1 State Centred Anti-Imperialism	0,41%
Domain 4: Economy	401 Free-Market Economy: Positive	0,41%
Domain 6: Fabric of Society	606.2 Bottom-Up Activism	0,41%
Domain 1: External Relations	103.2 Foreign Financial Influence	0,36%
Domain 6: Fabric of Society	601.1 National Way of Life General: Positive	0,36%
Domain 1: External Relations	106 Peace: Positive	0,31%
Domain 2: Freedom and Democracy	202.4 Direct Democracy: Positive	0,31%
Domain 6: Fabric of Society	607.1 Multiculturalism General: Positive	0,31%
Domain 4: Economy	416.1 Anti-Growth Economy: Positive	0,25%
Domain 1: External Relations	102 Foreign Special Relationships: Negative	0,20%
Domain 1: External Relations	109 Internationalism: Negative	0,20%
Domain 2: Freedom and Democracy	201.2 Human Rights	0,20%
Domain 4: Economy	407 Protectionism: Negative	0,20%
Domain 6: Fabric of Society	606.1 Civic Mindedness General: Positive	0,15%
Domain 7: Social Groups	706 Non-Economic Demographic Groups: Positive	0,15%
Domain 1: External Relations	101 Foreign Special Relationships: Positive	0,10%
Domain 2: Freedom and Democracy	202.1 Democracy General: Positive	0,10%
Domain 3: Political System	302 Centralisation: Positive	0,10%
Domain 3: Political System	305.5 Pre-Democratic Elites: Negative	0,10%
Domain 6: Fabric of Society	602.1 National Way of Life General: Negative	0,10%
Domain 1: External Relations	104 Military: Positive	0,05%
Domain 2: Freedom and Democracy	202.3 Representative Democracy: Positive	0,05%

In summary, according to the data obtained from the party manifesto of 2009, the progressive Left party MAS-IPSP focuses mainly on the issue "Technology and Infrastructure: Positive ". Therefore, the party manifesto of 2009 focuses on favorable mentions of the need for State spending to modernize the transportation and communications infrastructure. Compared to the party manifesto of 2005, the issue "Marxist Analysis: Positive" no longer have the same attention within the party manifesto 2009 and falls to the third position in attention. In terms of the rile index, the 2009 party manifesto obtained a value of -13,401 (Table 25). This value denotes that MAS-IPSP in the 2009 party manifesto focuses on a political agenda with greater attention to Left-wing ideology issues, and attention to Left-wing ideology issues increased compared to the political manifesto of 2005.

**7.1.2.1.4 Empirical Evidence of Issue Attention in the Party Manifesto 2014**

Finally, as happened in the party manifestos of 2005 and 2009, the MAS-IPSP's party manifesto in 2014 focuses strongly on the "Economy" policy area with an attention score of about 45.17%. Table 30 below shows the aggregate attention score per policy domain.

**Table 31: Issue Attention by Domain  
MAS-IPSP Party Manifestos 2014**

<b>Policy Area (Domains)</b>	<b>% of Attention</b>
4. Economy	45,17%
5. Welfare and Quality of Life	18,08%
3. Political System	9,67%
6. Fabric of Society	8,16%
7. Social Groups	8,07%
1. External Relations	6,98%
2. Freedom and Democracy	3,78%

As mentioned above, the party manifesto focuses mainly on issues from the "Economy" domain, being "Technology and Infrastructure: Positive" the issue which received the most attention in the 2014's party manifesto. Thus, the 2014's party manifesto focuses mainly on public spending on science and technological developments in industry and modernization of transportation and communication infrastructure. Mentions found in the manifesto as "Revolution and technological and scientific independence", "as well as the implementation of the ongoing project of 2,500 Integral Satellite Telecentres (TSI)", "In this framework, the Bolivian Innovation System (SBI) was created, an instance that seeks to build an inclusive scientific and technological culture with its own characteristics" and "Now our government has implemented the policy of recovery and implementation of the national railway system" denotes support for the importance of the modernization of the transport and communications infrastructure. Summarily, Table 31 shows the aggregate attention scores of the 2014 manifesto.

**Table 32: Issue Attention by Domain and Issue****MAS-IPSP Party Manifestos 2014**

<b>Policy Area (Domains)</b>	<b>Category</b>	<b>% of Attention</b>
Domain 4: Economy	411 Technology and Infrastructure: Positive	12,11%
Domain 4: Economy	415 Marxist Analysis: Positive	11,02%
Domain 5: Welfare and Quality of Life	504 Welfare State Expansion	7,23%
Domain 4: Economy	404 Economic Planning: Positive	6,06%
Domain 4: Economy	413 Nationalisation: Positive	5,72%
Domain 4: Economy	416.2 Sustainability: Positive	4,79%
Domain 5: Welfare and Quality of Life	506 Education Expansion	4,12%
Domain 7: Social Groups	703.1 Agriculture and Farmers: Positive	4,04%
Domain 5: Welfare and Quality of Life	503 Equality: Positive	3,45%
Domain 3: Political System	304 Political Corruption: Negative	3,36%
Domain 7: Social Groups	706 Non-Economic Demographic Groups: Positive	3,11%
Domain 4: Economy	408 Economic Goals	2,86%
Domain 1: External Relations	103.1 State Centred Anti-Imperialism	2,78%
Domain 6: Fabric of Society	607.1 Multiculturalism General: Positive	2,52%
Domain 6: Fabric of Society	605.1 Law and Order: Positive	2,10%
Domain 3: Political System	305.1 Political Authority: Party Competence	1,93%
Domain 5: Welfare and Quality of Life	502 Culture: Positive	1,85%
Domain 1: External Relations	107 Internationalism: Positive	1,77%
Domain 6: Fabric of Society	607.3 Indigenous Rights: Positive	1,68%
Domain 2: Freedom and Democracy	203 Constitutionalism: Positive	1,51%
Domain 3: Political System	305.5 Pre-Democratic Elites: Negative	1,43%
Domain 5: Welfare and Quality of Life	501 Environmental Protection: Positive	1,43%
Domain 1: External Relations	104 Military: Positive	1,35%
Domain 2: Freedom and Democracy	201.2 Human Rights	1,09%
Domain 3: Political System	303 Governmental and Administrative Efficiency: Positive	1,01%
Domain 3: Political System	305.2 Political Authority: Personal Competence	0,93%
Domain 6: Fabric of Society	606.2 Bottom-Up Activism	0,84%
Domain 7: Social Groups	705 Minority Groups: Positive	0,84%
Domain 1: External Relations	103.2 Foreign Financial Influence	0,76%
Domain 2: Freedom and Democracy	202.4 Direct Democracy: Positive	0,76%

Democracy		
Domain 3: Political System	305.3 Political Authority: Strong government	0,59%
Domain 4: Economy	412 Controlled Economy: Positive	0,59%
Domain 4: Economy	402 Incentives: Positive	0,51%
Domain 3: Political System	301 Decentralisation: Positive	0,42%
Domain 4: Economy	409 Keynesian Demand Management: Positive	0,42%
Domain 2: Freedom and Democracy	202.1 Democracy General: Positive	0,34%
Domain 4: Economy	403 Market Regulation: Positive	0,34%
Domain 4: Economy	410 Economic Growth	0,34%
Domain 6: Fabric of Society	603 Traditional Morality: Positive	0,34%
Domain 6: Fabric of Society	601.1 National Way of Life General: Positive	0,25%
Domain 1: External Relations	109 Internationalism: Negative	0,17%
Domain 4: Economy	401 Free-Market Economy: Positive	0,17%
Domain 6: Fabric of Society	606.1 Civic Mindedness General: Positive	0,17%
Domain 1: External Relations	102 Foreign Special Relationships: Negative	0,08%
Domain 1: External Relations	108 European/LA Integration: Positive	0,08%
Domain 2: Freedom and Democracy	204 Constitutionalism: Negative	0,08%
Domain 4: Economy	405 Corporatism: Positive	0,08%
Domain 4: Economy	406 Protectionism: Positive	0,08%
Domain 4: Economy	416.1 Anti-Growth Economy: Positive	0,08%
Domain 6: Fabric of Society	602.1 National Way of Life General: Negative	0,08%
Domain 6: Fabric of Society	608.1 Multiculturalism General: Negative	0,08%
Domain 6: Fabric of Society	608.3 Indigenous Rights: Negative	0,08%
Domain 7: Social Groups	701 Labour Groups: Positive	0,08%

In summary, according to the data obtained from the party manifesto of 2014, the progressive Left party MAS-IPSP focuses mainly on the issue "Technology and Infrastructure: Positive ". Therefore, this party manifesto focuses on favorable mentions of State spending on the modernization of the transportation and communications infrastructure. Suppose a comparison is made with the party manifesto of 2005. In that case, the issue "Marxist Analysis: Positive" no longer has the same attention within the party manifesto 2014 and falls to the number two position in attention. On the other hand, if a comparison is made with the party manifesto of 2009, "Technology and Infrastructure: Positive" has the same attention within the party manifesto 2014. In terms of the rile index, the 2014 party manifesto obtained a value of -17,410 (Table 25). This value denotes that the MAS-IPSP in the 2014 party manifesto focuses on a political agenda with greater attention to Left-wing ideology issues, and attention to Left-wing ideology issues is increasing compared to the political manifesto of 2005 and 2009. Thus,

the party manifesto of 2014 is the one that receives the most attention from Left-wing ideology issues compared to the party manifestos of 2005 and 2009.

**7.1.2.1.5 Issue Overlap Score across Party Manifestos Over Time**

After understanding which issues received the most attention in the three-party manifestos relating to the years 2005, 2009, and 2014, it is fundamental to measure the degree of issue overlap – issue convergence or divergence – among the issues addressed by MAS-IPSP in the party manifestos. Table 32 contains the issue overlap between party manifestos of the years 2005, 2009, and 2014. The issue overlaps between party manifestos scores around 62,16%; this means that MAS-IPSP tends to address almost two-thirds of the issues during political campaigns similarly. Moreover, the issue similarity of the party manifestos increased over time.

The highest degree of issue overlap was between the party manifestos of 2005 and 2014 with 66.88%. This score suggests that MAS-IPSP had more remarkable similarity in attention to the same issues between the party manifestos of 2005 and 2014; thus, the most significant convergence between party manifestos occurs between the party manifestos of the political campaigns 2005 and 2014. On the other hand, the lowest issue overlap score occurs between the political manifesto of 2005 and 2009 with 57.82%. This score suggests that MAS-IPSP had less similarity in attention to the same issues between the party manifestos of 2005 and 2009.

**Table 33: Degree of Issue Overlap (Issue Convergence or Divergence)  
MAS-IPSP Manifesto for the years 2005, 2009, and 2014**

<b>Party Manifesto Year</b>	<b>2005</b>	<b>2009</b>	<b>2014</b>
<b>2005</b>		57,82	66,88
<b>2009</b>			61,77
<b>2014</b>			
<b>Average (2005, 2009, and 2014)</b>	62,16		

**7.1.2.1.6 Summary of the findings**

According to scores obtained in the Right-Left position index (RILE Index) corresponding to the party manifestos of the years 2005, 2009, and 2014, the progressive Left party MAS-IPSP maintains a

progressive Left-wing ideological position during the political campaigns of the years 2005, 2009, and 2014, moreover, Left-wing ideology issues on its political agenda increased over time.

Also, conducting an individual analysis of the party manifestos belonging to MAS-IPSP, we found that the issue receiving the most attention in 2005 was "Marxist Analysis: Positive", meaning that the party manifesto of 2005 focuses on positive references to Marxist-Leninist ideology. Also, analyzing the party manifestos of 2009 and 2014, we found that the issue receiving the most attention is "Technology and Infrastructure: Positive", meaning that the party manifestos of 2009 and 2014 focus mainly on public spending on infrastructures such as roads, support for public spending on technological infrastructure and support to the importance of the modernization of the transport and communications infrastructure.

Furthermore, it was essential to measure the degree of issue among the issues addressed by MAS-IPSP in the party manifestos. The issue overlap between party manifestos of 2005, 2009, and 2014 scores around 62,16%; this means that MAS-IPSP addresses almost two-thirds of the issues during political campaigns. Moreover, it says that the issue similarity of the party manifestos increased over time.

Performing an analysis of what was mentioned above, MAS-IPSP's elections agenda was mainly focuses on Left-wing ideology issues and the "Economy" domain, being "Marxist Analysis: Positive" and "Technology and Infrastructure: Positive" the issues where the most attention is mainly focused. In other words, the MAS-IPSP's political agendas are characterized by focusing on issues such as positive references to Marxist-Leninist ideology and support for public spending on technological infrastructure and the importance of the modernization of the transport and communications infrastructure. After the analysis of the data showed that during the three political campaigns, the MAS-IPSP's agenda was mainly focuses on Left-wing ideology issues and that it focuses on the same domain and issues during the three political campaigns; one can see, how similar was the attention to the issues in the party manifestos 2005, 2009 and 2014. According to the data analysis, MAS-IPSP tends to pay attention to the same issues during political campaigns; it is also observed that MAS-IPSP addresses almost two-thirds of the issues during political campaigns. Moreover, the issue similarity of the party manifestos increased over time.

All the calculations and findings obtained in this section allow this study to answer the first group of questions that deal with the priorities of the political agenda of the progressive Left parties and their similarity or difference with the political agendas across Latin American countries.

Subsequently, the empirical analysis of the adopted laws carried out during 2006 – 2019 is essential since the data obtained in the next section will help to address the second group of questions that addresses the ability of the progressive political parties to carry their issue priorities from the party manifestos into law.

**7.1.2.2 Empirical Evidence of Issue Attention in the Adopted Legislation**

**7.1.2.2.1 Empirical Evidence of Issue Attention in the Adopted Legislation during the period 2006-2010**

During 2006 - 2010, the legislation focuses intensely on the "Economy" policy area with 44,04% of the attention. Below is a summary of the attention by policy areas in the laws adopted from 2006 to 2010.

**Table 34: Issue Attention by Domain  
MAS-IPSP Adopted Policy from 2006 to 2010**

<b>Policy Area (Domains)</b>	<b>% of Attention</b>
4. Economy	44,04%
5. Welfare and Quality of Life	26,52%
7. Social Groups	7,91%
3. Political System	6,33%
1. External Relations	5,96%
6. Fabric of Society	3,04%
2. Freedom and Democracy	2,19%

As mentioned above, the adopted laws focus mainly on issues from the "Economy" domain, being "Technology and Infrastructure: Positive" the issue that receives the most attention during the progressive Left government under Evo Morales (2006-2010). In this period, laws related to this issue were adopted, such as “Creation of Mutun Steal Company (ESM), carried out by means of article 2 of Supreme Decree 28473 of December 2, 2005, as a public company with its own assets, autonomy of technical, administrative, economic, financial management and legal, under the supervision of the Ministry of Mining and Metallurgy”, “The execution of the Road Linkage Project of the sections of the Culluri - Llanquera - San Martin - Lajma highway, in the Nor Carangas and Tomas Barron Provinces of the Department of Oruro, is declared a regional priority”; "Declares a departmental priority, the



construction of bridges in the road section that links the communities of Pongo, Kancho, Sita and Checa of the Inquisivi Province of the Department of La Paz" and "Declares a departmental priority the construction, installation and acquisition of technical equipment necessary for the operation of parabolic antennas that will be taken to different provinces of the Department of Potosi, which do not have this television transmission service". Below is a summary of the issues' attention scores in legislation adopted from 2006 to 2010.

**Table 35: Issue Attention by Domain and Issue**  
**MAS-IPSP Adopted Policy from 2006 to 2010**

<b>Policy Area (Domains)</b>	<b>Category</b>	<b>% of Attention</b>
Domain 4: Economy	411 Technology and Infrastructure: Positive	31,87%
Domain 5: Welfare and Quality of Life	502 Culture: Positive	12,41%
Domain 4: Economy	413 Nationalisation: Positive	6,45%
Domain 5: Welfare and Quality of Life	504 Welfare State Expansion	6,08%
Domain 5: Welfare and Quality of Life	506 Education Expansion	5,60%
Domain 7: Social Groups	703.1 Agriculture and Farmers: Positive	5,35%
Domain 3: Political System	301 Decentralisation: Positive	5,23%
Domain 1: External Relations	101 Foreign Special Relationships: Positive	4,14%
Domain 4: Economy	405 Corporatism: Positive	2,55%
Domain 5: Welfare and Quality of Life	501 Environmental Protection: Positive	2,31%
Domain 6: Fabric of Society	605.1 Law and Order: Positive	1,46%
Domain 1: External Relations	107 Internationalism: Positive	1,22%
Domain 7: Social Groups	706 Non-Economic Demographic Groups: Positive	1,22%
Domain 2: Freedom and Democracy	204 Constitutionalism: Negative	1,09%
Domain 6: Fabric of Society	601.1 National Way of Life General: Positive	1,09%
Domain 4: Economy	416.2 Sustainability: Positive	0,97%
Domain 4: Economy	402 Incentives: Positive	0,85%
Domain 4: Economy	404 Economic Planning: Positive	0,73%
Domain 7: Social Groups	701 Labour Groups: Positive	0,73%
Domain 2: Freedom and Democracy	201.2 Human Rights	0,61%
Domain 1: External Relations	108 European/LA Integration: Positive	0,49%
Domain 3: Political System	302 Centralisation: Positive	0,49%
Domain 7: Social Groups	705 Minority Groups: Positive	0,49%

Domain 2: Freedom and Democracy	202.1 Democracy General: Positive	0,36%
Domain 3: Political System	305.6 Rehabilitation and Compensation	0,36%
Domain 4: Economy	409 Keynesian Demand Management: Positive	0,36%
Domain 6: Fabric of Society	607.3 Indigenous Rights: Positive	0,24%
Domain 1: External Relations	104 Military: Positive	0,12%
Domain 2: Freedom and Democracy	202.4 Direct Democracy: Positive	0,12%
Domain 3: Political System	303 Governmental and Administrative Efficiency: Positive	0,12%
Domain 3: Political System	305.2 Political Authority: Personal Competence	0,12%
Domain 4: Economy	410 Economic Growth	0,12%
Domain 4: Economy	414 Economic Orthodoxy: Positive	0,12%
Domain 5: Welfare and Quality of Life	503 Equality: Positive	0,12%
Domain 6: Fabric of Society	605.2 Law and Order: Negative	0,12%
Domain 6: Fabric of Society	607.1 Multiculturalism General: Positive	0,12%
Domain 7: Social Groups	704 Middle Class and Professional Groups: Positive	0,12%

In summary, according to the data obtained from the adopted laws from 2006 to 2010, the progressive Left party MAS-IPSP focuses mainly on the issue "Technology and Infrastructure: Positive". Therefore, laws were adopted in this period related to the importance of developments in the industry, public spending on infrastructures such as roads and bridges, and public spending on technological infrastructure such as parabolic antennas for television transmission services.

#### **7.1.2.2.2 Empirical Evidence of Issue Attention in the Adopted Legislation during the period 2010-2015**

During 2010-2015, the legislation focuses firmly on the "Welfare and Quality of Life" policy area with 26,95% attention. Below is a summary of the attention scores of the policy areas for the laws adopted from 2010 to 2015.

**Table 36: Issue Attention by Domain**  
**MAS-IPSP Adopted Policy from 2010 to 2015**

<b>Policy Area (Domains)</b>	<b>% of Attention</b>
5. Welfare and Quality of Life	26,95%
4. Economy	26,19%
1. External Relations	17,46%
6. Fabric of Society	9,34%
7. Social Groups	6,13%
3. Political System	5,82%
2. Freedom and Democracy	2,76%

As mentioned above, the adopted laws focus mainly on issues from the "Welfare and Quality of Life" domain, being "Culture: Positive" the issue that receives the most attention during the second period of the progressive Left government under Evo Morales (2010-2015). In this period, laws related to this issue were adopted, such as "Creation of the Maritime Historical Museum of the Plurinational State of Bolivia, based in the city of Sucre, under the supervision of the Ministry of Defense and administration of the Bolivian Academy of Military History", "Elevated to the rank of Law, Supreme Decree No. 0693 dated November 11, 2010, which aims to create the National Center for High Performance in Sports - CENARD -" and "Approves the transfer, free of charge, of a piece of land with an area of 21,677.12 square meters (m2) owned by the Ministry of Defense, located in the property called "Hacienda Collpani" district 6, in the city of El Alto in the Department peace; in favor of the Autonomous Municipal Government of El Alto and destined to the construction of the Olympic Sports Center in the city of El Alto". Below is a summary of the issues' attention scores in legislation adopted from 2010 to 2015.

