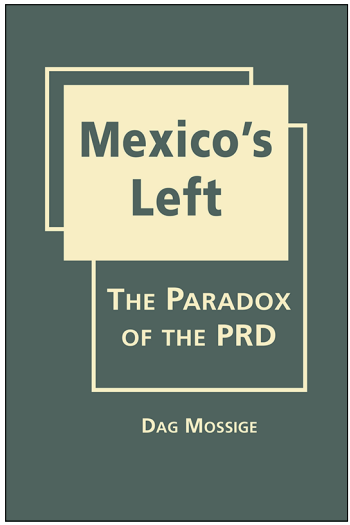
EXCERPTED FROM

Mexico's Left: The Paradox of the PRD

Dag Mossige



Copyright © 2013
ISBN: 978-1-935049-62-3 hc

FIRSTFORUMPRESS

A DIVISION OF LYNNE RIENNER PUBLISHERS, INC.

1800 30th Street, Ste. 314
Boulder, CO 80301
USA
telephone 303.444.6684
fax 303.444.0824

This excerpt was downloaded from the
FirstForumPress website
www.firstforumpress.com

Contents

List of Figures and Tables *ix*
Acknowledgments *xi*
List of Acronyms *xiii*

1 The Paradox of the PRD: What Went Wrong? 1
2 2006: What Happened to Mexico's Democracy? 27
3 The PRD: Born on the Back of a Fraud 69
4 The Gains of Moderation and the Return to Mobilization 107
5 After 2006: Back to Square One? 163
6 The Paradoxes of the 2007 Electoral Reform 209
7 The 2008 Petroleum Reform 225
8 The Showdown with AMLO 241
9 The PRD and Mexico's Democracy 299

Bibliography *311*
Index *329*

1

The Paradox of the PRD: What Went Wrong?

The *Partido de la Revolución Democrática*, even among Latin America's colorful bunch of political parties, remains a paradox today, a quarter century after its founding. The PRD was born as a result of an electoral fraud in 1988, when Cuauhtémoc Cárdenas Solórzano possibly won that year's presidential election. With his allies he set up a new party that would for the first time incorporate all major left sectors in Mexico, in order to continue the push for democratization against an authoritarian regime. The PRD's cause, as its name implied, was democratization. After Cárdenas proclaimed it into existence in Mexico City's Zócalo on May 5, 1989, the PRD survived brutal repression from federal and state forces to twice become Mexico's second largest party, in 1997 and 2006, achievements all the more remarkable given the party's short lifespan.

The PRD played a crucial role in Mexico's protracted democratization process, assuming democracy as its mantle and demonstrating an intransigent attitude against authoritarianism. Given a strategy of its competitor *Partido Acción Nacional* (PAN) to seek accommodation with the regime, the PRD saw itself as the only vehicle for true change: The task of throwing the ruling *Partido Revolucionario Institucional* (PRI), in power since 1929, out of the presidential residence of Los Pinos could only fall to Mexico's sole leftwing option. It did not believe in gradual change and concessions but advocated a complete system change.

The PRD consistently fought and protested fraud and kept up pressure on the regime. In 1997 it won the great price of Mexico City, second only to the presidency in importance. This paved the way for the 2000 national regime change, and along the way the PRD helped enact crucial democratic reforms in Congress. Its mass mobilizations

maintained pressure on the regime, but its willingness to negotiate reforms after the eruption of a guerrilla rebellion in 1994 also made the democratization process at all possible. Yet the party did not bring about Mexico's national transition; that role fell to its right-leaning opponent, the PAN. Moreover, the PRD and its popular former mayor of Mexico City, Andrés Manuel López Obrador (AMLO), in a broader context of a "Left Wave" in Latin America came close to winning the 2006 presidential election, but not close enough. While the PRD, as in 1997, became the second largest party in Mexico's Chamber of Deputies, PAN's Felipe Calderón Hinojosa beat the party to Los Pinos (see Table 1.1 and 1.2). Unlike its comparable Latin American neighbors, Mexico was unique in rejecting, at the finishing line, the "pink tide." The scenario was repeated in 2012 when AMLO again ran as the left's candidate, but where two lackluster PAN administrations led not to a PRD victory but rather, at the hands of Enrique Peña Nieto, the PRI's return to the presidency after a 12-year absence.

Table 1.1: Senate Representation by Party, 1964–2012

	PAN	PRI	PRD	PT	PVEM	PC/MC	PANAL	None
1964		64						
1970		64						
1976		64						
1982		64						
1988		60	4					
1991	1	61	2					
1994	25	95	8					
1997	33	77	15	1	2			
2000	47	58	17		5	6		1
2006	25	33	29	2	6	6	1	
2008	52	33	26	5	6	6	1	
2009	52	32	27	4	6		2	
2010	50	33	26	5	6	6	1	1
2011	50	33	25	5	6	6	1	2
2012	38	54	22	5	7	1	1	

Figures for Senate composition by December of each indicated year. Quinto Informe de Gobierno, at www.informe.gob.mx

With the main issues of 2006 unresolved - Mexico's economic growth remained sluggish, the gap between rich and poor continued to grow, and a surprise offensive against the drug mafia unleashed unprecedented violence - the PRD should have been in pole position to

Table 1.2: Chamber of Deputies Representation, 1964–2012

	Seats	PAN	PRI	PRD	PT	PVEM	PC	PANAL	None	PASC	PPS	PARM	PRT	PDM	a	b	c	d	e	f
1964	210	20	175								10	5								
1967	212	20	177								10	5								
1970	213	20	178								10	5								
1973	231	25	189								10	7								
1976	237	20	195								12	10								
1979	400	43	296								11	12		10	18			10		
1982	400	51	299								10			12			17	11		
1985	400	41	289	12							11	11	6	12		6		12		
1988	500	101	260	19							32	25							34	29
1991	500	89	320	41							12	15							23	
1994	500	119	300	71	10															
1997	500	122	239	125	6	8														
2000	500	207	206	53	8	16			10											
2003	500	149	224	97	6	17	5		2											
2006	500	206	104	126	16	19	16	9		4										
2008	500	207	106	127	11	17	18	9		5										
2009	500	143	237	71	13	21	6	9												
2010	500	142	237	69	13	21	8	9	1											
2011	500	141	240	68	13	21	8	7	2											
2012	500	142	242	63	14	22	6	8	3											

Figures for Chamber composition by December of each indicated year. a) PCM, b) PMT, c) PSUM, d) PST, e) PFCRN, f) FDN
Quinto Informe de Gobierno, at http://www.informe.gob.mx

capitalize on the deficiencies of the Calderón administration. Yet after its near win in 2006, the PRD was increasingly at war with itself and throughout the Calderón years experienced a rash of internal crises that threatened the party's very existence. While internal divisions are part and parcel of party politics - parties are, after all, coalitions of actors - the PRD took its turmoil far beyond normal conventions of party conflict, and news of its imminent collapse were often proclaimed.[1] United at first behind AMLO's claims of electoral fraud, the PRD split on whether it should maintain an intransigent attitude toward the new government or participate in legislative reforms. A new paradox was evident: A party that had democracy as its founding cause now saw its own democratic credentials questioned by media, political elites, and even the masses, from its refusal to accept the rules of the game. This including rejecting the democratic and electoral institutions it had been instrumental in helping to set up, and culminated in the creation of an alternative or "legitimate presidency."

