

The Left-Right Dimension in Latin America Party Politics

Manuel Alcántara (malcanta@usal.es) and Cristina Rivas (crisrivas@usal.es)
Universidad de Salamanca (Spain)

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Abstract

This paper studies the left-right division between political parties in Latin America. In order to do so, first of all the axes of ideological polarisation that coincide with this division are identified. Then, the elements that form these axes are analysed, together with whether or not they change over time. This is done by employing a technique of statistical analysis not often used in Political Science that allows us to represent and identify these components and the specific position of the parties with graphs.

1. Introduction

The use of the terms left and right in a region as heterogeneous as Latin America has done little to clarify the political life of the region. On top of the frequent interruptions of democratic processes, in which the left-right struggle has been particularly significant, there was also the empire of populism that defined Latin American politics for decades. Wherever populism set down its roots, it caused confusion as a result of its centripetal vocation, the promotion of patrons of national identity, the contempt for party competition and the use of the State as a regulator in socio-economic relations.

However, the recuperation of democracy that occurred in the vast majority of the countries in the region towards the end of the 20th Century has made possible the reconfiguration of inter-party competition according to the left-right axis. The continuity of democratic political life during this period has consolidated some old panoramas of ideological confrontation, as is the case in Chile and Uruguay, and in others it has opened up new ones, for example in Ecuador, El Salvador, Mexico or Nicaragua. This division has been measured and explained efficiently by using the positioning of actors along the left-right continuum (Alcántara 2004).

The actors place themselves, their parties and their competitors on the aforementioned continuum and show their preferences for different political issues that can be transferred to scales. In this way, statistical analyses are facilitated and the validity of these indicators is guaranteed. Within the party universe, the legislators are relevant actors who are easily accessible and whose number, relatively small compared to other types of party members, allows us to obtain representative samples of units of information and observation. Using this as a reference, Latin American legislators have been interviewed from 1994 onwards by a research project¹ that classifies political parties ideologically and obtains data about their opinions on different issues of political reality that can include representative values of ideological polarisation.

In this paper, we have selected eleven political parties with representation in the legislatures of Latin American congresses during the last decade and which, according to the opinions of their deputies, are classified as being at the extreme ends of the left-right scale (see Table 1)². The selection of cases based on this criterion makes it easier to identify the elements that differentiate between and constitute the aforementioned polarisation, as opposed to other parties that are less distant ideologically.

¹ The project is known as the PELA and is carried out at the University of Salamanca.

² On a scale of 1 to 10, where 1 is equal to “left” and 10 “right”, a left-wing party is any one that obtains a mean, in one of the two legislatures analysed, less than or equal to 3.5 in the scale of the party’s ideological position and a right wing-party is any one with a mean greater than or equal to 7.5 on that scale.

TABLE I: CLASSIFICATION OF LATIN AMERICAN POLITICAL PARTIES ACCORDING TO THEIR IDEOLOGY

PARTIES ON THE LEFT						
Country	CHILE	ECUADOR	MEXICO	NICARAGUA	EL SALVADOR	URUGUAY
Party	PS	MUPP-NP	PRD	FSLN	FMLN	FA-EP
Party's mean ideological position during the first legislature	2.50	3.50	4.11	2.33	2.28	3.03
(N)	(26)	(6)	(11)	(27)	(25)	(30)
Party's mean ideological position during the second legislature	2.56	3.22	3.14	1.69	1.72	2.91
(N)	(9)	(9)	(22)	(29)	(29)	(47)

PARTIES ON THE RIGHT					
Country	CHILE	ECUADOR	HONDURAS	THE DOMINICAN REPUBLIC	EL SALVADOR
Party	UDI	PSC	PNH	PRSC	ARENA
Party's mean ideological position during the first legislature	8.18	7.46	7.87	8.00	8.05
(N)	(17)	(22)	(13)	(8)	(20)
Party's mean ideological position during the second legislature	7.09	8.09	7.70	7.97	8.42
(N)	(24)	(23)	(47)	(29)	(26)

Source: own elaboration based on data from the PELA (1997-2005).

The legislatures in Chile (UDI and PS) are those during the periods: 1998-2002 and 2002-2006.

The legislatures in Ecuador (PSC and MUPP-NP) are those during the periods: 1998-2002, and 2002-2006.

The legislatures in Honduras (PNH) are those during the periods: 1997-2001 and 2001-2005.

The legislatures in México (PRD) are those during the periods: 2000-2003 and 2003-2006.

The legislatures in Nicaragua (FSLN) are those during the periods: 1997-2001 and 2001-2006.

The legislatures in the Dominican Republic (PRSC) are those during the periods: 1998-2002 and 2002-2006.

The legislatures in El Salvador (ARENA and FMLN) are those during the periods: 2000-2003 and 2003-2006.

The legislatures in Uruguay (FA-EP) are those during the periods: 2000-2005 and 2005-2010.

(N): number of interviews carried out.

Now that the selection of the universe of study has been justified, this paper aims to identify the principle ideological dividing lines between the chosen political forces as well as the formation of party families based on the classification of mean positions of the representatives along the dimensions of ideological polarisation. This grouping, a result of a multi-variant statistical analysis, strengthens the validity of the initial criterion of the selection of parties considered on the left and right, taking into account their position on the ideological continuum. Then, the evolution of these political parties in two consecutive legislative periods is analysed.

In this way, the differences between the left and right-wing parties in Latin America are considered in more detail on the basis of cleavages defined by the dimensions formulated from the variables collected in Table II and whether they remain constant over the years or not. Whether or not there have been significant changes within each party during the two legislatures studied here is also taken into account. The selection of variables included in the analysis, rather than another group of possible indicators, has been based on criteria that follow to a large extent what was proposed by Alcántara (2004). The programmatic classification in that work was constructed taking into account the existing polarisation along the axes known as “state control – neo-liberalism” and “progressivism – conservatism”.

TABLE II: VARIABLES IN THE ANALYSIS

VARIABLES

- Evaluation of democracy in the country
- Assessment of the current role of the Armed Forces
- Personal opinion with regard to abortion
- Relations with the Armed Forces as a problem for democratic consolidation
- Role of elections (as a mechanism for political representation)
- Preference for the United States as a business partner
- Preference for the United States as an investment partner
- Role of political parties.
- Relations between the Armed Forces and the Government as a threat to democratic consolidation
- Degree of state intervention in subsidising housing for its citizens
- Degree of state intervention in generating employment
- Degree of state intervention in providing adequate health care
- Degree of state intervention in guaranteeing general and free of charge university education
- Degree of state intervention in providing help for the unemployed
- Degree of state intervention in protecting the environment
- Degree of state intervention in covering the basic needs of all citizens.
- Importance of religion
- Personal opinion on divorce
- Interest in belonging to the FTAA in the future

Source: own elaboration based on the questionnaire carried out by the PELA (1997-2005).

In this paper, two types of multi-variant statistical analyses have been carried out: a factor analysis and an *HJ-Biplot* representation of the means of the factors obtained in the factor analysis and of the political parties that have been selected from the present-day Latin American Parliaments. The aim of the factor analysis in this case is, starting from a large number of observable variables, to find a relatively small number of factors that can be used to interpret the relationship between these variables and, in this way, obtain the dimensions of ideological polarisation that currently exist in the Parliaments of Latin America. Once the dividing lines between the parties on the left and right have been discovered, we focus on discovering which dimensions polarise the political parties most and which ideological families are formed on the basis of each one of the cleavages that are exposed. With this aim in mind, the *HJ-Biplot* representation has been used, as it is an analysis that allows us to represent both the ideological dimensions and the political parties in a reduced space, in such a way that not only is it possible to see the configuration of the parties but also the dimensions that explain this configuration.

To fulfil the second objective of this paper, that is the ideological continuity or change within the political parties in two consecutive legislatures, the same statistical analyses have been repeated, but on this occasion we include the data of political formations both in the current legislature and in the previous one. On one hand, we use factor analysis to obtain new ideological dimensions and on the other, the *HJ-Biplot* analysis for the simultaneous representation of political parties and the cleavages. In this way, it is possible to compare from the *biplot* graph the position of the political parties, in each one of the cleavages, in the two moments of time that are considered.

Finally, the comparison of the two *HJ-Biplot* analyses carried out in this work (the first with data corresponding to the current legislature and the second with data both from the current legislature and from the previous one) will highlight the fact that the discriminating capacity of the ideological dimensions remains static in time for practically all of the cleavages.