**Table 37: Issue Attention by Domain and Issue****MAS-IPSP Adopted Policy from 2010 to 2015**

<b>Policy Area (Domains)</b>	<b>Category</b>	<b>% of Attention</b>
Domain 5: Welfare and Quality of Life	502 Culture: Positive	15,47%
Domain 4: Economy	411 Technology and Infrastructure: Positive	12,71%
Domain 1: External Relations	101 Foreign Special Relationships: Positive	11,64%
Domain 4: Economy	413 Nationalisation: Positive	6,89%
Domain 6: Fabric of Society	605.1 Law and Order: Positive	6,74%
Domain 5: Welfare and Quality of Life	501 Environmental Protection: Positive	3,98%
Domain 1: External Relations	107 Internationalism: Positive	3,52%
Domain 5: Welfare and Quality of Life	504 Welfare State Expansion	3,52%
Domain 3: Political System	301 Decentralisation: Positive	3,37%
Domain 5: Welfare and Quality of Life	506 Education Expansion	2,91%
Domain 7: Social Groups	703.1 Agriculture and Farmers: Positive	2,91%
Domain 4: Economy	408 Economic Goals	2,30%
Domain 1: External Relations	108 European/LA Integration: Positive	1,84%
Domain 7: Social Groups	701 Labour Groups: Positive	1,38%
Domain 4: Economy	412 Controlled Economy: Positive	1,23%
Domain 3: Political System	303 Governmental and Administrative Efficiency: Positive	1,07%
Domain 5: Welfare and Quality of Life	503 Equality: Positive	1,07%
Domain 6: Fabric of Society	607.3 Indigenous Rights: Positive	1,07%
Domain 7: Social Groups	706 Non-Economic Demographic Groups: Positive	0,92%
Domain 4: Economy	403 Market Regulation: Positive	0,77%
Domain 4: Economy	404 Economic Planning: Positive	0,77%
Domain 6: Fabric of Society	601.1 National Way of Life General: Positive	0,77%
Domain 2: Freedom and Democracy	204 Constitutionalism: Negative	0,61%
Domain 4: Economy	416.2 Sustainability: Positive	0,61%
Domain 2: Freedom and Democracy	202.1 Democracy General: Positive	0,46%
Domain 2: Freedom and Democracy	202.3 Representative Democracy: Positive	0,46%
Domain 2: Freedom and Democracy	203 Constitutionalism: Positive	0,46%
Domain 3: Political System	304 Political Corruption: Negative	0,46%
Domain 3: Political System	305.6 Rehabilitation and Compensation	0,46%
Domain 4: Economy	406 Protectionism: Positive	0,46%

Domain 7: Social Groups	705 Minority Groups: Positive	0,46%
Domain 1: External Relations	106 Peace: Positive	0,31%
Domain 2: Freedom and Democracy	201.2 Human Rights	0,31%
Domain 2: Freedom and Democracy	202.4 Direct Democracy: Positive	0,31%
Domain 3: Political System	305.3 Political Authority: Strong government	0,31%
Domain 4: Economy	405 Corporatism: Positive	0,31%
Domain 7: Social Groups	704 Middle Class and Professional Groups: Positive	0,31%
Domain 1: External Relations	104 Military: Positive	0,15%
Domain 2: Freedom and Democracy	201.1 Freedom	0,15%
Domain 3: Political System	305.2 Political Authority: Personal Competence	0,15%
Domain 4: Economy	410 Economic Growth	0,15%
Domain 6: Fabric of Society	602.2 Immigration: Positive	0,15%
Domain 6: Fabric of Society	603 Traditional Morality: Positive	0,15%
Domain 6: Fabric of Society	605.2 Law and Order: Negative	0,15%
Domain 6: Fabric of Society	606.1 Civic Mindedness General: Positive	0,15%
Domain 6: Fabric of Society	607.1 Multiculturalism General: Positive	0,15%
Domain 7: Social Groups	702 Labour Groups: Negative	0,15%

In summary, according to the data obtained from the adopted laws from 2010 to 2015, the progressive Left party MAS-IPSP focuses mainly on the issue "Culture: Positive". In other words, laws related to State funding of cultural facilities such as museums and the construction of sports facilities were adopted in this period.

### **7.1.2.2.3 Empirical Evidence of Issue Attention in the Adopted Legislation during the period 2015-2019**

Finally, during 2015 - 2019, the legislation adopted focuses intensely on the "Economy" policy area with 32,90% of the attention. Below is a summary of the policy areas in the laws that were adopted from 2015 to 2019.

**Table 38: Issue Attention by Domain**  
**MAS-IPSP Adopted Policy from 2015 to 2019**

<b>Policy Area (Domains)</b>	<b>% of Attention</b>
4. Economy	32,90%
5. Welfare and Quality of Life	26,68%
6. Fabric of Society	10,31%
1. External Relations	9,49%
7. Social Groups	5,73%
3. Political System	4,75%
2. Freedom and Democracy	1,96%

As mentioned above, the adopted laws focus mainly on issues from the "Economy" domain, being "Nationalisation: Positive" the issue which received the most attention during the third period of the progressive Left government of Evo Morales (2015-2020). In this period, laws related to this issue were adopted, such as "Law on the Declaration of Necessity and Public Usefulness of the Expropriation of Real Estate for the Implementation of the Project and Construction of the Trinidad International Airport", "Law that Declares Necessity and Public Usefulness of the Expropriation of Real Estate for the Construction of a Stadium in the City of Cochabamba", "Approves the transfer, free of charge, of a plot of land owned by the Autonomous Municipal Government of San Lucas in the Department of Chuquisaca, with an area of 1,909.91 square meters (m2), in favor of Bolivian Fiscal Oilfields - YPFB" and "The purpose of this Law is to revert to the domain of the State, the areas on which the mining cooperatives have current contracts with national or foreign private companies". Below is a summary of the issues per domain's attention scores in the laws adopted from 2015 to 2019.

**Table 39: Issue Attention by Domain and Issue**  
**MAS-IPSP Adopted Policy from 2015 to 2019**

<b>Policy Area (Domains)</b>	<b>Category</b>	<b>% of Attention</b>
Domain 4: Economy	413 Nationalisation: Positive	12,77%
Domain 4: Economy	411 Technology and Infrastructure: Positive	11,95%
Domain 5: Welfare and Quality of Life	502 Culture: Positive	11,29%
Domain 5: Welfare and Quality of Life	504 Welfare State Expansion	7,20%
Domain 6: Fabric of Society	605.1 Law and Order: Positive	6,71%

Domain 5: Welfare and Quality of Life	506 Education Expansion	5,07%
Domain 1: External Relations	101 Foreign Special Relationships: Positive	4,42%
Domain 1: External Relations	107 Internationalism: Positive	4,09%
Domain 3: Political System	301 Decentralisation: Positive	3,11%
Domain 5: Welfare and Quality of Life	501 Environmental Protection: Positive	2,95%
Domain 4: Economy	408 Economic Goals	2,62%
Domain 7: Social Groups	703.1 Agriculture and Farmers: Positive	2,45%
Domain 7: Social Groups	701 Labour Groups: Positive	1,80%
Domain 4: Economy	404 Economic Planning: Positive	1,64%
Domain 4: Economy	402 Incentives: Positive	1,31%
Domain 4: Economy	403 Market Regulation: Positive	1,31%
Domain 6: Fabric of Society	601.1 National Way of Life General: Positive	1,31%
Domain 3: Political System	303 Governmental and Administrative Efficiency: Positive	1,15%
Domain 6: Fabric of Society	607.3 Indigenous Rights: Positive	0,82%
Domain 4: Economy	412 Controlled Economy: Positive	0,65%
Domain 7: Social Groups	706 Non-Economic Demographic Groups: Positive	0,65%
Domain 1: External Relations	108 European/LA Integration: Positive	0,49%
Domain 2: Freedom and Democracy	201.2 Human Rights	0,49%
Domain 2: Freedom and Democracy	202.4 Direct Democracy: Positive	0,49%
Domain 6: Fabric of Society	603 Traditional Morality: Positive	0,49%
Domain 6: Fabric of Society	605.2 Law and Order: Negative	0,49%
Domain 7: Social Groups	705 Minority Groups: Positive	0,49%
Domain 1: External Relations	104 Military: Positive	0,33%
Domain 2: Freedom and Democracy	202.3 Representative Democracy: Positive	0,33%
Domain 2: Freedom and Democracy	204 Constitutionalism: Negative	0,33%
Domain 4: Economy	414 Economic Orthodoxy: Positive	0,33%
Domain 6: Fabric of Society	602.2 Immigration: Positive	0,33%
Domain 1: External Relations	106 Peace: Positive	0,16%
Domain 2: Freedom and Democracy	202.1 Democracy General: Positive	0,16%
Domain 2: Freedom and Democracy	203 Constitutionalism: Positive	0,16%
Domain 3: Political System	302 Centralisation: Positive	0,16%
Domain 3: Political System	304 Political Corruption: Negative	0,16%
Domain 3: Political System	305.6 Rehabilitation and Compensation	0,16%
Domain 4: Economy	410 Economic Growth	0,16%
Domain 4: Economy	415 Marxist Analysis: Positive	0,16%
Domain 5: Welfare and Quality of Life	507 Education Limitation	0,16%

Life		
Domain 6: Fabric of Society	606.2 Bottom-Up Activism	0,16%
Domain 7: Social Groups	702 Labour Groups: Negative	0,16%
Domain 7: Social Groups	704 Middle Class and Professional Groups: Positive	0,16%

In summary, according to the data obtained from the adopted laws from 2015 to 2019, the progressive Left party MAS-IPSP focuses mainly on the issue "Nationalisation: Positive". Therefore, laws were adopted in this period related to government ownership of industries and government ownership of lands.

#### **7.1.2.2.4 Issue Overlap Score across Adopted Legislation Over Time**

This section examined the degree of issue overlap -issue convergence or divergence- among the issues addressed in the adopted laws. Table 39 contains the issue overlap between the adopted laws during 2006-2010, 2010-2015, and 2015-2019. Overall, the issue overlap between adopted laws scores around 72%; this means that MAS-IPSP addresses almost three out of four similar issues regarding the adoption of laws. Moreover, the issue similarity of the adopted laws increased over time. The score with the highest degree of issue overlap was between the adopted laws of 2010-2015 and 2015-2019 with around 80%. This score suggests that MAS-IPSP had more remarkable similarity in attention to the same issues between the adopted laws of the years 2010 and 2019; thus, the most significant convergence occurs between adopted laws from 2010 to 2019.

On the other hand, the lowest issue overlap score was between the adopted laws of 2006-2010 and 2010-2015 with 66.09%. This score suggests that MAS-IPSP had less similarity in attention to the same issues across 2006 and 2015. What does this tell us about how this party behaves in government? The data obtained suggest that the issue overlap score is higher when the political party is within the government than the issue overlap score in party manifestos. Moreover, in the political campaign and adopted laws, the similarity of the issues increased over time.



**Table 40: Degree of Issue Overlap (Issue Convergence or Divergence)**

**MAS-IPSP Adopted Policy from 2006 to 2019**

<b>Adopted Laws</b>	<b>2006-2010</b>	<b>2010-2015</b>	<b>2015-2019</b>
<b>2006-2010</b>		66,09	69,07
<b>2010-2015</b>			79,79
<b>2015-2019</b>			
<b>Average (2006-2010, 2010-2015, and 2015-2019)</b>	71,65		

**7.1.2.2.5 Summary of the findings**

Conducting an individual analysis of the adopted laws belonging to MAS-IPSP, we found that the issue receiving the most attention during the period 2006-2010 was "Technology and Infrastructure: Positive", meaning that the adopted laws during this period focus on issues such as the developments in the industry, public spending on infrastructures such as roads and bridges and public spending on technological infrastructure. Also, analyzing the adopted laws from 2010 to 2015, we found that the issue receiving the most attention is "Culture: Positive", meaning that the adopted laws during the period focus mainly on State funding of cultural facilities such as museums and the construction of sports facilities. Finally, the issue that receives the most attention in the adopted laws from 2015 to 2019 was "Nationalisation: Positive" meaning that laws were adopted related to government ownership of industries and government ownership of lands.

Moreover, it was essential to measure the degree of issue overlap among the issues addressed by MAS-IPSP in the adopted laws. The issue overlap between adopted laws scored around 72%; this means that MAS-IPSP addresses almost three out of four similar issues regarding the adoption of laws. Thus, the issue overlap in the adopted laws was high and increasing, meaning that the legislature paid almost the same attention to the issues during the three different periods. Furthermore, MAS-IPSP dealt with almost the same issues when they were within the government. Additionally, the similarity of the issues in the laws passed during the three periods increased over time.

Performing an analysis mentioned above, MAS-IPSP focuses on almost similar domains but different issues regarding adopted laws. During the period 2006-2010, MAS-IPSP focuses on the adopted laws within the domain "Economy", during the period 2010-2015, this political party focuses on adopted laws within the domain "Welfare and Quality of Life" and during the period 2015-2019, MAS-IPSP focuses on adopted laws within the domain "Economy". It was "Technology and

Infrastructure: Positive" the issue that receives the most attention during the period 2006-2010, "Culture: Positive" the issue that receives the most attention during the period 2010-2015, and "Nationalisation: Positive" the issue that receives greater attention during the period 2015-2019.

Moreover, according to the data analysis, MAS-IPSP tends to pay attention to the same issues while adopting the laws. Therefore, the overlap of issues in the adopted laws was high and increasing, meaning that the legislature paid almost the same attention to issues during the three different terms. Furthermore, the similarity of the laws passed over time remained constant.

All the calculations and findings obtained in this section allow this study to answer the second group of questions that addresses the ability of the progressive political parties to carry their issue priorities from the party manifestos into law.

Subsequently, this study calculates the issue-overlap scores between party manifestos and adopted laws. Finally, this study needs to know if MAS-IPSP addressed the same issues in the party manifestos and adopted laws.

### **7.1.2.3 Issue Overlap Score across Party Manifestos and Adopted Legislation**

After calculating the issue overlap for both political manifestos and adopted laws, this study calculates the issue-overlap scores between party manifestos and adopted laws. Table 40 contains the issue overlap between the party manifestos of 2005, 2009, and 2014 and the adopted laws during 2006-2010, 2010-2015, and 2015-2019. In general terms, the issue overlaps between party manifestos and adopted laws scores around 49,83%. This means that MAS-IPSP tends to address around half the number of similar issues between the campaign period and after they have been in government. Therefore, the overlap of issues is relatively medium and increasing, meaning that the gap between what the MAS-IPSP focuses on in its party manifestos and what it legislates is moderate and declining.

Moreover, it is found that the highest issues similarity was during the 2014 campaign and the government period between 2015 and 20119. Thus, the Left-wing progressive party MAS-IPSP addresses half of the same issues between party manifestos and adopted laws from 2006 to 2019. Therefore, it has a medium and declining gap between what the MAS-IPSP focuses on its party manifestos and what it legislates.

**Table 41: Degree of Issue Overlap (Issue Convergence or Divergence)**

**MAS-IPSP Manifestos 2005, 2009, and 2014; and Adopted Policy from 2006 to 2019**

<b>Party Manifestos</b>	<b>Adopted Laws</b>		
	<b>2006-2010</b>	<b>2010-2015</b>	<b>2015-2019</b>
<b>2005</b>	42,94		
<b>2009</b>		51,61	
<b>2014</b>			54,94
<b>Average</b>	49,83		

**7.1.2.4 Analysis of the Results: Party Manifestos vs. Adopted Legislation**

A comparative analysis of the results obtained from the party manifestos corresponding to the years 2005, 2009, and 2014 and the adopted laws from 2006 to 2019 allows us to identify the ideological movement to the Left or Right of the progressive parties. The comparative analysis of the party manifestos and adopted laws will also help us to identify the agenda of the progressive Left parties before winning the government power. The analysis will also help us to identify the behavior of the political agendas once the progressive parties enter the government. In the same way, the analysis helps us to understand how well what progressive political parties declare in their manifestos becomes laws.

Therefore, according to scores obtained in the Right-Left position index (RILE Index) corresponding to the party manifestos of the years 2005, 2009, and 2014, the progressive Left party MAS-IPSP maintains a progressive Left-wing ideological position during the political campaigns of the years 2005, 2009, and 2014, and Left-wing ideology issues on its political agenda increase over time.

Moreover, according to the data of the party manifestos belonging to MAS-IPSP, we found that the issue receiving the most attention in 2005 was "Marxist Analysis: Positive", meaning that the party manifesto of 2005 focuses on positive references to Marxist-Leninist ideology and specific use of Marxist-Leninist terminology. Also, analyzing the party manifesto of 2009 and 2014, we found that the issue receiving the most attention is "Technology and Infrastructure: Positive", meaning that the party manifesto of 2009 and 2014 focuses mainly on favorable mentions of the need for State spending on the modernization of the transportation and communications infrastructure. Also, in the three-party manifestos, the domain where the most significant attention is in the "Economy" area.

Also, according to the data of the adopted laws from 2006 to 2019, the issue that receives the most attention during the period 2006-2010 was "Technology and Infrastructure: Positive", meaning that the adopted laws during this period focus on issues such as the development in industry, public spending on infrastructures such as roads and bridges and public spending on technological infrastructure. Also, analyzing the adopted laws from 2010 to 2015, we found that the issue receiving the most attention is "Culture: Positive", meaning that the adopted laws during the period focus mainly on State funding of cultural facilities such as museums and the construction of sports facilities. Finally, the issue that receives the most attention in the adopted laws from 2015 to 2019 was "Nationalisation: Positive" meaning that the adopted laws focus mainly on government ownership of industries and government ownership of lands. Also, the domains where the most attention is paid to the adopted laws are "Economy" and "Welfare and Quality of Life".

Moreover, according to the issue overlap score for the party manifestos of 2005, 2009, and 2014, MAS-IPSP tends to address almost two-thirds of the issues during political campaigns similarly. Furthermore, the issue similarity of the party manifestos increased over time.

On the other hand, according to the issue overlap score for the adopted laws, the issue similarity increases for the laws over time. Thus, the issue overlap in the adopted laws was high and increasing, meaning that the legislature paid almost the same attention to the issues during the three different periods. MAS-IPSP proposed three out of four similar issues in the party manifestos during the campaigns and when they were within the government. Furthermore, the issue similarity of the party manifestos and adopted laws increased over time.

Also, according to the issue overlap between party manifestos and adopted laws scores, MAS-IPSP addresses almost half the number of similar issues between the campaign period and after they have been in government. Therefore, the overlap of issues is relatively medium and increasing, meaning that the gap between what the MAS-IPSP focuses on in its party manifestos and what it legislates is moderate and declining. Thus, the Left-wing progressive party MAS-IPSP addresses less than half of the same issues between party manifestos and adopted laws from 2006 to 2019, having a moderate and decreasing gap between what MAS-IPSP focuses on its party manifestos and what it legislates.

In summary, according to the data analysis, MAS-IPSP during the three political campaigns focuses on a progressive Left-wing political agenda; and Left-wing ideology issues on its political agenda increase over time. This denotes that its agenda was mainly focuses on Left-wing ideology issues during

the three political elections. Also, the intensity and focus on Left-wing ideology issues increased over time.

Furthermore, the MAS-IPSP 's political agenda before getting into government power focuses on "Marxist Analysis: Positive" in 2005 and "Technology and Infrastructure: Positive" in 2009 and 2014. However, once MAS-IPSP got into government, the political agenda was different from the party manifestos. Once inside the government, laws were adopted with greater attention to the issues "Technology and Infrastructure: Positive" during the period 2006-2010, "Culture: Positive" during the period 2010-2015, and "Nationalisation: Positive" during the period 2015- 2019.

By focusing on the party manifestos, we find that MAS-IPSP tends to pay attention to the same issues during political campaigns; it is also observed that MAS-IPSP addresses almost two out three of the issues in their party manifestos. In addition, the similarity of the issues exposed in the party manifestos increased over time. On the other hand, by focusing on the adopted laws, MAS-IPSP tends to pay attention to the same issues. Therefore, the overlap of issues in the adopted laws was high and increasing, meaning that the legislature paid almost the same attention to issues during the three different terms. Furthermore, the similarity of the adopted laws increases over time. Overall, there is a moderate divergence between the party manifestos and the adopted laws. MAS-IPSP tends to address almost half the number of similar issues between the campaign period and after they have been in government. Therefore, the MAS-IPSP addresses less than half of the same issues between party manifestos and adopted laws from 2006 to 2019. Thus, it has a moderate and decreasing gap between what the MAS-IPSP focuses on its party manifestos and what it legislates. Below is a table that summarizes the results obtained from the analysis of the Bolivian case.