The PRD split on crucial legislative initiatives such as the 2007-8 electoral and petroleum reforms, with one group maintaining absolute loyalty to AMLO and another favoring negotiation and also a more autonomous role for the party. While the latter maintained faith in the viability of gradual reform, the former notably rejected this path as merely helping to keep a moribund regime alive. The PRD's internal 2008 election, which took 8 months to resolve and only by court decision, was its worst and most polarized leadership transition. By 2009, AMLO - a party founder and former party president - refused to work with his old party, and even campaigned for its competitors in federal and state elections, taking many of his PRD supporters with him.

The PRD's turmoil appears a particular enigma as ideology, often a divisive issue within parties, was not its main division, at least if defined traditionally in left-right terms. Rather, the PRD split on a range of fronts, such as its organizational focus, legislative votes, electoral alliances, tactics and, crucially, what should be its role vis-à-vis its 2006 candidate. AMLO continued to reject the legitimacy of the Calderón government and created an unprecedented set of new extra-party institutions around his "presidency" with new movements on the sidelines of the PRD. He opposed his own party and endorsed its opponents when it suited his project, though never relinquishing his claim to control the PRD. Crucially, many within the PRD continued to take AMLO's side even when his actions clearly hurt the party. What were the real reasons for the PRD's almost perpetual war against itself? Why has the party not been able to solve even basic questions of tactics, strategy and orientation, and what explains its internal battles? What

can, in short, explain the PRD's woes, recurring throughout its existence and stronger than ever before two decades after its creation? These questions, and some proposed answers, lie at the heart of this book.

A Theoretical Puzzle

This book began as an empirical investigation into the complicated internal dynamics of the major political party of the Mexican left, which also remains one of the most significant left-wing parties in Latin America. It was motivated by a specific desire to offer an explanation for the dramatic events of 2006 and the seemingly paradoxical opposition of prominent party elites to legislative reforms in 2007 and 2008. More broadly, it sought to understand the nature of the challenges Mexico's left has faced until present times.

At the same time, theoretical considerations also inspired the research, as the PRD, from the point of view of the political science literature, simply did not behave in ways consistent with those of other political parties. Nor, given what we know of party development, did the party change in any predictable or seemingly logical manner. From Max Weber onwards, modern democracy has put a premium on the building of a rational-legal system of political institutions, where the components of a democratic polity as both a product and a cause of modernization achieve a more "routinized" and predictable character.[2] Within the party literature, a similar preoccupation with institutionalization - how parties develop into more solid organizations - has long dominated. Political parties have long been assumed to develop into relatively coherent organizations, or else wither away. Some parties in particular might face a battle between competing goals, most prominently the logics of electoral competition versus constituency representation, but the demands of the former would, in the end, win the day.[3] The practice of competing in the electoral arena would serve to establish some general understanding, however minimal, among party members over the identity and the main function and role of the party. Some of these hurdles to overcome may appear mundane and internal to the party, yet for some organizations, solving intra-party differences on candidate recruitment and electoral strategy - and make the party abide by the final decisions - are matters of their life and death. Participation in the electoral process should also eliminate their most egregious programmatic and ideological contradictions.[4] Any party that failed to do so, perhaps particularly an opposition party, would face inexorable pressures to adjust to the logics of electoral competition, or face

extinction. To return to the original concept, for party builders of all stripes, their organization faced a stark choice: Institutionalize, or die.

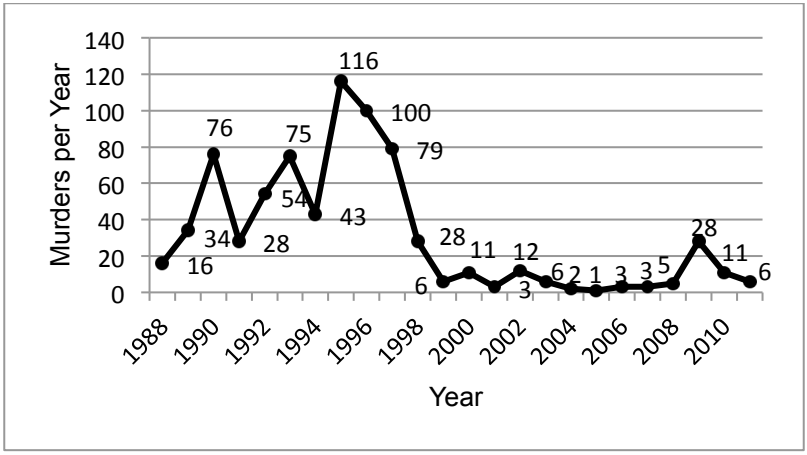
This dictum in particular applied to parties of the "movement" type, which displayed traits of both social movements and political parties. The empirical evidence did strongly suggest that in the European context, in a quite Darwinist fashion, parties that failed to adapt fell along the wayside.[5] Even so, the PRD, a party the Mexican intellectual Enrique Semo Calev termed "a phenomenon that is hard to describe," repeatedly defied this logic, yet continued to live to tell the tale.[6] Up until present times, the party has remained an uneasy amalgam of party and social movement, with minimal agreement on its direction, and plagued with notorious infighting. Of central importance to this investigation is the observation that its own party elites cannot decide whether the PRD should even attempt to develop into a more traditional and routinized party organization. As will be explored, and of vital importance to democratic stability, falling along this divide is a further schism on whether to fully accept the current institutional setup of Mexico's young and still fragile democracy, or rather reject it: A significant PRD sector is not convinced of the superiority of current institutions and of the value of seeking to reform them, preferring instead a larger "system change." This debate was central to the PRD's internal debates in its early years, but the 2006 events revived this cleavage and a "Mexican Bad Godesberg," or an event equivalent to the German Social Democratic Party's renunciation of radical change in 1959, still remained elusive more than a decade after the country's democratic transition.[7] Since 2006, "two visions" of the PRD have become increasingly discernible and even reappeared in a new form. As a central member noted,

> For us, the most important is to position a political vision of social-democratic orientation, which is gaining territory within the party, and toward the outside of the party, in society… In the party two great visions have come about in confrontation. One that sets out a total confrontation with the state, with the government, without negotiating anything, without recognizing anything, and another vision, of which we form a part, which is a vision that is determined to seek grand reforms of the political regime. This is the difference: Either we go on a path of total confrontation, or we go on a path that advances reform.[8]

Contradictions abound within the PRD. The party was arguably the most democratic of Mexican parties, given its focus on internal elections for positions and candidacies but even more so for its uncompromising attitude toward negotiating with a regime it saw as fraudulent. The

PRD's main cause around which all its internal *corrientes* or "currents" could rally was to demand democracy in what was until the late 1990s a highly authoritarian regime.[9] No other party paid such a high price for its struggle: More than 800 members were murdered (see Figure 1.1).