2. The main dimensions of polarisation found in Latin American Parliaments today

The five ideological dimensions are the result of the application of an exploratory factor analysis with varimax rotation³, based on the replies of the Deputies of the current parliaments in Latin America to a whole series of questions that measure economic, political, religious and social preferences and offer information about the political divisions of the members of the different parties with regard to concrete questions. The nineteen variables included in the analysis are displayed in Table II.

The purpose of this analysis is to identify the latent structures that allow us to establish the main points of disagreement between the right and the left in Latin America based on the opinions and preferences of its parliamentarians. Five factors are obtained that explain 56.6% of the total variance.

The first factor, the one with greatest explicative power (17.3%), is composed of variables related to state intervention in public policy. The second factor that has been found, with 11.6% of the total variance, includes the variables that relate to values. The third factor is related to the attitude that Latin American parliamentarians have towards the United States and explains 9.7% of the variance. The fourth factor comprises the variables related to the current role of the Armed Forces in Latin America. And, finally, the last factor is related to a democratic tendency and is made up of the variables related to the role of political parties and elections as a mechanism for political representation, as well as the degree of democracy that exists in the country in question.

³ The results obtained meet those that are deemed necessary to undertake a factor analysis, with a value of 0.754 on the Kaiser-Meyer-Okin Measure of Sampling Adequacy. By extracting the first five factors, a factor model that explains 56.58% is obtained. It is an acceptable percentage if one bears in mind the number of cases available (N=298) and the reduction of the achieved dimension (19 variables are reduced to 5).

TABLE III: DIMENSIONS OF POLARISATION (ORDERED ACCORDING TO THEIR CONTRIBUTION TO THE FORMATION OF THE FACTOR)

FACTOR 1 (17.3% of the variance explained)	FACTOR 2 (11.6% of the variance explained)	FACTOR 3 (9.7% of the variance explained)	FACTOR 4 (9.4% of the variance explained)	FACTOR 5 (8.6% of the variance explained)
<i>Degree of State Intervention</i>	<i>Values</i>	<i>Attitude towards the United States</i>	<i>Role of the Armed Forces</i>	<i>Democratic tendency</i>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Healthcare in all areas. - Support for the unemployed. - Protecting the environment. - Guaranteeing general and free university education. - Generating employment. - Covering the basic needs of all citizens. - Degree of state intervention in subsidising housing for its citizens. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Legalising abortion. - Legalising divorce. - Importance of religion. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Preference for the US as a commercial partner. - Preference of the US as an investment partner. - Interest in belonging to the FTAA in the future. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Relations with the Armed Forces as a problem for democratic consolidation. - Relations between the Armed Forces and the government as a threat to the stability of democracy. - Current assessment of the Armed Forces. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Role of the political parties - Degree of democratic stability - Role of elections (as a mechanism for political representation)

Source: Own elaboration based on the results of the factor analysis with data from the PELA (1997-2005).

From the results above it is possible to establish five major cleavages of ideological polarisation in the Parliaments of Latin America: “State intervention”, “Values”, “Attitude towards the United States”, “Armed Forces” and “Democracy”.

These factors allow us to obtain a same system of reference for all Latin American political parties selected in this study on the basis of which it is possible to discover the relative importance of the cleavages of ideological polarisation.

Once we have established the five dimensions in which the political parties studied here show clearly differentiated positions, we hope to discover which of these dividing lines cause the greatest polarisation between the current formulations of left and right in Latin America and what is the position of the parties with regard to these dimensions.

In order to reply to all of these questions, and to complement the investigation, a multi-variant analysis seldom used in the field of Political Science is undertaken, the *HJ-Biplot* (Galindo, 1986), an extension of the *Biplot* methods of Gabriel. The variables used in this *HJ-Biplot* representation are the means of the factor scorings (for each one of the political parties in question) obtained in the factor analysis. The representations that constitute the simultaneous analysis of individuals (in this case parties) and variables are particularly interesting, because they not only allow us to discover the configuration of political parties but also what variables are responsible for this configuration.

Although it does not reproduce the elements of the original matrix, the *HJ-Biplot*⁴ has the advantage of being a simultaneous representation in the strict sense of the word, so that the markers for the political parties and for the ideological dimensions are chosen in such a way that both can be superposed in the same system of reference. In this way, a maximum quality representation both for the political parties as well as for the variables that define the cleavages of polarisation can be achieved⁵ (Rivas, 2006).

The party-cleavage relationship is studied by means of the perpendicular projection of the points that represent the parties over the vectors that represent the ideological dimensions obtained in the factor analysis, which allows us to determine the cleavages that most differentiate between the sub-groups of parties.

In Table IV, the inertia absorbed by the first four factor axes of the *HJ-Biplot* is presented.⁶ Given that the total variability cannot be shown together on one graph, as it is not a bi-dimensional phenomenon, four axes have been retained. As can be observed in Table IV, the first factor axis contains most of the information and absorbs 35.1% of the total variability: that is to say, the ideological dimension or dimensions that are best

⁴ In contrast to the Biplot methods proposed by Gabriel in 1971, that allow a representation of the data of any matrix $X(n \times p)$ in which p variables and n individuals (units) are considered in a space of reduced dimension, by just choosing markers a_1, a_2, \dots, a_n for its rows (individuals) and markers b_1, b_2, \dots, b_n for its columns (variables), so that the internal product $a_i' b_j$ reproduces the element x_{ij} of the matrix X .

⁵ En the *HJ-Biplot* representation the following must be taken into account:

- The ideological dimensions have been represented by means of vectors and the political parties by means of points with corresponding labels.
- The points that are projected close to the head of the arrow have greater magnitude than those that are projected in the prolongation.
- The points that are projected above the centre of gravity correspond to positive values whereas when they are below the centre of gravity they have negative values.
- The further away the points that represent the political parties are from the centre of gravity, the more variability these parties will have shown in the study.
- The closeness between the points that represent the political parties is interpreted as a similarity between them.
- The longer the vector, the greater will be the contribution of the element (or dimension) to the inertia (variability).

⁶ When reference is made to factor axes, it is a reference to the axes of *biplot* representation and they lack a specific meaning. Their function is to interpret the ideological dimensions of the sub-space, something like the axes of a dispersion graph. The factor axes have no relation to the factors obtained in the factor analysis.

represented in axis 1 will be the cleavages that most discriminate between the left and right-wing political parties on the first factor level. The second axis also provides important information, even if slightly less so than the first one (26.1%). The rate of inertia on the first factor level, formed by axes 1 and 2, reaches 61.1%, achieving in the space formed by the first three axes (1, 2 and 3) 79.6% of the total variability of the data. That is to say, the positions of the parties and the ideological dimensions can be interpreted with a relatively small loss of information. This justifies the final decision to explain only the first three axes in the analysis. Therefore, the following pages will concentrate mainly on the first factor level for the interpretation of the *HJ-Biplot*, although attention will also be paid to the third axis that, with an absorption of inertia of 18.5%, offers interesting results for some of the political forces considered.

TABLE IV PROPORTION OF CUMULATIVE VARIABILITY ABSORBED

	VARIABILITY ABSORBED	ACCUMULATED VARIABILITY ABSORBED
- Axis 1	35.05	35.05
- Axis 2	26.08	61.13
- Axis 3	18.45	79.58
- Axis 4	14.14	93.72

Source: Results obtained from the *HJ-Biplot* based on data from the PELA (1997-2005).

The measurement of the relationship between the axes of the *biplot* representation and each one of the variables observed is called the Relative Contribution of the Factor to the Element (whether it be cleavage or political party).⁷ This contribution reveals which are the ideologically dividing lines most directly related to each axis and, therefore, shows which variables are responsible for the placement of parties on the perpendicular projection above each one of the vectors of the factor axes.⁸

TABLE V: RELATIVE CONTRIBUTIONS OF THE FACTORS TO THE DIMENSIONS OF POLARISATION⁹

IDEOLOGICAL DIMENSIONS	AXIS 1	AXIS 2	AXIS 3
- State intervention	469	77	350
- Values	608	15	76
- Attitude towards the United States	124	632	154
- Armed Forces	523	32	4
- Democracy	28	548	340

Source: Results obtained from the *HJ-Biplot* based on data from the PELA (1997-2005).