**Table 42: Summary of the Results**

**MAS-IPSP Manifestos 2005, 2009, and 2014; and Adopted Policy from 2006 to 2019**

	<b>Scores</b>	<b>Explanation</b>
Right-Left position index (RILE Index)	-14,579	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>MAS-IPSP maintains a progressive Left-wing ideological position</li> <li>Left-wing ideology issues on its political agenda increase over time.</li> </ul>
Issue that received the most attention - Party Manifesto 2005	7,80%	Marxist Analysis: Positive
Issue that received the most attention - Party Manifesto 2009	25,28%	Technology and Infrastructure: Positive
Issue that received the most attention - Party Manifesto 2014	12,11%	Technology and Infrastructure: Positive

Issue that received the most attention - Adopted Laws 2006-2010	31,87%	Technology and Infrastructure: Positive
Issue that received the most attention - Adopted Laws 2010-2015	15,47%	Culture: Positive
Issue that received the most attention - Adopted Laws 2015-2019	12,77%	Nationalisation: Positive
Issue overlap score for the Party Manifestos	62,16%	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• MAS-IPSP tends to address almost two-thirds of the issues during political campaigns</li> <li>• Issue similarity of the party manifestos increased over time</li> </ul>
Issue overlap score for the Adopted Laws	71,65%	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• MAS-IPSP addresses almost three out of four similar issues regarding the adoption of laws</li> <li>• Issue similarity of the adopted laws increased over time.</li> <li>• Issue overlap in the adopted laws was high and increasing</li> </ul>
Issue overlap between party manifestos and adopted laws scores	49,83%	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• MAS-IPSP tends to address around half the number of similar issues between the campaign period and after they have been in government.</li> <li>• The overlap of issues is relatively medium and increasing.</li> <li>• The gap between what the MAS-IPSP focuses on in its party manifestos and what it legislates is moderate and declining.</li> </ul>

After carrying out the empirical analysis of the Argentinian and Bolivian cases, the empirical analysis of the Chilean case is carried out in the same way. The next section of this chapter will begin by carrying out the empirical analysis of the data obtained from the Chilean case dataset. First, this research calculates the Right-Left position index (RILE index) for the 2005 party manifesto belonging to the Socialist Party of Chile with the coalition of parties called Concert of Parties for Democracy and the 2013 party manifesto belonging to Socialist Party of Chile with the coalition called New Majority. This information helps to determine if the Socialist Party of Chile remained ideologically Left-wing or ideologically moved from Left to Right over time. Then, to answer the first group of questions, the empirical analysis of the party manifestos of 2005 and 2013 belonging to the Socialist Party of Chile will be performed. This analysis will allow the study to know the issues that received the most attention in the party manifestos of 2005 and 2013. After understanding which issues received the most attention in the two-party manifestos, this study calculates the degree of issue overlap -issue

convergence or divergence- among the issues addressed by the Socialist Party of Chile in the party manifestos. This calculation identifies how similar the Socialist Party of Chile's attention is in the party manifestos 2005 and 2013. Then we will summarize the results found in the party manifestos, which allows us to answer the first group of questions.

In the same way, the second group of questions is answered with the empirical analysis of the party manifestos of 2005 and 2013 and the adopted laws of the periods 2006-2010 and 2014-2018 belonging to the Socialist Party of Chile. Having carried out the empirical analysis of the party manifestos of 2005 and 2013, it is necessary to carry out the empirical analysis of the issues which received the most attention in the adopted laws during the periods 2006-2010 and 2014-2018. After understanding which issues received the most attention in adopted laws, this study calculates the degree of issue overlap -issue convergence or divergence- among the issues addressed by the Socialist Party of Chile in the adopted laws. This calculation identifies how similar the Socialist Party of Chile's attention is in the adopted laws during 2006-2010 and 2014-2018. Then the study will summarize the results found in the adopted laws.

After calculating the issue overlap for both political manifestos and adopted laws, this study calculates the issue-overlap scores between party manifestos and adopted laws. This calculation helps us know whether the Socialist Party of Chile addresses the same issues in the party manifestos and adopted laws, allowing us to answer the second group of questions. Finally, an exclusive section will evaluate and summarize what we have learned about Chile.

### **7.1.3 The Chilean Case**

This section will carry out an empirical analysis of the party manifestos and adopted laws belonging to the Socialist Party of Chile. This political party was part of the coalition's Concert of Parties for Democracy in 2005 and New Majority in 2013. Moreover, it was in government from the periods 2006-2010 and 2014-2018 in Chile.

#### **7.1.3.1 Empirical Evidence of Issue Attention in the Party Manifestos**

##### **7.1.3.1.1 Right-Left position index (RILE Index)**

Firstly, the rile index of the party manifestos of 2005 and 2013 is calculated to determine whether the Socialist Party of Chile remained ideologically on the Left or ideologically moved from Left to Right over time. Below we can see the values from the rile index obtained from the party manifestos of 2005 and 2013 belonging to the Socialist Party of Chile.

**Table 43: Right-Left Position Index**

**Socialist Party of Chile Party Manifestos 2005 and 2013**

<b>Party Manifesto</b>	<b>RILE Index</b>
2005	-19,715
2013	-18,974
<b>Average</b>	<b>-19,345</b>

According to the RILE index, the Socialist Party of Chile maintains a progressive Left ideological position. According to the data in Table 42, in the 2005 party manifesto, the Socialist Party of Chile obtained a score of -19,715. Moreover, the 2013 party manifesto obtained a score of -18,974, suggesting that its Left ideological position did not move from one political campaign to another. However, during the 2005 political campaign, a political agenda was proposed with greater attention to Left-wing ideology issues than in the 2013 political campaign. Thus, 2013 attention to Left-wing ideology issues decreased compared to the RILE score of 2005. On average, according to the RILE index, the progressive Left party Socialist Party of Chile maintains a progressive Left-wing ideological position with a RILE score of -19,345 during the political campaigns of 2005 and 2013. In conclusion, according to the party manifestos of 2005, and 2013, the Socialist Party of Chile maintains a progressive Left-wing ideological position; however, Left-wing ideology issues on its political agenda decrease over time.

The empirical analysis of the data obtained from the party manifestos of 2005 and 2013 is carried out in the next section. This analysis allows us to identify the issues that received the most attention from the Socialist Party of Chile during the political campaign of 2005 and 2013.

**7.1.3.1.2 Empirical Evidence of Issue Attention in the Party Manifesto 2005**

The Socialist Party of Chile's party manifesto in 2005 focusing strongly on the "Welfare and Quality of Life" policy area with the attention of 32,31%. Table 43 below shows the aggregate attention score per policy domain.



**Table 44: Issue Attention by Domain**  
**Socialist Party of Chile Party Manifesto 2005**

<b>Policy Area (Domains)</b>	<b>% of Attention</b>
5. Welfare and Quality of Life	32,31%
4. Economy	29,50%
3. Political System	13,14%
6. Fabric of Society	7,27%
2. Freedom and Democracy	6,10%
7. Social Groups	5,88%
1. External Relations	5,81%

To answer the first group of questions, it is essential to know which issue received the most attention in the party manifesto of 2005. As mentioned above, the party manifesto focuses mainly on issues from the "Welfare and Quality of Life" domain, being "Welfare State Expansion" the issue which received the most attention in the 2005's party manifesto. Thus, the 2005's party manifesto focuses mainly on favorable mentions of the need to introduce, maintain, or expand any public social service or social security scheme. Mentions found in the manifesto as "a more generous unemployment insurance", "Because it is immoral that many Chileans do not have the right to get sick or grow old without falling into poverty", "We will strengthen the public health system so the Auge Plan can advance", "The pension is a compensation for the years of work of a person and the recognition of the right to age with dignity", "We will multiply our efforts to build better quality houses and apartments" and "We will create child protection offices with greater capacity for territorial deployment and coordination with other public and private organizations" denotes support for government funding of health care, elderly care and pensions, child care and social housing system. Summarily, Table 44 shows the aggregate attention scores of the 2005 manifesto.

**Table 45: Issue Attention by Domain and Issue**  
**Socialist Party of Chile Party Manifesto 2005**

<b>Policy Area (Domains)</b>	<b>Category</b>	<b>% of Attention</b>
Domain 5: Welfare and Quality of Life	504 Welfare State Expansion	12,09%
Domain 4: Economy	403 Market Regulation: Positive	9,13%
Domain 5: Welfare and Quality of Life	503 Equality: Positive	8,18%
Domain 3: Political System	303 Governmental and Administrative Efficiency: Positive	6,86%
Domain 4: Economy	411 Technology and Infrastructure: Positive	6,75%
Domain 5: Welfare and Quality of Life	506 Education Expansion	5,22%
Domain 4: Economy	402 Incentives: Positive	4,75%
Domain 4: Economy	410 Economic Growth	4,35%
Domain 5: Welfare and Quality of Life	502 Culture: Positive	4,27%
Domain 6: Fabric of Society	605.1 Law and Order: Positive	3,76%
Domain 3: Political System	301 Decentralisation: Positive	3,69%
Domain 2: Freedom and Democracy	202.1 Democracy General: Positive	3,65%
Domain 1: External Relations	107 Internationalism: Positive	2,56%
Domain 7: Social Groups	706 Non-Economic Demographic Groups: Positive	2,45%
Domain 5: Welfare and Quality of Life	501 Environmental Protection: Positive	2,15%
Domain 7: Social Groups	701 Labour Groups: Positive	2,08%
Domain 4: Economy	414 Economic Orthodoxy: Positive	1,68%
Domain 2: Freedom and Democracy	201.2 Human Rights	1,31%
Domain 6: Fabric of Society	607.3 Indigenous Rights: Positive	1,24%
Domain 7: Social Groups	703.1 Agriculture and Farmers: Positive	1,21%
Domain 3: Political System	305.5 Pre-Democratic Elites: Negative	1,13%
Domain 4: Economy	416.2 Sustainability: Positive	1,06%
Domain 1: External Relations	105 Military: Negative	0,91%
Domain 6: Fabric of Society	606.1 Civic Mindedness General: Positive	0,91%
Domain 6: Fabric of Society	606.2 Bottom-Up Activism	0,84%
Domain 2: Freedom and Democracy	202.3 Representative Democracy: Positive	0,77%
Domain 4: Economy	407 Protectionism: Negative	0,77%
Domain 1: External Relations	104 Military: Positive	0,69%
Domain 3: Political System	305.2 Political Authority: Personal Competence	0,58%
Domain 1: External Relations	109 Internationalism: Negative	0,51%

Domain 4: Economy	404 Economic Planning: Positive	0,48%
Domain 1: External Relations	101 Foreign Special Relationships: Positive	0,44%
Domain 3: Political System	305.1 Political Authority: Party Competence	0,44%
Domain 1: External Relations	108 European/LA Integration: Positive	0,40%
Domain 5: Welfare and Quality of Life	505 Welfare State Limitation	0,40%
Domain 4: Economy	412 Controlled Economy: Positive	0,37%
Domain 1: External Relations	106 Peace: Positive	0,29%
Domain 3: Political System	305.6 Rehabilitation and Compensation	0,29%
Domain 6: Fabric of Society	607.1 Multiculturalism General: Positive	0,29%
Domain 2: Freedom and Democracy	201.1 Freedom	0,18%
Domain 2: Freedom and Democracy	204 Constitutionalism: Negative	0,18%
Domain 4: Economy	409 Keynesian Demand Management: Positive	0,15%
Domain 6: Fabric of Society	602.2 Immigration: Positive	0,15%
Domain 7: Social Groups	705 Minority Groups: Positive	0,15%
Domain 3: Political System	304 Political Corruption: Negative	0,11%
Domain 6: Fabric of Society	607.2 Immigrant Integration: Diversity	0,07%
Domain 3: Political System	305.3 Political Authority: Strong government	0,04%
Domain 4: Economy	401 Free-Market Economy: Positive	0,04%

In summary, according to the data obtained from the party manifesto of 2005, the progressive Left party Socialist Party of Chile focuses mainly on the issue of "Welfare State Expansion". Therefore, the party manifesto of 2005 focuses on positive references to introducing, maintaining, or expanding any public social service or social security scheme. As a result, in terms of the Right-Left Position Index, the 2005 party manifesto obtained a value of -19,715 (Table 42). This value denotes that the Socialist Party of Chile in the 2005 party manifesto focuses on a political agenda with greater attention to Left-wing ideology issues. However, the party manifesto of 2005 received the slightest attention to Leftist ideology issues than the party manifesto of 2013.

#### **7.1.3.1.3 Empirical Evidence of Issue Attention in the Party Manifesto 2013**

The Socialist Party of Chile's party manifesto in 2013 focusing strongly again on the "Welfare and Quality of Life" policy area with the attention of 31,81%. Table 45, as in the previous 2005 party manifesto, presents the overall attention scores by domain.

**Table 46: Issue Attention by Domain**  
**Socialist Party of Chile Party Manifesto 2013**

<b>Policy Area (Domains)</b>	<b>% of Attention</b>
5. Welfare and Quality of Life	31,81%
4. Economy	25,88%
3. Political System	14,14%
7. Social Groups	8,72%
2. Freedom and Democracy	8,60%
6. Fabric of Society	7,74%
1. External Relations	3,11%

As mentioned above, the party manifesto focuses mainly on issues from the "Welfare and Quality of Life" domain; however, "Technology and Infrastructure: Positive" was the issue that receives the most attention in the 2013's party manifesto. "Technology and Infrastructure: Positive" belongs to the "Economy" domain. Thus, the 2013's party manifesto focuses mainly on public spending on infrastructure such as roads and support for public spending on technological infrastructure. Mentions found in the manifesto as "In terms of investment in electricity generation and transmission, we urgently need to make up for lost time", "The short-term plan also includes the implementation of the Law for the Promotion of NCRE and the Law for the Promotion of Distributed Energy", "in addition to increasing investments in road infrastructure" and "promotion of access to new technologies" denotes support for the importance of technological developments in the industry, support public spending on infrastructures such as roads and the importance of public spending on technological infrastructure. Summarily, Table 46 shows the aggregate attention scores of the 2013 manifesto.

**Table 47: Issue Attention by Domain and Issue**  
**Socialist Party of Chile Party Manifesto 2013**

<b>Policy Area (Domains)</b>	<b>Category</b>	<b>% of Attention</b>
Domain 4: Economy	411 Technology and Infrastructure: Positive	10,91%
Domain 5: Welfare and Quality of Life	503 Equality: Positive	9,10%
Domain 5: Welfare and Quality of Life	504 Welfare State Expansion	8,63%
Domain 5: Welfare and Quality of Life	502 Culture: Positive	7,09%

Domain 5: Welfare and Quality of Life	506 Education Expansion	6,94%
Domain 3: Political System	303 Governmental and Administrative Efficiency: Positive	6,46%
Domain 4: Economy	403 Market Regulation: Positive	6,35%
Domain 3: Political System	301 Decentralisation: Positive	5,19%
Domain 2: Freedom and Democracy	202.1 Democracy General: Positive	4,48%
Domain 4: Economy	410 Economic Growth	4,03%
Domain 7: Social Groups	701 Labour Groups: Positive	3,62%
Domain 6: Fabric of Society	607.3 Indigenous Rights: Positive	3,44%
Domain 6: Fabric of Society	605.1 Law and Order: Positive	2,85%
Domain 2: Freedom and Democracy	201.2 Human Rights	2,67%
Domain 7: Social Groups	706 Non-Economic Demographic Groups: Positive	2,58%
Domain 3: Political System	305.1 Political Authority: Party Competence	2,37%
Domain 7: Social Groups	703.1 Agriculture and Farmers: Positive	2,19%
Domain 1: External Relations	108 European/LA Integration: Positive	1,78%
Domain 4: Economy	402 Incentives: Positive	1,75%
Domain 4: Economy	416.2 Sustainability: Positive	1,39%
Domain 2: Freedom and Democracy	204 Constitutionalism: Negative	1,36%
Domain 4: Economy	414 Economic Orthodoxy: Positive	0,92%
Domain 1: External Relations	104 Military: Positive	0,71%
Domain 6: Fabric of Society	606.1 Civic Mindedness General: Positive	0,65%
Domain 1: External Relations	105 Military: Negative	0,56%
Domain 6: Fabric of Society	602.2 Immigration: Positive	0,47%
Domain 7: Social Groups	702 Labour Groups: Negative	0,33%
Domain 4: Economy	412 Controlled Economy: Positive	0,30%
Domain 6: Fabric of Society	604 Traditional Morality: Negative	0,27%
Domain 4: Economy	401 Free-Market Economy: Positive	0,12%
Domain 4: Economy	413 Nationalisation: Positive	0,12%
Domain 3: Political System	304 Political Corruption: Negative	0,09%
Domain 1: External Relations	107 Internationalism: Positive	0,06%
Domain 5: Welfare and Quality of Life	501 Environmental Protection: Positive	0,06%
Domain 2: Freedom and Democracy	201.1 Freedom	0,03%
Domain 2: Freedom and Democracy	202.3 Representative Democracy: Positive	0,03%
Domain 2: Freedom and Democracy	202.4 Direct Democracy: Positive	0,03%
Domain 3: Political System	305.3 Political Authority: Strong government	0,03%
Domain 6: Fabric of Society	603 Traditional Morality: Positive	0,03%
Domain 6: Fabric of Society	607.1 Multiculturalism General: Positive	0,03%

In summary, according to the data obtained from the party manifesto of 2013, the progressive Left party Socialist Party of Chile focuses mainly on the issue "Technology and Infrastructure: Positive". Therefore, the party manifesto of 2013 focuses on favorable mentions to public spending on infrastructure such as roads and support for public spending on technological infrastructure. Compared with the party manifesto of 2005, the issue "Welfare State Expansion" no longer has the same attention within the party manifesto 2013 and falls to the third position in attention. In terms of the rile index, the 2013 party manifesto obtained a value of -18,974 (Table 42). This value denotes that the Socialist Party of Chile in the 2013 party manifesto focuses on a political agenda with greater attention to Left-wing ideology issues; however, attention to Left-wing ideology issues decreased compared to the political manifesto of 2005.

**7.1.3.1.4 Issue Overlap Score across Party Manifestos Over Time**

After understanding which issues received the most attention in the two-party manifestos relating to the years 2005 and 2013, it is fundamental to measure the degree of issue overlap -issue convergence or divergence- among the issues addressed by the Socialist Party of Chile in the party manifestos. Table 47 contains the issue overlap between party manifestos 2005 and 2013. The issue overlaps between party manifestos scores around 75,83%; this means that the Socialist Party of Chile tends to address three out of four issues during political campaigns similarly.

**Table 48: Degree of Issue Overlap (Issue Convergence or Divergence)  
Socialist Party of Chile Party Manifestos 2005 and 2013**

<b>Party Manifesto Year</b>	<b>2013</b>
<b>2005</b>	75,83

**7.1.3.1.5 Summary of the findings**

According to scores obtained in the Right-Left position index (RILE Index) corresponding to the party manifestos of the years 2005 and 2013, the progressive Left party Socialist Party of Chile maintains a progressive Left-wing ideological position during the political campaigns of the years 2005 and 2013; however, Left-wing ideology issues on its political agenda decreased over time.

Moreover, conducting an individual analysis of the party manifestos belonging to the Socialist Party of Chile, we find that the issue receiving the most attention in 2005 was "Welfare State

Expansion", meaning that the party manifesto of 2005 focuses on support to government funding of health care, elderly care and pensions, childcare, and social housing system. Also, analyzing the party manifesto of 2013, we found that the issue receiving the most attention is "Technology and Infrastructure: Positive", meaning that the party manifesto of 2013 focuses mainly on public spending on infrastructure such as roads and support for public spending on technological infrastructure.

Furthermore, it was essential to measure the degree of issue overlap -issue convergence or divergence- among the issues addressed by the Socialist Party of Chile in the party manifestos. The issue overlap between party manifestos of 2005 and 2013 scores around 75,83%; this means that the Socialist Party of Chile tends to address three out of four issues during political campaigns.

Performing an analysis of what was mentioned above, the Socialist Party of Chile's agenda mainly focuses on Left-wing ideology issues, especially the "Welfare and Quality of Life" domain during the two elections. Moreover, the most attention issues are "Welfare State Expansion" and "Technology and Infrastructure: Positive". This last issue belongs to the domain "Economy". In other words, the Socialist Party of Chile's political agendas are characterized by focusing on issues such as positive references of need to introduce, maintain, or expand any public social service or social security scheme and support the importance of technological developments in the industry, support public spending on infrastructures such as roads and the importance of public spending on technological infrastructure. Also, according to the data analysis, the Socialist Party of Chile tends to pay attention to the same issues during political campaigns; it is also observed that the Socialist Party of Chile addresses three out of four issues during political campaigns.

All the calculations and findings obtained in this section allow this study to answer the first group of questions that deal with the priorities of the political agenda of the progressive Left parties and their similarity or difference with the political agendas across Latin American countries.

Subsequently, the empirical analysis of the adopted laws is carried out during 2006 - 2010 and 2014 - 2018. Analyzing the adopted laws is essential since the data obtained in the next section helps this research develop to answer the second group of questions that addresses the ability of the progressive political parties to carry their issue priorities from the party manifestos into law.

### **7.1.3.2 Empirical Evidence of Issue Attention in the Adopted Legislation**

#### **7.1.3.2.1 Empirical Evidence of Issue Attention in the Adopted Legislation during the period 2006-2010**

During 2006 - 2010, the legislation focuses intensely on the "Economy" policy area with 23,72% of the attention. Below is a summary of the attention by policy areas in the laws adopted from 2006 to 2010.

**Table 49: Issue Attention by Domain**

#### **Socialist Party of Chile Adopted Policy from 2006 to 2010**

<b>Policy Area (Domains)</b>	<b>% of Attention</b>
4. Economy	23,72%
5. Welfare and Quality of Life	19,22%
6. Fabric of Society	17,41%
7. Social Groups	16,82%
3. Political System	11,41%
2. Freedom and Democracy	6,31%
1. External Relations	2,10%

Although the adopted laws focus mainly on issues from the "Economy" domain, the issue that receives the most attention is "Labour Groups: Positive" with a score of 12,01%. This issue is part of the domain "Social Groups". During the progressive Left government under Michelle Bachelet (2006-2010), laws related to "Labour Groups: Positive" issue were adopted, such as "Extends the right of working mothers to breast their children even when there is no cradle room", "Modification of the working code and makes extensive permission to the mother in case of adoption of a minor", "Readjust amount of the minimum monthly income" and "Improves retirement conditions for public sector employees with low replacement rates for their pensions". The creation of these laws denotes favorable support for the excellent treatment of all employees, including fair wages, good working conditions, and pension provisions. Below is a summary of the issues that received the most attention when the laws were adopted from 2006 to 2010.