Figure 1.1: PRD Members Murdered, 1988–2011



Total 746 until November 2011. 1988 figure includes FDN murders.
PRD Secretaría de Seguridad Justicia y Derechos Humanos.

At the same time, the PRD struggled to find a balance between internal democracy and actually making the party abide by majority decisions.[10] It also wrestled with the balance between a strong and unifying party leader, who after the 1988 electoral fraud personified its cause of democracy, and the autonomy of the party's organs. This amounted to establishing a separate party identity beyond that of its dominant leader and building autonomy of the party's organs and decisional authority vis-à-vis its *caudillo* or strongman. Despite their different eras of prominence, the cause of Cárdenas and AMLO remained the same. In its first decade the PRD's main task was to bring about democratization through Cárdenas' presidential candidacy. To his backers, the principal task after 2006 remained to support AMLO's quest for the same office.

Despite significant electoral and legislative victories since its 1989 founding and repeated attempts at party building, why has the PRD been incapable of achieving a higher level of institutionalization of its organization and identity? This book argues that the consequences of the

PRD's internal fights, often manifested in hugely public rows, are too important to ignore. On the one hand, the party's post-2006 behavior greatly strained Mexico's institutions, given the refusal of a significant sector of the party to accept their preeminence. Yet the party's troubles matter for the stability of electoral democracy as well: Should the PRD fail to function as a "normal" left party that represents the lower classes and absorbs their political demands, Mexico's poor would in the present have no evident party to speak for them in the institutional arena and might consequently promote their grievances through other means.

This book offers one answer to what is regarded as both an empirical and theoretical riddle. It argues that the main reason why the PRD has remained in a state of near-perpetual internal strife can be found in its failure to settle once and for all for either its party builders or movement advocates. In Latin America, as in Europe, many examples exist of parties incorporating social movements into their structure, or even of social movements becoming parties. But the PRD remains a hybrid that, despite its long participation in Mexico's democratic institutions, still cannot make up its mind collectively about whether to continue using the tactics and strategies of the movement or to be a party.[11] Most, if not all, of its subsequent divisions stem from this reality, which almost wholly parallels another divide: Whether the PRD should focus on gradual reform, which entails the absolute and unconditional acceptance of the current political system, or instead reject the possibility that the system in its present form is capable of being reformed - and worth saving. The division is not always sharp and unambiguous as overlapping and shifting positions do exist. But the PRD's main camps nonetheless converge around essentially two poles, split over compounding cleavages over the party's form, orientation, tactics and strategy. Here lies the importance of its divide.

Ideological Division: The Usual Suspect

Party division is commonly explained by ideological differences, and even for a leftwing party the PRD's ideological orientation was remarkably diverse at its founding moment. To a great extent an initial product of a split by more redistributionary-oriented sectors from the PRI, the PRD drew in social democrats, socialists, Stalinists, Trotskyites, guerilla fighters, and many more. A strength of agglutination in terms of casting a wide net at first, this ideological diversity also provided a challenge for any programmatic coherence.

Most every party would disagree on exactly where to place itself on a traditional left-right spectrum, yet within the PRD many notably reject

this classification and its applicability in Mexico altogether. Despite incorporating the brunt of Mexico's left, it took the PRD nearly a decade to agree that it was even a left party, a label both its *caudillos* long rejected. This does not mean that strong ideological divisions within the party do not exist. On the contrary, one surviving main division is over whether the PRD should reclaim the nationalist mantle of the Mexican Revolution and locate itself primarily in a national context. The party's name can also be considered a reflection of this heritage, and the continuity with disaffected *priístas* (PRI members) was notable: PRD co-founders Cárdenas, AMLO, Porfirio Muñoz Ledo and Ifigenia Martínez y Hernández spent a lifetime in the PRI until, in their view, it exhausted its revolutionary potential.

But another strain was traditionally located on the non-*priísta* left, and looked to international democratic socialism and social democracy as referents instead of more uniquely national inspirations. From the onset this sector favored a clear ideological profile of the left. This divide remains relevant today, but even so, this study rejects the conventional explanation that ideological differences, when defined as a struggle over a party's left-right placement, are the main reason for the PRD's turmoil. As a candidate for the party's presidency in 2008 put it, "the issue goes much deeper than that."[12]

Corrientes and the Caudillo

The PRD has long been known for its rampant factionalism, often manifested in the public sphere in fights between its variegated currents, or organized party functions, which display much continuity with the groups that originally comprised the party. It is no exaggeration to state that no other major Mexican party has suffered the PRD's level of infighting. The party's currents are often dismissed as motivated not by clearly articulated political projects, but rather by power and its spoils, where party positions or candidacies are mere means to patronage rather than to implement diverging ideological-programmatic agendas. At the same time, as their critics within the PRD acknowledge, the currents, with separately organized groups and official titles, substitute for an organizationally relatively weak party. One's clout within the PRD is very much a product of the organizational strength of the current, which holds the real power over party decisions. In the words of one PRD leader: "Rich currents, poor party."[13]

It is not hard to accept, as their critics contend, that much current activity does center on jockeying for vaunted electoral candidacies or positions in the PRD's political organs, while the traditional ideological

differences between them are often muddled. Nor is it unproblematic that their members too often prioritize the building of the current rather than the party proper. Yet to exclusively regard these factions as representing nothing more than petty squabbles over patronage is misleading. Given that most currents display much continuity - if not in name, surely in orientation - with the PRD's founding factions, the claim that they do not represent real differences is false. In essence they do, and most always did. While their highly public infighting has done its share to overshadow their differences, this does not mean that their distinctions are irrelevant. While seeking the realization of a clear political project is not inherently mutually exclusive from searching for power and patronage, a closer look at the currents further reveals different conceptions of what should be the PRD's political project and how it should best organize in order to fulfill it. While the present level of polarization and constellation of current strength perhaps displays the differences between the main factions clearer than at any time in its history, fundamental divides between movement advocates and party builders can be traced throughout its existence. Then, as now, the differences crystallized in two main camps, which converge with rival strategies of intransigence or negotiation. In short, while its currents may well be blamed for the PRD's plight of infighting, their differences are not inconsequential but strike at competing conceptions of identity and purpose.

Compounding the PRD's troubling factionalism has been the conundrum of how to establish an autonomous identity from the historic strongmen upon which the party arguably depended.[14] Most studies emphasize party founder Cárdenas' adverse influence on the PRD's level of institutionalization. While acknowledging the importance of a *caudillo* to lift the party's vote - it won most with AMLO or Cárdenas on the ticket - an excessive reliance on personalistic leadership was detrimental to autonomous party development. Approaching 2013, the PRD in its 24-year existence has remarkably only had two presidential candidates, a measure of its reliance on its leaders as well as its failure to break away from them: Cárdenas ran thrice for the presidency and only dropped a fourth bid under pressure. In 2012, AMLO ran again, but lost.