The analysis of the *biplot* representation shows that there are 3 characteristic dimensions of axis 1, that is to say those which receive a strong contribution from axis 1 but little from the others: “Values”, “Armed Forces” and “State Intervention”. For their part, the cleavages “Attitude towards the United States” and “Democracy” obtain the greatest contribution from axis 2 (see Table V).

It seems clear then that there are two ideological dimensions which vary the most in the present day Latin American Parliaments studied here and they therefore have a greater capacity to discriminate between the political parties of the left and the right. These dimensions are: “Attitude towards the United States” and “Values”. Nevertheless, “Democracy” and the role of the “Armed Forces” have an important contribution when

⁷ The relative contribution of the factor to the element indicates the contribution of each one of the factor axes of the *biplot* representation to the dimensions of ideological polarisation or to the political parties studied here.

⁸ As the axes are independent, the contribution of each one of them to each variable is also independent. Therefore, it is possible to calculate the contribution of one factor level by adding the contributions of the axes that form it. For example, the contribution of the level to the dimension “State intervention” would be the result of adding axes 1, 2 and 3 to this dimension, that is to say 469, 77 and 350. In this way, the contribution of the level to the dimension “state intervention” is 896 (out of 1000).

⁹ The numbers that appear in bold indicate that the received contribution is substantial.

classifying left and right in Latin America. “State intervention” is the cleavage that presents the smallest variability on the factor level.¹⁰

With regard to the parties, the quality of representation in nearly all of the cases is good or acceptable, as can be observed in Table VI. The only exceptions are: the PSC because it was not possible to draw reliable conclusions given its minor contribution to the formation of ideological dimensions on this level (this supposes that its position in the space of reduced dimension is apparent); and the FMLN, a case which calls for caution when drawing conclusions.

TABLE VI: RELATIVE CONTRIBUTIONS OF THE FACTORS TO THE POLITICAL PARTIES¹¹

POLITICAL PARTIES	AXIS 1	AXIS 2	AXIS 3
- PS	242	474	104
-UDI	<u>625</u>	229	125
-MUPP-NP	<u>864</u>	10	98
-PSC	9	71	54
-ARENA	<u>819</u>	97	20
-FMLN	114	167	44
-PNH	158	211	<u>596</u>
-PRD	301	311	300
-FSLN	13	496	86
-PRSC	2	122	<u>816</u>
-FA/EP	338	<u>559</u>	14

Source: Results obtained from the *HJ-Biplot* based on data from the PELA (1997-2005).

The *biplot* graphs (see Figures I and II) show how the forces of the left and right in the present day Latin American Congresses are clearly divided by the dimensions of ideological polarisation obtained in the factor analysis. The right-wing parties are situated on the left on the first and second factor levels, whereas the left-wing parties (clearly represented on the axis 1-2) appear on the right hand side of the first factor level (Figure 1). However, within the left there are two clearly differentiated groups: on the one hand, those situated in the lower-right quadrant (FSLN, FMLN, PRD and MUPP-NP) that represent a more revolutionary left; and on the other hand, a more moderate left located in the upper-right quadrant.

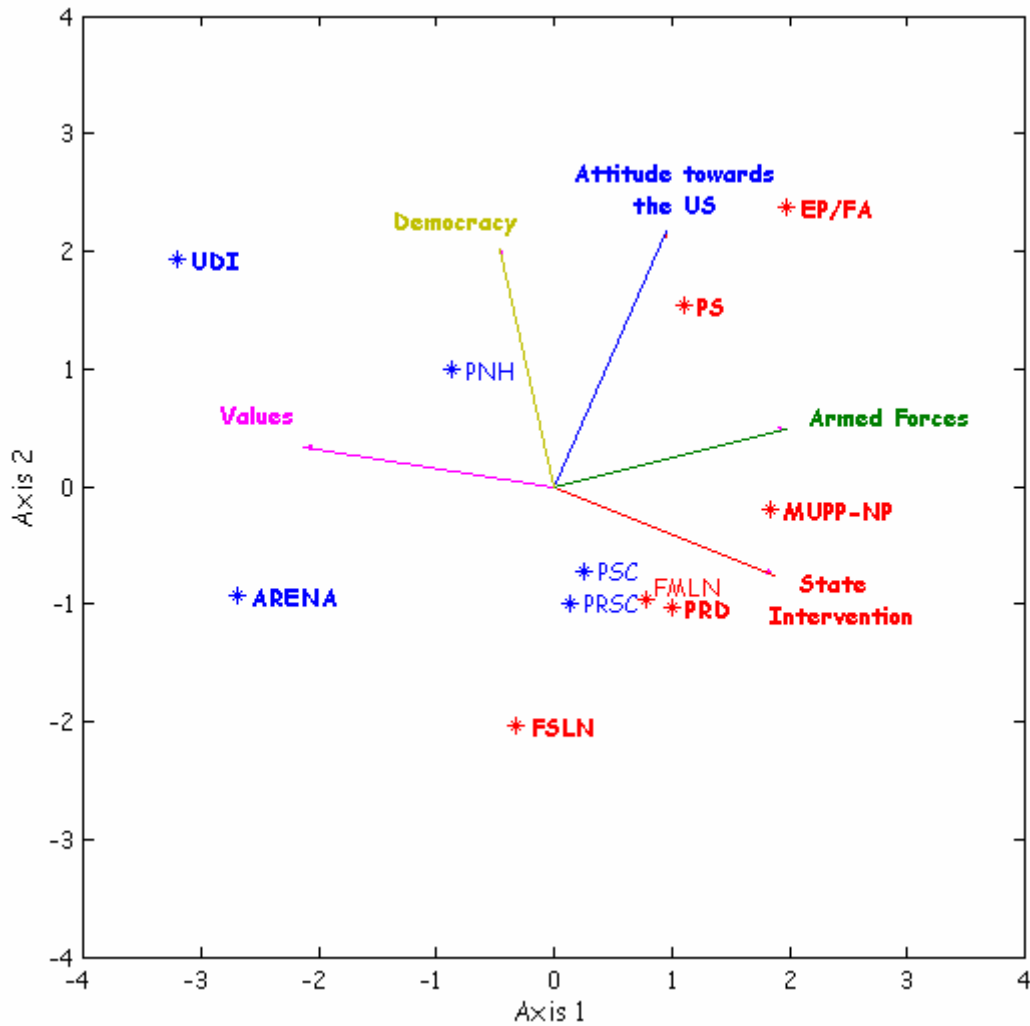
For a more successful interpretation of Figure I (and worth bearing in mind for the rest of the figures that will be analysed later on) two fundamental aspects have to be taken into account: the length and the angle of the vectors that represent the cleavages and the perpendicular projection of the points, political parties, over the ideological dimensions or

¹⁰ A more detailed analysis implies investigating the cause of this smaller contribution. One possible interpretation lies in the presence of mean positions of the parliamentarians interviewed for the variables that compose this dimension and therefore the lack of a relationship between this dimension and belonging to a political party (measured according to the left-right continuum). Another possible explanation for the smaller variability presented by this cleavage could be due to the fact that it has become obsolete in the region. Or it could be that this dimension is better represented on other factor levels that are not considered here. In this case it would be necessary to search in the levels formed by the axes 1 and 4, 2 and 4, or 3 and 4 to confirm that this is the case, because, as already mentioned, 20% of the total variability remains unexplained by the three retained axes. However, and as will be demonstrated in this paper, this dimension allows us to distinguish between political forces on the left and the right.

¹¹ The parties with a very high quality of representation appear in Table VI in bold and double underlined. Normally, the parties with minor contributions are near the centre of gravity and are those which cannot be interpreted because of their poor quality of representation.

cleavages. Thus, the longer the vector, the greater the variability presented by this cleavage in the analysis and the smaller the angle between the vector and the factor axis that represents it, the greater its importance in this study. For its part, the perpendicular projection of the parties over vectors allows us to determine which dimensions differentiate the most between the various sub-groups of the political parties.