**Table 50: Issue Attention by Domain and Issue**  
**Socialist Party of Chile Adopted Policy from 2006 to 2010**

<b>Policy Area (Domains)</b>	<b>Category</b>	<b>% of Attention</b>
Domain 7: Social Groups	701 Labour Groups: Positive	12,01%
Domain 6: Fabric of Society	605.1 Law and Order: Positive	9,61%
Domain 4: Economy	403 Market Regulation: Positive	7,81%
Domain 5: Welfare and Quality of Life	504 Welfare State Expansion	7,21%
Domain 5: Welfare and Quality of Life	502 Culture: Positive	6,01%
Domain 3: Political System	303 Governmental and Administrative Efficiency: Positive	5,11%
Domain 3: Political System	301 Decentralisation: Positive	4,50%
Domain 4: Economy	402 Incentives: Positive	4,50%
Domain 6: Fabric of Society	602.2 Immigration: Positive	4,50%
Domain 4: Economy	412 Controlled Economy: Positive	3,90%
Domain 2: Freedom and Democracy	202.1 Democracy General: Positive	3,30%
Domain 5: Welfare and Quality of Life	506 Education Expansion	2,70%
Domain 5: Welfare and Quality of Life	501 Environmental Protection: Positive	2,40%
Domain 4: Economy	413 Nationalisation: Positive	1,80%
Domain 1: External Relations	104 Military: Positive	1,50%
Domain 4: Economy	408 Economic Goals	1,50%
Domain 7: Social Groups	703.1 Agriculture and Farmers: Positive	1,50%
Domain 2: Freedom and Democracy	204 Constitutionalism: Negative	1,20%
Domain 4: Economy	411 Technology and Infrastructure: Positive	1,20%
Domain 4: Economy	416.2 Sustainability: Positive	1,20%
Domain 6: Fabric of Society	603 Traditional Morality: Positive	1,20%
Domain 7: Social Groups	705 Minority Groups: Positive	1,20%
Domain 2: Freedom and Democracy	201.2 Human Rights	0,90%
Domain 2: Freedom and Democracy	202.4 Direct Democracy: Positive	0,90%
Domain 3: Political System	305.6 Rehabilitation and Compensation	0,90%
Domain 5: Welfare and Quality of Life	503 Equality: Positive	0,90%
Domain 6: Fabric of Society	605.2 Law and Order: Negative	0,90%
Domain 7: Social Groups	704 Middle Class and Professional Groups: Positive	0,90%
Domain 7: Social Groups	706 Non-Economic Demographic Groups: Positive	0,60%
Domain 3: Political System	304 Political Corruption: Negative	0,60%

Domain 4: Economy	409 Keynesian Demand Management: Positive	0,60%
Domain 4: Economy	414 Economic Orthodoxy: Positive	0,60%
Domain 6: Fabric of Society	604 Traditional Morality: Negative	0,60%
Domain 6: Fabric of Society	607.3 Indigenous Rights: Positive	0,60%
Domain 7: Social Groups	703.2 Agriculture and Farmers: Negative	0,60%
Domain 1: External Relations	105 Military: Negative	0,30%
Domain 1: External Relations	107 Internationalism: Positive	0,30%
Domain 3: Political System	302 Centralisation: Positive	0,30%
Domain 4: Economy	404 Economic Planning: Positive	0,30%
Domain 4: Economy	410 Economic Growth	0,30%

In summary, according to the data obtained from the adopted laws from 2006 to 2010, the progressive Left party Socialist Party of Chile focuses mainly on the issue "Labour Groups: Positive". In other words, laws related to the favorable support for the good treatment of all employees were adopted in this period.

#### **7.1.3.2.2 Empirical Evidence of Issue Attention in the Adopted Legislation during the period 2014-2018**

During 2014 - 2018, the legislation focuses intensely on the "Welfare and Quality of Life" policy area with practically 30% of the attention. Below is a summary of the attention by policy areas in the laws adopted from 2014 to 2018.

**Table 51: Issue Attention by Domain**  
**Socialist Party of Chile Adopted Policy from 2014 to 2018**

<b>Policy Area (Domains)</b>	<b>% of Attention</b>
5. Welfare and Quality of Life	31,03%
4. Economy	17,53%
7. Social Groups	16,95%
6. Fabric of Society	15,52%
3. Political System	11,49%
2. Freedom and Democracy	4,60%
1. External Relations	1,72%

As mentioned above, the adopted laws focus mainly on issues from the "Welfare and Quality of Life" domain, being "Culture: Positive" the issue that receives the most attention during the second period of the progressive Left government under Michelle Bachelet (2014-2018). In this period, laws

related to this issue were adopted, such as "Infrastructure and sports equipment of the armed forces and order and public security to sports organizations, educational establishments, and non-profit legal persons", "Creation of the Ministry of Cultures, Arts and Heritage" and "Declares the first Saturday of September each year as the National Day of the Circus". Below is a summary of the issues' attention scores in legislation adopted from 2014 to 2018.

**Table 52: Issue Attention by Domain and Issue**  
**Socialist Party of Chile Adopted Policy from 2014 to 2018**

<b>Policy Area (Domains)</b>	<b>Category</b>	<b>% of Attention</b>
Domain 5: Welfare and Quality of Life	502 Culture: Positive	13,51%
Domain 7: Social Groups	701 Labour Groups: Positive	10,92%
Domain 6: Fabric of Society	605.1 Law and Order: Positive	8,05%
Domain 5: Welfare and Quality of Life	504 Welfare State Expansion	6,03%
Domain 3: Political System	303 Governmental and Administrative Efficiency: Positive	5,75%
Domain 4: Economy	403 Market Regulation: Positive	5,75%
Domain 5: Welfare and Quality of Life	506 Education Expansion	5,17%
Domain 6: Fabric of Society	602.2 Immigration: Positive	4,60%
Domain 5: Welfare and Quality of Life	501 Environmental Protection: Positive	4,31%
Domain 2: Freedom and Democracy	202.1 Democracy General: Positive	3,16%
Domain 4: Economy	412 Controlled Economy: Positive	2,87%
Domain 4: Economy	411 Technology and Infrastructure: Positive	2,59%
Domain 3: Political System	301 Decentralisation: Positive	2,01%
Domain 3: Political System	304 Political Corruption: Negative	2,01%
Domain 7: Social Groups	704 Middle Class and Professional Groups: Positive	1,72%
Domain 7: Social Groups	705 Minority Groups: Positive	1,72%
Domain 7: Social Groups	706 Non-Economic Demographic Groups: Positive	1,72%
Domain 4: Economy	408 Economic Goals	1,44%
Domain 5: Welfare and Quality of Life	503 Equality: Positive	1,44%
Domain 6: Fabric of Society	603 Traditional Morality: Positive	1,44%
Domain 1: External Relations	104 Military: Positive	1,15%
Domain 4: Economy	402 Incentives: Positive	1,15%
Domain 3: Political System	302 Centralisation: Positive	0,86%
Domain 4: Economy	405 Corporatism: Positive	0,86%

Domain 4: Economy	409 Keynesian Demand Management: Positive	0,86%
Domain 4: Economy	413 Nationalisation: Positive	0,86%
Domain 7: Social Groups	703.1 Agriculture and Farmers: Positive	0,86%
Domain 2: Freedom and Democracy	204 Constitutionalism: Negative	0,57%
Domain 2: Freedom and Democracy	201.2 Human Rights	0,57%
Domain 3: Political System	305.6 Rehabilitation and Compensation	0,57%
Domain 4: Economy	416.2 Sustainability: Positive	0,57%
Domain 5: Welfare and Quality of Life	507 Education Limitation	0,57%
Domain 1: External Relations	107 Internationalism: Positive	0,29%
Domain 1: External Relations	109 Internationalism: Negative	0,29%
Domain 2: Freedom and Democracy	202.3 Representative Democracy: Positive	0,29%
Domain 3: Political System	305.2 Political Authority: Personal Competence	0,29%
Domain 4: Economy	404 Economic Planning: Positive	0,29%
Domain 4: Economy	410 Economic Growth	0,29%
Domain 6: Fabric of Society	601.1 National Way of Life General: Positive	0,29%
Domain 6: Fabric of Society	601.2 Immigration: Negative	0,29%
Domain 6: Fabric of Society	604 Traditional Morality: Negative	0,29%
Domain 6: Fabric of Society	605.2 Law and Order: Negative	0,29%
Domain 6: Fabric of Society	607.3 Indigenous Rights: Positive	0,29%

In summary, according to the data obtained from the adopted laws from 2014 to 2018, the progressive Left party Socialist Party of Chile focuses mainly on the issue "Culture: Positive". Therefore, laws were adopted in this period related to the need for State funding of cultural and leisure facilities, including arts and sport.

### **7.1.3.2.3 Issue Overlap Score across Adopted Legislation Over Time**

This study examined the degree of issue overlap -issue convergence or divergence- among the issues addressed in the adopted laws. Table 52 contains the issue overlap between the adopted laws during 2006-2010 and 2014-2018. The issue overlap between adopted laws scores 78,58%; this means that the Socialist Party of Chile addresses around three out of four similar issues regarding the adoption of laws. Thus, the progressive Left party Socialist Party of Chile addresses almost the same issues in the adopted laws during 2006-2010 and 2014-2018. What does this tell us about how this party behaves in government? The data suggests a convergence between the adopted laws of 2006-

2010 and 2014-2018. In other words, the overlap of issues is high, meaning that the legislature paid almost the same attention to issues during its administration in the two legislative terms.

**Table 53: Degree of Issue Overlap (Issue Convergence or Divergence)  
Socialist Party of Chile Adopted Policy from 2006 to 2010 and from 2014 to 2018**

<b>Adopted Laws</b>	<b>2006-2010</b>
<b>2014-2018</b>	78,58

**7.1.3.2.3 Summary of the findings**

Conducting an individual analysis of the adopted laws belonging to the Socialist Party of Chile, we found that the issue receiving the most attention during the period 2006-2010 was "Labour Groups: Positive", meaning that the adopted laws during this period focus on issues such as the good treatment of all employees, including fair wages, good working conditions, and pension provisions. Also, analyzing the adopted laws from 2014 to 2018, we found that the issue receiving the most attention is "Culture: Positive", meaning that the adopted laws during the period focus mainly on the need for State funding of cultural and leisure facilities, including arts and sport.

Furthermore, it was essential to measure the degree of issue overlap among the issues addressed by the Socialist Party of Chile in the adopted laws. The issue overlap between adopted laws scored around 78,58%; this means that the issue similarity of the adopted laws over time remained constant. Thus, the issue overlap in the adopted laws was high, meaning that the legislature paid almost the same attention to issues during its administration in the two legislative terms.

Performing an analysis of what was mentioned above, the Socialist Party of Chile focuses on different domains and issues when it comes to adopted laws. During the period 2006-2010, the Socialist Party of Chile focuses on the adopted laws within the domain "Economy", and during the period 2014-2018, this political party focuses on adopted laws within the domain "Welfare and Quality of Life". It was "Labour Groups: Positive," the issue that receives the most attention during the period 2006-2010, and "Culture: Positive" the issue that receives greater attention during the period 2014-2018. In other words, the Socialist Party of Chile's adopted laws during the period 2006-2010 are characterized by focusing on issues such as the good treatment of all employees, including fair wages, good working conditions, and pension provisions; and during the period 2014-2018 are characterized

by focusing on issues such as the need for State funding of cultural and leisure facilities including arts and sport.

Moreover, according to the data analysis, the Socialist Party of Chile tends to pay attention to the same issues during the adoption of the laws. Therefore, the overlap of issues in the adopted laws was high, meaning that the legislature paid almost the same attention to issues during the two different terms.

All the calculations and findings obtained in this section allow this study to answer the second group of questions that addresses the ability of the progressive political parties to carry their issue priorities from the party manifestos into law.

Subsequently, this study calculates the issue-overlap scores between party manifestos and adopted laws. Thus, this study needs to know if the Socialist Party of Chile addressed the same issues in the party manifestos and adopted laws.

### **7.1.3.3 Issue Overlap Score across Party Manifestos and Adopted Legislation**

After calculating the issue overlap for both political manifestos and adopted laws, this study calculates the issue-overlap scores between party manifestos and adopted laws. Table 53 contains the issue overlap between the party manifestos of 2005 and 2013 and the adopted laws during 2006-2010 and 2014-2018. In general terms, the issue overlaps between party manifestos and adopted laws scores around 55,79%. This means that the Socialist Party of Chile tends to address more of the half number of similar issues between the campaign period and after they have been in government. Therefore, the issue overlap is relatively medium and declining, meaning that the gap between what Socialist Party of Chile focuses on its party manifestos and what it legislates is moderate and increasing. Thus, the Left-wing progressive party Socialist Party of Chile addressed more than half of the same issues between party manifestos and adopted laws, having a moderate and increasing gap between what the Socialist Party of Chile focuses on its party manifestos and what it legislates.

**Table 54: Degree of Issue Overlap (Issue Convergence or Divergence)**

**Socialist Party of Chile Manifestos 2005 and 2013; and Adopted Policy from 2006 to 2010 and from 2014 to 2018**

<b>Party Manifestos</b>	<b>Adopted Laws</b>	
	<b>2006-2010</b>	<b>2014-2018</b>
<b>2005</b>	57,69	
<b>2013</b>		53,90
<b>Average</b>	55,79	

**7.1.3.4 Analysis of the Results: Party Manifestos vs. Adopted Legislation**

A comparative analysis of the results obtained from the party manifestos corresponding to the years 2005 and 2013 and the adopted laws from the periods 2006-2010 and 2014-2018 allows us to identify the ideological movement to the Left or Right of the progressive parties. The comparative analysis of the party manifestos and adopted laws will also help us to identify the agenda of the progressive Left parties before winning the government power. The analysis will also help us to identify the behavior of the political agendas once the progressive parties enter the government. In the same way, the analysis helps us to understand how well what progressive political parties declare in their manifestos becomes laws.

Therefore, according to scores obtained in the Right-Left position index (RILE Index) corresponding to the party manifestos of the years 2005 and 2013, the progressive Left party Socialist Party of Chile maintains a progressive Left-wing ideological position during the political campaigns of the years 2005 and 2013, however, Left-wing ideology issues on its political agenda decrease over time.

Moreover, according to the data of the party manifestos belonging to the Socialist Party of Chile, we found that the issue receiving the most attention in 2005 was "Welfare State Expansion", meaning that the party manifesto of 2005 focuses on support to government funding of health care, elderly care and pensions, childcare, and social housing system. Also, analyzing the party manifesto of 2013, we found that the issue receiving the most attention is "Technology and Infrastructure: Positive", meaning that the party manifesto of 2007 focuses mainly on support to the importance of technological

developments in the industry, support public spending on infrastructures such as roads and the importance of public spending on technological infrastructure.

Also, according to the data of the adopted laws from the periods 2006-2010 and 2014-2018, the issue that receives the most attention during the period 2006-2010 was "Labour Groups: Positive", meaning that the adopted laws during this period focus on favorable support for the good treatment of all employees, including fair wages, good working conditions, and pension provisions. Also, analyzing the adopted laws from 2014 to 2018, we found that the issue receiving the most attention is "Culture: Positive", meaning that the adopted laws during the period focus mainly on the need for State funding of cultural and leisure facilities, including arts and sport.

Moreover, according to the issue overlap score for the party manifestos of 2005 and 2013, the Socialist Party of Chile tends to address three out of four issues during political campaigns similarly.

On the other hand, according to the issue overlap score for the adopted laws, the issue similarity remained constant for the laws over time. Thus, the issue overlap in the adopted laws was high, meaning that the legislature paid almost the same attention to the issues during the two different periods. Also, this party addresses around three out of four similar issues regarding the adoption of laws.

Furthermore, in general terms, according to the issue overlap between party manifestos and adopted laws scores, the Socialist Party of Chile tends to address more of the half number of similar issues between the campaign period and after they have been in government. Therefore, the issue overlap is relatively moderate and declining, meaning that the gap between what the Socialist Party of Chile focuses on its party manifestos and what it legislates on is relatively moderate and increasing. Thus, the Left-wing progressive party Socialist Party of Chile addressed more than half of the same issues between party manifestos and adopted laws, having a moderate and increasing gap between what Socialist Party of Chile focuses on its party manifestos and what it legislates.

In summary, according to the data analysis, the Socialist Party of Chile during the two political campaigns focuses on a progressive Left-wing political agenda; however, attention to Left-wing ideology issues decreases from one election to another. Also, the Socialist Party of Chile tends to address three out of four issues during political campaigns similarly.

Furthermore, the Socialist Party of Chile's political agenda before getting into government power focuses on "Welfare State Expansion" in 2005 and "Technology and Infrastructure: Positive" in 2013. Once the Socialist Party of Chile got into government, the political agenda was different from the party



manifestos. Once inside the government, laws were adopted with greater attention to "Labour Groups: Positive" during 2006-2010 and "Culture: Positive" during 2010- 2014.

By focusing on the party manifestos, we find that the Socialist Party of Chile tends to pay attention to the same issues during political campaigns; it is also observed that the Socialist Party of Chile addresses three out of four similar issues during political campaigns in their party manifestos. On the other hand, by focusing on the adopted laws, the Socialist Party of Chile tends to pay attention to the same issues. Therefore, the overlap of issues in the adopted laws was high, meaning that the legislature paid almost the same attention to issues during the two different terms. Overall, there is a convergence between the party manifestos and the adopted laws. Thus, the Socialist Party of Chile tends to address more than half the number of similar issues between the campaign period and after they have been in government. Thus, the Left-wing progressive party Socialist Party of Chile addressed more than half of the same issues between party manifestos and adopted laws, having a moderate and increasing gap between what the Socialist Party of Chile focuses on its party manifestos and what it legislates. Below is a table that summarizes the results obtained from the analysis of the Chilean case.

**Table 55: Summary of the Results**

**Socialist Party of Chile Manifestos 2005, and 2013; and Adopted Policy from 2006 to 2010 and from 2014 to 2018**

	<b>Scores</b>	<b>Explanation</b>
Right-Left position index (RILE Index)	-19,345	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Socialist Party of Chile maintains a progressive Left-wing ideological position</li> <li>• Left-wing ideology issues on its political agenda decrease over time.</li> </ul>
Issue that received the most attention - Party Manifesto 2005	12,09%	Welfare State Expansion
Issue that received the most attention - Party Manifesto 2013	10,91%	Technology and Infrastructure: Positive
Issue that received the most attention - Adopted Laws 2006-2010	12,01%	Labour Groups: Positive
Issue that received the most attention - Adopted Laws 2014-2018	13,51%	Culture: Positive
Issue overlap score for the Party Manifestos	75,83%	The Socialist Party of Chile tends to address three out of four issues during political campaigns similarly.
Issue overlap score for the	78,58%	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• The Socialist Party of Chile addresses around</li> </ul>

Adopted Laws		<p>three out of four similar issues regarding the adoption of laws.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Issue overlap is high.</li> </ul>
Issue overlap between party manifestos and adopted laws scores	55,79%	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• The Socialist Party of Chile tends to address more of the half number of similar issues between the campaign period and after they have been in government.</li> <li>• The issue overlap is relatively medium and declining</li> <li>• There is a moderate and increasing gap between what the Socialist Party of Chile focuses on its party manifestos and what it legislates.</li> </ul>

Finally, after carrying out the empirical analysis of the Argentinian, Bolivian, and Chilean cases, the empirical study of the Ecuadorian case is next. This chapter will begin by carrying out the empirical analysis of the data obtained from the Ecuadorian case dataset. As in the previous cases, this research calculates the Right-Left position index (RILE index) for the party manifestos of 2006 and 2013 belonging to the PAIS Alliance. This information helps to determine if the PAIS Alliance remained ideologically Left-wing or ideologically moved from Left to Right over time. Then, to answer the first group of questions, the empirical analysis of the party manifestos of 2006 and 2013 will be performed. This analysis will allow the study to know the issues that received the most attention in the party manifestos of 2006 and 2013. After understanding which issues received the most attention in the two-party manifestos, this study calculates the degree of issue overlap -issue convergence or divergence- among the issues addressed by the PAIS Alliance in the party manifestos. This calculation identifies how similar the PAIS Alliance's attention is in the party manifestos 2006 and 2013. Then we will summarize the results found in the party manifestos, which allows us to answer the first group of questions.

In the same way, the second group of questions is answered with the empirical analysis of the party manifestos of 2006 and 2013 and the adopted laws of the periods 2007-2013 and 2013-2017 belonging to the PAIS Alliance. Having carried out the empirical analysis of the party manifestos of 2006 and 2013, it is necessary to carry out the empirical analysis of the issues which received the most attention in the adopted laws during the periods 2007-2013 and 2013-2017 legislative periods. After understanding which issues received the most attention in adopted laws, this study calculates the degree of issue overlap -issue convergence or divergence- among the issues addressed by the PAIS Alliance in the adopted laws. This calculation identifies how similar the PAIS Alliance's attention is in the

adopted laws during the 2007-2013 and 2013-2017 legislative periods. Then the study will summarize the results found in the adopted laws.