Ample evidence suggests that these personalistic projects, while providing the party with a rallying point, to an extent deprived the PRD of its own agenda. Yet an exclusive focus on the "caudillo explanation" misses the other side of the coin. For one, even their most ardent critics admit that the dominant leadership of the *caudillo* at times appeared the only way to keep a disparate coalition of diverging opinions on goals and tactics together at all. More fundamentally however, this study

argues that within the PRD, key sectors of its party elite have paradoxically promoted a dominant leader who acts above institutions and party organs, and have fought against efforts at building a more traditional and autonomous organizations as a counterweight to his power and causes. Whenever the leader has been in conflict with the party's institutions, this group has rallied behind him; whenever party votes went against them, they have appealed directly to him over the heads of PRD's elected authorities. At various junctures, a significant sector of the party has fought any attempt at reining in the *caudillo*'s power. This is a more complex state than that of a strongman imposing himself over the party organs. To blame the PRD's lack of progress in building a more autonomous and coherent organization simply and squarely on Cárdenas or AMLO misses a bigger point: The PRD has remained significantly split over whether the party should even attempt a process of becoming a more autonomous entity, or rather continue as a loose movement around its leader.

Divisions Old and New: The Importance of 2006

In tracing the PRD's political trajectory, this book also aims to demonstrate that the divisions outlined above have been present in the party throughout its existence. While electoral campaigns and external adversity have encouraged moments of remarkable party unity, the lack of shared visions meant the PRD's cleavages never fully went away. The 2006 national election, which chose Mexico's president, Congress, and a range of statehouses and governors, dramatically reinforced the PRD's old divide and brought in new ones that converged with it. The importance of 2006 lies not, though, merely in the revival of an internal party schism, but demonstrates that the importance of the competing visions of the PRD and its role goes well beyond the stability of Mexico's largest leftwing party - however significant in its own right - to affect the stability of the country's institutions. United at first in the face of a perceived fraud, a new divide arose over whether the party should accept, if not in rhetoric than at least in practice, the legality and legitimacy of Felipe Calderón's victory, and work with the winning PAN and other actors on legislative reform in Congress. The alternative was to refuse any accommodation with the national government. This had real and practical implications, perhaps most notably over whether the PRD should reject cooperation with its opponents in the legislative arena. Remarkably, this extended to reforms that addressed many of the PRD's own concerns, where its legislators often had a substantial and constructive impact on the proposed legislation.

AMLO's role in the PRD became a source of tremendous conflict after 2006. The party's presidential ex-candidate was not its de jure or official leader, but his continued weight was undeniable and affected the party in two related ways: On the one hand, the debate over whether the party should continue to rally behind its former candidate, or distance itself and become more autonomous, mirrored fights over the role of party founder Cárdenas. But a new question also arose over whether the PRD should also subordinate itself to the new organizations AMLO created, including the "Legitimate Government," an innovation unparalleled in Mexico's history. Within the PRD, while one main group sought more independence from AMLO after 2006, another sought to reorient the party as merely part of a larger "movement" behind AMLO and to continue to rally around his continued presidential aspirations. AMLO, for his part, increasingly aligned with the two minor partners of his 2006 coalition, the *Partido del Trabajo* (PT) and *Convergencia* (PC), and focused his energies on touring the country and recruiting supporters for his new movement.

After 2006, AMLO openly defied the PRD's official leadership and the decisions of its legislative groups, often appealing over the heads of the party proper to its base - where he continued to enjoy mass support - to block legislation he opposed. He directly intervened in the PRD's contentious 2008 election, and members of his movement enrolled in the PRD with the explicit purpose of having his preferred candidate elected. All the while, however, he was backed by a significant sector within the party proper, which similarly saw the PRD as chiefly an instrument of his cause and who agreed that the party should subordinate to his movement. This sector, among the most vociferous in rejecting the 2006 election verdict, was like AMLO distrustful of the value of seeking gradual institutional reform, including of the PRD itself. When AMLO called upon them to reject legislation - even if it was approved by the party organs - they eagerly did so.

Of even greater significance was the revival of a historic and general dilemma for the Mexican left and for the PRD in particular, namely whether the party should participate in the reform of a polity whose institutions it distrusted. Above all, legislators believed that helping to shape reforms would necessarily entail accepting, however reluctantly, that the system might redeem itself and that institutional improvements should be pursued, even as virtually the entire party continued to reject the 2006 outcome as fully legitimate.

Yet those who after 2006 continued to rally around AMLO rejected most any cooperation under the claim that the system was beyond repair. His "presidency" promoted a line that cooperation with the government

over reform would only give a fraudulent regime a new lease of life. This debate was similar to the PRD's historic debates in the 1990s over whether to truly be an anti-system party, where the existing system had to end for real democracy to come about.[15] For the majority, however, there was one crucial difference: Despite its flaws, Mexico was in 2006 a democracy, and ending the system would entail ending the institutions the PRD had been instrumental in helping set up and improve.

The Tricky Concept of Party Institutionalization

The PRD does not fit easily within existing party categories. This book considers it to be a hybrid of party and movement and argues that the brunt of its internal struggles stems from this. The PRD cannot therefore be considered an institutionalized party, although it has made strides toward organizational and programmatic routinization. The issue, however, is not only one about ability but also desirability, given that sectors have downplayed or even opposed outright attempts at traditional party building.

Institutionalization is a concept admittedly fraught with analytical and empirical difficulties. Though it has been around for quite some time in the party literature, the term remains relatively unexplored, and for quite natural reasons: It often works better as a "you know it when you see it" descriptive label than as an analytical concept with neat indicators. It is also a challenge to separate effects of institutionalization from the core properties of the concept itself. Nonetheless, the term retains clear value in separating some parties from others, as this quality is clearly found within some but far from all. It is also a dynamic concept that may be used to describe progress toward or away from such a goal. This book builds on previous insights to argue that the PRD's low level of institutionalization, especially its failure to decide on organizational structure and to establish an autonomous identity, matters both for its own ability to function as a credible leftwing option as well as to accept, as a party and without conditions, the primacy of existing democratic institutions.

While notable attempts at innovation have been made, institutionalization will here essentially refer to the concept developed by its "father" Samuel Huntington, who made a forceful argument in favor of political institutionalization. In his classic formulation developed half a century ago he saw it as "the process by which organizations and procedures acquire value and stability," where a party becomes valued in itself and not merely as a means to an end. Writing in a time of rapid social change, Huntington regarded the development of

stable and predictable institutions as a crucial means to absorb and constrain mass political mobilization. To him, an institutionalized party would be adaptable, complex, autonomous, and coherent.[16]

Yet the concept, despite its seemingly clear criteria, had inherent problems. Early critics questioned the emphasis on institutionalization as a means to avert or contain social conflict and noted the concept itself was inherently circular. What was the core of an institutionalized organization, and what were merely factors associated with it?[17] Others questioned whether there were also dangers of a party becoming too rigid and institutionalized.[18] The most developed study of party institutionalization in Latin America argued that institutionalization did not even necessarily entail the construction of a formal and routinized organization.[19]

No recipe for institutionalization is likely suitable for all parties everywhere. Even so, it remains a state or quality of some parties and not others, and the failure to achieve it has real consequences. In the wider literature on democratic consolidation, a clear consensus exists that party institutionalization matters - even if defined rather minimally, and loosely, as having a relatively stable organization with some programmatic continuity - to democracy's stability and even survivability.[20] How would such a party look like? As a minimum working definition, within such parties, a majority of its elite values a relatively stable organization, with established mechanisms and routines for solving internal disputes that are notably recognized by the party as a whole, in the abstract and in practice. For its elite, the party should not be subordinated to a larger movement for which the party is merely regarded as a tool.[21] Its name should also be instilled with meaning and an autonomous identity. Parties are collections of individuals with likely overlapping yet also conflicting ideas, and caution should be made in suggesting programmatic or ideological homogeneity. Yet a party that casts its net too wide for it to agree on even a common ideological direction - incorporating, for instance, ideas of both the far right and far left - may hardly be regarded as coherent.[22] A party's identity - ideology, program, and goals - should in any regard exist separately from its leader, and transcend personalistic projects. The loyalty of the elite should also extend beyond a leader to a separate and enduring party identity.