FIGURE I: HJ-BIPLLOT REPRESENTATION OF THE DATA MATRIX (AXES 1 AND 2)



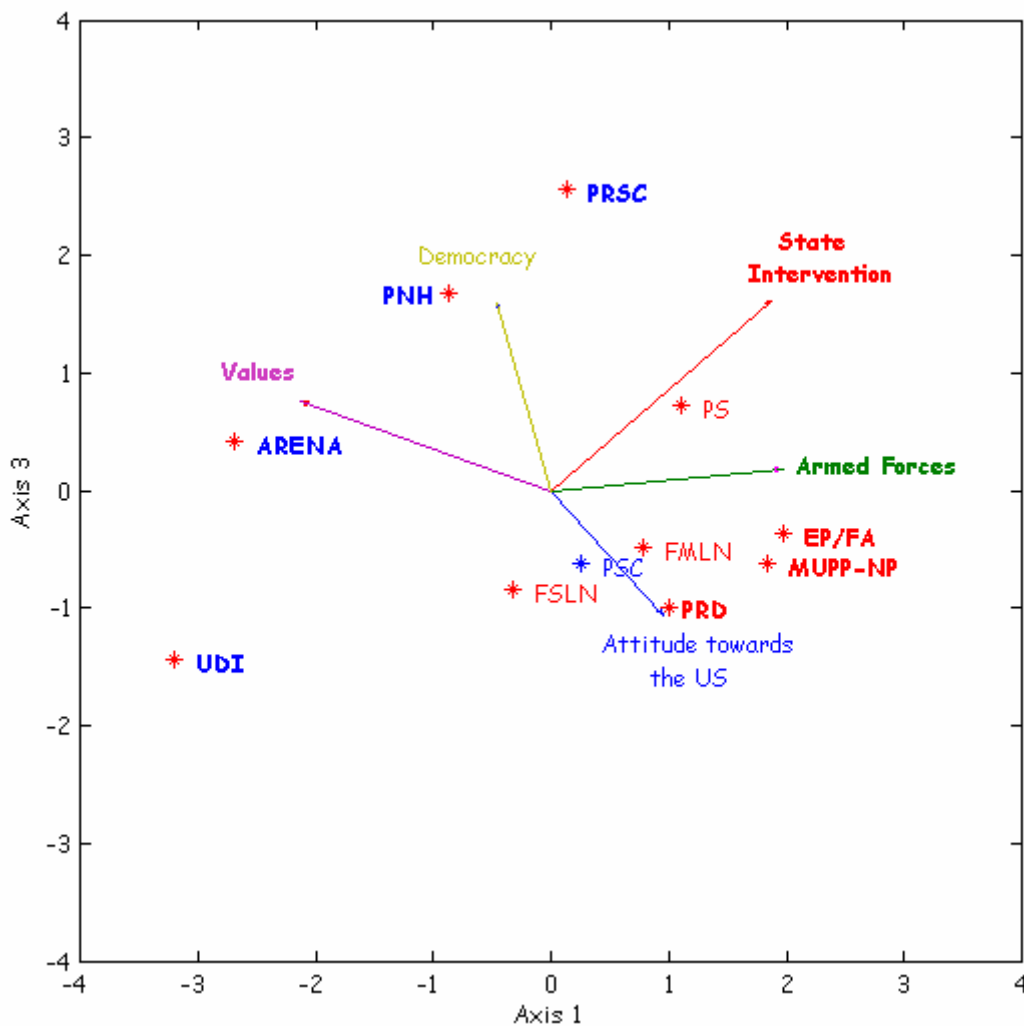
Source: Results obtained from the HJ-Biplot based on data from the PELA (1997-2005).

This implies that the first factor level (Figure I) separates, on one hand, those political parties with a tendency to a greater state participation in public policy, with values being less important, and those which evaluate negatively the role of the Armed Forces at the time when the interviews were carried out. All of these parties are found on the right hand side of the graph. They are separated from those that are neo-liberal in economic terms, conservative in their values and who consider the role of the Armed Forces as positive. This second group of parties is found on the left hand side of the graph. On the other hand, it also separates those parties with a pro-US attitude, a lesser democratic tendency (lower part of the graph) from those who show a clear rejection of the United States and who support a model of democracy in which political parties and elections are essential for the political system (top part of the graph).

It is interesting that some of these ideological dimensions not only separate the right from the left but also help us to establish differences within the group of left or right-wing parties, as is particularly the case with the cleavages “State intervention” and “Attitude towards the United States”.

The interpretation of the PNH and the PRSC must be made taking into account their position on the factor level 1-3, since it is on this level that the parties have a greater contribution (Figure II). Now, it will not be possible to draw reliable conclusions from these political formations for the dimensions “Democracy” and “Attitude towards the United States” since in the axis 1-3 these dimensions have a very low quality of representation at the same time as the relative contribution of the axes of both dimensions is very small (see Table V).

FIGURE II: HJ-BIPLLOT REPRESENTATION OF THE DATA MATRIX (AXES 1 AND 3)



Source: Results obtained from the HJ-Biplot based on data from the PELA (1997-2005).

Now that we have established which ideological dimensions have the greatest power to differentiate between the political parties of the Latin American congresses that are the object of our analysis, we turn our focus to the possible families of political parties that are formed on the basis of each of these dimensions.

2.1 Classification of political parties according to the main ideological dimensions: State Intervention

Very often neo-liberal economic and market policies have been associated with right-wing political forces whilst positions in favour of increasing the State's capacity to intervene in the economic-social area have been associated with left-wing parties. The market-state confrontation has shaped Latin American politics since the late 1980s and, despite the fact that this division no longer has the same discriminatory capacity as it did in previous decades it is still one of the main lines of party competition between the left and right in the region.

The dimension "State intervention", as was seen in the interpretation of the factor analysis, is formed by those variables related to State intervention in different areas of public policy (health, housing, the environment, university education, employment, aid for the unemployed or covering the basic needs of all citizens). Thus, projecting onto Figures I and II each one of the political parties in a perpendicular position to the vector that represents the cleavage "State intervention" their classification can be obtained. In this way, all those parties positioned near to the head of the arrow of this vector will be in favour of state intervention in this type of public policy, principally social in nature, whereas those situated at the extreme opposite of the vector will be in favour of a neo-liberal model for the economy.

TABLE VII Classification of Political Parties according to the dimension "State intervention"

DIMENSION "STATE INTERVENTION"	POLITICAL PARTIES
- State control	MUPP-NP, PRD, FMLN, FA/EP, FSLN, PRSC, PNH
- Neo-liberalism	UDI, ARENA

Source: Own elaboration based on the *HJ-Biplot* graphs

* The political parties not included in this table are absent because they have a poor quality of representation in this dimension and therefore their classification in one group or another could just be a matter of appearances. Those parties who have a neutral position on this dimension are also excluded.

The results listed in Table VII show that the "State control" stance attracts a greater number of parties than the neo-liberal one, perhaps reflecting the change that has been occurring since the start of this decade as a reaction against the structural adjustment policies that were widespread in the region from 1985 onwards. The parties in favour of state control are clearly left-wing: MUPP-NP, PRD, FA/EP, FMLN and FSLN, but some are also right-wing such as the PRSC and PNH (see Figures I and II). The MUPP-NP, the PRD and the FMLN are the parties who present a clear rejection of neo-liberal economic policy, giving the State a more active role in economic and social matters (even if the position of the latter should be treated with some caution due to its low quality of representation). The position of the Chilean PS is intriguing within this cleavage as it has a middle-way position, which shows that the programs and discourses of the parties do not always coincide with their ideological position.¹²

In the neo-liberal, pro-market field, only two right-wing political forces are present: the UDI and ARENA. Within the conservative group, the UDI appears to be by far the political force most favourable to a market policy for the economy.¹³

¹² The PS in its Declaration of Principles establishes in art 3 that "they reject the selfish and exclusive behaviour that the logic of the capital system imposes on human beings." (Alcántara, 2004: 143).

¹³ In article 16 of the Declaration of Principles, neo-liberal policies are defended when it is established that "experience shows that economic systems stimulate in every person the capacity to generate wealth, produce

2.2 Classification of political parties according to the main ideological dimensions: Democracy

The authoritarian-democratic divide has not occupied a predominant place in the structuring of the party systems of many Latin American countries, in spite of many of them being marked by the experience of an authoritarian regime in the 1970s and 1980s. To a great extent the transitions to democracy were successful precisely because the democratic creed was adopted without reserve by the political elite. However, after various lustrums of democratic institutions it is possible to discover signs that differentiate parties according to a greater or smaller tendency to democracy.

The variables that form the cleavage “Democracy” are those related to the acknowledgement of the role of the political parties and elections as mechanisms of political representation, together with the evaluation of democratic stability in the country. This cleavage divides political formations into two very different extremes: on one hand, those which really value democracy in their country and support a model of democracy in which political parties are included (those projected in Figure I near to the head of the arrow that represents this dimension); and on the other hand, those which believe that parties and elections are not necessary for the smooth running of democracy.