After calculating the issue overlap for both political manifestos and adopted laws, this study calculates the issue-overlap scores between party manifestos and adopted laws. This calculation helps us know whether the PAIS Alliance addresses the same issues in the party manifestos and adopted laws, allowing us to answer the second group of questions.

Finally, an exclusive section will evaluate and summarize what we have learned about Ecuador.

**7.1.4 The Ecuadorian Case**

This section will carry out an empirical analysis of the party manifestos and adopted laws belonging to the PAIS Alliance. This progressive political party was in government from 2007 to 2017 in Ecuador.

**7.1.4.1 Empirical Evidence of Issue Attention in the Party Manifestos**

**7.1.4.1.1 Right-Left position index (RILE Index)**

Firstly, the rile index of the party manifestos of 2006 and 2013 is calculated to determine whether the PAIS Alliance remained ideologically on the Left or ideologically moved from Left to Right over time. Below we can see the values from the rile index obtained from the party manifestos of 2006 and 2013 belonging to the PAIS Alliance.

**Table 56: Right-Left Position Index**

**PAIS Alliance Party Manifestos 2006 and 2013**

<b>Party Manifesto</b>	<b>RILE Index</b>
2006	-25,856
2013	-9,317
<b>Average</b>	<b>-17,586</b>

According to the RILE index, the PAIS Alliance maintains a progressive Left ideological position. According to the data in Table 55, in the 2006 party manifesto, the PAIS Alliance obtained a score of -25,856. Moreover, the 2013 party manifesto obtained a score of -9,317, suggesting that its Left ideological position did not move from one political campaign to another. However, during the 2006 political campaign, a political agenda was proposed with greater attention to Left-wing ideology issues

than in the 2013 political campaign. Thus, 2013 attention to Left-wing ideology issues decreased compared to the RILE score of 2006. On average, according to the rile index, the progressive Left party PAIS Alliance maintains a progressive Left-wing ideological position with a Rile score of -17,586 during the political campaigns of 2006 and 2013. In conclusion, according to the party manifestos of 2006, and 2013, the PAIS Alliance maintains a progressive Left-wing ideological position; however, Left-wing ideology issues on its political agenda decrease over time.

The empirical analysis of the data obtained from the party manifestos of 2006 and 2013 is carried out in the next section. This analysis allows us to identify the issues that received the most attention from the PAIS Alliance during the political campaign of 2006 and 2013.

**7.1.4.1.2 Empirical Evidence of Issue Attention in the Party Manifesto 2006**

The PAIS Alliance's party manifesto in 2006 focusing strongly on the "Economy" policy area with the attention of 27,57%. Table 56 below shows the aggregate attention score per policy domain.

**Table 57: Issue Attention by Domain  
PAIS Alliance Party Manifesto 2006**

<b>Policy Area (Domains)</b>	<b>% of Attention</b>
4. Economy	27,57%
5. Welfare and Quality of Life	24,74%
7. Social Groups	10,53%
3. Political System	10,19%
2. Freedom and Democracy	9,85%
1. External Relations	8,30%
6. Fabric of Society	8,22%

To answer the first group of questions, it is essential to know which issue received the most attention in the party manifesto of 2006. Although the party manifesto focuses mainly on issues from the "Economy" domain, the issue that receives the most attention is "Welfare State Expansion" with 9,08%. This issue is part of the domain "Welfare and Quality of Life". Thus, the 2006's party manifesto focuses on favorable mentions to government funding of health care, childcare, elderly care and pensions, and social housing. Expressions found in the manifesto, such as "Health must be of the best possible quality for all, it must, then, be guaranteed by the State as a fundamental right", "Free delivery of nutritional supplements for your children under five years of age", "Credits will be expanded and

improved, while a plan for sustained improvements in pensions is drawn up, which allows not only to recover the lost cost of living, but also to increase the real income of retirees and pensioners", and "The National Housing Bank (BNV) will be responsible for carrying out the national housing plan: Finally my little house, both at an urban and rural level" denote favorable mentions of the need to introduce and expand public social service and social security scheme. In the Rafael Correa progressive Left-government of 2007-2013, the frequencies of issue of attention for the party manifesto are presented below in Table 57.

**Table 58: Issue Attention by Domain and Issue**  
**PAIS Alliance Party Manifesto 2006**

<b>Policy Area (Domains)</b>	<b>Category</b>	<b>% of Attention</b>
Domain 5: Welfare and Quality of Life	504 Welfare State Expansion	9,08%
Domain 5: Welfare and Quality of Life	506 Education Expansion	6,85%
Domain 2: Freedom and Democracy	202.1 Democracy General: Positive	5,48%
Domain 4: Economy	411 Technology and Infrastructure: Positive	4,54%
Domain 5: Welfare and Quality of Life	503 Equality: Positive	4,28%
Domain 4: Economy	416.2 Sustainability: Positive	4,20%
Domain 5: Welfare and Quality of Life	501 Environmental Protection: Positive	4,11%
Domain 6: Fabric of Society	601.1 National Way of Life General: Positive	3,77%
Domain 7: Social Groups	701 Labour Groups: Positive	3,77%
Domain 3: Political System	304 Political Corruption: Negative	3,60%
Domain 7: Social Groups	706 Non-Economic Demographic Groups: Positive	3,25%
Domain 4: Economy	403 Market Regulation: Positive	3,17%
Domain 4: Economy	415 Marxist Analysis: Positive	3,17%
Domain 4: Economy	404 Economic Planning: Positive	2,83%
Domain 1: External Relations	107 Internationalism: Positive	2,31%
Domain 3: Political System	301 Decentralisation: Positive	2,31%
Domain 2: Freedom and Democracy	204 Constitutionalism: Negative	2,14%
Domain 6: Fabric of Society	607.1 Multiculturalism General: Positive	2,14%
Domain 4: Economy	405 Corporatism: Positive	2,05%
Domain 7: Social Groups	705 Minority Groups: Positive	2,05%
Domain 3: Political System	303 Governmental and Administrative Efficiency:	1,97%

	Positive	
Domain 3: Political System	305.1 Political Authority: Party Competence	1,97%
Domain 4: Economy	402 Incentives: Positive	1,88%
Domain 1: External Relations	108 European/LA Integration: Positive	1,80%
Domain 2: Freedom and Democracy	201.2 Human Rights	1,54%
Domain 1: External Relations	103.2 Foreign Financial Influence	1,46%
Domain 1: External Relations	109 Internationalism: Negative	1,46%
Domain 4: Economy	410 Economic Growth	1,37%
Domain 7: Social Groups	703.1 Agriculture and Farmers: Positive	1,28%
Domain 4: Economy	408 Economic Goals	1,20%
Domain 4: Economy	413 Nationalisation: Positive	1,20%
Domain 6: Fabric of Society	602.2 Immigration: Positive	0,94%
Domain 6: Fabric of Society	605.1 Law and Order: Positive	0,86%
Domain 1: External Relations	103.1 State Centred Anti-Imperialism	0,60%
Domain 2: Freedom and Democracy	201.1 Freedom	0,60%
Domain 4: Economy	409 Keynesian Demand Management: Positive	0,60%
Domain 1: External Relations	102 Foreign Special Relationships: Negative	0,51%
Domain 4: Economy	406 Protectionism: Positive	0,43%
Domain 4: Economy	412 Controlled Economy: Positive	0,43%
Domain 4: Economy	414 Economic Orthodoxy: Positive	0,43%
Domain 5: Welfare and Quality of Life	502 Culture: Positive	0,43%
Domain 3: Political System	305.3 Political Authority: Strong government	0,34%
Domain 6: Fabric of Society	607.3 Indigenous Rights: Positive	0,34%
Domain 7: Social Groups	704 Middle Class and Professional Groups: Positive	0,17%
Domain 1: External Relations	104 Military: Positive	0,09%
Domain 1: External Relations	106 Peace: Positive	0,09%
Domain 2: Freedom and Democracy	203 Constitutionalism: Positive	0,09%
Domain 4: Economy	407 Protectionism: Negative	0,09%
Domain 6: Fabric of Society	603 Traditional Morality: Positive	0,09%
Domain 6: Fabric of Society	605.2 Law and Order: Negative	0,09%

In summary, according to the data obtained from the party manifesto of 2006, the progressive Left party PAIS Alliance focuses mainly on the issue "Welfare State Expansion". Therefore, the party manifesto of 2006 focuses on favorable mentions to government funding of health care, childcare, elderly care and pensions, and social housing. As a result, in terms of the Right-Left Position Index, the 2006 party manifesto obtained a value of -25,856 (Table 55). This value denotes that the PAIS Alliance

in the 2006 party manifesto focuses on a political agenda with greater attention to Left-wing ideology issues. Moreover, the party manifesto of 2006 received the most attention to Leftist ideology issues than the party manifestos of 2013.

**7.1.4.1.3 Empirical Evidence of Issue Attention in the Party Manifesto 2013**

The PAIS Alliance's party manifesto in 2013 focusing strongly on the "Economy" policy area with the attention of 25,55%. Table 58, as in the previous 2006 party manifesto, presents the overall attention scores by domain.

**Table 59: Issue Attention by Domain  
PAIS Alliance Party Manifesto 2013**

<b>Policy Area (Domains)</b>	<b>% of Attention</b>
4. Economy	25,55%
5. Welfare and Quality of Life	23,85%
3. Political System	13,00%
6. Fabric of Society	10,81%
2. Freedom and Democracy	8,86%
1. External Relations	8,24%
7. Social Groups	6,71%

Although the party manifestos focus mainly on issues from the "Economy" domain, the issue that receives the most attention is "Equality: Positive" with 8,12%. This issue is part of the domain "Welfare and Quality of Life". Thus, the 2013's party manifesto focuses on favorable mentions of the concept of social justice and the need for fair treatment of all people. Expressions found in the manifesto, such as "That is why we dream with an equitable, egalitarian development, respecting the specificities of our diverse society", "A country where there is a true appropriation of wealth by the peoples, guaranteeing the equitable development of all its regions", "fair distribution of national income and wealth", "on the way to apply public policies to build an egalitarian society in diversity", "The Human Development Bond, one of the largest social programs in the country and with the highest incidence in terms of equity, has to be transformed into a conscious effort to overcome poverty productively and culturally", and "This effort should serve mainly the poorest Ecuadorians" denote favorable mentions on the need to State funding in special protection for underprivileged social groups, a need for fair distribution of resources, and the end of discrimination. In the Rafael Correa progressive

Left-government of the period 2013-2017, the frequencies of issue of attention for the party manifesto are presented below in Table 59.

**Table 60: Issue Attention by Domain and Issue**  
**PAIS Alliance Party Manifesto 2013**

<b>Policy Area (Domains)</b>	<b>Category</b>	<b>% of Attention</b>
Domain 5: Welfare and Quality of Life	503 Equality: Positive	8,12%
Domain 4: Economy	411 Technology and Infrastructure: Positive	7,74%
Domain 4: Economy	415 Marxist Analysis: Positive	5,96%
Domain 2: Freedom and Democracy	202.1 Democracy General: Positive	4,72%
Domain 6: Fabric of Society	605.1 Law and Order: Positive	4,60%
Domain 5: Welfare and Quality of Life	501 Environmental Protection: Positive	4,55%
Domain 5: Welfare and Quality of Life	506 Education Expansion	4,43%
Domain 3: Political System	301 Decentralisation: Positive	3,98%
Domain 5: Welfare and Quality of Life	502 Culture: Positive	3,64%
Domain 1: External Relations	108 European/LA Integration: Positive	3,11%
Domain 5: Welfare and Quality of Life	504 Welfare State Expansion	3,11%
Domain 3: Political System	305.1 Political Authority: Party Competence	3,06%
Domain 4: Economy	404 Economic Planning: Positive	2,94%
Domain 6: Fabric of Society	607.1 Multiculturalism General: Positive	2,61%
Domain 3: Political System	303 Governmental and Administrative Efficiency: Positive	2,53%
Domain 2: Freedom and Democracy	201.2 Human Rights	2,36%
Domain 7: Social Groups	701 Labour Groups: Positive	2,24%
Domain 7: Social Groups	706 Non-Economic Demographic Groups: Positive	2,24%
Domain 4: Economy	403 Market Regulation: Positive	2,19%
Domain 4: Economy	416.2 Sustainability: Positive	1,86%
Domain 1: External Relations	107 Internationalism: Positive	1,82%
Domain 3: Political System	304 Political Corruption: Negative	1,78%
Domain 4: Economy	405 Corporatism: Positive	1,37%
Domain 7: Social Groups	703.1 Agriculture and Farmers: Positive	1,33%
Domain 1: External Relations	103.1 State Centred Anti-Imperialism	1,28%



Domain 3: Political System	305.3 Political Authority: Strong government	1,16%
Domain 1: External Relations	103.2 Foreign Financial Influence	1,12%
Domain 4: Economy	413 Nationalisation: Positive	0,99%
Domain 6: Fabric of Society	606.1 Civic Mindedness General: Positive	0,91%
Domain 2: Freedom and Democracy	201.1 Freedom	0,87%
Domain 7: Social Groups	705 Minority Groups: Positive	0,87%
Domain 6: Fabric of Society	601.1 National Way of Life General: Positive	0,75%
Domain 4: Economy	410 Economic Growth	0,70%
Domain 6: Fabric of Society	602.2 Immigration: Positive	0,70%
Domain 2: Freedom and Democracy	203 Constitutionalism: Positive	0,66%
Domain 4: Economy	402 Incentives: Positive	0,66%
Domain 4: Economy	408 Economic Goals	0,62%
Domain 1: External Relations	109 Internationalism: Negative	0,58%
Domain 3: Political System	305.2 Political Authority: Personal Competence	0,46%
Domain 6: Fabric of Society	604 Traditional Morality: Negative	0,41%
Domain 6: Fabric of Society	606.2 Bottom-Up Activism	0,41%
Domain 1: External Relations	106 Peace: Positive	0,29%
Domain 4: Economy	406 Protectionism: Positive	0,25%
Domain 2: Freedom and Democracy	204 Constitutionalism: Negative	0,21%
Domain 4: Economy	409 Keynesian Demand Management: Positive	0,21%
Domain 6: Fabric of Society	603 Traditional Morality: Positive	0,21%
Domain 6: Fabric of Society	602.1 National Way of Life General: Negative	0,08%
Domain 6: Fabric of Society	607.3 Indigenous Rights: Positive	0,08%
Domain 1: External Relations	105 Military: Negative	0,04%
Domain 2: Freedom and Democracy	202.4 Direct Democracy: Positive	0,04%
Domain 3: Political System	305.6 Rehabilitation and Compensation	0,04%
Domain 4: Economy	416.1 Anti-Growth Economy: Positive	0,04%
Domain 6: Fabric of Society	607.2 Immigrant Integration: Diversity	0,04%
Domain 7: Social Groups	704 Middle Class and Professional Groups: Positive	0,04%

In summary, according to the data obtained from the party manifesto of 2013, the progressive Left party PAIS Alliance focuses mainly on the issue "Equality: Positive". Therefore, the party manifesto of 2013 focuses on favorable mentions of the concept of social justice and the need for fair treatment of all people. As a result, in terms of the Right-Left Position Index, the 2013 party manifesto obtained a value of -9,317 (Table 55). This value denotes that the PAIS Alliance in the 2013 party manifesto

focuses on a political agenda with greater attention to Left-wing ideology issues. However, attention to Left-wing ideology issues dropped dramatically compared to the 2006 party manifesto.

**7.1.4.1.4 Issue Overlap Score across Party Manifestos Over Time**

After understanding which issues received the most attention in the two-party manifestos relating to 2006 and 2013, it is fundamental to measure the degree of issue overlap -issue convergence or divergence- among the issues addressed by the PAIS Alliance in the party manifestos. Table 60 shows us the issue overlap between party manifestos 2006 and 2013. The issue overlaps between party manifestos scores around 70,35%; This means that the PAIS Alliance tends to address almost three out of four issues during political campaigns similarly.

**Table 61: Degree of Issue Overlap (Issue Convergence or Divergence)  
PAIS Alliance Party Manifestos 2006 and 2013**

<b>Party Manifesto Year</b>	<b>2013</b>
<b>2006</b>	70,35

**7.1.4.1.5 Summary of the findings**

According to scores obtained in the Right-Left position index (RILE Index) corresponding to the party manifestos of the years 2006 and 2013, the progressive Left party PAIS Alliance maintains a progressive Left-wing ideological position during the political campaigns of the years 2006 and 2013; however, Left-wing ideology issues on its political agenda decreased over time.

Moreover, conducting an individual analysis of the party manifestos belonging to the PAIS Alliance, we find that the issue receiving the most attention in 2006 was "Welfare State Expansion", meaning that the party manifesto of 2006 focuses on favorable mentions to government funding of health care, childcare, elderly care and pensions, and social housing. Also, analyzing the party manifesto of 2013, we found that the issue receiving the most attention is "Equality: Positive", meaning that the party manifesto of 2013 focuses mainly on the need for State funding in special protection for underprivileged social groups, the need for fair distribution of resources and the end of discrimination.

Furthermore, it was essential to measure the degree of issue overlap -issue convergence or divergence- among the issues addressed by the PAIS Alliance in the party manifestos. The issue overlap

between party manifestos of 2006 and 2013 scores around 70,35%; this means that the PAIS Alliance tends to address almost three out of four issues during political campaigns.

Performing an analysis of what was mentioned above, PAIS Alliance's agenda, during the two elections, mainly focuses on Left-wing ideology issues, especially in the "Economy" domain. However, the most attention issues are "Welfare State Expansion" and "Equality: Positive". Both issues belong to the domain "Welfare and Quality of Life ". In other words, the PAIS Alliance's political agendas focus on issues such as the need to introduce and expand public social service and social security schemes and favorable mentions to the concept of social justice and the need for fair treatment of all people. Also, according to the data analysis, the PAIS Alliance tends to pay attention to the same issues during political campaigns; the PAIS Alliance addresses almost three out of four issues during political campaigns.

All the calculations and findings obtained in this section allow this study to answer the first group of questions that deal with the priorities of the political agenda of the progressive Left parties and their similarity or difference with the political agendas across Latin American countries.

Subsequently, the empirical analysis of the adopted laws is carried out during 2007 and 2017. Analyzing the adopted laws is essential since the data obtained in the next section will help this research develop to answer the second group of questions that addresses the ability of the progressive political parties to carry their issue priorities from the party manifestos into law.

#### **7.1.4.2 Empirical Evidence of Issue Attention in the Adopted Legislation**

##### **7.1.4.2.1 Empirical Evidence of Issue Attention in the Adopted Legislation during the period 2007-2013**

During 2007 - 2013, the legislation focuses intensely on the "Economy" policy area with 21,62% of the attention. Below is a summary of the attention by policy areas in the laws adopted from 2007 to 2013.

**Table 62: Issue Attention by Domain****PAIS Alliance Adopted Policy from 2007 to 2013**

<b>Policy Area (Domains)</b>	<b>% of Attention</b>
4. Economy	21,62%
3. Political System	17,57%
6. Fabric of Society	14,86%
7. Social Groups	10,81%
2. Freedom and Democracy	10,81%
1. External Relations	10,81%
5. Welfare and Quality of Life	9,46%

Although the adopted laws focus mainly on issues from the "Economy" domain, the issue that receives the most attention is "Law and Order: Positive" with a score of 13,51%. This issue is part of the domain "Fabric of Society". During the progressive Left government under Rafael Correa (2007-2013), laws related to "Law and Order: Positive" issue were adopted, such as "Reform Law to the Penal Code that defines the crime of genocide and ethnocide", "Interpretative Law to the Second Clause of the Third Transitory Provision of the Law to Suppress Money Laundering" and "Law repealing literal e) of Article 139 of the Organic Law of Land Transportation, Traffic and Road Safety". The creation of these laws denotes favorable support of strict law enforcement and stricter actions against domestic crime. Below is a summary of the issues that received the most attention when the laws were adopted from 2006 to 2010.