The PRD: A Personalistic, Mobilizational *Partido-Movimiento*

Compared with many or even most of Latin America's parties, it is clear that the PRD contains within it many valuable elements of

institutionalization. Party members, from the grassroots to the elite, have fought for the PRD's goals for more than two decades, and many lost their lives doing so. The party has therefore been a vital tool for Mexico's democratization as well as for the empowerment of its supporters. For most of its militants, the PRD is far more than a fleeting label behind the personalistic candidacy of a leader, and it has enjoyed sustained efforts to forge a more solid organization.[23]

Yet the party's deficiencies are relatively obvious. Organizationally, the PRD has on paper well-developed institutions and mechanisms for solving intra-party differences. Even so, intra-party relations have remained conflictual, as decision-making processes are often not recognized as legitimate by all party elites. At key junctures, sizable minorities have refused to follow resolutions of the party's executive organs or congress, especially sectors claiming legitimacy from a background in social movements or from closeness, real or perceived, with the party's "real" leader. Likewise, the dictates and opinions of PRD's *caudillos* have often trumped the party's legal organs, such as its council and executive committee, and even its de jure leader. Party strongmen have willfully ignored statutes and resolutions, even if agreed to by majority will, and retain significant clout among the base as well as sectors of the party elite who are semi-loyal to party decisions and will openly defy them if opposed by the *caudillo*. AMLO would in 2007 increasingly ignore and reject party decisions, especially following the defeat of his preferred candidate for the party's 2008 internal election. At the same time, AMLO and his PRD backers demanded the party should defer to the new institutions and movements he had created, such as the Democratic National Convention (CND), Legitimate Government (GL), and his Movement for National Regeneration (Morena). While the subordination of a party to a personalistic project conspires against the establishment of a developed and autonomous identity, a significant sector promoted this conception of a party as principally a means to an end, namely to back its former presidential candidate. His "cause" by far still trumped the party's own program.[24]

The PRD is in essence a party with fundamentally opposed conceptions among its elites over its organizational setup, programmatic-ideological orientation, and of its tactical-strategic role in Mexico's current political system. It continues to suffer an internal schism over whether to remain a loose movement-organization organized around the project and leadership of its *caudillo*, where the party is a means to an end, or whether to move toward a more traditional and autonomous organization. While many parties have lived through recurring conflicts over their orientation, the PRD's lack of common

ideological agreement is confounding. This is an old debate: Its founder denied from the onset that the party should assume an identity as a left party, and it took the PRD 9 years to declare itself as such. Nor was the party's attempt 9 more years down the road to identify as democratic and socialist uncontroversial. The party built on competing directions: To locate the party in an international left context, with an orientation informed by international socialism and social democracy with a corresponding socially liberal orientation, or to eschew such labels and draw inspiration principally from the national-revolutionary heritage of the Mexican Revolution and what are regarded as the more progressive and redistributionary - though mostly socially conservative - eras of the PRI regime.[25] The failure to settle definitely for one direction was a cause of much strife, and often its sole common denominator was instead found in rallying behind its presidential candidate.

Given the above characteristics, and the recurring conflicts that flow from these divisions, the PRD cannot be regarded as an institutionalized party. Its dual character as both party and movement warrants its designation as a "movement-party."[26] This term is not new, but was developed in the setting of the advanced democracies in Europe when new political formations such as the Greens and anti-immigrant parties emerged in the 1980s. Despite obvious antagonisms and dissimilarities, these still shared an emphasis on non-traditional party structures, and caused much typological confusion as they did not match any existing categories.[27] While previous studies limited its use to post-industrial contexts, the term, capturing the PRD's duality, is also useful outside this area, especially given the wider Latin American region's recurring bouts of *movimientismo* or "movementism," where political formations have long denied their nature as political parties, rather seeking to represent the "nation as a whole," using populist discourses.[28] Existing typologies also leave room for further development of the movement-party type, which is particularly suitable for non-institutionalized parties.[29]

The PRD differs in organization from existing variants of movement-parties. It is highly mobilizational and has successfully arranged million-strong marches in defense of democracy, as well as using *plazismo*, an emphasis on mass meetings and marches, as part of its regular campaign strategy. At the same time, while the party has survived the relative displacement of its founder, it has still not sorted out the balance between the party and its *caudillo,* nor established a fully autonomous program. To capture this distinction, this book regards the PRD as a party of the personalistic mobilization type, or a personalistic movement-party.[30] While regular parties, as other institutions, are

expected in time to gradually institutionalize their organization, this type is distinct in that it does not automatically engage in the forging of a clear ideological consensus and the building of a more routinized party organization. Outside the Latin American context, such parties have been assumed to transform into more conventional parties, or else wither away, and evidence does suggest this happens. The case of the PRD is therefore highly remarkable, as an uneasy balance between party and movement has persisted for more than two decades. Rather than displacing its foundational dilemma, even new cleavages have essentially aligned around it.

The Consequences of the Movement Logic

The first casualty of the PRD's internal division has naturally been the party. In its dramatic history, the divide between the party and a movement, this book argues, has been the main culprit behind most party strife, with further divisions intrinsically linked to this schism. The party failed to resolve completely whether it should be regarded principally as a means to back a presidential project, or whether it should be valued in itself as a more autonomous institution.

This was also linked closely to ideology: A choice remained whether to look for international inspiration in a more mainstream leftwing tradition, or rather to focus on more nationalistic discourse. Voters therefore hardly knew whether a vote for the PRD was a vote for a restoration of a "golden age" of Mexico, with strong nationalist undertones, or one for a more social democratic orientation of considerably more socially liberal values.

The party's failure to finally sort out its relationship with AMLO took on particular importance after the 2006 election, as it faced fire from two directions: On the one hand, the electorate largely disproved of its radicalization and punished the party for it. On the other, its refusal to line up unconditionally behind AMLO led to his de facto desertion from the party, taking party supporters and even elite members with him. In several major elections after 2006, AMLO backed separate candidates presented by the PT and PC, the PRD's less-than-reliable 2006 coalition partners. This advocacy deprived the PRD of votes and representation and also future public party funding, a product of a party's vote share.