In this sense, the group of parties with greater democratic tendencies is basically formed by the Chilean UDI and PS and the Uruguayan FA/EP, which reflects the weight of history and the importance of systemic conditions. The classification of parties with lesser democratic tendencies is headed by the FSLN, the PRD and the FMLN, followed by the MUPP-NP, all of which are political forces present in systems with very little democratic tradition. In this sense it must be remembered that both the FSLN and the FMLN sprung-up to combat the dictatorship in Nicaragua, in the first case, and in El Salvador, in the second, although their form of political expression was violent rather than democratic. Together with the left-wing parties with less democratic tendency is the right-wing party in El Salvador, the ARENA, which, in spite of adopting a more moderate position than the rest of the parties on this issue is closer to this group than its right-wing counter-parts.

TABLE VIII: CLASSIFICATION OF POLITICAL PARTIES IN THE DEMOCRATIC DIMENSION

DEMOCRATIC DIMENSION	POLITICAL PARTIES
- Lesser democratic tendency	MUPP-NP, FMLN, FSLN, PRD, ARENA
- Greater democratic tendency	UDI, PS, FA/EP

Source: Own elaboration based on the *HJ-Biplot* graphs.

* The political parties not included in this table are absent because they have a poor quality of representation in this dimension and therefore their classification in one group or another could just be a matter of appearances. Those parties that have a neutral position on this dimension are also excluded.

The classification of political parties according to this dimension reveals that the democratic cleavage does not discriminate so much between left and right-wing political formations as it does between those on the left. In this way it is possible to speak of a moderate and democratic left comprising the Chilean PS and the Uruguayan FA/EP and a revolutionary left that grants less importance to institutions that are vital to democracy such as political parties and elections, perhaps marked by the very origins of these parties.

economic development and social welfare vastly superior to the collectivisms planned by the state bureaucracy.... the closer the State is to being the only employer or source of income for people, the closer it will be to controlling them by the use of political power.” <http://www.udi.cl/udi/principios>.

The clearest cases are the FSLN and FMLN fronts, both of which were products of guerrilla groups.

Neither can the authoritarian legacy of each one of the countries studied here be forgotten when it changed the position of the left and right-wing parties of a single political system in this dimension. An example of this is El Salvador with ARENA and the FMLN situated in an extreme of lesser democratic tendency and Chile with the UDI and the PS in the opposite extreme.

The low quality of representation of the PNH and the PRSC in relation to democracy prevents us from drawing clear conclusions about their position on this dimension.

2.3 Classification of political parties according to the main ideological dimensions: Values

The religious cleavage has been one of the principle axes of social and political division both in Europe and Latin America for a long time. Traditionally, talking about religion meant talking about the Catholic Church: an elitist, conservative and anti-democratic institution that was clearly identified with the State and power (Levine, 2005). The existence of a religious pluralism that is growing, although somewhat slowly, has weakened the Catholic's Church monopoly that, nevertheless, still enjoys a privileged place in Latin American society and its influence is still relevant, even today.

The process of secularising Latin American society has varied a great deal from one country to the next, which implies that the importance of the dimension "Values" would not be the same in all of them. However, as has been seen in previous pages, despite the fact that the new religious panorama in Latin America indicates that there is a decline in Catholicism (Parker, 2005: 52), it is still an important dividing line between left and right-wing parties in present-day Latin American congresses.¹⁴

There are three fundamental variables that form this ideological dimension: the religiousness of the Latin American parliamentarians and their position on the legalisation of abortion and divorce. The classification of left and right-wing political forces along this cleavage produces two clearly differentiated groups (see Table IX). On one hand, there is a "conservative" extreme characterised by a high degree of religiousness and a lack of tolerance about issues such as abortion and divorce. On the other hand, there is a "progressive" extreme that is less religious and which defends individual liberties, promoting the legalisation of divorce and abortion.

TABLE IX CLASSIFICATION OF POLITICAL PARTIES ACCORDING TO THE VALUES DIMENSION

VALUES DIMENSION	POLITICAL PARTIES
- Conservative	UDI, ARENA, PNH, PRSC
- Progressive	MUPP-NP, FA/EP, PS, FMLN, PRD

Source: Own elaboration based on the *HJ-Biplot* graphs.

* The political parties not included in this table are absent because they have a poor quality of representation in this dimension and therefore their classification in one group or another could just be a matter of appearances. Those parties that have a neutral position on this dimension are also excluded.

The differences between left and right with regard to their beliefs and values in relation to moral issues are very clear. The conservative UDI appears to be the most religious group, the one most opposed to the legalisation of divorce and, above all,

¹⁴ When interpreting this cleavage we should also take into account the key role played by the Catholic Church in the creation of some Latin American political parties.

abortion, followed by ARENA¹⁵, the PNH and the PRSC. On the extreme opposite of this dimension are found all of the left-wing parties: the MUPP-NP, the FA/EP, the FMLN, the PS and the PRD. The FSLN maintains a more moderate position, perhaps because despite the relatively low degree of religiousness on the part of its members, its position on the legalisation of abortion, mainly, is still rather conservative.

2.4 Classification of Political Parties according to the main ideological dimensions: attitude towards the United States

At the 4th Summit of the Americas, in Mar de Plata, in November, 2005, a large part of the debate focused on the rapid conformation of the Free Trade Area of the Americas (FTAA), that was a way for the United States to reaffirm its presence in the region. However, as was evident at the Summit with the Heads of State, the differences of opinion between countries are obvious and reaching an agreement seemed to be a dead end.

The lack of interest towards Latin America, the failure of neo-liberal economic reforms that came from Washington, together with the incapacity of the United States to design a suitable regional policy, has meant that the bilateral relations between the United States and many Latin American countries has deteriorated and an ever more visible anti-North American sentiment has emerged in the region. More and more countries, particularly those that are in the MERCOSUR (Brazil, Argentina, Uruguay and Paraguay) look for new markets for their products in the European Union and in China and in this way reduce their dependency on the United States (Kern, 2005:8).

The “Attitude towards the United States” cleavage comprises three variables: preference towards the US as a commercial or investment partner and the degree of interest on the part of the Latin American deputies for their country to belong to the FTAA in the future. This ideological dimension divides the political parties into two very different groups, although the differences between left and right are not so clear, making the country variable more significant than the political party or ideology. The pro-US group is principally formed by ARENA and the Nicaraguan, Mexican and Salvadorian left. The FSLN and ARENA are the parties that would most prefer to be part of the FTAA and having the US as their main commercial and investment partner. It is not in vain, as both El Salvador and Nicaragua have signed commercial agreements with the United States. On the opposite, anti-US extreme, are found the rest of the left-wing political formations, with the FA/EP and the Chilean PS being the most opposed to agreements with Washington, whereas the MUPP-NP shows itself to be much more moderate in this respect, occupying a middle-way stance on this issue. The UDI finds itself in a similar situation as it is the only right-wing political force with a less favourable attitude towards the United States.

TABLE X: CLASSIFICATION OF THE POLITICAL PARTIES IN THE DIMENSION “ATTITUDE TOWARDS THE UNITED STATES”

DIMENSION “ATTITUDE TOWARDS THE UNITED STATES”	POLITICAL PARTIES
- Pro-United States	FSLN, FMLN, ARENA, PRD
- Anti-United States	FA/EP, PS, UDI, MUPP-NP

Source: Own elaboration based on the *HJ-Biplot* graphs.

* The political parties not included in this table are absent because they have a poor quality of representation in this dimension and therefore their classification in one group or another could just be a matter of appearances. Those parties that have a neutral position on this dimension are also excluded.

¹⁵ The support of ARENA for Catholic conservative projects has been a feature of the party since it began. Over the last few years it has showed its support for the anti-abortion projects of the Foundation “Sí a la Vida” led by Julia Regina de Cardenal.

This cleavage not only divides the Latin American left and right but also the regions within the continent. On one hand, Central America and the Caribbean are closest to the United States, and on the other the Andean countries and the Southern Cone are more anti-United States.

2.5 Classification of the political parties in the main ideological dimensions: Armed Forces

The political parties of Latin America had very different experiences during the years of authoritarian and military regimes and so it is predictable that the “Armed Forces” dimension will divide the parties into clearly differentiated groups according to their particular experiences of authoritarianism. The political role of the military played in Chile and Uruguay is not the same as that in Mexico or Ecuador.