**Table 63: Issue Attention by Domain and Issue****PAIS Alliance Adopted Policy from 2007 to 2013**

<b>Policy Area (Domains)</b>	<b>Category</b>	<b>% of Attention</b>
Domain 6: Fabric of Society	605.1 Law and Order: Positive	13,51%
Domain 2: Freedom and Democracy	202.3 Representative Democracy: Positive	8,11%
Domain 1: External Relations	104 Military: Positive	6,76%
Domain 3: Political System	301 Decentralisation: Positive	6,76%
Domain 3: Political System	303 Governmental and Administrative Efficiency: Positive	6,76%
Domain 4: Economy	403 Market Regulation: Positive	6,76%
Domain 4: Economy	412 Controlled Economy: Positive	5,41%
Domain 4: Economy	413 Nationalisation: Positive	4,05%

Domain 5: Welfare and Quality of Life	504 Welfare State Expansion	4,05%
Domain 7: Social Groups	701 Labour Groups: Positive	4,05%
Domain 1: External Relations	107 Internationalism: Positive	2,70%
Domain 3: Political System	304 Political Corruption: Negative	2,70%
Domain 5: Welfare and Quality of Life	506 Education Expansion	2,70%
Domain 7: Social Groups	704 Middle Class and Professional Groups: Positive	2,70%
Domain 1: External Relations	101 Foreign Special Relationships: Positive	1,35%
Domain 2: Freedom and Democracy	202.1 Democracy General: Positive	1,35%
Domain 2: Freedom and Democracy	204 Constitutionalism: Negative	1,35%
Domain 3: Political System	302 Centralisation: Positive	1,35%
Domain 4: Economy	402 Incentives: Positive	1,35%
Domain 4: Economy	409 Keynesian Demand Management: Positive	1,35%
Domain 4: Economy	411 Technology and Infrastructure: Positive	1,35%
Domain 4: Economy	416.2 Sustainability: Positive	1,35%
Domain 5: Welfare and Quality of Life	501 Environmental Protection: Positive	1,35%
Domain 5: Welfare and Quality of Life	502 Culture: Positive	1,35%
Domain 6: Fabric of Society	607.3 Indigenous Rights: Positive	1,35%
Domain 7: Social Groups	703.1 Agriculture and Farmers: Positive	1,35%
Domain 7: Social Groups	705 Minority Groups: Positive	1,35%
Domain 7: Social Groups	706 Non-Economic Demographic Groups: Positive	1,35%

In summary, according to the data obtained from the adopted laws from 2007 to 2013, the progressive Left party PAIS Alliance focuses mainly on the issue “Law and Order: Positive”. In other words, laws related to the favorable support the importance of internal security and tougher attitudes in courts.

#### **7.1.4.2.2 Empirical Evidence of Issue Attention in the Adopted Legislation during the period 2013-2017**

During 2013 - 2017, the legislation focuses intensely on the "Political System" policy area with practically 26% of the attention. Below is a summary of the attention by policy areas in the laws adopted from 2013 to 2017.

**Table 64: Issue Attention by Domain****PAIS Alliance Adopted Policy from 2013 to 2017**

<b>Policy Area (Domains)</b>	<b>% of Attention</b>
3. Political System	25,95%
4. Economy	25,19%
5. Welfare and Quality of Life	19,85%
6. Fabric of Society	16,03%
2. Freedom and Democracy	6,11%
7. Social Groups	5,34%
1. External Relations	1,53%

As mentioned above, the adopted laws focus mainly on issues from the "Political System" domain, being "Governmental and Administrative Efficiency: Positive" the issue that receives the most attention during the progressive Left government under Rafael Correa (2013-2017). In this period, laws related to this issue were adopted, such as "Reform Law to the Organic Law of the National Public Purchasing System", "General Organic Code of Processes", and "Organic Law for Efficiency in Public Hiring". Below is a summary of the issues' attention scores in legislation adopted from 2014 to 2018.

**Table 65: Issue Attention by Domain and Issue****PAIS Alliance Adopted Policy from 2013 to 2017**

<b>Policy Area (Domains)</b>	<b>Category</b>	<b>% of Attention</b>
Domain 3: Political System	303 Governmental and Administrative Efficiency: Positive	14,50%
Domain 6: Fabric of Society	605.1 Law and Order: Positive	11,45%
Domain 3: Political System	301 Decentralisation: Positive	9,16%
Domain 4: Economy	403 Market Regulation: Positive	9,16%
Domain 5: Welfare and Quality of Life	504 Welfare State Expansion	7,63%
Domain 5: Welfare and Quality of Life	506 Education Expansion	6,11%
Domain 4: Economy	412 Controlled Economy: Positive	5,34%
Domain 2: Freedom and Democracy	202.1 Democracy General: Positive	4,58%
Domain 4: Economy	402 Incentives: Positive	3,82%

Domain 4: Economy	411 Technology and Infrastructure: Positive	3,05%
Domain 5: Welfare and Quality of Life	502 Culture: Positive	2,29%
Domain 7: Social Groups	701 Labour Groups: Positive	2,29%
Domain 1: External Relations	104 Military: Positive	1,53%
Domain 3: Political System	304 Political Corruption: Negative	1,53%
Domain 4: Economy	404 Economic Planning: Positive	1,53%
Domain 5: Welfare and Quality of Life	501 Environmental Protection: Positive	1,53%
Domain 5: Welfare and Quality of Life	503 Equality: Positive	1,53%
Domain 6: Fabric of Society	601.1 National Way of Life General: Positive	1,53%
Domain 6: Fabric of Society	602.2 Immigration: Positive	1,53%
Domain 7: Social Groups	703.1 Agriculture and Farmers: Positive	1,53%
Domain 2: Freedom and Democracy	201.1 Freedom	0,76%
Domain 2: Freedom and Democracy	201.2 Human Rights	0,76%
Domain 3: Political System	305.6 Rehabilitation and Compensation	0,76%
Domain 4: Economy	405 Corporatism: Positive	0,76%
Domain 4: Economy	413 Nationalisation: Positive	0,76%
Domain 4: Economy	414 Economic Orthodoxy: Positive	0,76%
Domain 5: Welfare and Quality of Life	507 Education Limitation	0,76%
Domain 6: Fabric of Society	605.2 Law and Order: Negative	0,76%
Domain 6: Fabric of Society	607.3 Indigenous Rights: Positive	0,76%
Domain 7: Social Groups	705 Minority Groups: Positive	0,76%
Domain 7: Social Groups	706 Non-Economic Demographic Groups: Positive	0,76%

In summary, according to the data obtained from the adopted laws from 2013 to 2017, the progressive Left party PAIS Alliance focuses mainly on the issue "Governmental and Administrative Efficiency: Positive". Therefore, laws were adopted in this period related to the general appeal to make the process of government and administration cheaper and more efficient.

**7.1.4.2.3 Issue Overlap Score across Adopted Legislation Over Time**

This study examined the degree of issue overlap -issue convergence or divergence- among the issues addressed in the adopted laws. Table 65 contains the issue overlap between the adopted laws during 2007-2013 and 2013-2017. The issue overlap between adopted laws scores 62,35%; this means that the PAIS Alliance addresses more than half of similar issues regarding the adoption of laws. What does this tell us about how this party behaves in government? The data suggests a convergence between the adopted laws of the period 2007-2013 and 2013-2017. In other words, the overlap of issues is moderate, meaning that the legislature paid more than half similar attention to issues during its administration in the two legislative terms.

**Table 66: Degree of Issue Overlap (Issue Convergence or Divergence)  
PAIS Alliance Adopted Policy from 2007 to 2017**

<b>Party Manifesto Year</b>	<b>2017</b>
<b>2007</b>	62,35

**7.1.4.2.4 Summary of the findings**

Conducting an individual analysis of the adopted laws belonging to the PAIS Alliance, we found that the issue receiving the most attention during the period 2007-2013 was “Law and Order: Positive”, meaning that the adopted laws during this period focus on issues such as favorable support of strict law enforcement, and tougher actions against domestic crime. Also, analyzing the adopted laws from 2013 to 2017, we found that the issue receiving the most attention is " Governmental and Administrative Efficiency: Positive", meaning that the adopted laws during the period focus mainly on making the process of government and administration cheaper and more efficient.

Furthermore, it was essential to measure the degree of issue overlap among the issues addressed by the PAIS Alliance in the adopted laws. The issue overlap between adopted laws scored 62,35%; this means that the issue similarity of the adopted laws over time remained constant. Thus, the issue overlap in the adopted laws was moderate, meaning that the legislature paid moderate attention to the same issues during its administration in the two legislative terms.

Performing an analysis mentioned above, the PAIS Alliance focuses on different domains and issues regarding adopted laws. During the period 2007-2013, the PAIS Alliance focuses on the adopted



laws within the domain "Economy", and during the period 2013-2017, this political party focuses on adopted laws within the domain "Political System". " Law and Order: Positive" was the issue that receives the most attention during 2007-2013, and "Governmental and Administrative Efficiency: Positive", which received greater attention during 2013-2017. In other words, the PAIS Alliance's adopted laws during the period 2007-2013 are characterized by focusing on favorable support of strict law enforcement, tougher actions against domestic crime, and general appeal to make the process of government and administration cheaper and more efficient.

Moreover, according to the data analysis, the PAIS Alliance tends to pay moderate attention to the same issues during the adoption of the laws. Therefore, the overlap of issues in the adopted laws was moderate, meaning that the legislature paid reasonably the same attention to the issues during the two different terms.

All the calculations and findings obtained in this section allow this study to answer the second group of questions that addresses the ability of the progressive political parties to carry their issue priorities from the party manifestos into law.

Subsequently, this study calculates the issue-overlap scores between party manifestos and adopted laws. Thus, this study needs to know if the PAIS Alliance addressed the same issues in the party manifestos and adopted laws.

#### **7.1.4.3 Issue Overlap Score across Party Manifestos and Adopted Legislation**

After calculating the issue overlap for both political manifestos and adopted laws, this study calculates the issue-overlap scores between party manifestos and adopted laws. Table 66 contains the issue overlap between the party manifestos of 2006 and 2013 and the adopted laws during 2007-2013 and 2013-2017. In general terms, the issue overlap between party manifestos and adopted laws scores 43,51%. This means that the PAIS Alliance tends to address less of the half number of similar issues between the campaign period and after they have been in government. Therefore, the issue overlap is relatively low and increasing, meaning that the gap between what PAIS Alliance focuses on its party manifestos and what it legislates is high and decreasing. Thus, the Left-wing progressive party PAIS Alliance addressed less than half of the same issues between party manifestos and adopted laws, having a high and decreasing gap between what the PAIS Alliance focuses on its party manifestos and what it legislates.

**Table 67: Degree of Issue Overlap (Issue Convergence or Divergence)**  
**PAIS Alliance Manifestos 2006 and 2013; and Adopted Policy from 2007 to 2017**

Party Manifestos	Adopted Laws	
	2007-2013	2013-2017
<b>2006</b>	39,79	
<b>2013</b>		47,24
<b>Average</b>	43,51	

#### **7.1.4.4 Analysis of the Results: Party Manifestos vs. Adopted Legislation**

A comparative analysis of the results obtained from the party manifestos corresponding to the years 2006 and 2013 and the adopted laws from 2007 to 2017 allows us to identify the ideological movement to the Left or Right of the progressive parties. The comparative analysis of the party manifestos and adopted laws will also help us to identify the agenda of the progressive Left parties before winning the government power. The analysis will also help us to identify the behavior of the political agendas once the progressive parties enter the government. In the same way, the analysis helps us to understand how well what progressive political parties declare in their manifestos becomes laws.

Therefore, according to scores obtained in the Right-Left position index (RILE Index) corresponding to the party manifestos of the years 2006 and 2013, the progressive Left party PAIS Alliance maintains a progressive Left-wing ideological position during the political campaigns of the years 2006 and 2013; however, Left-wing ideology issues on its political agenda drastically decrease over time.

Moreover, according to the data of the party manifestos belonging to the PAIS Alliance, we found that the issue receiving the most attention in 2006 was "Welfare State Expansion", meaning that the party manifesto of 2006 focuses on the need to introduce and expand public social service and social security scheme. Also, analyzing the party manifesto of 2013, we found that the issue receiving the most attention is "Equality: Positive", meaning that the party manifesto of 2013 focuses mainly on the need for State funding in special protection for underprivileged social groups, the need for fair distribution of resources and the end of discrimination.

Also, according to the data of the adopted laws from 2007 to 2017, the issue that receives the most attention during the period 2007-2013 was "Law and Order: Positive", meaning that the adopted

law during this period focuses on issues such as strict law enforcement, and tougher actions against domestic crime. Also, analyzing the adopted laws from 2013 to 2017, we found that the issue receiving the most attention is "Governmental and Administrative Efficiency: Positive", meaning that the adopted laws during the period focus mainly on the general appeal to make the process of government and administration cheaper and more efficient.

Moreover, according to the issue overlap score for the party manifestos of 2006 and 2013, the PAIS Alliance addresses almost three out of four similar issues during the campaign.

On the other hand, the issue overlap in the adopted laws was moderate, meaning that the legislature paid more than half similar attention to issues during its administration in the two legislative terms. Thus, PAIS Alliance proposed almost three out of four similar issues in the party manifestos during the campaigns. Also, this political party dealt with a moderate percentage of the same issues when they were within the government.

Furthermore, in general terms, according to the issue overlap between party manifestos and adopted laws scores, the PAIS Alliance tends to address less of the half number of similar issues between the campaign period and after they have been in government. Therefore, the issue overlap is relatively low and increasing, meaning that the gap between what the PAIS Alliance focuses on its party manifestos and what it legislates on is quite large and decreasing. Thus, the Left-wing progressive party PAIS Alliance addresses less than half of the same issues between party manifestos and adopted laws from 2007 to 2017, having a large and decreasing gap between what the Front for Victory focuses on its party manifestos and what it legislates.

In summary, according to the data analysis, the PAIS Alliance during the two political campaigns focuses on a progressive Left-wing political agenda; however, attention to Left-wing ideology issues decreases drastically from one election to another. This denotes that its agenda was mainly focuses on Left-wing ideology issues during the first political election, but in the following political election, the intensity and focus on Left-wing ideology issues decreased drastically, although in no case was its political agenda mainly focuses on Right-wing ideology issues.

Furthermore, the PAIS Alliance's political agenda before getting into government power focuses on "Welfare State Expansion" in 2006 and "Equality: Positive" in 2013. Once the PAIS Alliance got into government, the political agenda was different from the party manifestos. Once inside the government, laws were adopted with greater attention to "Law and Order: Positive" during 2007-2013 and "Governmental and Administrative Efficiency: Positive" during 2013- 2017.

By focusing on the party manifestos, we find that the PAIS Alliance tends to pay attention to the same issues during political campaigns; it is also observed that the PAIS Alliance addresses almost three out of four similar issues during political campaigns in their party manifestos. On the other hand, by focusing on the adopted laws, the PAIS Alliance paid moderate attention to the same issues during the two different terms. Overall, there is a divergence between the party manifestos and the adopted laws. Thus, the PAIS Alliance tends to address less than half the number of similar issues between the campaign period and after they have been in government. Thus, the Left-wing progressive party PAIS Alliance addressed less than half of the same issues between party manifestos and adopted laws, having a large and decreasing gap between what the PAIS Alliance focuses on its party manifestos and what it legislates. Below is a table that summarizes the results obtained from the analysis of the Ecuadorian case.

**Table 68: Summary of the Results**

**PAIS Alliance Manifestos 2006 and 2013; and Adopted Policy from 2007 to 2017**

	<b>Scores</b>	<b>Explanation</b>
Right-Left position index (RILE Index)	-17,586	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>PAIS Alliance maintains a progressive Left ideological position.</li> <li>Left-wing ideology issues on its political agenda decrease over time.</li> </ul>
Issue that received the most attention - Party Manifesto 2006	9,08%	Welfare State Expansion
Issue that received the most attention - Party Manifesto 2013	8,12%	Equality: Positive
Issue that received the most attention - Adopted Laws 2007-2013	13,51%	Law and Order: Positive
Issue that received the most attention - Adopted Laws 2013-2017	14,50%	Governmental and Administrative Efficiency: Positive
Issue overlap score for the Party Manifestos	70,35%	PAIS Alliance tends to address almost three out of four issues during political campaigns similarly.
Issue overlap score for the Adopted Laws	62,35%	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>PAIS Alliance addresses more than half of similar issues regarding the adoption of laws.</li> <li>Issue overlap is moderate.</li> </ul>
Issue overlap between party manifestos and adopted laws scores	43,51%	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>PAIS Alliance tends to address less of the half number of similar issues between the campaign period and after they have been in government.</li> </ul>

		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• The issue overlap is relatively low and increasing</li> <li>• There is a high and decreasing gap between what the PAIS Alliance focuses on its party manifestos and what it legislates.</li> </ul>
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## 7.2 Development of the Research Questions

The data analysis carried out in each case study allowed us to identify whether progressive political parties move ideologically to the Left or the Right. Also, the analysis allowed us to identify the agenda of the progressive Left parties before gaining government power. The analysis also helped us to understand what happens to political agendas once progressive parties enter government. In the same way, the analysis helped us to understand how well what progressive political parties declare in their manifestos becomes laws.

After developing each case study, it is necessary to strengthen the comparative perspective of the case studies. The comparative perspective allows us to focus on the following explanatory questions divided into two main groups. The first group of questions is answered based on the party manifestos:

- What is the ideological profile of the parties in the four countries?
- Which similarities and differences exist in this profile across the four countries, and which explain the differences?
- How has their ideological profile developed over time and what differences do the study find, and what explains them?
- Has their ideological profile been affected by them entering government?

Moreover, the second group of questions relates to their ability to turn their issue priorities into policy is answered based on the party manifestos and adopted laws:

- How well does what they state in their manifestos become policy laws?
- Does this answer differ across countries?

According to the literature review, Pereira (2010) classifies progressive movements into two types with different versions of progressive ideology: the "renovating Left" and the "re-founding Left". Argentina and Chile are expected to belong to the group of renovating Left characterized by a greater degree of institutionalization, greater integration into the political system, acceptance of the institutions of representative democracy, and moderate criticism of neoliberalism. On the other hand, Bolivia and

Ecuador are expected to belong to the group of re-founding Left characterized by a lower level of institutionalization, lower integration into the political system, criticism of the institutions of representative democracy, and radical criticism of neoliberalism. The development of the research questions allows us to verify Pereira's claim.

Therefore, *what is the ideological profile of the parties in the four countries?* After conducting a detailed analysis of the party manifestos in Argentina, Bolivia, Chile, and Ecuador, we can mention that according to the RILE index, the Front for Victory, MAS-IPSP, Socialist Party of Chile Party, and PAIS Alliance maintain a Left progressive ideological position in all its party manifestos. The political parties Front for Victory, Socialist Party of Chile, and PAIS Alliance maintains a progressive Left-wing ideological position; however, Left-wing ideology issues on its political agenda decrease over time. On the other hand, MAS-IPSP maintains a progressive Left-wing ideological position; but unlike the other three political parties, Left-wing ideology issues on its political agenda increase over time. Table 68 below shows the average score of the Right-Left Position Index by political party.

**Table 69: Right-Left Position Index**

**Party Manifestos Front for Victory, MAS-IPSP, Socialist Party of Chile, and PAIS Alliance**

<b>Country</b>	<b>Political Party</b>	<b>RILE Index</b>
Argentina	Front for Victory	-15,616
Bolivia	MAS-IPSP	-14,579
Chile	Socialist Party of Chile Party	-19,345
Ecuador	PAIS Alliance	-17,586
<b>Average Score across the four political parties</b>		<b>-16,782</b>

Overall, the average score of the RILE index across the four political parties was -16,782, meaning that Front for Victory, MAS-IPSP, Socialist Party of Chile, and PAIS Alliance maintain a Left progressive ideological position in all their party manifestos. Therefore, according to the party manifestos, in no case did the Left-wing ideological position of the progressive political parties change over time.

Moreover, after conducting a detailed analysis of the party manifestos in Argentina, Bolivia, Chile, and Ecuador, we can mention that the issues that received the most political attention in the party manifestos were “Democracy - General: Positive”, “Culture: Positive”, “Law and Order: Positive”, "Political Authority: Party Competence", "Marxist Analysis: Positive", "Technology and Infrastructure:

Positive”, “Welfare State Expansion”, and “Equality: Positive”. Below is a summary of the issues that received the most attention in the party manifestos across the case studies.

**Table 70: Issue Attention by Country**

**Party Manifestos Front for Victory, MAS-IPSP, Socialist Party of Chile, and PAIS Alliance**

Country	Political Party	Party Manifesto	Issue
Argentina	Front for Victory	2003	Democracy - General: Positive
		2007	Culture: Positive
			Law and Order: Positive
2011	Political Authority: Party Competence		
Bolivia	MAS-IPSP	2005	Marxist Analysis: Positive
		2009	Technology and Infrastructure: Positive
		2014	Technology and Infrastructure: Positive
Chile	Socialist Party of Chile	2005	Welfare State Expansion
		2013	Technology and Infrastructure: Positive
Ecuador	PAIS Alliance	2006	Welfare State Expansion
		2013	Equality: Positive

In conclusion, the data suggest that progressive political parties across Latin America maintain a progressive Left-wing ideological position during the political campaigns. Also, the analysis of the data suggests that the party manifestos of the progressive political parties of Argentina, Bolivia, Chile, and Ecuador focus mainly on issues related to the acceptance of democratic values and unconditional support for democracy, the need for State funding of cultural and leisure facilities, harsher attitudes in the courts, the presence and authority of the party to govern, support to Marxist-Leninist ideology, support to the importance of the modernization of the transport and communications infrastructure, support to government funding of health care, elderly care, and pensions, child care, and social housing system and the need to State funding in special protection for underprivileged social groups, the need for fair distribution of resources and the end of discrimination.