It is a key contention of this book that the failure to resolve the party-movement debate has a much wider impact on Mexican institutions and the stability of the system itself. On the one hand, the defection of key elites from the PRD, and their calling upon their supporters to do the same, clearly hurt the party electorally. Competing

parties, primarily the PRI, capitalized from the left's split to win elections they otherwise might well have lost. Increased fluidity and electoral fragmentation ran the risk of depriving the Mexican party system of a strong party of the center-left. Given Mexico's dramatic history, the importance of a stable party of the left to absorb popular demands and to channel political conflict and the demands of less privileged sectors through the legislative arena cannot be overstated. No other party in Mexico's party system has so far demonstrated a willingness or capacity to channel a similar agenda.

Moreover, the dispute over whether to accept that democracy, however imperfect, is the only game in town and that reform efforts are worthwhile, or to reject the possibility of system reform in favor of some new political order, resurfaced dramatically after 2006, and was intrinsically tied to PRD's internal struggle: Should it engage with the opposition or rally behind a leader who rejected the legitimacy of Mexico's current institutions and called upon his followers to do the same? Given AMLO's rejection of reform in favor of a system change, a view shared by many of the PRD's elites, unconditional loyalty to this cause left little room for negotiation and compromise: One was either with his movement, or against it.[31]

Mexico's institutions look very different today than in 1988. Despite its flaws, the country became and remained a democracy.[32] Obstructing attempts at undeniably much-needed institutional reform will do the country's young democracy few favors. More fundamentally still, while a section of the electorate might never fully accept the legitimacy of the system or the claim that it is even a democracy, by refusing to accept the legality of the national executive and calling for the rejection of Mexico's current institutional setups, AMLO's PRD took a further step of not merely catching a popular mood, but helping sustain and even create it. As its elites could not agree on where to take the battle - to the parliamentary arena or the streets - the PRD moved from channeling conflict and being a fresh breath of citizen activism and dissent, to rocking the very foundations of Mexico's liberal institutions. The emphasis on an all-or-nothing, friend-enemy discourse rather than accepting the possibility of compromise, favoring the "taking" of institutions and mobilizations over working within the parliamentary arena, after 2006 represented a challenge to the stability of the system itself. Given the consequences of the PRD's woes, a close examination of its internal dynamics and the nature of is divide is essential.

The Nature of the Investigation

This is chiefly an elite-level study of the PRD, and deliberately so. The main purpose of the initial investigation was to understand the nature of a party's internal divides from a top (and top-down) level, not from its grassroots. Various conversations held with lower-ranking members undoubtedly furthered an understanding of internal party dynamics, yet given the ambition to uncover obstacles to party change, an elite-level focus appeared most appropriate: When it comes to party building and change, elites have the most direct but also recurring impact.[33]

The bulk of the original research stems from a 2007-8 stay in Mexico, principally in Mexico City, while 4 further research trips in 2009-2012 updated and reexamined the material. The interviews conducted were not random. Rather, the goal was to cover the party's leadership, and the final sample was close to exhaustive. With the exception of one minor group, interviews covered the heads of every PRD current and legislators representing them, all 4 major candidates for its 2008 party presidency, a former presidential candidate, the PRD's congressional leadership, and a majority of the members of the party's executive committee. New and repeat interviews were conducted to corroborate and update the material. The interviews were semi-structured and open-ended. While information gleaned led to new avenues to pursue, similar questions were also asked in order to determine whether attitudes, such as on party change, ideology, and strategy, were unique to the individual interviewee, or whether patterns in responses could be detected among members of the same currents or wider party groups.

Confidentiality was offered to all interviewees, who are in this book with few exceptions referred to in generally broad terms to avoid identifiability, a practice with both drawbacks and advantages. While this removes an element of accountability, much of the material discussed was of a relatively sensitive nature, particularly considering the high polarization within the party during the research period. Offering confidentiality likely allowed for a freer expression of opinion and more background information, especially given the high legislative or party positions of the interviewees. All interviews were recorded digitally and transcribed.[34] The information gleaned from the around 100 official elite interviews and dozens of less formal conversations, together with research in the PRD's archives and participation in party and current meetings form the empirical basis of this book.

The Structure of the Book

The original divide between movement advocates and party builders within the PRD has persisted and developed into a schism that is manifested in a range of other conflicts over the party's nature and direction. While distrust of Mexico's political institutions was present well before 2006, chapter 2 demonstrates how that year's fateful federal election brought the PRD's old divide back to the forefront, with great consequences for Mexico's political stability as its main party of the left appeared to reject the country's democratic institutions. The PRD at first united behind denouncing what most saw as a fraud, but two camps emerged that drew radically different lessons from the election: One rallied around its former presidential candidate, who now fully rejected the proposition that Mexico's institutions were capable of reform; another desired to continue along the reformist gradual path and took note of popular rejection of the party's orientation and tactics. Also, new dilemmas emerged: As the PRD had become Mexico's second largest party, what to do with its legislative groups?

Chapter 3 looks at the peculiar circumstances of the PRD's founding moment and locates its conflicts in the context of the 1988 fraud. It particularly traces what was often expressed in terms of the "reform vs. rupture" debate over the extent of PRD's participation in, and loyalty to, a system that defrauded and brutally repressed its cadres. The PRD grew dramatically in the 1990s, an apparent fruit of moderation, yet failed to finally resolve this debate. It also remained wedded to the presidential project of its founder, and fights between its factions were only barely contained. After Cárdenas' third presidential bid, groups drew radically different lessons from PRD's failure to bring about Mexico's transition, which was instead led by the PAN.

Chapter 4 details how the internal PRD cleavage was abruptly revived after a political process gravely dented the democratic credentials of Mexico's first opposition government of Vicente Fox Quesada (2000-6). The *desafuero,* effectively an impeachment that tried to remove AMLO from the 2006 contest, bred enormous distrust and for many meant a vindication of PRD's old movement-oriented strategy and mobilizational potential. The party thus entered the 2006 contest in the worst possible condition, which was far from entirely of its own making: Not fully trusting the institutions it was participating in, while fully persuaded of popular power's potential to overturn them should they be considered unjust or fraudulent.

Chapter 5 examines the post-2006 manifestations of the PRD's revived divide, which increasingly brought the party to the brink of

rupture. Movement advocates rallied around AMLO's "Government" and the new and increasingly radical movements affiliated with it. But an opposing party block continued to value institutional reform and cooperation with its opponents in Congress. The schism notably ran through all of the PRD's institutions, including its legislative groups. Many PRD elites warned of the seeming diminishing returns of the radical strategy and fought to reorient its direction in state elections. The chapter also examines PRD's 2008 election, a "mother of all battles" for party control where all its divisions converged.

Chapter 6 uses the 2007-8 electoral reform, the most significant in a decade, as a key case to examine the new dynamics and the increasing divergence between the PRD's formal organs and its former presidential candidate. Despite the PRD's active part in shaping the new legislation, AMLO came out against it. This chapter explores why the GL and AMLO's supporters in the PRD rejected a reform that went a long way toward addressing electoral code deficiencies uncovered since 1996 and vividly exposed in 2006.

Chapter 7 explores the dramatic fight over the 2008 petroleum form, where AMLO took the new step of calling on followers within and outside the PRD to resort to civil disobedience and "brigades" to block a reform that his own advisers had essentially written.