The cleavage related to the Armed Forces comprises three variables: the relations between them and the Government as a threat to democratic stability in Latin America, the relations with the Armed Forces as a problem for the country’s democratic consolidation and the evaluation of these actors at the time of the survey. The classification of the parties on the basis of the ideological dimension of polarisation produces two groups. On one hand are the pro-Armed Forces parties, that is to say the political formations that evaluate positively the current role of the army and consider that the relations between Armed Forces and Government do not suppose, today, a threat for the democratic stability of Latin American countries. On the other hand, on the opposite end, are those that are against the Armed Forces and that question the current role of the military and distrust their behaviour in the public life of their respective countries.

TABLE XI. CLASSIFICATION OF POLITICAL PARTIES IN THE “ARMED FORCES” DIMENSION

ARMED FORCES DIMENSION	POLITICAL PARTIES
- Pro-Armed Forces	ARENA, UDI, PNH, FSLN
- Anti-Armed Forces	FA/EP, PS, MUPP-NP, PRD

Source: Own elaboration based on the *HJ-Bjplot* graphs.

* The political parties not included in this table are absent because they have a poor quality of representation in this dimension and therefore their classification in one group or another could just be a matter of appearances. Those parties that have a neutral position on this dimension are also excluded.

In the first group (pro-Armed Forces), are basically the right-wing political formations (the UDI, ARENA and the PNH) and the most revolutionary part of the Latin American left: the FSLN.¹⁶ The second group (anti-Armed Forces) is composed of the left-wing parties, the FA/EP, the PS, the MUPP-NP and the PRD.

It is worth noting the evolution experienced by the FMLN with regard to this cleavage which, despite its armed origins, is situated in a middle-way position, near the anti-military extreme. Nevertheless, we cannot draw definitive conclusions about its position within this dimension given its low quality of representation.

¹⁶ The UDI in its origins always remained close to the authoritarian legacy and it was in favour of Pinochet continuing as the President of Chile in the National Plebiscite celebrated on the 5th of October, 1988. With regard to the FSLN, it is party with armed origins that was immersed in a long revolutionary process, as a result of which the relationship between this party and the Armed Forces has been very close from the outset. The fact that the Armed Forces in Nicaragua had the name “Sandinistas” for a decade helped this situation (Alcántara, 2004: 100).

3. Evolution of the political parties according to the main ideological dimensions with respect to the previous legislature

Throughout the period of democratisation of the political systems in Latin America, the region's parties have seen some important changes, in ideological terms, both with regard to issues of a political-institutional nature and social and economic questions (Alcántara, 2004:127). A clear example of this is the change in the “state-market” cleavage, where the active role of the State in the economy as an unquestionable patron has stopped being a decisive issue of confrontation for the classification of left and right in Latin America. Other divisions have emerged related to the integration of Latin American countries in the world economy or how to soften the effects of the predominance of free market policies.

In order to identify the evolution of the left and right in Latin America, a new factor analysis has been undertaken¹⁷, taking into account the political parties both in the previous legislature as well as in the current one (that is to say, from 1997 until approximately 2005)¹⁸. From this factor analysis, four ideological dimensions previously analysed have been obtained¹⁹. Then, an *HJ-Biplot* of means has been constructed with the dimensions obtained from the new factor analysis. The results of this are shown in Figures III and IV where the position of the four dimensions of ideological polarisation can be interpreted: “State intervention”, “Democracy”, “Armed Forces” and “Values.” The first three axes of the *biplot* representation explain 85.9% of the total variability of the level and so the loss of information is very low.

It is possible to interpret the positioning of the political parties along the dimensions of ideological polarisation in the majority of the cases studied, with the exception of the PRSC in the two legislatures analysed, which means that is not possible to draw conclusions about this party over time. The other political formations have an acceptable quality of representation on one of the extracted factor levels²⁰.

TABLE XII: RELATIVE CONTRIBUTIONS OF THE FACTORS TO THE DIMENSIONS OF POLARISATION²¹

IDEOLOGICAL DIMENSIONS	EJE 1	EJE2	EJE3
- State intervention	632	0	60
- Religion and Values	605	6	140
- Armed Forces	444	127	422
- Democracy	39	886	75

Source: Results obtained from the *HJ-Biplot* based on data from the PELA (1997-2005).

The ideological changes of the political parties are evident in Figure III. If the dimension “State intervention” (which is one of the main dividing lines between the Latin American political parties) is taken into account, the first conclusion to be drawn is the

¹⁷ The variables included in the new factor analysis are the same as in the previous one except those relative to the United States that did not exist in the questionnaire of the previous legislation. The Kaiser Meyer Olkin measurement is 0.784, a more acceptable coefficient, and the percentage of total variance for the four resulting factors is 53.5%.

¹⁸ To aid the reading of these data both in the tables and then in the graphs, the political parties are found together with a number which indicates the legislative period to which they belong. Thus, for example, a 1 refers to parties in the previous legislature whereas a 2 represents those in the current legislature.

¹⁹ As has just been noted, apart from that related to the attitude towards the United States for which there is no information from the previous legislature.

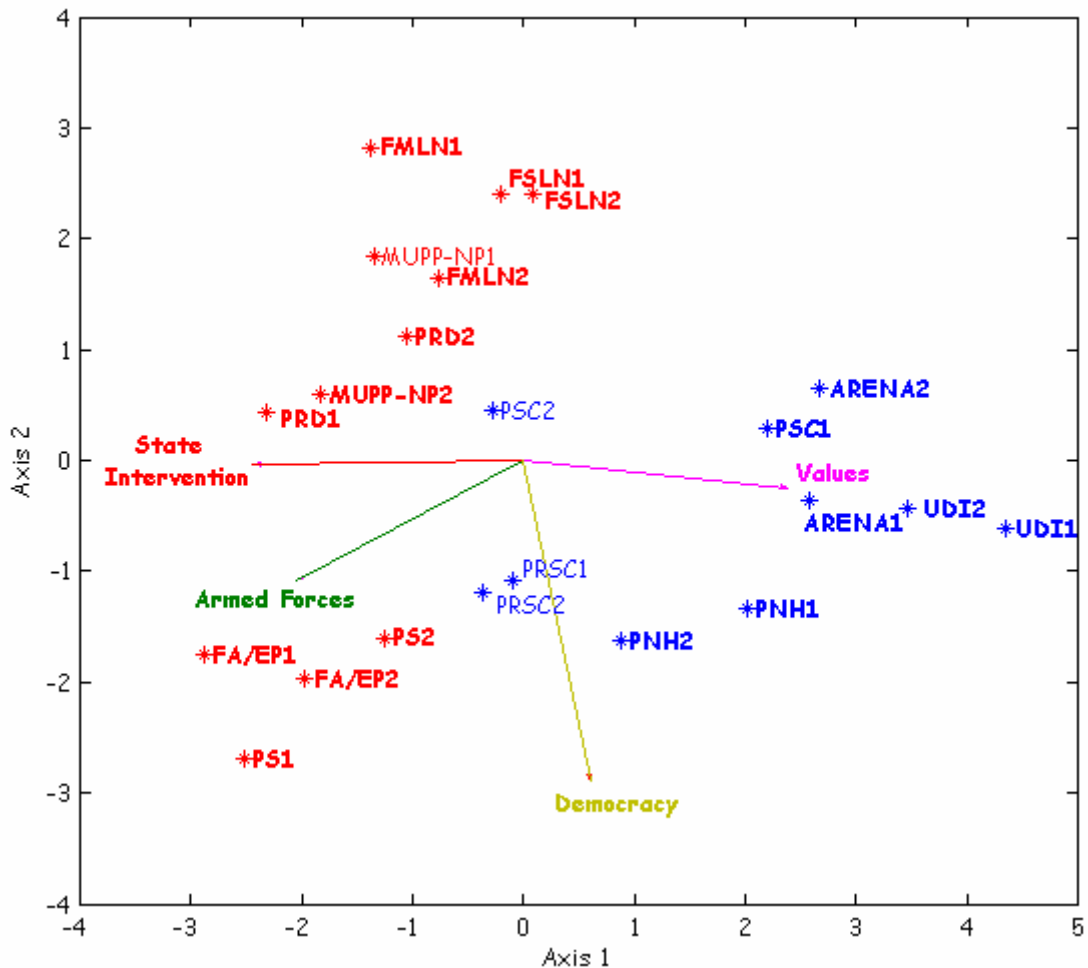
²⁰ The FSLN2, MUPP-NP1 and PSC2 are characteristic of axis 3, therefore they should be interpreted by taking into account their position on the factor levels formed by axes 1-3 (Figure IV).