Also, *which similarities and differences exist in this profile across the four countries, and which explain the differences?* According to the data analysis, in all the case studies, except for the Bolivian case, the greatest attention is focused on topics that belong to the domain "Welfare and Quality of Life",

being "Culture: Positive", "Welfare State Expansion", and "Equality: Positive" the issues that received the most attention within the party manifestos across the three countries. The attention paid mainly to these issues agrees with that mentioned by Ames (1977), who states that progressive parties are more likely to increase fiscal spending, seeking the support and votes of the lower and lower-middle class, since progressive political parties include in their offers and political manifests the commitment to expand welfare programs social, nationalization and infrastructure development without cutting spending in other areas.

On the other hand, in the Bolivian case, the greatest attention is paid to topics that belong to the "Economy" domain, being "Marxist Analysis: Positive" and "Technology and Infrastructure: Positive" the issues that received the most attention within the party manifestos. Bolivia is a progressive government that prefers economic control (Castles 1989; Hibbs 1977; Lange and Garret 1985; Schmidt 1996). Moreover, as Pereira (2010) mentions, Bolivia is a clear representative of the version of refounding Left in Latin America, characterized by the proposal to refound its institutions, its party systems, the State as a whole, and the radical criticism to neoliberalism dominates its political agenda.

As mentioned before and according to the data analysis, the four countries maintain a progressive Left ideological position during all political campaigns. According to the RILE index score, in all the political campaigns, the Front for Victory, MAS-IPSP, Socialist Party of Chile Party, and PAIS Alliance paid greater attention to Left-wing ideology issues than Right-wing issues. Also, its Left ideological position did not move from one political campaign to another in all cases. Therefore, all cases maintain a progressive Left ideological position in all their political campaigns. The great difference in the ideological profile across the four countries is that the attention to Left-wing ideological problems increased over time in some case studies. In others, the attention to Left-wing problems decreased over time. In all the case studies, excluding the Bolivian case, attention to Left-wing ideology issues decreased over time. Taking the classification made by Pereira (2010), where this author divides the progressive Left countries into two variants, the "renovating Lefts" and the "refounding Lefts", a possible explanation for this finding is that in the Argentine and Chilean cases, their party manifestos pay attention to issues that seek to renew institutionalism and politics with a statist, egalitarian, and ethical approach and, therefore, alter power relations less. However, unlike the classification made by Pereira (2010) and according to the political manifestos, Ecuador demonstrated a profile ideological more linked to the variant "renovating Lefts".

On the other hand, Bolivia was the only case study where attention to Leftist ideology increased over time. One possible explanation for this finding is that the Bolivian case and its Left-wing process



are considered radical (Ellner 2013; Pereira 2010). The party manifestos of the Bolivian case coincide with a post-Marxist emphasis. Furthermore, the thinking of its leaders is based on Marxist ideas. Such is the case that the 2005 party manifesto focuses first on positive references to Marxist-Leninist ideology and the specific use of Marxist-Leninist terminology. The main attention to the topic "Marxist analysis: positive" is not given in any way in the remaining case studies.

A second major difference across the four countries is that in some cases, attention to Left-wing ideology problems drastically decreases over time; however, the Left ideological position did not move from Left to Right over time. Such is the Argentine case, where the Front for Victory in its party manifesto of 2003 obtained a Rile index score of -22,667, and then in 2011, this score dropped drastically to -3,425, implying that the Front for Victory maintains a progressive Left-wing ideological position; however, Left-wing ideology issues on its political agenda drastically decrease over time.

Moreover, *how has their ideological profile developed over time and what differences do the study find, and what explains them?* Table 70 contains the average issue overlap across the progressive political parties of Argentina, Bolivia, Chile, and Ecuador. In all the case studies, except for Argentina, the average issue overlap scores of the party manifestos were between 62% to approximately 76%; this means that the progressive political parties of Bolivia, Chile, and Ecuador tend to address about a two-thirds number of similar issues during the campaign. Therefore, there is convergence across the party manifestos in Bolivia, Chile, and Ecuador; MAS-IPSP, Socialist Party of Chile Party, and PAIS Alliance tend to address similar issues in their party manifestos, respectively. On the other hand, the average issue overlap score for Argentina was 46.85%; this means that the progressive political party of Argentina tends to address less than half the number of similar issues during the campaign. Therefore, there is a divergence between party manifestos in Argentina; that is, Front for Victory does not tend to address similar issues in its party manifestos.

Moreover, in Argentina, the issue similarity of the party manifestos decreased over time. On the other hand, in Bolivia, the issue similarity of the party manifestos increased over time.

**Table 71: Degree of Issue Overlap (Issue Convergence or Divergence)**

**Party Manifestos Front for Victory, MAS-IPSP, Socialist Party of Chile, and PAIS Alliance**

<b>Country</b>	<b>Politic Party</b>	<b>Issue Overlap</b>
Argentina	Front for Victory	46,85
Bolivia	MAS-IPSP	62,16
Chile	Socialist Party of Chile Party	75,83
Ecuador	PAIS Alliance	70,35
<b>Average Score across the four political parties</b>		<b>63,80</b>

A possible explanation of the convergence in the party manifestos of the progressive political parties of Bolivia, Chile, and Ecuador is given because these parties tried to consolidate political priorities and positions within what they call Latin American progressivism, in the same way, they sought the electoral strengthening of the Left. The convergence in the party manifesto of MAS-IPSP, Socialist Party of Chile Party, and PAIS Alliance has allowed the progressive Left parties to transmit priorities and political positions that have given them the electoral victory two or even three times in a row. Another possible explanation for the convergence in the party manifestos of the progressive political parties of Bolivia, Chile, and Ecuador is given by the direct influence of the presidential candidate and, in turn, the direct leader of the political party. In Bolivia, Evo Morales won the presidential elections consecutively three times. Similarly, in Ecuador, Rafael Correa won the presidential elections for three consecutive terms. Finally, in Chile, Michelle Bachelet won the presidential elections for two terms, in 2006 and 2014. Therefore, there is a strong influence of the leaders of these parties on the party manifestos. On the contrary, there is a divergence between the party manifestos in the Argentine case, which can be explained by the difference in political priorities and positions between the candidates who came to power, Nestor Kirchner in 2003 and Cristina Fernandez de Kirchner in 2007 and 2011.

However, overall, the average score of issue overlap across the four political parties was 63.80%. Overall, the progressive political parties tend to address almost two-thirds number of similar issues during the campaign. Therefore, there is convergence across the party manifestos of the four countries. In other words, progressive parties in Latin America tend to address similar issues in their party manifestos.

Furthermore, *has their ideological profile been affected by them entering government?* This question can be answered by analyzing the party manifestos of the progressive political parties in power

consecutively. The case studies that meet this requirement are Argentina, Bolivia, and Ecuador. According to the issue overlap score of the party manifesto belonging to the progressive party Front for Victory of Argentina, there is a convergence between the party manifesto of 2003 and 2007 with 62.87%. This suggests that its ideological profile has not been affected by its entry into government in 2003-2007. When analyzing the issue overlap score of the party manifestos of the years 2003 and 2011, it is found that there is a divergence with a value of 37.77%.

In the same way, when analyzing the issue overlap score of the party manifestos of the years 2007 and 2011, it is found that there is a divergence with a value of 39.92%. This suggests that its ideological profile has been affected by its entry into government in 2007-2011. However, the progressive Left party Front for Victory maintains a progressive Left-wing ideological position during the political campaigns of 2003, 2007, and 2011.

Also, according to the issue overlap score of the party manifestos belonging to the MAS-IPSP of Bolivia, there is a convergence between the party manifestos of the years 2005 and 2009 with a score of 57.82%, 2005 and 2014 with a score of 66.88%, and 2009 and 2014 with a score of 61.77%. This suggests that his entry into government has not affected his ideological profile in the 2006-2010 and 2010-2015 periods.

Finally, according to the issue overlap score of the party manifestos belonging to the PAIS Alliance of Ecuador, there is a convergence between the manifest party of 2006 and 2013 with a score of 70.35%, which suggests that their ideological profile has not been affected by their entry into the government in the period 2007-2013.

Overall, the average score of issue overlap across the three countries was 59.78%, suggesting that their ideological profile was not affected by their entry into government.

After answering the questions of the first group based on the party's manifestos, the study will proceed with the second group of questions related to the ability to convert their issues priorities into policies (laws). Therefore, *how well does what they state in their manifestos become policy laws?* We will take the average issue-overlap scores between party manifestos and adopted laws from the case studies to answer this question. Table 71 contains the average issue overlap between the party manifestos and the adopted laws of Argentina, Bolivia, Chile, and Ecuador.

In all the case studies, except for Chile, the average issue overlap scores of the party manifestos and adopted laws are between 43.51% to 49.83%; this means that the progressive political parties of Argentina, Bolivia, and Ecuador tend to address less than half number of similar issues between the campaign period and after they have been in government. Therefore, the average issue

overlap is relatively low, meaning that the gap between what the political parties focus on its party manifestos and what it legislates is quite large. On the other hand, the average issue overlap score for Chile was 55.79%; this means that the progressive political party of Chile tends to address more of the half number of similar issues between the campaign period and after they have been in government. Therefore, the average issue overlap is relatively medium, meaning that the gap between what Socialist Party of Chile focuses on its party manifestos and what it legislates is moderate.

In general, the average issue overlap scores for the four case studies ranges between low and moderate, meaning that the gap between what the progressive political party in Argentina, Bolivia, Chile, and Ecuador focus on its party manifestos and what it legislates is between low and moderate.

**Table 72: Degree of Issue Overlap (Issue Convergence or Divergence)  
Party Manifestos and Adopted Laws Front for Victory, MAS-IPSP, Socialist Party of Chile,  
and PAIS Alliance**

<b>Country</b>	<b>Politic Party</b>	<b>Issue Overlap</b>
Argentina	Front for Victory	43,96
Bolivia	MAS-IPSP	49,83
Chile	Socialist Party of Chile Party	55,79
Ecuador	PAIS Alliance	43,51

Also, *does this differ across countries?* The data that shows the average issue overlap scores suggest that progressive political parties moderately compliant with what they mention in their political manifestos and when converting their priority issues into laws.

A possible explanation for this finding is due to their late and underdeveloped political systems. Latin American countries have distinguished themselves by adopting political systems alien to their own reality compared with other regions. In Argentina, Bolivia, Chile, and Ecuador, the democratic attempt retaken characteristics of class position or social group, creating institutionalized dictatorships. In Argentina, Bolivia, Chile, and Ecuador, presidentialism is a personal and centralist way of exercising power. This form of government differs from the party system typical of European models for citizen representation through Parliament. According to Peña (1991), a party system must request citizen demands from the ruler. Generally, in Latin America, the presidential tradition tends to subordinate the parties and congresses to the determination of the head of the Executive Power on duty, in which case,

the political manifestos are left to the will of the head of state to be attended in the corresponding implementation of laws.

Another possible explanation for these findings is that the promises and policies of the party manifestos were not well studied. Many times, the campaign promises printed in the political manifesto were delayed or shelved when they did not adjust to the reality of the government. For example, the MAS-IPSP manifesto party in 2014 promoted “Marxist Analysis: Positive” as the second largest issue of attention with 11.02%. But when laws related to this issue were implemented, it only received 0.16% attention.

Unfulfilled commitments may also be due to poor policy development, as in the case of the Front for Victory commitment that the party declared in 2003, in which it paid the greatest attention to the issue “Democracy - General: Positive” with 14.67% of the attention. But when laws related to this issue were implemented, it only received 0.33% attention. Therefore, not sufficiently understanding how a policy can be implemented, how it will affect citizens, or how it interacts with other policies can easily lead to that policy getting off course.

Below is a summary of the development of the research questions and objectives that were solved.

**Table 73: Development of the Research Questions and Objectives**

		Research Questions				
		Questions Group 1			Questions Group 2	
Objectives	What is the ideological profile of the parties in the four countries?	Which similarities and differences exist in this profile across the four countries, and which explain the differences?	How has their ideological profile developed over time and what differences do the study find, and what explains them?	Has their ideological profile been affected by them entering government?	How well does what they state in their manifestos become policy laws?	Does this answer differ across countries?
Address the gap in the literature and determine whether progressive Left parties in Latin America have a homogeneous agenda setting.		<p>In all the case studies, except for the Bolivian case, the greatest attention is for "Welfare and Quality of Life", being "Culture: Positive", "Welfare State Expansion", and "Equality: Positive" the issues that received the most attention within the party manifestos across the three countries.</p> <p>In the Bolivian case, the greatest attention is paid to topics that belong to the "Economy" domain, being "Marxist Analysis: Positive" and "Technology and Infrastructure: Positive" the issues that received the most attention within the party manifestos.</p>	<p>The average score of issue overlap across the four political parties was 63.80%. Overall, the progressive political parties tend to address almost two-thirds number of similar issues during the campaign. Therefore, there is convergence across the party manifestos of the four countries. In other words, progressive parties in Latin America tend to address similar issues in their party manifestos.</p>			

<p>Make a quantitative analysis of the content of electoral programs and adopted policies by progressive political parties in Latin American countries.</p>	<p>x</p>	<p>x</p>	<p>x</p>	<p>x</p>	<p>x</p>	<p>x</p>
<p>Contribute to the existing literature with reliable information and measurements on the ideological profile of progressive political parties in Latin America.</p>	<p>Progressive Left-wing ideological position during the political campaigns; however, Left-wing ideology issues on its political agenda decrease over time.</p>			<p>Overall, the average score of issue overlap across the three countries was 59.78%, suggesting that their ideological profile was not affected by their entry into government.</p>		
<p>Determine which issues received the most attention across the progressive political parties in Latin America before and after winning the government power. Therefore, the research will determine the issues that the progressive countries paid the most attention to in a political campaign and later in the approval of public policies through laws.</p>	<p>Issues of attention in party manifestos:  “Democracy - General: Positive”;  “Culture: Positive”; “Law and Order: Positive”; “Political Authority: Party Competence”; “Marxist Analysis: Positive”; “Technology and Infrastructure: Positive”; “Welfare State Expansion” and, “Equality: Positive”</p> <p>Issues of attention in adopted policy:  “Culture: Positive”; “Law and Order: Positive”; “Technology and Infrastructure: Positive”; “Nationalisation: Positive”; “Labour Groups: Positive” and, “Governmental and Administrative Efficiency: Positive”.</p>					

Expand the analysis carried out in other studies that dealt with the analysis of the classification of the different versions of progressive ideology.		Unlike the classification made by Pereira (2010) and according to the political manifestos, Ecuador demonstrated a profile ideological more linked to the variant "renovating Lefts".				
Contribute to the existing literature on whether progressive parties in Latin America address similar issues in their party manifestos and the adopted laws.			Progressive parties in Latin America tend to address similar issues in their party manifestos.		In general, the average issue overlap scores for the four case studies ranges between low and moderate.	The average issue overlap scores suggest that progressive political parties moderately compliant with what they mention in their political manifestos and when converting their priority issues into laws.
Contribute to the existing literature with information on the impact of the ideological profile when progressive political parties in Latin America enter the government.				Their ideological profile was not affected by their entry into government.		
Make a detailed comparison of the party manifestos and the laws adopted, and the ability to turn the promises written in the party manifestos into public policies within the progressive Latin American parties.					The gap between what the progressive political party in Argentina, Bolivia, Chile, and Ecuador focus on its party manifestos and what it legislates is between low and moderate.	Moderately compliant with what they mention in their political manifestos and when converting their priority issues into laws.



In the same way, a summary of the results obtained from the party manifestos and adopted policy corresponding to Argentina, Bolivia, Chile, and Ecuador is presented.

**Table 74: Summary of the Results**

**Party Manifestos and Adopted Policy: Argentina, Bolivia, Chile, and Ecuador**

	<b>Argentina</b>	<b>Bolivia</b>	<b>Chile</b>	<b>Ecuador</b>
Right-Left position index (RILE Index)	-15,616	-14,579	-19,345	-17,586
Issue that received the most attention - Party Manifestos	Democracy - General: Positive; Culture: Positive; Law and Order: Positive; Political Authority: Party Competence	Marxist Analysis: Positive; Technology and Infrastructure: Positive;	Welfare State Expansion; Technology and Infrastructure: Positive	Welfare State Expansion; Equality: Positive;
Issue that received the most attention - Adopted Policy	Culture: Positive, Law and Order: Positive	Technology and Infrastructure: Positive; Culture: Positive; Nationalisation: Positive	Labour Groups: Positive; Culture: Positive	Law and Order: Positive; Governmental and Administrative Efficiency: Positive
Issue overlap score for the Party Manifestos	46,85%	62,16%	75,83%	70,35%
Issue overlap score for the Adopted Laws	80,43%	71,65%	78,58%	62,35%
Issue overlap between party manifestos and adopted laws scores	43,96%	49,83%	55,79%	43,51%

**Chapter 8**  
**Conclusions and Contributions**

## 8. Conclusions

The existing literature reveals that most of the research on agenda setting carried out in Latin America focuses on progressive governments than on progressive political parties. A substantial number of researchers have focused their studies on progressive governments and labor policy (Iranzo 2011; Uriarte 2007), other researchers emphasize their studies on unions during progressive governments in Latin America (Araujo and Oliveira 2011; Aravena and Nuñez 2011; Beliera and Morris 2017; Iglesias 2015; Lucca 2011; Marticorena 2015; Martner *et al.* 2009; Morris 2017; Natalucci 2015; Quiñones 2011; Radermacher and Melleiro 2007; Ulloa 2003). Other researchers focus on topics about progressive governments and the key role of extractivism of raw materials for exporting in Latin American countries (Frederic 2017; Gudynas 2012; Svampa 2013).

Within the existing literature that focuses on progressive political parties we can find studies on the relationship of the progressive parties with the president they represent (Alcantara 2008), as well as studies on the relationship between the Left-wing political parties and the foreign aid (Therien and Noel 2000), also the relationship between Left-wing parties and government spending (Tavits and Letki 2009), and studies on progressive political parties related to the environmental issue and the neo-extractivism of natural resources (Gudynas 2010; Knill, Debus, and Heichel 2010; Neumayer 2004; Scruggs 1999). This implies that existing literature reveals that there are no standards of comparison on agenda-setting, policies, and progressive political parties in Latin America. It also reveals that most of the research on policy agenda and political issues prioritization focuses on European and Anglo-Saxon countries (Green-Pedersen and Walgrave 2014). Moreover, it focuses on the historical and theoretical framework and the challenges and experiences of progressive political parties and governments in the region; thus, the literature reveals a limitation in the study of agenda-setting theory and issue prioritization in Latin American progressive parties. The literature is also relatively underdeveloped and does not discuss whether progressive political parties have similar issue priorities and if this prioritization of the issues fluctuates over time. Furthermore, the literature does not determine what happens to the policy agendas when progressive Left parties once get into government. These lacunas reveal that studies have left an intellectual void in the studies referring to the behavior of progressive political parties in Latin America, a knowledge that is relatively possible to obtain about political parties in other regions of our planet.

When students, academics, and policymakers require information about the political agenda and issue prioritization of European and Anglo-Saxon political parties, such information is moderately

accessible thanks to current studies. On the contrary, when it comes to Latin America, there is little information on the political agenda and issue prioritization of progressive political parties. Thus, the present study has attempted to resolve gaps that exist in the literature and clarify essential and minimal doubts that happen regarding agenda setting and issue prioritization of progressive political parties in Latin America.

This study aimed to provide new data on progressive political parties in Latin America on essential topics previously not addressed. It seems to support the idea that progressive political parties in Latin America maintain an ideological position of the progressive Left in all their political campaigns. The evidence shows that the Left-wing ideological position of the progressive political parties did not shift to the Right over time. However, in 75% of the progressive political parties, the interest and attention towards Left-wing ideology issues decreased in party manifestos from one campaign to another. However, there has not yet emerged evidence that the political position of party manifestos belonging to progressive political parties has changed from Left to Right.

Moreover, the data suggest that progressive political parties across Latin America focused mainly on issues related to support and respect for democracy, supporting the rule of law of the country and the democratic system in general; stimulus to the development of culture, development of the arts and protection of cultural property industries; strict application of the law and streamlining of criminal proceedings; the authority and presence of the party to govern; criticism and rejection of neoliberalism in all its forms; public spending on infrastructure, such as roads and the railway system, as well as support for public spending on technological infrastructure such, as satellites for the communication, unemployment insurance, the strengthening of the public health system, elderly care and pensions, the building of houses and apartments and the creation of child protection offices; and equitable development of citizens, fair distribution of national income, and overcoming poverty productively and culturally.

According to Pereira (2010), Argentina and Chile were expected to belong to the group of a “renovating Left” characterized by a greater degree of institutionalization, greater integration into the political system, acceptance of the institutions of representative democracy, and moderate criticism of neoliberalism, on the other hand, Bolivia, and Ecuador were expected to belong to the group of a “re-founding Left” characterized by a lower level of institutionalization, lower integration into the political system, criticism of the institutions of representative democracy, and radical criticism of neoliberalism. The data analyzed from the party manifestos suggest that Ecuador demonstrated an ideological profile more closely linked to the “renovating Lefts” variant.

Also, the average score of issue overlap across the political parties was 63.80%, meaning that overall, the progressive political parties tend to address almost two-thirds of the number of similar issues during the campaign. Therefore, there is convergence across the party manifestos of the four countries. In other words, progressive parties in Latin America tend to address similar issues in their party manifestos. Also, this data shows that there is not a great difference in the political agenda of progressive parties in Latin America during the political campaign. In other words, the progressive parties in Latin America during the political campaign pay attention to the same issues.