Chapter 8 addresses AMLO's separation from the PRD and his backing of its opponents in the 2009 federal elections. Given his failure to install his preferred candidate as president, AMLO refused to work with the PRD leadership and actively undermined it. His refusal to resign from the PRD and the reluctance of the party to eject him illustrate the dilemma of a party incapable of breaking with its strongman, who commanded much support among the party base. AMLO's opposition to the 2010 PRD-PAN alliances and his campaign against a coalition in the 2011 México state election is analyzed in this context, as the growing clout of Marcelo Ebrard set the stage for a showdown within the party over who should be its candidate in 2012.

The concluding chapter argues that the PRD's internal divisions, however significant in their own right, are of vital importance due to their great impact on the stability of Mexico's political institutions. A complete break-up of the PRD would deprive citizens of a key means to channel political conflict. Equally, however, the party's uneasy coexistence of increasingly irreconcilable groups and its stormy relationship with AMLO threatened to do the same thing. The battle over the PRD is thus tied to the stability of Mexico's democracy.

[1] E.g. "Riesgo de ruptura en el PRD." *La Jornada*, Dec. 18, 2008; "PRD, al borde de una fractura total." *El Economista*, Feb. 24, 2011.

[2] To Weber, institutionalization meant building routinized and formal political institutions such as a modern bureaucracy. The term was also well applied to the development of political parties. See Welfling (1974) and McGuire (1997, 17-19).

[3] See Kitschelt (1989, 2006) on this dilemma, and Randall and Svåsand (2002) for an overview of the concept of party institutionalization.

[4] Programmatic parties "exhibit some degree of ideological coherence and use explicit party platforms" (Rosas 2005, 826). With "coherence" is meant "the degree of agreement" over political proposals (Ruiz 2008, 170), with a focus on internal party cohesion, not electability. Casting a wide, "catch-all" net in Kircheimer's (1966) classic formulation may be electorally advantageous, but the argument is here more limited: contradictory ideological-programmatic orientations prevent parties from creating a unifying core to counter personalism.

[5] Most Green parties did take on more traditional party forms, as did even some "extreme right charismatic parties" (Burchell 2001; Frankland et al 2008; Pedahzur and Brichta 2002). Those that didn't waned, their post-materialist agendas often co-opted by mainstream parties. Levitsky (1998, 2003) argued institutionalization should not be conflated with routinization, and his Argentine study suggested that the less-formalized nature of the *Partido Justicialista* endowed it with survival skills of flexibility and adaptability. Yet with constant splits and competition between groups of both the far left and far right claiming to represent the "true" doctrine of Juan Perón, the claim also borders on unfalsifiability. As a secretary of the Néstor Kirchner government (2003-07) noted, "I am a peronist, for sure, but today to be a peronist defines absolutely nothing." Confidential interview, Feb. 13, 2007.

[6] Semo (2006, 88). To Prud'homme, the PRD is "one of the enigmas" of Mexico (2007, 205).

[7] The comparison with the German party's renunciation of Marxism at its Nov. 15, 1959 party conference is imperfect: It had committed to Marxism but only through the ballot box. It debated primarily its ideological orientation, not organization or means or avenues of struggle. The PRD on its 3rd Congress in 1995 committed to negotiations with the government. Yet much of the party still did not fully embrace the primacy of Mexico's current political institutions.

[8] Confidential interview, PRD central member, Jan. 31, 2008.

[9] "Currents" are functionally equivalent to Gillespie's (1989) "faction," or an organized internal party group with separate leadership and political and physical identity, such as publications, financial resources, buildings, and meetings.

[10] Bruhn's seminal early study noted the PRD's challenge to "balance between freedom and discipline, between commitment to internal democracy and the party's need to make binding decisions on behalf of its members" (1997, 188).

[11] This book does not regard social movements as immature political organizations. They are on the contrary essential to democratic politics and often "only a fuzzy and permeable boundary" exists between institutionalized and non-institutionalized organizations (Goldstone 2003, 2). Van Cott (2005)

detailed how some indigenous movements successfully became parties in the 1990s. Yet problems arise when they retaini the essential organizational form, expression, tactics and strategies of the movement. Glenn (2003) and Desai (2006) also note such challenges.

[12] Interview, Alejandro Encinas, March 14, 2008.

[13] Confidential interview, PRD central member, *Movimiento* current, Nov. 27, 2007. As a key IDN leader noted, "There are many PRDs." Confidential interview, Nov. 28, 2007.

[14] The PRD had the first woman party leader (it has had two) and first non-PRI woman governor (the PAN has had neither) but its *caudillos* were men. While 30 percent of its candidacies were set aside in a gender quota, González and Rodríguez (2008) found that only a fifth of its elected positions were held by women. Its statutes demand gender parity for candidates but only 8 percent of PRD municipalities won in 2010 were led by women. "¿Cuándo empezarán a cumplirse las cuotas de género?" *Coyuntura* 157-8, May-Aug. 2010: 62-3.

[15] An anti-system party would change not only the government but "the very system of government" (Sartori 1976, 133). That does not make the term coterminous to "anti-democratic": The PRD's intransigent orientation in its early years was directed against an authoritarian system. To be against the system meant favoring democratization, not opposing it. Yet by 2006, Mexico was a democracy. Ignacio Sotelo remarked, "The clash of 'two powers,' one institutional and one in the street, would describe, at least formally, a revolutionary situation." "México, una situación prerrevolucionaria." *El País*, Oct. 6, 2006.

[16] Huntington (1965, 394). "Adaptability" meant how flexible a party was toward its environment. "Complexity" indicated the size and variation of its formal organization. "Autonomy" measured its independence vis-à-vis other organizations. "Coherence" measured how unified a party was (1965, 394-405).

[17] Tilly (1973, 431) noted a circularity in Huntington's argument. The challenge of separating indicators of institutionalization from its actual properties remained. One case in point is to regard longevity as property, which leads to a circular logic, such as "a party that survives must be institutionalized, because an institutionalized party survives. If not, it must not have been institutionalized." Also, as this study suggests, nor is using longevity as a mere indicator unproblematic, as a party may survive yet fail to achieve a higher level of institutionalization, contrary to what is most commonly argued in the literature.

[18] Kesselman (1970) pointed to cases where parties, in seeking autonomy, might become too rigid and resistant to adaptability. Roberts (2003) found a similar development in Venezuela, where seemingly institutionalized political parties folded.

[19] Parties with weak formal organizations may be more adaptable and capable of survival than more rigid parties. Despite the lack of a strong formal organization, parties may be strongly "infused with value" and institutionalized even if poorly "routinized" (Levitsky, 2003).