²¹ The data that appear in bold indicate that the received contribution is high.

existence of a centripetal tendency on the part of all of the political forces, especially those with more neo-liberal or more state-orientated positions. The most representative cases are the UDI and the Chilean PS. In the graph, projecting perpendicularly the point that represents UDI1, UDI2, PS1 and PS2 over the vector that represents “State intervention”, it is possible to observe how in the last legislature the UDI softens its anti-State position, largely as a result of the failure of neo-liberal policies in Latin America. Likewise, the PS softens its pro-State position, an understandable occurrence if we bear in mind its condition as a party in government as a member of the *Concertación* and the details of the free market economic policy that Ricardo Lagos maintained during his presidential mandate.²²

This tendency is found in all of the parties analysed except the MUPP-NP in Ecuador and Arena in El Salvador, which in the last legislature seem to have intensified their pro and anti-State positions, respectively, although this has been more pronounced in Ecuador than in El Salvador.

FIGURE III: HJ-BIPLLOT REPRESENTATION OF THE JOINT DATA MATRIX (AXES 1 AND 2)

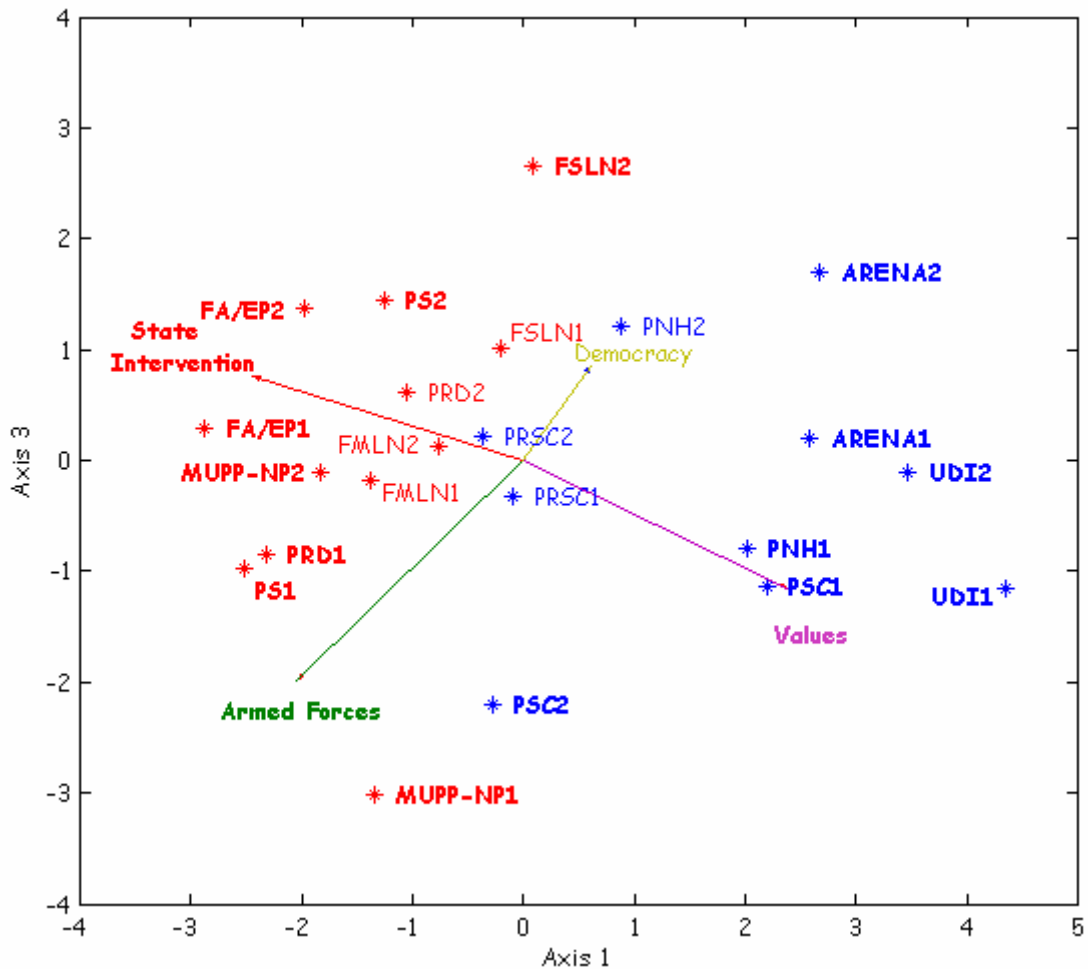


Source: Results obtained from the HJ-Biplot based on data from the PELA (1997-2005).

²² It is interesting to note how the position of PS2 in this new analysis is modified with respect to the previous one in which only the political parties in the present day Latin American Parliaments were taken into account. If the PS2 in Figure I occupied a middle-way position, nearer to the neo-liberal end than the State control one, in Figure III its defence of state intervention in public policies is more evident, albeit much more moderate than in the 1997-2001 period. This is the consequence of the inclusion of a greater number of parties in this analysis, with extreme positions of left and right, which makes their position in this new dimension more extreme.

With regard to the “Democracy” dimension, the evolution of the political parties has been very varied. For the vast majority of Latin American political forces, their positioning on this cleavage has not changed much over time, such as the UDI, the PSC, the PNH, the FA/EP, the FSLN, or the PRD. However, in the case of other parties such as ARENA, the change with regard to this dimension from the period 2000-2003 to 2003-2006 has been a lot more pronounced. ARENA has gone from having an acceptable democratic tendency in 2000 to occupying, in the last legislature, positions close to the anti-democratic end. Finally, there are two political forces, the MUPP-NP and the FMLN, in which the change of position on the “Democracy” dimension has been very abrupt. The FMLN has gone from being the party with the lowest democratic tendency in the period 2000-2003, to occupy more moderate positions in the following legislature, despite still being part of the group with “less democratic tendency”. The same happened with the MUPP-NP: in this case the time between one legislature and another emphasises the very different situations in which the party found itself when the different surveys were being carried out.²³

FIGURE IV: HJ-BIPLLOT REPRESENTATION OF THE JOINT DATA MATRIX (AXES 1 AND 3)



Source: Results obtained from the HJ-Biplot based on data from the PELA (1997-2005).

²³ The period 1998-2002 coincided with the preparation of the coup to overthrow Jamil Mahuad by Lucio Gutiérrez and which had the support of the MUPP-NP. The second (2002-2006) coincided with a greater consolidation and maturity of the party within the Ecuadorian party system, as it had become a key strategic actor for the country’s governability at the beginning of that period.

The evolution of the different political formations in the “Values” dimension does not present substantial changes within the parties over the period of time studied. In general terms there exists a slight tendency, as is the case with the rest of the cleavages, to adopt more central positions with regard to religious and moral issues, except in the case of the MUPP-NP which in the current legislature is characterised by being one of the least religious parties in Latin America, as well as being one of the most open to the legalisation of such controversial ideas as abortion and divorce. The FSLN, for its part, is still the most moderate left-wing political force with regard to this cleavage.

With respect to the “Armed Forces” cleavage, the general strategy of the parties is still that of avoiding extreme positions. The most characteristic cases are found in the Chilean parties. The UDI has moved slightly to the centre despite being the political force that most values the Armed Forces. On the opposite end of the scale is the PS which, if in the 1997-2001 period was the most anti-military party of all, together with the FA/EP, in the last legislature experienced an important change and, although its evaluation of the Armed Forces in Chile is still negative, its opinion has noticeably improved with respect to the previous period. In keeping with what has been noted about the other ideological dimensions, the MUPP-NP is still one of the parties that have experienced most changes between the 1998-2002 and the 2002-2006 periods, just as was the case with the PSC in this dimension. Thus, whilst in 1998 the PSC had a positive opinion about the Armed Forces it currently is the party that is most opposed to them.²⁴ On the opposite end of the scale is the MUPP-NP which in the present day legislature is rather more positive about the army in Ecuador than it was in 1998²⁵. The same thing happens with the PRD, whilst in 2000-2003 it adopted unfavourable positions towards the Armed Forces, it has improved noticeably (see Figure IV). With regard to the rest of the political formations, there has been very little change.