Furthermore, when analyzing whether the ideological profile of progressive parties was affected by their entry into government, the data suggests that the ideological profile of progressive political parties has not been affected by their entry into government.

One of the main findings of this research is that when comparing what is promised in a political campaign, that is, in party manifestos, and the ability to turn these promises into public policies (laws). In 75% of the case studies, the average issue overlap scores for the party manifestos and adopted laws are between 43.51% to 49.83%; this means that the progressive political parties tend to address less than half of the number of similar issues between the campaign period and after obtaining governmental power. The average issue overlap is relatively low, meaning that the gap between what the political parties focus on its party manifestos and what it legislates is quite large. In 25% of the case studies, the average issue overlap score for the party manifestos and adopted legislation was 55.79%; this means that these progressive political parties tend to address more of the half number of similar issues between the campaign period and after they have been in government. Therefore, the gap between the progressive party focuses on its party manifestos and what it legislates is moderate. Overall, the average issue overlap scores for the case studies range between low and moderate, meaning that the gap between what the progressive political parties in Argentina, Bolivia, Chile, and Ecuador focus on its party manifestos and what it legislates later when in power is between low to moderate. In other words, progressive political parties in Latin America keep their campaign promises fairly, since approximately half of the problems that were drafted in the party manifestos resulted in policy.

This is not entirely surprising, as party manifestos are designed for public consumption and intended to portray the ruling party's political agenda positively (John, Bevan, and Jennings 2014). Therefore, the data suggest that progressive political parties moderately compliant with what they mention in their political manifestos and when converting their priority issues into laws. A possible

explanation for this finding is due to their late and underdeveloped political systems. Another possible explanation for these findings is that the promises and policies of the party manifestos were not well studied and compared. Also, many times, campaign promises were delayed or shelved when they did not adjust to the reality of the government, and unfulfilled commitments could have also been due to poor policy development.

This research has sought to contribute to aspects that we did not know about agenda setting and progressive political parties in Latin America, towards aspects that have not received in-depth attention in past research. It also aimed to contribute to the quantitative analysis of the content of electoral programs and adopted laws by progressive political parties in Latin American countries, as research of this kind, as far as we know, has been carried out previously only in European countries and Anglo-Saxon countries. Information on the political agenda before and after entering the government of progressive political parties in Latin America is almost non-existent. Existing literature on progressive political parties in Latin America and their political agendas focuses on historical and theoretical frameworks and the challenges and experiences of progressive political parties and governments in the region.

This research contributed to the existing literature with reliable information and measurements on the ideological profile of progressive political parties in Latin America. There is varied and reliable information on the political agendas of the parties and the political system within these countries. There was very little standardized information on the ideological profile of progressive political parties in Latin America and their changes over time. Thanks to the codification and standardized analysis of party manifestos, this study contributes to the existing literature by empirically attempting to show that progressive political parties maintain a Left progressive ideological position in all their party manifestos; and that, according to the party manifestos, in no case did the Left-wing ideological position of the progressive political parties change over time.

Moreover, the existing literature demonstrates a lack of standardization of the issues on which progressive political parties in Latin America focus their attention. There was no precise information on which issues the progressive political parties in Latin America paid more attention in a political campaign and, later, in the adoption of public policies. For instance, on the one hand, Alonso and Di Costa (2015) and Heidrich (2005) assert that the political agenda of the government of Nestor Kirchner and Cristina Fernandez de Kirchner in Argentina focused on the increase in the base salary and favorable changes to the retirement/pension system. On the other hand, De la Balze (2010) states that

the political agenda of the government of Nestor Kirchner and Cristina Fernandez de Kirchner focused on nuclear energy policy. Other authors, such as Lopez (2016), believe that the political agendas of these governments focused on increasing budgets for education; Cravino, Moreno, and Mutuberría (2013) tell us that these governments focused on the level of closeness with the social movements. Also, if we take the Chilean case as an example, Baeza and Schmitt-Fiebig (2015) find that the political agenda of Michelle Bachelet's government focused on the decriminalization of abortion; Cabalin and Antezana (2016) say that Michelle Bachelet's political agenda focused on tax and educational reforms. Other authors, such as Lodi, Caballero, and Sartor (2014), think that the political agenda of this government focused on the consolidation of democracy and the abolition of the binomial political system that benefited traditional parties. Moreover, Viera (2008) states that this government focused on the approval of the civil union for people of the same sex. Having said this, there does not appear to be any standardization of the issues on which progressive political parties in Latin America focus their attention. Thus, the present study contributes to the literature by standardizing the electoral programs and adopted legislation of progressive political parties through codification. This research has made it possible to determine which issues received the most attention across progressive political parties in four Latin American countries in their party manifestos and policy upon entering the government.

This study also expanded the analysis carried out in other studies that deal with the analysis of the classification of the different versions of progressive ideology. The work carried out by Pereira (2010) classifies the Ecuadorian case within the refounding Lefts. This version of progressive ideology is characterized by a very low level of institutionalization and low integration into the political system; it is highly critical of the institutions of representative democracy and radical criticism of neoliberalism. Through the codification and analysis of the party manifestos and public policy, the present study shows that the progressive political party, particularly PAIS Alliance in the Ecuadorian case, belongs to the version of a renovating Left. In this way, this study contributed to the literature by providing a new perspective of analysis of the versions of progressive ideology in Latin America.

In addition to these contributions, this research provides information on whether progressive parties in Latin America tend to address similar issues in their party manifestos and the adoption of policy. The existing literature, in most cases, provides information on the issues on which progressive governments focus their attention. However, these analyses are carried out in a general way and without any type of standardization (Alonso and Di Costa 2015; Cravino, Moreno, and Mutuberría 2013; de la Balze 2010; Femenias 2014; Forero 2016; Garce and Yaffe 2006; Gutierrez and Isuani 2013; Hamburger 2014; Heidrich 2005; Lopez 2016; Martínez 2014; Miranda and Alvarez 2016; Novion

2016; Perez 2010). Furthermore, there are no studies that explain whether the issues presented in party manifestos by progressive governments were translated into policy when gaining electoral power. Therefore, the present study contributes to the literature with new information on the behavior of progressive political parties and the issue of attention in a political campaign and when in power. It makes a detailed comparison of party manifestos and adopted legislation and, therefore, the ability to translate electoral promises into policy within progressive Latin American parties. The present study contributed to the existing literature by finding that progressive political parties moderately comply with what they mention in their political manifestos; in other words, less than half of promises described in their party manifestos translate into the law.

In conclusion, it is possible to find all these contributions in the literature in research on political parties in Europe and Anglo-Saxon countries (Green-Pedersen and Walgrave 2014). However, detailed information on progressive political parties in Latin America is practically non-existent. We hope, therefore, this research can be considered pioneering in the study of the political agenda of progressive political parties in Latin America.



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## Appendix

### Appendix 1 Entry Test Model

#### Procedure

1. Insert the given separator to identify the quasi-sentences. You can do so easily by copying the two signs ( **//|** ) in the document's preface. We need the separator to consist of two signs for processing reasons.
2. After you finished cutting the paragraph/document into quasi-sentences, convert it to the coding table by:
  - i. Mark the text.
  - ii. Menu>Table>Convert>Convert Text to Table
  - iii. Fill out the table conversion dialog:
    1. Separate text at>Other: | (be aware that sometimes the program unselects "Other" as a separator)
    2. Table Size>Number of Columns: 1
  - iv. Now every quasi-sentence should be in a separate table row. Keep empty rows.
  - v. Add another column to the created table (Menu>Table>Insert>Columns to the Right).
  - vi. Adapt the size of new column to about 1,5cm.
3. Type in the codes.
4. Save the document and send it to the supervisor.



## ENTRY TEST

**Coder Name:**

**Date of Coding:**

Country: USA

Name of the Party/Alliance: The Democratic Party

Year: 2008

**Title: Democratic National Platform** (extracts)

Please use this separator **///** | to mark quasi-sentences.

### **Preamble**

We come together at a defining moment in the history of our nation – the nation that led the 20th century, built a thriving middle class, defeated fascism and communism, and provided bountiful opportunity to many. We Democrats have a special commitment to this promise of America. We believe that every American, whatever their background or station in life, should have the chance to get a good education, to work at a good job with good wages, to raise and provide for a family, to live in safe surroundings, and to retire with dignity and security. We believe that each succeeding generation should have the opportunity, through hard work, service and sacrifice, to enjoy a brighter future than the last.

Over the past eight years, our nation’s leaders have failed us. Sometimes they invited calamity, rushing us into an ill-considered war in Iraq. But other times, when calamity arrived in the form of hurricanes or financial storms, they sat back, doing too little too late, and too poorly. The list of failures of this Administration is historic.

So, we come together not only to replace this president and his party –and not only to offer policies that will undo the damage they have wrought. Today, we pledge a return to core moral principles like stewardship, service to others, personal responsibility, shared sacrifice and a fair shot for all –values that emanate from the integrity and optimism of our Founders and generations of Americans since. Today, we Democrats offer leaders – from the White House to the State House – worthy of this country’s trust.

### **I. Renewing the American Dream**

*Jumpstart the Economy and Provide Middle Class Americans Immediate Relief*

We will provide an immediate energy rebate to American families struggling with the record price of gasoline and the skyrocketing cost of other necessities – to spend on those basic needs and energy efficient measures. We will devote \$50 billion to jumpstarting the economy, helping economic growth, and preventing another one million jobs from being lost.

We support investments in infrastructure to replenish the highway trust fund, invest in road and bridge maintenance and fund new, fasttracked projects to repair schools. We believe that it is essential to take immediate steps to stem the loss of manufacturing jobs. Taking these immediate measures will provide good jobs and will help the economy today. But generating truly shared prosperity is only possible if we also address our most significant long-run challenges like the rising cost of health care, energy, and education.

*Good Jobs with Good Pay*

Democrats are committed to an economic policy that produces good jobs with good pay and benefits. That is why we support the right to organize. We know that when unions are allowed to do their job of making sure that workers get their fair share, they pull people out of poverty and create a stronger middle class. We will strengthen the ability of workers to organize unions and fight to pass the Employee Free Choice Act. We will fight to ban the permanent replacement of striking workers, so that workers can stand up for themselves without worrying about losing their livelihoods.

In America, if someone is willing to work, he or she should be able to make ends meet and have the opportunity to prosper. To that end, we will raise the minimum wage and index it to inflation. We will modernize the unemployment insurance program to close gaps and extend benefits to the workers who now fall outside it.

#### *Opportunity for Women*

When women still earn 76 cents for every dollar that a man earns, it doesn't just hurt women; it hurts families and children. We will pass the "Lilly Ledbetter" Act, which will make it easier to combat pay discrimination. We will invest in women-owned small businesses and remove the capital gains tax on startup small businesses. We recognize that women are the majority of adults who make the minimum wage, and are particularly hard-hit by recession and poverty; we will protect Social Security, increase the minimum wage, and expand programs to combat poverty and improve education so that parents and children can lift themselves out of poverty. We will work to combat violence against women.

#### *A World Class Education for Every Child*

The Democratic Party firmly believes that graduation from a quality public school and the opportunity to succeed in college must be the birth right of every child—not the privilege of the few. We must prepare all our students with the 21st century skills they need to succeed by progressing to a new era of mutual responsibility in education. We must set high standards for our children, but we must also hold ourselves accountable—our schools, our teachers, our parents, business leaders, our community and our elected leaders. And we must come together, form partnerships, and commit to providing the resources and reforms necessary to help every child reach their full potential.

#### *Creating New Jobs by Rebuilding American Infrastructure*

A century ago, Teddy Roosevelt called together leaders from business and government to develop a plan for the next century's infrastructure. It falls to us to do the same. We will start a National Infrastructure Reinvestment Bank that can leverage private investment in infrastructure improvements, and create nearly two million new good jobs. We will undertake projects that maximize our safety and security and ability to compete, which we will fund as we bring the war in Iraq to a responsible close. We will modernize our power grid, which will help conservation and spur the development and distribution of clean energy. We need a national transportation policy, including high-speed rail and light rail. We can invest in our bridges, roads, and public transportation so that people have choices in how they get to work. We will ensure every American has access to high-speed broadband and we will take on special interests in order to unleash the power of the wireless spectrum.

#### *Support Small Business and Entrepreneurship*

Encouraging new industry and creating jobs means giving more support to American entrepreneurs. We will exempt all start-up companies from capital gains taxes and provide them a tax credit for health insurance. We will help small businesses facing high energy costs. We will work to remove bureaucratic barriers for small and start-up businesses—for example, by making the patent process more efficient and reliable.

#### *Real Leadership for Rural America*

Rural America is home to 60 million Americans. The agricultural sector is critical to the rural economy and to all Americans. We depend on those in agriculture to produce the food, feed, fiber, and fuel that support our society. Thankfully, American farmers possess an unrivaled capacity to produce an abundance of these high-quality products.

All Americans, urban and rural, hold a shared interest in preserving and increasing the economic vitality of family farms. We will continue to develop and advance policies that promote sustainable and local agriculture, including funding for soil and water conservation programs.

#### *Restoring Fairness to Our Tax Code*

We must reform our tax code. We'll eliminate federal income taxes for millions of retirees, because all seniors deserve to live out their lives with dignity and respect. We will not increase taxes on any family earning under \$250,000 and we will offer additional tax cuts for middle class families. We will dramatically simplify tax filings so that millions of Americans can do their taxes in less than five minutes.

## **II. Renewing American Leadership**

At moments of great peril in the last century, American leaders such as Franklin Roosevelt, Harry Truman, and John F. Kennedy managed both to protect the American people and to expand opportunity for the next generation. They used our strengths to show people everywhere America at its best. Today, we are again called to provide visionary leadership. This century's threats are at least as dangerous as, and in some ways more complex than, those we have confronted in the past.

We will confront these threats head on while working with our allies and restoring our standing in the world. We will pursue a tough, smart, and principled national security strategy. It is a strategy that recognizes that we have interests not just in Baghdad, but in Kandahar and Karachi, in Beijing, Berlin, Brasilia and Bamako. It is a strategy that contends with the many disparate forces shaping this century, including: the fundamentalist challenge to freedom; the emergence of new powers like China, India, Russia, and a united Europe; and the spread of lethal weapons.

Barack Obama will focus this strategy on seven goals: (i) ending the war in Iraq responsibly; (ii) defeating Al Qaeda and combating violent extremism; (iii) securing nuclear weapons and materials from terrorists; (iv) revitalizing and supporting our military; (v) renewing our partnerships to promote our common security; (vi) advancing democracy and development; and (vii) protecting our planet by achieving energy security and combating climate change.

#### *Recommit to an Alliance of the Americas*

We recognize that the security and prosperity of the United States is fundamentally tied to the future of the Americas. We believe that in the 21st century, the U.S. must treat Latin America and the Caribbean as full partners, just as our neighbors to the south should reject the bombast of authoritarian bullies. Our relationship with Canada, our long-time ally, should be strengthened and enhanced.

#### *Advancing Democracy, Development, and Respect for Human Rights*

No country in the world has benefited more from the worldwide expansion of democracy than the United States. Democracies are our best trading partners, our most valuable allies, and the nations with which we share our deepest values. The Democratic Party reaffirms its longstanding commitment to support democratic institutions and practices worldwide. A more democratic world is a more peaceful and prosperous place. Yet democracy cannot be imposed by force from the outside; it must be nurtured with moderates on the inside by building democratic institutions.

### **III. Renewing the American Community**

#### *Service*

The future of our country will be determined not only by our government and our policies but through the efforts of the American people. That is why we will ask all Americans to be actively involved in meeting the challenges of the new century. We will double the size of the Peace Corps, enable more to serve in the military, integrate service into primary education, and create new opportunities for experienced and retired persons to serve. And if you invest in America, America will invest in you by increasing support for service-learning. We will use the Internet to better match volunteers to service opportunities. In these ways, we will unleash the power of service to meet America's challenges in a uniquely American way.

#### *Federal Lands*

We will create a new vision for conservation that works with local communities to conserve our existing publicly-owned lands while dramatically expanding investments in conserving and restoring forests, grasslands, and wetlands across America for generations to come. Unlike the current Administration, we will reinvest in our nation's forests by providing federal agencies with resources to reduce the threat of wildland fires and promote sustainable forest product industries for rural economic development. We will recognize that our parks are national treasures, and will ensure that they are protected as part of the overall natural system so they are here for generations to come. We are committed to conserving the lands used by hunters and anglers, and we will open millions of new acres of land to public hunting and fishing.

### **IV. Renewing American Democracy**

#### *Open, Accountable, and Ethical Government*

In Barack Obama's Administration, we will open up the doors of democracy. We will use technology to make government more transparent, accountable, and inclusive. Rather than obstruct people's use of the Freedom of Information Act, we will require that agencies conduct significant business in public and release all relevant information unless an agency reasonably foresees harm to a protected interest.

We will lift the veil of secret deals in Washington by publishing searchable, online information about federal grants, contracts, earmarks, loans, and lobbyist contacts with government officials. We will put all non-emergency bills that Congress has passed online for five days, to allow the American public to review and comment on them before they are signed into law. We will require Cabinet officials to have periodic national online town hall meetings to discuss issues before their agencies.

*Note: The USA has special relationships with the UK and Canada.*

## Appendix 2

### Categories and Subcategories in Seven Policy Domains

#### Domain 1: External Relations

- 101 Foreign Special Relationships: Positive
- 102 Foreign Special Relationships: Negative
- 103 Anti-Imperialism: Positive
  - 103.1 State Centred Anti-Imperialism
  - 103.2 Foreign Financial Influence
- 104 Military: Positive
- 105 Military: Negative
- 106 Peace: Positive
- 107 Internationalism: Positive
- 108 LA Integration: Positive
- 109 Internationalism: Negative
- 110 LA Integration: Negative

#### Domain 2: Freedom and Democracy

- 201 Freedom and Human Rights: Positive
  - 201.1 Freedom
  - 201.2 Human Rights
- 202 Democracy
  - 202.1 General: Positive
  - 202.2 General: Negative
  - 202.3 Representative Democracy: Positive
  - 202.4 Direct Democracy: Positive
- 203 Constitutionalism: Positive
- 204 Constitutionalism: Negative

#### Domain 3: Political System

- 301 Decentralisation: Positive
- 302 Centralisation: Positive
- 303 Governmental and Administrative Efficiency: Positive
- 304 Political Corruption: Negative
- 305 Political Authority: Positive
  - 305.1 Political Authority: Party Competence
  - 305.2 Political Authority: Personal Competence
  - 305.3 Political Authority: Strong government
  - 305.4 Pre-Democratic Elites: Positive
  - 305.5 Pre-Democratic Elites: Negative
  - 305.6 Rehabilitation and Compensation

#### Domain 4: Economy

- 401 Free-Market Economy: Positive
- 402 Incentives: Positive
- 403 Market Regulation: Positive
- 404 Economic Planning: Positive
- 405 Corporatism: Positive

- 406 Protectionism: Positive
- 407 Protectionism: Negative
- 408 Economic Goals
- 409 Keynesian Demand Management: Positive
- 410 Economic Growth
- 411 Technology and Infrastructure: Positive
- 412 Controlled Economy: Positive
- 413 Nationalisation: Positive
- 414 Economic Orthodoxy: Positive
- 415 Marxist Analysis: Positive
- 416 Anti-Growth Economy: Positive
  - 416.1 Anti-Growth Economy: Positive
  - 416.2 Sustainability: Positive

**Domain 5: Welfare and Quality of Life**

- 501 Environmental Protection: Positive
- 502 Culture: Positive
- 503 Equality: Positive
- 504 Welfare State Expansion
- 505 Welfare State Limitation
- 506 Education Expansion
- 507 Education Limitation

**Domain 6: Fabric of Society**

- 601 National Way of Life: Positive
  - 601.1 General
  - 601.2 Immigration: Negative
- 602 National Way of Life: Negative
  - 602.1 General
  - 602.2 Immigration: Positive
- 603 Traditional Morality: Positive
- 604 Traditional Morality: Negative
- 605 Law and Order
  - 605.1 Law and Order: Positive
  - 605.2 Law and Order: Negative
- 606 Civic Mindedness: Positive
  - 606.1 General
  - 606.2 Bottom-Up Activism
- 607 Multiculturalism: Positive
  - 607.1 General
  - 607.2 Immigrant Integration: Diversity
  - 607.3 Indigenous Rights: Positive
  - 607.3 Indigenous Rights: Positive
- 608 Multiculturalism: Negative
  - 608.1 General
  - 608.2 Immigrant Integration: Assimilation
  - 608.3 Indigenous Rights: Negative
  - 608.3 Indigenous Rights: Negative

**Domain 7: Social Groups**

701 Labour Groups: Positive

702 Labour Groups: Negative

703 Agriculture and Farmers

703.1 Agriculture and Farmers: Positive

703.2 Agriculture and Farmers: Negative

704 Middle Class and Professional Groups: Positive

705 Minority Groups: Positive

706 Non-Economic Demographic Groups: Positive

0 No meaningful category applies