[20] Democracy collapsed despite institutionalized parties, such as in Chile in 1973, where such parties rather than buttressing democracy even undermined it. But it is a fallacy to deduce that it does not matter if parties are institutionalized: Parties structure electoral choices and organize the legislative process. Weak

parties are associated with executive-legislative conflict, policy ineffectiveness, "outsider" or anti-system alternatives, and democratic breakdowns (Mainwaring and Scully 1995; Luna and Zechmeister 2005). By offering coherent and distinct alternatives, institutionalized parties offer voters long-term expectations and stability (Diamond, Hartlyn and Linz 1999). Ideologically grounded parties with "clear, widely understood, recognizable, enduring positions on a conventionally interrelated set of issues" (Coppedge 1998, 552) provide better representation (Rosas 2005). Blurred party orientations block voters from distinguishing them and accountability suffers. Unbound by platforms or programmatic declarations, politicians may indulge in a "delegative" democracy (O'Donnell, 1994). Freidenberg et al found ideological cohesion to "facilitate coordination within parties" (2008, 162). Kitschelt et al emphasize "programmatic coordination at the elite level" as crucial in order to link voters to parties (2010, 56-8).

[21] There is an "existence of internal consensus over organizational rules and structures as much as over policies" (Gunther and Hopkin 2002, 228). Panebianco like Huntington noted that the process meant a party "slowly loses its character as a tool: It becomes valuable in and of itself" to its supporters (1988, 53).

[22] The left-right dimension may be an "amorphous vessel" but it remains the most common way of organizing politics "across space and time" (Huber and Inglehart 1995, 90). To Mair, "it remains unchallenged by any potentially competing set of referents… despite its various ambiguities, it continues to work" (2007, 217-8). In Latin America, most place themselves on a left-right scale and party systems are largely structured along left-right lines, even if its exact content varies (Colomer 2005; Alcántara 2008; Wiesehomeier 2010). Its absence deprives voters of cues to separate parties (Arian and Shamir 1983). It also deprives party members of a common identity, or programmatic "glue" beyond adherence to a leader. Mexico was long dominated by a pro- vs. anti-regime political cleavage (Klesner 2005). Yet ideology remained muddled, an "uncertain amalgam" of issues, cultural values, and attitudes (McCann and Lawson 2003, 66). A 2005 survey in Mexico City revealed that 2 of 5 voters could not put content into the terms of "left" and "right," while those who could resorted more to value judgments than policies. While differences existed on e.g. the death penalty, privatization, and abortion, these were not connected to a left-right dimension (Estrada and Parás 2006). Political elites have a special responsibility to develop the content of this heuristic (Zechmeister 2006). With its mix of social liberalism and conservatism, and social democracy and revolutionary nationalism, the PRD did not provide a clear leftwing orientation even after 2000.

[23] In Selznick's (1957) organizational term, the PRD is "infused with value" and not simply regarded an expendable tool by most, though far from all, of its cadres and elites.

[24] To Charlot and Charlot, "Until a party… has surmounted the crisis of finding a successor to its founder, until it has drawn up rules of succession that are legitimate in the eyes of its members, its 'institutionalization' will remain precarious" (1985, 437). Cf. Mény (1993, 67), who noted that the extent of "personalism" is a key criterion for assessing the institutionalization of parties. In the case of the PRD, a measure of depersonalization would be the extent to which it has removed itself from its founders or former leaders.

[25] O'Toole (2010) demonstrated that while the PRI largely moved away from "revolutionary nationalism," the PRD elite remained torn between such ideals, and the supposed "golden days" of the PRI years, and those of international socialism and social democracy. To Bartra, a leftwing intellectual who criticized its 2006 conduct, the PRD remained "populist" due to "the relationship of the chief with 'his' people, at the margins of democratic representative institutions, through an informal mediation structure" and "conservative" due to its longing for the revolutionary authoritarianism that dominated the 20th century (2006, 16-7).

[26] Sartori defined a party as "any political group that presents at elections, and is capable of placing through elections, candidates for public office" (1976, 64). Tarrow defined a social movement as "collective challenges, based on common purposes and social solidarities, in sustained interaction with elites, opponents, and authorities" and noted their danger of spinning into "the tyranny of decentralization" (2011, 9, 266). The same can be said of the PRD. The term "movement-party" has not been used as a consistent analytical label, yet PRD interviews revealed its widespread current use and suggested its analytical properties.

[27] The Green rejection of "politics as usual" mirrored their organization. They dismissed centralized organization and leadership as hallmarks of discredited traditional bureaucratic parties. Through grass-roots organization they intended to transcend classic party setups, and many stressed the need to go beyond traditional parties to encourage broad political participation thorugh e.g. direct democracy (Müller-Rommel 1989; Kitschelt 1989).

[28] "Populism" has described everything from leadership style, speeches, organization and tactics, to ideology, programmatic orientation, economic policies, and demographic support. Its analytical use is limited, as hardly any major party has not included "populist" characteristics. It remains useful if used sparingly to label a discourse (Roberts 1995) or style (Knight 1998).

[29] Gunther and Diamond saw the movement-party as a separate "genus" of parties, finding the label "particularly appropriate for newly emerging parties prior to their institutionalization." (2003, 188). Kitschelt (2006) found them transient phenomena, though the persistence of PRD's dual nature challenges this assertion.

[30] Its traits, combined in the unique constellation that comprises the type, are: 1) Mass mobilizational, where mass action is used both as a tool for political campaigns and action; 2) non-institutionalized, personalistic leadership, where the party's de facto leader is rarely its jure head and extra-official strongmen exercise much power over party decisions; 3) unclear boundaries between where the party ends and the movement begins, and the formal and informal party organization or affiliated movements; 4) no clear or dominant programmatic-ideological orientation with the left-right discourse downplayed over a "cause" espoused primarily by the party leader; and 5) semi-loyalty of elites to the party's own institutions, dependent on their serving a "cause" larger than the party.

[31] McGuire noted, "a movement that defines its own interests as inseparable from those of the nation has a duty to advance those interests as soon and as fully as possible" (1997, 4). The PRD does not merely reflect what Katz and Mair (1993) deemed a conflict between the party in public office, on the ground,

or its central office: Its divisions are not as neat as those arguably found in the advanced industrialized democracies. Rather, its fault lines are more profound, as they traverse all aspects and organs of the party and are not subject to the logic of any party "face."

[32] Freedom House has regarded Mexico an electoral democracy since its 2000 transition. Its ranking fell from "Free" to "Partly Free" from 2010-11, attributed chiefly to violence by drug gangs against the media and not government repression. The *Economist Intelligent Unit* (2010) designated Mexico a "Flawed Democracy," a category shared with e.g. France and Brazil. An AmericasBarometer report found satisfaction with democracy low in Mexico, particularly among the elite, but trust in the legislative branches and electoral tribunal was among the highest of the 17 Latin American countries surveyed, on both elite and mass levels. Citizens in 2008 also held the highest trust in political parties, above 40 percent (Corral 2011). In contrast, 2010 polls found the preference for democracy at only 49 percent compared with 53 in 1996, though an improvement from only 42 in 2009. "The Latinobarómetro poll." *The Economist*, Dec. 2, 2010.

[33] Elites are those able "to affect national political outcomes regularly and substantially" (Burton et al 1992, 8). To Klesner, "To fully appreciate how Mexican democracy might be deepened, we must pay close attention to elite-level politics" (2007a, 13).

[34] Some interviewees requested full confidentiality, others only that some information should not be attributed to them. Used first to comply with institutional review board regulations, confidentiality was generally maintained due to the rewards of the data gained from the practice.