4. Conclusions

One of the initial objectives of this paper was to construct and analyse the dimensions of ideological polarisation that have formed and continued to form the space of competition between the left and right in Latin America. The analysis of the information dealing with the period between 1997 and 2005 allows us to see the continuity in time of the ideological dimensions as key axes of inter-party competition as well as discovering which of these cleavages have lost importance over time as arenas of confrontation between the left and right in Latin America.

The first conclusion that can be drawn from these pages is that the five lines of inter-party competition in Latin American Parliaments in the present day, “State intervention”, “Democracy”, “Values”, “Attitude towards the United States” and “Armed Forces”, obtained from the factor analysis, the dislike/like of the United States, the liberalism/conservatism and a greater or lesser democratic tendency on the part of the Deputies are the principal axes of polarisation between the parties with parliamentary representation analysed in this paper.

On the other hand, the State/market cleavage is less important and has given way, in more recent legislatures, to questions such as the attitude that Latin American politicians have towards the United States, which is one of the principal topics of conflict between the

²⁴ It is possible that this was influenced by the fact that the President and their political opponent at that time was Lucio Gutiérrez, a soldier.

²⁵ At the beginning of this legislature, the MUPP-NP supported unreservedly the government of the soldier Lucio Gutiérrez, who had led the coup.

left and right in the region at the present time.²⁶ The perception that the civilian-military relationship has improved and the supposition that it no longer presents a threat for democratic consolidation continue to divide the left and right. This is also the case with topics such as divorce and, above all, abortion, which are still very problematic.

A clear conclusion can be drawn from the joint analysis of the data: the validity over time of the main dividing lines between the Latin American left and right. Thus, the cleavages “Democracy”, “Values” and “Armed Forces” still play a polarising role between the political formations over the two legislatures analysed in each country, whereas the role of the State in the economy is not currently one of the main topics in the political agenda of many countries in the region.

Another of the conclusions reached is that over time, Latin American parties are less radical in ideological terms. As has been shown, there exists a generalised tendency in all of the political formations analysed to adopt more central positions with relation to the issues discussed here.

Table XIII offers a summary of the positions of the parties in each one of the dimensions of ideological polarisation in order to characterise the parties together. In this way we can conclude that the left and right wing parties in Chile present certain similarities with regards to the evaluation of the role of democratic institutions and their attitude towards the United States. Both the UDI and the PS present high levels of democratic tendencies and have a rather negative view of the United States. All of these features are more related to systemic matters and to the country’s political and social system than ideological characteristics of the two parties. The issues of greatest confrontation between both are: the role that the State should play in the Chilean economy, the religiousness of the Deputies, the decisions about abortion and divorce and scepticism about the relationship between Armed Forces and Government and its possible threat to democratic consolidation. For its part, the UDI sets itself up as being a neo-liberal, very conservative party which values positively the role of the Armed Forces in Chile without thinking that they represent for Chilean democracy.

In Ecuador, the differences between the right-wing PSC and the left-wing MUPP-NP are evident in practically all of the cleavages analysed. Whilst the MUPP-NP is characterised as being in favour of State intervention in public policy, not religious, anti-US, in disagreement with the Armed Forces and with a lesser democratic tendency, the PSC is exactly the opposite. However, it might have been interesting to see whether these features are constant in the current legislature for the dimensions of democracy and attitude towards the United States, something that is not possible given the low quality of representation of the PSC for this year along axis 2. Taking this into account, it can be said that the party is nearer to neo-liberal policies, is conservative and religious, in favour of the Armed Forces (even if in the period between 2002 and 2006 this opinion has changed slightly) and defends democratic values.

The left and right in El Salvador are relatively similar in three of the five ideological dimensions. The most obvious point on which both parties agree is the positive image their deputies have of the United States. In the same way, there seems to exist a proximity between ARENA and the FMLN with regard to the position of the Armed Forces dimension, even if ARENA has a more favourable opinion of the army than the FMLN. This is understandable if we remember the authoritarian enclaves in El Salvador and the way in which the political transition was carried out. Furthermore, there is also a similarity with regards to the democratic tendencies of both political forces. Whilst the FMLN is characterised during the two periods analysed as being one of the Latin American parties with the lowest tendency to democracy, ARENA in the 2003-2006 legislature is also

²⁶ However, the lack of reference to this issue in 1997 means that we cannot say if it was already like this in previous legislatures.

characterised by similar features. On the other hand, and despite this proximity between El Salvador's right and left on these issues, the distance between them is immense when it comes to State intervention and values. Whilst ARENA is a neo-liberal and conservative political force, the FMLN is quite the opposite as it is progressive and in favour of state intervention.

The PNH, in both of the legislatures analysed, confirms its profile as a right-wing party, although a lot more moderate than the rest of the political forces in this group (in favour of the market, conservative, with a high democratic tendency, and defensive of the role of the Armed Forces.)

Something similar happens with the PRSC, although little can be said about its evolution along the cleavages given its low quality of representation on the factor levels during the period running from 1998 to 2004. However, it stands out from the other right-wing political groups as a result of its support for a greater role for the State in public policy and its lack of confidence in the country's army.

In the case of the PRD, its support for the role of the State is confirmed, it has a lesser democratic tendency, it is progressive and not particularly religious, anti-military (although its opinion about the Armed Forces has noticeably arrived over the last legislature) and has a positive image of the United States.

The FSLN is one of the most constant parties in terms of its ideology. Its profile as a revolutionary left-wing force is evident and, despite it being closer to neo-liberal policies, it stands out because of its lesser democratic tendency, its positive evaluation of the Armed Forces and its pro-US attitude. With regard to values, it is not clearly defined, as even if it declares itself to be not at all religious, it is much more conservative with regard to issues of high moral importance, such as the legalisation of abortion, which makes its position on this cleavage not so extreme.

Finally, there is also the case of the FA/EP that presents features very similar to those of the PS. It is largely due to the fact that Uruguay and Chile are both countries of great democratic stability and an economic prosperity superior to that of the other countries studied here. The FA/EP has separated itself from the revolutionary Latin-American left, fundamentally from the FMLN and the FSLN, presenting itself as a highly democratic party, critical of the role of the Armed Forces (largely because of its experience under the military regime), confrontational with the United States, progressive, liberal and defensive of the role of the State in the economy.

Today the ideological differences mean that it is still possible to talk of left and right-wing parties in the seven Latin American countries analysed here, whilst acknowledging their specific differences derived from characteristics that are inherent to the national political systems of which they form part.

TABLE XIII: SUMMARY OF RESULTS

	DEGREE OF STATE INTERVENTION	DEMOCRATIC TENDENCY	DEGREE OF RELIGIOUSNESS AND CONSERVATISM	ATTITUDE TOWARDS THE UNITED STATES	EVALUATION OF THE ARMED FORCES
-PS1	Very high	Very high	Very low		Very negative
-PS2	High	High	Low	Negative	Negative
-UDI1	Very low	High	Very high		Positive
-UDI2	Very low	High	Very high	Medium – negative	Positive
-MUPP-NP1	Medium – high	Low	Medium – low		Medium - negative
-MUPP-NP2	High	Medium – low	Low	Medium – negative	Medium – negative
-PSC1	Low	Medium – high	High		Positive
-PSC2	Medium – low		Medium – high		Medium – negative
-ARENA1	Low	Medium – high	High		Positive
-ARENA2	Low	Medium – low	High	Positive	Positive
-FMLN1	High	Very low	Low		Medium - positive
-FMLN2	Medium – high	Low	Medium – low	Medium – positive	Medium – positive
-PNH1	Low	High	High		Medium – positive
-PNH2	Medium – low	High	Medium – high		Medium – positive
-PRD1	Very high	Medium – low	Medium – low		Negative
-PRD2	High	Low	Low	Medium –positive	Medium –negative
-FSLN1	Medium –high	Very low	Medium – low		Medium – positive
-FSLN2	Medium – low	Very low	Medium –low	Positive	Medium – positive
-PRSC1					
-PRSC2	High		Medium – high		Medium –negative
-FA/EP1	Very high	High	Very low		Very negative
-FA/EP2	Very high	High	Low	Very negative	Negative

Source: Own elaboration based on the *HJ-Biplot* graphs (Figures III and IV).

* The data for the PRSC2 are taken from the *HJ-Biplot* representation for the data of the current legislature (figures I and II).

*The cases for which there is no available information appear shaded.

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